

# METROON

Ljiljana Bubnjević, Dragana Radojičić

## **A Mosaic of Archival Closeness**

Anthropology of Memories from the  
Pannonian to the Adriatic Sea





Ljiljana Bubnjević and Dragana Radojčić

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Љиљана Бубњевић и Драгана Радојичић

МОЗАИК АРХИВСКЕ БЛИСКОСТИ

Антропологија сећања од Панонског до Јадранског мора

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Ljiljana Bubnjević and Dragana Radojčić

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Anthropology of Memories from the Pannonian to the Adriatic Sea



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## THE "CLEAN" BORDER

The modern age occasionally manifests an unusual nostalgia for old, vanished worlds and times, but also a considerable fear of what the future of humanity will look like. In this monograph, we have tried to assemble the archives collected and discovered in long-lasting archival institutions from two seas - the Pannonian and the Adriatic, into a mosaic picture of the past epochs, from an archival/anthropological perspective.

The history of human culture can be viewed in many different ways and from different perspectives: through the history of ideas that initiated progress and changed the face of the world; through the history of human creativity in the field of art, where the spiritual rises of great artistic achievements have changed the way we see life and pushed the boundaries of human skill; through the history of customs, beliefs and rituals, the change of religious ideas and institutions, or through the history of daily culture - the ordinary social or private life that have reflected all the great changes of spirit, affecting human habits, behavior, sensitivity, and also the overall understanding of the world and of one's own role in it. The history of culture cannot be observed without social history - changes in the forms of government and the changes of rulers, an endless list of

minor or major social conflicts or wars, social and political organizations, technological and industrial progress, economic development.

When it comes to revolutions, they can also be defined as a replacement of one crisis with another. The Neolithic revolution, in which the life of the hunter-gatherer was replaced by the development of agriculture, was, just like the industrial revolution later, essentially an energy revolution. In the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we are witnessing a great global fear regarding energy supplies and the availability of arable land, food and peace in the world.

Postmodernism cast doubt on the legacy of the Enlightenment, noting that the ideals of reason, which liberated the individual from the power of the irrational, dogma, tradition and power, became sources of repression by means of their own products - technology, bureaucracy, consumer society, materialism, nation-state, ideology, and a whole spectrum of institutions, procedures and norms. Resistance to scientific and technological culture and rationalism is spreading in the modern world, entailing the idea of cognitive and ethical relativism, encouraged by the idea of cultural diversity and individual idiosyncrasy. An important task in the era of globalism is to reflect on the value of Western civilization as well as an elevated sense of ethnic and cultural diversity, and to understand the history and traditions of different cultures, in order to prevent racist and nationalist ideas that have poisoned the Western history and that still pose a potential threat. Certainly, the dangers inherent in modern bureaucracy and modern technology have to be recognized, but in a way that will not jeopardize the meaning and essence of the existence of science. It is equally important that in an era of global interdependence filled with many tensions, the core values of our own heritage are affirmed and restored, as Marvin Perry points out:

*We must not allow this precious legacy to disintegrate into meaninglessness or be despised as an ideological tool of the obsessive elite. As the history of the twentieth century demonstrates, when we lose confidence in this heritage, we risk losing our humanity, and civilized life is threatened by organized barbarism. (Perry 2000: 655).*

One of the important characteristics of the regions of Europe, which is easily observed at first glance, is that they represent an intertwined and complex mosaic of cultures. Ethnic borders, religion, language and social formations intersect with each other, and it is difficult to find a clear and "clean" border in this whole territory. Each country in the region has its own dominant culture, yet each one also has citizens - followers of other cultural patterns, which usually follow the cultures of the inhabitants of countries bordering the country, and therefore archival sources are of particular importance in clarifying numerous particularities.

Cultural phenomena – followed through the dimension of historical retrospective obtained on the basis of archival sources – enrich existing knowledge and, at least to some extent, reduce unknowns.

Generally speaking, archival material, i.e. archival material according to its concept and essence of origin in a particular spatial and chronological context, provides a whole range of possibilities in terms of research in various scientific disciplines. Certainly, when using archive material, i.e. archival documents as historical sources, the crucial fact must be respected that they were created in a particular social context and that in that sense their content, very often reflects in some sense the habitus of the creator of archival material, especially if it is a natural person. That is, each historical source, and therefore archival material as a primary category in the context of historical and historiographical scientific discipline, according to its basic concept, more or less reflects the whole multidimensional spectrum of different social and/or individual characteristics of its creator. Thus it also

contains a component which reflects the specific characteristics of a series of social, chronological and geographical constellations of the environment and the moment in which a specific archival material (archival document) was created.

Archives are institutions that primarily store archival material in various forms. According to the concept of its origin, according to its provenance, and based on the postulates of archival theory and practice, the creators of archival material can be legal and private persons. Regardless of whether they are manuscripts, printed or written material, archival material is created within the activities of a particular political entity in a specific chronological and spatial context, and thus numerous characteristics that reflect a set of constellations that is also related to the social context of their origin can be “read” in their content. A special category in the context of archival practice is the formation of collections as artificially constructed sets of archival materials that do not have to be of the same provenance. Archival material classified and systematized into collections is usually more visually attractive and, apart from textual content, can have additional visual-historical significance.<sup>1</sup>

A meticulous, continuous and patient monitoring of cultural phenomena in historical retrospective, with the use of archival sources, enriches our knowledge of ourselves. In the age of information technologies, researching archival material is not an attractive job, primarily because it is time demanding and requires a systematic approach. The fact that relatively little attention is paid to this “quiet” and “slow” work was additionally inspiring to present even some already known information, but also to call on the scientific and general public to

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<sup>1</sup> For more information on the basic postulates of archival science in the context of the origin, provenance, creation of archival funds and collections, as well as on the classification of archival material, see Ivanović 2010.

work more intensively with archival sources. Archival data clearly indicate the ways and means, the reasons, causes and consequences. Through the breadth of information, they provide an opportunity to connect culture with demographic factors, socio-economic relations, spiritual and social conditions, natural environment and the list is as endless as the vast expanses of seas and fertile lands. (Milošević 1980: 10-12).

Diverse traditions and heritage are the legacy of modern processes and they are protected and maintained as such, becoming the exclusive good of different cultures or are simply practices in preserving human communities, wherever they may be. With the beginning of the twenty-first century, it can be said *that heritage has become a planetary localizing mosaic of cultural diversity, specificity and endangerment, which has mobilized and engaged a huge potential of people.*<sup>2</sup> Public debates launched in the 1990s have opened up many issues, concentrated around information-oriented social networks, human rights, corporate and global trends. *Unlike administrative taxonomies and applications within territorial and national borders, scientific research points out from the beginning the changing dynamics and ambivalent processes of living heritage, which implies reviewing the methods and strategies for their recognizability, sustainability and mobility.* (Lukić, Krastanović, Radojičić 2015: 167-168) The program for the implementation of intangible cultural heritage is a multiplicative and hierarchical project involving a large number of actors, producers and users of heritage, bearing in mind the diverse target groups and institutions.

The present time brings another new phenomenon, and that is the simultaneous unity and fragmentation of mass culture, and therefore

.....  
<sup>2</sup> The number of States Parties to the Convention increases. In 2011, there were 142 countries in the world that ratified the UNESCO Convention and thus gained the right to nominations.



the merging of the archival/anthropological mosaic on geographically different seas gained a new dimension through this monograph.

Regardless of how much the rhythm of modern life has imposed new methodologies and the use of new sources, the evaluation of archival sources is noticeable as well. They are thus not bypassed them in the analyses of particular cultural phenomena from the past, because they provide truly valid data, and therefore they affect the redefining of individual standing points that have already been defined. Unlike data provided by other types of sources that fix a particular time, archival sources are the most accurate “informant” for objective determination of historical dimensions and processes, their causes and consequences, as well as phenomena from the field of anthropology.

The historical time that includes the archival material that we enclose here could be marked as a *memorized long duration* that nurtures and contributes to the development of the Remembrance Culture.

Despite the fact that it seems the world will not be the same after years of pandemics and war, we use the same warm and sincere words of gratitude to all those who have supported us and who have shown their understanding during the compiling of this mosaic of profession and science on the two seas that are close in their essential values.

In this time when everything is a bit crazy, and lists and enumerations of all kinds are in abundance, where names and their bearers are lost in a whirlwind of fast events, and enumerations are in a chaotic rhythm without meaning and humanity, we owe great gratitude to two eminent institutions. To the Archives of Vojvodina in Novi Sad and the SASA Institute of Ethnography, Belgrade, to the editors of this edition, the reviewers, outstanding experts who have translated the texts, those who have technically assembled this mosaic of memories and discoveries, we thank for the help with illustrations,

#### THE "CLEAN" BORDER

especially the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin, who have lent us their lithographs (archival material), then paper conservators, all those who have scanned the archival material, the printers, and all those not mentioned in this mosaic journey from the Pannonian to the Adriatic Sea; we were with them in our thoughts.



## ARCHIVAL SECRETS - ANTHROPOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES

The life of the past centuries always slips away and it remains a bit mysterious due to the endless number of elements that make it up. Discovering the contents of individual archives is not just the job of researchers; it reminds of masonry, or of searching for, and then assembling, the stones of a mosaic of a social process, something that needs to have its contours of movement, its meaning, characters, the light and dark side revealed (Milošević 1980: 12).

Monastic and church treasuries were the main centers where the primary sources for the history and culture of a region or a country were kept. Thus, the first attempts at institutional treatment of archival material can be traced back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, while it is believed that the affirmation of the notion of archives that is close to today's starts in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The most important step was the separation of archives from the administrative profession. This role has long been taken over, especially in developed countries, by specialized institutions - archives (for more information on archives, see Bratić and Đekić 2011). Today, archives are interdisciplinary institutions, the ancient god *Janus* with two (and more) faces, but in a modern way - archives are at the same time focused on culture,

administration, science and education, due to their diverse activities. Therefore, it cannot be expected that any archivist could decide which of the above is more important, what has greater priority. Archives are functional institutions, in some cases driven by a strong interest in the interconnection of archives and disciplinary practice (see Bendix 2015: 143–163).

The main task of an archive is to protect archival material, as well as to make it available for use – in scientific research and expert work. An important archival activity is the production of information resources on archival material, which is created by archivists for users, based on which the users can be informed about its general or more detailed content and structure, which is an integral part of each archive.

The content of archival material is made available to the widest number of users through the publication of information media, by the development of information systems and by publishing, in print and other formats of content transfer. Experience shows that publishing historical sources contributes to the development of scientific research and acquainting the general public with the rich archives. Analytical description (inventory) is an information tool compiled by the archivist based on the professional processing of documents and thus it transmits the content/summary of each individual item in the archives. The analytical description is especially important for fonds<sup>3</sup> written in foreign languages (Latin, German, Hungarian) and in archaic scripts (Gothic, Old Cyrillic). In addition to analytical descriptions, archives create registers/indexes (nominal, geographical, topical, etc.) that further facilitate users' overview of the content of documents and their search/research. (See Jakšić 2018: 22-23)

.....  
<sup>3</sup> An archival fonds consists of all the archival documents organically created through activities of an administrative body, institution, enterprise, organisation, family, person, etc.

The abundance of archival material from our past, written in Serbian or a foreign language used in a particular area as a result of historical circumstances, is an inexhaustible field for studying many events and phenomena in the past of our and other peoples, thus resolving some doubts of the present. The value and social role of an archive is mostly known to the general public only indirectly, in the published results of scientific and professional research. (Crnić Pejović 2006: 433-444)

Written data obtained by studying archival material in archives are called *historical sources*.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the role of preserving and transmitting facts from the past, archival material is an important basis for scientific work, it is often one of the most important sources of scientific patterns.

Understanding the relationship between the archival science and various scientific disciplines is a complex issue that relates to and derives primarily from different research methodologies and which must certainly be based on an adequate epistemological principle. In this context, in terms of their content, archival documents essentially represent the primary historical sources that need to be critically interpreted when used, while accepting the social constellations, as well as the chronological aspect in which they were created.

Based on archival research, data gain full value only if they are meticulously and patiently collected, while those that were randomly collected and taken only because they are at hand lose their significance. Both horizontal and vertical research is possible based on archival sources. It takes months and years for the archive material

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<sup>4</sup> Prof. Dr. Đurđica Petrović wrote in 1981: *However, the current state of science cannot accept the designation of sources strictly according to the science for which they were characteristic, as well as the restriction and distribution of sources according to the manner and place of their acquisition. Depending on the topic, it would be desirable to use all types of available sources, because the type of source must not determine the boundaries of the area of interest.*

to be systematized, often “healed”, and then sorted. This is where the patience and dedication of the archival professionals comes into play, the stakes are immeasurable, and then this quiet process, in cooperation with researchers hungry for data, becomes visible and recognizable to a wider audience. Ivo Andrić<sup>5</sup> wrote: *I owe too many beautiful lessons and modest, yet joyful discoveries to archives and archival workers, so that, whenever the opportunity arises, I would say a word of truth and a word of praise about them, as the needed and useful, important and necessary social factors.*

The question: what can ethnologists and anthropologists expect from research on archival material - is not difficult to answer, because numerous confirmations of the importance of this research already exist. Or, the most concise formulation of the importance of archival documents is: *Unlike data provided by other types of sources, and in the first place oral sources, which fix in detail mostly only a certain time - form a horizontal section - material extracted from archival books is the most accurate informant for objective determination of historical dimensions - makes a vertical section - and helps to accurately identify the processes and contents of cultural phenomena of the past and latter days.* (Petrović 1979: 157-159). After researching for years in numerous archival institutions, Đ. Petrović emphasized their great importance for ethnological studies on the relation man - society - culture. She also emphasized that ethnologists are interested in finding out how certain cultural goods or larger cultural entities penetrate from foreign, distant and different cultures into a certain, socially and economically determined environment, as well as what happens to them afterwards. (Petrović 1979: 159-161).

.....  
<sup>5</sup> Record of Ivo Andrić in a photograph in the Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, at the time when he was surrounded by archival workers of this institution.

The archival material to which we refer in archival/anthropological permeation, mosaically arranging the fullness of its content, is preserved in the Archives of Vojvodina in Novi Sad and in the State Archives of Montenegro, Herceg Novi Department. Archival sources, which are kept in the Archives of Vojvodina, testify to past times and events in the area of AP Vojvodina as a specific region that is characterized and defined as one of the most ethnically and confessionally mixed geographical units in Europe.

We will start putting together the archival/anthropological mosaic of secrets and discoveries in the Pannonian Sea, in the context of this publication, and based on certain fonds and collections kept in the depots of the Archives of Vojvodina, we will give the reader the opportunity to research the history of peoples in the Balkans and the Pannonian plain, i.e., the territory ruled by the Habsburg monarchy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the following part of the text, special emphasis will be placed on the issue of migration and military activities, with the acceptance of the mentioned chronological and spatial context. In accordance with the above, this chapter will briefly present the archives of Bačka-Bodrog (1699-1849; F. 2), Torontal (1779-1849; F. 11) and Tamiš County (1779-1849; F. 10) as the basic characteristics of migrations in the area of Bačka and Banat would be pointed out.<sup>6</sup> The archive fonds of F. 8 Šajkaš Border Battalion-Titel Tschaikisten Gränz Infanterie Bataillon (1763-1872; F. 8)<sup>7</sup> will also be presented, the range of archival material kept in the Archives of Vojvodina is 1768-1872 and the Petrovaradin Military Court (Gericht des Festen Platzes Petrovaradin) (1914 -1917); as well

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<sup>6</sup> See in Hegedish et al. 1989; Đula and Nađ 1989; also, in Đula et al. 1989.

<sup>7</sup> The range of years in brackets represents the range of the creator of the fund, and outside the brackets the range of years of archival material kept in archives.



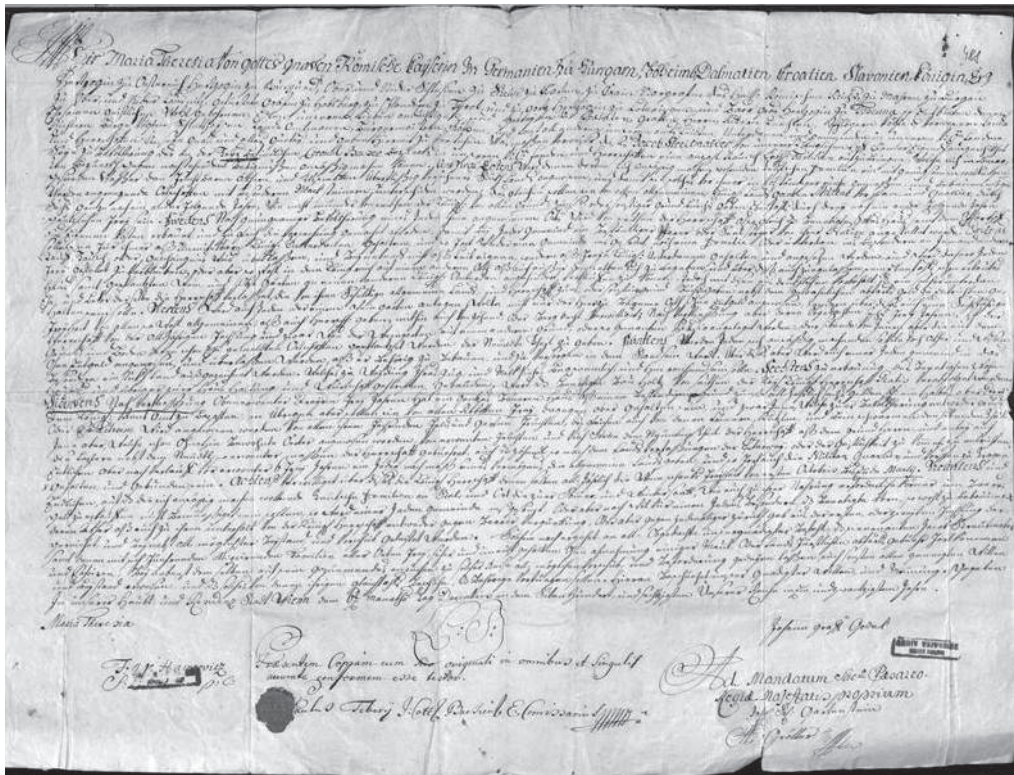
as the Franz Gerasch Lithography Collection – Austrian Army (1620-1854; F. 501) / Die Sammlung der Lithographien von Franz Gerasch – “Österreichisches Heer” (the collection presents the uniforms and equipment of the Habsburg army and several of its high-ranking commanders). These Fonds and collections cover the period of the



*Photos of registry books before and after conservation and restoration treatment  
(AV, F. 402 Collection of Registry Books of Vojvodina 1826 -1895)*

rule of the Habsburg Monarchy, and, in the spatial context, refer to the area of the Pannonian Plain.

The area of Bačka and Banat has been an area of great migration since ancient times. Every single wave of migration throughout history, moving in all directions, from east to west, from west to east, from north to south, and from south to north, has changed the face of this area. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and even later, the territory of Bačka, Tamiš and Torontal counties, saw several waves of planned colonization, Hungarians, Slovaks, Croats, Romanians, Ruthenians, Jews,



A declaration by Empress Maria Theresa concerning the recruitment of colonists  
for Bačka (AV, F. 2, BBŽ, 1760/247)

Aromanians, Roma and other peoples arrived in large numbers. This makes this area one of the most ethnically mixed in Europe.

### **County fonds<sup>8</sup>**

The archival fonds of Bačka-Bodrog, Torontal and Tamiš counties stand out by their content, scope and significance among numerous fonds and collections kept in the Archives of Vojvodina in Novi Sad and are categorized as cultural assets of exceptional importance. The counties were part of the civil government, a form of regional self-government and the basic administrative-territorial unit of Hungary, which governed everyday life at the time. The documents created by the work of the county administration are in the county fonds and represent testimonies from various spheres of life. In the county fonds, among other things, we find: charters of the nobility; writings relating to the military, ecclesiastical and educational matters; various court files; financial documentation; orders of rulers and central authorities; letters from various state authorities, counties and military commands; district chiefs' reports; various petitions and complaints of the population; privileges for outdoor fairs, etc. The language of the written archival material classified in archival records F. 2, F. 10 and F. 11, is predominantly Latin. In addition to Latin, the material was written in Hungarian, as well as in German archaic script, while to a lesser extent it was written in other languages (Serbian, Romanian, etc.). Activities of the county administrations ended after the Revolution of 1848/49. After the period of Bach's absolutism in 1861, the counties continued their existence in

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<sup>8</sup> For more information on this topic, see: Jakšić, Avakumović, Trbojević and Bubnjević 2022.

a changed form, and in the new socio-political circumstances, until their final abolition after the World War I.

### **Bačka-Bodrog County<sup>9</sup>**

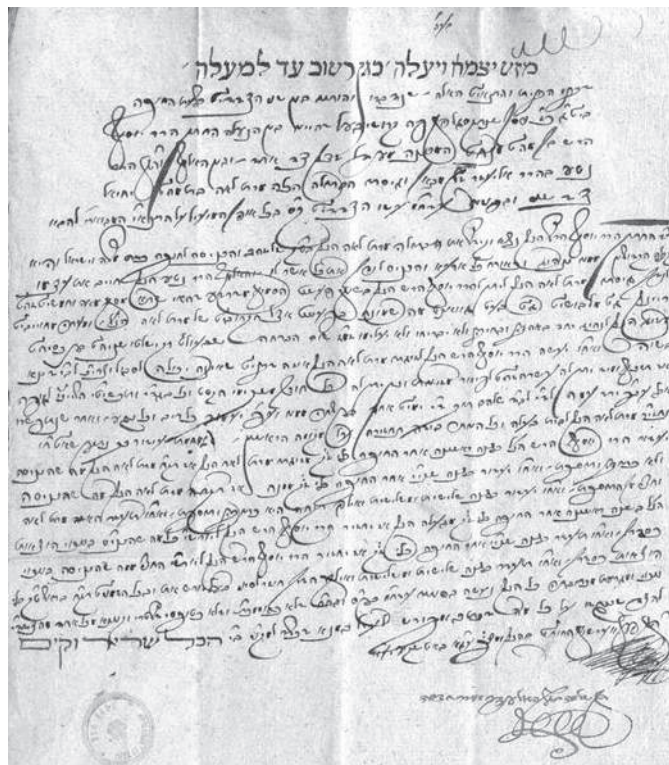
After the liberation from the Turks, the medieval counties were re-established (Bačka and Bodrog from December 1699), by the charters of Emperor Leopold I. Bačka covered the northern and Bodrog covered the southern half of the Bačka area. Due to the demarcation with the Potisje military frontier (which was demilitarized in 1751) and the disputed mutual territory, the small Bodrog County could not exist on its own, and it was integrated in the Bačka County, whereby the Bačka-Bodrog County was established as a single entity. During the 18th and the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it covered the entire geographical area of Bačka, with the exception of the Šajkaš area, which was under military jurisdiction. It was administratively divided into municipalities and had as many as three Free royal cities on its territory, Sombor (county seat), Novi Sad and Subotica, as well as the Privileged District of Potisje.

After Bačka was returned to the Austrian Empire, by the Treaty of Karlovci in 1699, its population was very sparse, and it further decreased after the Rákóczi Uprising (1703–1711). By coming to these parts, the Austrian government sought to turn Bačka into its granary, which is why it started with its organized and planned settlement. Settlement was carried out with the aim of obtaining labor force, increasing land use and increasing yields in general.

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<sup>9</sup> For more information on this topic, see: Jakšić, Avakumović, Trbojević and Bubnjević 2022.





*A judicial document in Hebrew (1804) (AV, F. 2, BBŽ, 358/10)*

## Banat Counties<sup>10</sup>

After the Peace of Požarevac was signed in 1718 and the Turks were pushed back, the entire territory of Banat was awarded to Austria. A military administration was organized on the territory of the so-called Tamiš Banat and it was replaced by civil administration in 1751. The Court in Vienna had for a long time avoided letting Banat

<sup>10</sup> For more information on this topic, see: Jakšić, Avakumović, Trbojević and Bubnjević 2022.

become a part of Hungary, as requested by the Hungarian nobility; instead, it placed it under its military-chamber administration. Austria did not want to allow the introduction of feudal relations that would benefit the nobility instead of the state, nor to leave the border area to the Hungarians. For a long time, the Parliament tried to annex the Tamiš Banat to Hungary, but it succeeded only in 1778. Three counties were formed in most of Banat: Torontal, Tamiš and Krašov, while the southern parts remained under the Military Border until its abolition in 1872. On the territory of Banat, as a special legal area, the Privileged District of Velika Kikinda with 10 settlements was founded in 1774.

By a charter of Empress Maria Theresa of April 23, 1779, the Tamiš County was formed, which included the eastern parts of Banat. Tamiš County bordered Arad County in the north, Krašovo County in the east, Torontal County in the west, and the Military Frontier in the south. Its capital was in Timisoara, and from the current Serbian part of Banat, it included only Vršac and its surroundings.

By another charter of the Empress from July 13, 1779, the Torontal County was formed, which included the northwestern part of Banat. Torontal County is bordered on the north by Csongrad and Csanad counties, on the east by Arad and Tamiš counties, on the west by Bačka county and on the south by the Military Frontier. Its headquarters were in Veliki Bečkerek (Zrenjanin).

After the departure of the Turks, the area of Banat was inhabited mainly by Serbs and Romanians, but by the end of the century the ethnic structure changed significantly with the planned settlement of Germans, but also Hungarians and other peoples. The Austrian authorities sought to transform Banat, from a wetland, as it was at the time of their arrival, to a place convenient for living, and its settlement, which was organized in several waves, was dictated by clear political, economic and military interests.

[illegible]

*Tabular list of 35 German colonists that settled on empty plots of land in Veliki Bečkerek (AV, F. 11, 1785/1830)*

In order to better see and understand the historical facts presented in the previous part of the text related to the archives and referring to the military organization and migration in those times, a historical overview of the Archives of Vojvodina fonds, kept in the depots of this institution, called *Šajkaš Border Battalion* (F. 8), will be briefly presented, followed by data from the Summary Inventory - an information tool of the Archives of Vojvodina - which shows the content of each inventory unit (book, box, etc.), and also contains a historical note, history of the fonds and the history of the fonds creator.

