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The Tolerant Policy of the Habsburg Authorities
towards the Orthodox People from South-Eastern Europe and the Formation of National Identities (18th-early 19th Century)

The modern concept of tolerance is a result of the Age of Enlightenment.[1] Although the problem of how to deal with the 'Other' was by no means new –after all, Greeks, Jews, Christians, heretics and Muslims had found ways to coexist in antiquity, the Roman era and the Middle Ages– it was inherited by the Enlightenment as a set of critical issues specifically rooted in the tumultuous history of the early modern era. A crucial group of terms interwoven with the salient forms of collective identification, are those relating to migration in the framework of multi-ethnic states (such as the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires): identity (religious, social, political, ethnic, national), naturalization, migration and diaspora.

The real aim of our paper is to shed light on the developing national self-consciousness of Orthodox groups established in Habsburg territories in the Central Europe of the eighteenth century. Note that these people came from an Empire, the Ottoman, in which they were organized into a *millet* system according to their religion; in this system the Sultan granted them, on certain conditions, the right to worship.[2] The core problem, however, were the

2. From the rich literature on the subject, see: Gunnar Hering, "Das islamishe Recht und die Investitur des Gennadios Scholaris (1454)", *Balkan Studies* 2 (1961), pp. 231-256; Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: a Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1968; Paraskevas Konortas, *Οθωμανικές προσεγγίσεις για το Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο:*

Tolerance-edicts of 1781 promulgated by the Enlightened Habsburg Emperor, Joseph II – namely the Tolerance-edicts issued for the various *Hereditary Lands* and for Hungary and Transylvania. These edicts were part of the complex philosophical and political theory and praxis of Josephinism. Our interest will also be focused on another parameter of 'coexistence': the tolerance or intolerance displayed by the various groups of South-Eastern European migrants established in the Habsburg countries (for instance, the Protestant 'Saxons' and the Greek Orthodox in Brașov, Sibiu) as a consequence of the privileges granted to them by the emperors.

To better understand the era we will be discussing, we shall provide a brief introduction to the subjects of Josephinism and of tolerance. In the context of Enlightened Despotism, an era of reform known as Josephinism began in 1780, when Joseph II, as the sole ruler of the Habsburg Monarchy (1780-1790), attempted to legislate a series of drastic reforms to remodel his Empire in the form of the ideal Enlightened state.[3] One might point out that the Maria Theresa reforms, especially after 1760, were also aimed at the organization of a centralized state in terms of administration, and particularly of the economic and fiscal aspects of gov-

βεράτια για τους προκαθημένους της Μεγάλης Εκκλησίας, 17ος-αρχές 20ού αιώνα, Athens: Alexandreia, 2003; concerning the Jewish people, see Sneschka Panova, *Die Juden zwischen Toleranz und Völkerrecht im Osmanischen Reich. Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der Juden im Osmanischen Reich (die Südosteuropaländer vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert)*, Frankfurt a. M.–Berlin–New York–Wien: Peter Lang, Europäische Hochschulschriften, III/752), 1997.

3. Helmut Reinalter, "Josephinismus als Aufgeklärter Absolutismus – ein Forschungsproblem? Gesellschaftlicher Strukturwandel und theresianisch-josephinische Reformen", in Wolfgang Schmale– Renate Zedinger–Jean Mondot (eds.), *Josephinismus–eine Bilanz/Échecs et réussites du Joséphisme/Jahrbuch der österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts* 22 (2007), pp. 19-34, discusses critically the previous rich literature referring to the Enlightened Despotism and to the Josephinian reforms; see also Idem (ed.), *Der Josephinismus. Bedeutung. Einflüsse und Wirkungen,* Frankfurt a. M. 1993. For the time of Joseph II. see the rich exhibition catalogue: Johannes Gründler et al. (eds.), *Österreich zur Zeit Kaiser Josephs II. Mitregent Kaiserin Maria Theresias, Kaiser und Landesfürst,* Stift Melk, 29. März-2. November 1980, Niederösterreichische Landesausstellung, Wien 1980.

ernance. But her son, Joseph II, would continue to pursue these reforms very actively. Guided by a dogma of *Alles für das Volk, nichts durch das Volk* [Everything for the People and nothing through the People], the Emperor sought mainly to centralize the bureaucracy. One of his purposes was also to establish compulsory school attendance for all children and a centralized schools inspection system. He also undertook measures to relax censorship [=*Zensurpatent*, 1781], regulate matrimonial relations through the Patent of Marriage [=*Ehepatent*, 1783], abolish serfdom, redefine relations between State and Church, reform the legal system through the introduction of both general criminal (*Allgemeines Strafgesetzbuch*, 1787) and civil codes [*Allgemeines bürgerliches Gesetzbuch,* 1787], establish German as the official language of the Empire (with some exceptions, such as the free-port of Trieste), and –most significantly– to establish a series of measures concerning the unification of the customs system [=*Zollsystem*]. Josephinism has been examined as a system, both because of the philosophical trends of the time and because of its practical political applications.[4] It was still "nicht nur eine Sonderform der praktischen Aufklärung, sondern eine gesamtgesellschaftliche und politisch-kulturelle Bewegung",[5] but the radicality and rapidity of Joseph's reforms –and of his church policy, in particular– still provoked powerful reactions, though covered by an enlightened, progressive ideal.

