



COMBATING THE HYDRA

Violence and Resistance in the
Habsburg Empire, 1500–1900

Stephan Steiner

COMBATING THE HYDRA

CENTRAL EUROPEAN STUDIES

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Cover image: Gypsy warning sign from Styria (first half of the eighteenth century).
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My nod to Renée travels on a bird's feather, light and fluorescent.

INTRODUCTION

The state's behaviour is violence, and it calls its violence "law"; that of the individual, "crime" [...].¹

MAX STIRNER, *THE EGO AND ITS OWN*

Will it never stop? Will the light never be snuffed out, the noise never die? Will it never be silent and dark so that we don't have to watch and listen to each other's sordid little sins?

GEORG BÜCHNER, *DANTON'S DEATH*

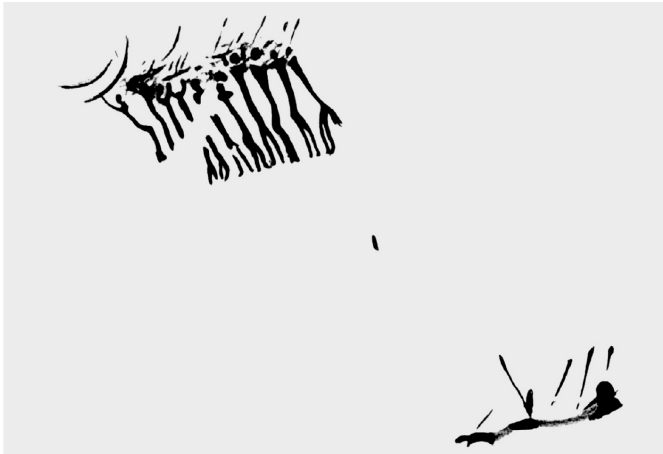


Figure 0.1 Drawing after a cave painting in the Cova Remigia, Spain. (Source: Svend Hansen, "Das neolithische Massaker und die levantinischen Felsbilder," 231.)

A DREADFUL SCENE (FIGURE 0.1):

Ten figures, lined up side by side, [...] raise their weapons, among which both bows and feathered arrows stand out. [...] The individual standing on the right, obviously the leader, is facing the crew at an angle, so that his loin ornament is clearly visible. Ten centimeters diagonally downward, a single human figure is seen lying flat on the

ground [...] with its back up. In its body [...] arrows are sticking; one can still see such in sufficiently recognizable form in the calf area, several more in the buttocks, in the hip, in the back and on the head, which is slightly raised.²

A dreadful scene with a very bitter taste: scholars deciphered the image as one of those depicting an overt and deliberate “killing scene, the persons and the action as such leaves no doubt about it.” In their interpretation, this was not a simple representation of a fight but depicted an execution, because the victim was “defenseless, i.e. unarmed.”³

A dreadful scene and a bitter taste that haunts us through the millennia: painted up to ten thousand years ago on the walls of a Spanish cave, this image reminds us of primal scenes of our human disposition. Human beings persecute other human beings; they injure them, bring about their downfall, and kill them. Though different in its specific shapes and intensities, this general disposition has not changed over the centuries. Violence has turned out to be a hydra that seems less tamable the more complex the society.

Our species’ long journey away from prehistory has quite unsuccessfully eliminated violence. This book deals with a momentary phase in humanity’s ongoing relationship with violence. A time lapse takes us to the early modern period, in which this collection of essays on violence is situated. Violence in early modernity fascinated historians for much of the twentieth century. Following mostly in the footsteps of the Annales school, they searched for innovative approaches toward historiography, with crime and rioting common topics of inquiry. Other phenomena equally as important for an understanding of violence, but less appealing to the imagination, never reached the same level of attention within the scholarly community. Then, at the turn of the millennium, the time seemed ripe for the first comprehensive surveys; overviews and synopses started to appear on the book market.

Julius R. Ruff’s *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, published in 2001, was among the first attempts to bundle the many individual results of historical research. The book presented a broad spectrum of violent outbursts, including interpersonal disputes, war, domestic abuse, corporal punishment, organized crime, and political revolt. Since then, important publications have added even more nuance to the study of early modern violence, including Robert Muchembled’s monograph *A History of Violence*, as well as several edited volumes such as *Gewalt in der Frühen Neuzeit* (2005), *Cultures of Violence* (2007), and *Aspects of Violence in Renaissance Europe* (2016).⁴

Recently, further scholarly attempts toward a synopsis culminated in the monumental *Cambridge World History of Violence* (2020), a four-volume compendium of nearly three thousand pages and the most extensive survey of the field so far. Through a multiplicity of approaches, this work of global history devotes itself to “one of the key intellectual issues of our time.” It spans all historical periods from prehistoric times to

the present, and thus allows a consideration of the phenomenon of violence from the most expansive view imaginable.⁵

Significantly, in this vast exploration in time, the editors reserved a prominent place for the early modern era, despite its comparably short duration of “just” three hundred years. Volume 3 of the *World History of Violence* is entirely devoted to it, revealing the era’s status as a formative period to our contemporary attitudes to, and struggles with, violence.⁶ Historians are extremely well-informed about the early modern era due to the emergence of increasingly elaborate and expansive bureaucracies during those centuries. Archives contain an abundance of written documents, which allow for far more meticulous and detailed reconstructions than are possible for earlier periods.

The documents historians have unearthed elucidate the varied scale of early modern violent acts. These reports run the gamut from undirected, low-threshold, and commonplace acts of aggression (such as vandalism)⁷ to targeted, elaborate, large-scale actions (such as massacres).⁸ Evidence suggests that violence equally permeated early modern lives, institutions, and states. While some acts of violence still look very familiar to us, others make clear that mindsets significantly changed over the centuries.⁹ In modern democratic and economically stable societies, for instance, the containment of aggression, the recourse to negotiation, and the search for a balance of interests work jointly to keep outbursts of violence at bay. In sharp contrast, immediacy characterized the early modern world: violence was blunt and often occurred in a face-to-face manner, and whether it erupted spontaneously or as a valve for long-accumulated conflicts, it often got out of hand. Early modern men and women were frequently exposed to violence, and they often acted and reacted violently themselves.

Violence has a “protean wealth of forms” and is characterized by a “chameleon-like change of color,” as a German sociologist once stated;¹⁰ therefore, a phenomenological approach may help identify and categorize types of violence according to their intensity and location in society. The French demographer Jean-Claude Chesnais suggested a simple but useful model. He divided violence “into two categories: interpersonal and collective. Interpersonal violence comprises criminal violence and deviancy which include lethal violence (murder and manslaughter) and non-lethal violence (assault and rape). Collective violence comprises individual and group violence against the state (riots, strikes and revolutions) as well as state violence against the individual (execution, punishment and terror). War is another form of collective violence.”¹¹

According to this scheme, the essays in this collection deal with “state violence against the individual,” or, to be a bit more precise, state violence against its own people, be they individuals or groups. Wherever such state violence occurred in the early modern period, the relationship between ruler and subject, which had always been tense, emerged in its most unvarnished form. Never were subjects more subjected and sovereigns more sovereign than in outbursts of state violence. Such incidents revealed to

early modern men and women that the old feudal bonds of mutual liabilities—if ever they existed in such sublime terms—could indeed be torn apart.

The essays in this collection deal with the Habsburg monarchy, an empire whose involvement in state violence is only rarely scrutinized. While discussions of state violence (such as deportation or penal labor) have a long and vivid tradition among scholars researching the European colonial powers in their first wave of expansion,¹² examining the Habsburg empire for its execution of violence against its own subjects remains highly under-researched. This blind spot, and the absence of its discussion, is astonishing. Admittedly, here and there, Habsburg historians have addressed the crossing of the fine line between legitimate power and excessive violence,¹³ but for the most part, such references remain isolated, selective, and unsystematic. This could be due to Habsburg nostalgia, the lack of easily accessible printed sources, or simply the reluctance to deal with atrocities instead of grandeur. Whatever the cause, the results are the same. Studies of state-imposed or state-executed violence against segments of the Habsburg empire's population are rare.

My contributions aim at filling some of the gaps and thereby enabling historians to paint a more complete overall picture of a vanished empire. All the essays in this collection share a common interest: to understand different forms of state violence in the Habsburg empire and explore the conditions, possibilities, and limits of resistance. The majority of my sources come from the early modern era, though I make a few forays into the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century. Palpable emphasis is put on the eighteenth century, as this was a crucial period for the Habsburg empire and a fascinating age in which excesses of violence met for the first time with massive and elaborate attempts for its containment.

My research interests span a wide range of topics, including the persecution of minority groups, religious politics, population policies, coerced labor, and the abolition of slavery. As such, I have found that the intensity of violent interventions varied according to each case and spanned from harsh forms of marginalization to the physical elimination of individuals or groups. Indeed, everyday harassment of marginalized people in early modernity was the norm, but it was a normality on the edge; it sometimes only took a small incident to turn bullying into systematic and fierce persecution. The state's continuously increasable violence tended to normalize and then solidify violence at a higher level: "At its first eruption, violence is always experienced as unique. If given time and repetition, however, it becomes routine, part of the air, and one learns how to breathe it without being asphyxiated. One no longer seeks to eliminate it, nor even to understand it."¹⁴

Just as state violence occurred in a sequence of intensities, resistance also assumed many different shapes. Revolts, though the extreme, were comparably rare. In consid-

eration of the superior force of the state, the lowly would often directly fight only losing battles. More frequently, subjugated people explored forms of agency which, though not so spectacular, attempted to change the fate imposed on them. Agency did not necessarily lead to open confrontation with the aggressor; sometimes simple avoidance, rather than counterviolence, more effectively ended or mitigated violence.

My interest in state violence is deeply rooted in my early years as a historian: I started as a contemporary historian and published on the Nazi concentration camps and their survivors, the genocide in Rwanda, and the dissolution of Yugoslavia.¹⁵ In the early 2000s, I left the field of contemporary history and switched to the early modern period. But despite this leap back in time, many of my initial research questions still haunted me. The preoccupation with deportations as one central factor in executing state violence was the strongest link that connected the epochs to me. Once I had explored the devastating effects of deportations in the twentieth century, I then wanted to search for its roots. This kind of research was very uncommon among contemporary historians, as most of them took deportation as a genuine phenomenon of the twentieth century and its totalitarianisms.

With my exploration of deportation policies of the early modern period,¹⁶ I opened Pandora's box. Research into deportation practices was soon joined by investigations into various forms of systematic persecution. The groups of affected people grew with the documents I studied: social outcasts, Protestant dissenters, political insurgents, and Gypsies¹⁷—they all turned out to have been heavily targeted by local and regional administrators, state officials, and the changing emperors.

I collected a wide range of evidence, which proved that the Habsburg empire had developed and practiced deportation schemes and persecution methods of its own. While the targets of state violence were both men and women, the sources focus on men, a tendency that I tried to counter wherever a significant involvement of women was traceable. But just writing a victimology would have distorted the picture. I intended to depict historical subjects in the full scope of their actual or potential actions and reactions and not reduce them to unfortunate losers of an abstract process of history. Therefore, I paid special attention to the many acts of resistance I found in the records, ranging from obstruction to shoot-outs. Again, women played an often-underestimated role in these actions, which I tried to emphasize in some of the essays. Thus, not only reports on violence but also resistance to violence permeate this collection.

THE COLLECTION STARTS WITH THREE ESSAYS ON DEPORTATION AND COERCED labor. In part I, chapter 1, "Forgotten Chapters in the History of Violence" presents a European overview on deportation practices; locates the Habsburg empire, albeit with

its lack of overseas territories, within the schemes of the time; and explores its varieties and specifics. Chapter 2, “An Austrian Cayenne,” is an investigation into the coerced labor regimes the Habsburgs developed and institutionalized. For decades, unwanted people were taken to the peripheries of the realm and forced to work. Chapter 3, “Austria’s Penal Colonies,” presents a broad view of internal colonialism, workhouses as total institutions, the idea of the betterment of delinquents through labor, and the accusation of “workshyness.” All of these elements lay the ground for later ideas and practices of the Nazis.

In part II, the second set of essays devotes itself to Protestants who, as soon as the Habsburgs initiated the Counter-Reformation in the seventeenth century, went underground. Chapter 4, “Acting as if in a Republic Already,” depicts their stubborn resistance to state-ordered Catholic mono-confessionality and the movement’s successes and failures. Uprisings and counterinsurgency also background chapter 5, “Writing against Suffocation,” an analysis of Protestant peasants’ letters that are rare documents written by commoners. Chapter 6, “A Tale of Two Cities,” takes us away from the countryside to Baroque Vienna, the “imperial capital and residence city.” In its overwhelmingly Catholic setting, Protestants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries developed unexpected scopes of action and even an ecumenism *avant la lettre*.

In part III, the final group of essays explores the lived experiences of Gypsies in the Habsburg empire whose fortunes are extremely under-researched. Together with Jewish communities, Gypsies were arguably the most radical outsiders in the early modern Habsburg empire. Chapter 7, “Giving Short Shrift by Flogging, Hanging, and Beheading,” looks at a specific Gypsy trial as the starting point for an introduction into early modern Gypsy life. Chapter 8, “The Enemy Within,” explores the absurdities of the authorities’ accusations, restrictions, and persecutions, while chapter 9, “From Poisoned Pens to Procedural Justice,” searches for Gypsy agency and strategies of resistance. Chapter 10, “Out of the Past,” depicts, for the first time in detail, an almost completely forgotten act of abolition of slavery. In the last decades of the eighteenth century, the Habsburg empire willy-nilly initiated and executed a liberation movement unique in world history.

The three sets of essays are completed in part IV by chapter 11, “There Is No Meaning with a Capital ‘M,’” a conversation with Carlo Ginzburg, one of the most influential historians of the last decades. Apart from an attempt to portray Ginzburg and his lifetime achievements from an unusual angle, the talk takes up many of the methodological questions and research topics that haunt the preceding chapters: the use of archival sources as the backbone for writing a *different kind of history*, the advantages and disadvantages of micro-history, the seemingly peripheral and marginal as testing grounds for larger movements like the Enlightenment or modernization, and the interest in the agency and resistance of commoners.

AS THE SUBJECTS OF MY ESSAYS VARY, SO DOES METHODOLOGY. SOME ESSAYS ARE written with a macro-historical approach, others with a micro-historical perspective, but quite often a combination of both define a particular piece. For me, these two perspectives are not in conflict, but have the potential to complement each other. For an adequate depth of field, one must wear the right glasses for the right point of inquiry. My essays do not attempt to play subjective experiences and world-historical developments against each other, but to fruitfully illuminate both. Even those essays on the scale of a village or individual are not primarily intended as works of local history or reports of a person's fate. I did not study villages, but studied *in* villages, as Clifford Geertz once put it.¹⁸ To say it slightly differently, my search was “not for details *in* the whole, but details *of* the whole.”¹⁹ Fortunately, over the last few decades the ideological battle over the “correct” methodological approach has lessened its grip and given way to a plurality of options, all of which I deem useful as long as they serve the purpose of solving a specific problem.

Many of the studies presented in this book are located in rather remote areas (Carinthia) or peripheral zones of the Habsburg empire (Banat, Transylvania, and Bukovina). Border regions, fringes, and new acquisitions often turned out to be the testing grounds for novel forms of surveillance and violence.

This book is also a plea for research that surpasses the compilation and reinterpretation of printed sources and instead sets its focus on hitherto unearthed source material. The Habsburg empire was a “conglomerate state” (or a “ragtag state,” as a more critical voice once called it)²⁰ (see figure 0.2 on the following page) and therefore the documents I studied came from a variety of regions spanning half of Europe. The archives of the Habsburg empire abound with such documents, and I tried to explore them in its many successor states. Apart from Austrian and German archives, those in Ukraine, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, and Serbia were the treasure troves for my undertakings. Even though going *ad fontes* can at times also be exhausting, it is still among the most intriguing and gratifying challenges for a historian. It is certainly the only way to guarantee a fresh look at old questions and to sharpen the view for new ones.

THE HYDRA IN THE BOOK TITLE STANDS AS A METAPHOR FOR VIOLENCE. THE HYDRA is many-headed, just as violence appears in a variety of manifestations. Facing the hydra provokes resistance, but smashing its heads does not resolve the menace. Instead, the hydra reduplicates with every effort to get rid of it. Examples in this book show how state violence had an intrinsic tendency to expand, even if resistance sought mitigation. Only time will tell if our late modernity has indeed confronted our hydra.

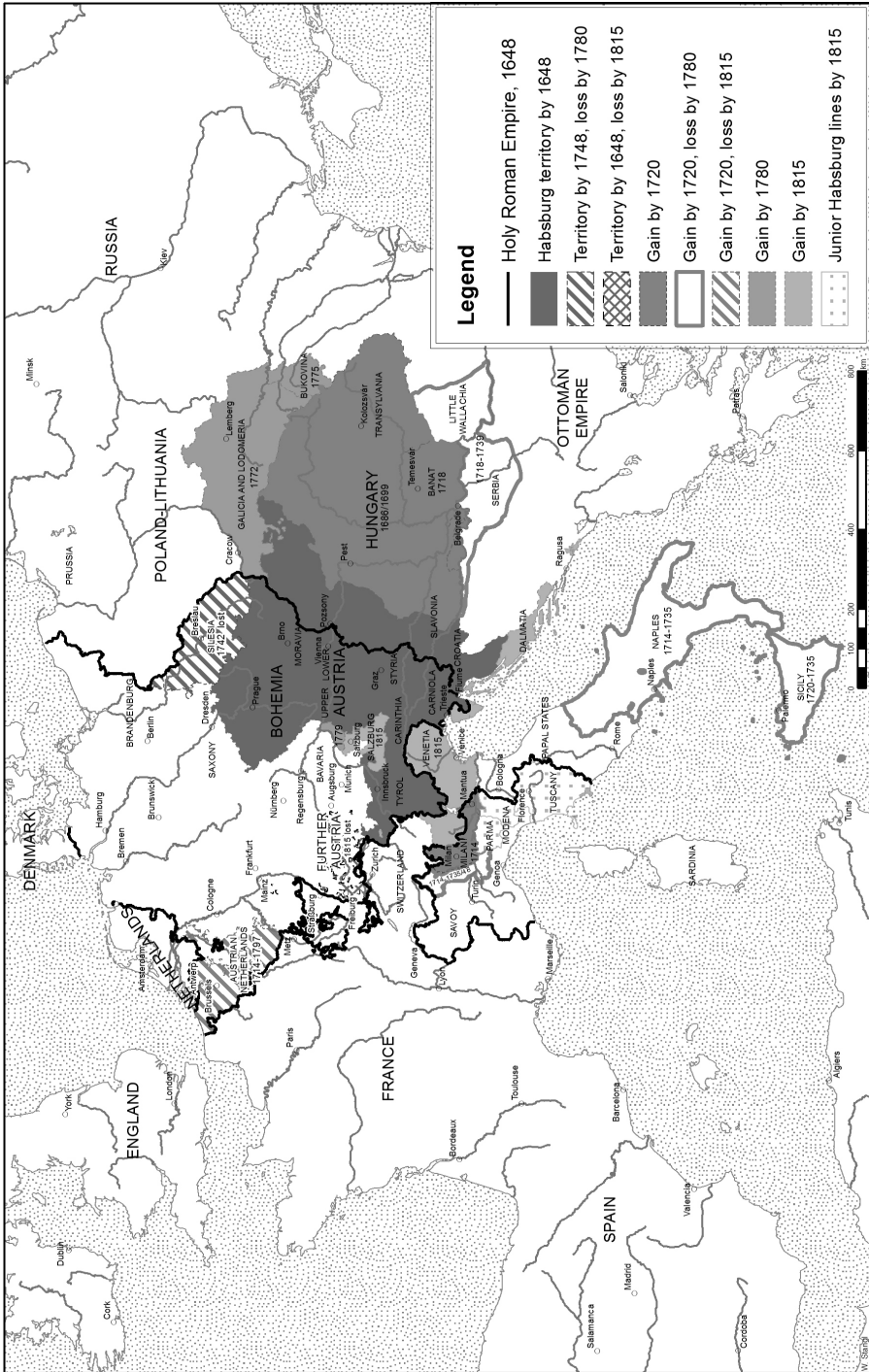


Figure 0.2 Map of the Habsburg Empire, 1648–1815. (Source: William D. Godsey, *The Sineus of Habsburg Power: Lower Austria in a Fiscal-Military State 1650–1820*, 22. Reproduced with kind permission from the author and the cartographer Werner Stangl.)

GLOSSARY

AUSTRIAN HEREDITARY LANDS (ÖSTERREICHISCHE ERBLANDE) Although the term “Austria” and its derivations for Habsburg territories and rulers (for instance, as “House of Austria”) were common in the early modern period, I generally prefer to talk about the “Habsburg empire” or the “Habsburg Monarchy.” Confusions with post-1918 Austria are thus avoided. One exception from this rule is the term “Austrian hereditary lands,” which I use frequently. This is a clearly defined conglomerate of counties and duchies, where Habsburg power originated in the Middle Ages and where the Habsburgs held it by inheritance and not election. These lands consisted mainly of Austria above and below the River Enns, Styria, Carinthia, Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Vorderösterreich (mostly in today’s Germany), Carniola (with attached parts in Istria), as well as territories in the vicinity of Gorizia and Trieste.

EMPEROR CHARLES VI (1685–1740, R. 1711–1740) He was the father of Maria Theresa and spent half his lifetime convincing other European powers to accept his designated female successor. Some of my essays address him in his self-shaped role as king of Spain, in which he more correctly, but confusingly, has to be addressed as Charles III.

“EMPRESS” MARIA THERESA (1717–1780, R. 1740–1780) Despite all the treaties her father had arranged, Maria Theresa had to fight the War of the Austrian Succession from 1740 to 1748 to retain control of her territories. On several occasions, my essays address Maria Theresa as “empress.” Although this appellation is common and corresponds with her factual powers, it is not exact. Not Maria Theresa but her husband Franz Stephan (as Francis I) and later her son Joseph II bore the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. Formally, Maria Theresa was “empress” only as the wife and later the widow of her husband. Therefore, historians sometimes (quite awkwardly) address her as “empress-queen” (*Kaiserin-Königin*). Regardless of such quarrels about her correct title, in her lifetime she certainly was “the Habsburg’s most powerful woman.”¹

EMPEROR JOSEPH II (1741–1790, R. 1765–1790) He was the son of Maria Theresa and from 1765 to 1780 played the role of “co-regent” of his mother. He was an ambitious and engaged monarch and the epitome of an enlightened ruler. He implemented monumental, top-down reforms and often came into conflict even with those subjects that he intended to alleviate from burdens.

GYPSY/GYPSIES According to the many languages spoken in the Habsburg empire, we find the term *Gypsy* in a variety of forms in the records: as *Zigeuner* in German,

Zingani in Latin, *Cikáni* in Czech, *Cigány* in Hungarian, and many more variations (all possibly derived from a medieval Greek sect called *Athínganoi*). As an English equivalent, I chose the term *Gypsy* (corrupted from *Egyptian*), which historically shares a similar timbre. All these denominations are problematic, as they are exonyms, which the majority population exceedingly used with pejorative or exoticizing intent. In the twentieth century, political activists suggested replacing the manifold of burdened expressions with *Rom* (sing. male), *Roma* (pl. male), *Romni* (sing. female), and *Romnija* (pl. female) as a (sometimes also disputed) common denominator for many subgroups within the community. This practice has been widely followed, at least in official language and in most academic disciplines. But what befits the sociologists, anthropologists, musicologists, linguists, etc., does not really match the requirements for an adequate historical appellation. Politically correct terms of today, anachronistically applied to an early modern setting, instead of unveiling historical realities rather tend to obfuscate them. Addressing *Gypsies* of the past as *Romanis* would bring an air of human rights, equality, and citizenship into constellations that in fact were inherently exclusive, and more often than not relentless and brutal. Therefore, I chose to stick to the term *Gypsy* (with a capital “G” as a reminder that it is individuals that are portrayed and not a feature or lifestyle). Each time the term *Gypsies* is first mentioned in the respective essays of this collection it is followed by an endnote that points to the explanation given here. Current phenomena (like “Romani studies” as a research field) are, as a matter of course, addressed in the contemporary proper ways. I would also like the reader to keep in mind that early modern Gypsy groups did not necessarily share a common ancestral background in India but were often groups of mixed ethnic origin.

HABSBURG MONARCHY AND HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE Over the course of the early modern period, significant territorial gains transformed the Habsburg rulers from regional authorities into a European power. After the death of King Louis II in the battle of Mohács in 1526, the Habsburgs, in addition to controlling their hereditary lands in Austria, also became rulers in Bohemia, Croatia, and Hungary. They soon lost the biggest parts of Hungary to the Ottomans, but by the turn of the seventeenth century they had reconquered them and the Habsburg Empire became a major player in European affairs (see figure 0.2). The Habsburg monarchy and the Holy Roman Empire were—although for most of the early modern period represented by the same person as their ruler—politically two different entities. Rather confusingly, *parts* of the Habsburg monarchy nevertheless were also among the building blocks of the Holy Roman Empire (see figure 0.2). Politically, the role of the Habsburg rulers as both the highest representatives of the Habsburg monarchy and the Holy Roman Empire was very different and sometimes even contradictory.²

ABBREVIATIONS

Archives and Libraries

- AFSt/H** Halle an der Saale, Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle (Archive of the Francke Foundations)
- ANK** Krakow, Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (National Archives in Krakow)
- APW** Wrocław, Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu (State Archive in Wrocław)
- AVA** Vienna, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (General Administration Archive)
- FHKA** Vienna, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (Archive of the Ministry of Finances and the Aulic Chancellery)
- HHSTA** Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (House, Court and State Archives)
- HStA** Dresden, Hauptstaatsarchiv (Main State Archive)
- IAB** Belgrade, Историјски архив Београда (Historical Archive Belgrade)
- KLA** Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv (Carinthian Provincial Archive)
- MNL – OL** Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár – Országos Levéltára (Hungarian National Archive – State Archive)
- MZAB** Brno, Moravský zemský archiv v Brně (Moravian Provincial Archive in Brno)
- NA** Prague, Národní archiv (National Archives)
- ÖSTA** Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (Austrian State Archives)
- SACO** Chernivtsi, Державний архів Чернівецької області (State Archives of Chernivtsi Oblast)
- SBB** Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (State library Berlin)
- SOAO** Olomouc, Státní okresní archiv Olomouc (State District Archive Olomouc)
- StLA** Graz, Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv (Styrian Provincial Archive)
- SUB** Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky (State and University Library Carl von Ossietzky)
- ZAO** Opava, Zemský archiv v Opavě (Provincial Archive in Opava)

Subunits in Archives

- BA** Banater Akten (Records of the Banat)
- GV** Geschichtsverein (Records of the Historical Association)
- IÖ Reg.** Innerösterreichische Regierung (Inner Austrian Government)
- Ital. Depart.** Italienisches Departement (Italian Department)
- Kaale** Kamerale (Treasury)
- NHK** Neue Hofkammer (New Court Chamber)

General Abbreviations

- Abt.** Abteilung (section)
col. column
fol. folium (sheet counting in manuscripts)
Hs. Handschrift (manuscript)
inv. nr. Inventory number
N. first name unknown
N. N. nomen nescio (name unknown)
pag. pagina (page counting in manuscripts)
^r recto (front side of a sheet)
^v verso (back side of a sheet)

PART I

The Conundrum
of Deportation and
Coerced Labor

1

FORGOTTEN CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF VIOLENCE

Deportation in the Early Modern Habsburg Empire and Its European Surroundings

IN HIS POSTHUMOUS BOOK *THE HISTORIAN'S CRAFT*, MARC BLOCH, ONE OF THE founding fathers of the Annales school, expressed a haunting thought. Historical understanding, he claimed, was more than a one-way street that simply led from past to present. To explore history's full potentials, Bloch suggested moving back and forth on the time axis, so that separated epochs would not become alienated or lose sight of each other. In a subchapter titled "Understanding the Past by the Present," Bloch further stated that a "solidarity of the ages is so effective that the lines of connection work both ways. Misunderstanding of the present is the inevitable consequence of ignorance of the past. But a man may wear himself out just as fruitlessly in seeking to understand the past, if he is totally ignorant of the present."¹

To elaborate on Marc Bloch's challenge, forced relocations are a perfect object of study. They are a classical *longue durée* that can be investigated at many different geographical regions across the centuries, and they are likewise a part of our immediate present. Because the practice of forced relocations has never been given up during some sort of "process of civilization," it still surrounds and affects us here and now. Wherever we look, as Daniel Kanstroom has written, we see contemporary deportation nations attempt to control and halt immigrant workers and asylum seekers.² The exercise of shifting unwelcome people is not at all restricted to authoritarian regimes; it can also be part of democratic decision-making. Examples are not hard to find, be they the regime at the Mexican American border, the "pushbacks" of migrants on the Balkans, or the removals of Roma (often pejoratively called "Gypsies"³) that frequently happen all over Europe.

Forced relocations appear in many different forms, and their most violent is deportation. Deportations, both historical and contemporary, provide disturbing insights into extremely harsh ways of executing state control over individuals. To understand the specificities of this particular type of violence, it is useful to draw on a phenomenological model that Jan Philipp Reemtsma has proposed. In his study *Trust and Violence*, the German sociologist puts the human body at the center of his considerations. Regarding forcible relocations, he sees two different patterns at work: “The body can be an entity to be eliminated (what I’ll call dislocative violence) or to be incarcerated (what I’ll call captive violence). In the dislocative act of violence, the body is an obstacle that must disappear. How it disappears is unimportant. It can be pushed to the side or killed, driven by threats to disappear ‘on its own,’ or injured to prevent resistance. The purpose of captive violence is to keep a body in a designated place.”⁴ With deportations, as we will see, both dislocative and captive violence are in play. At the extreme, violent state intervention transforms bodies into human cargo, a process which puts a drastic end to basic freedoms: a deportee is no longer free to decide about his whereabouts, a detainee loses her freedom of movement.

Violence in connection with forced relocations almost always comes to its victims as a shock that overwhelms them and paralyzes resistance. Solzhenitsyn wrote that a “person who is not inwardly prepared for the use of violence against him is always weaker than the person committing the violence.”⁵ This statement is not only true concerning the twentieth century; it applies to the early modern period as well.

DEFINITION OF EARLY MODERN DEPORTATIONS

This chapter is about deportations as the strictest form of forced relocation. In the framework of the early modern period, deportations are defined as forced departures of a selected population group which are ordered by the government and executed according to a plan, and which move people from Place A to Place B under military escort or another type of guard. Deported people are not permitted to leave the new place of settlement. Rarely, they may leave for a clearly defined period, but often they must remain for the duration of their lives and under threat of punishment. These measures may serve as atonement for actual, perceived, or even invented crimes; sometimes they also serve the purpose of removing unwanted elements of the population or supporting efforts of colonization. In many cases, all three motives are combined.⁶

Early modern deportations must be distinguished from emigrations, expulsions, and refugee movements, either forced or voluntary. They may appear similar in form, but they differ from deportations in the following aspect: in the case of deportations,

extensive control over the removed subjects is maintained even in the place of resettlement, whereas in the case of other measures, the departing groups are at liberty to act—or at least have the possibility of acting—independently once they have crossed the territorial border.

Dislocation is the essence of early modern deportations; detention is just an extra option. Also, coerced labor is not necessarily linked with deportation, but the two often merge, especially when criminals or socially marginalized groups are targeted and some kind of penal colony becomes the destination for such outcasts. Spaces of detention are always segregated from “normal life,” but this segregation is not necessarily in remote places like far-off camps, islands, or inaccessible bays. Fortress detention or workhouse labor, for instance, quite often took place next to free people’s dwellings. In other words, in the case of deportation, people are always moved away from their home, but not always to isolated places.

THE IDEOLOGICAL SUPERSTRUCTURE: POPULATION DOCTRINE

Deportations have their roots in antiquity and the Middle Ages, but in these epochs, they were occasion-related actions and thus quite limited, even if sometimes spectacular.⁷ In contrast, deportations as defined above were a specific product of the early modern era, in which they were systematized for the first time. *Occasional* acts of deportations now turned into *continuous* ones that also involved much greater numbers of people than ever before. Prerequisites for these developments were standing armies, which allowed an effective guard of the treks of deportees, and more and more refined bureaucratic techniques that rendered possible the logistics of the transports and the resettlement of the deported.

Both voluntary and involuntary population shifts had a common theoretical background in an elaborate “populationism” (*Populationistik*), a population doctrine which since the second half of the seventeenth century enriched the views of mercantilism with a special facet. The basic assumption of the populationists was that the wealth of states derived from the largest possible number of people living within their borders. In this scheme, the state’s obligation was not only to maintain a stable quantity of subjects but to continuously increase their numbers.

Such theoretical pondering shaped the dislocative practices of the time. According to the populationist framework, resettlement was to be limited to the state territory (including possible colonies); expulsion or enforced emigration had to be avoided at all costs. Depopulation was the *horror vacui* of the populationists.⁸ English economists like William Petty (1623–1687), Josiah Child (1630–1699), Nicholas Barbon (ca.

1640–ca. 1698) or Charles Davenant (1656–1714) were the first to take such stands with great verve and with lasting consequences on policy-making. Variants of their views permeated the early modern period until they were eventually given up over the course of the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1798, Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1834) put a definite end to the long farewell to populationism, when in his *Essay on the Principle of Population* he presented a carefully thought-out counter-model. The one-dimensional call for the largest possible numbers of people, in Malthus's theory, resembled more of a problem than a solution. From this moment on, population doctrine gave way to demography in the modern sense of the word.⁹

The rise of populationism came at exactly the right time for the Habsburg empire. From the 1690s on, it recaptured vast territories that had been lost to the Ottomans for one and a half centuries. Thus, it constantly gained ground in Hungary and the south-east, where many a region lay completely devastated by long and intense shooting wars. When the repopulation of these zones became the order of the day, the concepts of populationism already existed as inspiration.

In the Habsburg empire, a considerable number of important economists of the seventeenth century lay the ground for “mercantilism” and “populationism.”¹⁰ Philipp Wilhelm von Hörnigk, for instance, promised a glorious future for the empire, if only it vigorously adopted the new principles: the title of one of his books, *Austria above All, if It Only Wants* (1684), was programmatic and immediately gained a proverbial status.¹¹ Under the pressing circumstances of repopulation in the southeast, it was only a matter of time to make the paper tiger of an Austrian “populationism” leap toward practical realizations. In the eighteenth century, Habsburg decision makers adopted it as a kind of philosopher's stone that they considered also practically viable.¹²

By creating new taxpayers, the Habsburg state intended to squeeze as much profit from the new development zones as possible. In contrast to other great powers like England or France, where populationists always had to respect colonial interests, the Habsburg empire as a state with no colonies was freed from any such considerations. With this background, governors got to their “populating works” (*Impopulationswerk*) with great exertion and dogged persistence. In Transylvania and the Banat of Timișoara,¹³ they worked on all kinds of projects that often oscillated between utopian experiments and petty-minded banalities (see chapters 2 and 3).

EUROPEAN DEPORTATION FRENZY

After tentative outset in the very late Middle Ages, deportations in a modern spirit were soon deployed all over Europe. Outlining this framework will help to locate the Habsburg empire's position as a latecomer in this venture.

At the very start of European expansion, Portugal became a groundbreaker for deportation. After the conquest of the North African peninsula of Ceuta in 1415, the Portuguese king dispatched not only administrators and colonists but also convicts to settle this strip of land.¹⁴ Punishment by deportation, or, as one may alternatively put it, deportation as punishment, was revolutionary at the time, but over the decades it became institutionalized. Deportees, euphemistically called *degredados* (“exiles”), were soon to be found in Tangier and on the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe. With the steady growth of the Portuguese empire, new key destinations emerged: Brazil, southern Africa (especially Angola and Mozambique), and India (especially Goa). Also, the spectrum of deportees broadened: not only convicts but also Jews, New Christians (forcefully Christianized Jews), Gypsies, and lepers were subjected to deportation. Not always were the overseas destination points the final stop for the deportees; quite a number of them got shifted back and forth within the three regions of Portuguese possessions in South America, southern Africa, and India.¹⁵ Between 1550 and 1755, the estimated number of *degredados* included fifty thousand people; for the second half of the eighteenth century, it is supposed to have been even higher.

While Spain’s *Siglo de Oro*, in general, was marked by monetary and cultural prosperity, one of its downsides became apparent in two vast waves of deportations that attacked and finally eliminated a whole segment of the population, the Moriscos. Moriscos were a huge group of former Muslims who after the successful *Reconquista* were forcibly Christianized and, sometimes rightly and sometimes wrongly, suspected of secretly keeping to their old faith. On this basis, an atmosphere of mistrust and aggression built up in the majority society that finally culminated in deportations. In 1570, 46,000 Moriscos were dispersed all over Spain—an internal deportation, which was a total assault on Moriscos’ traditional communities and lifestyles. But this was only the beginning: in an even bigger effort between 1609 and 1614, 275,000 Moriscos were deported—an almost surreal number—mainly to North Africa.¹⁶

As early as the sixteenth century, France tentatively experimented with deportations to Canada and Brazil. At first, smaller groups of delinquents were targeted, but with the rise, persecution, and punishment of religious dissent over the course of the seventeenth century, deportations were installed on a much bigger scale. Between 1686 and 1688, 430 Huguenots were shipped to the West Indies and, due to the harsh conditions prevailing, died at a rate exceeding 25 percent.¹⁷ One and a half decades later, another group of riotous Protestants, the Camisards, got deported to Roussillon, from where the sturdiest were then sent out on Spanish galleys or on to Newfoundland.¹⁸ About the same time, France attempted to give fresh impetus to the sluggish peopling of the colony of Louisiana: between 1716 and 1720, a variety of deportees—salt smugglers, prostitutes, deserters, criminals, and vagrants—despite their deviant records, were from a demographical viewpoint seen as a welcome influx.¹⁹

The origins of English deportation practices can be traced back to the beginning of the sixteenth century.²⁰ Usually termed “transportation,” the system developed from harsh measures directed against the impoverished and the homeless class, the “masterless men.”²¹ It is unclear whether the deportation sentence provided against them in a legal act of 1597 was indeed executed, but in the first heyday of English colonialism it definitely became an aggressive means of coercive resettlement policies in the Caribbean. New insubordinate elements of the population were included in the deportation schemes, and with the Transportation Act of 1717, a new and decisive phase of deportations began. The American colonies seemed a perfect place for experimentation, and approximately fifty thousand convicts got deported there.²² When the American Revolutionary War put an end to this practice, the British directed all their deportation efforts toward Australia. This new destination was soon dreaded for its brutish living conditions.²³

From the seventeenth century on, the Netherlands engaged in colonization projects that were at least partly based on deportations.²⁴ The Dutch established a range of penal institutions in newly acquired overseas territories in South Africa, Indonesia, and Ceylon; in this context, deportees became an important workforce. Exceptionally brutal cases of resettlement characterized the Dutch advance into the Indonesian region. Especially in the Moluccas, which were highly prized for their spices,²⁵ population politics were one means for optimizing the extraction of wealth. In 1656, the Dutch in one fell swoop deported twelve thousand inhabitants of the island of Seram. They were in permanent conflict with the Dutch East India Company and for this reason collectively taken to the neighboring island of Ambon.²⁶ In the second half of the seventeenth century a steadily growing number of penal colonies received delinquents from all over the Dutch Empire: “The Cape Colony, along with the Dutch settlement in Ceylon, became a sort of Botany Bay to which the undesirables of Batavia, vagrants and felons of Chinese as well as Indian and Javanese stock, were transported.”²⁷

In Russia, a *ukase* (proclamation of the tsar) of 1532 created the legal framework for deportations. Initially just one punitive measure in a spectrum of sanctions against lawbreakers or dissenters, deportation over time gained a central role in Russia’s advance into the East. Deportation, banishment (*ssylka*), and forced labor (*katorga*) intertwined uniquely and flooded Siberia with educated and uneducated people from all societal ranks. Some were actual delinquents; others, deviants; and still others, rioters or disgraced noblemen. As varied as the characters of these deportees were, so too were their afterlives. If they had bureaucratic skills at command they were often given administrative positions in Siberia, and quite ironically worked for the same government which had deported them. In this case, the punitive character of their stay in Siberia blurred, as persons who supposedly could not be imposed on the rest of the Russian society

were in the tsar or tsaritsa's service in the East. Nevertheless, the system paid off: the final integration of Siberia into the Russian Empire was at least partially a result of it.²⁸

The Ottomans, as half-European, half-Asian players, developed and extensively practiced a distinct deportation system that is known as the *sürgün* method. *Sürgün* is a euphemistic term meaning both "exiled person(s)" and the "situation of exile." Massive long-distance relocations were its trademarks: great numbers of both nomads and peasants²⁹ were shifted from Anatolia into the Balkans, within the Balkans itself, and from the Balkans to Istanbul and Anatolia.³⁰ *Sürgün* had punitive aspects³¹ but was also intended to immobilize people and put them to unfree work. Its aim was "to settle and develop a region badly ravaged by battle and pillage, or to undermine local authorities and aristocratic cliques in recently conquered areas. [...] Their common denominator was the transformation of towns and districts important for the security and economy of the empire from unreliable cities and outposts into controlled regions of economic utility."³²

The cases of deportations listed above are merely a rough selection from numerous other cases that also deserve attention. Yet even this sketchy overview shows that an overwhelming majority of European states engaged in deportations. In fact, they were so ubiquitous that even minor players in the world of states like Denmark-Norway or Switzerland had short periods in which they experimented with them.³³ One could well and truly call it a "deportation frenzy" that caught the continent in the early modern period. And if the "peopling" of colonies was involved, the various states that implemented deportations obviously intended to kill many birds with one stone: to remove criminals to the peripheries; to relieve pressure on the jails and workhouses of the motherland; to convert the increasingly unpopular death sentences into punishment by relocation; to offer delinquents a second chance; and to provide cheap and inexhaustible "human material" even for the most remote corners of the empires. Although this seemed like a master plan, the supposed win-win situation in most cases never came true. Instead, a brutalization of the respective societies took place: the executioners of the deportation plans often acted with reckless disregard for the loss of human lives, families were ripped apart, and humiliation and mistreatment were rife. Deportations then and now have the potential to turn societies into "persecuting societies,"³⁴ in which moral minima tend to disappear.

In light of Marc Bloch's suggestion, it is particularly interesting to realize how long-lasting and epoch-spanning many of the deportation systems were that the early modern European world gave rise to: Britain's penal colonies in Australia existed until well into the second half of the nineteenth century; France closed its penal colony in Cayenne as late as 1946;³⁵ the Portuguese *degredado* system was only abolished in 1954;³⁶ and Robben Island near Cape Town was a place of detention that the Dutch passed to the British until it was finally used by the South African apartheid regime for the very

same purpose.³⁷ Also, the Russian *ssylka* and *katorga* methods quite seamlessly transformed from tsarist means of punishment and repression into the world of the Soviet gulags. All these examples provide striking evidence that deportation and the circumstances that surround it are exemplary *longue durée* phenomena. It seems that certain forms of extreme violence, once released into this world, simply cannot be “taken back,” but remain pending as a permanent threat to its victims.

THE HABSBURG EMPIRE AS A NEWCOMER

While most European states established deportation practices from the sixteenth century on, the Habsburg empire only fully joined them in the eighteenth, at the height of its territorial expansion. As a newcomer, it naturally kept watch on how its rivals had already implemented deportations. Nevertheless, they did not turn into simple copyists, but blended observations and experience from the outside world with populationist traditions of their own.

Some evidence indicates a “Spanish connection.” Until 1713, Spain was ruled by one line of the Habsburgs and, excluding permanent intermarriages, the two branches of the family were in constant exchange with each other.³⁸ Therefore, the spectacular solution of the “Morisco problem” in Spain would also likely have served as illustrative material for similar actions on the Austrian side. Following this assumption, it might be telling that the deportation of the Moriscos has stunning proximity to the only seventeenth-century Austrian deportation experiment. Only five years after the last Moriscos were transported from Spain, Austria, at the behest of Venice, relocated pirate-mercenaries (the so-called *Uskoks*), who were subjects of the Habsburgs, from the Mediterranean to the Croatian hinterland.³⁹

William O’Reilly claimed that Charles VI “administered his European lands as if they were his Spanish lands,”⁴⁰ and it is assumable that this is also true in the case of deportations. After the loss in the War of Succession (1701–1714), a considerable Spanish entourage followed Charles VI to Vienna. There, some members of the entourage occupied important administrative posts, especially in the Spanish Council, in which they were in charge of what was left from the Spanish inheritance (Naples, Milano, Sardinia, and, later instead of it, Sicily).⁴¹ It is quite likely that these bureaucrats, among other specializations, also brought some kind of “expert knowledge” about deportations with them.

Be these “Spanish connections” or not, the Habsburg empire unleashed deportations in earnest in the 1730s, a practice which continued for half a century. Leaving aside all the smaller incidences, five major cases are listed here according to the timeline of their occurrence:

1. From 1734 to 1737, Emperor Charles VI started with the first wave of “transmigrations” (*Transmigrationen*), over the course of which Protestant farmers, artisans, and miners from the Austrian hereditary lands⁴² got transported to Transylvania. As this harsh state intervention did not eradicate Protestantism, Empress Maria Theresa gave it a second and a third try, renewing the transmigration system from 1752 to 1757 and then again from 1773 to 1776. A total of nearly four thousand people were deported.⁴³ Chapters 4 and 5 of this book deal with aspects of their fortunes in detail.
2. In 1735 and 1736, ca. six hundred Spaniards⁴⁴ (from the entourage mentioned earlier) were deported from Vienna—an exceptionally strange case. The authorities called these Spaniards “pensioners” because they drew a jobless income from revenues generated in the already mentioned Italian states. When in the 1730s these countries were lost, the Habsburgs were unwilling to support the Spaniards from their own pockets. They shipped the pensioners to the Banat of Timișoara and expected them to engage in sericulture. A city called Carlogaben (meaning: “a city donated by Charles VI”) was planned and partly erected for them, but the whole endeavor disastrously failed due to misjudgments on the side of the authorities: none of the Spaniards wanted to work outside of their qualifications and engage in sericulture.⁴⁵
3. The *Temeswarer Wasserschub*, a removal mainly by ship to Timișoara, was the longest-lasting deportation of all time in central Europe. Between 1744 and 1768, people classified as social misfits became the targets of a state doctrine that wanted to see the streets of Vienna swept clean of “women of bad repute,” prostitutes, drunkards, adulterers, beggars, homeless, and idlers. Twice a year the authorities herded them onto boats and took them down the Danube River into the Banat of Timișoara. There they were either put into the local penitentiary and workhouse or else compelled to work as domestic servants. Chapter 2 focuses on this group of approximately 3,200 people.
4. The deportation of the *Salpeterer* from the Black Forest to the Banat in 1755 and the punishment of Croatian and Slavonic rebels in the same year can both be viewed under a common category. Although not connected, both groups of deportees stubbornly fought for “old rights,” privileges that the authorities in the name of modernization attempted to rescind. The defense of “old rights” was a question not only of money but also of honor. With these two components equally in play, the fight between the authorities and the traditionalists was bound to occur. It ended in deportations involving close to two hundred people.⁴⁶
5. From a structural point of view, the deportation of Moravian Protestants in 1777 and that of the so-called Bohemian Deists in 1783 can also be grouped together. Both were acts of well-nigh grotesque religious persecution at a time when the

idea of tolerance was already permeating society. In the Moravian case, ex-Jesuits (their order had been abrogated in 1773) spread a fatal rumor about religious freedoms. They promised the prospect of tolerance for those Protestants who put their names on a list and thus made their beliefs public. But instead of recognition, Maria Theresa had them deported to Hungarian mining towns. Even more absurd appears the action against the Deists, highly heterodox sectarians, whose creed combined Anabaptist, Jewish, and pantheistic elements. They erroneously believed that their mixed religion would come within the Patent of Religious Tolerance of 1781, but they soon realized this was not the case. Emperor Joseph II subsequently tried to convince them simply to align themselves with either Protestantism or Judaism, both of which fell under the protection of the patent. But the Deists did not intend to abstain from their beliefs and their stubbornness exasperated the enlightened emperor—otherwise a strong advocate *against* deportations—so much that he, in only this instance, also resorted to deportations.⁴⁷ The number of Moravian together with Bohemian deportees may have come close to two hundred persons.

All these deportations have antecedents and post-histories of their own that also deserve attention because they complete the picture and reveal the full extent of violence involved. Chapters 4 and 5 elaborate on this aspect in detail. Generally speaking, deportations were often preceded by a climate of extreme tension, which tempted bureaucrats to transgress moral, legal, or simply humanitarian boundaries. Snowball effects that were hard to predict and most often came as a surprise to all parties further added the potential for violence on both sides. Before a removal itself, most delinquents were brought to disciplining or correctional institutions such as prisons, workhouses, or mission houses (*Konversionshäuser*)⁴⁸ as collection points for the transports. These well-guarded places of detention facilitated logistics and guaranteed that people, once locked up, could not flee in advance of their deportation. A practice like the *Temeswarer Wasserschub*, with a clocked rhythm of fixed summer and autumn departures, would have been difficult to execute if the authorities had only relied on deportees showing up voluntarily.

If a “thick description” of what happened is intended, then the afterlife of deportees also has to be part of the reconstruction of events.⁴⁹ Afterlives provide insights into a variety of deportation outcomes that largely depended on the competence of local bureaucrats. Whether deportees ended up on the street upon arrival or were allotted accommodation, whether they languished in prisons or were given a second chance, and whether they survived or died all hinged on the attentiveness and assertiveness of governors, administrators, mayors, and allotment commissaries on the spot.

THE HABSBURG EMPIRE IN A EUROPEAN RANKING

According to specific historical and geographical realities, the European deportation systems unfolded in many varieties. Their essence, however—a novel combination of some sort of population doctrines (be they populationist or not) and punishment—was a shared one. This circumstance makes measures and numbers comparable, at least in principle. The details of such a comparison remain problematic though, because of the many different ways numerical data were categorized both within the Habsburg empire and across Europe. Although much data exists from the eighteenth century, it is difficult to determine what items can or should be compared. For example, can we consider “transmigrants” in Transylvania just like any other delinquents, although their “crimes” consisted of no more than a forbidden faith? Or do the women, who were forced into domestic service in the Banat, belong to the same category as “indentured servants” in the English/American context? Comparisons are difficult if drawn from a microscopic perspective. Things that appear similar on the surface can be quite different in detail, and things that seem categorically separated at first glance sometimes turn out to be nearly identical. Nevertheless, if one does want to quantify, all deportees of the Habsburg realm, regardless of any specificities, should be included for pragmatic reasons, and they should be considered quasi deported prisoners because this is the main feature they shared with comparable international groups: they were all treated perhaps not *as* prisoners but certainly *like* prisoners.

Over the course of the early modern period, European bureaucracies became more refined, which also means the number of deportees was increasingly better documented. As the eighteenth century advanced, the figures given became more trustworthy. Due to the data sets available, the period from 1700 to 1760 seems best suited for comparison (see table 1.1).

TABLE 1.1 Approximate numbers of deported prisoners
from European countries, 1700–1760

COUNTRY	DEPORTEES
England	38,000
Portugal	12,000
Spain	6,000
France	5,500

Source: Eltis, “Migrations,” 74.

TABLE 1.2 Approximate numbers of deportees
in the Habsburg empire, 1700–1760

GROUP	DEPORTEES
Spanish pensioners	ca. 600
Transmigrations	ca. 3,500
<i>Temeswarer Wasserschub</i>	ca. 3,200
Various political insurgents	ca. 200
Total	ca. 7,500

Sources: Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ital. Depart. rote Nr. 203 (19331), fol. 641–52 Report June 12, 1736; Buchinger, *Landler*, 115, 139, and 427; Schünemann, *Bevölkerungspolitik*, 78; Steiner, *Rückkehr*, 439 and 457.

In exactly the same time frame, the Habsburg empire deported the numbers shown in table 1.2.

Because these charts are restricted to a time frame that provides comparable data, the cases of the Uskoks, Moravians, Deists, and transmigrants of the 1770s are not included. But even with these restrictions, the numbers clearly indicate that the Habsburg monarchy also played a numerically significant role in the European context.

THE FEATURES OF DEPORTATIONS IN THE HABSBURG EMPIRE

On Habsburg soil, the eighteenth century was *the* century of deportations. As we have seen, the reasons were manifold and the affected groups of people heterogeneous, and the locations of the events covered almost the entire Habsburg territory. Some lists of the deported tell their birthplace and thus document that they hailed from half of Europe, including Brussels, Ljubljana, Speyer, Wrocław, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Italy, Croatia, Slavonia, and of course from the Austrian hereditary lands.⁵⁰ Religious dissidence, political insurrection, social deviance, incorrigible stubbornness, and sometimes also simple naivete, were the reasons for persecution. In this scheme, practically *anyone* could become a victim: doctors as well as prostitutes, sons of librarians as well as day laborers, farmers as well as craftsmen, and workers as well as beggars. A precarious position in the life cycle did not spare a person removal; new mothers still breastfeeding were nevertheless separated from their babies, and feeble old men and women also had to join exhausting marches on foot.⁵¹

For the deportees in the Habsburg realm, the decision concerning the kind of punishment inflicted on them was almost always sudden and unexpected. Knowledge of the law did not prepare them for the measures imposed because the law offered no

clearly defined categories of crimes that would necessarily and unequivocally result in deportation. Instead, the ad hoc principle and inconsistency prevailed. Sometimes the authorities intentionally overlooked the existence of Protestants, and at other times they were seized and put on ships for deportation; sometimes the pillory was considered sufficient punishment for “ill-reputed” persons, and at other times they were transported to the Banat; sometimes pirates were treated as regular partners in negotiations, and at other times they were regarded as a security risk that should be removed. It was practically impossible for the subjects to assess what consequences they should expect as a result of their actions—and perhaps that was an intended part of the punishment itself. It could strike anyone like lightning on a clear day if they were in the wrong place at the wrong time or encountered the wrong official. Deportations then worked to enhance government power by keeping *all* subjects in fear of uncertain rules.

At any rate, deportations, unlike any other coercive means used by the authorities, unmistakably established the nature of governmental power over the subjects. It is here, if anywhere, that the distinction between lord and subject (which is regarded obsolete among certain parts of academia)⁵² becomes explicit. No historical theory or discussion can explain this distinction away. Deportation confronts the subjects with one of the ultimate forms of dislocative power. Deportations raise questions of trust, and the answers are clear: the developing nation-states and their governing authorities are not to be trusted; it is not possible to predict how the subjects may act, and states can decide situationally whether to abstain from violence, use it in moderation, or escalate the situation.

Deportations in the Habsburg context in many cases surpassed the degree of punishment, humiliation, and intimidation needed. Given the conditions prevailing in the early modern era, the number of deportees on just one trek was considerable: often a single transport comprised two hundred people, sometimes even more. These transports frequently required a disproportionate investment of logistics, time, and money. Although bureaucrats always want to remove such burdens, in these cases they also tried to redistribute them. The coordination of the treks was passed along to the military and the financing to the deportees, who had to pay the costs of their relocation from their own pockets. But the expenditure bureaucrats found themselves stuck with was *time*. This was the one thing they could not push onto someone else—they had to sacrifice their *own time*, and frequently this taxed them to the brink of collapse.

CONCLUSIONS

In most of the European states, deportation flourished during the early modern period. New military and administrative techniques made the relocation of vast numbers of people possible. Although the accuracy of figures from the pre-statistical era must always be taken with a grain of salt, their basic message is clear: from the 1730s on,

the Habsburg empire also became a significant player in European deportation politics. Due to the empire's landlocked character, no overseas options were at hand, and so its populationism-driven bureaucrats were looking for compensational space. They found it in the southeastern border regions of Transylvania and the Banat of Timișoara, which became the testing grounds for deportation. The Banat, especially, became a laboratory for regional and spatial planning as well as population policies, in which utopia and dystopia often lay close to each other. In sharp contrast to many grandiloquent plans, the enforced transformation of uprooted people into colonists failed deplorably in many cases.

If Habsburg experimentation with extended state control by population transfer is interpreted as a step toward modernity, the deportees must be regarded as the losers in this game. Literally everything was at stake for them, including family ties, personal wealth, and their own lives. Some even lost all three.

If the history of deportation is viewed from a long-term perspective, as Marc Bloch suggested, it reveals a stunning change in mentalities. Early modern authorities became more and more indifferent to the actual fate of deportees, and they progressively blamed whole groups of people for their own treatment, when in fact they received this treatment on account of an implacable government and an inefficient bureaucracy. Deaths that occurred during forced marches and resettlement were, if not intended, at least tacitly accepted; lists of the deceased were drawn up and filed away. Individuals merged into a gray mass of potential victims and were turned into "material" to be maneuvered around. The tearing apart of families, the high rate of mortality, the privation of property, and the infraction of laws are all characteristic of the deportations in both the early modern age and the twentieth century. Here the "solidarity of the ages" shows one of its most frightening features.

2

“AN AUSTRIAN CAYENNE”

Forced Labor in the Early Modern Habsburg Empire

IN MARCH 1747¹ A LETTER REACHED VIENNA, THE SUBJECT OF WHICH MIGHT surprise today's reader, for it was an accounting of hosiery, namely 1,300 footwarmers and 1,000 men's knee socks, plus 4,000 balls of wool. The regional administration of the Banat of Timișoara, a remote border region in the southeast corner of the Habsburg empire, asked the Viennese *Hofkammer*, the empire's central financial authority, about opportunities to place these goods on the market.² This letter, if contextualized, provides more for the historian than just interesting economic data on early modern commodity production. It offers a rare glimpse into an unexpected world of deportation and coerced labor. All the spinning and knitting that had materialized into these woollen products had been produced under unusual circumstances by a group of women deported from Vienna and now detained in a workhouse in the Banat.

These circumstances immediately draw us into a set of questions that until quite recently have been a stepchild of research: Did the early modern Habsburg empire systematically and continuously employ convict labor? If such measures existed, were any monetary, societal, or disciplinary profits gained from such experiments? And, did the penal system reforms of the Enlightenment bring a change to such unfree working conditions?

In this chapter, I will sketch a history of penal labor in the Habsburg empire, with its roots in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and its heyday in the eighteenth. My particular interest will be on how an emerging deportation system in the eighteenth century opened the gates for a novel combination of relocation, detention, and labor extraction. The center of my considerations will be the so-called *Temesvarer Wasserschub*

(most often shortened to *Wasserschub*), in which deportation by ship merged with subsequent coerced labor.

