

**Baron Franz von der Trenck and his Pandours: Merciless
Marauders or Courageous Combatants?**

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Abstract

This thesis deals with the portrayals of violent deeds performed by Baron Franz von der Trenck, a German-speaking nobleman who owned estates in the Croatian province Slavonia, and his Pandours, a group of irregular soldiers which he recruited in Slavonia in order to join the fight for the Habsburg cause in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). As these troops were mostly remembered for their extensive use of violent force during the mentioned war, the aim of this thesis is to explore their conduct and place it within the discourse of violence and honor as it was perceived in the eighteenth century. Relying mostly on the *Memoirs* of the mentioned Baron Trenck and the contemporary British newspapers which intensively reported of their exploits, the goal is to examine how these violent deeds were represented, as well as to offer an interpretation of the purposes of these acts.

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Introduction

"God save us from excessiveness and fight, from plague and storm, from Croats and Pandours!" Using these words the German writer Karl May depicted the image of Croatian soldiers in his tale "Pandur und Grenadier" published in 1883. This quote was actually taken from an engraving on a stone in front of a church in Germany: "God save us from plague, hunger, wars and Croatian warriors". The engraving supposedly dates from the time of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) as evidence of dreadful deeds committed by Croatian mercenaries during that conflict.¹ Both quotes bear witness to the negative image of Croatian soldiers that persisted in German lands up until the end of the nineteenth century.

In the eighteenth century this negative image was reinforced by the deeds of Baron Franz von der Trenck (1711-1749). Baron Trenck was a German-speaking nobleman from the Habsburg Monarchy who possessed estates in the Croatian province of Slavonia. Although he was of Prussian descent, he was a prominent Habsburg nobleman who served the Monarchy following in his father's footsteps.² Baron Trenck most notably fought for the Habsburgs in the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748). He recruited men from his estates in Slavonia and formed an irregular military unit called the "Pandours" ("guards" or "policemen")³. The unit was composed of his personal guards and various other warrior groups inhabiting the Slavonian lands, including veteran frontiersmen and bandits.

¹ Alexander Buczynski, "Barun Trenk – legenda i zbilja (Baron Trenck – Legend and Reality)," in *Slavonija, Baranja i Srijem: vrela europske civilizacije (Slavonija, Baranja and Srijem: The Sources of the European Civilization)*, Vol. 1, ed. Božo Biškupić (Zagreb: Ministarstvo kulture Republike Hrvatske, Galerija Klovićevi dvori, 2009), 301.

² Following the Battle of Vienna in 1683, Johann von der Trenck offered his military services to the Habsburgs, along with converting from Protestantism to Catholicism. Slavko Pavičić, *Hrvatska ratna i vojna povijest i Prvi svjetski rat (Croatian War and Military History and the First World War)* (Split: Knjigotisak, 2009), 125-126.

³ Ferdo Šišić reveals that the word derives from the Latin word *banderium*, which signified the armed escort of a nobleman. Ferdo Šišić, *Franjo Barun Trenk i njegovi panduri (Francis Baron Trenck and his Pandours)* (Vinkovci: Slavonska naklada Privlačica, 1994), 73.

Baron Trenck and his Pandours achieved many victories for the Habsburgs on the battlefield, but at the same time, they were notorious for their violent behavior towards the enemy, but also towards the Habsburg subjects. Ultimately, in 1746 Baron Trenck was charged with acts of violent mistreatment of his subordinates and common folk, as well as corruption and disloyalty against the Crown.⁴ Although it was initially ruled that he would be executed, Trenck was sentenced instead to life imprisonment in the Bohemian castle of Spielberg.

Through the course of time, however, the image of Baron Trenck and his Pandours constantly evolved. They have been used as characters in numerable literary works, with varying personifications. For instance, in German speaking lands, especially in Bavaria, where he and his men allegedly performed many heinous acts, Trenck retained a fairly negative image. In the Bavarian play *Trenck der Pandur vor Waldmünchen* (*Trenck the Pandour in front of Waldmünchen*), he is depicted as a feudal despot who after abducting a Bavarian peasant woman and falling in love with her realizes his wrong ways and tries to remedy them. Unfortunately, the time for redemption is too late — as the story line goes, so Trenck has to face imprisonment because of his crimes.⁵ In Croatian literature, Trenck attained a similar role in the nineteenth century, for instance, in the play *Barun Franjo Trenk: pučki igrokaz u četiri čina* (*Baron Francis Trenck: a Folk Play in Four Acts*) by Josip Eugen Tomić.⁶ However, in the novel by Marko Tominac *Lika, Beč, Trenk ili bilo jednom 1746* (*Lika, Vienna, Trenck, or Once Upon a Time in 1746*) published in 2012,

⁴ Branko Zakošek, "Barun Franjo Trenk i Slavonija u njegovo vrijeme (Baron Francis Trenck and Slavonia in his Time)," in *Godišnjak 2005.-2006. Ogranak Matice hrvatske Slavonski Brod, god. VI.-VII.* (*The Yearbook 2005-2006 of the Subsidiary of the Matica hrvatska in Slavonski Brod Year VI-VII*), ed. Jasna Ažman (Slavonski Brod: Ogranak Matice hrvatske Slavonski Brod, 2007), 354.

⁵ Ivan Pederin, "Životna snaga mita o Franji Trenku (The Life Force of the Myth about Francis Trenck)," in *Godišnjak njemačke narodnosne zajednice: VDG Jahrbuch 2001* (*The Yearbook of the German People's Community: VDG Jahrbuch 2001*), ed. Renata Tišler and Nikola Mak (Osijek: Njemačka narodnosna zajednica, 2001), 45-47.

⁶ Josip Eugen Tomić, *Barun Franjo Trenk: pučki igrokaz u četiri čina* (*Baron Francis Trenck: A Folk Play in Four Acts*) (Zagreb: tisak i naklada knjižare L. Hartmana [St. Kugli] s. a.).

Baron Trenck is portrayed somewhat as a heroic figure and a martyr.⁷ These narratives reflect how his historical figure has been shaped over time, according to various political and cultural circumstances, distancing itself from the essential portrayal of a belligerent nobleman from the eighteenth century.

The main problem regarding Baron Trenck and the Pandours as historical figures is the fact that previous scholarly works, which are not that numerous, were mainly focused on offering a synthesis of their role in the War of the Austrian Succession. These works include Luka Ilić Oriovčanin's *Baron Franjo Trenk i slavonski panduri (Baron Francis Trenck and the Slavonian Pandours)*⁸ (1845), Ferdo Šišić's *Franjo barun Trenk i njegovi panduri (Francis Baron Trenck and his Pandours)*⁹ (1900) and Stjepan Schmidt's *Franjo barun Trenk i njegovi panduri (Francis Baron Trenck and his Pandours)*¹⁰ (1906). The mentioned authors were primarily focused on the life of Baron Trenck based on his autobiographical works, and they attached the Pandours to him without offering a critical analysis of the relationship between a German nobleman and various the Slavic individuals he recruited from the area of the Croatian Military Border. Besides, the deeds of the Pandours and Baron Trenck have been treated as heroic from the start, performed in the name of the state, although acknowledging their violent nature. These works actually follow the pattern laid down by works of German authors in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century who revised Trenck's *Memoirs* in order to give a portrayal of a tragic romanticized figure that would be appealing to a larger readership.

⁷ Marko Tominac, *Lika, Beč, Trenk ili bilo jednom 1746. (Lika, Vienna, Trenck or Once Upon a Time in 1746)* (Vinkovci, Andrijaševci: Tiskara PAUK d.o.o. Cerna, 2012)

⁸ Luka Ilić Oriovčanin, *Baron Franjo Trenk i slavonski panduri (Baron Francis Trenck and the Slavonian Pandours)* (Zagreb, 1845).

⁹ Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*.

¹⁰ Stjepan Schmidt, *Franjo barun Trenk i njegovi panduri (Francis Baron Trenck and his Pandours)* (Zagreb: Knjižara L. Hartmana (St. Kugli), 1900).

A slightly different portrayal is offered by Nikolaus von Preradovich in his book *Das seltsam wilde Leben des Pandurenobers Franz von der Trenck* (*The Strangely Savage Life of the Pandour Colonel Franz von der Trenck*)¹¹ (1970), who highlights the violent and disobedient nature of Baron Trenck. The 2009 article by Alexander Buczynski entitled *Barun Trenk – legenda i zbilja* (*Baron Trenck – Legend and Reality*)¹² initiated a different approach to viewing the historical figure of Baron Trenck, in so far as it distinguished "fictitious" facts regarding his life from reality. A more thorough analysis of the historical figure of Baron Trenck will be explored in more detail in Buczynski's upcoming book.

The aim of this thesis is to follow up the works of previous scholars and provide a new interpretation of these intriguing figures from the first half of eighteenth century and their deeds. One of the main questions regarding the historical figure of Baron Trenck is: how could a man who had so rapidly distinguished himself on the battlefield in the service of his monarch fall even more rapidly from grace? Furthermore, how is it possible that his Pandours did not share the fate of their commander? In order to provide a possible answer to these questions it is necessary to place Baron Trenck and his Pandours into the wider context concerning notions of violence and honor in the eighteenth century. In that sense, my main argument will be that their acts were indeed violent, at least from the present-day view, but that they did not differ much from the acts of other military groups and individuals of that period.

When dealing with these issues, the political context should also be taken into account. This was the time when a strong, centralized and absolutistic Habsburg state was starting to emerge, following the ascension of Maria Theresa (1740-1780) to the Habsburg throne.¹³

¹¹ Niklaus von Preradovich, *Das seltsam wilde Leben des Pandurenobers Franz von der Trenck* (*The Strangely Savage Life of the Pandour Colonel Franz von der Trenck*) (Graz; Stuttgart: L. Stocker, 1980).

¹² Buczynski, "Barun Trenk – legenda i zbilja."

¹³ Charles W. Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 159-172.

However, at the time when Baron Trenck and the Pandours first appeared, the state was still weak because of the danger that lurked in hostile neighboring states, eager to claim a piece of the inheritance that Emperor Charles VI (1711-1740) left his daughter Maria Theresa.¹⁴ In such a situation negotiation with various individuals and groups was a necessity, because the state needed support from within against the enemy from without. Since the Habsburgs barely managed to keep most of their domains after peace was concluded, with the considerable loss of the economically important Silesia, they were forced to issue reforms which would limit the "power" of certain groups and individuals, capable of upsetting order once peace had been established. The time of negotiation with various individuals and groups within the empire, that may have characterized the previous period of the development of the Habsburg Monarchy, was over and a new era of absolutism approached.

The main primary source on which this research is based is Trenck's *Memoirs* published in 1747 in Leipzig during his imprisonment. I will not be using the original German version, but the English translation published in London the same year. It is important to note that Trenck's *Memoirs* were a very popular literary work throughout the eighteenth century and even in the nineteenth century across Europe. A number of historical accounts produced in German-speaking lands at that time were actually extended and usually embellished versions of Trenck's initial narrative. The same is true for the works of Croatian historians from the nineteenth and early twentieth century which were mentioned in this section. Thus, I will carefully compare Trenck's *Memoirs* from 1747 with works of Croatian historians in order to perceive what sort of information regarding Trenck and the Pandours may be considered as a possible supplementation and in that sense may reflect something added in later versions of Trenck's *Memoirs*.

¹⁴ For more information regarding the gathering of the political powers with the intent of dividing the lands of the Habsburg Monarchy after the death of Emperor Charles VI, see: Reed Browning, *The War of the Austrian Succession* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 1994), 37-51.

Since the *Memoirs* are actually a narrative, the possible purpose of their creation and the intended audience for which this work was designed will be taken into account. In a sense, I will try to apply Natalie Zemon Davis' approach of observing the possible fictional qualities present in the crafting of a narrative, a method that she uses in her analysis of royal letters of pardon and remission in sixteenth century France.¹⁵ To somewhat lesser extent, I will also compare this account with the autobiography of Osma-Aga of Temisvar, an Ottoman officer captured by the Habsburgs at the end of the seventeenth century. Osman-Aga's account provides a valuable source for comparison in the context of distinguishing acts of violence as a common characteristic attributed to both officers and common soldiers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

During the War of the Austrian Succession, British newspapers were intensively following the endeavors of Baron Trenck and his Pandours. They will provide the second main body of primary sources. I will analyze how the deeds of Trenck and the Pandours have been interpreted in those sources and compare their accounts with the information from Trenck's *Memoirs*. Among the possible reasons why the British newspapers showed such an interest two stand out. Firstly, Great Britain was the traditional ally of the Habsburgs, even though at first the British did not fully engage in the war on the Habsburg side, but assumed a more neutral stance.¹⁶ The second possible reason could be found in the fact that violence, especially irregular warfare, was something that the readership of the age found very appealing.¹⁷ Julius Ruff points out that the editors of newspapers often sensationalized

¹⁵ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987).

¹⁶ The British monarch George II (1727-1760), who was also the elector of Hannover, in 1741 promised to vote for Charles Albert of Bavaria as Emperor. It was in 1743 that the British forces joined the fight for the Habsburg cause, but only with the desire to weaken France's position. See: Michael Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence: War, State and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy 1683-1797* (London: Pearson Education, 2003), 249-252.

¹⁷ Peter E. Russell remarks that British newspapers took a particular interest in Pandours, French Grassins and Highland clansmen. News about their exploits was publicized as far away as North America and the West Indies. Their popularity in these parts of the globe can be attested by the fact that by 1745 some Jamaican

violence to attract buyers. Bearing in mind that, as Ruff explains, negative print representations of combatants were ubiquitous in wartime, and accounts of murder, rape, burning and looting flourished in the popular press,¹⁸ I will approach the analysis of the representation of Pandours in these accounts.

One more type of primary sources will be used in order to distinguish the image of the inhabitants of the borderland region from which Trenck and the Pandours hailed. Namely, I will analyze the eighteenth century traveler's accounts of the Venetian traveler Alberto Fortis, as well as two Austrian ones, Balthazar Hacquet and Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube. Their accounts will serve as a point of reference to the possible roots of the supposed violent nature of the Pandours and other similar groups inhabiting the Habsburg and Venetian Military Borders.

The overall research question is to discern the ambiguity of violence in the Early Modern Period. The model of Baron Trenck and his Pandours will in this sense serve as a case study of this phenomenon. I will explore violence through its usage among the three layers of the state structure. The first layer is Baron Trenck, who as a nobleman had to adhere to violent means in order to protect and reinforce his standing within his social class, and at the same time as a military entrepreneur, who resorted to violence as a means of attaining financial reward and status within the military hierarchy. The second layer are the Pandours as a separate group of military entrepreneurs whose interests Trenck, as their commander and agent of the state, had to take into account, as well as the state which also had special interpretations and uses of their violent conduct. The reasons for the Pandours' violent behavior may have differed from that of Trenck and of the state, but occasionally their

entrepreneurs named their privateer "Pandour". See: Peter E. Russell, "Redcoats in the Wilderness," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 35, No. 4 (1978): 640-641.

¹⁸ Julius Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 27, 39.

interests collided. At the third level is the state, which has its own views concerning violence and its own uses for it.

Through the analysis of the purposes and utility of violence for various groups and individuals within an empire, I wish to demonstrate how everyday life in empire was characterized by a constant process of negotiation between authorities, state agents and subjects, placing the soldiers, particularly irregular ones, within the category of subjects. This idea is conditioned by the assumption that sovereigns or state authorities did not have the potency to be the only factor in the decision-making game regarding the employment of violence.

The first chapter consists of a literature review regarding scholarly works that offer possible theoretical considerations which might help contextualize Baron Trenck and his Pandours and place them within a wider discourse about violence and honor, as it was possibly understood in the age of Enlightenment.

The second chapter will deal with a critical analysis of the Habsburg nobleman and the leader of the Pandour irregular unit, Baron Franz von der Trenck. In this chapter, mostly focusing on his *Memoirs*, I will offer an insight into the everyday life of this belligerent nobleman of the eighteenth century. Besides providing a critical analysis of the authorship and purpose of this narrative, a description of Trenck's life and military career will be given, along with taking into consideration the various factors that conditioned his "violent" behavior.

The examination of the Pandours as a separate group and their relations with Trenck is the main focus of the third chapter. In Croatian historiography, Trenck and the Pandours are viewed as a homogenous unit. However, I would dispute this kind of reasoning and argue that they should be viewed separately. Trenck provided them with the necessary equipment

for warfare. Some of them he even rounded up as bandits and "forced" them to join his military unit. These facts pose the question whether Trenck was in full control of the Pandours and whether they should be distanced from him as a separate type of military entrepreneurs. The second chapter will also provide the possible roots of their violent nature in the context of borderland societies. In this sense, Trenck's violent behavior poses an intriguing part of a larger puzzle. Namely, even though he was a nobleman, some of his actions reflect those of a mercenary or a pirate. The question is was this trait connected to his personality or to the borderland environment in which he resided.

The third chapter will deal in depth with the deeds of Baron Trenck and the Pandours during the War of the Austrian Succession. This chapter will provide a comparison between the violent acts of other regular troops to point out the fact that the conduct of other military units did not differ much from those of Trenck and his Pandours, but was labeled as violent and dishonorable depending on various factors. In this context, the state's point of view toward their deeds and the possible utility of those deeds in the state building process will also be presented. Finally, the chapter will offer a possible explanation why Trenck lost favor in the eyes of the state, whereas the Pandours did not.

Chapter 1. Theoretical Considerations

In order to offer a possible interpretation of the conduct of Baron Trenck and his Pandours in the context of eighteenth century, some theoretical considerations need to be taken into account. Principally, clarifying the concepts of violence and honor, in the context of the age of Enlightenment, might explain why these historical figures were represented in an extraordinary manner.

The discourse of violence is the main feature of the book *States of Violence*, edited by Julie Skurski and Fernando Coronil. Although the editors acknowledge the difficulty of clearly defining "violence", they do offer a possible explanation of the concept of violence as a "multiplicity of social connections that link physical and psychological force, individual and structural harm, pain and pleasure, degradation and liberation, the violent and non-violent."¹⁹ For the present case study, I found particularly useful the "rhetoric of violence", a term that Skurski and Fernando Coronil borrowed from Teresa de Laurentis do define a complex exchange between violence and its representations in which certain narratives become hegemonic while others are marginalized.²⁰ Thus, the peculiarity of the violence displayed by Trenck and the Pandours could possibly be understood precisely because the available contemporary sources presented it in such a peculiar manner.

