Diaspora and Self-Representation: The Case Study of Greek People's Identity, Fifteenth-Nineteenth Centuries

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Introductory Remarks

A shorter version of this essay was presented at the international conference *Human Diversity in Context*, organized by Cinzia Ferrini in Trieste on September 2018[1]. The conference took place in the splendid *Palazzo Economo*[2]. Years ago, arriving in Trieste by the train from Greece to begin my research about the Greek presence in the Habsburg free port of Trieste (Katsiardi-Hering, 2019), the first building I saw in front of the railway station was this *palazzo*. I had the chance to make acquaintance of the gentle, friendly family of Giovanni Economo in the late 1970s but not to see the inside of this building, as it belonged to the state[3]. The founder[4] of this palace was one of the members of the Greek trade-diaspora. His

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[1]   I would like to thank my colleague Prof. Cinzia Ferrini for the invitation to participate in this very interesting conference; she did an excellent and systematic job.

[2]   See https://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/opencms/MiBAC/sito-MiBAC/Luogo/MibacUnif/Luoghi-della-Cultura/visualizza_asset.html?id=187494&pagename=186801 (accessed 22 July 2019), today the headquarters of the *Soprintendenza Archeologia, belle arti e paesaggio del Friuli Venezia Giulia* in Trieste.

[3]   See also http://ricerca.gelocal.it/ilpiccolo/archivio/ilpiccolo/2009/12/05/NZ_27_APRE.html?refresh_ce (accessed 22 July 2019).

[4]   See about them http://ricerca.gelocal.it/ilpiccolo/archivio/ilpiccolo/2009/12/05/NZ_27_

family originated from Edessa and Thessaloniki (in the nineteenth century these cities were under the Ottoman Empire) and had established in Bucharest and Braila, having formed networks with Greeks – and not only – in other places of the commercial diaspora. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Demetrio and Giovanni Economo had founded – among other concerns – a large flour mill in Trieste, built to take advantage of the bright grain trade from the Black Sea at that time (Herlihy 1963 and Harlaftis 1990)[5]. As an active member of the commercial and industrial society of Trieste and an active member of the Greek Orthodox Community in Trieste, Demetrio Economo had provided money for a music and literature on translation contest (Papaioannou 1982 and Kasinis 2003)[6] held under the auspices of the University of Athens, and also offered money for the school of the Greek Community in Trieste. Giovanni was given the title of an Austrian Baron. Why do I begin with such details? My subject is, in short, *Diaspora* (the Greek one) *and Identity.* The Economo family were representative members of the trade diaspora which was active in various empires, countries and cities, originated from cities that belonged at that time to the Ottoman Empire, were active members of the Greek community in Trieste, the free port of the Habsburg Empire, previously in the Romanian capital city and in the city-port of Braila as well, and had commercial and cultural connections with both the Greek University and members of the Austrian aristocracy. The neurologist Constantin von Economo (1876-1931)[7], who was famous in the early twentieth century for his research into *encephalitis lethargica*, was born to Giovanni and Elena Economo, parents of Greek origin, in Braila but migrated immediately after his birth to Trieste; according to his internet biographies, he is presented as "An Austrian psychiatrist and neurologist of Romanian origin and Greek descent"[8]. Where is the identity here? And which one? What provides him with an identity?

APRE.html also
http://www.movio.beniculturali.it/pmfvg/viverelottocentoatrieste/it/78/la-famiglia-economo and http://www.christopherlong.co.uk/gen/schilizzigen/fg01/fg01_456.html (accessed 22 July 2019). A biography of this rich family remains to be written.

[5]   See the results of the big research project: https://blacksea.gr/en/teams/harlaftis-gelina/ (accessed 22 July 2019). The literature on the grain trade in the Black Sea is very promising.

[6]   https://sivenas.wordpress.com/2018/02/01/η-μεγάλη-οικογένεια-οικονόμου-της-έδε-11/ (accessed 22 July 2019).

[7]   See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constantin_von_Economo
https://www.jstor.org/stable/23632102?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/6515395_Constantin_von_Economo%27s_contribution_to_the_understanding_of_movement_disorders (accessed 24 July 2019).

[8]   See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constantin_von_Economo
https://www.alamyimages.fr/timbre-autrichien-1976-constantin-economo-constantin-freiherr-von-economo-1876-1931-romanian-psychiatre-et-neurologue-de-grec-orig-image178790661.html (accessed 24 July 2019).

The city of his birth? The ethnic origin of his parents? The cities (Trieste, Vienna) where he lived, studied and worked?

1. Issues of Identity in the Greek Orthodox Trade Diaspora in the Habsburg Empire

I must mention from the start that Trieste is a city with its roots in migration after the emperor Charles VI declared it a free port in the year 1719, and the so called *città teresiana* took shape during Maria Theresa's reign (Godoli 1984, Finzi & Panjek 2001 and Andreozzi & Mocarelli 2017) [Fig. 1] . The city grew as the main harbor of the Habsburg Empire during the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries, due to the economic, administrative and political measures taken by Maria Theresia's imperial successors and new migrations of Italians, Austrians, Slovenians, Greeks, Jews, Serbs, Armenians and others (Finzi & Panjek 2001). To the Economo example I am adding two more cases, also from the Greek-Orthodox diaspora of this city. Nearby and on the coast stands the majestic *Palazzo Carciotti* (Illy *et al.*, 1995)[9]. It belonged to one of this city richest families in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Demetrio Carciotti (Katsiardi-Hering 2001, 519-522), originated from the Peloponnese, traded in Smyrna in the Ottoman Empire, migrated to Trieste in the 1770s and was able, also through strong family trade networks, to buy and restore this building, one of the four or five buildings belonging to him and his family, in the 1790s. He married Maria Voinović, the daughter of a rich Serbian family from Trieste (Dogo 2001); however, in the will he drew up in 1819, as they had no children, he disposed that his property had to be bequeathed to his brother Procopio (Koulouri 1991) if he married a woman of Greek origin; otherwise, his rich legacy would pass to the children of his Greek sister, if they married to partners of Greek origin. Procopio was a deacon and, according to the Greek Orthodox ritual, was not permitted to marry. Nevertheless, he managed to get permission to marry from a Metropolitan in the Peloponnese. He also had no progeny and litigation, initiated by members of the family, led to *fidei commessi* (Sollinger's Witwe 1850), sequestration etc. The third case is of another member of the Greek community in Trieste, of Ambrosio St. Rallis (Katsiardi-Hering 2001, 519-520), who was of Chiot origin and a member of the rich international Chiot commercial, maritime network (Harlaftis 1993). Although he was an Austrian baron, a very active member[10] of