FORMS OF CONVICT LABOR BEFORE THE *WASSERSCHUB*

Galley punishment was one of the harshest forms of making delinquents work for the state. In the Habsburg empire, it was likely first applied in 1540 when a group of ninety Anabaptists received this sentence.³ To effectuate it, the Habsburg rulers, in absence of a fleet of their own, at first had to rely on the cooperation of sea powers like Venice or Genoa.⁴ But with the takeover of Naples in 1707, the Habsburg empire for a short while acquired its own galleys, which were extensively manned by convicts until the region was lost in 1734.⁵ The last burst of the idea of galley-like punishment was the so-called *Schiffziehen*, the towing of boats by delinquents up the Danube, which was practiced between 1783 and 1790.⁶ Jurists of the seventeenth and eighteenth century welcomed galley punishment as a less severe alternative to death sentences, thus ignoring that galley service was often so hard that convicts died from exhaustion within a short time.

Another form of convict labor was the *opus publicum*, through which delinquents constructed and reconstructed fortresses at the military border (*Militärgrenze*). The military border separated the Habsburg from the Ottoman Empire, but contrary to what its name suggests, it was a vast defensive corridor rather than a simple boundary line. South of Croatia, Slavonia, and Hungary, it formed a separate entity within the conglomerate state of the Habsburgs and was administered by the *Hofkriegsrat* (court war council).⁷ To the authorities, this seemed to be the ideal place for turning delinquents into useful subjects. Nevertheless, reality frequently proved otherwise: custody, alimentation, and accommodation were often more expensive than the profits gained from the convicts' work.⁸

Convict labor was also employed in the steadily growing number of workhouses that the Habsburg empire established from the second half of the seventeenth century on. In 1668, the first prison workhouse on Habsburg soil opened its doors in Wrocław; Vienna followed soon after in 1671. In the course of the following century, such institutions spread across the empire. From Ackerghem to Opava, from Prague to Trieste, the new ideas about punishment, discipline, and betterment that the workhouses represented came to fruition.⁹ In these places, the soaring state ambitions rooted in cameralism¹⁰ and "populationism" (see chapter 1) culminated in everyday routines of disciplining and work extraction: "Cameralistic deliberations made the terms 'discipline' and 'correction' basic values of a society, which regarded diligence and acquisitiveness

as natural human predispositions. Such were thought to be (re-)producible in every individual, even if for that they had to be taken to prisons, workhouses, almshouses, or orphanages.”¹¹

REMOVAL ON SHIPS

In the Habsburg empire, as elsewhere in Europe, the use of forced labor on a broader scale was closely linked to the implementation of deportation systems. While countries like Portugal, Spain, France, England, or Russia had experimented with it for a long while, the Habsburg empire joined the European “deportation frenzy” (see chapter 1) only in the 1730s. But from then on, they became as equally committed to a system of deportation as other European states in the early modern period.

Early modern deportations in general were fed from a variety of considerations, which frequently converged here for the first time. Policies dealing with poverty, changes in the penal system paradigm, matters of religion, and population politics, as well as colonial affairs—in different proportions—blended into an explosive mixture. The conflicts that grew out of this gave vent to a new mentality of governance characterized by hitherto unknown types of violence.

The deportees of the Habsburg empire comprised religious dissenters, political rioters, declassed noblemen, and deviants of all sorts. The latter, especially, were destined for forced labor within the context of the so-called *Temesvarer Wasserschub*.

The *Temesvarer Wasserschub* (removal by ship) was executed between 1744 and 1768 and involved approximately 3,200 to 3,500 deportees.¹² Its persistence makes it the longest-lasting Central European deportation activity of all time.¹³ Twice a year, the *Wasserschub* brought a variety of people classified as misfits from Vienna to the Banat. At one appointed date in summer and another in autumn, the deportees were herded onto boats and shipped down the Danube River; at the Tisza junction, they were transhipped, partly tugged upstream, and finally brought to Timișoara.

In its early stages, the *Wasserschub* was a gender-specific measure that exclusively targeted women. Their persecution was the result of the activities (or rather, hyperactivities) of a sort of Viennese vice squad: under the aegis of Empress Maria Theresa a so-called Committee of Chastity (*Keuschheitskommission*)¹⁴ began convening. Its task was to purge the imperial capital and residence city of Vienna of those viewed as moral offenders. The committee identified “idle women” (*liederliche Weiber*)—prostitutes, libertines, drunkards, homeless, unstable characters, and those the committee considered lost souls—and pondered ways of getting them out of the city.

Giacomo Casanova, as an eyewitness, left a vivid report of the commissaries’ agitated activities “in the field”:

Everything in Vienna was splendid, there was much money and much luxury; but there was great hardship for those who were votaries of Venus. Rascals turned spies, who were known as “Commissaries for Chastity,” pitilessly persecuted all pretty girls; the Empress, who had all the virtues, had not the virtue of tolerance in the matter of illegitimate love between a man and a woman. That great and very religious sovereign hated mortal sin in general, and wishing to deserve well of God by extirpating it, she rightly thought that it must be persecuted in detail. So, taking into her royal hands the register of what are called mortal sins, she found that they numbered seven, and she thought she could hedge about six of them, but she considered lechery unforgivable, and it was against lechery that her zeal mustered all its forces and let loose. . . . “My subjects shall be free to find any woman beautiful in whom they see beauty, and women may do whatever they wish to the end of appearing so; let men and women desire one another as much as they please, I cannot prevent it; but I will never tolerate the base act which satisfies that desire and which is nevertheless inseparable from human nature and the cause of the reproduction of the species. Let people marry if they wish to have that pleasure, and let all those perish who wish to procure it for money, and let there be exile in Temesvar for all the miserable women who live on what they suppose they can earn by their charms. I know that Rome is indulgent in the matter, to prevent, so they say, sodomy and incest and adultery; but my climate is different; my Germans don’t have the devil in their bodies like the Italians, who have not, as we have here, the resource of the bottle; in addition, a watch will be kept for licentiousness of any consequence, and when I learn that a wife is unfaithful to her husband I will have her locked up too, despite the claim that her husband is her only master. This cannot be admitted in my dominions, for husbands here are too indolent. Fanatical husbands who claim that I dishonor them by punishing their wives may protest as much as they please. Are they not already dishonored?” [. . .] From this ferocious principle, the product of the only fault which the great Maria Theresa had *sub specie recti* (“under the appearance of rectitude”), arose all the injustices and all the violences committed by the murderous “Commissaries for Chastity.” At every hour of the day any girl who was walking alone in the streets of Vienna, even to earn an honest living, was seized and haled off to prison. But how could it be known that these girls were going to some man’s house for solace or were looking for some man to solace them? A spy followed them at a distance; the police had five hundred of them in their pay, and they were not in uniform.¹⁵

The activities of the Commissaries of Chastity had grave consequences. In the late summer of 1744, forty-nine “idle women” were unloaded in Timișoara and taken into custody. Over the course of eighteen months, twenty of these women died.¹⁶ Such losses were constantly replaced by new arrivals until in 1748 six more deportation transports

reached the Banat.¹⁷ The local authorities were unable to curb mortality, and the central administration in Vienna was quite outspoken when it referred to the prison conditions in Timișoara as "a slow kind of execution, similar to the death penalty" (*langsambe[r] hinrichtung, [. . .], derer todsstraff ähnlich*).¹⁸

After a short pause, the *Wasserschub* gained momentum from 1751 on by targeting new groups: "idle women" were not the only objects of aggressive policing and punishing, but also beggars, thieves, impostors, poachers, vagrants, Gypsies,¹⁹ maladjusted children, incendiaries, and barrators, all regardless of their age, health condition, or gender. Practically anyone who was down and out in the streets of Vienna or was living on the margins was at risk of becoming a victim. What they all had in common was that they were poor and part of the lowest strata of society. With the new target groups the size of the transports multiplied; one hundred to three hundred people each became the new standard.

Contrary to deportation measures in the twentieth century, which were often withheld from the knowledge of the general public, in the case of the *Wasserschub* newspapers published tidings about transports very shortly after they had left town.²⁰ Not least due to this publicity, Timișoara soon acquired the reputation of a sort of "human dump" of the Habsburg empire.

Once in the Banat, the deportees were put to work. The resulting labor brigades were of three different kinds: (1) groups conducting the imposed duties directly in the local workhouse, (2) groups working on the streets of Timișoara but returning to the workhouse overnight, and (3) groups working in the countryside and living with local farmer, craftsmen or merchant "hosts."

The spinning and knitting mentioned at the outset of this chapter was characteristic of the first type of work, which was almost exclusively executed by women. Also, the upkeep of the workhouse infrastructure was allotted to this group.

The second group mainly cleaned the streets and maintained the sewage system, but they were also required to dig trenches and renovate the fortification. As all these operations required physical strength, they were exclusively assigned to male delinquents.

Regarding the third group, work in the countryside was intended for both sexes, provided that they were considered minor offenders. Compared to the labor in the workhouse or the streets of Timișoara, this was a more lenient form of punishment. But the spectacle which surrounded the arrival of these wretched people in Timișoara was deeply humiliating. Associations with slave markets come to mind when an eyewitness account (of no less a spectator than Emperor Joseph II on a fact-finding mission!) reports, "As soon as they arrived in Temesvar, their arrival was announced to the whole city with drum rolls, and every woman or man came out to see whom among the deportees they might choose, without anyone asking for what purpose or why; only those who had been sentenced to terms of punishment were excluded; they were immediately

taken to the prison. Those who were not chosen right away were put on carts and sent to various districts under the escort of a few Hussars.²¹

The initial enthusiasm of the local population for cheap laborers quite often died down at an early stage. Taking someone into the house who bore the mark of vagrancy, idleness, alcoholism, or fornication posed a risk to the honor of families that considered themselves “respectable.” If such reluctance set in, even petty offenders could not find “hosts” anymore and were subjected to the hard fate of the workhouse more often than initially intended by the authorities. With no families opening up their homes to them, there was no chance to labor outside the workhouse or the casemates.

Living conditions in the workhouse of Timișoara were miserable and, compared to its Viennese counterpart,²² even more primitive. Its location in the casemates of a fortress caused a permanent danger to the health of the inmates. Maladies were numerous; in summer and autumn, usually more than half of the delinquents were sick. It further aggravated the circumstances that the authorities did not take heed of age, health condition, or defects of the deportees. Plain cots without any pillows or blankets served as beds, on which two people had to sleep. Divisions between work space, dining area, and place of rest were only rudimentary. A warden reported daily on the behavior of the inmates, and another keeper, chosen from their own ranks, was in charge of disciplining the others, preventing upheavals, and punishing if necessary.²³ Extreme acts of violence were reported to the Viennese *Hofkammer*. Torture was even practiced, and one person died under dubious circumstances; heavy, uninhibited strokes by the guards most likely caused his death.²⁴

To Empress Maria Theresa, the situation in the workhouse promoted both individual justice and general deterrence, but her son and co-regent Joseph II took the opposite view. His shock and fury about the conditions in the workhouse reached such a level that he threatened to resign as co-regent without radical changes. In 1768 he formulated a long and extremely well-argued imperial “opinion,” which can be seen as an epitome of Joseph’s enlightened views. In short, the reflections in his multipage presentation contained the following deliberate thoughts:

He begins with a whole battery of arguments to bring down the *Wasserschub*. Arbitrary punishment imposed without due process was against legal principles. The punishment cannot work as a deterrent because no one knows what crimes it covers and it is not executed before the eyes of those whom it is supposed to deter. It was a fundamental error of the punitive justice system to regard deportation as a light form of punishment without an understanding of the vagaries. Banishment by itself came close to capital punishment. Even worse was the prohibition to leave a country like the Banat. The system lacked an economic and social basis. After the last Turkish war, the Banat no longer had an industry. The life there was carried on

under circumstances very different from those in Austria. The deportees who were set free after their arrival to earn their living found that the opportunities to work, which were open to them in their home country, did not exist in the Banat. For public works, the treasury had to use the numerous subjects who were under obligation to provide socage. There were hardly any private enterprises. There was no need for agricultural workers because there were no [large] estates. The only possible way to earn money was to hire on as farmhands. Here too the possibilities were very limited. The majority of farmers were Raizen (Serbians) and Wallachians, with whom the newcomers could not communicate and who would in any case not hire foreigners. The German farmers as well were content to employ the numerous progeny with which their families were often blessed . . . The transportees arrived full of lice and in many cases infected with venereal diseases. The guards on the transport recommended their favorites [to employers] and were paid for this service. The rest were put on carts and transported to various districts in the country, where they were left to themselves, completely destitute. The consequences of these actions were catastrophic. Some of the people died of their illnesses or a lack of means. Raizen entrepreneurs sold girls who were reasonably good-looking to men in Turkey. The rest were forced to continue the profession they had practiced in Vienna at a lower standard in the Banat. All of them tried hard to make the trek back to Vienna as soon as possible, and some of them arrived there even before the guards did who escorted the transport into the Banat. In Vienna, they were sooner or later picked up again and once again put on the next transport to the Banat, at public cost. And this game was repeated four or five times. The most tragic consequences arose for the significant percentage of decent people [. . .] who somehow ended up among the deportees. Well-established lives were completely ruined. Farmers were assigned only a bit of barren land, but because they had been given neither houses nor cattle nor seed, they could not establish themselves. An even more powerful reason for the lack of success, however, was the passive resistance which all the farmers put up because they felt treated unjustly. Furthermore, the Emperor had already acknowledged some of the negative consequences for the Banat itself. It was almost impossible to attract good domestics from the German-Austrian regions to the Banat because they rightly feared for their good name. The venereal diseases could not be cured, given the climate in the Banat, and significantly contributed to a disproportionate number of deaths in the city of Temesvar.²⁵

At the beginning of the 1770s, Emperor Joseph's witty, powerful, and courageous intervention indeed led first to an adjournment of the *Wasserschub* and finally to its termination.²⁶ His mission, which he saw as “convinced by reason and urged by equity and good conscience,” was accomplished even against the will of his mother.²⁷

INDIVIDUAL CASES

In general, the archival documents regarding the *Wasserschub* are quite abundant, but the individual fate of prisoners emerges from them only vaguely, if at all. Often a subtle reading is needed to decode hidden information. There are, for example, numerous lists of deportees, which at first glance seem to gloss over individuality, but at a second look also provide insights into remarkable stories of escape. For example, the same name often appears on lists made months or even years apart. This means that these persons had fled from the Banat and arrived back to Vienna, only to be deported again. Indeed, the rate of escapees among the people of the *Wasserschub* was extremely high. In sharp contrast to other European deportees for whom return from overseas colonies was nearly impossible, a march back from the Banat was at least viable. And indeed, this so-called reversion happened so frequently that it finally formed an offense of its own. A grinding cycle thus continued: people who had been sent to the Banat for some petty crime initially committed yet another “crime” by returning, and thus accumulated further years of detention.

Different from other deportees in the Habsburg empire (see chapter 5), the people from the *Wasserschub* were in almost all cases illiterate. No personal letters are left which could offer a glimpse into individual experiences during and after the deportation. Since the offenses punished with *Wasserschub* were politically of no significance, interrogations were not deemed necessary by the authorities; thus juridical records, which otherwise preserve at least some personal traits of delinquents, also remain silent in this case.

However, a few glimpses into individual suffering are possible. There is, for example, the case of Theresia Fischer from Vienna, which illustrates that no consideration was shown to women on the transport on account of pregnancy. Fischer had become entangled in the justice system because of “carnal” crimes and suspicious loafing in inns in the company of the man with whom she cohabited.²⁸ She came to the Banat in the fall transport of 1754, and the thirty-one-year-old single woman was described as “highly pregnant” on arrival in Timișoara. Shortly afterward, she gave birth to twins.²⁹ Apart from the short report on the tough circumstances of pregnancy, this little episode also points at specific female problems, which by nature differed from those of male colleagues.

Apart from this type of information, which has only randomly survived, the frequent petitioning of deportees provides an interesting source for at least rudimentary individual life stories. Susanna Götz, for example, was brought to Timișoara because she was considered a “loose” woman. In 1752, after four years of detention, she submitted a petition to obtain permission to travel to Vienna for seven or eight weeks to settle her financial affairs there. To ensure her return to the Banat, she offered a guarantor and declared that she was willing to swear an oath to that effect. As with all her preceding

submissions, this one was also rejected. The authorities added rather cynically that she should transact her financial demands or other affairs [in Vienna] through an advocate or agent, since "such a transaction would cost her no more than the long voyage from the Banat to [Vienna]."³⁰

Such formal applications for permission to return were rather exceptional. In some instances, the authorities in Temesvar on their own initiative supported an early release, for example, in the case of Maria Assurgia. She had "committed adultery with a Turk" and was sentenced in Hungary to ten years of prison in the Banat. She had already served a total of six years. During that time she "had lived very quietly and modestly" and was therefore proposed as a candidate for a pardon.³¹

Requests for permission to marry are especially touching. The Gypsy Franz Hueber, for example, wanted to marry a delinquent woman in 1752. Like him, she was a Gypsy. Hueber was from Bavaria, but at the time he lived in the Banat and was a widower. The woman he wished to marry, Regina Theber, had come to the country in the ninth transport to serve a six-year sentence in the vaults. We have no information about the nature of her crime, nor was the administration able to discover whether she was single or married. Theber, however, had declared herself single "immediately during the first inspection made on board ship." The security commission in Vienna was to decide about the intended marriage.³² Their decision, however, is unknown.

Such requests for permission to marry happened several times. Cordula Pfeiffer, for example, "who was . . . imprisoned in the palisades," applied for permission to marry the ostler Mathias Eckhardt, who had been assigned as an assistant to the infantry captain Count Valetiani. Pfeiffer was one of the many women whose length of sentence had been left undetermined. By time of her request she had been in prison for four years and eight months. The administration inquired whether she might be granted freedom in view of her intended marriage.³³ Eckhardt himself submitted a petition in which he stated that on one hand he felt toward Pfeiffer "a special inner drive no doubt sent by God," and on the other hand he wished to do a "Christian deed of mercy" and deliver her from her long years of imprisonment. Eckhardt believed that Pfeiffer was now leading a moral life, which he "gathered simply from her outward behavior and especially from her household skills, of which she had given sufficient proof even in prison as head cook, as [he had] heard from her clerical and secular supervisors." He himself had over the last six years "loyally and honestly served diverse masters in Temesvar in the Banat." He wished to live in "a very Christian, edifying and exemplary marriage" with Pfeiffer after she had "atoned for her sins with five years of imprisonment and had been purified by the flames of the fire."³⁴ The authorities in Vienna approved the marriage but emphasized that Cordula Pfeiffer was not allowed ever to enter Vienna again, even after her marriage. They expanded on the clemency shown in this case, stating that all repentant women who had an opportunity to marry should have their requests

granted. They exempted, however, “prisoners of the state” who were subject to the military command.³⁵

Couples who were already married were also able to act on behalf of their partners who had been caught in the mill of deportation. Thus the central authorities made Elisabeth Reitter’s release from the Temesvar prison dependent on her husband Joseph first establishing a household in the city. The former ostler Reitter, however, was without any means and unable to fulfill this condition in the foreseeable future. He had at any rate applied for a position with the newly arrived military physician (*Staabsmedicus*) and expressed confidence that his wife could make an honest living after her release.³⁶ Although the authorities in Vienna expressly stated that the woman did not in fact deserve clemency on account of the immoral life she had led, they decided to grant the application in the hope that she would reform in future.³⁷

AMNESTIES

Apart from the individual pardons already mentioned, amnesties were often granted in connection with events that were especially joyful for the emperor’s family, such as the birth of an archduke. Maria Theresa repeatedly made such events an occasion for showing clemency.³⁸

The women in Temesvar, for example, used the occasion of the birth of Archduke Ferdinand Charles to petition the administration of Temesvar for a pardon. In this manner, they said, they wished “to participate in and take comfort from such a blessed time.” Calling themselves “humble maidens, poor imprisoned females,” they skillfully phrased their requests:

Not that we would go so far as to dare request a complete release from our hard, sad, and long-lasting imprisonment. We only wish to beseech you for the love of our dear God, graciously, leniently, and mercifully to shorten the term of our sentence a little, for we want to atone for our wrongs according to the command of our Supreme Empress and King. We do so [i.e., beseech Her Majesty] mercifully to heed our request because we have been miserably banished from our motherland for the duration of our lives, without any hope ever to see our native land, our elders, and the most benevolent face of the most merciful Monarch of our country. This greatly saddens every heart and spirit that is not made of stone, but of blood and flesh, and it is immeasurably hard to bear, so that our penance will last for the duration of our lives.

At the end of their submission, the prisoners emphasized the monarch’s clemency, which supposedly was known everywhere, and announced that they would remember

the empress and her family in their prayers for the rest of their lives.³⁹ In their report to Vienna, the administration of Temesvar stated that while each of the prisoners "deserved pity, more or less," they also had information from the regional court, which stated that among the thirty-six prisoners only five "acted rather peaceably and appeared to be repentant." Some of them could be blamed for no more than their inclination to squabble and quarrel; the great majority, however, needed further "correction" in the eyes of the regional administration.⁴⁰

In view of the "so very joyous birth" of the new archduke, the empress decided to exercise clemency in principle but left it to the *Directorium in publicis et cameralibus* (comparable to a combined ministry of the interior and finances)⁴¹ to decide whether the women should have the benefit of a pardon.⁴² The final decision granted each woman a three-months' reduction of their sentence.⁴³

Government jubilees and marriages were also suitable occasions for granting pardons. On the occasion of the marriage of Archduke Peter Leopold,⁴⁴ for example, the authorities asked for lists of delinquents who were regarded as worthy of a reduction of their sentences.⁴⁵

Requests for pardons were frequent and their merit judged case by case.⁴⁶ The nature of the crime was not the only criterion, and it is not always possible to see the rationale behind a decision to release a prisoner early. One man who was in prison on account of murder was released from serving the still-lengthy remainder of his sentence, three women who had abetted deserters had their sentences shortened by only one year each, and cattle rustlers were completely excluded from any reduction of their sentences.⁴⁷ Releases were almost always combined with an order for the former delinquents to remain in the Banat for the rest of their lives or at least to strictly keep away from Vienna and its surroundings.⁴⁸

In March 1752, Maria Theresa ordered the administration of Temesvar to start providing semiannual lists of prisoners considered worthy of an early release. Women who had shown improvement and repentance were to benefit from the selection made by the authorities. For an actual release, however, the opinion of the security commission in the *Directorium in publicis et cameralibus* was to be consulted.⁴⁹

Apart from general pardons, Maria Theresa also granted reductions of prison sentences. In July 1765, for example, thirty-five men and women, most of them in Timișoara, benefited from variable three-month, six-month, and one-year prison term reductions. Another had the unspecified remaining of their sentence commuted entirely.⁵⁰

In one case, a judgment, which had already been pronounced, was completely reversed. The poacher Sebastian Lödl was not required to remain in the Banat for his lifetime, but had his sentence commuted to six years, to be served in the Liechtenstein estate of Rabensburg in the Weinviertel. There, however, he had to do public work in chains. The reason for this unusual revision of his sentence was also extraordinary:

Lödl was not only a poacher but also a witness to *homicidium casuale* (manslaughter or careless action causing death), which happened in the course of committing the offense of poaching. The intention was to have him within reach of the local authorities for a potential confrontation with the suspected delinquent, who remained at large.⁵¹

PROFITS AND LOSSES

In hindsight, the workhouse in the Banat of Timișoara more than others in the Habsburg empire is a perfect example of the many intrinsic problems that the system of “modern punishment” faced. “Purifying” one region of the empire at the cost of transforming another into a “dump for human trash” was doomed to fail. Relocating impoverished, deviant, and unskilled persons to the military border only transferred a societal problem from one corner of the empire to another without solving it. As with communicating vessels, gains *here* resulted in losses *there*, while the grand total remained as unpleasant as ever. The state transported people over hundreds of kilometers only to discover that the issues the majority population had with them did not evaporate along the way.

Economically, the experimentation with forced labor was a disaster. The high-flown plans of the authorities in Vienna assumed that convicts would pay for the cost of their detention with their labor and even generate profits for the state. All expectations of such kind remained completely unfulfilled. The imbalance of earnings and expenses that characterized the workhouse in Vienna⁵² was the same at the southeast fringes of the realm. As early as 1746, Baron von Engelshofen, while head of the provincial government in the Banat, clearly and precisely called the workhouse system “too expensive and of no benefit.”⁵³ This assessment did not change over the years. Year by year, the administration deplored heavy deficits.⁵⁴ Especially in a region like the Banat, a major trial site for Austria’s mercantilist dream,⁵⁵ such a waste of resources prompted frustration and disapproval among the central bureaucracy.

The Habsburg bureaucracy also seriously erred in clinging to the idea of a depopulated and devastated Banat when these times had long passed. In reality, new settlers had to fight against their forerunners, who had come to the country voluntarily. Land and income were contested, and farmers and artisans, who had only quite recently made their new dwellings profitable, did not intend to share their livelihood with newcomers.

For the Banat, the introduction of convict labor also posed a risk that only became noticeable over time: the constant influx of deportees shattered the good reputation of the whole province. The already established “honorable” settler society felt “contaminated” by the deviance that the newcomers—rightly or wrongly—represented. Following Norbert Elias’s theoretical model, the established felt threatened by the

outsiders.⁵⁶ Be it factual or fictitious, crime, idleness, and health risks were ascribed to them. The Banat had not primarily been conceptualized as a zone for penal colonization, but rather as a space for free settlement. The government tried its best to attract immigrants from all over Europe through tax incentives and land grants. Coerced labor and workhouses instead made the country notorious and caused a serious backlash in the overall colonization strategy:

The moral damage the *Wasserschub* caused to the whole settlement project was worse than the lack of success itself. It gave the Banat the reputation of an Austrian Cayenne, which was bound to deter farmers, whom the authorities wanted to attract to the country as colonists [. . .]. Furthermore, a number of administrators in the monarchy unjustifiably connected the colonists of the Banat with the persons in the *Wasserschub*, a conceptual error that must be blamed at least partially for the premature end of the Theresian population project.⁵⁷

CONCLUSIONS

The eighteenth century was a century of major shifts in the attitudes toward, and the deployment of, convict labor in the Habsburg monarchy. While galley service or fortress construction work became more and more outdated, imprisonment in workhouses became seen as a more efficient approach that mingled detention, punishment, and labor. A high-flying double vision conquered the minds of population planners; one saw an imperial capital freed from crime and poverty, and another, a periphery serving as a self-sustaining or even profitable reformatory. The *Temesvarer Wasserschub* was as emblematic of these ambitious ideals as it was of their complete failure. The relocation of deviant and delinquent people only created short-term solutions at its best and was unable to root out the underlying problems.

AUSTRIA'S PENAL COLONIES

Deportation, Resettlement, and Detention in the Habsburg Empire

IN THE LATE 1970S, A GROUP OF HISTORIANS ASKED MICHEL FOUCAULT whether he was not “inclined to overstate the importance of the prison in penal history, given that other quite distinct modes of punishment (the death penalty, the penal colonies, deportation) remained in effect too.” Foucault gave a lengthy answer, in which he slipped into the terrain of methodological considerations, thus circumventing the problem and avoiding a clarification of his position. While he quite rightfully claimed that before his research there had only been “studies of prisons as institutions, but very few of imprisonment as a general punitive practice in our societies,” he was at a loss in the face of the subsequent question as to why inclusion of deportation and penal colonies would not strengthen a more holistic view.¹

Foucault’s negligence of punitive measures apart from imprisonment is particularly remarkable as it comes from a theorist who in general was on high alert for intersections of institutionalized power and individual suffering. Yet, Foucault’s blind spot only mirrored the common lack of knowledge concerning the long-term study or—as the philosopher most probably would have put it—the “genealogy” of deportation and penal colonies.

Historians have only fragmentarily filled this lacuna, because their interest in the topic has been unequally distributed: while they delved deep into transportation to, and life in, the various camps of the twentieth century, they only occasionally touched upon comparable measures further back in time. Quite revealingly, the numerous

studies regarding the twentieth century almost always avoid searching for precursors or even deny that such have existed. In the absence of surveys, and perhaps from a deep-seated reluctance to make such comparisons, researchers have treated deportations of the twentieth century as if the idea had appeared out of nowhere and had been turned into a completely new method of inflicting totalitarian terror.³ Studies in contemporary history largely omit the question of a *longue durée*, perhaps because of a presumption that it simply does not exist.³ But by leaving a long-term and synoptic history of deportation and penal colonies significantly understudied, historians miss out on telling one important chapter in the history of violent state interventions into individual lives. This is particularly regrettable because such research would also provide insight into aspects of how this violence could so easily shift into total destruction in the twentieth century.

In this essay, the case of the Habsburg empire will serve as an example of a major player in European power politics whose long-standing engagement in deportation practices until quite recently remained untold.⁴ Generations of Habsburg historians fostered the idea that deportations in a predominantly landlocked realm without colonies could simply not have occurred. These scholars built on the myth of a Habsburg empire that, according to their accounts, had neither the ambition nor the need to govern and police its population through deportations. Archival sources tell a different story, and the equation of “no colonies — no deportations” proves, as we will see, entirely untenable.

THE TARGET GROUP

The deportation regime of the Habsburgs differentiated between unwanted groups *with* and those *without* criminal records. While religious dissenters or minor political offenders, despite their misconduct, were still seen as honorable enough to be transformed into colonists, actual delinquents were destined for detention and forced labor. This essay considers this second group only.

Before examining the treatment of these delinquents, one has to point out in advance that their “delinquency” is, of course, defined by the standards of the early modern period and not by the criteria of our times. Thus, the spectrum of “crimes” ranges from offenses that are still considered illegal (such as poaching or theft) to acts that today seem petty (such as idleness or uncommon lifestyles). The early modern legal practice also permitted the use of what anachronistically could be called “preventive incarceration”: people were treated like criminals not because of actual deeds, but based on assumptions about potential future crimes.

THE BANAT OF TIMIȘOARA AS AN EXPERIMENTAL ZONE

In the Habsburg empire, such delinquents were almost exclusively deported to the Banat of Timișoara on the southeastern fringes of the empire.⁵ Despite its marginal geographical location, the Banat was of great strategic importance. Part of the Hungarian inheritance of Ferdinand I, the Banat region was seized by the Ottomans in 1552. Earlier military efforts to take back the region failed, and the complete reintegration into the conglomerate state of the Habsburgs took until the Peace of Passarowitz in 1718 to complete. This reintegration was not just one among many historical changes; it also constituted an important caesura in terms of population politics. Regardless of the old constitution, which made the Banat part of the Hungarian Crown, the Habsburgs considered it in the following decades as a *neoacquisticum* (or *neoacquisitum*), that is, a newly acquired region whose legal status could be determined at the time of integration according to the will of the ruler. Circumventing the demands of the Hungarian nobility, the Banat was subsequently designated as being in the domain of the imperial administration, “which would be ruled according to strictly mercantile principles and placed primarily under the direction of the Viennese *Hofkammer* in collaboration with the Viennese *Hofkriegsrat*.”⁶ The *Hofkammer* was the highest financial authority and the *Hofkriegsrat* (court war council) was the central military authority in the realm.⁷ Subsidiary rights of estate owners were regarded as lapsed.⁸ The emperor ruled as lord over the land as well as the estates; the nobility had no independent economic power. This completely irregular constitutional and social structure⁹ predestined the Banat to be an experimental space for new economic ideas and population politics, a kind of *tabula rasa* where carefully considered, visionary, and indeed high-flying projects vied with one another. Karl A. Roeder Jr. called it an “experiment in applied enlightenment” and William O’Reilly saw it as an “experiment in colonial government.”¹⁰ And indeed, more dynamic efforts were made to create a new society there than in any other Habsburg region.

THE WORKHOUSE AS A “TOTAL INSTITUTION”

Once deportees reached the extraordinary destination of the Banat they were brought to the workhouse or casemates, both establishments, which are best described as “total institutions.”¹¹ The sociologist Erving Goffman defined total institutions as “places such as rooms, suites of rooms, buildings, or plants in which activity of a particular kind regularly goes on” and describes their encompassing or total character as “symbolized

by the barrier to social intercourse with the outside and to departure that is often built right into the physical plant, such as locked doors, high walls, barbed wire, cliffs, water, forests, or moors.”¹²

The characteristics of life in “total institutions” are described as follows:

A basic social arrangement in modern society is that the individual tends to sleep, play, and work in different places, with different co-participants, under different authorities, and without an over-all rational plan. The central feature of total institutions can be described as a breakdown of the barriers ordinarily separating these three spheres of life. First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the member’s daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together. Third, all phases of the day’s activities are tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a prearranged time into the next, the whole sequence of activities being imposed from above by a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials. Finally, the various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfill the official aims of the institution.¹³

Although Goffman’s study aims at understanding the situation of psychiatric patients, his criteria for a “total institution” also perfectly describe the eighteenth-century situation in the workhouse of Timișoara, the first establishment of such kind in the Banat. During the 1760s, its female inmates were confined and subjected to monotonous operations exactly as Goffman described. The male counterpart to the women’s workhouse, the labor battalions, can at least partly be viewed in light of Goffman’s description as well. Refurbishing the streets and fortresses turned these men into a version of plant workers; they executed their tasks mechanically and spent their “free time” locked away in dungeon-like rooms.

THE HABSBURG’S INTERNAL COLONIALISM

Such places of confinement, in which imprisonment met with the compulsion to work, resemble “penal colonies” to such an extent that they can rightfully be addressed as a subtype. In the popular imagination, the term “penal colony” evokes associations with far-off islands, tropical heat, hard-core criminals, and backbreaking chain gang labor. Such depictions are (at least partly) true when considering overseas colonialism,¹⁴ but *internal colonialism*, the only one relevant in the context of the Habsburg empire, might be less spectacular but no less significant. This term entered the historical debate via

British scholars, who around the turn of the twentieth century argued that the forceful settlement or resettlement at the fringes of the expanding early modern English state was at least partially accomplished by the internal deportation of Scots and the Irish. In the view of researchers like Michael Hechter or Mark Netzloff, this was already being done in a purely colonial manner.¹⁵

The internal colonialism the Habsburg empire practiced in its southeastern border regions was only very rarely considered as such by Habsburg historians of the early modern age. Very few scholars were as outspoken as Karl Vocelka in his history of the Habsburg empire in the eighteenth century, when he straightforwardly stated that the “settlement movements of the Habsburgs in areas previously controlled by the Ottomans should be discussed in the context of interior colonization.”¹⁶ William O’Reilly further substantiated this claim by locating the Habsburg’s new position in the surrounding European world:

The Habsburgs thus became colonial enterprisers in a way which superficially resembled their British, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Swedish and Danish royal peers, but in the relatively unique position of colonisers within the European continent. The experiment of colonial government which led Sweden to colonise New Sweden in North America took place in the Nordic north in the lands of the Sami; Britain had its colonial experiment in Ireland before venturing to New England in North America. The Habsburg Empire had its experiment in the Banat of Temesvar (the Banat) in Hungary, before pushing later in the 18th century into Galicia in the north and thereafter consolidating her government of the northern Balkans in the 19th century.¹⁷

PENOLOGY REFORMS

Under the impact of the Enlightenment, the penal system of the Habsburg empire underwent radical change. This did not, of course, progress evenly from one year to the next, but was a process full of advances and setbacks. In 1768, Empress Maria Theresa (r. 1740–1780) issued the *Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana*, a legal code, which for the first time unified the variety of laws that existed in the empire (except for Hungary). While in detail it still clung to conventional measures of deterrence, the whole spirit of the *Theresiana* (as it was called in short) opened punishment up to a crucial redefinition. Mere retribution and corporal punishment took a back seat, while a new goal encouraged the betterment of delinquents together with a path to their rehabilitation. Emperor Joseph II (r. 1765–1790), Maria Theresa’s son and co-regent for one and a half decades, pressed ahead with reforms underpinning this general plan. Deeply influenced

by the principles of natural law, Joseph became a driving force in the abolition of torture in 1776 and the abrogation of the death penalty in 1787 (after it had already been suspended in 1781).¹⁸

While the advance of enlightened approaches in bureaucracy, politics, and intellectual discourse did not significantly change the forced labor regimes of the Habsburg empire, it seriously affected its attitude toward deportation. Although public opinion was split on the issue, there was a strong faction of reformers pushing the abolition of deportation ahead; occasionally Joseph II himself took the lead in this movement.¹⁹ This was, for example, the case after his visit to the Banat in 1768. He held a close inspection of what happened to the deportees as soon as they arrived there, and he made a clear decision about the future of such endeavors afterwards: "The transport generates a great deal of disorder and evil: the very miserable condition in which the people arrive; [...] the way in which they are distributed to districts in which they cannot communicate with the inhabitants and where they cannot be usefully employed; the distaste among honest domestics [...]; the secret return of these people [...]; and the financial cost of returning them after fleeing in vain, sometimes 5 or 6 times. It seems to me that practically the only way of remedying these circumstances is to end the transport."²⁰

After a further thorough evaluation of pros and cons regarding deportation, Joseph—"convinced by reason" and "pressured by equity and a good conscience"—finally concluded that it was outdated and counterproductive.²¹ This caused one of the many serious conflicts with his mother, who still believed in the usefulness, if not the necessity, of deportations. But Joseph was willing to risk an escalation with his mother and co-regent on this issue, and he even menaced her with his resignation if deportations were not halted. At the end of Joseph's rule, the deportation regime in the Habsburg empire had changed fundamentally: The relocation of Protestants, who once had accounted for almost half of the deportees, was now obsolete since they had become tolerated all over the empire starting in 1781. All "misfits," like prostitutes, petty criminals, poachers, notorious drunkards, and vagabonds, whom Maria Theresa had so loathed that she demanded their transportation far away from Vienna, were no longer considered an imminent threat to state security. Only political rebellion, military insurrection, and high treason remained crimes that were to be punished by deportation.

A COMEBACK OF DEPORTATION

The halt to deportations that Joseph II had imposed was only temporary. With the conservative Emperor Francis II in power, they reemerged as a choice for punishment during the War of the Second Coalition (1798–1802). When Habsburg troops took over Venice in 1799, they were confronted with strong resistance by a group called the

Cisalpini, who previously had formed a government according to the principles of the French Revolution (the *Cisalpine Republic*).²² After a failed insurrection, Habsburg troops deported 130 *Cisalpini* to Croatia.²³ Among them was Francesco Apostoli, a well-known author in his day, who chronicled this relocation in minute detail. His report *Lettere sirmiensi* is one of the very rare documents that provides an individual insight into the details of deportation. It contains vivid descriptions both of the exhausting march to the south and the hardships of exile.²⁴ Fort Šibenik, on the coast of the Adriatic Sea, became Apostoli's place of detention, and he explicitly compared it to a penal colony. In its lack of basic hygiene, shortage of food, total control, and mental torment, the fort, Apostoli argued, was a suitable counterpart to the British penal colony Botany Bay (now part of Sydney/Australia). Botany Bay at the turn of the century was synonymous with overseas punishment at its worst. Pamphlets depicting horrible circumstances circulated in Europe, and Apostoli must have come across one of them, which tempted him to draw the comparison.²⁵

As a side effect of the peace treaty of Lunéville signed between France and Austria, Apostoli and all of his surviving comrades were released from Fort Šibenik in 1801. After the city of Bergamo celebrated his return with a victory parade, he immediately worked on the *Lettere sirmiensi* while his memory was still fresh. His report was published in the very same year. Later in his life, he was appointed the official representative of San Marino in Paris, and after his return to Venice worked as a playwright and clerk. When in 1815 the Austrians regained power in the city, Apostoli was immediately dismissed and died of hunger in 1816. His report (together with a diary by a certain Zaccaria Carpi), is one of the very few detailed personal accounts of the Šibenik deportation that survived.²⁶

THE *DEPORTATI ANSTALT* IN SZEGED

During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the Habsburg empire again considered the idea of using places along the Dalmatian coastline for the detention of deportees. "Visionaries" thought about establishing a "Deportation Institute" (*Deportati Anstalt*) in Osor, a small village on the island of Cres.²⁷ However, as plans increasingly failed to work according to expectations, the interest in Dalmatia evaporated.

An alternative idea entered the stage when forts in Hungary were screened for their untapped potential to host penal institutions. From 1831 onward, between five hundred and eight hundred *precettati* from the Lombardy-Venetian parts of the Habsburg empire were brought to Hungarian fortresses. *Precettati* encompassed a wide range of offenders, from politically motivated rioters to barraters and deviants of all sorts. While they were still in Italy, the *precettati's* mobility was restricted. They were then transferred

to Hungary, first to Fort Arad (today in Romania) and then to Fort Szegec, an abandoned citadel reopened in order to detain these convicts.²⁸

The stated aim of the *Deportati Anstalt* in Szegec was the “moral betterment” of its convicts and, in a rather utopian vision, their reintegration into society. The inmates were constrained to work according to their former professions, and if they did not have any proper education they were trained in spinning wool. The workhouse was run along military lines, with hours of labor stretching from six to eleven in the morning and from one to seven in the afternoon. Inmates toiled in silence; talking to each other was only allowed during the two hours of rest at noon. Given such circumstances, inmates frequently tried to escape the “ramshackle walls” of Fort Szegec by using what their wardens called “cat-like” skills.²⁹

Although the option to release delinquents after three years of good conduct theoretically existed, this never happened, and the detainees remained locked up for long periods, some of them for almost two decades. It wasn't until the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 that these scandalous circumstances were reported in the newspapers. Up to this point, the Austrian Emperors had strictly avoided uttering the term “political prisoners” and preferred to exclusively refer to the “deviant moral conduct” of the detainees. In a cynical response to such concepts, one leader of the 1848 Revolution remarked that the detainees’ “deviant moral conduct was nothing else but hate against the [Habsburg] dynasty, an offense for which now in 1849 half of the monarchy would have to be put in irons.”³⁰

In 1849, the Hungarian revolutionary Lajos Kossuth freed 500 *precettati* in an act that shocked and alarmed the Council of Ministers (*Ministerrat*) in Vienna. But when 120 *precettati* were “re-captured inchmeal in Pest” and the minister of war was asked about possibilities to incarcerate them again in some fortresses, he had to confess that no fortress was prepared for such an action at the moment.³¹ Thus, the *Deportati Anstalt* came to an abrupt end. Former deportees were transported under military escort again, but this time the journey took them home to Italy.³²

THE NOVARA EXPEDITION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Up to this point, Habsburg penal colonies had been established in an ad hoc fashion. They only existed to lock up potential or real offenders and had not engendered theoretical debates about the relevance and necessity of such institutions. From the second half of the nineteenth century on, this approach changed following developments in other European countries. In those places, historical synopses, juridical treatises, and polemical pamphlets both for and against the implementation of deportation and penal

colonies already filled the book market. Both advocates and opponents of these measures gathered at numerous conferences and sent signed resolutions to the respective rulers of states.³³ Latecomers to colonial politics, like Germany and Belgium, engaged all the more fervently in theoretical debates.

In the Habsburg empire, the famous expedition of the frigate *Novara* triggered public disputes related to deportation. The *Novara's* circumnavigation of the globe that started in 1857 and ended in 1859 was a fruitful venture in many respects. It produced significant media coverage and was closely observed by the scientific community. Its backers prided themselves on the advancement of sciences, including the improvement of nautical skills, the expansion of geographical knowledge, and the enhancement of botanical, zoological, and anthropological findings in the footsteps of Darwin. But what the expedition also triggered was a resurgence of ideas about, and discussions of, deportation.³⁴

One of the key figures in the debate was the brother of Emperor Francis Joseph I, Archduke Ferdinand Max (1832–1867; from 1864 on Emperor Maximilian I of Mexico). From an early age, Ferdinand Max had enthused about the idea of Austrian penal colonies and fantasized about pertinent land acquisitions in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. In his role as a naval commander, he commissioned Wilhelm von Tegetthoff, who later became a legendary counter admiral, to survey the island of Soqotra (today part of Yemen) to see if it was suitable for hosting an Austrian penal colony. Subsequently, Ferdinand Max suggested the acquisition of Soqotra to his brother, a plan that eventually came to nothing. From that moment on, the archduke became a vehement promoter of the *Novara* adventure, which among its many other tasks also promised a reviviscence of deportation plans.³⁵ As one of the results of the expedition, the archduke expected travelogues that would underpin his insistence on the necessity of overseas acquisitions for the Habsburg empire. And, indeed, the official report of the *Novara's* voyage proposed the purchase of the Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal, territory that had been temporarily seized by the Habsburg empire in the eighteenth century.³⁶

Karl von Scherzer, who participated in the *Novara* expedition as a scribe (*Expeditionsschreiber*) and documented the voyage in an 1866 book, drew on his firsthand observations from Australia to recommend the system of deportation for Austria as well.³⁷ Contrary to all those who “severely decried the system of deportation,” Scherzer saw it as a measure “which carried the greatest promise of producing a lasting moral lift in the individual.” He assumed that Austrian prisoners who had been sentenced to more than ten years of incarceration would gladly accept the “alternative offer” of deportation. He also anticipated its “morally regenerative” effect. Although Scherzer conceded that excessive violence was often used against delinquents in Australia, he argued that this was merely a flawed implementation of a good idea. In his eyes, the overall successful development in the province of New South Wales should serve as a model for “the foundation of new, overseas colonies in those parts of the world that are still rarely

visited.” Quite tellingly, he also praised the potential values of such experiences “when establishing agricultural colonies in the homeland”³⁸—a strong reminder of how easily external violence could find internal reverberations.

To set up a proper deportation scheme in Austria, Scherzer suggested learning from mistakes that deportation nations had made already. He recommended observing six rules, based on his prior experiences: (1) deportees should not be consigned to any private employers, as this promoted slave-like conditions; (2) the deportees’ labor should benefit the public in order to make it more socially acceptable; (3) the quality of the deportees’ food should vary depending on their industry; (4) in the interests of a lasting improvement to the delinquents, they should be allowed to marry or have their families join them; (5) alcohol importation should be minimized and replaced with tea or coffee; (6) colonial officers should not be allowed to engage in trade (except in the case of homegrown agricultural products).

From this list of suggestions, one can easily see that Scherzer was not considering the topic superficially; he had very concrete implementation plans in mind. He also proved to be a realist when it came to the question of where the detention and forced labor were to be executed. Since he realized that “territories [...] that were unclaimed or without owners” had become rare, he proposed a different strategy. The Habsburg empire should approach countries that already possessed colonies and negotiate contracts that would allow the sending of prisoners to them. These prisoners should not be forced into their relocation but, in connection with incentives regarding the duration of their sentences, sign voluntary contracts.³⁹ And for Germany, not yet united and twenty years from gaining its first colonies, Scherzer shared a piece of advice: islands in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean should be bought immediately, otherwise the English or French would snatch them away.

The Novara expedition triggered a discourse in which the memories of colonial ambitions from the eighteenth century met with contemporary visions about deportation, punishment, and coerced labor. Only recently have researchers begun to approach a fuller story of the Novara as not just a scientific achievement but also a revival of colonization and an attempt to reform the penal system through penal colonies specifically.⁴⁰ Not much is known about deportation plans during the twenty years that followed Scherzer’s report. Very sporadic evidence suggests that the matter was still under official consideration. In the mid-1880s, for instance, the British government complained about Austrian intentions to establish an “open gaol” in New Guinea, but it is unknown if these were based on fact or fantasy.⁴¹ It also seems that the Italian example of the *domicilio coatto* aroused some interest from Austrian penologists. The *domicilio coatto* was a recourse to older forms of penal colonies that the Austrians had already practiced half a century prior: delinquents were brought to islands, where they were forced to work for their living.⁴²

NEW PLANS IN THEIR LATENCY STAGE

Through the rest of the nineteenth century and until the beginning of World War I, debates about deportation and penal colonies remained common in the Habsburg Empire. Politicians like Georg von Schönerer (1842–1921), who is otherwise ingloriously remembered as one of the trailblazers of modern anti-Semitism, campaigned for the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, at least partially because he wanted to establish penal colonies there.⁴³ The 1883 manifesto of his political party, the “German Nationalists” (*Deutschnationalen*), stipulated demands for penal colonies. Following this call, the Imperial Assembly debated deportation to distant destinations such as the Congo or islands off the coast of Equatorial Guinea.⁴⁴

Such rampant ideas were first and foremost fueled by Germany’s successful colonial ambitions. When it seized its first colonies in 1884 and 1885,⁴⁵ Austria almost immediately pondered taking advantage of these developments. Austrian journalists and penal reformers wooed German elites to share policies, and even suggested combining in a “joint venture” penal colony. In an attempt to pressure the German decision makers, one advocate of such an Austro-German collaboration called for immediate action: “Although we do not have colonies in Austria, planning for them can yet be successful. [...] The introduction of deportation in Germany is of drastic importance.” The key argument for concerted action was that otherwise “especially the most questionable elements of the population” would use the border for slipping away. “This in itself should be reason enough for Germany to allow Austria to take part in some form.”⁴⁶

On a slightly different note, the Austrian advocates of penal colonies also approached their German counterparts with the idea of renting out small pieces of their colonial soil. Thereby the Austrians should be given a chance to develop deportation strategies of their own.

THE GROSS-HOEGEL DEBATE

All the Austrian advances toward common deportation policies with Germany came to nothing beyond radicalizing the discourse. Ramblings about “habitual criminals” and “workshyness” entered the discussion and became increasingly remorseless and misanthropic.

In 1896, a remarkable and highly polemical debate between two leading Austrian penologists began that clearly showed how far back into the eighteenth century some jurists were willing to go. Hans Gross (1847–1915), a prominent proponent of the Graz School of Criminology, opened the debate.⁴⁷ In an article for the *Austrian General Court Gazette* (*Allgemeine Österreichische Gerichtszeitung*),⁴⁸ he pleaded for

the introduction of lifelong deportation as a punishment for those offenders who purportedly posed a serious risk to the public. Among them, he counted “incorrigible” law-breakers and “work-shy” youngsters who had previous convictions or long-term sentences. In Gross’s eyes, deportation in such cases served a purifying function: “The most important point in the question of deportation is the need to make it a cultural effort. ‘Getting rid of the rabble’ must not be the only aim of deportations; rather the first goal must be not to produce such rabble within the prison walls. The aim is to make decent people of the deportees; they are to be pioneers in a new land.”⁴⁹

Again, high hopes rested on support from the Germans:

If we envision Germany allowing us for a few decades the use of a strip of land in the huge area they control, each of which could take in Austria several times over, Germany would, after that term had passed, obtain in return a settled and cultivated area with a population that has become useful. While we would have to do the work of cultivating, we would also reap countless benefits. Let us [...] come to an understanding with Germany as soon as possible, before the value of colonial lands rises to an unaffordable level (as may happen tomorrow) and it is too late, moreover, to tackle this great question.⁵⁰

Hugo Hoegel (1854–1921), a jurist well-known for his propensity for dissenting from the mainstream in both penology and politics, immediately became Gross’s opponent. Hoegel wrote a brilliantly formulated polemic in which he quite sardonically stated:

We have all had our period of deportation, if I may put it that way, and very few criminologists, I believe, have been completely free of enthusiasm for punishment by beatings. But we have been converted at last. While we may detest brute excesses, we have also increasingly come to detest the brutality of executing punishment by beating. In spite of our obvious inclination to avoid harm to our country through banning criminals, reason has prevailed in that respect also. To my mind, at any rate, the former preference for the Dalmatian Islands as a dumping ground for our criminals impresses me today as something akin to the youthful enthusiasm for Robinson Crusoe and his island which inspires the naïve sentiments of a child. Perhaps I have become too much of a skeptic over the years whereas Gross has preserved decidedly too much idealism and fantasy. Even his introduction obliges us immediately to dissent. The fact that an old question keeps coming up anew and cannot be laid to rest does not at all justify the assumption that it contains a nucleus of what is right and that it was merely the way it was handled that was wrong. The jurists eventually exhaust the topics they are writing about and therefore go back to old subjects that

are long passé . . . Deportation is not a question on which one can speculate, offering ten arguments for and against it. The arguments in favor have been cogently rebutted through life experience, and it would be rather bold to claim that the question has been treated in a deficient manner until now. After all, the theoretical opinion of Bruck, an inland jurist whom Gross follows, may be balanced against the experience of England, the greatest colonial power in the world. I believe in this situation there can be no proper battle of opinions, since tracts by jurists or essayists cannot bring such enterprises to life.⁵¹

From Hoegel's point of view, the enthusiasm regarding deportations had long vanished into thin air, as compulsory methods of colonization had proven useless. To him, the whole idea of transforming deserts into an "Eldorado of Civilization" was just wishful thinking. Drawing on Russia's, England's, and France's unfavorable experiences with deportation, he tersely warned Austria from pursuing a similar goal: "Given the fact that Austria lacks its own places of colonization, there is little danger that it will make the same mistake with regard to deportation and be obliged to learn the hard way, through experience."⁵²

Although this debate had no immediate practical consequences, in retrospect it must certainly be seen as a milestone on the road to an ever more inhumane exclusion of marginalized groups in society. Ralf Rother, a philosopher and sociologist, pointed out that juridical arguments were increasingly replaced by "hygienic" ones: "While deportations initially targeted so-called career criminals, recidivists, vagabonds, beggars, and traitors to the fatherland, it was later also used for the removal from the realm of so-called degenerates, Socialists and anarchists, homosexuals and 'Gypsies.'" ⁵³ Mixing the fight against crime with the promotion of public health was a genuinely Austrian contribution to the whole debate. Decades before National Socialism set euthanasia on the agenda, the arguments of "inferiority" and "degeneration" had already entered the conversation. Exactly in this vein, Hans Gross saw penal colonies as a perfect remedy for a variety of deviances, from vagrancy, gambling addiction, work shyness, and sexual perversion to general discontent and rebellion.⁵⁴

REVERBERATIONS OF THE DEBATE

In his time as a law student, Franz Kafka attended lectures by Hans Gross, who taught as a University professor in Prague from 1902 to 1905. It is very likely that Gross debated deportation in his classes and thus sparked Kafka's interest in the topic. Kafka was verifiably also familiar with the richly illustrated report *Meine Reise nach den Strafkolonien* (My Travel to the Penal Colonies) by the young Bavarian lawyer Robert

Heindl (1883–1958).⁵⁵ Its publication in 1913 marked a high point, and at the same time indicated a turn in the disputes on deportation and penal colonies. Heindl gave an eyewitness report on his impressions from his travels to French and English penal colonies, and his firsthand evaluation was trenchant and devastating for all deportation enthusiasts. Not even touching upon humanitarian or juridical aspects, Heindl dismissed deportation for purely practical reasons: no economic benefits to society and no moral betterment to delinquents could be expected from it. Just before the outbreak of the First World War, Heindl's book brought an end to two centuries of deportation ambitions. But in Kafka's literature, the deportation question found its last reverberation: in 1919 he published his famous novella *In der Strafkolonie* (In the Penal Colony).⁵⁶

CONCLUSIONS

With a radical paradigm shift, the Habsburg monarchy abandoned its aspirations for participating in overseas penal colonies. What had started as a population experiment based on internal colonialism in the eighteenth century evolved in the first half of the nineteenth century into plans for convict settlements on islands and forced labor in fortresses. By the turn of the twentieth century, these ambitions had dissipated to just visions of parasitic participation in imperial colonialism that, due to the disinterest of Germany, never found a place in reality. By the time of the First World War, plans for Austrian penal colonies were finally abandoned. After the devastation of war and the collapse of the Habsburg empire, Austrian politicians, columnists, agitators, and jurists at first turned to new and more pressing questions. But the whole issue of deportations reemerged soon enough when National Socialist policies turned them into an instrument for mass execution and total annihilation.

PART II

Protestantism Goes
Underground

“ACTING AS IF IN A REPUBLIC ALREADY”

Carinthian Underground Protestants Rehearse the Uprising

U PRISINGS ARE SITUATED AT THE INTERSECTION OF POPULAR AND INSTITUTIONAL violence, and historians can use them as seismographs for waves of societal innovation or retardation. Up until the 1960s, mainstream historiography focused on revolutions with a capital “R,” but from then on, researchers’ interests progressively expanded to include less-spectacular forms of expressing discontent and anger, such as uprisings, riots, and rebellions. Eric Hobsbawm’s study *Primitive Rebels*, which dealt with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, sparked comparable investigations into the early modern period.¹ When considering such uprisings as regional or local events, their global significance can be missed. Doing so is unfortunate since these events often represent exemplary pieces of a puzzle, which when finally assembled will lead us to a more complete understanding of the many winding roads to modernity.

Uprisings first and foremost required courageous commoners (peasants, artisans, townsfolk, and the like) who, often against all odds, laid claim to control over their vital matters. As William Beik pointed out, forming “a precise definition of ‘popular’ involvement is not easy.” Yet there are some criteria that can be claimed: “Ideally this concept should encompass movements in which everyday men and women expressed their own points of view. These would be instances when the commoners agitated on their own behalf, expressing moral indignation at the violation of community-held values or intervening through direct action to change the course of events. [...] Popular protest and rebellions [...] should be defined as attempts by ordinary people to influence, or comment upon, issues decided by governments.”²

Particularly if the authorities, out of miscalculation or provocation, imposed unexpected innovations and thereby touched upon traditional values and conventional

rights, their subjects quite often reacted with fierce indignation: “People did have opinions about how things ought to be done, and they were capable of taking matters into their own hands if they were missing justice. Broadly excluded from the decision making processes, commoners adopted a language of protest that mixed tradition and initiative, violence and restraint.”³ The first step saw a movement from murmurs of disapproval to articulated demands. Then, passive resistance turned active until upheaval finally arrived.

This chapter deals with several waves of unrest in eighteenth-century Carinthia, on the southern border of today’s Austria. Protestants there triggered these disturbances after their requests for religious plurality were rejected and they were subsequently punished for making such requests. After giving a short overview of the history of Habsburg religious intolerance, I will analyze the preconditions of an uprising in the 1730s and the escalation of events in its aftermath. Interested mainly in the perspective of those who were at the receiving end of state-ordered violence, I will choose a micro-historical approach, which allows at least glimpses into the mindsets of the “commoners” mentioned above.