The considerations of Paul Sant Cassia can also be of use in distinguishing the concept of violence. He argues that violence was not so much and ends to itself, but both a series of signs, and a power of signification. In order to demonstrate this power of signification, Sant Cassia uses the example of banditry. He defines banditry as a specific type of rationality and behavior, which is formed by the impact and interaction of the state on local communities. As such it operates between the state-imposed system of law and the local system of

¹⁹ Julie Skurski and Fernando Coronil, "Introduction: States of Violence and Violence of States," in *States of Violence*, ed. Fernando Coronil and Julie Skurski (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 5.

²⁰ Skurski and Coronil, "Introduction: States of Violence," 6-7.

vengeance and grassroots conceptions of justice. The crucial point is that the state is complicit in the construction and interpretation of banditry, using it as a means to produce discourses on justice and legitimacy. However, it can also be used by those resisting the state. Therefore, Sant Cassia demonstrates how banditry has a symbolizing or inherently ambiguous signifying role for the construction of power within the state.²¹

The ambiguity of banditry arises from the fact that bandits may either be co-opted by local elites as means to resist the state, or reluctantly by the state itself. According to this use, the portrayal of bandits can vary from dangerous outsiders or as admirable insiders. They may move from inside to outside and vice-versa. This may affect how bandits are perceived and legitimated, and even how they legitimate themselves.²² A similar ambiguity regarding the representation of violence can be witnessed in the case of Baron Trenck and the Pandours, who themselves in a way resisted the laws of the state, but were at the same time employed by the state to practice the same deeds that were then "sanctioned".

Legitimatization of violence is also something that Lauren Benton explores in her book *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900*. Benton explains that "imperial sovereignty was formed as multiple agents positioned themselves to act as subjects of and proxies for imperial powers and as polities and populations negotiated scope for their own autonomy, sometimes urging radical reconfigurations of rule."²³ Sovereignty, according to Benton implies the extension of law beyond the center as a set of relationships that, through spatial and temporal prisms, may endow distant actors, such as military commanders, with greater specific power. She also remarks that the state created possibilities for violence during times of trouble such as war, suspending laws and including

²¹ Paul Sant Cassia, "'Better occasional Murders than Frequent Adulteries': Discourses on banditry, Violence and Sacrifice in the Mediterranean,' in *States of Violence*, ed. Fernando Coronil and Julie Skurski (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 219-221, 236-237, 260, 262.

²² Sant Cassia, "'Better Occasional Murders than Frequent Adulteries'", 229.

²³ Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400 – 1900* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 279-280.

violence into the juridical order. Moreover, this tendency to provide means for incorporating various subjects within the imperial sphere was particularly characteristic for hill territories, which presented a potential challenge to imperial sovereignty.²⁴ In this respect, Baron Trenck and his Pandours may be viewed as actors who demanded the state to provide them with the means for employment, which implied the opportunity to resort to violent measures.

The representation of violence is also connected to the difference between public and private violence. Patricia Owens denies the existence of these two types of violence, acknowledging that "there is only violence that is made public or private through political struggle and definition."²⁵ Therefore, the violence of Baron Trenck and his troops had to perceive as private to receive condemnation. Owens defines war as an act of force or organized violence with the aim of assuring security or conquest. As such, it is not a public activity, but a political one, although the meaning of politics regards the freedom to act in concert with plural equals to build a common public world between them. This is where the distinction between public and private forms of violence is made, through historically varying ways of organizing and justifying force.²⁶

The ideas expressed in the book *Violence in the Early Modern Europe* by Julius Ruff may also serve for the contextualization of Baron Trenck and his Pandours. As opposed to modern tendency to attribute violence to those economically, ethnically, or politically marginalized, Ruff considers early modern Europeans more prone to violence in the general sense.²⁷ Another important feature that is highlighted by Ruff is the fact that because of the undeveloped state system of military financing and supplying, the early modern armies

²⁴ Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty*, 225, 283-284, 291-292.

²⁵ Patricia Owens, "Distinctions, Distinctions: 'Public' and 'Private' Force?" in *Mercenaries, Pirates, Bandits and Empires: Private Violence in Historical Context*, ed. Alejandro Colás and Bryan Mabee (London: Hurst & Company, 2010), 32.

²⁶ Owens, "Distinctions, Distinctions," 31-32.

²⁷ Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, 2.

inflicted much violence even on friendly and passive civilians. Consequently, most early modern Europeans feared and hated soldiers.²⁸ In order to limit soldiers' need to pillage, the state introduced the contribution system, which signified that armies were allowed to extract regular payments in money or kind from a region under threat of force. However, such arrangements, even though they were designed to safeguard a particular region from violence by soldiers, could not entirely end the violence toward civilians.²⁹ Trenck's Pandours, for instance, were often assigned the task of collecting contributions in friendly and enemy territories. It is safe to assume that occasionally they were inclined to resort to violent measures in order to extract the contributions from local inhabitants.

Another important point that Ruff emphasizes regards the idea that toward the end of the Early Modern Period the state policy was advancing toward the greater notion of the individual limitation of violence.³⁰ This process can be observed in the case of the Habsburg Monarchy from the beginning of the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-1780). However, the case of Baron Trenck and his Pandours who were active in the early 1740s suggests that the state was not yet fully in control in the sense of the distribution of violence.

Ruff notion of the monopolization of violence in the hands of the state is actually an adoption of the idea of the "civilizing process" developed by Norbert Elias. Elias' concept signifies a historical development towards inner pacification of societies as a result of monopolization of violence by the state, and a more intense self-control on part of the individual.³¹ Elias notes that this process, which took place in the royal court, where various aristocrats started to gather and adopt more "civilized" norms of conduct, changed the

²⁸ Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, 44. Eva Lacour also points to the fact that peasants, who were often ruined and indebted as a consequence of war and the passage of troops, occasionally killed soldiers, particularly discharged ones in particular, out of mistrust and hatred. Eva Lacour, "A Typology of Violence in Early Modern Rural Germany," *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (2001): 658.

²⁹ Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, 63-64.

³⁰ Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, 8.

³¹ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, transl. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 369, 373-374.

attitude to martial fervor as a necessary precondition of success and prestige for a man of nobility.³² The case of Baron Trenck suggests the opposite view, of a nobleman who did not accept the implementation of these new rules and who in attaining social prestige relied precisely on his martial fervor. Remarkably, it would seem he was even justifying his actions as one's performed in the interest of the very state, that is, according to Elias enforcing the "civilizing process".

However, since Elias notes that behavior patterns were transmitted not only from above to below but from below to above,³³ it can also be assumed that Trenck's belligerent nature might have been a result of the "anti-civilizing process", or in other words the adoption of the "barbaric" traits of the men whom he led into battle.

Elias' "civilizing process" possesses one more feature that can be used for the better understanding of the violent representation of the Pandours. He states that during the mentioned process "the direct fear of one person for others diminishes, while indirect or internalized fears increase proportionately."³⁴ In this sense, the appearance of the Pandours in the "civilized" lands of the West could be interpreted as the meeting of two different cultures that had a different attitude towards fear, which effected the representation of violence. Even Skurski and Coronil argue that the modern state understands the historical progress in which violence is defined in terms of spatial and temporal locations, based on the discourse of civilization and barbarism. The authors explain that "this discourse casts violence as the marker of the primitive irrationality that civilized states are divinely and historically mandated to overcome, a sign of the disorder and savagery that lie at their

³² Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 405.

³³ Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 440.

³⁴ Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 442.

borders."³⁵ The violence of the Pandours should therefore be associated with the "backwardness" that was attached to the land from whence they originated.

In the age of Enlightenment the civilizing process was strengthened by the "invention of Eastern Europe". Larry Wolff defines this phenomenon as a project of philosophical and geographical synthesis based on fact and fiction carried out by men and women of the Enlightenment. The main architects of Eastern Europe were the travelers, who annotated, embellished, refined, or refolded the initial images created by the philosophers of the "barbaric" and "wild" lands of Eastern Europe along the way. Wolff explains this phenomenon as the Enlightenment's need for another Europe against which to define its own sense of superior civilization.³⁶

This process not only perceived these lands as barbarous and savage, but also initiated the need and justification of the civilizing process, which could be observed in the case of Venice and the Slavic inhabitants of the province of Dalmatia. Wolff describes that Venice's "discovery" of Dalmatia in the eighteenth century involved emphasizing the challenge of backwardness and development, the value of civilization over barbarism, the anthropological classification of the Slavs, the dynamics of discursive domination within the public sphere, and the ascription of national identity in an imperial context. In addressing these Dalmatian issues the Venetian Enlightenment contributed culturally to an agenda of imperial concerns: the political coherence of the Adriatic empire, the economic development and even exploitation of provincial resources, the cultivation of the patriotic loyalty of the Slavs to the Venetian Republic, and the disciplinary administration of the Morlacchi in the name of civilization.³⁷ A parallel could perhaps be drawn with the

³⁵ Skurski and Coronil, "Introduction: States of Violence," 10, 15, 17.

³⁶ Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 6, 164-165, 356.

³⁷ Larry Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001), 7-8.

Pandours, although their civilizing process took place decades before the Morlacchi were discovered. Distinguishing the "otherness" of the Pandours may have possibly contributed to the accentuation of their violent nature. Therefore, it provided the legitimization for the civilizing mission issued by the Habsburg state in the sense of transforming these violent irregulars into "honorable" regular soldiers.

The concept of honor also plays a significant role in understanding how early modern societies dealt with violence. James Bowden defines honor as the judgment of an individual's behavior by his "honor group". It is particularly noteworthy that Bowden makes a distinction between honor and ethics, the former signifying loyalty to a certain community and the latter to absolute principles. The second important distinction by Bowden is concerned with the types of honor that are distinguished in modern societies: the reflexive honor which involves a certain degree of violence because it urges the offended person to strike back if her or his honor has been attacked; and cultural honor, which consists of the traditions, stories, thought of a particular society about the proper and improper uses of violence. As Bowden remarks, cultural honor is associated with the emergence of the Victorian gentleman. Precisely in the eighteenth century, according to Bowden, the aristocratic honor code was falling into contempt and a new honor culture, one where honor was associated with virtue, was starting to emerge.³⁸

Therefore, the violence of Baron Trenck and the Pandours should not be assessed according to the code of ethics, but based on the code of honor as it was imagined in early modern times. This notion suggests the possibility that Trenck was not imprisoned because his actions were unethical, but because he lost support within various "honor groups".

³⁸ James Bowden, *Honor. A History* (New York: Encounter Books, 2006), 4-7, 71.

In this respect Leslie Pierce's article *Honor, Reputation, and Reciprocity* can also be of use. Pierce stresses the importance of reputation as one of the most crucial factors for understanding how people in early modern times understood honor. She explores honor and dishonor as relational processes in which the usual pattern signified that one person's gain may cause another one's loss. However, Pierce also takes into account the attempt to maintain equilibrium among individuals, or in other words to recover or maintain one's honor on the basis of one's reputation within the community. To affirm her claim, she uses the example of sixteenth-century crimes committed by sexual offenders and how they were absolved of their crimes because of their commendable reputation within the community.³⁹

The desire to preserve the honor of individuals was not only an attempt by the communities, but authorities as well. Valerie Cesco deals with this issue in her article *Female Abduction, Family Honor, and Women's Agency in Early Modern Venetian Istria*. Cesco demonstrates how Church authorities in the Venetian province of Istria sanctioned the right of abducted women to marry their abductees, in order to enable them to reclaim their honor.⁴⁰ However, this phenomenon can also be viewed as a means of rehabilitating not only the victims, but the the perpetrators of the crimes as well, which could imply that the authorities contributed to the process of camouflaging acts of violence.

This process could be observed in the case of the Pandours, whose honor was protected by the state. This could be ascertained by the fact that in 1748 Trenck's Pandour Regiment became the "Slavonian Battalion" and shortly afterwards the LIII. Infantry Regiment.⁴¹ This act could signify the attempt of the state to rehabilitate these soldiers and remove any implication of their connection with the dishonorable Baron Trenck.

³⁹ Leslie Pierce, "Honor, Reputation, and Reciprocity," *European Journal of Turkish Studies* (Online) 18 (2014): 7-8, accessed June 3, 2015, URL: <http://ejts.revues.org/4850>.

⁴⁰ Valerie Cesco, "Female Abduction, Family Honor, and Women's Agency in Early Modern Venetian Istria," *Journal of Early Modern History*, Vol. 15/4 (2011).

⁴¹ Pavičić, *Hrvatska ratna i vojna povijest*, 141.

Nükhet Sirman proposes to view honor as a way of dealing with ambiguous relations that are primarily carried out at the personal level, but which also help define state-subject relations, as ones usually clarified through competition.⁴² Sirman points out that prescribing honor to particular conduct serves the purpose of reclaiming and strengthening the state's legitimacy.⁴³

However, the state was not the only factor that determined what distinguished violence and honor. Tolga U. Esmer states that "the reliance of imperial governance on the trans-regional networks of violence to police and defend society resulted in a precarious intimacy that conventionalized the unconventional, insubordinate behavior of vast echelons of Ottoman society, making violent behavior a marker of prestige and masculinity."⁴⁴ Esmer does not consider honor as something that can be harnessed by the state or one particular group, rather as a resource for integration of individuals, groups, and local communities into much larger entities such as trans-regional networks and the structures of the state. As such, honor was not bound solely to social status and blood, but that it possessed a power of "leveling affect".⁴⁵ This suggests that the state was "forced" to adopt "violent" behavior displayed by various combatants and sanctioned it by ascribing it honorable status.

It would seem that the case of Baron Trenck and his Pandours displays the final stage of the process of civilization, which was characterized by the monopolization of violence in the hands of the state. However, their case points to the possibility of viewing violence as something that the state had to provide for its subjects. From this point onwards it was up to

⁴² Nükhet Sirman, "Contextualizing Honour," *European Journal of Turkish Studies* (Online) 18 (2014): 3-4, accessed June 3, 2015, URL: <http://ejts.revues.org/4871>.

⁴³ Sirman, "Contextualizing Honour," 5.

⁴⁴ Tolga U. Esmer, "The Precarious Intimacy of Honor in Late Ottoman Accounts of Para-militarism and Banditry," in: *European Journal of Turkish Studies* (Online) 18 (2014): 3, accessed June 3, 2015, URL: <http://ejts.revues.org/4873>.

⁴⁵ Esmer, "The Precarious Intimacy," 3-4, 11-12.

them to ensure recognition within various "honor groups" which would enable the legitimization of their violent conduct.

Chapter 2. A Portrayal of a Belligerent Nobleman: Franz von der Trenck

2.1. Trenck's *Memoirs*

Franz Seraphin von der Trenck was born on the first day of the year 1711 in Reggio di Calabria, where his father, Baron Johann von der Trenck served as an officer in the Habsburg army. After revealing the date and place of his birth, first tale that the reader of the *Memoirs* may notice is the account about Trenck's close encounter with death. Namely, the *Memoirs* reveal that Franz von der Trenck came into this world lacking all signs of life. Luckily for him, the skilled midwife who, by using a bizarre method involving a rooster, managed to bring the child back to life.⁴⁶

This is only the first of many tales depicting Trenck's ability of evading death, a constant theme throughout the illustrious *Memoirs*. Indeed, as one is obliged to consider that many of the anecdotes in his account are false or at least exaggerated, the problem of authorship also presents a dilemma. For instance, Ivan Pederin claims that the *Memoirs* should not be regarded as Trenck's autobiographical account, considering that the piece is actually a compilation of newspaper articles from various German lands, assembled by a person who was trying to convince the Royal Court that Trenck was innocent of the crimes attributed to him. Thus, in Pederin's opinion, Baron Trenck could not be treated as a historical figure, because virtually all of the later accounts were "embellished" versions of these *Memoirs*.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ *Memoirs of the Life of the illustrious Francis Baron Trenck, Sometime Lord of the Bed-Chamber to her Majesty the Queen of Hungary and Bohemia. And Colonel of a Body of Pandours, and Sclavonian Hussars. Containing A compleat Account of his several Campaigns in Muscovy, Silesia, Austria, Bavaria and other Parts of the Empire, Together with Divers entertaining Anecdotes relating to his secret History. Written by himself, and done from the original German into English* (London: printed for W. Owen, 1747), 1. As opposed to this tale, Šišić reveals the story that the midwife brought him back to life by bathing him in hot wine. Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 68.

⁴⁷ Pederin, Ivan. "Začinjavci", *štioći i pregaoci. Vlastite snage i njemačke pobude u hrvatskoj književnosti* (Anonymous Authors, Readers and Zealots. Private Steams and German Incentives in Croatian Literature) (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod MH, 1977), 175-180.

The possibility that Pederin put forward can certainly be taken into account, but that does not imply that the person who composed the *Memoirs*, possibly Trenck's attorney, did not have admission to Trenck's cell. It would certainly be logical that if this person were his lawyer, he would have familiarized himself with Trenck's case and personality. Thus, even though Trenck's *Memoirs* may not have been produced by Trenck himself, they could indeed reflect some of the features of his personality. And if they do not reflect his personal traits, they do offer the first-person account about this intriguing historical figure.

It is safe to assume that Trenck was not a highly literate person, although he would like his contemporaries to believe otherwise. The first pages of the narrative portray Trenck's earlier years of study at a Jesuit school as exceptionally successful, thus, implying that Trenck was a fairly educated man, envied by his older brothers.⁴⁸ However, this story does not match the description of Trenck given by the anonymous English translator of the *Memoirs*, who claims that he had the opportunity of talking to Trenck, and concludes that "the original piece is as rough and unpolished as the author, who is allowed to be a much better soldier than he is a courtier or scholar."⁴⁹

Whether Trenck himself was the author of the *Memoirs* or someone close to him, their objective was clear: to produce a narrative that would appeal to disparate audiences, possibly influential ones who could secure his exoneration. The aim was to present a tale that would find sympathy and admiration for this condemned individual and potentially influence the higher circles of society to support his claim for innocence. Although some passages consist of confirmations of his violent behavior, they can also be treated as signs that depict his set of beliefs and values, which he was not willing completely to conceal, and which he possibly thought might be appealing to the audiences of those times. A similar

⁴⁸ *Memoirs*, 4-5.