## Šajkaš Border Battalion Fonds (F. 8)

Archive Fonds Šajkaš Border Battalion - Titel (F. 8), which existed from 1763-1872, is inventoried in the Archives of Vojvodina under number 8. Based on the data from the Record Protocol (no case number), which is preserved in the Archive Fund F. 121 - Archives of Vojvodina, Novi Sad, it can be seen that the State Archives in Novi Sad reports to the Ministry of Education that the material of the "former Šajkaš Battalion" was transferred from Titel on March 16th, 1928.

The Archives of Vojvodina have archival material that refers to the Šajkaš Border Battalion, only from 1768. From 1768, there is only one case dated October 15th in Titel, which refers to the personal list of officers. From 1769, the material continues until 1877, even after the disbandment of the battalion in 1872. The classification and systematization of the archive material of the fonds has been completed, as well as the revision, i.e., determination of the physical condition of the material of the fonds. Upon inspecting the material, it was established that there are items in it that go back to 1877, and are related to the places in the region where the battalion was active.

The Šajkaš Border Battalion was named after the šajkaš, soldiers of the former river fleet<sup>11</sup> in the Habsburg Monarchy, which, since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, mostly enlisted Serbs. Their main task was to deter the Turks from crossing the Danube. With the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739, the Danube and the Sava became the borders between Austria and Turkey.<sup>12</sup>

.....  
<sup>11</sup> *Flotille* - Flotilla is the name for a group of documents that explains in more detail the establishment and development of the flotilla, it can be found in the fonds of Avram Đukić in the Manuscript Department of Matica Srpska under number M. 8.571

<sup>12</sup> *Istorija srpskog Naroda* (History of the Serbian people) IV/1. Belgrade: 1994, 217-232. (Slavko Gavrilović, Srbi u Hrvatskoj od Beogradskog mira do kraja 18. veka - Serbs in Croatia from the Belgrade Peace to the End of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century)



The decision to form the Šajkaš Border Battalion was made by Empress Maria Theresa on July 15th, 1763. The places Titel, Lok, Mošorin, Gardinovci, Vilovo and Žabalj were the first to join the Border Battalion. Titel was determined for the headquarters, and Major Teodor von Stanisavljević was appointed the first commander of the Šajkaš Border Battalion. Colonel Andreas Mathesen was appointed commander of the Petrovaradin<sup>13</sup> Border Regiment.<sup>14</sup>

By the regulation of Empress Maria Theresa from 1764, the Šajkaš flotilla was founded on the Lower Danube and the Battalion was formed<sup>15</sup>, with the transcript of the original document kept in the Manuscript Department of the Matica Srpska.<sup>16</sup>

“C. kr.<sup>17</sup> *Titel Krajina Šajkaš Border Battalion became in 1764 (May 1st), was transformed into the Krajina Infantry Battalion of the same name in 1852, and was disbanded and abolished in 1872 (November 1st).*” The original of this document of General Avram Đukić, is in the A. Đukić Fonds and is kept in the Manuscript Department of Matica Srpska under number M 8.580. This document is one of the few of his manuscripts that can be found in the Serbian language, because mostly everything is written in German Gothic.

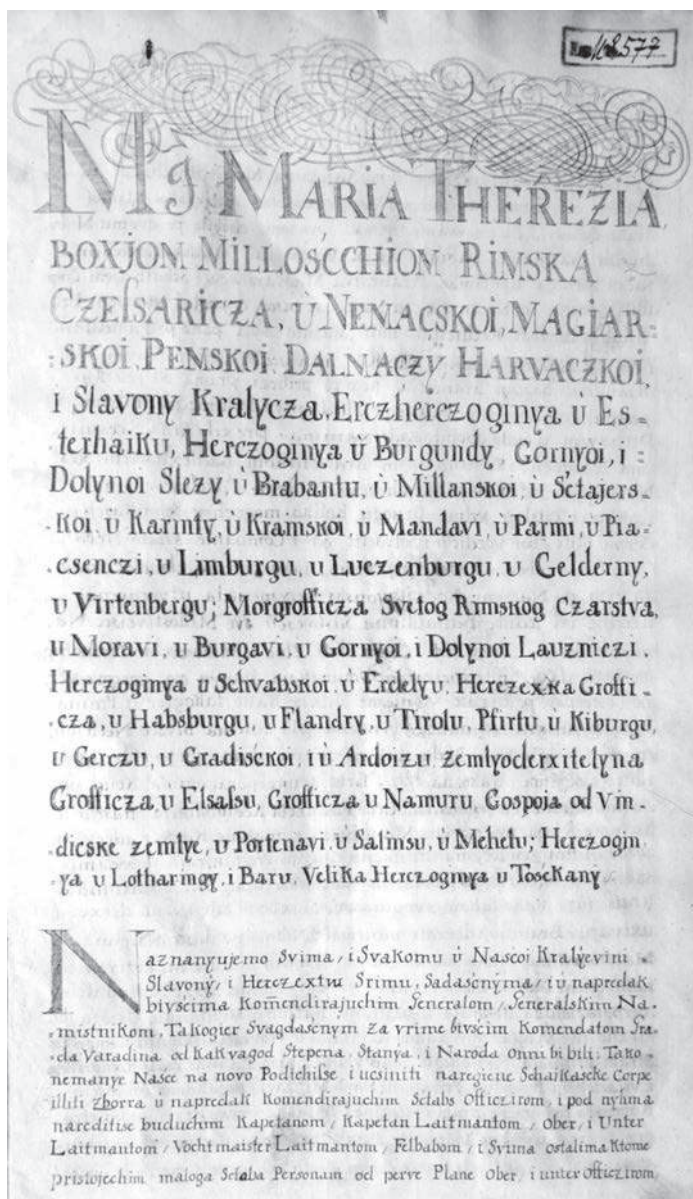
<sup>13</sup> From document M 8.580 it can be seen that Maria Theresa had ordered Baron Matezen to translate the Regulations into national languages, and in a communication of 24 April 1764 he confirmed the translation into the *Illyrischer Sprache* – Illyrian language, because only the Serbian people in the lands of St. Stephen’s Crown were called *Illyrische Nation* – Illyrian nation.

<sup>14</sup> Avram Đukić, *Šajkaška. istorija. (Šajkaš History)* Volume I. Novi Sad: 1975, p. 143-145.

<sup>15</sup> The State Archives of Austria in Vienna, a department of the War Archives, has the original documentation on the establishment of the Šajkaš Battalion under the following numbers: KA HKR 1763 November 26. No. 613/3 (*Reglementierung und Conscriptions Tabellen*) und KA HKR 1764 Mai 14. No. 341. (*Regulament*).

<sup>16</sup> Matica Srpska Manuscript Department, Rukopisi generala Avrama Đukića (Manuscripts of General Avram Đukić), no. M 8.577

<sup>17</sup> Meaning imperial-royal.



Transcript of the Regulations of Maria Theresa dated April 20<sup>th</sup>, 1764, in Vienna. As there is not enough space to show all 20 pages of this Regulation here, it contains 91 items, shown on 20 pages, I show



*When the Turks conquered Belgrade in 1521, Šajkaši moved with their light boats to their present motherlands, and they formed the core of the army of the Serbian despot Ivan Crnojević (1526-1528). After the death of their military leader, a part of the Šajkaš moved in their boats to the Komoran area and settled along the Vaga River in the towns of Selište and Sent-Ivan. From there, the Šajkaš fought for almost 200 years on the water and on land, faithfully serving the ruling house of the Habsburg. After the Turkish wars, Queen Maria Theresa allowed them to return to the homeland of their ancestors, and they moved with their leader Vladislav Fehirovari to Bačka, where the brothers from antiquity welcomed them into their heroic arms. This return of the Komoran Šajkaš to Bačka took place in 1746, and most of them settled in the villages of Kovilj and Kovilj-Sentivan (Šajkaš). At the same time, and later as well, many Serb soldiers moved from Bačka, and especially from Sombor, to Žabalj, Čurug, Donji-Kovilj and other Šajkaš places.”<sup>20</sup>*

The Šajkaš Battalion included the following places: Čurug, Gardinovci, Đurđevo, Gospođinci, Žabalj, Kać, Lok, Mošorin, Nadalj, Gornji Kovilj, Šajkaš, Titel, Donji Kovilj, Vilovo. The Šajkaš battalion remained in that composition until its disbandment in 1872. Titel, Gardinovci, Lok and Vilovo made the first command (company), Donji Kovilj, Gornji Kovilj and Kać made the second command, Gospođinci, Kovilj and Šajkaš made the third, Žabalj made the fourth, Čurug the fifth, and Đurđevo and Nadalj made the sixth command. Titel was the main seat of the Šajkaš battalion. (Bubnjević 2012, Summary inventory of the Archives of Vojvodina)

<sup>20</sup> Matica Srpska Manuscript Department, Rukopisi generala Avrama Đukića (Manuscripts of General Avram Đukić), no. M 8.583.

The draft law<sup>21</sup> of June 9, 1872, which is kept in the War Archives in Vienna, orders the abolition of the Military Frontier System in the areas of the Banat Military Frontier and the Titel Battalion, as well as connecting parts of those areas with Hungary, in legislative and administrative terms.

In his book, General Avram Đukić<sup>22</sup> also states that on the same day, June 9, 1872, a royal communication indicated the provisions for the transition of the Banat Frontier area and the Titel Battalion from military to civilian administration. With this communication, with regard to the Titel Battalion, it was ordered, first of all, to dissolve the battalion administrative authorities and to replace them, starting from November 1, 1872, with *commissions* that will carry out provincialization affairs, where the employees of the previous battalion administration would be engaged. From that day, the administrative districts were named *Stuhlbezirk* (Judicial Districts). In 1872, on November 1, the battalion court and the battalion prison in Titel were disbanded. Instead of the disbanded battalion court in Titel, one royal Hungarian district court<sup>23</sup> was formed in the main places of the judicial districts, in Titel and Žabalj.

On June 27, 1873, Franz Joseph, Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, promulgated the Law on the Abolition of the Military Frontier and the Titel Battalion and pointed out the measures necessary for the transition from military to civilian administration.<sup>24</sup>

.....  
<sup>21</sup> The draft law is kept in the War Archives in Vienna MKSM Box 403, for 1873 (MKSM *Hauptreihe - Akten - Karton Nr. 403 vom J. 1873*).

<sup>22</sup> Imperial-Royal Supreme Intendant of the 1st Class, nobleman Franz Joseph's Order, Manuscript Department of the Matica Srpska, *Manuscripts of General Avram Đukić*, number M 8.586.

<sup>23</sup> Avram Đukić, *Šajkaška. istorija*, Volume II, Novi Sad, 1975, 183–184.

<sup>24</sup> Official Gazette of the Ministry of Justice of the Kingdom of Hungary, Law no. 27, 161.

The fonds contains 441 inventory items, of which 128 books or their preserved parts and 314 boxes with about 200 items in each box. The fonds has a registry, organized according to the system of provenance. The boxes in which the material is stored are 12 cm thick and can contain about 200 pages of documents.

In this part of the text, illustrations are shown that more clearly present the picture of that period. Also, the basic characteristics of the contents of the archive material, i.e., the organizational units of the Šajkaš Battalion, are indicated, as well as the organizational tasks of the Battalion Command and companies that they performed in accordance with instructions received from higher instances.

**Organizational tasks of the Battalion Command:** According to the instructions received from higher instances, they were as follows: adoption of the Statute, construction of *šajka* boats and their maintenance, reports on population, reports on agriculture, reports on health of the population, reports on factories and artisans, trade, education and culture, traffic, finances, river water levels and meteorological reports, emigration, desertion, judiciary (court-martial, hearing, judgments), master's degrees, issuing of marriage licenses, reports, issuing of passports, fairs, officers' and soldiers' payroll, military supplies, issuing licenses for hunting and fishing (and traveling), preventing smuggling to Turkey, drawing up wills, death certificates.

**Organizational tasks of the companies:** Agreements on the use of pastures, wills, theft of horses, calculations on the rent of officers' apartments, sales contracts, reports on the property status of border guards, estimates of master works, applications for opening craft shops, registry of families that suffered casualties during the 1848 Revolution and that should receive help from Russia, master estimates for the construction of officers' apartments, determining the prices of alcoholic beverages, applications for discharge from the



army, leasing land, applications for mulberry saplings, report of the Central Audit Commission on newly published books, auction of pontoon boats, construction of schools, determination of fishing rent, contracts for logging, veterinary reports on the health of livestock, repairs of pontoon bridges, arrest warrants, applications for disability benefits, information on new editions of textbooks for primary school students in the Šajkaš Battalion, lottery rules, applications for assistance from the orphanage fund, the decree on the admission of patients for treatment to the Titel hospital, and reports on the condition of grain, purchase and sale of vineyards, auctions of firewood, supply of ammunition and other military materials, tabular reviews of the condition of grain and fruits, records of border guard estates handover, reports on the condition of winter crops, construction and repair of roads, etc.

During the audit of the fonds, the material that has rotted completely or to a significant measure is separated and destroyed. Material for treatment is also separated into special boxes and sorted by years. Less damaged documents are placed in sleeves for better protection of other documents in the box, and during the sorting, a note is made with a proposal for their treatment. The material that is separated for treatment is mostly infested with fungus, and not only is it harmful to the document, but it is also very harmful to the health of researchers, so a mask and gloves must be used.

The problems we encounter with the material are a great challenge, and they also require thinking out of the box. It is our opinion that documents that are infested with fungus should be treated in an adequate way. The Archives of Vojvodina has instruments, as well as an equipped laboratory, for restoration and conservation.

In addition to the technical protection that we advocate, physical protection or “ironing” should be performed on the documents from the mentioned archive fonds. This “ironing” entails straightening

the documents to their original state, because they were crumpled during archiving or use.

An example of an analytical description of an archival document shows a letter/ notification from the Municipal Hospital in Titel sent to the Battalion Command, which reads:

Aug. 5, 1857, Titel

V1861

The Municipal Hospital - Titel submits to the Battalion Command a report on the number of patients treated in the hospital in Titel in the period from November 1854 to the end of July 1855.

German

2 pages

### **Collection of lithographs by Franz Gerasch "Austrian Army (1620-1860)" (F. 501)**

Mosaic archival secrets reveal to us, through the specific expression of the visual contents of Gerasch's lithographs, the appearance of military uniforms of that time, which consistently opens a new prism of study in the context of ethnology and anthropology as scientific disciplines.

The painter and lithographer Franz Gerasch was a very prolific Austrian artist (Vienna, 1826-1906), author of numerous watercolors, historical scenes, illustrations, views, portraits and chromolithographs for scientific purposes. He studied at the Academy of Fine Arts, his older brother was the painter August Gerasch, who also specialized in landscape, urban scenes, the army and battles. The brothers were followers of the French military school of illustration and masters of imperial Austrian historical painting. For Archduke Leopold, he painted numerous historical scenes, depictions of battles and



portraits of soldiers from 1848/49. He went on study trips abroad, he passed through this region several times, leaving behind drawings and watercolors, which he later lithographed. He was especially interested in military campaigns, military commanders and the past of the Austrian army, which contributed to the creation of this collection.

The original edition of the collection was published in 1854 by the Viennese publisher Leopold Theodor Neumann, with the participation of several printers. It is perhaps the most important collection of Gerasch's lithographs, *Das Österreichische Heer von Ferdinand II. Römisch Deutschen Kaiser, bis Franz Josef I. Kaiser von Österreich* (Austrian army from the Roman-German emperor Ferdinand II to the Austrian emperor Franz Joseph I). It contained 152 hand-painted lithographs with its number in the Collection, the title of the thematic group and the author's signature. Lithographs are classified into 7 thematic folders/units in one, common bundle: Austrian Army 1620–1650, Austrian Army 1683–1748, Austrian Army 1750–1790, Austrian Army 1790–1809, Austrian Army 1809–1835, Austrian Army 1835–1848, The Austrian Army after 1848. The author followed the historical context and presented the main stages and important personalities of European history through thematic units. The first folder covers the period of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), a great conflict of continental powers of a religious character that had a devastating effect on Europe and far-reaching consequences. The key figures of this time, to dwell only on those in the archives, were Johann Tserklas Graf v. Tilly (1559–1632), commander of the Catholic League during the Thirty Years' War, who won important victories against the Protestants, his peer, General Albrecht Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland (1583–1634), who was assassinated with the approval of the Emperor on suspicion of treason, as well as Godfried Heinrich Pappenheim, Austrian general (Graf von Pappenheim österr.

General, 1594–1632). The second group is related to the Great Viennese War (1683–1699) and the wars from the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which spread through the Serbian lands with all their might. Field Marshal Ernst Graf Rüdiger von Starhemberg (Stadtkommandant in Wien, 1638–1701) was commander of the successful defense of Vienna during the Turkish siege (1683). The famous Austrian military leader and statesman Prince Eugene of Savoy, Imperial Field Marshal (Eugen Prinz von Savoyen. k. k. Feldmarschal, 1663–1736), led great battles for the liberation of the Serbian lands from the Turks. Uniforms and equipment from the wars of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, until the last Austro-Turkish War (1787–1791), are presented in the third section. The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815) are represented in the fourth group of lithographs. Johann Fürst zu Liechtenstein, General der Cavallerie, 1760–1836, was the commander of the imperial army in the Napoleonic Wars, as was Prince Karl Schwarzenberg, the imperial field marshal (Carl Fürst Schwarzenberg, 1771–1820). The various branches of the army are presented in the fifth segment. Gerasch's contemporaries, high-ranking officers, soldiers and the already developed branches of the army during the revolutionary wars of 1848/49, are presented in detail in the sixth and seventh folders of the collection. Historical paintings are a specific visual experience of military history and war technique, of the spirit of time and space. These terms are known to this day: infantry, artillery, cavalry, engineering, navy, etc. On the other hand, few people know, or use, the outdated terms of dragoon – light, armed cavalry with a cuirass; grenadier – originally a soldier whose main task was to throw hand grenades; uhlan – a horseman armed with a long spear and sword; cuirassier – horseman with a cuirass; hussar – Hungarian light horseman. Since the lithographs had no binding, the Collection was suitable for fragmentation, division and individual use for various purposes, so that the

first edition from the time of publication, mostly incomplete, spread around the world. Copies of lithographs, in greater or lesser numbers, can be found in various world cultural institutions, e.g. The German History Museum, the New York Public Library, whose collections we used for comparison, as well as on numerous Internet sites. Part of the original Collection is the property of the Archives of Vojvodina. Collection of lithographs in the Archives of Vojvodina Lithographs, a total of 64, as many as the Archives of Vojvodina have, make up the archive collection (F. 501). The collection has been sorted out, summary and analytical inventory have been made, and it has been digitized. In addition to their number from the original edition, each also received its own archive number/marking. The artistically processed lithographs are colored, partially varnished, with a handwritten text in German, with dimensions 21.4 cm x 29 cm, with a passe-partout of 18.5 cm x 23.8 cm. Each of them has a note on the group it belongs to, the description to which it refers, that is, the character it represents. Of the other lithographs, five items differ in shape: three items (54–56) have printed inscriptions, as if they were part of another printed whole, while two (14, 33) do not have an outer frame, but the first has graphite pencil inscriptions added, and in the second it was missing. Part of the lithograph has been treated and preserved, there is no major damage, except for lightly frayed edges. Missing or illegible numbers have caused several errors in the order. The colors are soft, they do not have such a pronounced color as the items seen elsewhere. The author's signature is in the lower right corner. The original collection shows the uniforms and equipment of the Habsburg army and several of its high-ranking commanders. The depictions are made in such a way that the uniforms occupy the main place of interest with precisely drawn details, while the human figures have a schematic appearance, with small heads and elongated faces. Older models and portraits

were certainly used for the earlier period. In the foreground are people in typical military operations, infantry or cavalry. The background is sketched landscapes, fortresses, weapons, equipment, buildings, room interior, cities, soldiers. For several lithographs, it is possible to more accurately assume the place of origin (Petrovaradin Fortress). Šajkaš (Border Battalion, nos. 62 and 85) are also not neglected in the original collection. The original Collection was divided into the following chronological groups: I: nos. 1–6, period 1620–1650; II: nos. 7–12, period 1683–1748; III: nos. 13–24, period 1750–1790; IV: nos. 25–29, period 1790–1809; V: nos. 30–40, period 1809–1835; VI: nos. 41–46, period 1835–1848; VII: nos. 47–61, period after 1848. The last three copies were subsequently added. In 1990, the Archives of Vojvodina contributed to the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the Great Migration of Serbs, with a series of lectures and an exhibition of lithographs by Franz Gerasch “Uniforms of the Border Guards of the Austrian Army from 1620–1860”. As extremely visually interesting, lithographs were used in the preparation of several other exhibitions and publications of the Archives of Vojvodina - *Kroz fondove i zbirke Arhiva Vojvodine*, 2005; *Plovidba Dunavom i njegovim pritokama u 18. i 19. veku*, 2013; *Slobodni vojni komunitet Petrovaradin (1702–1918)*, 2013. (The fonds and collections of the Archives of Vojvodina, 2005; Navigation on the Danube and its tributaries in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, 2013; Free Military Community Petrovaradin (1702–1918), 2013, etc.), especially those that can be more closely related to this region (9, 20, 27, 28, 32, 54), such as depictions of members of border units. The description consists of a group title (below the lithograph), the lithograph number, the original marking and the title (above the lithograph). On the occasion of the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Šajkaš Battalion on May 13, 2018, a thematic exhibition was set up entitled “Lithographs of Franz Gerasch, Austrian Army 1620–1854” in cooperation with the German

Historical Museum in Berlin (Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin), financed with the help of the ECOC Foundation - Novi Sad. On that occasion, the German Historical Museum sent us ten lithographs, which are listed at the end of this text and which we publish.

**From the Collection of Lithographs kept in the Archives of Vojvodina:**

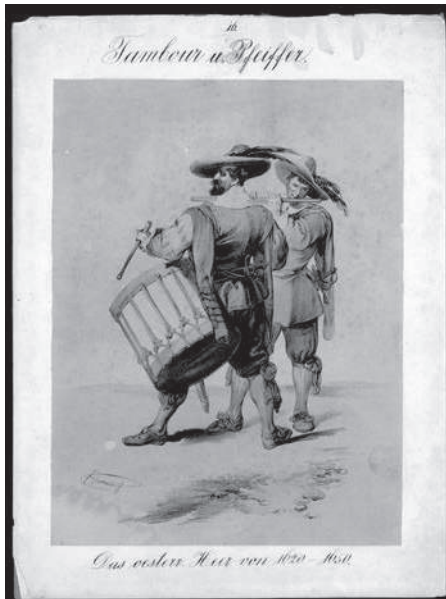
**Austrian Army 1620-1650**



*Duke Wallenstein of Friedland  
(Wallenstein Herzog v. Friedland)*

*Count von Pappenheim, Austrian General  
(Graf von Pappenheim österr. General)*





Drummer and Fifer  
(Tambour u. Pfeiffer)

## Austrian Army 1683-1748



Count Ernst Graf Rüdiger von  
Starhemberg, Commander of the City  
of Vienna (Ernst Graf Rüdiger von  
Starhemberg. Stadtkommandant in Wien)



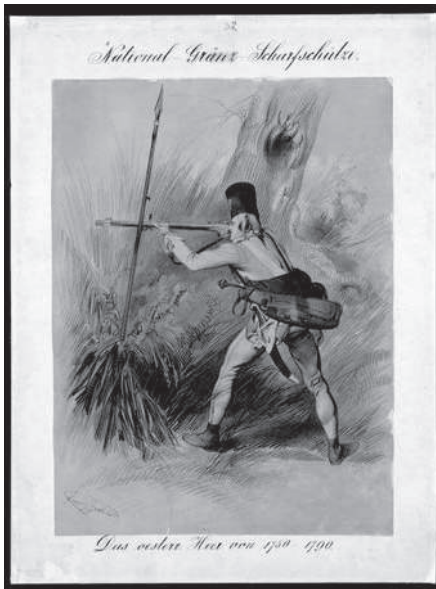


Scan: Prince Eugene of Savoy,  
Imperial Field Marshal  
(Eugen Prinz von Savoyen.  
Kk Feldmarschal)

## Austrian Army 1750-1790



Hussar (Husar)



*Border sharpshooter*  
(National-Gränz Scharfschütze)



*Border Artillery and Infantry*  
(National-Gränz Artillerie - Infanterie)

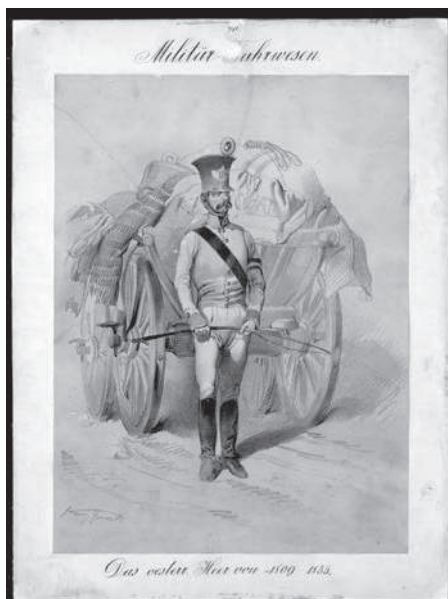
## Austrian Army 1790-1809



*Border Artillery and Infantry*  
(National-Gränz Artillerie - Infanterie)



## Austrian Army 1809–1835



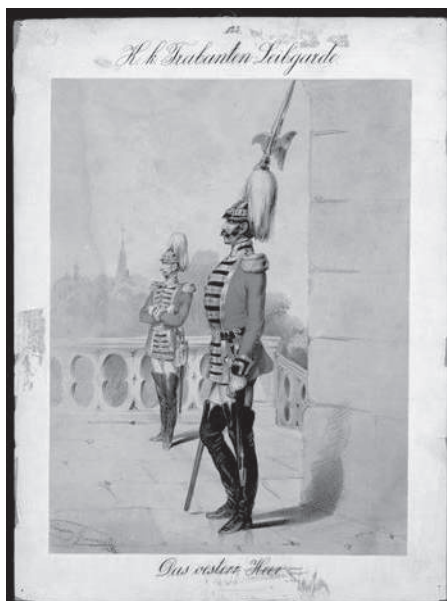
Military transport  
(Militär- Fuhrwesen)

## Austrian Army 1835–1848



Artillery (Artillerie)

## Austrian Army from 1848



*Imperial escort - bodyguard*  
(K.k. Trabanten – Leibgarde)

## Petrovaradin Military Court Fonds (1914-1917) 1914-1917 (F. 406)

The previous pages of this book present fonds that cover the period of the Habsburg monarchy and which, in the spatial context, refer to the area of the Pannonian Plain. In order to complete the picture, “getting acquainted” with one aspect of the lives of soldiers in that period will be additionally made possible through the presentation of the uniforms and lives of the soldiers themselves in wartime.

