

Editing Austrian Consular Documents from the Romanian Principalities and Serbia (1848–1849)

ELA COSMA

In Moldavia and Wallachia the consular reports reflected the reactive nature of Austrian policy, as opposed to the Russian proactive attitude.

Ela Cosma

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Author, among others, of the vol.

Nouă luni în Transilvania (decembrie 1848–august 1849): Generalul Józef Bem în corespondență, proclamații, documente (Nine months in Transylvania, December 1848–August 1849: General Józef Bem in correspondence, proclamations, documents) (2011).

THE IDEA of the present research occurred to me when I was inventorying the approximately 1,300 documents belonging to the 1848 Collection of George Barițiu Institute of History in Cluj-Napoca, which are copies of originals from the Vienna Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv. In 2005 I edited the inventory in *A Catalogue of Documents and Regesta*, in 2 volumes.¹ But, as one third of the 1848 Collection deals with extremely interesting documents reflecting the Austrian consular activity in the Romanian Principalities and Serbia, I started to analyze them more thoroughly and published a few studies in 2006–2008.²

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Among the numerous Romanian document collections, I paid attention to those featuring foreign consular accounts. The extremely valuable and comprehensive Hurmuzaki collection, in vol. 19 part 1 and 2, vol. 21 (published in 1922–1942),³ shows the evolution of the Austrian consular agencies in the Romanian Principalities, from their establishment (1782) until 1836. As can be seen, the 1848–1849 period is not comprised in this collection, but I could use the testimonies of the French consuls in Bucharest and Iași, concerning the years 1825–1851 and published in vols. 17 and 18 (appeared 1913, 1916).⁴ My astonishment and regret regards the fact that the historical documents of the Hurmuzaki collection, essential for the Romanian history of the modern times, rendered in a readable and accessible French language, have not received the respect they really deserve for their great relevance.

The paradoxical wealth of already published documents and historical writings about the revolutionary movements of the Romanians and Serbians is doubled by a mysterious lack of investigations of the foreign consular agencies, while archives still offer innumerable undisclosed testimonies. Is it the language of these documents? Is it the necessary palaeography knowledge requested by such an examination? Anyway, excepting Professor Harald Heppner⁵ and one of his students, Ulrike Tischler,⁶ who explored the Habsburg consular sources from the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century, there no other available syntheses or monographs devoted to Austrian consular documents.

The attractiveness and novelty of the topic, the challenge presented by the great amount of archive material, were precisely what motivated my further investigation.

Most of the unpublished Austrian consular documents covered by the present research are German language documents from Vienna, now to be found in the 1848 archive of George Barițiu Institute.⁷ More than 200 pieces reflect the activity of the Habsburg consular agent in Wallachia, Casimir von Timoni, about 55 documents concern the consular agency in Iași led by consular agent August von Eisenbach, 40 documents refer to the Austrian consul in Galați, Huber, and over 60 documents are related to Ferdinand Mayerhofer's consular mission in Belgrade, Vojvodina and Banat. Modern German paleography is involved in the processing of these documents.

Additional documents from the Archive of the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Empire in Moscow,⁸ containing the correspondence between the Russian consulates and the Austrian consular agencies in the Danube Principalities, 1848–1849, were also included, as well as archival pieces from the Military-Historical Archive in the capital of the Russian Federation and from the State Archive in Odessa,⁹ regarding the Habsburg general consulate in Novorussia's capital and its head, Ludwig von Gutmannsthal. The Austrian-Russian consular correspondence was kept in the traditional language of European diplomacy, as indicated by

the great amount of consular letters and documents in French. As for the rest of the documents consulted in the Russian and Ukrainian archives, they require knowledge of Russian palaeography.

Exempli gratia, two samples of 1848 Austrian consular documents are reproduced in the appendix to this study, following the transcription, transliteration, and editing norms in use at my Institute of History of the Romanian Academy in Cluj. The first example¹⁰ regards a German language document, written with Gothic letters in the so-called *Kurrentschrift*, transliterated to Latin characters. When publishing such a text in a document volume or collection, the transliteration is followed by the Romanian translation of the document. This is the recurrent practice of modern German palaeography reflected in the collection of *Documente privind revoluția de la 1848 în Țările Române. C. Transilvania*, edited by George Barițiu Institute.¹¹

The second example¹² presents a ciphered document followed by the deciphered text in French; for the safety of the communication it was of little importance that both message sender and recipient were Habsburg authorities, having German as their mother tongue.

The finding that even in 1848 the *lingua franca*, the language of diplomacy and consular relations, was... French is proved not only by the Russian Chancellor Nesselrode writing his correspondence in this language, but also by the ciphered letters sent by the Austrian consular agent Timoni during the troublesome events in Wallachia, which confirm that the confidential code was imported from France.

The 1848 French language documents have their peculiarities, determined by the nationality of the issuers. Foreign graphemes, like the Gothic or Cyrillic letters, which are out of place in the Latin alphabet, point to Austrian, Russian or Romanian hands writing the French texts.

If a synthetic approach to the Habsburg consular accounts in the Romanian Principalities of 1848–1849 requires German palaeography and knowledge of the French language, for the earlier period of the establishment of the first Austrian trade agency in the Romanian Principalities (1782), as well as for the study of the 19th century consular documents in connection with the Austrian Lloyd,¹³ knowledge of the Italian language is needed.