PROTESTANTISM GOES UNDERGROUND

With the collapse of Christian unity caused by the various sixteenth-century Reformation movements, religious violence loomed large in European politics for more than 250 years.⁴ The Habsburg rulers positioned themselves as decidedly Catholic and established a distinct type of piety, *Pietas Austriaca*, which mingled ostentation of faith with the mythology of divine election.⁵ Despite this state doctrine, the Habsburg empire in its entirety never achieved the mono-confessionality aspired to by their leaders. As rulers of a conglomerate state, they always had to consider the diversity of traditional rights that existed in their kingdoms, principalities, archduchies, duchies, and counties. This diversity required the implementation of a variety of religious regimes, from multi-confessional to strictly Catholic. The former was most pronounced in Transylvania, where Catholics, Lutherans, Reformed, and Unitarians were equally accepted; the latter applied to many other parts of the empire, among them the Austrian hereditary lands (*Österreichische Erblande*).⁶ Without taking into consideration the many significant demographic changes over the early modern period, one may assume that the inhabitants of the Austrian hereditary lands amounted to about one-third of the empire’s entire population.⁷

In the Austrian hereditary lands the Reformation period started early and in its first stage was a resounding success. Noblemen, artisans, and farmers alike felt attracted to

the novel ways of approaching faith, ceremony, and church organization, and soon they turned the Austrian hereditary lands into a Protestant stronghold. This development corresponded with the general trend in the rest of the empire: estimates suggest that Protestants constituted 75 to 90 percent of the total Habsburg population in 1600.⁸

But this high point of Protestantism was also its turning point. Starting in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, countless repressive interventions by the state and the Catholic Church lay the foundation for the triumph of the "Counter-Reformation" and "Catholic Reform" in the Austrian hereditary lands. Both fundamentally changed the religious landscape.⁹ Especially during the rule of Emperor Ferdinand II (r. 1619–1637), who was strongly rooted in the old church, Catholicism regained power over former apostate territories. As an immediate reaction, a quite considerable number of Protestant aristocrats emigrated, sometimes joined by stubborn farmers, who chose exile over a conversion to Catholicism.¹⁰ But however drastic these individual decisions were, the majority of Protestant Habsburg subjects, assessing their slim chances for a new start abroad, adapted to the new situation. In a combined effort, the Catholic Church and the Habsburg rulers worked to reestablish religiously uniform territories: the Catholic Church, significantly reshaped and modernized in its spirituality and image by the Council of Trent, reclaimed its singular status; the Habsburgs, by dint of their authority as ruling princes (*Landesfürsten*), claimed the right to unrestrictedly decide on the religious affiliation of their subjects. Their common intention was to completely strip Protestantism of any public significance.

The execution of this master plan implied the use of different forms of violence, from insistent persuasion; control by vigilant neighbors; spying on, summoning, and fining dissenters; and missionary work to deportation. More often than not this violence was effective and led to a total re-Catholization, although other times it fell short of this goal.

THE PHYSIOGNOMY OF AN UPRISING

Some of the regions in which the master plan was heavily contested and at least partially curtailed were situated in the duchy of Carinthia. In the rural setting of some of its valleys, Protestantism not only survived but at times its adherents also strongly counteracted its elimination.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, Johann Anton Oswald Graf von Goëss (1694–1764), governor (*Landeshauptmann*) of Carinthia from 1734 to 1747, was one of the key decision makers in the authorities' fight against Protestantism. He adapted Vienna's general directives to regional needs and supervised the local administrators

and priests required to implement them on the spot. Of all the bureaucrats involved Goëss was the best informed, and his bureau was the place where top-down and bottom-up perspectives met and interlocked or collided respectively.

In 1735 Goëss wrote an extensive self-justification that he sent to the *Corpus Evangelicorum*, the Protestant representation in the Reich that served as patron of the Protestants in the Austrian hereditary lands. At the beginning of this document Goëss portrayed himself as an essentially lenient man, who avoided fanning the flames of religious conflict as much as possible: “Immediately after I assumed office, I chose the principle not to scrupulously act on theological maxims and to treat the case [of the Underground Protestants] very lightly. No one was to be punished just because of his religion, but only those ringleaders, who had breached the peace and had gotten arrested because of sedition and seduction. I intended not to pay attention to all the other [Protestants] as long as they were grown-ups. Only the youth should receive a solid education in the old faith [. . .], which would enable them to make a substantiated choice on their confession.”¹¹

Considering the many harsh actions that the governor had taken against Underground Protestants from the beginning of his time in office, it is hard not to interpret these words as mere lip service and obfuscation. But even if Goëss had initially intended such a moderate pace, the chances for its realization evaporated further with every month in the running battle between Protestant peasants and Catholic authorities. The governor himself, impressively, if from a naturally biased viewpoint, depicted the escalation that led to what he interpreted as a menacing riot.

At first (he said) the “mischievous hordes of peasants” circulated calumnies, mockeries, and blasphemies, smudged devotional pictures with feces, declared holy mass for idolatry and profanity, and then (as actually documented) flocked together in numerically frightening groups of up to three hundred people. Coming from near and far, the boldest among them forcefully broke into unused chapels, opened them up to their coreligionists, and used them as rooms for improvised Protestant service.

Furthermore, the governor claimed that some insurgents had indicated that priests (according to his account they used the pejorative term *Pfaffe*) should be clubbed to death, and nobleman and their administrators chased from their estates. In the light of these frightening actions and menaces, the governor concluded that “these peasants were acting as if in a republic already,” a republic “in which they no longer would be obliged to obey a ruling prince and his subordinate representatives.”¹²

It is quite remarkable that the governor used the specter of a “republic” to characterize what was going on in the rioting parts of his duchy. In 1735 there were merely a handful of republics in Europe—only Venice, Switzerland, and the Netherlands.¹³ The Goëss family had roots in the former Spanish Netherlands, so it might have been the Dutch Republic, which had emerged out of it, that haunted the governor’s fantasy. But in

Carinthia, a republic was completely out of reach, and it took until 1918 to topple the monarchic system and make the former duchy part of a restructured and now republican Austria.

How was it possible that the governor lost so much control that he feared the establishment of a republic? Two factors seem crucial: the survival of Protestantism in the Austrian hereditary lands despite Counter-Reformation and Catholic Reform, and the catalyzing effects of the Salzburg emigration of 1731–1732.

PRECONDITION ONE: UNDERGROUND PROTESTANTISM

Peasants and craftsmen in Carinthia (but also in Upper Austria and Styria) challenged the authorities by clinging to their now-forbidden Protestant beliefs, and thus countered the Counter-Reformation in several waves across the decades. These Protestants lived in a very specific form of diaspora, as kinds of strangers in their own lands. They have commonly been referred to as "Crypto-Protestants," but about twenty years ago I suggested a different term that has since been accepted by many scholars:¹⁴ "Underground Protestants" seems a more accurate designation that gets more effectively to the heart of the matter, as these religious dissenters were not hiding out "cryptically"; rather, they acted in the underground like partisans. They were not always visible, but certainly perceptible. Rather than ducking away and clinging clandestinely to their faith, they were in many cases outspoken and therefore well known to the manorial owners and their administrators.¹⁵

Before upheavals got out of hand in the 1730s, Underground Protestants and administrators had for decades staged a meticulously orchestrated power game that had prevented grueling conflicts. Underground Protestants kept a low profile and conformed to as much superficial Catholic behavior as was bearable to them; the administrators, in return, refrained from any thorough investigations into the religious practices of their subjects.¹⁶ One could call it a standstill agreement, and wherever it worked, it kept the societies in balance; wherever it failed, uprisings and their repression resulted.

During this frozen conflict, many of the local and regional administrators may have hoped that the Underground Protestants would simply disappear over the generations, but these expectations were only rarely fulfilled; instead, the Underground Protestants passed their specific religiosity from one generation to the other. One of the backbones for such a transfer was the ability to read the Bible for themselves and within their families. During the Reformation's heyday, many had already acquired literacy. This skill allowed them to comply with the Protestant principle of *sola scriptura*, which demanded a personal engagement with the texts of the Bible. With their reading skills, the

Underground Protestants, in the absence of any trained preachers, became self-made interpreters of the scriptures.

PRECONDITION TWO: THE SALZBURG EMIGRATION

Around the turn of the seventeenth century, the standstill between peasants and administrators in Carinthia slowly began to crumble, and stricter control and increasingly suppressive measures were implemented during the reign of Emperor Charles VI (r. 1711–1740). Despite these changes for the worse, the Carinthian Protestants would have stayed calm and accommodated for at least some time had an event not occurred that would occupy European politics for some years.

In 1731, the archbishop and ruling prince of Salzburg—whose territory was separate from the Habsburgs' in the early modern period—provoked an emigration of Protestants from his territory that over the course of a single year turned into a veritable exodus of between fifteen thousand and twenty thousand people. Under early modern conditions, this was an extraordinary number, and the contemporary media broadly covered the event in newspapers, broadsheets, pamphlets, tracts, devotional literature, calendars, paintings, engravings, and coin medals. This emigration was different from earlier ones, as there was not the familiar silent way of people trickling out into the neighboring countries, but rather a sometimes even pompous staging of religious drama. Huge numbers of emigrants moved from one city of the Holy Roman Empire to the next. If these cities were Protestant themselves, the émigrés were enthusiastically received and sometimes even hailed as martyrs. The majority of the émigrés finally went to Prussia after Frederick William I's invitation. There they became privileged settlers in the environs of today's Kaliningrad.¹⁷

All of Europe realized that this emigration was an exceptional event, and the Habsburgs were on especially high alert. Their greatest concern was losing what was considered the state's most precious capital: its people. With the Salzburg emigration in mind, Habsburg decision makers tried to ensure against the dawning of a similar situation.

A MAELSTROM ERUPTS

While the Habsburg elites pondered the Salzburg emigration from a demographic point of view, its consequences seriously affected the mentality of the Protestants in Carinthia. On the one hand, they were shocked by the unrelenting actions of the

authorities; on the other hand, they were amazed by the chutzpah of the Salzburgers. This amazement soon turned into admiration and imitation.

With the events in Salzburg in the back of their heads, more and more of the Carinthian Protestants left their underground existence and openly declared themselves religious dissenters. This began the so-called enlistment movements (*Einschreibbewegungen*). Those with charisma became leading figures of the movement. Charisma could be based on many different features, including high status within the rural society, economic wealth, experience of the world, literacy, and age, but boldness or even brazenness also proved appealing. When an individual exhibited two or more of these features, they were especially likely to become a self-made preacher.

One such charismatic person was shoemaker Stoffel (Christoph) Lägler, who in 1733 was one of the protagonists of what first seemed a provincial burlesque but which later turned out to be a tragedy. A tiny initial impulse gained such momentum that it surprised all parties involved. The shoemaker, a devoted Protestant, book collector, and skilled reader, was so enthused by his religious convictions that they simply could not go unnoticed by the authorities. As a disciplinary measure, they ordered him to hand over all his suspect books to the local priest. After several reminders, to which Lägler did not respond, the priest decided to use a ruse. On Ascension Day he ordered Lägler to attend mass and thought that he would stay in the church for some time after it was finished. Meanwhile, the priest ran out of the church and headed for the shoemaker's home, where he—without Lägler's presence—intended to search for books. But the shoemaker, who from the beginning clearly understood what was going on, raced the priest to his books. The priest, for the sake of greater mobility, even discarded his habit along the way. A brawl ensued, over the course of which the priest put a stranglehold on Lägler. The shoemaker responded with physical force as well, which was a serious mistake. In the eyes of the authorities, Lägler had now turned from a religiously motivated hot-head into a delinquent; they immediately imprisoned him and he remained in jail for the following 181 days.¹⁸

Lägler's incarceration unleashed waves of solidarity among his fellow Protestants, whom one after the other identified themselves. In what was later recognized as a complete misjudgment of the situation, these “confessors” then put their names on lists that were intended to impress and pressure the authorities. Ever more stridently, the Protestants asked for official recognition of their religion. These advances reached their first apogee in 1734 with a demand for religious toleration that was only thinly disguised as a petition:

It is our humble request—as we have requested before and will not abstain from further—[...] to be granted evangelists, who will tell us and interpret for us the Word of God purely, without any human addition, as it is appropriate for the Holy Scriptures

[...]. We are asking you, not to refuse our request [...] as we can see no other way for getting blessed and to preserve a clean conscience.¹⁹

In accordance with the Gospel of Matthew that asked for rendering “unto Caesar the things that are Caesar’s,” the peasants cautiously added that apart from religious affairs they supported and respected both the emperor and his administrators. This declaration of (conditioned) loyalty was typical for a “classic riot” (William Beik): “The participants had opinions about politics and they challenged authority in a logical, informed way. Their action was legitimized by widely held values [...]. They did not generally question the king or the system in general. In fact, the demonstrators usually believed that the king would agree with them if only he knew their plight.”²⁰

Regardless of such an assertion, the authorities took this petition as a declaration of war²¹ and immediately detained one—quite expected—subscriber: shoemaker Stoffel. He, as one presumable eyewitness recorded, “got arrested in the night. He was only allowed to dress up in trousers and shirt before he was taken to the castle in the worst of weather [...] On the next day, he was [...] transported across the river, his hands tied to a straight stick [...]”²²

Although this harsh treatment could have been a warning for all of Lägler’s coreligionists, it did not stop them from pushing on with their demands. It was as if a ball once started rolling could no longer be stopped. The Protestants began arranging larger meetings that turned from social gatherings among the like-minded into well-attended alternative religious services. Instead of listening to the often-disliked (and sometimes even despised) Catholic priests in their churches, more and more people now preferred to practice their faith within their communities and with ceremonies that they created for themselves. Openly competing with Catholic mass, such meetings posed a massive provocation vis-à-vis both the spiritual and the mundane authorities.²³

PUNISHMENT

This, in utmost brevity, is the story of how the Protestants of Carinthia emerged from the underground, became open confessors, and finally menaced the governor with the specter of a republic. But what were the governor’s plans for containing an uprising of such dimensions and character? How could the authorities warn others against similar behaviors?

The answers came right from the top of the power pyramid. The emperor exercised his authority and commanded drastic new forms of punishment for participants in the uprising. In a first step, the rioters had to be identified, a procedure that the Protestants undeliberately had already facilitated by putting their names on the confessors’ lists.

Thus, the authorities had available at a glance a survey of all potential rioters. From this set of suspects, the manorial administrator and the governor picked out so-called ring-leaders, whom they imprisoned. After further investigations, most of them were *transmigrated*, an entirely novel form of punishment.

Transmigration was a euphemistic term intended to disguise the true nature of this measure, which was simply domestic deportation. Unwanted subjects were not shifted over the borders but relocated *within* the Habsburg realm.²⁴

Carried out through a combination of transportation on ships and carts as well as forced marches on foot, *transmigrations* had a threefold aim. Firstly, they were meant as a punishment for the religious dissenters and their families. Secondly, they were intended to isolate the most riotous subjects from their communities. And thirdly, the *transmigrants* were seen as a reservoir of human resources to be utilized in the course of broader settlement policies in Transylvania. Transylvania was the logical place of destination for the *transmigrants*. As mentioned earlier, four confessions were accepted in this principality, an anomaly in the Habsburg empire.²⁵

The first convoy left Carinthia at the end of September 1734, but instead of calming the situation, this harsh intervention only made things worse. Totally unexpected by the authorities, the story took a dramatic turn: the women, who had been separated from their deported husbands and were forced to remain behind, became the carriers of the torch. The phenomenon of female self-empowerment is well known from many other early modern uprisings: "Women played a prominent role in most riots. Women served as the conscience and moral repository of the community. They were often the first to cry out publicly when an abuse surfaced, and many a riot was set off by just such a cry."²⁶ In the Carinthian case, these women became, as Olwen Hufton once phrased it, both "women rioters" and "riotous women."²⁷ They were not willing to live their future lives without husbands. Such an intrusion into their familial integrity seemed totally unacceptable to them. A separation of such kind would have turned them into de facto widows, without any chance for remarrying, as their husbands had not died, but "only" been sent to Transylvania. As Arlette Farge once put it, their protest "attempted to repair what was destroyed and to anticipate a future whose uncertainty was no longer tolerable."²⁸ Thus, the Carinthian women demanded to be likewise deported to Transylvania, to be able to reunite with their husbands. This is how a second transport emerged; in a snowball effect, five more followed.²⁹ By the end of this escalation the transports no longer included only religious dissenters, but also deviants of all sorts—people the authorities considered to be good-for-nothings and solely burdens.

The rioters were shocked. Those who had been taken away were silenced—at least for a while. But those who were still in Carinthia searched for possible ways to pressure the authorities by influencing public opinion. Their contact point was the *Corpus Evangelicorum* in Regensburg, the highest representation of the Protestant Imperial

Estates, whose role included providing protection for Underground Protestants in the Habsburg empire.³⁰ Traditionally, locals would exchange letters and supplications with them, but a sense of urgency increased during times of *transmigrations* so Carinthians sent emissaries to Regensburg instead. Countering the idea that the Carinthian Protestants were defenselessly exposed to state repression, this move reveals striking agency. They tried hard to transform these Carinthian Habsburg cases into “international” affairs. Peasants met with the highest diplomats who represented the Protestant European powers of the day. With their eyewitness reports, the emissaries kept the diplomats up to date and allowed them to build their arguments from an intimate familiarity with the goings-on in Carinthia. Apart from this activism, the emissaries also sent encouraging letters from Regensburg back to the Austrian hereditary lands and thus tried to keep up the spirits of their coreligionists. In their attempts to crush Habsburg justification of, and strategies for, deportations, the emissaries—untrained as they were—acted almost like diplomats, with political skill and unerring instinct. But despite all of these efforts, their fight to gain control over the discourse and for a reversal of *transmigrations* dashed against the declared intent of the Habsburgs to solve the Protestant “problem” once and for all.

ALARMING RESULTS

Seven transports took approximately 170 Carinthian *transmigrants* to Transylvania. In most cases, their journey ended in chaos and disaster. However hard it must have been, it was not so much the travel itself, but the situation in Transylvania that determined the failure. Concrete settlement policies were broadly lacking. Instead of being resettled into a few adjacent villages, the deportees were dispersed throughout the country because of a dearth of unused farmland. Many of them fell into extreme poverty and died from hunger, epidemics, or the ongoing deterioration of their physical and psychological condition. One-quarter of the Carinthian deportees were dead within just one year. The survivors often fled from the places that had been designated to them. But escape did not fundamentally change their precarious existence. Virtually none of them returned home. Some of the escapees left for Klausenburg/Cluj, others went to Preßburg/Bratislava or Vienna, and still others resettled in Regensburg. Only a very small group made their way back to Carinthia. In some very rare cases the manorial owners accepted them again after they had confessed the Catholic faith. But the majority of returnees were *transmigrated* a second time.³¹

The overall results of the *transmigrations* at the local level were alarming: by the end of 1736, not only had some “ringleaders” been removed, but a whole segment of the population was gone. In one extreme case in one small village more than 60 percent of the houses had changed owners. But what affected the villagers even more was

the lingering shock that is probably best described as transgenerational trauma. Three generations were immediately and severely affected by the impact of the *transmigrations*. Old farmers were deprived of their offspring, and children were turned into artificial orphans, whose parents were alive but not allowed to see them. If these children were small and thus considered to be re-educable for Catholicism, they were abducted and taken to foster parents.³²

As if this was not enough, the Carolinian *transmigrations* were restaged under the rule of Maria Theresa in the 1750s, 1760s, and, for the last time, in the 1770s. In these Theresian *transmigrations* the siblings, as well as the nieces and nephews of the earliest *transmigrants*, became the new deportees. Upper Austria now became the epicenter, but Carinthia was also targeted again. The three-digit numbers of the early transports now significantly increased. When *transmigrations* finally came to an end, around 3,500 people had been removed to Transylvania.

ARCHIVAL RELICS

Up until the Patent of Toleration, the fight against Protestantism was primarily a political task of both the Habsburg bureaucracy and the Catholic Church. So many actions produced a great number of documents that provide historians with rich source material. Especially regarding the local level, these documents allow deep insights into the religious life of confessionally divided regions.³³ Interrogation protocols and petitions form a rich corpus of ego-documents. Letters written by literate peasants and craftsmen can even be found among these papers (see chapter 5). Moreover, the local authorities painstakingly recorded their activities. So-called Religious Protocols (*Religionsprotokolle*) can be seen as kinds of persecution diaries; kept by manorial administrators in Carinthia, they discuss the backgrounds of their strategies and tactics. The rest of the story is told through Romanian archives: how the local administrators envisaged and executed the settlement in Transylvania and how the frequent escapes were witnessed by contemporaries.³⁴

Archival relics also offer a detailed report on the financial aspects of the deportations. Because the removals were expensive and complex bureaucratic procedures, they challenged administrators to the extreme. An account of *transmigration*-related expenses from 1734 to 1748 reveals a remarkable total of 23,379 guilders (*Gulden*); only a fraction of these costs were covered by the deportees' financial resources, which erroneously were supposed to fully compensate the losses.³⁵ Immediately before the deportees left Carinthia, inventories were set up that carefully recorded each person's belongings—a bureaucratic nightmare for all accountants. If the balance of these inventories was positive, the *transmigrants* received a small portion of the money at the start of their journey, but the rest turned into an outstanding debt, which often remained uncleared. The

consequence was endless petitioning that kept the bureaucracy busy, in some cases for up to half a century. The successors to the *transmigrants'* farms were supposed to compensate the original owners for their losses, but this only rarely occurred. The manorial owners felt little obligation to intercede in favor of their former subjects, who had revolted against them. Thus, demarcation between endless prolongation and de facto confiscation blurred. Up until the end of the eighteenth century, even the children of those once deported were still making claims to administrators in Carinthia.

CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVES

From the first half of the eighteenth century until the middle of the twentieth (and to a much lesser extent up to its end), research on Underground Protestantism in the Austrian hereditary lands as well as in Salzburg was strongly influenced by researchers who were also Lutheran functionaries.³⁶ This affiliation would not be worth mentioning had it not also shaped the views on Underground Protestants as dogmatically untrained but nevertheless compliant followers of Lutheran principles and explanations of the world. Thus, explicitly Lutheran researchers tinted their historical subjects in a quite monochrome manner, leaving not much space for a shadow of a doubt. Their oft-repeated claim that Underground Protestantism was characterized “by a distinct confessional conscience with a clear judgment versus the Roman church, and a firm belief regarding the veracity of the Lutheran confession”³⁷ seems rather arbitrary, yet deliberate. The claim is arbitrary because sources suggesting dissenting stories are thus silenced; it is deliberate because it strengthens the master narrative of a supposedly unbroken chain of Lutheran traditions in Austria.

The legends start with the geographical positioning of Underground Protestantism. Lutheran hagiographical literature localized it in far-off, hard-to-control mountainous regions, where devout farmers supposedly gathered their family members around the dining table for prayer. Micro-history has proven this assumption untrue, at least in its exclusiveness. A great many of the rebellious villages were *not* scattered settlements in remote places but situated alongside the main routes. This means that the phenomenon of Underground Protestantism was in no way geographically determined.³⁸

The story of the Carinthian Underground Protestants has by Lutheran historiography also often been told as one of small diasporic communities fighting for survival. If we take a bird's-eye view of eighteenth-century Carinthia, the Protestant spaces were indeed enclaves of a small, endangered minority. But if we look more closely at particular regions, the *dominance* of Protestants on a local level often is striking. During certain periods, Protestants offended clerics and manorial administrators, mocked Catholics, and attacked places of worship—actions backed by most of the local population.³⁹

Dogmatic assertions regarding the theological orientation of the Underground Protestants must also be reconsidered. Whereas Protestant ecclesiastical historiography tends to view Underground Protestants as dyed-in-the-wool Lutherans, the archival documents tell a more sophisticated story. Judging from the many protocols that survived, only one of the interrogated peasants explicitly rooted his beliefs in the Augsburg Confession. All his fellows, by contrast, were more idiosyncratic in their testimonies, sometimes even contradictory. It seems that the faith of the majority was not so much based on an *either Luther or the Pope* decision, but rather on an individual and distinct recollection of the Gospels as the centerpiece of and guideline for Christian conduct. Interpreting this approach simply as a *sola scriptura* principle would overestimate the dogmatic knowledge of Underground Protestants. They were self-educated people, inspired by books and not by predicants or pastors, whom few had ever seen. They were religious rebels who had missed out on the age of confessionalization.

A single example may attest to this assumption: when in 1734 a baby was born to an Underground Protestant couple, a serious conflict evolved between the parents and the Catholic priest. The parents asked for baptism according to what "Saint John had done with Jesus Christ in the River Jordan."⁴⁰ The dispute about such a baptism in the river escalated when the parents presented a godmother who was unacceptable to the priest. When this woman made too much use of her "unstoppably godless trap" (*gottlos ungestillte[m] Maull*), she was arrested.⁴¹ Such an explicit demand for a word-to-word adherence to the New Testament would also in the Protestant territories of the Holy Roman Empire have led to a discord. But it was perfectly comprehensible in a region that was cut off from the Protestant developments in the Holy Roman Empire. Already well-established standards of organized Protestantism in the *Reich* were unknown to most of the Carinthian dissenters. Although books of a catechetical character circulated among them, very often an idiosyncratic interpretation of biblical rules and rituals prevailed.

Undisguised disobedience as described earlier was only one side of the story; another was the use of mimicry. When, for instance, Mathias Gegner, an elderly farmer from one of the heretic villages in Carinthia, was brought before the local courts, it was not because of a specific deed but rather an omission. After his stepdaughter's death, he had refrained from calling a priest. As a hardcore Protestant it had been her explicit wish not to take the last rites. Instead, half the village met around her death bed, consoled her, and read to her from prayer books. After she passed away, Gegner became worried about the possible consequences of not having notified the priest. He finally decided to conform to the system and report the deceased to the local priest. Gegner hoped for complaisance and expected the priest to bury the corpse. But the priest refused and suggested that Gegner bury the woman himself, in any place, as long as it was outside the local cemetery. According to this advice, which was, in fact, a declaration

of war, as the priest denied the sacred ground of the cemetery to the deceased, the village people gathered in an orchard and celebrated the burial there, choosing their own ways of saying farewell to the deceased woman. In the aftermath of these events, Gegner was interrogated in court. He was, as we know from other sources, a Protestant himself, but a quite moderate one, who up until then had not been attacked by the authorities. As a matter of routine, he was now asked about his religious beliefs. He answered with a sentence that showed a perfect strategic obfuscation: "As it is usual over here," he said, and thus left everything open for interpretation. "Usual" could refer to Catholicism, the official form of worship, but also to Protestantism, the form predominant in Gegner's region.⁴²

Another common but at least partly untrue assumption overestimates the role the Catholic Church played in suggesting, planning, and implementing the *transmigrations*. According to the archival records, not all clerics were driving forces behind the deportations; their role was rather ambivalent. Some willingly and even zealously executed the state-prescribed persecutions, but others did not shy from overt resistance to them. Sometimes, even missionaries of all people, covered up obvious insubordinations of the Underground Protestants. A certain Father Carolomannus, for instance, who later became the prior of a monastery in Carinthia, quite touchingly engaged in helping the apostates in his sphere of influence. He whitewashed his reports by describing them as on the way to orthodoxy, whereas he knew quite well that these peasants stubbornly clung to their forbidden beliefs. Carolomannus even went as far as to directly confront the mundane authorities. Among the few surviving letters by Carolomannus—written in a tiny, beautiful, and quite unusual writing style—there is one to the local administrator, drafted in a rage. When one of the peasants whom he described on the way back to Catholicism was unexpectedly arrested, his patience snapped: "I do not consider," he declared, "such a procedure in accord with the goal of winning back [lost] souls [...] Under such circumstances, I am forced to put my hands in my pockets or to take my walking stick and wander back into the cell of my monastery, uncomforted and without any achievements. What can it be good for, if one works, while the other one destroys?" These few lines reveal the large gap between state doctrine and the missionaries' approaches.⁴³

CONCLUSION

The case of *transmigrations* poignantly shows how religious deviance, insurrection, and state-ordered violence can so closely intertwine. This explosive mixture tells a story about the early modern Habsburg empire only rarely evoked. Rioting farmers and artisans *saw themselves* as radical petitioners for tolerance,⁴⁴ but *were seen* as insurgents

and therefore criminals by the authorities. Because the state implemented this original deportation as a novel way of combining punishment and population politics, this event could have been limited to this one particular uprising and this one narrow group of “ringleaders.” But as deportations always hold the potential for escalation and continuation, in this case, too, the disruptions multiplied. For forty years after this particular case, *transmigrations* became the *ultima ratio* in the Habsburgs’ fight against Protestantism. The *transmigrants’* reactions to the hardships connected to it are no sign of their “silent acquiescence,” as Lutheran historians have often suggested, but of their agency—an agency that even the worst circumstances could not completely destroy.

WRITING AGAINST SUFFOCATION

Migrant Letters as Documents and Strategies of Survival

THIS CHAPTER¹ DEALS WITH A SPECIAL TYPE OF SOURCE THAT HAS ONLY rarely been consulted in previous research: letters written by farmers. Over the course of the last one hundred years, innovative trends in historiography (like the history of everyday life, history of mentalities, and micro-history) have repeatedly shown the value of so-called ego-documents or self-testimonies (*Selbstzeugnisse*), documents written by an author who speaks from a personal or autobiographical perspective.² But few studies based on ego-documents consider, let alone bring to light, the lives of those below the bourgeois. For a variety of reasons, personal letters from the early modern period were deliberately excluded from ego-document anthologies.³

Finding personal letters written by farmers mostly happens randomly, and we lack clear knowledge of how many of these letters archives might hold. We even lack an overview of official or semiofficial farmers' letters (such as supplications⁴ or memorandums), which, according to Claudia Ulbrich, should "relatively often" be discovered.⁵

Personal letters from peasants are rare expressions of people in exceptional situations. If everything had gone "normally" for them, they might never have picked up a pen or consulted a scribe. As a rule, the rural family lived in a readily comprehensible environment, in which verbal communication was the standard; letters were unnecessary.

In the following chapter, I will present some exemplary pieces from one remarkable corpus of farmers' letters, which are scattered over many European archives. The circumstances of their survival were, as we will see, extremely painful for their writers.

THE BROADER CONTEXT OF THE LETTERS

As described in chapter 4, during the sixteenth century the Reformation was a resounding success in the Austrian hereditary lands.⁶ Noblemen and peasants alike turned this centerpiece of the Habsburg empire into a Protestant stronghold. Then, a few decades of massively repressive state and church interventions changed the religious situation dramatically. Catholicism again claimed the status of sole religious representation, and Protestantism was doomed to illegality until the Patent of Tolerance (1781). Wherever the house of Habsburg was unrestricted by special traditions or treaties (as was the case in Transylvania and partly in Hungary and Silesia), its ostentatious Catholicism became part of state doctrine.

Those Protestants who were not willing to convert neglected this state-ordered mono-confessionality and went underground. Thus, a few scattered territories in the Austrian hereditary lands over the course of the seventeenth century became pockets of resistance to the official re-Catholicization efforts. For what remain obscure reasons, peasants and small tradesmen in some villages in Upper Austria, Carinthia, and Styria challenged the authorities by stubbornly adhering to their now-forbidden Protestant beliefs. In this specific form of diaspora, these groups passed their criminalized religious practices from generation to generation. From 1720 onward, more and more dissenters took their fortunes into their own hands. Charismatic self-made preachers compensated for the lack of any trained Protestant clergy and formed illegal prayer groups.

The basis for such activities was the reading skills of community members.⁷ Literacy was passed from parents to their children, according to the Protestant belief in *sola scriptura*—the belief that salvation lay in scripture alone and a personal engagement with it. Prayer groups interpreted Bible verses without any guidance, an act that the Catholic authorities classified as almost revolutionary. At the highpoint of the movement, these dissenters developed a self-made Protestant service right in the heart of Catholicism. It is little wonder that the authorities immediately classified the spokesmen of the movement as provocateurs and “ringleaders.”

Up until their public emergence in the 1720s, Underground Protestants, as I term them (see chapter 4), had led a double life. While they practiced Catholic behavior vis-à-vis the religious and mundane authorities, among the like-minded they thought and acted as Protestants. The authorities always had vague suspicions about their existence but hoped that they would simply disappear over the generations. But as this expectation was not fulfilled, suppressive measures became increasingly draconic. Branded as “heretics,” many dissenters were doomed to an existence that was permanently endangered. During the first decades of the eighteenth century, the conflicts dramatically escalated and eventually got out of hand. What these imperial subjects saw

as their legitimate demand for tolerance the imperial court interpreted as heresy and even insurrection.⁸ Punishment, which had traditionally only been comprised of monetary fines and citations in front of governors, now changed to forced recruitment, coercive labor, and, in a final step, deportations. The relocation of Protestants to Sibiu/Hermannstadt and its environs in Transylvania, on the southeastern fringe of the empire, represented not only a “brain drain” from Carinthia and Upper Austria but also endangered the life and limb of each deportee: long marches on foot, epidemics, and bureaucratic mismanagement depleted their numbers significantly. From those who survived, many a formerly rich farmer was transformed into a starving day laborer.

Contemporaries euphemistically addressed these forceful relocations as *transmigrations*;⁹ such *transmigrants* were shifted within the realm of the Habsburgs and not over its borders.¹⁰ Between 1734 and 1776, in several waves covering the reign of three emperors, approximately 3,500 people were submitted to this specific form of state-ordered violence.

VANQUISHING THE SILENCE

The case of *transmigrations* in itself is exceptional and has been described further in chapter 4. But what interests us here is one of the side effects of the deportation scheme. Deportations created disrupted families, who became a kind of collateral damage of this policy. As is common in such situations, people put pen to paper to stay in touch, to make claims for restitution of rights and property, and to make sense of their stories and experiences, both those already encountered and those still to come. People missed other people, especially their relatives and neighbors; they also missed the money promised to them from the sale of what they had left behind and what was due to them through legacies and bequests from within their families. And, given that these were religious times, people also searched for spiritual explanations for their experiences.

In the case of the Austrian *transmigrants*, a textual corpus of close to 150 letters has survived in archives in Austria, Germany, and Romania.¹¹ A few additional letters that over time were physically lost or never made it into the archives can be reconstructed from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century publications.

Almost all of these letters were secreted exchanges that tried to outwit the authorities’ intentions to cut written communications between the *transmigrants* and those still left behind. Intended isolation of the *transmigrants* from their former homes was an integral part of *transmigration* that even reached into the realm of communion. Therefore, censorship was not limited to certain specific things that were not supposed to be discussed in these letters; letters home were forbidden across the board.

In most cases, harsh censorship brought the letters into the archives, quite often without them ever having first reached their addressees. Due to this circumstance, they are unilateral, covering only the letters written by deportees or emigrants and never those of their correspondents. But all of these letters emerged from this single complex of events, which interconnects them and makes them more than just a snapshot of a given moment. In rare cases, archives even hold a chain of letters from just one author. Pre- and post-migration histories of *transmigrants* thus become visible; individual life stories arise from the “gray mass” of deportees.

These letters are extremely rare and precious documents. One of their unique features is that these countrymen, trapped in their ultimately miserable situations as deprived deportees, were virtually forced into expressing their emotions in the plainest of terms. In general, due to illiteracy and the absence of situations that called for communication over long distances, personal letters of common men and women from premodernity are sparse.¹² But the case of the *transmigrants* is completely different; indeed, it is unique. The deported Protestants urgently needed news and contact with the world they had lost, and so they exchanged letters that spanned the hundreds of miles between their old homes and the new settlements. Not only were many Underground Protestants trained in reading the Bible on their own without the help from learned priests, but quite a few of them were furthermore, as a by-product of their literacy, able to write without the consultation of scribes.

What can be found in these letters? What did deportees of the eighteenth century deem significant, remarkable, or memorable enough to put down in writing? The individual letters vary significantly and touch on a broad range of topics.

EARTHLY NEEDS AND HEAVENLY TONGUES

First of all, there are very practical letters: greetings and good wishes to family members and neighbors, information about former villagers who had been deported or had passed away, reports on the traveling and settlement conditions, monetary issues, urgent needs concerning clothing, and the like. Here is an example of one such letter:

All glory to God! Mother and sister! Friendly greetings to my beloved wife and my children, to the neighborhood, all the relatives, and the godparents. I could not refrain from writing a few lines to you about how I am doing. We are fresh and healthy, thanks to God, and our journey is going well [. . .] The captain [of the deportation convoy] said that you women will follow us soon, therefore I ask you, my beloved wife, to take eagerly care of the children, whom you should all take with you. Also,

inform my mother that she should join in. The captain said that they will disburse all our belongings, therefore take the money with you and my best garment [. . .] I do not know much more to write [. . .], fare ye well, God be with you!¹³

In much of their content, these types of letters resemble each other in their simplicity and their evident struggle for words, which makes the miserable situation of the deportees even more palpable. They were not trained in penmanship, and letters were not their normal way of communication. They first had to overcome the blankness of the paper or, if they were unable to write themselves, build their confidence in their intermediaries, be they literate friends or professional scribes.

Quite different from such down-to-earth letters are the ones that begin unexceptionally but then suddenly drift into what might be called biblical language, sometimes quoting from or paraphrasing the scriptures. One such letter of a *transmigrant*, who was a self-made preacher and whose fascinating biography I have reconstructed in another essay,¹⁴ is a good example. After the usual news about himself and some of his fellow *transmigrants*, the author switches to teachings and exhortations taken from the Bible:

I do not know much more to write about, there is no news to report home. But let longanimity enter your hearts and remember that Christ has also suffered a lot because of us. And he says: He who wants to be my disciple should carry his cross and follow me. Therefore stick to the cross willingly, because God wants to have it this way. Believe that God knows better about the reasons. He sends everything for our hail and salvation. He never challenges anybody above his abilities but provides that temptation comes to such an end that we are happy and consoled. Therefore remain steady in your undertakings because he who puts his hand at the plow and is looking back, is not fit for God's Empire. We do not want to be like the seed that falls on dry land and withers when the heat comes. We want to be like seed on good land and be fertile in patience. Because here in temporality steadiness earns the crown and there [i.e., in eternity] it receives the reward of grace. God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost support these efforts. Amen.¹⁵

All of these words, phrases, and allegories appear in the Bible (carrying the cross/willingly taking up one's cross from Mark 8:34–36; not being challenged above abilities from 1 Corinthians 10:13; looking back from Luke 9:62; seed on land from Luke 8:5–8). In a quasi-priestly manner the author aligns himself with the words of the scripture and uses them to express his most existential ponderings.

A further stage of such biblically inspired prose is seen in letter writers who used quotes from the Bible as stepping stones for self-invented cascades of words expressing states of mind and soul. Such passages, which sometimes resemble the practice of

speaking in tongues, seem to be highly influenced by the Pietist movement of the day, which also tried to find emphatic ways for expressing individual spiritual attachment.¹⁶

Here is an example of the quasi-prophetic “sound,” or tone, of this type of letter, which uses Pietist imagery of inner light and heat to express spirituality:

I do not write to the Catholics, who do not believe in the gospel, but to those, who have but a small light of the evangelical truth. [...] Those hypocrites, who are neither cold nor warm, I will take them in my mouth and spit them out! [...] You know that the way up here is narrow and that there are only a few, who will find it. Therefore, promenade under the light, as long as it is there, so that darkness cannot oppress you totally [...]. There is no other way to the smokes of heaven than by taking up one’s cross and by suffering. [...] The lord has led me out of Babylon and he has ordered his angels, that they guard me both by sea and by land. [...] Beloved ones, do not believe in any ghosts, but inspect them if they have been sent by God or not! Many false prophets have been sent off into the world [...].¹⁷

It seems wholly unfathomable how such an elaborate style and visionary message entered into the writings of largely uneducated countrymen and women. The last passage of the letter alludes directly to the Bible, the first epistle of John 4:1: “Dear friends, do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits to see whether they are from God, because many false prophets have gone out into the world.”¹⁸

Was it an intense and reenacted reading of the Bible that finally brought forth a firework of figures of speech? Was it the imitation of devotional works that circulated among the Underground Protestants in great numbers? Were the expressive skills of a scribe involved? Such diction pervades dissenting variants of Protestantism, providing material to the uneducated that allowed them to express complex emotions in a captivating fashion.

EMOTIONS IN MOTION

Regardless of such open questions, the most stunning letters are undoubtedly those that contain paragraphs that touch upon individual feelings and emotions. One must bear in mind that *transmigrations* almost always represented an attack on the integrity of the nuclear family. Married couples were split up, children were removed from parents, and siblings were separated according to missionary schemes imposed by local authorities: the elder family members, already thought to be lost for reconversion to Catholicism, were forced out of the country, while the younger ones, still pliant and “re-educable,” were forced to remain behind, even if both parents had been *transmigrated*.¹⁹ Such

bureaucratic solutions stand in a long tradition of child abductions in premodernity. In our case, hundreds of children of *transmigrants* were forcibly given to Catholic foster parents.²⁰ Thus, the authorities created whole cohorts of artificial orphans. These events deeply disrupted the stable intergenerational family cohesion and succession. As a consequence, *transmigrants* turned to previously unexplored ways of expressing their feelings.

To appreciate the variety of emotions preserved in the letters, one has to consider the extreme psychological circumstances under which they were produced. Finding themselves under virtually unbearable pressure, some of the writers seemed turned inside out as they revealed their deepest selves. They talked about hopes and fears, revisited and reinterpreted their mistakes, promised a better future, and tried to find the most adequate words to express love, longing, and care.

Such evidence is fuel for bringing new arguments into an old debate. Although they have been repeatedly contested,²¹ Edward Shorter's apodictic statements in the "Making of the Modern Family" (1975) still have some reverberations in debates about emotions in premodernity. In his book, Shorter asserted that popular marriage in former centuries was usually affectionless and held together by considerations of property and lineage. The family's arrangements for carrying on the business of living enshrined this coldness by reducing to an absolute minimum the risk of spontaneous face-to-face exchanges between husband and wife. This emotional isolation was accomplished through the strict demarcation of work assignments and sex roles.²² Furthermore, Shorter talks about "lovelessness" as being "a common feature of the petty bourgeois and peasant marriage everywhere";²³ such assertions have rightfully been contested by many subsequent researchers.

Letters of *transmigrants* remind us of the level of nuance this difficult debate requires. "Emotional isolation," as depicted by Shorter, can only very rarely be detected in the *transmigrants'* letters. On the contrary, most of them address or express feelings in a quite intimate and sometimes even heartbreaking manner.

Ute Küppers-Braun, who unearthed an impressive number of *transmigrant* letters from Upper Austria, pointed out that many of them transcend the cliché of the emotionally restricted "working couple."²⁴ One of the most impressive documents from this context, written to his Catholic wife by a Protestant farmer designated for deportation, in which he ponders the prospect of her remaining in Austria, reads as follows:

Praise Jesus Christ! Dearly beloved wife, I want to let you know that I am not allowed to come home anymore. [...] therefore, beloved wife, I implore you to follow me with our small children. If you join me, my dear darling, I will cherish you and the children [...] and I will prove a good husband so that you do not have to worry. The seignory tells me that you are allowed to join me if you want; otherwise, we will

not see each other in our born days anymore, because I am not allowed to come home. If you do not follow me, you cannot take the responsibility for that. [...] My dear wife, I have shed so many tears for you and the children already. I am saddened about you and our small children. If you will follow me, God and Mary will help turn it for the better. My dear wife, please consider everything properly. Now there is still the right moment, but there might be a time coming, in which you want to be with me, but cannot anymore. I implore you not to shorten my life. Be greeted a hundred thousand times; I am not-Catholic, you are Catholic, why would you not follow me?²⁵

THE FEMALE SIDE OF THE COIN

All of the letters mentioned so far were written by men. But female engagement in Underground Protestantism can hardly be overestimated,²⁶ and so women's specific writing skills must also be considered.²⁷ In this corpus of letters, one woman's particularly stands out, as her letters are both emotionally laden communications and strategic masterpieces at the same time. They are so exceptional that they could rightfully claim a prominent place in any representative collection of letters from Austria or women's letters more generally.

In January 1769, Christina Petak, a former peasant woman from Carinthia, addressed a letter to her distant children from some hundred kilometers away in Pressburg/Bratislava. This outstanding letter served, among other things, as a last will and testament:

Dear son! I still live in joyful hope that you and your sisters as well as your wife and children are sound and doing well. [...] Dear children, as all human life is futile and fugitive, I have to commemorate death and his ever drawing nearer and I have to piously prepare for my dying hour. To promote this and make it happen unimpeded [...], I am already in my lifetime [...] bestowing and handing down each and everything to you my loyally left-behind children, namely Andreas, Eva, and Maria. And I am also subserviently and in the name of God asking the noble manor to collect my scattered hereditament and to hand it over to my poor forsaken children. God will reward such an effort. Furthermore, I have to add that I feel sickish all the time and that after my death no one will write to you anymore. But to let you, my beloved children, know that your mother has passed away for sure, a bill of exchange will be transferred to you, consisting of 50 guilders [...]. This is the inheritance from your mother's side, which I as a true mother have saved for you. And this money you should share amongst you, in a way that nobody gets too much or too little, and this sharing should be a signal for you, telling you that I passed away.²⁸

This letter is also a coded message written by a mother to her children, whom she has not seen in decades. It gives us insight into a brilliant strategy on the part of the letter writer: if the authorities should prohibit direct communication between a mother and her children, then money shall be the intermediary. The code is clear: the money does not stand for itself alone but also for the death of the mother, whose legacy is “50 guilders.”

This letter is a gem in which emotions from the distant past still reverberate. As a researcher, I was touched by this document and wanted to find out as much as possible about the contexts. Who was this woman? What was her life trajectory? And what was the story behind this particular letter, which is beautiful and terrible at the same time?

After years of research, I was able to reconstruct some milestones in the life of Christina Petak.²⁹ She was born into a Carinthian Underground Protestant family in 1709 with the name of Berger and married her first husband, the farmer Georg Schwaiger, in 1727. From the early 1730s on, both her and her husband's families were harshly persecuted by the authorities. The majority of their close family members were deported, as was Christina, in 1735. With her transport to Transylvania, she was forced to leave her three underaged children behind: Andreas, Eva, and Maria, aged three, five, and seven, respectively.

In the 1740s, Petak illegally returned to Carinthia to reunite and flee with her children. This attempt failed; Christina was caught and was deported again. After some time of restlessness in Transylvania, she finally started a new life in Pressburg/Bratislava, in what was then Upper Hungary. Here, she remarried and even gave birth to two more children.³⁰ But her offspring in Carinthia remained lost to her; she never saw them again. By the end of her life, her Carinthian children were already grown; two of her girls had married, and Christina was a multiple grandmother. Her only chance to communicate with this part of her family was by letter, two of which survive in the archives. Both are full of very individual and distinctive expressions of love and affection. When Christina, for instance, touches upon the pain of separation that wounds her, she says:

Dear children, whom I carried under my heart [...], the joy that God provided for me by watching you in your early youth, has by all-too-early separation turned into susceptible sadness. But even, if I will be unable to see your faces again, I nevertheless live in good hope and comforting confidence that I will see you for sure in this other life. And then I will say: Here, my God, I am and all the ones, whom you have given to me.³¹

Christina's care for her lost offspring materialized through the money transfer mentioned above. This succeeded in serving its multiple purposes: it expressed love and tenderness, it informed her children about her passing away, and it provided them with

their legacy, which was a share of her savings. From an official note on her letter, we know that the money was distributed and that her trick worked.

TRANSMISSION OF THE LETTERS

Almost all of the letters from the context of *transmigrations* ended up in archives because of censorship. A widely ramified web of informers, spies, and bureaucrats in charge of observing the Underground Protestants' activities and communication were the reason that *transmigrant* letters were not destroyed or lost over the decades.

During the time of Emperor Charles VI (r. 1711–1740), the systematic interception of letters was still in its early stages, but his daughter Maria Theresa (r. 1740–1780) started perfecting this measure. After considerable turmoil in Transylvania in the summer of 1755, during the course of which several *transmigrants* had requested repatriation to their homeland, the local authorities reacted with “house and chest searches” (*Hausß = und küstervisitation*), mainly among those *transmigrants* classified as “chiefs.” The intention was “to find letters that [the *transmigrants*] became so much and so confidently set on” (*worauf sich diese leüte so sehr und getrost steiffen*),³² that is, letters from relatives and acquaintances from the Austrian hereditary lands, which would have clearly proven that they had contact with an outside world and were not completely cut off from their regions of origin.

The authorities had ample reason to assume that merchants and clerics, whether in return for payment or out of compassion, helped the *transmigrants* draft letters. Anytime the censors came across expressions that in their estimation could not have “flowed from the pen of a peasant, but rather from a Lutheran pastor,” they became suspicious. As an immediate reaction, they ordered the post office in Sibiu “to open all letters posted by not fully trustworthy individuals.”³³

In Vienna there was a (quite ungrounded, in hindsight) fear of a mass exodus that would happen due to promising letters from *transmigrants*: some letters, the bureaucrats believed, “praised the relocation in such a way” that, if this became known, “Austria was in danger of depopulation.”³⁴ In 1757, with this scenario in mind, precise guidelines were drawn up on how the correspondence of *transmigrants* should be dealt with in the future:

1. Demands for freedom of conscience addressed to Protestant courts or to Regensburg should continue to be allowed
2. Correspondence from outside, which was suitable “for stiffening the stubbornness of the *transmigrants*,” should be prevented.
3. Correspondence to the outside, “some of which could be misused” as an incentive for further *transmigration*, should no longer be delivered.

In Sibiu, Pressburg, and Vienna, the monitoring of correspondence was to be intensified and the “General Imperial Post Office” (*Generalreichspostamt*) was asked to closely watch letters arriving in Passau, Regensburg, Augsburg, and Nuremberg.³⁵ The state chancellor (*Staatskanzler*) Kaunitz himself took care of the implementation of censorship.³⁶

EFFECT OF THE LETTERS

Authorities classified the communication between *transmigrants* and family members or friends who remained in the Austrian hereditary lands as extremely sensitive. Along with heretical books, they considered “rebellious [...] letters” to be one of the “original sources of poison,” which “drove the peasant people to heresy, rebellion and disobedience.”³⁷ If the authorities learned of letters that had found their way to their recipients despite the censorship, meticulous inquiries began. These ranged from undercover investigations to interrogations and house searches.

The authorities were afraid of such correspondence because it

1. strengthened the resistance of those who remained in the country;
2. incited their desire to follow;
3. broke the isolation that intimidated both deportees and those remaining in the country.

Transmigrant letters could have a strong impact on the private sphere. A good example is the case of two Carinthian women, whose husbands pressed them to follow them to Sibiu.³⁸ In their letter, the men exerted considerable psychological pressure, not only expressing their strong desire to reunite the family but also declaring this to be a matter of “bliss of the soul” (*Seelenseeligkeit*). Although the two women had professed Catholicism all along, such strong words did not fail to have an effect. They asked the authorities to allow them to leave the country.³⁹

In addition to such reactions within the family, the writings of Protestants also managed to enter public discourse. Letters from *transmigrants* impressed contemporaries, and some of the letters made their way into common document collections very quickly, often while *transmigrations* were still going on.⁴⁰ Although the deportation system was not really compromised by such publications, they nevertheless obliged the authorities to issue declarations and counterstatements. Their political effects in the Reich had to be precisely calculated.⁴¹ The authorities particularly rejected any accusation of using improper violence against Protestants, because it had the potential of damaging the empire’s image.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE LETTERS

Paying attention to peculiarities of style helps in clarifying the authorship of the letters at least to some extent: the further the style deviates from the norms of the time and the more it is colored by local dialects, the more likely the letter has been written without the help of a trained scribe.⁴²

Most of the letters confiscated by the censors and that ended up in the archives are copies of originals that were thrown away after their transcription. This process of transmission made essential clues about the writing skills of the senders unrecognizable. Only in letters kept as a kind of *corpus delicti*, which was sometimes the case, can the original script be checked. These cases provide more detailed information about the writer. Obvious uncertainties in handling the quill, for instance, show that the letter must have been written by the *transmigrant's* own hand.

CONCLUSIONS

First-person narratives reflecting the emotions of commoners in the early modern period are rare, and it is only due to a particular stroke of luck (coming out of a dark historical moment) that the persecution of Protestants in the Austrian hereditary lands left historians with a set of letters that allows deep insights into the mindset of ordinary people, their everyday consciousness, and their reactions to extreme situations. Samples of these letters have been presented here for the first time in English. Most of these letters have been identified and scrutinized only by a small circle of experts. If read with a sympathetic eye, they can provide material for an interdisciplinary journey into a "world we have lost" (Peter Laslett).⁴³ They are especially revealing of a little-known moment in Protestant dissent and suppression, and of the psyche of generations that normally faded away without leaving personal traces.

6

A TALE OF TWO CITIES

Protestant Preachers and Private Tutors in Vienna under the Rule of Emperor Charles VI

THIS CHAPTER DEALS WITH SOME REMARKABLE ATTEMPTS TO BREAK THE spiral of religiously based violence and counterviolence in the Habsburg empire. Those tired of this violent escalation sought for what might best be described by the neologistic term *irenicism*. Howard Louthan defined irenicism as “a peaceful attempt to reconcile theological differences between various confessional parties.” Irenicism differs slightly from tolerance, which encompasses a broader sphere (e.g., atheism) and more diplomatic reasoning; tolerance is also less emotionally laden.¹ Irenicism may be best viewed as an early form of ecumenism and as a more humane counteraction to acts of religious violence.

Apart from Louthan’s seminal study regarding the sixteenth century, irenicism in early modern Vienna has only very rarely attracted scholarly attention. This is especially true for the eighteenth century, which is almost a *terra incognita* in that it can only be reconstructed in bits and pieces or, as coined by Carlo Ginzburg, by “threads and traces.”² Naturally, this chapter cannot completely avoid positioning the representatives of the Catholic Church and the suppressed Protestants as antagonists, but its focus is mostly on the question of if and how they lived alongside each other or even intermingled. The material presented has been mostly unknown and broadly unrecognized regarding its potential for solving the above question. Although several episodes will be depicted, they are only snippets from the rich source material that can be found in the archives of the *Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle*, the *Rigsarkivet* in Copenhagen, the manuscript section of the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* and in the *Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky* in Hamburg.³

This chapter aims at shedding some preliminary light on irenicism in Carolinian Vienna. It is not intended to reconstruct intellectual discourse or the local reception of declared irenic authors of the time; rather, it surveys for traces of an early ecumenical spirit in everyday communication between the confessions. This spirit was somehow characterized by both a “sportive” lust for discussion and the triumph over any claims of religious exclusiveness. In its first part, this chapter explores the tensions and fault lines between the confessions, as well as the resulting violence, in order to prepare for a better understanding of the backgrounds of irenicism depicted in the second.

A SURPRISING DIASPORA

Conventionally, and for good reason, Vienna in the first half of the eighteenth century is viewed as an apotheosis of baroque Catholicism.⁴ In Vienna, popular devotion was palpable at every corner. The Habsburgs fueled this with their proverbial *Pietas Austriaca*, an exaggerated and ostentatious practice of faith that mingled with a mythology of their divine “chosenness.”⁵ The authorities conceived of city life as strictly mono-confessional, but this aspiration did not fully come into fruition. Vienna hosted three Protestant enclaves that seriously disturbed the desired conformity. Trained preachers conducted Protestant services right in Vienna of all places, in harsh contrast with all other parts of the Austrian hereditary lands⁶ (see chapter 4). From the 1660s on, the Danish, Swedish, and Dutch embassies transformed some of their rooms into chapels from which “legation preachers” (*Legationsprediger*) served Protestant communities. Their numbers are difficult to estimate, but taking certain vagueness into account, we might nevertheless picture these communities as numbering a few thousand people in a city of approximately one hundred thousand inhabitants (ca. 1700).⁷ This was definitely not a striking number, but not an entire *quantité négligiable* either. Members of these communities were certainly visible (for instance, through their funeral corteges through Vienna’s streets) and audible (for instance, by their singing in the chapels).

Only those community members granted official privileges held the legal prerequisite for visiting the so-called legation chapels (*Legationskapellen*). Most of these were diplomats, functional elites,⁸ merchants⁹ and high-ranking army members.¹⁰ For these privileged parties, the legation chapels served as sites for all relevant religious practices, such as worship, christening, marriage, and memorial services, but they also served as meeting places for social activities apart from religious life.

Numerically, but also in terms of its political influence, the Danish parish took the lead among the two other, much smaller parishes. Apart from their differences in size, the confessional orientation in these Viennese enclaves seriously divided them:

the Danish and the Swedish chapels were Lutheran, whereas the Dutch chapel was Calvinist.

DIPLOMATIC RECIPROCITY

The anomaly of Protestant enclaves in an almost exclusively Catholic surrounding deserves some explanation. Searching for the roots of this feeble antecedent of toleration leads us into the history of diplomacy. At the dawn of the early modern period, the immunity of embassies evolved as a new idea and over the course of the eighteenth century conquered the diplomatic sphere. First, only the ambassadors and their entourages were under diplomatic protection, but this circle expanded progressively until *everything* connected to the embassies—their people, their buildings, and their spaces—was regarded as “extra-territorial” by the host countries. Countries began to treat embassies as if the spaces they operated in were part of the homelands of their dispatching states. Thus, foreign law applied to them and not the law of the host country.¹¹ This theoretical construct allowed the emblematically Catholic Habsburgs to pretend that the legation chapels had absolutely no bearing on their sovereignty, even if they were nuisances right in the center of their realm. Benjamin J. Kaplan elaborates on the construction of this legal fiction:

Native dissidents who attended chapel services, therefore, did not violate local law because they were temporarily outside its jurisdiction. [...] however, this was an *ex post facto* justification, developed in no small part to rationalize the already well-established practice of tolerating embassy chapels. In other words, rather than the principle of extraterritoriality giving rise to embassy chapels, the line of historical causality ran the other way. [...] if embassies, through their religious practices, “were licensed to flout the most sacred laws of the realm, it was easier to think of them as not being within the realm at all.” In this way, embassy chapels were “the largest single factor in preparing men’s minds to accept [the] extraordinary fiction” of extraterritoriality.¹²

Diplomats, irrespective of their rank—be it *Resident*, *Envoyé Extraordinaire* or *Ambassadeur*—had the right to undisturbed religious practice, a principle that was additionally backed by a developing system of international law. The prominent legal historian Adam Friedrich Glafey (1692–1753), who was a firm advocate of diplomats’ freedom in religious matters, explained quite pellucidly: “Just as I cannot impose my meat and drink on an ambassador or deprive him of corporal necessities, so I cannot enforce upon him, to follow the principles of my religion, or to abstain from his basic needs.”¹³

While the diplomats insisted on their rights to practice dissident confession, they were extremely pragmatic regarding the question of whether religious confrontations should be carried into the public sphere: “In the daily routine of diplomacy the importance of religious questions was underscored by legation chapels, preachers and their parishes, but in times of crises religious conflicts were never staged in public. Rather the envoys of the opposing parties were responsible for moderation, in the sense that their support for co-religionists should not trigger any further conflicts.”¹⁴

The key principle for the establishment of legation chapels was reciprocity: if the emperor intended to guarantee Catholic service for his diplomats in Copenhagen, Stockholm, or The Hague, then he also had to grant at least some marginal Protestant life for the Danish, Swedish, and Dutch diplomats in Vienna. Such considerations were in effect until the Patent of Tolerance of 1781,¹⁵ when Emperor Joseph II generally allowed the formation of (at least partly) autonomous Protestant parishes across the Austrian hereditary lands.