Despite the complex and often antagonistic political, economic and social relations between ethnic groups and religions within a complex political, demographic, economic, social and cultural environment, shaken and aggravated by the First World War (1914-1918), the archival/anthropological mosaic will present two fonds whose content is related to war documents and military activities, such as

fonds number 74, *Command of the fortified town of Petrovaradin - Novi Sad (1914-1915)* and fonds number 406 *Petrovaradin Military Court 1914-1917*, which, in spite of everything, depict the life of an ordinary man in the turmoil of war conflicts. By reminding us of some parts of these fonds, we are preserving the culture of remembering those times and many innocent victims.

The small fonds, *Command of the fortified town of Petrovaradin - Novi Sad (1914-1915)* No. 74, consists exclusively of official correspondence of the Civil Commissioner for the fortified town of Petrovaradin (whose seat was in Novi Sad), Dr. Russay Géza, with the military and civilian institutions, civil servants, conscripts and their relatives, while the content of the second fonds, No. 406, *Petrovaradin Military Court (1914-1917)*, clearly indicates that the material of this fonds is important not only for researchers of the army and the war, but also of other aspects of history and society in wartime circumstances, such as: events in border areas and in occupied Serbia, diseases and hospitals, catering, earning, general and local circumstances, transport, public morals, specific details and attractions.

The peculiarity of this fonds, unlike most others that primarily contain written paper, handwritten and printed archival material, is that it has attached evidence: plans and sketches, personal letters to relatives with envelopes, personal documents, promotional material, and mostly soldiers' postcards with various motifs. The material, visually and substantively, conveys the messages, views and spirit of a time (see Bubnjević 2017).<sup>25</sup>

Fonds of the Archives of Vojvodina F. 406 The Petrovaradin Military Court (1914-1917) (*Gericht des Festen Platzes Petrovaradin*),

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<sup>25</sup> Published volume of the edition of Scientific Information on the Archives of the Archives of Vojvodina, series XXI, entitled *Petrovaradinski vojni sud (1914-1917)* (Petrovaradin Military Court), analytical inventory, contains 718 analytical descriptions of military trial records and correspondence with other military and civilian bodies from the fonds of the same name.

contains documentation of this court instance from the time of the First World War, and is categorized as a cultural asset of great importance. In addition to this name, the terms Petrovaradin Fortress Court and Petrovaradin Military Court are also used in the material and records. The archival material covers the period of military trials from 1914 to 1916, and documents dating from 1917 can also be found.

### **History and structure of the fonds**

According to the provisions of the interstate agreement, the fonds of the Petrovaradin Military Court was transferred from the War Archives in Vienna to the Archives of Slovenia in 1977, and then to the Archives of Vojvodina. It consists of 23 boxes, more precisely 2.6 meters of archival material. The language of the material is German, although documents, as well as various forms, can be found in Hungarian, Slavic and other languages. The fonds is categorized as a cultural asset of great importance. During 2016, the Archives of Vojvodina arranged and processed the fonds. The fonds was sorted according to the order of registry markings and it was noticed that some files were missing. The summary and analytical inventory for the fonds was completed in 2016 (718 analytical descriptions). The fonds is organized into 4 organizational units "K", "E", "D" and "G". As there is no explanation why the material is divided into these 4 organizational groups, it is assumed that "K" stands for "*Kriegsakte*" ("war documents"), "E" for "*Eingestellt*" ("suspension") in the sense that the court proceedings are suspended, but not the disciplinary, "D" "*Deserteur*" for desertion and "G" for "*Geschäftszahl*" or "registry number/document number" or even for "*Gerichtsoffizier*" ("court officer"), since within that group

of files it can be seen that the court officer was the person leading the initiated hearing, the compiler of the report and the proposer of the suspension of the proceedings due to lack of evidence, unknown perpetrators, etc. He also motioned withdrawing of criminal charges. From that, it can be concluded that the court officer ended the initiated court proceedings that did not even enter the pre-trial process with e.g., calling witnesses, etc., so that this group of files does not contain conclusions/judgments of completed court cases, but only reports/indictments on the initiated proceedings.

### **Basic characteristics of the content**

The Fonds contains personal files of soldiers, horsemen, gunners, medical workers, officers, Russian prisoners of war and others, civilian workers, volunteers, etc. against whom, according to the criminal charges of a government body on whose territory the crime was committed, a court procedure was initiated before the Petrovaradin Military Court. All files contain indictments of soldiers, although not all were convicted, and not all ended up in prisons. Some were acquitted, or disciplined, so that these trials ended with the suspension of the proceedings. The files of the persons against whom the court proceedings were conducted contain documents of various military institutions, units, regiments, divisions and commands, primarily documents of fortress, transport, divisional and rear commands, as well as the Naval Port Command, Danube and Railway Command. Regiments: artillery, infantry, howitzer, gunners, etc. Battalions: sappers, fighter, mortars, as well as various hospitals, prisoner of war camps, economic stations for the supply of food to soldiers and livestock, as well as ammunition depots, for example, armory in Titel, etc. In addition to the prison

sentence, each file also contains judgments which clearly state the days of the month, during the serving of the sentence, in which the prisoner will have to observe fasting, hard labor, as well as stay in a separate prison or solitary confinement, etc. Each prison sentence also contains a description of the sentence, e.g. "Severe imprisonment". In the proceedings that were suspended, the reasons were stated, for example, if a deserter prisoner was arrested before trial, his command had already sentenced him to prison or solitary confinement, so these trials were suspended in court, due to the fact that the sentence was already served. Also, if the fugitive could not be arrested due to lack of evidence, witnesses, etc. The interrogation of the indictees or witnesses was conducted in accordance with the internal policy of the Military Court. The Petrovaradin Military Court ordered the commands to organize war courts within their commands and to examine the indictees or witnesses of the event, based on the questions sent by the Petrovaradin Military Court. The internal war courts within the command sent the answers from the interrogation to the Military Court in Petrovaradin. Therefore, one can also find documents of war courts that functioned within the command in the material. Within the indictee's file, there is a document entitled "*Beratungsprotokoll*" in which the presiding judge, the senior lieutenant investigator (*Oberleutnantauditor*) and three members of the court assistants (two senior lieutenants, or two captains, and a lieutenant) proposed the amount of the sentence, as did the clerk, mostly with the rank of sergeant. On the same day, the judges were in consultation and rendered the verdict. Trials and verdicts were conducted fairly against all soldiers, prisoners, regardless of their religion or rank. Soldiers were convicted of desertion, arbitrary abandonment from the army for a few days, most often they would go to their homes to plough or harvest their land, and then return to the army voluntarily. The difference between

desertion and arbitrary abandonment, is that milder punishments were imposed on soldiers who arbitrarily abandoned and returned voluntarily to their units. Then, indictments for theft, drunkenness, abuse of office, self-harm, disrespect to army subordination - refusing to carry weapons (mostly Nazarenes) and evading the execution of orders of superiors, fraud, espionage (e.g. documents written in Cyrillic were monitored, since Cyrillic was prohibited. There are also indictments against members of the "People's Defense"), for escape from a military hospital, misappropriation of property, violation of legal provisions and others. Soldiers were not convicted only for rape, individual or group ones - although several documents have been preserved that testify to that, it mostly turned out that they were unidentified persons. The convicts were mostly sent by the Petrovaradin Military Court or the Ministry of War in Vienna to the Petrovaradin Fortress Prison, the garrison town, the Komárom Military Prison, and Arad, where they were to serve sentences of up to ten years. Death sentences (by shooting and hanging) have also been preserved, of which one was executed, and most were replaced by 8-10 years in prison. In addition to the files of soldiers, the fonds also contains military files of sailors of various classes, captains, non-commissioned officers, stokers, etc., who were charged for various offenses, and who were part of the military crew on steamships. The fonds contains 23 boxes; Boxes 1-3 contain material related to 1914, in which the inditees are sentenced to 5 years of military imprisonment each. Boxes 4-8 contain material for 1915 and 9-18 contain material for 1916. The material from the middle of the box 18-19 is related to 1917. Box 20-22 is related to the material for 1914, 1915 and 1916, i.e., to the charged persons who were acquitted due to lack of evidence, or whose court proceedings ended with the suspension of the proceedings. Also, the verdicts were milder, i.e. the sentence was imposed "after a few days of imprisonment" or only

a disciplinary measure within certain commands. The last, 23<sup>rd</sup> box of the fonds, contains material related to 1914, in which the indictments were either suspended or only disciplinary measures were imposed. We will present twelve randomly selected examples that show the events during the World War I. The special focus will be on health, as well as on the health institution that existed in the administrative structure of the Austro-Hungarian military border. As the most representative example, in that sense, we singled out the military hospital for infectious diseases in Bršadin near Vukovar,<sup>26</sup> which operated from 1914 to 1918 (*Epidemiespital Nr. 1 in Bršadin bei Vukovar*). The mentioned institution was an important part of the health system of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and through the archive materials available to us, we have a relevant view, not only of the functioning of this health institution, but of the concept of the entire health system as it existed in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.<sup>27</sup>

November 3, 1914, Petrovaradin

K 55/14

Karl Kuhajda additional reserve infantryman, member of the Infantry. reg. no. 6, born in Palanka, charged for stealing shoes, etc. from fellow soldiers and arbitrary withdrawal from the army, for which circumstances need to be established, whether he withdrew due to reluctance to serve in the army or due to fear of the enemy. He was sentenced to two months in prison for arbitrary abandonment, and he was released for alleged theft.

German, Hungarian

58 pages

<sup>26</sup> Archives of Vojvodina, Novi Sad, F. 406, Petrovaradin Military Court (Gericht des Festen Platzes Petrovaradin), (1914-1917), a. j. K 251/16.

<sup>27</sup> For more details on the Military Hospital, see: Branković, 2014.



February 3, 1915, Petrovaradin

K 137/14

Milivoj Vijatović, a civilian from Belgrade, charged for performing military service as a Hungarian citizen during the war in the enemy country of Serbia. According to his own allegations, Vijatović states that he was born in Zemun and that his father and his family moved from Zemun to Belgrade 20 years ago and that they acquired Serbian citizenship there and that he never received a call-up for the army from the Austro-Hungarian authorities. Based on the report of the Police Commissariat of Zemun, the registry books kept by the Nikolajevska parish disappeared with the invasion of the Serbs on Zemun, out of a total of three city Orthodox parishes, including that of the Holy Virgin and the Holy Trinity, so they can't check where Vijatović was born. Suspension of proceedings and internment of the accused abroad.

German, Hungarian

32 pages

August 4, 1915, Petrovaradin

K 168/15

Karl Gütter, Lieutenant of the inf. reg. no. 2, born in Wischau (Wischau, Viškov, Czechia), accused of disturbing public order and peace in a pub, being in a drunken state, but not in a completely drunken state. Lieutenant Mayerhoffer's report, compiled based on the statement of witness sergeant major Velček, that he was drunk and said, "Croats are corrupt whores who fight for the interests of Hungarians and Germans, and the only heroes are Czechs, who dedicated themselves to the Pan-Slavic idea, which is what Croats should do, as well." In addition, he emphasized that the justice was satisfied with the murder of the heir to the throne and his wife. Sentenced to death by firing squad. The sentence was pronounced at 5 PM, he was

assigned a priest, and the sentence was carried out at 7 PM.

German, Hungarian

35 pages

April 15, 1916, Petrovaradin

K 251/16

Jozef Aleksi (Aleksi) corporal, member of the Infant. reg. no. 6, charged with arbitrarily leaving the Hospital for Infectious Diseases in Bršadin, without approval, in an unknown direction. Punished by a disciplinary measure with 15 days of separate imprisonment.

German, Hungarian

17 pages

July 5, 1916, Petrovaradin

K 520/16

Živan Papić, infantryman, member of the Infant. reg. no. 6, born in Žabalj, charged with arbitrarily leaving the Hospital for Infectious Diseases in Bršadin, because he left without approval. Punished with a disciplinary measure of 15 days in prison.

German, Hungarian

13 pages

July 5, 1916, Petrovaradin

K 532/16

Ranko Strbački, gunner, member of the gunner regiment no. 36, born in Laćarak, Mitrovica district, Srem County, charged with arbitrarily leaving the Hospital for Infectious Diseases in Bršadin, without approval. Punished with a disciplinary measure of 12 days in prison.

German

9 pages

February 5, 1917, Petrovaradin

K 1150/16

Janko Muzdeka, medical soldier, member of the Hospital for Infectious Diseases in Bršadin, born in Buzeta, Glina district, Zagreb County, charged with arbitrarily leaving the Infectious Diseases Hospital in Bršadin. Sentenced to 14 days in prison.

German, Croatian

29 pages

January 19, 1917, Petrovaradin

K 11/17

Proka Novaković, infantryman, member of the Infant. reg. no. 78, born in Tenja, Osijek district, Virovitica County, charged with arbitrarily leaving the Infectious Diseases Hospital in Bršadin. Punished with a disciplinary measure of 15 days in prison. German, Croatian

13 pages

September 23, 1916, Petrovaradin

E 139/16

Russian prisoner of war Feodor Jakura avoids working in a cement factory in Beočin. The investigation established that he has a problem with his eardrum, as well as with the obstruction of both nostrils. He complained of a headache and dizziness and that he could not breathe normally because of inhaling the dust. The expert's finding confirms his problems and defines the diagnosis. The commander of the Military Court in Petrovaradin reports that the procedure against the above will be suspended and that some other adequate work will be found for him.

German

15 pages

October 13, 1916, Petrovaradin

E 142/16

Simo Knežević, reserve sergeant, member of the Infant. reg. no. 79, born in Vrbava, accused by the Hospital for Infectious Diseases in Bršadin, where he came for treatment for venereal diseases, from the hospital in Otočac, that he wrongly convicted Marija Šegota, the wife of a carpenter from Otočac, for transmitting the venereal disease to him. The medical examination of the above-mentioned woman determined that she was healthy and that she claimed that she did not have sexual intercourse with the accused at all. The above then accuses a villager Marica Dubravčić from Lješće near Otočac. Petrovaradin Military Court's proposal to suspend the criminal charges.

German

11 pages

August 20, 1914, Petrovaradin

D 2/14

Milan Panin, additional reserve infantryman, member of the Infant. reg. no. 6, born in Parabuć, accused of desertion, because he did not return to his unit a month after a granted medical dismissal. The investigation established that he returned and previously reported to the Command in Peć, but after a few days he ended up in the hospital again due to an eye disease, and was declared incapable of handling weapons by the military commission.

German, Hungarian

31 pages

November 23, 1914, Petrovaradin

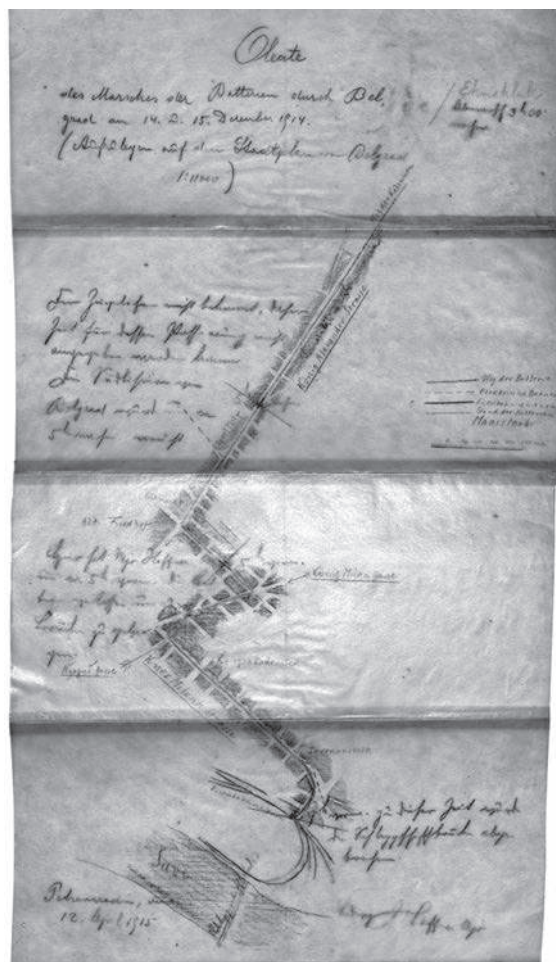
G 109/14

The coachmen, members of the civilian transport department, accused of stealing hay and corn leaves, to the detriment of the Novi

Sad residents Bela Frigyesi and Kosta Mrkić. The court officer of the commander of the Petrovaradin Fortress Command orders the Novi Sad city captaincy to pay compensation to the injured. Payment receipt attached.

German, Hungarian

46 pages



Plan for the retreat of the Austro-Hungarian army through Belgrade to Zemun  
(AV, F. 406, box 3, a. J. 26)

Many months and years are required for archival material to be systematized, sorted, formed into fonds and collections, as well as analytically processed and for it to become visible to researchers and the general public. The fonds we have presented here are cubes of a colorful mosaic interspersed with the Pannonian Sea, through which we have covered only certain aspects of this complex and, above all, interesting topic.

The Mediterranean is a big archive. Almost every city in the Mediterranean has at least one archive that tells not only about past events, but also preserves old words and expressions, customs and the way of life. Predrag Matvejević summed up the key features of the Mediterranean area in two words - *olives and archives*. Although it is difficult to draw boundaries for the Mediterranean area, however, it seems that something does define it: "The old sages taught that the Mediterranean is where the olive tree grows," he said (Matvejević 2003, 51). The archival institutions of the Bay of Kotor keep centuries-old documents that do not lose their appeal, despite the fact that very significant decades of research have so far been conducted by eminent experts. It is an inevitable fact that this area is still a mine for curious scientists and researchers, anthropologists, linguists, historians and others, and archival writings are an endless and insurmountable space rich in topics that will require new scientific insights in the future.

The Bay of Kotor is a unique bay in the Mediterranean. The cultural influences of the East and the West were deposited there. The eastern part of the Bay fell under the rule of Venice at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, although it experienced its cultural and economic rise in the time of Emperor Dušan; from the 15<sup>th</sup> century its economic, and thus cultural, development will continue without major disruptions in this part of the bay.

From September 30, 1687, the Bay of Kotor no longer lives only as a geographical concept, but its unique political and social life begins, though under the foreign rule of the Venetians. Regardless of some later minor war successes, the conquest of Herceg Novi was one of the last military victories of Venice, the dominant power in the Mediterranean until then.

The intensity of the battle for Herceg Novi is illustrated by the fact that no house in the city remained intact, while the city walls were half-destroyed. The Turkish army offered fierce resistance, which the invaders did not expect. The belated help to the Turks, and the fact that the majority of the Venetian soldiers were mercenaries, as well as the disease that affected the army and the lack of new forces, ammunition and money, are the reasons why the fighting over Herceg Novi lasted only one month. It would have probably lasted even longer if 230 *Arbanas*<sup>28</sup> had not left the battlefield, exhausted by long fighting, without the prospect of the Turks paying them what they were owed, and with the monetary reward they had received from the Venetians. Immediately afterwards, with great losses, the Turks offered to surrender under an honorable agreement – that they could leave the city freely, with weapons and personal belongings, which was accepted (T. K. Popović, *Herceg Novi*, 1924: 83-96).

Very interesting data on the first years after the conquest of the northwestern part of the Bay of Kotor are provided by the reports of G. Corner, which are an interesting read, but it should be borne in mind that these reports are written in the style and spirit of the time in which they were created, and they are full of self-praise, exaggeration and the like. In a report dated December 20, 1687, he wrote: "After very difficult negotiations, which I conducted with the mediation of Captain Kristofor Zmajević from Perast, I managed to

.....  
<sup>28</sup> Scribe's record

establish a firm faith with Prince Vuk Ivanović, Lazar Mirčetić and other harambaša that they would serve your Highnesses and I had them solemnly swear to this. That they will never acknowledge another ruler except Your Excellency. Since there are 160 well-armed people, they will stay as guards in the two occupied towers, which are located in such a convenient place that, if we help them with ammunition, they can defend themselves. In order to be more confident in their faith, I will send all those families who took refuge in the Dubrovnik state to live in Herceg Novi. They will continue to fight with the Turks and prove their perseverance and faith in the Republic." By signing the document on February 14, 1701, Venice had to renounce its newly conquered territories in Herzegovina (S. Musić, Herceg Novi, 1988: 9-99).

In addition to giving significant real estate, Venice granted titles that entailed responsibility, but they also carried considerable privileges to individuals who gained merit in the battles in Herzegovina and in the conquering of Herceg Novi, and were, at the same time, responsible for the settling of a large number of families to the Herceg Novi and Risan area. That is how Miloš Vojnović received the rank of colonel, a title held in the regions of Dalmatia by the supreme governors of certain territories set by the Venetian Senate. Their duty was to take care of the defense of the country, the census of people and cattle, to supervise the training of people in military skills and to take care of taxes. The election of every lower official could not be made without their consent. Some members of the Vojnović family wrote the title of serdar in addition to their name. Serdar was the leader of the village, and each serdaria is nothing but a collection of many villages in one area, subordinated to the administration of the serdar, while the serdar is subordinated to the colonel of the territory. He took care of the execution of the orders of the *providuri* (district governors) concerning criminal, political and economic issues. Harambaša



was the head of the village. Under the command of the harambaša, there could have been several villages that together formed a flag.

By the Decree of the Doge of Venice from 1718, the "Herceg Novi region", as almost the entire present-day territory of the municipality of Herceg Novi was called at the time, was divided into six flags. Providur was the highest representative of the Venetian government for the Herceg Novi region, and his seat was within the city walls. He was subordinated to the extraordinary providur in Kotor, who was subordinated to the general providur for Dalmatia and Albania, based in Zadar. They were all subordinated to the Doge and the Senate in Venice. In addition to these, there were other authorities, which all together formed the hierarchy of government in the system of Venetian administration. (D. Radojičić, Belgrade, 2006: 30, 31).

When the Venetians occupied these areas, they found fortifications that had been built in the previous periods. *Forte mare* (fortress by the sea) was located on the coast, the bastion *Mezzaluna* (Citadel) and *Kanli* tower, were connected by city walls. The Upper Fortress, or *Španjola*, rose above the city. Its construction was probably started by the Spaniards in 1538, and completed by the Turks. In addition to these military fortifications, the Peraška Gate, the Clock Tower, as well as other city gates were of strategic importance. Not only the destruction of the war, but also the earthquake of 1667, caused these buildings to be in a very bad condition. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, many sacral buildings were renovated and built. The Orthodox Church of St. George on Topla and the Catholic Church of St. Jerome in the city were built on the ruins of the mosques. Based on a census from 1690, it is known that there were 17 churches in this area, in 1702 there were 21, and in 1704 - 30. The small church of the monastery on the Savina was renovated, while the large church began to be built after two attempts, only in 1777. In addition to the

Savina monastery, at that time in the village of Mojdež, in the hamlet of Podplanina, there was a monastery of the same name, of which only a few remains have been preserved until today, barely visible in the grass and bushes.

In 1689, about 420 families from Herzegovina moved to the Hercegovina region. Since then, this area has become the main settlement center in Boka. The new settlers did not solve their existential issues to their satisfaction, so in 1701 they sent a delegation to Venice, with a request to finally resolve the issue regarding the allocation of land. Their request was granted, and by the Decree of the Doge of Venice from August 3, 1701, it was determined that each head would receive 20 camps of land and 4 ducats per month, and that each family would receive 4 camps of land.

Thus, hoping for a better life, 3,600 inhabitants arrived in the Hercegovina region alone - based on the cadaster from 1704. This number does not include the inhabitants within the city walls, whose population consisted of officials, some craftsmen and merchants of Italian origin. The most populous settlement at that time was Topla with 506 inhabitants. In the following years, existential issues were slowly resolved. That is why the people of this area sent a delegation to Venice again in 1718, which included princes Ilija Cvijetović, Nikola Zloković, Dragutin Magazinović and Mihajlo Komlenović-Maglajević, prominent Serbs from Hercegovina. Their request contained nine demands: freedom of Orthodox confession, construction and repair of churches and monasteries; their own bishop and the church service in the Slavic language; exclusion, possible lowering of the taxes; free trade in the Republic; the division of still undivided state goods to themselves and the cathedral church of Holy Salvation on Topla; 500 rifles for defending themselves from their enemies; since the war under Bar lasted a long time and their land remained uncultivated, that the state should provide food aid in the amount of

600 sequins; to allow them, like other larger regions in Boka, to form their own national municipality (*comunità, komunitad*) with its seat in the church of Holy Salvation in Topla near Herceg Novi, and the manager to be awarded a salary of 20 sequins a month; to be forced to serve the Republic only in war. (D. Radojičić, Belgrade, 2006: 34-37)

With the arrival of a large number of settlers, the ethnic, religious and socio-cultural picture changed. The arrived Italians and the newly settled Serbs, along with the found indigenous people, equally contributed to the efforts to harmonize the living conditions, especially in the northwestern part of the Bay of Kotor. Already in the first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the newly settled Orthodox population quickly grew from hajduks, warriors, farmers and stockbreeders to skilled merchants, sailors and craftsmen, settling in the suburbs, although the fact that a large number of hinterland residents continued to be engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry cannot be neglected. Different ethnic groups found common interest in coexistence here; their members were: shipowners, merchants, craftsmen, sailors, landowners, farmers, fishermen, exclusively Venetian lower and higher administrative staff, soldiers, clergy and some doctors and lawyers. All of them, as well as their families, were the owners of the clothing items listed in the dowries, which we have presented here in just a few examples.