The third sample in the appendix to this paper is a work instrument that I created with no claim to originality; nevertheless the index of Austrian consular agents in the Romanian Principalities and Serbia (1782–1859) required me to find a lot of additional evidence, in order to solve frequent chronological and onomastical contradictions.

Without any doubt, the interdisciplinary nature of this enterprise requires, besides the archival science, which involves documentation stages and archive research, in order to discover new consular sources, the compulsory recourse to modern palaeography and, last but not least, philological interest and under-

standing. Only by processing the archival material can a primary valorization of the historical sources be achieved. The process then comes to an end with the editing of the the documents or with their inclusion in analytical studies and monographs.

THE ACTUAL importance of editing the Austrian consular documents from the Romanian Principalities and Serbia during the 1848 revolutions resides, first of all, in the approached issues. The documents present:

- a) the Austrian consular system, that is, the Habsburg consular agencies and starosties in the respective principalities until 1848;
- b) a particular outlook on the biography and activity of the Austrian consular agents;
- c) the Austrian consular accounts on the revolution in each principality;
- d) the functions assumed in 1848–1849 by the Austrian consular missions, including the transformation of the consular agencies in Bucharest and Iași into general consulates, as well as the transfer of the Austrian consul in Serbia as land-chief (*načelnik*) to the newly-created Vojvodina, after 1849;
- e) the Austrian consular accounts on the Russian occupation, which suppressed the national revolutionary movements in Moldavia and Wallachia;
- f) the key role played in 1848–1849 by the Austrian agencies and consulates in the geopolitics of the Habsburg Monarchy.

a) During the revolutionary years, Austria had several consular agencies and starosties¹⁴ in the Romanian Principalities and Serbia, which were under Ottoman suzerainty, as well as in the neighboring areas, provinces of the Russian Empire. The 1848–1849 Austrian consular accounts were issued by:

- the consular agent in Iași, August von Eisenbach (1842–1849; agent and general consul 1849–1850); the starosts from the Moldavian towns and bouroughs: Johann Poppson in Focșani; Count Neuhaus in Bacău; Popowitz in Huși; Andreas Mamaky in Bârlad;
- the consular agent in Bucharest, Casimir von Timoni (1832–1849/1850);
- the consul in Belgrade, Ferdinand Mayerhofer von Grünbühl (1843–1849);
- the consul in Galați, Wilhelm Christian Huber (1847–1849);
- the vice-consul Nikolaus Sgardelli in Izmayil (1847–1854), former consular agent in Brăila and subsequently vice-consul in Tulcea (1854);
- the consular agent in Bălți, Nikolai Negruș (1840–1854);
- the consul in Odessa, Ludwig von Gutmannsthal (1847–1849).

b) The members of the consular staff usually left no memoirs and no historian ever tried to uncover their private lives and thoughts. However, the documents allow us to combine the official activity carried out by the consular

agents in Bucharest and Iași, Casmir von Timoni and August von Eisenbach, with aspects from their lives and with spicy biographical details.

The same holds true for the loyal Austrian consul in Belgrade, Lieutenant-Colonel Ferdinand Mayerhofer, who combined an interesting consular career with the adventures stemming from his military involvement in the Serbian-Hungarian national war.

As regards the consul in Galați, Wilhelm Christian Huber cuts a rather devious figure among the other Austrian representatives, as he was a supporter of the liberal and revolutionary ideas. This was seldom the case among the diligent but conservative Habsburg consuls.

The case study of the Austrian general consul in Odessa, Ludwig von Gutmannsthal, who initially shared the same enthusiastic opinions as his counterpart in Galați, reveals a completely different and far more dire situation in the Tsarist Empire. For a whole year (1848–1849) Gutmannsthal was continuously monitored and followed by the *okbrana*, until he finally left his consular mission in Novorussia, never to return.

c) A complete picture of the 1848 Revolution is offered by the Habsburg consular agency in Wallachia. Due to the abundant sources and to Casimir von Timoni's natural writing talent, the narrative is so fluent and continuous that it almost turns into a novel. Casimir von Timoni's regular accounts are far more detailed and penetrating than those of his colleagues; he took note of the pre-revolutionary actions and of the trials of the members of the national party in Wallachia, but he also provided a complete chronicle of the revolutionary years. The Habsburg consular agent in Bucharest thoroughly described the national movement in Wallachia, the revolutionary preparations and the outbreak of the revolution in this principality, the establishment of the first and second revolutionary governments in Wallachia, as well as the princely lieutenancy, but he also depicted the Moldavian revolutionary events in Iași and Galați.

Also worthy of attention is the Austrian consulate in Galați, a city with a special situation, determined by its status as the biggest Romanian harbor, connected by water to neighboring Russia, a place of major interest to Habsburgs and Russians alike.

As concerns the Austrian consular presence in Moldavia, the preserved accounts refer separately to the consular agency in Iași and to the consulate in Galați, plus a few pages related to the general consulate residing in Odessa, the capital of the Russian gubernia of Bessarabia and Novorussia. The consular documents make possible a comparison between the more privileged Habsburg agencies on Romanian land and those opened in the Tsarist Empire under difficult circumstances.