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9   See: https://www.turismofvg.it/en/76241/Carciotti-Palace (accessed 12 August 2019)

10   *Inter alia*, he had established his own commercial society (1825), collaborated with the Sinas Bank in Vienna, sat on the Board of the *i.r. privilegierte Österreichische Nationalbank*, was a member of the *Camera di Commercio e d'Industria*, sat on the Board of the *Banca Commerciale Triestina* and the
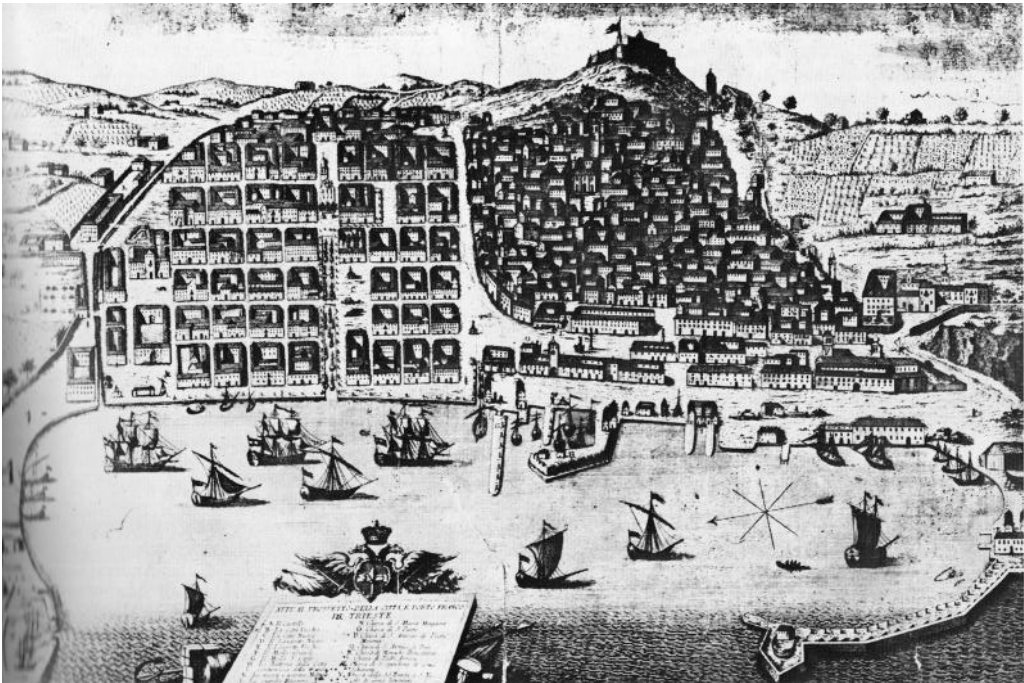
Figure 1 – Trieste 1791, ca.

Source: Godoli, 1984, p. 119 (Fig. 77, G.B. Sperandio, "Attuale Prospetto della Città e Porto Franco di Trieste", 1791 ca.)

the economic and social upper class of Trieste, for many years president of the Greek community of Trieste, in his will (1874) he disposed that:

> […] as far as religion is concerned, I have always numbered myself among the more tolerant. However, convinced deep down that the union of religion and nationality plays a powerful role in ensuring harmony within the family, I recommend my sons and grandsons not to enter into marriages unless it is with Greek Orthodox ladies of the Greek nation and, if possible, they should be from Chiot families so as to ensure the greatest similarity in customs and education […] (OK-H trans.)[11].

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i.r. Privilegiata Banca Filiale di Sconto, was a director of the *Assicurazioni Generali*, the *Agenzia della Compagnia ellenica 'La Fenice' per assicurazioni marittime a Trieste* and represented the *National Bank of Greece* in Trieste.

[11]   The original text reads as follows: "[…] In fatto di religione sono stato sempre uomo dei più tolleranti : essendo intimamente convinto che l'unità di religione e di nazionalità contribuisce potentemente all'armonia nel seno della famiglia consiglio ai miei figli e nipoti di non unirsi in matrimonio che con persone di religione greca orientale ed appartenenti alla nazionalità ellenica e possibilmente di famiglie sciotte per la maggiore omogeneità dei costumi e dell'educazione […]" (Archivio di Stato di Trieste, *Tribunale Commerciale e Marittimo,* b. 1201, fasc. Ambrosio di St. Ralli, Ventilazione ereditaria).

I could provide multiple such examples from the whole Greek diaspora, covering various times and locations. I am sure that many could do the same with other diasporas, too. In these examples, we have all the parameters that the fervid discussion on diasporas and identities confronts: homelands (city of birth/of origin/of ancestors, empires, newly-established nation states as sending or host countries), involvement in the religion/ethnic communities in the host countries, mixed marriages and ethnicity, economic interest and networks, endowments in the homeland and host country, wills, family relations, integration or assimilation, personal and collective identities, flexible or plural identities and sentiments of belonging, hybridities etc. There is no point providing additional examples at this juncture; I have used these cases to introduce the problems pertaining to the specification of the two main issues of diaspora and identity.