The time period encompassed by the archives is characterized by assimilation processes in almost all social and ethnic strata in the Bay of Kotor. The specificity is reflected in the ease of accepting the "new" - no matter where it came from, and the different cultural influences gathered, without disturbing even the smallest centuries-old features, without disturbing the Mediterranean spirit. *Baroque* - a pearl of irregular shape - dominated culture and art during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Baroque period was characterized by an external, public manifestation of all social phenomena - from birth to death,

which was reflected in the clothing items listed in the documents. As it came after the Renaissance, the Baroque period introduces its irregular, lavish, bizarre and overemphasized elements. It constantly emphasizes the transience of life and the inevitability of death, under the influence of the daily bloody reality of Europe. The spirit of this grandiose European style reached the coast of Boka and left its mark. Weak Venice, inevitably, was rapidly becoming a European province in this period.<sup>29</sup>

Clothing was, above all, determined by the conditions that were present in the social system, it reflected the general social, economic and political events, the spirit of the time in which it originated and lasted. Through clothes listed and preserved in the "dota" (dowry, property), we learned about the moral attitudes, aesthetic values, ruling norms, fashion trends, class and religious affiliation, occupation and other characteristics of the holder of various and numerous clothing items. The geographical origin of the clothes made it possible to establish all the cultural influences that the clothing items manifest, as well as the aspiration for a quick transition of the owner of the clothes from the rural to the urban circle.<sup>30</sup> Due to the nature of the documents – lists of dowries and girls' property, the emphasis is on women's clothing.

<sup>29</sup> The discoveries of new trade routes pushed Venice into the background in comparison to the states of absolutist monarchies and the Atlantic economic expansion (Spain, England, France), where the Baroque particularly strongly developed.

<sup>30</sup> It should be borne in mind here that the available archival material is not a living, direct ethnographic statement, therefore some things elude in the analysis, such as: what exactly were the differences in the dress of girls and married women or children. This, above all, refers to clothes that have the characteristics of folk costumes.

Clothing items could be divided into two parts:

1. *Traditional costume*, which means clothes that - apparently - were owned by the domicile population of the Orthodox faith, mostly living in rural areas, as well as by the “new settlers” who brought clothes from their native areas, as well as those clothes which were found among the remaining population of Christian residents of the city;

2. *Urban costume*, which meant clothes of *urbaniti* (urban population), which were the fashion clothes of Italy and Europe of the relevant period.<sup>31</sup>

Within this division and the applied parameters, and based on the type and quality of fabrics used, the type and number of garments in the lists of dowries and in individual wills, as well as in court files related to trade and crafts more broadly, it was possible to consider the economic situation and social position of the owner of the described clothing, its function, as well as the results of acculturation processes, contacts between rural and urban culture, between the hinterland and the Adriatic coast. This confirms the well-known opinion that clothing is an obvious exponent of cultural events.<sup>32</sup>

*The traditional costume* served as the best example for proving the layering of cultural influences. The reason for this is certainly the fact that, first of all, the traditional lifestyle had hardly changed,

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<sup>31</sup> This division was based on the total available data on clothing owners, which implied prior knowledge of the composition of the population, their ethnic and territorial origin, economic and social status. Then, based on the names of clothing items that were in use, and which were again associated with the names of the owners of a particular style of clothing, the above division of clothing was made.

<sup>32</sup> Relevant data for the analysis and proof of cultural permeation were provided by data on craftsmen: tanners, rollers, ink makers, furriers, tailors, shoemakers, slipper makers, bootmakers, and a special place was occupied by rich goldsmiths, who visibly influenced the forming of the clothing image and of the social status.

and thus the clothes had not changed either. The second reason is in the way of life and the perception of beauty, and the third is, of course, the property status of the wearers of clothes. The wearers of the traditional women's costume were from the ranks of the *new settlers* and the indigenous population of Serbs of the Orthodox faith. With economic progress, clothing items that were imported from the West are rapidly being accepted. They are accepted thanks to the strengthening of the social and economic power of the newcomers and they illustrate the results of the interpenetration during contact between the two cultures. Some of these pieces of clothing or some of their elements, especially the embroidery on shirts, scarves and certain upper body pieces are the most remarkable testament to the longevity of old Balkan elements in addition to those parts of clothing that were of oriental origin in both cut and name, but had taken root in previous times.

The richer women from this group gradually accepted the novelties in fashion, as well as fashion in general, which came from Mediterranean cities. The women were dressed in luxury outfits, as they were worn in other cities on the Adriatic coast. These models almost did not lag behind the clothes worn by citizens in major cities in the Mediterranean and Europe.

The traditional women's costume of this region and time consisted of basic and alternative clothing items. The basic clothing items were: shirt, *raša*, *kotula* (skirt), apron, sash, scarf and socks, and alternative clothing items were: *camižola*, *koret*, *dolama*, *zubun*, *ćurdiđa*, *kaftan*. Very rarely, exclusively individually, in the lists of dowries – as the main source of information – are noted: *mintan*, *anterija*, *aladža*, *benluk*, *bran*, *ječerma*, *kapama*, *mrčina*. Shoes were mostly *opanci*, slippers, *pašamage*, and sometimes shoes. 17 clothing items, 7 types of headgear are described. *Cotula* - skirt, *camisiol* - a type of vest, an item of clothing that we have established, based on the

already mentioned parameters, had been included in this costume as a result of accelerated acculturation processes between the village and the city, as well subculture and global culture. *Polachetta* and *milordi* were short luxury coats, worn in the Mediterranean cities of Senigallia, Venice, Split and I described them as part of a woman's urban costume, and examples of clothes that richer citizens of the local population have accepted in their wardrobe. While, for example, for a long dress with sleeves – a *mrčina*, named after a type of black rolled cloth dating back to the Middle Ages, I found that the use of fabric and this upper garment lasted until the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. *Aladža* – an upper garment of oriental origin, and, based on the available data, not widely used; the same applies to *kaftan*, *benluk* and *mintan*.

*Women's urban costume* meant the way of dressing that was known in the more developed urban areas of the Mediterranean in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and which represented the fashionable clothes of Italy and reflected the influences from the West, from major European centers. The main bearers of the European way of dressing were the newly settled Italian women, who continued to follow the fashion from the place from which they came. Primarily, it was the fashion of the appropriate social strata in Venice, which was increasingly influenced by French fashion, as well as fashion trends from England, Poland, Russia, as well as costumes from the Orient.<sup>33</sup> In addition to high

.....  
<sup>33</sup> During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the rule of French fashion in Europe marked one of the most brilliant periods in the development of fashion. It was opposed by fashion trends coming from England, which aspired to practicality and stood out with the fineness of the cut. During this period, European fashion circles also imitated fashion from Eastern countries - Poland and Russia, as well as the costume of the Orient. Polish fashion is most pronounced in a clothing item *polachi-polachetti*, and it has been more present since the wedding of Marie Leszczyńska to Louis XV, more precisely – since 1725. The influence of Russian fashion was connected with French-Russian relations, while the Turkish costume has been a constant inspiration for the creators of high fashion since the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.



fashion, the so-called *small clothes* were also worn, which, due to their comfort, but also coquetry, ruled throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century. These in France were *casquins*, *caraca*, *pierrot*, *juste* and other types, which usually consisted of a two-piece costume. In the same period, a wave of French fashion spread to Italy. The bearers of new fashion trends were from the ranks nobility and rich citizens, and mostly from big cities like Florence, Naples, Genoa and Venice. For the most part, the legacy of the past remained dominant among the middle class. In addition to the characteristic regional variant in clothing, it also accepted certain changes. From the French fashion trends of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the dominant vivid colors were accepted: red, blue, yellow, and their combinations. In the middle of the century, vivid colors gave way to slightly darker shades.<sup>34</sup>

Fashion trends from Europe were reflected in the *women's urban costume* in the Bay of Kotor in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and this costume should be viewed in that context. Since fashion magazines spread in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it seems that fashion clothes were also made by tailors in Boka. About 20 of the upper garments are predominantly Mediterranean cultural property, although it is known that *andrienne* - a flexible dress of French origin between 1705-1715, which was called *volantes*, and outside France *andrienne*, was worn in the Bay of Kotor also at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Shirts, skirts, aprons, scarves, and socks are clothing items that were present in both types of women's costumes, the only difference was related to the cut and type of material, and even that was not always the case. In terms of richness and beauty of materials, as well as in terms of the number of gold embroideries, silver and gold buttons, numerous

<sup>34</sup> During the time of Marie Antoinette, strong tones prevailed. In Italy, vivid colored lighter fabrics were worn, in accordance with the Mediterranean taste, while the nobility in Florence and Genoa, as well as the people that wore elegant clothes in Venice, wore costumes with a prevailing black color.



silk ribbons, braids and lace inserts, the fashionable urban costume did not lag behind the one worn in European cities. It united the basic features of the dominant baroque fashion.

Fabrics from which clothing items were made and which were used for household needs – bedding, towels, kitchen towels, tablecloths, napkins, etc. – are recorded in the archives. The most numerous data are those in the dowry lists.<sup>35</sup> The way in which fabrics are recorded in archival documents is one of the main parameters on the basis of which it was possible to describe their function, according to the principle: simple, cheap fabric – for making everyday, work clothes, and more luxurious, expensive fabric – for formal, festive clothes. Based on these data, the richness of the textile offer in only the northwestern part of the bay has been reconstructed, although it can be concluded that the data refer to the entire area of the Bay of Kotor. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, 64 types of fabrics were in use, of which 54 were described on the basis of available archives, classified into four categories: silk 13, linen 23, wool 10, mixed 8. Domestic production was represented by 8 types of fabric, there were 9 types of fabric from the East, and 37 types of fabric from the West. 11 types of fabric remained without explanation. In addition to the products of domestic yarn makers and weavers, which characterized rural areas, the data indicate that there were imports of ready-made clothing and textiles, primarily from Italy, then from the Netherlands, France and the oriental market.

The types of fabrics used indicate the social and economic status of their owners, which is especially useful when there are no other necessary explanations about the owners of fabrics or clothes. Mentioning the names of fabrics, and sometimes the places of their production, is also important as an indicator of the participation of

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<sup>35</sup> They are usually closely related to the description of the garment: (eg *kamižola od kambelota* – cambello vest), or are entered in the dowry list as fabrics.

elements of domestic culture and foreign cultures in the structure of the ruling culture in the northwestern Boka of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Making home-made textiles certainly had a long tradition. Women spun and weaved in their homes, and there were also professional spinners. Domestically produced fabrics that were most often used for making traditional costume garments were made of wool, linen and hemp. Wool, as a raw material, was mostly used for making various fabrics. It was used to make felt, which was used for all the above garments. It is also a yarn used for knitting socks, weaving women's aprons, sashes and bags. Since the Middle Ages, *raša*, *mrčina* and *modrina*, are known in this area as types of cloth from which clothing items of traditional costume were made.<sup>36</sup>

Wool was imported in large quantities throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Venetian authorities strictly controlled all export-import transactions, including those related to the ban on wool imports.

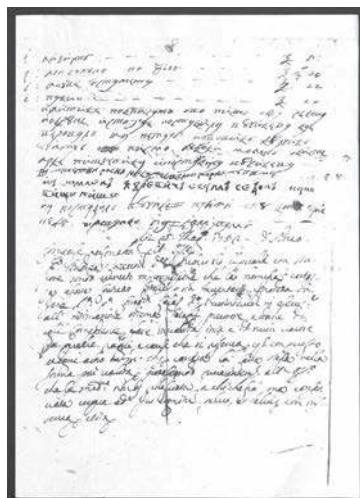
Linen and hemp were used to weave cloth for shirts, scarves, etc. It is not possible to give more precise data about silk, as a very important and often used raw material in the production of fabrics in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Venice had very developed manufactories for the production of fabrics, so during its rule in the Bay of Kotor, silk-worm breeding – the cultivation of silkworms, i.e., processing and production of silk threads, was developed – judging by the number of silk fabrics, as well as numerous garments made of silk.

The city shops were richly supplied with various fabrics from the East and the West, and mostly from Italy.

Richer women from this area, regardless of ethnicity and religion, owned numerous pieces of jewelry. Its classification and more

.....  
<sup>36</sup> Raša was the name for a cloth of white and dark blue color. These names of fabrics were also identified with the garment. Thus, e.g., the *mrčina* also signifies a dress of black rolled cloth.

detailed description led to a series of data that serve as examples of cultural influences of the local medieval goldsmith school and fashion trends from Europe. The fact is that a large number of goldsmiths from the local population worked in the Bay of Kotor during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, continuing the tradition of the medieval goldsmith art. The names of 63 goldsmiths, 38 from Kotor and 25 from Herceg Novi, have been preserved from this time. Clothing is one of the segments of the ruling culture and provides an insight into the lifestyle of the time, with all the constants, variables, cultural borrowings and changes.



<sup>37</sup> Dowry list.

late brother Sava, which is given for Mr. Kostadin Vučićević in Topla:

Walnut chest with a key; gilded silver sash; coral necklace with silver ornaments - gilded; gilded silver muzzles; *koretac* from silk<sup>38</sup>, with gilded silver triple buckles; a sleeve of red damask, lined with a green *raz*, made with *galuni*<sup>39</sup>; 3 pairs of *ambrettes*<sup>40</sup> on a dress, fabric in red; 5 *raša*<sup>41</sup>, 3 red and 2 green; 7 shirts, 4 embroidered with gold thread and with buttons and 3 shirts, we put 30<sup>42</sup>; 4 *traverse*<sup>43</sup>, 2 embroidered with gold thread, one embroidered with white silk thread and with *merla*<sup>44</sup>; 5 headscarves, one embroidered with silver thread, two embroidered with gold thread and silk thread, two *faculets*<sup>45</sup> embroidered with white silk thread, with tassels, one of red silk; silver needle; silver razor knife<sup>46</sup>, 5 pairs of *ošvice*<sup>47</sup> for shirts; one towel; 3 bokčaluk, shoes, one pair.

Total amount 1847 l. <sup>48</sup>

.....  
<sup>38</sup> Silk, velour, fine velvet or plush.

<sup>39</sup> Twisted cords.

<sup>40</sup> Jewelry.

<sup>41</sup> Skirt.

<sup>42</sup> Meaning money – lire, 30 lire.

<sup>43</sup> *Traverssa* – apron.

<sup>44</sup> Lace.

<sup>45</sup> Scarf.

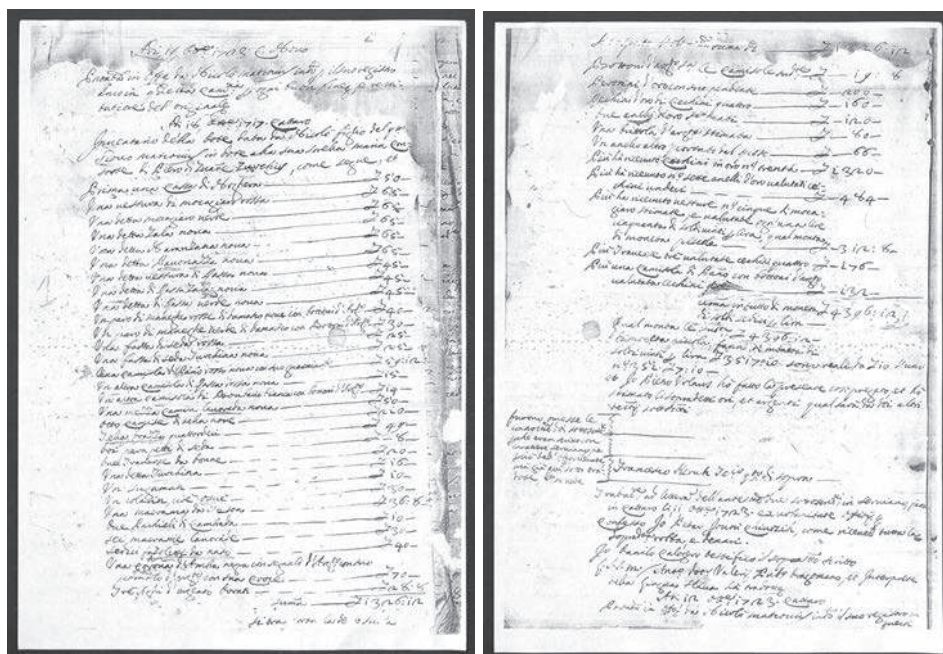
<sup>46</sup> Small knife.

<sup>47</sup> Embroidered collar: shirts were embellished around the neckline with *ošvice* that were embroidered with gold and silk threads and with cotton thread in multiple colors. They were made separately, on a linen cloth, and then they were sewn to the shirt.

<sup>48</sup> Liras.

AH PUMA f, 78. 1, 2

Kotor, October 18, 1717.



Inventory of the dowry that Nikola Matković gave to his sister Marija, wife of Petar Jovanov Ćurčija:

Walnut chest; one dress from red *mohair*; one dress from green *mohair*; one dress yellow, new; one dress, orange, new; one dress from *rašica*, new; one dress from *raša*, new; one dress from *raša*, yellow, new; one dress from *raša* green, new; one pair of sleeve covers, made of red damask, new, with silver buttons; one pair of sleeves made of green damask, with silver buttons; one sash of red silk; one sash of Turkish silk, new; one shirt of red pan<sup>49</sup>, new, with ornaments; another shirt made of *raša* [...] new; another cotton shirt *bombažina*, white, with silver buttons; one pulo work shirt, new; eight shirts

<sup>49</sup> Felt, velvet.



made of *tela*, new; *tela*, fourteen ells (length); two pairs of silk vests [...]; two aprons for women; one apron for women, Turkish; one towel; one collar, that is, *ošvice*; one headscarf; two *počelica* (forehead ornament) for *kambrada*; six working scarves; seventeen handkerchiefs; one rosary of black amber, with silver pendants, with its silver apple and with its cross; three needles silver, gilded; silver buttons for shirts; gold *perosini* with a buckle; gold earrings from four sequins (worth 160 liras); two gold rings; one silver razor; one ring and one wedding ring<sup>50</sup>, also listed thirty gold sequins (worth 1,320 liras); also listed seven rings<sup>51</sup>; also received five dresses made of mohair, each estimated to be worth 50 lira; three more aprons; another velvet shirt, with silver buttons.

Total amount L 439612

I, Petar Jovov Ćurčić, that all the goods and money were as it was said.

I, Danilo Kalodjero, testify to the above.

I, Anto don Valeri, a *public dragoman*<sup>52</sup>, translated this from the Slavic language, and the help was provided by Đurđija Stana.

#### AH PUMA, f. 130, 7

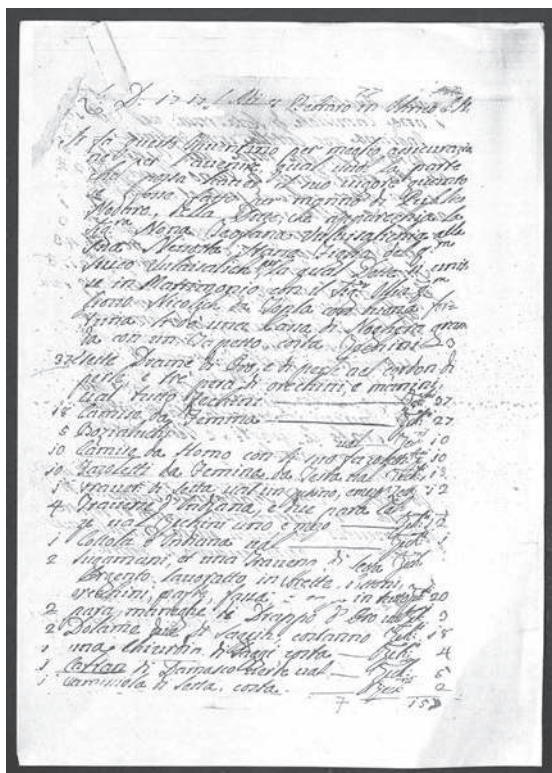
##### *Herceg Novi, February 8, 1717*

The list of dowry items that Teofana Vladisavić (mother of Sava Vladisavić) gives to her granddaughter Stana, daughter of the deceased. Sima Vladisavić, who is marrying Ilija, the son of the late Jova Nikolić from Topla:

.....  
<sup>50</sup> Wedding ring.

<sup>51</sup> Received.

<sup>52</sup> Folk translator.



One large chest of walnut with a cover; seven drams of gold and a pearl necklace and a pair of earrings and bracelets; eighteen shirts for women; five *bokčaluk*; ten shirts for men with their scarves; ten headscarves for women; one silk apron; four aprons made from *indijana* and two pairs of shoes; one skirt made from *indijana*; two towels and one apron of silver silk, embroidered in [...]; buttons; earrings; *pafte*; belt; two pairs of sleeve covers with gold

folds; two *dolama* made from felt; one *čurdiya* made from felt; one *caftan* made from green damask; one silk shirt.

A total of 157 sequins.

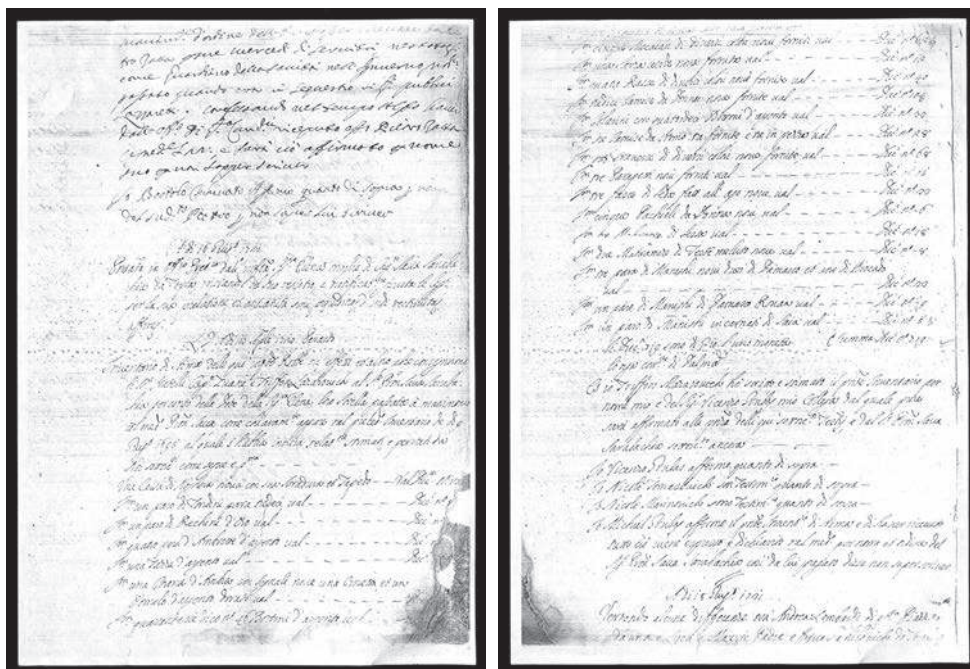
**AH PUMA, f. 103, 300**

*Perast, April 20, 1720.*

The list of dowry items given by brothers, Captains Jovan and Tripo Lazarović to their sister Elena, who is marrying Sava Sarabača from Topla (she married in 1695):

Walnut chest with keyhole and cover; one pair [...] thirty pairs; one pair of gold earrings; four pairs of silver ambrettes; one silver





tray<sup>53</sup>, one amber rosary with a cross and nine pendants and one silver apple, gilded; forty-six silver buttons, [...] five different mohairs, newly formed; one silk green, new; four skirts of various colors, newly formed<sup>54</sup>; thirteen women's shirts, new; collar with fourteen silver buttons; six men's shirts, three formed and three in material; eight aprons of various colors, new, formed; three overlays, new, formed; three silk sashes made with needle, new; five women caps, new; three silk scarves; two headscarves *meluto*, new; three pairs of sleeve covers, new; two of damask and one of brocade; one pair of red damask sleeve covers; a pair of silk-trimmed sleeve covers.

A total of 719 ducats

<sup>53</sup> Serving tray.

<sup>54</sup> Meaning sewn.

I, Trifun Mazarević, wrote and appraised the inventory on my behalf and for Mr. Vincenzo Grubas, for a clear confirmation that we have all confirmed, and for Sava Sarabača, also signed below.