⁴⁹ *Memoirs*, vii.

case is witnessed in the account of an Ottoman irregular named Deli Mustafa from the early nineteenth century. Tolga U. Esmer analyzes his account in the context of narrative strategies which suggest that "the author's world was bound by an intricate set of beliefs and values that resembled an ethos or unwritten code that revolved around notions of religious duty, honor, as well as vengeance."⁵⁰ The same can be said for Trenck, whose life as a belligerent nobleman obviously also revolved around similar concepts, as the *Memoirs* attests.

Besides the wider audience, the author might have intended that Trenck's *Memoirs* gain sympathy with Queen Maria Theresa. Trenck's deeds are often described as being in the service of his sovereign, but other indicators suggest that he may have desired to appeal to her mercy. For instance, at the beginning of the narrative, when Trenck's adolescence is described, his father, "a Prussian gentleman", seems to have the role of the punisher of his mischievous deeds, whereas Trenck's mother, "a lady of the *Ketlerin* family from *Hargoaten*, and descended from the ducal house of *Courland*", frequently interposed in Trenck's favor.⁵¹ This possible metaphor could resemble the state that Trenck was in at the time: at the mercy of other lesser noblemen who wanted to punish him and the Queen, who was his only hope and savior.

2.2. Trenck's personality: a display of a heroic figure or a violent brute?

Croatian historians, such as Ferdo Šišić, consider Trenck a heroic figure but nonetheless acknowledge his harsh personality, characterized as violent, quarrelsome, defiant and unruly.⁵² Šišić claims that if his negative features such as cruelty, pillaging and bloodthirsty nature were not the key features emphasized by most, he would have been remembered as a

⁵⁰ Tolga U. Esmer, "The Confessions of an Ottoman 'Irregular': Self-Representation, Narrative Strategies, and Ottoman Interpretive Communities in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 44 (2014): 319.

⁵¹ *Memoirs*, 2.

⁵² Ferdo Šišić, *Županija virovitička u prošlosti (The History of the County of Virovitica)* (Osijek, 1896), 85.

perfect soldier, thanks to his bravery, heroism and his military skill.⁵³ Niklaus von Preradovich also highlights his wild nature, which was manifest already in 1732 when Trenck was still a young man serving in the regiment of Count Nicholas Palffy.⁵⁴ However, it seems that through his violent conduct, Trenck was crafting a ruthless reputation, which can be compared with Sant Cassia's association of violence with the power of signification.⁵⁵ Violence enabled Trenck to achieve many goals that awarded him a reputation of a successful combatant, but it seems that it was also a possible cause of his downfall. He was playing a game of negotiations between the state, his peers and people below his social status. In this game, violence was essential, but it was also crucial not to overstep one's boundaries. In other words, it was crucial not to achieve too much success via violence, lest such success be accompanied by envy.

The idea of John A. Lynn regarding the persistence of the archaic or medieval code of honor among the early modern nobility could possibly serve to explain Trenck's behavior.⁵⁶ In this respect, the *Memoirs* contain features that suggest that Trenck indeed possessed certain characteristics of a warlike nobleman of medieval times. One of them is the theme of dueling. This might be regarded as another device for amusing the audience and attests to Trenck's masculinity and recognition within his class. Lynn also explains how rulers tried to limit duels and persuade noblemen to focus more on war, but that nonetheless the phenomenon of dueling persisted, because the need to prove oneself within one's own class was indeed indispensable in acquiring and retaining honor.⁵⁷ Trenck's *Memoirs* is abundant in tales of his successful duels, which may have been the result of his physical dexterity, if

⁵³ Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 192-193.

⁵⁴ Preradovich, *Das seltsam wilde Leben*, 23-24.

⁵⁵ Sant Cassia, "'Better Occasional Murders than Frequent Adultaries,' 236-237.

⁵⁶ John A. Lynn, *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture. From Ancient Greece to Modern America* (New York: Westview Press, 2003), 137.

⁵⁷ Lynn, *Battle*, 142-143.

we are to believe the description provided by the newspaper article from 1743.⁵⁸ The author of the narrative carefully emphasizes the fact that Trenck was provoked into dueling in order to defend his honor, as well as the fact that he was satisfied with only wounding his opponent.⁵⁹

As dueling provided the opportunity to enhance one's prestige, it was not enough to accept to participate in the act. It was also necessary to display one's extraordinary courage and bravery in the process. For instance, when Trenck was dueling a certain count in Leitschau, the narrative describes how Trenck, noticing that one of his pistols was malfunctioning, gave the Count the opportunity to fire nonetheless, after which the Count missed.⁶⁰ This account resembles the fictitious tale given by Voltaire of the Battle of Fontenoy in 1745, when the British officers supposedly invited the French to fire first, to which the French officers refused and insisted that the British fire first. Lynn explains that the incident did not occur, but that the account reveals much about the aristocratic spirit of the Enlightenment. They were guided by the belief in the virtue of forbearance, which was connected to the values of honor and bravery.⁶¹

⁵⁸ The description of Trenck is the following: "He is a tall Man, extremely well shaped, and endow'd with an extraordinary Strength of Body." *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XII, No. 30 (October 6, 1743): 2.

⁵⁹ *Memoirs*, 9-11, 14.

⁶⁰ *Memoirs*, 17-21.

⁶¹ Lynn, *Battle*, 114-115.



Figure 1. A contemporary portrait of Baron Trenck.

A special feature regarding Trenck's personality is his relationship toward women. Tales of love affairs abound in the *Memoirs*. Perhaps this theme was included to exonerate him of the crime of abusing women. Another possible aim was to present him as more appealing to the audience of the eighteenth century, which was eager to learn not only of his conquests on the battlefield but of women as well. The author admits that Trenck was not a marrying type and that he was only married on one occasion due to the strong will of the girl's parents.⁶²

⁶² The tale is a bit contradictory because at first it seems that Trenck did not have the approval of his father to get married. However, shortly afterwards he found himself imprisoned for insubordination in the Slavonian fort of Osijek and the only way for him to obtain his release was upon condition of marrying the woman his father earlier objected to. Trenck was probably not too keen on the idea of marriage, and thus he possibly invented the story of his father's disapproval. *Memoirs*, 13-14.

Multiple encounters with various women from high and low walks of life, including the slave girls he acquired during his campaigning in Russia, can be found in the *Memoirs*. Trenck's relationships are carefully described with a highly romanticized notion, including the ones with his slave-girls, who were supposedly fond of him and would not be separated from him when he was dishonorably discharged from the Russian service.⁶³ The author styles Trenck as a man who is eager to protect the honor of his "beloved".⁶⁴ Although he does present himself as lustful, he is careful to remove any doubt that he employed force. For instance, he describes that following the capture of Munich, Trenck took up residence at a rich merchant's house. The merchant also had a pretty daughter who seemed disinterested in Trenck's advances. He states "... I was obliged to go and spend my money out of his house, in order to drown my sorrow..."⁶⁵

Branko Zakošek claims that it was these events in Trenck's earlier years, involving duels and affairs with various women, in which he attained a bad reputation as a womanizer and brute.⁶⁶ Queen Maria Theresa, moreover, must have seen him as such, for she did not seem to sympathize with men of ill-repute despite their usefulness in imperial warfare. Charles W. Ingrao explains that the Hungarian Queen was known for her determination to impose her rather rigid standards of Christian morality and religious orthodoxy. Ingrao provides the example of the creation of a "chastity commission" which was to curb prostitution by her method of denying promotions to army officers who visited brothels.⁶⁷ However, since the author of the *Memoirs* was not willing to remove these tales from the narrative, but provided a great deal of them, we can assume that they were meant to serve the purpose of enhancing Trenck's reputation within society, regardless of the Queen's moral surveillance.

⁶³ *Memoirs*, 36, 42.

⁶⁴ *Memoirs*, 11-12, 43-44.

⁶⁵ *Memoirs*, 76.

⁶⁶ Zakošek, "Barun Franjo Trenk," 346.

⁶⁷ Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 170.

2.3. Early military career

During his early years, Trenck volunteered in the military service of the Russian Empress Anna (1730-1740) during the war with the Ottomans between 1735 and 1739. At this point he was obviously trying to make a name for himself, or in his words, he had a "thirst of honour,"⁶⁸ which he intended to acquire by means of various violent deeds, including duels and other brutish acts on the battlefield, as well in the military camp. For example, on one occasion he was summoned by General Munich and left the camp without the consent of his colonel. Upon returning to the camp, he was scorned by the colonel and was almost arrested. However, since Trenck was reassured that he enjoyed the favor of General Munich, he confronted the colonel and a fight broke out, which ended with Trenck beating his commander. What is remarkable is that Trenck was not reprimanded for his actions. Rather, he left the regiment and was appointed first major in Orlove's regiment of dragoons.⁶⁹ This example shows that perhaps Trenck realized that violent behavior was a source of attaining prestige, but also that support from higher circles was needed in order to capitalize on such forms of conduct.

It was also at this time that Trenck became more familiar with the notion of plunder and even of taking slaves. Trenck's army was stationed in Wallachia, when upon the news of the peace treaty between the Habsburgs and Ottomans, orders were given to plunder the whole country and to relieve it of its inhabitants and cattle. On this occasion the *Memoirs* describes how up to 10.000 Ottoman subjects were taken away. He particularly emphasizes the sad fate of the women who were deprived of their honor. Trenck himself procured two slaves as his share.⁷⁰ The taking of slaves by officers and soldiers was a common feature in the borderland region between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires. The Ottoman officer

⁶⁸ *Memoirs*, 31.

⁶⁹ *Memoirs*, 31-33.

⁷⁰ *Memoirs*, 36.

Osman Aga of Temišvar describes this act in his autobiography following the capture of the Ottoman fort of Lipova by the Habsburg forces in 1687/1688. Osman Aga, who himself was enslaved following this event, describes how the Habsburg soldiers were barbarically dragging some of the men and women away, robbing and killing or enslaving them.⁷¹ Thus, we can see that violent behavior of this kind was acceptable in those times and Trenck, as well as other contemporaries, did not feel remorse for it.

For Trenck, violence seems to have been likely to get him into trouble as to assure his exoneration. For instance, having successfully gotten away with assaulting his superior the first time, Trenck tried his luck a second time and assaulted his colonel Meyer. However, this time he obviously did not enjoy the favor of the high command, for Trenck was imprisoned for his act and was sentenced to be executed. Miraculously, at the last moment he was pardoned, with the shameful condition of working six months on Russian fortifications and afterwards being dishonorably discharged from Russian service.⁷² Obviously, it was a shameful fate for a nobleman, but it nonetheless suggests that the higher circles granted him life because of tacitly acknowledging his accomplishments, which were actually a product of his violent nature. As was the case with many other European military entrepreneurs of noble birth,⁷³ the opportunity to serve in the military campaigns for another sovereign presented itself soon enough.

Trenck's violent nature seems to be the main reason why he got involved in the War of the Austrian Succession. Upon his return to Slavonia, after his service in the Russian army, he

⁷¹ Ekrem Čaušević, transl. and ed., *Autobiografija Osman-age Temišvarskog (The Autobiography of Osman Aga of Temisvar)* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2004), 9.

⁷² *Memoirs*, 37-39.

⁷³ Military elites often changed allegiances in the pursuit of better opportunities. The most successful example of this phenomenon is surely the Frenchmen Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736) who distinguished himself as a Habsburg commander in the wars against the Ottomans. However, there were other Frenchmen that were less successful, like Count Claude Alexandre de Bonneval who deserted the French army to join the Habsburgs in 1706 and then in 1725, after being expelled, joined the Ottomans. See: Thomas M. Barker, *Army, Aristocracy, Monarchy: Essays on War, Society, and Government in Austria, 1618-1780* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 52.

engaged in hunting down bandits that were roaming his estates. One of the notorious bandits, named Vidak, escaped to Ottoman Bosnia. Trenck pursued him and eventually killed and decapitated him. This incident caused Trenck to be summoned to the headquarters of the commander of the Slavonian Military Border in Osijek. In his *Memoirs*, the author states that Trenck refused to answer for his alleged crime, because he considered the summons an act of conspiracy conceived by his enemies. Thus, he decided to take flight to Vienna, where his agent arranged for Trenck an audience with the Queen, to whom Trenck offered his services.⁷⁴ The *Memoirs* offers the following description:

"As I was sensibly touched at the thoughts of seeing my sovereign so unjustly and ungenerously attacked, and of my country's being ready to be made a scene of war and confusion, I offered her majesty, in testimony of my fidelity and allegiance, to raise and bring into the field against the enemy, at my own expense, a body of 1000 Pandours with all their arms and accoutrements."⁷⁵

The Queen was in obvious need of military support, being engaged by enemies from various sides, but it seems very likely that Trenck had his sovereign's distress in mind. His crime must have been much more serious than the *Memoirs* would have us believe, but Trenck seemed to have devised a way to redeem his violent behavior by offering to employ violence in another sphere. A possible comparison can be drawn with the phenomenon of the "economy of violence" described by Esmer in the context of the bandit network that the leader of the irregular units Kara Feyzi established in the Balkan regions of the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁶ As in the Ottoman case "banditry was both a symptom and a driving force of

⁷⁴ *Memoirs*, 47-53.

⁷⁵ *Memoirs*, 53.

⁷⁶ Esmer highlights the fact that this bandit network brought large groups of diverse Ottoman subjects and officials together in a shared culture of violence. Ottoman grandees for competing for the opportunity to destroy Kara Feyzi's "illegitimate" economy of violence by employing "legitimate" methods sanctioned by the state. Tolga U. Esmer. "Economies of Violence, Banditry, and Governance in the Ottoman Empire Around 1800," *Past & Present*, Vol. 224/1 (2014), 168-189.

empire in the long eighteenth century,"⁷⁷ Trenck's case could serve as a possible parallel within the Habsburg domain.

2.4. Participation in the War of the Austrian Succession

As a nobleman, Trenck was obliged to participate in bellicose activities, which were one of the most frequent opportunities for members of his social class to gain honor and reputation. As Lynn points out, it was not enough to be brave; one needed to be seen as being brave in order to gain recognition among one's peers. He explains that the danger of battle provided the ideal opportunity for one to gain reputation, or *gloire*.⁷⁸ Trenck's *Memoirs* are full of tales of him exposing himself to danger and evading death on multiple occasions during the war. However, in Trenck's account one can also observe how these acts of bravery were a double-edged sword, for if one were to appear excessively successful in risk-taking and prowess on the battlefield, one could also be the victim of envy of others. Trenck constantly portrays himself in this light, which points to the fact, that it was not only necessary for one to demonstrate his bravery, but to be careful not to obtain a great deal of enemies in this process. Most authors agree that Trenck's demise came because he had many enemies who revealed some of his crimes or even invented some. Thus, I believe that his ultimate mistake was not taking into account the reputation that he enjoyed within the community of his peers. Not only the top strata of the state hierarchy, including the monarch and the generals, on which Trenck seemed to rely only for favor, were essential for retaining recognition and reinforcing his honorable status, but also those on the same level as him, or even those below him.

⁷⁷ Esmer, "Economies of Violence", 194.

⁷⁸ Lynn, *Battle*, 139-140.

One of the accusations against Trenck was his extensive plundering. But can this act be motivated only by the desire to acquire wealth? It could have been more to do with gaining social prestige. Wealth might have not have been of primary importance, if one takes into consideration the finding by Šišić, that at the beginning of 1743 Trenck through inheritance and purchase gained five estates in Slavonia, which made him one of the wealthiest nobles in Croatia and Hungary.⁷⁹ In this sense, Trenck's actions can be interpreted as a necessity for gaining recognition within the society.

Trenck's military career was fairly successful, as the *Memoirs* describes. Again, one of the characteristic tropes used in it to gain prestige and recognition within his own class is the emphasis not only on the cunning plans to capture a post or get the upper hand on the enemy, but also Trenck's participation in the execution of the plan. For instance, when his troops were assigned the mission of crossing the Rhine into French territory, Trenck supposedly disguised himself as a friar and swam across in order to deceive the inhabitants of the French village and enable his men to cross the river.⁸⁰

Acts themselves were not enough to ensure him prestige; it was also important how his superiors interpreted them. For instance, the *Memoirs* describes that he gained the favor and friendship of Count Khevenhüller by capturing five large barges loaded with forage, which were sent to Vienna,⁸¹ and which were undoubtedly procured by the use of force. Then again, Trenck's orders to plunder the house of a druggist in the Bavarian town Plattling, whom he suspected of being a spy, were revealed by Trenck's enemies, as it is interpreted in the *Memoirs*, to the same general, upon which Trenck fell from the general's favor. Remarkably, in the *Memoirs*, Trenck repents this act, not because of its inherent nature, but

⁷⁹ Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 116-117.

⁸⁰ *Memoirs*, 65-66.

⁸¹ *Memoirs*, 62.

because his enemies got the upper hand on him by interpreting it differently to his superior officers than he would have wished:

*Whereupon I ordered his [the druggist's] house and shop to be plundered, which I had reason afterwards to repent. For my concealed enemies made use of this opportunity to charge me with cruelty and barbarity to Count Kevenhuller, whereby I fell into disgrace with his excellency.*⁸²

In Trenck's case, violence was also a source of advancement within the military hierarchy. Trenck started the war as a major, climbing to the rank of colonel in less than three years, after he had captured the town of Diesensteil in Bavaria, along with a large retinue of prisoners and suffered grave wounds from an accident while he was exploring the gunpowder storage.⁸³

It seems that Trenck was assigned a special role within the army. One would say that the military authorities tried to channel the violent nature that he and his men displayed in the direction that was most crucial for sustaining the army – the collection of war contributions. In the early course of the war, Trenck already distinguished himself with the ability of stealing the enemies' supplies and sending it off to the Austrian troops. There are multiple accounts of his successful endeavors in this field in Trenck's *Memoirs*, as well as in British newspapers.⁸⁴ This method had a double effect: it weakened the enemy while strengthening the Austrian forces at the same time. Furthermore, it could be viewed as a sort of investment, because it ensured Trenck recognition within military circles, which would later award him greater tasks that could possibly involve a larger amount of booty, which he, as the commander of an irregular unit would have been entitled to. Thus, through violent acts Trenck again received the recognition that would enable him to perform further and possibly

⁸² *Memoirs*, 66.