The Austrian consular documents from Serbia offer distinct perspectives on the events unfolding in the principality under Turkish suzerainty and on the

revolution in the Serbian territory under Habsburg jurisdiction. The Austrian consul in Belgrade turns out to be much more than a mere observer, becoming an active participant and the maker of the new imperial land of Vojvodina. The plot is complicated by the multiethnic and demographic disputes over Banat.

Yet, in 1848–1849 even the most conformist and disciplined Austrian agent could not avoid critical attitudes or personal actions against the Habsburg Foreign Ministry, which was often trailing behind the ongoing events and outmaneuvered by the Russians, who set the rules of the game. Huber protected and sheltered Moldavian fugitive revolutionaries (April 1848);¹⁵ Eisenbach acted against the Russians who were introducing the censorship of the Romanian journals in Moldavia (November 1848);¹⁶ Timoni defended Heinrich Winterhalder and many other revolutionaries arrested by the tsarist commanding general, Lüders, in Wallachia¹⁷; ignoring the decisional chaos in the imperial army and opposing the pro-Hungarian influences, Mayerhofer managed to rescue the Austrian-Serbian forces from a disastrous military situation in Banat (February 1849).¹⁸

d) The Habsburg subjects and the internal politics of the Romanian Principalities and Serbia were the main concerns of the consular agents sent there by Austria. As illustrated by many documents, the consular jurisdiction was instrumental in matters of passports, civil trials between Austrian citizens, inheritance and divorce, the transhumance of the flocks tended to by Transylvanian shepherds, steamboat sailing of Austrian Lloyd, trade connections, coordination of the starosties in the territory, relations with foreign consulates (especially with the Russian ones), and relations with the local officials and governments of Wallachia, Moldavia and Serbia.

A grand project that never came to fruition—this might be the reason why it was totally ignored by historiography—concerned an interstate agreement between Austria and Wallachia, in a first instance, followed by agreements with Moldavia and Serbia.¹⁹ It should have been the first economic convention between free and autonomous states and it would have crowned Timoni's longest mission as a consular agent in the Danube Principalities. In March 1848 the interstate agreement was to be signed in Bucharest, but it was forestalled by the revolution.

Regardless of the troubling events of those days, the Austrian consular agencies kept their gates open. During the 1848 revolutions the Habsburg agencies did not take refuge—as they had done in the years 1828–1833 and earlier; they did not protest and close down—as the Russian general consulate did during the revolutionary rule in Bucharest (end June–July 1848), while the Prussian and French consulates in Iași suspended their relations with Mihail Sturdza's government because of the violation of Moldavia's suzerainty through the Russian invasion (July 1848).²⁰

The stipulations of the consular legislation show the illegitimacy of the status held in 1848 by the Habsburg consular agencies in Bucharest and Iași. While

of lesser rank, they commanded the Austrian consulate in Galați and the vice-consulate in Brăila. The situation was resolved at the end of 1849, when the two former agencies became Austria's general consulates in the Romanian Principalities.²¹

As neutral observers, the Austrian agents reported to Vienna any aspect regarding internal events in the host countries, from administrative and political issues to the social and national movements of the malcontents.

e) The consular accounts astonish the reader by providing a new reading key for the events in question, by disclosing the hidden motivation of the revolutionary outbreak in the Romanian Principalities. The Austrian agents repeatedly mentioned that the Russian consulates were the real centers of the countries' administration; that the Russian army had come to stay and not to leave, especially in Moldavia,²² that behind the national revolution there was an anti-tsarist revolution. The Moldavians who exiled themselves in Transylvania and Bukovina intended to fight against the Russians, eager to seize Bessarabia; the true goal of the Wallachian revolutionary government was to reject the tsarist protectorate and to ward off the occupation by the 5th army corps led by General Lüders. Austria's neutrality and fear in front of Russia did not make its consular representatives blind and insensitive to the injustice going on under their eyes.

As a matter of fact, in summer 1848, Austria had actually accepted and acknowledged the tsarist invasion of the Romanian lands, leaving the Porte on its own and forcing the Ottoman army to intervene.²³ With no support from the Habsburg emperor, the sultan ended under the tsar's thumb. The Austrian consular documents iterate the observation that Russian troops spent almost two years, until spring 1850, at the expense of the Romanian Principalities, while the Ottomans paid cash and maintained a stricter discipline. It was convenient for 50–60,000 tsarist soldiers to spend two winters for free. Moreover, in December 1848, Nicholas I forced Moldavia and Wallachia to accept a loan of 300,000 roubles meant to cover the upkeep of the Russian army.²⁴ Thus our lands made a double deduction for the same expenses, first providing the Russian military with food and lodging, then paying back this loan, plus interest.

By 1849 Russia was surely the greatest military land power in Europe, and the Romanian Principalities stood in its way. It was the swan song of Eastern imperialism. The Crimean War was soon to come.

f) During the revolutionary events of the years 1848–1849, the Habsburg consular agencies in the Danube Principalities exceeded by far their original economic and commercial function, assuming an important diplomatic and political function.