The following are the signatures:

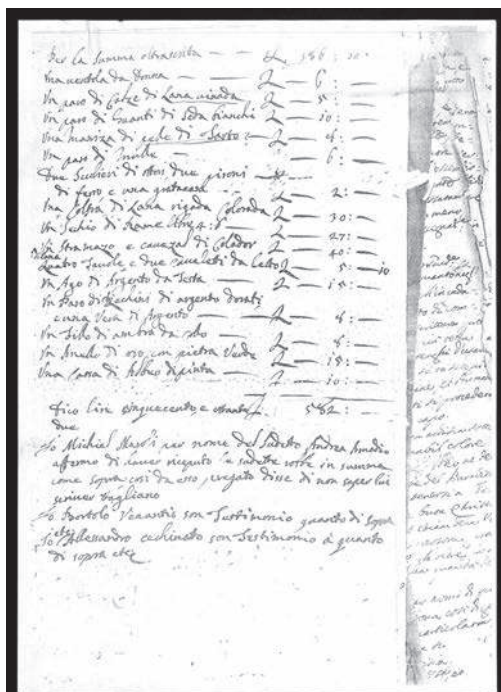
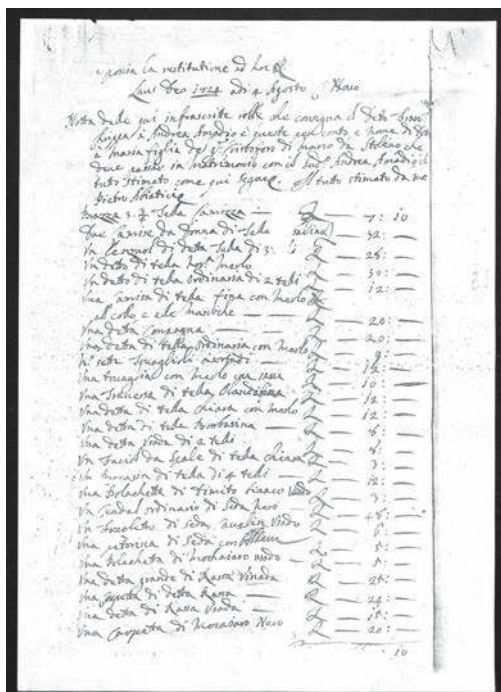
I, Vincenzo Grubas, confirm the above.

I, Nikola Tomašević, confirm.

The same is confirmed by Nikola Tomašević, Nikola Marinović, Mihailo Grubas and Sava Sarabača.

AH PUMA, f. 78. 34, 35

*Herceg Novi, August 4, 1724.*



The list of the dowry with listed goods entrusted to the said Francesco Cipra and Andrea Amadio for the dowry of Marija, the

daughter of sergeant Hristifor from Marko of Stoliv, who is to marry the said Andrea Amadio, and we appraised everything as follows. All appraised by me, Pietro Abiatrice:

Three and three-quarter ells of *tela* for shirts; two women's shirts made from silk *tela*; one sheet made from silk *tela*; one sheet with lace; one sheet with *tela* used [...]; one shirt made from fine *tela* with lace around the neck and a sleeve cover; one shirt together; one shirt from *tela*, used with lace; seven napkins [...]; one tablecloth with lace; one apron made from Dutch *tela*; one apron made from light *tela* with lace; one apron made from cotton *tela*; one apron, used with two [...]; one large scarf (for the back) made from bright *tela*; one four-piece *bokasin*<sup>55</sup>; *polaketa* of white *dimida*, used, one *ćendal* used, of silk, black; one handkerchief of domestic silk, used; one *petorina* of silk with fishbone; one *polakate* of mohair, used; one *polakate* big, of velvet the color of wine; one *karpeta* of the said velvet; one *karpeta* of velvet, used; one *karpeta* of black mohair; one female fan; one pair of wine-colored wool socks; one pair of white silk gloves; fur cuffs; one pair of shoes for home; two brass spoons; two iron forks and one grater; one woolen blanket with multicolored stripes; one copper vessel; one mattress with legs [...]; four planks and two legs for bed; one silver needle for the head; a pair of silver earrings, gilded; one silver wedding ring; one amber necklace; one gold ring with a green stone; chest wooden painted.

Total amount L. 582

Witnesses:

I, Michial Maroli, on behalf of the above-mentioned Andrea Amadio, confirm what has been said.

I, Bartolo Verantio, witness the above.

I, Alessandro Cechinato, witness the above.

.....  
<sup>55</sup> A kind of round dress.





one half-woolen blanket with stripes; one *karpeta* of said [...] silk; one *karpeta* of yellow felt; one [...] of fine *tela* with lace; four [...] for the kitchen, with lace; one [...] of domestic *tela*, with lace; one pair of the said without lace; eight shirts of domestic *tela* [...]; one apron of *indijana*; four napkins; two pillowcases [...]; one bedding of *indijana tela*; one [...] lined with *indijana*; one mattress filled with wool; one [...] of white *raša*; [...], one copper pan with iron handles, reinforced; one brass candlestick; five vessels with a copper jug; one grill with a chain [...] of iron; two iron ladles and one hearth tripod; two towels with lace and another, light; one walnut chest; one said of walnut, old; one mirror with [...] black; one silk *polaketa* [...] in use; one said of white *dimit*; one scarf of Dutch *tela* [...]; one [...] old; two walnut chairs [...]; one wooden table, small.

Currency recognized in Dalmatia nominally ten for every lira.

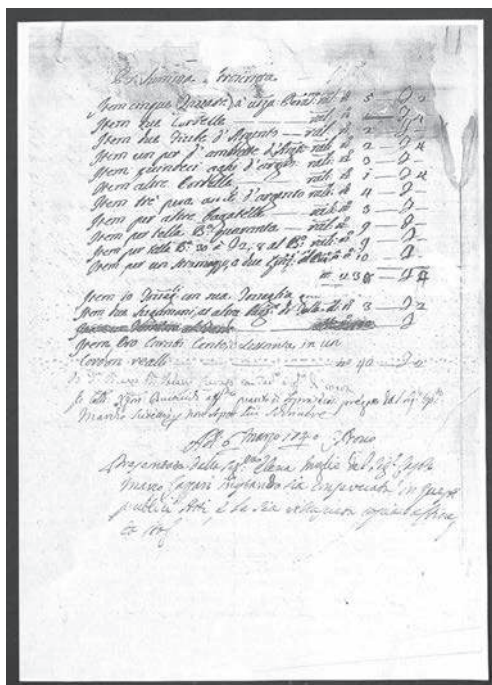
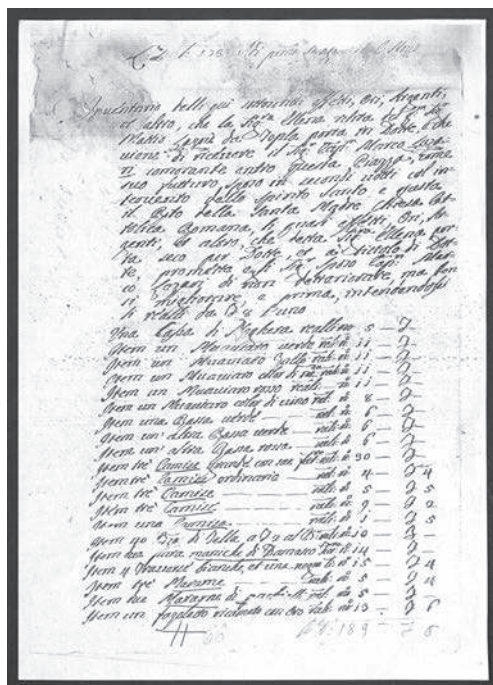
Total amount L. 1804

**AH PUMA f. 130, 66**

***Herceg Novi, May 1, 1733***

Inventory of the undersigned items, gold, silver and other things that Mrs. Elena, the widow of the late Mr. Marko Lazari from Topla, brings as dowry, when she came for the said gentleman, Captain Marko Lazari, who lives in this square, as her future husband in a second announcement from the altar, according to the rite of Holy Mother of the Catholic Church of Rome, which objects of gold, silver and other, which the said Mrs. Elena brings as dowry, and husband, gentleman Captain Marko Lazari, promises that he will not interfere but do his best. First of all, it should be noted that the reals are 8 liras for one.

One walnut chest; mohair green; mohair yellow; mohair the color of wine; mohair red; mohair the color of wine; one *raša* green; another



one, green; another one, red; three large shirts with their scarves; three shirts in use; three shirts; three shirts; one shirt; forty ells of *tela*; two pairs of damask sleeve covers; four aprons white and one black, three scarves, two scarves for *počelica*<sup>56</sup>; one scarf embroidered with gold thread; five *cacara*<sup>57</sup>; two ribbons; two silver hairpins; one pair of silver *ambreta*; fifteen silver needles; other ribbons; three pairs of silver plates; other ordinary; forty ells of *tela*; thirty ells of *tela*; one mattress and two sheets; ten napkins with their tablecloth; two towels and the rest of *tela*; gold carats 100; [...]; one necklace.

I, Vincenzo Solari, the parish priest and witness of this above, I, Captain Hristifor Bujović, confirm as above, since I was kindly asked

<sup>56</sup> Small cap.

<sup>57</sup> Small cap.

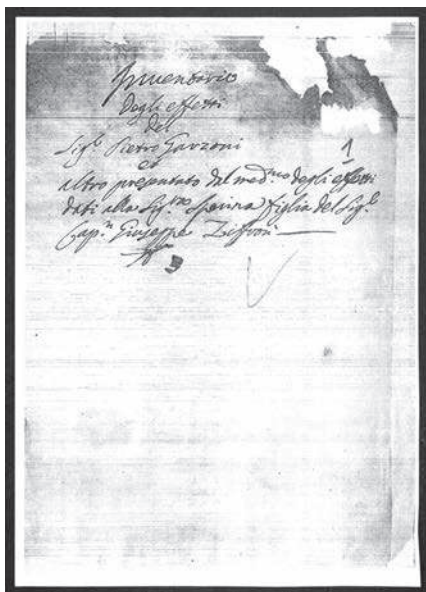
to do so by the said Mr. Captain Marko, because he cannot write.

On March 6, 1740 in Herceg Novi. The presented dowry of Mrs. Ellena, the wife of Mr. Captain Mark Lazari, was placed in the court archives and a copy of the above was issued.

The total amount is 273 reals.

**AH PUMA f.136. 5, 6**

**Herceg Novi, October 17, 1741.**



Inventory of items given by Pietro Garzoni, city doctor, and the rest presented the same for items given to Sperini (Stefani), daughter of Captain Mr. Guiseppe Zifron, and received on her behalf by Ivan Matija Zifron.<sup>58</sup>

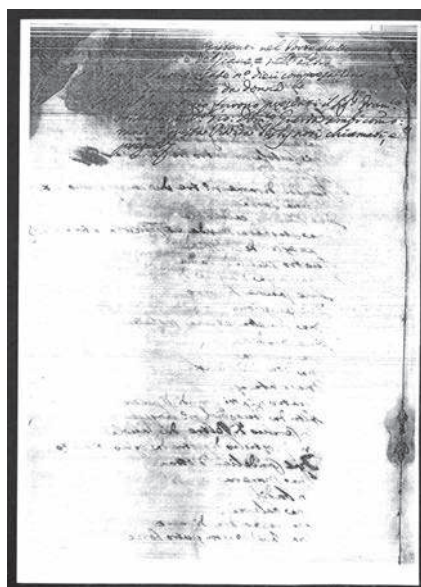
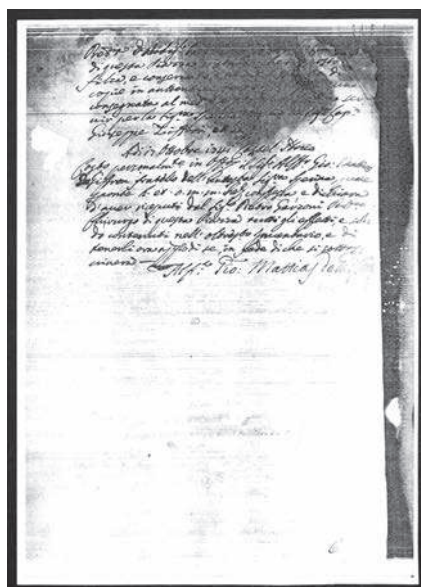
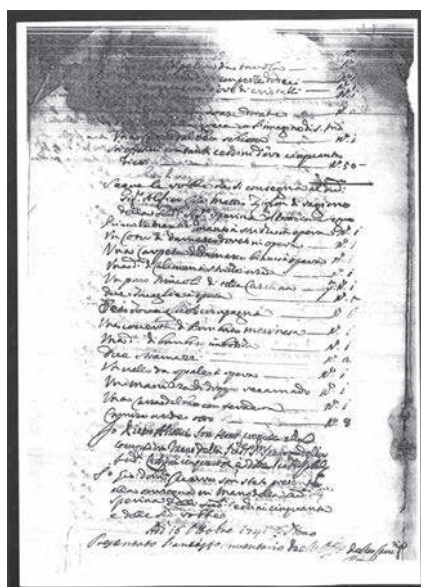
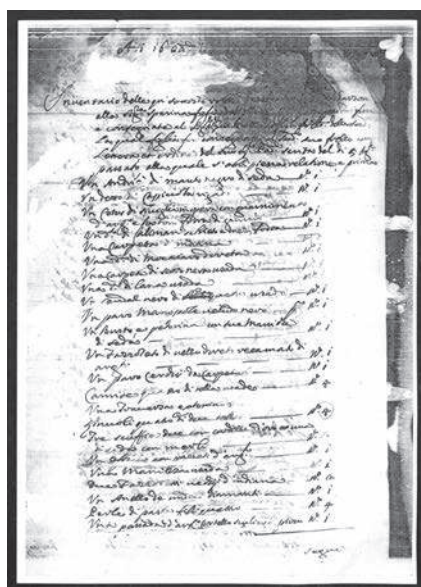
One *andrien*<sup>59</sup> made from manta black, of silk; one *andrien* made from *kapićola* with stripes; *kotus*<sup>60</sup> [...] decorated with silver buttons, set; one said made from *kaliman*, light, with a semi-lining; one *karpeteta* made from *indijana*; one *karpeteta* made from gilded mohair; one

<sup>58</sup> The document is partially damaged.

<sup>59</sup> *Andrienne*, *andrien* – two types of wide dresses, open or semi-open in the front, with a fitted upper part with a neckline, and a wide cloak, with a petticoat in the back; they were made of expensive material. Read more, Radojičić 2006, 175–176.

<sup>60</sup> *Cottus* – a short women's garment, cut in front, with a pronounced waist.

# ARCHIVAL SECRETS - ANTHROPOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES



karpeta, black; one karpeta made of wool, used; one *céndal*, black [...]; one pair of sleeve covers [...] black; one vest and *petorina*, with their silk sleeve covers; one apron of gilded *vel*, embroidered with silver;



one pair [...] for *karpeta*; four shirts made from silk, used; one apron [...]; four sheets, two of *tela*; three *škufija*<sup>61</sup>, two with a ribbon made from gold, and one made from silk with lace, [...]; one sleeves, used; two aprons [...]made from *indijana*, one ring with eleven diamonds; necklace with four rows, [...]<sup>62</sup>

The list of things of the wife of the said lieutenant Ivan Mate Zifron continues, as it was said, Mrs. Sperini:

First one *manoto*<sup>63</sup>, in use; one *kotus* made from damask; gilded, in use; one *karpeta* made from white damask, in use; one said made from light *kaliman*, used; one pair sleeve covers made from domestic silk; two tablecloths, used, six napkins together; one cover made from *bombažina* [...]; one said made from cotton, lined; two mattresses; one scarf for the back, for use; one cuff folded and embroidered; one chest with a keyhole; eight shirts used.

Total amount 50 sequins.

#### AH PUMA f. 159. 76, 77

*Herceg Novi, July 23, 1747*

The list of the dowry given by Nikola Petra [...] to his sister Anđelija, who marrying Nikola Gorakuća, the said Albanian, appraised by us, the undersigned [...].

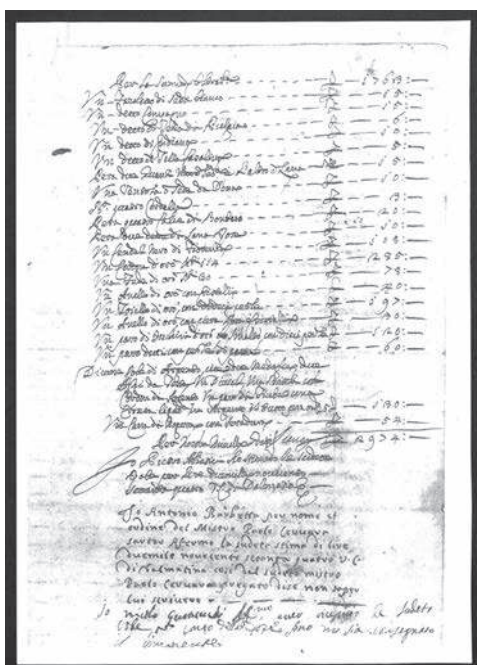
One female manto for a women from *tabin* [...] with a rens lining, trimmed with silver merl [...]; one said green mohair, with a *tela* lining; one mohair made from silk [...]; one mohair made from *indijana*; one *polaketa* made from ruby silk, with lace on the sleeve covers,

.....  
<sup>61</sup> *Scuffia* - nightcap.

<sup>62</sup> Damaged document, the seven listed items are illegible.

<sup>63</sup> Cloak, veil.

## ARCHIVAL SECRETS - ANTHROPOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES

[illegible]

made from green felt [...]; two aprons made from Dutch *tela*; one apron made from domestic *tela*, with lace, one apron made from [...] with lace; five ells of *tela* [...]; one scarf [...]; one veil made from embroidered silk, for the back, large; one veil made from silk, in use; two sleeve covers [...] with lace and cord; one white silk scarf; one scarf together; one scarf made from *tela* from Puglia; one scarf made from *indijana*; one scarf made from domestic *tela*; two pairs of green silk gloves and another made of wool; one fan made from silk, for woman; four ells of ribbons; four pairs of cotton socks; two pairs of said made of red wool; one black *céndal* from Florence; one gold necklace; one gold needle; one gold ring with crystals; gold jewelry with 12 pearls; one gold ring with [...] red; one pair of gold earrings in enamel, with twelve pearls; one pair of the said with pearls [...].

Various silver goods: two medals; two needles for the head, one [...] knife with a silver chain; one pair of hairpins; one silver cross.

One walnut chest with a keyhole.

Total Amount L. 2974.

Archival material and translations from the 18<sup>th</sup> century Italian language are taken from the monograph: Dragana Radojičić, *Arhiv i antropologija sećanja*, (Archive and Anthropology of Memory), Belgrade, 2020, 1-241.





## RECORDS OF THE PAST – THE SEA OF PROXIMITY

*I have won many battles in my life, but it took me a long time to realize that no matter how many battles we win, we cannot win the war,* says Romain Gary in *The Promise at Dawn*, if the waves rise to the universe, the wheat fields of Vojvodina sink into some new sea and the world becomes an impossible place to live, the question is only possible, will some archival material be a piece of the mosaic of the new world after all?

Based on archival material, the historical destiny and social and political structures of both urban and rural populations are read: famine, disease, death, war, trade, in one word “survival” is the common denominator of the both “seas”. The most common cause of this was the change of government, which brought with it its military and bureaucratic apparatus, but also new merchants, craftsmen, and even some experts in education, medicine, law and cultural workers, many of whom settled permanently.

The Habsburgs, one of the oldest dynasties in Europe, were named after the city of Habsburg (Swiss canton of Aargau). The family descends from Count Guntram, whose descendants held large estates in Alsace already in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. In 1273, Rudolf I of

Habsburg was elected King of Germany, and by defeating the Czech King Otakar II (1278), he secured for his dynasty possessions in the present-day territories of Vojvodina, Austria and Styria. During the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the dynasty experienced a crisis. Unsuccessful in foreign policy, the Habsburgs sought to establish themselves in their hereditary countries. Only with Maximilian I does the sudden rise of the Habsburgs begin.<sup>64</sup>

Through skillful diplomacy and marital ties, the Habsburgs acquired large estates and became the most powerful dynasty in Europe. *"Let the others fight, you, happy Austria, shall marry"* (*"Kriege mögen andere führen, du, glückliches Österreich, heirate"*), says a popular proverb of that time (Živojinović, 2000: 95). They achieved the greatest rise during the reign of Emperor Charles V, Maximilian's grandson, who inherited the great empire in 1519, created by the unification of dynasties and their countries. The empire included the present territories of Austria, southern Germany, the Netherlands, Franche-Comté, Spain with its possessions in the Mediterranean (Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic Islands), property in America as well as Austrian hereditary countries. Charles V left part of that great empire to his brother Ferdinand I, and since then, there have been two Habsburg ruling lines, the Spanish and the Austrian (or German). The Habsburgs ruled in Spain until 1700, that is, until the death of Charles II, when they definitely lost Spain, despite attempts by the Austrian line to secure power in Spain in the War of the Spanish Succession (1704–1714). The Habsburgs kept Naples, Sicily, Milan and the Spanish Netherlands of the Spanish possessions. The Austrian line acquired the Czech, Hungarian and Croatian crowns (Ferdinand I) in 1526–1527. With the death of Leopold, son

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<sup>64</sup> [www.badische-seiten.de/wissen/habsburger.php](http://www.badische-seiten.de/wissen/habsburger.php), accessed on: April 22, 2022

of Charles VI, in 1716, the male line in that branch was extinguished, and therefore Charles' daughter Maria Theresa ascended the throne of the Habsburg monarchy. (Arnett von, 1863, vol. 1: 5; Živojinović, 2000: 96).

Through political wars and family ties, the Habsburgs sought to preserve and expand the conquered territories, relying on the Catholic Church as the most important factor in their domestic and foreign policy. Although from 1273 to 1806 they gave a number of kings and emperors to German lands, they still failed to establish themselves there and gradually had to withdraw from them, especially during the Reformation and the Thirty Years' War.<sup>65</sup> Representing only the interests of their own dynasty, embroiled in conflicts outside Germany and Austria, and standing as a clear representative of Catholicism in constant conflict with the Protestants, they failed to reconcile different political views of German princes and dukes. (Taylor, 2001: 13)

The reign of Maria Theresa is divided into two periods: The first period – until the death of her husband Francis of Lorraine in 1765, when she fought an exhausting war with him against Prussia and other countries, and when, together with her advisers, Duke Friedrich Wilhelm Count von Haugwitz and Prince (priest) Wenzel Anton Graf Kaunitz, she carried out, in a pragmatic and peaceful way, reforms in government and the army that gave the Monarchy the opportunity and strength to survive. The second period – after her husband's death in 1765, Maria Theresa took her eldest son Joseph II as coregent, who was crowned Roman king in 1764. Together with

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<sup>65</sup> The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) was the result of religious, social, economic, political and ideological conflicts that surfaced in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. After the end of the Thirty Years' War, peace was concluded in the Westphalian cities of Münster and Osnabrück (October 1648) between Emperor Ferdinand III, on the one side, and France and Sweden, on the other. (Compare: Žirojević, 1998, Republika, Ogledi. No. 202-203).



him as coregent and Kaunitz as chief minister, she tried to implement social reforms in the Monarchy. (Arnett von, 1870, Book 4: 87)

The wars that broke out immediately after Maria Theresa's accession to the throne were the Austrian Succession Wars and the Seven Years' War (Silesian Wars). These wars slowed down her reform work, most notably her work on reforming the education system, which she continued after the wars ended.

