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FROM BARCELONA TO TIMIȘOARA AND BELGRADE –WITH
STOPS IN VIENNA.
EXILES FROM THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION
(1702–1714) TO THE OTTOMAN–VENETIAN WAR (1714–1718)

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ABSTRACT

After the defeat in the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714), between 25.000 and 30.000 people, most of them Catalans, went into exile. The article analyses the behaviour of the exiled Spanish soldiers especially during the campaigns of 1716 and 1717 of the Ottoman-Venetian War. In that contest, three Spanish cavalry regiments and two infantry regiments took part actively. On the other hand, from 1735 onward, an important part of the Hispanic exile was moved to the Banat of Temeswar, territory incorporated into the Habsburg Monarchy by the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718). They set up a colony there, called New Barcelona, of ephemeral life.

Keywords: War of the Spanish Succession, Ottoman-Venetian War (1714–1718), Spanish Exile, Banat of Temeswar, Habsburg Monarchy, Treaty of Passarowitz

DA BARCELONA A TIMIȘOARA E BELGRADO, CON FERDATE A VIENNA.
L'ESILIO DALLA GUERRA DI SUCCESSIONE SPAGNOLA (1702–1714) ALLA
GUERRA TURCO–VENEZIANA (1714–1718)

SINTESI

Dopo la sconfitta nella Guerra di Successione Spagnola (1702–1714), tra 25.000 e 30.000 persone, la maggior parte di loro catalani, andò in esilio. L'articolo analizza la condotta dei militari spagnoli esiliati soprattutto durante le campagne del 1716 e 1717 della Guerra turca-veneziana (1714–1718). In quel combattimento parteciparono attivamente tre reggimenti spagnoli di cavalleria e due di fanteria. D'altra parte, dal 1735, una parte importante dell'esilio spagnolo è stato spostato al Banato di Timișoara, territorio incorporato alla Monarchia Asburgica per la Pace di Passarowitz (1718). Lì hanno creato una colonia, chiamata Nuova Barcellona, di effimera durata.

Parole chiave: Guerra di Successione Spagnola, Guerra turco-veneziana (1714–1718), Esilio spagnolo, Banato di Timișoara, Monarchia Asburgica, Pace di Passarowitz

INTRODUCTION¹

Against what is often confirmed by the cliché, massive human displacements, either voluntary or forced, were relatively frequent in the early modern centuries. In many cases they were forced by wars, and had religious or political motivations. The military and political circumstances that followed the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714) generated an important exile that moved into territories under the sovereignty of Emperor Charles VI, who had been a candidate for the Hispanic monarchy with the name of Charles III. It is well known that the Habsburg candidate had been defeated by the Bourbon Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV who had finally been recognized as the new King of Spain.

Certainly, the areas of destination chosen by refugees or displaced persons were mainly the Hispanic kingdoms of Italy and Flanders, which had passed to the emperor by the Treaty of Rastadt (1714); and also Vienna, which as an imperial capital exerted enormous attraction among exiles from the perspectives of personal promotion and patronage. However, the Eastern parts of Habsburg Monarchy lived two major episodes of that exodus, which until recent times were almost unknown. On the one hand, the participation of several companies of Spanish soldiers exiled in the Ottoman-Venetian War (1714–1718), and especially in the campaigns of 1716 and 1717 when the imperial forces conquered Timisoara and Belgrade. As we will see, this fact had even interesting literary and symbolic impacts. The other notable episode came to happen from 1735 onwards and was performed by about eight hundred refugees from all social classes. Within the framework of the colonisation of the Banat of Temeswar activated by the Imperial Chamber, an important group of exiled people were displaced to that region, where they founded a colony, which they called New Barcelona. However, epidemics and the proximity of a new war against the Ottoman Empire sentenced that new settlement a few years later. This article describes and contextualizes both episodes of encounter between Western and Eastern Europe.

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION AND THE MAKING OF THE EXILE

The dynastic row that pitted the houses of Bourbon and Austria against each other after the death of Charles II of Spain (1700) became something of an international war with direct or indirect repercussions across Europe and other continents. At the time, the Spanish Monarchy constituted a large, if decadent, conglomerate of states in Europe, on the Iberian Peninsula, in Italy and Flanders and across a vast colonial empire in America and Asia.

1 This work is part of the research projects financed by Spain's Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness: "La política exterior de Felipe V y su repercusión en España (1713–1740)" (HAR2014-52645P) and "Articulación del territorio y relaciones mediterráneas en la Cataluña de la época moderna" (HAR2015-64954-P). The present text is an updated, and expanded, revision of my article (Alcoberro, 2015a).

When Duke Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, was named heir to the Spanish Monarchy as Philip V, the move sparked broad discontent across European courts. The Grand Alliance of the Hague, formed in 1701 between the Empire, England and the Netherlands, declared war the following year on the Bourbon states. A year later, in 1703, Archduke Charles of Austria, second son of Emperor Leopold I, was proclaimed king of the Spanish Monarchy, in Vienna, as Charles III. Savoy and Portugal, both strategic states, joined the alliance that year.

The decision to name a member of the Bourbon dynasty, the Habsburgs's historic enemies, heir to the throne, was not immediately popular inside the Spanish kingdoms, though a particular brand of political realism did take hold. A considerable portion of the Castilian-Andalusian aristocracy was suspicious of the new monarchy. However, it was in the Kingdom of Aragon, and in particular Catalonia, that the broadest opposition emerged. Hence Philip V's decision to summon the Catalonia's Cort General (1701–1702) and make substantial political and economic concessions. The manoeuvre was, nevertheless, not enough to reverse the broad anti-French and anti-Bourbon sentiment. In the years that followed, it would gradually assume the contours of a clandestine political movement. The repressive policies of royal authorities were its contributors, along with reports about the unfolding international war which seemed to favour the allies.²

In particular, *austriacisme*, or Catalan support for the Austrian cause, won broad social buy-in on the strength of its defence of the Catalonian constitutions. One notable bulwark of this austriacisme was the Barcelona bourgeoisie, who saw its mirror image reflected in the English and Dutch's parliamentary political model and their trade and industry-focussed economies.

