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RURAL ECONOMY IN WALLACHIAN VILLAGES OF THE MOUNTAINOUS BANAT DURING THE 1770S

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Abstract: *Thanks to the efforts of cameral and military authorities to define and separate their respective areas of interest in south-eastern Banat, censuses of Wallachian villages were conducted in the early 1770s. The focus is on the territory incorporated into the Military Frontier, replacing the civilian organization of the Orșova and Caransebeș districts, which encompassed 66 villages along the frontier with the neighboring Principality of Wallachia. In addition to recording houses and inhabitants capable of military service, the censuses of 1772 and 1774 primarily documented household property, including land and livestock. The results indicate that these villages were largely oriented toward animal husbandry, with land ownership generally limited to small plots, maize production, and orchards. Nevertheless, the data mainly reflect ownership and production conditions inherited from the civilian period, particularly with respect to environmental constraints and traditional production practices.*

Keywords: rural economy, censuses, Wallachian villages, Mountainous Banat, 1770s.

1. Introduction

Between 1718 and 1778, the province *Temeswarer Banat* held the status of a hereditary land (*Erblande*), with the Court Chamber (*Hofkammer*) as the supreme landowner, exercising its authority through the provincial government in Timișoara (*Landesadministration*)[1].

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[1] Sonja Jordan, *Die kaiserliche* Wirtsc*haftspolitik im Banat im 18. Jahrhundert*, München, Verlag R. Oldenbourg, 1967. The fundamental characteristic of this system was the absence of the feudal lords on that land, or more precisely, with their prerogatives transferred on the Chamber itself. The peasant communities, therefore, occupied a position generally considered to have been less burdensome than that of serfs on feudal estates. However, they were burdened with taxes and obligations defined by law – in this case, by the regulations of the cameral administration, and, from 1780 onward, by the Banat *Urbar* given by the ruler. In such a system, the local elites gained additional room for development, as they were authorized to communicate only with the cameral officers employed in the district administration, who were few in

During the eighteenth century, however, the administrative unity of the province gradually eroded.

The first major step in this process was the militarization of its southern regions, initiated in 1764 around Pančevo and Bela Crkva and extended from 1769 on the areas toward Ottoman-controlled Orșova and Wallachia[2]. Following the establishment of the regiments in Transylvania, the creation of the Banat Military Frontier (*Banater Militärgrenze*) marked the final stage in the Habsburg encirclement of the Ottoman Empire[3]. A further decisive shift occurred in 1779 with the introduction of counties (*Comitats*) in the privatized and remaining cameral domains under the authority of the Hungarian *Hofkammer*, bringing the cameral province of the *Temeswarer Banat* to a permanent end. This reorganization, however, did not affect the already militarized zones incorporated into the Banat Military Frontier, including the territories excluded from the former Orșova and Caransebeș Districts in the south-eastern, predominantly hilly and forested parts of Banat[4].

Beyond the formal shift from cameral to military administration, the province experienced a simultaneous process of intensified state intervention in spatial planning, which gained momentum around 1770. In the few years to come, the *hotars* of villages were surveyed, and after taking land quality into account, within each of their cultivated tracts – arable fields, meadows, and pastures – the land was divided into individual parcels, and allocated to household heads[5].

number. Costin Feneșan, *Cnezi si obercnezi in Banatul Imperial (1716–1778)*, București, Edit. Academiei Române, 1996.

[2] Јелена Илић Мандић, *Банатска војна крајина (1764–1800)*, Историјски институт, Београд, 2020.

[3] Nicoale Bocșan, *A Successful Habsburg Experiment. The Militarization of the Border between Austria and Turkey*, „Annals of the Academy of Romanian Scientists. Series on History and Archeology", Online Edition, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2015, p. 11; Николаје Бокшан, *Оснивање Банатске војне границе и друштвени статус граничара*, „Војна граница у Банату и банатски милитари у 18. и 19. веку", ур. М. Самарџић, М. Бешлин, Нови Сад, 2014, стр. 18–29.

[4] The term Mountainous Banat is used here as a historical-geographical designation, referring to the area commonly described in the Romanian historiography as *Banatul Montan*, partially corresponding to the territory of the present-day Caraș-Severin County.

[5] Benjamin Landais, *La réforme cadastrale dans les villages du Banat au XVIIIe siècle*, „Histoire et sociétés rurales", No. 37 – 1er semestre, Normandie, Université de Caen Basse, 2012 (2014), p. 43–116.

This was the establishment of the systematic cadastral reform with the final result in tax reform, by introducing the land owner's taxation on the level of households. At first, this process was realized in the lowlands of Banat, both in the cameral and military areas[6]. The coherence of its progression lays in the fact that both cameral and military authorities adhered to the principles of cameralism, which constituted the dominant economic policy directed from Vienna.

Although a similar process may have occurred in the hilly regions of eastern Banat, the first evidence of its effects dates from 1785[7]. Earlier documents and descriptions of the Mountainous Banat show no traces of cadastral registration, land parceling, or tax reforms aimed at promoting agriculture and individual households, suggesting that ownership and production conditions still reflected the traditional patterns.

By the early 1770s, none of the key innovations introduced by the cameral authorities, such as the cultivation of industrial crops on plantations (silk, rice, potatoes, tobacco, flax, hemp, etc.), or new breeds of domestic animals (Macedonian, Spanish or French sheep, Hungarian cattle), were evident in the mountainous regions[8]. Geographical conditions allowed little production beyond subsistence, particularly in agriculture, while animal husbandry continued according to long-established practices. There is also no indication that state administration extended beyond minimal frameworks, which would have been necessary for any planned transformation of everyday economic life.

To gain insight into the environmental conditions of south-eastern Banat during the first years of militarization, this study relies on both narrative and documentary sources, which are closely related.

[6] Јелена Илић Мандић, *Банатска војна крајина*, 268–277. Some of the first examples of land reform in the territory of the Banat Military Frontier date from 1769, in the case of Idvor as a Serbian settlement, and from 1771, in the case of Kovin (Cuvin) as a settlement with both colonist and Serbian population.

[7] Јелена Илић Мандић, *Банатска војна крајина*, 292–293. Although approximate, in 1834 General Marmont noted that „the cadastre had already been introduced half a century earlier in the territory of the Banat Frontier Regiment" (Ион Киржа, *Француз на пропутовању кроз Банат. Граничарска регимента у Карансебешу у путопису маршала Мармона (1834)*, у „Војна граница у Банату и банатски милитари у 18. и 19. веку", ур. М. Самарџић, М. Бешлин, Нови Сад, 2014, стр. 66).

[8] Sonja Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, p. 103–115; 116–120.

To understand the context of the intensive activity along the state border in the early 1770s, we turn to relevant narrative sources. The most appreciable is the contemporary description provided by Johann Jacob Erler, a cameral official who travelled through Banat and compiled a regional overview. Erler's account is of particular value because it seems to be based directly on administrative documentation – most likely district censuses compiled on behalf of the *Landesadministration* prior to the publication of his book in 1774. Although presented in a synthesized and descriptive form, his data are therefore largely comparable to primary sources, differing mainly in their summary character rather than in origin[9].

Then, a few descriptions are even more reliable than those of Emperor Joseph II himself, particularly since he was an eyewitness to the development of the *Grenze* on two occasions, passing through the newly militarized areas of eastern Banat in 1770 and again in 1773. In 1770, his observations on the situation in the Wallachian Border were scarce and largely limited to a few notions, among which that the newly established Wallachian frontiersmen under Pappila's authority were dissatisfied[10]. His next journey through Banat – en route to *Siebenbürgen* and Maramureș – took place in May 1773, the very year in which the militarization in eastern Banat gained significant momentum. The establishment of the Military Frontier in the area between Caransebeș and Orșova had only recently been completed, while the militarization of Almaș, Krajina, and Clisura had yet to begin. His observations from this journey are therefore somewhat more revealing with regard to the situation in eastern Banat, particularly as the emperor visited Boșcovici in the Almaș on 17 May, Mehadia on the 18th, Caransebeș on the 19th, and Marga on the 20th of May, before crossing via Ohaba into Transylvania[11].

[9] Јохан Јакоб Ерлер, *Банат* [1774], Историјски архив, Панчево, 2003. The same, in romanian publication: *Banatul de la origini până acum (1774)* = Johann Jacob Erler, *Das Banat vom Ursprung bis jetzo (1774)*, ediţie îngrijită de Costin Feneşan şi Volker Wollmann, Timișoara, Edit. de Vest, 2006.

[10] Also mentionig that he personally spoke with them, and that at that time the main attention was focused on the „exchange" of cameral and military jurisdiction in the village of Teregova (and in one additional village), in contrast to Cănicea (Costin Feneşan, *Die Zweite Reise Kaiser Josephs II. ins Temeswarer Banat (1770)*, „Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs", Vol. 45, Wien, 1997, p. 243).

[11] Constantin Sassu, *Journal der Reise S-er Majtt. des Kaisers durch Hungarn, Bannat, Siebenbürgen und die Marmoross von 1773*, „Arhivele Olteniei", anul VII, nr. 39–40, 1928, p. 425–440.

The core empirical evidence of this study, however, is drawn from two original censuses conducted in 1772 and 1774[12]. Compiled under military authority, they provide systematic and comprehensive quantitative data for the settlements undergoing successive phases of militarization. Yet, it should be kept in mind that the censuses are complementary rather than comparable, since the 1772 census covered 35 villages of the so called Old Wallachian Border, between Jupalnic and Marga, whereas the 1774 census encompassed 29 militarized villages in Almaș, Krajina, and (Lower) Clisura, later expanded by two neighboring settlements excluded from the district of Caransebeș[13]. Their standardized structure allows for direct quantitative comparison of demographic and economic patterns. All calculations and statistical analyses presented in this paper are based on these censuses, while other sources serve only a contextual role.