We are living in an era in which migration is a crucial theme in socio-anthropological discussions and a virulent political debate in Europe and elsewhere. The problems involved in receiving refugees or migrants or in their so-called 'integration' feature in our daily news. 'Diaspora' is a word of Greek origin (σπείρω = scatter) and with a Proto-Indo-European etymological root, *spr* (Tölölyan 1993, 10), from which the Armenian word *spurk* = diaspora is derived. It had its first application to the historical Jewish diaspora (Tölölyan 1993, 11-12; Fossey & Morin 1991, Vol. 2; Rozen 2008, Introduction). Although there were multiple historical diasporas – such as the Greek, the Armenian etc. – the word was not so common in migration studies until the late 1970s.

Greek historians used the term "first and second Hellenic *colonization*" (αποικισμός) (Graham 1982) for, respectively, the migrations in Southeastern Europe, the Black Sea and Asia Minor, particularly in the eighth-sixth centuries B.C., and for the establishment of new city-colonies in new areas. These colonies were in real communication with their sending metropolises. In the early modern era (fifteenth-early nineteenth century), to which I am referring here, we use the term *paroikia*[12] for the settlements of migrants in host cities who have received privileges from the host states to found commercial firms, churches and communities (Zakharov, Harlaftis and Katsiardi-Hering 2012, Introduction)[13]. The *paroikies* balanced their dual roles, as they had both to accept the rules and laws of their host country and to retain their links with their homeland. The trade communities to which I refer were formed around Greeks who maintained links with their places of origin or its broader area, as they established combined trade firms with members of their families or

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[12] Παροικία ≺ 'παρά [para] + οἰκῶ [live] = I live / I am established in a host country, particularly after having been granted permission and privileges (in German *Niederlassung*).

[13] Herodotus frequently used the word *emporium* to define a trading city.

others from their places of origin. Most of the products they exported to the host commercial cities came from the Levant, while they also exported goods from their host cities to their homelands. This allowed their members to make a living by continuously moving back and forth between the two, building family trade networks and maintaining their cultural or ethnic identity. Some of them lived in a kind of Greek/Greco/görög 'neighborhood' (Venice, Vienna, Pest *et al*.) (Seirinidou 1997 and Ransmayr 2017), others formed the bright cosmopolitan centre of a city (Trieste) (Katsiardi-Hering 2019), shaping a multilateral social belonging. Greek historiography uses the term *koinotita=community*, which indicates both the total population of a diaspora group in a new settlement and a particular form of social organization within that group, which can be identified with a General Assembly of its adult members, having special statutes, etc. 'Merchant colonies', 'nations', 'ethnic minority merchants', 'diaspora merchants', 'confraternities' or '*compagnies*' and 'communities' are all characteristic of the establishment of groups of merchants of a shared religion or ethnicity in a foreign land, and of the creation of international commercial networks in the early modern period (Zakharov, Harlaftis and Katsiardi-Hering 2012, 2). In the early modern era after the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries, the territories of South-eastern Europe and Asia Minor were under Venetian rule (*Stato da Mar*) or Ottoman dominion, as a result of which many Greeks or Greek-speaking inhabitants dispersed into the Ottoman Empire or areas under the Venetians. In the late 19th century, some Greek intellectuals and politicians began to speak about these 'dispersed' people as the 'Hellenic Diaspora', meaning those people of a Greek ethnic origin then living in the Ottoman Empire who had to be joined under the Greek nation-state (Katsiardi-Hering 2012). A trend under the term of *Megali Idea* [Great Idea] (Vogli 2012) was the irredentist ideological policy of the Greek nation-state until 1922 and the so-called 'Asia Minor catastrophe'. In this essay, I shall use the term 'diaspora' to refer to the early modern period and the establishment of *paroikies* outside the Ottoman empire and outside the areas under the Venetian rule in the Levant [Fig. 2]. One could distinguish three periods of the modern Greek diaspora: a) fifteenth – early seventeenth centuries: a cultural and commercial diaspora established primarily in Venice, Ancona, Livorno and Naples, as well as a great migration of Greek-Orthodox populations which established themselves in the south of the Italian peninsula, Sicily, Tuscany and Corsica; b) late 17th – early nineteenth centuries: a more or less commercial diaspora established in Venice, Ancona and Livorno, but primarily in Central Europe and Ukraine-Russian lands, Marseille, Amsterdam, London); c) Late nineteenth – twentieth centuries: established on the Black Sea shores, in Egypt, London, Trieste, Calcutta, USA, Australia, Germany.
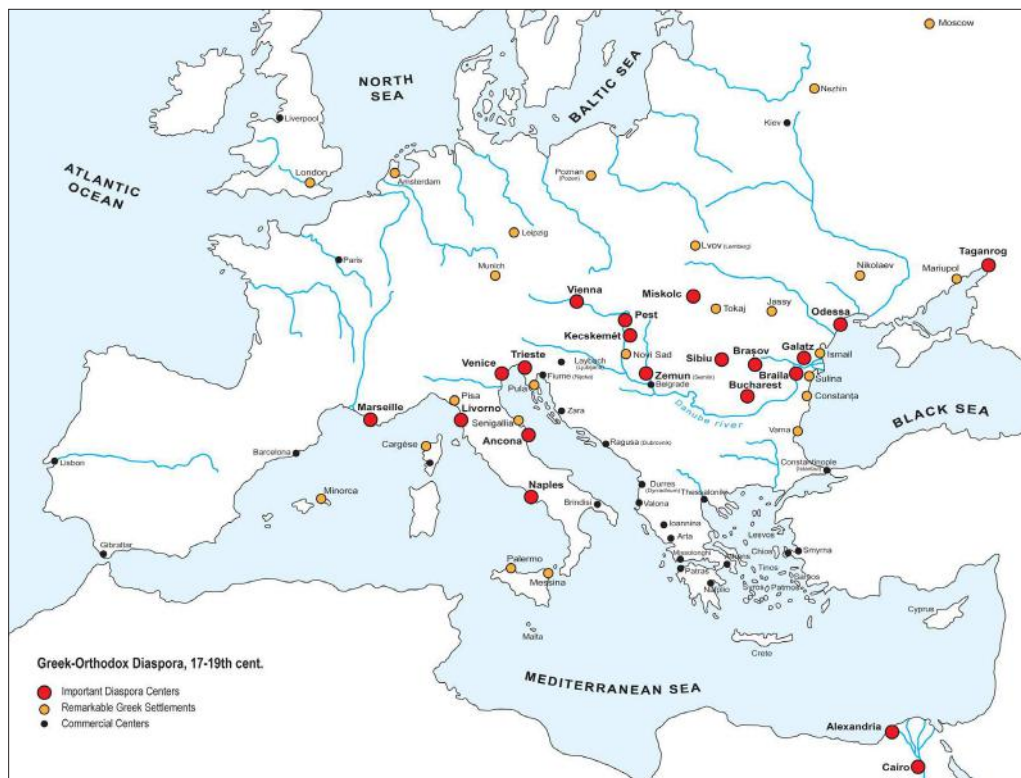
Figure 2 – Greek-Orthodox Diaspora (17th-19th centuries)
Source: Katsiardi-Hering & Stassinopoulou 2017, 12