Austriacistes signed the Treaty of Genoa with England. In the space of a few months, the international treaty set off the allied fighters' disembarkation in Barcelona, widespread revolt in Catalonia and the Valencian Country and Charles III's proclamation as king of the Catalans. It was both the latest front in the international war and the first Spanish civil war. In the months that followed, allied troops took Madrid (1706). But though austriacisme roused broad sympathy in Valencia and Aragon, in Castile the allied troops met with strong resistance that would block expansion to the monarchy's capital.

In retreat, the allied armies suffered crushing defeat at the Battle of Almansa (1707). Straight away, Bourbon troops took the Valencian Country, Aragon and the western regions of Catalonia. Philip V abolished *fueros* (constitutional laws) in the kingdoms of Valencia and Aragon, asserting right of conquest. The allies were pushed into retreat towards Catalonia and Charles III once again established his court in Barcelona. A significant number of Castilian, Aragonese and Valencian austriacistes—some eight thousand—took refuge in the capital of the Principality.

2 The War of the Spanish Succession in Catalonia has yielded an impressive bibliography. Recent summaries include: Albareda, 2010; Alcoberro, 2006. The best Catalan contemporary chronicle, in Spanish language, is: Castellví, 1997.

In 1710, even as a renewed allied offensive reached Madrid, the Bourbon counteroffensive cornered the allies again in Catalonia. Although the international war was clearly favourable to the allies, two points would contribute to upsetting their political unity. For one, in Great Britain, the Tories' rise to power in 1710 signalled changing attitudes. The Tories advocated forgoing the war effort in favour of large trade concessions across Spanish America, which both Louis XIV and Philip V appeared willing to entertain. Second, the death of Charles's brother Joseph I meant Charles's proclamation as emperor (Charles VI). For the rest of the allied states, the possibility that a single monarch rule both the Holy Roman Empire and the Spanish Monarchy was hardly less worrying than the Bourbon expansion that had initially prompted the war. Hence the signing of the treaties of Utrecht in 1713, which recognised Philip V's claim to the Spanish Monarchy and, in exchange, stipulated wide-reaching territorial and economic concessions. The Catalans, meanwhile, were left to their own fate.

In July 1713, as allied troops took flight and left Catalonia to the armies of the two Bourbon thrones, the *Junta General de Braços*, the parliamentary body of the Principality, was convened. To the surprise of the different European courts, the "Junta", or Parliament endorsed resistance. Politically, this was the start of the republican moment. The *Conferència dels Tres Comuns* (the 3 national institutions of government: *Generalitat* of Catalonia, *Consell de Cent* in Barcelona and *Braç Militar*) assumed the mantle of government in Catalonia under the resistance, organised its defence and supply and dispatched ambassadors to the former allied capitals.

Yet, combat was clearly unequal. The Catalans were limited to two strongholds, Barcelona and Cardona, and a few thousand combatants, mostly civilians of Barcelona registered with the *Coronela* (urban militia). At the height of combat, the Bourbon troops exceeded 90,000. Dragging on fourteen months, the Barcelona resistance impacted European opinion and reopened political debate in England.³

As had occurred previously in the Valencian Country, the siege of Barcelona brought with it a surge in military terrorism across the Principality. Insurgence and even simple disobedience met with collective punishments: troops were temporarily posted in towns, military presence was maintained throughout the country, whole towns were plundered and burned, people were executed indiscriminately (applying *diezmo de horca*, or "one in ten hanged"). Uncommonly brutal in times of peace, the régime of military terror dragged on past 11 September 1714, and well after the *Nova Planta* decrees were issued in 1716.

What is more, with Barcelona's fall came calculated repression by the *Real Junta Superior de Justicia y Gobierno* in most every area: Catalonia's governing institutions were formally suppressed, commanders and officials that served in the resistance jailed, clergymen and other groups forced into exile, property of prominent civilian leaders of the austriacista movement seized, arms prohibited, castles demolished, fortresses constructed in an effort to control large cities and

3 On the siege of Barcelona, see: Torras i Ribé, 2005; Garcia Espuche, 2014; Alcoberro & Campabadal, 2014.

counties (Barcelona's Ciutadella, for instance), universities closed, symbols destroyed, etc.

Systematic repression drove the displacement of between 25,000 and 30,000 people, most of them Catalan. Representing a broad cross section of classes, the exile took shape largely in the territories of Emperor Charles VI, in Italy, Austria and Hungary. It created unique social spaces, perpetuated identity traits and worked to maintain ties with the interior resistance (Alcoberro, 2002; 2015b).

LEAD-UP TO AND OUTBREAK OF THE OTTOMAN-VENETIAN WAR

As with previous wars between the Holy Roman and Ottoman empires, the eruption of fighting in the Ottoman-Venetian War coincides with a period of intense global unrest and overt conflict, or very nearly so, between the Bourbons and the Habsburgs in Vienna. From 1702, the War of the Spanish Succession created a conjuncture conducive to violent escalation, something which France supported economically and diplomatically.

It is common knowledge that in 1703 concurrently with the French-Bavarian invasion of several hereditary Habsburg territories (*Erblände*), Hungary revolted against the Austrian dynasty. The movement, which gave voice to opposition to germanising efforts in the country at the time, had crystallised in various forms, including idle Hungarian courts from 1687, tax increases and military drafts. In that context, the Hungarians proclaimed independence and named their prince Ferenc II Rákóczi king.

On the western front, imperial wins in Blenheim (August 1704) and Turin (September 1706) succeeded in relieving some tension and moving bodies to the eastern front. It put imperial troops on footing to overrun the Hungarians in Treccén (August 1708) and, ultimately, sign a peace agreement in Szagád (April 1711). Under the deal, Hungary returned to the conglomerate ruled by the Habsburgs in Vienna. In exchange, the Hungarians were given amnesty, religious freedom and the right to keep their own laws and institutions. Ultimately, it was a foothold to ensure their survival as a political nation and, at some point well into the 19th century, elevate Hungary to the category of associate in the dual-state, Austro-Hungarian empire.