The abovementioned consular accounts prove beyond any doubt the key role played 1848–1849 by the Austrian agencies and consulates in the geopolitics of the Habsburg Monarchy. In Moldavia and Wallachia the consular reports

reflected the reactive nature of Austrian policy, as opposed to the Russian proactive attitude. In Turkish Serbia, Austria's preeminence had to be demonstrated in a silent confrontation with the Empire of the tsars, which made the mission of the Habsburg consulate in Belgrade even more difficult. Moreover, the Austrian consul in Belgrade, Mayerhofer, will always have a place in history as one of the founders of Serbian Vojvodina (1849–1860).

Basically the Austrian consular agencies in the Danube Principalities brought an important contribution to maintaining Austria in the second place in the hierarchy of great European powers.



Appendix

1. Documents

Iași, 8 September 1848, the Austrian consular agent in Moldavia, August von Eisenbach, to the minister of Foreign Affairs, von Wessenberg, German language.

(Annexes: 1. Huși, 4 September 1848. The Austrian starost Popowitz to the agency in Iași, German language. 2. Focșani, 4 September 1848. The Austrian starost Johann Poppson to the agency in Iași, German language. 3. No place, no date. Agenda of Ali Pasha, Ottoman Foreign minister, French language. 4. [Iași, 7 September 1848.]

Memorandum of the Moldavian ruling prince, Mihail Sturdza, to the Austrian

Foreign minister and to the Austrian internuncio in Constantinople, via agent Eisenbach, French language.) Archive of George Barițiu Institute of History in Cluj-Napoca, coll. 1848, carton 6, document 90, Xerox: 19.955–19.968, 14 folios.

No. 529 C. Reservirt

An Seine des Herrn k.k. Ministers des Äußern und des k. Hauses, Freiherrn von Wessenberg etc. etc. etc. Excellenz

Iassi am 8t September 1848

Hochwohlgeborner Freiherr,

Die neuesten, im Anschlusse mitfolgenden Berichte aus Fokschan und Husch dto 4t September berichten nichts Erhebliches; auch in Jassi hat sich seit meinem letzten Berichte nichts ereignet, was besondere Erwähnung verdiente.

Nachdem der Erlaßung Inhalt des in meinem gehorsamsten Berichte No. 527 B. besprochenen russischen Ultimatum an den Divan mir zu öfteren Malen als richtig verbürgt wurde, was ich jedoch nur bezweifeln konnte, so habe ich getrachtet, mir hierüber Gewißheit zu verschaffen; das Wahre an der Sache dürfte wohl nur in dem abschriftlich angebotenen Entwurfe eines vorläufigen Uebereinkommens des Herrn Gesandten Titow

mit dem Diwan liegen, welchen General Duhamel mir vertraulich mitzutheilen die Gefälligkeit hatte; ich erlaube mir bei diesem Anlaße, mich auf *meinen reservirten* [?] *Berichte No. 524 B. und 525 B.* zu beziehen, in denen ich anzuzeigen mich beeilte, daß der Diwan das Benehmen Suleiman Paschas desappreuvirt [!] haben soll, und daß General Duhamel sich gegen mich geäußert hat: der Gesandte Titow habe die Hoffnung noch nicht aufgegeben, den Diwan bezüglich der Walachen eines Bessern zu belehren; diese Belehrung scheint – wie man aus dem obigen Entwurfe folgern dürfte – auf keinen unempfindlichen Boden gefallen zu sein.

Der hiesige Consulssekretär Preis ist zur Führung der französischen Correspondenz dem Generalen Lüders beigegeben worden; zu dem nämlichen Zwecke steht dem Generalen Duhamel ein vor ungefähr 2 1/2 Monaten aus Petersburg eingetroffener Beamter des Ministeriums des Äußern zur Seite; General Duhamel wird sich vor der Hand nicht nach Bucearest begeben, sondern ist gestern Abends nach Galatz abgereiset, um dort mit dem Amedschî Fuaf Efendi zusammenzutreffen.

Den k.k. Internuntius Graf v. Stürmer hat mir unterm 29t v. Mts. eine Note des ottomanischen Ministers der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten – in Betreff des den österreichischen Unterthanen in den Fürstenthümern zu gewährenden Schutzes mitgetheilt; ich kann meinerseits nur aufrichtig bedauern, daß bei dem Verwalten der in der Moldau aufrechtstehenden sehr bedauerlichen Verhältnisse kaum abzusehen ist, wie und wann diese günstige Stimmung, dieser gute Wille der ottomanischen Pforte für die hiesigen österreichischen Unterthanen sich durch die zahlreichen Schwierigkeiten und Hindernisse eine Bahn brechen, ihre und unsere Wünsche und Bestrebungen der endlichen Erfüllung zugeführt werden.

Es [ist] mir gestern ein Memorandum mit dem ausdrücklichen Wunsche des Fürsten Sturdza zugekommen, dasselbe an Eure Excellenz und an den Herrn Internuntius in Constantinopel zu übermitteln.

Indem ich mittelst der hieroben unterbreiteten Abschrift diesen Wunsch des Herrn Fürsten erfülle, gebe ich mir zugleich die Ehre 1 Exemplar der Sammlung über die Resultate der gewöhnlichen Generalversammlungen vom J. 1834 bis 1848 zu Hochdero Verfügung zu stellen.

Geruhen Eure Excellenz den Ausdruck meiner tiefsten Verehrung zu empfangen.

Eisenbach

p. 17/9

F 14/3

No. 529 C.

