



# Osmanlı Mirası Arařtırmaları Dergisi

*Journal of Ottoman Legacy Studies*

ISSN 2148-5704

www.osmanlimirasi.net

osmanlimirasi@gmail.com

Cilt 10, Sayı 28, Kasım 2023 / Volume 10, Issue 28, November 2023

## JOSEPHINE REFORM OF THE MILITARY FRONTIER AND THE AUSTRO-OTTOMAN WAR (1788 - 1791) ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE PETROVARADIN REGIMENT

*Petrovardin Alayı Örneğinde Avusturya-Osmanlı Savaşı (1788-1791) ve Askerî  
Sınırdaki Joseph Reformu*

Makale Türü/ Article Types : Arařtırma Makalesi/Research Article  
Geliş Tarihi/Received Date : 30.08.2023  
Kabul Tarihi/Accepted Date : 20.10.2023  
Sayfa/Pages : 619-640  
DOI Numarası/DOI Number : <http://dx.doi.org/10.17822/omad.2023.258>

### **Pavao NUJİĆ**

(Dr.), J. J. Strossmayer University of Osijek (Croatia), e-mail: [pnujic@foozos.hr](mailto:pnujic@foozos.hr), ORCID:  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9930-8464>

### **Damir MATANOVIĆ**

(Prof. Dr.), J. J. Strossmayer University of Osijek (Croatia), e-mail: [dmatanovic@unios.hr](mailto:dmatanovic@unios.hr),  
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9485-6699>

### **Atıf/Citation**

Nujic, Pavao-Matanovic, Damir, "Josephine Reform of the Military Frontier and The Austro-Ottoman War (1788-1791) on the Example of The Petrovaradin Regiment", *Osmanlı Mirası Arařtırmaları Dergisi*, 10/28, 2023, s. 619-640.





*Osmanlı Mirası Araştırmaları Dergisi (OMAD), Cilt 10, Sayı 28, Kasım 2023.*

*Journal of Ottoman Legacy Studies (JOLS), Volume 10, Issue 28, November 2023.*

ISSN: 2148-5704

## JOSEPHINE REFORM OF THE MILITARY FRONTIER AND THE AUSTRO-OTTOMAN WAR (1788 - 1791) ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE PETROVARADIN REGIMENT

*Petrovardin Alayı Örneğinde Avusturya-Osmanlı Savaşı (1788-1791) ve Askerî Sınırdaki Joseph Reformu*

Pavao NUJIĆ, Damir MATANOVIĆ

**Abstract:** Petrovaradin Regiment was a part of the Military Frontier, a border system of Habsburg Monarchy towards the Ottoman Empire and was located in Syrmia. Frontier regiments were both territorial, as well as military units, introduced in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> Century, and were of special interest for Emperor Joseph II in his military reforms. During the 1780s several solutions were discussed and tested, and in 1787 one final reform was implemented. The reform was introduced under the umbrella of a new cantonal system and brought significant changes to monolithic military structures of governance, economy, and life in Military Frontier territory. Among others, the cantonal system aimed to dissolve the unity of military governance in the frontier territory, as well as to reduce burdens imposed on local populations by the need to maintain a set number of soldiers on active duty even during a time of peace, which significantly diminished populations economic prosperity, while simultaneously increasing regiments strength and efficiency in times of war. The reform was fully enforced less than 10 months before the outbreak of the Austro-Ottoman War (1788 – 1791), where the new system saw its first major appliance. The process of implementation, as well as the experience of war, is observed in the case of the Petrovaradin Regiment.

**Key Words:** The cantonal reform, Military Frontier, Habsburg Monarchy, Syrmia, 18<sup>th</sup> Century

**Öz:** Syrmia’da bulunan Petrovaradin Alayı, Habsburg Monarşisi’nin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’na karşı sınır sistemi olan Askerî Sınırın bir parçasıydı. 18. yüzyılın ortalarında tanıtılan coğrafi ve askerî birimler olan sınır alayları, İmparator II. Joseph’in askerî reformlarında özel ilgi gösterdiği alanlardandı. 1780’lerde birkaç çözüm tartışılarak denendi ve 1787’de son bir reform uygulandı. Yeni bir kantonal sistem çerçevesinde tanıtılan reform, askerî sınır bölgesindeki yekpare askerî yönetim, ekonomi ve yaşam yapısında önemli değişiklikler getirdi. Kantonal sistem, askerî yönetimin sınır bölgesindeki birliği çözmeyi amaçladığı gibi, barış zamanlarında da belirli sayıda askerî görevde tutarak yerel nüfus üzerindeki yükü azaltmayı hedefledi. Bu durum, ekonomik refahı önemli ölçüde azaltmasına karşılık savaş dönemlerinde alayların gücünü ve etkinliğini artırdı. Avusturya-Osmanlı Savaşı’nın (1788-1791) patlak vermesinden sadece 10 ay kadar önce tam olarak uygulanan reform bu süreçte tam olarak test edilmiş oldu. Çalışmada, bu uygulama süreci ile savaş deneyimi, Petrovaradin Alayı örneği üzerinden incelenmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kantonal Reform, Askerî Sınır, Habsburg Monarşisi, Sirem, 18. yüzyıl

### Introduction

Petrovaradin Frontier Infantry Regiment was established in 1747 in the area of Syrmia<sup>1</sup> during the reorganization and militarization of the Slavonian Military Frontier. It stretched along the Sava and Danube rivers and was the east-most frontier regiment of the combined Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier, thus being a part of the larger military system of the

<sup>1</sup> Syrmia is geographically set between rivers of Sava and Danube. It was a part of Ottoman Empire until late 17th and early 18th Century, when after the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718 its entire area came under the Habsburg rule. More about Syrmia in Ottoman period in: Nenad Moačanin, *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine* (Slavonski Brod: Croatian Institute of History, 2001).

Habsburg Monarchy on its border with the Ottoman Empire.<sup>2</sup> Headquarters were located in Mitrovica (today Srijemska Mitrovica), while the entire regiment area was divided into twelve or sixteen infantry companies, depending on the observed period. As a part of the Slavonian Military Frontier, the Regiment was answering to the General Command in Osijek until 1783, and afterwards to one in Petrovaradin.<sup>3</sup>

Due to the dual nature of the frontier system, the Petrovaradin Regiment was a territorial-administrative and military-tactical unit. While the former was outlined on the map and included a given area, population and officials, the latter was determined by standardized norms, obligations, and duties that the area and its population had to fulfil.<sup>4</sup> As a military-tactical unit, during the 1760s, the Petrovaradin Regiment was prescribed as a unit of 4,080 active frontier soldiers, divided into sixteen infantry and two grenadiers companies, although in reality, it could not reach full capacity until the 1770s.<sup>5</sup> As a territorial-administrative unit, it included the area along the river Sava from the village of Gunja to the town of Zemun and along the Danube River from Zemun to Petrovaradin fortress. Its primary duty was to guard approximately 230 kilometres of the Monarchy border on the Sava River towards the Ottoman Empire.<sup>6</sup> However, in case of a war, the Regiment was also obliged to send two battalions to remote battlefields throughout Europe, while still maintaining its regular border duty.<sup>7</sup>

During the second half of the 18th century, the Military Frontier system in Slavonia underwent several reforms and major interventions. The last major change was carried out in the mid-1780s by Emperor Joseph II, better known under the name of the Canton Reform. Despite the implications of its name, in many aspects, the reform exceeded the administrative-territorial perspective and has deeply influenced the military-tactical organization of frontier regiments. In the case of the Petrovaradin Regiment, the Josephine reforms were carried out on the eve of the Austro-Ottoman War (1788-1791), during which the new system underwent thorough testing. The fact that the area of the Regiment was located directly below the Belgrade fortress<sup>8</sup> and that it was chosen as the initial headquarters of the main army of the Habsburg Monarchy, gives this Regiment a distinguished place in the events. Therefore, this paper approaches the reforms made by Emperor Joseph II in the area of the Slavonian Military Frontier in the mid-1780s on the example of the Petrovaradin Regiment and provides insights into the events and activities of the Regiment in the last Austro-Ottoman war.

### Frameworks of Cantonal Reform in Slavonia

The introduction of the canton system in the Military Frontier was probably the most significant reform of the frontier system in the second half of the 18th century, and it cannot be

<sup>2</sup> Alphonse Freiherrn von Wrede, *Geschichte der K. und K. Wehrmacht V* (Vienna: LW Seidel & Sohn, 1903), 288.

<sup>3</sup> Damir Matanović, *Grad na granici - Slobodni vojni komunitet Brod na Savi od sredine 18. do sredine 19. stoljeća* (Slavonski Brod: Croatian Institute of History, 2008), 56.

<sup>4</sup> The regiment and company were territorial-administrative, but also military-tactical units with a colonel, respectively captain in the command. The area of a regiment or company was determined by the population's potential to meet the prescribed capacities of recruits. The population of a certain regiment or company was subjected in every regard to its immediate commanding officer, both in civic and military matters. The colonel exercised extremely broad authority in his respective regiment, and subordinate captains answered directly to him. See more in: Željko Holjevac, Nenad Močanin, *Hrvatsko-slavonska vojna krajina i Hrvati pod vlašću Osmanskog Carstva u ranome novom vijeku* (Zagreb: Leykam international, 2007), 45-47; Damir Matanović, *Između reformi i tradicije* (Slavonski Brod: Posavska Hrvatska, 2013), 10-17.

<sup>5</sup> More on the shortcomings of the Petrovaradin Regiment in active military service in: Pavao Nujić, "Između očekivanja i stvarnosti – pogled na Petrovaradinsku pukovniciju kroz serijalne vojne popise 1765. – 1768.", *Acta historicae* 26, no. 2 (2007): 429-446.

<sup>6</sup> Mirko Valentić (ed.), *Hrvatska na tajnim zemljovidima 18. i 19. stoljeća. Petrovaradinska pukovnicija* (Zagreb: Croatian Institute of History, 2000).

<sup>7</sup> More on the frontier regiments in the second half of 18<sup>th</sup> Century in: Karl Kaser, *Slobodan seljak i vojnik, vol. II* (Zagreb: Naprijed, 1997).

<sup>8</sup> More on the importance of Belgrade for the Ottoman Empire in: Selim Hilmi Özkan, "The Capital of the Ottoman Empire in Europe: Belgrade on the Frontier (Serhad) City (1521-1789)", *Selçuk Türkiyat* 53, 335-351.

separated from the person of Emperor Joseph II. By all accounts, in the spirit of Josephine's reforms, it encountered strong resistance and was ultimately short-lived. The canton system was officially introduced in 1787, and it was abandoned in 1800 with the restoration of the old system. It thus marked the last 13 years of the 18th century and was the culmination of the emperor's efforts to thoroughly reform the frontier system.<sup>9</sup> The War of the Bavarian Succession (1778 - 1779) hindered his original plans, but he did not abandon them, and in 1782 he tasked Major General Geneyne<sup>10</sup> with carrying out a detailed inspection of the Military Frontier, which marked the beginning of the preparatory phase of introducing the new system. Moreover, partly for this purpose, the Emperor personally travelled through the entire Croatian-Slavonia Military Frontier in 1783 and 1786.<sup>11</sup> Although he believed that it was necessary to increase the well-being of the inhabitants of the Frontier, who would thus serve more readily, he never lost sight of the fact that its effectiveness was measured primarily in the strength of the able-bodied soldiers ready to embark on a military campaign.