THE PROFILE OF THE LEGATION PREACHERS

While details regarding the Dutch chapels are still to be researched,¹⁶ the lives of the other two can be vividly depicted.¹⁷ During the reign of Emperor Charles VI (r. 1711–1740), twelve legation preachers served in the Danish and Swedish embassies. They all came from non-Habsburg territories in the Holy Roman Empire,¹⁸ but almost none of them originated from the dispatching countries of Denmark or Sweden. Before they served in Vienna, almost none of the preachers had any personal ties to the Habsburg monarchy. It seems that they held all of their services in German, but the preachers’ specific idioms and dialects must have significantly differed from those that people spoke in Vienna. It is also likely that their habitus, at least at the start of their terms of service, was marked by a certain foreignness, but it is hard to tell whether or not they adapted to their new environment over the rather short time most of them served. For the majority of them, Vienna was just a way station in their career; only three of the preachers stayed in the city for more than ten years (see table 6.1).

Typically, legation preachers came to Vienna without any pertinent prior experiences in diasporic settings. They seem to have left Vienna without too many regrets. Many of them exchanged their conspicuous role in the capital for some provincial pastorate, which, after the many diplomatic considerations and multiple hostilities they had faced in Vienna, must have been a relief.

While only a few of them ever made notable careers in the church or academia,¹⁹ almost all of the legation preachers were pronounced characters, and quite a few also

TABLE 6.1 Danish, Swedish, and Dutch legation preachers in Vienna, 1711–1740

	DANISH LEGATION PREACHERS	SWEDISH LEGATION PREACHERS	DUTCH LEGATION PREACHERS
1711	Johann Jacob Langjahr (in office since 1698/99)		Johann Heinrich Brucker (resigned in 1723)
1712			
1713			
1714			
1715			
1716			
1717			
1718			
1719			
1720			
1721		Johann Siegmund Pilgrim (resigned in 1723)	
1722			
1723	Ephraim Schlickeisen (resigned in 1724)	Johann Christian Lerche (resigned in 1733)	Simon Grynäus
1724	Ehrenfried Matthäus Hamerich		
1725			
1726			
1727			
1728	Christian Nicolaus Möllenhoff (resigned in 1736)		
1729			
1730			
1731			
1732			
1733		Christoph Friedrich Tresenreuter (resigned in 1737)	
1734			
1735			
1736	Christian Kortholt (in office until 1742)		
1737		Christoph Gerhard Suke (in office until 1782)	
1738			
1739			
1740			

had passionate pursuits apart from theology: the Danish legation preacher Christian Kortholt (1709–1751), for instance, was the editor of two thousand pages of letters by the polymath Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, who, as will be shown below, had played

an important role for the Viennese Protestant communities;²⁰ the Swedish legation preacher Christoph Friedrich Tresenreuter (1709–1746) invested his free time in studying the works of Libanios, the late antique orator; and other legation preachers were also very erudite in the literature and music of the time.²¹

The intellectual passions of the preachers provided a respite from an otherwise quite challenging daily routine. Living and working in Vienna must have resembled a roller coaster ride, marked by the ups and downs of tentative irenic experiences, all the while staggering through confessionalized minefields. One should keep in mind that while Protestant life took place in Vienna, many other parts of the Habsburg empire literally sank into a second wave of Counter-Reformation. The rule of Charles VI (and also of his daughter Maria Theresa) was marked by an aggressive policy against the last remnants of Protestantism in the provinces; the numbers of Protestants in a given locale or region in the eighteenth century were sometimes still astonishingly high. By the 1730s at the latest, the state declared its intention to wipe out Underground Protestantism (see chapter 4). The means for doing so spanned from missionary work through repression and ended unambiguously in deportations.²² Especially during phases of state-ordered violence, Catholic adversaries consistently saw the Protestant preachers as impertinent foreigners whom they suspected of collaboration with the Underground Protestants in the provinces. The preachers were also accused of providing their lords abroad with information about ongoing repression. Furthermore, Catholics insinuated that they tried everything conceivable to influence the course of events in favor of their coreligionists, even if doing so was illegal.

PIETISTS AS “FIFTH COLUMN” AND CATHOLIC MOBILIZATION

Both the state and the spiritual authorities increasingly considered the preachers a “fifth column,” who misused their privileges fraternizing with foreign powers. This suspicion was especially triggered by the fact that both the Danish and the Swedish posts from the 1720s on were constantly filled with preachers who had been educated in the spirit of Pietism. Pietism, which emerged over the last decades of the seventeenth century, was the most important continental European revival movement within Protestantism. It was “a social movement and not just a religious idea or theological program. As a movement it developed specific forms of organization and distinct structures and over time actual institutions. The prime concern was the renewal and promotion of piety seen as experienced religiosity. At the same time Pietism aimed at a total reform of ecclesiastical and even public life. Pietism not only changed the church but also influenced broad spheres of society and culture.”²³

Most of the preachers in Vienna who took office in the 1720s and 1730s had either studied in Halle an der Saale or were deeply influenced by the teachings that evolved in this center of German Pietism. With this Halle connection in the background, the preachers were part of a network which not only spanned half of Europe but also had missionary outposts in North America and on the Indian subcontinent.²⁴

As a rule, a preacher's strong attachment to Halle was lifelong. Most of them participated in a well-established practice of continuous reporting to the central figures in the network, first to August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) and, after his death, to his son Gotthilf August Francke (1696–1769).²⁵ The preachers often saw these two as father figures, whom they could turn to for advice anytime help was needed. Such help was needed quite often in the Viennese diaspora. Halle usually quickly responded with cheers of encouragement and with books printed in its publishing houses (*Waisenhausverlag der Halleschen Anstalten* and treatises published by the *Institutum Judaicum*).

On this basis, Vienna's legation preachers and Halle's dignitaries exchanged a whole range of letters that nowadays serve as fascinating sources for everyday life in Vienna and the contemporary reception of political events.

The profile of Pietism was highly ambiguous. Innovation was one of its sparkling trademarks, but another—less splendid—was religious and moral rigorism. Both inflamed the rage of high-ranking Catholic functionaries in Vienna. Archbishop Sigismund Kollonitsch was at the forefront of protests when in 1736 he vented his displeasure in an almost never-ending list of *gravamina* (grievances). Addressed directly to the emperor,²⁶ these contained a variety of accusations. In Kollonitsch's opinion, the Protestant communities and their preachers overstepped all conceivable lines.

Kollonitsch's general appraisal of the situation was of a steady increase in the number of Protestant households. In his opinion, this was due to multiple factors:²⁷ Protestant factory owners and privileged craftsmen²⁸ actively proselytized; noblemen remained ambivalent about the orthodoxy of their personnel; and guilds progressively failed to control their members. Regarding the legation chapels, the archbishop held a well-defined position: "Anyone from this flock, who is only able to walk or creep" can partake at the services in the legation chapels "without any fear." Apart from those congregation members who were officially allowed to attend, there was always a circle of transients and seasonal workers whom the preachers did not bar from entering the chapels.²⁹ On the contrary, they even encouraged these illicit participants to join the services. Under such circumstances, Kollonitsch feared that Catholics might be charmed by Protestantism, which would lead in the end to apostasies and conversions.³⁰

Kollonitsch proposed strong remedies to these severe accusations: strict control at the gates of the legation chapels, a resolute return to practices from the Counter-Reformation, and the limitation of Protestant activities to an absolute minimum.

At all levels of the church hierarchy, the struggle for every single soul was fought from cradle to grave. In confessionally divided families, child abduction was even

possible.³¹ At the other end of the life cycle, permanent trouble surrounded the dying and death of Protestant community members. Catholics and Protestants quarreled time and again about whether the legation preachers were allowed to attend to their sick or dying coreligionists. A fierce dispute raged over whether preachers were authorized to carry out their pastoral duties in Catholic households in which Protestants lived as residents or servants. This often led to not only verbal but also physical attacks.³² These conflicts burdened the relationship between the confessions for decades. In 1761, the Danish legation preacher lamented bitterly that one was “insulted, harassed, detained by the city guard, imprisoned, tormented with the bitterest accusations, even viewed and treated as a confounder and seducer of the people” for doing nothing more than “supporting delinquents as well as sick and dying persons.”³³ Under such circumstances, preachers chose pretense when they visited “under different names, in colored clothes, with the greatest possible caution, silence and secrecy.”³⁴

PIETISM AS IRENIC CATALYST

In the power games between the confessions, one rigorism was countered with another, but this is only one part of the story. The other is the innovational strength of Pietism, which expressed itself in the ability to incorporate and amalgamate positions that were on the opposing ends of the religious spectrum. The aforementioned rigidity of Pietism, for instance, did not exclude a proclivity for constructive dispute and taboo-free approximation of confessional viewpoints. As early modern subjects, Pietists did not so much search for perfect consistency in their approaches to the world,³⁵ but rather preferred more of an *anything-goes* approach. As long as they sensed even a spark of support among their Catholic counterparts for their dearly longed-for Kingdom of God, they were ready to deal with them productively.

Preachers educated in Halle thought of themselves as courageous envoys of the ideals this center of Pietism advocated. If the general atmosphere allowed for it, legation preachers patiently explained these ideals to skeptics and even opponents. And nothing made them happier than the feeling that they had planted fruitful doubts or even changed the minds of their counterparts. How these emissary-like figures acted can be seen in detail from this report:

Meanwhile, I try not to miss any opportunity for action. I always refer to the University in Halle and how their professors are done wrong by making them and their disciples look foolish. Such behavior is rooted in the envy and venom of some quarrelsome priests, who do not intend to improve themselves and therefore are piqued by those who not only try to promote a sound teaching but also a pious life. The grace of God gave it that such [a change of heart] infiltrated the minds so much

that prince Trautson³⁶ is alleged to have lately said at a festive meal that the so-called Pietists were honest and good people and “passable” Lutherans. Their counterparts he called “coarse” Lutherans. *Quae distinctio ubique fere obtinet*. On the same occasion, Trautson stated that no one [of these Pietists] just because of some differences about wording or opinion should be doomed or even expelled. [Trautson further argued, that such differences] were also common among Catholics and still they lived together because they agreed on the magnum opus [they all have in common].³⁷

Permeated by the feeling that a Christian revival was right around the corner and could finally lead to a reunion of the confessions, some of the Pietists in Vienna were even willing to step into the lion’s den. They craved disputations with the members of the church hierarchy; the higher their opponents’ rank, the more they relished the debate. Pietists were not afraid of even choosing the imperial father confessor or the court chaplain as their discussants. As long as they had the feeling that such debates were based on equal footing, the idea of a “universal conversion” and a final reunion with the Catholics seemed worth aspiring to and eventually reachable. The Pietists searched for signs of such developments everywhere and they were willing to perceive even the smallest signals as a potential building block for future unity. They remained optimistic even about hardliners such as controversialists (*Kontrovers-Prediger*) and Jesuits: “The local controversialist has gotten less fiery than before. A distinguished Jesuit once told me *expressis verbis* that if [the Catholic Church] does not stop scholastic pedantry and the religious enmity, no true uplifting was to be expected for the Christian Church.”³⁸

Apart from some interest on the part of Catholic dignitaries, the Pietist spirit of awakening also met with a lively response from high-ranking bureaucrats, if at times for self-interested reasons. The *Oberstkanzler* of the Bohemian Chancellery,³⁹ for example, supported some of the Pietists’ ideas in a pragmatic spirit. Moderate people like the Pietists, he argued, should be tolerated because they aimed at extirpating religious hate in the hearts of the subjects and instead planted a love for religious authority in general. In toleration of such efforts, the chancellor saw the best way to achieve unity in the way that Christ himself had searched for: *one* shepherd and *one* flock—a trope that he took straight from the Bible (John 10:16).⁴⁰

ECUMENISM OF BOOKS

An interesting and only rarely mentioned irenic aspect of life in Carolinian Vienna concerns the book market. In the heated atmosphere between the confessions, book-sellers took advantage of the ongoing competition. In the above mentioned *Gravamina*, Archbishop Kollonitsch lamented that forbidden Protestant books were “coming in by the numbers” and sold not only in general stores but also purchased by libraries.

Sardonically, Kollonitsch remarked that especially those young academics who “come back from [their studies] in Protestant countries with more vices than virtues” go for “no other books than those coming from non-Catholic countries.” The archbishop suspected even aulic councillors of having “whole bins and chests” (*gantze Kisten und Kästen*) filled with Protestant literature. Of all the bookshops in Vienna, according to Kollonitsch, one-third were in the hands of Protestants who made sales under the counter.⁴¹ A closer look into the comprehensive correspondence between legation preachers and their confidants in Halle reveals the truth behind Kollonitsch’s impression.

Sometimes the legation preachers themselves became intermediaries for the proliferation of Protestant printed matter. The preachers regularly supplied their parish members with books and newspapers from Halle and its “publishing house in the orphanage” (the *Waisenhausverlag* mentioned above). But often hardships had to be endured before these books could reach their readers. If Jesuit censors prevented their deliveries, the Protestant ambassadors suffered to regain these books out of what they pointedly called the “Jesuit perustration” (*Jesuiten-Perlustration*). They regarded such interference as stemming from an ignorance of their diplomatic status.⁴²

Despite all these difficulties, the Pietists sometimes found supporters in quite surprising intellectual circles. Pius Nikolaus Garelli (1675–1739), for instance, was not only the personal physician of the emperor but also the head of the court library. In this position he purchased many pieces of Pietist literature published in Halle for the court library, not caring in the slightest whether or not these fit into the state-ordered mono-confessionality prevailing outside of its walls.⁴³ Garelli also acted as an intermediary when Pietists presented the emperor with one of the most prestigious books printed in Halle, the so-called Malabar Bible.⁴⁴ This was the first translation of the New Testament into Tamil and the emperor was said to have “received [it] propitiously”⁴⁵ (*gnädig aufgenommen*).

INTERCONFESSIONAL CURIOSITY

A spirit of irenicism also permeated the elites of the empire. Prince Eugene of Savoy, an absorbing mixture of commander-in-chief, statesman, and art enthusiast, initiated a dialogue between and across the confessions. He scheduled informal meetings and dinners at his residences for participants theologically unencumbered by Catholic orthodoxy. The prince, who undoubtedly adhered to the basic principles of Catholicism, nevertheless opened up his salon to Protestants and free thinkers. The colorful group of frequent attendees included Prince Eugene’s adjutant general Georg Wilhelm von Hohendorf (1669–1719), who was a Protestant; the papal nuncio in Vienna, Domenico Silvio Passionei (1682–1761), who had a vivid interest in Jansenism; the Portuguese ambassador João Gomes da Silva-Tarouca (d. 1738), who embraced the spirit of the

Enlightenment; and the English ambassador in Vienna, James Baron (and later Earl) of Waldegrave (1684–1741), a proselyte, who had turned from Catholicism to Protestantism.⁴⁶ The latter's attitude toward confessional prejudice is characterized in an anecdote that seems representative for the whole circle:

Sometime after [. . .] Lord Waldegrave abjured the catholic religion, he was sent ambassador to France, where he resided several years. Being one day at an entertainment where his cousin the Duke of Berwick, and many other noblemen, were present, the Duke wanting to mortify him on the score of religion, asked his Lordship, whether the *ministers* of state, or the *Ministers* of the gospel, had the greatest share in his conversation? — “I am astonished, my lord Duke,” says Waldegrave, “how you can ask me such a question! do not you know, that when I quitted the Roman Catholic religion, *I left off confession.*”⁴⁷

“Leaving off confession” was also one of the guiding principles of the princely round. Gatherings in this spirit were an expression of being above such things as confessional divide or perennial religious cleavage.

The same attitude also presided over the prince's passions as a renowned book collector. As a matter of course his library included the works of Jan Hus, Martin Luther, and Johann Arndt. Such a liberal purchasing strategy only came as a surprise to those who were not familiar with the prince's open-mindedness in intellectual affairs.⁴⁸

Apart from the already mentioned dignitaries, other high-ranking Protestants played an important role in keeping the doors of Prince Eugene's residences wide open to their fellow believers. First among these was the preeminent intellectual figure of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), who in the final years of his life became *Reichshofrat* in Vienna.⁴⁹ The Protestant polymath was a welcome guest at the prince's premises and introduced coreligionists from the milieu of the legation chapels to this circle.

One of the boldest of Leibniz's acquaintances was Christoph Nicolaus Voigt (1678–1732), a preacher who had, due to his ultra-Pietist positions, twice lost his positions in Teschen (Těšín/Cieszyn) and Hermannstadt (Sibiu). Using his extraordinary skills in networking, Voigt managed to start a third career in Vienna. It was purely Leibniz's favor that lifted this man, who did not belong to the nobility, had no riches, and no representative intellectual work to show, into the most unexpected spheres. In 1714 Voigt reported to Halle:

Mr. Leibniz has enabled me free access to the imperial library, and these days I was also invited to a learned gathering there, which takes place by the week. Thereby it happened that I got acquainted with the bishop's secret secretary, an erudite cleric, who will give me further guidance. [. . .] I think of establishing correspondences to

solidify and employ access to the *Reichshofrat*, the ambassadors, and the pundits. This will be easily obtained, as a lot among them have already asked for such [a course of action] on their own accord.⁵⁰

Due to his death in 1716, Leibniz's exceptional position within the Protestant community of Vienna was short-lived. But other prominent Protestants had the capacities to step in. Christian August von Berkentin (1694–1758), the Danish envoy in Vienna from 1722 to 1740, played a long-standing and hugely influential role at the prince's court. Berkentin not only enjoyed Prince Eugene's trust, but also his friendship. Berkentin was a frequent guest in the prince's hunting chateau *Schloss Hof* in Lower Austria and a regular member of his card game circle. Berkentin thus had intimate contact with one of the most influential people in the empire; this must have endorsed his other role as the host of the Danish legation chapel.

A REPUBLIC OF LETTERS

Among learned people, one way to bridge the confessional divide was through strict adherence to one of the principles of the *res publica litteraria*, the Republic of Letters: to put the advancement of knowledge before religious orthodoxy. One of the strangest contacts the Viennese Protestants maintained on this basis was the relationship with Stift Göttweig, a Benedictine monastery in Lower Austria. Over the centuries, Göttweig, in the view of Protestants, had played an inglorious role as a collection point for confiscated Protestant books. But far from hiding away these “heretic” scriptures from Protestant researchers, the monks offered selected scholars access to their collections. All a researcher had to do was send an advance notification about the intended visit and topic of inquiry.⁵¹

The complaisance of Göttweig was no exception, as several other examples of scholarly cooperation between Catholics and Protestants are documented. Hieronymus Pez (1685–1762), one of the most erudite Benedictine monks of his time, even went so far as to support a book project that totally opposed the monopoly position of Catholicism, which Pez otherwise never doubted. One day collaborators on the nascent documentation *Erläutertes Evangelisches Oesterreich* (Evangelical Austria Elucidated) by the Hamburg pastor Bernhard Raupach (1682–1745) knocked at Pez's door. They intended this project to be the first broadly conceived history of Protestantism and its suppression in Austria. For his documentation, Raupach depended on a broad-reaching network of correspondents, who did on-the-ground research in archives, libraries, and private collections that he was unable to visit himself. Legation preachers and their allies took up these crucial inquiries and intrepidly met with Catholic counterparts like Pez. To their surprise, Pez opened up his archives and willingly provided rare manuscripts

and prints. Thus, the devout Catholic monk contributed to *Erläutertes Evangelisches Oesterreich*, which between 1736 and 1740 was published in three volumes.⁵²

Pez certainly must have felt ambivalent about the whole endeavor, but no more than one sarcastic bon mot passed his lips. Alluding to the title of Raupach's work, Pez could not stop himself from making a dry-witted remark: "If I only had more time," he said to his Protestant visitor, "I would be tempted to write a parallel book entitled 'Austria Liberated from Lutheran filth.'" A discourtesy for sure, but this was the only price that Raupach's informant had to pay. And, given that he returned with so much otherwise barred material, he must have reconciled himself to the imputation.⁵³

Abbeys and collegiates often practiced a form of irenicism that could even approach travesty. In his autobiography, Johann Christian Edelmann (1698–1767)⁵⁴ depicts an episode from the 1720s, when he spent some time in Vienna as a private Protestant tutor. Regardless of his Protestant beliefs, which were still strong in those days, his curious mind led him to many and varied contacts with representatives of the Catholic Church. These encounters were openhearted and unconstrained. While visiting Friars Minor in Tulln (Lower Austria), Edelmann straightforwardly discussed diverging opinions on the existence and nature of hell. What must have been intended as a provocative dispute all of a sudden turned into unexpected fraternization, when one of the fathers confessed that all the fierce depictions of hell were "only made up [by the Catholics] to shock the simple-minded."⁵⁵

Sometimes the jolly atmosphere between Edelmann and his counterparts even reached the degree of exuberance, for example in this carnivalesque scene:

Frater Michael, who also was a tailor [...], all of a sudden offered me a monk's habit and urged me to put it on just for the fun of it. But if I had done so and joined in this masquerade, I would for sure have been obliged to stay a mendicant friar for the rest of my life. I perfectly knew that the monks so much hallowed this habit of a slave that they never allowed anyone to take it on, unless he was joining the order [...]. I still was in my right mind to foresee the consequences of a diversion of this kind and therefore rejected the kind offer with courtesy. Instead, I dined with the monks and joined them in their board games afterwards.⁵⁶

IRENICISM IN RETROSPECT

Quite often, and particularly in confessionally loaded times, irenicism was an approach that demanded a lot of change-of-heart self-restraint from individuals. First of all, they had to overcome the omnipresent religious extremism of their earlier years, and it often took half a lifetime until minds changed and temperaments softened. The already mentioned Johann Christian Edelmann is a good example of one who underwent such

a radical alteration. Born in Sachsen-Weißenfels, a duchy close to Halle, he first studied theology only to drop out and become a private tutor in Vienna in 1728. Merchants from the Holy Roman Empire who had been invited to Vienna under the premise of being allowed to practice their Protestant faith had also been granted the privilege of employing Protestant teachers for their children. Edelmann became one such tutor. At that time he was still a devout Christian, but already with a proclivity for philosophical pondering. Later in his life, long after he had left Vienna and toured as a writer through many German cities, he turned into an adherent of the philosophy of Spinoza. Toward the end of his life he adopted a sort of Deism.

Edelmann's 1752 autobiography reflected amusingly and lucidly on his Viennese years. He portrayed himself as an ambitious newcomer, eager to win fame as a preacher in the legation chapels. But, hapless in this ambition, he found himself stuck in the monotony of tutoring instead. On one of his many days of disillusionment, he encountered a legation preacher who invited him to a prayer circle, which in those days Pietists found fashionable. Edelmann remembered this "prayer-torture," as he sarcastically called it, in an account that was strongly tinted by the irenicism of his later years:

[The legation preacher] asked me to join [the prayer circle] and I knew that I should not turn his invitation down. Because by doing so, I would have been called a defier of prayers and I would also have lost the trust of my principals. But I have to tell the truth: I never had a more anxious heart as during this spiritual hour of "refreshment." I was not at all touched by the cold jabber of these holy chatterboxes nor did I feel like a sinner on bended knees. Amid all these pompous words, I feared that I would just say: "God have mercy with my sins!" I was afraid that it would soon come to my turn [in this prayer circle] and that I would only be able to plead for the same things my precursors had done before, which would have caused the greatest of aversions in me. Alternatively, I maybe would have prayed that God may grant me relief from their multifarious wittering, which surely would not have been appreciated by these holy people either.⁵⁷

Whether this was an accurate portrayal or not, Edelmann viewed this episode as one of the initial sparks of his later doubts. With this "primal scene" in the background, the Pietists lost much of their fascination and credibility as "their words scattered from their mouths like moldy bread and it all felt as if they had learned everything by heart." Edelmann felt disapproval for this kind of "self-chosen and highly absurd worship service." From then on he never really found his way back to what he called a "satisfied mind."⁵⁸

In retrospect, Edelmann's autobiography can be seen as a document of irenicism. With a distance of a quarter of a century, Edelmann depicted the crumbling of his original beliefs and how they gave way to a more relaxed view, first on confessions and

then on faith as a whole. Like Lord Waldegrave had stated much earlier, Edelman, in the end, had “left off confession.”

CONCLUSION

This chapter has depicted a specific urban milieu of diasporic Protestantism. Its protagonists were faced with two very different types of experiences from their majoritarian Catholic surroundings. Considering the confessional circumstances, the first type, one that was negatively reactive, seems natural. It included squabbles, stringent disputes, and even downright clashes. Dignitaries, like the Viennese archbishop, became the mouthpiece of a policy to reduce Protestant life in Vienna to an absolute minimum and to defeat any move whatsoever toward toleration. The second type, however, comes as quite a surprise: the foundation of an ecumenical spirit *avant la lettre*. A reconstruction of the lived experiences of legation preachers and private tutors shows how the spirit of “leaving off confessions” reverberated through diverse strata of society. The very exclusive scholarly circle of Prince Eugene, the more cosmopolitan homes of merchants, and even the more limited spheres of those in cloisters were sites significant to a lived irenic milieu. We know little about how various segments of Vienna’s society received *theories* of irenicism, but irenicism *as a practical down-to-earth approach* can be reconstructed in many details. Its protagonists were innovative and sometimes also radical in taking the sting out of religiously motivated violence. Some extraordinary characters dampened the tense situation in the imperial capital and residence city during the confessionally unbalanced reign of Charles VI. These men in some respects planted the seeds of toleration, an ideology that took another fifty years to bloom.

PART III

The Teachings of
Gypsy History

“GIVING SHORT SHRIFT BY FLOGGING, HANGING, AND BEHEADING”

A Gypsy Trial and Its Pitfalls

PREMODERN GYPSY¹ LIFE IN THE AUSTRIAN HEREDITARY LANDS² IS A *TERRA incognita* of astounding dimensions. Although a variety of records related to the subject are kept in regional and manorial archives, the topic remains highly under-researched and underrepresented in Austrian historiography.³ So far, the fortunes of early modern Gypsies have only been explored in a few regions⁴ or in quite isolated case studies.⁵ Historical overviews either neglect them entirely⁶ or repeat old stereotypes.⁷ In works on the underclasses, outcasts, vagrants, or strangers, Gypsies are most often only very briefly mentioned as marginal phenomena.⁸

There has been almost no new source material regarding Gypsies brought to light over the past decades, and sometimes it seems that scholars of the nineteenth century were the last who actually went to the archives. The lack of interest in potential new discoveries is mostly due to the substantial effort such research requires. Stepping into the archives and asking for Gypsy-related folders is useless, as in most cases this material has not been collated and is thus scattered over court records, interrogation protocols, supplications, deportation lists, etc. Gypsy-related documents, therefore, are often mere chance finds. The scarcity of research funding, and sometimes even a latent or open anti-Ziganism of researchers, further adds to the impediments for the development of new approaches.

The easiest but least ambitious way of approaching Gypsy history is to reconstruct it from the normative perspective. With the help of elaborate indexes, the mandates, decrees, and orders of the emperor or the territorial princes can easily be found in central archives.⁹ But the search for a more “from below” perspective necessitates a quite troublesome hunt for dispersed documents. Nevertheless, they are there to be excavated and

to be read with Carlo Ginzburg's "evidential paradigm" as a guideline: "A close reading of a relatively small number of texts, related to a possibly circumscribed belief, can be more rewarding than the massive accumulation of repetitive evidence. For better or worse, historians of past societies, cannot produce tangible evidence, as anthropologists do, and as inquisitors did. But for the interpretation of this evidence they have something to learn from both."¹⁰ If only one carefully searches for evidence, clues, traces, and even trifles, even extremely formalized bureaucratic documents can provide some much-desired information.¹¹

This chapter, in its first part, focuses on the protocol of a Gypsy trial from the beginning of the eighteenth century, which has come down to us in an astonishingly good condition. It is complete, meaning that all the steps of the trial are documented, from inquiries up to the verdict and the bills of the hangmen; it is recorded elaborately and not, as often occurs, just as a stenograph or fragment, and it documents multiple perspectives—that of the interrogated Gypsies, the witnesses, and the judges and authorities involved.

Based on the reconstruction of this remarkable case, the second part of this chapter is devoted to more general remarks on the state of Gypsy studies in the Habsburg empire, its challenges, and its pitfalls.

THE CONTEXT OF THE TRIAL

In the long history of Gypsy persecution in the early modern period, the first decades of the eighteenth century are rightfully regarded as the fiercest. The outlaw status of Gypsies, which had previously been decreed, gained significant momentum. Even if this *carte blanche* never led to a daily routine of persecution by the majority population, it had the potential for escalation and even massacre, which indeed happened more often in this time than earlier.

Whether by pure chance or due to this being an era of enhanced violence, four separate Gypsy trials from the Austrian hereditary lands have surfaced from only two years (1711 and 1712). They have been reconstructed by different historians, all of which paint a rather grim picture of contemporary provincial justice: In 1711, four Gypsies were condemned to death in Seisenegg (Lower Austria), only because the strict anti-Gypsy legislation deemed their passing through to be illegal;¹² in the same year, after having been heavily tortured, four Gypsies were executed in Wolkenstein (Styria).¹³ One member of this supposed "gang"¹⁴ was apprehended again only months later, and together with some other suspects, was put on trial in Paternion (Carinthia) (see the following section).¹⁵ Finally, in 1712 in Gföhl (Lower Austria), three people were executed simply for

being what they were: Gypsies (or at least persons labeled as such).¹⁶ Old men and adolescents were subjected to the death penalty, as were widows and couples, suspicious characters, and people most obviously not involved in any sort of actual crime beyond the crime of vagrancy. Even some contemporaries believed this to be a dubious reason for hounding people to death.

THE CARINTHIAN CASE

The 1711 Carinthian case has been handed down in a manuscript of some 150 pages that contains all the juridically relevant material in various text types. Its centerpiece is a set of interrogation protocols with members of the supposed "Gypsy gang," who are interviewed in detail. Among much other information, their statements also provide a lot of seemingly incidental information unimportant to the interrogators, but which in a close reading allows historians to sneak a peek into the everyday life of the suspects. A long and winding story opens up to the reader, a story with many climaxes and a tragic end.

In the late summer of 1711, a group of Gypsies traveled around the district of Paternion,¹⁷ a medium-sized Carinthian manor. The district court (*Landgericht*) imprisoned four of the Gypsies,¹⁸ arguably based only on vague suspicions. Hans Lang, apparently the head of the small band, was the first to be interrogated. In the beginning, the interrogation concentrated on the question of whether the group rightfully owned a piece of linen, a bottle, and some tin plates that had been encountered at their capture. The origin of a rifle became a further subject of investigation. Lang's wife, as well as his son and daughter, were also examined, and, because these questionings were carried out separately, discrepancies emerged. Even more aggravating was the fact that Lang's son-in-law and a few other Gypsies had escaped the initial roundup, which authorities considered highly suspicious.

After a few days of arrest, Hans Lang's wife Elisabeth and the couple's youngest child were also able to flee. Probably because of her status as a woman, Elisabeth had not been chained up and was left unattended. Now, only three supposed delinquents remained to stand trial. Thoroughly searching the old manorial papers, the administrator of Paternion, a strictly law-abiding and compulsively bureaucratic personality,¹⁹ discovered that Lang had already been incarcerated twenty years earlier. At that time, he had received a sentence for lifelong service in the army, which had obviously either never been effected or had not been completed.²⁰

The noose was progressively tightening on the incarcerated when a circular letter sent to neighboring duchies revealed that at least some of the Gypsies seemed to be

recidivists. Some months ago they had stood trial in Styria, where they were accused of having broken into a barn in the middle of the night and lighting a fire for cooking. Because such a misdemeanor exposed the farmer and the whole community to danger, the local authorities had rounded the Gypsies up. In course of this apprehension, the Gypsies had pointed a shotgun at the administrator—for the authorities an unmistakable sign of perilous circumstances. Later on, seven more rifles, some pistols, and broadswords were confiscated. The backgrounds of all the members of the “gang” were thoroughly investigated and a trial set up; as a result, four Gypsies were executed and several more were put in the pillory, whipped, and expelled from the region.²¹ Hans Lang’s son Oswald—if not the whole Lang family—was among the survivors, but he was branded with the symbol of the gallows. This inextinguishable branding was meant to alert any future interrogators that they faced a dangerous recidivist.

With a criminal record like this, the Paternion authorities, in accord with the contemporary procedural standards, subjected the Langs quasi “naturall” to torture. To guarantee the proper application of this ultimate means of finding the truth, Dr. Georg Wolfgang von Tschabueschnig, the highest-ranking provincial jurist (*Landschaftsadvokat*) appeared on site. This was probably his first case involving Gypsies, but it definitely was not his last. Later in his long career, in addition to hunting witches, he conducted many more Gypsy trials.²²

For Tschabueschnig torture was routine, but for the delinquents it meant an odyssey into extreme violence. Hans Lang’s daughter Johanna Narl was the only remaining woman in the trial and became a protagonist in a “theatre of horror.”²³ Having confessed to only a few petty thefts, she was submitted first to the thumbscrew, then to different degrees of painful binding of the limbs and body, and finally to the *strappado*. The latter meant

hoisting up the criminal by his hands tied behind his back, on a pulley about two stories high: from whence the rope being, suddenly slackened, he falls to within a yard or two of the ground, where he is stopped with a violent shock, arising from the weight of his body, and the velocity of his descent, which generally dislocates his shoulders, with incredible pain. This dreadful execution is sometimes repeated in a few minutes on the same delinquent; so that the very ligaments are tore [sic!] from his joints, and his arms are rendered useless for life.²⁴

Despite this extreme way of trying to get to the bottom of things, no additional offenses could be brought to light, and Johanna was sent back to jail.

Hans Lang, the elderly father, had to undergo a similar ordeal, which, much to the chagrin of the interrogators, did not lead to any new confessions. Lang’s endurance to

various degrees of pain raised first suspicion and then the conviction that he must have been tortured several times before. Lang persistently refused to confess any wrongdoings, but his torturers became eyewitnesses to a highly suspicious act: Lang spit out the holy water offered to him! In the eyes of the assembled this was a clear sign of a deal with the devil. With heavy weights around his feet, Lang was then hoisted, but he still refused to own up to the charges, even when he was directly confronted with one of his presumed victims.

A single day’s pause was granted to Hans Lang before he was challenged with the most dreadful means of uncovering the “truth”: the “wizard’s chair,”²⁵ (see figure 7.1) which has been called “the arguably most inhumane of all torture instruments.”²⁶

On it, the pitiful culprit had to sit for hours, hoisted, with arms bound on their back, feet crossed and raised to the top of the device. Thus, the tortured increasingly exposed their genitals to the hard boards at its end, which over time created the most painful sensations imaginable. Four hours on it was already unbearable and eight hours was often fatal, yet the stipulated maximum was twenty-four hours.²⁷ At the mere *sight* of this instrument, Lang attempted to change his fate by unsolicitedly confessing to some offenses that he brought up for the first time: cattle theft and larceny of money, provisions, and everyday objects. But as Lang still refused to admit to the initial case, which



Figure 7.1 Replica of the wizard’s chair from Burg Riegersburg, Styria. (Source: Photo provided by *Burg Riegersburg Betriebs GmbH* [represented by Sonja Liechtenstein].)

the authorities took as proven, the wizard's chair became inescapable for Lang. On it, an endless stream of confessions bubbled out of the delinquent's mouth: fortune telling, common assaults, looting, robbery, six persons battered to death, one victim shot—this was now his record after an "investigation" by torture.

One day later, Hans Lang, according to juridical rules and common practice, was asked whether he would hold to his testimony even without torture, which he more or less agreed to. He also admitted to the suspicion that Gypsies were torturing each other to be able to keep silent in front of the authorities if worst came to worst. This confession proved disastrous for his son Oswald, whom the authorities, with knowledge about the "probational" torturing, brought directly onto the wizard's chair. More lenient forms of torture to the interrogators must have seemed a waste of time. Moreover, an assumed pact between Oswald and the devil, which made him supposedly unable to confess even if he had wanted to, inflamed the passions of his torturers. Forced down by heavy weights, Oswald had to sit with a candlestick in hand, fumes filling his lungs. He finally confessed to twenty-eight criminal deeds of all kinds, among them an in-group murder. With the help of witness reports by many local farmers, the administrator, in conjunction with the judge, was able to verify at least a few of the confessed offenses.

In the final rounds of the trial, Hans Lang tried to back down from his previous statements by downplaying his role in the murders to that of a simple bystander. Oswald, on the other hand, more or less held to his confessions. The final decision lay in the hands of the owner of the manor, a provincial duke residing in Venice. He was the representative of the high justice that his manor held as a privilege, but instead of delivering an explicit sentence, he proposed two alternative verdicts: one condemned the two men to death and the woman to expulsion; the other, instead of the death sentences, suggested lifelong forced labor on the galleys. Although the latter verdict was favored by the duke, the court finally decided in favor of the death penalty.

In only two weeks' time, the verdict was to become legally effective. In the meantime, the delinquents remained in shackles, except when visited by local priests, who offered the sacraments of penance and last rites. On an early November morning, after a rich meal and a drink, father, son, and daughter Lang were brought in front of the jurymen. Johanna Narl was flogged and "expelled forever" from the Austrian hereditary lands. Hans Lang received the most dishonoring sentence of hanging. Given the contemporary sense of justice, Oswald Lang was treated more leniently. As his offenses were considered less severe and as three pregnant women spoke in favor of him,²⁸ he was executed "only" by the sword. His body was buried at the site, his head displayed atop the gallows. Unlike other delinquents, the sentenced Gypsies were in a perfidious way already confronted with their sentences seven days prior to their execution: in light of their religious ignorance and the severity of their verdicts, the usual three-day period meant to evoke a fear of death and repentance was extended by the judges.

ROMANTIC STORY LINES VS. OBSERVING DETAILS

The protocol of 1711 provides rare and surprisingly rich source material that can be read on different levels. One is the level of the "story line," which makes it a grim piece of crime and punishment in which the crime is alleged while the punishment is definitive. A few decades later, such a tale would have probably made it into one of the then-trendy *Pitavals*, collections of memorable and debatable juridical cases.²⁹ The arsenal of protagonists provides a perfect spectrum of characters and strong antagonisms, which are two of the prerequisites for a well-functioning narrative: there are father and son, a strident wife and mother, and a band of vagrants on the one side; a law-abiding administrator, a hardened jurist, and an aloof manorial owner on the other; and a varied selection of testifying farmers. There is, furthermore, some shadow of a doubt in the whole story, which also keeps it running. Had romanticist historians known about this case, they would have seized on it because of its multifaceted and novella-like plot.

Modern historiography rightfully discredits such romanticism as exoticism in disguise and a variant of Orientalism.³⁰ But there is still a point in collecting stories like the Paternion case. Especially when it comes to the early modern period, the emergent field of Romani studies significantly lacks archivally based stories. Therefore, compiling as much empirical data as possible is an ineluctable first step for starting a process of interpretation that goes beyond the many established clichés.

But definitively more rewarding than just retelling the narrative arc is keeping a close look at the many tiny items that frame, decorate, and detail stories from the archives. The closer one looks at the many little things that are touched upon in our case, the more surprising the glimpses into everyday life are. If observed with a curiosity for hidden information, details that seem peripheral at a first glance can reveal new sets of questions and at least some suggestive answers. Without any claim to completeness, the following remarks are developed from tiny elements in our protocol that should be considered important for writing a comprehensive history of Gypsies in the Habsburg empire in the future.

HIDDEN LIFE STORIES

Since generalizing talk about "the Gypsies" has often proved fatal for them, modern Gypsy/Romani historiography has to search for as much individualization as possible. But how can historians reconstruct concrete subjects with individual life trajectories if so much information is missing? Compiling at least the framework of life stories for people from the majority population is rather simple. Historians can consult the church

books and search for raw data about individuals: the date of christening, the place of birth, the names and professions of the parents, the godfathers; the marriage dates, patterns, and witnesses; the hour of death, its cause, the age of the deceased, the burial places. Even if this information only shows the sketch of a human being who once existed, it still guarantees that from the early modern period on no single person, however peripheral his or her role in history was, disappears in complete biographical darkness.

The situation with Gypsies is different. Church books rarely allow their life cycles to be reconstructed. While the books of baptisms, marriages, and burials in the parishes of Carinthia abundantly supply information on other individuals, no Gypsies have so far been discovered in them.³¹ Is this because the priests failed to specify them as Gypsies? Given the fact that even the status of seasonal workers was carefully cited in the records,³² this seems highly implausible.

There is a bundle of questions connected to this finding: Did the church exclude Gypsies from their pastoral services? Or did Gypsies avoid priests for their rites of passage? Were they in fact married only according to in-group laws and did they thus live in the concubinage that the majority population so often accused them of? And what happened to their mortal remains? Were they buried in churchyards or at random (or designated) places on the road?

All these basic questions have not yet been addressed by historians of the Austrian hereditary lands. We know so little, and so much information about Gypsies has been lost or never collected, that we have to clutch at any straw that shows up. In doing so, interrogation protocols like the one from Paternion may serve as a surrogate for the information the church books withhold. In the protocols, the questioning of the suspects usually starts with a statement on age, nativity, and family constellations. When asked about the structures of their "bands," Gypsies often talk about their relationships to their kinfolk, which at times can illuminate more than what is known about even the majority population. Reading between the lines of the surviving documents makes otherwise concealed in-group interactions a bit easier to grasp.

Like any other delinquents, the Langs were, for example, interrogated about accomplices. The outcome was a list that provides historians with a vivid picture of the composition of what the majority population used to call "gangs." Such a record reveals the community's internal relations and the fault lines between the sexes and generations. According to the Langs' statements, their traveling group was centered around a nuclear family and then filled with more distant relatives such as uncles, aunts, and cousins. But nonfamily members also traveled with them, some of whom may not have been of Gypsy heritage but were perhaps recruited from the majority population.³³

In general, interrogations left room for the suspects to extemporize, and some articulated stunning information in such spaces.³⁴ Through this, historians can gather at least some of the data that is needed for individualization. A broad survey of these sources

hints at how Gypsies distributed labor, the degree of their sedentarism and embeddedness into majority society, and other facets of their lives.

THE MYSTERY OF NAMES

For the identification of apprehended suspects, the authorities often kept a record of the various names and aliases that Gypsies used. These documents suggest that in the Austrian hereditary lands three or four types of names were common among Gypsies: (1) in-group names, which could have derived from Romani, the Indo-Aryan language the Gypsies took with them on their travels to Europe (how many Gypsies actually spoke it in the early modern period is a matter of debate); (2) German names for interaction with the majority population; (3) nicknames in use in both contexts; (4) local names, which were commonly "house names" (*Vulgarnamen*)³⁵ but in Gypsy cases seem to have been applied as aliases. Hans Lang, for instance, was known to his wife as "Wallis Gitagi." The authorities called him by his German name, but often in connection with an alias ("vulgo Pentris").

The Paternion protocol mentions many very unusual first names for this region that should instigate interdisciplinary exchanges among historians, linguists, and anthropologists. Male names like Narro, Delli, Räxel, Desina, Niso, Naufftl, Schübel, Balaschoger, Knaxo, and Raschey, and female ones like Ganni, Weize, Maltzi, Bazilin, Assini, Mino, Güettle, and Hunni differ so completely from those used among the majority population that they must derive either from the Romani language, the argot of underclasses, or traveling people. They are fascinating *trouvailles* that can also be seen as small contributions to the understanding of how diverse the early modern period at times was.³⁶

PHYSIOGNOMY AND APPAREL

Before the times of accelerated communication in modernity, handwritten and printed apprehension warrants were the most common way of chasing suspects. They can be found in the thousands in the archives³⁷ and contain information on deviants of all sorts, including on the physical appearances of early modern Gypsies. There is even a special type of text called a "Gypsy description" (*Zigeunerbeschreibung*), which exclusively lists people who factually or supposedly belonged to this group. Synoptic analysis of these documents, which are scattered all over the provincial archives, not only helps us visualize the wanted persons but also offers interesting insights into matters of poverty, disabilities, illnesses, complexion, etc.

The description made about Oswald Lang, for instance, provides a general picture of his appearance and allows us to fantasize about the impressions he might have made on local farmers and judges: “Gypsy Oswald, but in Gypsy language *Päntti*. A mid-size person of about 24 years, with a black and fat face. He has brown, trickling eyes; coal-black, full-grown hair; no beard.”³⁸ Another, in this case, a female member of the “band” is described as “in her best years, short, [...] her left hand is crippled.”³⁹ The mentioning of physical impairments is rare in other document types and further contributes to picturing concrete people.

Garments are also sometimes mentioned in the warrants. One Gypsy man is said to be “commonly all dressed in green” and another woman to dress “sometimes in German and at other times in Hungarian style.” If it would not lead us too far away from the context of this chapter, it would be interesting to know how common and expensive the use of green color for clothes was in the region. Further research might detect some hidden information in this short clause. Also, the remark on the style of dresses (German/Hungarian) seems likely to contain extra information: it might mean that Gypsies wore different types of cloth as a disguise and to make it harder for the authorities to identify them. But it could also be that some women had two sets of clothing that fit into different societal settings.⁴⁰

PROCEDURAL JUSTICE

The Paternion protocol, when viewed structurally rather than as a singular event, is also a great example of divergence between juridical norms and lived reality. The outlaw status of Gypsies, which entered the imperial decrees and law books in the seventeenth century, created a legal framework for killing Gypsies on the spot with strong enough evidence that they had committed a crime. If they were incarcerated, the codices also explicitly allowed execution without an investigation. At the time of the Paternion trial, a decree by Emperor Joseph I from 1705 was in effect that ruled that Gypsies and any paupers or deviants who joined them should be punished as follows: male and unmarried female vagrants should be beheaded without any previous trial, married women and children up to eighteen years should be sent to lifelong coerced labor in shackles, and children under fourteen years should be brought to asylums or become domestic servants.⁴¹

This is sharpness of the law, driven to an extreme! But the Paternion trial attests to a very different practice: in stark contrast to the described legal framework, the regional authorities of Paternion spent a lot of time—a whole two and a half months—on investigating, confronting, consulting and torturing in the ways prescribed for non-Gypsy suspects. Although the manorial administrator in hindsight boasted in his memoirs

that he had given the Gypsies "short shrift by flogging, hanging, and beheading"⁴² according to the contemporary standards the trial was set up properly and conducted diligently and without haste. Even the gradual cascade of different forms of torture was painstakingly observed. It is also noteworthy that in 1711 Hans and Oswald Lang stood trial for a *second time*. This means that in their first trials the authorities had not made use of their *carte blanche* for immediate execution but opted for conscription and branding instead.

FREE RIDERS AMONG THE MAJORITY POPULATION

The face-to-face confrontations that the Paternion protocol puts down in writing are a painstaking record of what was discussed during the investigations and the trial. But if one is familiar with a lot of comparable protocols, each one of them also always conveys a very specific atmosphere, which cannot be verified in a strictly scientific sense. Nonetheless, for a trained historian it is arguably "in the air." Witness interrogations leave one with the impression that aside from the possible victims of thefts, exploiters of the situation were also common. Some of them presented to the court cases of Gypsy misdeeds that had allegedly happened years before. Why had they not reported them previously, but rather only once the Gypsies nearly had a loop around their necks? Some of the testimonies can leave a critical mind with the impression that free riders posed among the witnesses. Victims of unsolved crimes must have seen a chance to recover lost property or gain some recompense for it, with no consideration as to whether the Gypsies were the liable parties or not.

If that is indeed the case, the trial gains a new facet. There were not only victims and perpetrators (or to put it more neutrally: delinquents and judges) plus witnesses; the latter were themselves split between those who reported what they had seen (or thought they had seen) and those who tried to take advantage of the Gypsies' miserable situation.

PREPARING FOR THE WORST

One of the most remarkable *trouvailles* in the protocol lies hidden under a catalog of answers that Hans Lang gave on the "wizard's chair."

Squeezed between the lines of answer no. 29 and the start of another interrogation (see figure 7.2), answer no. 30 reads as follows: "He also confirms that they submit themselves to torturing one another, as an attempt that if they should be put into arrest, they were able to stand [real torture] without confessing" (*bekennet auch, daß*

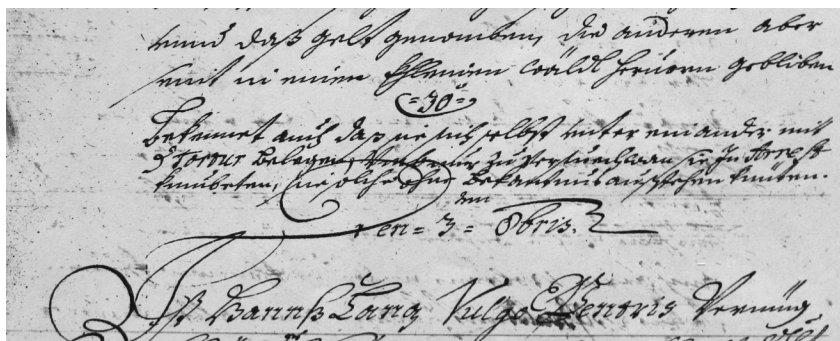


Figure 7.2 Interpolated question no. 30 in the protocol of the trial. (Source: Klagenfurt, KLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Hs. 166 Kriminalprozess Lang, Zigeuner 1711 [not paginated].)

sie sich selbst unter einander mit der tortur belegen, umb nur zu versuech, wan sie in arrest kumbeten, sie solche ohne bekantnus ausstehen künnten).

Although this preparation for the worst is perfectly logical, hardly any historian would have ever thought of such a precaution had it not been for what this document states explicitly.

If factual (and not a consequence of confessing literally everything under torture), it shows that Gypsies were reacting to law-based state violence ingeniously. It also grants a glimpse into how fearful life must have been for these people so expectant of torture that they resorted to such extremes. Formulated paradoxically, this mutual *preventive torture* expresses a sort of *passive counterviolence*. Without attacking the aggressors on their part, an act of violence was performed on their own bodies, which was supposed to strengthen them to endure even the worst to come.

WANDERINGS

Nomadism is one of the ascriptions that Gypsies in the early modern period (and even still today) were permanently confronted with. Historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw non-sedentary life as a constitutive element of being Gypsies, but more recent research has shown that this was not always and everywhere the case.⁴³ There have always been phases in which some were allowed to, and thus did, settle down. But as Gypsies assimilated into a majority population they often then became unrecognizable as such in the files.

From the little we hitherto know of Gypsies who lived in or passed through Carinthia, all seem to have been nomadic who have surfaced in the early modern records. It

also seems that their travels were quite far-reaching but brought some of them back to places where they had already been before. It would be fascinating to reconstruct their routes by following traces that some of them must have left in different regions, but for such an effort much broader research in the archives would be necessary.

Interrogators often addressed and wanted to hear particulars about the traveling of Gypsies, and so the documents provide much related detail. But only rarely do sources follow a single group of Gypsies from one wider area to another. The Gypsy group who stood trial in Paternion is so far the only one from the Austrian hereditary lands which has been documented in two different duchies (Carinthia and Styria). It has already been mentioned that Oswald Lang was branded in a previous trial in Styria—a region some 150 kilometers away from Paternion—and it must be stressed that the reconstruction of this part of the story is due to a stroke of luck. The Paternion protocol hinted at the connection, and the Styrian archives and libraries were indeed holding some source material that substantially enriched the snapshot from Paternion.

How effectively information exchange overcame borders can also be seen from the repercussions the Carinthian criminal proceedings had in Styria. A printed "thieves' list" from 1713 accurately specifies "those male and female thieves that had been mentioned in a manifesto from 1711 and executed before December 1712."⁴⁴ At its end, it says: "Pfantri [obviously another form of Pentris] and Püntti—both have been executed in Paternion in 1711."⁴⁵

OLD VS. NEW UNDERSTANDING OF THE LAW

As pointed out in chapter 3, the penal system of the Habsburg empire underwent radical change under the impact of the Enlightenment. But some tentative antecedents of the Enlightenment had already left their marks on the Paternion case. As early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was a faction among judges who were unhappy with the excessive use of the death penalty. In their search for alternatives, they envisioned a broader use of public labor as punishment. The owner of the Paternion manor is a good example of one influenced by this dawning of a new understanding of the law. Being a worldly, wise man who resided both in the province of Paternion and the cosmopolitan city of Venice, he left the door open for sparing the lives of the Gypsies and condemning them to forced labor instead. But the local court obviously relied on traditional notions of social vengeance and the imperative of the purification of the offended societies. To them, the total extinction of delinquents seemed the best way to bring the disturbed equilibrium back into balance.⁴⁶

CONCLUSIONS

Research on Roma has brought forth a wide range of respectable publications in the fields of sociology, pedagogy, political sciences, anthropology, linguistics, and ethnomusicology. In historical research, however, only the twentieth century has found some wider interest. A few excellent and exemplary studies⁴⁷ from early modernists do not make good for the many lacunae. At least for the German countries of the Holy Roman and the Habsburg empires, studies on early modern Gypsies remain insufficient. In overviews, most remarks on Gypsies are repetitive, and their origins can sometimes easily be traced back not just over the decades but even over the centuries. When it comes to the everyday life of Gypsies, the Austrian hereditary lands of the early modern period are a blind spot of historiography. This is first and foremost due to a striking lack of attention paid to archival sources. The often-time-consuming investigative research for records seems to keep historians from exploring the many sources that are scattered over the archives. Micro-historical methods, which so substantially improved historical research in the 1970s and 1980s, should also on a broader scale find their way into Roma studies. This would further fact-based historical depictions rather than those that have been produced and reproduced much too often.⁴⁸

By analyzing a case from the duchy of Carinthia, this chapter aimed at highlighting research desiderata and showing how important it is to observe trifles. Without a strong input from the sources, our perceptions of Gypsy history are doomed to remain blurry. But with the close reading of as many cases as possible, there is a chance to move from grounded speculation to more solid knowledge.

THE ENEMY WITHIN

Gypsies as External and Internal
Threat in the Habsburg Monarchy
and the Holy Roman Empire

*He rips off and steals, he conjures and lies, / he betrays straight in
front of your eyes. (Er bscheist und stielt, er zaubert und leugt, /
Angsicht der augen ein betreugt.)*

MEISTERSINGER HANS SACHS
CHARACTERIZING "THE GYPSY," 1559¹

*It is a principle of human nature to hate those whom you have in-
jured. (Proprium ingenii humani odisse quem laeseris.)*

TACITUS, *AGRICOLA*, CHAPTER 42²

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL THREATS: EVERYONE SEEMS TO HAVE VAGUE, COMMON SENSE ideas about their specific scopes. But closer scrutiny reveals that the distinction itself is quite blurry. Usually, it is a simple matter of perspectives and proportions; the same threat might be seen as coming from within or from the outside. In order to better understand this complicated situation, Georg Simmel, in his *Sociology* (chapter "Excursus on the Stranger"), introduced the idea of spatial categories to this internal/external dichotomy: "The stranger is fixed within a certain spatial area [. . .], but the position of the stranger is thereby essentially determined by not belonging to it from the outset, and by introducing qualities that do not and cannot originate from the stranger." A stranger in this understanding is an exponent of a very specific constellation, a "potential wanderer [. . .], who has not completely overcome the loosening of coming and going, though not moving on." In a distinct way, he impersonates the "union of the near and the far that every relation among people contains": [. . .] "[the] distance within the relationship means that the near is far away, but being a stranger

means that the distant is near." Thus, the stranger "is a member of the group itself not different from the poor and the various 'inner enemies'—an element whose immanent presence and membership include at the same time an externality and opposition."³

Gypsies⁴ in early modern European societies were perceived as all three: strangers, paupers, and inner enemies, who were, in Simmel's sense, near and far at the same time.⁵ On the one hand, from the late Middle Ages on, they were more or less accepted parts of many European societies, but on the other, they also became the objects of excessive hate and persecution. Focusing on the Habsburg monarchy⁶ and the Holy Roman Empire,⁷ this chapter argues that Gypsies were seen and treated as internal enemies. The most effective framework for this specific type of othering was the insinuation of espionage that accompanied Gypsies from their first arrival in Central Europe. Vague and unproven though it was, this claim fostered the idea that Gypsies were highly suspect of concealing a frightening secret. The first part of this chapter looks at their othering vis-à-vis a perception of them as spies. At the turn of the sixteenth century, both the Habsburg monarchy and the Holy Roman Empire banned them; if caught, they were treated as outlaws. As a final consequence, Gypsies were to be "eradicated."⁸ Successive legislation against Gypsies became increasingly absurd, a phenomenon which is emblematically reflected in the "Gypsy warning signs." The second part of this chapter centers the story of the introduction, development, and decline of these signs.

AGENTS OF TREACHERY

In his book on strangers in the Middle Ages, Frank Meier lists different categories from which the impression of strangeness was based:⁹ monstrosity, enemy status, religious alterity, heresy, witchcraft, gender differences, and mobility appear as the main triggers for both dread and wonder on the side of the majority population. Almost all of the above-mentioned categories were applied to Gypsies from their arrival in Europe in the late Middle Ages up to the era of the Enlightenment; some of them are even perceptible today.¹⁰ Over the centuries, a seemingly endless stream of allegations (exactly following the list above) developed: Gypsies were accused of spying; their customs, habits, and diets were seen as grotesque; they were suspected of being bad Christians, if Christians at all;¹¹ they were incriminated as sorcerers; Gypsy women were eroticized with a spectrum of characterizations from exotic fairy princess to wicked prostitute. Moreover, the ascription of vagrancy, only partially extant in the early modern period,¹² is still a powerful label today.