Although they offer no information about the size of the *hotars* or the individual shares of different types of land, the data provided in the censuses can be used for precise calculations regarding certain specific categories on the village level. First, they allow us to gain detailed insight into several issues related to land cultivation, specifically the size and types of the cultivated land in the villages, as well as the amounts and varieties of grain and fruit that were planted. Second, they enable us to examine animal husbandry in terms of each type of domestic animal recorded in household inventories at the village level. Finally, the main aim is to classify production according to its priority among the population, and naturally within the context of the environmental conditions.

To this end, we will not only attempt to present these issues in the given order as precisely as possible, but we will also provide the opportunity to verify all results through the original census data presented in the Appendix.

2. Territorial and administrative framework

The cameral *Landesadministration*, seated in Timișoara, was organized into eleven districts across the Banat. The south-eastern and

[12] Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA), Kriegsarchiv (KA), Bestand: Hofkriegsrat (HKR) – Akten, Kt. 909, 1772 – 39 – 182, folio 12–15; Kt. 1016, 1774 – 39 – 69/2, folio 12–13.

[13] In the census of 1774, when the population and the cultivated land in Almas, Clisura, and Krajina were recorded for the first time, the data for the Old Border were simply overwritten from the census of 1772, without any changes.

mountainous parts of the province fell under the jurisdiction of the districts of Orșova and Caransebeș, first encompassing 41 and the later 76 villages. The Orșova District was divided between the Orșova *processus*, primarily situated in the valleys of the Cserna and Danube rivers (Lower Clisura), and the Almaș *processus*, which included the hilly and forested hinterland behind the valleys. The Caransebeș District comprised the Bucoșniţa, Timiș, and Bistriţa *processus*, named after the local rivers[14]. Almost all villages in these two districts were militarized between 1769 and 1774, as they lay along the border with the Principality of Wallachia and served as a bridge to the Habsburg possessions in Transylvania[15].

Beginning in 1769, the process of militarization in this area was launched by the announcement of the *Wallachian Battalion*. It was a transitional process rather than a single event, since the change of authorities did not occur smoothly or easily. There was a widespread resistance of the local population to this transition, since some of the locals undertook extreme varieties of action in the form of emigration toward Wallachia, rebellions, and the rise of outlaw bands. All this took place in a politically sensitive moment, during the ongoing Russo-Ottoman War (1768–1774) and even with the presence of the Russian army in Wallachia. Many people from this region – or passing through it – sought to escape to the Russians, with differing motivations and varying degrees of success. In spite of interruptions and disturbances this area was militarized and unified under the name of Wallachian Border (*Wallachische Grenze*) until the end of 1773[16].

The first group of 35 villages to be militarized along the border with Wallachia was located between Orşova and Caransebeş, including the villages of Jupalnic to the south and Marga to the north of this area. Disregarding the resistance prolonged till mid-1772, their financial obligations toward the military authorities were applied retroactively and formally began on May 1, 1770 („Von denen am 1. May [1]770 zu erst übernommenen 35 Ortschaften zwischen Schupanek und Marga"). This area was known as the Old Border (*Alte Graniz*), since it was militarized a few years before the next one.

[14] Јохан Јакоб Ерлер, *Банат* [1774], стр. 79–81, 89–90.

[15] Јелена Илић Мандић, *Банатска војна крајина*, стр. 59-65.

[16] Jelena Ilić Mandić, *Forging the Wallachian Military Border*, „Banatica", vol. 31, Museum of Reşiţa, 2021, p. 251–273.

The second group, comprising 31 villages in the neighboring areas known as Almaș, Krajina, and Lower Clisura, was brought under the financial administration of the military authorities on November 1, 1773 („am 1. 9br [1]773 weiters übernommenen 31 Ortschaften der Almahs, Kraina und Clisura")[17]. All of these villages were geographically separated and distant from the next military zone in southern Banat, the so-called *Illyrian Battalion*, concentrated around Bela Crkva, the river Nera, and the Danube (Upper Clisura).

Nevertheless, as soon as in 1775, these two militarized sections – the *Wallachian Graniz* and the *Illyrian Graniz* – were merged into a single administrative unit, and called the *Wallachian-Illyrian Graniz Regiment*, which preserved the territorial entity until the 1840s[18].

The geographical framework considered as a border area toward Wallachia comprises hills and forests, with settlements dispersed north from the Danube River, in the valleys of the rivers Cerna, Belareca, Mehadica, Timiş, Sebeş and Bistra. The so-called „Alte Graniz von Marga bis Schupanek" comprised an area of 35 villages, divided among four companies according to the number of capable men, as well as to its territorial compactness. The four companies of the Old Border were: the Ohaba Bistra Company with 12 villages, the Ilova Company with 8, the Globurău Company with 7, and the Topleț Company with 8 villages.

The later militarized area of Almaș, Krajina and (Lower) Clisura comprised in total 29 villages. In Krajina there were 9 villages, in Almaș 13, and in Clisura 7 villages. Some villages were simultaneously excluded from the Caransebeș District and militarized, as was the case with the two villages of Verendin and Luncaviţa, as well as with the five

[17] ÖStA, KA, HKR, Kt. 1016, 1774 – 39 – 69/2, folio 4–5, 12–13.

[18] The *Wallachian-Illyrian Grenzregiment* was enlarged in 1785 with 14 villages excluded from District of Caransebeș, making the total number of villages at 110. The whole Regiment was divided into two parts in 1838, following the same delimitation established during the period 1769-1775, changing their names in 1845, into the *Serbian Grenzregiment* No. 13 (former *Illyrian Battalion*) and the *Romanian Grenzregiment* No. 14 (former *Wallachian Battalion*). Until than, the Wallachian–Illyrian Regiment was the largest regiment in the entire Habsburg Military Frontier system (excluding its regiments in the *Siebenbürgische Militärgrenze*). One of the contemporary descriptions, in: W.C.W. Blumenbach, *Das Walachisch-Banatische Regiments-District in der Militärgränze*, Wien, 1840.

villages of Teregova, Slatina, Vălişoara, Cârpa (Valea Timişului), and Zlagna (Table no. 1)[19].

The formal seat of the *Wallachian Graniz* was located in Caransebeș, and its first commander was *Obristlieutenant* Pavle Dimich von Pappila. All other villages had the status of *Ortschaften*, meaning simple settlements having the rank of villages. Although there are indicators that some of the company headquarters were better populated and larger than other settlements – as Ohaba Bistra and Topleț, no one of them possessed the formal status of a market town (*Marktfleck*). Only a few settlements had official facilities or other public buildings, apart from churches. (See map at the end of the study).

For instance, although Marga included a customs office, Emperor Joseph described the village as nothing more than „ein schlechtes Wallachisches Dorf mit einem Mauthhaus" (a bad Wallachian village with a customs house)[20].

The largest village, and the one that most closely functioned as a local center, was Mehadia. In this settlement, 39 craftsmen and 18 merchants were recorded, all exempted from military duties in exchange for a financial contribution (*Schützgeld*)[21]. Moreover, since the main route for people and goods arriving from the Ottoman side led through Mehadia, this was the location where the sanitary control was organized, in the facilities of so called *Kontumaz*. The *Kontumaz* in Mehadia was intended exclusively for passengers, while their goods and merchandise were subject to the sanitary inspection in the so-called *Vor-Kontumaz* near Jupalnic[22]. The importance of Mehadia's position becomes clearer when one considers that it was one of the only two legally designated border-crossing points towards the Ottoman territories, the first of them being the distant *Kontumaz* near Pančevo in western Banat.

[19] Јелена Илић Мандић, *Банатска војна крајина*, стр. 59–65.

[20] Constantin Sassu, *Journal der Reise S-er Majtt. des Kaisers*, p. 438.

[21] KA, HKR, Kt. 909, 1772 – 39 – 182, folio 17–21. Among the conscripted *Professionisten*, a term used for both craftsmen and merchants as taxpayers, there were 15 „Deutsche Handwerks Leuthe", 14 „Wallachische Handwerks Leute" and 18 „Griechische Handelsleuthe inclusive Schutz Juden". They were almost without any or a very modest property.

[22] Sonja Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, p. 149; Sabine Sutterlüti, *Die Kontumaz in Mehadia. Mobilitätskontrolle und Seuchenprävention im 18. Jahrhundert*, Wien, Magisterarbeit, 2016, p. 23, *passim*.

One of the criteria for designating a location as economically significant was its position at a crossroads and the presence of suitable guesthouses (*Wirthshäußer*). Such establishments were considered to be important if they were provided on the roads classified as main or provincial roads („welche an denen Haupt- und Land-Straßen befindlich"). Guesthouses were recorded in only two villages located within the part of the Wallachian Border – in Mehadia and Ohaba Bistra. The guesthouse in Mehadia was described as „an Strasse von Schuppanek nach Caransebes", and the one in Ohaba Bistra as „an der Strasse nach Siebenbürgen"[23].

Another indication of local centers emerging in the larger villages can be observed in the existence of mills (*Mühlen*). In the Wallachian Border, mills were recorded in Ruieni, Teregova, Verendin, Ogradena, Topleț, Măru, Ohaba Bistra, Mal, Jupalnic, Bârza, and Mehadia. They were owned or operated by prominent local representatives, as priests (in seven cases), *knezovi* (in Ohaba Bistra, Teregova, and Mal), local customs officers (in Jupalnic and Bârza), and by one merchant (in Mehadia)[24].