⁸³ *Memoirs*, 82-84.

⁸⁴ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XI, No. 30, (October 7, 1742): 1; *Memoirs*, 61-62.

even greater acts of violence. For instance, in 1743 he was awarded the task of collecting contributions in Alsace.⁸⁵ Therefore, at this point his "economy of violence" came to a full expression.

Naturally, the author of the *Memoirs* was careful to point out the fact that Trenck collected contributions and seized booty which he forwarded to his sovereign.⁸⁶ Obviously, not only on paper, that is in his *Memoirs*, but also in practice, Trenck must have shared his booty with his sovereign in order to gain further opportunities for plunder. Thus, he had to carefully balance his "economy of violence" in order to remain in the "game".

It is important to bear in mind that Trenck's bad reputation for being obstinate and disobedient, hailing from his earlier years in the service of Count Pálffy and the Russian Empress, must have been familiar to Austrian military circles. Thus, the most convenient way for the state to make use of his service was to employ him as a commander of an irregular unit. However, a successful military career offered him the possibility of clearing his bad reputation. Thus, after a series of successful military endeavors, we notice that he has been assigned the command of other troops beside his Pandours. For instance, in 1742, Trenck was given the command over 1000 hussars and 1000 dragoons, with whom, and his 200 Pandours he was assigned to dislodge the Bavarian army of 4000 men, which he successfully achieved.⁸⁷ In 1745 Maria Theresa awarded Trenck the privilege of organizing his Pandour Company as a regular regimental unit.⁸⁸

As the war progressed, so did Trenck's fame. The British newspapers diligently followed his exploits. In some articles, he is even mistakenly referred to as a general, which surely

⁸⁵ Trenck was so eager to collect contributions that in 1743, even before the Austrian troops had crossed the Rhine, he advanced with his men to Alsace and levied an amount of 220.000 florins, out of one million that were prescribed for that region. *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 3578 (August 25, 1743): 1.

⁸⁶ *Memoirs*, 66-67, 71; *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 3578 (August 25, 1743): 1.

⁸⁷ *Memoirs*, 67-68.

⁸⁸ Pavičić, *Hrvatska ratna i vojna povijest*, 138; Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 156-157.

testifies to the renown that he achieved even abroad.⁸⁹ In some articles, mistaken information that Trenck had been killed also appeared in 1743. It is noteworthy to observe that in these articles the news of his death was "much regretted on Account of the many gallant and signal Services done to that Princess [Maria Theresa]." ⁹⁰

Although Trenck indeed might have been persuaded to ambitiously pursue military tasks in order to serve his sovereign, it is more likely that he was primarily guided by the desire to achieve social prestige. David Parrot considers military commanders of the greatest part of the Early Modern Period as entrepreneurs, motivated by the opportunity of financial reward, social prestige and cultural validation. Parrot claims that booty was always a major inducement for involvement in warfare, and that military enterprise also provided validation and reinforcement for existing social status.⁹¹ In this sense, Trenck can be viewed as an excellent example of a military entrepreneur, whose possible deficiency was his overambitious nature. Trenck was constantly initiating offensive military actions, because he saw in them an opportunity to gain financial reward and social recognition. For instance, in 1744 when he was assaulting Budweis in Bohemia, the defending Prussian commander asked for armistice, but Trenck refused, because the storming of the city would procure him prisoners of war.⁹² His ambitious requests were sometimes denied, because they were considered hazardous. For example, in 1744 the high commander of the Austrian troops Prince Charles denied him the request of 6000 reinforcements with which Trenck intended to retake Prague.⁹³

From the several fragments which depicted Trenck's military career during the war of the Austrian Succession it could be assumed that he was the one with the initiative for inflicting

⁸⁹ *Caledonian Mercury*, No. unknown (November 22, 1745): 3.

⁹⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 3591 (September 26, 1743): 1; *Ipswich Journal*, No. 241 September 24, 1743): 2.

⁹¹ David Parrot, *The Business of War: The Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 241-259.

⁹² *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XIII, No. 34, (October 26, 1744): 4.

⁹³ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XIII, No. 36, (November 9, 1744): 3.

violence. Although he might have justified his actions as ones performed in the name of the state, it seems that he was the one who was compelled the state to provide him with the opportunities to continue on practicing the use of violence as a method for social recognition.

2.5. Trenck's downfall

Trenck's overambitious nature, which was connected to his excessive use of violence in achieving his goals, seems to have caused Trenck's fall from grace. It seems that the turning point of his career came as a consequence of his actions during the battle of Soor in 1745. This was the crucial defeat of the Austrian forces against the numerically inferior army led by the Prussian king Frederick II. Šišić reflects that Trenck's assignment was to attack the Prussian forces from the rear, but that he failed to accomplish this task because he was too busy plundering the enemy camp.⁹⁴ Schmidt argues that the blame is to be put on the messenger who arrived too late to inform Trenck.⁹⁵ However, judging by the description of the rich booty that Trenck's Pandours acquired,⁹⁶ it is possible to assume that Trenck might have indeed been more focused on plundering the camp, than aiding the Austrian army.⁹⁷

The following year Trenck was arrested and accused of the following crimes: neglecting his orders at the battle of Soor; causing disorders and pillages with the sole aim of acquiring booty; sacrilege in the sense of plundering churches and other sacred places; mistreatment of his sub-ordinates; planning a rebellion in Slavonia; sending great sums of money to

⁹⁴ Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 161-162.

⁹⁵ Schmidt, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 35.

⁹⁶ Both Šišić and Schmidt reveal that the Pandours plundered 80.000 florins from the Prussian war treasury along with various valuables belonging to the Prussian king. Schmidt, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 35; Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 162.

⁹⁷ Following the battle of Soor, Ernest Gideon von Laudon (1717-1790) dropped out of Trenck's regiment, in which he was serving as a captain, and shortly afterwards became one of the main plaintiffs in the case against Trenck. Laudon would later distinguish himself in the Habsburg army achieving the rank of field marshal. Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 162.

Venice and Switzerland, which suggests his intention of leaving the Queen's service.⁹⁸ Another rumor is reported in an article in *The Scots Magazine* in June 1746. Trenck was supposedly involved in the affair with Prince Catacuzeni, an exiled nobleman from Wallachia, at the moment residing in Vienna, who was charged with carrying out correspondence with the Pasha of Belgrade, in order to cause a revolt in several provinces in Hungary.⁹⁹

Trenck's reputation obviously suffered extensively as a result of these rumors. Nonetheless, he did not waist opportunity to try and recover his honor by the use of force. In 1746 while the lawsuit against his crimes was taking place, Trenck physically assaulted the judge and nearly threw him out the window. According to Ilić Oriovčanin and Schmidt, Trenck was provoked into such an act because the judge was deliberately refusing to acknowledge the evidence which would exonerate him of the accusations regarding his alleged failure to come to the aid of the main Austrian army at the battle of Soor.¹⁰⁰ This act was interpreted may have further enhanced his reputation as a savage brute, but it actually points to the fact that he might have truly believed that this act would, that is actually very similar to dueling, enable him to reclaim his damaged honor. However, since he enjoyed a bad reputation within his "honor group", be it his noble peers or his sovereign, Trenck's fate was sealed, and this act could not bear him fruit, no matter how "daring" it might have seemed to him.

The newspaper articles from England and Scotland were closely following the case against Trenck, which attests to the popularity that he attained among the readership of those times. Throughout 1746 and 1747 public opinion was inclined to believe that he would be released

⁹⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 4015 (July 7, 1746): 2; *Stamford Mercury*, No. 765 (July 10, 1746): 1.

⁹⁹ *The Scots Magazine* (June 6, 1746): 28.

¹⁰⁰ Ilić Oriovčani, *Baron Franjo Trenk*, 114-115; Schmidt, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 38-39.

from his imprisonment.¹⁰¹ Even the translator of the *Memoirs* was intrigued by the fact that a man who had done so many "noble" deeds was condemned to such a fate.¹⁰²

The final verdict in the case against Trenck was laid down in 1748: he had to pay one thousand florins to Anna Maria Gerstenbergerin, a miller's daughter whom he had abused; another 15,000 to the inhabitants of the Duchy of Silesia; and the costs of the law suit against him, which amounted to 200,000 florins. The newspaper article states that his greatest crimes involved the merciless acts of plunder to which the inhabitants of Bavaria, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia were exposed, and by which he amassed a fortune greater than two million florins.¹⁰³ He was to remain imprisoned for the rest of his life in the Bohemian castle of Spielberg.

At the moment of his death in 1749, it is reported that Trenck acknowledged his crimes, because he accorded 40,000 florins to erect a hospital for the maintenance of the poor people of Cham, a Bavarian town he and his men had set on fire and plundered in 1742.¹⁰⁴ This point, as well as the fact point out by Šišić about Trenck's desire to meet death wearing garments of the Capuchin religious order, illustrates the power of representation. As Sant Cassia claims, the public execution of bandits was meant to signify the state's victory in the struggle against violence and to demonstrate its power over the individual. However, this act also contributed to the creation of symbol of martyrdom. Even while they were imprisoned, bandits often became associated with saints.¹⁰⁵ Trenck's popularity in later literature can, therefore, be interpreted as the failed attempt to display his removal as the result of the state's effort to battle violence.

¹⁰¹ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XV, No. 38 (December 5, 1746): 1; *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XV, No. 33, (October 30, 1747): 2.

¹⁰² *Memoirs*, iv.

¹⁰³ *The Ipswich Journal*, No. 500 (September 10, 1748): 2.

¹⁰⁴ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XVII, No. 31, (October 13, 1749): 2.

¹⁰⁵ Sant Cassia, "Better Occasional Murders than Frequent Adultaries," 241-243.

2.6. Conclusion

Baron Trenck might have demonstrated behavior that would in present-day terms be labeled as violent, but this was not the case in the eighteenth century. Perhaps his character reflects a man that was more eager to attain social recognition by employing means of violence, on occasion possibly excessively. His narrative provides insights into what was a possible way for a minor nobleman in the time of the Enlightenment to attain recognition within society, by adhering to the violent measures characteristic to those in medieval times.

It is also noteworthy how violence, at least in Trenck's case, could simultaneously secure further employment and be the cause for his losing favor. Therefore, one possible purpose of the *Memoirs* was to make the public and his sovereign aware of Trenck's capabilities in order for him to be awarded another chance to gain employment. However, it seems that the time for using violence as a bargaining tool was over.

Chapter 3. The Pandours: Images, Origins and Roles

In the spring of 1742 the Habsburg commander Berenklaui subjected the area surrounding the Bavarian suburb of Stads-Am-Hoff to the war tax, commonly known as "contribution". However, the *Newcastle Courant* reports that after Berenklaui collected half of the prescribed amount of contribution and departed:

*several thousand Pandoures, Talpatsches, Hanagues, Valachians, Croatians, Warasdins, some on Foot, some on Horse, but all of a frightful Aspect, enter'd the said Suburb and adjacent Villages: Most of them are cover'd with Skin of Bears, Wolves, and the Wild Beasts. Their Arms are Musket, a very broad Scimitar, a sort of Knife made like a Bayonet, and a very heavy Club. After they had pillaged all the Houses and Convents, they departed.*¹⁰⁶

From the preceding description, one would surely conclude that these men bear a stark resemblance to the frightful Huns and Tartars from past times who for some incomprehensible reason decided to devastate mercilessly the civilized world. The names refer to irregular soldiers predominantly from the Habsburg Military Frontier.¹⁰⁷ The following chapter will investigate why these groups, particularly Pandours, were understood and portrayed as such.

¹⁰⁶ *Newcastle Courant*, No. 2520 (March 27, 1742): 2; *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XI, No. 3 (April 1, 1742): 2.

¹⁰⁷ The Habsburg Military Frontier was established in the sixteenth century at which point it encompassed the remnants of the kingdoms of Hungary and Croatia. In the eighteenth century the Croatian Military Frontier was divided into four general commands: Varaždin, Karlovac, Zagreb and Slavonia. For more detailed information about the Croatian Military Frontier in the eighteenth century, see: Alexander Buzcyinski, "Vojna krajina u 18. stoljeću (The Military Frontier in the 18th Century)," in *Povijest Hrvata: Druga knjiga: Od kraja 15. st. do kraja Prvog svjetskog rata (The History of the Croats: Second Volume: From the End of the 15th Century until the End of the First World War)* ed. Mirko Valentić and Lovorka Čoralić (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005), 244-257; Feodor Moacanin, "Vojna krajina do kantonskog uređenja (The Military Frontier until the Cantonal Organization)," in *Vojna krajina: povijesni pregled, historiografija, rasprave (The Military Frontier: Historical Overview, Historiography, Debates)* ed. Dragutin Pavličević (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1984), 44-56; Josip Kljajić, "Ustroj Slavonske vojne granice u 18. stoljeću (The Organization of the Slavonian Military Frontier in the 18th Century)," *Anali Histojskog arhiva Slavonije i Baranje (The Annals of the Historical Archive of Slavonia and Baranja)* Vol. 6 (2001): 193-222; Gunther Erich Rothenberg, *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia, 1522-1747* (Urbana: The University of Illinois press, 1960), and *The Military Border in Croatia 1740-1881: A Study of an Imperial institution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966, 1-101.

3.1. Westerners' images of the inhabitants of the Croatian lands

The eighteenth century was a time of the discovery or, in the words of Larry Wolff, the time of inventing "Eastern Europe". The spirit of Enlightenment encouraged Western travelers to venture East in search of backwardness and barbarity in order to gain even more recognition for the superiority of Western civilization. At this point Croatian lands were also a desired destination of Western travelers, who were serving the interests of the Habsburg Monarchy and the Venetian Republic. One of the latter was Alberto Fortis (1741-1803), a Venetian monk, naturalist and cartographer. During his several journeys to the Venetian province of Dalmatia and the Habsburg region of Lika in the 1770s, among other things, he also explored the indigenous Slavic population living in the hinterland near the Ottoman border. These people were called Morlacchi. Fortis described them as violent and barbaric, but at the same time, he revealed some sympathy for them. He justified their crude ways with the environment they inhabited, which was agriculturally undeveloped because of the harsh terrain and frequent conflicts along the borderland, during which these people grew accustomed to unpunished acts of murder and plunder. He also puts the blame on church authorities who encouraged them to prey on Ottoman subjects across the border, as well as military personnel, particularly Habsburg officers in Lika, who mercilessly seized their assets and inflicted harsh means of punishment upon them.¹⁰⁸

At the same time, the Austrian physician of French descent Balthazar Hacquet (1735-1815) also traveled through various Croatian lands. He distinguished several indigenous groups inhabiting the Croatian borderland regions under Habsburg and Venetian rule, including: Croats, Morlacchi, Uskoks (Vlachs), *Ličani* (inhabitants of Lika), Dalmatians and Slavonians. The main features of these groups in his portrayal are actually quite common: inclination to theft and murder. He offers the same reasons for this kind of behavior as does

¹⁰⁸ Alberto Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji (Travels into Dalmatia)*, ed. Josip Bratulić (Zagreb: Globus, 1984), 37.

Fortis.¹⁰⁹ However, Hacquet claims that this kind of behavior is not very different from the conduct of Westerners whom he encountered during his military encounters in the Seven Years War (1756-1763). He also acknowledges the rule of necessity, which replaces the soldiers' salary if it is given sporadically.¹¹⁰

It is important to bear in mind that, as Ivan Pederin observes, both Fortis and Hacquet were fascinated with everything non-European about the Slavs because they were under the Enlightenment's ideas of the connection of "exotic" people to nature, particularly promoted by Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). Thus, these two authors praised their Oriental clothing, as well as their features that resembled those of perfect soldiers, such as physical strength, bravery, valor, and blood lust. In their eyes, these groups actually resembled Native American Indians.¹¹¹

Another traveler is Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube (1728-1778), who visited the Habsburg province of Slavonia in the second half of the eighteenth century. He labels all the Slavic inhabitants that he encountered as Illyrians and associates them with characteristics such as savageness, drunkenness, ignorance, vengeance, thievery and deceitfulness. Taube locates the causes of these negative attributes not only in their long-lasting exposure to Turkish culture but also in the Illyrian inclination to brigandage, which he dates far back to Roman times. Yet, he does acknowledge their loyalty, hospitality, fearlessness, valor and courage.¹¹² As opposed to Fortis and Hacquet, Taube was not so much under the influence

¹⁰⁹ Balthazar Hacquet, *Oslikavanje i opisivanje jugozapadnih i istočnih Wenda, Ilira i Slavena: njihove zemljopisne rasprostranjenosti od Jadranskog pa sve do Crnog mora, njihova života i običaja, zanata i obrta, religije i t d., a po povratku sa desetgodišnjeg proputovanja i četrdesetgodišnjeg boravka u tim krajevima (Imaging and Describing South-West and East Wends, Illyrians and Slavs: Their Geographical Distribution from the Adriatic Sea to the Black Sea, their Life and Customs, Trade and Craft, Religion, etc., after Returning from a Ten-year journey and a Forty-Year Stay in those Parts)*, transl. Božidarka Ščerbe-Haupt; epilogue Heinz Vetschera (Split: Etnografski muzej, 2008), 79, 86-89, 98-100, 103-104, 108, 112, 120, 135.

¹¹⁰ Hacquet, *Oslikavanje i opisivanje*, 13.

¹¹¹ Ivan Pederin, *Njemački putopisi po Dalmaciji (German Travelers' Accounts through Dalmatia)* (Split Logos, 1989), 15, 18-21; Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji*, 31, 35, 55-58, 279.