Jassi den 8t Septemb. 1848

Eisenbach – Politischer Bericht

Beilagen:

- Bericht aus Fokschan;
- Bericht aus Husch;
- Entwurf eines vorläufigen Uebereinkommens des k. russ. Gesandten Hr. Titow mit der ottomanischen Pforte, in Betreff der beiden Donaufürstenthümer;
- Memorandum des regierenden Fürsten Sturdza, in Abschrift;
- Sammlung der Ergebnisse der Generalversammlungen vom J. 1834 bis 1848.

Bucharest, 24 October 1848, the Austrian consular agent in Wallachia, Casimir von Timoni, to the Foreign Ministry in Vienna, ciphred letter and deciphered text in French.
 Archive of George Barițiu Institute of History in Cluj-Napoca, coll. 1848, carton 3,
 document 120, Xerox: 15.033–15.037, 6 folios.

No. 135

Le déchiffrement est ci joint

Au Haut Ministère Impérial des Affaires Etrangères à Vienne

Bucarest le 24 Octobre 1848

Haut Ministère Impérial

768	1025	729	957	445	308	1053	1429	348	761
280	910	852	1050	685	201	1139	1100	57	933
241	491	1030	230	317	548	621	274	117	645
933	545	512	1351	514	920	514	769	807	458
518	587	1025	365	1062	102	1321	817	348	241
137	481	565	473	877	729	41	399	318	1420
600	670	275	159	1094	965	1079	1102	278	680
669	281	348	1415	24	1059	262	1465	229	262
1330	67	1034	231	317	751	1073	1192	9	1411
1162	1004	960	618	965	252	797	808	1020	1176
647	414	330	587	849	137	965	931	813	1465
105	1364	896	102	258	913	1448	278	592	1446
924	1246	1026	99	25	732	1461	1220	965	726
1118	670	1045	883	315	506	959	431	355	1321
565	1384	265	713	759	491	262	1465	348	229
262	1330	159	763	220	452	960	1371	1034	971
1264	1008	361	258	105	1073	481	167	1446	890
1236	773	1322	1045	1124	102	147	1298	434	600
1294	965	552	1069	1026	507	1120	231	503	1047
339	818	549	355	913	427	147	838	248	276
1093	449	231	1149	37	441	172	280	870	512
1004	431	240	1200	524	798	1217	1152	523	1045
912	216	558	9	1411	86	102	204	1034	769
348	231	1461	852	517	449	323	82	785	298
913	458	237	1465	813	265	475	265	1050	14
458	147	127	1094	137	896	523	159	122	261
431	517	1309	57	1196	986	377	1076	538	347
475	258	414	1217	920	25	818	932	109	1489

600

732	1093	280	231	449	323	1148	1111	176	832
452	1053	1050	1445	514	330	280	458	414	427
330	283	975	1203	531	740	441	1153	1020	515
102	592	117	1236	330	1482	913	43	53	1018
395	902	261	1034	769	945	481	753	154	973
48	466	1351	258	264	645	1124	273	514	57
1341	1383	1432	774	168	106	102	216	913	959
137	187	147	280	428	204	102	427	196	281
491	645	871	669	57	195	1076	1433	278	582
									348
1264	1432	339	595	49	514	43	137	1272	414
803	1120	280	1148	753	102	427	1347	1309	57
53	1018	523	1474	1065	1324	871	1162	441	1407
1242	1220	361	51	1061	1294	896	852	670	891
102	195	241	1076	1294	1148	844	86	1049	1214
869	283	280	1025	769	348	1025	512	870	769

Je prie le Haut Ministère Impérial d'agréer l'assurance de mon profond respect.

Timoni

No. 135

Bucarest le 24 Octobre 1848

Timoni

Sur le dernier état des *affaires en Valachie*.

Intrigues des Boyards dans le but d'obtenir des *places* au Gouv.t

No. 135

Bucarest le 24 Octobre 1848

Les intrigues ont déjà commencé. Ces jours un considérable nombre de Boyards, le premier Boyard (Bachi Boyard) Monsieur Georges Philippesco a leur tête, s'est rendu chez les sommités Turques et Russes pour se plaindre de l'inaction de la Kaimacamie. Les Boyards ne pensent qu'à des places ; ainsi qu'ils avaient secrètement poussé la jeunesse à la révolte pour provoquer la chute du dernier Hospodar, ils font maintenant tout leur possible pour renverser le Kaimacam et pour obtenir des postes. Le terrain leur est favorable, car il y a deux Puissances qui s'occupent à régler les affaires du pays, sans être tout à fait d'accord entre elles malgré les bonnes apparences. Quant au Prince Bibesco, il paraît que personne ne pense plus à lui.

Les derniers jours quelques Grecs allant à Ibraila rencontrèrent un convoi d'artillerie Russe, et tirèrent quelques coups de pistolet et de fusil contre l'escorte sans cependant faire du mal. Les Grecs sont arrêtés et subiront un jugement. Je fais mention de cet incident parce qu'il donnera probablement lieu à des bruits exagérés.

Hier est arrivé ici le Lieutenant Impérial Mr. Lucky chargé de dépêches pour le second régiment Vallaque à Nassod. On lui a fait prendre le chemin de Bucarest et Yassy pour éviter le pays insurgé des Szekler. Son arrivée a fait beaucoup de bruit, particulièrement parmi les Hongrois qui séjournent à Bucharest, et qui sont dans la plus grande agitation.