This marked a change of *paradigm*, becoming a commercial and labor diaspora[14]. Apart from the Greek Orthodox presence in Venice (Maltezou 1998, *Dimosia Ilaria* 1999, Koutmanis 2007, Koutmanis 2013, Burke 2016 and Grenet 2016), where an Orthodox church and confraternity had been established since the end of the fifteenth century, the main Greek Orthodox diaspora in the Habsburg empire took place after the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718) (Katsiardi-Hering & Stassinopoulou 2017). The crucial characteristic of this migration movement was trade. According to the treaty of Passarowitz between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs (Ingrao, Samardžić & Pešalj 2011), their subjects could enjoy a privileged tax status in the other empire if they transported products from their empire of origin. The Greek Orthodox Ottoman subjects

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[14]   About the rich literature on the Greek diaspora see http://diaspora.arch.uoa.gr/main/index.php?lang=en (accessed 26 July 2019).

were the main beneficiaries of this agreement. They became the 'Conquering Balkan Orthodox merchants', according to the emblematic article by Traian Stoianovich (Stoianovich 1960). The next big wave of migration came after the Treaty of Kučuk Kainardja between Russia and the Ottoman Empire (1774) (Hassiotis 1997, Kardasis 2001 and Sifnaiou & Harlaftis 2015). This Treaty opened up the Black Sea to Greek-Ottoman mariners and tradesmen; when Catherine the Great conquered the southern part of Russia (Novorossija), it facilitated the migration and settlement of Greeks and other people from Southeastern Europe in city ports, such as Odessa (Herlihy 1986, Sifneos 2017).

2. RELIGION AND ETHNIC ORIGIN IN A PRE-NATIONALISTIC AGE: ISSUES OF SELF-REPRESENTATION

Writing that, I shall have to return for a while to the recent theoretical discussion about diaspora and identity. As I mentioned earlier, the term 'diaspora' became common after the 1970s (Tötölyan 1993, 13-15, 19-20; Brubaker 2005) and 1980s, while the emphasis on the links binding the homeland and host country also changed. In the meantime, "the concept of identity invaded the social sciences in the 1970s – before then it was a concept associated mainly with psychoanalysis […]" (Stråth 2011, 24). According to Bo Stråth, the real cause for this development "was the linguistic turn, which shifted the ontological perspective from socio-economic structures to language itself" (Stråth 2011, 24). In the fervent discourse which followed, categories such as the construction and (de)/(re)construction of identities monopolized the arguments. An equally fervent discourse about ideological and political formations or reconstructions such as the nation – another term and a topic of the modernity and of the Enlightenment – have also contributed to a new orientation in relation to the diaspora. The turn towards "representational practices" (Tziovas 2009, 6), imagined, fragile or transparent identities, or "how an individual or a whole community feels about itself and 'represents' itself to itself and others" (Tölölyan 1993, 15), discussions about personal and collective identities, occurred according to "elaborations of theories of pluralism and multiculturalism" in the era of globalization.

> The question of how identities, solidarity and community are constructed under 'us/them' demarcations is crucial. […] The use of a vocabulary of 'construction' and 'invention' in this context does not mean that ties of solidarity and community are created entirely independently, but rather that they *emerge* in a complex interaction marked by historical and cultural conditions. (Stråth 2011, 21)[15]

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[15]   On the 'us/them' dichotomy see *supra* Chiandetti's contribution to this volume: Chap. 3, §1. *Ed. note.*

New trends centred on talking of 'belonging' rather than identity have enriched the discussion. As Brubaker remarks:

> Diaspora can be seen as an alternative to the essentialization of belonging, but it can also represent a non-territorial form of essentialized belonging. Talk of the deterritorialization of identity is all well and good; but it still presupposes that there is 'an identity' that is reconfigured, stretched in space to cross state boundaries, but on some level fundamentally the same. (Brubaker 2005, 12)

All these debates take as a starting point the existence of the nation-states and their role in relation to diaspora, as sending entities as well as hosting ones, and consequently their migration policy in various times and circumstances. By contrast, I shall focus my remarks on the Greek Orthodox trade diaspora, and not on the massive migration of the so-called Greco-Albanesi of the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries towards the South Italian peninsula and Sicily (Scalora 2018). The Greek Orthodox migrants of concerned here, were subjects of the Ottoman Empire, meaning of a multi-ethnic and multi-religious empire, and migrated, from the fifteenth century onwards, to the Venetian capital city, to the Habsburg empire and to the Russian empire. In the first two, the Catholic religion predominated among the local inhabitants, but they also included people of other faiths or ethnic identities. The Russian Empire was predominantly an Orthodox one, although it, too, included people of other religions. We must also stress the significance of the local origin of those migrants. Here, I highlight the role of religion and of 'ethnic' origin; I set aside national identity, because the characteristics by which these migrating people were categorized by the host authorities, when granting them privileges to establish[16] or build a church, were their religion and their subject-hood. The privileges were given to *Greci-Orientali/ Griechen Schismatischen/Greci non uniti colla Chiesa Cattolica* etc. Very often they were categorized by the authorities under the term *Acatolici* (=non Catholics) (Katsiardi-Hering 2019, 107-109, 142-146, 221-224) or in terms of their subject-hood (Ottoman / Turkish or Venetian *re'ayas / Untertanen / sudditi*). Another crucial difference between the case considered here and the theoretical approach taken to more recent migration phenomena in the diaspora literature concerns 'citizenship' (Babarantseva & Sutherland 2012, Introduction: 4-9) and the nation-state identity of those migrants. My Greek Orthodox were not citizens; they were *re'ayas*/imperial subjects. Some of them decided or were forced by changes in local policies of their host states (e.g. in Hungary after 1774) to be naturalized;