¹¹² Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube, *Povijesni i zemljopisni opis Kraljevine Slavonije i Vojvodstva Srijema: Leipzig, 1777., 1778. (The Historical and Geographical Overview of the Kingdom of Slavonia and the Duchy*

of the Enlightenment when he made his observations, as he was trying to serve the interests of Emperor Joseph II (1765-1790) in providing information which might be useful in the state-building process.

When analyzing these types of sources, the issue of stakes regarding representation and fashioning immediately comes up. We should acknowledge the fact that this was the time when, as Larry Wolff argues, Eastern Europe was "invented", as a project of philosophical and geographical synthesis carried out by men and women of the Enlightenment.¹¹³ In his analysis of operations that contributed to the process of the definition and construction of this idea, Wolff deals with travelers to Eastern Europe who seemed to have been searching for proof of backwardness. Even before they crossed the political borders, which by themselves were not significant in this process, the travelers had a rooted idea about the uncivilized world they were about to enter. When they finally crossed the boundaries, they immediately recognized and highlighted the cultural differences they encountered.¹¹⁴ Even after the Peace Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699, when Hungary, as well as Slavonia, became parts of the Habsburg realm, in the sense of the philosophic geography of the Enlightenment they still remained in the sphere of *Turcia-Europaea*, due to their difference in history, manners, and language from the rest of Western Europe.¹¹⁵

Since one of the characteristic presumptions that inspired eighteenth-century knowledge of Eastern Europe, as Wolff points out, was to know it better than did the people who lived there,¹¹⁶ it should not be disregarded that travelers to Croatian lands presumed that they knew how to qualify the behavior of the inhabitants they encountered. They were seeking

of *Srijem*: Leipzig, 1777, 1778), transl. and ed. Stjepan Sršan (Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku, 2012) 57-59, 119.

¹¹³ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 356.

¹¹⁴ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 26-43.

¹¹⁵ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 155-164.

¹¹⁶ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 40.

discrepancy, which would serve to highlight the more "civilized" Western culture, or at least suppress the possible similarities they had with the Eastern culture.

Another factor that should be taken into consideration when trying to discover why Croatian soldiers, particularly Pandours, had a negative image in the eyes of the inhabitants of Western domains, concerns their role as strangers. Anton Blok highlights the fact that up until the eighteenth century people who were socially mobile, except the dominant classes and their agents, had been regarded as highly suspicious. In this category of suspicious persons, Blok includes pilgrims, beggars, scholars, students, outlaws and soldiers. Because they did not have a clearly defined relationship with the land, their behavior could not be controlled and, in most cases, they received money for their services, which made them dangerous and dishonorable in the eyes of a predominantly agrarian society.¹¹⁷ Thus, when these factors are all taken into consideration, it is perfectly understandable why Pandours and other Croatians induced such fear in the hearts of their enemies, as well as inhabitants of the regions in which they were campaigning.¹¹⁸

3.2. The lawlessness in the province of Slavonia

Even though Croatian frontiersmen may be regarded as violent people, I argue that they were not an exception in the age of Enlightenment. To support my claim, I will provide a short overview of the atmosphere in Slavonia after it was reclaimed by the Habsburgs in the late seventeenth century and incorporated in the system of the Military Frontier.

After the Peace Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699, the region of Slavonia was a fairly desolate place, as a consequence of the long-lasting warfare, during which thousands of lives were

¹¹⁷ Anton Blok, *Honour and Violence* (Malden, Massachusetts: Polity Press, 2001), 56-57.

¹¹⁸ Already in 1742 a newspaper article reports the French troops that were supposed to reinforce Prague were "terrified to the last Degree with the bare Name of the Pandours, Warasdins, Croatians, &c." *Stamford Mercury*, No. 528, (August 12, 1742), 2.

lost and numerous farmlands and buildings were burnt.¹¹⁹ In 1702 the area was officially proclaimed as the Slavonian Military Frontier, and the land was distributed between the military authorities, the Court Council, the church institutions and the feudal lords. This distribution actually complicated matters for the inhabitants, because they were now burdened with additional tax payments. Josip Kljajić argues that in this sense, the region actually resembled a colony.¹²⁰

The unsettled political structure and the lack of financial resources encouraged the military personnel to exploit the land and its inhabitants in order to sustain themselves and the military establishment. This exploitation involved violent measures, such as forceful taking of provisions and corporal punishments of those who opposed such acts.¹²¹ Thus, the soldiers' violent actions probably encouraged the inhabitants to resort to violence, most notably by joining bandit groups. However, it is important to bear in mind that banditry had already been a common feature in these lands during the previous century under Ottoman rule. For instance, Stanko Andrić offers the accounts of the Ragusan Jesuit Bartol Kašić and the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi who passed through this region in the seventeenth century. Both of them inform of numerous Christian bandits roaming the countryside and preying on travelers and Muslim town dwellers. However, Andrić does not attribute this trend to the Ottoman rule, which he does not describe as an oppressive one.¹²² Consequently, one of the possible roots of banditry and violent behavior could possibly be

¹¹⁹ Kljajić, "Ustroj Slavonske vojne granice," 203.

¹²⁰ Kljajić, "Ustroj Slavonske vojne granice," 206-207.

¹²¹ Kljajić, "Ustroj Slavonske vojne granice," 199; Zakošek, "Barun Franjo Trenk," 347.

¹²² Stanko Andrić, "Slavonija pod Osmanlijama" (Slavonia under the Ottomans"), *Forum: mjesečnik razreda za književnost Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* (*Forum: the Periodical of the Department of Literature of the Croatian Academy of Science and Arts*), Year 31, Vol. 64, No. 7-9, (1992): 158-159, 162, 177.

found in the idea of the borderland as a zone of constant violence between subjects of opposing sovereigns and the uncertainty of ensuring stability in the long run.¹²³

The Slavonian Military Frontier presented a peculiar case. This region experienced great population changes following the wars with the Ottomans. A great number of inhabitants either perished or emigrated, which meant that new settlers would be welcomed. This occurred following the campaign of the Habsburg general Eugene of Savoy in 1697, when large numbers of Christian inhabitants of Bosnia fled fearing the sultan's retribution. As newcomers in Slavonia, they more leniently accepted the implementation of reforms related to higher taxation of both the civilians and frontiersmen, than the inhabitants of other Croatian borderland regions, such as Lika, where the frontiersmen defiantly opposed these reforms.¹²⁴

Gunther Erich Rothenberg claims that Slavonia also became one of the dumping places for unemployed soldiers, particularly officers who came mostly from Inner Austria and could harness these dangerous bands roaming the province. He notes for these men the borderland was simply a place to get rich quickly.¹²⁵ Officers were frequently imposing additional taxes at the expense of the local populace. Preradovich gives the example of Trenck's father Johann von der Trenck, who at the time he was acting as the commander of the fort of Brod seems to have been involved in various types of extortion that were going unpunished.

¹²³ Although the borderland area between the Venetian, Habsburg and Ottoman empires was a zone where conflicts were a part of everyday life, there were also rules which conditioned these violent acts making the relationships between subjects of different sovereigns more stable. For more about relationships between the inhabitants of the borderland regions, see Drago Roksandić, *Triplex Confinium ili O granicama i regijama hrvatske povijesti 1500-1800. (Triplex Confinium or Regarding the Borders and Regions in Croatian History 1500-1800)*, (Zagreb: Barbat, 2003), 117-171; Géza Pálffy, "Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman– Hungarian Frontier in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders (Early Fifteenth–Early Eighteenth Centuries)*, ed. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007), 35-83.

¹²⁴ Karl Kaser, *Slobodan seljak i vojnik: Rana krajiška društva (1545-1754) (The Free Peasant and Soldier: The Early Frontier Societies (1545-1754))* (Zagreb: Naprijed, 1997), 220-222.

¹²⁵ Rothenberg, *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia, 1522-1747*, 105.

Preradovich suggests that this kind of behavior may also have influenced the conduct of Franz von der Trenck.¹²⁶

Interestingly, as Rothenberg points out, the Inner-Austrian estates, which were charged with sustaining the Military Frontier, mistrusted the frontiersmen and were opposed to the idea of arming this sort of people, to whom they attributed an inherent inclination toward mutiny and rebellion.¹²⁷ It seems that they were right to a certain degree, because bandit activities increased and posed a serious problem in the 1730s. The government could not provide the effective tool to battle this scourge, so it resorted to the strategy of granting amnesty to the bandits. For instance, Šišić remarks that in 1735 a commission from Vienna offered amnesty, along with financial aid if the bandits chose to lay down their weapons and return to their farms. Even though some accepted this offer, as Šišić notes, many either declined or returned to their bandit activities after the commission went back to Vienna.¹²⁸

The preceding account might imply that the inhabitants resorted to banditry as a normal part of everyday life. In this sense, I am following Ruff's denial of any professionalization claims that some historians are inclined to attribute to bandits. Rather, he describes banditry as a type of part-time job, after which the entrepreneurs often returned to a friendly inn, divided their spoils, and then dispersed, frequently to work independently until another opportunity for organized crime presented itself.¹²⁹ This appears to show that the inhabitants of Slavonia should also be regarded as practical men, who viewed banditry as transient entrepreneurship.

A confirmation of this trend of lawlessness can be found in Trenck's *Memoirs* as well. The author is describing an account of Trenck being robbed in the market-place called Našice.

¹²⁶ Preradovich, *Das seltsam wilde Leben*, 17.

¹²⁷ Rothenberg, *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia, 1522-1747*, 116-118.

¹²⁸ Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 64-65; Taube, *Povijesni i zemljopisni opis*, 118-119.

¹²⁹ Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, 236-237.

He and his Pandours pursued the thief who found refuge in a neighboring village. The community, to which Trenck refers as a "nest of thieves" would not give up the bandit, after which Trenck decided to take him by force. In the conflict one of the Pandours shot the thief. However, when they returned to Našice, Trenck and his men were confronted by the local militia (pandours). Another conflict broke out, in which the captain of Trenck's Pandours was killed. The outcome of this event involved Trenck paying a fine and the Pandour who shot the thief receiving a sentence of seven years of hard labor.¹³⁰ Thus, inclination to violent behavior, which involved theft, extortion and murder, was a common to all social and ethnic classes inhabiting the Slavonian borderland region.

3.3. Relations between Baron Trenck and the Pandours

Before proceeding to the analysis of the relationship between Baron Trenck and the indigenous populace of Slavonia, it is necessary to clarify the term "pandour". Pederin explains that the term designated the personal guard of a feudal lord, originating from the Medieval Latin term *banderium*.¹³¹ According to Šime Peričić, in the Venetian province of Dalmatia, pandours were locals hired by the Venetian authorities in order to pursue bandits ("hajduk").¹³² In both cases the pandours are opposed to the hajduks, who may have had nobler role under Ottoman rule, because they were undermining the authority of the state. However, as Slavonia passed to the hands of the Habsburgs, the term "hajduk" remained in use to designate violent men and criminals.¹³³ Interestingly, according to Hacquet, the term "pandour" acquired a negative attribute in the second half of the eighteenth century, being

¹³⁰ *Memoirs*, 15-16.

¹³¹ Pederin, *Njemački putopisi*, 28-29.

¹³² Šime Peričić, "Hajdučija u mletačkoj Dalmaciji XVIII. stoljeća (Banditry in Venetian Dalmatia of the XVIII Century)," *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru (Articles of the Institute for Historical Sciences of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zadar)*, Vol. 41 (1999): 206-208, 211.

¹³³ Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji*, 32, 37.

associated with thieves and murderers, because of the violent acts of troops employed by Baron Trenck and other Habsburg commanders in the War of the Austrian Succession.¹³⁴

Contemporary British newspapers distinguish several groups of irregulars from the Military Frontier, among which the term "Pandours" probably refers to troops recruited from Slavonia, and acquiring the name from Trenck, since he eagerly recruited them during the war.¹³⁵ However, the terms "Pandour" and "Croat" seemed to have expanded occasionally to incorporate irregulars from the Military Frontier in general.¹³⁶

As it has been stressed, pandours were the personal guard of a nobleman. In this respect, one would presume that they must have been quite attached to Baron Trenck. Most Croatian scholars portray Trenck as a man of the people. For instance, Luka Ilić Oriovčanin argues that upon Trenck's return from the Russian front in the late 1730s, tenants greeted him with cheer, expecting that he would deliver them from the bandit threat. Writing in the middle of the nineteenth century, Ilić Oriovčani even notes that he had a conversation with an inhabitant of Trenck's former estates, who shared an account given by his grandfather about Trenck's generosity, kindness and care for his tenants.¹³⁷ Obviously, this portrayal should be placed within the context of the rise of nationalism, which encouraged historians to seek out national heroes with spotless reputations.

¹³⁴ Hacquet, *Oslikavanje i opisivanje*, 79.

¹³⁵ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, (March 15, 1745), 2.

¹³⁶ *Newcastle Courant*, No. 2605 (November 19, 1743): 2; *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 4209 (October 5, 1747), 3.

¹³⁷ Ilić Oriovčanin, *Baron Franjo Trenk*, 33-34.



Figure 2. A portrait of Baron Trenck.

If one should glimpse into Trenck's *Memoirs*, one would find only words of praise regarding the Pandours. The first time a Pandour is mentioned relates to the tale of a young Franz von der Trenck nearly drowning in the frozen river Sava on the border between Slavonia and Bosnia. The author describes that about 300 people assembled on the banks of the river, but nobody, save a brave Pandour, would dare to attempt to lunge into the ice cold river.¹³⁸ This account depicts the Pandour as Trenck's savior, which could possibly point to Trenck's summon for help in his dire need, or possibly to highlight the fact of the Pandours' bravery and Trenck's contribution in locating these brave men and bringing them to the Queen's aid.

¹³⁸ *Memoirs*, 7-8.

In the *Memoirs*, as in the works of most Croatian scholars, such as Ilić Oriovčanin, Schmidt and Šišić, the Pandours are depicted as his loyal servants, or even brothers in arms, which would imply that they formed a homogenous entity. While this may be true in some aspects, such as the extent of violent behavior that they all supposedly shared, they could also be viewed as two separate entities, which were constantly searching for means of negotiating with each other.

Even in a few passages from the *Memoirs* one can detect signs that Trenck was not completely in control of his Pandours. For instance, when he was accused of sacrilege, Trenck tried to defend himself by implying that the Pandours were the ones who had stolen utensils from the church, while he was unable to stop them but that he tried to buy back the items from his own pocket and return them to their rightful owner.¹³⁹ Trenck had to present himself as a strict commander, which was necessary if he wanted to earn their respect and loyalty, and this involved a certain degree of violence. An example can be provided by a 1741 account of the time they were stationed in Silesia. The Pandours got drunk and shot two merchants that were in Trenck's custody. He reacted by having the two offenders beheaded.¹⁴⁰

The process of recruitment of the Pandours also implies the possibility of coercion. Zakošek and most other authors inform that in 1740 Trenck recruited 700 Pandours, amongst which were his personal guards, his tenants and various volunteers, including frontiersmen and tenants from other estates,¹⁴¹ handpicked by Trenck himself, in order to assure that his unit would be comprised of only the toughest and bravest combatants.¹⁴² This would suggest that Trenck's band was comprised of only volunteers. However, Trenck was also granted

¹³⁹ *Memoirs*, vi, 93-94.

¹⁴⁰ *Memoirs*, 55.

¹⁴¹ An abundance of irregular veterans was available after the war between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans ended in 1739. Russell, "Redcoats in the Wilderness," 631.

¹⁴² Zakošek, "Barun Franjo Trenk," 349.

approval from the Slavonian general Khevenhüller to pursue bandits roaming the countryside and incorporate them in his forces. Trenck captured 300 of them and after initiating a negotiation process, with the help of one of his captains, who was a former bandit, succeeded in persuading them to join his Pandour unit.¹⁴³

It seems that the recruitment method often involved coercion. In 1743 Trenck participated in quelling the rebellion in Slavonia, after which he enlisted many of the captured rebels in his unit to fight in Bavaria and Bohemia.¹⁴⁴ Viojoleta Herman Kaurić claims that because of his violent recruitment, more men joined bandit ranks in order to evade conscription.¹⁴⁵ Šišić also shares her opinion, by providing information that in 1745 the representatives of the three civilian counties of Slavonia¹⁴⁶ were complaining that Trenck forcibly took tenants leaving the estates desolate and the forests infested with bandits who would not join his unit.¹⁴⁷

Yet, resorting to violent measures of recruitment did not ensure Trenck's full control over these men. Already in 1741 the majority of his troops set out for their Slavonian homeland, leaving him with only 300 of them in charge of defending the bridge across the Danube against the enemy forces that were advancing toward Vienna.¹⁴⁸

In order to ensure the Pandours' participation in the military campaigns Trenck needed to appeal to their interests. One of those was the promise of booty, but he perhaps also had to impress them by cunning and heroic deeds. For instance, Schmidt provides the account of Pandours attempting to kill Trenck in 1731. He claims that the Pandours were fed up with

¹⁴³ Zakošek, "Barun Franjo Trenk," 349-350.

¹⁴⁴ Šišić, *Županija virovitička*, 95-97.

¹⁴⁵ Viojoleta Herman Kaurić, *Krhotine povijesti Pakraca: povijest naselja od prapovijesti do 1918. godine* (*Fragments of the History of Pakrac: the History of the Settlement from Prehistory until 1918*) (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005), 120.

¹⁴⁶ In 1745 the Slavonian Military Border was reduced by the establishment of three civilian counties of Srijem, Požega and Virovitica, which were no longer under the jurisdiction of the military authorities, but the Croatian Diet. Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 164-177.

¹⁴⁷ Šišić, *Županija virovitička*, 99.