But tension reemerged on the eastern front, this time at the hands of the Turkish Empire. At year's end 1714, the Ottomans mounted a largely successful incursion into the Venetian Republic's positions in the Peloponnese and Dalmatia, putting the Adriatic republic's very survival in jeopardy. The Turkish victories would cast doubt on the Habsburgs's eastern borders. A similar situation played out in 1716, when the Turks definitively took the Peloponnese. It was in that context that Emperor Charles VI, or Charles III to his Spanish loyalists, forged the Venetian alliance, an effort to return to the *status quo* of the Peace of Karlowitz (1699) that had brought an end to the Great Turkish War.

It was then Charles received the papacy's pledge of economic assistance. Still more significant were Philip V's assurances he would lay off the Italian possessions secured by the Habsburgs with the peace treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt. That prom-

ise, made before Rome, would prove terrifically hollow. If the first Spanish Bourbon's troops captured Sardinia (1717) and pushed into Sicily (1718), it was because they exploited the Habsburgs's inferior military position in light of their engagement on the Turkish border.

In any case, imperial troops joined in combat forthwith in summer 1716. It bears noting that of the roughly 125,000 men mobilised in the Habsburg army, approximately 3,000 were Spanish subjects of Charles III. As we shall see, their participation in the war effort was perhaps more significant than one might expect of men who barely accounted for 2.4 % of all mobilised forces (Alcoberro 2002, I, 136–149, II, 391–400).

THE FIVE SPANISH REGIMENTS AND THE VOLUNTEER COMPANY

In summer 1713, some 2,500 Spanish soldiers, officials and high-ranking officers participated in the evacuation of imperial troops from Catalonia. Together with their families and several hundred of the Barcelona court's aristocrats and high-ranking civil servants, they fled.

As Catalan historian Francesc de Castellví (III, 578, 683, IV, 587,615) points out, the calvary troops were reorganised in Codogno in the state of Milan, 13 November 1713. Recast as three Spanish regiments, they numbered more or less five hundred, men and horses. Manuel de Silva y Mendoza, count of Galve; Pedro Morràs; and Gaspar de Córdoba were the regiments' respective commanders. Whereas the first regiment had a substantial number of foreign officials, the two others were formed exclusively by Spanish soldiers, the vast majority from the Crown of Castile. Also noteworthy is Pedro Morràs's 1715 retreat to Santa María dels Àngels d'Assís convent in Tuscany, leaving his regiment under the command of Juan Jacinto Vázquez y Vargas.

Spanish infantry troops were reshuffled in Genoa and Milan, too, in autumn 1713. The overhaul produced two Spanish regiments, under Juan de Ahumada y Cárdenas, count of Ahumada, and Antonio de Portugal y Toledo, count of Alcaudete, respectively.

The five regiments were moved to Hungary's Turkish border in 1714, and held it as a position of preference in the subsequent decades. In that respect, it bears noting that the Empire charged German troops with the defence of their Italian kingdoms and sent Spanish soldiers to a distant border where religion and culture placed them squarely at odds with their enemies. It is not farfetched to infer that imperial command had seen it as their chance to head off thoughts of desertion among the Spanish soldiers, who were, moreover, battle-tested veteran professionals.

Whatever the case, when the Ottoman-Venetian War began in earnest, the Spanish military was filled out by a newly formed volunteer company commanded by Colonel Manuel Desvalls i de Vergós. A hero of the defence of Cardona, Desvalls i de Vergós had secured a highly preferential capitulation on 18 September 1714, seven days after the fall of Barcelona. Under the terms, commanders and officials of the Cardona

garrison and regular soldiers, as well as mountain fusiliers scattered across the area, fled in exile. Thus, unlike the professional regiments, the volunteer company was essentially made up of the men of 1714, namely, those men who had opted to remain in Catalonia in summer 1713 and fled in the aftermath of 11 September. At the eleventh hour, the five professional Spanish regiments supplemented their ranks with exiles from 1714, enlisted as *agregados*, or provisional substitutes.

In every army, there was usually a yawning gap between the number of officials and soldiers ostensibly registered in each regiment and the real number on the ground. Hence, in the run-up to a new war, it was common to see military commanders rely on such additions. There was an additional factor at play with the Spanish regiments. Let us again turn to Francesc de Castellví (IV, 468) for his description of how, in 1715, a short-lived deployment to an unhealthy swampland near Buda fuelled a high mortality rate among three calvary regiments. The historian writes:

The three Spanish calvary regiments (plus four hussar and cuirassier regiments) under General Grenar relocated to Tolna, not far from Buda, where nearby marshes made the position insalubrious. After four months camped there, more than 300 Spaniards, among them men, women and children, perished. (Castellví, 1997, 468).

As we have indicated, the largest campaigns took place in summer 1716 and 1717.⁴ The first year, the victory secured by Prince Eugene's troops at the Battle of Peterwardein (5 August) put the Turkish death toll above 30,000 and resulted in the occupation of Banat; taking Temeswar, meanwhile, would require an exceedingly difficult siege. For the second campaign, the imperial army's six ships, each equipped with roughly sixty cannons, travelled the Danube to Belgrade and launched a siege on the square. The Battle of Belgrade (16 August) left the Ottoman army in ruins and the city under occupation. Faced with such conditions, the Turks were forced to sign the Peace of Passarowitz on 21 July of the following year. As historian Charles W. Ingrao (1994) has pointed out, the Ottoman-Venetian War was the Austrian monarchy's only great victory between 1526 and 1849 that scarcely required assistance from foreign powers.

The Spanish regiments' participation was considerable. All took part in the Battle of Peterwardein. Ahumada and Alcaudete infantry regiments were also involved in occupying Temeswar's fortress, known as the *Palanca* ("lever"), and the Alcaudete infantry initiated the assault. The lead roles at Belgrade, contrarily, were played by calvary regiments.

A clear indication of the war's crudity are the lists, prepared by the Council of Spain or forwarded to it later, of soldiers who left the front, whether with permission or without it. Of particular interest is a list of additional infantry officials

4 An exhaustive description of events and persons involved therein is available in the anonymously produced contemporary chronicle: KA, *Histoire de la guerre de Hongrie pendant les campagnes de 1716, 1717 et 1718*. (Vienna, 1788).

who, with the Colonels' blessing, came to the court to request their wages in Naples claiming injury or a large family in their charge. Bound for the kingdom they left (having purportedly obtained verbal permission). (HHS-I-SR, K22, Fasz 15, 16–17).