Wallachische Militärgrenze				Wallachian Border
	Compagnien	*Ortschaften*		Villages
Old Wallachian Border, 1769–1772	Ohaba Bistra	Marga, Wallia Mare, Kröcsma, Merul, Maal, Ohababistra, Waar, Cziklen, Dalcs, Turnul, Ruen, Servestier	12	Marga, Valeamare (*Valea Bistrei), Crâjma (*Măgura), Măru, Mal, Ohaba Bistra (*Oţelu Roşu), Var, Cicleni, Dalci, Zerveşti, Ruieni (*Turnu Ruieni), Turnul (*Turnu Ruieni)
	Illova	Borlova, Bolwaschniza, Wercserova, Illova, Sadova, Armenisch, Foenisch, Ruska	8	Borlova, Bolvaşniţa, Vârciorova, Ilova, Sadova (Veche), Armeniş, Feneş, Rusca
	Globoreo	Domaschna, Canischa, Corniareva, Bolgotin, Globoreo, Plugova, Wallia Bolvaschniza	7	Domaşnea, Cănicea, Cornereva, Bogâltin, Globurău, Plugova, Valea Bolvaşniţa

[23] KA, HKR, Kt. 1254, 1779 – 23 – 36/1, folio 20–21. For instance, in the provincial seat, *Stadt Temeswar*, the number of *Wirthshäuser* was already limited to 24 as early in 1750. Sonja Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, p. 137.

[24] KA, HKR, Kt. 1254, 1779 – 23 – 36/1, folio 24-26. There is no mention of the type of mills, but we assume they were watermills (*Wassermühlen*).

	Toplez	Mehadia, Pecsineska, Borsa, Toplez, Koramnik, Doffier, Alt Schupanek, Neu Schupanek	8	Mehadia, Pecinişca, Bârza, Topleţ, Coramnic, Tufari, *Old* Jupalnic, *New* Jupalnic
New Wallachian Border, 1773	Unter Clihsura[25]	Sviniza, Tihsoviza, Plavischoviza, Dubova, Ogradina, Jehelniza, Kriviza	7	Sviniţa, Tişoviţa, Plavişeviţa, Dubova, Ogradena, Eşelniţa, Criviţa
	Krainer	Cornia, Kruhsovez, Cuptore, Mehadica, Pirhova, Lapuschnizel, Globo Krajova, Petnik, Jablaniza,	9	Cornea, Cruşovăţ, Cuptoare, Mehadica, Pârvova, Lăpuşnicel, Globu Craiovei, Petnic, Iablaniţa
	Almahs	Borloven, Battaisch, Prilipez, Bohsoviz, Lapuschnik, Mocserisch, Dalbosecz, Schopot, Gyrbovez, Bannia, Ruderia, Prigor, Puttna	13	Borlovenii (Vechi), Pătaş, Prilipeţ, Bozovici, Lăpuşnicu (Mare), Moceriş, Dalboşeţ, Şopotu (Vechi), Gârbovăţ, Bănia, Rudăria (*Eftimie Murgu), Prigor, Putna
	Caransebeser District	Werendin, Lunkaviza, Teregova, Slatina, Wallischora, Körpa, Slakna	2	Verendin, Luncaviţa, Teregova, Slatina, Vălişoara, Cârpa (*Valea Timişului), and Zlagna

Table no. 1:
Military areas and companies in the Wallachian Border, by 1774[26].

Finally, to explain the economic context, it is necessary to mention the basic data of the population in the newly militarized areas of south-eastern Banat. The 1772 census of 35 villages of the Old Wallachian Border recorded the households and their inhabitants, including their gender as well as their religion.

Among a total of 3,136 households, there were 13,927 inhabitants, all of the Orthodox faith (*Graeci ritus non uniti*), with the exception of 25 Catholics from the village of Ruska, located in the Illova Company.

[25] The villages listed under German transliterations – Krivitza, Tufari, Coramnik, Alt and Neu Schupanek in the *Toplezer Compagnie*, as well as Tisoviza, Plavischoviza, Ogradina in *Untern Clisura* – were later permanently inundated.

[26] The names are presented in two columns: as they appear in the original form in German, and in today's form in Romanian language.

From these data, it can be calculated that an average village in this area had 89.6 households and 398 inhabitants, while an average household had 4.44 members. However, the situation on the ground was much more varied. Larger villages were those with more than 100 households, such as Globură (100), War (108), Wercserova (112), Ruska (121), Armeniş (125), Topleț (131), Borlova (133), Cornereva (176), Merul (188), Domaşnea (252), and Mehadia (277)[27].

The situation in Almaș, Krajina, and Clisura was somewhat different, as the villages in these areas had larger populations. Across all three areas, there were 3,105 households and 15,480 inhabitants, distributed among 29 villages, with an average of 100.16 households per village and 4.98 members per household. The village size was not uniform: in Clisura there were seven villages with a total of 326 households; in Krajina, nine villages with 970 households; and in Almaș, thirteen villages with 1,620 households. With the exception of Clisura, where the average was of only 46.57 households per village, the average village size in Almaș and Krajina was considerably higher, at 124.61 and 107.77 households respectively. Among the villages with the largest numbers of households were, in Almaș – Prigor (131), Prilipeț (134), Bănia (174), Rudăria (187), and Bozovici (216), and, in Krajina – Cornea (181), Mehadica (184), and Iablaniţa (194)[28].

3. Below-subsistence agriculture

This period was characterized by a subsistence economy in both agriculture and other forms of production. Economic records provide detailed information on the types and scale of production carried out by the population in Mountainous Banat after 1770, reflecting the limitations imposed by the natural environment. According to Erler's 1774 description, in which the Orșova and Caransebeș Districts were already noted as mainly militarized, some of the main characteristics included vast forests, limited grain production, and a predominant orientation toward sheep and cattle herding[29].

We can summarize his data to obtain a rough picture of the extent of cultivated and uncultivated land in the area covered by these two

[27] KA, HKR, Kt. 909, 1772 – 39 – 182, folio 12–15.
[28] KA, HKR, Kt. 1017, 1774 – 39 – 69/1, folio 28–29.
[29] Јохан Јакоб Ерлер, *Банат*, стр. 33–36.

districts. In the Orșova District forests occupied as much as 73.53% of the total territory, while arable land, meadows, and pastures together accounted for 24.23% of the district's area[30]. The situation in the Caransebeș District was generally similar, where 56.52% of the territory was covered by forests, while cultivated land accounted for 39.03%[31]. There is no doubt that arable land made up only a small proportion of the total cultivated land, which was predominantly covered by meadows and pastures exclusively destined for animal husbandry. Furthermore, from Erler's description, which is based on district-level data, we cannot learn much about the discrepancies that existed among the villages within the districts of Orșova and Caransebeș.

The censuses of 1772 and 1774 give insight in the size and types of cultivated land in villages, since they included data about areas under crops, meadows, vineyards, and orchards[32]. Although the 1772 census makes comparisons between different types of cultivation among the villages in the Old Border difficult, as they were measured using different units – arable land in *Joch*, meadows in *Maad*, vineyards in *Tagwerk* and orchades in number of trees *Stable*, we can compare each category across areas and villages to illustrate the variations in land usage within the Wallachian Border (Graph no. 1)[33]. Fortunately, a comparison is possible for data regarding Almaș, Krajina, and Clisura because the 1774 census specifies that meadows and vineyards were measured in the same unit of *Joch* as arable land, defined as a „Joch a

[30] Erler notes that the entire territory of the Orșova District, with its 41 villages, was surveyed at 288,516 *Joch*, of which 212,173 *Joch* were covered by forests. Houses and vineyards occupied only 1,576 *Joch* and 1,172 *Joch*, respectively, while arable land, meadows, and pastures accounted for 69,928 *Joch*.

[31] The Caransebeș District comprised 300,969 *Joch*, of which forests covered 170,108 *Joch*, arable land, meadows, and pastures 117,469 *Joch*, vineyards 3,218 *Joch*, and houses and farms 9,325 *Joch*.

[32] KA, HKR, Kt. 909, 1772 – 39 – 182, folio 12–15.

[33] All three units of measurement for fields – *Joch*, *Maad* (also known as *Kosa*), and *Tagwerk* (also *Motika*) – were generally understood as equivalent to „a day of work", depending on the type of land (arable land, meadows, and vineyards). Additionally, the equivalence of these units varied by region. In the Military Frontier, the *Wiener Joch* was calculated as „a 1600 *Kv. Klafter*", or approximately 0.57 hectares. The definitions of *Maad* and *Tagwerk* are more ambiguous, but they were commonly considered equivalent to 7–8 *ara*, or approximately a bit more than half an *Joch*. Милан Влајинац, *Речник наших старих мера – у току векова*, Vol. III, Београд, 1968, стр. 470, 570, 632, 635; Vol. IV, Београд, 1974, стр. 902.

1600 Quadrat *Klafter*"[34]. At first glance, we can conclude that agriculture, particularly grain cultivation, was not the main preoccupation of the villages between Jupanic and Marga. However, some villages possessed significantly large plots of vineyards and plum orchards, which suggest that their population was aware of the more lucrative ways of production. In contrast, compared to the Old Border, the villages in Krajina and Almaș had larger arable and meadow areas but lacked vineyards and orchards.

In the 1772 census, an average village in the Old Border had 168 *Joch* of arable land, 237 *Maad* of meadows, and 5,693 fruit trees (mostly plum trees), although variations between villages were considerable[35]. In the 1774 census, an average village in Krajina had 1,174 *Joch* of arable fields and 641 *Joch* of meadows; and in Almaș, 993 *Joch* of arable fields and 967 *Joch* of meadows[36]. Significantly less cultivated land was recorded in Clisura, which made an average village with only 190 *Joch* of arable fields and 345 *Joch* of meadow, and 43 *Joch* of vineyards (Graph no. 2)[37].