Detailed reports were made during the inspection of the Military Frontiers which served as a basis for the implementation of reforms.<sup>12</sup> The reform was supposed to affect almost all aspects of the frontier system and life. In this regard, Hietzinger lists them in the following categories: state and division of regiments, military exercises, uniforms, official constitution, cordon service, labour duty, taxation, land administration and accounting.<sup>13</sup> The most fundamental intention was to divide the existing singular military authority, which combined military and civil matters, and to establish a parallel structure to deal exclusively with civil agenda. The civil authority in the regiments was conceived as a canton, which is how the whole system got its name.<sup>14</sup>

The process of reform in the Slavonic Military Frontier began in 1785, although it was still managed by people whom Geneyne considered "unfit" for its implementation. Namely, as early as 1782, Geneyne declared the then commander of the General Command in Osijek, Field Marshal Lieutenant Mathesen, sick and immature, and Brigadier General Major Count Wartensleben ignorant of issues of economy, respectively proposing their dismissal.<sup>15</sup> It is an interesting remark in this case that both Mathesen and Wartensleben were once colonels of the Petrovaradin Regiment.<sup>16</sup> At the same time while Geneyne was making his report, Wartensleben

<sup>9</sup> Alexander Buczynski, "Jozefinska reforma Vojne krajine", in *Pa to su samo Hrvati* (Zagreb: Croatian Institute of History, 2011), 11-75.

<sup>10</sup> Johann Georg Geneyne was one of the biggest proponents of the reorganization of the Military Frontier. From 1769, he held the position of colonel of the German-Banat Settler Regiment, and he personally met the Emperor in 1781. On that occasion, Geneyne asked the Emperor to grant him the office of Military Frontier at the War Council, and he saw his wish fulfilled already the following year. In the years to come, due to the personal trust of the Emperor, he enjoyed a great influence among military authorities of the Monarchy. Buczynski, "Jozefinska reforma", 42.

<sup>11</sup> In the area of the Petrovaradin Regiment, the Emperor stopped in Mitrovica, Zemun, and Petrovaradin. In 1783, the primary reason for the inspection was the increase of tension with the Ottoman Empire and the need to gain insight into the immediate state of defence. Buczynski, "Jozefinska reforma", 42, 51, 61.

<sup>12</sup> Emperor Joseph II conducted several of similar travels throughout his realm and they had significant effects on government policy towards visited provinces, primarily the Banat, Lombardy, Bohemia, Galicia, Transylvania, and Croatia. Derek Beales, *Joseph II: Volume 2, Against the World, 1780-1790* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 3-4.

<sup>13</sup> Carl Bernhard Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze des österreichischen Kaiserthums vol. 2(a-b)* (Vienna: Carl Georld Verlag, 1820-1823), 46-49.

<sup>14</sup> Another name for a canton was a district, which was especially emphasized in the sources themselves. For example, in the documents of the administration of the military authorities in charge of civil affairs of the Petrovaradin Regiment, it was regularly stated that these were cantons or recruitment districts (*Cantons oder Werbezirke*). The term canton still had a clear advantage in use.

<sup>15</sup> Buczynski, "Jozefinska reforma", 46-47.

<sup>16</sup> Mathesen from 1763 to 1767, and Wartensleben from 1774 to 1777. Wartensleben also served as a lieutenant colonel in the Petrovaradin Regiment from 1767 to 1769. Both Mathesen and Wartensleben were promoted from the position of colonel of the Petrovaradin Regiment to major general ranks and moved to the Main Command in

was in charge of inspecting the Banat Frontier and making his report to the War Council. Buczynski emphasizes that their view of the frontier population was contradictory - Wartensleben saw them primarily as soldiers and Geneyn as peasants.<sup>17</sup>

Although Geneyn's wish did not come true immediately, Mathesen left the command in 1784. He was succeeded by the younger brother of the Chief Inspector for the Croatian-Slavonia Military Frontier, Count Wenzel Joseph von Colloredo, who fiercely opposed the efforts of Geneyn. Count Wenzel Colloredo believed that the costs of maintaining the Slavonia Military Frontier would be significantly raised because the reforms envisaged the abolition of labour duty and head taxes, as well as the establishment of separate administrations. Furthermore, he believed that the introduction of individual land divisions in this territory was highly impracticable. He also condemned the planned abolition of the official constitution, which would significantly burden households that provide members for active military service compared to those that do not.<sup>18</sup> The reconciliation of Geneyn and the leading commanders of the Slavonian Military Frontier was attempted by the Emperor himself in 1786 but without significant success. Namely, Geneyn continued to insist that to carry out the reforms it was simply necessary to remove certain individuals who resisted it, and again he singled out Wartensleben as a major obstacle.<sup>19</sup> Ultimately, although the influential Marshal Lacy came to the defence of Wartensleben, the Emperor sanctioned his transfer to Vienna due to "impaired health".<sup>20</sup> Joseph Anton Brentano de Cimaroli, the former colonel of the Đurđevac Regiment, was promoted to the vacant position left by Wartensleben's departure.<sup>21</sup>

#### **Establishment of cantonal administration in the Petrovaradin Regiment**

During the reform process, the commander of the Petrovaradin Regiment was Colonel Baron Paul von Davidovich, who assumed the position on November 8, 1783.<sup>22</sup> The canton was already established in the Regiment in 1786, and by October at the latest, it had an almost complete composition.<sup>23</sup> Considering the extensiveness of the reform, this did not mean that all the desired segments were implemented at the same time, but rather that a parallel civil administration with all its associated parts existed. The reform process continued until the end

Osijek. At the time of Geneyn's inspection, the colonel of the Petrovaradin Regiment was Baron Wilhelm von Ried, who succeeded Wartensleben in 1777.

<sup>17</sup> Buczynski, "Jozefinska reforma", 46-47.

<sup>18</sup> Franz Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte der Militärgrenze*, vol. 3 (Vienna, 1875), 6-9.

<sup>19</sup> Colloredo and Wartensleben were both counts and came from influential aristocratic families. While Colloredo was a Catholic, and his brother was the chief inspector for the Croatian-Slavonic Military Frontier, Wartensleben was a Protestant and had no immediate family members in the highest military circles of the Monarchy. However, Geneyn did not have a nobility status at that time, and he did not distinguish himself during the war campaigns, therefore he solely depended on the personal trust of the Emperor.

<sup>20</sup> Wartensleben lived for another 12 years, and the very next year he was promoted to field marshal lieutenant. Antonio Schmidt-Brentano, *Kaiserliche und k.k. Generale* (Vienna: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, 2006), 109.

<sup>21</sup> Buczynski, "Jozefinska reforma", 56-57.

<sup>22</sup> Paul Davidovich (1737 - 1814) was born into a family of Slavic immigrants who came from the Ottoman Empire to the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy during the reign of Emperor Leopold I. He joined the Monarchy army as a volunteer in the line regiment of Archduke Karl at the beginning of the Seven Years' War (1756 - 1763) and rose to the rank of captain. He particularly distinguished himself during the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778 - 1779) and on May 19, 1779, he was awarded the Knight's Cross of the Military Order of Maria Theresa. The following year, he was elevated to the rank of baron, and in 1781 he became a lieutenant colonel. He was the commander of the Petrovaradin Regiment during the Austro-Turkish War (1787 - 1791), where he further distinguished himself and was promoted to major general. Furthermore, he participated in the war campaigns in Italy during the First Coalition War (1792 - 1797) and advanced to the rank of FML. In 1807, he returned to the Slavonian Military Frontier with the rank of General of Artillery and took over the Main Command in Petrovaradin. He died in 1814 as the commander of the Komorna fortress (German: *Komorn*, Hungarian: *Komárom*). Jaromir Hirtenfeld, *Der Militär-Maria-Theresia-Orden und seine Mitglieder* (Vienna: K. K. Hof- u. Staatsdruckerei, 1857), 225-227.

<sup>23</sup> Croatian State Archive, Collection of sources concerning Croatia from foreign archives, archive signature HR-HDA-1450 (HR-HDA-1450 in following), Grenz Infanterie Regiment no. 9 (GIR 9 in following), D-1739, 1786, fol. 9.

of 1787. The canton system was finally officially introduced on the territory of the Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier on May 1, 1787.<sup>24</sup>

According to Vaniček, the canton was supposed to encompass the area of one frontier infantry regiment and represent its administration. The canton commander, lieutenant colonel or first major, also performed regular duty within the military composition of the regiment as well, while the other members of the canton composition were separated.<sup>25</sup> The structure of the canton corresponded to the organization of the regiment, where one district (*Districte*) was organized for each regimental battalion, which was further divided into two subdistricts (*Bezirke*).<sup>26</sup> However, the terminology was not so clear and consistent. In the Petrovaradin Regiment in 1786, the term canton was used for the aforementioned district,<sup>27</sup> and from 1788 such division was abandoned and the term district was used for the basic unit that covered 3 company areas,<sup>28</sup> i.e. what should have been the subdistrict according to the original designation given by Vaniček. Therefore, for the sake of clarity, the term canton will be used for the highest instance of regimental civil administration which comprised of districts, noting that districts were organized on the territory of each battalion and that 1 district usually covered 3 company areas.

Districts were commanded by 2 captains and 2 lieutenant captains, where each regimental battalion had a captain and a lieutenant. In addition to the commander, each district had a first lieutenant, a second lieutenant, and an ensign, and there had to be at least one of them in each of the three company areas covered by the district. The headquarters of the canton were comprised of 18 members as follows: a commander, an auditor, an accountant, a cantonal surgeon, 6 assistant surgeons and 8 clerks. The total projected annual salary for members of the cantonal staff was 4,462 forints. In all 4 districts, there should have been 2 captains, 2 lieutenant captains, 4 first lieutenants, 4 second lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 12 sergeants, 24 corporals, 2 servants and 150 *gefreiters*. The total projected cost for the salaries of district members was 13,634 forints per year. Apart from the members of the headquarters and the districts, the canton was to have a contingent of additional personnel (*Extrapersonale*), namely a land surveyor, 40 couriers on horseback, 12 district scribes, 12 carpenters and 24 masons. Therefore, one canton at full capacity should have enlisted 18 members of the headquarters, 204 members of the districts and 89 additional staff, which made a total of 311 personnel dedicated to administration and civil matters. Vaniček states that the annual cost of the canton was projected at the sum of 105,797 forints and 35 *krajcars*, of which 19.7% or 20,844 forints should have been for the salaries, while the remaining 80.3% was intended for other expenses. Namely, school, forestry, stable, and sawmill staff, as well as silk inspectors and tax collectors also came under the jurisdiction of the canton.<sup>29</sup> Although the regulation offered by Vaniček is a good framework for understanding the composition of the canton, the Petrovaradin Regiment had a different experience in reality.