The list contains a review of five captains, a handful of lieutenants and alferes and one corporal. Among them were men of advanced age. Captain Juan Ruiz de Velasco, for his part, claimed to be 60. Others had long histories of service. Take Captain Antonio Grande, who served 44 years, or Captain Francisco Matías López, whose service spanned 40 years. Another list covers a total of 50 officials and under officials added to the Spanish and Italian regiments in Hungary “which, at different times, decamped to Italy and left as-yet unfilled positions” (HHS-I-SR, K22 Fasz 29–32). In all probability such lists were passed along by the Council of War to the Council of Spain so deserters could be located and disciplined, particularly since they lived in Italian territories.

Contrastingly, we also have in our possession a *List of war officials who have swapped with others and joined the Hungarian regiments* (HHS-I-SR, K22, Fasz 15, 22–23), which establishes a total of eighteen *permutes* (“exchanges”) and five *incorporacions netes*, or “new enlistees”.

SYMBOLIC ELEMENTS

According to Francesc de Castellví (III, 575), in 1713, the flags of the disbanded regiments were left at temples across Hungary and in the new frontier territories. The flags of assorted regiments –Reials Guàrdies Catalanes, Zaragoza, Marulli and Laborda– ended up at the Buda cathedral. The Belgrade cathedral became home to the regiment flags of Ahumada, Valencia city, Valencia kingdom, Ferrer and Granada. Finally, the see of Essek accommodated the standards of the Cartagena, la Reina, Ricardi and Shower regiments. No more is known of them today.

There is at least one more surprising episode in the Spanish ledger of the Ottoman-Venetian War. Francesc de Castellví (IV, 558) refers to it, however briefly, in his *Narraciones históricas*. As the historian affirms:

When Temeswar and Belgrade fell, the Spanish regiments found themselves on the frontlines of the attacks. Hence, the colonel count of Alcaudete found himself with the keys to not one but two fortresses. To ensure their place in eternal memory, he fashioned two splendid silver figurines, representing two angels. In their hands were the keys, which he delivered to Spain as a gift to the Sanctuary of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. (Castellví, 1997, 558).

As is generally the case with Castellví, his information here holds up to rigorous scrutiny. The two silver figurines, of premium quality, were delivered to the Estremadura monastery shortly after the Peace of Vienna (1725) and certainly before Fray Antonio de León's priorate expired (January 1727). Tomás López (1991) refers

to it in his 1798 travels of Estremadura. Moreover, López left us with transcriptions of the inscriptions accompanying the images. We think their reproduction here is of interest given their immense historical value. The first, a reference to the taking of Temeswar, reads:

Ruling [“Ymperando”] Charles VI, with the Prince Eugene of Savoy, by the grace of God and intercession of his mother, the German troops fought the Turks on Peterwardein field, 5 August 1716. The infidels’ considerable resistance notwithstanding, the Christians fought so gallantly as to foil them. From there they made haste to Temeswar. Don Antonio de Portugal y Toledo, count of Alcaudete, was garrisoned in the trench. The besieged men came to surrender and turn over their keys 12 October. The count himself brought them to this holy house in a show of reverence for the holy image, wishing to dedicate, offer and consecrate them. (López, 1991, 226–230).

It is worth noting that the count of Galve, father of the count of Alcaudete, returned to the peninsula after the Peace of Vienna. However, two inscriptions confirm that Alcaudete remained in exile as a general to his regiment after the Guadalupe visit. He died in Prague in 1735 (Castellví, 1997, 712).

REVERBERATIONS IN THE LITERARY REALM: THE EPOPEIA PANEGÍRICA

The repercussions of the imperial campaigns of 1716 and 1717, when the seeds of victory were sown, were far from purely military. They can be seen in the assorted initiatives – historical, literary and artistic– published by individuals in exile or within the Spanish kingdoms, by then under the control of Philip V. Among works from the exile, one made remarkable by its scale and focus is *Epopeia panegírica* (*Panegyric epic*) by Valencia-born Vicent Díaz de Sarralde (Díaz de Sarralde, 1718, in: ÖNB-KKHB, BE 10.X. 29; see: Alcoberro, 2007b). The lengthy epic, printed in Naples in 1718, is made up of two chants spanning roughly two hundred octaves and 78 pages. The full title of the work is:

Panegyric epic of famed triumphs, the victorious events which, emanating from the undefeated arms of his Caesarean Catholoic Majesty Charles of Austria, sixth ruler of the Romans and third of the Spains, most powerful monarch, during the two military campaigns of 1716 and 1717, were secured by the Saracen armies through the sensible conduct of his highness the most serene prince Eugene of Savoy, lieutenant general of His Caesarean Catholic Majesty

Díaz de Sarralde was Valencian. While his exact place and date of birth are unknown, we know that 6 December 1690 he obtained a baccalaureate in civil law. In 1706, Vicent Díaz de Sarralde became a prosecutor for the Valencia Court under Charles III. This explains why, in 1707, in the aftermath of the Battle of Almansa,