All of these pictures and clichés, conceptualized by the majority population, were brought together and bundled into a master narrative by the historian and statistician Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellmann, who belonged to a circle of Enlighteners in

Göttingen. In his seminal *Dissertation on the Gypsies*, first published in German in 1783 and translated into English a mere four years later, Grellmann conceived of a depiction of the “true Gypsy” along the aforementioned lines, which remained formative for centuries to come.¹³ By accusing Gypsies of spying for the enemy, Grellmann repeated an old suspicion with an essentialist twist that effectively influenced the broader public:

They have been generally decried, in early times, as traitors and spies: perhaps this accusation may be extended too far, but it is not totally without foundation. A Gipsej possesses all the properties required to render him a fit agent to be employed in traitorous undertakings. He is easily won over because he is necessitous, also his misconceived ambition and pride, persuade him that he becomes a person of consequence; he does not reflect on danger, because he is too inconsiderate, and works his way under difficult circumstances, as he is artful to the greatest degree. [. . .] [T]hese people cause much damage and mischief, with little or no profit, take them in whatever point of view you will.¹⁴

Among the many stories depicting Gypsies as shady and treacherous, Grellmann considered the allegation of spying among the most grounded ones. Drawing on early modern juridical and historical discourse, he therefore listed specific acts of espionage and treason that had been attributed to Gypsies since the sixteenth century. To understand these allegations better in their historical contexts, the next section will give a very brief overview of espionage through the ages.

TRADITIONS OF INTELLIGENCE AND COUNTERINTELLIGENCE

Spying is a phenomenon that can be traced back to the earliest written documents.¹⁵ Approaches toward and techniques of early modern espionage are strongly rooted in antiquity, as well as in the high and late Middle Ages:

Espionage was a vital form of information-gathering in the Middle Ages, often performed by those who traveled in another capacity. As in antiquity, medieval spies were recruited with three main objectives: naval and land-based military reconnaissance; domestic surveillance of suspect compatriots; and the gathering of information concerning the political and commercial affairs of rival and allied polities. [. . .] Political fragmentation and the evolution of the territorial state over the period between 1000 and 1500 [. . .] engendered a growing emphasis on the arena of “foreign” intelligence in the West.¹⁶

The sixteenth century has thus been called the “Golden Age” of espionage, both because of the explosion of new information (due to expansion, the Reformation, the printing press, etc.) and because news itself gained theretofore unknown importance.¹⁷ Thus, on many societal levels and among many different segments of society, espionage in premodernity became a key factor in information gathering and intelligence/counterintelligence efforts.

Espionage in the early modern period evolved in three basic manifestations: political, civil, and military. In the realm of politics, diplomats were the main actors, and their focus was on keeping their knowledge always one step ahead of their counterparts and enemies. Civil spying was carried out by individuals on behalf of the authorities and involved quite different segments of society, such as traveling salesmen, artists, swindlers, barbers, or clerics, all of whom clandestinely observed others. The major goal of civil spying was the maintenance of the status quo. Finally, the military sector was a permanent pool for spy recruitment. Strategy and tactics were influenced by information gathered behind enemy lines. Notably, military espionage in the early modern period was sanctioned according to customary law; unmasked military “scouts” were not treated harshly as spies but as prisoners of war.¹⁸

Compared to decades of research on various forms of espionage in the Mediterranean,¹⁹ Habsburg and Ottoman espionage have only more recently been reflected in historiography. Starting with the Ottoman conquest of huge parts of Hungary in 1526, the Porte in Istanbul became a primary, if not the essential, opponent of the Habsburgs for almost two centuries. Both parties soon realized that triumph on the battlefield was only one requirement for victory. The other was constant and effective espionage in the armies, in the courts, and among the people of the respective “arch-enemy.” Thus, both sides set up an extensive network of informers.²⁰

EXPLORERS, SPIES, AND SPOTTERS

From the three basic forms of espionage described above, only the military one was attributed to Gypsies. Grellmann, in his view of Gypsies as “predestined” traitors, referred specifically to this type. In doing so, he was able to build upon a long line of allegations of espionage that circulated in the Holy Roman Empire.

The earliest accusation that Gypsies were spies dates back to 1424. In a chronicle entry, Andreas of Regensburg mentions the first advent of Gypsies in the region and the immediate rumor that these were “clandestine spies.”²¹ Astonishingly, the fall of Constantinople in 1453 did not trigger any further accusations of such kind.²² Then, in 1468, a tale made its way into late medieval travelogues: Count Eberhard of Württemberg, on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, allegedly was betrayed by a group of Gypsies

and therefore had to surrender to the Saracens.²³ The traveler Arnold von Harff of Cologne reported a similar story to his German readers, this time about Gypsies from Modon,²⁴ whom he depicted as notorious spies.²⁵ Henry the Pious, who later became Duke of Saxony, also recalled bad memories concerning Gypsies, whom he met on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1498. He accused them of being spies and traitors, because they purportedly had denounced him when he went through Syria.²⁶

It seems that suppositions of such kind did not have much political impact until the end of the century, when the Imperial Diet (*Reichstag*) in 1496 ruminated for the first time on the role of Gypsies. At a session in Lindau, Gypsies were associated with the “Turkish” sultan and his supposed plans for infiltrating the Christian countries with spies.²⁷ A meeting in Freiburg in 1498 resulted in a statement that explicitly addressed Gypsies as “explorers, spies, and spotters of the Christian territories” (*Erfahrer, Außspäher und Verkundtschaffter der Christen Land*).²⁸ In 1530, another Imperial Diet held in Augsburg renewed the accusation of espionage, again associating the “Turks and other enemies of Christianity” with the Gypsies. This fatal formula, which was repeated for more than two centuries, made Gypsies enemies within, as they were time and again banned from the Holy Roman Empire. If they were not obedient, the laws allowed them to be killed on the spot, without any consequences for the executors.

Count Franz Christoph Khevenhüller (1588–1650), the influential official historian at the court of Emperor Ferdinand II, initiated a story that gained momentum within the historiographer’s community. In his *Annales* concerning the year 1578, Khevenhüller related an almost warlike battle, allegedly fought between a huge group of Gypsies from Hungary and soldiers from Moravia. Khevenhüller accused the Gypsies of fighting on behalf of the Ottoman *pasha* and depicted them as a powerful threat, not only to the Bohemian countries but to all the other Habsburg lands as well:

The Bassa over there [i.e. the pasha in Ofen] assembled many Gypsies and instigated them to go to Austria and Moravia, and then to return to him again, with safe conduct assured and with prey and booty. But his true intention was that if they came back with goods and money, he then would take it all from them, under the pretext of accusing them of having broken the peace between two emperors. But this enterprise neither worked for the Bassa nor the Gypsies because they were caught and defeated in Moravia at Olomouc and approximately 600 of these Gypsies were hanged. Thus, these poor countries were relieved from being molested. Afterwards, patents were issued in the Emperor’s realms as well as in his other countries, stating that Gypsies were not allowed in them anymore.²⁹

Khevenhüller had not yet been born when the alleged events took place, and it is unknown on which documents he based his report. However, the rumor about a major

incident involving Gypsies seems to be based on a very different set of events. Rather than on a conflict between Moravians and Gypsies, which does not appear in archival sources at all, Khevenhüller's account was most probably based on a quite spectacular Gypsy trial. In the year 1578, twenty-seven men and 120 women with children—gathered from all over Moravia—had to stand trial in Olomouc. Falsely accused of arson at first, the Gypsies, after extensive use of torture, were finally indicted for theft and murder. Five Gypsies were executed on the spot, and after a long back-and-forth between different levels of authority, the rest of them were deported from the country.³⁰

It is most likely that this source-based story, which almost reads like an inversion of Khevenhüller's report, transformed over time into the more heroic narrative of a battle, fueled by the omnipresent fear of external enemies in the early modern period. From the eighteenth century on, and despite its unreliability, Khevenhüller's account found its way into official Moravian historiography.³¹ It encouraged intellectuals as well as historically versed nonacademics to strongly link Gypsies with the "Turkish arch-enemy."

Another circumstance that might have inspired Khevenhüller's story could have been the heightened Ottoman espionage activities around the year 1578:

Apart from captured enemy soldiers and agents, *beylerbeyis* and *sancakbeyis* [provincial and district governors] also employed their own spies. While *beylerbeyis* in the eastern provinces employed Turks, Kurds, and Arabs, those in Hungary relied mainly on Hungarians and Slavs. Ottoman spies regularly traveled between Ottoman Hungary and the Habsburg lands. [...] By relying on their spies and informants, Ottoman authorities along the Habsburg frontier possessed up-to-date information about the state of the Hungarian garrisons maintained by Vienna. The success of Üveys Pasha, *beylerbeyi* of Buda (1578–80), can be mentioned in this regard.³²

It has to be stated that not a single archival source to date has substantiated these allegations against Gypsies.³³ But no matter how little proof was provided, the constant and phantasmagorical spread of this rumor eventually transformed it into a topos—or, even more powerfully, a supposed self-evident fact. Therefore, it is little wonder that two chronicles from the seventeenth century raked up reports about a large number of Gypsies who allegedly came to Silesia in 1663 as spies for Turks and Tatars.³⁴

The association of Gypsies with Turks—apart from all the above-mentioned factors—may also have a substrate in the oriental-type dress that at least some groups of Gypsies wore in the early modern period. In the last few years, art historians have identified an ever-increasing number of Gypsy depictions, which for a long time had been overlooked or misinterpreted as simply being portrayals of "Turks" or "heathens." Those from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries especially show an affinity between Gypsy garments and "oriental" apparel. Although it is hard to tell how much "Orientalism" the artists loaded into their iconographic programs, or to what extent

Gypsies retained dressing styles from their time in the Ottoman Empire, it nevertheless seems evident that Gypsies with eye-catching outfits were easy targets for anyone intent on excluding them on the basis of being “strangers” and purported “traitors.”³⁵

A SHORT HISTORY OF “GYPSY WARNING SIGNS”

Although at the turn of the eighteenth century the fear of an Ottoman invasion diminished with Habsburg military advances, the pressures on Gypsies did not die down but rather gained momentum. Still banned and outlawed, they were then also systematically searched for in so-called Gypsy visitations (also known as “Gypsy hunts”). The accusation of espionage was now transferred from the military sector to the domestic sphere. Houses were allegedly spied on by roaming Gypsies who supposedly returned later to rob them. The basis for excluding them began to include accusations of theft, arson, and murder. Thus, Gypsies again epitomized enemies within.

The clearest expression of how these enemies were treated in the Habsburg and Holy Roman empires was the late-seventeenth-century invention of the so-called Gypsy warning signs (*Zigeunertafeln*, *Zigeunerstöcke*). In northern Germany, they were also known as “Tatar poles” (*Taternpfähle*)³⁶ or “Heathens’ sticks” (*Heidenstöcke*). These wooden stakes with a tablet affixed at the top either served as the base for an oil-color painting or a printed order (*Mandat*).³⁷

A few examples of the painted type survive in local and regional museums in Austria (Universalmuseum Joanneum Graz), Germany (Stadtmuseum Nördlingen, Veste Coburg, Schloss Runkel), the Netherlands (Historie huis Roermond), and the Czech Republic (České Budějovice, Státní zámek Nové Hrady). Thus, knowledge of these signs is not limited to their description in archival documents. Their themes dramatically depict the consequences for Gypsies who ignored the ban. All the iconographic programs abound in violence: corpses hanging from the gallows or bound to the wheel, men flogged, women tortured, ears cut off, chain gangs, and forced labor—all intended to make Gypsies turn on the spot. Apart from such pictorial cruelties, most of the warning signs also contained inscriptions. One is a longer, epigrammatic one: “Listen Gypsies, don’t stay here / leave the country or else you’ll be castigated” (*Lost Ihr Zügainer, Alchier bleib kheiner / Auß dem Landt Thuet Weichen, Sonst wird Man Euch außstreichen*) (figure 8.1).³⁸

But deterrence was only one aspect of such visualizations. The other was the elimination of any excuses for Gypsies, who in the case of “misdemeanors” often claimed a lack of legal knowledge. With the warning signs around, even illiteracy could not save them from the long arm of the law: “After the warning expressed by the signs, [the authorities] did not consider it necessary anymore to let the normal lenient justice prevail



Figure 8.1 Gypsy warning sign from Styria (first half of the eighteenth century). (Source: "Zigeunerverbotstafel," Graz, Universalmuseum Joanneum/Volkskunde, inv. nr. 35.867.)

for those Gypsies and vagabonds who were not caught in the course of man-hunts. Without any further explanation this differentiation was dropped.³⁹

Although clearly intended for Gypsy trespassers, the warning signs seem to have addressed the majority population as well. The immense presence of the signs during the first half of the eighteenth century must have signaled that these areas were controlled and safe. Those afraid of the Gypsy presence saw proof that the authorities were countering what in their eyes was a “Gypsy plague” (*Zigeunerplage*).

The main roads of both the Habsburg and the Holy Roman empires in the first half of the eighteenth century must have been full of Gypsy warning signs.⁴⁰ Not even an approximate number of such objects can be reliably determined, but extrapolating from the 124 warning signs that were manufactured in 1712 just for the territory of Württemberg,⁴¹ suggests that their presence must have been ubiquitous. They were the perfect emblemata of an absurd situation: Gypsies, not allowed in country A, were *also* not allowed to switch over to the neighboring country B, because they were outlawed there as well. Therefore, Gypsies, at least on a normative level, found themselves stuck in a situation in which they were banned everywhere, with no right to live and dwell, with no refuge, and no place to stay.

The oldest trace of Gypsy warning signs⁴² can be found in a decree enacted in Kleve-Mark (a part of Brandenburg-Prussia) in 1685.⁴³ Being a lone forerunner, it would be interesting to know how the underlying law was prepared and if there was any prefiguration. In 1702, Prussia passed an edict concerning the expulsion of Gypsies, which also included the order to erect poles with tablets showing their castigation.⁴⁴ Over time, similar edicts were also issued in many other German countries (e.g., Nassau-Siegen 1707/08, Kurpfalz 1709, Kurhannover 1710, Kurmainz 1711, or Bavaria 1716).⁴⁵

Atypical, and therefore of special interest, was a piece of Brandenburg legislation, in which the erection of Gypsy warning signs was accounted for with sanitary reasons. According to a law from 1708, a blackboard should be placed on the gallows, showing the following inscription:

Death penalty for those attempting to sneak in because of the plague, on secret paths from suspect places in Poland and its provinces, or from other infected places.

*(Lebens-Straffe vor diejenige, welche sich von verdächtigen Orten aus Pohlen und denen darzu gehörigen Provinztzien oder anderen inficierten Orten wegen der Pest durch die Schlupf-Wege einschleichen wollen).*⁴⁶

No such reasoning can be found in the Habsburg empire, where the novel measure was first adopted in 1706 in the lands of the Bohemian Crown, namely in the kingdom of Bohemia.⁴⁷ Having evaluated the measure as a “good precaution” (*gute Vorsorgung*),⁴⁸

Silesia and Moravia, other parts of the Bohemian Crown, followed the example in 1708⁴⁹ and 1709.⁵⁰ According to a decree from 1710, the drastic depictions were intended to bring Gypsies “the death penalty straight in front of their eyes.” For those able to read, there was also the following short text (in Bohemian as well as in German): “This is the punishment for Gypsies sneaking in” (*Dies ist die straff der hereinschleichenden Ziggeiner*). It seemed that the authorities feared the destruction of the signs; therefore, they ordered them to be placed on “extraordinarily high wooden posts.”⁵¹

Immediately after issuing these legal provisions, local authorities set up the first signs. One of them reported the erection of “four painted tables, on which a Gypsy is shown, who is condemned to the rope, and another one, whose nose and ears are cut off; furthermore, a Gypsy woman, flagellated with a rod.”⁵² In the Austrian hereditary lands,⁵³ the oldest evidence of Gypsy warning signs is a patent of August 9, 1714, issued in Graz and effective in all parts of *Innerösterreich* (Styria, Carinthia, Carniola),⁵⁴ followed by another from 1717. In both instances, the intermediary authorities were asked to first toughen the legal provisions issued against Gypsies and other “vermin” and then make them public by placarding them.⁵⁵ In Austria above and below the Enns (*Österreich unter und ob der Enns*), warning signs seem to have been first introduced in 1720, when a patent ordered that a “clearly written” text be erected that stated the Gypsy ban and the ability to shoot Gypsies without consequence if they “resisted by the use of arms.”⁵⁶ Two years later, a renewal of this patent extended its effects to the majority population as well: those who voluntarily offered lodging to Gypsies were punishable with execution.⁵⁷

On the royal roads in the territories of the Hungarian Crown, according to a decree from 1724,⁵⁸ boards (*tabellas*) were to be erected that warned Gypsies against entering the country. Because of the wording of the respective mandate in Latin, it is not clear whether these signs were only designated for placarding the patents themselves or for visual depictions.⁵⁹ As this topic remains unresearched, it is furthermore unclear if this mandate—triggered by some Hungarian Gypsies who crossed into Styria—became effective in Hungary at all.⁶⁰ The phenomenon of Gypsy warning signs has so far only been thoroughly studied in the Silesian context.⁶¹ Jiří Hanzal, *the* distinguished Czech scholar on Gypsies in early modern Moravia, devoted several articles and a part of a monograph exclusively to this topic.⁶²

On April 19, 1708, the *Oberamt* in Silesia decreed that wooden signs, intended to keep Gypsies from entering the duchy, should be placed on streets and passes at the borders. On these signs, the pending punishments were to be depicted in “durable oil paint” and modeled after a woodcut template. On top of the signs, a small covering should be placed, thus preventing the depictions from getting “washed off or becoming unrecognizable” because of snow and rain.⁶³

The woodcut mentioned above has survived in two identical copies in the Opava Archives in the Czech Republic.⁶⁴ They are valuable sources and were published for



Figure 8.2 Woodcut template for a Gypsy warning sign (first decade of the eighteenth century). (Source: Opava, ZAO, fond Hejtmanský úřad Knížectví Opavsko-Krnovského v Opavě inv. nr. 1554 k. 264.)

the first time in 2002 by Hanzal. The woodcuts (figure 8.2) show a Gypsy family made up of a couple and their three children of different ages, from baby to adolescent. The man is carrying a bundle on a pointed stick, while the woman has the youngest child wrapped to her back. The man is armed: one side of his trousers is draped with a curved sword showing a bird's head on top,⁶⁵ and on the other side, a truncheon-like stick is hanging from his waist. According to Hanzal, the woman is wearing a *schivavina*, an oriental shepherd's dress, formed by a quadrangular woolen scarf tied over her shoulder. These Gypsy wanderers are passing by an executioner, placed under the gallows and swinging a bundle of twigs. He is likewise wearing a sword with a bird-headed handle. Furthermore, another twig bundle, a lash, and a kettle with coals, heating a branding iron, are depicted. Misleadingly, as if the two contestants were meeting on an equal footing, the violence in this imagery is constructed symmetrically: the stick and sword of the Gypsy wayfarer—the gallows and twigs of the executioner.

Distributing prints, which may have either served as templates for paintings or simply as the depictions to be posted, seems to have been a common practice in the Habsburg empire. An exchange of letters, kept in the Styrian Provincial Archives, clearly states that the central administration commissioned “copper prints of two kinds”

(*Kupffer in zweyerley Sorten*)⁶⁶ that they sold to manorial owners who were in charge of setting up the Gypsy warning signs. Nevertheless, the local functionaries were ambivalent about this directive; therefore, they had to be strictly reminded about their due compliance.⁶⁷

In general, transferring the normative guidelines to the level of the local administrators was not easy. A document from 1732 issued by the district department of Olomouc (*Kreisamt Olmütz*) highlights that in some places the authorities had to explicitly demand the erection of warning signs; this means that earlier orders had not been implemented. In other places, guidelines asked for the *restoration* of warning signs, which means that those set up were already in decline. After an on-site inspection, it became clear that these instructions had “almost nowhere” become effective.⁶⁸

The financing of the signs was another bone of contention. Because the central government had asked for this innovation, the regional administrations were hoping for a reimbursement of their costs. But as the Styrian example above has shown already, not even the templates were given out free of charge (a pair of coppers were priced at one guilder thirty kreutzers). In 1717, the county Glatz (in Silesia), which had asked the emperor for cost coverage, received a quite indignant answer: as had been the case in other parts of the empire, the county was expected to pay for all expenses on its own.⁶⁹

Setting up the warning signs was only one part of the problem; the other was maintaining them. Time and again, the authorities complained about their deterioration and asked for restoration.⁷⁰ In some cases, the decomposition of the warning signs was due to neglect by the local authorities. Hard winters led poor villagers to cut them down and burn them in their huts. And at other times they were exposed to acts of vandalism, whether by concerned Gypsies or vagabonds expressing their resistance or locals engaging in more of a juvenile prank.⁷¹

Lacking sufficient records, determining how effective these warning signs were is almost impossible. Nevertheless, one report from 1708 casts some light on how contemporaries perceived this measure: “At some places, one can see the tablets put up already. Wherever this has been introduced, no young sturdy beggars can be seen peddling anymore because if one should be found, he would be attacked by everyman.”⁷² In rare cases, Gypsies also passed down their perspectives. When asked by her Bohemian interrogators why she had ignored the ban and crossed the borders, a Gypsy woman replied that the warning signs had indeed informed her about her legal status for the first time. Nevertheless, this did not keep her from trespassing, as she was hoping for a lax and lenient practice by the authorities. In her opinion, asking for a piece of bread could simply not be completely forbidden, especially because Gypsies—as she further pointed out—were not causing harm to anyone.⁷³

Warning signs over the course of the eighteenth century quite astonishingly outlived major changes in Gypsy policies, such as the general trend toward replacing persecution

with forceful settlement. While in some parts of the Old Regime Gypsies already aspired to citizenship, in other parts the warning signs still stood. Documents from various regions of the Holy Roman Empire show that warning signs were still in use even at the high point of the Enlightenment.⁷⁴ Hessen-Kassel, for instance, renewed its respective orders in 1772, and Oranien-Nassau did the same in 1782.⁷⁵ Some warning signs were in use even until the first decade of the nineteenth century.⁷⁶

UTOPIA/DYSTOPIA

The depictions on the warning signs were unfortunately not exaggerations. Gypsies were indeed punished, mutilated, or executed in the various ways shown. This *could* have happened to every Gypsy crossing the borders illegally, but it does not mean that it indeed happened in each and every case. At times the authorities were lenient and did not exhaust all of the possibilities that were, from a purely normative perspective, at their hand.

But even so, a territory “cleansed” from “Gypsy riffraff, harmful and mischievous to the country” (*schädlich- und landesverderbliche Zigeimergesindel*)⁷⁷ was a utopia the authorities of both the Holy Roman Empire and the Habsburg monarchy yearned for and were obsessed with during the long eighteenth century. What seemed utopian to them, however, turned out to be dystopian for the persecuted Gypsies. This dystopia found its strongest expression in some unusual remarks made by Gypsies uttered over the course of standard interrogations. Whereas most of the arrested Gypsies claimed to lack knowledge about any ban, others openly addressed the ultimately awkward situation in which they lived. One Gypsy called Matthias, for instance, caught by the authorities in some of the Schleswig-Holstein territories in 1727, was asked about his roaming and whether he was aware of the general ban. He replied directly, “The farmers had told [me] about it. Alas, where should [we] turn to? [We] can’t creep into the earth.” (*Die Bauren hätten es ihm gesagt, allein wo sollten sie hin? In die Erde könnten sie nicht kriechen.*)⁷⁸ At about the same time, in 1723, Anna Catherina Bergner, a Gypsy from Kladno (Bohemia), gave an equally vivid response to the warning signs. When the authorities asked her about why she had ignored all the painted tablets showing the punishments waiting for her when crossing the borders, Anna Catherina reacted with a sentence that gets to the heart of the enemy-within-construction and that seems to echo through the centuries: “Where are we to go when we do not have our own land?”⁷⁹

FROM POISONED PENS TO PROCEDURAL JUSTICE

Remarks on Gypsy Agency

“RESEARCH ON GYPSY PERSECUTION TENDS TO NEGLECT GYPSY AGENCY. This lacuna can be attributed to the lack of documentation—collections of testimonies are rare—on the one hand and a certain romanticizing of Gypsies—the perception that Gypsies as a people organized in clans were incapable of making individual choices that could enhance survival—on the other.”¹ These remarks, although targeted at a reevaluation of the Nazi genocide of Roma, also perfectly apply in an early modern context. While a number of scholarly books and articles regarding the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have explored the role of Gypsies² as victims, their counterstrategies against perpetrators have found comparably little interest. The silence of the sources, which is often brought forth as an argument for this distortion, is only partly true. If read against the grain (see the conversation with Carlo Ginzburg in chapter 11), archival documents, regardless of all their majority population’s standpoints and biases, are nonetheless able to reveal an astonishing variety of actions. These show Gypsies not as passive prey but as participants in power games with quite undetermined endings. The scope of resistance and counteraction spans from almost unnoticeable everyday practices to spectacular outbursts of violence (such as actual shoot-outs during the course of the “Gypsy hunts” of the early eighteenth century).³

This article is based on source material from various archives in Austria, Germany, Serbia, Poland, and the Czech Republic. It explores three distinct manifestations of agency: threatening letters, preventive strategies, and litigations. Their relations to the normative level are different and thus crucial: threatening letters are based on a—at least fictional—*transgression of the law*, preventive strategies are practices *apart from legal considerations*, and litigations are claims to a common good *on a purely juridical basis*.

All three are active forms of exploring options for survival and/or for amelioration of living conditions. Threatening letters and preventive strategies belong to an era before human rights were even conceptualized, whereas litigations derive from the dawn of the Enlightenment, a time when the citizen in a modern sense had just been invented.

OUTSIDE THE LAW: THREATENING LETTERS

The Art of Threatening

Premodern trials, with their draconic approaches to sentencing, were always surrounded by practices in which defendants tried to change their fate by means of written interventions. Supplications, containing appeals for mercy or reductions of sentences, were approved forms of approaching the authorities.⁴ Presenting a mix of formulaic general patterns on the one hand and individualized case reports on the other, they were an acknowledged part of the rituals accompanying the premodern theater of crime and punishment.

The illegal counterpart to such an established practice was threatening letters, intended to put pressure on the authorities and their individual representatives. These letters typically began with greetings, blessings, and submissive praise for the authorities' prudence and clemency, but often abruptly turned into insults, imprecations, and the mapping of infernal scenarios. As these letters were intended to change an acute situation, they in many cases presented a very practical solution for the addressed problem(s).

Psychologically speaking, the threat of violence can be seen as a self-fulfilling anticipation: "The threat of violence brings the person threatened to imagine himself as someone on whom violence is already being inflicted. He plans his future exclusively from the perspective of the violent act he imagines. His perception of world and self narrows as a result. He is already reduced to the violence that threatens him."⁵ If this presumed mechanism is indeed at work, universally and across time, then premodern authorities must also have been mentally (and probably also bodily) affected by the menace, even if they did not give in to the blackmailing. At least for a few moments, the power pyramid was thus reversed and the objects of governance turned into subjects fighting their own cause. A "crime of anonymity"⁶ transformed defendants into actors who experienced a momentary, if delusive power.

Early modern societies, so preoccupied with honor and calumny, perceived even mere mockery, quite commonly expressed in threatening letters, as an act of violence. But such an assault on symbolic capital was only one variety from a whole spectrum of possible attacks. The letter writers either vaguely insinuated or imaginatively elaborated

on calamities of all kinds, including black magic,⁷ willful damage to or even destruction of property, physical attack and mutilation, murder, and even annihilation of whole segments of society.

Threatening letters contain condensed emotions, judgments, and expectations, and thus open a small window into a reality of Gypsy life that is otherwise difficult or impossible to reconstruct. They grant insights into the complexities of the relationship between majority and minority populations, and a close reading often leads to astonishing results.

From the vast body of threatening letters from the early modern period, just a handful authored by Gypsies has surfaced.⁸ This article will refer to four such letters, one of them as yet unpublished and the other three never translated into English. They all come from parts of the Holy Roman Empire in which German was the administrative language.⁹ Their threatening visions are, as we will see, neither uniform nor formulaic. Juxtaposing them rewards scholars with illuminating new conclusions. As threatening letters written by Gypsies are a *longue durée* phenomenon,¹⁰ large parts of the eighteenth century will be covered by our examples.

Recompense and Familial Sentiments

The oldest example of a threatening letter comes from a trial held in 1711 in Carinthia, a part of the Austrian hereditary lands.¹¹ As the events are depicted in detail in chapter 7, only some basic information seems necessary here. After quarrels concerning the ownership of some commodities found with *transmigratory* Gypsies, four of them were incarcerated. One woman, Elisabeth Lang aka Pentris, was able to flee, together with her smallest child. On the run she tried to obtain the release of those still in prison by writing a threatening letter. As it has never been cited before, it is here excerpted at length.¹²

After a reference to Jesus, his martyrdom, and his clemency, the administrator of the manor is called upon to release the incarcerated Gypsies (one of them a “youngster”) from their “deplorable prison.”

Because of the torture [our imprisoned fellows] have been submitted to, they were forced into confessing more than they actually committed. [But] the stern and strict administrator will not be able to hear from any other jurisdiction that they had ever stolen anything before. If the learned and honourable administrator would set them free, we will gratefully pay for everything, we will pray to Almighty God and we will go on pilgrimage. But if the administrator is not going to release them on amicable terms, we will sure know what to do. [. . .] And if the youngster will not be released, nothing good will happen, with this in mind the honourable gentleman is asked to bethink himself.

In another interesting paragraph, Elisabeth Lang also appeals to a minor player in this game, the administrator's wife. Lang addresses her as a potential spokeswoman and encourages her to perform intercessory prayers. On top of that, she is also reminded "that she [is] a mother herself and that she should do something in the name of godparenthood."¹³

Whereas in this case the threat is expressed in a very restrained manner, two other passages in the letter are remarkable. The first documents Gypsies offering monetary recompense to the authorities. Probably, this was an indication that they—while denying any major offenses—were willing to take responsibility for some minor wrongdoings. But it is equally possible that the money was offered as coverage for the juridical procedures, which during the early modern period generally had to be paid by the defendants. The second interesting feature of this particular letter is the recourse to a sort of "women's solidarity." Elisabeth apparently assumed that her lines would reach the administrator's wife and that she thus would be able to involve her in the case. By mentioning motherhood and godparenthood, Elisabeth Lang appealed to familial sentiments, which she obviously saw best approachable in the administrator's wife, a female aristocrat. There is even a subtle tone of egalitarianism that might be discerned in this allusion: "You are a mother, I am a mother, you should know how it feels for me."

Arson and Atrocities

Our second example comes from Moravia, a part of the Bohemian Crown of the Habsburg empire, and was first presented by the Czech historian Jiří Hanzal.¹⁴ In the summer of 1721, Johann Platzer, a weaver from Vötau/Bítov (Southern Moravia), wandered through the local woods and had a strange encounter. A group of Gypsies with guns in hands got in his way, and what on first sight must have appeared as an act of robbery turned out to be something completely different. Far from taking anything away from Platzer, the Gypsies presented him with a letter, which they demanded he carry to the local judge. To ensure Platzer's compliance, the Gypsies announced they would beat him up if he refused. Platzer indeed delivered the letter (see figure 9.1), which reads as follows:

God's blessing, dear judge,

I'm reporting to you, to your borough and to your neighbourhood regarding my wife, whom you [...] have incarcerated [...], completely ungrounded. Therefore, you are hereby informed in very resolute terms that if you are before long unwilling to invest some effort in her liberation, you will be confronted with misfortune and heartache, since we will in a short while come to your house, bar all doors and set you all to fire,

burning you as well as your wife and children. In general, if you are unwilling to invest some effort in freeing the poor woman and if we can get our hands on you [...], we will cut off your flesh in pieces. As you [...] are the reason for all this, I am sending you this message as a serious warning, in order to set my wife free. Misfortune and shadow, already measured out on you, might be prevented by such an act. Let this letter change your mind. Regards,

N: Gypsy¹⁵

This letter, unlike the aforementioned one, does not beat around the bush. No blessings or devout formulas, only a counterclaim at the beginning. “Ungrounded” is the key word in the fascinating delegitimation of the judge that follows. The Gypsy writer seems to arrogate the role of a judge and stipulates “in very resolute terms,” as if he were in charge of some sort of counter-trial. A genuine voice of aggression and potential violence is perceptible from the start, but what follows is close to a scene from a splatter movie. Burning down the house, killing the judge’s family, mutilating his corpse—blackmailing could not be more drastic and explicit.

Documents connected to this letter reveal that violence indeed escalated, but not from the Gypsies’ side. Instead, the local authorities called for a general mobilization against the Gypsies. Under the assumption that the Gypsies operated guerrilla-like, with hit and run tactics, the authorities chose to comb through the region (*Streifung*). They intended to involve as many locals as possible. No single potential hiding place was to be left unturned.¹⁶

Miserable Times and Miserable Deeds

The third example comes from the county Lippe (in the Lower Rhenish-Westphalian Circle of the Holy Roman Empire) and has been published in full by Karin Bott-Bodenhausen.¹⁷ It is a letter written in 1740, preserved in the Staatsarchiv Detmold, and it is particularly interesting because it addresses delinquency from a Gypsy perspective and explains the situation in almost sociological terms. The letter sets out with a lament about the majority population’s insinuation that goods of obscure origin found with Gypsies were in each instance regarded as stolen, always without any further checking. The Gypsies defended themselves and argued that it was, firstly, the “miserable times” that brought forth unintended stealing, and that secondly, this stealing was only attributed to Gypsies, whereas it was actually committed by “well-established locals.” Furthermore, the letter complained about an enacted begging ban, which in the Gypsies’ eyes bred illegality instead of eliminating it.

7

Hochtob. Vorgesangm. gantz
Lieber Ruffen, bringe ich hienit auch
eueren gantzem gemein mit nachtrage
der vorgemintet. Schreibt selber, weißt
ich mit der seinen dragen geschicklich
Cantel im gebrauch hab, mit welcher die
Kocher geschicklich, alles wieder
zu wissen gessen die wo sich ich nicht
mit der fleiß bringe worden, ich
den Raub wintermich die beladen, vor
ich in Ruffen die ich gessen
mit gro, von geschicklich
angefue den ein vor den in Ruffen
geschicklich will das das geben, mit
an Eigen laub, als Ruffen, doch
alle die mit die Ruffen und der
wunder, hantler aber die hantler in

Die beiden schreiben daniel ich samt wie
mit dem allen die daniel geschicklich
in in Anna wo ich Ruffen mit der
dragen die Ruffen faden Ruffen
wie von Ruffen von Ruffen
geschicklich faden Ruffen wo ich
nicht habe mit der fleiß
geschicklich von Ruffen
zu sollen, will die als Ruffen
Lieber dragen die Ruffen
ich auf geschicklich gantz
die Ruffen mit der fleiß
gegeben die Ruffen
Hants zu beladen Ruffen
ich Ruffen von Ruffen
Ruffen abenden mich
den Ruffen die Ruffen
N. J. gantz

Figure 9.1 Threatening letter, 1721. (Source: Brno, MZA, B 1 Gubernium, Box Nr. 2181, between fol. 744 and fol. 745; Supplement to a report August 26, 1721.)

This introduction covers about one-third of the letter and is followed by a variety of if-then conjunctions. The first is based in positivity: if the authorities would set the incarcerated Gypsies free, then they—the whole group—would invest life and limb for the protection of the country. But this conciliatory proposal is immediately followed by a negative version: if the authorities would not set the incarcerated Gypsies free and instead kill them or ban them from their territory, then “they can be assured that they will be witnessing a spectacle [. . .], in which we will seek for justice, where no justice is to be found.” One would expect an elaboration on pending threats to follow, but the letter takes a sidestep: if the situation was not solved according to the Gypsies’ proposition, they would “take their houses on their shoulders”¹⁸ and leave the immediate territory, but stay in its vicinity and make the surroundings insecure. After such meandering, the letter returns to a positive attempt at a solution: if the Gypsies were set free, the whole group would never enter the territory again.

The writer of this letter seems undecided about the directions the letter should take. Is the letter intended for a quick deal or is it threatening with a prolonged “spectacle” of self-administered justice? Is it yielding to superior force or is it just extending the prospective combat zone by announcing war to the surroundings? It seems that the writer tries to offer as many options for action as possible, with the hope that at least one strategy might work in their favor.

Murderous Incendiaries

The last letter, from the duchy of Württemberg (in the Swabian Circle of the Holy Roman Empire), has been published in full by Thomas Fricke¹⁹ and is the most recent of the set. Written in 1781, and thus at the highpoint of the Enlightenment and during a turning point in state policies vis-à-vis Gypsies, it is a perfect example of what Ernst Bloch once called “non-contemporaneity” (*Ungleichzeitigkeit*),²⁰ a time lag between certain segments of society, which desynchronizes public spirit. Following this line of thought, the letter, although written during a time of radical changes in political policies, is still totally committed to the principles of the Old Regime. While the fundamentals of law underwent radical reform, the counterstrategies referred to in the letter remained unchanged, following practices already established for hundreds of years.

The letter, deposited in the home of a city captain, had its background in the year-long incarceration of four Gypsy women and their children in the regional workhouse. Their husbands tried to change this miserable situation by writing a long letter, which starts out as a humble Christian supplication but ends as an announcement of terror. “For a last time,” the duke is—still amicably—reminded to show mercy. “Already 8 years ago, we thought about coming into the territory and setting fire to many places, but we are Christians after all, and regardless of our capability we finally did not do it.

But now [in this last attempt] us four men swear that if our women and children are not set free, we will pillage and burn [...] and we will have no bad conscience any more, and any place that a fire starts, can be rightfully associated with us four men [...].” The letter is finally signed by “us four men in the name of God the Father, the son of God and the Holy Spirit.”

Whereas Fricke, in his interpretation, focuses on the Gypsies’ “strong appeal to the Christian obligations of the ruler,”²¹ the severe threatening intentions of the letter should not be neglected either. In its final conclusion the letter refers to arson, which to the early modern mindset of the majority population must have opened a whole chain of associations. Gypsies as arsonists was a common cliché that further burdened the life of already multiply stigmatized early modern Gypsies. Whether such allegations were initially based on actual cases in which Gypsies were involved, or if they were just products of imagination, has to be left undecided. There are nevertheless hints that such accusations might have been acts of inversion, as superstitious beliefs circulated in the majority population, according to which the Gypsies, of all people, knew about secret magical techniques of fire prevention.²²

Arson was one monumental fear in premodern society,²³ and although it did occur, its ubiquity was highly exaggerated.²⁴ Actual cases of arson and individual experiences with it might be rare, but the fear of it loomed large. The latter was triggered by the imaginary, by speculations and suppositions, by rumors and maliciousness, by an uncanny feeling that violence was in the air. If then, to crown it all, a threatening note was found, an explosive mixture ignited. In the present case it is furthermore possible that Gypsies gave their poisoned pens an additional twist by using their own bad reputation in order to make their menace even more probable.

PREVENTIVE STRATEGIES AND INTERVENTIONS

While threatening letters were a strictly illegal practice, Gypsies also resorted to behaviors and attitudes that are best characterized as a circumvention of normative standards. Neither challenging nor fully obeying the law, they simply ignored it. This required negotiating with the majority population in the process. Gypsies had to elaborate on preventive strategies, which allowed them to hedge situations that would otherwise escalate.

Such precautions were a prerequisite for survival, especially given the precarious situation that Gypsies over the course of the seventeenth century found themselves in. In this period, Gypsies progressively lost ground in both the Holy Roman Empire and the Habsburg monarchy,²⁵ and “losing ground” should be taken literally. Across

the board, regional authorities interdicted Gypsies to set a foot on their respective territories. "Gypsy warning signs" (*Zigeunertafeln*)²⁶ were set up on numerous crossroads as a reminder of such an encompassing ban (see chapter 8). The situation turned out to be completely paradoxical, since not even withdrawal was granted to Gypsies, as it would have meant their relocation into another forbidden territory. The absurd consequence of this legal framework meant Gypsies were trapped in a space that they were not allowed to occupy in the first place.

In such a double bind scenario, agency was not easily conceived. Nevertheless, Gypsies invented strategies for muddling through. The guiding principle was to drive a wedge between the local decision makers and the central authorities. While the normative guidelines were certainly rigid and radical, their implementation turned out very differently and according to circumstances. From the repeated enactment of ever the same laws, it is more than obvious that the ban did not work across the board. On the contrary, court cases reveal that locals, regardless of the ban, interacted with Gypsies, dealt with them, and offered them sleeping places. This tacit cooperation was the Gypsies' chance for survival. If they successfully found a *modus vivendi* with the villagers, then they also had a good chance for connivance.²⁷

Remarkable documents derive from such contexts. One comes from Silesia, from the era when all of its territory was under Habsburg rule.²⁸ On December 4, 1674, in the midst of winter, a group of Gypsies arrived in Neudeck/Podzamek (county Kłodzko). They went straight to the local magistrate and asked for an overnight stop in the village. An official account granted them permission and stated that they "were well known and had stayed there several times before." They consumed their meals "at their own expense and did not do any harm," and—most probably due to bad weather conditions—were still around on December 10. This means that under the consenting eyes of the local administration they spent a whole week in Neudeck, which is in itself remarkable enough.

But then a disaster happened: "Probably due to the Gypsies' carelessness," as the official documents tell, a fire broke out in the barn where they had taken their lodgings. Not only did the building burn down, but the flames consumed six of the Gypsies' horses and other personal possessions. Of the group, two Gypsy captains were incarcerated. But, counterintuitively, the whole instance found a surprisingly good end. Instead of a trial and its foreseeably severe consequences, the owner of the barn and the captains came to a mutual agreement: the Gypsies paid the respectable amount of fifty Reichstaler and, in addition, compensated the court for its expenses and for the provisions. They were set free in return.

The Neudeck incident and its amicable adjustment can be seen as paradigmatic for successful survival strategies of Gypsies, apart from any legal considerations. Although the circumstances would have been a perfect trigger for a harsh verdict, which could well have ended in death sentences, the local authorities decided differently. This seems to be due to the fact that the Gypsies on their earlier visits had inspired confidence,

which may have saved their lives. Such preventive behavior, one may argue, should be seen in the light of agency, not instinct. The Gypsies had clearly worked on interpersonal (and probably also on commercial) relationships with the locals, and this eventually paid off in their favor.

In order to survive under the portent of the aforementioned ban, Gypsies had to form a sober-minded opinion regarding the appropriate avenue of escape in a given time and situation. Whereas in the Neudeck case it proved a good decision to stay in the region and stand investigation, different settings called for just the opposite behavior. If escalation was inevitable, one had to know exactly the right moment for leaving. Cleverly avoiding the blows of their enemies should also be assessed as a part of Gypsy agency.

One such strategy was making use of the many borders of the Old Regime. If things got tight on the one side, Gypsies often switched over to the other, thus making it much harder or even impossible for perpetrators to get hold of them. A range of archival sources document Gypsies as guerrilla-like border crossers. In the aforementioned Bítov case, for instance, after their verbal attacks, the authors of the threatening letters immediately retreated to Hungary, to a place some 250 kilometers (approximately a five-day march) away from the incarcerated woman.²⁹ Combing the region was one foreseeable reaction of the authorities; the Gypsies simply countered it by ducking away to a Hungarian region far from the Moravian jurisdictions.

A document from Styria (part of the Austrian hereditary lands), which painstakingly lists the villages that were on the route of a group of Gypsies, also suggests that they were intentionally staying close to the border with Hungary, from where they had started their itinerary.³⁰ Moreover, on their travels they crossed many manorial jurisdictions, thus making it harder for any perpetrators to work in concerted action against them.

Such findings from the context of the Habsburg empire correspond with observations Ulrich Opfermann made concerning Hessa:

[If Gypsies went into the woods], they were seeking the vicinity of borders, because one could get into safety from perpetrators by switching the borders. Hurrying after the Gypsies over a border was a constant problem for the authorities and their executive bodies. Even if a chase was agreed upon between the states or the circles [of the Holy Roman Empire], it still remained difficult as soon as borders were involved. The success of such measures depended on the willingness and ability of the states and their bureaucracies to cooperate, which impracticability provided good chances for fugitives.³¹

All the preventive measures addressed so far were born out of everyday practices and scenarios. But Gypsies sometimes also presciently girded themselves for the worst

case. Gypsies knew that in case of any serious incrimination they would as standard court procedure be tortured in order to detect the “truth.” The threat of torture was certainly not reserved for Gypsies alone; in premodernity any serious offender could be subjected to it. But Gypsies, outlawed already and extensively treated by the authorities with the provision of being born criminals, were even more likely to have to stand corporal scrutiny. It is almost inconceivable, but at least one document relates that Gypsies as a precaution prepared themselves for the moments of thumbscrews, lashes, and stretching banks. In order to strengthen themselves to be able to endure the real inquisitions more easily, Gypsies were in fact torturing each other (see chapter 7).³² We don’t know exactly how they proceeded with this mock torturing, but most likely there were always group members who had experienced or watched torture before and could give advice on “standard situations.”

IN LAW WE TRUST: GYPSIES AS PLAINTIFFS

If studied on a broader basis, sources concerning Gypsies in the eighteenth-century Habsburg empire document an ever increasing shift in the Gypsies’ attitudes vis-à-vis the courts. For centuries, they must have (rightfully) perceived the juridical system as an instrument exclusively working on behalf of the majority population. At its best, the courts positioned themselves as neutral, but in worst-case scenarios—much more often the case in Gypsy trials—the judgment was biased from the very beginning. Juries often were unwilling or unable to separate fact from fiction, and thus Gypsies were losers in the trials before they even started. If Gypsies wanted to survive under such circumstances, they had to employ the whole specter of defenses, be they lawful or not.

But from the 1770s on, mounting evidence suggests a novel, trustful approach to the courts.³³ Though possibly due to source limitations, it astonishingly appears that Gypsies probed the new role of plaintiff in the peripheral zones of the Habsburg empire. No longer dismissed by these courts, they sought procedural justice through them. Two particularly enlightening examples are examined below. They not only attest to this new confidence on the side of the Gypsies, but also to a change of mentality from the side of the jurists.

The Broken Fiddle and a Case Won

A short but very revealing note comes from the council minutes (*Ratsprotokolle*) of the town of Semlin/Zemun (today a quarter of Belgrade). Semlin in the eighteenth century was part of the military border (*Militärgrenze*) of the Habsburg empire, a unique building block of the conglomerate state. Conceptualized as a bulwark against

Ottoman forces, life at the *Militärgrenze* was out of necessity organized according to military needs and thus more rigid than in other places. But at the same time this special territory also opened the way for otherwise unknown privileges and liberties. It is probably due to this special atmosphere that Gypsies in previously unknown ways also raised their voices in a juridical context.

An entry from 1768 allows a laconic glimpse into a new situation: “Mr. Schäffer has paid five guilders to the new peasant [*Neubauer*] Matthias from Temesvar, whose fiddle has been broken to pieces by the schoolmaster.”³⁴ The term “new peasant” was a result of a language regulation that was part of Empress Maria Theresa’s settlement strategies for the Gypsies. By making the established term “Gypsy” disappear, the empress intended to set a first step for a complete assimilation, which was expected to be finalized over the course of a few generations.³⁵ The astonishing aspect of this entry is that a Gypsy, who had most obviously been offended by a local notable, went to court—and won the case! This is one of the rare moments in premodernity when such an attempt was made and, even more, worked out in favor of the plaintiff. It can be seen as an antecedent to enlightened reforms and to the Civil Code as the logical consequence of a new understanding of citizenship—which, at least in principle, was also inclusive to Gypsies.

The portrayed episode is also interesting in the light of its striking similarity to the motive of a painting from the late nineteenth century: *Bíró elött* (In front of the judge) from 1886 (see figure 9.2) depicts a Gypsy who shows his broken fiddle to a judge and

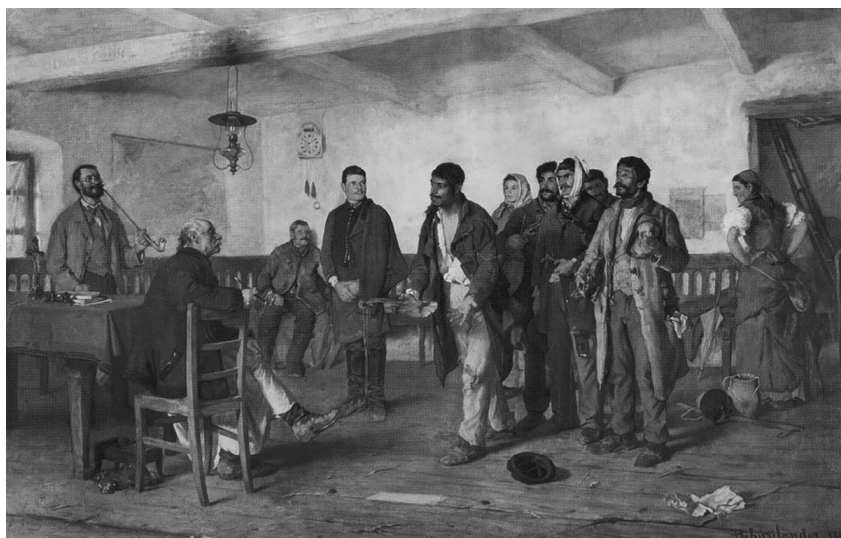


Figure 9.2 Sándor Bihari: *Bíró elött* (In front of the judge), 1886. (Source: Sándor Bihari: *Bíró elött* (In front of the judge), 1886, Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria.)

asks for recompense. What seems like a typical late Romantic genre scene thus had a similar real-life precursor in eighteenth-century court records.

Dethronement of Patriarchs

Also from the margins of the Habsburg empire, but from a completely different context, comes the second example of Gypsies taking legal action. In the Bukovina—until 1774 a part of the principality of Moldavia, which was taken over by Habsburg troops—most Gypsies held the status of slaves; like commodities, they could be bartered or sold. Over the course of thirty years, the Habsburg administration gradually converted their slave status to the status of subjects (see chapter 10).

This top-down abolition was naturally accompanied by taxation according to the standards in the empire. In the case of the Gypsies, the administration opted for an indirect system of collecting the dues. So-called Gypsy principals, who were not Gypsies themselves but recruited from the ranks of local nobility, were appointed and provided with numerous privileges. This system was prone to malpractice; all types of mismanagement and corruption resulted from it. In the 1790s, nepotism, acceptance of gifts, bribery, fraud, misuse of authority, and acts of excessive physical violence were almost daily fare.

In such a deadlock, which for more than a decade the principals successfully covered up vis-à-vis the regional government, the Gypsies took matters in their own hands. When their principal in 1797 accused them of tax refusal, they turned the tables. They went straight to the authorities, asking for a juridical inquiry. What followed was a veritable scandal leading to a thorough investigation between the years 1799 and 1801. Protocols of inquiries finally filled hundreds of pages, and a special commission was set up and investigated the case impartially (see chapter 10 for details).³⁶ The Gypsy plaintiffs came off as the winners and recovered respectable sums of money, which unjustly had been collected from them before.

CONCLUSIONS

If contextualized and interpreted carefully, a number of archival documents offer a rather unusual perspective on Gypsy life in the early modern period. Victimhood and scapegoating are only one part of the story; Gypsy agency completes the other side of the coin. Evidence shows that Gypsy emancipation was not merely the result of a top-down implementation of bourgeois society and civil liberties. Actively trying to change a state-imposed “fate” most obviously has its roots much earlier, in times before

the Civil Code became the measure of all things. Throughout premodernity, traces of active resistance and clever cooperation can be detected. This article presents a variety of such attempts, from blackmailing to solidarity building to invoking the courts. The latter was not, as often argued, solely a result of the Enlightenment, but most probably also due to a shift of mentalities within Gypsy communities. The gradual transition away from outlaw practices to reference to the courts definitely marks a radical repositioning of Gypsies vis-à-vis the dominant society.

OUT OF THE PAST

The End of Gypsy Slavery in Bukovina

SINCE THE LATE MIDDLE AGES, IN THE PRINCIPALITIES OF MOLDAVIA AND Wallachia, two of the predecessor states of Romania, Gypsy slavery was common. Western Europe first became aware of this situation during the Enlightenment era, when Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellmann wrote about it in his influential study on the history and manners of Gypsies.² In the mid-nineteenth century, the topic left the sphere of learned discourse and became an ardent political issue, as both Moldavia and Wallachia started top-down abolition movements. Bringing an end to slavery turned out to be a protracted matter that was finalized in 1855 in Moldavia and 1856 in Wallachia. The prominent Moldavian/Romanian politician and historian Mihail Kogălniceanu (1817–1891) supported, commented, and shaped this process.³

During the first half of the twentieth century, topics related to Gypsy slavery and its abolition only rarely piqued non-Romanian scholarly interest.⁴ Romanian researchers worked on the topic,⁵ especially from the late 1920s, until the Communist period more or less set an end to such investigations.⁶ In the wake of Romani studies, researchers indicated renewed interest, first in the United States⁷ and, after 1990, also in Romania.⁸ In 2007, the French journal *Études Tsiganes* devoted one of its issues exclusively to Gypsy slavery.⁹ And recently, a research group from the Nicolae Iorga Institute of History in Bucharest started multifaceted research concerning slavery, abolitionism, and emancipation in Moldavia and Wallachia between approximately 1830 and 1860.¹⁰

BUKOVINA AND ITS ARCHIVAL SOURCES

An earlier but interrelated abolition movement in the northern parts of Moldavia went unrecognized by most historians of Eastern Europe. This region was seized by Habsburg troops in 1774, and from then on went under the name of *Bukovina*. There—seventy years before the epoch-making abolition in Moldavia and Wallachia!—a similar process of Gypsy emancipation began. Although it is remarkable because of both its early date and its effectiveness, not a single standard history of the Habsburg empire remembers it; no textbooks mention it and no case study has been devoted to it so far. This is all the more astonishing in light of official Austrian habitual (and often misled or naive) nostalgia for the “multicultural” atmosphere in the Habsburg empire as its predecessor.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, scholars like the librarian Johann Polek (1843–1920), the economist Karl (Carl) Grünberg (1861–1940) or the historians Ferdinand Zieglauer (1829–1906) and Raimund Friedrich Kaindl (1866–1930) excavated some important source material regarding Gypsy emancipation from the archives and included it in their essays. Nevertheless, their focus was on the relationship between regional manorial owners and their subjects in general and not so much on Gypsies in particular.¹¹ World War II and the Cold War period made any follow-up studies for “Westerners” almost impossible. The archive of Chernivtsi/Czernowitz, which holds the most relevant material, remained inaccessible to them for decades. It was only some thirty years ago that the system change in the former Soviet Union opened up the (eventually Ukrainian) archives to anyone interested in pursuing this work and with the ability to overcome bureaucratic obstacles to access it.¹²

However, historians of the Habsburg empire take research trips to Ukraine only very reluctantly. Maybe due to the language barrier¹³ or the ex-Soviet archiving system, which quite substantially differs from its Western counterparts, Habsburg scholars only rarely make use of Bukovinian sources. Normally, historians of the Habsburg empire circumvent traveling to the archives in the “peripheries” by consulting the central archives of Vienna, which also preserve great parts of the official correspondence with their “provinces.” But they can not do this in the case of Bukovina because a large proportion of the respective Viennese documents were lost during the 1927 July revolt (*Justizpalastbrand*).

Based on extensive archival research, this chapter presents the first in-depth investigation of the abolition of Gypsy slavery in Bukovina. The starting point was a survey of the Chernivtsi sources, which was strengthened quite substantially by documents from the *Archiwum Narodowe* in Cracow (Poland). As Cracow only became

part of the Habsburg empire in 1795, its archives would normally not provide documents on the period in question, but in this particular case, it is different, as it holds the enormous collection of Anton Schneider (*Teki Antoniego Schneidra*). Schneider (1825–1880) worked on an encompassing history of the crown land Galicia (of which Bukovina was a precursor). Toward the end of his life, he handed over huge parts of his collection to the *Akademia Umiejętności* in Cracow, from where it made its way into the holdings of the *Archiwum Narodowe*.¹⁴ For unknown reasons, Schneider acquired original administrative documents that list information about individual Gypsy families and provide rich demographic data as well as deep insights into the (self-) administration of Gypsies in Bukovina.

THE HABSBURG TAKEOVER IN 1774

The Russo-Ottoman War (1768–1774) ended in a “major military and diplomatic disaster for the Ottoman Empire.”¹⁵ Poland was divided in 1772 and disappeared from the map of European states. The Peace Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca of 1774 further reshaped borders, mainly in the Black Sea region, but also between the Habsburg and the Ottoman spheres of interest.

The principality of Moldavia had been a vassal of the Ottoman Empire, to which it was tributary. But apart from its financial dependence, the principality was more or less a self-governed buffer state. For nearly a century, it also functioned as a *cordón sanitaire* that was welcomed by the Habsburg empire. But after the Ottoman defeat in 1774, strategies changed, and the Habsburg rulers asked for “a reward for having aided in the achievement of peace.”¹⁶ In close coordination with victorious Russia, Habsburg troops started an invasion into the principality of Moldavia. On August 31, 1774, they crossed the border to Moldavia’s northwestern parts,¹⁷ which were soon to be called *Bukovina*.¹⁸ In a rush, the territory was occupied and a military administration was established. The commander-in-chief, General Gabriel Splény von Mihálydy (1734–1818), chose Chernivtsi/Czernowitz as his headquarters and the district capital of the newborn *Bukovina*.

Initially, the central authorities in Vienna were primarily interested in Bukovina for strategic reasons. This newly won territory served as a perfect corridor, which linked Galicia—the Habsburg’s winnings from the Polish division—to Transylvania on the southeastern fringe of the empire.¹⁹ Military considerations shaped the first decade of Habsburg rule in the region, and a military administration held office in Bukovina. In 1786 a civil administration followed. *Bukovina* was merged into the *Kingdom of Galicia* and thus lost its sovereignty, but not its character as a distinct region. Bukovina was

made a district (*Kreis*),²⁰ a subsidiary role that lasted up to 1849, when Bukovina was upgraded to the status of a “crownland.”²¹

Immediately after the 1774 takeover, General Splény proved himself a determined reformer who searched for ways to “change the previously despotic to a monarchic system, without totally reversing conventional practices.”²² Finding a wise but effective (and, at the same time, radical) way of reconstruction was vital for the military administration. Introducing new governmental policies without damaging the established infrastructure and jeopardizing the loyalty of the newly acquired subjects turned out to be a challenging mission.