The cantonal administration of the Petrovaradin Regiment in November 1786 had a total of 673 active members, consisting of a five-member headquarters and two cantons with 333 and 335 active members each. Cantons were named First (*Erster*) and Second (*Zweyter*) and their subsequent headquarters were not specified. Each of the two cantons of the Petrovaradin

<sup>24</sup> Buczynski, "Jozefinska reforma", 67

<sup>25</sup> Geneyne had a plan to introduce three separate cantons into the territory of each frontier regiment, which would break their administrative unity. His plan was ultimately rejected in favour of an integral approach to governance. Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte*, 18.

<sup>26</sup> Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte*, 18.

<sup>27</sup> Initially, the Petrovaradin Regiment had two separate cantons. HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1786, fol. 9.

<sup>28</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1741, 1788, fol. 9.

<sup>29</sup> Buczynski conveys the data on the expected composition and costs of the canton from Vaniček, although in the transcription of the "Cantonal Regulations" he notes that the regulations did not explicitly state the exact number of canton members. Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte*, 18-20; Buczynski, "Jozefinska reforma", 69; Alexander Buczynski, "Kantonski regulativ", in *Pa to su samo Hrvati* (Zagreb: Croatian Institute of History, 2011), 176.

Regiment in 1786 had more active members than Vaniček presented, and considering the structure of the headquarters, it is evident that the cantonal administration was divided. Namely, the headquarters included the following members: accountant Johann Gottfried Rottig, clerks Mathias Schwind and Chyra Thriwich, and assistant surgeons Mathias Küstermann and Johann Landshut. The absence of commanding officers in the cantonal headquarters testifies that commanding authorities were probably held by the commanders of the cantons themselves, in this case, captains Leopold von Pompeaty and Count Nikola von Brancovich.<sup>30</sup> Captains Pompeaty and Brancovich were captains of the Regiment as early as 1781, and with the establishment of the cantonal administration, they were transferred to this new duty. Furthermore, cantons were divided into 2 districts, each covering 3 company areas. The remaining member structure of the cantons was as follows: 2 lieutenant captains, 4 first lieutenants, 4 second lieutenants, 4 ensigns,<sup>31</sup> 4 sergeants, 4 sergeants, 16 corporals,<sup>32</sup> 3 servants, 31 gefreiters, 4 carpenters and 592 regular soldiers.<sup>33</sup> One servant, 1 gefreiter and 48 regular soldier positions were still vacant, which indicates that the headquarters were fully staffed and that the accountant Rottig was indeed its highest-ranking member.<sup>34</sup>

And while the highest-ranking commanding officers of the cantons were very well known in the Regiment history, accountant Rottig, the chief of staff and headquarters, was a new name. Namely, the Orthodox count family Brancovich lived in Boljevci since 1749, and Nikola himself entered the service of the Slavonian Hussar Regiment on December 1 of the same year as an eighteen-year-old and remained in its ranks until official disbandment in 1780, when as a hussar commander was transferred to the Petrovaradin Regiment.<sup>35</sup> Leopold Pompeatti, a Catholic born in Munich, entered the regiment's service on January 19, 1770, as a lieutenant captain, and on February 21, 1778, he became one of the regiment's captains, a position he held for more than 2 decades.<sup>36</sup> Johann Gottfried Rottig was born in 1758 in Leipzig and was a Protestant. He entered the service of the House of Habsburg in 1775 as a foreigner and a soldier

<sup>30</sup> It is most likely that cantonal administration was still not completely separated from the traditional commanding hierarchy of frontier regiments, which is shown in the fact that cantons' documents were signed by Colonel Davidovich himself. HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1786, fol. 9.

<sup>31</sup> The cantonal regulation for the necessary characteristics of officers states the following: "The word "officer" assumes that these are people who have earned their rank through merit and that therefore their integrity should not be doubted. However, a good battalion officer can only be a mediocre canton officer, and conversely, a good canton officer can only be a mediocre battalion officer because their duties are completely different from each other. That's why a canton officer is especially required: 1. to have at least enough knowledge of the local language to be able to talk to frontier people so that they can understand him; 2. to know how to write and calculate; 3. that he is in good health, diligent and hardworking; 4. to enjoy the trust of the local population, which he gained through modesty and justice; 5. that he is a supporter of the rural economy, that he is able to explain the advantages of good management to the frontier residents; 6. to lead a tidy household and not to be in debt; 7. that he is unselfish; 8. that he is capable of governing the people with words that are gentle enough to penetrate their heart and spirit; and 9. that without partiality, hatred and passion he can implement justice and righteousness." Buczynski, "Kantonski regulativ", 176.

<sup>32</sup> The cantonal regulation for the required characteristics of sergeants and corporals states the following: "Sergeants and corporals entrusted with the main supervision must be proven people who are honest, unselfish, sober and modest, and who, if possible, can at least read and write in the local language. They should also have their own property so that they can show by example the importance of good husbandry". Buczynski, "Kantonski regulativ", 176.

<sup>33</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1786, fol. 9.

<sup>34</sup> The "Fundamental principles for the future frontier system" issued in April 1786 clearly emphasize that the head of the canton headquarters should have been a lieutenant colonel or a major, which was not the case in the first cantons of the Petrovaradin Regiment. The "Fundamental principles" also prescribe what the accountant of the canton was supposed to do in that system: work related to land taxes and all other income, salaries of the official constitutive for ranks up to the rank of sergeant, salaries of forestry, silk, stable and other personnel, economic and other generally useful regional maintenance, new buildings and repairs. Alexander Buczynski, "Temeljna načela za budući krajiški sustav", in *Pa to su samo Hrvati* (Zagreb: Croatian Institute of History, 2011), 163.

<sup>35</sup> Boljevci were part of the Petrovaradin Regiment area and count family Brancovich were the highest local nobility. HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1556, 1792, *Muster list Von der des löbl kaiser: koni: Peterwardeiner Granz Regiment Hauptmann Graf von Brankovich Company*.

<sup>36</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1556, 1792, fol. 1.



of the German Line Regiment Priess no. 24, where he became a clerk in 1781. He was eventually transferred to Osijek on April 1, 1786, and one month later, on May 1 joined the Petrovaradin Regiment as accountant of the cantons.<sup>37</sup> The arrival of Rottig and his promotion to the leading position in the administration of the Regiment was therefore exclusively connected to the process of establishing a new system as part of the canton reform. From this case, it is evident that the cantons were introduced into the Regiment probably on May 1, 1786, or a little earlier, i.e. exactly one year before they were officially implemented at the level of the Croatian-Slavonia Military Frontier, and they remained in the same form until May 1 1787.<sup>38</sup>

As many as 640 regular soldiers were initially planned for the cantons of the Petrovaradin Regiment, which were supposed to be exclusively administrative and handle civil affairs. It was an extremely high number corresponding to three full companies. On the other side, the cantons' headquarters were without commanding officers and headed by an accountant. The latter was partially in line with the initial ideas of Geneyne, who advocated strong administration and economic matters, as well as the division of regiments into 3 separate cantons. Considering the experience of his conflict with Wartensleben, it is reasonable to claim that he tended to avoid appointing military officers who were primarily soldiers at the head of the administrative apparatus. However, a question remains on why there were so many ordinary soldiers enrolled for the needs of the administration. The early adoption of cantons, as was the case with the Petrovaradin Regiment, served as a test and provided feedback to the central military authorities and the Emperor himself. This is evidenced by its fate during the winter and spring of 1787.

Until the end of 1786, the cantons of the Petrovaradin Regiment maintained the status quo. During January, 25 new enrolls and 23 disenrolls were recorded. Among the enrolls were 17 included from the "new", while 8 were transferred from the regular military units of the Regiment. On the other hand, 4 deaths, 9 excluded and 10 transferred to the military units were recorded.<sup>39</sup> This was, therefore, a natural circulation of active troops. However, the situation changed significantly in February 1787, when all regular soldiers were disenrolled from the composition of the canton administration, which reduced the members count from 675 to 83. The rest were, therefore, headquarters members, officers, non-commissioned officers, and extra personnel.<sup>40</sup> During March and April, there were no changes,<sup>41</sup> while on May 1, the observed cantons were dissolved by excluding all remaining personnel.<sup>42</sup> It was per the official introduction of the final reform.

A detailed insight into the new canton system in the Regiment is possible to track from November 1788,<sup>43</sup> that is, from the time of the Austro-Ottoman War (1787-1791). The first major change that can be observed in comparison to 1786 is the existence of only 1 canton divided into 4 districts. Furthermore, the cantons headquarters had 18 members and were

<sup>37</sup> At the moment of Rottig's arrival at the head of the canton administration of the Petrovaradin Regiment, Jonas Vozari, also a Protestant, was the regimental accountant, a position he had held since the early 1770s. With this act, both regimental administrations simultaneously had a Protestant at the head of the administration. The strong link between the regimental administration and the Protestants is further shown by the fact that on January 1, 1788, it was Rottig who succeeded Vozari as the regimental accountant for military affairs. Rottig remained the regimental accountant for military affairs or canton until the end of the century. The leading administrative positions of the Petrovaradin regiment were therefore occupied by Protestants during the 3 decades of the second half of the 18th century. HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1556, 1792, fol. 1; *Monath Tabella pro Martio 1795 Der löbl: Kaiserlich Königlicher Peterwardeiner Gränz 3 Feld Battaillon*; D-1739, 1786, fol. 9; D-1740, 1788, fol. 9; D-1743, 1795; D-1749, 1799, *Monath Tabella pro Decembri 1799 Der Kaiserlich Königlicher Peterwardeiner Gränz Cantons*. More about Protestants in the service of Petrovaradin Regiment in: Pavao Nujić, "Protestanti u službi Petrovaradinske pukovnije u drugoj polovici 18. stoljeća", *Povijesni prilozi* 56, 2019, 291-319.

<sup>38</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1786, fol. 2; 1787, fol. 5.

<sup>39</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1787, fol. 1

<sup>40</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1787, fol. 2.

<sup>41</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1787, fol. 3, 4.

<sup>42</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1787, fol. 5.