¹⁴⁸ *Memoirs*, 59-60.

his insistence of pursuing bandits, so they decided to execute their plan in a Slavonian inn. However, Trenck's cunning nature enabled him to discern their intent. He decided to play a trick on them, by getting them drunk and removing the gunpowder from their muskets while they were sleeping. When they woke up he urged them to try and shoot him. He claimed that he used magic to disable them from killing them, which removed any doubt from their minds and made them obey him.¹⁴⁹ While this tale might seem slightly embellished, it certainly can be interpreted as Trenck's intent of earning the men's respect. Another example can be found in Trenck's participation in courageous deeds to ensure that the Pandours would follow him. In 1744 when they were crossing the Rhine in boats and Trenck was the first to leap out and charged the enemy.¹⁵⁰

A parallel can be drawn with the Uskoks of Senj. Bracewell stresses the importance of the Uskok commanders (*harambaša* and *vojvoda*) in regards to demonstration of courage and valor, while the ability to finance the raid by providing a vessel was of secondary importance. Authority was established and strengthened on the basis of the leader's experience and his valor in raids.¹⁵¹

3.4. The images and the role of the Pandours

The Turkish style of clothing seems to have been the most sensational element of Pandours, which surely contributed to their image as violent combatants. However, the source of this style remains questionable. Tomislav Aralica and Višeslav Aralica argue that this type of clothing was common among the Slavonian inhabitants, since many of them, even though of Christian faith, had been in fact subjects of the Ottomans for more than a century, or

¹⁴⁹ It is important to emphasize that this account is missing from the *Memoirs* of 1747. Schmidt must have retrieved it from the later version of the mentioned *Memoirs*. Schmidt, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 6.

¹⁵⁰ *The Scots Magazine*, No. 249 (June 1, 1744), 42.

¹⁵¹ Catherine Wendy Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj: Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992), 130-139.

emigrants from Ottoman Bosnia. Thus, Turkish military art and Turkish culture were deeply rooted amongst these people. The mentioned authors also suggest that Trenck encouraged wearing Turkish dress, as well as the military equipment, assuming that it would ensure them advantage on the battlefield.¹⁵²

While instilling fear into the heart of the enemies may have been one of the goals Trenck desired to achieve by equipping his troops with Turkish garments, another possible reason may be at hand, namely, fashion. Helen Pfeiffer and Alexander Belavivaqua tell us that Turkish culture, *turquerie*, was widespread among Europeans in the eighteenth century, as increased trade contributed to the circulation of goods and ideas. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, central European electors and aristocrats appeared at carnivals, as well as weddings, coronations and baptisms, dressed as Ottomans and accompanied by "Turkish" soldiers and musicians. Ottoman music was conveyed to Europe by musicians of the Ottoman military band, called the *mehter*. Europeans absorbed and reproduced this double role of the *mehter* as both ceremonial and military. Even Queen Maria Theresa dressed *alla turca* during masquerades. Therefore, Baron Trenck might have been thinking about the desire to impress his sovereign and other aristocrats of the time, if we accept the fact that it was he who decorated his troops with Turkish garments.¹⁵³

As an officer, Trenck was responsible for furnishing his men with clothing and equipment. Now, leaving aside the aristocratic need to follow fashion, which certainly was one of the characteristics of the *ancien régime*, providing soldiers with particular uniforms also had practical connotations. One of them was to make them more recognizable and thus making

¹⁵² Tomislav Aralica, Višeslav Aralica, *Hrvatski ratnici kroz stoljeća: Oprema, oružje i odore hrvatskih ratnika od oko 800. do 1918. godine* (Croatian Combatants throughout the Centuries: Equipment, Arms and Uniforms of Croatian Combatants from about 800 until 1918) (Zagreb: Znanje, 1996), 126-128.

¹⁵³ Helen Pfeiffer and Alexander Belavivaqua, "Turquerie: Culture in Motion, 1650-1750," *Past and Present* 221 (2013): 77-78, 80, 85, 98-100, 107.

it more difficult for them to desert.¹⁵⁴ Another aspect may involve cheapness. Marija Šarcer explains that until the middle of the eighteenth century, arms used by soldiers, irregulars and bandits had mostly been manufactured in Bosnian workshops.¹⁵⁵ Thus, it is safe to assume that equipping the Pandours with Turkish arms and clothing may have been less costly.

Surprisingly, the description of the Turkish garments and arms, save the music band, seems to be missing from Trenck's *Memoirs*.¹⁵⁶ However, a few authors, including Schmidt, Šišić and Ilić Oriovčanin emphasize the fact that the Pandours were dressed in "Janissary" fashion and equipped with Turkish arms and a horse's tail as a standard.¹⁵⁷ The latter feature might be attributed to Trenck's admiration for the Tartar horsemen whom he encountered during his campaigns in Russia.¹⁵⁸ The image of their Oriental type of clothing might have been a product of later times. For instance, Pandours were a popular image on porcelain pieces and engravings from the eighteenth century. Stanko Staničić warns that deviations from historical authenticity must be taken into account, especially when it concerns the "exotic" clothing of the Pandours and other Croatian soldiers. He provides the example of colored engravings entitled "Théâtre de la milice étrangère" by Martin Engelbrecht (1684-1756), a publisher and engraver from Augsburg. Engelbrecht wanted to appeal to the public by providing images of Croatian soldiers wearing elongated black cylindrical caps, distinguishing red cloaks, accompanied with multicolored garments, shirts and breeches.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Lynn, *Battle*, 116-118.

¹⁵⁵ Marija Šarcer, "Oružje 17. i 18. stoljeća" ("Weapons of the 17th and 18th Century"), in *Od svagdane do blagdane Barok u Hrvatskoj (From Everyday to Holidays: Baroque in Croatia)*, ed. Vladimir Maleković (Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1993), 212-213.

¹⁵⁶ In the *Memoirs*, the usage of Turkish music with the purpose of terrifying the enemy is mentioned during the siege of Deckendorff, which took place in 1742. *Memoirs*, 66-67.

¹⁵⁷ Schmidt, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 16.

¹⁵⁸ *Memoirs*, 31.

¹⁵⁹ Stanko Staničić, "Ratni prizori s hrvatskim sudionicima na porculanu meissenske proizvodnje (War Scenes Depicting Soldiers from Croatia on Meissen Porcelain)," in *Od svagdane do blagdane Barok u Hrvatskoj (From Everyday to Holidays: Baroque in Croatia)*, ed. Vladimir Maleković (Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1993), 170-177.



Figure 3. An engraving of a Pandour from the "Théâtre de la milice étrangère".

The British newspaper articles are also scarce regarding information about the Turkish garments of the Pandours. However, there is evidence that the Pandours eagerly embraced Western clothing. For instance, an article from 1744 informs us that the Pandours appeared before the commander of the Saxon army, wearing French Grenadier uniforms and standards, which they had confiscated after the capture of the Bohemian town of Budweis.¹⁶⁰

Another distinguishing feature of the Pandours, which Šišić mentions, is the usage of the war cry "Allah! Allah!" before charging against the French in 1743.¹⁶¹ This is something

¹⁶⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 3773 (November 22, 1744): 1; *Newcastle Courant*, No. 2624 (March 31, 1744): 1; Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 152.

¹⁶¹ Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 135.

completely contrary to the account concerning the Uskoks given by Catherine Wendy Bracewell. She emphasizes the fact that the role of these irregulars, often labeled as pirates and bandits by their adversaries, as the defenders of Christendom enticed them to use the cry "Jesus! Jesus!" before rushing into battle.¹⁶² Even though the Uskoks were active more than a century earlier than the Pandours and were engaged with enemies of a different faith, it is safe to assume that religion still played a significant role in the identity of the inhabitants of the Slavonian Frontier, who were predominantly Christians.

3.5. Pandours as independent entrepreneurs

The mere appearance of the Pandours was not the only factor that contributed to the creation of a negative image for them, as well as for Croatian soldiers in general. Their violent conduct was directed not only towards enemy soldiers but also local inhabitants as well, and this surely contributed towards their notoriety. Already by 1742 Frederick of Prussia and the Bavarian elector labeled them as "banditti," "barbarians," and "savages"¹⁶³ because of their numerous raids on enemy troops, convoys and garrisons. However, their violent behavior could also be interpreted as a bargaining tool, which enabled them to acquire not only means to sustain themselves but also the opportunity for further employment.

Pandours fought not only under the command of Baron Trenck but under other Habsburg commanders as well. Probably they were not just transferred from one commander to another but that each new commander had to make it appealing for them to join his retinue. For instance, when Trenck was relieved of command in 1741 because he supposedly was

¹⁶² Bracewell, *The Uskoks*, 160.

¹⁶³ Russell, "Redcoats in the Wilderness," 631.

not able to control them adequately, a new commander, named Mentzel, brought them to his side by giving them a part of the spoils.¹⁶⁴

British newspapers report numerous occasions in which Pandours were led by other Habsburg commanders, such as Baron Berenklaui. In 1742 he led them, along with other irregular troops, including Croats and Hungarian hussars, against the Bavarian army. After they achieved victory a rich prize of booty and many prisoners of war captured.¹⁶⁵ The same year we find the Pandours, hussars and Warasdins in the service of commanders Pálffy, Nádasdy and Mentzel, with the task of harassing the French rear guard and baggage.¹⁶⁶ In both accounts we notice that the opportunity of gaining booty was presented, which must have been a bargaining tool for encouraging these irregular troops to participate.

Pandours were also offering their services to the enemies of the Habsburgs. For instance, a report from 1743 informs that 800 Pandours were captured by the French, while penetrating too far into their territory.¹⁶⁷ Another article from the same year claims that the "French Pandours" were imprisoned "for exercising their Trade a little too early, by cutting People's Throats on the Road to Paris."¹⁶⁸ Thus, these two articles testify that the Pandours were eager to seek employment in the service of other rulers, but at the same time, they were not so inclined to surrender completely to their control.

The violent behavior that the Pandours demonstrated had also the implication of gaining social recognition. Analyzing the conduct of Ottoman irregulars at the turn of the nineteenth century, Esmer reveals that among soldiers there was a competition for resources and status or recognition. Christian booty, slaves, and macabre trophies like Christian heads were used as currencies to negotiate status and material rewards among various ranks of Ottoman

¹⁶⁴ *Memoirs*, 57.

¹⁶⁵ *Stamford Mercury*, No. 535 (September 30, 1742): 2.

¹⁶⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 3442 (October 5, 1742): 2.

¹⁶⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 3481 (January 4, 1743): 1.

¹⁶⁸ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XII, No. 51, (February 24, 1743): 2.

soldiery and their superiors.¹⁶⁹ The Pandours might have also been eager to achieve recognition amongst themselves, as well as their superiors, which would grant them the possibility of attaining and maintaining their honorable status. A report of an unusual event near Ingolstadt in 1743 may serve as an example. The French garrison stationed in that town decided to capitulate and was preparing to evacuate the town. While this was taking place, Trenck was walking along the Rhine with some officers and noticed a French sentinel. He asked the Pandours behind him: "What shall I give one of you for the Head of that Frenchmen?" Immediately, one demanded a couple of ducats and lunged into the river, the Frenchmen fired at him, but missed, after which the Pandour shot him with his pistol and retrieved the head for which he was awarded two ducats.¹⁷⁰ The ducat itself should not be regarded as the main motivational factor, but the opportunity to display one's courage and valor, which was followed by the violent act of decapitation as proof of these traits.

As Blok suggests that violence should not a priori be dismissed as "senseless", rather it should be understood primarily as symbolic action, that is, a meaningful action. Violence is interwoven with masculinity, and the human body often serves as a cultural medium, as a source of metaphorical material to symbolize power relations.¹⁷¹ Therefore, the example of the Pandour's violent act should be considered as something much more than a senseless act of violence. It was connected to various types of motivations for gaining recognition, including fear and the desire to prove oneself in the eyes of his peers, enemy combatants and commanders who might be placed somewhere in between the former two categories.

Another parallel can be drawn with the Uskoks of Senj in relation to the frontier code of honor. Bracewell states: "violence played an important role in this code, for a man's reputation was acquired, his honor maintained, and his virility vindicated through the use of

¹⁶⁹ Esmer. "The Confessions," 329.

¹⁷⁰ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XII, No 31 (October 13, 1743), 3.

¹⁷¹ Blok, *Honour and Violence*, 111-112.

physical force."¹⁷² However, it is important to bear in mind that Bracewell emphasizes that this frontier code of honor was not irrational or aimless. It was actually purposeful, because it had the role of evoking fear and respect.¹⁷³

3.6. Conclusion

The land from which the Pandours originated seems to have been an area where violence was a part of everyday relations between various groups from the top of the social hierarchy to the very bottom. Both the indigenous inhabitants and "German" officers used it as a bargaining tool. This kind of behavior was transferred by the Pandours and other irregular units from the Military Frontier to German, Bohemian and French lands. However, the violent behavior might have been exaggerated in those lands, because it was accompanied by the emphasis on the "otherness" of the Pandours and other irregulars who were strangers in these lands. The irregulars might have also regarded the people they encountered as strangers, and thus enhanced their distribution of violence in order to achieve recognition, or perhaps only survival, by using the only means they had at hand.

¹⁷² Bracewell, *The Uskoks*, 167.

¹⁷³ Bracewell, *The Uskoks*, 167-168.

Chapter 4. The Violent Deeds of Baron Trenck and the Pandours

According to David Parrot, early modern warfare was a joint effort between the rulers and military entrepreneurs hailing from all ranks of society.¹⁷⁴ The state may have been the one that declared war and concluded peace, but it was not completely in control of its armies and the course of the wartime operations. Furthermore, as Ruff points out, it was the officers' investments that enabled a monarchy to maintain large armies in the field. An officer would purchase his command in expectation of being eventually reimbursed by the crown. The officer was in charge of maintaining the unit, i.e., recruiting it, sustaining it and claiming responsibility for its discipline and reputation.¹⁷⁵ Interestingly, all of these three tasks were actually in some way linked with looting, which was an accepted practice of early modern warfare.

Baron Trenck could be viewed as one of these military entrepreneurs who, in an attempt to offer motivation and sustainability to his troops, overstepped the murky boundaries of what was tacitly understood as a tolerated modicum of plunder and had to face the consequences as the one responsible for the actions of his men. In this sense, the following chapter will analyze separately the violent deeds of Trenck and those of the Pandours and offer a possible interpretation of the utility and justification of those deeds in the eyes of the state.

4. 1. The violent deeds of Baron Trenck

During the War of the Austrian Succession the act that is considered to be most violent for which Trenck took responsibility was the plundering and burning of the Bavarian town of Cham in 1742. In the *Memoirs* Trenck's justification is the fact that the defenders of Cham

¹⁷⁴ Parrot, *The Business of War*, 264-266, 304-305.

¹⁷⁵ Lynn, *Battle*, 137-139. For more about military entrepreneurship in early modern times, see Peter Wilson, "Warfare in the Old Regime 1648-1789," in *European Warfare: 1453-1815*, ed. Jeremy Black (New York: St Martin's Press, 1999), 72-84.

had attained a dishonorable status. The same Bavarian battalion had in fact capitulated in Linz not long before, and agreed not to raise arms against the Habsburg ruler for a period of one year, in return for granting them safe passage from the town.¹⁷⁶ The author of the *Memoirs* obviously cleverly highlighted the fact that the enemy was inflicting an injury on Maria Theresa, while Trenck was defending the interests of his sovereign.

The same justification can also be found in the British newspapers. The *Derby Mercury* reveals that Trenck, who is recognized as an honorable "gentleman", demanded the acting commander to surrender the town. The Bavarian commander refused, and to add even more insult, the defenders even shot two of Trenck's Pandours. After this act, Trenck ordered that the suburbs of Cham should be set on fire. The flames soon spread over the entire city and the Pandours stormed the gates killing every person they encountered.¹⁷⁷ Some of the defenders tried to escape to the nearby forest, but Trenck hunted them down. However, the article informs us that he was merciful, offering them a pardon if they joined the service of the Habsburg Queen. The survivors joyfully accepted the offer.¹⁷⁸ In other newspapers a letter that Trenck sent to his superior commander is presented, in which Trenck informs him of the "prodigious treasure" they have taken and that his "Pandours and Croats behaved extraordinary well."¹⁷⁹

The Scottish *Caledonian Mercury* gives a somewhat more negative description of the event. The Pandours' merciless butchering of the inhabitants and their vicious plundering is emphasized. Concerning the Bavarian battalion which was either killed or imprisoned, the article states that Baron Trenck "pretends, that this Corps is Part of the Garrison of Lintz

¹⁷⁶ *Memoirs*, 65.

¹⁷⁷ Schmidt reports that the Pandours were provoked to bloodlust by witnessing six of their captured brethren with their hands cut off being paraded along the walls of Cham. Schmidt, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 24. There is no report of this case neither in the *Memoirs* nor in the British newspapers.

¹⁷⁸ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XI, No. 29 (September 30, 1742): 3.

¹⁷⁹ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XI, No. 28, (Thu 23 Sep 1742): 4; *Ipswich Journal*, No. 189 (September 25, 1742): 2.

and that it has violated the Capitulation, whereby it was stipulated that none of that Garrison should serve for a Year to come."¹⁸⁰

Most Croatian scholars acknowledge the sacking of Cham as one of Trenck's gravest sins. Šišić even considers that Trenck himself was aware of the wrongdoing. He explains that in 1744 when Trenck was gravely wounded during the siege of Kolin and seemed very likely that he would succumb to his wounds, Trenck wrote a will leaving his entire inheritance to the Queen, except for the 12,000 florins to the citizens of Cham.¹⁸¹ Trenck did not die that year, but recovered and rejoined the fighting. Still, during his imprisonment in Spielberg he wrote another will, leaving 30,000 florins for the construction of a hospital in Cham.¹⁸²

Naturally, the case of Cham was not an exception. For instance, the same year Neuburg, in the Upper Palatinate, refused to surrender to Trenck's troops, after which it suffered the same fate as Cham.¹⁸³ However, it is important to acknowledge the fact that an assault on the city, in the event that it refuses to surrender, which was often followed by merciless plunder, was completely acceptable according to the contemporary rules of warfare.¹⁸⁴ These rules were so well known that they were even included in John Amos Comenius' (1592-1670) *Orbis Pictus*, a textbook for children published in 1658, which was frequently in use in the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁵

Trenck was perfectly aware of the rules concerning besieged towns, as the author of the *Memoirs* repeatedly observes. On several occasions he offered the defenders an opportunity

¹⁸⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 3439 (September 28, 1742): 1-2.

¹⁸¹ Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 156.

¹⁸² Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 191.

¹⁸³ *Ipswich Journal*, No. 196 (November 13, 1742): 3; *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 3460 (November 16, 1742): 1.