GYPSY SLAVERY IN MOLDAVIA

Of the many unexpected and unfamiliar phenomena the military administration faced in Bukovina, by far the most disturbing was Gypsy slavery.²³ Unlike serfdom or the wide variety of manorial restrictions, slavery transformed the status of the subjected individuals to that of objects. Buying, selling, or bartering slaves was as normal as donating them as presents or handing them down from one owner to the next. Harsh restrictions regulated reproduction: usually, only in-group marriages were allowed; if any free person married an enslaved Gypsy, they also changed to the status of a slave. Illegitimate children of a Gypsy mother were also, without exception, considered slaves.²⁴

Most European societies had largely abandoned slavery within their homeland boundaries—but, of course, not in their colonies—by the late Middle Ages, but Moldavia (as well as Wallachia) retained this practice until the middle of the nineteenth century. Thus, the situation in this region is only comparable to the overseas practices of the colonial powers: “Not only did slavery in the Romanian principalities continue to exist well into the early modern period, but it proved to be the most long-lasting, overlapping chronologically with its more well-known counterpart in the Americas. By the first half of the nineteenth century, the [W]estern public indeed equated slavery in Wallachia and Moldavia with that of the Atlantic world.”²⁵

In Moldavia, Gypsies constituted the overwhelming majority of slaves.²⁶ Their status as such dates back to the Middle Ages, but its origin is unclear. Theories suggesting that Gypsies arrived already enslaved to the invading Tatars or Mongols contradict the timeline established for Gypsy arrivals in the region.²⁷ In 1428, Gypsies are mentioned in Moldavia for the first time, although they probably had lived in the region long before. The first document regarding Gypsy slavery is also from this time.²⁸ From the early modern period through the mid-nineteenth century, Gypsy slavery was a part of the Moldavian society.²⁹ In early modern Europe, this slaveholding society was unique and

quite remarkable. For centuries the slave status of Gypsies in Moldavia was fixed: their inferior position in society was seen as a given and perceived as unchangeable. Freeing an individual Gypsy in an act of benevolence would have made no difference, as any passerby would then have been entitled to immediately reenslave them.³⁰ Also, for a long while the state felt no obligation to intervene in any master/slave relations, a situation rooted in medieval, but still legally binding, documents. Thus, slaves had no recourse concerning the treatment they received from their masters. The state only intervened by prohibiting masters from arbitrarily killing any of their slaves.

Although the principality of Moldavia in the eighteenth century took some steps toward governmental and societal reforms, the scope and impact of these changes are disputed in the historiography. The Phanariot rulers,³¹ among them especially prince Constantine Mavrocordatos (1711–1769),³² substantially improved the legal status of peasants, but the benefits of their reforms in the lives of Gypsy slaves remained very limited.³³ It took until the Habsburg takeover for slavery to be recognized as a legal and societal problem. In addition, the Habsburg empire also questioned the economic value of coerced Gypsy labor, an aspect of enslavement that has also been stressed by one thread of scholarly research.³⁴

REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION VS. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Although the individual rights of Habsburg subjects were far from unrestricted during the eighteenth century, slavery as the ultimate form of personal bondage was entirely unfamiliar to the social and legal system of the empire. It was even seen as morally dubious: contemporary documents from the Habsburg side call the slave system in Moldavia “indecent to Christians.”³⁵ It seems as if *Pietas Austriaca* vs. Barbarity was the slogan, and barbarity was no longer restricted to the “Turkish archenemy” but also associated with its (by the way, predominantly Christian) Moldavian suzerain.

Although the case of Gypsy slavery demanded a quick and complete legal revision by the new Bukovinian government, the process of its abolition took years and was marked by multiple failed attempts and setbacks. In general, the spirit of the time favored the emancipation of all those subjects whose lives were marked by personal unfreedom. In 1781 and 1782, Emperor Joseph II abrogated serfdom, first in Bohemia and Hungary and then in the Austrian hereditary lands.³⁶ In 1783, following an on-site inspection of the emperor,³⁷ this reform was also implemented in Bukovina, in the hope that this could also be a model for solving the slavery problem. Despite expecting the resistance of slave owners, General Karl von Enzenberg (1725–1810), the administrator of

Bukovina between 1778 and 1786, was convinced of the necessity of pressing ahead with abolitionism. It is unclear if, out of a misjudgement or conviction, he approached Gypsy slavery as if it were serfdom and radically intended to extirpate both. In August 1783, he published a declaration announcing the abolition of slavery and equality among subjects. One crucial item on his nine-point implementation plan was the right of Gypsies to remain on lands they had tilled before; those without land would be granted some by the administration. Gypsy craftsmen were allowed to continue their professions. Unrestricted reunion of children with their parents was conceded. Any orders by former landowners which commanded Gypsies to move to Moldavia and thus back into slavery, were null and void.³⁸ As a special “welcoming gesture” the administration for the year 1783 exempted the newly freed Gypsies from paying taxes.³⁹

Enzenberg’s document was impressive but short-lived. All its promises were withdrawn soon after. Pressured by the *boyars* (members of high nobility) and other landowners inhospitable to reform, the Court War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*) in Vienna called off Enzenberg’s premature fervor. Less than one year after the declaration, the *status quo ante* was by and large reestablished. Formerly enslaved Gypsies were returned to their prior status if their former owners could prove “rightful ownership.”⁴⁰ The only relief was that they could no longer be bought or sold.

Enzenberger felt personally offended and publically humiliated by this backlash, but acquiesced.⁴¹ In May 1784, he performed a volte-face by compelling 567 (already freed) Gypsies “to the same allegiance to their masters as had been in effect before.”⁴²

While officially the central authorities in Vienna claimed economic reasons for this reactionary intervention, they in fact only showed deference to the acute political situation: as a new war with the Ottoman Empire was pending, the Court War Council did not want to risk any serious discord with the Bukovinian elites.⁴³

CATEGORIES OF GYPSY SLAVES

For synoptical reasons, I have thus far treated Gypsy slaves in Moldavia (*țigani robi*) as a single entity, which is true only from a bird’s-eye perspective. On closer examination, they were divided into three distinct groups: princely slaves, monastery slaves (*țigani/robi mănăstirești*), and *boyars’* slaves.⁴⁴ Further complicating the situation, one group of nomadic Gypsies remained free.⁴⁵

With the takeover, the Habsburg administration inherited all three categories of slaves from their predecessors, and they soon realized that any abolition efforts had to pay attention to these traditional categories. Freeing slaves in the princely and monastery categories turned out to be easier to manage than in the case of the *boyars*.

As there were no Moldavian princes in Bukovina anymore, a state order sufficed to free this group of slaves. In addition, the end of slavery in connection with monasteries was only a matter of time: the secularization process brought the monasteries under heavy pressure, and their slave-owning privileges were doomed to vanish with their own declining status in society. But the *boyars* were reluctant to free their slaves and used their potential emigration as leverage.⁴⁶ As a regional elite, their arguments had to be heard, and the government could not simply overrule them.

ABOLITION OF MONASTERY SLAVES

The big monasteries were among the most important beneficiaries of the slave system. Although there is no data on the overall number of Gypsy slaves in eighteenth-century Moldavia, the monasterial must have been the most numerous of the three types; monasteries may have even constituted the majority of Bukovina slaves. Before and after the takeover, some of the monasteries could rely on an immense coerced workforce: Putna monastery, for instance, in 1764 had 109 Gypsy families with a total of 313 people at its disposal,⁴⁷ the Moldovița monastery in 1775 commanded over eighty slave households with 294 members,⁴⁸ and the Humor monastery, even at the time of its closure in 1785, was still the owner of twenty-three Gypsy families.⁴⁹

Before the abolition of slavery, the Gypsies served the monasteries by—according to an official report—working as “cooks, blacksmiths, gardeners, coachmen, and servants, for nothing more than food and garment.”⁵⁰ Nevertheless, some contemporaries pointed out that this life should not be pictured as all too miserable, but sometimes as quite preferable to a normal peasant’s existence. General Enzenberg, for instance, wrote, “[I saw] Gypsies that have quite good houses, which they keep neat and clean. They are better dressed than the peasantry and possess good draught cattle and those instruments that they need for their work.”⁵¹ Enzenberg’s report, of course, has to be taken with a grain of salt, as he was eager to depict “his Gypsies” as far “advanced” compared to those in neighboring Hungary or Transylvania. Such positive reports of these Gypsies’ habits could also serve to alleviate any concerns about his abolitionist efforts.⁵²

The abolition of slavery for monastery Gypsies was closely linked to the enormous changes in the state’s general new approach toward monastic life. In the 1780s, Emperor Joseph II initiated a wave of secularization that swept through the whole Habsburg empire. One of the most controversial reforms was the closure of such cloisters or monasteries that were considered exclusively contemplative and therefore without any use for the general public. The state confiscated their properties and transferred them to a “Religious Fund” (*Religionsfond*), which provided the (only recently “regulated”⁵³)

parishes of the Habsburg empire with money.⁵⁴ These reforms were also carried out in Bukovina, where only three monasteries survived.⁵⁵ The Bukovinian “Religious Fund” was established in 1783 and, as the only orthodox one, was unique on Habsburg soil.⁵⁶ One of the major goals of the “Religious Fund” was to establish a radically new form of church organization, which cut ecclesiastical autonomy and replaced it with a strong affiliation to the state and the regional authorities. In the further course of events, the Religious Fund (*Fondul Bisericesc*) became the biggest landowner in Bukovina and played an important role in Romania until 1949, when the Communist authorities annulled it.⁵⁷

The key date for the abolition of this type of slavery was May 1, 1785. Former monasterial Gypsies—now assigned to the Religious Fund—were recognized as citizens, equal to any others in the Habsburg empire. This emancipation freed hundreds of Gypsies and ended centuries of Gypsies holding an inferior status, but it also meant that they were now obliged to pay ordinary taxes and fulfill unpaid *corvée* (*Robot*) for the territorial prince (*Landesfürst*).⁵⁸ Further plans to deploy large groups of Gypsies for gold washing turned out to be ephemeral.⁵⁹

For almost three years after the emancipation of Gypsies, it remained unclear whether the Religious Fund—as successor to monasterial claims—should be compensated for the financial losses connected to the end of compulsory labor. These losses were estimated at 1,506 guilders per year, and as the state did not intend to burden the only recently freed Gypsies with these obligations, the district treasury had to take responsibility for it. In October 1787, the imperial court put an end to money flows of this kind by simply stopping them, and thus wiped out this last strong reminder of a vanquished slave economy.⁶⁰

DYNAMICS OF EMANCIPATION

Although monastic Gypsy slavery disappeared, other sections of the church continued to own slaves, at least for a while. In 1787, the bishop of Rădăuți/Radutz still owned 422 Gypsies and, apart from a few investigations, the state authorities did not step in.⁶¹ It took two more years and the death of the bishop until the Gypsies were freed.⁶²

Gypsy emancipation in Bukovina was not only fueled by humanitarian concerns and implemented as a tribute to the principles of the Enlightenment, but was also—maybe even more so—driven by mundane considerations concerning taxation. In contrast to nomadic Gypsies, who always had paid taxes, Gypsy slaves were entirely exempt from such obligations. Therefore, their owners were profiting twice from them: firstly, they had a (more or less) cheap and reliable workforce at their disposal, for which they,

secondly, did not have to pay a single coin as a tribute to the state. Habsburg authorities even suspected the elites of Bukovina, be they clerical or secular, of replacing their non-slave subjects with Gypsies, who, due to their tax-exemption, increased the profits. These financial circumstances of slavery and freedom had unintended consequences.

The liberation movement was thwarted by unforeseeable dynamics. The following report of the *Kreisamt*, which might be biased in its judgments but is clearly based on observations, touches upon an irritating and unexpected phenomenon:

However good the intentions concerning these miserable people were, a lot of the new freedmen emigrated. Most possibly they followed those monks, who after the rescindment of the cloisters went over the cordon, and took up their obligations towards them again, because they are used to it and because this way of life suits them. The duties asked of them are tolerable and most of the time even perfect for lazing around. If they are missing out on livelihood, their master has to take care of them. This is why some of them in the recent expensive years complained about their former liberty because they [...] received their livelihood from the cloisters. Not all are thinking this way, especially not those, who are sedentarized and tilling the land. But this is a minority and it is to be feared that, if these people get their liberty and will be equal to all the others, they will disperse and maybe also with the tacit consent of their masters adjourn over the cordon.⁶⁵

One reason for the Gypsies to follow their old masters and thus remain in the status of slaves could have been economical. Especially if Gypsies were untrained in crafts or trade, it seems logical that if they had no other means of survival to stick with what they knew.

In addition to such developments on the Habsburg side, Gypsies from the principality of Moldavia also crossed the border, some of them probably with the intention to switch sides and profit from the new free status of Gypsies in Bukovina.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, these hopes turned out to be in vain. The Habsburg authorities unyieldingly stuck to a prior convention from June 30, 1776, that had been negotiated with an Ottoman commissioner on the occasion of drawing the borders anew.⁶⁵ According to this agreement, runaway Moldavian Gypsies should categorically (and violently if necessary) be extradited in return for Habsburg deserters caught in Moldavia.⁶⁶ And indeed, until the 1790s documents mention Gypsies who were handed over to the Moldavian administration.⁶⁷ To make this regulation even more efficient, the local authorities were punishable with a severe fine of one ducat per capita, in case they allowed Gypsies to “sneak in” and “ramble around.”⁶⁸ In addition, it seems that on occasion, even though a breach of law, free domestic nomadic Gypsies who (illegally) had crossed the border to

Hungary, were sometimes relegated to Moldavia. In 1785 such relegations were strictly forbidden by the emperor.⁶⁹

BANNING THE G-WORD

The ban of the various terms for Gypsies and their replacement with neologisms has a long tradition. In the seventeenth century, Spain was a forerunner, when legislation of a new type made its way “into a rather poorly drafted royal ordinance issued in Madrid by Philip IV on 8 May 1633. This once again sought ‘to rid the language once and for all of the word *gitanos*.’ Henceforth, no one might refer to these people as Gypsies. The ordinance asserted that those calling themselves *gitanos* ‘are not so, either by origin or by nature [...]’”⁷⁰ Following this order, the term *gitanos* was increasingly replaced by the term *castellanos nuevos* (new Castilians), until this expression, too, became stigmatizing and was thus forbidden in 1782.⁷¹

Empress Maria Theresa probably resorted to this idea of reshaping by renaming. In the course of her settlement policies, she ordered Hungarian Gypsies (*cigány*) to be addressed as *ujparasztok* (new peasants) or equivalents of a similar character (new citizens, new Hungarians, new settlers).⁷² First implemented in 1761,⁷³ this idea was still alive when Habsburg bureaucrats pondered the status of Gypsies in Bukovina. From that point on, the term *Zigeuner* (Gypsy) was to be replaced with *Neubauer* (new peasant). Like many other measures inspired by the Enlightenment, such a renaming was Janus-faced: on the one side, it intended to eradicate stigmatization, but on the other, it was—anachronistically speaking, but factual—genocidal, as the authorities were hoping for total dissolution of this segment of the population over the course of just one or two generations. As one Austrian historian put it euphemistically, Gypsies should be transformed from *Hordenzigeuner* (horde Gypsies) to *Herdzigeuner* (hearth Gypsies).⁷⁴

Already in his bold and untimely move toward emancipation in 1783, General Enzenberg prohibited the use of the term *Zigeuner*, as this appellation was seen as “opposed to humanity.”⁷⁵ In March 1784, the Bukovinian authorities were again ordered to “intercept” the use of the seemingly pejorative expression,⁷⁶ and it is amazing that even after the Vienna-ordered rollback, the ban of the appellation *Zigeuner* remained in effect.⁷⁷ Under these circumstances, it suited the authorities well that there still was the categorial term *robi* (slave), which they had inherited from the Moldavian regime, in use for Gypsies. This term enabled some officials to address the biggest group of Gypsies without using the “G-word.” But as often with prescribed appellations, a significant part of the bureaucracy simply ignored the new naming system and continued to refer to “Gypsies” in their documents.

DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF THE ABOLITION

Although, in general, the last decades of the eighteenth century coincided with the emergence of reasonably reliable statistical data, the documents concerning the demographic situation in Bukovina during the military administration are far from self-explanatory. Sources on the numbers of slaves (and hence Gypsies) frequently contradict each other, more often than not due to confusion or vagueness concerning basic categorization. Nomadic and sedentary Gypsies are either mixed up or not specified at all. In addition, the seemingly logical chain of associations is at times misleading. Being owned by a monastery, for instance, evokes the idea that these Gypsies were also settled on monastery ground—which does not always hold up to scrutiny.⁷⁸ Contemporaries already saw the difficulties of migration patterns: “One can never give the exact numbers of Gypsies living in Bukovina, because they have no constant houses and wander around in the country, therefore it is their laudable custom to disappear across the borders and come back after a while.”⁷⁹

Taking such blurriness into account, there are nevertheless some benchmarks that the early demographical data support. In 1774, right before the Habsburg takeover, a Russian census of the population of Moldavia (68,700 people)⁸⁰ informs about the approximate number of Gypsies that lived in that part of the territory that later became Bukovina.⁸¹ An analysis of listed names suggests some 420 families, equaling probably 2,100 individuals, representing about 3 percent of the population.⁸²

In 1775, General Splény mentioned 294 nomadic Gypsy families (*vagirende Zigeuner*),⁸³ and in 1780 another 534 sedentary Gypsy families were counted.⁸⁴ Regarding the year 1791, the figures are even more precise: the authorities counted 316 sedentary Gypsies, whereas 146 were listed as nomadic.⁸⁵

According to these numbers, during the first few years of the military administration, a total of approximately eight hundred Gypsy families (nomadic and sedentary) can be estimated, which means a rather surprising doubling of the figures from 1774. However debatable the accuracy of such numbers is (especially due to the unclear multiplication factor from families to individuals), they would nevertheless fit into a general trend. Between 1774 and 1785, due to massive immigration from Galicia, Moldavia, and Transylvania, the total population, not just the Gypsy population, almost doubled as well.⁸⁶

In the following period up to 1800, as Bukovina changed from an autonomous territory to a district (*Kreis*) of Galicia, demographic data concerning the regional Gypsy population countered the general population trend. As can be seen from the following data, the number of Gypsies rose from year to year, while the authorities were now confronted with a general population decline due to emigration on a larger scale.⁸⁷

The demographic data concerning Bukovinian Gypsies from the 1790s is very informative, and the previously mentioned Schneider collection in Cracow provides especially fascinating insights. Firstly, it is striking that, according to these lists, the number of Gypsy families grew steadily year by year to double in one decade from 305 in 1790⁸⁸ to 627 in 1800.⁸⁹ Both numbers most obviously hold a secret: Where did the approximately five hundred Gypsy families go that are the cause for the significant difference between the 1780 and 1790 numbers? And why did this segment of the population grow so quickly between 1790 and 1800? The current state of research prevents answers to either question. Probably, significant border fluctuations (between Galicia/Bukovina and Moldavia or else Hungary/Transylvania) could solve the riddle.⁹⁰

Howsoever, the extremely elaborate list concerning the year 1800 is an especially rich source of demographic data on Bukovinian Gypsies approximately one generation after the abolition of slavery. A complete list of professions, for instance, allows a glance into the opportunities and restrictions the Gypsy status posed. We find the stratification shown in table 10.1.

TABLE 10.1 Gypsy craftsmen in Bukovina, 1800

PROFESSION	NUMBER OF CRAFTSMEN	GERMAN TERMINOLOGY
Woodworkers	249	<i>Holzarbeiter</i>
Smiths without specialization	189	
Spoon makers	114	<i>Löffelmacher</i>
Musicians	30	
Sieve makers	13	<i>Siebmacher</i>
Shoemakers	9	<i>Schuhmacher</i>
Shoe repairers	4	<i>Schuster</i>
Locksmiths	3	<i>Schlosser</i>
Cobblers	2	<i>Schuhflicker</i>
Kettle smiths	2	
Coppersmiths	2	
Wheelwrights	2	<i>Rädermacher</i>
Day laborer	1	
Housefathers listed without professions	2	
Widows as head of the household*	5	
Total	627	

*One of them a female locksmith.

Some of the mentioned categories need further explanation. By far the biggest group of skilled craftsmen was addressed as woodworkers (*Holzarbeiter*), which does not refer to forest work but the production of wooden household items; spoon makers (*Löffelmacher*) and (at least partly) sieve makers (*Siebmacher*) also worked with wood as raw material. All in all, they represented almost 60 percent of the professions. Smiths of various types followed with 30 percent and a significant minority of 5 percent were full- or part-time musicians.⁹¹ The remaining 5 percent were distributed among shoemakers, shoe repairers, and two wheelwrights. Remarkably, there is only one day laborer mentioned, which means that Gypsies remained incorporated into traditional professional categories. The process of declassing, so typical for the nineteenth century, had apparently not yet begun.

Ethnography usually operates with a set of categories applied to Gypsies of different trades (e.g., *Ursari* for bear trainers, *Aurari* for gold washers, *Fierari* for blacksmiths). Woodworkers and smiths commonly belong to different categories, but in our case, the documents do not differentiate—both are listed as *Lingurari*. They were described as itinerant craftsmen (which otherwise go under the category of *lăeși*), who were “left to themselves and resided, wherever they found some income.”⁹²

The aforementioned list from 1800 not only provides the number of housefathers (and, in very few cases, of widowed housemothers) but also a complete list of people living in each respective household. An arguable extrapolation rate of five (including one housemother plus four children on average) can in this case be confronted with exact data and turns out to be quite close to reality. The 622 housefathers and 5 housemothers accompany another 2,440 family members on the list (most of them wives and children, only a few extended family members), which in 1800 represented an overall Gypsy population of 3,067 individuals in Bukovina.⁹³ These sedentary Gypsies constituted almost exactly 1.5 percent⁹⁴ of the total population (197,375 inhabitants)⁹⁵ in this year.

Another aspect of the data provided in the lists from Cracow touches upon questions of mobility by providing data on fluctuations within the Gypsy population. An extra column in the lists tells whether the householders were born in the Bukovina territory or had only lately moved there (see table 10.2). According to this data, 467 householders living in Bukovina in 1800 were “Bukovinians” by birth (or, in many cases, more correctly “ex-northwest Moldavians”); another 160 had moved to the territory between 1770 and 1800. Concerning the latter, the exact figures are shown in table 10.2. This list only illuminates the influx into Bukovina and does not provide any data about the outflow of people in the same time span, which would be necessary to paint an overall picture of events. Nevertheless, it is very likely that the significant peak in 1785–1786 (fifty new households) correlates with the abolition of slavery and its immediate impact.

In the three decades covered, a greater number of Gypsies than before might have been tempted to move into Bukovina because they were seeking the newly declared

TABLE 10.2 Movements into Bukovina territory, 1770–1800

MOVEMENT INTO THE BUKOVINA TERRITORY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDERS
1770	4
1772	1
1773	4
1774	2
1775	2
1780	10
1785	13
1786	37
1788	4
1789	5
1791	13
1793	1
1794	5
1795	7
1796	7
1797	3
1798	6
1799	3
1800	33

status as citizens. At the current stage of research, the last significant peak in 1800 is inexplicable.

GYPSY LEADERS AND OFFICIALS IN CHARGE OF GYPSIES

After the abolition of slavery, the Habsburg administration retained a system of intermediary rule over Gypsies, which they inherited from the old Moldavian system. In it, starting at the scale of individual families of Gypsies (*sălașe*, sing. *sălaș*),

organisational structures [...] were created by the State for fiscal reasons or in order to exert a more efficient control over the Gypsies. In Wallachia and Moldavia, several Gypsy bands living within a certain region and sharing the same occupation

were placed under the authority of a Gypsy sheriff (*vătaf*). Together, the bands composed a Gypsy shire (*vătăşie*). The Gypsy sheriff was himself a Gypsy. From the eighteenth century he began to become known as the *bulucbaşa* or *bulibaşa*. The sheriff or *bulibaşa* was the head of a number of leaders from a particular region who also belonged to the same clan.⁹⁶

Habsburg officials transformed the term into *Bulubascha* and kept his function. The same was the case with the so-called judges (sing. *jude*/pl. *juzi* in Romanian; Germanized as *Schude*/*Schuden*), whom the various groups of Gypsies elected.⁹⁷ In the Habsburg sources, these *Bulubaschas* and *Schuden* are not always clearly separated.⁹⁸ Their total number was sixteen in 1790 and grew to twenty-one in 1799.⁹⁹ Documents also mention another element of Gypsy self-administration: the so-called *panţiri* (or *panţâri*; *Panczire* or *Panzire* in German). Five or six of them assisted with official acts, most probably as a small unit of armed ushers.

But there was also a new top functionary installed by the Habsburg administration who was not a Gypsy: the principal or captain (*Zigeunervorsteher*, *Zigeumerkapitän*). He was chosen from the *boyars* or the *mazili* (noblemen of a second rank) and not from the Gypsies.¹⁰⁰ These principals were bureaucratically untrained people who had three major obligations: (1) to settle minor conflicts in the Gypsy communities; (2) to keep a record of the Gypsies; and (3) to collect taxes from Gypsy families and transfer them to the treasury.¹⁰¹ In 1803, the principal was remunerated with 200 guilders by the treasury.¹⁰² *Mazil* Joan Sawa (Szaba)¹⁰³ is the first official Bukovinian "Gypsy principal" who is known by name. A prosperous nobleman, he was probably also the first in this function under Habsburg rule. He held this position from 1778 until he died in 1794.¹⁰⁴ He was followed by Nicoleu Botucze (Batutsche) from Siret/Sereth, who was in office until he died in 1799.¹⁰⁵ After a short interim period, in which a certain Kozan was principal,¹⁰⁶ the position was advertised anew. What followed was an extremely careful selection process, documented in a record from 1800, which shows how important and profitable the rank of a principal was. The successful candidate was chosen from a list of no less than fourteen applicants, most of them wealthy and merited noblemen.¹⁰⁷

Discussions related to these applications were painstakingly recorded. Selectors evaluated special qualifications such as reading and writings skills, and the knowledge of languages like Moldavian, Russian, Polish, German, and Latin. They also noted an extraordinary commitment to the state (for instance, during riots in Poland or a plague catastrophe). At the same time, the Gypsy communities made themselves heard over the course of the selection process. In one instance, forty Gypsies put their names on a petition, in which they suggested three alternative candidates for the post. The authorities registered their claims as they would have the claims of any others, but, in addition, written on the petition are remarks that document the anti-Ziganism of an unknown writer. Maybe it was a person from the *Kreisamt*, but it could also have been

some other opponent of the Gypsies' request. These remarks were as dehumanizing as they could be; they read: "No sympathetic ear and no deference do these misled supplicants deserve, and their application should be totally discarded. These petitioners are a horde¹⁰⁸ of straying Gypsies, who only outwardly look like humans."¹⁰⁹ In the same vein, others saw their suggestions as irrelevant or even criminal. One of the favored candidates of the Gypsy petitioners, Alexander Iwanowitz, was denounced to be "of the same kind as they are." This former tax collector was accused of having spent seven years in prison because of malversation.¹¹⁰ Iwanowitz sharply rejected this allegation. In his view of things, he, after five successful years as a tax commissioner, had been falsely accused, but "over the course of a most rigorous criminal investigation had been found fully innocent."¹¹¹ Interestingly, it was exactly this candidate who finally won the race; whether the favor of the Gypsies played any significant role in this decision is hard to discern.¹¹²

Scholars have thus far considered Alexander Iwanowitz the last Gypsy principal; his post was not replaced when he supposedly changed positions in 1806.¹¹³ But a document from 1814 states that he was still in charge in that year.¹¹⁴ The position of Gypsy principal must therefore have lasted at least until then.

Lists exist for each year between 1795 and 1799 of *Bulubaschas* and *Schuden*, but it is unclear if they are complete.¹¹⁵ Each list includes between eleven and fifteen horizontal lines that each specify one or two names (of *Bulubaschas* and/or *juzi*) as well as the number of families assigned to them. The number of assigned families varies from single digits to more than one hundred, indicating that there was a range from relatively unimportant to very powerful Gypsy representatives.¹¹⁶ A closer inspection of the lists quite unexpectedly reveals that there was a fluctuation in persons and assigned number of families, which means that the positions of *Bulubascha* and *jude* were not, or at least not only, based on tradition or convention.¹¹⁷

TAXATION BABEL

During the time span covered by the extent lists (1790 to 1799), Gypsies were annually taxed with three guilders and fifty-seven kreutzers per family; in times of war, an additional contribution of thirty kreutzers had to be paid. Gypsy families were also obliged to supply their principal with a *corvée* of two days or, with his consent, compensate him for the service with twenty kreutzers. Ushers (*Amtsdiener*, *panțiri*) and "judges" (*Richter*, *Bullabaschen*) were annually subsidized with fifteen kreutzers respectively.¹¹⁸

Instead of state officials directly collecting these taxes, the authorities assigned this function to the Gypsy principals and their subordinates. It is little wonder that such a system of intermediaries paved the road for all types of favoritism, mismanagement, and corruption. Among the principals' privileges was the total exemption from taxation, which was also granted to their close relatives and servants. "Judges" were also

exempt from taxation. Furthermore, poor and/or disabled persons could count on reductions or exemptions.¹¹⁹

Taxation babel started with nepotism, which was at work every time principals granted exemptions arbitrarily. The state lost considerable sums by this practice; in 1794 and 1795 the loss amounted to 175 guilders.¹²⁰ Acceptance of gifts (or rather the insistence on “gifts”) was another side of this type of corruption. The principals expected fox fur as a common bribe. Although a single piece of fur was of minor value, in toto the principal thereby received an equivalent of close to 400 guilders.¹²¹

Another transgression of the law was the principal’s misuse of his authority as a judge in petty offenses: he, for instance, imposed serious monetary fines on the refusal to work, noncompliance to arranged marriages, or supposed or actual acts of fornication. All in all, the principal received 1,154 guilders each year from such arbitrary sentences.¹²² All these enrichments as single acts can be classified as minor misdemeanors, but they paved the way for fraud on a grand scale as described in the next subchapter.

Taxation babel involved more than “just” corruption because it was also constantly accompanied by acts of excessive physical violence. According to a completely arbitrary sentence, one woman, for instance, had to spin in chains for nine months(!). Another Gypsy was bound by his feet and hung upside down from a tree for two hours. Investigations by the authorities documented many acts of physical violence. Because of Botucze’s excesses, sixty-two families left for Moldavia, choosing rather to stay in slavery than be exposed to such savagery. After Botucze’s death, the state and the over-taxed Gypsies confronted his widow and family with recourse claims.¹²³

TURNING POINT 1800

In March 1797, principal Nicoletu Botucze came to the *Kreisamt* and accused Gypsies from Mykhalcha/Mihalcze of refusing to make tax payments and intimidating judges. The authorities dutifully recorded this allegation but were totally unaware of any of the particulars. According to Botucze’s report, the Gypsies had physically attacked and incarcerated tax collectors, who were only performing their duty. After these events, one chief judge (*Oberrichter*) was so terrified that he refused to enter the village again in fear of being ambushed or even killed. At first view, this all looks like the “normal” misunderstandings, complaints, and acts of violence that the taxation process entailed. But the Gypsies did not submit to Botucze’s claims and instead defended themselves. They argued that they felt oppressed by their principal and wanted to replace him.¹²⁴

What followed was a veritable scandal leading to a thorough investigation, which opened in 1799 and ended in 1801. The protocols of the inquiries eventually filled hundreds of pages. After the events in Mihalcze, not only the local Gypsies but also those from across Bukovina stood up against Botucze. The authorities took their grievances

very seriously and set up a commission that reviewed the conduct of both Botucze and his predecessor Sawa. Sawa had died already¹²⁵ and Botucze passed away while the investigation was still underway. Nevertheless, the authorities were determined to throw light upon the whole affair. In the commission's minutes, one can sense the air of a righteous government that approached the case completely *sine ira et studio*.¹²⁶ Gypsies, in accordance with the law, were treated with the same respect as other applicants.

The year 1800 became a turning point, as the authorities increasingly realized that the Gypsies' protests against their former principals were completely justified. It turned out that Sawa had acted corruptly but Botucze had clearly crossed the line of committing elaborate fraud. From 1795 to 1799, he collected extremely exaggerated taxes, which earned him 2,107 guilders of illegal extra money.¹²⁷ He also imposed an utterly disproportionate *corvée* on Gypsy families. While two days would have been the rightful claim, Botucze multiplied this duty, usually increasing it up to fivefold. By exploiting these Gypsies for their labor (or its substitution with money), he gained the equivalent of 1,639 guilders.¹²⁸

If this was not enough, Botucze was also extremely creative in cheating the treasury. Since prior to 1800 the Bukovinian authorities had not conducted any individual censuses of the Gypsy population, they had to rely on the numbers Botucze forwarded to them. Unconscionably, he used his chance and year after year concealed between 20 and 40 percent of the taxpaying families from the authorities. The money that he thus worked into his own pockets amounted close to 5,000 guilders.¹²⁹

One contemporary made this long story short by stating, "As in Bukovina a lot of things are generally going wrong, these captains are cheating on their territorial princes in the same way in which they are sucking the blood out of the poor Gypsies."¹³⁰

Because the investigating authorities were bureaucrats trained at the high point of the Enlightenment but were living into a new century of ever-increasing state control, they made suggestions for betterment by intensified disciplining. Concerning the future, they suggested differentiating between wanted and unwanted groups of Gypsies. Those of the first category were Gypsies enrolled on a list (*konskribiert*) and thus known to the state with all their benchmark data. Equipped with legitimation papers, they were expected to be proper taxpayers and prospective *citoyens*. Their counterparts were nonresident Gypsies, who were seen as intruders and unwanted "riffraff" (*einschleichendes Zigeunergesinde*).

To encourage the process of emancipation of the wanted group of Gypsies, the state authorities saw sedentarization as the proper means of improving their status, both for themselves and the state. This attitude of killing two birds with one stone was a standard argument for this type of top-down, paternalizing altruism. Sedentarization, which had already been ordered in 1788 but was never brought into effect, was now to be implemented. If the report of the investigating commission is to be trusted, then Gypsies also favored this option for how to integrate into the existing villages. The commissioners

emphasized their opinion that the expected higher taxes needed for sedentarization (the newly stipulated twelve *corvée* days and extra municipal taxes) would certainly outweigh the “oppression by their current principals and judges.”¹³¹

Hand in hand with these intended improvements for resident Gypsies, the regional authorities wanted to see the influx of nonresident Gypsies reduced to zero. They suggested completely prohibiting their immigration, “as the state gains nothing else with these people than a horde of miserable men, who do not bring any fortunes with them and do not conduct industrial arts, and therefore their existence is dispensable.”¹³² If apprehended, these illegal foreigners should be subjected to expulsion. Exempted from such a scheme were Gypsy families coming from “Turkish provinces,” who were seen as “suitable” for sedentarization and who were able to show a letter of admittance by their new landlords.¹³³

The authorities saw a new regime of sedentarized Gypsies under the control of small villages as a chance to get rid of the old system of principals and judges. In pondering about what should become of the newly appointed principal Alexander Ivanowicz, the officials clarified that it was not the Gypsies who should serve the principals, but that it was supposed to be the other way around. Times had clearly changed in that these functionaries on behalf of the Gypsies were increasingly viewed as outdated. There was also fear that the Gypsies “would be instigated to emigration if they were left to the arbitrary treatment of their principals and got totally sucked by them.”¹³⁴ And, indeed, Gypsies sometimes threatened their judges with a possible exodus.¹³⁵

However far emancipation went in Bukovina, at the beginning of the nineteenth century nomadic Gypsy life was still endangered by the slavery that existed on the Moldavian side of the border. As can be seen from a report from 1814, Gypsies were often captured and placed in chains as soon as they crossed the border. Torn off their belongings, they were immediately donated or bartered. The Habsburg authorities attacked the Moldavian prince for thus claiming a right that was “outrageous to humanity” and fostering the “hateable greediness of his officials.” Although the Bukovinian administration accused the border-crossing Gypsies of disloyalty, they nevertheless freed four families from slavery, intending to use their story both as a cautionary tale for the Gypsies and a statement against Moldavian despotism.¹³⁶

INBORN RIGHTS, FORBIDDEN SLAVERY

Abolition of slavery was never just an act of proclamation, but a long process of transforming norms into action. In the case of Bukovina, this process started with Enzenberg’s untimely advance in 1783 and, one could argue, ended with the introduction of individual censuses and the close examination of the principal’s role in 1800. But the

final triumph of abolition as both a practice and an idea came in 1812. In this year, the General Civil Code of Austria (ABGB, *Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*) for the first time explicitly stipulated the relationship of the (now *Austrian*) empire to slavery. Paragraph 16 reads as follows: “Each being has inborn rights, apparent from reason, and is accordingly to be regarded as an individual. Slavery or bondage, and the exercise of power based thereon, is forbidden.”¹³⁷ These regulations most obviously were directed against the overseas slave trade, and thus for a country without colonies it might have seemed rather abstract. Nevertheless, there was practical utility, as a commenting decree from 1826 clearly stated: “Each slave becomes free at the moment he enters the k.k. territory or even just an Austrian ship. In the same way, each slave, also in foreign countries, gains liberty in the very moment he, under which title ever, is ceded to a k.k. Austrian subject.”¹³⁸ By this declaration, the Austrian empire made clear that it not only abstained from any kind of slavery in its territories but that it was also willing to intervene in the favor of slaves if occasion or need arose.

When these regulations became effective in the Habsburg empire, it would have been a perfect moment to pay tribute to the abolition process in Bukovina of fifty years prior.¹³⁹ But collective memory lay dormant and was only activated around 1900. At this moment, not only scientific research but also a broader celebratory discourse set in. The superficial nature of the latter can be seen in the *Kronprinzenwerk* (Crown Prince’s Work), a twenty-four-volume popular description of all the Austrian crown lands. In its part on Bukovina just two sentences presented a fascinating hyper-simplified version of the abolition process: “Gypsies entered the territory of [Bukovina] around 1400, probably a bit earlier. Here they were declared slaves, a lot of them became such voluntarily and remained in this status up to 1783 when Emperor Joseph II magnanimously made them free people.”¹⁴⁰

PART IV

In Conversation with
Carlo Ginzburg

THERE IS NO MEANING WITH A CAPITAL “M”

In Conversation with Carlo Ginzburg

CARLO GINZBURG (B. 1939) COUNTS AMONG THE MOST ACCLAIMED ITALIAN intellectuals. As a historian with a broad range of interests in philosophy, literature, art history, and politics, he has left a significant mark on historiography in the second half of the twentieth and the first decades of the twenty-first centuries. He is one of the founding fathers of micro-history and has written influential monographs and articles, which often combine case studies and theorization. His books have been translated into many languages and have inspired and influenced generations of historians.

When I started my own explorations into the early modern period, Ginzburg's work was a landmark. Over the decades, it has remained among my favorites for being a type of history scholarship that meticulously searches for in-depth elaborations but avoids ending up in blinkered specialism. On the morning of May 6, 2009, I met Ginzburg in Vienna for what was planned as a short interview but turned into a long conversation, which we conducted in English. He was about to give a lecture called “Dante's Blind Spot,” but made plenty of time earlier in the day for the meeting. This gave me the chance to minimize occasion-related questions and work toward a more encompassing portrait instead.

Among the topics of our conversation were writing as an experiment, archival sources as epiphanies, losers of the historical process as living dead, and redemption by memory. The attentive reader will realize that these topics are also central motives of the essays in this collection. This conversation perfectly finishes this work.

STEPHAN STEINER: Over the many years of your academic career you've been praised and criticized for your style of writing, which in my opinion owes a lot to specific formal and stylistic achievements of modernity, especially modern literature. Your continuous contemplation on how the results of your research were accomplished is something that connects your writing to the literary experiments of the twentieth century, which were so full of self-reflections. Your relationship to language and narration in my view is one important aspect that makes you the unique historian you are. How would you describe your relationship to literature? What does the process of writing mean to you? And where is the border line between fact and fiction?

CARLO GINZBURG: My mother was a novelist; my father translated *Anna Karenina* and taught Russian literature, but lost his position because he refused to take the oath of allegiance to the fascist government. He was one of the founders of the Einaudi publishing house¹ and so I grew up in a milieu which was impregnated with literature and novels. I started reading novels, especially nineteenth-century Russian novels, very early.

STEINER: Tolstoy?

GINZBURG: Yes, Tolstoy, very soon, and I think, I was deeply affected by him. Only later I started reading books on history. Concerning twentieth-century literature, Proust certainly influenced me.

STEINER: Because of his immanent reflection on how a novel is made?

GINZBURG: Yes, insofar as Proust includes essays or essayistic sections in his great novels and thus the reflection on his work becomes part of the novel. But I also would want to mention Bertolt Brecht as another major influence on my writing style. The notion of "estrangement"² is something, which I learned from Brecht, and later on, I also tried to write on the long prehistory of "estrangement." "Estrangement" is a crucial tool because it implies critical detachment. Although I'm very committed to narratives in general, the notion of a *straightforward* narrative does not make sense to me. A deep awareness of the way a narrative has to be constructed is essential for me and this implies a distancing, not from positivism as such, but from *naïve* positivism.

STEINER: How is such an approach translatable to writing history?

GINZBURG: I started writing books on history in the mid-sixties already and was surprised and disappointed when twenty years later some critics regarded me as a postmodernist historian. I certainly disagree with such a kind of perception and in fact, I fought against skeptical postmodernism for many years. Although my critical attitude towards postmodernism started earlier, this rejection was also related to my teaching at UCLA. There I immediately realized that the most brilliant students were deeply taken by this kind of skeptical attitude, which I found boring,

uninteresting, morally and politically dangerous. But I tried to make a distinction between question and answers or, in other words: I thought that these postmodern historians, who usually were theorists with no real commitment to history and possibly with no real experience, provided uninteresting answers to meaningful questions. And so I tried to work on the distinction between questions and answers, which I regard as absolutely crucial, even from a political point of view. But this kind of debate was over for me when I published a book called *Il filo e le tracce* (Threads and Traces);³ for me, this book was the end of this intellectual season. In the introduction, I stated: "That kind of fashion is over and who cares?" The questions are still there, but I would like to answer the questions with a different approach to work.

STEINER: In my preparations for this conversation I was again delving into your books, essays, and articles, trying to find some clues to what I would want to call the "inner dynamics" of your writings. Over the years, to me there seem to be three major changes in your intellectual interests and approaches. Maybe we could discuss them alongside some biographical milestones. By doing so, we might achieve a biographical picture of Carlo Ginzburg viewed through the mirror of his books. Change #1 up for discussion: Your early research was dominated by archival material as the backbone of your investigations and interpretations. In sharp contrast, much of your later research is based on printed sources. Have you over time lost that electrifying feeling of holding original, singular documents in your hand? Is that thrill gone?

GINZBURG: It's not. Just recently I wrote a piece on Chinese rites,⁴ an extremely interesting debate which took place within the Catholic Church about the missionary strategy of Jesuits in China. For the first time, I worked in the *Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede* (Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith) in Rome, which preserves the central archive of the *Holy Office*, the inquisition. Before, I had only worked in peripheral archives and now it was for the first time that I worked in this central archive. There was even something paradoxical to this because I myself had contributed to the opening of this archive.

STEINER: How did that come about?

GINZBURG: It is a funny story: After I had worked with inquisitional archives for many, many years, I started with a new project based on a case from Bologna, which involved a converted Jew, Costantino Saccardino, who was burned as a heretic. He was a distiller and a jester. He had a very strange career and I found some documents about him in Venice. I was aware about his trial in Bologna but I only knew the sentence, which was short and thin. But then in Venice, I discovered that a notary, who used to work for the inquisition, asked for an "extra compensation," because he had transcribed a "long trial" against Saccardino. Following this remark, I supposed that he must obviously have copied the whole trial to send it to Rome and that I

should try and search for it there. Well, the archive was closed to the public at that time but after a while pope Wojtyła was elected⁵ and so I speculated that maybe he would open up the archive. I further thought: if I'm going to write a formal application letter, he will never read it. So I drafted a very informal one, which began like this: "I'm an atheist, I'm a Jew, I'm a historian and for many years I have worked in peripheral archives of the inquisition." I called it absurd that the central archive was completely unavailable to scholars. The story of the archive is complicated; a part of it was sold and came to Paris, where the majority of it was destroyed. But a substantial fragment was sold to Dublin and was available on microfilm at the Vatican library. So I additionally argued that it was absurd that a fragment of that archive is available and the archive, or what has been left from all the destructions, is still unavailable to scholars. And then I finally argued that it would be an important gesture if the Catholic Church would submit itself to the historian's judgment by opening up this archive. I sent this letter—no answer! I wrote a different kind of letter, much more detailed but shorter, saying that I wanted to consult one specific trial against a man named Saccardino. I sent this letter to the *Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede* and the responsible archivist replied with a formal letter, saying that this trial did not exist anymore. The person in charge was—Cardinal Ratzinger! Afterwards, I received another letter from the secretary of the pope, which I thought was written with an ironic overtone, but maybe I was wrong. It read something like this: "Well, we understand your commitment to research, but those documents are very sensitive and therefore it is impossible to make them available to scholars." It was a sort of paradox: the trial did not exist anymore, but if the trial would have ever existed, I would not have been allowed to see it. Anyway, after maybe twenty years there was some news: the pope was going to make the archive available to scholars—perfect! I was at that time invited to a conference at the *Accademia dei Lincei*,⁶ but declined, as I had earlier accepted an invitation to seasonal lectures in Cambridge, England, for those lectures that later became "No Island Is an Island."⁷ Then I received a phone call from a person with a slight Spanish accent: "Did you receive the letter?"—"Yes, but I cannot come, because I have to go to Cambridge."—*Peccato!* ("What a pity!")—"Why?" He said: "Well, your letter played a role in opening up the archives."—"My letter? Which letter?" After some reaction time, I realized: Ah! My letter from way back when! And I was only able to say: "Well, after such a long time . . ."—and I immediately realized that this was silly because for the Catholic Church twenty years is nothing. Anyway, I went to the archive after a while and found some splendid documents on the debate on Chinese rites that I mentioned above. To answer your question in short: I'm still thrilled by archives but for some reason the projects I am working on now most often involve manuscripts and not archival sources, but this is most probably just by chance.

STEINER: Let's get to the second change in your scholarly interests that I mean to have detected: Your books on the *Benandanti*, on Nicodemism, on Menocchio, on Piero, on the Night Battles⁸—they all have been monographs. But from 1990 on—with the only exception of the book on Sofri⁹—you moved away from monographic writing and replaced it with a very complex form of essay. Theodor W. Adorno once wrote that the essay “does not try to seek the eternal in the transient” but “tries to render the transient eternal”¹⁰—a phrasing typical for Adorno. Would you subscribe to this statement, and if so, how does it affect your personal essayistic approach?

GINZBURG: Already in 1979 I published the essay *Spie* (Clues)¹¹ and this essay was a sort of revelation for me because I discovered the cognitive potential of the essay as a form. But at that time I was still involved in a different kind of project, actually, a very long, painful one that finally led to the *Storia notturna*¹² (Ecstasies) and this was again a monograph . . .

STEINER: A voluminous one . . .

GINZBURG: Yes, a comprehensive one. Writing all these essays later on was probably triggered by teaching in the United States and the invitations to guest lectures. This necessity for time limits was an external constraint or better: an opening up of possibilities. And so I started to make experiments with the essay as a form.

STEINER: Some of these essays are so condensed that they could likewise be presented as shorter monographs.

GINZBURG: This is a different kind of problem. My relationship with the essay as a form is ambivalent because first of all, I like to give lectures, but I don't like to revise a text, which I gave as a lecture in order to publish it. This means that I try to give lectures that are publishable as they are. This implies that I don't like to oversimplify my arguments, which are often difficult to follow as lectures: this I understand. My aim as a writer is to be reread or at least to be read twice. We all are so submerged by words and images that the relationship with the reader or the viewer has to be slowed down. My idea is to achieve a kind of communication that would be apparently clear but dense at the same time and therefore asks for a second reading. The compression as an aim is deliberate.

STEINER: Can you tell me a little bit about your current book project?

GINZBURG: A monograph again, a book on Dante or around Dante: Dante as a reader and a poet.¹³ It will be exactly the epistemological interest that your first question outlined. Dante's writing is—as the prominent critic Gianfranco Contini¹⁴ once said—an early and prominent example of pure poetry and the reflection on it at the same time. The fascination of twentieth-century poets for Dante is lit by this fact and this is also part of my current project.

STEINER: Let's move to the third change, which I would like to bring up for discussion: You have been one of the pioneers in exploring popular culture, but nowadays you

seem to be much more attracted to—if I may simplify a bit for the sake of discussion—“elite culture” than “history from below” . . .

GINZBURG: Hmm . . .

STEINER: Recalling your essays of the last twenty years, “elite culture” has a prominent place. The following frameworks of your writings come to my mind: history of ideas, intertextuality, and *res publica literaria*. What made you change from “ordinary men” to well-educated people, to writers and philosophers? Was it maybe the fact that popular culture has so often been recorded from the perspective of its perpetrators, whereas elites have always been able to speak for themselves? Is it therefore a question of the authenticity of the sources?

GINZBURG: Definitely not! The opposite is the case. Although I do agree with you about those changes, which are undeniable, I nevertheless also see continuity in my work, notwithstanding the variety of subjects. Everything started from my first book *Night Battles*,¹⁵ in which I was already addressing documents generated by repression, but trying to read them—*gegen den Strich* [“against the grain”; used by Ginzburg in German]. The idea was to extract something from those documents that was not part of the inquisitor’s approach but which emerged against their original intentions. This sort of oblique relationship startled me when I first came across the trials against the *Benandanti*.¹⁶ I realized the fact that the inquisitors themselves were unable to understand what those people were talking about. Now in a sense, all my interest in methodology is a sort of by-product of that paradox: trying to rescue the voices of the defendants from the judge’s archives by deconstructing the inquisitor’s approach.

STEINER: What makes you move from one field of subjects to another?

GINZBURG: I’m not interested in repeating myself, so the idea of writing the same book twice seems absurd to me. I give you an example: Some years after I published *Ecstasies*,¹⁷ I understood new things related to the topic and the whole field. And this is the moment when I think it’s better to start again with something different. As I always say: I love teaching, but learning is even better. To start with a new topic is an irresistible seduction. So I actually have been moving, I’m well aware of that, but as I also used to say, I resisted the idea of becoming a specialist and I think that I succeeded [laughs].

STEINER: Let’s move away from supposed or factual changes and get to a persistent, long-standing passion of yours: looking at and interpreting works of art, from the extensive studies on Piero della Francesca or your essay on Giorgione to marginal notes on Altdorfer’s battle-scenes.¹⁸ The latter may be short; nevertheless, they are very illuminating. I have the feeling that pictorial sources not just always had a special place in your writing, but also in your thoughts, and even more: in your perception of the world and your approach to history. Under which circumstances

can a depiction have a stronger impact than the written word? And what is the fascination of describing pictures and putting them into historical and intellectual context?

GINZBURG: Here's a biographical detail: When I was a kid, I tried to become a painter. Then I realized that I would only become a bad painter and forgot about the idea. Later on, I thought about becoming an art historian, but then again I moved to something else. But I'm still very interested in art history and I love painting. I am looking forward to visiting this extraordinary *Kunsthistorische Museum* here in Vienna. Some of the greatest emotions in my life as an appreciator of paintings are connected to this very collection. I still remember Brueghel's painting *The Dark Day*, depicting one of the months of the year. I have first seen it in a reproduction in black and white and that was absolutely unforgettable, one of the greatest emotions in my life! But besides the physical experience of looking at a painting, there's also a sort of permanent tension which I can describe with a strange idea, which I had when I was writing my first book, the *Night Battles*. Back then I thought that maybe this book should be presented in two simultaneous ways: as a narrative and/or as a diagram.

STEINER: Here we are back to techniques of modern literature again . . .

GINZBURG: Back again. And we are also talking about structuralism, the idea of a diagram as an alternative to a narrative. And then—and that is really close to the experimental side that you detected in me—when I wrote *The Cheese and the Worms*,¹⁹ I thought, maybe this book should be written on a single gigantic page, in order to allow a sort of simultaneous approach, a tension between sequence and diagram. I rediscovered this tension many years later when I was working on *Ecstasies*.²⁰ and came across Ludwig Wittgenstein's notes on Frazer, in which he opposed *übersichtliche Darstellung* (perspicuous representation) to a narrative presentation.²¹ *Ecstasies* is constructed in exactly this vein, and there is a specific discussion of that passage by Wittgenstein in the introduction.²² I discovered the tension between morphology—as an approach to forms that are not perceived as sequentially—and history and came to articulate it. Now, one could say: even a painting, especially a large painting, implies an eye trajectory. But still, there is a constraint to see the painting as a whole, in a way that is different and incompatible with the narrative sequence. It's a similar relationship between painting and music. So basically: space and time. Now one could say: even space can be translated into time, but: translated! And in fact, a description of a painting is a translation of a visual experience into something else. But still, that moment in which one looks at an image is a distinct kind of experience and I'm interested in that kind of tension.

STEINER: You worked on a variety of images, not just works of art, but also propaganda.

GINZBURG: The famous poster of Lord Kitchener, for instance, stating, "Your country

needs you!”²³ In this case, I was interested in the way in which a painting can work for recruiting voluntary troops and sending people to kill or die. I found some extraordinary documents and people recalling that actually they decided to enroll because of the power of the image.

STEINER: And the analysis of the power of images permeates your work.

GINZBURG: Yes, I’m still very much involved in paintings and their impact and I would like to publish a collection of my essays on images. This is an inexhaustible theme.

STEINER: What about film? There were times when you were eagerly interested in films. You sometimes also presented your material in a sort of montage.

GINZBURG: Absolutely, yes.

STEINER: One of your essays alluded unmistakably to one of Godard’s films: *Two or Three Things I Know about Her*.²⁴ And sometimes there was even a kind of filmic approach in your writing . . .

GINZBURG: Not any longer. It’s a sort of love story, which got sour. I became deeply disappointed with films and I’m not interested in them anymore, I even forgot about them. The disappointment with cinema is in some way one of the most surprising events in my life [laughs]. For me, as for millions of people, movies were such a crucial experience, from them I learned so much about the world—and then I got bored.

STEINER: How was that possible?

GINZBURG: I often thought about this—one may say because I got old . . .

STEINER: Seen it all?

GINZBURG: No, maybe my appetite for movies disappeared or maybe it was not my fault but the movie’s fault. Something very simple happened to movies: in order to survive, they had to be successful in the first week already. The rule of investment, in general, became enormous, and this is especially true with American movies. I guess it was Spielberg who said, “The average age of my spectator is twelve years.” There you go! I remember that by chance I was watching a black and white movie by Hitchcock, one of the better ones from the English period. Something was going on in some mountain station and I was flabbergasted by the incredible visual and narrative sophistication—something which would be absolutely opaque for a viewer today. He or she would be incapable of following the plot. That’s a very interesting development, comparable to what happened to silent movies that achieved a degree of complexity and then disappeared forever. I now see movies only once a year and they are such a disappointment, sometimes even a punishment. Obviously, there are a few exceptions, for instance, Kieślowski’s *Dekalog*, which was better than his “Three Colours” trilogy, because when he emigrated he lost his verve. *Dekalog* was maybe ideologically repulsive [laughs], but very, very interesting, but that also was years ago. Then there was a sort of late discovery and that was a

great experience, Satyajit Ray's movies, which I saw in Los Angeles. Great director, marvelous movies. I also recall a movie, which I found very interesting but was a complete flop, a movie called *Timecode*.²⁵ I was interested in its visual idea, four stories going on at the same time on the screen, and then converging. I watched the movie twice, to find out if in the second view I would see the same movie or a different one. It was different [laughs]. It was an unusual experiment. But I'm sure there are many movies I missed . . .

STEINER: The final disinterest in movies as another unexpected change . . .

GINZBURG: Another unexpected change, right! [laughs]

STEINER: About thirty years ago you published a now-famous essay on Freud and the connection of his work to that of detectives.²⁶ Also today you're going to give a lecture on Freud,²⁷ but this time focusing on the interrelationship of the concept of the unconscious and history. Can historians apply Freudian concepts retrospectively? Or do they need to be historicized themselves? Doesn't anachronism pose a permanent danger?

GINZBURG: You immediately detected the challenge which is related to a historian's relationship with Freud: to reject Freud as irrelevant would be absurd; to take his work for granted would be equally absurd. That's exactly my problem and in my lecture, I will start from there. Freud is a challenge for historians and the problem will be to take his answers as very interesting questions. Turning his answers into questions opens up a different perspective. Are we as historians, for instance, entitled to speak of an unconscious? And if so, in which sense?

STEINER: Probably best condensed in the question: "Is there a medieval unconscious?"

GINZBURG: Yes, exactly . . . the problem is: you have to give an answer. But how?

STEINER: Now, is there a medieval unconscious?

GINZBURG: Well, yes and no . . .

STEINER: When did you come across Freud? When did you read him for the first time?

GINZBURG: I was probably eighteen and I figure that I started with *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*. This is certainly a book which made the deepest impression on me. And then came *Die Traumdeutung* (The Interpretation of Dreams) and so on. I'm very interested in Freud's way of dealing with case studies, on all possible levels, cognitive, narrative, and so on; and also the relationship between the cases and a larger perspective. Micro-history has been a project which started from a group of people, and all participants interpreted this project in different ways. My own approach has certainly been influenced by Freud.

STEINER: In which sense?