<sup>43</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1741, 1788, fol. 9.

headed by First Major Axentie von Millutinovich. This was in accordance with the system described by Vaniček and with the proclaimed reform of 1787, especially in the parts that there should be 1 canton and the head of the headquarters ought to be a commanding officer.<sup>44</sup>

The canton of the Petrovaradin Regiment in 1788 had the following districts: Mitrovički, Morovički, Ugrinovački, and Golubinački. The seats of the captains were Mitrovica and Ugrinovci, thus acting as the battalion's administration centres, while lieutenant captains were in Morovići and Golubinci. Each district, furthermore, enlisted a first lieutenant, second lieutenant, and ensign. However, there was a big change in the category of non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who now counted only 126 members among all 4 districts, which was in turn less than what a single district employed during 1786.<sup>45</sup> Gefreiters, now only 100 in strength, were the backbone of the reduction. They were now also less numerous than in the system presented by Vaniček. It should be emphasized that the same number of gefreiters was not prescribed for each district, and it varied between 20 and 30 individuals.<sup>46</sup> An effort was made to rationalize their number concerning the objective needs of each district, which could vary depending on the number of villages they covered, the size of the area, etc. Therefore, Vaniček's claim about 150 gefreiters was probably a matter of principle, while in reality that number was specified depending on the needs of a particular regiment, or the district itself. It was certainly not of the same difficulty to perform the duty of a village inspector, which was the central responsibility of the gefreiter, for objective geographical reasons in every frontier regiment equally.<sup>47</sup>

An important segment of the canton was additional personnel who were not a part of the military administration because they were civilians but nevertheless performed important tasks and duties for civil matters. While Vaniček listed 5 types of additional personnel and 89 individuals that a canton should have, the canton of the Petrovaradin Regiment enlisted the following: a senior surgeon and a veterinarian, a land surveyor, 12 canton scribes, 2 parish vicars, a Catholic chaplain on the state salary, a senior teacher, 13 elementary school teachers, 6 school assistants, a forester, 2 forest supervisors, 3 forest corporals first class, 12 forest corporals second class, a silk supervisor, a silk scientist, 24 masons, 11 carpenters, an organist and 42 horseback couriers, which summed the total of 136 individuals.<sup>48</sup> In total, this represented 303 personnel in the service of the canton of the Petrovaradin Regiment in November 1788.

The canton administration remained stable during the Austro-Ottoman War (1787 – 1791) with only minor changes, primarily in terms of supernumeraries. In August 1791, the canton headquarters counted 29 members. Axentie von Millutinovich, now a lieutenant colonel, was still at its head. Lieutenant Colonel Joseph von Scherz was listed as a supernumerary amongst headquarters members, as well as another 21 commissioned officers. The high number of supernumerary commissioned officers was caused by the immediate state of war, and they were temporarily transferred to the supernumerary composition of the canton because the regiment

---

<sup>44</sup> The cantonal regulation for the necessary characteristics of commanders states the following: "Since the commander is the main actuator of the entire system, he must have the talent to achieve in the best possible way that his subordinate personnel and the entire populace perform their duties. The commander must have a calm disposition in order to live in harmony with the regiment and in general, he must be an excellent and reliable officer in every respect." It also emphasizes that commanders need to possess double the virtues that are required of other officers. Buczynski, "Kantonski regulativ", 176.

<sup>45</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1741, 1788, fol. 9.

<sup>46</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1741, 1788, fol. 9.

<sup>47</sup> The cantonal regulation for gefreiters states: "Gefreiters for local supervision should be born and live in the place where they will perform this duty because they should know every resident. In addition, they should be of good age, healthy, truthful, and reliable." Buczynski, "Kantonski regulativ", 176.

<sup>48</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1741, 1788, fol. 9.

only fielded 2 field battalions.<sup>49</sup> The structure of the districts did not change, and they counted in total 174 members in active service with another 140 extra personnel.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, despite minor differences, the essential system established in 1788 did not change significantly, and the canton of the Petrovaradin Regiment counted between 170 and 200 active military members and between 100 and 140 additional personnel throughout the War. Thus, during the war, the regiment had a permanent, stable and functional administration separated from the immediate military structural command.

### **Reform of the military structure of the frontier infantry regiments in 1786-1787**

In addition to the establishment of a parallel administration in the frontier infantry regiments charged with civil matters, the military composition and structure also underwent significant changes per the spirit of the Josephine reforms. This can be seen in the opening paragraph of the third segment of the "Fundamental principles for the future Frontier system" from April 1786, which reads: "Every frontier regiment should from now on consists of 12 companies. The strength of each company depends on the numerical strength of each regiment and the availability of potential recruits. Therefore, it doesn't matter if one company is larger and the other smaller, that is, if one regiment is larger or smaller than the other."<sup>51</sup> This was one of the conclusions of the conference that the Emperor personally convened on April 7, 1786, in Vienna to better understand and arrange the canton reform, that is, to make sure whether the frontier people would really become wealthier, more satisfied and more useful for military service throughout Geneye's plan. Wartensleben, the new brigadier of the Slavonic Military Frontier Brentano, as well as the Commander of the General Command in Petrovaradin, Count Wenzel Colloredo, also took part in the said conference.<sup>52</sup>

The new system was designed from a "bottom-up" perspective since the prescribed regimental and company formations were adapted to the objective conditions of the local population of their respective areas. Such flexibility suited the frontier area but deviated from the rigid military approach that was introduced with the establishment of the regimental system in the mid-18th century. The recruiting system now paid special attention to the immediate need of men for their households, therefore allowing companies that had greater recruiting potential to supplement companies that were lacking in this regard. This was possible because companies now remained exclusively military-tactical units, while the administrative and civil matters were transferred to the districts.<sup>53</sup> The company area has now become an exclusive recruitment area, therefore the wholesome unity of companies and company areas that was present since the establishment of the frontier regiments has been broken. The company officers no longer had responsibilities over the frontier population except in terms of recruitment, while they maintained responsibility only for the military service of the enlisted soldiers. The district captains overlooked all other issues of the frontier population. By abolishing the unity of companies and their respective areas, the flexibility and uniformity of companies in the regiment were significantly increased, which could not be achieved even by frequent reorganizations of company areas in previous decades. Furthermore, the hussars were abolished in the Slavonian Military Frontier as early as 1786 as part of reforms, which in turn reduced the recruitment pressure on the regiment population. The personnel were either disenrolled or transferred into service of their local frontier infantry regiments.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> The lieutenant colonel with several officers remained in the canton to supervise political and military affairs in the event of the departure of 2 field battalions to the front. Alexander Buczynski, "Pregled vojnoga sustava Habsburške Monarhije", in *Pa to su samo Hrvati* (Zagreb: Croatian Institute of History, 2011), 184.

<sup>50</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1741, 1791, *Peterwardeiner Gränz Cantons Month Tabella Pro Augusto 1791*.

<sup>51</sup> Buczynski, "Temeljna načela", 162.

<sup>52</sup> Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte*, 2.

<sup>53</sup> Buczynski, "Jozefinska reforma", 69.

<sup>54</sup> Wrede, *Geschichte*, 231.

The framework, however, had to exist and be clear and standardized. The colonel now exercised authority exclusively over the military units and the process of recruitment, while all other authorities and duties he previously held in terms of civil governance, administration and economics were transferred to the canton. One frontier infantry regiment was now supposed to maintain 12 instead of 16 companies. Considering that the colonel proprietor no longer existed, the abolition of the Leib Company was confirmed, and the Second Major's Company was introduced in its place. Therefore, 4 commander's companies were retained, while the number of regular companies was reduced from 12 to 8. Twelve companies were organized into 2 battalions which were required to always maintain battle readiness. The changes made the frontier infantry regiment to have the same number of headquarters officers and senior officers as a regular line infantry regiment.<sup>55</sup>

According to Vaniček, the size of the company was tentatively prescribed at 160 regular soldiers during peace and 200 during the war. Furthermore, each regiment was to field an additional 343 gunners and 256 sharpshooters.<sup>56</sup> Thus, the frontier regiment should enlist 2,789 active soldiers, while the headquarters were set at 27 members. This made a total of 2,816 military members of a regiment in peacetime, while that number grew to 3,296 in wartime. Considering that all the above-mentioned were organized into 2 field battalions and that in the event of war, they all had to be ready to go to the front, it was planned to raise two additional defence units during wartime, jointly consisting of 886 soldiers who would remain in the homeland.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, during a peace, a frontier infantry regiment should have 2,816 members in the active service of companies comprising 2 field battalions together with their commanding headquarters, as well as 174 military members in the service of canton without additional personnel, i.e. a total of 2,990 individuals. During the war, that number should have grown to 4,356 individuals without additional canton personnel, which would represent a 46% increase in active military personnel. The structure of the frontier infantry regiment with the associated salary in peacetime, as stated by Vaniček, can be found in the following tables (Tables 1 and 2).

**Table 1. Members of the regiment's headquarters with the corresponding annual salary per the canton reform in 1787.<sup>58</sup>**

Rank	Number of individuals	Annual salary	Total cost
Colonel	1	2328 f.	2328 f.
Lieutenant colonel	1	1746 f.	1746 f.
First major	1	1164 f.	1164 f.
Second major	1	699 f.	699 f.
Accountant	1	300 f.	300 f.
Syndic	1	200 f.	200 f.
Regiment adjutant	1	189 f.	189 f.
Regiment surgeon	1	300 f.	300 f.
Cadet	6	84 f.	504 f.
Battalion surgeon	1	189 f.	189 f.
Assistant surgeon	6	-	-
Clerk	4	177	708
Regiment drummer	1	84 f.	84 f.
Regiment jailer	1	144 f.	144 f.
<b>In total:</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>8555 forints<sup>59</sup></b>

<sup>55</sup> Buczynski, "Temeljna načela", 162; Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte*, 13; Wrede, *Geschichte*, 232.

<sup>56</sup> The Emperor rejected General De Vins' proposal to increase the number of regular soldiers in wealthy regiments from 160 to 200 with the explanation that "all frontier treasuries should be viewed as one treasury, so the richer treasuries will help the poorer ones." Alexander Buczynski, "Projekt podmaršala De Vinsa", in *Pa to su samo Hrvati* (Zagreb: Croatian Institute of History, 2011), 172.

<sup>57</sup> Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte*, 14-15.

<sup>58</sup> Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte*, 14-15.

<sup>59</sup> Vaniček omitted in the list the salaries of assistant surgeons, therefore final calculation of salaries is flawed to that extent.