For our argument, we will focus particularly on his tolerance policy, as the secularization of the state's power and of state theory was a first step towards a pluralistic society.[6] A pluralistic society

4. Reinalter, "Josephinismus als Aufgeklärter Absolutismus", *op.cit.*, pp. 28-31, where he discusses the aspects of Fritz Hartung (1955), Karl O. Freiherr von Aretin (1970s), Manfred Kossok (1985), Johannes Kunisch, Hans-Ulrich Wehler et al.

5. *Op.cit.*, p. 32.

6. Ursula Stephan-Kopitzsch, *Die Toleranzdiskussion im Spiegel überregionaler Aufklärungszeitschriften*, series: Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe III, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, vol. 382, Frankfurt a. Main–Bern–New York–Paris 1989, p. 17.

could not be content with the principle of 'cujus regio eius religio', and enlightened precepts on the autonomy of the individual and the relativity of the knowledge of truth[7] could be conducive to a sufferance of religious minorities. The tolerance policy could also help deal with population growth. As Charles O'Brien has noted: "Religious toleration in the 18th century is usually associated with Protestant England, Holland and Prussia. It is less well known that, shortly before the French Revolution, the Habsburg monarchy became the first Catholic state to extend full civil rights to most non-Catholics. In the Edict of Toleration, Oct. 13, 1781, Joseph II. initiated this reform".[8]

Before proceeding with a presentation of this particular policy, we shall consider the various terms and nuances surrounding 'tolerance'. "There is a tendency in the literature today to reduce toleration to generalized multiculturalism on the one hand, or freedom of belief/choice on the other. But this reduction leaves it incapable of addressing many confrontations".[9] One of the standard definitions of toleration emphasizes the "restraint of oneself from imposing one's reaction".[10] The specific term 'toleration' and its associated concepts ('Recognition', 'Privileges', 'Permission', 'Sufferance (*souffrir*), Freedom of Conscience', 'Freedom of religion', 'political Freedom', 'commercial Freedom', 'Coexistence' etc.) had come into being and been re-determined in the religious and

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7. Ibidem.

8. Charles H. O'Brien, "Ideas of Religious Toleration at the Time of Joseph II. A Study of the Enlightenment among Catholics in Austria", in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelpheia for Promoting Useful Knowledge*, New Series-Volume 59, part 7 (1969), p. 5; O'Brien offers a critical approach of the previous literature and tries to give the historical roots of Josephinian tolerance as well its ways to all the aspects of the tolerated policy.

9. Ingrid Creppell, *Toleration and Identity. Foundations in Early Modern Thought*, New York–London: Routledge, 2003, p. X.; on various aspects of the toleration see: Guðmundur Hálfdanarson (ed.), *Discrimination and Tolerance in Historical Perspective*, Pisa: University Press, edizioni plus, 2008, http://www.cliohres.net/books3/books.php?book=7 (visited on 7.12.2014).

10. Creppell, *Toleration, op.cit.*, p. 3.

political discourse of early Modern Europe.[11] At that time, tensions between individual conscience and authority moved centre-stage, forcing a rethinking and restructuring of normative socio-political and socio-cultural constellations. The relationship between church and state, the reason of state, the relationship between subject and sovereign, the development of the concept of the self, the economy and commerce, all began to change in ways that must be understood to fully comprehend the meaning of the new concept of toleration.

As a word, toleration/tolerance derives from the Latin *tolerantia*, which is unconnected to religious dissidence.[12] However, in post-Reformation 16th and 17th century Europe, tolerance meant allowing another religion to exist rather than permission or concession; it meant to endure or bear rival confessions established in the same state or kingdom[13] in order to avoid a "rapid collapse of the dynastic authority and a dangerous disruption of civil peace".[14] Toleration bolsters 'living together, confronting the issues and the problems of collective life',[15] especially in multinational empires. After Jean Bodin's aspects on toleration[16] and Montaigne's ideas on toleration as "the condition of living in the midst of diversity and multiplicity",[17] John Locke's *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689) shifts toleration to the "boundaries of recognition" and cen-

11. Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith. Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Massachusetts–London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.

12. Creppell, *op.cit.*, pp. 5, 30-31.

13. Bernard Cottret, "1598-1688: De l'édit de Nantes à la glorieuse révolution. Concorde, liberté de conscience, tolerance", in Jean-Paul Pichardie–Antoine Capet (eds.), *La Naissance de l'idée de tolérance 1660-1689*. Actes du colloque organisé à l'université de Rouen les 29 et 30 janvier 1999 avec le soutien du Conseil scientifique, numéro special, Université de Rouen 1999, pp. 3-4.