Furthermore, not any area of the Mountainous Banat was equally suitable for grain cropping. We can established the groups of villages with more or less represented arable fields in their *hotars*. The largest areas of arable land in the villages of the Old Border ranged from only 300 to 450 *Joch*, as recorded in the villages of Borlova, Vârciorova, Armeniş, Cornereva, and Mehadia. However, in some villages of Almaș and Krajina the arable fields were several times larger, exceeding 1,000 *Joch* in Cornea, Mehadica, Lăpuşnicel, Globu Craiovei, Bozovici, Dalboşeţ, and Prigor, and even surpassing 2,000 *Joch* in Iablaniţa and

[34] The original term *Joch* corresponds to the so-called *Wiener Joch* and was established at 0.57 ha.

[35] In the 35 villages between Jupalnic and Marga, there were 5,897 *Joch* of crops, 8,312 *Maad* of meadows, 3,726 *Tagwerk* of vineyards, and 199,285 fruit trees (mostly plum trees *Stable*).

[36] There was in Krajina 10,568 *Joch* of arable land and 5,775 *Joch* of meadows, in Almaș 12,920 *Joch* of arable land and 12,580 *Joch* of meadows. In Lower Clisura there was only 1,335 *Joch* of arable land, 2,416 *Joch* of meadows, and 304 *Joch* of vineyards.

[37] For comparison, in 1781 the villages of the neighbouring German-Banat Regiment possessed at least 3,000-4,000 *Joch* of cultivated land (arable fields, meadows, and vineyards), and up to maximum 15,000-16,000 *Joch* in their *hotars*. Јелена Илић Мандић, *Банатска војна крајина*, стр. 257.

Borlovenii (Vechi). Unlike the vineyards and orchards, the arable fields and meadows were in possession of every village and respectively every household disregarding the area. Meadows occupied larger plots than arable fields, which was typical of a society oriented more toward animal husbandry than agriculture[38].

At the level of individual households, the discrepancies were equally pronounced. Calculations of average household holdings in the Wallachian Border reveal clear disparities between different areas, even when variations within the same villages are taken into account. An average household in the Old Border had 1.88 *Joch* of arable land and 2.65 *Maad* of meadows at its disposal, whereas an average household in Almaș and Krajina possessed 9 *Joch* of arable fields and 7 *Joch* of meadows[39]. As we can see, such holdings were incomparable with the situation in the Hungarian counties, where land possessions were defined according the structure and size of the *Sessio* (*Sessional-Grund* of 30 or 36 *Joch*), which included all typs of cultivated land attached to the homestead[40].

Such discrepancies are corroborated in the notions of the Emperor Joseph. Traveling through the area around Mehadia and meeting with local inhabitants, the emperor listened to their grievances about the scarceness of the fields („einige endlich beschweren sich, dass ihre Grunde zu klein waren"). On his way toward Caransebeș and passing through the Ilova Compagny, getting from village to village of Globurău, Rusca, Feneș, Armeniș and Ilova, he could hear compliances, especially from Rusca, about their „poor terrain, which was very small, and that they could not cultivate anything on the heights because it

[38] Comparatively, in 1777 a single village of the German-Banat Regiment had on average 2,998 *Joch* of arable land within its territory, and by 1781 this figure had increased to 3,763 *Joch*.

4. The predominance of maize

An important issue we address concerns the amount and types of grain cultivated in the villages. Erler's district-level description can be useful for emphasizing the main conclusion: that maize production was far greater than that of other crops. According to his account, the Orşova District „harvested a small amount of crops", in which maize dominated with 75%, compared to nearly 20% wheat, 5% oats, and 1% barley. Erler also made an important observation that maize dominated human nutrition, noting that „inhabitants had to buy additional amounts of maize from the Lugoş District, and in years of poor harvests also from other plain areas, because local production was never satisfactory"[42]. A similar structure in the crop production was observed in the Caransebeş District, where maize accounted for 70%, compared to nearly 20% wheat, 10% oats, and 0.5% barley. The observation regarding the prevalence of maize in human nutrition is repeated, as is the note on the inhabitants' need to buy additional amounts of this and other crops from other districts, even mentioning that „they sometimes sell their maize to the Orsovaers, buying fresher and cheaper maize from the plains"[43].

About structure of the crops cultivated in this area, we can find out more from censuses of the tithe which was expressed in forints („ungarische Florin" or „ungarische Gulden"), but provides an indication of the production levels, representing one-tenth of not just the value of the crops, but also of the wine, lambs, and bee products. In one document regarding the production of the crops from 1770 is also to be seen that the maize was the only crop cultivated in every village of the Old Border, while the wheat was grown in only 8 villages, located on the line Mehadia – Pecinişca – Jupalnic. The great discrepancy in amount of the harvest collected of maize and wheat was to be seen at a glance, since the maize harvested 20,876 *Metzen* and wheat 20 times less – 972 *Metzen* (991.6 tons compared to 46.2 tons)[44]. Other types of crops were

[42] Johann Jacob Erler, *Banat*, p. 33. In the Orşova District it was harvested 7,300 *Metzen* of wheat (19%), 440 *Metzen* of barley (1.15%), 1,840 *Metzen* of oats (4.79%), and 28,840 *Metzen* of maize (75%).

[43] Johann Jacob Erler, *Banat*, p. 35. In the Caransebeş District it was harvested 16,950 *Metzen* of wheat (19.93%), 180 *Metzen* of barley (0.21%), 7,900 *Metzen* of oats (9.29%), and 60,000 *Mezten* of maize (70.56%).

[44] The unit of *Metzen* was mostly calculated by military authorities as the *Wiener Metzen*, amounting to approximately 47.5 kg. Милан Влајинац, *Речник наших старих мера*, Vol. III, стр. 580-584.

not even registered, and in 1770 the total harvested crop amounted to 1,037.8 tons, with the value of the crop tithe reaching 893 forints[45].

The tithe census of 1774, representing one-tenth of the harvest in money equivalent, covered 42 villages: 35 in the Old Border (between Marga and Jupalnic) and 7 in the Lower Clisura (Graph 4)[46]. This census as well identifies the types of the crops grown with unequal productivity. Based on the tithe values, maize (*Kukuruz*) was clearly the most important crop, since the maize yield alone was roughly two times greater than the combined value of the other three crops – wheat (*Waitzen* or *Frucht*), barley (*Gersten*) and oats (*Haaber*). In 1774, the total value of the crop tithe reached 845 forints, in which the value of the *Kukuruz* tithe amounted 500 forints. This indicates that the value of crops in 1774 had changed little since 1770, as well as the price, with maize still valued at 24 *Kreuzer* per *Metzen* and wheat at 36 *Kreuzer*[47].

The fact that the maize dominated human nutrition was in contrast to other parts of Banat and of the wider Habsburg periphery. Comparisons with the neighbouring Illyrian Battalion villages, surveyed in the same year, further highlight this difference: the total value of the crop tithes in the 28 military villages located in the area around Bela Crkva along the Nera River, and in Upper Clisura along the Danube amounted to 5,204 forints, exceeding the crop tithe of the Old Border area (845 forints) by a factor of six. Furthermore, in the Illyrian Battalion villages, the wheat tithe (2,494 forints) surpassed the maize tithe (508 forints) fivefold, indicating that the range and scale of the crop production in the Wallachian Border were not only limited, but also different by types[48].

More importantly, not all villages cultivated all types of crops. Spatial distribution of the grain crops in the Old Border shows that

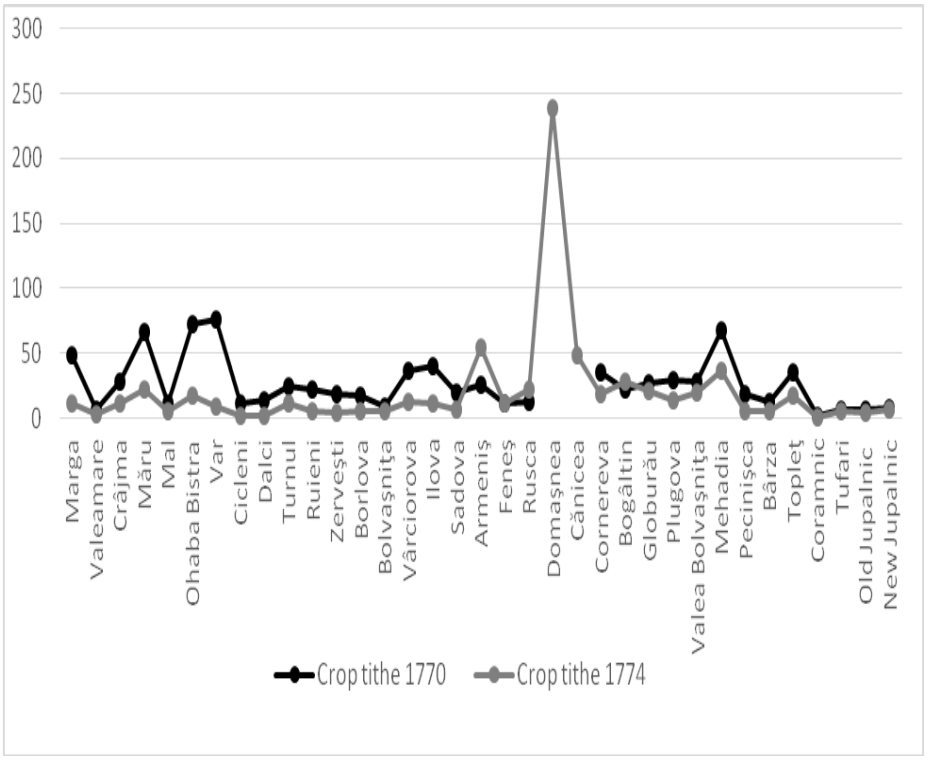
[45] KA, HKR, Kt. 822, 1771 – 39 – 35.