The Silesian War meant three conflicts between Prussia and Austria, which involved the possession of the provinces of Silesia and the county of Galicia between 1740 and 1763. It should be noted that the First Silesian War (1740–1742) and the Second Silesian War (1744–1745) marked Prussia's participation in the wars for Austrian heritage (1740–1748). The "Third Silesian War" is better known as the "Seven Years' War" (1756–1763).<sup>66</sup>

Between the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War, Maria carried out many reforms. She left a broad autonomy to Hungary, but deprived the Austrian and Czech parliaments of the right to decide on taxes and abolished special offices that decided on their problems. The constitutions of the Austrian Netherlands and Lombardy remained in force. She created the Directorate for Public and Monetary Affairs (*Directorium in Publicis et Cameralibus*, 1749), which decided on everything that was common to the provinces of the Empire. At the same time, she took the collection of taxes from the hands of the local classes, abolished the exemptions of privileged classes and imposed the payment of certain taxes on the nobility and the Church. The High Council became the central financial body of the Empire, and the court and state offices (*Haus-Hof und Staatskanzlei*) decided on all foreign policy issues. Maria Theresa took measures to strengthen the Austrian army and created

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<sup>66</sup> [www.preussenweb.de/kriege2.htm](http://www.preussenweb.de/kriege2.htm), accessed on April 18, 2022.

the Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt. She imitated Frederick II in everything, with the intention of defeating him. The division of judicial and political administration soon followed (1749), and the Supreme Court (*Oberste Justizstelle*) was created. The High Council of War retained full control over military matters. Each province had its own deputation in charge of military issues, but over time they gained new privileges. (Arnett von 1870, vol. 4: 29; Živojinović 2000: 403–404)

After the end of the Seven Years' War, Maria Theresa continued her reform work. After the death of Francis of Lorraine, her eldest son Joseph II became German emperor and coregent with his mother (1765) until her death. He was determined, impatient, penetrating, so he often came into conflict with his mother. He constantly published new decrees, removed resistance and old customs and rights; the emperor was the embodiment of sincerity and absolute power who did not withstand the resistance of independent centers of power. Both rulers felt the shortcomings and tried to eliminate them. The State Council (*Staatsrat*) was created during the Seven Years' War; it made decisions on internal issues (1761). The financial administration (*Hof-rechenkammer*), which began operating in 1765, was improved. This provided a complete insight into the state of revenues and expenditures and determined the state budget. In order to provide financial resources, the government tried to increase its revenues by taxing the privileged classes. Hungary was the first to be hit, but the Parliament rejected the request to turn feudal obligations in war into monetary payments, although it accepted a smaller increase in contributions to the state treasury. By a law from 1767 known as the *Urbarium*, Hungarian peasants became hereditary tenants with the right to leave the land. The law determined the work obligations of the peasants towards the feudal lord, and their implementation was supervised by the imperial clerks. This meant a significant increase in imperial

power. The government took similar steps towards Styria, the Czechia and Silesia. Maria Theresa showed her intention to abolish serfdom and change the system of agrarian relations in the Empire. Many reforms concerned the Catholic Church, which was banned from acquiring new land, had to pay taxes, and some monasteries were abolished. As coregent, Joseph II oversaw the reform of the army and defense. (Živojinović, 2000: 404)

According to contemporaries, the feudal system was not considered a social order in which it was possible to have an efficient economy, primarily agriculture, that would give good results. The prevailing opinion was that a less rigid social order would free up labor for industry and enable the state to generate higher incomes from the peasant product at the expense of feudal lords. In his program, councilor Franz Anton von Raab spoke about the need to replace forced labor with work paid for with money, and about dividing property into smaller plots for rent to peasants under favorable conditions. Such changes were not possible on aristocratic estates either, and it focused on collecting official data (*Urbaria*) on exactly how much service the peasants owed, and on protecting the peasants from the abuse of their overlords. At the same time, there was a campaign in the provincial national assemblies to reduce the obligations of peasants, which was a difficult and sometimes unsuccessful task. It was only after ten years that Lower Austria accepted the restriction of forced peasant labor to three days a week. In Hungary, the proposal to reduce forced labor was received in the Parliament with loud laughter, and the nobles resisted any interference from Vienna. Maria Theresa guaranteed them constitutional freedoms, as well as an eternally unchangeable fundamental right at the famous National Assembly in Pressburg. The only possibility to help the serfs in Hungary was the publication of the *Urbarium* (1767) which limited forced labor to two days a week or one day with

draft animals. However, since Hungary refused to accept any of the Haugwitz-Kaunitz reforms, it did not find a way to fortify its views, and the big question is whether it has made any progress in the life of the peasants. In the Czech lands, a poor harvest, high hopes for reform and obstruction of the nobility led to a peasant revolt (1775). Joseph quashed it in bloodshed, but at the same time he issued the Law on Forced Labor, limiting it to three days a week. These reforms, carried out in the larger provinces until the end of Maria Theresa's reign, were a double-edged sword as they usually led to opposition to the nobility and did not satisfy the serfs. (Živojinović, 2000: 406)

The system that existed before Maria Theresa came to power proved to be unsustainable in the long run, because it led to the weakening of the administrative system of government. In the capital of the Monarchy, in Vienna, certain chancellor's offices, representing the provinces, promoted their own interests, which were often in conflict with each other and thus harmed the empire itself. In the provinces, the basic power in increasing revenues, recruiting troops, and administering justice was still held by the nobility in their assemblies. The consequence was a very difficult situation of the imperial treasury, which affected the decline of military morale (since the death of Prince Eugene<sup>67</sup> on April 21, 1736), as well as the oppression of peasants by their overlords (local aristocracy). Maria Theresa then had to make radical changes in the direction of centralization and absolutism. In Vienna, the Czechs and the Austrian chancellors united (1749) with the intention of becoming a directory, governors modelled after the Prussian General Directory. Other bodies (committees of government, bodies) were formed independently:

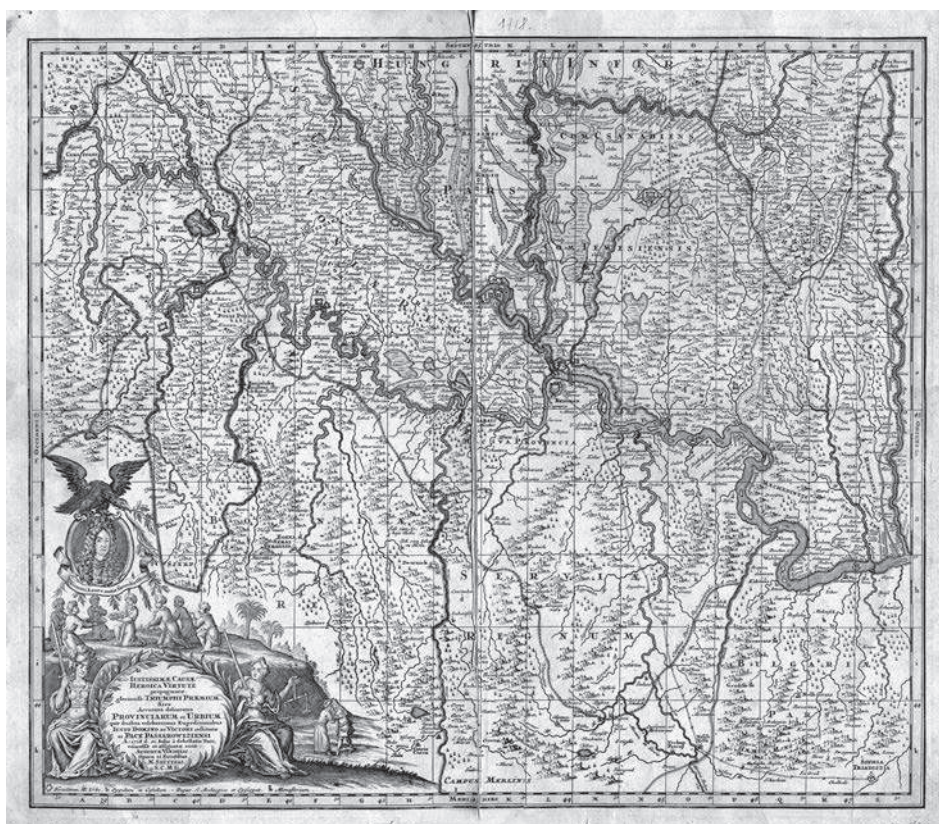
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<sup>67</sup> Eugen von Savoyen (1663-1736) - Prince, Austrian military leader and statesman. One of the most capable European generals. [www.habsburger.net/de/personen/person/eugen-von-savoyen](http://www.habsburger.net/de/personen/person/eugen-von-savoyen), accessed: 18 April 2022.

the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was under the administration of Chancellor Kaunitz from 1753 (*Staatskanzlei*) and the Supreme Court of Justice, 1748 (*Oberste Justizstelle*). Then other authorities were added to it, and then abolished in the constant search for the establishment of the right balance between comprehensive control and imbalance: e.g., the directory (ministry) of finance was established in 1749 and the general trade directory was added to it in 1753 and then abolished when Kaunitz took over internal and external affairs. In 1761, he changed that directory to the United Bohemian and Austrian Offices (Ministries). He also formed the seven-member State Council (*Staatsrat*), which replaced the previous Conference of Common Interest, as the famous advisory body of the crown (1760). (Živojinović, 2000: 406)

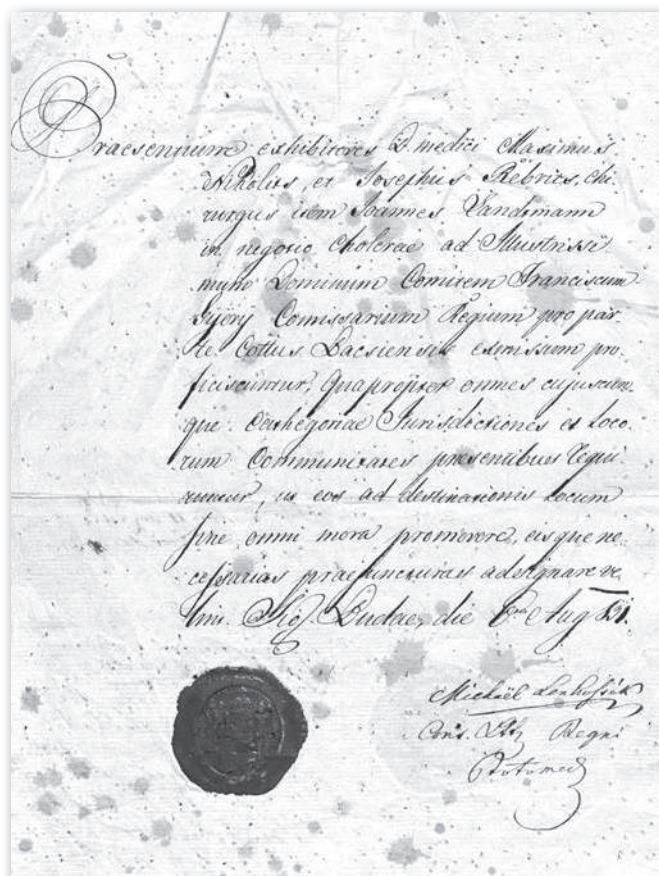
In the provinces of Haugwitzon, the key to reform was the ten-year tax policy (1748), which required assemblies to vote on a ten-year tax increase instead of the usual one-year increase, after the crown forced them to agree. In addition, their military contributions in kind (horses, food supplies, etc.) were converted into monetary payments. Thus, the nobility and the clergy had to pay taxes for the first time, although half of them were paid by the peasantry. Administrative revenues and military matters (but not justice) were taken from the assemblies and handed over to each province, to civil administration councils, tentatively called governments (*Gubernium*), which received orders from the central directory. At the local level, each district or area (*Kreis*) was headed by a civil servant, the head of the district (*Kreishauptmann*) - primarily a local landowner, possibly trained as a bureaucrat. The bureaucratic pyramid of the directory-government-area gradually added other administrative matters to its responsibilities: police, roads, schools, incomplete laws, trade, etc. This worked in Austria and Bohemia, but not in Hungary, Milan or the Austrian Netherlands, where provincial separatism



was justified by tradition for a long time, and then strengthened by pragmatic sanctions during the reign of Charles VI. The traditional provincial and local assembly bodies were not abolished: they were simply left to gradually disappear as the new machinery expanded in its activities. Maria Theresa then found herself in a position to act far more effectively on most aspects related to the life of the Monarchy. The army expanded greatly, so the multinational army had to be reformed in terms of organization, training and equipment. (Arnett von, 1870, vol. 4: 13–14).



*A map of the border regions of Austria and Turkey after the Karlovci Treaty and Požarevac Treaty of 1718 (AV, F. 373, ZPM, 1)*



*A punctured, sprayed and fumed document that arrived from cholera-stricken areas (1831) (AV, F. 2, BBŽ, box 787)*

The migration of Serbs is a phenomenon of long duration, both before and after the time of this archival/anthropological mosaic of memories: *These were not hordes of hungry peasants and shepherds, there were traders and artisans, and citizens among them, who didn't dare wait for the return of the Turks and who brought not only money but also skills to the new homeland* are the words of Jovan Skerlić about the migration of Serbs to Hungary in 1690. (MS Banović, Belgrade, 2021: 13)

The migration of the Serbian population to the territory of Austria and Hungary began in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, after the fall of the Serbian lands under Turkish rule. Throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Serbs settled in the border areas of the Austrian Empire with the aim of defending the border from the Turks. The military border of the Austrian monarchy was formed gradually in the border areas. From the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, border guards, together with regular units of the Austrian army, took part in all the wars that Austria fought, doing so in large numbers. That is, the Serbs fought against the Turks, in the area of Hungary, Austria and the Venetian Republic. Having lost its original role of defense system against Turkish incursions, the Military Border provided a significant contingent of human resources, which significantly strengthened the military power of the Austrian Empire. In addition to military tasks, the Military Border, which was divided into regiments, battalions and companies in military administrative and territorial terms, also had the task of preventing the introduction of infectious diseases, smuggling goods from Turkey, incursions of bandits, as well as preventing desertion and emigration across the cordon line to the Turkish territory. (Krejić 2010: 40-44)

### **Settlement and migration of the population on the territory of Bačka<sup>68</sup>**

The plain of Bačka has always been attractive to the population due to its fertile land, pastures, rich rivers and hunting grounds. On the other hand, it was difficult to live there due to wetlands, overflow of watercourses, harmful vegetation, dust and mud, espe-

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<sup>68</sup> For more on this topic, see: Jakšić, Avakumović, Trbojević and Bubnjević 2022.



cially before the construction of the Great Bačka Canal at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. After the long-lasting Turkish rule and the Great Vienna War, Bačka was an almost uninhabited area with desolate and rare settlements. With the Peace of Karlovac in 1699, this area belonged to the Habsburg Empire and the need for its settlement quickly arose, motivated initially by military and strategic reasons, and then by economic needs. In choosing the colonists, their loyalty, agricultural skills, knowledge of crafts and other skills were taken into account, and the desire of the authorities to change the ethnic and religious character of this area, which until then was inhabited mainly by Orthodox Serbs, should not be neglected.

The settlement of the Germans in Bačka began immediately after the expulsion of the Turks and continued until the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when it reached the scale of mass colonization. The Vienna court took care not only of economic progress and the defense of the newly conquered lands, skills in agriculture and crafts, work habits, but also of the fact that Germans, especially Catholics, were the most loyal population to the Habsburgs, unlike the “schismatic” Serbs and rebellious Hungarians. The chamber and military land remained outside the reach of the Hungarian nobility, although formally belonging to Hungary, so the Germans could be favored, and they were granted numerous benefits. After the wars and several minor attempts (Čatalja, Novo Selo), the first Germans settled in the Danube region in 1749 in Apatin and Bukin, which was supposed to be the center for receiving colonists. During the years, the Germans systematically populated the chamber villages of Bačka: Gakovo, Gajdobra, Odžaci, Palanka, Karavukovo, Stanišić, etc. Internal colonization started taking place, meaning that people moved from place to place, and so Germans made up a significant percentage of the population in many areas and had an important role in developing

of urban areas such as Novi Sad. Germans rarely settled where they would mix with other nations. German settlements were either separate from or next to older preexisting settlements, which were usually inhabited by Serbs, whereby a new German settlement would spring forth next to it as a separate community. Since they came from various German states and regions, different customs, religions and dialects, the newly settled Germans did not have a sense of community for a long time. At the time of the national awakening of the surrounding peoples, they stayed aside without entering into conflicts, like with the conflict between Hungarians and Serbs during the 1848-1849 Revolution.

The Hungarians withdrew to the northern parts of Hungary before the invasion of the Turks, and after the liberation of Bačka from the Turks in 1699, they gradually settled in this area again. From 1740, a mass settlement of Hungarians began in Bezdan, Topola and Kula. In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, they settled in Bajša, Mali Iđoš and Temerin. In the following years, at the same time the Potisje Military Frontier and the privileges of the Serbs were abolished in the District of Potisje, Hungarians settled in an increasing number of places in Bačka, despite the suspicion of the Vienna court, which considered them a risk due to their rebellions against the Habsburgs.

In the context of dominant public narratives in the territory of today's Republic of Serbia, Slovaks are perceived as a hardworking, diligent, persistent and peaceful population that settled in large numbers in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century from northern Hungarian counties. Because of overpopulation, part of the Slovaks moved to Banat from the place they came to, while part moved to other places in the territory of Bačka. Slovak settlers often lost their national identity because they lived in places mixed with other peoples, mostly Hungarians.

The first Ruthenians were brought to Bačka from the Upper Lands (Transcarpathia) by the Chamber Administration from Sombor, first to Kula (between 1743–1751). A larger group of Ruthenians settled in Krstur, where Serbs lived, and where Ruthenians from Kula later moved, for the most part. The second group settled in Kucura. Over time, Ruthenians settled in other places, as well (Đurđevo, Gospođinci, Vrbas, Novi Sad). They received land and certain privileges, and later became subjects of the Chamber with the right of free migration. During 1748, under pressure, part of the Ruthenians converted to the Uniate faith (Greek Catholics).

Jews were mostly urban dwellers who were mainly engaged in trade. There was no larger Jewish settlement or community in Bačka, but they mostly lived in different places, individually. The functioning of the first of the Jewish communities in Novi Sad, which solved administrative, religious and school affairs of Jews in communities, was approved only in 1748. Over time, Jews were exposed to various prohibitions, impositions, restrictions, such as the mandatory use of German names and surnames, and payments, such as the Tolerance Tax.

Armenians of the Catholic and Orthodox faiths were merchants and innkeepers. They settled in Novi Sad, where their center was. In time, they merged with Serbs and Hungarians.

Aromanians also settled in Novi Sad. They were engaged in masonry and trade. They belonged to the Orthodox faith, Greek linguistic and cultural influence, which is why they were often called Greeks. In time, they merged with the Serbian environment.

Bunjevci and Šokci, Slavs of the Catholic faith, also called Catholic Serbs (Raci), Illyrians and Dalmatians, settled at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century from Herzegovina, Bosnia, Lika and Dalmatia to the part of northern Bačka. A large number of prominent Bunjevac families acquired nobility and played a significant role in the public life of Bačka-Bodrog County.

## **Settlement and migration of the population on the territory of Banat<sup>69</sup>**

At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the territory of Banat was mostly a swampy and sparsely populated area. After the expulsion of the Turks and its transfer to the hands of Austria, this area was systematically settled and reorganized, and the wetland became a suitable place to live. Since Banat had a specific position as a border territory with Turkey, its settlement was dictated by clear political, economic and military interests. Planned settlement was carried out during the 18<sup>th</sup> century until the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (from the Peace of Požarevac in 1718 to the Austro-Hungarian settlement in 1867), in several separate waves. The Austrian colonization policy prevailed.

After arriving in Banat, the main task of the Austrian government was the settlement and agricultural development of this area. From the 1720s to the 1790s, Banat was massively colonized by Catholic population, primarily Germans. The colonization waves carried out in this period are also known by the names they received from the rulers who were on the throne at that time: Carolingian, Teresian and Josephine-Leopoldine. Along with the settlement of the population, the construction of roads and bridges, as well as sewerage network were carried out, and Banat was gradually transformed from a swamp into an attractive area for housing. In addition to the settlement of the existing, depopulated places, new settlements were also established.

Although the colonization of Banat in this period preserved a predominantly German character, other peoples also settled on its territory. The settlement of other nations besides the Germans was

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<sup>69</sup> For more on this topic, see: Jakšić, Avakumović, Trbojević and Bubnjević 2022.

also carried out with respect for the political, economic and military interests of the Viennese court. Thus, the borders of the Monarchy were open to Serbs from the Ottoman Empire who came individually, in groups or in mass migrations caused by wars, the search for a better life or crop failure. The Greek, Aromanian, Armenian and Jewish traders came from the Ottoman Empire to Banat. Despite the suspicions that the Austrian court had towards Hungarians, their experience in regulating river flows and drainage, i.e., the economic reasons, played an important role in their settlement. In addition, the following were settled: Slovaks, who were valued for their reliability in work, orderliness in paying taxes and religious tolerance; Czechs, skilled in agriculture and crafts; Bulgarians, also hardworking farmers and good fighters; Italians, skilled in the production of silk and rice; the French and Spaniards in smaller numbers.

Evidence of German settlement on the territory of Banat can be found in the archives of the Tamiš (F. 10) and Torontal counties (F. 11) in the Archives of Vojvodina. In the cases of these two archival fonds, data on the manner and conditions of colonization, places where colonists came, establishment of new settlements for colonists, etc. have been preserved. The German population that settled in Banat came to the area of the Military Frontier, where the German Banat Regiment had been stationed since 1765, but also on settlements owned by landlords. We can see, for example, how the Nako family settled Germans on their lands in Nakovo, Hajfeld (Heufeld) and Mastort. Around the year 1800, Germans from the Velika Kikinda surroundings (Soltur, Sveti Hubert, Šarlevil) arrived at the land owned by Lazar Lukač in Martinci (Lukićevo) and the new settlement Lazarfeld (Lazarevo). In 1802, Germans from the Baden area settled here, whereby they called their new settlement Karlsdorf (Banatski Karlovac) named after the Minister of War, Archduke Karl.

The Slovaks came at the request of the Hungarian nobility, mostly as a workforce on feudal land, but they would also settle on chamber administrative areas and in the Military Frontier. In 1782, Slovaks from Nógrád, Pest, Nyitra and other counties arrived at the estate of Kristifor Nako. They founded the Totkomloš settlement, and later on they would settle in Pardanj, on the estate of Count Gabriel Butler, and afterwards in Aradac, on the estate of the landlord Isak Kiš.

Even before the incorporation of Banat into Hungary, smaller groups of the Hungarian population arrived in Banat. In the 1770s, they arrived in Majdan, Nova Kanjiža, Krstur, Orosin (Russian Village), Torda, Čok and Hungarian Itebej.

Kajkavian-speaking nobility also settled in Banat. In the period from 1778 to 1784, the Pokupsko, Topusko and Hrastovica estates in the Croatian Diocese of Zagreb were confiscated and annexed to the Karlovac Military Frontier and Banal Military Frontier. As compensation for these expropriated goods, the Imperial War Council offered the chamber places of Neuzina, Boka, and Konak with the wastelands Stari and Novi Lec, Mala Međa, Pitinci, and afterwards Bilet, Kišječa, Đerčamoš, Klarija, Keča, Perjamoš and Pesak with the wastelands Hetin, Idvornok, Sajan, Kriva Bara, a part of Pakac in the Torontal County and Varjaš in Tamiš County. As stated previously, the Imperial War Council then offered the Archdiocese land in Banat, which was legalized in 1801 when the Kajkavian-speaking nobility settled in Neuzin, Boka, Jarkovac, Botoš, Margitica, Klarija.

Today, it is forgotten that among the settlers were the French, Catalans and Italians, who over time assimilated with the Germans, Hungarians or Serbs, and left a trace of colonization in surnames and toponyms.

Apart from the fact that Banat was being colonized, there were also emigrations of people from its own territories. These emigrations were not massive, certainly not of such a scale as to significantly

affect the change of ethnic structure. These are mainly emigration of the population from the territory of one county to the territory of another, or emigration to the territory of the Military Frontier, caused by excessive tax burdens, infertile land, avoidance of recruitment, etc. Also, such are the migrations of Serbs to Russia, to the area of today's Ukraine, which can also be found in the material of the two Banat counties, Tamiš and Torontal.

It should also be mentioned that other migrations and movements of the population took place in the area of Banat, sometimes only of a temporary nature, but certainly without a significant impact on the ethnic structure. Such are the migrations of the population from one place to another in search of more fertile land, migrations caused by trade, as well as war circumstances, and the like.

### **The position of Serbs and reforms in the Habsburg monarchy**

From a feudal state, Austria transformed into one great bureaucratic state. The first ministries were formed, such as the Imperial Office, as the executive body of the ruler who took care of the execution of government policy, then the Imperial War Council, which led the military forces in the Monarchy, and the Imperial Chamber, which managed the financial affairs of the state. District administrations were created, as state bodies that controlled the manors and their courts, teachers and priests. A significant step in the introduction of efficient state administration was the census, the formation of land registers and the introduction of house numbers.

During the reign of Maria Theresa, there was a separation of executive and judicial power. A Supreme Court and a single criminal law were created. During her rule, feudal subordination was reduced, and taxes for the nobility and the clergy were introduced



for the first time. Also, the state administration took on the role of overseeing the Church. Characteristic of the period of Maria Theresa's reign was the creation of a standing army. Lifelong recruitment has been introduced.

For Serbs in today's Vojvodina, as subjects of the Habsburg Monarchy, the reign of Empress Maria Theresa was one of the most important periods in their history, because, like the peoples in other parts of the Monarchy, they were included in the new reform policy, which was focused on establishing a common state, administration and education system.

The position of Serbs in the Habsburg monarchy was to be resolved by the Privileges granted by the Habsburg emperors at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Above all, the Privileges protected the religious freedom of Serbs and the rights of the hierarchy of the clergy in relation to their believers (hence the principle of personality rights - because Serbs enjoyed the Privileges as Serbs and as members of the Serbian Orthodox Church, regardless of the territory in which they lived and of the rights valid in that territory). The privileges were confirmed, but they were also narrowed during the interpretation. Privileges were given to Serbs by Vienna in the extreme danger of war from the Turks, and while those dangers existed, the privileges were respected, because Serbs were needed as soldiers. (Veljanović, 2006, 151)

The establishment of the Illyrian Court Deputation – ICD<sup>70</sup> and the Illyrian Court Chancery - ICC during the time of rule of Maria Theresa was of great importance for the Serbian people within the Habsburg monarchy, and for that reason a special chapter is dedicated to this institution.

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<sup>70</sup> ICD was founded by Maria Theresa on August 5, 1747 (Walrabenstein, 2000: 6)

Also, it should be pointed out that the establishment of the Illyrian Court Deputation and the Illyrian Court Chancery was preceded by the establishment of a special Court Commission. Namely, in his book "History of the Serbian people", Ćorović states: "Empress Maria Theresa formed a special Imperial Commission in 1745, which was to take care of Serbian affairs. The Empress was well informed that the Hungarian classes were pressuring the Serbs beyond the law with their office, but she found that the Imperial War Council also overprotected them for military reasons. With her Commission, she wanted to create an environment: to keep the privileges of the Serbs, but not to expand them. *"As brave and good these people are, they are also very cunning and they are spreading further,"* she wrote, obviously with the intention of preventing this. In fact, the Serbs would have been satisfied if the privileges had been correctly applied and interpreted fairly, and if the imperial authorities had been consistent and fair in this regard. The Hungarian authorities were opposed to that Commission and caused conflicts of competence, which is why the Empress transformed that Commission into the Court Deputation for Transylvanian, Banat and "Illyrian" Matters in 1747. But before that, on December 21, 1746, she made a decision, *"that the metropolitan is not the head of the people but of the church, and that complaints concerning the people should not be sent through him."*<sup>71</sup>

The life of the Serbian Orthodox Church was based on customary law, general canonical regulations set out in Krmčija and on privileges. In order to influence the life of the people and the church as much as possible, in 1747 the state established an institution for Serbian affairs, the Illyrian Court Deputation, equal to the ministry, which it later expanded into the so-called Illyrian Court Chancery.

<sup>71</sup> .....  
[www.rastko.rs/rastko-bl/istorija/corovic/istorija/6\\_13.html](http://www.rastko.rs/rastko-bl/istorija/corovic/istorija/6_13.html), accessed: April 22, 2022.

The Imperial Commissioner ordered in the Parliament in 1769 that the people's deputies, before the election of the metropolitan, express their opinion on all important issues of people's life and church life, in order to obtain a basis for organizing the Serbian Orthodox Church. The Parliament expressed its opinion on various issues, and as early as 1770, Empress Maria Theresa issued a decree called the *Regulation*. This *Regulation* deprived the Serbian people of their rights, because the previously given privileges were significantly curtailed, and the parliamentary conclusions were changed to the detriment of the people. The indignation of the Serbian people was so great that the state government was forced to withdraw it. At that time, the state government sent a new draft decree to the Synod for its opinion. The Synod made its objections, but the government did not accept them, publishing the *Regulation* from 1777, which damaged the people even more, so that it even caused violence. That was the reason for the abolition of the Illyrian Court Deputation and for the Serbs to be brought under the Hungarian Court Office again. The *Regulation* from 1777 was then withdrawn, and two years later, in 1779, a new decree called the *Declaration*<sup>72</sup> was published; the Serbian people accepted it, although they were also dissatisfied with it. At that time, many customs were changed and abolished, and the so-called *Consistory system* (1782) introduced new institutions (consistories, spiritual courts, etc.) (Popović, 1959: 339-340)

Although we are not discussing the education system in the Habsburg monarchy, it is important to note that the school reform movement in Austria also included Serbian schools in today's Vojvodina.

