Combating the Hydra

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Although I do not share Stirner’s generalization and exclusivity, the quote nevertheless perfectly fits the context of this introduction.
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/hi299/topics/, accessed February 6, 2022. For those interested in interdisciplinary perspectives, see Schepers-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.
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”).
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.
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.


GLOSSARY


2. For a short outline of the complicated constellation, see Blanning, *Joseph II*, 5–6; for a broad view, see Whaley, *Germany*.

CHAPTER 1


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.


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.


10. See, for example, Becher, *Polititischer Discurs*, and Schröder, *Schatz- und Rent-Cammer*.


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.”


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.”


19. Ruymbeke and Sparks, Memory; Ruymbeke, New Babylon.

20. Basic reading: Smith, Colonists; Coldham, Emigrants.


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).


24. For an overview, see Marboe, Aufbruch, 272–93; for details, see Masselman, Cradle.

25. See Milton, Nutmeg.


27. Pan, Sons, 26.


31. See Asmussen, Brüder, 31.


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.”


39. Steiner, Rückkehr, 113–58; Bracewell, Uskoks.


41. Capra, “Zentralbehörden.”
42. See glossary for explanation of this term.
43. Steiner, “Transmigration,” 331–60.
47. Steiner, Rückkehr, 425–41; “Schwarmgeist.”
48. Scheutz, “Kolonne.”
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

2. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 17, March 1747, fol. 91v, Summarischer extract.
5. Maasburg, Galeerenstrafe, 7–11.
6. Maasburg, Strafe; Macho, Joseph II.
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 Weiβ, Strafe.
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.
16. Vienna, ÖST A, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 16, March 1746, fol. 95–96, Table.
17. Vienna, ÖST A, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 16, March 1746, fol. 95–97, Table; Vienna, ÖST A, FHKA, Ältere BA, Nr. 32, July 1752, fol. 30r–33r.
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. 269–284.
22. The early modern archival material concerning the Viennese workhouse is sparse. For an overview see Scheutz, “‘Hoc disciplinarium.’”
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.
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, 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.
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.
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.
51. Vienna, ÖStA, FHKA, BA in publico-contentiosis, Nr. 61, 1762, fol. 52, Letter, February 16, 1762.
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, File, April 25, 1762.
56. See Elias and Scotson, Established. This model was first applied to Habsburg deportees in Beer, “Benchmen.”
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?
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.


4. Steiner, Rückkehr.


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.


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, 2.4–43; Netzloff, Colonies.

16. Vöcelka, 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.


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. 269–284.

21. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Habsburg-Lothringisches Familienarchiv, Hofreisen, Car- 
ton 2, fol. 269’–284’.
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.”
30. Fenner von Fenneberg, Geschichte, VII–VIII.
32. Vienna, ÖST A, HHStA, Länderabteilungen, Österreichischer Reichstag 1848–1849,
Karton 85 VIII. Interpellationen, fol. 177–188. Partly published in N.N., “Oester-
reichische 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 Wüllerstorf-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.”
37. Scherzer, Reise, 277–90. Scherzer announced more extensive research into the sub-
ject, 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 Schildorfer, Novara.
42. Tallack, Principles, 194.
43. [Pichl], Schönerer, 149.
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.
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.”

49. Gross, 71.
50. Gross, 71.
52. Hoegel, Straffälligkeit wegen Arbeitsscheu, 213.
53. Rother, Gewalt, 60.
55. Heindl, Reise.
56. Kafka, Strafkolonie; Rother, “Damen.”

CHAPTER 4

1. Hobsbawm, Rebels.
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.
11. Dresden, HStA, 10025 Geheimes Konsilium Loc. 04995/01, fol. 412v; 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 Religionssachen 1708–1748, fol. 25–26.


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.


23. Steiner, Reisen, 142–44.


25. For the prehistory of this exceptional constellation, see Zach, “Motive,” 77.


27. Hufton, Prospect, 458–86.


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 Göss A 40, fol. 194r–197r, Undated list. I am thankful to Peter Göss, who permitted access to his family archive.


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.


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).


38. Steiner, Reisen, 194.

39. Klagenfurt, KLA, Herrschaftsarchiv Paternion, Fasz. 86/155 Religionsverhöre 1711–1769, Sträzä Religions prothocoll (entry August 7, 1734); Fasz. 86/155 Religionsverhöre 1711–1769, Sträzä Religions prothocoll (undated entry, before September 2, 1734); Hs. 376 Religionsprothocoll und Korrespondenzen 1734–1738, Letter, August 20, 1734.


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.


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.”


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, Geheimglaubigkeit, 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, 2.43–98.

10. Among central studies are Nowotny, Transmigranten; Dedic, Geheimglaubigkeit; 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.