[46] KA, HKR, Kt. 1074, 1775 – 39 – 45, folio 106-107.

[47] The *Rheinische Florin* (*Florenorum Rhenensium*) or *Gulden*, as well the *Hungarische Florin* (*Forint*), were the golden monetary unit of account, and 1 florin was calcutalted at a rate of 60 *Kreuzer*.

[48] KA, HKR, Kt. 1074, 1775 – 39 – 45, folio 106-107. Around 1750, wheat dominated in the villages of the cameral districts in the lowland Banat. The structure of the tithe revenues in the Bečkerek District was as follows: 71% wheat, 22% barley, 4% millet, and 3% maize. In the Pančevo District, the structure of the collected tithes was similar: 64% wheat, 24% barley, and 12% maize. Јелена Илић Мандић, *Банатска војна крајина*, стр. 289.

maize was cultivated in all 42 villages (100%), with the largest amounts in Măru, Ohaba Bistra, Armeniş, Rusca, Domaşnea, Cănicea, Bogâltin, Globurău, Valea Bolvaşniţa, Mehadia, and Plavişeviţa. Wheat appeared in 25 villages (71%), mostly along the Bistra and Cerna rivers, but its production was generally small. Barley was grown in 13 villages (31%), primarily in the area of Bistra, Timiş, and Belareca, while oats appeared in 17 villages (40%), mostly in the northern part of the Old Border. Comparisons with the 1770 harvest confirm these patterns, validating the reliability of the 1774 data[49].



Graph no. 3.
Crop tithe in the Old Border (Jupalnic – Marga), in forints, 1770 and 1774.

[49] KA, HKR, Kt. 822, 1771 – 39 – 35. It can be observed that the crop tithe value in 1770 (although without data for Domaşnea and Cănicea) was higher than in 1774, particularly in the villages of the northern part of the Wallachian Border. However, the correlation of the crop tithe values in 1770 and 1774 is clear, and the data can be considered reliable, as they correspond well with reality (Graph 3).

Regarding vine growing, it is crucial to note the spatial distribution of vineyards in this area. According the census of 1772, wine tithes were collected in 12 villages, all in the southern parts of the Old Border, with the highest amounts in Mehadia, Topleţ, Tufari, New and Old Jupalnic. They were occupying 3,726 *Tagwerk* (298 ha). Just a few years earlier, in 1770, the vineyards occupied a slightly smaller land, amounting to a total of 2,963 *Tagwerk* (237 ha)[57]. The increase recorded over just a few years was more likely a result of the improved surveying than of any real expansion of the cultivated land, but the latter cannot be entirely ruled out. Although vineyards existed only in some villages, it is noteworthy that the wine tithe in 1774 generated a total value three times higher than that of the crop tithes and accounted for half of all tithe revenues in the Old Border (Graph 4). Small vineyards were also registered in seven villages of the Lower Clisura along the Danube (in total 304 *Joch* or 173.2 ha), with the largest located in Sviniţa, but no vineyards were recorded in Almaș and Krajina. The price of an *Eimer* of wine was set at 9 *Kreuzer*, just as it was the case in 1770[58].

As with the vineyards, data on orchards and fruit production were collected only for the area of the Old Border, where a total of 199,285 trees (*Stable*) were recorded. In contrast to the limited extent of vineyard ownership, it is evident that every village between Jupalnic and Marga had a significant number of fruit trees. It is reasonable to assume that plums predominated in the local orchards, since the census specifies that the recorded figures refer to „Zwetschken und andere Obst Bäume". Although the census of 1772 does not specify these other varieties, it clearly indicates that further types of production beyond crops and wine were present on a larger scale in the Wallachian Border. Fruit tree cultivation, in particular, was lucrative and closely tied to alcohol production. This is why the authorities recorded the number of brandy stills in the villages, classifying them as large or small („Grosse" and „Kleine Rakia Kässel", in numbers 72 and 172), indicating whether they were suitable for household or market-oriented production. There is no doubt that the largest absolute number of brandy stills was recorded

[57] KA, HKR, Kt. 909, 1772 – 39 – 182, folio 12–13; Kt. 822, 1771 – 39 – 35.
[58] KA, HKR, Kt. 1074, 1775 – 39 – 45, folio 106–107.

in villages with the greatest number of fruit trees, as was the case in Domașnea (28 large and 3 small stills), Mehadia (6 large and 15 small), and Borlova (2 large and 18 small)[59].

According to the census of 1772, one village particularly distinguished itself by the number of fruit trees in its boundaries. In Domaşnea alone, there were a total of 26,926 fruit trees. Not only was Domaşnea especially oriented toward fruit production, but it can also be established that this practice increased over time, as by 1785 there were exactly 30,145 fruit trees. Moreover, this case allows us to conclude that plums occupied more than 90% of the orchards, leaving the rest for apples, cherries, pears and walnuts[60].

Besides Domaşnea, some other villages were also more involved with fruit growing, since they had more than 10,000 plum and other fruit trees in 1772, such as Borlova, Cănicea, Globurău, Plugova, and Mehadia. These villages were located in the central and higher parts of the Old Border, near the sources of the Belareca, Mehadica, and Timiș rivers.

In contrast to this, the lowest numbers of fruit trees per village was recorded in the southern areas, near Jupalnic, Topleţ, and Coramnic, as well as in the northern villages such as Măru, Mal, Marga, and Cicleni. Meanwhile, no data on fruit trees exist for Almaș, Krajina, and Clisura, suggesting that these areas either had only small-scale home production or none at all[61].

We have no information on the private ownership of orchards in the Wallachian Border. Nevertheless, it was documented in several cases in the Lower Banat, including the area around Bela Crkva on the Nera River. There, orchards and vineyards became subjects of dispute between cameral and military populations after the territorial exchange that occurred during militarization. They

[59] KA, HKR, Kt. 909, 1772 – 39 – 182, folio 12–13.

[60] FHKA, HKA, BA, Fasz. 52, R. Nr. 188, folio 1166-1174. The number of fruit trees in Domaşnea reached 30,145 in 1785, when the orchards were surveyed not only by fruit type, but it was distinguished between the fruit-bearing and the young trees. These two categories together comprised apples (917), pears (256), walnuts (211), cherries (646), and plums (28,115), placing in the orchards 93.26% of plums, 3.04% of apples, 2.14% of, 0.85% of pears, and 0.69% of walnuts.

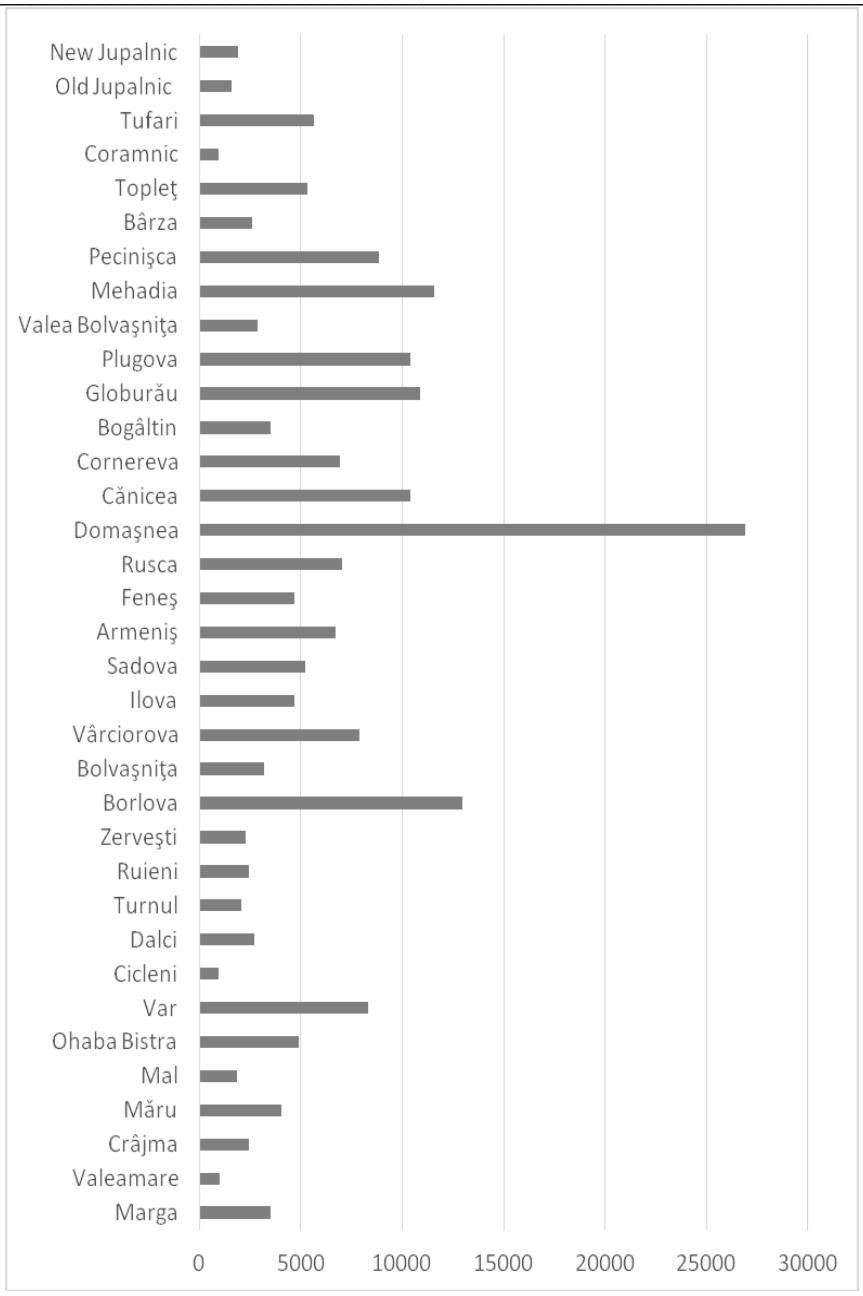
[61] KA, HKR, Kt. 909, 1772 – 39 – 182, folio 12–13.

were privately owned by individuals and particularly by wealthy families, who had the right to sell or inherit them[62]. This allows us to assume that the same principle of private ownership of such land was likely established in the area of the eastern Banat as well. For now, we can only estimate that the average number of fruit trees per household in the Old Border ranged from 21 to 188. Villages with more than 100 trees per household were naturally those with the greatest total numbers of trees, as mentioned above – such as Domaşnea, Globurău, Plugova, Sadova (Veche), Ilova, Cănicea, and Pecinişca.