GINZBURG: There is a tension in Freud between his systematic approach, to which he certainly had a drive since his youth, and the idea of starting from details, from undigested, empirical material. This tension is very interesting. I'm certainly much more

interested in the younger than in the later Freud. Although for me micro-history is a project related to generalization, which is counterintuitive, but not absurd. But the problem is: how to start and from where? The idea is to be caught by surprise by the evidence, and this again is something related to the arts—the *objet trouvé*, you can imagine some sort of genealogy. But the *objet trouvé* is not the end of the story, it is only the starting point. I've been fascinated by cases and about ten years ago also by casuistry. I wrote an essay in which I demonstrated that Machiavelli not only read but was deeply influenced by a medieval book by a professor on canon law, which was basically on cases, on casuistry.²⁸ And so, I think it would be interesting to explore the relationship between Freud and casuistry. The relationship between Freud, the psychoanalytic setting, and Catholic confession has been emphasized many times, and Freud's cases can indeed be looked at as an experiment in a genre which is much older. After the essay on Machiavelli, I wrote a book on Freud's case of the "Wolf-Man,"²⁹ which has some relationship with the talk I will give tonight, not in terms of topic, but in terms of method. The idea is to look at Freud's case in a way which is consistent with Freud's approach, but nevertheless, my conclusions will be different. More recently I wrote a piece on family resemblances and family trees which also has Freud as a starting point.³⁰ The notion of family resemblances became famous through Wittgenstein, but I argued that Wittgenstein learned it from Freud, and then went back to Francis Galton's experiment with photographs. So I wrote on that. In that essay, I once again explored a tension between a sort of synchronic presentation, meaning Galton's experiment superposing pictures of members of the same family using transparent glasses. We have a sort of an image in which there are blurred sections and sections in which, due to the superimposition, the overlapping of images is stronger. This is the image which both Freud and Wittgenstein referred to. So here you have an image in which the genealogical sequence or time sequence is in fact compressed into a single space. With family trees or also in the case of manuscript transmission you have a diagram showing a time sequence. It's interesting that the first great philologist who used a diagram in order to show the manuscript transmission of Lucretius's *De rerum natura* was Jacob Bernays, the uncle of Martha Freud. Actually, Freud met Bernays, and I argued that Freud must have been aware of Bernays's work on Lucretius, because there are references to Lucretius in the *Traumdeutung*. Such a connection has been also suggested in another essay on catharsis—written, I think, by an Argentinian scholar—in which Bernays argued that the notion of catharsis started in a medical setting.³¹ Freud must have been aware of this circumstance. So again the idea is to try to understand the intellectual contexts in which Freud's ideas took shape, and also to work on this tension between time and space, morphology and history.

STEINER: Such search for ramifications relates the historian's work to that of a detec-

tive, whose emblematic embodiment is Sherlock Holmes. Your famous essay "Clues" is partly dedicated to him. Could you give us a little insight as to what Sherlock Holmes meant and maybe still means to you?

GINZBURG: As a kid, I read many of the very interesting stories involving Sherlock Holmes and when I wrote that essay, I read some of them again.³² That's it! Maybe one day I will start reading them again more closely. Detective stories are also a literary experiment and as such, they are a link in a much longer chain. The idea of constructing a plot in order to keep the reader's attention and the devices used in order to achieve that effect are certainly very interesting.

STEINER: Was it more the forensic talents of Sherlock Holmes or the dialogical ones in his conversations with Watson that fascinated you?

GINZBURG: In my view, the dialogic element is a sort of a narrative device because otherwise, Sherlock Holmes's procedures would be inscrutable. It's a bit like in a play. There are different techniques to tell a story to an audience in a way that makes sense although the story in principle should be kept silent. The dumb companion is a possible device. In a way even in Dante's comedy there are elements of this in which Dante, the character, plays the dumb companion because he asks questions and Vergil explains. I never thought about that. . . . There is this sort of secret device.

STEINER: Although the word has been there earlier, you have definitely changed *micro-history* from a more or less personal claim of some authors to a refined concept, a scientific method.

GINZBURG: I'm totally aware that the word has been used before and I would like to insist that we are talking about a phenomenon of convergence, about a circle of friends working together and debating with different aims in mind. Micro-history as a collective project. Although it was a very small group, the resonance of the project has been quite unexpected. Now there is even an international network of micro-historians on the Internet that got started by a Hungarian colleague and reaches out as far as Iceland.

STEINER: The movement has gone international . . .

GINZBURG: Yes, an international movement with a political impetus. In the landscape of historical writing, we can still find the idea according to which there are countries and events, which are central (for example, the *Prise de la Bastille*), and the rest is seen as peripheral. Micro-history has been rightly viewed as a potentially subversive strategy, insofar as a book written on a village in Iceland can raise fundamental questions, which can be important for historians in the USA. So the balance of central and peripheral is reversed, at least potentially. It seems to me that this is due to the impact of anthropology on history, probably best summarized in Malinowski's statement: Not the tribe such and such, but the questions addressed to such and such a tribe are important.³³ And there is a passage by Marc

Bloch on local history written in the thirties, which points in the same direction.³⁴ I think that this is a case of independent convergence in stressing the relevance of questions. Years ago, I learned that there were scholars and students in Peru working on the Quechua language and taking the analysis of the Menocchio trial as a model because for them the problem was to find something similar in their archives. What we call globalization is a phenomenon that started centuries ago and has many implications. It can be cruel, but for many people it can open up possibilities, it's still something that is surprising. I am still very much interested in micro-history. When you said before that I am now only interested in the elites—well, there are exceptions. I wrote an essay on . . .

STEINER: I suppose that you will talk about the Purry project, right?

GINZBURG: Exactly, you are even familiar with that . . . [laughs]

STEINER: If I may, I will come back to Purry a little later on in our conversation. Let us first talk about one of the most effective consequences of the micro-history debate. Since *The Cheese and the Worms* there seems to be a constant quarrel in the scientific community, as to whether macro- or micro-perspectives are more fruitful. To me, this always seemed more of an ideological choice than an essential one. Macro-history, of course, always had its specific merits and was not to be dismissed into the dustbin of the discipline. But on the other hand, micro-history, executed in a decent and proper theoretical framework, was also able to reconstruct whole worlds.

GINZBURG: I absolutely agree. In fact, we are talking about a bit of a paradox: The perfect example of micro-history is Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation*,³⁵ because the idea of writing a book on industrial revolution seen from a totally unexpected angle and arriving at totally unexpected conclusions, well, this is an example first of all of estrangement, I would say. As I said before, to me estrangement is a crucial tool, and even the idea of looking more closely at an event, at a character, at a community always implies an effect of estrangement. So we are making our way back to your first question. The problem is what the change of scales in micro-history is good for. Micro is related to the microscopic; it's not the size of the object, so one could look, could take a fragment of the skin of an elephant and put it under the microscope. But the real problem is generalization. So what can we do with the results of our experiments?

STEINER: When you announced the Purry project and published on it to me it also seemed like an attempt to get away from this dead-end street debate on macro and micro. Could you tell us a little bit about its goals? And what happened to it?

GINZBURG: Well, the project failed. I started by chance, when I wrote a little piece "Conversations with Orion"³⁶ in which I described how this project emerged as a sort of by-product of a devious way of using library catalogs, especially electronic catalogs, but it also works with card catalogs. I'm still interested in that kind of . . .

STEINER: Could you please go more into detail?

GINZBURG: It started like this: I was working on Voltaire—or actually I was working on Erich Auerbach's piece on a passage in Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*, the description of the London stock exchange.³⁷ I then decided to make an experiment with the beginning of Voltaire's brilliant, posthumously published *Traité de métaphysique*. I started with the first paragraph and decided to check every word in the paragraph in the UCLA library catalog, which uses a software called "Orion." I made the experiment in an unplanned way, I wanted to see what happens when you use the catalog of a library not to find what you're looking for, but to find what you are *not* looking for, something you don't expect or suspect. I started with Voltaire and there was the word *Cafrerie*. And then I typed *Cafrerie*—nothing. And then I typed *Cafre*—then there were eight items and I looked at the earliest of them in terms of publication date: Jean-Pierre Purry, *Mémoire sur le Pais des Cafres, et la Terre de Nuyts*.³⁸ I had never heard of him! There were two tracts by him, and UCLA library held photocopies of them bound in a volume in its open stacks. The combination of electronic catalog and open stacks is extremely powerful and soon I turned the pages and thought: "This is extremely interesting." For some reason, I immediately thought about Max Weber. This is strange because at that time I didn't know anything about Purry. Then I discovered that he was born in Neuchâtel, and indeed he was a Calvinist. I soon got the impression that he was a Protestant because he was quoting from the Bible and especially from the Old Testament, so that was my guess. And he had an approach to European expansion in very broad terms, justifying the expansion with quotations from the Bible and other books. I started working on this man and I published an essay which in its subtitle is called "An Experiment in Micro-History."³⁹ I tried to present this case as a case that was an anomaly that provided the possibility of looking at the Weber-Marx debate from an unexpected perspective. The idea was to use an anomaly in order to make a generalization in terms of questions. The essay opens up and ends with quotations from Erich Auerbach. There were several reasons for this, I've been involved in a sort of dialogue with Auerbach for many years and more and more so. I read *Mimesis* when I was eighteen. And then I was invited to a conference on globalization in Istanbul. Auerbach wrote *Mimesis* in Istanbul, he had been rejected as a Jew from Marburg, and so I thought it was a fitting place for delivering an essay on his work. After I had published this essay, I tried to work on a biography of Purry. Biography is a rather promising genre because it can be developed in many different directions. But we should not take the boundaries of the individual for granted. Our interactions with the environment or with environments are a sort of open question. So if we start from this assumption, which seems sensible to me, the very idea of a biography becomes very challenging and also very difficult to deal with. In one essay I said that the individual is porous. Also with Purry I didn't want to take his boundaries as an individual for granted. I was thinking about

these *Gestaltpsychologie* experiments in which you may alternatively see a shape as a background or as a foreground. So which was the background? Which was the foreground? By the way, there is an experimental writer, I read some of his works in Italian as I would be unable to read them in the original, and I found them extremely challenging: Arno Schmidt.

STEINER: I immediately thought about Schmidt, when you mentioned your wish to present all of your material on one big plate . . . Is *Zettel's Traum*, his magnum opus, translated into Italian?

GINZBURG: I don't know, but there's a collection of short stories. The story about the death of Alexander the Great, for instance, is a strikingly extraordinary story, which points to Hitler. I was fascinated by this combination of telling stories related to a distant historical past with a combination of sheer anachronism and stupendous antiquarian spirit. Again, I think the result is estrangement. When I thought about writing on Purry, I also felt compelled to choose an unconventional approach, because I have very little evidence about his life. I thought about probably following his journey through the world, going to Batavia, to Cape Town, and so on, looking for Purry. But then I came across something else and so I stopped working on him . . .

STEINER: But if one realizes your verve, when talking about him, it seems that you're still fascinated by this person . . .

GINZBURG: I am still fascinated and very much so. And I think that there are failures which can be very productive but in an unpredictable way.

STEINER: The failure was losing your interest?

GINZBURG: No, the failure was the realization that I would be unable to write that kind of biography I was struggling with. I spent one year trying to explore different ways and certainly, it was a failure! That's for sure. But I think I learned something from this failure. The associated basic question is still there: the relationship between an individual and its contexts. Therefore the project could reemerge in a different form. Maybe even this book on Dante could be in a similar vein.

STEINER: In one of your previous interviews you made a very interesting statement. Having written so much about losers, you said, leaves you with a rather ambivalent feeling. On the one hand, you made them heard, but on the other, you willy-nilly perpetuated the feeling that all manifestations of deviance are doomed to be eradicated. You expressed some ambivalence about having brought Menocchio back again . . .

GINZBURG: Certainly this idea of ambivalence is very much with me, in many ways. I was disappointed when somebody read the book *The Cheese and the Worms* as an example of a gallery of counter-heroes because that was not my aim, in fact, Menocchio was no hero, he was a victim, that's for sure. He was a strong personality, but no hero. To quote Nietzsche, I dislike the very idea of monumental history.

STEINER: But Menocchio was part of a counterculture . . .

GINZBURG: Yes, for sure.

STEINER: A very special example . . .

GINZBURG: A very special example of a *different kind of culture*, I would say—*different kind of culture*, not *counterculture*. Another kind of ambivalence is related to the fact that I tried to rescue the voices of the defendants using inquisitor's documents. I realized that I was even learning from the inquisitors. I was split: emotionally I was on the side of the victims, but from a cognitive point of view I was close to the inquisitors.

STEINER: Because of their techniques of focusing on certain topics?

GINZBURG: Yes. I found myself looking over their shoulders at what they were doing. I wrote "The Inquisitor as an Anthropologist"⁴⁰ on exactly this experience. This paper was translated into several languages and once I was invited to Moscow to a public session of the "Memorial" movement. That was a very emotional event. My essay had been read in a totally unexpected direction and there was the idea to look at sham trials in the Stalinist era with this essay as a starting point. We had a very interesting and moving conversation, which also involved Bachtin's idea about the dialogical nature of such documents.

STEINER: You also brought Walter Benjamin into play with his ideas about losers in the historical process, deviants, who as almost a matter of course got defeated.

GINZBURG: Let's rather talk about defeated, not deviants, the latter is a term I would only use in connection to late nineteenth- and twentieth-century social processes. Heretics were not regarded as deviants. I don't know whether all those losers were doomed to be defeated anyway. *We* don't know. This is also one of my ambivalences. Think about the Catholic Church, which often plays on two tables. Let's imagine a specific, documented case: a priest, Don Lorenzo Milani, who took up bold attitudes in social matters, was selected [as] a target by the archbishop of Florence and sent to exile into a faraway region, where he died. Now, I would not be surprised at all, if Don Milani, fifty years or a century from now would become a saint. I would be much more surprised if the archbishop, who defeated that priest, would become a saint. But in that specific moment in time, the church was completely on the side of the archbishop—nevertheless things can change. There's a table for the future and a table for the present. Now, this doesn't mean that all the defeated will become saints, but . . .

STEINER: They may get a chance . . .

GINZBURG: Exactly! Now, what does this mean? It means that things change if we look at them in a long perspective, in a very long perspective, in an apocalyptic perspective, which is not far from Walter Benjamin's approach. I was also fascinated by that idea, which originally came from Origen. In his view, everybody would be saved ultimately, everybody. But—at the end of time, you know . . .

STEINER: Despite all these ambivalences, Menocchio finally got his biography . . .

GINZBURG: He got a biography.

STEINER: Something Purry is still waiting for . . .

GINZBURG: Exactly! [laughs] Exactly! He could also get a statue in Geneva . . .

STEINER: A statue?

GINZBURG: I went there to work in the archives of Neuchâtel and there it was! Purry's brother, who became enormously rich from trading slaves with Brazil, has a statue there. But I was working on his more or less defeated, certainly more obscure brother. There is this unpredictable afterlife of people.

STEINER: Towards the end of our conversation, I would like to ask a question, which touches upon a philosophical approach towards history. Raymond Queneau, the French author from the *OuLiPo* circle, once resumed history in a very unfriendly way, when he wrote this fabulously sobering bon mot: "So much history, just for a few puns and a few anachronisms." In the same vein, but much less ironic, the German philosopher Theodor Lessing titled one of his books *Geschichte als Sinngebung des Sinnlosen* (History as giving sense to the senseless).⁴¹ As "sense" seems too pompous a notion to me, I would like to downsize it to "meaningfulness" and ask you: Can you see any meaningfulness in all the phenomena that you described in your research and in what you experienced in course of these processes?

GINZBURG: I think that we should make a distinction between meaning in a short, a longer, and an apocalyptic perspective. I thought about a longer perspective when I mentioned Origen. Also an apocalyptic perspective exists, even if historians nowadays don't take it into account anymore. But in the philosophy of history, it certainly always was present, at least as a challenge. In a short perspective, we live in a forest of meanings: we are waiting for a taxi and we have this impression that if the taxi will arrive in time, our life will be different. In a longer perspective, some of these meanings seem ephemeral. Now, what about the apocalyptic perspective? I also draw on Queneau and two lines from his *Petite cosmogonie portative*:⁴²

*Le singe (ou son cousin) le singe devint homme /
lequel un peu plus tard désagrégea l'atome.*

The ape becomes man and a little later he splits the atom. Maybe it's even possible to take it a step further and here is a very short little poem which I must quote in Italian and then I will try to translate it into English:

*Quest'è la storia della vacca Vittoria /
Morta la vacca, finita la storia.*

Now in Italian, there is this ambiguity in "story" and "history"—both translate as "storia"—which provides the possibility for my pun. So, let's say:

This is the story of Vittoria the cow
Vittoria is dead and the story/history is over.

We're talking about something that in the long run will be over. Is it possible to find a meaning? I'm not religious and I'm not committed to any religious perspective, but even if we stop one step before, there remain a lot of meanings. Although I'm against teleology, we should nevertheless make a distinction between teleology from without and from within. Teleology from within implies the fact that, for instance, the environment became so frail and this is the result of a series of historical processes, totally unplanned, but the teleology from within meaning that the outcome is there. So this is certainly part of the story. Now, meaning—well, if meaning is understood in the sense that there is a sequence and there is a connection between the steps and the outcome, and that there is a plot—yes, then meaning exists! Not a meaning with a capital "M," but still a meaning.

STEINER: Thank you . . .

GINZBURG: Well, thank you very much, I loved this conversation.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Although I do not share Stirner's generalization and exclusivity, the quote nevertheless perfectly fits the context of this introduction.
2. Obermaier, "Justizpflege," 196.
3. Obermaier, "Justizpflege," 197. See also Hansen, "Massaker."
4. Ruff, *Violence*; Muchembled, *History*; Ulbrich et al., *Gewalt*; Carroll, *Cultures*; Davies, *Aspects*. All these books contain select bibliographies. Following Ruff's chapter arrangement, Jonathan Davies provides a good introductory bibliography under University of Warwick, Department of History, <https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/students/modules/hiz99/topics/>, accessed February 6, 2022. For those interested in interdisciplinary perspectives, see Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois, *Violence*.
5. Dwyer and Damousi, *History*. All the chapters are followed by bibliographic essays, which, taken together, give a perfect survey of major studies in the respective areas.
6. Antony et al., *History*.
7. See the respective chapter in Lorenz, *Vandalismus*, 23–31.
8. See Braun, "Killing Innocents?" and respective chapters in Levene and Roberts, *Massacre*.
9. At the beginning of the 2000s, Pieter C. Spierenburg and Gerd Schwerhoff controversially debated the question of whether an evolutionary, civilization-induced, linear path to an increasingly strict containment of violence can be observed in the course of the early modern period (see Spierenburg, "Violence"; Schwerhoff, "Violence").
10. Narr, "Gewalt," 158.
11. Davies, introduction, 5, summarizing key categories in Chesnais, *Histoire*.
12. See the long synoptical chapter in Steiner, *Rückkehr*, 29–113.
13. A general critique (enriched by case studies) of the Habsburgs' reign from the sixteenth century to the dynasty's collapse after World War I can be found in Leidinger et al., *Schwarzbuch*. O'Reilly's "Divide" is also among the rare pleas for a closer look at the emanations of state violence in the Habsburg empire.
14. Lawrence and Karim, "Introduction," 5.
15. Apart from a variety of essays, two monographs (Steiner, *Jean Améry*; Steiner and Veichtlbauer, *Überlebende*) and two comprehensive radio features (Steiner and Ebner, *Geschichte*; Steiner, *Verbrechen*) document the outcome of this research.
16. Centerpieces of this research are Steiner, *Reisen*; *Rückkehr*.
17. See the glossary for an explanation of why this term, despite its problematic nature, is kept here and in the context of the following essays.
18. "The notion that one can find the essence of national societies, civilizations, great

religions, or whatever summed up and simplified in so-called ‘typical’ small towns and villages is palpable nonsense. What one finds in small towns and villages is (alas) small-town or village life. If localized, microscopic studies were really dependent for their greater relevance upon such a premise—that they captured the great world in the little—they wouldn’t have any relevance. But, of course, they are not. The locus of study is not the object of study. Anthropologists don’t study villages (tribes, towns, neighborhoods . . .); they study *in* villages.” Geertz, “Description,” 22.

19. Dülmen, *Historische Anthropologie*, 52: “[. . .] nicht Details im Ganzen, sondern Details des Ganzen.”
20. Le Goff, “Europa,” 86.

GLOSSARY

1. In 2017, an exhibition on the occasion of Maria Theresa’s 300th birthday anniversary was called “Maria Theresa: The Habsburg’s Most Powerful Woman.” Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, February 17–June 5, 2017, accessed February 6, 2022. <https://www.onb.ac.at/en/museums/state-hall/current-exhibition/maria-theresa-the-habsburgs-most-powerful-woman>.
2. For a short outline of the complicated constellation, see Blanning, *Joseph II*, 5–6; for a broad view, see Whaley, *Germany*.

CHAPTER I

1. Bloch, *Historian’s Craft*, 36.
2. Kanstroom, *Deportation Nation*.
3. See glossary for an explanation of why this term, despite its problematic nature, is kept in the context of this essay.
4. Reemtsma, *Trust*, 57.
5. Solzhenitsyn, *Archipelago I*, 14.
6. This definition does not include the slave trade, which was always and everywhere naturally linked with methods of deportation, but differs so completely in the extent, structure, and consequence from all other deportations described in this study that it requires separate treatment. The same reasoning applies to Indian slavery, practiced by the Spanish, French, and English.
7. See Einhard, *Life*, 31–32; Hägermann, *Karl der Große*, 386, 475–76; Haasis, *Spuren*, 50–64; Thiriet, “Venise,” 219–45.
8. Schünemann, *Bevölkerungspolitik*, 1–40; Fata, *Mobilität*, 52–68.
9. Malthus, *Essay*; Charbit, *Foundations*.
10. See, for example, Becher, *Polititischer Discurs*, and Schröder, *Schatz- und Rent-Cammer*.
11. Hörnigk, *Oesterreich*.
12. Schünemann, *Bevölkerungspolitik*, 1–16.

13. Sources from the eighteenth century often use the term “Temesvarer Banat” or “Temescher Banat.” In the twentieth century, the “Banat” became a stand-alone term. For the Latin usage of the terminology, see Forțiu, “Banatus Timisvariensis.”
14. Lehnert, “Anfänge,” 165–66.
15. Coates, *Convicts*; “Long View.”
16. Among standard reference is Boronat y Barrachina, *Moriscos Españoles*. A vast bibliography may be found in Rubiera Mata, “Bibliografía.” In the last decade, various aspects of the history of the Moriscos have met vivid interest among North American scholars such as Karoline P. Cook, Patrick J. O’Banion, Olivia Remie Constable, and Mayte Green-Mercado.
17. Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 55; Lafleur, “Protestants.”
18. Peyrat, *Histoire*, 437–39; Moreil, “Bâville,” 158.
19. Ruymbeke and Sparks, *Memory*; Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*.
20. Basic reading: Smith, *Colonists*; Coldham, *Emigrants*.
21. Beier, *Masterless Men*.
22. Ekirch, *America*; Reimers, *Strangers*, 7; Bailey, “Introduction,” 16; Forster, “Convicts,” 259. Some authors estimate lower figures around thirty thousand (see, for example, McLynn, *Crime*, 286).
23. Maxwell-Stewart, “Convict Labour,” especially 176–96.
24. For an overview, see Marboe, *Aufbruch*, 272–93; for details, see Masselman, *Cradle*.
25. See Milton, *Nutmeg*.
26. Linton, “Asia,” 75–76.
27. Pan, *Sons*, 26.
28. Lincoln, *Conquest*, 164–65.
29. Todorova, “Legacy,” 63.
30. Barkan, “Les deportations”; Hacker, “Sürgün System,” 1–65; Hooper, “Forced Population Transfers.”
31. See Asmussen, *Brüder*, 31.
32. Hacker, “Sürgün System,” 3.
33. See Steiner, *Rückkehr*, 103–7.
34. R. I. Moore coined this term, which originally referred to medieval heresy (see Moore, *Society*).
35. Roth, *Prisons*, 83.
36. Bender, *Angola*, 60.
37. See Penn, “Robben Island.”
38. Edelmayer, “Beziehungen”; “Einheit.”
39. Steiner, *Rückkehr*, 113–58; Bracewell, *Uskoks*.
40. O’Reilly, “Lost Chances,” 65.
41. Capra, “Zentralbehörden.”

42. See glossary for explanation of this term.
43. Steiner, "Transmigration," 331–60.
44. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ital. Depart. rote Nr. 203 (19331), fol. 641–652, Report, June 12, 1736.
45. Till, "Ansiedlung"; Alcoberro, "Lexili austriacista."
46. Krauss, "Deportation"; Steiner, *Rückkehr*, 415–23.
47. Steiner, *Rückkehr*, 425–41; "Schwarmegeist."
48. Scheutz, "Kolonie."
49. Geertz, "Description."
50. See, for example, Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, NHK Kaale Ö, Akten 1760, Zivil- und Kriminalprozesse, Zucht- und Arbeitshäuser (Faszikulatur 28), 1762–1765.06, fol. 724–740. Similar lists can be found all over the documents in Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, NHK Banater Akten.
51. See numerous examples in Steiner, *Rückkehr*, passim, and *Reisen*, passim.
52. For an overview on critical debates about "lordship" and "subjects," see Brakensiek, "Akzeptanzorientierte Herrschaft."

CHAPTER 2

1. Wolf, "Banat," 903–32; Kallbrunner, *Banat*; Veichtlbauer, *Kolonie*.
2. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 17, March 1747, fol. 91^v, *Summarischer extract*.
3. Beck, *Geschichtsbücher*, 146.
4. Maasburg, *Galeerenstrafe*, 6; Valentinitich, "Galeerenstrafe," 343–44.
5. Maasburg, *Galeerenstrafe*, 7–11.
6. Maasburg, *Strafe*; Macho, *Joseph II.*
7. Rothenberg, *Austrian Military Border*; Kaser, *Freier Bauer*.
8. Valentinitich, "Galeerenstrafe," 348–63.
9. An overview on the current state of research is presented in Hammer-Luza, *Arrest*, 15–19. Among seminal studies are Stekl, *Zucht- und Arbeitshäuser*; Ammerer and Weiß, *Strafe*.
10. Becher, *Discurs*, 647–49.
11. Ammerer, "Zucht- und Arbeitshäuser," 8–9.
12. Schünemann, *Bevölkerungspolitik*, 78 gives a total of 3,130 people, which in light of some additional lists that Schünemann did not consult, seems a bit too low.
13. Schünemann, "Wasserschub"; Steiner, *Rückkehr*, 214–74.
14. Podewils, *Friedrich der Große*, 114–15; Khevenhüller-Metsch, *Zeit*, 202; Bibl, *Polizei*, 207; Trupp, *Keuschheitskommission*.
15. Casanova, *History*, 222–24.
16. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 16, March 1746, fol. 95–96, Table.
17. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 16, March 1746, fol. 95–97, Table; Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 32, July 1752, fol. 30^v–33^r.

18. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 16, May 1746, fol. 1–4, File, May 1746.
19. See glossary for an explanation of why this term, despite its problematic nature, is kept in the context of this essay.
20. See, for example, *Wienerisches Diarium* 37 (1765) or *Wienerisches Diarium* 41 (1768).
21. A concept version of the whole report can be found in Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Habsburg-Lothringisches Familienarchiv, Hofreisen, Carton 2, fol. 269^v–284^r.
22. The early modern archival material concerning the Viennese workhouse is sparse. For an overview see Scheutz, “Hoc disciplinarium.”
23. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Jüngere BA, Nr. 172, fol. 850–863 and 866, File, December 4, 1762.
24. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Jüngere BA, Nr. 172, fol. 311, File, January 6, 1759, and fol. 427, File, May 19, 1759. Between 1752 and 1764, ninety-three cases of torture are documented. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, BA in publico-contentiosis, Nr. 61, 1765, fol. 121–156, Digest, February 11, 1764.
25. Schünemann, “Wasserschub,” 212–14 summarizes a meanwhile lost original document, which must have been the final version of the concept version mentioned in endnote 27.
26. Prostitutes were deported from Vienna beyond this date, in these cases using a Croatian fort and a Hungarian penitentiary as detention places for the unwanted. Schrank, *Prostitution*, 162.
27. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Habsburg-Lothringisches Familienarchiv, Hofreisen, Karton 2, fol. 269^v–284^r.
28. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 45, Oktober 1754, fol. 188–194, Undated specification.
29. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 48, März 1755, fol. 260^v, Account, February 15, 1755.
30. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 33, Oktober 1752, fol. 335, Letter, October 19, 1752.
31. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Jüngere BA, Nr. 172, fol. 1061, Letter, August 14, 1765.
32. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 33, September 1752, fol. 330, Letter, September 30, 1752.
33. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 37, April 1753, fol. 345 and 348, Letter, March 2, 1753.
34. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 37, April 1753, fol. 346, Undated supplication.
35. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 37, April 1753, fol. 344, Letter, April 23, 1753.
36. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 42, Januar 1754, fol. 111–112, Letter, January 20, 1754.
37. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 42, Februar 1754, fol. 110, Letter, February 8, 1754.
38. See, for example, Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Jüngere BA, Nr. 172, fol. 81, Letter, January

- 7, 1758; fol. 70, Letter, December 17, 1757. On Joseph II and his treatment of supplications, see Beales, “Joseph II,” 249–68.
39. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 45, September 1754, fol. 156, Undated letter.
40. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 45, September 1754, fol. 154, Letter, August 25, 1754; Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 45, September 1754, fol. 155, Undated note; Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 45, September 1754, fol. 155, Undated note.
41. Hochedlinger, “Maria-Theresianische Staatsreform,” 558–59.
42. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 45, September 1754, fol. 153, Letter, September 10, 1754.
43. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 46, Dezember 1754, fol. 398, Letter, December 24, 1754.
44. On August 5, 1765, the marriage took place at Saint Jacob’s Church in Innsbruck. See Wandruszka, *Leopold II.*, vol. 1, 61 and 106–9.
45. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, BA in publico-contentiosis, Nr. 61, 1765, fol. 191, Letter, August 16, 1765.
46. Such cases can be found in Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, BA in publico-contentiosis, Nr. 59, fol. 395–97; Nr. 61, 1764, fol. 31–32 and 51–52; fol. 54; 1765, fol. 33–34; Nr. 62, 1772, fol. 274.
47. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, BA in publico-contentiosis, Nr. 61, 1759, fol. 221, Letter, September 12, 1759.
48. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, BA in publico-contentiosis, Nr. 61, 1759, fol. 169–71.
49. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 32, Juli 1752, fol. 49 and 52, Letter, July 7, 1752.
50. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Jüngere BA, Nr. 172, fol. 1044–1045, Letter, July 30, 1765, and undated chart.
51. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, BA in publico-contentiosis, Nr. 61, 1762, fol. 52, Letter, February 16, 1762.
52. Detailed cash-based accounting from the beginning of the nineteenth century shows an enormous imbalance of earnings and expenses. Scheutz, “Hoc disciplinarium,” 82–85.
53. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 16, March 1746, fol. 88–90, File, March 30, 1746, and Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 16, March 1746, fol. 91–92.
54. Two of the many examples can be found in Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Jüngere BA, Nr. 172, fol. 775, Extract, March 10, 1762, and fol. 766^v, File, April 25, 1762.
55. Petri, “Das kaiserliche Banat,” 21–31.
56. See Elias and Scotson, *Established*. This model was first applied to Habsburg deportees in Beer, “Benehmen.”
57. Schünemann, *Bevölkerungspolitik*, 88. A question of tremendous interest remains a matter of future research and can only be mentioned here: Did the *Wasserschub* copy know-how acquired in the course of the transport of free settlers or were, reversely, the treks of voluntary colonists affected by the doctrines of deportation?

CHAPTER 3

1. Foucault, "Questions," 100–103. This interview was based on roundtable commentaries that Foucault extensively recast for print.
2. See, for example, Detlef Brandes, who, in a typically apodictic and completely unjustified manner, states, "Flight, exchange, removal and deportation of ethnic-religious groups in the South-east of Europe began and ended with the 20th century." Brandes, *Jahrhundert*, 3.
3. Among the few exceptions: Rieber, *Population Transfers*, 1–27.
4. Steiner, *Rückkehr*.
5. On the history of the territory, see Wolf, "Banat," 903–32. On the historiography, see Boçşan, "Geschichtsschreibung," 81–100.
6. Seewann, "[Encyclopedia entry *Mercy*]," 159.
7. On the history of the two institutions, see the respective chapters in Hochedlinger, Maťa, and Winkelbauer, *Verwaltungsgeschichte*, vol. 1/2, especially 663–75 and 825–55.
8. On the organizational structures of the Banat, see Kallbrunner, *Banat*; Mraz, "Einrichtung"; Feneşan, *Administrație*; Jordan, *Wirtschaftspolitik*.
9. See Kallbrunner, *Banat*, 14–37 and 44–74.
10. Roider, "Reform," 315; O'Reilly, "Divide," 78. On economic policies, see Kallbrunner, "Geschichte"; Petri, "Banat."
11. Scheutz, "Institutionen."
12. Goffman, *Asylums*, 4.
13. Goffman, *Asylums*, 5–6.
14. See, for example, Frost and Maxwell-Stewart, *Chain Letters*; Maxwell-Stewart, *Hell's Gates*. The British Norfolk Island in the Pacific Ocean or Devil's Island off the coast of French Guiana were the epitome of this type of brutal penal colony.
15. Hechter, *Colonialism*; Pocock, *History*, 24–43; Netzloff, *Colonies*.
16. Vocolka, *Glanz*, 67. The model of internal colonialism has been introduced into Habsburg studies only regarding the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. See, for example, Komlosy, *Peripherien*, 55–78, and *Ungleichheiten*, 97. From a postcolonial point of view: Feichtinger, Prutsch, and Csáky, *Habsburg*; Müller-Funk, Plener, and Ruthner, *Kakanien*.
17. O'Reilly, "Divide," 82.
18. Ammerer and Weiß, *Strafe*. This abrogation did not affect martial law. In 1795, Emperor Francis II reintroduced the death penalty.
19. See, for example, the fervent "opinions" that Emperor Joseph II held against deportation and presented to the *Staatsrat*, the highest council in the Habsburg government. Vienna, ÖSTA, HHStA, Habsburg-Lothringisches Familienarchiv, Hofreisen, Carton 2, fol. 269^v–284^r.
20. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Habsburg-Lothringisches Familienarchiv, Hofreisen, Carton 2, fol. 138^v–139^r, "Militaria."

21. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Habsburg-Lothringisches Familienarchiv, Hofreisen, Carton 2, fol. 269^v–284^r.
22. See Palmer, *Age*, vol. 2, 310–17.
23. Butti, “Deportati”; Rava, *Persecuzioni*; Steiner, *Rückkehr*, 23–28 and 531.
24. Apostoli, *Lettere*.
25. The oldest pamphlet of this kind is a satirical broadside called *Botany Bay Song, Sung at the Anacreontic Society* (kept in the collections of the British Library). It presents politicians as perfect candidates for transportation; see Garvey, “Folkalising.”
26. Carpi, *Deportati*; Lemmi, “Storia.”
27. Gianola, *Deportati*, 3–4.
28. Hughes, *Crime*.
29. Vajna, *Hazai régi büntetések*, 473–78.
30. Fenner von Fenneberg, *Geschichte*, VII–VIII.
31. Kletecka, *Protokolle*, 226–27.
32. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Länderabteilungen, Österreichischer Reichstag 1848–1849, Karton 85 VIII. Interpellationen, fol. 177–188. Partly published in N.N., “Oesterreichische Monarchie.”
33. A good bibliographical overview can be found in Holtzendorff, *Deportation*, 573–76. See also Steiner, *Rückkehr*, 51–54.
34. The Janus-faced nature of this undertaking is mirrored in the list of participants, which on the one hand included Captain Bernhard von Wüllerstorff-Urbair, a vice admiral and, in his later life, Austrian imperial minister of trade, and on the other hand a crew of scientists, headed by the eminent Viennese naturalist Georg von Frauenfeld.
35. The following paragraphs owe greatly to the pioneering study Reiter, “Strafkolonien.”
36. Scherzer, *Reise*, 277–90; Wüllerstorff-Urbair, *Schriften*, 178–207.
37. Scherzer, *Reise*, 277–90. Scherzer announced more extensive research into the subject, which does not seem to have been realized. See Reiter, “Strafkolonien,” 792–802 for a detailed summary of Scherzer’s thoughts.
38. Scherzer, *Reise*, 277–90.
39. Scherzer mentions such a contract signed in 1836 between the city of Hamburg and agents of the Australian Agricultural Association, which did not come to fruition.
40. Weiss and Schilddorfer, *Novara*.
41. Nicholas and Shergold, “Transportation,” 36.
42. Tallack, *Principles*, 194.
43. [Pichl], *Schönerer*, 149.
44. Reiter, “Strafkolonien,” 803–14.
45. Among them: German South West Africa, German West Africa, and German East Africa, as well as German New Guinea, which had the status of a protectorate.
46. Gross, “Deportationsfrage,” 70–71.

47. The Graz School of Criminology played an important role in establishing criminology as a discipline; Graz was also the first place in Europe in which a University institute dedicated to this subject was founded. See Bachhiesl, "Grazer Schule."
48. Gross, "Deportationsfrage," 64–71.
49. Gross, 71.
50. Gross, 71.
51. Hoegel, *Straffälligkeit und Strafzumessung*, 171–72.
52. Hoegel, *Straffälligkeit wegen Arbeitsscheu*, 213.
53. Rother, *Gewalt*, 60.
54. Gross, "Degeneration."
55. Heindl, *Reise*.
56. Kafka, *Strafkolonie*; Rother, "Damen."

CHAPTER 4

1. Hobsbawm, *Rebels*.
2. Beik, "Popular Protest," 9.
3. Beik, "Popular Protest," 9.
4. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*.
5. Coreth, *Pietas*; Scheutz, "Kniefall," 250.
6. See glossary for explanation of this term.
7. Weigl, "Entwicklung," 69. This estimation excludes the estates in Italy and the Netherlands.
8. Vocelka, *Österreichische Geschichte*, 43.
9. Dolinar, Liebmann, Rumpler, and Tavano, *Reform*.
10. Krawarik, *Exul*, 140–93.
11. Dresden, HStA, 10025 Geheimes Konsilium Loc. 04995/01, fol. 412^r; edited in Faber, *Staats = Cantzley*, 121–22.
12. Dresden, HStA, 10025 Geheimes Konsilium Loc. 04995/01, fol. 413–414; edited in Faber, *Staats = Cantzley*, 123–25.
13. See Behrisch, "Empowering Comparisons."
14. In 2003, I introduced this term in my PhD thesis, which has been published under the title "Reisen ohne Wiederkehr."
15. Dedic, *Geheimprotestantismus*; Koller-Neumann, "Protestantismus"; Tropper, *Glut*; Steiner, *Reisen*, 26–27.
16. Under such circumstances, even blatant absurdities became reality, such as Carinthian Jesuits, who backed their heretic subjects as long as they were duly paying their taxes. Koller-Neumann, "Protestantismus."
17. Marsch, *Bildern*; Zaisberger, *Reformation*; Walker, *Salzburg Transaction*; Walz, "Ansiedlung."

18. Klagenfurt, KLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Fasz. 86/155, Religionsverhöre 1711–1769, Second exam, Christoph Lagler, May 29, 1733. For more about literate farmers as the fundament for a “rural Enlightenment,” see Steiner, “Herrgottswinkel.”
19. At the beginning of my studies, I thought that this extraordinary document had only survived in a transcript from the nineteenth century, whose provenance was rather obscure (see Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, “Geschichte,” 510–11); sometimes I even doubted whether it had existed at all. But what must have been a draft version of this document later surfaced as a chance find in Klagenfurt, KLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, 89/159 Verordnungen in Religionsachen 1708–1748, fol. 25–26.
20. Beik, “Popular Protest,” 16.
21. It might be noteworthy that the formula “to interpret the Word of God purely, without any human addition,” which originally was Luther’s creation, was also used in the “Twelve Articles” that circulated in the German Peasants’ War of 1525. Perhaps the authorities remembered these contexts.
22. Klagenfurt, KLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, 89/159 Verordnungen in Religionsachen 1708–1748, Fasz. 89/159 Verordnungen in Religionsachen 1708–1748, fol. 26.
23. Steiner, *Reisen*, 142–44.
24. Nowotny, *Transmigration*; Dedic, *Geheimprotestantismus*; Buchinger, “*Landler*”; Knall, *Heimat*.
25. For the prehistory of this exceptional constellation, see Zach, “Motive,” 77.
26. Beik, “Popular Protest,” 16.
27. Hufton, *Prospect*, 458–86.
28. Farge, *Protesters*, 497.
29. In Steiner, *Reisen* I mentioned just three more transports. But new sources document that there were two more. See Klagenfurt, KLA, Handschriften des Familienarchivs Goëss A 40, fol. 194^r–197^r, Undated list. I am thankful to Peter Goëss, who permitted access to his family archive.
30. Reissenberger, “Corpus”; Wolff, *Corpus*; Haug-Moritz, “Corpus.”
31. Beer, “Benehmen”; Steiner, *Reisen*, 309–33.
32. Küppers-Braun, “Kinder,” 213–29.
33. Tropper, *Glut* presents an abundance of hitherto disregarded documents; much more can still be expected from further in-depth research of regional archives.
34. Sedler, *Landler*.
35. Klagenfurt, KLA, Repräsentation und Kammer – Landeshauptmannschaft (Lad-akten) 1747–1782, Fasz. 109 Missions- und Religionswesen, Ältere Akten, fol. 30^r, Remarks, February 29, 1752.
36. The line of ancestors starts with Gerhard Gottlieb Günther Göcking, who was a Lutheran pastor and the earliest chronicler of the expulsion from Salzburg (Göcking, *Emigrations-Geschichte*). As early as in the 1730s, Bernhard Raupach, who was likewise a Lutheran cleric, collected and published source material regarding Underground

Protestantism in Austria (Raupach, *Oesterreich*). In the twentieth century, Paul Dedic (1890–1950), whose books and articles on the topic are indispensable and still consulted, was a Lutheran pastor just like Gerhard Florey (1897–1996) (Dedic, *Geheimprotestantismus*; Florey, *Geschichte*). Oskar Sakrausky (1914–2006) was a Lutheran bishop (Sakrausky, *Agoritschach*). Among those who published their research results or deliberations in more recent years, Dieter Knall (1930–2019) was a Lutheran bishop, Gustav Reingrabner (b. 1936) is a superintendent emeritus, and Rudolf Leeb (b. 1958) is a Protestant church historian (Knall, *Heimat*; Reingrabner, *Protestanten*; Leeb, Scheutz, and Weikl, *Geheimprotestantismus*; Leeb, Pils, and Winkelbauer, *Staatsmacht*).

37. Reingrabner, *Protestanten*, 162. In 1981 the *Evangelische Oberkirchenrat* approbated this book as official teaching material.
38. Steiner, *Reisen*, 194.
39. Klagenfurt, KLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Fasz. 86/155 Religionsverhöre 1711–1769, Sträzä Relligions prothocoll (entry August 7, 1734); Fasz. 86/155 Religionsverhöre 1711–1769, Sträzä Relligions prothocoll (undated entry, before September 2, 1734); Hs. 376 Religionsprothocoll und Korrespondenzen 1734–1738, Letter, August 20, 1734.
40. Klagenfurt, KLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Hs. 376 Religionsprothocoll und Korrespondenzen 1734–1738, Report, September 24, 1734.
41. Klagenfurt, KLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Hs. 376 Religionsprothocoll und Korrespondenzen 1734–1738, Report, September 24, 1734; Fasz. 86/155 Religionsverhöre 1711–1769, Sträzä Relligionsprothocoll (undated entry, after September 21, 1734).
42. Klagenfurt, KLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Fasz. 86/155 Religionsverhöre 1711–1769, concept version of a Religionsprotokoll 1734–1736 (Inquisition April 4, 1736).
43. Klagenfurt, KLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Fasz. 88/158 Korrespondenz des Pflagamtes Paternion in Religionssachen 1702–1770, Letter, July 5, 1736.
44. In 1781 the Patent of Toleration was passed, which to a certain extent legalized Protestantism. If a required quorum of parish members was reached, if prayer rooms were not visible as such from the outside, if no church towers were built, if the Catholic priests were not touched in their supremacy, then the state granted Protestant service and Protestant pastors. It wasn't until 1861 that Protestants were, at least from a legal point of view, completely equal to their Catholic neighbors.

CHAPTER 5

1. This chapter contains some paragraphs from an unpublished essay coauthored by Ute Küppers-Braun. I am thankful for her permission to use these passages.
2. On the concept of ego-documents: Dekker, “Ego-Dokumente”; Schulze, “Ego-Dokumente”; Beyer-Fröhlich, *Entwicklung*.
3. Vgl. Dekker, “Ego-Dokumente,” 34; Peters, *Pflug*, 9–14 and 304–8.

4. Supplications were usually drawn up with the help of professional writers or advisory literature and therefore only have an individual “core” in an extremely standardized “frame.”
5. Ulbrich, “Zeuginnen,” especially footnote 14. The appendix includes five edited letters from peasant women. Two more edited examples are in Ulbricht, “Supplikationen.”
6. See glossary for explanation of this term.
7. On the reading skills and habits of Underground Protestants, see Steiner, “Read” and Weikl, “Buch.”
8. An imperial resolution from August 1733 classified Protestant petitioners as public enemies and rabble-rousers (Dedic, *Geheimprotestantismus*, 83). Equally dangerous was the allegation of heresy, as it deprived the petitioners of protective clauses in the imperial law that only applied to Lutherans and Calvinists. See Steiner, *Reisen*, 110.
9. An overview of the relevant literature can be found in Steiner, *Reisen*, 13–20, and (especially concerning the increasing violence) in Steiner, *Rückkehr*, 243–98.
10. Among central studies are Nowotny, *Transmigration*; Dedic, *Geheimprotestantismus*; Buchinger, *Landler*; Knall, *Heimat*.
11. This number also includes a variety of letters that only indirectly derive from the *transmigration* context. As a side effect, these deportations instigated younger unmarried people to flee before they could be transported by the authorities. Most of these fugitives made their way to Regensburg, where they either delivered or drew up long reports on the situation in their home regions. These reports were often edited and set to print by learned diplomats and were thus corrupted in their character as individual letters. Although the blurry line between ego-documents and collectively written supplications is hard to discern in this case, quite a few of them are exceptional regarding their emotional disclosures.
12. The narrow range of source editions includes Sokoll, *Essex Pauper Letters* and Krauss, *Quellen*.
13. Klagenfurt, KLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Hs. 376 Religionsprothocoll and Korrespondenzen 1734–1738. Undated copy (recorded after the entry from October 14, 1734). The full text has been published and interpreted in Steiner, *Reisen*, 231. The original reads as follows: *Gott allein die ebr, muetter und schwester! Einen freündlichen grueß meinem lieben weib und künder und nachbarschaft, freündtschafft und gevatterschafft. Ich habe nicht können unterlassen, euch ein parr zeillen zurukhzuschreiben, wie es umb mich stebet, dan wür sein frisch und gesundt, gott sey lob. Auf unserer rais gehet guet, [...] der haubtmann hat gesagt, [...] döß weiber werdet auch bald hernachkommen. So bitt ich dich mein liebes weib, du wollest fleißig auf die künder achthaben und füehr sie mit dir alle. Thue meiner muetter auch postt schikken, dass sie auch mitthuet. Der haubtmann hat gesagt, sie wurden unß alles auszallen, so nimb das gelt mit und mein böstes gewandt [...]. Weiter weis ich nicht vill zu schreiben. [...] Gehabt euch woll, gott sey mit euch.*

14. Steiner, "Gegner."
15. Klagenfurt, KLA, Handschriften des Familienarchivs Goëss A 37, fol. 219, Undated letter. The original reads as follows: *Weither weiß ich nicht vill zu schreib[en], wür wissen nichts neües eüch nach hauße zu schreiben, nur gedult faset in eüern herzen und denket, daß Christus umb unser willen auch vill erlitten hat, und er spricht: wer mein Inger sein will, der nemme daß creüz auff sich und folge mier nach. Darumb ergebet eüch nur willig in das creüz, weill eß Gott aso haben will, und glaubt, daß Gott besser weiß, waf uns nuz seye. Er schikht alles zu unsern heill und seeligkeit. Er versuecht niemandt über sein vermögen, sondern schafft, daß die versuechung ein solches endt gewine, daß wür unß sein freyen und trösten. Darumb bleibet bestendig in eüern fürnehmen, dan wer die handt an pflueg leget uns sichtet zuruckh, der ist nicht tichtig zum reich Gottes, wier wollen auch nicht gleich sein deme sammen, welcher auf ein düres landt fahlet, und wan die hize kumbt, daß er verdoret, sondern dem, welcher auff einen guetten landt, und frucht bringen in gedult, dan bestendigkeit erhaltet die cron hie zeitlich und dorth dem gnadenlohn, darzu hilfft uns Gott vatter, sohn und h: geist. Amen.*
16. On the influence of Pietism on Austrian Protestantism in the eighteenth century, see Steiner, *Reich*.
17. Klagenfurt, KLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Fasz. 84/150, fol. 49–50, Emigranten in Oberösterreich, Nürnberg, Regensburg und Holland, Korrespondenz 1733–1769, Letter of Hans Liesinger, January 22, 1755. The full text has been published and interpreted in Steiner, *Reisen*, 311–12. The original reads as follows: [. . .] *ich schreib nicht zu catholischen, die den evangöli nicht glauben, sondern dem, die nur ein kleines liecht haben von der evangelischen warheit. [. . .] ihr heichler, die weill ihr wöder kalt nach warm seit, will ich euch in meinen munt nemen und ausspeien. [. . .] Ihr wisset, der wög der hinauffieret, ist schmalt und wenig seind, die ihn finden. So wanlet nun in dem liecht, dieweill ibrs habt, damit euch die finsternussen nicht gar unterdrukhen [. . .]. Es ist auch kein anderer wög als durch kreuz und leiden in das rauch der himmel. [. . .] Aber der herr hat mich ausgefert aus Babelon, und hat seinen engeln iber mich befelch gethan, dass sie mich begleitet haben zu wasser und zu lant [. . .] Ihr lieben, glaubet nicht einen jechlichen geist, sondern prifet die geister, ob sie von gott seint, es seint vill falsche prophäten ausgangen in die welt [. . .].*
18. *Evangelical Parallel New Testament*, 1587.
19. On the various forms of such missions, see Scheutz, "Seelenjäger." On special detention houses intended for re-Catholicization, see Scheutz, "Die 'fünfte Kolonne.'"
20. Küppers-Braun, "Kinder."
21. See, for example, Eder, *Eros*, 315.
22. Shorter, *Making*, 55.
23. Shorter, *Making*, 61.
24. Küppers-Braun, "Korrespondenz," 49–52.

25. Kremsmünster, Stiftsarchiv, XXI 2, Bündel 26/8: 1753–6/5 1755. The original reads as follows: *Gelobt sey Jesus Christus. Insonders villgeliebtes beyb, ich mache dir zu wissen, dass ich nimer nach hauß derfe [. . .]; derowegen mein liebes beib, ich bitte sich, komme du mibr nach mit unseren kleinen kinderen; wanst du mibr nachkomst mein lieber schaz, so will ich dich und unsere kleine kinder in ehren halten [. . .] und einen gutten mahn [Mann] erzeigen, dass du dich nicht sorgen derfest; und die herrschaft sagt mibr, wanst du wilst, so kanst du zu mibr kommen, sonst sehen mibr unser löbtag anein ander nimmer, weill ich nicht nach hauß derfe; und so du mibr nicht folgest, mein liebes weib, so kanst du das nicht verantworten; [. . .] mein liebes beib, ich hab schon vill zehre vor dich vergossen und wegen die kinder; ich bin betrieht wegen deiner, unserer kleinen kinderen; so du mibr nachkomest, so wirt es mit Gottes und Mariae hillf schon besser werden; mein libes weib, thue das ding recht betrachten. Jezt hast du noch die gelegene zeit, es kan noch einmahl ein zeit geben, dass du gehrn bei mibr werest, kan aber nimmer sein; ich bit dich, due du mein leben nicht abkirzen; Mitthin seit von mibr hundert tausend mahl schen gegrist und ich bin unkatholisch und du bist katholisch und warum solst du mibr nicht nachkommen.*
26. Tropper, “Bedeutung,” 100.
27. On Pietism, see Martin, “Speech.”
28. Klagenfurt, KLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Fasz. 84/151 Emigranten in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen, Korrespondenz 1754–1775, fol. 30–31, Letter of Christina Petak from January 28, 1769. The original reads as follows: *Liebwerter sohn! Ich lebe annoch der erfreulichen hoffnung, du werdest dich, nebst deinen zwey schwestern, weib und kindern, gesund und wollauf befinden, welches mich herzlich erfreuen soll [. . .]. Lieben kinder, die ich euch unter meinem herzen getragen, [. . .] die freude, die mir gott in anschauung eurer zarten jugend gegönet, ist durch dessen allzufrühzeitigen verlust in empfindlichere traurigkeit verwandelt worden. Und ob ich schon in dieser welt, die gnad, eur angesicht zu sehen, nicht überkommen könne, so lebe ich guter hoffnung und tröstlicher zuversicht, dass ich euch im jennem leben gewiß sehen werde und sagen möge: Herr, hir bin ich und die meinen, die du mir gegeben hast. Lieben kinder, weill aller menschen leben nichtig und flüchtig, habe ich ursachen den tod und dessen hernäherung zugedenken und zu meinem sterbstündlein gottseelig zu bereiten, damit aber solches umb so viel besser und ungehintert geschehen möchte [. . .], so will ich euch noch bey meinen leben [. . .] alles und jedes, schenk, schaff und vermache ich euch als meinen trey hinterlassen lieben kindern, als nemlich Andreas, Eva und Maria. Und will hiemit eine wohl edle herrschaft unterthänigst und umb gottes willen gebeten haben, mein etwan hin und herzerstreutes erbjudt [zu] sammeln und meinen armen verlassenen kindern dasselbe wider herzustellen und ihnen einzuhändigen. Wofür gott ein reicher vergelter seyn wird. Ferner muß ich noch mit beyfügen, dass ich mich stets unbässlich befinde und nach meinem tod euch niemanden mehr zueschreiben wird. Damit ihr aber, lieben kinder, wissen sollet, wann euer mutter gewiß todes verblichen, wird euch auf der post durch einen wechsl als*

*ein mütterliches, nemlich Floren fünfzig in harten Thallern bestehent, zugewoffen wer-
ten, welches ich euch als eine treue mutter zusahmengespart habe. Und dieses geld solt ihr
untereinander theilen, dass keines zu viel, noch zu wönig bekomme, und dieses soll euch
losung sein, dass ich gestorben bin.*

29. Earlier but more detailed research results may be found in Steiner, "Auf und Davon," and *Reisen*, 220, 230, 319, and 331–35. In these studies Christine Petak was mistakenly addressed as "Christina Pataki."
30. According to the Protestant parish registers of Pressburg (today's Bratislava), Christina married her second husband, Georg Petak, (who, interestingly, was the son of a Protestant preacher) on November 22, 1746. Their son Michael was born in 1747 and died in 1752; their other son Georg Mathias was born in 1749 and established a family of his own. Christina Petak died on February 20, 1772.
31. Klagenfurt, KLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Fasz. 84/151 Emigranten in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen, Korrespondenz 1754–1775, fol. 30–31, Letter, January 28, 1769. The original reads as follows: *Lieben kinder, die ich euch unter meinem herzen getragen, [...] die freude, die mir gott in anschauung eurer zarten jugend gegönnet, ist durch dessen allzufrühzeitigen verlust in empfindlichere traurigkeit verwandelt worden. Und ob ich schon in dieser welt, die gnad, eur angesicht zu sehen, nicht überkommen könne, so lebe ich guter hoffnung und tröstlicher zuversicht, dass ich euch im jennem leben gewiß sehen werde und sagen möge: Herr, hir bin ich und die meinen, die du mir gegeben hast.*
32. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Ungarn, Hungarica Specialia, Fasz. 360, Transylvanica separata 1750–1755, fol. 200–202, Letter, July 2, 1755.
33. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Ungarn, Hungarica Specialia, Fasz. 360, Transylvanica separata 1750–1755, fol. 186–189, Letter, July 16, 1755.
34. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Ungarn, Hungarica Specialia, Fasz. 361, Konv. A, Transylvanica separata 1756–1760, fol. 138, Letter, July 16, 1756.
35. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Ungarn, Hungarica Specialia, Fasz. 361, Konv. A, Transylvanica separata 1756–1760, fol. 134^v and 135, Letter, May 29, 1757.
36. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Ungarn, Hungarica Specialia, Fasz. 361, Konv. A, Transylvanica separata 1756–1760, fol. 164–165, Letter, June 9, 1757.
37. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Österreichische Akten, Kärnten, Ktn. 10, Fasz. 14 Millstatt 1754–1763, fol. 150–151, Letter, July 11, 1755.
38. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Österreichische Akten, Kärnten, Ktn. 10, Fasz. 14 Millstatt 1754–1763, fol. 55, Letter, May 4, 1755.
39. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Österreichische Akten, Kärnten, Ktn. 10, Fasz. 14 Millstatt 1754–1763, fol. 57–58, Letter, May 7, 1755. A little later, however, they withdrew their request (*ibid.*, fol. 137–138, Letter, August 4, 1755) and a long process of swaying began. In 1761 the two women finally decided to leave for Transylvania (*ibid.*, fol. 309 and 314, Letter, September 15, 1761).
40. Among such collections are Faber, *Staats = Cantzley* and Schauroth, *Sammlung*.

41. A wonderful example of such an apology can be found in Faber, *Staats = Cantzley*, 121–39.
42. “Among the rural population (and not only there) writing was considered to be menial work. The same applied to having documents written: it was a service that was usually not lavishly rewarded. [...] This explains why even simple, needy supplicants could afford the help of a clerk, whether professional or not. One can assume that it was less of a dictation between the supplicant and the writer, but rather a summarizing of contents, which the writer then poured into the usual form.” Schunka, *Gäste*, 120.
43. Laslett, *World*.

CHAPTER 6

1. Louthan, *Quest*, 9.
2. See Ginzburg, *Threads*.
3. Steiner, *Reich*, is a detailed study on the topic.
4. Scheutz, “Kaiser”; Vocelka, “Katholizismus.”
5. Coreth, *Pietas*. English translation: Coreth, *Pietas*.
6. See glossary for explanation of this term.
7. Contemporary data suggests a span from two thousand to eight thousand people. See Steiner, *Reich*, 22–23.
8. Schnettger, “Wien.”
9. For an overview on privileged merchants, see Rauscher and Serles, “Niederleger.”
10. The most prominent among them was Friedrich Heinrich von Seckendorff, the successor to Prince Eugene as high commander (*Oberkommandant*) of the Habsburg army. See Schmalz, *Glaubenswelt*.
11. Mattingly, *Diplomacy*, 236.
12. Kaplan, “Diplomacy,” 345–46. Kaplan in this passage includes quotes from Mattingly, *Diplomacy*, 272 and 280–81.
13. Glafey, *Vernunfft = Und Völcker = Recht*, 260–61 (= bk. 6, chap. 8, no consecutive pagination).
14. Backerra, *Wien*, 412.
15. For a comprehensive overview on legislation regarding tolerance in the Habsburg Empire, see Barton, *Lichte*.
16. Some drafty information may be found in Rippel, “Gesandtschaftskapelle.”
17. For details on the Danish community, see Stubbe, *Gesandtschaftsgemeinde* and Chemnitz, *Nachrichten*.
18. All the hitherto known legation preachers in the Dutch embassy came from Switzerland, see Steiner, *Reich*, 57–58.
19. Johann Christian Lerche and Christian Kortholt became superintendents in Neustadt an der Aisch and Harste, respectively; Christoph Friedrich Tresenreuter acquired a position as principal of the academy in Altdorf.