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16   See e.g. among others the cases of the Communities in Venice, Nježin, Trieste, Vienna, Pest etc. (Mavoreidi 1976, Burke 2016, Carras 2010, Katsiardi-Hering 2019, Seirinidou 2010, Ransmayr 2018 and Mantouvalos 2017 *et al.*

this meant that after that year, Greek Orthodox merchants who had until then travelled back and forth or traded on a provisional basis had to take the Hungarian oath if they wanted to establish themselves permanently in the Hungarian lands (Mantouvalos 2017). As a consequence, Magyarization came about more rapidly in the Hungarian cities, particularly for the Greeks and Aromanians and less for the Serbs, who existed in larger numbers in these lands than the other Orthodox peoples (Pešalj 2012 and Ristović 2012). For most of the other Orthodox, naturalization (Katsiardi-Hering 2019, 381-390; Ransmayr 2018, 327-368) could have been a real step towards integration and/or assimilation. This was, more or less, the case for those who decided to remain in the host city, to widen their business ventures to also embrace foreign networks, and to become a type of *bürgerlicher Handelsmann* (Seirinidou 2011, 71-124)*.* It is interesting to see in the sources the division, for instance, in the Orthodox Community in Naples between the *Greci-Veneti* (subjects of Venice) and the *Greci-Ottomani* (subjects of the Porte) (Grenet 2016, 58). From the end of the eighteenth century, there were two confraternities in Vienna, the Greek Ottoman subjects on the one hand, and the Imperial subjects (*Kaiserliche Königliche Untertanen*) on the other (Seirinidou 2010, Seirinidou 2011 and Ransmayr 2018). Greek-Orthodox people (Greeks not united with the Roman Catholic Church) from the Ottoman regions of Epirus, Macedonia and Thessaly participated in both. The Greek Orthodox religion and the Greek language (or the Aromanian language for some originally from Pindos in Epirus, Macedonia, or Thessaly, who very often received the Imperial subject-hood) were the links that made them 'belong' to a specific group. They also had established a 'Greek national school' since the early nineteenth century (Seirinidou 2011, 305-338)[17]. Their subject-hood divided them more or less in their entrepreneurial networks. What about identity? Where can we localize it, and what are we searching for in this pre-nationalistic era? Perhaps we can speak about a linguistic or religious or cultural identity, but are these enough for the self-representation of these migrants?

3. Processes of Othering within Greek Orthodox Religion: Specifying Collective Identities[18]

Before continuing, a short explanation is needed of the term 'Greek'. "The *Griechen, Greci* or the *Greci scismatici* or the *Griechen nicht unirte* (Greeks not

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[17]   See also Mantouvalos 2012 on the interesting case of the Greek School in the Greek-Aromanian community in Miskolc, Hungary.

[18]   On processes of othering in religion as ingroup/outgroup issues, see *supra* Wolters' contribution to this volume: Chap. 4. *Ed. note*.

united with the Catholic Church) were the terms used by the Catholic host authorities for those who adhered to the *Greci orientali* creed, which is to say members of the Eastern Orthodox Church." (Katsiardi-Hering 2012, 134). In theory, most of the Christian inhabitants of South-eastern Europe – or at least those who moved to Central Europe to trade – fell into this category. The presence of Serbs in Hungarian lands is also due to the so-called *velika seoba* (Makuljević 2017, 54-55)[19], an organized migration movement (late seventeenth century) of thousands of Serbs and Aromanians/Vlachs from the South and their settlement in the military zone spanning the borders to the Ottoman empire. The establishment of the Serbian Orthodox Metropolis of Karlowitz in the Habsburg territory from the early eighteenth century strengthened the position of the Serbs (Adler 1976). At this time, in many cities in the diaspora, Greeks, Serbs and Aromanians (Ottoman subjects) were under the same church and confraternity. And, in theory, Serbs (Illirici), Greeks and (Macedonian) Vlachs/Aromanians alike from Macedonia, Thessaly and Epirus enjoyed the privileges pertaining to this religious category. Having acquired privileges, these merchants proceeded to build a church and to organize the community. (Katsiardi-Hering 2012, 134). The controversies were more pronounced among Greeks and Serbs in particular, since both people had a long established written language and culture. The 'us/them' dicothomy was fiercer between them. The alleged motivation for the litigations that led to their communal and ecclesiastical separation was the use of the Greek language in the church. The case of Trieste is a representative: Greeks and Serbs had established the Orthodox Church of Saint Spyridion after the privileges granted by Maria Theresia (1751). In the 1770s-early1780s, the memoranda sent to the authorities (Katsiardi-Hering 2019, 65-140) by both parties show an early (1770s) proclamation of national identity, years before the French revolution and the propagation of nationalism. The cases brought before the local authorities were based on the meaning of the 'nazione greca' and 'dei Greci dati al Rito della Chiesa Orientale, e non uniti con la Cattolica Romana' in Trieste (Stefani 1960, 80, 86, according to the privileges' text 1750, 1751). Greeks and Serbs both sought to appropriate the term for themselves. The word 'nation' had the meaning of a group with some features similar to those of a confraternity, and not yet the connotations attributed to it by the spread of the national ideas after the end of the eighteenth century. However, in their memorandum to Maria Theresa (1770) the leaders of the Greek group, Nikolaos Plastaras and Vartholomeos Bartelas, declared:

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[19]   For the Greek-Orthodox communities in the Hungarian lands, see the map published by Mantouvalos 2017, 31.