Average Fruit trees per household		Number of villages
20>	Măru (21), New Jupalnic (23), Zerveşti (30), Valea Bolvaşniţa (31), Old Jupalnic (32), Coramnic (35), Marga (37), Cornereva, Crâjma (39), Mal, Topleţ, Bogâltin (40), Mehadia (41), Cicleni (42), Turnul, Bolvaşniţa (45)	16
50>	Ohaba Bistra (51), Armeniş (53), Bârza (54), Valeamare (55), Rusca (58), Ruieni (64), Feneş (68), Tufari (69), Vârciorova (70), Dalci (72), Var (77), Borlova (96)	12
100>	Domaşnea (106), Globurău (108), Plugova (114), Sadova (118), Ilova (123),	5
150>	Cănicea (170), Pecinişca (188)	2
Total	**199,285 fruit trees, mostly plum trees**	**35**

Table no 4:
Villages and their average fruit trees per household, 1772.

[62] Јелена Илић Мандић, *Банатска војна крајина*, стр. 295.



Graph no 5. Plum trees and other fruit trees in the villages of the Old Border (in absolut numbers), 1772.

6. Livestock farming as a source of income

There is no doubt that animal husbandry was the main preoccupation of the Wallachian families in the eighteenth century. However, this pattern was observed throughout the Temeswarer Banat, regardless of location or ethnicity. This is also evident from certain data, such as those concerning the types and value of the tithes collected in the villages of the Old Border and Lower Clisura in 1774. Although vine and grain cultivation generated higher monetary revenues, lamb and bee tithes were nevertheless universal, as they were recorded in all villages. Animal husbandry thus appears to have been encouraged not only by environmental conditions, but also by the relatively lighter fiscal burden it imposed, making it more easily sustainable for rural households. In this context, lamb tithes totaled 606 forints, most notably in Domaşnea and Cornereva, while bee tithes reached 331 forints, reflecting the role of beekeeping as a complementary subsistence activity (Graph no 4)[63].

For the south-eastern Banat area, we can also rely on the brief description recorded by Erler in 1774. He noted for the Orșova District that „the reason why grain cultivation is so poorly developed, while livestock breeding is of great importance, lies in the fact that the district possesses extensive forests and that agricultural products, except for those used for local consumption, have no market. Therefore, the profit obtained from goats, sheep, and pigs never dries up; on the contrary, it increases over time, since foreign merchants often come here to purchase bacon, wool, tallow, wax, and honey".

Almost in the same words, Erler described the situation in three *processus* of the Caransebeș District. In the Timiș *processus*, „which was largely covered by forests, the inhabitants raised small-bodied horned cattle and, increasingly, sheep and pigs", while even in the Bistra *processus*, „which offered somewhat more favorable conditions for farm production, the main means of securing a livelihood remained sheep herding"[64].

Erler's description can be corroborated by the data from the 1772 census, specifically for the villages of the Old Border, between Jupalnic

[63] KA, HKR, Kt. 1074, 1775 – 39 – 45, folio 106–107.

[64] Johann Jacob Erler, *Banat*, p. 35.

and Marga, since the data about animal husbandry for Almaș, Clisura, and Krajina are missing[65].

In short, the census data can be summarized as follows: sheep accounted for the largest share of the domestic animal inventory (56.10%), followed by pigs (28.46%), and lastly by the horned cattle (11.86%) and horses (3.56%). Although these figures should be interpreted with caution – since the enumeration of animals was never precise and consistently posed difficulties for the surveyors – they can nevertheless be considered reliable indicators of the relative prevalence of particular types of livestock (Graph no 6).

Furthermore, it can be assumed that the surveying under military authority was more accurate than during the cameral period, as the recorded number of pigs increased in comparison with the figures reported by Erler[66]. Over time, pig herding increasingly benefited from favorable conditions, as pigs were exempt from the tithe and largely excluded from the cameral planning focused on large cattle and horses, allowing them to be raised freely in forested areas in unspecified numbers, both for household consumption and for market purposes[67].

Finally, we found it useful to cluster the villages of the Old Border in which horned cattle, sheep, or pig herding was particularly developed. Based on simple livestock headcounts, we aim to identify the areas in which different branches of animal husbandry were more or less represented. The villages with the largest numbers of horned cattle – defined as those with at least 500 head – were: Mehadia (527), Marga (534), Rusca (540), Ohaba Bistra (551), Măru (552), Cornereva (751),

[65] KA, HKR, Kt. 909, 1772 – 39 – 182, folio 12–15.

[66] Johann Jacob Erler, *Banat*, p. 35. The general structure can be confirmed in his data for the Orșova District as well, with the main difference being the considerably smaller number of pigs and, correspondingly, a much higher share of sheep and goats in the total number of domestic animals. According to Erler, the livestock inventory of the Orșova District consisted of 2.6% horses, 7.04% pigs, 12.77% horned cattle and 77.58% sheep and goats. Nevertheless, this change in the calculated structure could be interpreted as an effect of the predominance of sheep herding in the Almaș area, which was a part of the Orșova District in the cameral era.

[67] Sonja Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, p. 120. Jordan noted that pig raising was generally absent in the sources, yet she emphasized that the income from pig exports was nevertheless significant, amounting in 1763 to exactly 109,270 florins, and that the „Banat was famous for its oxen and pigs".

Var (777) and Domaşnea (1,044). The villages with more than 2,000 sheep and goats in their inventories were: Bogâltin (2,057), Vârciorova (2,216), Borlova (2,229), Rusca (2,296), Armeniş (2,893), Cornereva (3,713) and Domaşnea (6,666). Finally, the villages with the greatest number of pigs, more than 200, were: Cornereva (222), Feneş (224), Borlova (232), Vârciorova (236), Merul (238), Ohaba Bistra (248), and Domaşnea (427).

As can be seen, several villages, such as Domaşnea and Cornereva, recorded the highest numbers across all three major types of domestic animals. In Măru, Ohaba Bistra, Rusca, and Borlova, the figures were only slightly lower. Villages oriented toward animal husbandry were concentrated mainly in the two central companies, Ilova and Globurău. This is further supported by the fact that several settlements in this area also approached the highest values; for example, more than 400 head of horned cattle were recorded in Borlova, Vârciorova, and Armeniş, all of them villages of the Ilova Company. These villages can therefore be regarded as particularly suitable for animal husbandry, presumably also for the production and distribution of meat. Their location in the central part of the Old Border, where the highest mountains were found, is likewise noteworthy.

A strong correlation can be established between the extent of meadowland and the number of horned cattle in the villages, reflecting the dependence of hay-fed cattle on meadows. By contrast, no such correlation exists between meadow size and the numbers of sheep and goats (Graph no 7). This confirms that small livestock relied not on hay but on grazing in pastures, primarily in forested and upland areas. This form of animal husbandry, which was largely dependent on natural resources, differed significantly from both the intentions and practices of the cameral authorities in the lowland Banat. Livestock there was mostly raised on meadow pastures leased under annual contracts to private entrepreneurs and regarded as an important source of the cameral income. However, no such policies had yet been implemented in the Mountainous Banat[68].

[68] Given the predominance of sheep herding in both the lowlands and uplands, the cameral administration sought to replace domestic flocks with imported specimens (Macedonian, or even Spanish or Paduan sheep), which would provide higher-quality wool for the textile industry. These concerns followed the political line of cameralism, aiming to limit sheep herding as a form of excessive land

Contemporary observers emphasized the limitations of this pastoral environment as a result of the great numbers of herds in them. Although sheep and goat husbandry, together with pig breeding, was dominant and still expanding, Erler stressed the insufficiency of available pastures in the *processus* of Bistra, noting that „due to the lack of pastures the flocks had to be moved to the high mountain pastures on the very border between Banat, Transylvania, and Wallachia". However, because of the cold weather in these areas „they could not remain there for more than two months during the summer"[69].

Emperor Joseph II corroborated these concerns, expressing anxiety about the future of the forests due to the large numbers of sheep and goats. He observed that they consumed all vegetation and prevented young trees and new growth from developing, an impression he formed in both the Almaș and Mehadia areas. Citing the forester from Bozovici, the emperor noted that „conditions in the side forests were even far worse, that all orders were in vain, that no replies were received to the reports, and that hundreds of thousands of ruined trees were left to rot"[70].