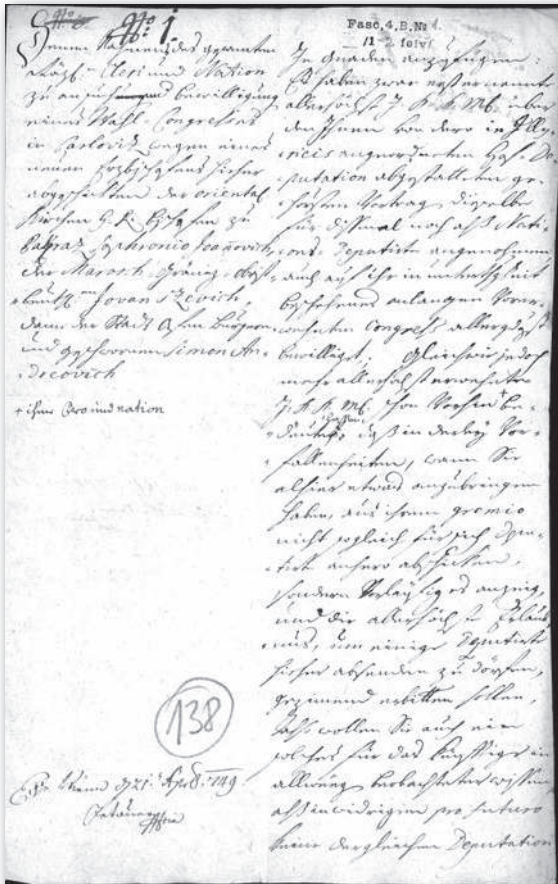
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<sup>72</sup> Law on the organization of the Serbian church in the Karlovac metropolitanate. It was issued by Maria Theresa on July 6, 1779 (according to the Gregorian calendar), under the name *Rescriptum Declaratorium Illyricae Nationis*. [https://www.duhocchina.com/wiki/en/Declaratory\\_Rescript\\_of\\_the\\_Illyrian\\_Nation](https://www.duhocchina.com/wiki/en/Declaratory_Rescript_of_the_Illyrian_Nation), accessed: April 22, 2022.

Maria Theresa herself wanted their regulation, as well as her son, coregent Joseph II. The Illyrian Court Deputation, as a special type of ministry for Serbian affairs at the Viennese court, had the task of resolving this issue. At the session of the Illyrian Court Deputation on April 22, 1770, they agreed that it was in the interest of the state itself to repair Serbian schools in today's territory of Vojvodina. By building schools, the people would be educated in fidelity to the royal house and in Christian values. By the Regulament (Regulation) issued in 1770, which regulates all ecclesiastical legal issues of Serbs in Austria, Maria Theresa informed the Serbian people about the steps she had taken in the matter of regulating Serbian schools. (Kirilović, 1929: 2–30)

As we have seen, Maria Theresa carried out many significant reforms during her reign. Among them, the most important was the introduction of administrative bodies, which did not represent executive bodies, but had an advisory role. State institutions underwent certain changes and restructuring, and the execution of their tasks was in the hands of the nobility until Maria Theresa implemented administrative changes, which were continued by her son, Joseph II.

Symbols are cultural products and they change from one period to another, as well as from one society to another, just like the acceptable behavior of society and the individual, so on the path of this mosaic we reach the cradle of Europe, the Mediterranean, which has a special place in the European culture. The Mediterranean is also made up of parts of the hinterland, and its borders, as Predrag Matvejević says, are not drawn in space or time, they are neither historical, nor state-defined, nor national, and are sometimes reminiscent of *a circle of chalk that is constantly drawn and erased, widened and narrowed by waves and winds, actions and inspirations* (Matvejević 2003: 15–16).



*Consent of the Imperial Office to hold the National Assembly in (Sremski Karlovci) (1749).*

(AV. F. 5, IDK-D, a.j. 138)

For centuries, peoples and races have merged and separated in the Mediterranean, and it is therefore impossible to view it from the standpoint of any kind of particularism – despite numerous state, religious, national and other divisions, there were internal Mediterranean ties that resisted these divisions. Perhaps part of the peculiarity of the Mediterranean lies in the fact that Mediterranean cities have not become like other cities – from villages, but they *created villages around themselves and for themselves*, but also in the fact that the Adriatic, according to Matvejević, is a *sea of*

*neighborhood* and *sea of closeness*, unlike the Atlantic or the Pacific, which are seas of distance (Matvejević 2003: 19). The Mediterranean had another important characteristic: the domicile population always belonged more to their city than to their own country, and there were living connections between Mediterranean cities, regardless of which

country they belonged to at the time. All this gave a special tone to the Mediterranean culture.

The characteristics of the culture of the Bay of Kotor, segments of its socio-historical past, but also private history, can be read from the archives. Many cultures have left their mark on the undulating and hilly area of the Bay of Kotor.

After the war during the 17<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the centuries-old aspirations of Venice to become the master of the entire Bay of Kotor were realized. After 1718, significant changes took place in the demographic, ethnic and cultural spheres. All Venetian cities from Zadar to Ulcinj were a natural outlet to the hinterland and part of the Balkan countries. The Bay of Kotor geographically covers the Bay of Kotor with the nearest hinterland. Due to its geopolitical position and geographical and climatic conditions, it has, since ancient times attracted many peoples who ruled it for a longer or shorter time. Centuries-old layers of the cultures of the conquerors who have stayed there for a short or long time, leaving their mark, contributed to the specificities in all segments of cultural, historical, linguistic, ethnic, economic and political life of this bay. Maritime affairs, which was the dominant and most developed economic branch for centuries, had a decisive impact on the spread of cultural influences. Migrations of different intensities, as the fate of this very attractive area, are another cause of mixing cultures.

The northwestern part of the Bay of Kotor was under Turkish rule for two centuries and Islamic culture has left its mark there. At the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, there were great political, historical and social changes, which were reflected in Boka, when this part of the bay fell under the rule of Venice, lasting until its fall in 1797, when all acts passed by its bodies ceased to be valid – military, judicial, and administrative, and therefore also rendering invalid all the rights



and privileges of the *Topalj community* (self-governing people's municipalities) acquired during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In August 1797, the Austrian army occupied the Bay of Kotor, and its municipalities were not united in accepting new overlords in the period from 1797 to 1814, but all of them emphasized very clearly and loudly their rights acquired under the Venetian rule, especially those that referred to the voluntary acceptance of foreign rule of their own choosing. From 1797 until the establishment of the second Austrian rule in 1814, the Bay of Kotor was under the rule of Austria, Russia, France and, again, Austria. That period of seventeen years is a relatively short period to accept easily, and without resistance, all these changes brought about by such different rulers, both in terms of politics and social and economic order. During the first Austrian rule (1797–1806), as well as during the Russian rule (1806–1807), regardless of the fact that the center of the Topalj community moved to Herceg Novi, its name of organization and work survived. It was only during the French rule (1807–1814) that the name of the municipality of Herceg Novi was established, and it has survived to this day. During this period, the functions of captain and judge were lost, and the function of podeste (chief) was introduced to the vacant position, as well as the municipal council, which had the role of judges or municipal councilors from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (D. Radojičić, Belgrade, 2006: 42, 43)

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, until the end of the First World War, during the rule of Austria, i.e., Austria-Hungary, political turmoil came to the Bay of Kotor from Europe. That time was historically marked by the revolutionary year of 1848 - the Krivošija and Herzegovina uprisings, the awakening of national consciousness, and then the First World War. The economy is characterized by small holdings of land in rural areas, primitive land cultivation, developed husbandry, and coastal fishing.



At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the wave of emigration to overseas countries became particularly pronounced. A number of Boka families, having acquired capital from maritime trade in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, went to prosperous Trieste in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The rise of Trieste was strategically forced by Austria. Traces of that capital still remain visible as beautiful palaces that still adorn Trieste today. Accordingly, exports and imports are developing, as the traders are settling their businesses in Trieste, Odessa, Constantinople and Vienna.

The wave of awakening of national consciousness, which has swept Europe since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, has also affected this region, in which the majority of the population was Orthodox and the minority Roman Catholic. Therefore, the Serbian Reading Room was founded in Herceg Novi in 1850, but its work was suspended by the authorities due to the spread of Serbian national ideas. The Croatian Reading Room in Herceg Novi began its work in 1902, and other settlements in this municipality established reading rooms that sought to encourage and nurture national consciousness, organizing various literary evenings and music and drama programs. Legislation that enabled the introduction of the vernacular language and the Cyrillic alphabet was of key importance for the development of national consciousness. The forerunner of the development of education in the vernacular language was the opening of the Serbian Foundational Naval School in 1858 in Srbina, which functioned in the *vernacular language*, after much effort and more than a decade of administration and local government efforts to obtain permission from the Austrian authorities. After that, numerous primary schools in the vernacular language were opened. Simo Matavulj,<sup>73</sup> a writer,

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<sup>73</sup> For seven years he was a resident (from the end of 1874 to the end of 1881) of *Ercegnovi* (as Herceg Novi was called then, until 1928).

worked as a professor at the Serbian Foundational Naval School, founded in 1858 in Srbina (northern suburbs); in his book *Bilješke jednog pisca* (Notes of a Writer), he described the life in the city, and the life of the bourgeois class of this region – which prominently featured highly educated individuals from the local population or from among the temporary dwellers who worked as professors, doctors, judges, notaries, lawyers – and transposed it into short stories. The director of the Serbian Foundational Naval School in Matavulj's time was Professor Belušić, a young graduate of the Faculty of Philosophy, who had recently arrived from Vienna. Matavulj says:

*A small circle of the Herceg Novi intelligentsia, having received such a newcomer, felt stronger than life, and in addition to socializing in the cafe, evening meetings in the reading room, they also sat in more excellent houses (S. Matavulj, Cetinje - Belgrade: Obod, 1975: 34).*

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, an urban stratum of the local population was formed, from the stratum of prominent Serb settlers who lived in the suburbs, and who settled in the city center after they gained economic power. With the new position, they take over the city culture from officials, judges, doctors, senior officers of Austrian and Czech origin. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, families and individuals from rural settlements also came to the urban area, but did not cut off their contacts with their homeland. And they accepted the rules of city life very quickly. The newcomers from the surrounding settlements were also native Serbs, some of whom were also engaged in seafaring or trade, so they had already acquired a certain amount of capital even before the starting their life in the city.

Numerous military personnel - officers, who came from various parts of Austria-Hungary and often married members of the domicile population, left a special mark on the culture of the Herceg Novi region.

The development of health and health culture is closely related to the overall economic and political relations between the Bay of Kotor and Venice during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and also during the Austro-Hungarian rule, as evidenced by archival fonds.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Venice's main goal was to maintain and develop trade in Turkish markets, and geopolitical and economic interests were related to the Middle East and the "Gulf" (Adriatic coast).<sup>74</sup> Archival sources – which speak of trade and trade relations – strengthen us in the belief that economic development also depended on the development of health culture and its organizations.

The rise of maritime trade was directly dependent on the level of development of health institutions – contagious diseases were certainly among the greatest enemies of seafarers and the entire population. The plague and the epidemic typhus devastated many areas; epidemics claimed more lives than many wars and other calamities and they had fatal outcomes – especially in areas beyond major lines of communication.

Fear of the spread of infectious diseases forced the inhabitants of these areas to build infirmaries (health institutions), at first as far as possible from the city center, so that by improving preventive measures and developing medicine, motivated by economic gain, these institutions were dislocated near trading centers along the coast, which significantly facilitated the procedures related to isolation and quarantine.

The sanitary measure of quarantine prevented contact with the sick, i.e., infected, as well as those suspected of being infected, for a certain period of time. Quarantine was applied to animals and goods to stop and prevent the spread of infection.

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<sup>74</sup> For more details, see G. Stanojević, *Novska skela u 18. veku*, Spomenik SANU, CXXVII, Beograd, 85.

*Quarantine* got its name from the word *quaranta* – “40-days”, which is the period that the medieval medicine considered necessary to pass between the incubation and the appearance of a disease. In seafaring, quarantine is the isolation of the ship, crew, passengers and cargo arriving from an infected port or from one suspected of being infected. (M.Š. Milošević, Kotor, 1959: 57)

The Magistrate of Health (*Magistrato alla Sanita*) in Venice was in constant contact with all health institutions in the territory of the Venetian Republic.<sup>75</sup>

The Providur of Kotor, Marco Guerini, received a letter from the Magistrate of Venice in 1739, in which he wrote that he was pleased to receive the news of his inauguration and expressed his expectation that the medical service would be improved under his supervision.<sup>76</sup> Among other activities, special importance was attached to a well-organized and developed intelligence network, which collected data on the state and trends of epidemics. Thus, Harambaša Sava reports that the infection appeared in Trebinje and Ljubomir and that about 180 people died from it, and the infection also appeared on the borders with Albania. It is also reported about plague in Shkodra, as well as about taking measures to prevent the spread of the infection.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> The Medical Collegium (Proveditore della Sanita) operated in Kotor from 1434, while in Herceg Novi, with the construction of a new and modern infirmary in Meljine in 1730, a medical collegium was formed at the office of the Venetian providur in the city. While two infirmaries in Kotor had been operating since the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (before Split and Dubrovnik), in Herceg Novi the first one started operating on Topla in 1701. Due to the bad conditions that prevailed in it, its operations ceased, and another, larger and more modern one, was built in Meljine in 1730/31.

<sup>76</sup> Archives of Herceg Novi, archival fonds of the Administrative-Political Venetian Archive (AH PUMA), F. 130, 176.

<sup>77</sup> AH PUMA, F. 7, 6, 51, 453, 457, 538, 535.

By the decision of the General Providur, a permanent health collegium was established for Dalmatia and the Bay of Kotor on June 1, 1735 in Herceg Novi. The activities and work of this course are precisely prescribed in the rulebook in 12 items, which referred to the regulations related to its organization, competencies and administrative operations. The manner of its activity, relations with the older health authorities and its subordinate infirmaries, were particularly regulated.

The Archives of Herceg Novi mostly keeps the preserved archival documents related to the certificates that ships and crews received after the expiration of isolation. Thus, on September 28, 1705, by the decision of the Providur Guerini, the patron Nikola Zambela from Perast was released after the isolation. For that year, it is possible to follow documents of the comparable content, with the names of more than 60 patrons from Perast, Stoliv, Kotor, Istria, Grbalj, Herceg Novi, Venice, who were released after the obligatory quarantine.<sup>78</sup>

The Magistrate of Health prescribed that every person traveling from one place to another must have a certificate issued by the medical board confirming that there is no plague in the place the person comes from, while persons who came from another territory were detained and quarantined. All ships had to have medical lists.

We have singled out only a few examples: an order issued in 1797 to a sanitary guard to investigate whether the frigate of the patron Konstantin Đurđević from Topla carries goods that are susceptible to contamination; an order issued in 1723 to the sanitary guard to accompany Antun Đonović and his two sailors on their way to Bar, who were going there on trading business, and his statement on his

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<sup>78</sup> We have reviewed slightly more than 20 archive folders of the Political-Administrative Venetian Archive, which refer exclusively to the execution of isolation.

return; an order given to the sanitary guard to accompany the patron Antun Petrović from Perast to Albania (Durrës), in strict compliance with sanitary regulations.<sup>79</sup>

Along the Herceg Novi Riviera, in 1740, nine guard posts were set up on the outer part of the coast and 60 guards at 15 guard posts along the land border, all to prevent secret disembarking and unloading, in order to prevent the entry of people and goods.

In 1723, the Providur in Herceg Novi issued an order for guarding the land border due to contagion in the neighborhood, as well as a proclamation banning trade with Prijepolje, Pljevlja and Trebinje due to contagious diseases in those areas, and – for the same reasons – traffic and trade with Albania and Bar were suspended.<sup>80</sup>

The passengers were obligatorily interrogated upon entering the port, and a record was kept of that. Some information was valuable, such as that about the plague in Sandžak on February 12, 1706, obtained from Ruj Marković from Topla, and after his return from Gacko. After interrogating the trader Antun Kola from Shkodra, who traveled through Montenegro and Kotor, it was learned that there was no infection in those parts; he expressed a desire to be isolated in the Herceg Novi infirmary.<sup>81</sup>

There are also examples from which it can be seen that sailors tried to avoid strict quarantine regulations. The prior of the infirmary in Herceg Novi, Teodor Mario Bon, wrote in 1747 to the Providur in the city that it was necessary to find a Turkish ship that escaped under the walls of the infirmary, and in 1755 Antun Dardea from Rosa reported to the Providur in Herceg Novi that Rais Ahmet arrived, with his tartan full of wool and rope, from Lezhë (Albania), and

<sup>79</sup> AH PUMA, F. 25, 180; AH PUMA, F. 92, 20-21, 35.

<sup>80</sup> AH PUMA, F. 78, 5, 7, 39, 42.

<sup>81</sup> AH PUMA, F. 25, 165, 124.

anchored under the infirmary in Herceg Novi without permission and escort.<sup>82</sup>

The prior of the infirmary in Herceg Novi informs the Providur that on August 28, 1786, two people who were in isolation escaped. They had climbed to the roof of the building and descended with a rope made of calfskin.

This was certainly not an isolated event, because on December 30, 1774, the extraordinary Providur in Kotor issued an order to assign 12 soldiers to the infirmary as reinforcements, in order to prevent the escape of persons who are isolated in the infirmary.

The number of guards in the infirmary also increased due to the large number of passengers who came to it every day, as stated in the document from May 22, 1788. In order to prevent sanitary problems, the Venetian extra-Providur from Albania issued an order on May 23, 1769, to unload all the wool from a ship that came from Shkodra to the infirmary – in the presence of 16 soldiers, 1 sergeant, 1 corporal and 1 officer. The value of the goods in the infirmary was also the reason for the increase in the number of guards. Namely, on November 8, 1781, the prior of the infirmary in Herceg Novi, Angelo Stefano Marconi, wrote to the Herceg Novi Providur, Jean-Baptiste Corner, that the sanitary magistrate in Venice had assigned him 16 soldiers for the external and internal service of guarding the infirmary, because the existing number of 2-3 soldiers was not enough. Considering that there are goods worth about 3,000 sequins in the infirmary, the possibility of robbery by people who come to the infirmary, and who are usually armed, is considerable, and there is a fear of insolent and brave Risan people.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>82</sup> AH PUMA, F. 164, 95; F. 191, 12.

<sup>83</sup> AH PUMA, F. 231, 269, 292; F. 231, 289; F. 258, 279-197.

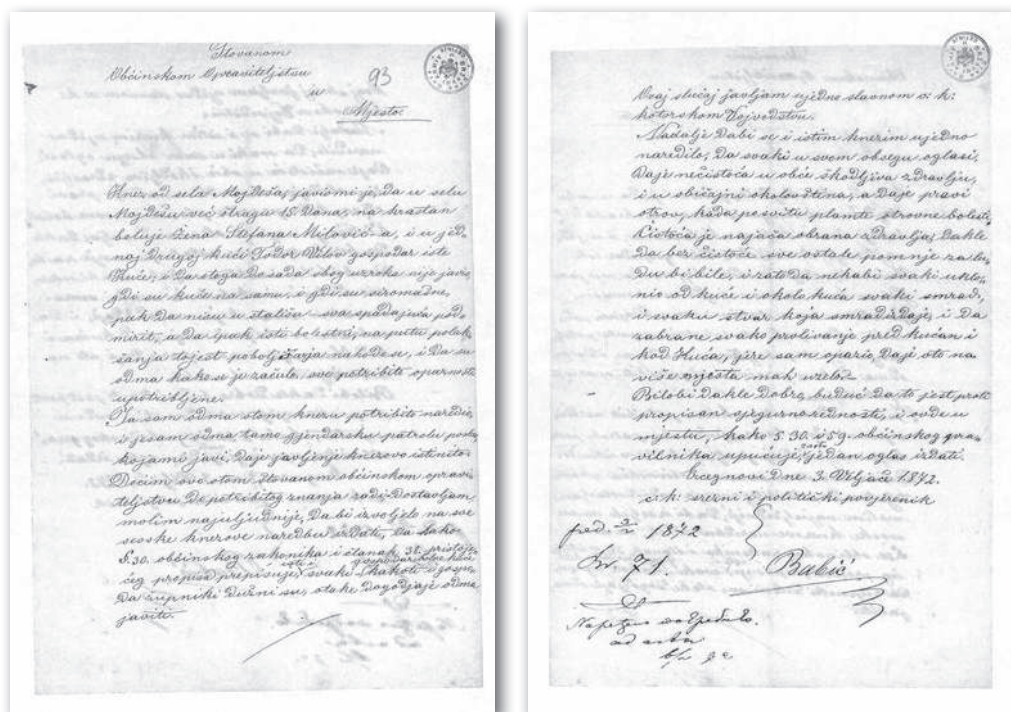


In August 1766, 4 soldiers were quarantined. The prior stated that they were ill and had a fever, and demanded that they be examined by a public doctor. They sent a request for a permission for this, as well as the plea of the officers who were complaining that the soldiers lacked bread and asked for a permission to go to the port in their boat for the bread, which required strict sanitary surveillance and caution, to the extraordinary Providur, who was to issue orders to the prior of the infirmary to act on them and carry them out. However, in September, one of the soldiers (Simo Milošević) passed away, and two months later, two more deaths were recorded in the hospital, one older soldier and a nine-month-old baby, who arrived from Corfu. (see V. Vičević, Herceg Novi, 1982, Boka 13-14, 177)

Health services were also zealous during the Austro-Hungarian rule in the Bay of Kotor, which included treating and preventing the spread and frequent occurrence of measles infections – *scabies*, *blisters*, *rash*. The measures taken by the local authorities, but also by the authorities at a higher level – were applied in the whole of the Bay of Kotor. The implementation of the law in this area was strictly controlled, which is confirmed by numerous archives in the archival institutions of Kotor and Herceg Novi. The municipal doctors were connected in this task with the municipal administration, then the village princes, teachers, priests, as well as the political administration in Herceg Novi and other authorities in Kotor and Zadar. Examples from the Herceg Novi region testify to this reliably, based on the archives of the Herceg Novi municipality from the second half of the 19th century (see M. Crnić Pejović, Herceg Novi, 2020, Boka 40, 153-156).

Here, for example, we single out only two facts from the Archive Fonds of the municipalities of Herceg Novi, which testify that the authorities involved gendarmes and the army in order to prevent

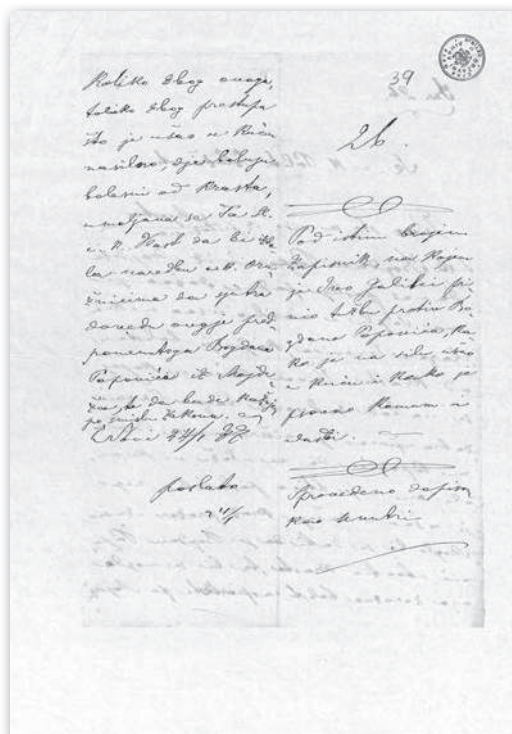
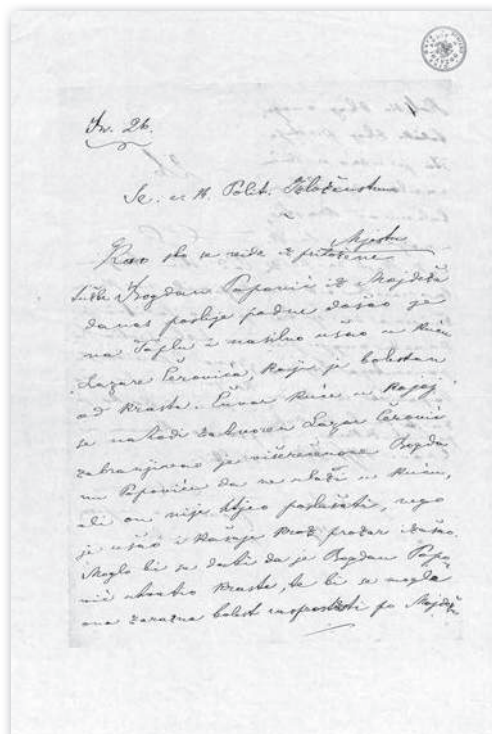
and control the spread of the measles infection among the population. Thus, from the document from 1872, we see how Commissioner Babić informed the municipal administration that the prince of the village of Mojdež had informed him that one woman and Todor Vilov had been suffering from scabies in that village for 15 days, and the Commissioner immediately sent a gendarme patrol.



State Archives of Montenegro, Cetinje, Department of Herceg Novi, Archives of the Municipality of Herceg Novi, 1872, 71

A document from 1874 testifies that Bogdan Popović from Mojdež forcibly entered the house of Lazar Čerović on Topla, despite the prohibition by the guards, because the mentioned Lazar was suffering from measles. B. Popović was punished under Article 393

of the Criminal Code within his rights, and in connection with the undertaking of health measures by the municipal authorities, which had the right to punish the offender with imprisonment.