**Table 2. Personnel of the regiment's companies with the corresponding salary or compensation per the canton reform in 1787.<sup>60</sup>**

Rank	Number of individuals	Annual salary	Total cost
Captain	8	699 f.	5592 f.
Captain lieutenant	4	432 f.	1728 f.
First lieutenant	12	300 f.	3600 f.
Second lieutenant	12	230 f.	2760 f.
Ensign	12	192 f.	2304 f.
Sergeant	12	72 f.	864 f.
Standard-bearer	6	60 f.	360 f.
Corporal	48	48 f.	2304 f.
Quartermaster	12	48 f.	576 f.
Musician	36	30 f.	1080 f.
Gefretier	96	30 f.	2880 f.
Carpenter	12	12 f.	144 f.
Fusilier	1920	12 f.	23040 f.
Sharpshooter	256	12 f.	3072 f.
Gunner	343	12 f.	4116 f.
<b>In total:</b>	<b>2789</b>	-	<b>54420 forints</b>

The total annual expenditure for salaries and constitutive for regiments active military personnel in peace should have amounted to 62,975 forints without the assistant surgeons. A significant part of the expense was from retained 12 forints a year attributed to each regular soldier in the service, which ultimately represented more than a third of the total cost of regimental salaries, and which was disputed during reform debates. During the war, only the number of regular soldiers increased from 1,920 to 2,400 individuals, while the number of all other members was to remain the same. Given that all companies were no longer completely identical in terms of their composition, primarily because only half of the companies had a standard-bearer and that the number of sharpshooters and gunners was independently regulated, an average company in peacetime should have counted approximately 232 members, and in wartime approximately 272.

Reform therefore brought a sizable reduction in the burden of military obligation for the frontier population during a time of peace, while significantly increasing it during a time of war. This system strengthened the economic perspective of the population during peace, while at the same time ensuring that a regiment would be able to send a large number of soldiers to the front at the outbreak of war, while still maintaining its defensive capacities. However, the Emperor remained determined to maintain the exclusive military structure of the Military Frontier, which can be seen in his correspondence with General De Vins during the arrangement of the canton reform, where he especially emphasized that "if one wants to prevent frontier people to start thinking over time that their original military system has turned into some other kind of system, then even the slightest semblance of it should be avoided."<sup>61</sup>

Frontier soldiers in active military service had to attend military exercises twice a year for two weeks each. Military exercises were carried out as a battalion unit and were related to a practice of a quick loading of a rifle, to follow directions and unit movements, and to accustom the frontiers to the military life of a soldier. During the time of the exercises, frontiers had the right to compensation that was equal to that of Hungarian line regiments, which amounted to 4 krajcars and one portion of bread per day for regular soldiers. Sharpshooters were supposed to practice shooting every other Sunday and therefore did not have to go to joint exercises. In

<sup>60</sup> Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte*, 15.

<sup>61</sup> Buczynski, "Projekt podmaršala De Vinsa", 172.

times of peace, active frontier soldiers had to wear their brown house uniforms and were given a free pair of boots a year, while cloth for a military coat was provided for a fee.<sup>62</sup>

In November 1786, the military-tactical structure of the Petrovaradin Regiment received substantial change with a similar approach as was the case with the first cantons introduced in the same year. The Regiment was divided into 2 battalions, while each battalion was then divided into 3 units, and each unit into 2 lines. The line represented the basic military unit and the new division had primacy over the traditional naming according to the name of their commander or owner, while the designation of the headquarters settlement was retained. The concept of a company (*Compagnie*) was abandoned in favour of division (*Divisionen*), which were in terms named according to the serial number of their unit and line. First-line divisions, numbering 6 in total, were headed by a captain, while the second-line divisions, also 6 in number, were headed by a lieutenant captain and were lacking standard-bearers and quartermasters.<sup>63</sup> The implemented reform made another significant step from the personalized military unit organizations and structure by abolishing all proprietors, this time at the basic military-tactical level, which was a continuation of the abolition of colonel proprietors. Therefore, for the first time, no military unit in the Regiment held any personal or ranking name of their respective commanders or proprietors.

The headquarters consisted of 40 members, where the significant increase was primarily due to the transfer of clerks from the companies (now divisions) to the headquarters. Furthermore, 2 flag cadets, as well as 6 imperial and royal regular cadets were introduced. The commanding officers were Colonel Baron Paul von Davidovitz, Lieutenant Colonel Avram von Putnik, First Major Francz Diczent von Felsenthal and Second Major Axentie von Milutinovich. The Regiment also had 31 supernumerary officers who arrived after the disbandment of the Hussar frontier regiment in Slavonia.<sup>64</sup> The military-tactical organization of the Petrovaradin Regiment in November 1786 with the associated recruitment settlements in the following table (Table 3).

**Table 3. Military-tactical organization of the Petrovaradin Regiment in November 1786.**<sup>65</sup>

Military-tactical organization			Headquarters	Other settlements	Active members
First battalion	First unit	First line	Drenovci	Gunja, Đurići, Račinovci, Vrbanja, Soljani	234
		Second line	Morovici	Jamina, Strošinci, Vašica, Podgrađe, Batrovci, Lipovac, Apševci, Ilinci	238
	Second unit	First line	Adasevci	Bosut, Višnjićevo, Rača, Kuzmin	236
		Second line	Laćarak	Martinci	235
	Third unit	First line	Mitrovica	Šašinci, Jarak	210
		Second line	Hrtkovci	Nikinci, Klenak, Platićevo, Grabovac, Donji Tovarnik	234
Second Battalion	First unit	First line	Ogar	Vitojevci, Obrež, Mihaljevci, Prhovo, Pekinci, Popinci	220
		Second line	Kupinovo	Kupinovo, Progar, Ašnja, Karlovčić, Šimanovci, Krnješevci	233

<sup>62</sup> Buczynski, "Jozefinska reforma", 69-70; Hietzinger, *Statistik*, 47; Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte*, 16; Wrede, *Geschichte*, 233.

<sup>63</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1786, fol. 9.

<sup>64</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1786, fol. 9.

<sup>65</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1786, fol. 9.

	Second unit	First line	Boljevci	Jakovo, Bečmen, Petrovčić, Dobanovci, Deč	240
		Second line	Surčin	Surčin, Bežanija, Batajnica, Ugrinovci, Vojka	246
	Third unit	First line	Banovci	Golubinci, Stara Pazova, Belegiš, Surduk, Novi Banovci	244
		Second line	Beška	Novi Karlovci, Slankamen, Krčedin, Čortanovci, Novi Slankamen	237
<b>In total:</b>			<b>12</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>2807</b>

Given that the canton administration was introduced at the same time, the shown settlements that included divisions were exclusively recruitment areas, which from a military-tactical perspective corresponded to previous company areas. Apart from the organization itself, a major change was the reduction of the number of basic units from 16 to 12. The divisions had 210 to 246 active members, which was a significantly smaller variation than was the case in the previous company system. The variations of military branches were in the case of fusiliers from 151 to 168, in the case of sharpshooters from 18 to 29 and in the case of gunners from 20 to 39. The flexibility of the recruitment process had concrete effects that can be seen in the final increased uniformity of the divisions compared to the previous companies. Given that the number of areas was reduced from 16 to 12, the consequence was their significant consolidation.<sup>66</sup> This structure of the Regiment was maintained until the introduction of the final canton reform on May 1, 1787,<sup>67</sup> when the structure of the canton was also transformed.

Although innovative in several aspects, the presented system was ultimately abandoned and some of the spearhead changes were revoked. The major revoke was the military-tactical division into battalions, units and lines, which in turn gave place to reinstated companies. The 12 basic tactical units and most of their basic structure were retained, but the system of commander and regular companies was restored. Thus, in May 1787, the Petrovaradin regiment had 4 commanders and 8 regular companies, headed by 4 lieutenant captains and 8 captains in turn. The traditional naming of companies according to their commander was also restored. The unit structure of the Regiment now corresponded to the system offered by Vaniček, which means that the final canton reform affected the Regiment's military organization system on May 1, 1787.<sup>68</sup> In May of the same year, a large reconstruction of company units and their respective personnel was conducted. Massive mobility of intra-regiment transfer was recorded, which was the result of the implementation of the reform and the return of the company system. Furthermore, 77 soldiers and 6 senior officers were transferred to the canton, 16 were promoted, 6 died, 3 deserted, etc. Variation in active service between the company immediately after the reform and reconstruction was from 206 to 283, which was a notable increase compared to the division system. The company system, therefore, could hardly achieve the level of balance achieved by the pilot division-based system.<sup>69</sup>

At the beginning of May 1787, second major Axentie von Milutinovich took command of the canton administration. At the end of the month, there were 2,786 members in active military service in the companies, which was a shortage of 3 members, namely a corporal, a fusilier and a gunner. The Regiment had only 1 supernumerary officer, First Major Thadius von Oesterreicher,<sup>70</sup> who would succeed Putnik as lieutenant colonel the following year, and a year

<sup>66</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1786, fol. 9.

<sup>67</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1787, fol. 5.

<sup>68</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1787, fol. 5.

<sup>69</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1787, fol. 4, 5.

<sup>70</sup> Thadius von Oesterreicher was born in Hammelburg, Fulda, in 1744. He was Catholic and began his military career in the service of the Duchy of Württemberg. He entered the Habsburg service as part of the Tuscan Regiment of Archduke Ferdinand on February 12, 1761. He came to the Slavonian Military Frontier in April 1771 as a captain

later<sup>71</sup> Davidovich himself as commander of the regiment.<sup>72</sup> The headquarters had 26 members and was missing two flag cadets. In total, there were 2,812 personnel in active military service without canton.<sup>73</sup> The reform of the military system was therefore successfully implemented in the Petrovaradin regiment in May 1787.

### **The challenge of the new system – the Petrovaradin Regiment in the Austro-Ottoman War (1788 – 1791)**

Only a few months after the implementation of the cantonal reform, a war between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire became imminent, especially after the Russo-Turkish War (1787-1792) began August 13, 1787<sup>74</sup>. The Monarchy concluded an alliance with imperial Russia as early as 1781, thereby committing itself to military aid in the event of war. However, Emperor Joseph II had great personal interests in the war as well, primarily seeing it as a chance to take additional territories from the Ottoman Empire.<sup>75</sup> In this context, already in 1787, the frontier regiments received orders to introduce the state of war.<sup>76</sup> In February 1788, the Austro-Ottoman War (1788 – 1791) officially began. The main Habsburg army was deployed on the border, where the Military Frontier served as a base for launching military actions against the Ottomans. The headquarters of the main Habsburg army was originally located in Futog but was soon moved to Zemun, i.e. to the area of the Petrovaradin Regiment and a strategic location in proximity of Belgrade fortress.<sup>77</sup> The supreme commander was Emperor Joseph II himself, chief deputy was Marshal Lacy, while the army of the Slavonian Military Frontier was commanded by Vice Marshal Count Joseph Anton Mittrowsky.<sup>78</sup>

The Petrovaradin Regiment introduced martial law in February 1788 and effectively raised the military personnel of its field battalions from 2,832 to 3,444 by the end of the month, which represented an increase of 612 members (22%). Catholic and Orthodox war chaplains were introduced to the headquarters, and the commanding officers were the same as in 1786. At the beginning of the war, the commanders of the commanding companies, i.e. lieutenant captains, were captains Matko Obuchina, Andre von Stoicsevich, Anton Jancovich von Csalina and Allympire Cumanovich, while the commanders of regular companies were Rakitcsevich von Toplicza, Count Nikola Brankovich, Johann Dedovich, Baron Joseph Messina, Vittel Nizzaty, Stevan Radubitzky, Mechannovich, and David Elin. The variation in the personnel of individual companies at the end of February was from 272 to 299 members. Only a gunner, 3

---

of the Gradiška Regiment and stayed there for a decade. In 1781, he was promoted to major and inspector for all Slavonian free military communities. In turn, it was Oesterreicher who proposed the abolishment of privileges for several communities, including Bukovica and Mitrovica who were part of the Petrovaradin Regiment. These communities were subsequently incorporated into the Regiments area as part of the canton reform in 1787, thus increasing its potency in resources and manpower. In April 1787, he was transferred to the Petrovaradin Regiment as a supernumerary, where he remained for most of his career and life. HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1556, 1792, fol. 1.; Alexander Buczynski, *Gradovi vojne krajine, vol. I* (Zagreb: Croatian institute for history, 1997), 75.