15. Klagenfurt, KLA, Handschriften des Familienarchivs Goëss A 37, fol. 219, Undated letter. The original reads as follows: Weither weiß ich nicht vill zu schreiben, nur geduldet in eüern herzen und denket, daß Christus umb unser willen auch vill erlitten hat, und er spricht: wer mein Inger sein will, der nenne daß creüz auf sich und folge mir nach. Darumb ergeben euch nur willig in das creüz, weil es Gott aso haben will, und glaubt, daß Gott besser weiß, was uns nuz seye. Er schikt alles zu unsern heill und seeligkeit. Er versucht niemandt über sein vermögen, sondern schafft, daß die versuechung ein solches endt gewine, daß wir unß sein freyen und trösten. Darumb bleibt bestendig in eïern fürnehmen, dan die handt an pflueg leget uns sichet zurukb, der ist nicht tichtig zum reich Gottes, wier wollen auch nicht gleich sein deme sammen, welcher auf ein düres landt flabdet, und wan die hize kumbt, daß er verdoret, sondern dem, welcher auff einen guetten landt, und frucht bringet in gedult, dan bestendigkheit erhaltet die cron hie zeitlich und dorth dem gnadenlohn, darzu hilft uns Gott vatter, sohn und h: geist. Amen.

16. On the influence of Pietism on Austrian Protestantism in the eighteenth century, see Steiner, Reiche.

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 binauffiert, ist schmall und wenig seind, die ihn finden. So wanlet nun in dem liecht, dieweill ihrs 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 ausgefiert 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 ausgan gen in die welt […]


19. On the various forms of such missions, see Scheutz, “Seelenjäger.” On special detention houses intended for re-Catholization, see Scheutz, “Die fünfte Kolonne.”


21. See, for example, Eder, Eros, 315.

22. Shorter, Making, 55.


25. Kremsmünster, Stiftsarchiv, XXI 2, Bündel 26/8: 1753–6/5 1755. The original reads as follows: Gelobt ßey 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 mihr nach mit unseren kleinen kinderen; wanst du mihr nachkomst mein lieber schaz, so will ich dich und unsere kleine kinder in ehren halten [.] und einen guten mahn [Mann] erzeigen, dass du dich nichtßorgen derfet; und die herrschaft sagt mihr, wanst du wilst, so kannst du zu mihr kommen, sonst leben mihr unser löhtag ainein ander nimmer, weil ich nicht nach hauß derfe; und so du mihr nicht folgest, mein liebes weib, so kannst du das nicht verantworten; [.] mein liebes beib, ich hab schon vill zehre vor dich vergessen und wegen die kinder; ich bin betriebt wegen deiner, unserer kleinen kinderen; so du mihr nachkomest, so wirt es mit Gottes und Mariae hilfs schon besser werden; mein liebes weib, thue das ding recht betrachten. Jezt hast du noch die gelegene zeit, es kan noch einmahl ein zeit geben, dass du gebrn bei mihr werest, kan aber nimmer sein; ich bit dich, dux du mein leben nicht abkirzen; Mitthin seit von mihr hundert tausend mahl schen gegrinst und ich bin unkatholisch und du bist katholisch und warum solst du mihr nicht nachkommen.


27. On Pietism, see Martin, “Speech.”

ein mütterliches, nemlich Floren fünfzig in harten Thallern bestehent, zugewoffen wer-
ten, welches ich euch als eine treue mutter zusammengespart 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 Pro-
estant 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
The original reads as follows: Lieben kinder, die ich euch unter meinem herzen getragen,
[…] die freude, die mir gott in anschauung eurer zarten jugend gegönet, ist durch dessen
allszürbzeitigen verlust in empfindliche 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, bir bin ich und die meinen, die du mir gegeben hast.

32. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Ungarn, Hungarica Specialia, Fasz. 360, Transylvanica separa-

33. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Ungarn, Hungarica Specialia, Fasz. 360, Transylvanica separa-

34. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Ungarn, Hungarica Specialia, Fasz. 361, Konv. A, Transyl-

35. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Ungarn, Hungarica Specialia, Fasz. 361, Konv. A, Transyl-

36. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Ungarn, Hungarica Specialia, Fasz. 361, Konv. A, Transyl-

37. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Österreichische Akten, Kärnten, Ktn. 10, Fasz. 14 Millstatt

38. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, Österreichische Akten, Kärnten, Ktn. 10, Fasz. 14 Millstatt
1754–1763, fol. 55, Letter, May 4, 1755.

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 be-
gan. 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, \textit{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, \textit{Gäste}, 120.