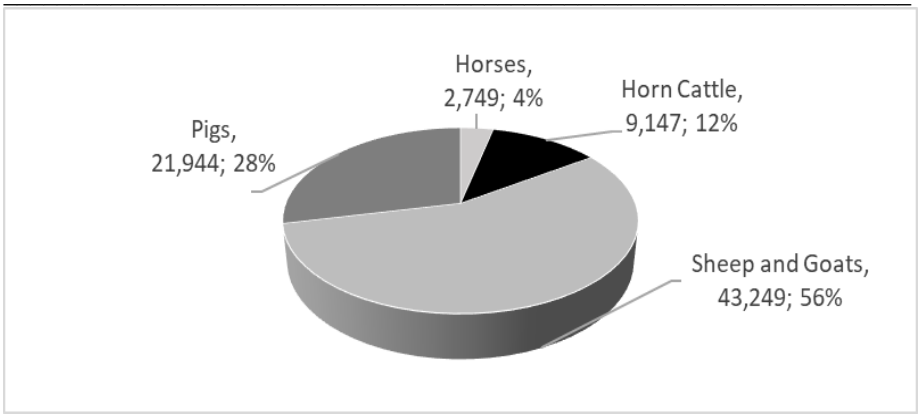
Finally, although Johann Jacob Erler and emperor Joseph mentioned the lack of pastures, they did not address the pressure that may have been caused by the presence of herds held seasonly by foreign owners. Documents might once again offer further insights. Between June and August 1770 alone, in the villages of the Old Border between Jupalnic and Marga, 35 lessees of pastures from the cameral jurisdiction were recorded, bringing a total of 27,209 sheep and paying 453 florins for the grazing rights. This number alone amounted to half of the total number of sheep in the herds owned by local inhabitants. Furthermore, in October of the same year, the woods of this area accommodated as many as 120 cameral subjects with 4,098 large and 1,978 small pigs (6,076 in total), who paid 508 florins for their feeding[71]. As mentioned above, these numbers were difficult to control and were probably even higher in reality.

exploitation, which could instead be directed toward more intensive and market-oriented animal production. Sonja Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, p. 116-117, 119.

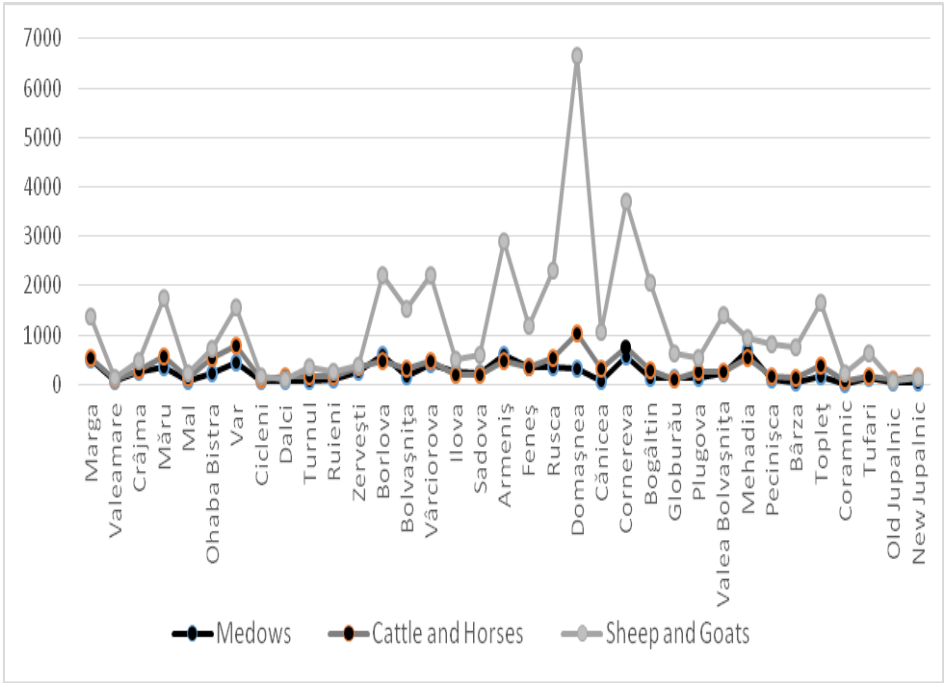
[69] Johann Jakob Erler, *Banat*, p. 35.

[70] Constantin Sassu, *Journal der Reise S-er Majtt. des Kaisers*, p. 436–437.

[71] KA, HKR, Kt. 822, 1771 – 39 – 35.



Graph no 6:
The structure of the livestock inventory in absolute numbers,
in the villages of the Old Border (Jupalnic – Marga), 1772.



Graph no 7.
Corelation between meadow size (in *Joch*) and the numbers of cattle and sheep (in absolute numbers), in the Old Border, 1772.

7. Conclusions

The villages of the Wallachian Border were composed of the villages excluded from the Orșova and Caransebeș cameral districts in the period between 1769–1773, and successively subjected to the military authorities, forming the so called Old Border in the area between Jupalnic and Marga (35 villages in the valleys of the rivers Cerna, Mehadica, Belareca, Timiș, Bistra) and the areas of Almaș, Krajina and Lower Clisura (29 villages in the hilly forests western of Mehadia and partially of the Danube), with two more villages. These villages were primarily composed of small, nuclear households of free peasants, not serfs, although they were subject to tithes and other fiscal obligations both under the cameral and military jurisdiction. The average household size ranged from 4–5 members, which limited the scale of agricultural and animal husbandry production. The land was formally owned by the *Hofkammer* until 1769, but in practice local communities managed the cultivation of fields, meadows, vineyards, and orchards, as well as other productive resources.

The crop production was dominated by maize (with circa 70%), cultivated in every village and forming the main source of subsistence, while the wheat, barley, and oats were grown in fewer locations. The total crop yields in the Wallachian Border were considerably lower than in other parts of the Banat, indicating that crop farming alone was on the below-subsidance level. The estimated average household and *per capita* grain production indicate that, in the 35 villages of the Old Border, grain production amounted to 7.34 *Metzen* per household (349 kg) and 1.65 *Metzen per capita* (78.5 kg). In the neighboring areas of Almaș, Krajina, and Clisura, grain production was nearly twice as high, reaching 13.97 *Metzen* per household (663.61 kg) and 2.84 *Metzen per capita* (135.03 kg). In comparison with the Hungarian counties on the basis of the 1780 census, we conclude that the household-level grain production in the Mountainous Banat was equivalent to the *per capita* grain production in the predominantly lowland regions of Hungary.

Livestock, beekeeping, and fruit trees – mostly plum trees – played a crucial role in the household subsistence and income. Wine production was limited to the southern villages of the Old Border, gravitating toward the rivers Cerna and Danub, with fruit trees concentrated in the higher and central parts of the Old Border (in the

Ilova and Globurău Compagny). The tithe of wine and the fruit production generated significantly higher revenue than the crop tithes in those areas. The small livestock in the upland and forested regions of the Banat relied primarily on pasture grazing rather than on hay, in contrast to the lowland areas, where livestock was mostly raised on leased meadow pastures and constituted an important source of cameral income. The pig herding, in particular, benefited from tax exemptions and from the availability of open forests, allowing pigs to be raised freely and not only for household needs but also for market purposes. The structure of the animal inventory in villages of the Old Border (since the data for Almaş, Krajina, and Lower Clisura are missing)

	Becineska	114	88	247	8840	3	2	330
	Borsa	58	38	175	2580	2	2	300
	Toplez	226	167	407	5351	2	11	951; 30
	Koramnic	22	19	92	950	-		191
	Doffier	222	145	319	5668	2	4	470
	Alt Schupanek	44	30	208	1574	1	1	264
	Neu Schupanek	94	44	348	1925	3	2	232; 30
Summa		1179	1239	3401	38490	19	37	4809; 33
Summa: 35		5897	8312	3726	199285	72	170	22,667; 15

Table no 5.
Census data on the cultivated land in the Old Border (Jupalnic – Marga), 1772[72].

Compagnien	*Ortschaften*	Households	*Pferde*	*Fohlen*	*Ochsen*	*Kühe*	*Kälber*	*Gaiß*	*Schaafe*	*Schweine - Große*	*Sschweine - Kleine*	*Bienen Körbe*
			Facultäten									
Ohaba Bistraer	Marga	92	66	32	126	188	122	576	794	82	107	35
	Wallia Mare	18	8	6	22	41	21	35	97	13	14	19
	Krögcsma	61	46	13	77	96	69	138	327	75	97	36
	Merul	188	127	25	127	273	151	496	1241	102	136	54
	Maal	46	18	10	33	51	29	92	134	26	20	28
	Ohaba-bistra	95	61	31	77	206	176	221	504	121	127	42
	Waar	108	185	24	48	291	229	238	1321	88	87	45
	Cziklen	22	11	2	27	34	14	11	154	14	8	8
	Dalcs	37	11	5	42	62	32	49	58	12	58	47
	Turnul	51	36	6	38	49	35	83	263	47	36	15
	Ruen	38	40	6	27	58	32	22	223	39	20	7
	Servestier	68	66	17	75	111	85	109	273	44	84	35
Summa		**675**	**77**	**719**	**1460**	**1005**	**2070**	**5389**	**663**	**794**	**371**	**675**
Illovaer	Borova	133	89	32	95	145	120	372	1857	176	56	34
	Bolvasniza	70	47	20	84	87	84	78	1444	61	130	50
	Wercse-rova	112	70	22	112	154	103	236	1980	194	42	35

[72] KA, HKR, Kt. 909, 1772 – 39 – 182, folio 12–13. The census categories are transliterated from the German original, with the terms and names written in the source.