20. Leibniz, *Epistolae*.
21. In the times of Maria Theresa, Johann Hieronymus Chemnitz (the Danish legation preacher who served in Vienna from 1757 to 1768) continued this scientific tradition, when he made a name for himself as a shell expert.
22. Scheutz, “Die ‘fünfte Kolonne’”; Scheutz, “Seelenjäger”; Steiner, *Rückkehr*, 243–98.
23. Jung, *Pietismus*, 4.
24. Liebau, Nehring, and Klosterberg, *Mission*.
25. Hundreds of such letters are edited in Csepregi, *Pietas*. This voluminous and extremely meritorious edition was one of the crucial sources for this chapter.
26. Kollonitsch, *GRAVAMINA*.
27. The quotes are taken from the 1737 print of the “Gravamina,” which is reprinted in Raupach, *Oesterreich*, appendix 261–68.
28. For a detailed depiction of these groups, see Scheutz, “Legalität.”
29. Rare hints to these “illegal” visitors can be found in Rigsarkivet København, 2-0522 Wien, diplomatisk repræsentation 1691–1865 Diverse sager, Pro Memoria without date (approx. May 1734); Tropper, *Glut*, 358; Scheutz, “Legalität,” 228.
30. Regarding conversions, see Scheutz, “Glaubenswechsel”; Peper, *Konversionen*.
31. One such case is documented in Rigsarkivet København, 2-0522 Wien, diplomatisk repræsentation 1691–1865 Diverse sager, Species facti, November 5, 1734.
32. One such case is documented in Halle, AFSt/H C 383:26 Johann Christian Lerche an Gotthilf August Francke, Vienna, June 14, 1732 (readable also as June 24) (= MF 60a).
33. Chemnitz, *Nachrichten*, 8.
34. Chemnitz, 9.
35. Pioneering studies by Lucien Febvre and Philippe Ariès emphasized that the social enforcement of individual consistency was typically late modern. See Ariès, “Geschichte,” 137–39.
36. Fürst Johann Leopold Donat Trautson (1659–1724) held important positions at the court of the emperor.
37. Christoph Nicolaus Voigt to August Hermann Francke, Vienna, March 2, 1714, printed in Csepregi, *Pietas*, 129.
38. Halle, AFSt/H A 168:3 Christoph Nikolaus Voigt to August Hermann Francke, Vienna, January 4, 1715. For a digitized version of the letter, see Franckesche Stiftungen, <https://digital.francke-halle.de/mod8/content/pageview/186068> (through to 186073). Accessed February 6, 2022.
39. Leopold Josef Graf Schlick (1663–1723) held the office in the period referred to.
40. Halle, AFSt/H A 168:3 Christoph Nikolaus Voigt to August Hermann Francke, Vienna, January 4, 1715.
41. Kollonitsch, *GRAVAMINA*, 5.
42. Berlin, SBB, Handschriftenabteilung, Nachlass August Hermann Francke 27/16:7 Gerhard Ernst v. Franckenau to Gotthilf August Francke, Vienna, June 24, 1733.

43. Johann Christian Lerche to Gotthilf August Francke, Neustadt/Aisch, December 9, 1733, printed in Csepregi, *Pietas*, 409.
44. This expression refers to a translation of the New Testament by Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (Ziegenbalg, *Biblia*). For a digitized version of the 1722 reprint, see Württembergische Landesbibliothek, <http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz405959931>. Accessed February 6, 2022.
45. Halle, AFSt/H A 168:97 Christoph Nikolaus Voigt to August Hermann Francke, Vienna, October 10, 1715.
46. McKay, *Prinz Eugen*, 191–92; Mraz, *Prinz Eugen*, 240; J. C. D. Clark, *Memoirs*, 26–27.
47. Adams, *Anecdotes*, 141.
48. Winter, *Barock*, 95.
49. Faak, *Leibniz*.
50. Christoph Nicolaus Voigt to August Hermann Francke, Vienna, April 7, 1714, printed in Csepregi, *Pietas*, 141.
51. Such a contact is documented in Hamburg, SUB, Cod. theol. 1745, fol. 466^v, Christoph Friedrich Tresenreuter to [Bernhard Raupach], Vienna, November 28, 1736.
52. Raupach, *Oesterreich*.
53. Hamburg, SUB, Cod. theol. 1745, fol. 302, Johannes Richey to [Bernhard Raupach], Frankfurt, May 17, 1734. Quotation marks are mine.
54. Kühnert, “Johann Christian Edelman”; Schaper, *Abschied*.
55. Edelman, *Selbstbiographie*, 76.
56. Edelman, 78–79.
57. Edelman, 94.
58. Edelman, 95.

CHAPTER 7

1. See glossary for explanation of why this term, despite its problematic nature, is kept in the context of this essay.
2. See glossary for explanation of this term.
3. The situation in Germany is slightly different, as at least some of the more elaborate studies are based on manorial records, e.g., Bott-Bodenhausen, *Sinti*; Fricke, *Zigeuner*; Opfermann, *Zigeuner-Habit*; id., *Zigeuner*. See also Härter, “Kriminalisierung” and *Policey*, 965–73.
4. Mayerhofer, *Dorfzigeuner*, 11–33; Repkö, “*Verfolgung*”; Kaiser, *Leben*.
5. Wutte, “Gerichtsgebräuche”; Ney, “Zigeunermädchen”; Cerny, “Criminal-Verfahrung.”
6. The quite detailed subject index of Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte*, for instance, does not include an entry regarding Gypsies.
7. Evans, *Werden*, 290–91, for instance, calls Gypsies—quite tellingly in a chapter on magic—the core group of vagabonds, and thereby totally neglects periods of integra-

tion and sedentarization. Evans, of all possible sources, refers to a French traveler who reported a half-naked band of hundreds of Gypsies that he allegedly saw on his travels through the Habsburg empire. The number given seems much too high, and the allusion to an animal-like state fits the cliché but cannot be regarded as representative at all.

8. Some archival material is provided in Ammerer, *Heimat*, 168–74; Scheutz, *Alltag*, 473. Very cursory: Just and Pils, *Entstehung*, 14–17.
9. The early sixteenth century Gypsy mandates for the Duchy of Styria, for example, had already been published in detail in the nineteenth century. Krones, “Patente,” 7–8, 17, 27, 35, 42–43, 50, 55, and 69.
10. Ginzburg, “Inquisitor,” 164. See also “Clues.”
11. Muir, “Introduction,” vii–xxviii.
12. Cerny, “Criminal-Verfahrung.”
13. A hangman’s detailed account has been published in Zahn, *Miscellen*, 363–64.
14. Early modern sources mention groups of Gypsies almost always either as “gangs” (*Zigeunerbande*, *Zigeunerbanda*, *Zigeunerrott*) or as “riffraff” (*Zigeunergesindel*).
15. Wutte, “Gerichtsgebräuche.”
16. Ney, “Zigeunermädchen.”
17. Detailed information about the history and nature of this seignory can be found in Steiner, *Reisen*, 31–85.
18. The source material for this trial can be found in a voluminous manuscript in Klagenfurt, KLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Hs. 166 Kriminalprozess Lang, Zigeuner 1711. An outline of the events was first presented in Wutte, “Gerichtsgebräuche.”
19. See Steiner, *Reisen*, 60–65.
20. Research in the manorial archives has so far not led to any results concerning this trial from the late seventeenth century.
21. Respective documents can be found in the Styrian provincial archives: a report on the events that led to the conviction also containing the detailed description of the physical traits of the delinquents (Graz, StLA, IÖ Reg., Cop 1711-V-67, Report, May 2, 1711, and Resolution May 8, 1711); a bill of charges from the jury (Graz, StLA, Familienarchiv Saurau, K. 169, H. 1653, accounts of judges in the regional court of Wolkenstein 1696–1802: account of June 13, 1711); and a list of expenses for the carpenters involved in the execution (Graz, StLA, Familienarchiv Saurau, K. 171, H. 1688, accounts of judges and juries in the regional court of Wolkenstein 1690–1778: account July 10, 1711). The list of the executioner’s expenses has been published in Zahn, *Miscellen*.
22. Sarman, “Hexenrichter.” An inventory that lists close to three hundred trials, which Georg Wolfgang von Tschabueschnig conducted, explicitly mentions four cases against Gypsies and seven more against unspecified vagrants; the covered time span of these events is 1724 to 1736 (Klagenfurt, KLA, Ständisches Archiv, C Akten, Abt. I, Sch. 411 Verschiedene Verlassenschaftsinventare [1683–1757], Inventar, Dr. Georg

- Wolfgang Tschabueschnigg, 1740). Although the author of this essay has conducted research on the mentioned Gypsy cases, no related archival material could be discovered so far.
23. See Dülmen, *Theater*.
 24. Smollett, *Works*, 409.
 25. V[alentinitisch], “Hexenstuhl”; Sarman, “Hexenrichter,” 148–49; Sabitzer, “Zaubererstuhl.”
 26. Byloff, “Hexenstuhl,” 58.
 27. Sarman, “Hexenrichter,” 148.
 28. No reference to so interesting a practice has been found in the literature on folk customs so far.
 29. Named after the advocate François Gayot de Pitaval, who between 1734 and 1743 published a series of “celebrated cases.” English selection: Pitaval, *Collection*.
 30. For the notion of Orientalism, see Said, *Orientalism*.
 31. Christine Tropper (at this writing, archivist at KLA), who after many years of work in the Catholic Diocesan Archive in Klagenfurt (*Archiv der Diözese Gurk*) has distinguished knowledge of the Carinthian church registers, has attested to this fact. Entries in German church books are different, as they record Gypsies as a distinct category.
 32. The so-called *carnioli* or *carniolae* were of Slavic descent, had their permanent homes in Carniola (*Krain*), and went to Carinthia for seasonal work. In the church books, the priests mentioned their status explicitly.
 33. Kallenberg, *Land-Läuffern*, 21–23.
 34. In her study on slavery in early modern Louisiana, Sophie White has beautifully shown how careful “listening” to the extemporizing of marginalized groups before the courts enables substantial changes in historiographical perspectives. White, *Voices*.
 35. “Vulgo” stands for “commonly known as” and in the rural context was also used for naming the house that belonged to a farmer. Up until the eighteenth century, these “vulgo-names” were interchangeable with the family name, which often leads to confusion regarding entries in the church books.
 36. Comparative examples can be found in Opfermann, *Ziegeuner*, 66 and 77. Mróz, *Presence*, 182 presents some contrasting examples with Gypsies exclusively using names that were common in the majority population.
 37. For their medieval roots, see Groebner, *Schein*.
 38. This quote is from what is most probably the single remaining copy of *Des I. Oe. Hertzogthumbs Steyermark MANIFEST*, which is kept in Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Sondersammlungen (no. 34556).
 39. As above.
 40. As above.
 41. H[errenleben], *Sammlung*, 495–96. Seventeen years later, Joseph I’s successor, Charles VI,

- even extended the circle of delinquents: now also people from the majority population who accommodated Gypsies could be beheaded. Makarewicz, "Genesis," 508.
42. Klagenfurt, KLA, GV-Hs. 5/16 Familienbuch derer von Aineth, fol. 17^r.
 43. See, for example, Opfermann, *Zigeuner*, 273–79 and Mróz, *Presence*, 275.
 44. Only a photo of two pages of the print remains. It can be viewed on <https://druckmuseum.elis-management.com/druck-steiermark.htm>.
 45. As above.
 46. Similar ideas about the purification of societies were also driving forces in witch trials. See Briggs, *Witches*, 324.
 47. For German publications of such kind, see note 3.
 48. In 2019, in a topical issue of the journal *Frühneuzeit-Info*, I presented eight articles of researchers from Norway, Great Britain, Germany, Spain, Hungary, and Austria, who base their studies on archival or pictorial documents (Minken, "Identity"; Cressy, "Gypsy Voices"; Bell and Suckow, "Reigen"; Aresu, "Gypsies"; Opfermann, "Sinti"; Fricke, "Begleitumstände"; Nagy, "Roma"; Steiner, "Pens"). See also the introduction to the issue: Steiner, "Ad fontes." When I launched a call for papers during the preliminary stages of the project, it was interesting and revealing to realize that there was not a single response. It seems that the strict demand for archival sources as the sole base for reflection repelled researchers.

CHAPTER 8

1. Sachs, "Faßnacht-spil," 21.
2. Tacitus, *Dialogus*, 244–45.
3. Simmel, *Sociology*, 601.
4. See glossary for an explanation of why this term, despite its problematic nature, is kept in the context of this essay.
5. Hadziavdic, "Gypsies" presents a critical response to Simmel's concepts.
6. See glossary for an explanation of the complicated nature of this term.
7. See glossary for an explanation of the complicated nature of this term.
8. "Eradication of Gypsies" (*Zigeunerausrottung*) was indeed the phrase the authorities used in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when they were asking for an increasingly drastic solution to the "Gypsy scourge."
9. Meier, *Umgang*.
10. Bogdal, *Europa* approaches this ambivalence from a cultural studies point of view and as a literary motive.
11. Luther, for instance, accused them of celebrating one and the same baptism or wedding several times, thereby betraying Christians and excluding themselves from the congregations. See Breß, "Zigeuner," 141.
12. Gypsies who settled down and assimilated most obviously disappeared from the rec-

- ords as such. Sometimes only the surnames—*Czygan*, *Cikan*, *Zigeuner*, etc.—survived as possible reminders of a Gypsy parentage. See Mróz, *Presence*, 46.
13. Grellmann, *Dissertation*. For Grellman's career and his specific ways of conceptualizing Gypsies, see Willems, *Gypsy*, 22–92.
 14. Grellmann, *Dissertation*, 73–74.
 15. Kemp, "Century," 497–98 presents a list of examples from antiquity to the early modern period.
 16. Tai, "Spics," 578.
 17. Carnicer and Marcos, *Espías*, 13; Gürkan, "Efficacy."
 18. Anklam, "Spionage," col. 362–63.
 19. An introductory bibliography can be found in Gürkan, *Espías*.
 20. Žontar, *Obveščevalna služba*; Gürkan, *Espionage*. Although Gürkan focuses on the Spanish Habsburg kingdom and its conflict with the Ottoman Empire, the description of espionage of the latter is also very informative for the context of this article.
 21. Gronemeyer, *Zigeuner*, 18.
 22. Regener, "Mär," 8.
 23. Hassler, *Evagatorium*, 472–73.
 24. Modon (Methoni) was a Venetian colony on the Greek mainland, which was often identified with "Little Egypt," a place that some of the first groups of Gypsies who arrived in Europe claimed to have come from. The term "Gypsies" stems from this context.
 25. Groote, *Pilgerfahrt*, 68. An English translation of the respective passage can be found in Fraser, *Gypsies*, 54.
 26. Röhricht, "Jerusalemfahrt," 1–2.
 27. Reemtsma, *Sinti*, 36.
 28. Gronemeyer, *Zigeuner*, 88; Treiber, *Disputatio*, 41, gives the Latin equivalents as "exploratores," "renunciatores," and "proditores."
 29. Khevenhüller, *Annales*, 9.
 30. Hanzal, *Cikáni*, 29–38 relates the long and complicated story.
 31. E.g., Pilarz and Moravetz, *Moraviae historia politica*; Gebhardi, *Geschichte*, 140–41.
 32. Ágoston, "Information," 88–89 (italics in the original).
 33. Jews were another minority group that "fired Christians' imaginations" about espionage, see Jütte, *Age*, 60–65.
 34. Hanzal, "Otázce," 333. In this context it seems noteworthy that Gypsies, due to a misconception about their origins, were—and in Sweden and Norway, still are—called Tatars.
 35. On the iconography of Gypsies in art, see Anzelewsky, *Dürer-Studien*, 57–65; Bell and Suckow, "Lebenslinien" and, "Reigen"; Pokorny, "Zigeunerbild."
 36. Over time, this expression also became a toponym. See Pischel, "Home," 298–99.
 37. Gypsies were not the only addressees of warning signs. In several regions, they also

- aimed at “detering” beggars, namely “begging jews” (*Betteljuden*) and poachers. See Van Faassen, “Ab- und Ausweisung,” 423; Weingarten, *Codex*, 711–12.
38. Graz, Universalmuseum Joanneum, Zigeunertafel, Inventory number 35.867.
 39. Fricke, *Zigeuner*, 208.
 40. Andree, “Zigeunerwarnungstafeln” and “Warning-Placards”; Brepohl, “Zigeuner,” 155–56; Faassen, “Ab- und Ausweisung,” 420.
 41. Fricke, “Zigeuner,” 206–7.
 42. Without any further proof, Angus Fraser insinuates an origin of such warning signs in the Netherlands: Fraser, *Gypsies*, 148.
 43. Opfermann, “Ziegeuner,” 142. Opfermann is referring to Scotti, *Sammlung*, 586.
 44. Ploman, *Disputatio*, 1–2.
 45. Opfermann, “Zigeuner-Habit,” 40; Frank, “Anordnungen,” 98; Reiter, *Sinti*, 21; Hartinger, “Zigeuner,” 850; Härter, *Gesetzgebungsprozeß*, 18.
 46. Mylius, *Theil*, IV. Abt., 287. Carpzov, *Analecta*, 313 mentions another example of this kind.
 47. Brno, MZAB, B 1 Gubernium, k. 2181, sign. Z 10, fol. 827^v, Order, January 7, 1710; Kappen, “Edict,” 120. Regarding the persecution of Gypsies in the Bohemian countries, see Himl, “Sesshaft gemacht.”
 48. Brno, MZAB, A 8 Zemská registratura, k. 1134, sign. Z 1, fol. 16^r, printed resolution October 1, 1717.
 49. Opava, ZAO, Němečtí rytíři, ústřední správa velmistrovských statků na Moravě a ve Slezsku, Bruntál, inv. č. 154, kart. 2, rubr. 1, fasc. 11, Patent, April 19, 1708. Full text in transcription: Hanzal, “Otázce,” 340–41.
 50. Hanzal, “Otázce,” 336 quotes Brno, MZAB, B 17 Místodržitelství. Patenty 1628–1880, sign. Z 1 *Circular* September 6, 1709.
 51. Brno, MZAB, B 1 Gubernium, k. 2181, sign. Z 10, fol. 827^v and 828^r, Order January 7, 1710.
 52. Prague, NA, Nová manipulace, sign. P 2/2, kart. 579, June 23, 1706. Quoted in Himl, *Zrození*, 147.
 53. See glossary for explanation of this term.
 54. Graz, StLA, Patente und Kurrenden, 1714-VIII-9, K. 81.
 55. Klagenfurt, KLA, Kurrenden und Patente, Landesfürstliche Patente, Fasz. 1, Patent, December 27, 1717.
 56. H[errenleben], *Sammlung*, 997.
 57. H[errenleben], *Sammlung*, 104.
 58. Kappen, “Prague edict,” 117 insinuates that the 1710 decree was also valid for Hungary, which is not backed by its wording.
 59. Budapest, MNL – OL, misc. 59, fol. 3–6, Mandatum Regium, December 1, 1724.
 60. Tóth, *Története*, 45–48.
 61. One of the first publications was d’Elvert, “Geschichte,” 125.

62. Hanzal, *Cikáni*, 43–45; “Zarys”; “Otázce,” 321–42; “Cikánské varovné tabule a jejich grafické předlohy”; “Cikánské varovné tabule z Nových Hradů.”
63. Original in Opava, ZAO, fond Hejtmanský úřad Knížectví Opavsko-Krnovského v Opavě inv. nr. 1554 k. 264; published in *Sammlung*, 307–8.
64. Opava, ZAO, fond Hejtmanský úřad Knížectví Opavsko-Krnovského v Opavě inv. nr. 1554 k. 264; Opava, ZAO, Řád německých rytířů v Bruntále - i. Místodržitelství řádu 1627–1820, inv. nr. 154, sign. rub 1, fasc. 12, k. 2. This woodcut was first mentioned in D[rkal], “Řešení cikánského problému,” 6–7.
65. Identified by Hanzal as a Russian *shashka*, a type of saber (Hanzal, “Otázce,” 331).
66. Graz, StLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Haus und Gröbming K. 145 H. 450, Letter, February 8, 1715.
67. Graz, StLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Haus und Gröbming K. 145 H. 450, Letter, May 20, 1715.
68. Olomouc, SOAO (part of ZAO), Archiv města Uničov, inv. nr. 2664, sign. Z 2, k. 145, fols. 14–15.
69. Wrocław, Archiwum Państwowe, Hrabstwo Klodzkie, Rep. 23, sign. 153, pag. 19–21.
70. E.g., Brno, MZAB, B 1 Gubernium, k. 2181, sign. Z 10, fol. 611’.
71. Frank, “Obrigkeitliche Anordnungen,” 100–101.
72. Opfermann, *Zigeuner-Habit*, 40.
73. Málek, “Vztahům,” 15. Málek publishes the transcript of an interrogation protocol from 1724.
74. Frank, “Anordnungen,” 102 and 120. Frank even mentions a letter from 1808 that reports the theft of a warning sign.
75. Opfermann, *Ziegeuner*, 144.
76. Frank, “Anordnungen,” 102.
77. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these were the usual epithets for Gypsies in edicts and mandates, see Hanzal, “Otázce,” 340–41.
78. Rheinheimer, “Erde,” 350.
79. Málek, “Vztahům,” 14–15.

CHAPTER 9

1. Korb, “Ustaša Mass Violence,” 88.
2. See glossary for explanation of why this term, despite its problematic nature, is kept in the context of this essay.
3. Not unlike pogroms, “Gypsy hunts” were systematic combings of nearby regions in which the assistance of the local population played a key role. Gypsies were often armed, and, being in a tight corner, they occasionally initiated a fight, which then usually ended in atrocities. Although such cases are documented, some researchers seem to have overestimated their frequency.

4. Steiner, "Flicker."
5. Reemtsma, *Trust*, 69.
6. Thompson, "Crime."
7. Contrary to popular belief, Gypsies were only rarely associated with black magic in the early modern period. Opfermann, *Zigeuner*, 74.
8. If and to what extent Gypsies contacted scribes so far is unresearched.
9. For further research, a survey of threatening letters on a European level might be rewarding. Lech Mróz, for instance, gives quotes from a Polish blackmailing attempt (Mróz, *Presence*, 236–37). In an article, as of this writing forthcoming in *Frühneuzeit-Info*, Jiří Hanzal mentions another threatening letter from the Warsaw Archives.
10. Fricke, "Zigeuner," 18 and 81–82 also mentions threatening letters from the seventeenth century.
11. See glossary for explanation of this term.
12. The original reads as follows: *Wohledl und hochgebohmer, hochgebietender und hochgebrter, gestrenger herr herr etc. Man bitet dem herrn pfleger umb Jesu Christo und durch das jüngste gericht und durch die marter, die er an dem heiligen kreuz geliten hat und daß er für seine feundt bate, die ihm peinigen, er wolle sich der sündler erbarmen und wolle sich doch umb Gottes willen widerumben auß der erbarmlichen gefängnus herauslassen, dan wegen der grossen marter, die man ihm angetan hat, haben sie mehr müssen bekennen, dan sye verschuldet haben, dan der hochgebietende strenge strenge herr pfleger wirdt es in keinen gericht heren sagen, daß sie etwas mittragen haben, und wan der hochgelehrte und hochgebrte herr pfleger sye widerumben wolle außlassen, so wollen wir mit dankh alles bezahlen und Gott dem allmächtigen biten und wollen kirchfarten gehen, und wofern der herr pfleger sie nit mit gueten wirth herauslassen, so wissen wir schon was zu thun. Hochgebietende, gstrengre frau pflegerin, sie wolle so gueth sein und wolle ein fürbit thuen, durch die grosse marter, die Gott geliten hat, und sie gedenk, daß sie auch khünder hat, sie wolle doch wegen der gevatterschafft waß thuen. Wan man den [jungen?] nit wird herauslassen, so wird nichts guets geschehen, so bedenk sich der herr. Elisabeth Peintrisßin. Klagenufurt, KLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Hs. 166 Kriminalprozess Lang, Zigeuner 1711, Undated entry between November 9, 1711, and November 22, 1711.*
13. Choosing godparents from noble families was one of the strategies Gypsies adopted as a form of life insurance. If persecution escalated, a reference to distinguished godparents could sometimes help to give Gypsies a hearing. In the Carinthian case, it is unclear whether the administrator's wife was actually a godmother to one or more of the Gypsies or if the appeal to her godparenthood was an abstract one.
14. Hanzal, *Cikáni*, 43–45.
15. Brno, MZAB, B 1 Gubernium, k. 2181, sign. Z 10, between fol. 744^v and fol. 745^s, supplement to a report, August 26, 1721.
16. Brno, MZAB, B 1 Gubernium, k. 2181, sign Z 10, fol. 741–745, Report, August 26, 1721;

- fol. 789–793, Report, December 28, 1721. Two Gypsies were shot in a gunfight; eleven more (among them seven children) were incarcerated.
17. Bott-Bodenhausen, “Kultursplitter,” 183–88.
 18. In the original: “auf den buckel nehmen.”
 19. Fricke, “Zigeuner,” 301–2.
 20. Bloch, *Heritage* developed this concept.
 21. Fricke, “Zigeuner,” 302.
 22. Krünitz, *Encyklopädie*, 95–96. There is also the case of Mohelnici in Northern Moravia, in which Gypsies in 1662 helped to extinguish a fire and thus saved the whole village from disaster (Nečas, *Romové*, 176).
 23. Arson in the early modern period assumed many different forms: individually and collectively committed, carried out by men or women in urban and rural areas, connected to accusations of witchcraft, and as a side effect of religious conflicts or political upheavals. Some examples from the broad literature on different types of arson: Capp, “Arson”; Dillinger, “Organized Arson”; Allemeyer, *Fewersnoth*, especially 101–25; Durston, *Wicked Ladies*, especially 253–59; Roberts, “Arson”; Waite, “Reform.”
 24. “Arson was often more readily suspected than proven in the early modern period, and scares were probably more common than actual instances of deliberate fire-setting. Nevertheless, the authorities were obliged to take all necessary precautions to prevent the danger or recurrence of arson.” Roberts, “Agencies,” 23.
 25. On their complicated relationship, see glossary.
 26. See Steiner, “Signposts.”
 27. Jiří Hanzal’s forthcoming article (already mentioned in note 9) will present a further example for such connivance.
 28. Wrocław, Archiwum Państwowe, Hrabstwo Kłodzkie, Rep. 23, sign. 153, pag. 11–13, Report, January 1674.
 29. Brno, MZAB, B 1 Gubernium, k. 2181, fol. 741^v, Report, August 26, 1721.
 30. One member of the group, a Hungarian-born Gypsy, depicts his route as follows: entering from the Hungarian side of the border, passing the Feldbach and Gleisdorf jurisdictions in Styria, then continuing to Maria Helfbrunn (a church of pilgrimage), Mureck and Ehrenhausen, and afterward crossing to Marburg/Maribor and Pettau/Ptuj in Carniola. None of the mentioned places are further than fifty kilometers away from the Hungarian border, and most of them are even closer. Graz, StLA, Repräsentation und Kammer 1761–II–275–1/16, fol. 10^v–11^r.
 31. Opfermann, “Ziegeuner,” 302.
 32. Steiner, “Making Short Work,” 155–56.
 33. As a rare example from the sixteenth century, Ptak, “Cyganie,” 30 mentions Gypsies who filed a grievance to the Głogów court in 1572.
 34. Belgrade, IAB, Zemun Magistracy, 1768, 19, pag. 38.
 35. Maria Theresa’s son, Emperor Joseph II, renewed these orders in a principal regulation

- (*Hauptregulativ*) from 1783, which can be interpreted as an early act of ethnopolitics. Steiner, *Rückkehr*, 122–23. See also Jacobs, “Traum.”
36. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 267–306, Report, August 25, 1801.

CHAPTER 10

1. See glossary for an explanation of why this term, despite its problematic nature, is kept in the context of this essay.
2. Grellmann, *Versuch*, 31–32. Grellmann, *Dissertation*, 6 presents an English translation.
3. Kogalnitcan, *Esquisse*; Kogălniceanu, *Dezrobirea*, 606–67.
4. Two of the rare exceptions are Russell, “Classification” and Gaster, “Bill.”
5. Panaitescu, *Robii*; Peretz, *Robia*; Scurtulencu, *Situația*; Potra, *Contribuțiuni*; Panaitescu, “Gypsies.” One monograph from 1892, written by a priest in Romanian, stands isolated in the nineteenth century: Dan, *Țigani*; reprinted in Dan, *Etnii*.
6. Among rare exceptions are Grigoraș, “Robia”; Costăchel, Panaitescu, and Cazacu, *Viața*, 143–64; Gheorghe, *Originea*. The scientific nature of this contribution is contested.
7. Hancock, *Pariah Syndrome*; Beck, “Origins.” Ian Hancock, important as linguist and Roma activist, paved a disputable path for academics to reflect on Gypsy slavery without consulting archival documents. While Hancock’s moral outcry is more than understandable, his account of Gypsy slavery is limited to a quite selective reading of printed sources and historical scholarship.
8. Ionescu, *Robia*.
9. “L’esclavage des Rroms.”
10. Apart from many scholarly articles, the major outcomes of the project are the following monographs, editions, and edited volumes: Achim and Achim, *Minorități*; Achim and Achim, *Modernizare*; Achim and Achim, *Emancipare*; Achim et al., *Aboliționism*; Achim and Tomi, *Documente*. An extensive list of further publications regarding Gypsy slavery can be found on the homepage of the *Médiathèque Matéo Maximoff*, accessed February 6, 2022, https://fnasat.centredoc.fr/index.php?lvl=categ_see&id=462&page=1&nbr_lignes=48&cl_typedoc=
11. Kaindl, “Unfreiheitsverhältnisse”; Grünberg, “Erwiderung.”
12. Scharf, *Landschaft*, 250.
13. The vast majority of the original documents are in German, but the finding aids are mostly in Ukrainian or Russian.
14. These must be the lists that are only very cursory and rather cryptically mentioned in Miklosich, *Mundarten*, 15.
15. Jelavich, *History*, 69.
16. Jelavich, *History*, 70.
17. Werenka, “Entstehen,” 123.
18. Research on Bukovina has been carried out in various national constellations and many languages. Major studies were published in the context of the Habsburg monarchy,

- Greater Romania, post-WWII Romania, the Soviet Union, Ukraine, and Austria. Scharr, *Landschaft* presents an overview of the relevant historiography. Scharr's book is primarily a spatial study but also a good introduction to the history of the region.
19. Detailed strategic reasoning can be found in N. N., "Bukowina" and Dippelreiter, "Bedeutung."
 20. Bidermann, *Bukowina*, 7.
 21. Turczynski, "Bukowina," 245–46.
 22. Polek, *Beschreibung*, 153. The organization of nomadic Gypsies or the administrative terminology and the taxation system used especially for Gypsies were part of the Moldavian heritage the Habsburgs kept after the takeover.
 23. The evaluation of Gypsy slavery in Moldavia resulted in a variety of academic studies, from different periods and different national viewpoints, with sometimes extremely differing results. It is not the aim of this study to elaborate on existing controversies but to take slavery as a fact, which the Habsburg administrators had to confront. The focus is therefore not on explaining the reasons for this type of slavery and its history during the centuries, but merely on its abolition in Bukovina.
 24. Grünberg, *Studien*, 7–9.
 25. Achim, "Considerations," 70.
 26. This does neither mean that the slave status was exclusively restricted to Gypsies nor that *all* Gypsies in Moldavia were slaves. For closer distinction, see Achim, "Considerations," 71–73.
 27. Achim, *Roma*, 27–28.
 28. Kaindl, *Unterthanswesen*, 568 gives 1434 as the date of the first document on Gypsy slavery. Meanwhile, a few more from the period 1428 to 1434 have surfaced (Achim, *Roma*, 14).
 29. Achim, *Roma*, 42.
 30. Grünberg, *Studien*, 9. In the last decade before the Habsburg takeover, the Moldavian prince Grigore Ghica slightly improved the situation of Gypsies. Potra, *Contribuțiuni*, 107–8.
 31. "Deriving its name from the Phanar, or lighthouse, district [in Constantinople, S. S.], where most of the Orthodox Christians lived and where the Patriarchate was located, this group was largely Greek in nationality, but its members included Hellenized Italian, Romanian, and Albanian families. [...] A Greek hierarchy also was in control in Moldavia and Wallachia. Here Phanariot Greeks ran the political life of the country." Jelavich, *History*, 54 and 56.
 32. Constantiniu, *Constantin Mavrocordat*.
 33. Achim, *Roma*, 39; Brătianu, "Veacuri," 447–52.
 34. Achim, "Considerations," 74 states: "For the most part, slaves in the Romanian lands did not earn their masters large revenues, not even those who served as agricultural laborers or performed other economic activities."

35. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 29 / 1 / 16 (Bukowiner Militär-Administration), fol. 1^r, Undated document (= 1784). The original reads as follows: *denen christen unanständig*. It may seem confusing that the original documents talk about “serfdom” (*Leibeigenschaft*), when it is obvious that they are describing nothing else than slavery.
36. See glossary for an explanation of this term.
37. Wickenhauser, *Moldawa*, 52.
38. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 29 / 1 / 16 (Bukowiner Militär-Administration), fol. 5–6, Publication, August 12, 1783.
39. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 29 / 1 / 16 (Bukowiner Militär-Administration), fol. 7^r, Attestation, December 13, 1783.
40. At the same time, the authorities made clear that Gypsies who had crossed borders only after the annexation could not be objects of enslavement. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 29 / 1 / 16 (Bukowiner Militär-Administration), fol. 1^r, Undated document (= 1784).
41. Polek, *Zigeuner*, 8–11. Polek quotes and refers to a lot of important archival material that was lost in 1927, due to the burning of the palace of justice (*Justizpalast*) in Vienna.
42. Polek, *Zigeuner*, 9 and 11 also contains a transcript of the announcement.
43. Grünberg, *Studien*, 12–13.
44. Potra, *Contribuțiuni*, 26–66 gives an overview of these three categories.
45. Zieglauer, *Bilder*, 70. This group often escapes researcher’s notice (see, for example, Woodcock, “Gender,” 177). But one has to be careful seeing nomadism as the decisive criterion for distinguishing slaves from freemen, as Gypsies categorized as sedentary in fact often led seminomadic lives (with stable homes for the winter).
46. A noblewoman even threatened the central authorities by announcing her departure from Bukovina together with all her privately owned villagers. Polek, *Zigeuner*, 8.
47. Wickenhauser, *Siedlungen*, 151.
48. Wickenhauser, *Moldowa*, 199–204.
49. Wickenhauser, *Molda*, 164.
50. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1026 / 1 / 10 (K. k. Galizische Statthalterei – Angelegenheiten der Bukowina), fol. 5^r, Bukowiner Kreisamt to Landesgubernium, Letter, November 19, 1788.
51. Zieglauer, *Bilder*, 72.
52. Enzenberger similarly remarked that the monastery Gypsies did “in no way appear like any of the Hungarian or Transylvanian Gypsies because their skin color was not brown and they could only be told from the other Bukovinian residents because of their names.” Polek, *Zigeuner*, 6.
53. The “regulation” meant a fundamental reorganization and densification of parishes; the “Religious Fund” provided the money needed.
54. Weissensteiner, “Pfarregulierung.”
55. J. J., “Religionsfonds”; Polek, *Zigeuner*, 13.
56. Scharr, “Religionsfonds,” 229–30.

57. The northern part of Bukovina was occupied by the Soviet Union in 1940/1944.
58. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1026 / 1 / 10 (K. k. Galizische Statthaltereie – Angelegenheiten der Bukowina), fol. 5^v, Letter, Bukowiner Kreisamt to Landesgubernium November 19, 1788.
59. Wickenhauser, *Siedlungen*, 151–52.
60. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1026 / 1 / 10 (K. k. Galizische Statthaltereie – Angelegenheiten der Bukowina), fol. 6^r, Letter, Bukowiner Kreisamt to Landesgubernium November 19, 1788.
61. Grünberg, *Studien*, 15.
62. Polek, *Zigeuner*, 20.
63. Polek, *Zigeuner*, 16–17, quoting a report of the *Kreisamt*, August 27, 1787. Already in the Russo-Ottoman War, the Habsburg empire started setting up military cordons on the borderline to Poland, Moldavia, and Wallachia. Kaindl, *Geschichte*, 4.
64. Although there are such examples, one has to be cautious about assessing the new order in Bukovina and its impact on Gypsies from neighboring Moldavia only from the point of view of personal freedoms. Economically, free Gypsies in Moldavia might have been better off, especially because taxation was lower.
65. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 4 / 22 (K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt), fol. 1^v, Document, October 18, 1783.
66. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 4 / 461 (K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt), fol. 3^r, Copy of a *Gubernialverordnung* September 26, 1785.
67. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 4 / 22 (K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt), fol. 11^r, Document, October 1792.
68. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 29 / 1 / 38 (Bukowiner Militär-Administration), fol. 1^r, *Kreisschreiben*, September 26, 1785, and Fond 1 / 4 / 461 (K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt), fol. 5^r, *Entwurf*, October 13, 1785.
69. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 4 / 461 (K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt), fol. 1^r, *Kreisschreiben*, July 21, 1785.
70. Pym, *Gypsies*, 91.
71. Pym, *Gypsies*, 160.
72. Mayerhofer, *Dorfzigeuner*, 24.
73. Kassics, *Enchiridion*, 340; Czoernig, *Ethnographie*, 187.
74. Bihl, “Notizen,” 960.
75. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 29 / 1 / 16 (Bukowiner Militär-Administration), fol. 5 + 6, Publication, August 12, 1783. The original reads as follows: *der menschlichkeit entgegenstehende namen*. Like in other parts of Habsburg empire, the term *Zigeuner* was to be replaced with the expression *Neubauer* (new peasant).
76. Vienna, ÖStA, AVA, Inneres HK Allgemein B 50 Separat Protokoll Bukowina, fol. 208, Decree, March 17, 1784.

77. Grünberg, *Studien*, 12–13.
78. Concerning the Moldavian situation, Marushiakova and Popov, “Slavery,” 94 points out: “Monastery Gypsy slaves had various occupations. Rather few were nomads while the majority toiled on the monasteries’ fields.” A similar vagueness is also to be assumed in the Bukovinian case.
79. Budai-Deleanu, “Bemerkungen,” 185. Remarks about the author may be found in Grigorovici, *Bucovina*, 376–77. The text itself is mistakenly dated 1813 instead of 1803.
80. Ungureanu, “Bevölkerung,” 117.
81. Russia at that time was the occupation force in both Moldavia and Wallachia. Werenka, “Entstehen,” 105–7.
82. Ungureanu, *Bucovina*, 240. Earlier studies suggest a much higher total population and also approximately five hundred individuals more in the Gypsy segment; be that as it may, the percentage of Gypsies within the total population nevertheless stayed approximately the same. See Popescu, “Românii,” 15–18; Țugui, “Populația,” 4–5.
83. Polek, “Ortschaftsverzeichnis,” 39. Also Sulzer, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, 429 gives this number.
84. Polek, *Zigeuner*, 5. A prior report seems to have mistakenly transferred this number to 1775. See Ficker, “Zigeuner,” 250.
85. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 233–52, *Conscription*, 1791.
86. Ungureanu, *Bucovina*, 62. For the year 1779, Scharr, *Landschaft*, 298 mentions a survey that listed 23,385 families.
87. Ungureanu, *Bucovina*, 83.
88. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 113–29, *Individueller Ausweiß*, January 8, 1801.
89. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 370–475, List, January 8, 1801. Year by year, the numbers are: 1790 305; 1791 316; 1792 328; 1793 352; 1794 no data; 1795 441; 1796 462; 1797 476; 1798 496; 1799 525; 1800 627.
90. In an email from July 12, 2021, to the author, Viorel Achim suggested the following explanation: “The big increase in the number of Gypsies at 1800 [...] must have been largely the result of a more accurate registration of the population, and not of an influx of foreign Gypsies. In Bukovina, as in Moldavia, the officials dealing with Gypsies used to hide several Gypsies, which the official charged for himself, not for the state.”
91. One spoon maker and one smith had a second profession as musician.
92. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 283–84, Report, August 25, 1801.
93. Polek, *Zigeuner*, 19 gives a number, most likely extrapolated, of just 2,500 Gypsies, which in light of the Krakow lists proves too low an estimation.
94. Ficker, *Zigeuner*, 251 claims that “in that period there were not many nomadic Gypsies anymore.”
95. After 1775 the population of Bukovina was constantly but very unevenly growing (for details, see Bidermann, *Bukowina*, 68).
96. Achim, *Roma*, 61.

97. Marushiakova and Popov, "Slavery," 100 refers to such "judges" as leaders of "extended families" of Gypsies. But as long as family relations within these groups are not properly researched, a more neutral approach seems to be more appropriate. Also Ioán Budai-Deleanu, as a contemporary, defines "judges" simply as leaders of a horde (*ceată*) (Budai-Deleanu, "Bemerkungen," 185). Miklosich, *Mundarten*, 15 mentions information from a "reliable source," which is not to be found elsewhere but might be worth pursuing: "The prospective judge for Bukovina visits his relatives in Turkey and Asia minor, to get acquainted with their juridical customs and to prepare himself for the job."
98. Besides three Bulubaschas and five judges, a list from 1790 also states a mixed category built up by eight "Bulubaschas *or* judges." If this means that the latter were Bulubaschas *and* judges in a single person is unclear. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 113–24, *Individueller Ausweiß*, January 8, 1801 (referring to the year 1790).
99. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 113–24, *Individueller Ausweiß*, January 8, 1801 (referring to the year 1790); Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 1805, pag. 251–63, *Individueller Ausweiß*, January 8, 1801 (referring to the year 1799).
100. Budai-Deleanu, "Bemerkungen," 176; Polek, *Zigeuner*, 4. Achim's remark, according to which the captain "was himself a Gypsy," is clearly confounded by the sources (Achim, *Roma*, 129).
101. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 279 and 282, Report, August 25, 1801.
102. Budai-Deleanu, "Bemerkungen," 185.
103. Vienna, ÖStA, AVA, Inneres HK Allgemein B 50 *Separat Protokoll Bukowina*, fol. 208, Decree, August 28, 1784, explicitly refers to Sawa as a *mazil*.
104. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 4 / 409 (K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt), fol. 35^r, Supplication, October 15, 1799. Another document mentions a certain Peter Tuschinsky from Mihalcze, who "held this position during the former military administration already"; he might thus have been a predecessor to Sawa (Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 4 / 409 [K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt], fol. 2^r *Verzeichniß* May 3, 1800). Also Georg Gojan from Keresch is mentioned, who is said to have been a captain in Sereth for nine years during the military administration; it is thus possible that subfunctions for certain districts had been established (Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 4 / 409 [K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt], fol. 46^r, Supplication, October 5, 1799). In fact, Sawa's son is mentioned as the "prosperous noblemen," but it is very likely that his father was already one as well.
105. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 4 / 409 (K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt), fol. 29^r, Supplication, October 3, 1799.
106. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 320, Document, August 19, 1801.
107. The letters of application and recommendation are collected in a folder containing 66 folio pages. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 4 / 409 (K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt).
108. This expression does not necessarily carry a pejorative undertone, as *ceată*, the Roman-

- ian equivalent of horde or band, neutrally alluded to a group of people (Gypsies) under a certain leader (their principal).
109. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 4 / 409 (K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt), Letter, October 28, 1799, fol. 64^v. The original reads as follows: *Nicht gehör, nicht rüksicht, sondern strafe verdienen die sogeariteten irre geführte antragsmacher, und ihr antrag platterdinge verwerfung. Diese antragsmacher sind eine horde von den herumirrenden zigeiner, die von menschen nur die gestalt haben.*
110. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 4 / 409 (K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt), fol. 62^r and 64^v, Supplication, October 9, 1799.
111. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 4 / 409 (K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt), fol. 25^t, Supplication, October 1799: [...] *nach der gepflogenen strengsten kriminaluntersuchung [...] für ganz unschuldig erklärt worden.*
112. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 4 / 409 (K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt), fol. 1–2, *Verzeichniß*, May 3, 1800.
113. Polek, *Zigeuner*, 19–20.
114. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 1 / 2668 (K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt), fol. 1–2, Document, August 3, 1814.
115. The number of Gypsy families represented by these functionaries is about one-third lower than the actual number of Gypsies. This is probably connected to the question of sedentary vs. nomadic gypsies.
116. If this impression is right, then a certain Lupan Tykan must have been a very influential man, as in 1799 no less than 119 Gypsy families were under his supervision, more than a quarter of the entire families listed. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 1805, pag. 265, *Bilance Ausweisß*, January 8, 1801.
117. The respective lists are to be found in Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 1805, pag. 101, 125, 145, 209, and 265, *Bilance Ausweisß*, all January 8, 1801.
118. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 282, Report, August 25, 1801.
119. Year after year, the lists give the names of the exempted. The types of exemptions mentioned were already common under the Moldavian rule. See Marushiakova and Popov, “Slavery,” 101.
120. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 1805, pag. 103, *Consignation*, January 8, 1801.
121. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 1805, pag. 498–99, *Verzeichniß*, January 8, 1801.
122. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 1805, pag. 80–85, *Verzeichmiss*, January 8, 1801.
123. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 315–33, Document, August 19, 1801.
124. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 1 / 839 (K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt), fol. 1–2, Document, March 4, 1797, and fol. 3–4, Document, March 4, 1797.
125. Sawa died on December 25, 1794. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 1805, pag. 62, *Protocoll*, August 27, 1800.
126. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 267–306, Report, August 25, 1801.

127. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 312–13, *Haupt Differenz Ausweiß*, December 28, 1800.
128. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 1805, pag. 344–67, *Liquidation*, January 8, 1801.
129. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 312–13, *Haupt Differenz Ausweiß*, December 28, 1800.
130. Budai-Deleanu, “Bemerkungen,” 185: *Da aber in der Bukowina vieles verkehrt gehen muss, wird von diesen Capitaines sowohl der Landesfürst hintergangen, als auch die armen Zigeuner bis aufs Blut ausgesogen.*
131. The original reads as follows: [. . .] *daß die erhöhte steuer, die [. . .] 12 frohntage und die übrigen gemeindebeiträge den erpreßungen ihrer vorsteher und richter bei weiten nicht gleich kommen würden.* Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 287–306, Report, August 25, 1801.
132. The original reads as follows: [. . .] *weil der staat an solchen leuten nichts als eine horde elender menschen gewinnet, die kein vermögen mitbringen und keine industrial gewerbe treiben, so mit ihr daseyn entbehrlich ist.* Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 287, Report, August 25, 1801.
133. See also Polek, “Zigeuner,” 19.
134. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 299. The original reads as follows: [. . .] *der willkürlichen behandlung ihrer vorsteher überlassen und von selben gänzlich ausgesaugt zur auswanderung verleitet werden.*
135. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 1 / 839 (K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt), fol. 1–2, Document, March 4, 1797, and fol. 3–4, Document, March 4, 1797. The thought about an exodus to Moldavia might also have been instigated by a lesser tax burden that was put on Gypsies there.
136. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1 / 1 / 2847 (K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt), fol. 1–2, Document, August 5, 1814.
137. *General Civil Code*, 6. The original reads as follows: *Jeder Mensch hat angeborne, schon durch die Vernunft einleuchtende Rechte, und ist daher als eine Person zu betrachten. Slavery oder Leibeigenschaft, und die Ausübung einer darauf sich beziehenden Macht, wird in diesen Ländern nicht gestattet.*
138. Winiwarter, *Handbuch*, 58. The original reads as follows: *Jeder Slave wird in dem Augenblicke frey, da er das k.k. Gebieth, oder auch nur ein Oesterreichisches Schiff betritt. Eben so erlangt jeder Slave auch im Auslande seine Freyheit in dem Augenblicke, in welchem er unter was immer für einem Titel an einen k.k. Oesterreichischen Unterthan als Slave überlassen wird.*
139. Similarly, the abolition processes in Moldavia and Wallachia in the mid-nineteenth century found little resonance in the Habsburg empire.
140. *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie*, 320. The original reads as follows: [. . .] *be-*

traten sie um das Jahr 1400, wohl auch früher, den Boden der Bukowina. Hier wurden sie zu Sklaven erklärt, viele wurden dies freiwillig und verblieben als solche bis zum Jahre 1783, als Kaiser Joseph II. sie hochherzig zu freien Menschen machte.

CHAPTER 11

1. In 1933 Giulio Einaudi established a publishing house, which especially after 1945 became one of the most important in Italy.
2. Brecht's estrangement concept intended to keep the theatre audience from identifying with actors in order to be able to view their actions critically. In German there is a tension between *Ent-fremdung* (as found in Marxian terminology) and *Ver-fremdung* (which Brecht introduced).
3. The Italian original was published in 2006; the English translation, as Ginzburg, *Threads*, in 2012.
4. Ginzburg, "Riti."
5. In 1978.
6. The renowned academy was founded in 1603 in the Papal States and revived in the middle of the nineteenth century.
7. Ginzburg, *Island*.
8. Ginzburg, *Benandanti*; *Nicodemismo*; *Cheese*; *Enigma*; *Night Battles*.
9. Ginzburg, *Judge*.
10. Adorno, "Essay," 36.
11. Ginzburg, "Clues."
12. Ginzburg, *Ecstasies*.
13. This book has not been written so far; Ginzburg, "Dante's Blind Spot" documents a part of the project.
14. Gianfranco Contini (1912–1990) was an Italian philologist.
15. Ginzburg, *Night Battles*.
16. Ginzburg, *Benandanti*.
17. Ginzburg, *Ecstasies*.
18. Ginzburg, *Enigma*; "Microhistory," 205–8.
19. Ginzburg, *Cheese*.
20. Ginzburg, *Ecstasies*.
21. Wittgenstein, "Remarks," 47.
22. Ginzburg, *Ecstasies*, 15.
23. Ginzburg, "Country."
24. Ginzburg, "Microhistory."
25. *Timecode*, written and directed by Mike Figgis (Sony Pictures, 2000).
26. Ginzburg, "Clues."

27. The lecture "Dante's Blind Spot" was given in Gesellschaft der Ärzte, Vienna, as part of the yearly *Sigmund Freud Vorlesungen* organized by the Sigmund Freud Museum. It was published in a revised and enlarged version as Ginzburg, "Blind Spot."
28. Ginzburg, "Machiavelli."
29. Ginzburg, "Freud."
30. Ginzburg, "Family Resemblances."
31. Dalma, "Catarsis."
32. Ginzburg, "Clues."
33. See Geertz, "Description," 22.
34. Bloch, "Histoire," 177.
35. Polanyi, *Transformation*.
36. Ginzburg, "Conversations."
37. Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 401–5.
38. Purry, *Mémoire*.
39. Ginzburg, "Latitude."
40. Ginzburg, "Inquisitor."
41. Lessing, *Geschichte*.
42. Queneau, *Chêne*, 162.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

- ÖSTA** Österreichisches Staatsarchiv / Austrian State Archives (Vienna, Austria)
- FHKA** Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv / Archive of the Ministry of Finances and the Aulic Chancellery
- Italienisches Departement rote Nr. 203 (19331), fol. 641–652 Report June 12, 1736
- Neue Hofkammer, Kamerale Österreich, Akten 1760, Zivil- und Kriminalprozesse, Zucht- und Arbeitshäuser (Faszikulation 28), 1762–1765,06
- Neue Hofkammer, Ältere Banater Akten Nr. 16 / 17 / 32 / 33 / 37 / 42 / 45 / 46 / 48 / 55
- Neue Hofkammer, Jüngere Banater Akten, Nr. 172
- Banater Akten in publico-contentiosis, Nr. 59, 61 and 62
- HHStA** Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv / House, Court and State Archives
- Habsburg-Lothringisches Familienarchiv, Hofreisen, Carton 2
- Ungarn, Hungarica Specialia, Fasz. 360, Transylvanica separata 1750–1755
- Ungarn, Hungarica Specialia, Fasz. 361, Konv. A, Transylvanica separata 1756–1760
- Länderabteilungen, Österreichischer Reichstag 1848–1849, Karton 85
- Österreichische Akten, Kärnten, Ktn. 10, Fasz. 14 Millstatt 1754–1763
- AVA** Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv / General Administration Archive
- Inneres HK Allgemein B 50 Separat Protokoll Bukowina
- KLA** Kärntner Landesarchiv / Carinthian Provincial Archiv (Klagenfurt, Austria)
- Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Hs. 166 Kriminalprozess Lang, Zigeuner 1711
- Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Hs. 376 Religionsprotocoll und Korrespondenzen 1734–1738
- Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Fasz. 84/150, fol. 49–50 Emigranten in Oberösterreich, Nürnberg, Regensburg und Holland, Korrespondenz 1733–1769
- Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Fasz. 84/151 Emigranten in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen, Korrespondenz 1754–1775
- Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Fasz. 86/155 Religionsverhöre 1711–1769
- Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Fasz. 88/158 Korrespondenz des Pflegamtes Paternion in Religionssachen 1702–1770
- Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Fasz. 89/159 Verordnungen in Religionssachen 1708–1748

- Handschriften des Familienarchivs Goëss A 37
 Handschriften des Familienarchivs Goëss A 40
 Repräsentation und Kammer – Landeshauptmannschaft (Ladakten) 1747–
 1782, Fasz. 109 Missions- und Religionswesen
 Ständisches Archiv, C Akten, Abt. I, Sch. 411 Verschiedene
 Verlassenschaftsinventare (1683–1757)
 Kurrenden und Patente, Landesfürstliche Patente, Fasz. 1
- StLA** Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv / Styrian Provincial Archive (Graz, Austria)
 Patente und Kurrenden, 1714-VIII-9, K. 81
 Innerösterreichische Regierung, Cop 1711-V-67
 Familienarchiv Saurau, K. 169, H. 1653
 Familienarchiv Saurau, K. 171, H. 1688
 Herrschaftsarchive Haus und Gröbming K. 145 H. 450
 Repräsentation und Kammer 1761-II-275-1/16
- Stiftsarchiv Kremsmünster** / Kremsmünster Abbey (Kremsmünster, Austria)
 XXI 2, Bündel 26/8: 1753–6/5 1755
- AFSt/H** Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen / Archive of the Francke Foundations
 (Halle an der Saale, Germany)
 AFSt/H A 168 Tagebuch sowie beigelegte Briefe und Dokumente von und an
 August Hermann Francke 1715
 AFSt/H C 383 Briefe von Johann Christian Lerche an Gotthilf August
 Francke 1728–1733
- Sächsisches Staatsarchiv** – Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden (Dresden, Germany)
 10025 Geheimes Konsilium Loc. 04995/01 Direktorium in Evangelicis oder
 evangelische Religionsachen, 54. Buch
- SBB** Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Handschriftenabteilung (Berlin, Germany)
 Nachlass August Hermann Francke 27/16 Briefe von Christian Nicolaus
 Möllendorf an Gotthilf August Francke
- SUB** Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky (Hamburg, Germany)
 Cod. theol. 1745
- NA** Národní archiv / National Archives (Prague, Czech Republic)
 Nová manipulace, sign. P 2/2, kart. 579
- MZA** Moravský zemský archiv v Brně / Moravian Provincial Archive in Brno (Brno,
 Czech Republic)
 B 1 Gubernium, k. 2181, sign. Z 10
 B 17 Místodržitelství. Patenty 1628–1880, sign. Z 1
- ZAO** Zemský archiv v Opavě / Provincial Archive in Opava (Opava, Czech
 Republic)
 Němečtí rytíři – ústřední správa velmistrovských statků na Moravě a ve
 Slezsku, Bruntál, inv. č. 154, kart. 2, rubr. 1, fasc. 11

- Řád německých rytířů v Bruntále - i. Místodržitelství řádu 1627–1820, inv. nr. 154, sign. rub I, fasc. 12, k. 2
Fond Hejtmanský úřad Knížectví Opavsko-Krnovského v Opavě inv. nr. 1554 k. 264
- SOAO** Státní okresní archiv Olomouc / State District Archive Olomouc (Olomouc, Czech Republic)
Archiv města Uničov, inv. nr. 2664, sign. Z2, k. 145
- ANK** Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie / National Archives in Krakow (Krakow, Poland)
Teki Schneidra 318
Teki Schneidra 1805
- APW** Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu / State Archive in Wrocław (Wrocław, Poland)
Hrabstwo Kłodzkie, Rep. 23, sign. 153
- SACO** Державний архів Чернівецької області / State Archives of Chernivtsi Oblast (Chernivtsi, Ukraine)
Fond 1 / 1 / 839 K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt
Fond 1 / 1 / 2668 K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt
Fond 1 / 1 / 2847 K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt
Fond 1 / 4 / 22 K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt
Fond 1 / 4 / 409 K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt
Fond 1 / 4 / 461 K. k. Bukowiner Kreisamt
Fond 29 / 1 / 38 Bukowiner Militär-Administration
Fond 29 / 1 / 16 Bukovinian Military Administration
Fond 1026 / 1 / 10 K. k. Galizische Statthaltereien – Angelegenheiten der Bukowina
- IAB** Историјски архив Београда / Historical Archive Belgrade (Belgrade, Serbia)
Zemun Magistracy, Raths-Protocoll 1768, 19
- Rigsarkivet København** / Danish National Archives (Copenhagen, Denmark)
2-0522 Wien, diplomatisk repræsentation 1691–1865 Diverse sager
- MNL – OL** Magyar Országos Levéltár
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

STEPHAN STEINER IS PROFESSOR AT SIGMUND FREUD UNIVERSITY VIENNA AND head of its Institute for Transcultural and Historical Research. His research interests include migration, minority, and Enlightenment studies; Reformation history; and the history of mentalities. Steiner has written numerous publications on extreme violence in early and late modernity, including the monograph *No Longer Wanted: Deportation in the Early Modern Habsburg Empire and Its European Context* (2014) and the edited volume *Gypsies in Early Modern Europe* (2019).