¹⁸⁴ For more about the rules regarding siege warfare and warfare in general in early modern times, see Lynn, *Battle*, 133-136.

¹⁸⁵ Charles Hoole, trans., *Joh. Amos Comenii Orbis sensualium pictus hoc est omnium principalium in mundo rerum, et in vita actionum, pictura & nomenclatura / Joh. Amos Comenius's Visible world: or, A nomenclature, and pictures of all the chief things that are in the world, and of men's employments therein; in above 150 cuts* (London: John and Benj. Sprint, 1728), 181.

to surrender, before assaulting the town. In 1742 the garrison of Reichenhall accepted his offer, surrendering themselves to become prisoners of war, while Diesenstein refused, providing Trenck with the cause to unleash his men upon it.¹⁸⁶

According to Šišić, Trenck and his Pandours attained a bad reputation in Alsace because of the frequent pillaging of that region in 1743.¹⁸⁷ The *Caledonian Mercury* reports these acts. They put some villages under contribution, burned others, took cattle and successfully defeated French *curraisers*, highlighting that they killed the majority of them.¹⁸⁸ Trenck's justifications of these deeds are also presented, which include following the orders of Prince Charles of Lorraine, to whom Trenck sent part of the booty taken from the French horsemen, including a standard and a trumpeter's lavish coat, while Trenck and his men took their arms and horses.¹⁸⁹

The *Derby Mercury* informs that Trenck, the Pandours and other irregulars made incursions across the Rhine in 1743, from whence they gathered contributions and prisoners.¹⁹⁰ The *Newcastle Courant* reports that Trenck "receiv'd of 200,000 livres, in part of a Million, which, as he expresses it in his Patents, is all that out of Modesty he demanded of that Country."¹⁹¹

The *Memoirs* and the British newspapers do offer information that would imply that Trenck indeed did resort to certain violent acts, but these acts do not reveal him as an unusually violent person. Furthermore, justification for his deeds can be found in the fact that they were performed according to the rules of war or in the interest of his sovereign. Naturally, there is no mention of crimes that Trenck was accused of in 1746 and the following years.

¹⁸⁶ *Memoirs*, 71, 80.

¹⁸⁷ Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 141-142.

¹⁸⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 3579 (August 29, 1743): 1.

¹⁸⁹ *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 3577 (August 23, 1743), 2.

¹⁹⁰ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XII, No. 13, (August 18, 1743): 1; *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XII, No. 23 (August 18, 1743): 3-4; *Newcastle Courant*, No. 2592 (August 20, 1743): 2.

¹⁹¹ *Newcastle Courant*, No. 2592 (August 20, 1743): 2.

The problem lies in the fact that these types of sources do not reveal Trenck's supposed violent conduct toward his subordinates and the common folk of the regions he campaigned in. Thus, even though the mentioned sources hint at a possible violent nature, they still observe Trenck according to his social status - a "gentleman" who is not prone to violent behavior, or at least has justification for it. This can be observed in the article in the *Derby Mercury* in 1743 that describes "Baron Trenck particularly is greatly esteem'd for his Politeness, and other Accomplishments."¹⁹²

As warfare played an important part in everyday life of the eighteenth century, it would not be wrong to assume that the degree of violence was much higher than in present times and perhaps something that was not so unusual to contemporaries. Other officers and regular soldiers were prone to violent behavior of a type similar to what is attributed to Trenck. Other commanders deployed similar measures when besieging towns. For instance, Colonel Mentzel was commanding Pandours when they captured the town of Zoten in 1741, which was plundered and burned to the ground.¹⁹³ The army of Eugene of Savoy was infamous for burning a whole series of Bosnian towns, including Sarajevo, during the 1697 campaign.¹⁹⁴ If one should explore the account by the Ottoman officer Osman Aga of Temisvar, one would find numerous descriptions of the deceitful and violent behavior that the Habsburg officers, as well as regular soldiers, were ready to employ in order to gain riches and slaves.¹⁹⁵

A particularly interesting account is provided by the *Derby Mercury* concerning the capture of Munich by Habsburg forces in 1742. The article notes that commanders such as Count Khevenhüller, Bernklau, Pálffy, Wurmbrand, Mentzel and Hubila received "gifts" from the

¹⁹² *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XII, No. 30, (October 6, 1743): 2.

¹⁹³ Šišić, *Županija virovitička*, 90.

¹⁹⁴ Kljajić, "Ustroj Slavonske vojne granice," 202.

¹⁹⁵ Čaušević, *Autobiografija*, 4, 9-11, 27-28, 33.

inhabitants, whereas, General Stentz was slighted. He then demanded that a sum of 6000 florins be awarded to him, which the citizens refused, arguing that he came too late. Stentz decided to help himself to horses, provisions and other belongings of the citizens, which provoked some of them to rebel. However, the Austrian soldiers massacred everyone who resisted the plundering.¹⁹⁶

British newspapers offer innumerable accounts regarding the violent excesses of various irregular and regular units on both sides during the War of the Austrian Succession. For instance, the Prussians, particularly the hussar unit called *Death and Destruction*, were notorious for plundering the Bohemian countryside.¹⁹⁷ Reports reveal that the French were especially disliked by the Bavarian populace,¹⁹⁸ who were subjects of their ally, the Bavarian Elector and the Holy Roman Emperor. The *Newcastle Courant* stresses that the French "pillage and destroy and commit a thousand times more Irregularities in Bavaria, than did even the Pandours and Croats."¹⁹⁹

The hussars in the service of the Habsburgs were also prone to violent deeds. Reed Browning emphasizes that the Austrian and Hungarian hussars were "fairly averse to discipline, preferring to plunder enemy camps, rather than to engage them in open battle."²⁰⁰ Hussars under the command of Mentzel are often mentioned in newspapers concerning violent acts of plunder and devastation. They burned villages in Bavaria²⁰¹ and made multiple incursions in France, with the aim of raising contributions.²⁰²

¹⁹⁶ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XI, No. 12, (June 3, 1742): 2.

¹⁹⁷ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. 14, No. 1, (March 15, 1745): 2; *Derby Mercury*, unknown number (August 27, 1741): 1; *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 3762 (October 29, 1744): 1.

¹⁹⁸ *Stamford Mercury*, No. 535 (September 30, 1742): 4.

¹⁹⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, No. 2555 (December 4, 1742): 1.

²⁰⁰ Browning, *The War of the Austrian Succession*, 52-53; *Ipswich Journal*, No. 154 (January 23, 1742): 2.

²⁰¹ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XI, No. 9 (May 13, 1742): 2.

²⁰² *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 3574 (August 18, 1743): 2.

The sources that were analyzed do not actually provide us with a portrayal of Trenck as an extremely violent person. The English newspapers even refer to him as a "gentleman", which automatically places him outside of the category of mindless savages. The fact that his deeds have been justified as those performed in the interest of the state offer even more justification to his supposed violent behavior.

4.2. The state's view concerning Trenck's conduct

As an officer-entrepreneur, Baron Trenck had to strike a balance between the interests of his troops and the interests of the state. For instance, on occasions he had to prevent the Pandours from looting, even though that might be the main motivational factor for ensuring their loyalty, because the interests of the state were of higher order. Šišić gives the account of Trenck preventing the Pandours from storming Munich in 1742, when it was under siege by the Habsburg forces, because he was following the wishes of the Queen, who desired to obtain the sympathy of the Bavarian subjects, contemplating that Bavaria could possibly serve as a replacement for the lost region of Silesia.²⁰³ Trenck was following the same instructions in 1743 when the Austrian forces were pushing the French along the Danube toward the Rhine. Šišić notes that Trenck even hanged men for the slightest insubordination.²⁰⁴

Already at the time when the war between the Ottomans and Habsburgs broke out in 1737, Trenck offered to recruit 4000 Pandour volunteers and equip them at his expense with the goal of invading Bosnia and reclaiming that medieval kingdom. He suspected that the populace would eagerly support him, in order to "shake off the yoke of Turkish slavery".

²⁰³ Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 107-108. Silesia was lost to the forces of Frederick the Great in 1741 and would not be reclaimed during the course of the war. See: Browning, *The War of the Austrian Succession*, 42-54.

²⁰⁴ Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 126. Interestingly, Šišić states that Trenck proudly describes this act in his autobiography, but it seems to be missing from the version published in 1747.

However, Trenck's offer was rejected, and he decided to offer his military services to the Russian Empress.²⁰⁵ Probably the Habsburg military authorities did not feel that Trenck would live up to his promises, but the account nevertheless reveals Trenck's strategy of trying to employ his military profession by offering proposals that he thought to be appealing to the state.

Trenck also justified the recruitment of the inhabitants of Slavonia, which was characterized as "forceful" by the representatives of the three Slavonian civilian counties in 1745, by explaining that it was the will of the sovereign. In 1743 Trenck participated in the quelling of the rebellion in Slavonia. After the ringleaders were lured by the promise of negotiations, they were brutally executed. However, even though the rebels dispersed after this, it was not enough because: "The queen was not satisfied with the suppression of the revolt, but ordered, by way of punishment for so heinous a crime, that the several districts should send each a body of men into the field against her enemies."²⁰⁶ On this occasion Trenck was able to recruit 2600 men.²⁰⁷

The state could tolerate the violent measures performed by Trenck as long as they ensured the achievement of the state's military goals, as well as in the context of protection and expansion of the ruler's sovereignty. For a while Trenck was able to achieve those goals, but his violent acts, that may have seemed necessary in order to ensure the sustainability of his unit and victory on the battlefield, did not always coincide with the state's interest. Trenck was accused of violent behavior in Bavaria and Bohemia, the former a potential and the latter the actual Habsburg domain. In August 1743 Maria Theresa published a patent in Munich, requiring that "all the States, Tribunals, Magistrates, and the People" are to pay homage to her as their sovereign, and "ordering all such as had retired on the late Troubles,

²⁰⁵ *Memoirs*, 24.

²⁰⁶ *Memoirs*, 102.

²⁰⁷ *Memoirs*, 101-102.

to repair to their Estates, &c. in Bavaria; all on pain of Confiscation, &c."²⁰⁸ This shows that the monarch was indeed interested in the welfare of her or his subjects, and that the real essence of empire building lay not only in acquiring lands but also in protecting the inhabitants of those lands.

Another possible reason why Trenck fell from grace revolved around the fact that the state did not tolerate failure. The case of Count Wilhelm Reinhard von Neipperg (1684-1774) can testify to this claim. Following the defeat of the Habsburgs in the war against the Ottomans in 1739, Neipperg was imprisoned for incompetence. However, as fate would have it, he was given an opportunity to redeem his failures in 1740, when Silesia was invaded by the Prussians.²⁰⁹ Trenck was blamed for the defeat at Soor in 1745, one of the chances to resolve the Prussian threat and reclaim the rich province of Silesia.

Moreover, as Barker argues, the reign of Maria Theresa was characterized by the monopolization of the means of violence through the institutionalization of the concept of honor. It was the monarch who would determine the conduct of nobles and the prerequisites for advancement in the military hierarchy. This process is reflected in the establishment of the Military Order of Maria Theresa.²¹⁰ Barker also notes that Maria Theresa was completely against the primitive manifestation of male competitiveness in the forms of duels and that she was eager to regulate sexual mores and impose marriage regulations among her nobles.²¹¹ Thus, it seems that Trenck's personal traits, which could be distinguished in the *Memoirs*, were probably not appealing to his sovereign and contrary to the model of a military officer that the monarch was attempting to create.

²⁰⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 2582 (September 5, 1743): 1.

²⁰⁹ Browning, *The War of the Austrian Succession*, 44.

²¹⁰ Barker, *Army, Aristocracy, Monarchy*, 144.

²¹¹ Barker, *Army, Aristocracy, Monarchy*, 144. Maria Theresa was adopting the Prussian military model according to which officers were no longer promoted by favor or purchase, rather by merit. For more detailed information, see Walter Oppenheim, *Habsburgs and Hohenzollerns 1713-1786*, (London, Sydney, Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1993), 34-38; Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618 – 1815*, 165.

The crime of sacrilege which Trenck was accused of might also have been important in the eyes of the state. Barker explains that the Habsburgs, Maria Theresa in particular, had a special relation with the Catholic Church, which constituted one of the pillars of the monarchy.²¹² Even though the wars of the age of Enlightenment were not considered religiously motivated, religion played a significant role in the army. For example, Maximilian Browne, an Irishman who was denied military opportunity in Protestant Britain, found employment among the Catholic Habsburgs and was in charge of defending Silesia in 1740 against the forces of Frederick the Great.²¹³ As previously mentioned, Trenck's father, who was originally a Prussian Protestant converted to Catholicism and pursued his military career in the service of the Habsburgs following the battle of Vienna in 1683.²¹⁴ Furthermore, even though Trenck claimed that the crime of sacrilege was not performed by him personally, but by his men, he as an officer-entrepreneur had to face responsibility for his men's conduct.

Finally, one more advantage that the state could have had from Trenck's deposition involved the confiscation of his immense property, which would contribute to funding the state-building reforms. This took place already in 1746 when Trenck's first sentence imprisoned him for life in Tyrol. His great possessions, "consisting chiefly of money, which was so rapidly acquired" was confiscated and distributed among his officers.²¹⁵

It seems that the state could benefit from Trenck's ability to inflict violence, as long as it served a meaningful purpose, such as harassing the enemy forces and subjects of the enemy rulers. But, since Trenck's actions could not serve the state building process in many

²¹² Barker, *Army, Aristocracy, Monarchy*, 2.

²¹³ Browning, *The War of the Austrian Succession*, 42.

²¹⁴ Pavičić, *Hrvatska ratna i vojna povijest*, 125; Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 67-68.

²¹⁵ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XV, No. 23, (August 22, 1746): 1.

aspects, he was no longer regarded as a necessity, rather as an uncontrollable and uncooperative force that proved to be more of a liability than an asset.

4.3. The Pandours' violent deeds

As opposed to Baron Trenck, it seems that the British newspapers portray the Pandours in a more negative light. The *Caledonian Mercury* gives an account of the Pandours as dishonorable combatants because of their use of guerilla tactics. The article describes that while engaging a French battalion, the Pandours did not remain standing while receiving their shots, as the supposed chivalrous conduct in battles dictated, but were lying on the ground, after which they returned the fire and engaged them with their swords in hand.²¹⁶ This military tactic may have been presented to the public of the age of Enlightenment as a dishonorable act, but it proved nonetheless efficient and earned recognition among the military tacticians of the time.²¹⁷

Upon arriving in the war contested area, the Pandours were regarded as strangers capable of horrifying deeds. The only solution for the military commander to make proper use of them was to prescribe them the role most suited for them – harassing the enemy and plundering enemy lands. Already in 1741 this strategy can be observed, when General Neipperg sent them and the Hungarian hussars to harass the Prussian forces.²¹⁸ In 1742 there are frequent reports of the Pandours, in the company of Croats or hussars, plundering the Bavarian countryside.²¹⁹ This strategy of prescribing the adequate role for men of the distant and

²¹⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 3579, (August 29, 1743): 1.

²¹⁷ The French Marshal Maurice de Saxe's adopted this type of tactic, which resembled Gaelic tactical doctrine and practice. Saxe advocated mobility, flexibility and shock power by organizing mixed "legions" of four or five regular and light regiments, which was unusual in the eighteenth century European warfare. See Mihael J. Hill, "Gaelic Warfare 1453-1815," in *European Warfare: 1453-1815*, ed. Jeremy Black (New York: St Martin's Press, 1999), 216-218.

²¹⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 3356 (September 29, 1741): 2.

²¹⁹ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XI, No. 10 (May 20, 1742): 3; *Ipswich Journal*, No. 154 (January 23, 1742): 3; *Stamford Mercury*, No. 499 (January 21, 1742): 1.

"exotic" borderland region would contribute to the creation of their negative image as violent and dishonorable soldiers.

In spite of trying to find a suitable role for the Pandours during the war, it seems that the commanders were not in complete control of them. The *Newcastle Courant* brings an account from a gentleman in Prince Charles' army who describes the terrible fate of the French forces that were mercilessly slaughtered by the Pandours: "We did what we could to save them from the Fury of these People, but a Pandour had the Barbarity to shoot one of them before our Faces."²²⁰ Another report narrates that a French detachment upon stumbling on the Austrian forces in Bohemian town Kaaden sought refuge in the churches and convents, "but the Pandoures did not respect those Sanctuaries, and continued their Slaughter, which Nádasdy their Commander could not stop, tho' it is said, he saved the Life of the Chief of that Detachment."²²¹

However, as time passed, one can notice news that would imply that the Pandours were mending their "barbaric" ways. A report from April 1742 indicates that "The Hussars, Pandours, Croats, and other light arm'd Troops in the Service of the Queen of Hungary, are now no longer what they were, but by dint of constant Service are become as regular Troops as any in the World, and as capable of executing the Commands which they receive." The example is the march to Fribourg, which Colonel Mentzel was able to perform in an orderly and timely fashion.²²² In 1743 it is noted that they offered quarters twice to the French grenadiers, but, since the French refused, they attacked them and cut them to pieces.²²³

²²⁰ *Newcastle Courant*, No. 2599 (October 8, 1743): 1.

²²¹ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XI, No. 33 (October 28, 1742): 3.

²²² *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XI, No. 4 (April 8, 1742): 2.

²²³ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XII, No. 19, (July 21, 1743): 4.



Figure 4. A Pandour Field Piper with his Arms. A Pandour Drummer. A Warasdin Pandour Corporal.

In an article from 1743 the Pandours are described in an extremely positive light: "Letters from Basil give great Commendations of the Civility and Good-Nature of the Pandours and Hussars, who never shew their Fierceness but in the Heat of Action."²²⁴ A number of accounts praise the valor and firmness that the Pandours displayed in battle facing either French or Imperial (Bavarian) troops.²²⁵ They depict them as natural warriors and even as saviors, for instance, in the eyes of peasants surrounding the town of Mannheim after the French have been expulsed from that region: "Peasants look upon them as their Deliverers; and as they pay them ready Money for every Thing, they live with them on the best Terms imaginable."²²⁶

²²⁴ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XII, No. 30, (October 6, 1743): 2.