2. Chronological Table

THE AUSTRIAN CONSULAR AGENTS IN THE ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES AND SERBIA
(1782–1859)

Iași	Bucharest	Belgrade
July 1782–Jan. 1786, commercial and diplomatic agent in Bucharest and Iași Stefan Raicevich (resident in Iași, Oct. 1783–Aug. 1784)	July 1782–Jan. 1786, commercial and diplomatic agent in Bucharest and Iași Stefan Raicevich July 1783, Chancellor Georg Oechsner, officially paid since 30 Sept. 1783	
Jan. 1786–Sept. 1787, Chancellor Felix von Spaun	Feb. 1786–Dec. 1787, Chancellor Franz Petrossi	
Oct. 1786–6 Oct. 1789, agent Franz Leopold von Metzburg (exiled in Chernowitz Feb.–May 1788, returned to Iași as Austrian <i>commissaire</i> , + 6 Oct. 1789)		
Oct. 1788–Nov. 1789, gérant administrator Joseph von Raab Nov. 1789–Oct. 1791, Joseph von Raab, administrator of the districts occupied in Moldova by the Austro-Russian armies Oct. 1790–May 1806, Chancellor Leopold Schilling	1785–1793, Chancellor Michael Merkelius	
16 June 1793–June 1806, agent in the Romanian Principalities, resident in Iași, Johann von Timoni Chancellor and substitute agent Leopold Schilling (dismissed in May 1806) 1797 translator Georg Duldner 1803 copyist Karl Udritzky	1793–July 1806, agent Michael Merkelius (+ 9 July 1806, in Bucharest) May 1793, Chancellor Andreas Gaudi (retired May 1806) Translator into Romanian, Criste Stere 1798, Chancellor van der Rennen 1799 translator Joseph Brunebarbe	
July 1806–June 1807, consular agent Joseph von Hammer Dragoman (translator) Cantemir	Aug. 1806–Feb. 1810, agent Ignatz von Brenner Chancellor von der Rennen (died 1811) Translator into Romanian Criste Stere, from 1807 followed by Manolache Furculescu Agency translator Emanuel Furkas	

June 1807–March 1811, consular agent Duldner
1807–Sept. 1812, dragoman (translator) Cantemir

5 July 1811–June 1823, consular agent Joseph von Raab
1807–1812, dragoman (translator) Cantemir

June 1810–Sept. 1832, agent Franz Fleischhackl von Hackenau (retired Sept. 1832)
1811, Chancellor Karl Udritzky, since 1813 definitely employed on this job
Translator assistant, since April 1829 dragoman (translator) Vinzenz von Rosenzweig, speaking the Romanian language
1823–1830, translator assistant, Chancellor, *gérant* von Hillen
1830–Jan. 1833, von Hillen was consular *gérant* for Wallachia in exile at Sibiu
1828, Stefan Meitani, Fleischhackl's *locum tenens*

May 1823–May 1830, consular agent Lippa
1828, Chancellor Liehmann
July 1830–Nov. 1832, Chancellor Ferro, agency *gérant* in exile at Chernowitz, after Lippa's departure

1828, Austria withdraws its consular agents from the Romanian Principalities.

1828, Austria withdraws its consular agents from the Romanian Principalities.

Dec. 1832, Austria resends its consular agents to the Romanian Principalities.

Dec. 1832, Austria resends its consular agents to the Romanian Principalities.

Feb. 1833–May 1836, consular agent Wallenberg
(Wallenburg, Wollenberg, Valembourg)
Jan. 1834, Chancellor Zotta
July 1835–Dec. 1836, Chancellor Schweiger, consular *gérant*

Sept. 1832–Oct. 1849/March 1850, consular agent Casimir von Timoni
Sept. 1832–21 Jan. 1833, translator assistant von Ferro
21 Jan. 1833–1845, Chancellor von Ferro
1836, consular agent Stefan Meitani, Timoni's [?] *locum tenens*

4 Sept. 1836, opening of the Austrian consulate
Sept. 1836–Feb. 1838, the first Austrian consul in Serbia, Antun Mihanović

March 1842–1849, consular agent August von Eisenbach
1849–1850, agent and general consul August von Eisenbach until Jan. 1848, Chancellor Josef Dworzak
1848, agency dragoman Constantin Rosolimo
(retired in Sept. 1848)

Sept. 1845(–1849?), Chancellor Emanuel Schweiger von Dauernstein,
Emanuel Furkas, dragoman

1843–1849, consul Ferdinand Mayerhofer von Grünbühl

Iași	Bucharest	Belgrade
1854, agent and general consul Heinrich von Testa	Oct. 1849–1857 (?), General Consul Anton von Laurin	
1854, Chancellor Karl Dragoritsch and Vicechancellor Michael Pitey		
Sept. 1848–1859, Alex Slavul, dragoman of the agency, then of the general consulate		
1857, second dragoman of the general consulate, Paul von Körnbach		
1856–1859, General Consul Oskar von Gödel Lannoy	1857–1859, General Consul Karl von Eder	1856–1859, Consul Colonel Theodore Teja Radosavljević
1859, consular <i>gérant</i> Albert Chiari		