	Illova	38	19	2	33	41	30	58	450	39	25	31
	Sadova	44	32	13	36	59	54	89	517	28	20	7
	Armenisch	125	95	22	138	135	88	321	2572	119	66	29
	Fenisch	68	33	10	85	139	98	416	780	133	91	48
	Ruska	121	96	30	161	134	119	631	1665	99	90	60
Summa		**481**	**151**	**744**	**894**	**696**	**2201**	**11265**	**849**	**520**	**294**	**481**
Globoreuer	Domaschna	252	1	71	588	299	85	522	6144	427		77
	Canischa	61	40	15	92	96	76	81	983	107	147	27
	Cprnia-reva	176	184	23	137	216	191	1105	2608	120	102	95
	Pogoltin	86	74	6	24	98	90	629	1428	55	51	124
	Globoreu	100	30	6	7	26	28	254	388	11	42	
	Plugova	91	53	7	54	83	70	428	108	72	58	106
	Walia Polvasniza	93	62	15	60	62	35	622	783	37	29	29
Summa		**664**	**143**	**962**	**880**	**575**	**3641**	**13442**	**829**	**429**	**458**	**664**
Mehadier	Mehadia	277	99	4	202	145	77	575	353	95	104	177
	Becsi-neska	47	45	8	25	42	40	521	288	19	43	54
	Börsa	47	43	6	24	47	28	523	233	19	11	11
	Toplez	131	99	7	149	78	34	1047	616	32	8	68
	Coramnik	27	23	4	14	9	8	180	59	1	6	31
	Doffier	81	66	9	40	24	16	273	366	29	4	33
	Alt-Schupanek	49	12	1	33	32	19	54	15	20	5	34
	Neu-Schupanek	83	30	2	74	32	20	138		17	13	41
Summa		**417**	**41**	**561**	**409**	**242**	**3311**	**1930**	**232**	**194**	**449**	**417**
Summa: 35		**3136**	**2237**	**512**	**2986**	**3643**	**2518**	**11223**	**32026**	**2573**	**19371**	**1572**

Table no 6.

Census data on the livestock inventory in the Old Border (Jupalnic – Marga), 1772[73].

District Orsovaer	*Ortschaften*	*Hausern*[74]	*Vermög Geometrischem Cameral Ausmaß brauchbare*			
			Acker	*Wiesen*	*Weingarten*	*Summa*
			Joch a 1600 Kv. Klafter			
Clihsura	Svinicza	92	361	493	137	991
	Tuhsovicza	25	117	371	12	500
	Plavischovicza	37	214	273	33	522
	Dubova	33	197	116	32	345

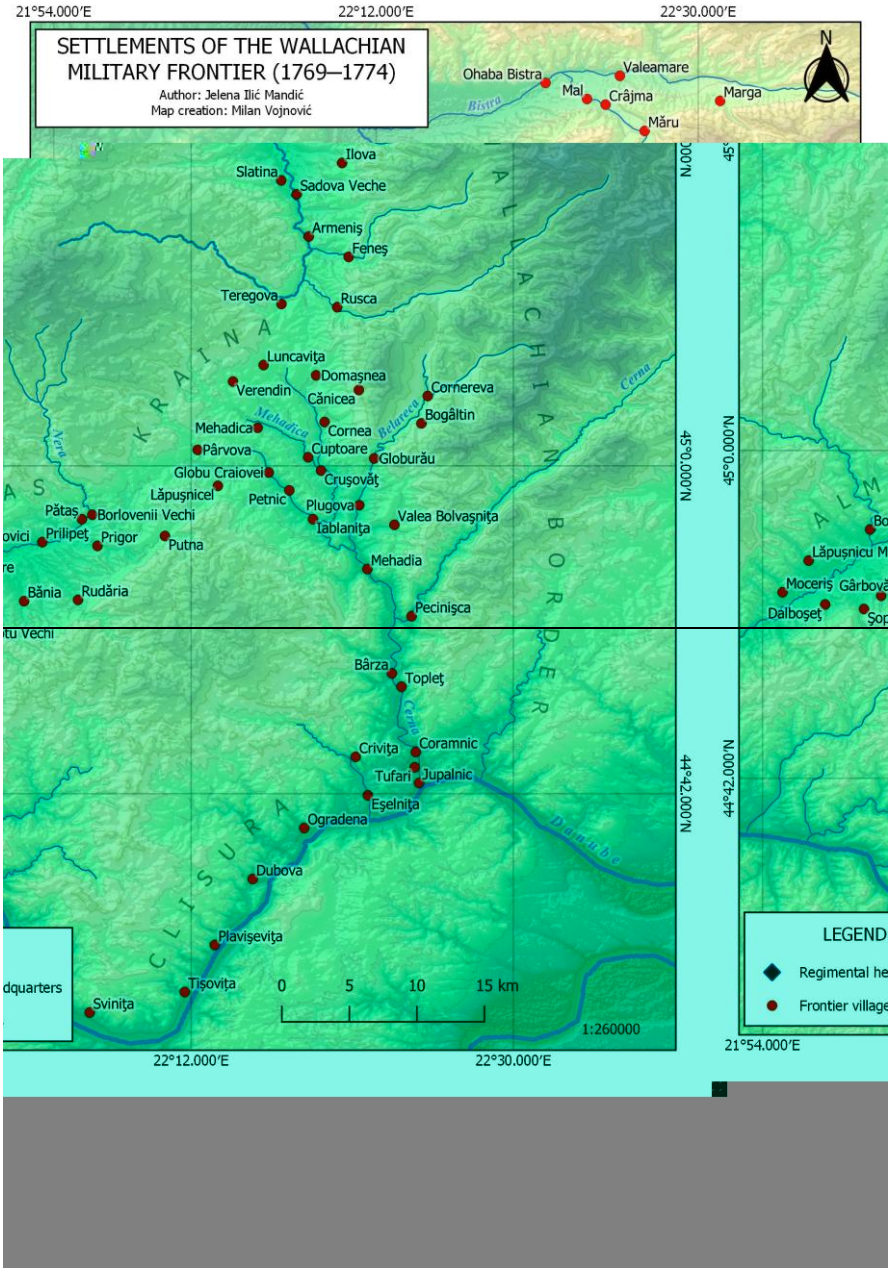
[73] KA, HKR, Kt. 909, 1772 – 39 – 182, folio 12–15.

[74] In the original, the category reads: „Anzahl deren Haussern, seynd nur würklich pohsessionirten" – and it refers only to the houses that were inhabited, while a certain number of „lehre und aussgestorbenen" and „unbewohnten Hütter und Schupfen" was excluded from this cathegory.

	Ogradina	64	347	248	64	659
	Jeselnicza	46	87	638	6	731
	Krivicza	29	9	276	19	305
Summa: 7		326	1335	2416	304	4056
Kraina	Cornia	181	1675	106	-	1781
	Kruhsovez	48	518	-	-	518
	Cupotore	83	931	-	-	931
	Mehadica	184	1675	2718	-	4393
	Pürhova	61	362	1593	-	1956
	Lapuschnizel	58	1037	412	-	1450
	Globo Krajova	76	1293	281	-	1575
	Petnik	85	787	450	-	1237
	Jablaniza	194	2287	212	-	2500
Summa: 9		970	10568	5775	-	16343
Almahs	Borloven	120	2206	1445	-	3652
	Battaisch	118	888	1240	-	2128
	Prilipez	134	866	453	-	1320
	Bohsoviz	216	1840	2135	-	3975
	Lapuschnik	118	566	431	-	997
	Moserisch	83	323	782	-	1105
	Dalbosecz	124	1462	337	-	1799
	Schopot	111	1002	970	-	1972
	Gyrbovez	65	556	820	-	1377
	Bannia	174	996	1064	-	2060
	Ruderia	187	898	986	-	1884
	Priogor	131	1142	1044	-	2187
	Puttna	39	168	868	-	1037
Summa: 13		1620	12920	12580	-	25501
Caransebeser District	Werendin	85	392	508	-	900
	Lunkaviza	104	1009	895	-	1904
Summa: 2		189	1401	1403	-	2804
Summa Summarum: 31		3105	26225	22175	304	48704

Table no 7.
Census data on the cultivated land in Almaş, Krajina, and Lower Clisura, 1774[75].

[75] KA, HKR, Kt. 1017, 1774 – 39 – 62, folio 12–13, 14–15. The census categories are transliterated from the German original, with the terms written in the source.


SETTLEMENTS OF THE WALLACHIAN MILITARY FRONTIER (1769–1774)
Author: Jelena Ilić Mandić
Map creation: Milan Vojnović
21°54.000′E
22°12.000′E
22°30.000′E
N
Ohaba Bistra
Valeamare
Mal
Crâjma
Marga
Măru
Bistra
Ilova
Slatina
Sadova Veche
Armeniș
Feneș
Teregova
Rusca
Luncavița
Domașnea
Verendin
Cănicea
Cornereva
Bogâltin
Mehadica
Cornea
Belareca
Cuptoare
Globurău
Pârvova
Globu Craiovei
Crușovăț
Lăpușnicel
Petnic
Plugova
Pătaș
Borlovenii Vechi
Iablanița
Valea Bolvașnița
Prilipeț
Prigor
Putna
Mehadia
Bănia
Rudăria
Pecinișca
Bârza
Topleț
Criviț
Coramnic
Tufari
Jupalnic
Eșelnița
Ogradena
Dubova
Plavișevița
Tișovița
Svinița
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10
15 km
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44°42.000′N
Cerna
Danube
LEGEND
Regimental he
Frontier village