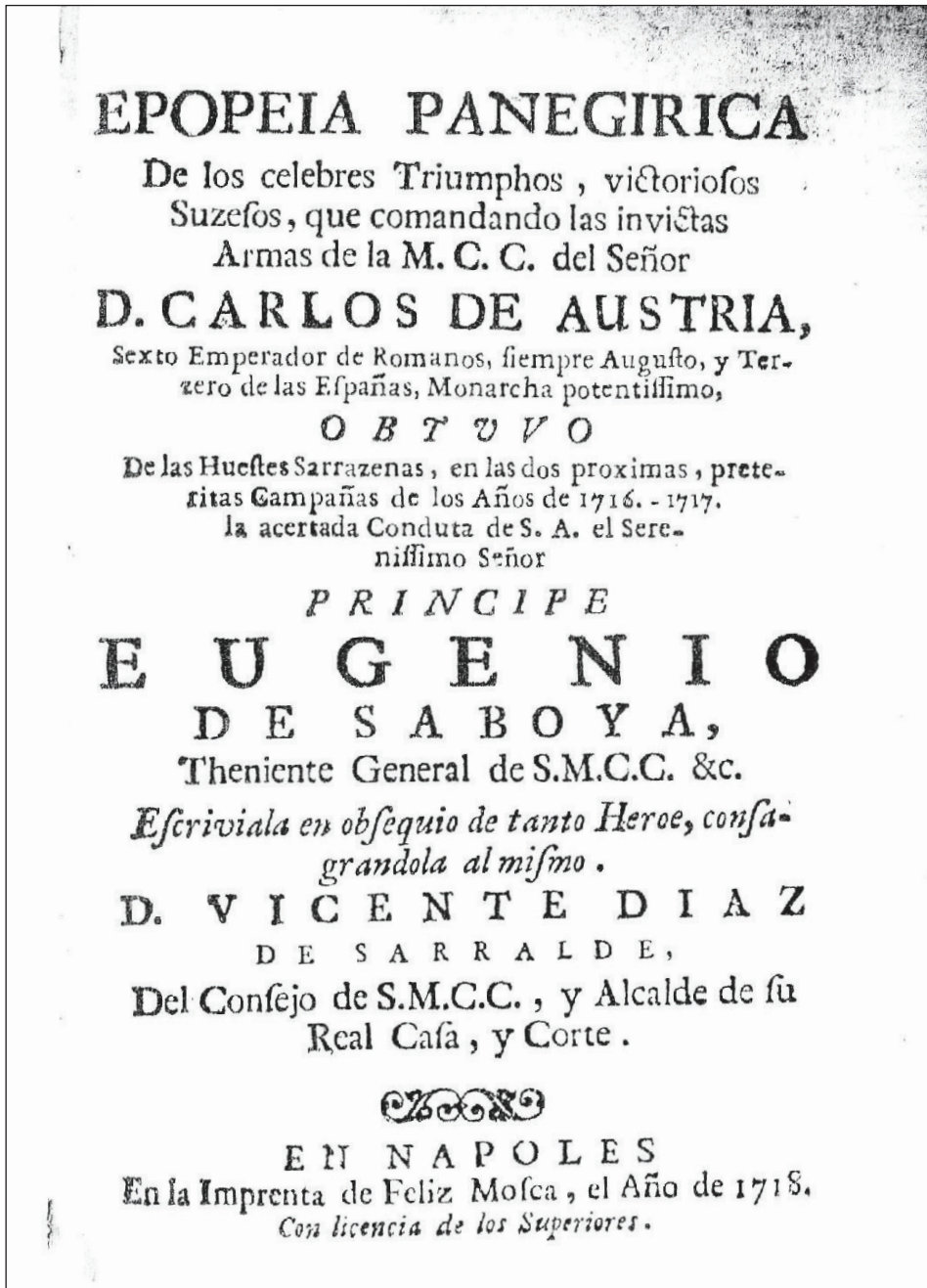


Fig. 1: Cover of the "Panegyric epic" by Vicente Díaz de Sarralde (Agustí Alcoberro).

Díaz de Sarralde and so many more Valencian supporters of the Austrian cause were forced to flee to Barcelona. In his *Anales de Cataluña*, published in Barcelona in 1709, Narcís Feliu de la Peña (1709, III, 630) groups Díaz de Sarralde among “Valencians that left the Kingdom of Valencia to follow King Charles III”. At the beginning of the 20th century, another bibliophile, Francesc Martí Grajales (1987, II, 896), wrote about Díaz de Sarralde as an exile, “a prosecutor on the Valencia Council and an inspired poet”. Sarralde’s property was requisitioned by the Bourbon authorities in 1711 (Graullera, 2007; Pérez Aparicio, 2008, II, 418, 533). Vicent Díaz de Sarralde would anyhow later travel to Naples, where he resided in 1718. The *Epopèia panegírica* author introduces himself as a member of “the Caesarean Catholic Majesty’s council and mayor of his royal house and court.”

The header of the text carries a dedication “To his serene sir prince Eugene of Savoy and Piedmont”. Afterwards, the “Prologue to the reader” offers a prose description of the main events of the 1716 and 1717 campaigns, the goal being to assist understanding of a baroque and therefore quite freighted poetic composition. The author himself says as much at the prologue’s close:

All these findings, dear reader, I offer you in mindful number, cloaked in metaphor and book-buffered allegory, I describe them so that you, far removed from the news, might have a summary, revelatory if not exhaustive. May the rays of this narration be your light in the dark depths of that poem; and may both of us find satisfaction: you, hearing me and unburdened by ignorance; and I, certain of being heard. My irons alone shall incriminate me. Absolve me, then, of my neighbours. (Díaz de Sarralde, 1718, A8).

As mentioned earlier, the poem is divided into two chants, dedicated to the 1716 and 1717 military campaigns, respectively. Each is composed of an initial octave, or Argument, a varying quantity of numbered octaves (86 and 98, respectively) and a final sonnet.

A comprehensive review is not presently important. It has already been done elsewhere (Alcoberro, 2007b). Nevertheless, let us linger over two particularly emblematic episodes that mark the culminations of the two campaigns. Those are, respectively, the sieges of Temeswar (1716) and Belgrade (1717).

The capital of the Banat is described thus:

*De edificios y muros tan gigante
Eleva Temeswar su altiva frente
Que las nubes le sirven de turbante;
Por esféricas bocas gime ardiente;
El duro pecho viste de diamante;
Sus pies ziñe Neptuno transparente;
Y con las verdes de Opis manos juntas
Esgrime vexetables, vivas puntas.* (Díaz de Sarralde, 1718, 21).

[Buildings and walls so giant
 As Temeswar raises its lofty forehead
 The clouds are its turban;
 Spherical mouths let out fiery roars;
 The hard breast sports diamonds;
 Transparent Neptune clings to its feet;
 Hands together, Opis's greens in tow,
 Bearing bright tipped vegetables.]

As in other cases, we can compare the poetic speech with the prose text of the same author. Díaz de Sarralde's more or less objective description of Temeswar reads thus: "Temeswar square is enormous, built on a malarious field circumscribed by a deep lake and flanked by a tube-shaped *Palanca* at one time said to be impregnable".