Notes

1. Ela Cosma, *Revoluția de la 1848–1849: Un catalog de documente și regeste (Fondul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj)*, 2 vols. (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2005).
2. Ela Cosma, “Casimir von Timoni, șeful agenției c.c. de la București (1832–1849),” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie “George Bariț” din Cluj-Napoca* 45, Ser. Historica (2006): 295–326; id., “Consulatele, agențiile consulare și stărostiile Austriei din Principatul Moldovei (1846–1850),” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie “George Barițiu” din Cluj-Napoca*, 46, Ser. Historica (2007): 119–157; id., “Ferdinand Mayerhofer von Grünbühl, consulul austriac de la Belgrad și revoluția pașoptistă din Serbia [Voivodina],” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie “George Bariț” din Cluj-Napoca* 47, Ser. Historica (2008): 61–93.
3. *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor, culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, vol. 19, partea I, corespondența diplomatică și rapoarte consulare austriace (1782–1797)*, ed. Ion Nistor (Bucharest: Institutul de Arte Grafice Carol Göbl, 1922); *vol. 19, partea II, corespondența diplomatică și rapoarte consulare austriace (1798–1812)*, ed. Ion Nistor (Chernowitz: Institutul de Arte Grafice Glasul Bucovinei, 1938); *vol. 21, corespondența diplomatică și rapoarte consulare austriace (1828–1836)*, ed. Ion Nistor (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1942).
4. *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor* (vol. 17 of Hurmuzaki coll.): *Corespondența diplomatică și rapoarte consulare franceze (1825–1846)*, ed. Nerva Hodoș (Bucharest: Institutul de Arte Grafice Carol Göbl, 1913); *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor* (vol. 18 of Hurmuzaki coll.): *Corespondența diplomatică și rapoarte consulare franceze (1847–1851)*, ed. Nerva Hodoș, with an alphabetical index of vols. 16–18 by Nicolae Iorga (Bucharest: Institutul de Arte Grafice Carol Göbl, 1916).
5. Harald Heppner, *Österreich und die Donaufürstentümer 1774–1812: Ein Beitrag zur habsburgischen Südosteuropapolitik* (Graz: Institut für Geschichte der Universität Graz, Zur Kunde Südosteuropas II/13, 1984). The same book in Romanian translation: *Austria și Principatele Dunărene (1774–1812): O contribuție la politica sud-est euro-*

peană a Habsburgilor, trans. Rudolf Gräf and Werner Kremm (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000).

6. Ulrike Tischler, *Die habsburgische Politik gegenüber den Serben und Montenegrinern 1791–1822: Förderung oder Vereinnahmung?* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2000).
7. Based on Silviu Dragomir's references and on the documentation carried out by Gelu Neamțu, the Xerox copies were done in 1963–1964 by Victor Cheresteșiu.
8. Together with Daniela Deteșan, Tatiana Onilov, Ramona Preja and Angela Colin, I enjoyed a documentation stage at the Russian archives in Moscow (18 May–8 June 2012), in the frame of the present grant ID-0064.
9. Another documentation stage in the Ukrainian archives of Odessa, supported by the same grant and carried out by the same team, took place between 21 and 31 July 2012.
10. Iași, 8 September 1848, the Austrian consular agent in Moldavia, August von Eisenbach, to the minister of the Foreign Affairs, von Wessenberg, German language. Archive of George Barițiu Institute of History of Cluj-Napoca, coll. 1848, carton 6, document 90, Xerox 19.955–19.968.
11. George Barițiu Institute of History of Cluj-Napoca has 3 document collections of pre-modern and modern history: *Izvoarele născociei lui Horea 1784*; *Documente privind revoluția de la 1848 în Țările Române. C. Transilvania* and *Mișcarea națională a românilor din Transilvania*. While *Documente privind revoluția de la 1848 în Țările Române. C. Transilvania* indispensably includes the Romanian translations of the numerous German language documents and of the rare Latin documents, as well as that of Hungarian documents, the other two collections prefer to consider German and Latin as languages of international circulation, with no translation needed, providing only the Hungarian documents with a Romanian translation. Yet the presentation of the document in its original language is a sine qua non procedure for all the abovementioned three collections.
12. Bucharest, 24 October 1848, the Austrian consular agent in Wallachia, Casimir von Timoni, to the Foreign Ministry in Vienna, ciphered letter and decipherment in French language. Archive of the George Barițiu Institute of Cluj-Napoca, coll. 1848, carton 3, document 120, Xerox 15.033–15.037.
13. Even towards the middle of the 19th century most of the records of the Habsburg steamboat company operating on the Danube River between Galați and Brăila were kept in Italian, as proved by the incident that involved the steamboat “Danubio,” the Habsburg consular agencies in Bucharest and Galați, as well as the Russian General Consulate in the Romanian Principalities (February–March 1849). See, for example: Galați, 28 February/12 March 1849, the Lloyd inspection agency to the Habsburg consulate in Galați, Italian language; Galați, 14 March 1849, inspector Pietro Marassi and Captain Dino Depieri to the Austrian consulate in Galați, Italian language. Archive of the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Empire in Moscow, coll. 219 (Russian General Consulate in Bucharest), opis 540/1, file 861, fols. 7–9.
14. The Austrian starosties were representations of the consular agencies in various small towns of the Romanian Principalities, enjoying a certain official authority and vested especially with commercial responsibilities. They were led by starosts, appointed from among the Habsburg subjects living in Wallachia and Moldavia. Eugen

von Friedenfels, *Joseph Bedeus von Scharberg: Beiträge zur Zeitgeschichte Siebenbürgens im 19. Jh.*, pt. 2, 1848–1858 (Vienna, 1877), 114.