<sup>71</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1788, fol. 4.

<sup>72</sup> Wrede, *Geschichte*, 288.

<sup>73</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1787, fol. 5.

<sup>74</sup> Rahmi Tekin, “52 Numaralı Mostar Şer’iyye Sicil Defterine Göre Bosna’da Osmanlı-Avusturya Mücadelesi (1787-1789)”, *Journal of Ottoman Legacy Studies*, 8/22 (2021):521-522.

<sup>75</sup> Michael Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence, 1683-1797* (London, New York: Routledge, 2013), 382; Karl A. Roeder, “Kaunitz, Joseph II and the Turkish War”, *The Slavonic and East European Review* 54, no. 4, (1976): 538.

<sup>76</sup> Although Bach states that the regiments should have already established war-active military status in 1787 and raised defence detachments, this was not the case in the Petrovaradin regiment. During the whole of 1787, it had an active military state for the period of peace, while the defence detachments were not active. Franz Bach, *Povijest Otočke pukovnije* (Zagreb, Otočac, 2010), 109.

<sup>77</sup> Virginia H. Aksan, *Ottoman Wars 1700-1870 – An Empire Besieged* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 163.

<sup>78</sup> Count Wartensleben, a former colonel of the Petrovaradin regiment, who was mentioned on several occasions, commanded the Banat army. Matthew Z. Mayer, “Joseph II and the Campaign of 1788 against Ottoman Turks” (master’s thesis, McGill University, 1997), 23.



fusiliers, a gefreiter and a corporal were missing to full battalions, while the officer staff was complete. According to the aforementioned, the Petrovaradin Regiment was complete and ready to perform its war duties in the same month when the war officially began. It is an indicative remark that during these major preparations, only 1 deserter was recorded in the Regiment, while during February 3 soldiers were already killed in the conflict.<sup>79</sup>

Simultaneously with the introduction of war status in February 1788, two defence units were also raised. The first defence unit had its headquarters in Jarak and recruited from 30 settlements, while the second had its headquarters in Surčin and recruited from 35 settlements. Captain Stupan von Ehrenstein was at the head of the first defence unit, while the rest of the personnel consisted of a lieutenant captain, 2 sergeants, a standard-bearer, 12 corporals, 24 gefreiters, 4 drummers, 2 brass players and 400 fusiliers, i.e., in total 447 members. It was Captain Stupan von Ehrenstein who was also the chief commander of the defence units, while the headquarters did not exist. The second defence unit was commanded by Captain Georg Secsujacz von Heldenfeld and numbered 445 members of a similar composition as the first unit. In total, there were 892 members in the 2 defence units of the Regiment, which was a lack of 6 individuals, namely a first lieutenant, a second lieutenant, 2 ensigns, and 2 fusiliers, to meet the full prescribed composition. While the soldier military composition was properly filled, as well as of non-commissioned officers, half of the commissioned officers were missing.<sup>80</sup>

In May 1788, the defence units received a headquarters that consisted of 4 assistant surgeons and 2 quartermasters. Despite the existence of the headquarters, given that it consisted exclusively of medical and administrative staff, it is clear that the commanders-in-chief remained the aforementioned captains of respective units. The status of the headquarters remained unchanged until the end of 1788. Captain Stupan von Ehrenstein signed the reports of the defence units until July when Colonel Chernek took over.<sup>81</sup> In April of the same year, the defence units received 2 first lieutenants, Anton Hessen and Johann Kölbl, who were returned to active duty from retirement.<sup>82</sup> In June, they received yet another first lieutenant, Jacob Prachnjia, who also returned to active duty from retirement.<sup>83</sup> In the following month, the first lieutenants Kölbl and Prachnjia were transferred to another regiment, and the officer status of the defence units did not change until the end of the year, therefore remained severely lacking.<sup>84</sup> Non-commissioned and regular military personnel of defensive units did not record significant changes during the 10 observed months. Five soldiers were killed in action on March 5, 1 on March 7 and 1 on April 6. In addition to the aforementioned, another 14 soldiers died on duty for various reasons, while only 1 deserted in April.<sup>85</sup>

During the first 3 months of the war, the Regiment's field battalions recorded 24 killed in action, another 28 died as a result of wounds or illnesses, and two deserters.<sup>86</sup> While the first deserter was from the time when the war was declared active, the second was fusilier Thodor Thodorovich from Dobanovici, who deserted on April 16, that is, 4 days after his company

<sup>79</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1739, 1788, fol. 2

<sup>80</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1740, 1788, *Monath Tabella pro Februario 788. Vom den Bei dem löblichen Slavonic Peterwardiner Gränz Regiment aufsteht Zwey Defense Divisionen.*

<sup>81</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1740, 1788, *Monath Tabella pro Julio 1788. Des löblichen kaiser: konig: Peterwardiner Gränz Inf: Regiment 2. Defense-Divisionen.*

<sup>82</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1740, 1788, *Monath Tabella pro April 1788. Vom den Bei dem löblichen Slavonic Peterwardiner Gränz Regiment aufsteht Zwey Defense Divisione.*

<sup>83</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1740, 1788, *Monath Tabella pro Junio 1788. Des löblichen kaiser: konig: Peterwardiner Gränz Regiment 2nd Defense Divisionen.*

<sup>84</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1740, 1788, *Monath Tabella pro Julio 1788. Des löblichen kaiser: konig: Peterwardiner Gränz Inf: Regiment 2. Defense-Divisionen.*

<sup>85</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1740, 1788., *Monthly tables of defence detachments of the Petrovaradin regiment for the months of February-December.*

<sup>86</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1740, 1788., *Monthly tables of field battalions of the Petrovaradin regiment for the months of February-April.*

suffered a great loss of 15 soldiers killed in action. Moreover, in the village of Dobanovci, 5 casualties were recorded. Although the reason for the desertion was not known to the military authorities at the time, and therefore was not recorded, it is difficult not to notice the link with the unfortunate event in which his fellow comrades lost their lives. Along with Dobanovci, Batajnica also suffered the loss of 5 of its residents on April 12, while Jakovo 2, Surčin and Petrovčić one each.<sup>87</sup> In one day, within the field battalions, only the settlements of Batajnica and Dobanovci had more casualties in action than the defence units had during the whole year, which testifies to the high differences in the military service of the frontiers of the new system, even though the area of the Petrovaradin Regiment was on the very frontline, and the main headquarters of the entire Habsburg army was in Zemun. In addition, the central military action of the Slavonian Corps, unto which the Petrovaradin Regiment served, under the leadership of Count Mitrowsky in 1788 was launched from the Regiment's territory.

Count Mitrowsky had approximately 15,000 men at his command as part of the Slavonic Corps at the beginning of the military campaign, and in April he gathered his forces in the area of the Petrovaradin Regiment. On April 20, he concentrated the line troops and frontiers in the village of Klenak, and the very next day crossed the Sava River, thus launching an attack on the nearby Ottoman fort Šabac. Both battalions of the Petrovaradin regiment participated in the siege with approximately 3,400 soldiers. The siege was short and witnessed personally by the Emperor, who personally ordered an assault on the fortifications on April 24. Petrovaradin sharpshooters participated in the assault where Colonel Davidovich distinguished himself with valour. In addition to the colonel, Captain Dedovich, who was ultimately killed in the battle, also distinguished himself. The initial assault ended with the capture of the majority of Šabac fort on the same day, while defenders withdrew to the small inner fortifications. Two days later, on April 26, the defending garrison capitulated, resulting in the capturing of 17 Ottoman cannons, 20 flags, 30 cants of gunpowder, and numerous provisions, as well as taking 3 senior officers, 33 officers, 32, non-commissioned officers, and 617 soldiers as prisoners.<sup>88</sup> Colonel Davidovich was appointed as the temporary commander of the fort. The siege and capture of the Šabac fort were the central military actions of the Slavonic Corps during the military campaign of 1788 and thus of the Petrovaradin Regiment as well.<sup>89</sup> Count Mitrowsky, with the main part of the Slavonian Corps, headed to the area of the Gradiška Regiment, where he set up camp near Stara Gradiška. The battalions of the Petrovaradin Regiment accompanied the count, while its defence units were tasked with strengthening the local military fortifications in Petrovaradin and Rača.<sup>90</sup> On the night of October 8-9, 3,000 sipahi and 6,000 janissaries crossed the mouth of the Sava River into the Danube River and invaded the area of the Petrovaradin Regiment near Zemun, but were eventually repulsed with help of the Danube Flotilla. The conflict continued on October 13, when 20 Ottoman galleys and 5 galleys arrived, but it also ended without significant gains for the Ottoman side.<sup>91</sup> Considering that at the same time, Ottoman forces were mounting devastating attacks in Banat, which Emperor Joseph II personally failed to thwart due to the infamous Karánsebes incident, the adjacent Petrovaradin Regiment territory in Sirmia was successfully defended.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>87</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1740, 1788, *Monath-Tabella pro Mense Aprili 788. Des kaiserlich königlich-loblich Slavonic peterwardeiner Gränz Infanterie Regiments von 2 Feld Battaillon.*

<sup>88</sup> Balázs Lázár, "Turkish Captives in Hungary during Austria's Last Turkish War (1788–91)", *The Hungarian Historical Review* 4, no. 2 (2015): 426.

<sup>89</sup> Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte*, 411-412; Wrede, *Geschichte*, 289; Hirtenfeld, *Der Militär*, 225-226.

<sup>90</sup> Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte*, 412. At the beginning of 1790, 405 members from the canton of the Petrovaradin Regiment also reinforced the military crew in the Petrovaradin fortress. HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1742, 1790, *Monath Tabella pro Mense Martio 1790 Der vom Peterwardeiner Gränz Canton nach Peterwardein established Garrisons Company.*

<sup>91</sup> Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte*, 423.

<sup>92</sup> T. C. W. Blanning, *Joseph II* (New York and London: Routledge, 2013), 179.