*State Archives of Montenegro, Cetinje, Department of Herceg Novi, Archives of the Municipality of Herceg Novi, 1877, 26*



## FROM THE MARGIN TO A SCIENTIFIC DISCIPLINE

Instead of the imperative of the present, *publish or perish!* we stuck to another motto - close to all those who deal with the past, memories and culture - *preserve from oblivion*.

The paths that lead from margins to scientific disciplines are certainly longer than the paths that stretch from the Pannonian to the Adriatic Sea, they are long historical paths, connections and side paths of human existence, while friendship created through joint work takes precedence. Thus, Filotije Kokin characterized the friendship between David Disipat and Gregory Palamas not only as a friendship of like-minded people but also “communitarian in feat” (see Mikonja Knežević, Milesa Stefanović Banović, 2021: 182). From this communitarian spirit stem humble hope, gratitude and scant promises, which are still sincerely believed, not only while they are being uttered, and which should not be forgotten, that the paths from the margin to a scientific discipline have their time. The archives are there to confirm that they are so important – that their treasure has been created for centuries, even when we only extract their fruits in fragments, when they are only a matter of our current observation. They always reliably testify to life and the human miracle of change, just as the whim

of the sea is inconceivable, and the fields of the plains are constant, because the written and preserved word lives in the archives.

This is what Professor Stana Đurić-Klein, an extraordinary pianist, once said to her student Dušan Mihalek: *Dušan, pay attention: the world is full of thieves! We musicologists spend days and years searching the archives, sometimes freezing, breathing in the dust all our lives, and when we publish our discoveries - unscrupulous colleagues appear who use it in their texts without even quoting us. You have to find a system to defend yourself against it!* (Mihalek 2010: 6-7)

The world did not, or does not, want to find a system of defense against many misfortunes, the interests of the two worlds of East and West have left their furrows in civilization, *culture* has been harmonized, creating a synthesis of various currents, it skillfully adapted to the conditions and socio-historical movements.

Many sciences deal with *culture*, and each discipline defines it from its own angle. Culture is always dynamic, never static, and changes always bring novelties, certain uncertainties-insecurities. A good part of researchers set themselves the task of dealing with the phenomenon of everyday life. Elias: *What we lack are models of thought based on which we will be able to clarify what we actually have before our eyes every day.* This statement of Elias dates back to the period immediately before the Second World War, and it is no less relevant today (Hirschfelder 2006: 313). Some elements of culture serve as an indicator of the recognition of certain ethnic groups, peoples, and archival material is a mine that you need to enter and learn about many discoveries. Without that connection with the past, there is no more serious insight into the present. Perhaps the maxim "Who knows where the knowledge is, is closest to the knowing" (*Qui scit ubi scientia, proximus habenti est*) most faithfully reflects the compatibility of the work of archivists and researchers in science. Discoveries in the reconstruction of life fill them both with joy, and

after many years of work, it is difficult to draw a line between them (Radojičić 2005: 115–123).

Cultural phenomena – followed through the dimension of historical retrospective obtained from archival sources – in long-term archival institutions in Vojvodina and the Bay of Kotor, narrowly understood, help to enrich the existing knowledge and, at least to some extent, bring two margins closer together and become more visible. Such is the case with the data presented here, too, which are part of cultural heritage.

Based on our many years of experience in working with archival sources, as well as on the previous application of archival science in anthropology, we have set out from one coast to another, assembling an archival mosaic only in fragments, looking for a link between the same or similar anthropological topics. The dimension and role of these sources for anthropology as a scientific discipline is unquestionable and the horizon is open for other disciplines.

Difficulties are never lacking in this line of work, but the hope remained that future users of archival data will be drawn into archival labyrinths and that, based on archival material we present to them, they will seek answers to numerous topics, not necessarily anthropological, in a new time without the dominance of digital enchantment, seduced by the smell of old paper, the smell of time that disappeared even before we fully knew it, and which can be felt when the archive documents are opened.

There are a number of examples which render apparent the fact that this type of research work usually focuses on researching several different problems: communication relations of a certain group of people in the past, religious issues, attitude towards material values or spiritual culture, social and cultural status of certain social and status privileges, etc. Political and social events from the past become clearer and more exposed than any ideologization.



Cultural phenomena – followed through the dimension of historical retrospective obtained from archival sources – help to enrich the existing knowledge and, at least to some extent, change the existing stereotypes.

As we have already mentioned, archival sources have multiple meanings for ethnology and anthropology as scientific disciplines. Various topics stem from them, uninteresting at first glance, because they are official written documents, and not a mere description based on memory. For example, minutes from village assemblies, where important decisions were made for a given community and the individuals as their members: moral norms, demography, military fortifications, attitude towards soldiers, court disputes, diseases, famines, migrations. Lists of clothing items are especially useful, as well as clothes from engravings that testify to the dominant fashion events, family relationships and social occasions. The archival materials on health care, trade, livestock and agricultural activities introduce us to the depths of historical events and we can easily see the socio-cultural scene of the researched environment.

In addition to all the above, the vocabulary used is of special importance for research in the field of philology, above all – for understanding the facts important for the historical and linguistic development.

It is known in the language sciences that old written texts are the most important source for studying the linguistic structure, i.e., for following the genesis of many dialectal phenomena of the region in which they originated. When foreign words enter the vernacular language, they are treated as domestic, so new ones are derived from them, as well as from domestic ones, with the help of various affixes.

In the area of Vojvodina during the Habsburg rule, German, Hungarian and Latin were the languages of administration and the

official languages from the establishment of the Habsburg government until the end of the First World War in 1918.

In the depots of Archives of Vojvodina, several hundred archival fonds are kept, the content of which consists of documents created before 1918 and which is classified as such in the old archival material. Due to their origin and content, these fonds are categorized as cultural goods of exceptional and great importance and they testify to important historical events. Considering that this documentary material of the Archives of Vojvodina was created during the Habsburg period, i.e. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy, written before the First World War, mostly by hand and mainly in German, Latin and Hungarian languages and archaic scripts. In the preserved archival material we are talking about, different characteristics of the time that differs from the present have been noted in a special political, social, geographical, ethnic and cultural space.<sup>84</sup>

The three main time units according to which the fonds were constituted in the Department for the Arrangement and Processing of Older Archival Materials (until 1918), which relate to the subject of this publication, can be classified as follows:

- The time of late feudalism, from the establishment of the Habsburg rule until 1848/49, with functional institutions of the feudal state: imperial bodies, counties, aristocratic properties, aristocratic courts, temporary commissions, etc.

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<sup>84</sup> Recognizing the importance of old fonds, the Archives of Vojvodina formed a department dealing with material created before 1918; this department consisted of experts in archaic languages, who arranged and processed archival material from the oldest document dating from the late 12<sup>th</sup> century to 1918. As part of its rich publishing activities, in addition to the catalog of exhibitions and special editions, the Archives pay great attention to publishing and publications, through the edition called Scientific Information on Archival Materials.

- The time of the Serbian Duchy and the Tamiš Banat, the period of bureaucratized and centralized state of Bach's absolutism, commissions, commissariats and bodies, local and district authorities and bodies of the Duchy.

- The period from 1861 to 1918 is characterized by the development of modern state institutions, the functioning of municipalities, the creation of new organizational forms and associations through the funds of the reorganized state union of Austria-Hungary, and its Hungarian part. There is a continuation of the work of counties in new circumstances, the creation of a network of district and county judicial authorities, the development of educational institutions and inclusion in the civil sector of areas that were under the Military Frontier until its abolition. (Jakšić 2018: 23-24)

The languages in which the material of the administrative funds is written mostly coincide with these three time-segments.

- Latin appears exclusively as an administrative language, widely used in Europe and by the Catholic Church, it was also politically neutral, it was not the language of any people of the Monarchy. Latin dominated the state administration from the Middle Ages until the 1830s, with Hungarian then taking precedence.

- The Hungarian language has been used in state matters in Hungary earlier, as it was the mother tongue of a large population and the language of local self-government, which consisted of the Hungarian nobility. It dominated the 1830s and 1840s and the period after 1861.

- German was the mother tongue of a large population, and it was in official use for a short time during the reign of Joseph II (1786 – 1790) and for a period of ten years in the Duchy of Serbia and the Tamiš Banat. At the same time, it was the language of a separate military administration.

- Other vernacular languages appear less frequently: Serbian

and other Slavic languages, Romanian (Cyrillic and Latin), French (diplomacy), Hebrew (Heb. script), etc. (Jakšić 2018: 24)

With regard to Hungarian and German as administrative languages, the great influence of the vernacular language is noticeable. The population that lived on the territory of today's AP of Vojvodina, and somewhat further, was mixed and different and extremely territorially specific mutual influences and mixing of vernacular languages were inevitable. It is very interesting that the settlers to this area, who came mostly in the 18th century, changed their vernacular language not only under the influence of other vernacular languages, but also under the influence of cultural and social events within their own ethnic corps. In this way, the mixed population, settlers, immigrants or colonists created a specific form of their national languages through everyday communication, which differed from the forms they used in the areas from which they settled. The fact is that all these language movements have significantly reflected on the language of the administration, in which the documents were made, archival material kept by archives, which testify about those times. We should also take into account the training of many clerks in running the administration, who at that time were often without schooling or formal education, and who used old or irregular forms of Latin, German and Hungarian (they used their dialect when writing) and used different paleographic features of Latin and Gothic letters. (Stevanović et al. 2012: 10-11)

In the area of Boka Kotorska, the Venetian language had long been the language of administration and culture. Later, it was Italian, but these were the languages of urban areas, while the Slavic language was used in the rural areas. Linguistic interference is closely related to migration processes, frequent and expansive in the past of this region. Slavic gradually became the language of home, family and poetry, and Venetian or Italian remained the language

of administration and culture. Bilingualism persisted, especially in urban areas, until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Then, globalization, communications and migration influenced the disappearance of certain dialectal features in the speeches of the Bay of Kotor. Also, with a small number of the remaining autochthonous population, in the domestic circle, certain Romanisms have been preserved, especially in the field of material culture.

So far, researchers have mostly dealt with the Romance elements in the Boka dialects, as well as with their relationship to the native words, due to the centuries-old use of the Venetian-Italian language. A large number of received words are those that denote objects that were unknown at the time, primarily from the material culture such as: tools, furniture, utensils, clothing, furniture. In the process of getting acquainted with these objects, people accepted their names, as they heard them from persons who were already familiar with them, without thinking about their origin. Many foreign words from this region came into everyday use, mostly through trade and seafaring. (L. Tomanović, Herceg Novi, 1972: 159, 164, 169 and S. Music, Herceg Novi, 1976: 163)

Women are responsible for preserving many linguistic features, as they did not have the opportunity to “mix with other languages”, seeing as they mostly stayed at home, as well as older men who have preserved the specificities of the language group to which they belonged.

It is interesting to note how Stefan Mitrov Ljubiša viewed the problem of foreign words in the Serbian language. “I do not deny that language, like other knowledge, is valuable to the progress, but I am convinced that the factor of that progress is that part of our people who live where no language other than ours is known or heard, so trouble drives them to invent and create names for new things; not knowing what these things are called in a foreign language, a man

is forced to forge their names as nature teaches him, and the coined words are adopted and rooted among the people. The Boka dialects have certain linguistic features: "yet every place speaks differently" (S. Musić, Herceg Novi, 1976: 163).

Like other Boka dialects, Paštrović dialect belongs to the new Štokavian southern dialect, and there are certain linguistic features that distinguish the people from their neighbors. Jovan Vukmanović points out that: "the Paštrović speech specifics coincide with the borders of the area, thanks to historical circumstances and the way of organizing life within this community, considering the fact that they enjoyed their self-government, formed a spiritual whole and adhered to old endogamy."

"Preserved written monuments are of great importance not only for studying the cultural history and life of the Paštrović, they are valuable for learning about the development of the language in this area. In addition to Italian (Venetian) words, some of which have been adopted locally, Latin, Turkish, French, Arabic, Persian, Romanian and Russian words can be heard in speech, which testifies to turbulent historical times and encounters with many peoples and their cultures." Jovan Vukmanović wrote in his monograph on the Paštrović family (L. Tomanović, Herceg Novi, 1972: 159, 164, 169).

As prof. S. Musić wrote: "Today's language situation in the Bay of Kotor is characterized by the existence of two groups of languages. Northwestern Boka belongs to the East Herzegovinian new Štokavian dialect, while its southeastern part belongs to the Zeta-Sjenica dialect ... but local differences are rapidly disappearing today..., and under the influence of the old Venetian speech, the Slavs on the Adriatic drew their Romance loanwords in three basic layers (Balkan-Latin, Dalmatian and Neo-Romance layers). At the time when the Venetians occupied Herceg Novi (at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century), they had already largely lost their prestige, so that the documents in

the Archives of Herceg Novi and Kotor were written mostly in Italian (Tuscan) language, in addition to the undoubted and very significant influence of the Venetian dialect. He further writes that "the Italian loanwords that have entered the Serbo-Croatian written language and thus reached the language spoken in northwestern Boka, refer mostly to areas that the Italian language dominated in the 16th and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries in Europe, spreading with great force to all European languages... All this points to the fact that the Slavic population of the Adriatic coast in general, and in the northwestern Boka in particular, during almost thirteen centuries of contact with a strong culture and civilization with its center on the Apennine Peninsula and its peripheral lines spread throughout Europe, especially on the eastern Adriatic coast, took from that culture and civilization, the terms that it lacked in its first cattle breeding-nomadic, then agricultural, and finally, maritime and urban phase. "(c. S. Music, 1972: 25)

Despite the complex and often antagonistic political, economic and social relations and within the complex political, demographic, economic, and social-cultural environment, further shaken and aggravated by frequent wars and migrations, archival materials lead us into the private life of the individual who lived in midst of the above circumstances.

In searching archival materials for written and preserved words that would otherwise disappear in the shimmering greenery of olive groves, the shade of sunflowers and wheat fields, we set off at a slow pace to reassemble the familiar mosaic pieces, archival materials we have read, which are more than three centuries old and are now peacefully stored in the archives of the archive fonds in Novi Sad and Herceg Novi, merging the two professions into a bunch of freshly bound wheat, "in a communitarian manner".

In the research of Serbian cultural history, archival material occupies a considerable space, but never sufficient, and therefore we



here give a full contribution and encouragement to strengthening the mission of the path from the margins to a scientific discipline.

The Pannonian and Adriatic seas were overwhelmed by the great and conflicting political and cultural interests of many empires of the two worlds – the East and the West, creating syntheses of different directions and currents. There are numerous examples of this. On this occasion, we have selected only some of the archives known to us, combining archival science and ethnology/anthropology.

Therefore, even sporadic acquaintance with the socio-political and other circumstances in these areas through the historical cross-section from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the data from the First World War imposed itself as the only framework in which it is possible to place an image in which various cultures and cultural influences are clearly defined and coexist.



*Export map of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia; 1951  
(The SASA Institute of Ethnography)*



## MOSAIC OF ARCHIVAL BOXES

*Do not look within yourself, there is nothing there. Look in others who are across from you.*

Konstantin Stanislavski

(in Guillaume Musso, *L'Inconnue de la Seine*, Belgrade, 2022: 167)

We have tried to strengthen and define the idea of creating a mosaic image of archives through the anthropology of memory, from the Pannonian to the Adriatic Sea, as well as the repetition of what has already been written or expressed, through a new form of that sea of closeness connected by archival materials. In this case it is simple to establish, as an example, a parallel with food, and consuming the food and collected archival materials. Because food is culture, while it is produced, while it is prepared, while it is eaten. Although one can eat a lot, or because of the fact that one can eat everything, one often chooses what to eat, depending on the criteria related to the economic nutritional dimensions, i.e., the symbolic values of prepared meals; we also chose the presented archival materials as the most delicious prepared meals for a loyal readership. (M. Montanari, Sandorf, Zagreb, 2011: 6)

The concept of culture is used here in a broad, comprehensive sense, so it is certain that we can still get entangled in some inaccuracy

from the mere simplicity of the presentation of the collected, and we did not take a critical view of the presented materials. We have allowed a simple and perhaps unique approach by limiting ourselves to a number of topics presented and studied over the years, certainly not only by us, and reinterpreted them in a new context, without the intent to theoretically discuss the importance of archival materials, historical trends, documents or, for example, culture and cultural identities that all together truly peek from archival boxes. Experience and memories were gathered here with the mission to preserve cultural heritage.

We are sure that numerous incentives from those areas that are not close to us could contribute even more to a better interpretation of important aspects of stories from the mosaic of archive boxes than what is told here.

And let us repeat, instead of the imperative to *publish or perish!*, we kept to another motto - close to all those who deal with the past, memories and archives - *save from oblivion*; as we were turned to re-viving the past, it was difficult for us to decide how to select the material, aware that the space is limited. On this occasion, a part of the archival materials that has been collected for decades was presented.

The publication of this monograph represents a new beginning in the publishing activities of the Archives of Vojvodina and the SASA Institute of Ethnography, because it means a transition *from the margins to a scientific discipline*, making testimonies of past times stronger, because the destiny of memory is written in chalk and erased with a sponge on all seas of closeness; here we have tied them in a bunch and stopped the wave of time that cares for nothing.

Although our era faces a number of serious problems, such as poverty, hunger, climate change, ideological and religious conflicts, perhaps most of these problems lie in fear. In modern times, fear is often the result of that paradox of abundance, because a good part

of Western and European civilization, compared to many other nations, even with its own past, lives in such security that it has time to seek and exaggerate threats. Likewise, its obsession with fear and egocentrism prevents it from seeing that these threats are often the revenge of the victims of our excessive desire for security, obsessive race for food, energy and abundance. Humanity should return to humanistic optimism, which has taught us how to work together to create new patterns of survival.

In accordance with its thematic concept, i.e., the issues it addresses, this publication represents a specific comparative synthesis of different aspects of life in two spatial contexts, with the acceptance of approximately the same chronological framework. In using archival material as the primary source, and in the context of ethnological and anthropological interpretation, we have tried to point out the range of different segments of life during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, both in the area of the Pannonian Plain and in the Bay of Kotor through the specifics of an “archival journey between the two seas - Pannonian and Adriatic”. In that context, this publication has a pioneering character, taking into account the fact that through archival sources, and as an ethnological and anthropological interpretation, it compares two spatial units through the prism of a kind of “mosaic of information”, which provides a concise and basic picture of analyzed events and times. At the same time, in accordance with the above, we have strived for this publication to be a stimulus for further “mining through archives”, for discovering the abundance of archival material available in both national and international archival institutions.



## МОЗАИК АРХИВСКИХ КУТИЈА

*Не тражите у себи, ту нема ничега. Тражите у другима који се налазе преко пута вас.*

Константин Станиславски  
(у: Гијом Мусо, *Незнанка са Сене*, Београд 2022: 167)

Идеју стварања мозаичке слике архивалија кроз антрополо-  
гију сећања, од Панонског до Јадранског мора, као и понављање већ написаног, објављеног или исказаног, настојале смо да оснажимо, дефинишемо, кроз нови облик и форму оног мора блискости архивалијама повезано. Једноставно је као пример, у овом случају успоставити паралелу са храном и конзумирањем исте и сабране архивске грађе. Јер, храна је култура, док се производи, док се припрема, док се једе. Човек, иако може јести штошта, или баш због тога, заправо да једе све, често и бира што ће јести у зависности од критерија који су повезани с економским прехранбеним димензијама, односно симболичким вредностима припремљених јела, па смо и ми одабрале изнете архивалије као најукусније спремљена јела за верну читалачку публику. (М. Монтанари, Сандорф, Загреб 2011: 6)

Концепција културе овде се користи у широком, обухватном смислу, па сигурно је да се ипак можемо заплести у понекој



непрецизности из пuke простодушности представљања сакупљеног, те се критички према изнетом нисмо односиле. Допустиле смо један једноставан и можда јединствен приступ ограничавајући се да немали број тема изнетих и годинама проучаваних, и не наравно само са наше стране, реинтерпретирамо у новом контексту, без намере теоријских расправа о значају архивалија, историјских кретања, садржаја самих докумената или на пример културе и културних идентитета, што све заједно уистину извирују из архивских кутија. Овде се сакупило искуство и сећање у мисији очувања културне баштине.

Сигурне смо да бројни подстицаји са стране оних области које нам нису блиске могу још и више допринети квалитетнијем тумачењу важних аспеката прича из мозаика архивских кутија него што је овде испричано.

И да поновимо, наместо императива објави или нестани! држале смо се другог гесла – блиског свим оним који се прошлостју и сећањима, архивима баве – сачувај од нестанка, окренуте оживљавању прошлости, било нам је тешко да се одлучимо да селекујемо грађу, свесне да је простор омеђен. За ову прилику представљен је део деценијама сакупљаних архивалија.

Објављивање ове монографије представља нови почетак у издавачкој делатности Архива Војводине и Етнографског института САНУ, јер значи прелазак са маргине до научне дисциплине, чинећи сведочанства о временима прошлим снажнијим, јер судбина сећања пише се кредом и брише сунђером на свим морима блискости, овде смо их у сноп везали и зауставили талас времена што за ништа не хаје.

Иако се наше доба суочава са низом озбиљних проблема, попут сиромаштва, глади, климатских промена, идеолошких и верских сукоба, можда највећи део тих проблема лежи у страху. Страх је у савремено доба често резултат оног парадокса обиља,

јер добар део западне и европске цивилизације, у поређењу са многим другим народима, па и са сопственом сликом из прошлости, живи у условима такве сигурности да има времена да тражи и преувеличава претње. Исто тако, опседнутост страхом и егоцентризмом спречава га да види да су те претње често заправо света жртва наше прекомерне жеље за сигурношћу, опсесивне трке за храном, енергијом и обиљем. Човечанство би се морало вратити хуманистичком оптимизму, које нас је научило како се заједничким трудом стварају нови обрасци опстајања.

Ова публикација, у складу са њеном тематском концепцијом, односно проблематиком којом се бави, представља специфичну компаративну синтезу различитих аспеката живота у два просторна контекста уз акцептовање приближно истог хронолошког оквира. Користећи архивску грађу као примаран извор, а у контексту етнолошке и антрополошке интерпретације, настојали смо да кроз спецификуме једног „архивског путовања између два мора – Панонског и Јадранског“, укажемо на дијапазон различитих сегмената живота током осамнаестог и деветнаестог века како на простору Панонске низије тако и у Бококоторском заливу. У том контексту, ова публикација има пионирски карактер с обзиром на то да кроз архивске изворе а у својству етнолошке и антрополошке интерпретације компарира две просторне целине кроз призму својеврсног „мозаика информација“ чиме се пружа концизна и основна слика анализираних догађаја и времена. Уједно, у складу са претходно наведеним, тежили смо да ова публикација представља и подстрек даљем „рударењу кроз архивалије“, односно откривању обиља архивске грађе којом се диспонује у нашим домаћим али и иностраним архивским институцијама.



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*Infantryman (Infanterist)*  
1683-1748

*Military Police*





*Hussar 1683-1748*



*Šajkaš 1790-1809*



*Dragoon 1809-1835*



*Cuirassier 1809-1835*





*Šajkaš 1809-1835*



*National Frontier Infantry 1835-1848*



*Border Cordon 1835-1848*



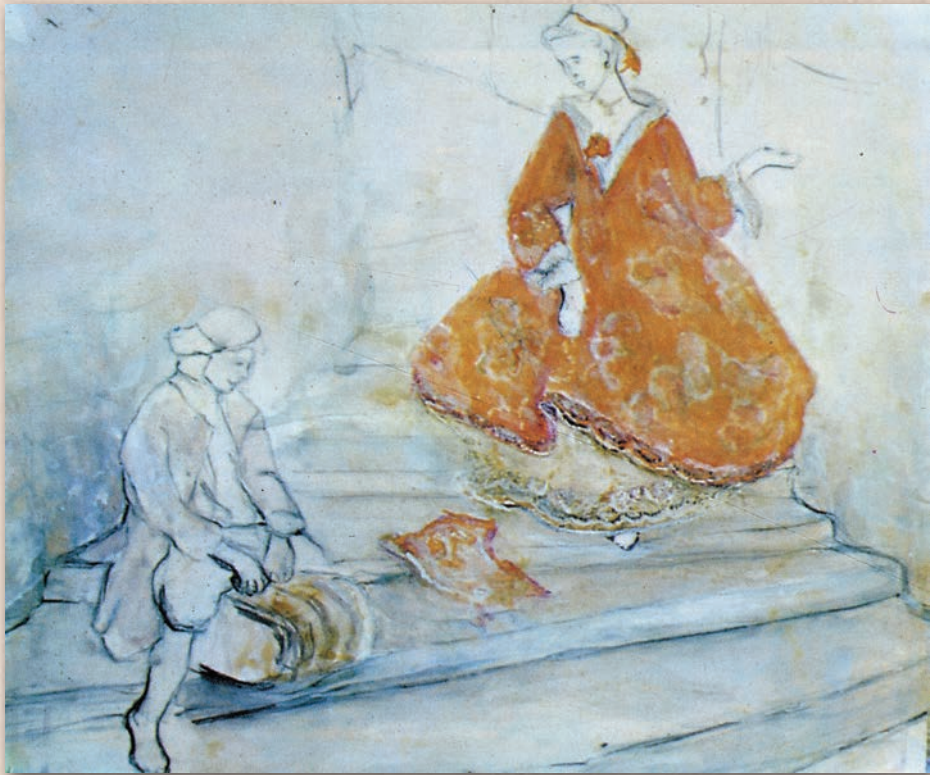
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**From the book by Dragana Radojičić**  
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*(Folk Costumes and Baroque Clothes in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century)*  
Nikšić, 1995, by the academic painter Gorica Braunović



A man and a woman (traditional female costume)



*A Baroque lady and a beggar (urban female costume)*



*Urban female and male traditional costumes (courting)*



*Two gentlemen, two fashions (male traditional and urban costumes)*





*A tailor with a corset (urban female costume)*