The description of Belgrade and imperial troops' fight to take the city is neither less colourful nor less bombastic:

*Nuevo mundo de infieles en Belgrado,
 Que ya le ofreze en lontananza el foro,
 Objeto se permite dilatado,
 Teatro del valor y del decoro;
 En cuios homenajes desplegado
 Su pendón fixará sin indecoro,
 El ave de dos cuellos coronada
 Que empuñó el zetro, que rigió la espada.*

[...] *De la Servia península, Belgrado
 Capital y presidio, fuerte y rica,
 Biforme población se á entronizado;
 A quien la una Cybeles le rubrica,
 A quien la otra Neptuno á circundado;
 Y entre los elementos que complica
 Se juzga incontrastable, aunque imprudente,
 Con pie profundo, con altiva frente.* (Díaz de Sarralde, 1718, 35–37).

[New world of infidels in Belgrade,
 Whose exit can be seen from afar,
 An expansive object,
 A theatre of cost and of decorum,
 Extending tributes,
 A ceremoniously hung banner,
 The two-headed bird, crowned,
 that grasped the sceptre, ruled by the sword.]

[...] Of the Serbian peninsula, Belgrade
 Capital and prison, strong and rich,
 biform people have enthroned themselves;
 The one whom Cybeles initials,
 The other whom Neptune circles;
 And amid confounding factors
 It is judged indisputable, though imprudent,
 With a firm foundation, with a high head.]

Again, the poetic image takes on its full meaning thanks to the prose explanation offered by the author: “Belgrade, capital of the province of Serbia, formed of two cities, one land and one aquarian, arrayed in bastions and crescents, and hemmed in by both river [Danube and Sava]”.

The scope and focus of Diaz de Sarralde’s *Epopèia* make it impressive, more or less fringe and even exotic. Yet, for this very reason, its impact was in all likelihood limited. Just what kind of enthusiasm could one hope to arouse with a lengthy Castilian-language composition, published by an author exiled in Naples and based on a war that played out in the confines of the Holy Roman Empire (in far-flung Serbia, no less)? Bear in mind the peninsular market was all but hermetically sealed from the territories under Charles VI. We can therefore assume that the text probably never made it to the Spanish kingdoms, or only just. Add to that our inability to locate references to the exiled Valencian’s poem in any catalogues of work in Spanish state libraries, or, obviously, any Castilian-language literary anthology.

But let it be noted that, at the very least, the Ottoman-Venetian War left in its wake one account, published in Barcelona under Philip V, that serves as a faint reminder of the storm of publicity whipped up during the preceding war: the *Diario de las operaciones...* (BC-FB. 1003).

EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON THE HABSBURG TERRITORIES

The consequences of the Ottoman-Venetian War for the Holy Roman Empire were tremendous. The Treaty of Passarowitz and the cycle that produced the Peaces of Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden paved the way for an explosion of the territories under Habsburg rule. They swelled to 750,000 square kilometres (90 % of Charles V’s inheritance) and accommodated nearly seventeen million inhabitants. Of that number, five million resided in the Italian states annexed at Utrecht, and a mere 150,000 inhabited the territories acquired at Passarowitz – namely, the Banat of Temeswar, Eastern Slavonia, the northern half of Serbia and Small Wallachia. It must be said that of the territories, only the Banat of Temeswar would remain in imperial hands through the Russo-Turkish War.

With victory, Vienna city grew terrifically fast, as evinced by fresh crops of palaces, churches, hospitals and war veterans’ residences. In the 1730s alone, roughly 240 aristocratic homes were built on both sides of Vienna’s walls. One thousand three

hundred people were employed at the Belvedere, the summer palace of Prince Eugene of Savoy (Spielman, 1993).

Yet, as we have said, the Ottoman-Venetian War fuelled Philip V's desire to reclaim the territories lost through the Peace of Utrecht. In summer 1717 a large Bourbon Spanish fleet left port in Barcelona and landed on Sardinia. It took Bourbon troops just two months to occupy the island. The following summer the Bourbon fleet repeated the effort on Sicily, hitherto under Savoy sovereignty. However, the manoeuvre riled the whole of Europe and an unusual coalition took shape: the Quadruple Alliance, enfolding the old allies (Great Britain, the United Provinces and the Empire) and France under the duke of Orleans. The war (1718–1720) marked Philip V's only failure in the international arena.

Nonetheless, the upshot for the Catalans was hardly pleasant. First, the exile drew attention to the fact that the Treaty of London, which formalised the Empire's adhesion to the Alliance (2 August 1718), was Emperor Charles VI's first formal recognition of Philip V as king of Spain –undoubtedly an ineluctable exercise of *realpolitik*. Second, the summer 1719 uprising of guerrilla forces led by Pere Joan Barceló (*Carrasquet*) in the interior of the Principality was not crowned with the reclaimed Constitutions that many of his followers had hoped for.

With French money and weaponry, the guerrilla forces succeeded in wresting significant stretches of the territory away from the large capital cities, particularly in summer 1719. Even still, the mountain fusiliers ultimately returned home under an amnesty forged between France and Spain in 1720, leaving the unresolved subject of the *cas dels catalans*. Nevertheless, Carrasquet and a number of his officials headed for the Empire to resume their struggle with the Bourbons (Giménez López, 2005; Alcoberro, 2007a).

CONSEQUENCES FOR THE VIENNESE EXILE: HOSPITAL OF SPANISH PEOPLE AND SOCORRO DIARIO (DAILY AID)

Nevertheless, considered carefully, the Spanish regiments' involvement in the Ottoman-Venetian War opened up Vienna to the incoming popular exile and sparked two initiatives whose effects reverberated across society, namely: construction of Hospital, where injured war veterans initially formed the hospital's largest group; and, foundation of *Socorro Diario* (Daily Aid), allowing many exiles of common stock to receive pensions without having to leave the imperial capital.

Since the evacuation of 1713, the imperial administration had reserved Vienna for a handful of aristocratic families and high-ranking public officials who assumed charge of the Council of Spain and other entities of the court and fully integrated the court. The remaining exiles were to live in former Spanish territories which Charles VI had obtained through the Peaces of Utrecht and Rastatt. The first clear indication that trend was changing was the Hospital of Spanish People.