[...] Everyone is persuaded, that the religion unity cannot also form the unity of the Nation [here the meaning of the nation is: the Greek-Oriental community of Trieste, according to the privileges' language]. Since the ancient times differed the Nations of the Assyrians, Phoenicians, Chaldeans, Mideans, Skythians among them and in our time the same happens for many other nations, which are the daughters of the same Church, and for this reason the Right (il jus) of a Nation cannot be valid for all the Nations [...] (OK-H trans.)[20]

This was in response to Serb pretensions (commencing in 1766), who maintained: "the expresssions 'Greek Nation', 'Orthodox Connationals' are referred to the Orthodox co-religionists" and they insisted (1780): "And in short it turns out from the whole text of the (Privileges) Diplom, that the term Greek embraces all the Nations who profess the Religion of Greek 'di rito orientale', properly the Diplom and not only the Greek nation"[21].

After the separation of the Serbs and Greeks in 1782, in the statutes of their new Greek community (1784), the Greeks/Γραικοί referred to the '*nazione propriamente greca*/το Γένος των κυρίως Γραικών' (*Costituzioni e capitoli 1784*). The Greeks and Aromanians (Vlachs) of the community in Pest maintained a similar stance in their memorandum of 1788 towards the Illyrians/Serbs, whom they no longer wished to be part of their Greek Orthodox church, although they shared the same dogma[22]. Similarly, the Greeks in Semlin /Zemun, near Belgrade, presented themselves as descendants of the "*Hellenes,* the famous nation of the Romaeans [Ρομιοί]" and they decided (1785) to found a Hellenic school in their community (Katsiardi-Hering 2011, 246)[23]. Such self-representation as collective

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[20]   [...] Ognun si persuade, che l'unità della Religione, non può formare anche unità di Nazione. Fin dai più tempi sono state sempre distinte le Nazioni degl'Assirij, Fenicj, Caldei, Medi, Sciti, e nei nostri Secoli tant'altre Nazioni, quantunque Figlie della stessa Chiesa, non perciò il jus d'una Nazione esser deve commune a tutte, non potendo nel Tempio d'una Nazione leggislatare tutte [...]: Archivio Storico della Comunità Greco Ortodossa di Trieste, N. 590, r. 1 (COM-AMM.I.a.1), *Ta perisothenta,* anno 1780, c. 36, e "Protocollo degli atti della Deputazione", c. 36; see also Katsiardi-Hering 2019, 138.

[21]   [...] "le espressioni 'Nazione Greca', 'Connazionali Ortodossi' si riferiscono ai correligionari ortodossi" and "E in somma risulta di tutto il contesto del Diploma che la voce Greci abbraccia tutte le Nazioni che professano la Religione Greca di rito orientale, onde propriamente il Diploma, e non della sola nazione Greca" (Katsiardi-Hering 2019, 138).

[22]   "Wir unterfertigte in Pest wohnende, der Nation nach Griechen, Walachen Christen der nicht unirten orientalischen Kirche haben indem wir zusammen kommen sind mit gemeinschaftlichen Willen [...] beschlossen [...] eine Kirche zubauen damit [...]der allmächtige Gott gepriesen wird auf immer in unserer väterlichen Mundart (der Griechischen) der Hellenischen.[...] da unsere Nation [...] vermehrt ist und keinen Platz in der Kirche der Illyrier, unserer Glaubensgenossen hat, [...] um von allen Hass, Feindschaft und Eifersucht zu entfernen [...] da unsere Mundart und jene der Illyrien verschieden ist" (Katsiardi-Hering 2011, 243).

[23]   Katsiardi-Hering, Papadia-Lala, Nikolaou, Karamanolakis 2018 offers a cultural and historical discussion of the terms 'Hellen, Romaios, Greek' and the related identities.

identity can also be found in the censuses of the confraternities[24]. The examples can be multiplied from Greek Orthodox communities throughout the Habsburg empire, but also in Marseille, the Italian Peninsula as well as from the Greek communities in the Orthodox Russian empire. I wish to conclude this discussion of the connotations of the national and collective identity with one final point: After the start of the Greek Revolution (1821), the Austrian authorities (1824) ordered the Greeks in Trieste to use the word 'community' (*comunità, Gemeinde*) in their statutes and in the official correspondence rather than the term 'nation':

> [...] (the term) Nation wants to denote a big social union, of which all the members are united with each other in a single political body with one and the same constraint. But in Trieste exists a religious Community of the Greek-oriental dogma (rito), and its members do not belong to one and the same Government or Nation [...] (OK-H trans.)[25]

The Greeks complied with the mandate. They changed their seals, using the term 'comunità /Gemeinde' instead of 'nazione' in their official correspondence in the Italian and German languages, but they continued for many years to use in Greek the term Το Γένος (meaning both the nation and the community) των εν Τεργέστη Γραικών. We need no further examples of the highly flexible identity discourse in the cases we are exploring.

4. ISSUES OF RECOGNITION AND MODELS OF INCLUSIVE IDENTITIES

The problem becomes more complicated if we look at official Austrian or Hungarian terminology used in the various censuses of the *Graeci* as *Instantia de Quaestu viri Graecis...turcicarum mercium registrendis* or *Graecorum Porta Ottomanica Suditorum* etc. conducted by the authorities in the eighteenth century (Katsiardi-Hering 2011 and Mantouvalos 2012a). Here we find mixing of the terms 'Graecus' and 'Ottomanus' and 'Turcicus' –the last two of which relate to subject-hood. Recently, I have noted the emergence of a body of literature[26]

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[24]   In these censuses we find terms such as: "*Nazione del Rito e Lingua Greca Orientale/Nazione Greco Levantina /Nazione Illirica di Rito Greco* Orientale" [=Nation of the faith and language of Greek-Orientals, Nation Greek-Levantine or Illyrian nation of Greek Oriental creed in Trieste] etc. (Katsiardi-Hering 2011, 245-246).