²²⁵ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XI, No. 24 (August 26, 1742): 4; *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XIII, No. 19, (July 13, 1744): 2; *Stamford Mercury*, No. 535 (September 30, 1742): 4.

²²⁶ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XII, No. 20, (July 28, 1743): 1.

During the course of time the public became more familiarized with the Pandours, their violent acts were not seen as unreasonable but justifiable by various means. The case of the massacre of the French garrison in Saverne in 1744 provides an excellent example. The *Newcastle Courant* informs that the Croats and Pandours massacred 1500 Frenchmen because they were taking revenge for the massacre of the Hungarian garrison at Weissenburg by the French.²²⁷ This type of justification that involves vengeance fits the code of honor characteristic of the borderland groups, such as the Uskoks.²²⁸ However, two other interpretations are provided from the opposing sides. The French eyewitness, whose credibility is highlighted by the fact that he is referred to as a "gentleman", tells that the Habsburg general broke his promise of sparing the lives of the garrison and unleashed the irregular troops upon them. The Austrian version notes that the French broke the terms of capitulation by secretly trying to escape the city, while the negotiations were taking place. The Croats and Pandours uncovered their plan and decided to plunder the town as a means of punishment for their trickery.²²⁹ Leaving aside the truth behind the matter, what can be distinguished is the fact that the Pandours were no longer viewed as irrational savages, but that their violent behavior had a purpose, which corresponded to the desires of their commanders, or in other words with the interests of the state.

4.4. The state's use of the Pandours

The Habsburg state obviously recognized the utility of the irregular troops if they were employed for the right purpose. For instance, Pandours served as a useful tool for instilling fear into the enemy forces. The newspaper articles give several accounts that testify to the fear and hatred that the Pandours instilled into the French soldiers and inhabitants of French

²²⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, No. 2644 (August 18, 1744): 1.

²²⁸ Bracewell, *The Uskoks*, 166.

²²⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, No. 2645 (August 25, 1744): 1.

lands, who named them "Red Capuchins."²³⁰ Obviously, it was due to the desire of the state that the Pandours attained such a reputation, because they were motivated to induce violence against the French. For example, the commanders positioned the Pandours near the enemy lines to encourage them to violent behavior. In 1743 Prince Charles' army took winter quarters in Swabia, and part of the Croats, Pandours, and other irregular troops were left in the Black Forest on the French border, in order to keep the French posts in perpetual alarm during the winter.²³¹

Their violent deeds were especially useful as a tool of extortion. Jan Glete observes that the fiscal-military state was a large-scale actor on the market of protection and control of violence. It sold protection against violence to society by raising taxes through the fiscal organization, and delivered the service through the military organization.²³² In this sense, the well known reputation of the Pandours must have proved useful for the state, which was perceived as in full control of them, to demand contributions from the inhabitants of occupied lands in return for the assurance of their safety. An example can be provided by the case in 1742 when the Duchy of Neuburg agreed to pay the required contribution to the Habsburg commander, Count Khevenhüller, upon his promise that the Croats and Pandours would not be let loose on the land.²³³

The state showed an interest in detaining the service of the Pandours and other irregulars from the Croatian-Slavonian Border. Reports from 1743 inform that Croats and Pandours, feeling that they had served the prescribed time in the army of Prince Charles, desired to return to their homeland. However, other irregular and regular troops stood in their way,

²³⁰ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XIII, No. 16 (June 22, 1744): 3; *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XIII, No. 16, (June 22, 1744): 3; *Newcastle Courant*, No. 2591 (August 13, 1743): 2; *Newcastle Courant*, No. 2636 (June 23, 1744): 1.

²³¹ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XII, No. 31, (October 13, 1743): 3.

²³² Jan Glete, "War, entrepreneurship, the fiscal-military state," in *European Warfare 1350-1750*, ed. Frank Tallet and D. J. B. Trim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 305.

²³³ *Newcastle Courant*, No. 2536 (July 24, 1742): 1.

which sparked a violent conflict.²³⁴ A similar case occurred the same year in Fribourg, when 150 Pandours deserted, but were shortly after apprehended by Austrian hussars and imprisoned.²³⁵

The state recognized the value of these troops and tried to employ their services in various regions. In 1744 there was an idea that Great Britain would pay a subsidy to Maria Theresa to recruit 100,000 men, including "Croats, Hungarians, Pandours, Lycadians, Warasdins, &c" and bring them to Alsace, Lorraine, Champagne, and Burgundy, while the English and Dutch would engage the French and Spanish fleets.²³⁶ In 1746 Pandours were ordered to campaign in Italy under the command of General Brown.²³⁷

The effectiveness of the Pandours and other irregulars was also recognized among the Habsburg enemies. The French Marshal Maurice de Saxe came into direct contact with the Pandours and hussars during the Bohemian campaign in 1742 and in 1743 while defending Alsace from these Austrian auxiliaries. Saxe added irregular troops to the French army, notably a cavalry regiment "armed with sabre and lance, dressed in the Tartar fashion," and the Regiment de Grassin, known also as the French Pandours,²³⁸ a force of mixed horse and foot which he employed extensively as skirmishers.²³⁹ The *Newcastle Courant* points out: "As therefore it is become fashionable for each Nation to bring Oddities into the Field, like Actors upon the Stage, why should we [the French] be alone exempt? The Hussars, Croats, Pandours and Ulans, are represented as frightful and terrible Fellows..."²⁴⁰ As Ronald G. Asch argues, early modern states recognized the fighting power that "foreign" troops

²³⁴ *Ipswich Journal*, No. 244 (October 15, 1743): 3; *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XII, No. 34, (October 20, 1743): 4.

²³⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 3621 (December 5, 1743): 3.

²³⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 3720 (July 23, 1744): 2.

²³⁷ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XV, No. 43 (January 9, 1746): 4.

²³⁸ Šišić, *Županija virovitička*, 93. Saxe even raised a regiment of Black irregulars called the "Black Pandours". *Newcastle Courant*, No. 2803 (August 29, 1747): 2.

²³⁹ Russell, "Redcoats in the Wilderness," 633-634; *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XIV, No. 10, (May 17, 1745): 1; *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XIV, No. 13 (June 7, 1745): 2; *Newcastle Courant*, No. 2686 (June 8, 1745): 2.

²⁴⁰ *Newcastle Courant*, No. 2573 (April 9, 1743): 2.

possessed. He provides the examples of the Swiss, the Irish in the Spanish army, the Scots in the Danish and Swedish service, and other foreign troops whose main advantage was the strong sense of collective identity, which made them effective fighters but also a menace to the civilian population.²⁴¹

However, as Alexander Buczyński observes, while the French and even the Prussians were becoming more interested in adding irregular units to their armies, the Habsburgs were advancing in the opposite direction, one which involved integrating irregulars into the imperial army and turning them into disciplined regular soldiers.²⁴²

After Trenck's imprisonment Pandours were active in the Low Countries.²⁴³ An article from 1746 even refers to them as the "Queen Pandours", removing them from any association with Trenck.²⁴⁴ Reports of Marshal Bathiani's efforts in disciplining them, as well as other irregular units, such as hussars and Croats,²⁴⁵ suggest that the process of transforming them into regular soldiers may have taken place at this time. Further proof of this claim can be found in the fact that in 1747 there are several reports of Pandours deserting and even enlisting in the service of opposing monarchs.²⁴⁶ Croatian scholars, like Šišić, explain this phenomenon as an act of defiance due to Trenck's imprisonment,²⁴⁷ but it could also be the case that some of them were refusing to submit to the demands of the Habsburgs to limit the extent of inflicting violence.

After the Peace treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, which ended the War of the Austrian Succession, Maria Theresa was able to preserve the Habsburg Monarchy and the imperial

²⁴¹ Ronald G. Asch, "War and state-building," in *European Warfare 1350-1750*, ed. Frank Tallet and D. J. B. Trim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 331.

²⁴² Buczyński, "Barun Trenk – legenda i zbilja," 304.

²⁴³ *Glasgow Courant*, No. 21 (March 3, 1746): 3; *Newcastle Courant*, No. 2734 (May 10, 1746): 1; *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XV, No. 23, (August 22, 1746): 1.

²⁴⁴ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XV, No. 21, (August 8, 1746): 1.

²⁴⁵ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XV, No. 18 (July 18, 1746): 2; *Stamford Mercury*, No. 760 (May 29, 1746): 1.

²⁴⁶ *Derby Mercury*, Vol. XV, No. 45, (January 22, 1747): 2; *Ipswich Journal*, No. 425 (April 4, 1747): 2.

²⁴⁷ Šišić, *Franjo barun Trenk*, 180.

crown for her husband Francis I (1745-1765), but she also had to cope with the loss of considerable areas, including the rich Silesia. Another discouraging occurrence, which Ingrao points out, was the fact that the Habsburg victory was achieved partly thanks to the voluntary assistance of the monarchy's estates and foreign allies.²⁴⁸ This dependence was something that the monarchy wished to remove in order to ensure its survival. Therefore, a more assertive and efficient central government, that was capable of raising sufficient funds and troops, was needed.²⁴⁹

One of the key reforms that Maria Theresa initiated was the reorganization of the Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier. Although the area was reduced by assigning some of the districts to the jurisdiction of Croatian diet, the remaining area constituted one of the few places in the monarchy where the Habsburgs could rule as absolute monarchs. The frontiersmen, earning the reputation as ferocious fighters in the preceding war, were from 1750 placed under the control of the central government. Since the inconsistent supply and pay by the Inner Austrian estates had sometimes reduced them to undisciplined rabble, now the central government assumed full responsibility for supplying, paying, and staffing the Military Border. The replacement of native commanders with regular army officers soon completed their integration with the rest of the Austrian army.²⁵⁰

The process of incorporating frontiersmen, such as the Pandours, into the regular army may also have served as an ideological purpose in the empire building process. As mentioned before, Wolff's concept of "inventing Eastern Europe" revolved around the necessity of the Enlightenment to create another Europe against which to define its own sense of superior civilization.²⁵¹ The appearance of the Pandours in the West may have reinforced the image

²⁴⁸ Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 158.

²⁴⁹ Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 160.

²⁵⁰ Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 163-164.

²⁵¹ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 40, 164-165 .

that the people of the Enlightenment ascribed to inhabitants of Eastern Europe, in the context of backwardness and barbarity. The accounts compiled in the British newspapers may serve as an example to support this claim. However, by gaining recognition of these negative traits, the state could also have found justification for her imperial civilizing process.

A possible parallel can be drawn with the case of the relations of Venice and the Slavic inhabitants of the province of Dalmatia in the eighteenth century, which Wolff also deals with. He notes that at that time, the "discovery" of Dalmatia was taking place by the Venetian enlightened elites. The process was characterized by emphasizing the backwardness of the region and the savagery of the inhabitants, with the purpose of finding justification for the imperial civilizing process. This involved a strategically cautious approach to making use of the "barbaric" Morlacchi, who were recognized as able soldiers, which could be essential to Venice's military prospects.²⁵²

The same process might have been taking place earlier in the Habsburg domains in the case of the Pandours and other irregulars from the Croatian-Slavonian borderland. The Habsburgs recognized their value as subjects, and possibly found it useful that they were acknowledged as violent and savage "others" in the West to justify their civilization process, which was initiated by their incorporation into the regular imperial army.

4.5. Conclusion

As Parrot observes, "war was the primary force for creating the modern state, sweeping away decentralized administration, local and intuitional autonomy and privilege, and replacing them with powerful, centralized institutions with a strong reach into the provinces,

²⁵² Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs*, 7-8, 17, 130-131, 143, 319-324.

the potential to apply coercion through independent force, and a fundamental transformation – via bureaucracy – of the relationship between rulers and subjects."²⁵³

Baron Trenck may have temporarily served his purpose as the agent of the state, but he did not fit into the wider context of the empire building process. His violent behavior may not have differed much from that of the Pandours, or from other regulars or irregular soldiers or officers of the age, but the state was more eager to sacrifice him in order to gain a firmer bond with its subjects, which constituted one of the main pillars of an empire.

²⁵³ Parrot, *The Business of War*, 11.

Conclusion

Discerning the various types of soldiers of the Habsburg Monarchy, Dorothea Gerard suggests that the connection between a Croatian frontiersman, a German heavy cavalryman and a light Hungarian hussar, should be found in the fact that they all expressed the same extent of bravery and love of fighting, which awarded them the prize of valor.²⁵⁴ In that sense, leaving aside these noble virtues, it is safe to assume that each of these types of soldiers was capable of displaying the same kind of violent behavior while exercising their military tasks. However, the possible difference could be found in the representation of these deeds.

The readership of the age of Enlightenment obviously had interest in tales of violent exploits of irregular soldiers, particularly "exotic" ones. Even though the ideological framework of the Enlightenment encouraged people to become more "civilized", which encouraged them to resort to violent means at a much lesser degree, it seems that the people did not lose interest in the reports of violent deeds and violent images. Newspaper accounts that reported about the exploits of the Pandours, as well as travelers' accounts from the Habsburg and Venetian borderland regions testify to the interest that people of the West attributed to violence, perhaps in order to gain justification for the superiority of their civilized manners, but possibly also because they were still attached to these features of archaic times, which were slowly being swept away by the tendencies of the Enlightenment. Either way, the frequent reports of the violent deeds of the Pandours may be considered as an important tool in the rhetoric of violence displayed in Enlightened Europe.

The execution of violent acts signified a powerful agent in the game of acquiring a notable or an infamous image. However, the power of representation of these acts which awarded

²⁵⁴ Dorothea Gerard, *The Austrian Officer at Work and at Play* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 4.

recognition or condemnation for an individual or a group was based on the reputation that they enjoyed within a certain community, or within a certain "honor group", as Bowden would define it. With the goal of illuminating the concept of honor in medieval times, Bowden uses the example of the tale of Launcelot in the *Morte d'Arthur* by Sir Thomas Malory may serve as an example of the importance of one's reputation. In this tale everyone at King Arthur's court was aware of Launcelot's adultery with Queen Guenevere. However, because Lanceulot enjoyed the reputation as the king's best knight, nobody dared to challenge him to a duel, which would enable the revealing of the affair publicly and attributing Lanceulot with a dishonorable status. Ultimately, a group of envious knights stepped forward, but were defeated by Lanceulot.²⁵⁵

A possible parallel could be drawn with the case of Baron Trenck. As long as he proved successful in the eyes of his sovereign, he would not be challenged and could continue his reign of violence. However, since an event such as the defeat of the Habsburg forces at Soor presented itself, he immediately lost support with his sovereign, which encouraged other subjects of various social positions to demand his removal based on his misdemeanors or perhaps because they were envious of his success. The case points that reputation within an empire, especially for a nobleman who also fulfilled the role of the agent of the state, was highly valued. State agents had to ally themselves either with their peers or with the sovereign in order to maintain their position and ensure protection from others. At the same time, it seems that the sovereign alone did not have the power to dispose of Trenck without the consent and encouragement of the subjects. Moreover, the only source to deal with the violence displayed by Trenck and his Pandours was actually to transfer it to a place where it could possibly prove of certain use.

²⁵⁵ Bowden, *Honor*, 41-43.

In this context, everyday life in empire might be regarded as an ongoing process of ensuring reputation between various groups and individuals, while the state served only as a factor that would enable the battleground for these various participants and affirm the honorable or dishonorable status they enjoyed on the basis of the recognition they received from the community. In times of war, participants would occasionally, overstep the boundaries of the approved extent of violent conduct, as was probably the case with Trenck, which gave the state the opportunity to remove them from the scene, but only due to the demands of subjects who were the victims of these events. Therefore, the importance of the state-subject relationships signifies one of the key pillars of empires.

A belligerent nobleman like Trenck had to balance between his own interests, the interests of his social group, the interests of the state and the interests of the subjects. Therefore, his example may point to the fact that relations within the political structures of emerging absolutistic states might have been more complex than we assume. The case of military entrepreneurs and irregular soldiers suggests that the Habsburg state in the first half of the eighteenth century was not in complete control of certain activities, such as warfare. It had to provide groups and individuals with the opportunity to employ their traits with the hope that their interests will serve the state-building purpose. Moreover, the signs of fear and uncertainty which he, as well as other Habsburg's commanders, displayed toward the Pandours, raises the question whether they were indeed helpless subjects situated in an strange land.

Ultimately, the civilizing process of the Pandours which was signified by their inclusion into the regular forces could have been presented as the successful endeavor initiated by the state. However, the possibility that these men, through the expression of violent actions actually demanded of the state to find a secure position within the sphere of regular troops should also be taken into account.

In this context the Pandours can also be viewed as subjects. As such, the sovereign had great interest in them and was eager to meet their demands. Thus, the violence which the Pandours inflicted upon the subjects of the Habsburgs, as well as their enemies, could be regarded as their way of communicating with the state with the desire to procure certain demands. As irregulars they were bound to an insecure income, but as regular soldiers they were awarded a long-lasting security in the sense of sustainability. Therefore, their transformation into a regular unit should not necessarily be interpreted solely on the basis of the desire of the state to monopolize violence, but possibly the desire of the Pandours themselves to force the state to procure a place for them. Naturally, once the process of their transformation into regular soldiers had been completed, the power of representation once more took place, in the sense of representing the state as the catalyst of their violent exploits.

Eventually, however, the representation of Baron Trenck as a violent and savage person, which was obviously emphasized by the state in order to justify his removal, seemed to have shifted toward Trenck's possible rehabilitation. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Austrian traveler Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube, mentioned in the third chapter, visited the estates that once belonged to the condemned Baron. In his reports, which were meant to gain support for the state-building process initiated by Emperor Joseph II (1765-1790), Taube explained that the blame for Trenck's ruin should be put on the Jesuits, or in other words his educators, who at the time were highly disfavored by Joseph II. Furthermore, Taube praised Trenck's traits as a daring and brave commander, especially acknowledging Trenck's contribution to the eradication of the bandit threat in Slavonia. Finally, he reported that in Trenck's former estate Pakrac "among the old documents there can be found various

sketches and manuscripts which belonged to General Trenck, which do not show an ignorant, barbaric and crude man, rather an enlightened spirit.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶ Taube, *Povijesni i zemljopisni opis Kraljevine Slavonije*, 178-179.

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