As previously indicated (Alcoberro 2002, I, 196), construction of the new hospital began in 1717. The first patients arrived one year later, in February 1718. The project



Fig. 2: Church of Santa Maria de Mercede and Hospital of Spanish People in Vienna (Salomon Kleiner, Johann August Corvinus, 1724–1737).

had the decisive economic support of the Empire and an enthusiastic team led by Maurici Andreu, theology professor at the University of Barcelona, Ramon Vinyes, a surgeon from Vic, Esteve Mascaró, a vicar, and doctors Nicolau Cerdanya, Josep Pujol and Gabriel Joli. Cerdanya, the hospital's first director, is buried at a prominent site in the church of the hospital.

The hospital fulfilled two discrete needs. First, the number of wounded or ill exiles was considerable and, as we have seen, it continued to mount with the Ottoman-Venetian War. Second, vastly different languages complicated Spanish patients' ability to receive care at the Vienna Hospital, which was administered at the municipal level.

The building was divided into three bays—for men, women and the insane. The first stones of distinguished architect Anton Ospel's church were set in 1722. Construction took two years. Both its name, St. Maria de Mercede (patron saint of the town of Barcelona), and original decor remain intact. The side-altars are dedicated to St. Genaro (symbol of the Kingdom of Naples), St. Carlo Borromeo (Milan), St. Rosolea (Sicily) and St. Peter (Flanders). Another side image, of St. Eulàlia (old patron saint of Barcelona), is also present. According to Francesc de Castellví (IV,

589), in its first fifteen years the Hospital treated a total of 2,427 patients, all of whom were born in the Spanish kingdoms.

Furthermore, in February 1719, *Socorro Diario* was created and paid for in Vienna using the Council of Spain's secretary for Naples negotiations. In fact, the measure meant recognising the presence of exiles from humble backgrounds in the capital, something people had previously tried to prevent from happening.

In 1725, a total of 342 heads of households collected the pension. Payments were distributed in groups. Retired colonels, the highest rank, were given 45 florins per month (540 annually) while the lowest ranks received three and a half florins (42 yearly) (HHS-I-SR, B, K21, Fasz. 2, 501–580; Stiffoni, 1991). In contrast, though, some of the larger pensions, bankrolled by the Naples-based Spanish delegation, were between 6,000 and 8,000 florins annually. Thus, with the Ottoman-Venetian War, the Spanish exile in Vienna blurred class lines and took on a decidedly more popular tone.

THE BANAT OF TEMESWAR'S NEW BARCELONA

Creation of the *Nova Barcelona* colony in the Banat of Temeswar for Spanish exiles made for one of the displacement's most surprising episodes and also constituted one of the final after-effects of the territorial acquisitions that accompanied the Ottoman-Venetian War. We have devoted several pages to its study (Alcoberro, 2011, 2019). For now, mention of several core traits, and particular focus on the displaced group's defining characteristics, should suffice.

The occupying presence of Philip V's troops on Naples and Sicily in 1734 forced many exiled individuals to emigrate anew. One must bear in mind that the majority of exiles resided in the Kingdom of Naples, so their arrival in Vienna twenty years after departing from Barcelona generated fresh concerns about care for the newcomers. The loss of Naples also meant the closure of the Council of Spain, which in turn meant that any of its beneficiaries in the imperial capital –public servants and pensioners– found themselves without regular sources of income. It was then the imperial administration dusted off a project hatched decades prior: to send a large segment of the Spanish exiles to the newly colonised territories gained in the Ottoman-Venetian War.

The Banat of Temeswar, with its capital at Temeswar (modern day Timișoara), is an exceptionally flat area of land demarcated by the River Danube and its effluents Tisza and Maros and crisscrossed by other minor rivers. The territory was included in the *Militargrenze*, or Military Frontier, an area directly administered by the Hofkammer (Imperial Diet) and the Kriegsrat (Council of War), both seated in Vienna. That explained the absence in the region of prohibitions on foreigners. From the 1720s, the imperial government pushed inhabitants of a number of the Habsburg territories to emigrate. A great number of those who emigrated were very young German peasants. Many embarked on their journeys as newlyweds and were enticed by the prospect of access to property, which became possible after several years working the land.



Fig. 3: The Banat of Temesvar in 1718–1739 (Wikimedia Commons).

So observed, construction of the Spanish exiles’ “new fatherland” seems almost a reasonable endeavour. The group would have land to develop and, as a trade-off, the Empire’s frontier territories would be occupied by demonstrably trustworthy souls.

The diverse ethnicities of the Banat of Temeswar –still true today– seemed a fitting backdrop for the establishment of new national group.

The terms of the new colony's creation were agreed on at the Imperial Conference of 4 October 1734 (Till, 1947). The first group of exiles arrived in the Banat the following year, in autumn 1735. As in the other cases, and as with any state-led emigration, we have the displaced persons register. Three-hundred twenty-five people, a third of them children, emigrated. They travelled by ship across the River Danube and made a brief stop in Buda before arriving in Belgrade. Other convoys were sent in the spring and summer of 1736. In the latter case, residents of the Spanish colony numbered roughly eight hundred, their highest count. As numerous as the newcomers were, construction move forward briskly. The Spanish exiles were concentrated in Beckerek (Gross-Betschkerek in German, Nagy Beckskerek in Hungarian and Veliki Beckerek in Serbian). The *Nova Barcelona* founded there corresponds today to the town of Zrenjanin, in the autonomous region of the Vojvodina (Republic of Serbia) (Fallenbüchl, 1979).

We can provide some insight about the social makeup of the new arrivals and the economic activity that unfolded in the territory. Furthermore, several lists that include personal information about the new colonists offer a highly accurate look at the problem of exiled individuals (HKA-BA, Fasz. 8). Most of the newcomers were Catalans from the Principality. Yet there were also large numbers of Valencians and Aragonese and a group from the Crown of Castile. Between 10 and 15 % of them were Italian, mostly from Naples and Sicily. By age and in ten-year cohorts, the most represented groups were in their forties, fifties and sixties, respectively. Two-member families were also well represented, as were singles, widowers and widows. Nevertheless, it bears mentioning that young children numbered roughly 250, or nearly a third of the colony's total population.