By the end of 1788, the forces of Emperor Joseph II managed to stop the penetration of the Ottomans into Banat and capture 4 border forts. However, a large number of soldiers fell ill with malaria and dysentery, and the Emperor himself was not spared. He fell seriously ill and had to retreat to Vienna in November of the same year. Since the Emperor's condition did not improve, the command of the army was taken over by the president of the War Council, Marshal Hadik, who, however, was 78 years old and not in good health. The luck in the war improved to some extent when Marshal Hadik's position was taken over by Marshal Laudon, who soon launched a larger military action and in September 1789 conducted a successful siege of Belgrade. It was a major victory in a war that did not go according to plan for the Habsburg Monarchy in almost any regard,<sup>93</sup> and the year 1790 brought the death of the leading military figures of the Monarchy - Marshals Hadik and Laudon and Emperor Joseph II. Heir to the imperial crown Leopold II. soon signed a truce and the conflicts ended in September 1790.<sup>94</sup>

Although the Austro-Ottoman War (1788 - 1791) did not have such large and famous battles as the Seven Years' War (1756 - 1763), the losses in manpower were more than significant. In the period between June 1788 and May 1789, the forces of the Emperor counted 172,000 sick and wounded, out of whom 33,000 died.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, more than one-third of the mobilized frontiers of the Varaždin regiments died in this war, 81.2% of them in hospitals as a result of illness and injuries.<sup>96</sup> In addition to the losses of active soldiers, the population of the Military Frontiers, primarily the Slavonian-Banat Military Frontier, also suffered a great loss. According to Vaniček, who presents Count Mittrowsky's report of September 15, 1790, this frontier area lost over 50,000 inhabitants during the campaigns of 1788 and 1789. The areas of the Wallachia-Illyrian Regiment and the German Banat Regiment were the most affected, while the Slavonian regiments, and thus the Petrovaradin Regiment, fared significantly better.<sup>97</sup>

The same trend of deaths as in the case of the frontiers from Varaždin regiments is also noticeable among the frontiers of the Petrovaradin Regiment, of whom only 3 were killed in action in May, June and July 1789, while as many as 116 died in the hospital, either as a result of wounds or illness. In addition to the dead and deceased, there were also 8 deserters and 8 arrested frontiers recorded in the aforementioned 3 months, which sums up to 135 members of the field battalions, or 3.9% of their composition in the war. Taking into account that there were no major battles in this period and that the military campaign took place in the immediate vicinity of the frontier area, i.e., the frontiers did not have to march far from their homes where they traditionally had lower morale and were more prone to desertion, the attrition of 1.3% of active military personnel per month was not insignificant. However, despite this, in the mentioned months, the active military status of the field battalions increased, and the reason was the continuous influx of new frontiers. In April, there were 3261 (94.33 %) active frontiers, in May 3373 (97.57 %), in June 3396 (98.24 %) and in July 3412 (98.7 %), which was a total increase of 151 (4.37 %). This was certainly contributed by the aforementioned fact of the proximity of the regimental area, that is, the area of recruitment and thus the relative ease of refilling of military ranks. The largest increase was during May, when 183 individuals arrived to

<sup>93</sup> However, Mayer argues that the 1789 campaign was one of the most successful in the history of the Habsburg Monarchy, considering that at the beginning of November, Habsburg armies held Belgrade, Bucharest, parts of Bosnia and Croatia, most of the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. According to Mayer, it was Leopold II who squandered Joseph's victories from the given campaign. Matthew Z. Mayer, "The Price for Austria's Security: Part I – Joseph II, the Russian Alliance, and the Ottoman War, 1787-1789", *The International History Review* 26, no. 2 (2004), 257-258.

<sup>94</sup> Buczynski, "Jozefinska reforma", 71-72.

<sup>95</sup> In comparison, as Hochedlinger states, storming of the Belgrade fortress, which was a major military action of the war, resulted in 300 deaths and 750 wounded among ranks of Emperor Joseph II. Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars*, 385.

<sup>96</sup> Buczynski, "Jozefinska reforma", 71-72

<sup>97</sup> The Wallachia-Illyrian Regiment lost 22,919 inhabitants, and the German-Banat Regiment lost 13,331 inhabitants. This represented 63.7% of the population loss of the entire Slavonia-Banat Military Frontier in the period 1788-1790. Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte*, 472.

the active service of field battalions, while 71 left. Out of those who left, 46 were disabled from active service, while the rest were transferred to other units. Of the 183 arrivals, two-thirds were transferred from the defence units of the Regiment, 37 were newly recruited, while the rest were transferred from other battalions, returned deserters, etc. In the same period, only 16 members of the defence units died, while there was only one deserter and none killed in action. The defence units served as a base from which the ranks of the field battalions were continuously filled monthly. The cantonal personnel was stable and was not involved in military activities. In total, the Petrovaradin Regiment in May 1789 counted 4451 active military personnel, which meant it retained its high action potential despite great attritions suffered by the forces of the Emperor.<sup>98</sup>

Although it is difficult to read from the previous data, it was at the end of May that the only significant military action took place in the first half of 1789, in which a large number of members of the Petrovaradin field battalions participated. Namely, in May 1789, Count Mittrowsky decided to make a raid on the territory of Brčko as part of the broader strategy. For this purpose, on May 31, he sent the colonel of the Gradiška Regiment, Anton von Kovachevich, to head a column made up of one Petrovaradin field battalion, i.e., approximately 1,700 frontiers, to Rajevo Selo, a place on the border of the Brod and Petrovaradin regiments and in the immediate vicinity of Brčko. The frontiers crossed the Sava River during the night from May 31 to June 1 and launched an attack in which they initially captured one chardak and repelled a prepared Ottoman ambush. Lieutenant Captain Ignatz von Leuttner, commander of the First Major Company (aka. Hrtkovačka), joined by frontier volunteers, stormed the fortifications across the bridge and the main gate, which was covered by 100 defenders with 4 cannons. The defenders, before the onslaught of the frontiers led by Leuttner, left their positions and escaped through the back door, which led to the fall of Brčko and the seizure of the mentioned 4 cannons, one flag and 30 spears by the attackers. Colonel Kovachevich ordered all fortifications to be destroyed and buildings to be burned and afterwards withdrew his forces across the Sava River back to the frontier territory.<sup>99</sup>

During the second half of the year, the Regiment was a part of another military campaign. Shortly after the fall of Belgrade, Major General Chernel ordered Colonel Davidovich, at this time a commander of the Brod Regiment, to cross the Sava River with one battalion of the Brod and one battalion of the Petrovaradin Regiment and two squadrons of Wurm hussars to expel the Ottoman forces from the Drina basin. Davidovich crossed the Sava River with his forces on October 18 and advanced until October 24, crushing resistance, all the way to Loznica on the Drina, where he united with the forces of Major General Chernel, who had just been expelled from Valjevo. Loznica was their base of operations for further advancement along the course of the Drina River, which proved to be significantly difficult due to the unfavourable terrain. They managed to conquer Zvornik on November 4, and after several minor and indecisive skirmishes with the Ottoman forces retreated towards the Sava River, which they crossed on November 26, thus ending the military campaign of 1789 with very limited success. During the Drina expedition, the frontiers of the Petrovaradin Regiment took part in almost all the battles and skirmishes.<sup>100</sup>

In the middle of 1788, the Petrovaradin Regiment went through major changes in the commanding officers because of the war. In April 1788, Lieutenant Colonel Avram von Putnik was transferred to the German Banat Regiment, while First Major Francz Dizent von Felsenthal retired. At the same time, Axentie von Milutinovich was promoted from the position of second

<sup>98</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1741, 1789, *Monthly tables of field battalions, defence detachment and canton of the Petrovaradin Regiments for the months of May, June, and July.*

<sup>99</sup> Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte*, 423; Wrede, *Geschichte*, 284-285; HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1741, 1789, *Monath-Tabella pro Majo 789; Month Tabella pro Junio 1789.*

<sup>100</sup> Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte*, 451-454.

major to the position of first major instead of the retired Felsenthal, while Baron Joseph von Messina was promoted to the position of second major. Thadeus von Oesterreicher, who until then was supernumerary,<sup>101</sup> was appointed to the vacant lieutenant colonel position. Furthermore, Colonel Davidovich left the command post in July of the same year and was succeeded by Michael Chernel von Chernelháza, the former colonel of the Brod Regiment.<sup>102</sup> Colonel Chernel remained at the head of the Regiment until September 1789, when he was promoted to major general at the head of the volunteer Slavonian Corps. In turn, this caused another series of changes among commanding positions in the Regiment. Oesterreicher became the new colonel, and his position as lieutenant colonel was succeeded by Milutinovich.<sup>103</sup> The first major became Baron Messina, while Leopold von Pompeatti was promoted from the position of captain to the rank of second major.<sup>104</sup> The new lieutenant colonel and both majors built their military careers throughout many years within the regiment, where they served as long-term officers.<sup>105</sup> The Austro-Ottoman War (1788-1791) enabled them to advance quickly. Similar was the situation with the company's commanding officers, where out of 12 commanders only 2 retained the same position as in the outbreak of the War.<sup>106</sup> The composition of commanding officers from the beginning of 1790 remained unchanged until the end of 1792 and effectively the War itself.<sup>107</sup>

Peace between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire was signed on August 4, 1791, while the final demarcation line was established on December 23, 1795.<sup>108</sup> The defensive units of the Petrovaradin Regiment were disbanded in October 1790,<sup>109</sup> i.e., shortly after the conclusion of the armistice in September of the same year. During the entire period of their service, they were headed by the same officers and in the last month counted 913 active members. With their disbandment, 895 frontiers were disenrolled, while only 26 soldiers and 8 officers were retained in active service with the subsequent transfer to the Regiments' field battalions.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>101</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1740, 1788, *Monath-Tabella pro Mense Aprili 788. Des kaiserlich königlich-loblich Slavonic peterwardeiner Gränz Infanterie Regiments von 2 Feld Battaillon.*

<sup>102</sup> Although no sources have been preserved for the month of July 1788, from which the names of the headquarters members could be seen, it was from that month that Chernel started signing the report lists for the defence units and signed himself as colonel (*Oberst*). As a colonel, Chernel can be traced in the muster rolls of the Petrovaradin Regiment from May 1789, which confirms his position. However, Wrede does not mention Colonel Chernel as a commander of the Petrovaradin Regiment. The reason for the latter probably lay in the fact that Chernel remained in this position for a short time and exclusively during the Austro-Turkish War (1788 - 1791). Wrede, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, p. 280, 288, 300; HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1740, 1788, *Monath-Tabella pro Mense Julio 1788. Des kaiserlich königlich-loblich Peterwardeiner Gränz Inf: Regiments von 2 Defensions-Divisionen*; D-1741, 1789, fol. 5.

<sup>103</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1556, 1792, fol. 1.