43. Laslett, \textit{World}.

\textbf{CHAPTER 6}


2. See Ginzburg, \textit{Threads}.

3. Steiner, \textit{Reich}, is a detailed study on the topic.


6. See glossary for explanation of this term.

7. Contemporary data suggests a span from two thousand to eight thousand people. See Steiner, \textit{Reich}, 22–23.


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 (\textit{Oberkommandant}) of the Habsburg army. See Schmalz, \textit{Glaubenswelt}.


15. For a comprehensive overview on legislation regarding tolerance in the Habsburg Empire, see Barton, \textit{Lichte}.

16. Some drafty information may be found in Rippel, “Gesandtschaftskapelle.”

17. For details on the Danish community, see Stubbe, \textit{Gesandtschaftsgemeinde} and Chemnitz, \textit{Nachrichten}.

18. All the hitherto known legation preachers in the Dutch embassy came from Switzerland, see Steiner, \textit{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.

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.


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.


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 representation 1691–1865 Diverse sager, Pro Memoria without date (approx. May 1734); Tropper, *Glut*, 358; Scheutz, “Legalität,” 228.


31. One such case is documented in Rigsarkivet København, 2-0522 Wien, diplomatisk representation 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).


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.


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.


42. Berlin, SBB, Handschriftenabteilung, Nachlass August Hermann Francke 27/16:7 Gerhard Ernst v. Franckenau to Gotthilf August Francke, Vienna, June 24, 1733.
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 Петр, “Kriminalisierung” and Policey, 965–73.


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 intergra-
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.


10. Ginzburg, “Inquisitor,” 164. See also “Clues.”


13. A hangman’s detailed account has been published in Zahn, *Miscellen*, 365–64.

14. Early modern sources mention groups of Gypsies almost always either as “gangs” (*Zigeunerbande, Zigeunerbando, Zigeunerrott*) or as “riffraff” (*Zigeunergesündel*).

15. Wütte, “Gerichtsgebrauch.”


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 Wütte, “Gerichtsgebrauch.”


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 Verlassenschafts inventare [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*.
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.
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. Hertzogthums Steyermarck 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. 17r.
43. See, for example, Opfermann, Ziegeuner, 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**

2. Tacitus, Dialogus, 2.4.4–45.
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.”
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.


15. Kemp, “Century,” 497–98 presents a list of examples from antiquity to the early modern period.


17. Carnicer and Marcos, Espías, 13; Gürkan, “Efficacy.”


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.


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.


27. Reemtsma, Sinti, 36.

28. Gronemeyer, Zigeuner, 88; Treiber, Disputatio, 41, gives the Latin equivalents as “exploratores,” “renunciatores,” and “proditores.”


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.”


37. Gypsies were not the only addressees of warning signs. In several regions, they also
aimed at “deterring” 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.


42. Without any further proof, Angus Fraser insinuates an origin of such warning signs in the Netherlands: Fraser, Gypsies, 148.

43. Opfermann, “Zigeuner,” 142. Opfermann is referring to Scotti, Sammlung, 586.

44. Ploman, Disputatio, 1–2.


46. Mylius, Theil, IV. Abt., 287. Carpzov, Analecta, 313 mentions another example of this kind.


48. Brno, MZAB, A 8 Zemská registratura, k. 1134, sign. Z 1, fol. 16r, printed resolution October 1, 1717.


53. See glossary for explanation of this term.

54. Graz, StLA, Patente und Kurrenden, 1714-VIII-9, K. 81.


56. H[errenleben], Sammlung, 997.

57. H[errenleben], Sammlung, 104.

58. Kapfen, “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.


64. Opava, ZAO, fond Hejtmanšký 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 Drkal, “Řešení cikánského problému,” 6–7.

65. Identified by Hanzal as a Russian shashka, a type of saber (Hanzal, “Otázce,” 331).


70. E.g., Brno, MZAB, B 1 Gubernium, k. 2181, sign. Z 10, fol. 611 r.


72. Opfermann, Zigeuner-Habit, 40.


74. Frank, “Anordnungen,” 102 and 120. Frank even mentions a letter from 1808 that reports the theft of a warning sign.

75. Opfermann, Zigeuner, 144.


77. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these were the usual epithets for Gypsies in edicts and mandates, see Hanzal, “Otázce,” 340–41.


CHAPTER 9


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.”
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 Warszaw 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 hochgebohrner, hochgebietender und hochgeebrter, 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 sünder erbarmen und wolle sich doch umb Gottes willen widerumben auß der erbrarmlichen gefängnus heraßlassen, 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 hochgelehre und hochgeebrte herr pfelger sye widerumber wolte 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 heraußlassen, so wissen wir schon was zu thun. Hochgebietende, gstrenge frau pflegerin, sie wolle so gueth sein und wolle ein fürbit thuen, durch die grosse marter, die Gott geliten hat, und sie gedenkh, daß sie auch khünder hat, sie wolle doch wegen der gevatterschaft waß thuen. Wan man den [jungen?] nit wird heraußlassen, so wird nichts guets geschehen, so bedenk sich der herr. Elisabeth Peintrißin.