Emigration to the Banat of Temeswar certainly didn't ignite passions. Those who took part did so because it was a qualifying condition to keeping their place on the imperial payroll. Hence, people who possessed other sources of income, or benefited from the direct help of friends or family, sat the experiment out. As imperial documents attest, the number of ill, wounded or disabled was immense. Needless to say, the particular brand of emigrant described here bears little resemblance to candidates for any sensible colonising enterprise. Unlike the rest of the colonies at the Banat, which consisted largely of young peasant couples, the population of Nova Barcelona proved to be older and with precious few prospects.

Mention should also be made of the physical features that made Beckerek unique. In 1722, it was the site of a failed German repopulating effort. Agricultural virtues notwithstanding, the land was at the time a low marshland at the mercy of rivers that would periodically flood. Here, witness accounts detail the *contagio continuado* (enduring contagion) that dogged the colony and drove its unusually high mortality rates. It should come as no surprise that, on the whole, the colonists sided with Vienna exiles in seeing the repopulating experiment as forced displacement, pure and simple. Inasmuch, they used every means at their disposal, from written protest



Fig. 4: Barcelona, September 11, 1714, Jean Rigaud (Wikimedia Commons).

to passive resistance, to halt it. Even still, Nova Barcelona's failure can also be accounted for by a cause very much of that time: the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War (1737–1739), which put the Banat squarely in the line of fire.

The re-emigration to Buda began summer 1737. Documentary evidence chronicles one final wave in June 1738. Led by the Trinitarian Castilian priest Alonso de Brihuega, the group totalled thirty-three and was mostly composed of widows and orphans (HKA-BA Fasz. 8).

At the close of the 1740s, some of the colonists continued to receive pensions as members of Vienna's Hospital of Spanish People. However, as a group with shared social spaces and identity qualities, the exile gradually dissipated, pushed along by the three erosive phenomena that invariably occur with any forced displacement: the death of the elderly, return to places of origin and dissolution through mixed marriages.

BETWEEN OBLIVION AND LEGEND

Despite their undoubted interest, these episodes have remained virtually unknown for almost three centuries. This is the kind of luck that usually accompanies the defeated. In Bourbon Spain did not arrive, unless we know, neither copies of the *Panegírica Epopeya* (Panegyric epic story), of Vicent Díaz de Sarralde nor even told



Fig. 5: Council of Spain in Vienna (Salomon Kleiner, Johann August Corvinus, 1724–1737).

the presence of exiles in the Ottoman-Venetian War (1714–1718), which, as it had happened in the previous disputes with the Turkish Empire, generated some popular consumption sheets. The silver figurines commissioned by the count of Alcaudete, with the keys of Temeswar and Belgrad, remain in the warehouses of the monastery of Guadalupe, far away from the public eye of the parishioners, where they were presumably deposited from the very beginning. The *Narraciones históricas* (Historical narrations) of Francesc de Castellví remained unpublished in the Vienna State Archive until the end of the twentieth century. And, in any case, the exiled chronicler also did not have much interest in explaining his stay in the Banat of Temeswar, which always considered an episode to be forgotten. No works published in Spain refer to any of these episodes before 1979.

In the Eastern parts of Habsburg Monarchy things went differently. At the very best with regard to the New Barcelona, the episode was soon transformed and approached the legend. Claudio Magris explains it in *Danubio* (1986), who mentions the illustrated Venetian Francesco Grisellini who published a description of the Ba-

nat, in Italian and German versions, in two editions in Milan in 1780 and in Vienna the following year. According to Grisellini at that time in the Banat, the memory of a group of Biscaynes or Basques settled in Beckerek was still alive; group later extinguished due to the epidemics. In other words those Spaniards who spoke a language other than Castilian had become already Basque in popular memory... But if the memory of the New Barcelona remained, even transformed, the Spanish presence in the imperial armies had not yet deserved any monograph.

With this work we hope to have contributed to recover the historical memory of those facts.

IZ BARCELONE DO TEMIŠVARA IN BEOGRADA –
S POSTANKI NA DUNAJU.
IZGNANCI MED ŠPANSKO NASLEDSTVENO VOJNO (1702–1714)
IN BENEŠKO–AVSTRIJSKO TURŠKO VOJNO (1714–1718)

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POVZETEK

Po porazu v španski nasledstveni vojni (1702–1714) so privrženci španskega kralja Karla III. (cesarja Karla VI. Habsburškega) morali v izgnanstvo. Skupaj jih je bilo med 25.000 in 30.000, pripadali so različnim družbenim slojem, prihajali pa so zlasti iz Katalonije in drugih dežel Aragonske krone. Namenili so se povečini na španska ozemlja v Italiji in Flandriji, ki so bila po sklenitvi rastatskega miru priključena monarhiji Karla VI., nekaj pa jih je odšlo tudi v Avstrijo in na Madžarsko. Poleti leta 1713 je ob umiku cesarske vojske iz Katalonije deželo zapustilo tudi 2500 španskih vojakov. Ti so bili takoj prerazporejeni v tri konjeniške in dva pehotna polka v Italiji. Vseh pet polkov in stotinja prostovoljcev, ki so jo tvorili zadnji branitelji Barcelone, so leta 1714 aktivno sodelovali v turško-beneški vojni in znotraj nje v dveh vojnih pohodih, s katerima so leta 1716 osvojili Temišvar, leta 1717 pa Beograd. Cesarska zmaga, potrjena s podpisom požarevskega miru (1718), je imela pomembne posledice tako za izgnance kot tudi za celotno Habsburško monarhijo. Po letu 1735 je bil pomemben del španskih izgnancev preseljen v Temišvarski Banat, pokrajino, v kateri je v tistem času potekala močna kolonizacija. Španski izgnanci so ustanovili novo kolonijo, imenovano Nova Barcelona, ki pa je bila kratkega veka. Prispevek analizira vse te dogodke in se pri tem naslanja predvsem na dokumente iz Avstrijskega državnega arhiva.

Ključne besede: španska nasledstvena vojna, beneško-avstrijska turška vojna (1714–1718), španski izgnanci, Temišvarski Banat, Habsburška monarhija, požarevski mir

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HKA-BA: Hofkammerarchiv. Vienna, Banaten Akten.

KA: Kriegsarchiv. Vienna.

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