[25]   [...] [la Nazione] si vuole denotare una unione grande sociale, e di cui i membri tutti insieme sono fra loro uniti in un solo corpo politico con uno, ed il medesimo vincolo. In Trieste esiste bensi una Comunità religiosa di rito Greco-orientale, i di lei membri però non appartengono ad uno, e al medesimo Governo, o Nazione [...] (Katsiardi-Hering 2019, 276).

[26]   Do Paço 2015. The book is based on a known Imperial Census of 1766/1767 of merchants in Vienna with Ottoman subject-hood, but is very limited and fails to make any real comparisons with

emphasizing the role of the Ottoman merchants, in general, during our period and their participation in the Mediterranean and/or central Habsburg trade which tries to play down the ethnic or ethno-religious role or identities, connotations, belonging (we can use many terms!) of those merchants, and I would like to add it to my argument. I understand that the majority of the Diaspora merchants discussed here originated in the Ottoman empire (or also from the Venetian lands in the Levant) and migrated because of advantageous tax or commercial conditions due to the relationship between the Ottomans and the Venetians, the Habsburg empire and later the British and Russian ones (Eldem 2006, Katsiardi-Hering 2009, Katsiardi-Hering & Stassinopoulou 2017). During the late 19th and early twentieth centuries, new conditions emerged which led to changing roles of the traditional commercial European powers in the Eastern Mediterranean; this was largely due to opening up the Black Sea, grain trade and founding new commercial / diaspora centres with new orientations (Isabella & Zanou 2016, 4). Another crucial factor was founding new nation states in Southeastern Europe; some of the port cities (Braila, Galatz, Constanța, Varna etc) no longer belonged directly to the Ottoman empire, but rather to the new nation-states. In these, as in the older Greek diaspora communities, citizens of the newly-established Greek state conducted their trade with co-nationals of other subject-hood or citizenship (e.g. Ottoman, Ionian, Romanian etc.). The interesting detail is that the majority of these Greeks continued to belong to their old or newly-established Greek Orthodox communities (Kontogeorgis 2012, Id. 2013, Id. 2018; Ransmayr 2018, 327-355) and to collaborate economically with their members, paying little attention to state citizenship. The important factor that united or characterized them was language, religion, origins and 'cultural belonging', economic interest. The authorities recognized them as Greeks. Many of them continued to maintain strong ties with their places of origin, a practice which had been common among the Greeks, the Aromanians and the Serbs since the sixteenth century (Ploumidis 1972 and Cotovanu 2014), and which strengthened still further after the establishment of the Greek nation state. The socio-anthropological phenomenon of ευεργέται/'benefactors' (Arvanitakis 2006) is well-researched and proves not only the economic relationships between the diaspora and their places of origin, but can also serve as an evidence of personal identity or belonging and culturally-bounded understanding of diaspora (Seirinidou 2010, Seirinidou 2011, 407-414; Stassinopoulou 2012)[27]. A still stronger proof of this connection with homelands is provided by the also very well researched commercial networks built up by

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the wealth of archival material available and the literature on the role of Christian merchants in the Habsburg empire. Additionally, see Seirinidou 2011 and Ransmayr 2018.

[27]   See the research project about the "Social commitment in the Greek Communities of Vienna (18th-20th c.)" https://wienergriechen.univie.ac.at/en/ (accessed 28 July 2019).

members of the diaspora (Baghdiantz-McCabe, Harlaftis, Pepelasis-Minoglou 2005, Stassinopoulou & Chatziioannou 2005, Vlami & Mandouvalos 2013) with members of their families in other diaspora centres or with other co-nationals/ expatriates (ομογενείς is the Greek word) in the Levant.

Giving these examples, I don't intend to insist on a monothematic identity, in particular among members of the second or third generations and as a consequence of mixed marriages in the diaspora communities. I could argue instead for a multilateral, shifting identity or belonging, very often based on a cultural or social diversity with many aspects and variations among members of the same community, or often with "poetic and imaginative force" (Stråth 2011, 26). "In short it is vital to stress that identities are not hermetically sealed entities that are internally consistent and which necessarily exclude other identities" (Jones & Krzyżanowski 2011, 42). I would agree with Khachig Tölölyan's view: "In general, the trans-nationalist elites are less in need of nation-states than of 'countries'" (Tölölyan 1993, 5); the examples with which I began my article may be proof of this. And he continued "diasporas exist neither in necessary opposition to their homelands' nationalism nor in a servile relationship to them" (Tölölyan 1993, 7). This argument can be used not only for the nation-state era of today and the relations towards its migrants abroad, but also for the era in which I am referring to. In the Greek diaspora many projects were hatched in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries for preparing rebellions with the real or imaginary support of the French or the Russians, aimed at the liberating the Greek lands from the Ottomans (Katsiardi-Hering 2009, 128-137). The *Philiki Hetaireia* (the Secret Society of the Friends) was established in Odessa, in 1814, by a small group of Greek merchants of Ottoman subject-hood, subsequently expanding secretly through South-eastern Europe and preparing the Greek Revolution of 1821 (Frangos 1971). Rigas Velestinlis (Kitromilides 2013), a Greek intellectual of the diaspora in the Danubian Principalities and an Ottoman subject, has published his enlightened books and revolutionary political texts in secret in Vienna (1791, 1796-1797) in the printing house of the Markides Poulios, who were Greek brothers and originated from Thessaly in the Ottoman Empire, but had been 'nationalized' as Austrian subjects. Rigas was captured by the Austrian police in Trieste (1797) after being betrayed by another Greek merchant of Austrian subject-hood (Katsiardi-Hering 1999). The assassination of Rigas by Turks in Belgrade, along with some likeminded Diaspora Greeks –Ottoman subjects–, has had a very powerful ideological and political impact over the years among the Balkan peoples. Their assassination contributed to the ideological preparation of the coming revolts and revolutions against the Ottomans in the nineteenth century.