Klagenfurt, 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.
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.


18. In the original: “auf den buckel nehmen.”


20. Bloch, Heritage developed this concept.


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. Jiři Hanzal’s forthcoming article (already mentioned in note 9) will present a further example for such connivance.


29. Brno, MZAB, B 1 Gubernium, k. 2181, fol. 741v, 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. 10r–11r.


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.”


CHAPTER 10

1. See glossary for an explanation of why this term, despite its problematic nature, is kept in the context of this essay.


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, Țiganii; 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.


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_sec&id=462&page=1&nb_lignes=48&l_typdoc=.


12. Schart, 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.


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.”


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.


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.


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).


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*.


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, SACHO, Fond 29 / 1 / 16 (Bukowiner Militär-Administration), fol. 1', 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.


38. Chernivtsi, SACHO, Fond 29 / 1 / 16 (Bukowiner Militär-Administration), fol. 5–6, Publication, August 12, 1783.

39. Chernivtsi, SACHO, Fond 29 / 1 / 16 (Bukowiner Militär-Administration), fol. 7', 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, SACHO, Fond 29 / 1 / 16 (Bukowiner Militär-Administration), fol. 1', 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.


44. Potra, *Contributioni*, 26–66 gives an overview of these three categories.

45. Ziegler, *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.


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, “Pfarreigulierung.”


57. The northern part of Bukovina was occupied by the Soviet Union in 1940/1944.
60. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 1026 / 1 / 10 (K. k. Galizische Statthalterei – Angelegenheiten der Bukowina), fol. 6', Letter, Bukowiner Kreisamt to Landesgubernium November 19, 1788.
61. Grünberg, Studien, 15.
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.
70. Pym, Gypsies, 91.
71. Pym, Gypsies, 160.
72. Mayerhofer, Dorfzigeuner, 24.
73. Kassics, Enchiridion, 340; Czoernig, Ethnographie, 187.
75. Chernivtsi, SACO, Fond 29 / 1 / 16 (Bukowiner Militär-Administration), fol. 5 + 6, Publication, August 12, 1783. The original reads as follows: der menschlichkeit entgenesstehende namen. Like in other parts of Habsburg empire, the term Zigenier 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.
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.
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; Țuțuianu, “Populația,” 4–5.
84. Polek, *Zigeuner*, 5. A prior report seems to have mistakenly transferred this number to 1775. See Ficker, “Zigeuner,” 250.
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.
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).
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 Ausweis, January 8, 1801 (referring to the year 1790).

99. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 318, pag. 113–24, Individueller Ausweis, January 8, 1801 (referring to the year 1790); Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 1805, pag. 251–63, Individueller Ausweis, 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).


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’, Supplication, October 15, 1799. Another document mentions a certain Peter Tuschinsky from Mihalce, 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’ Verzeichnis 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’, Supplication, October 5, 1799). In fact, Sawa’s son is mentioned as the “prosperous nobleman,” but it is very likely that his father was already one as well.


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).


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 Ausweis, 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 Ausweis, all January 8, 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.


122. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 1805, pag. 80–85, Verzeichnîß, January 8, 1801.


128. Krakow, ANK, Teki Schneidra 1805, pag. 344−67, Liquidation, January 8, 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 warden.

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.


137. General Civil Code, 6. The original reads as follows: Jeder Mensch hat angeborene, schon durch die Vernunft einleuchtende Rechte, und ist daher als eine Person zu betrachten. Sclaverey 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 Sclave wird in dem Augenblicke frey, da er das k.k. Gebieth, oder auch nur ein Oesterreichisches Schiff betritt. Eben so erlangt jeder Sclave auch im Auslande seine Freyheit in dem Augenblicke, in welchem er unter was immer für einen Titel an einen k.k. Oesterreichischen Unterthan als Sclave 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 Enaudi 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.”
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.
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.
17. Ginzburg, Ecstasies.
20. Ginzburg, Ecstasies.
25. Timecode, written and directed by Mike Figgis (Sony Pictures, 2000).
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.”

29. Ginzburg, “Freud.”
32. Ginzburg, “Clues.”
33. See Geertz, “Description,” 22.
36. Ginzburg, “Conversations.”
40. Ginzburg, “Inquisitor.”
41. Lessing, *Geschichte*.
42. Queneau, *Chêne*, 162.