15. Bucharest, 22 April 1848, Timoni to Foreign Minister von Ficquelmont, German language. George Barițiu Institute of Cluj-Napoca, coll. 1848, carton 3, document 179, Xerox 15.285–15.289.
16. Iași, 4 November 1848, the Russian Consul Theodor Tumansky to Chancellor Nesselrode, French language. In Ion Varta, *Revoluția de la 1848 în țările române* (Kishinev: Cardidact, 2002), document 219, pp. 351–352.
17. Bucharest, 14/26 October 1849, Russian General Consul Kotzebue to Timoni, French language. Archive of the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Empire in Moscow, coll. 219 (Russian General Consulate in Bucharest), opis 540/1, file 861, fol. 40.
18. Timișoara, 2 February 1849, Consul Mayerhofer to Premier Felix von Schwarzenberg, German language. Appendix: Timișoara, 2 February 1849, Mayerhofer to General Alfred von Windischgrätz, German language. George Barițiu Institute of Cluj-Napoca, coll. 1848, carton 9, document 67, Xerox 24.881–24.890.
19. Vienna, 1 March 1848, the Secret Chancellery (geheime Haus-, Hof- und Staatskanzlei) to the unified Hungarian-Transylvanian Chancellery (Vereinte Siebenbürgische Hofkanzlei) and to the Imperial War Council (Hofkriegsrath), German language. George Barițiu Institute of Cluj-Napoca, coll. 1848, carton 1, document 10, Xerox 13.378–13.397.
20. [Iași,] 12 July 1848, copy of the protest submitted to the Moldavian government by the Prussian and French consuls, French language. Appendix 2, [Iași,] 11 July 1848. Talaat effendi's answer to Baron Richthofen, German language. George Barițiu Institute of Cluj-Napoca, coll. 1848, carton 2, document 21, Xerox 13.547–13.558.
21. [Vienna], 8 October 1849, imperial decision regarding Anton von Laurin's appointment as Austrian consul general in Bucharest, August von Eisenbach's retention in Iași, and Casimir von Timoni's retirement, German language. George Barițiu Institute of Cluj-Napoca, coll. 1848, carton 5, document 77, Xerox 18.745–18.752.
22. Constantinople, 2 August 1848, the Austrian *internuntius* (ambassador) Bartholomäus von Stürmer to the Foreign Minister von Wessenberg, German language. George Barițiu Institute in Cluj-Napoca, coll. 1848, carton 2, document 43, Xerox 13.670–13.674.
23. In its communiqué addressed to its diplomatic and consular agents (1 August 1848), the Habsburg Ministry of Foreign Affairs alleged that Austria "had no valid reason to condemn the [Russian] occupation" of the Romanian Principalities! [Vienna,] 1 August 1848, Foreign Ministry to: a) Eisenbach (Iași) and Timoni (Bucharest), b) Stürmer (Constantinople), German language. George Barițiu Institute of Cluj-Napoca, coll. 1848, carton 1, document 34, Xerox 13.450–13.453, 13.453 b–i, 13.454–13.455.
24. Consul Huber even mentioned 60–70,000 Russian soldiers. Galați, 30 October 1848, Huber to the Foreign Ministry in Vienna, German language. George Barițiu Institute in Cluj-Napoca, coll. 1848, carton 2, document 110, xerox 14.133–14.134. Galați, 11 December 1848, Huber to the Foreign Ministry in Vienna, German language. George Barițiu Institute of Cluj-Napoca, coll. 1848, carton 2, document 118, Xerox 14.173–14.180.

Abstract**Editing Austrian Consular Documents from the Romanian Principalities and Serbia (1848–1849)**

Discussing the editing of Austrian consular documents, the study presents unpublished historical sources regarding the Romanian Principalities and Serbia in 1848–1849. The study takes account of about 350 German language documents from the Vienna archives, now to be found in copies in the 1848 collection of George Barițiu Institute of History in Cluj-Napoca. They reflect the activity of: the Habsburg consular agent in Wallachia, Casimir von Timoni; the consular agency in Iași led by consular agent August von Eisenbach; the Austrian consul in Galați, Wilhelm Christian Huber; Ferdinand Mayerhofer von Grünbühl's consular mission in Belgrade, Vojvodina and Banat. Additional French- and Russian-language documents from Moscow and Odessa archives are also investigated. They include the correspondence between the Russian consulates and the Austrian consular agencies in the Danube Principalities 1848–1849, as well as the Habsburg General Consulate in Novorussia's capital and its chief, Ludwig von Gutmannsthal. The study analyses palaeographic issues connected with the 1848 Habsburg consular documents, emphasizing the importance and benefits of exploring and editing the abovementioned archival sources.

Keywords

editing documents, modern German palaeography, modern French palaeography, Habsburg consular agencies, Romanian Principalities, Serbia, 1848–1849