The personality of Adamantios Korais, the greatest intellectual of the Greek Enlightenment, is one of the most representative cases of social, ideological, political change and self-representation among the diaspora Greeks (Kitromilides 2013). Native in Smyrna, he went to Amsterdam in the 1780s as an agent of his merchant family. According to the surviving letters of the astonished servant who accompanied him, Stamatis Petrou, he quickly changed his habits of dressing, appreciated the Calvinists, and took an 'amorosa' (Iliou 1976) from among the local maidens. This change turned out to be very radical. He changed his orientation, studied Medicine and Philosophy in Montpellier, and spent the rest of his life in Paris, where he communicated with the local intellectuals, the Ideologues and others. He remained a true Γραικός/Greek, as he said, and a convinced European, I could add, and he propagated the European orientation among his co-nationals. He published a lot of books, edited his 'Hellenic Library' = texts of ancient Greek writers, etc. He had a very rich correspondence with Diaspora and Levantine Greeks (Korais 1964-1984), and his publications spread all over the diaspora and Greek schools in the Levant. In Venice and in Vienna, thousands of Greek books were published in Greek printing houses (Koumarianou, Droulia, Layton 1986 and Staikos 1995) and sold or distributed in the Levant, contributing to the strengthening of the education of the Greeks there. Korais' target was the national awaking of the Greeks through the education. He lived at a time, in which many Greeks from the Levant and Diaspora Greeks, the recipients of scholarships, studied in European Universities (Vienna, Paris, Leipzig, Göttingen, München, Halle, Tübingen, Oxford etc.) and acquired a strong ideological orientation towards Europe (Turczynski 1959, Tsirpanlis 1979, Heppner & Katsiardi 1998). But despite Korais' still important work, the conservative newly-established Greek state did not permit him to be buried in Greece after his death in Paris (1833) (Iliou 1989). Although Korais remained faithful to the Orthodox dogma, his inclinations towards Calvinism delayed the official decision to transport his remains to Athens until 1877! The dichotomy between East and West was still existing!

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I conclude with some final remarks. I would agree with Tziovas' opinion:

> Deepening the crisis of identity, diaspora and exile are no longer identified with wilderness, instability or oblivion, but emerge as new conceptions of 'home', pointing to an identity premised more on memory and less on common territory. The stereotype of the migrant as either denying his/her past or trying to retrieve it gives way to a negotiation that includes both. Living between a lost past and a non-

> integrated present, diasporic and migrant subjects experience a perpetual state of liminality while their identities are formed 'on the move' (Tziovas 2009, 5).

As I mentioned above, one of the difficulties we have understanding the historical aspects of the problem of identity in the diaspora is the nationalistic idea of the nineteenth century onwards (Kitromilides 2008), which concentrated on the connection between a national centre and its 'dispersed' people and not on the diaspora as a social phenomenon with its own dimensions, perspectives and prerogatives. Being part of a diaspora meant living, working away from 'home' – with 'home' meaning the place of origin, the broad area in which more or less the same language, religion, customs and administrative relations existed –, or very often moving between 'home' and the hosting land for commercial or cultural reasons, or ever communicating with this broad area of 'home', real or imagined (Stock 2010), creating a dual or multiple identity and belonging. This was particularly the case for the second or third generation, who tried – or were forced at the insistence of older relatives – to preserve the characteristics of this real or imagined 'belonging home'. The attempt in Venice, Trieste, Vienna, Semlin, Pest *et al.* by Greek and Serbian community members to establish schools, to publish books for teaching the Greek or Serbian language along with the local languages to their pupils, was partly a process of integration, but it was simultaneously an awareness of differentiation and an effort to retain the social and ideological ties with 'home'. And what does homeland mean for the people of this Diaspora who moved to new lands and established themselves there, retained connections with their villages and cities but, in many cases, managed to integrate in their hosting land (Kokot & Tölölyan; Alfonso 2004, Introduction; Brubaker 2005, 5)? Another aspect we have to take into consideration is the non-'permanence' and 'continuity' of an identity, and principally of a collective identity (Leerssen 2007, 335). A permanence of identity can be attributed more or less to members of modern nation states, but not to the members of multi-ethnic empires, as in our case. Taking the example of Trieste in the nineteenth century, one can talk about 'triestinità'[28], a kind of identity which could be attributed to almost every inhabitant of that cosmopolitan town, each of whom was descended from migrants from various places in Central Europe and the Levant; a 'triestinità' which would face many difficulties from the era of irredentism (late nineteenth/ early twentieth century) on.

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[28]   The notion of 'triestinità' is variously discussed in history and literature, from the pluralistic point of view of Italo Svevo to the nationalistic one of Attilio Tamaro http://www.letteraturaitaliana. net/autori/svevo_italo_1.html (accessed 30 July 2019). For a very good analysis of the variegated society of Trieste, see Millo 1989.

It was in the cultural centres of the diaspora that the new national ideas spread among community members through schools, books, teaching, and through these centres that the ideas reached their 'home' lands. "Diasporic subjects are marked by hybridity and heterogeneity – cultural, linguistic, ethnic, national – and these subjects are defined by a traversal of the boundaries demarcating nation and diaspora" (Evans Braziel & Mannur 2003, 5). Whether a foreigner (Faber 1997), an 'acatholic', a 'privileged merchant', or a naturalized one, it was not self-evident that everybody in the commercial diaspora could be integrated or assimilated. In the era of emerging nationalisms, many – the great majority students, scholars and mid-scale merchants – emerged as 'long-distance nationalists' of sorts, if we may apply Benedict Anderson's term to the era we are discussing (Brubaker 2005, 2). In some cases, one could speak of a 'symbolic ethnicity', which can be applied to some Armenians (Brubaker 2005, 10), but also to the case of diaspora Greeks who lived for more than two generations in host cities outside the Ottoman empire and the newly established Greek nation-state.

One can note a continuous economic and ideological dialogue between Diaspora and the Greeks' 'home' lands throughout the centuries under investigation. Travel was a real connecting medium between these people (Fossey & Morin 1991).

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