<sup>104</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1741, 1791, *Monath-Tabella pro Mense May 1791. Des kaiserlich königlich-loblich Peterwardeiner Gränz Inf: Regiments von 2 Defensions-Divisionen*

<sup>105</sup> Baron Joseph von Messina entered the service of the Petrovaradin Regiment in 1769, and Leopold von Pompeatti in 1770. HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1556, 1792, fol. 1.

<sup>106</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1741, 1791, *Monath Tabella pro September 1791. Des kaiserl. konigl. Peterwardeiner Grenz Infanterie Regiments 2nd Field Battalions*; HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1741, 1791, *Monath Tabella pro September 1791. Des kaiserl. konigl. Peterwardeiner Grenz Cantons*

<sup>107</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1556, 1792., *Muster- Tabella des lobl: Kaiserl: Konigl: Peterwardeiner Gränz Infanterie Regiments Zwey Feld Bataillons pro Anno 1792.*

<sup>108</sup> The border established in 1795 is also today's border between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was also the last expansion of the Military Frontier to the area from Dvor on Una across Cetina to the upper reaches of the Zrmanja river. The Lika Regiment had the largest expansion. Buczynski, "Jozefinska reforma", 72; Mirko Valentić, "Vojna krajina 1790-1881", in *Vojna krajina*, ed. Dragutin Pavličević (Zagreb: Liber University Press, 1984), 65.; Mira Kolar Dimitrijević, "Ratovi s Osmanskim Carstvom na početku i na kraju 18. stoljeća", in *Povijest Hrvata, vol. II*, ed. Mirko Valentić, Lovorka Čoralić (Zagreb, Školska knjiga, 2005), 236.

<sup>109</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1742, 1790, *Monath Tabella pro Oktober 1790. Des löbl k: k: Peterwardeiner Grenz Infanterie Regiments 2. Defenses Divisionen.*

<sup>110</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1742, 1790, *Monath Tabella pro Oktober 1790. Des löbl k: k: Peterwardeiner Grenz Infanterie Regiments 2. Defenses Divisionen.*

The field battalions of the Petrovaradin Regiment maintained a state of war until September 1791, that is, until the final signing of peace. During September, the number of active military personnel was reduced from 3,278 to 2,814. The reduction was mainly achieved by the dismissal of 465 fusiliers. The canton had 206 active militaries at its disposal with another 141 additional personnel under its authority.<sup>111</sup> Given that the defence units were disbanded the previous year, and that in the meantime additional crew units were also disbanded, the entire Petrovaradin Regiment accounted for 3,020 military and 141 additional personnel. Peace ultimately led to a total reduction in active duty by 1,431 members. The regiment thus successfully transitioned from a state of war, adequately covering all the foreseen aspects.

### Conclusion

The cantonal reform was finally introduced only 10 months before the outbreak of the Austro-Ottoman War (1788 - 1791), which was too short a period to see positive economic effect. What this reform could show, however, was the readiness of the new military system for immediate war action. In the case of the Petrovaradin Regiment, the military authorities demonstrated the expected level of ability when organizing and maintaining the expected number of active soldiers ready both for going to the battlefield and for the defence of their own territory. The potential in manpower that the Regiment had at its disposal proved to be sufficient to meet the stated expectations, which was a great improvement compared to the experience of the Seven Years' War (1756 - 1763).<sup>112</sup>

Investiture of Emperor Joseph II in the implementation of this reform, personal inspection and supervision, the inclusion of a wide range of individuals in military structures and the abandonment of rigid standardized systems resulted in a better link between reality and expectations regarding active military service and war effectiveness. The reform was finally withdrawn in 1800 because according to the view of the central military authorities of the time, it failed to raise the economic well-being of the frontiers while being expensive to maintain.<sup>113</sup> However, in the entire period of the cantonal system, there were only 3 years of peace. Therefore, that could be considered an unjust verdict for the reform that predicted greater relief during peace and greater burdens during war, i.e., the reform that enforced economic prosperity during peace and military efficiency during war. In 13 years of which 10 years were wartime, the evaluation of the system could be reflected primarily in the war achievements of its regiments and the effectiveness of the established structures to meet the set expectations. From the perspective of the Petrovaradin Regiment, a regiment that could not meet expectations in past decades, the initial evaluation of the reform during the first third of its existence and first major test would be positive.

<sup>111</sup> HR-HDA-1450, GIR 9, D-1741, 1791, *Monath Tabella pro September 1791. Des kaiserl. conigl. Peterwardeiner Grenz Infanterie Regiments 2nd Field Battalions; Month Tabella pro Septembi 1791. Des Kaiserliche Königliche Peterwardeiner Gränz Cantons.*

<sup>112</sup> Blanning argues that “the reforms of the previous two decades put at Joseph’s disposal the largest, best-trained and best-equipped army the Monarchy had ever boasted”. Blanning, *Joseph II*, 176. This statement is applicable on a micro-scale to the Petrovaradin Regiment, which was significantly improved in military strength with implemented reforms, especially considering that the Regiment could muster only approx. 2800 active soldiers during the mid-1760s. Nujić, “Između očekivanja i stvarnosti”, 433.

<sup>113</sup> The cantonal system was abolished by the War Council on November 1, 1800, with Count Wenzel Colloredo presiding department for Military Frontier. Count Wenzel Colloredo was a commander of General Command in Petrovaradin in 1787, when the reform was introduced and which he, at the time, opposed fiercely. Buczynski, “Jozefinska reforma”, 74.

## Bibliography

### Unpublished sources

Croatian State Archive, Collection of sources concerning Croatia from foreign archives, archive signature HR-HDA-1450, Grenz Infanterie Regiment no. 9.

### Published sources and literature

Aksan, Virginia H. *Ottoman Wars 1700-1870 – An Empire Besieged*. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.

Bach, Franz. *Povijest Otočke pukovnije*. Zagreb, Otočac, 2010.

Beales, Derek. *Joseph II: Volume 2, Against the World, 1780-1790*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Blanning, T. C. W. *Joseph II*. New York and London: Routledge, 2013.

Buczynski, Alexander. "Jozefinska reforma Vojne krajine." In *Pa to su samo Hrvati*, 11-75. Zagreb: Croatian Institute of History, 2011. Buczynski, Alexander. "Jozefinska reforma Vojne krajine." In *Pa to su samo Hrvati*, 11-75. Zagreb: Croatian Institute of History, 2011.

Buczynski, Alexander. "Kantonski regulativ." In *Pa to su samo Hrvati*, 175-181. Zagreb: Croatian Institute of History, 2011.

Buczynski, Alexander. "Pregled vojnoga sustava Habsburške Monarhije." In *Pa to su samo Hrvati*, 183-188. Zagreb: Croatian Institute of History, 2011.

Buczynski, Alexander. "Projekt podmaršala De Vinsa." In *Pa to su samo Hrvati*, 167-173. Zagreb: Croatian Institute of History, 2011.

Buczynski, Alexander. "Temeljna načela za budući krajiški sustav." In *Pa to su samo Hrvati*, 161-165. Zagreb: Croatian Institute of History, 2011.

Buczynski, Alexander. *Gradovi vojne krajine, vol. I*. Zagreb: Croatian Institute of History, 1997.

Dimitrijević, Mira Kolar. "Ratovi s Osmanskim Carstvom na početku i na kraju 18. stoljeća". In *Povijest Hrvata, vol. II*, edited by Mirko Valentić and Lovorka Čoralić, 232-236, Zagreb, Školska knjiga, 2005.

Hietzinger, Carl Bernhard. *Statistik der Militärgränze des österreichischen Kaiserthums, vol. 2(a-b)*. Vienna: Carl Georld Verlag, 1820.-1823

Hirtenfeld, Jaromir. *Der Militär-Maria-Theresia-Orden und seine Mitglieder*. Vienna: K.K. Hof- u. Staatsdruckerei, 1857.

Hochedlinger, Michael. *Austria's Wars of Emergence, 1683-1797*. London, New York: Routledge, 2013.

Holjevac Željko and Moačanin Nenad. *Hrvatsko-slavonska vojna krajina i Hrvati pod vlašću Osmanskog Carstva u ranome novom vijeku*. Zagreb: Leykam international, 2007.

Kaser, Karl. *Slobodni seljak i vojnik, vol. II*. Zagreb: Naprijed, 1997.

Lázár, Balázs, "Turkish Captives in Hungary during Austria's Last Turkish War (1788–91)". *The Hungarian Historical Review* 4, no. 2 (2015): 418-444.

Matanović, Damir. *Grad na granici - Slobodni vojni komunitet Brod na Savi od sredine 18. do sredine 19. stoljeća*. Slavonski Brod: Croatian Institute of History, 2008.

Matanović, Damir. *Između reformi i tradicije*. Slavonski Brod: Posavska Hrvatska, 2013.

- Mayer, Matthew Z. "Joseph II and the Campaign of 1788 against Ottoman Turks". Master's thesis, McGill University, 1997.
- Mayer, Matthew Z. "The Price for Austria's Security: Part I – Joseph II, the Russian Alliance, and the Ottoman War, 1787-1789". *The International History Review* 26, no. 2 (2004): 257-299.
- Moačanin, Nenad. *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine*. Slavonski Brod: Croatian Institute of History, 2001.
- Nujić, Pavao. "Između očekivanja i stvarnosti – pogled na Petrovaradinsku pukovnicu kroz serijalne vojne popise 1765. – 1768." *Acta histriae* 26, no. 2 (2007): 429-446
- Nujić, Pavao. "Protestanti u službi Petrovaradinske pukovnije u drugoj polovici 18. stoljeća". *Povijesni prilozi* 56 (2019): 291-319.
- Özkan, Selim Hilmi. "The Capital of the Ottoman Empire in Europe: Belgrade on the Frontier (Serhad) City (1521-1789)". *Selçuk Türkiyat* 53 (2021): 335-351.
- Roider, Karl A. "Kaunitz, Joseph II and the Turkish War". *The Slavonic and East European Review* 54, no. 4 (1976): 538-556.
- Schmidt-Brentano, Antonio. *Kaiserliche und k.k. Generale*. Vienna: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, 2006.
- Tekin, Rahmi, "52 Numaralı Mostar Şer'iyye Sicil Defterine Göre Bosna'da Osmanlı-Avusturya Mücadelesi (1787-1789)", *Journal of Ottoman Legacy Studies*, 8/22 (2021): 519-538.
- Valentić, Mirko (ed.) *Hrvatska na tajnim zemljovidima 18. i 19. stoljeća. Petrovaradinska pukovnica*. Zagreb: Croatian Institute of History, 2000.
- Valentić, Mirko. "Vojna krajina 1790-1881". In *Vojna krajina*, edited by Dragutin Pavličević. Zagreb: Liber University Press, 1984.
- Vaniček, Franz. *Specialgeschichte der Militärgrenze, vol. 3*. Vienna, 1875.
- Wrede, Alphons Freiherrn von. *Geschichte der K. und K. Wehrmacht, vol. V*. Vienna: L.W Seidel & Sohn, 1903.