14. Jean-Paul Pittion, "Religion, Reason of State and Toleration", in Pichardie and Capet, *La Naissance*, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

15. Creppell, *op.cit.*, p. 12.

16. *Op.cit.*, pp. 39-40.

17. *Op.cit.*, p. 92.

tres the discussion in a 'negotiation'[18] between the state and its people and in a recognition of rights and moral expression. Voltaire's *Traité sur la tolérance* (1763), which aimed to exonerate the Protestant Jean Calas after his trial in 1762, initiated an intense discussion on the rehabilitation of the Protestants.[19] We can also consider the debate presented by Evgenios Voulgaris' in his *Σχεδίασμα περί της ανεξιθρησκείας* (1768) in this context.[20] A long discussion on toleration or its absence, the liberty of commerce and the 'naturalization' of foreigners had also been underway since the 17th century in the context of economic state theory,[21] and the philosophical discourse of the Enlightenment contributed to a deepening and a diversification of the tolerance concept. We must also include the toleration discourse in the identity debate –which is to say the differentiation of individuals and their membership and agency in one political/social/cultural collective or another (such as nation, race, religion, ethnicity, language, gender)[22]– in the discourse on human rights, particularly after the French Revolution.

18. *Op.cit.*, pp. 93-94; further analyses on Locke's Toleration see in the pp. 95-123.

19. Cottret, "1598-1688", *op.cit.*, p. 3.

20. *Περί των διχονοιών των εν ταις εκκλησίαις της Πολονίας δοκίμιον ιστορικόν και κριτικόν, εκ της Γαλλικής εις την κοινοτέραν των καθ' ημάς Ελλήνων διάλεκτον μεταφρασθέν μετά και σημειωμάτων τινών ιστορικών και κριτικών οις εν τέλει προσετέθη και Σχεδίασμα περί της Ανεξιθρησκείας*, 1768. On the subject see: Martin Knapp, *Evjenios Vulgaris im Einfluss der Aufklärung. Der Begriff der Toleranz bei Vulgaris und Voltaire*, Bochumer Studien zur neugriechischen und byzantinischen Philologie (Isidora Rosenthal-Kamarinea, ed.) vol. VI, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1984, and Konstantinos Kotsiopoulos, *Ανεξιθρησκεία: Κοινωνική θεώρηση των ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων στον ευρωπαϊκό και νεοελληνικό διαφωτισμό, το παράδειγμα των John Locke και Ευγένιου Βούλγαρη*, Thessaloniki: Pournaras, 2008; see also: Paschalis Kitromilidis, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός. Οι πολιτικές και κοινωνικές ιδέες*, Athens: Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece, 1999², pp. 64-66.

21. Paulette Carrive, "Tolérance et prospérité chez les économists anglais du XVIIe siècle", in Pichardie and Capet, *La Naissance*, *op.cit.*, pp. 29-48.

22. Creppell, *op.cit.*, pp. 7-9; see also: Jean-Pierre Cléro, "Les fondements de la tolérance. De la liberté individuelle à l'utilité", in Pichardie and Capet, *La Naissance*, *op.cit.*, pp. 79-102.

It was in this context that Joseph's Tolerance appeared. However, it is better to speak about the Edict*s* of Tolerance in the plural rather than the Edict of Tolerance (*Toleranzpatent-e)* of 1781, as various forms of resolutions in the spirit of Josephinian Tolerance were issued in and after 1781 all over the Empire. This Tolerance policy has to be seen as the hegemony of State over Church within the general framework of Josephinism, and as the reaction of the state's religious policy to the consequences of the Catholic Reformation because of the Protestant Reformation.[23] The denomination of these Tolerance edicts for the several parts of the Empire, especially for Hungary and Transylvania, such as *Benigna Resolutio* (25 Oct. 1781) or *Edictum tolerantiae*[24] besides the German one: *Toleranzpatent* exudes the various nuances of their political concept and amplitude; an amplitude that derived, in part, from the multilateral content of tolerance *per se* since the time of John Locke's *Letter of Tolerance* and from the differentiated theoretical approach of philosophers and politicians after it, and, on the other, from the great administrative, religious, jurisdictional and economic heterogeneity of the huge Habsburg imperial lands. According to the cameralist economic theory of Maria Theresa and Joseph's ministers, "the state's power varied directly in proportion to the size and quality of its population".[25] Specifically, the Josephinian approach to Tolerance has been constructed in accordance

23. Werner Ogris, "Joseph II.: Staats-und Rechtsreformen", in Norberto Bobbio (ed.), *Das Zeitalter der Menschenrechte. Ist Toleranz durchsetzbar?*, Transl. from the Italian by Ulrich Hausmann, Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 1998, p. 124. An analytical essay on the coming into being of the Tolerance edict see: Gustav Frank, *Das Toleranz-Patent Kaiser Joseph II. Urkundliche Geschichte seiner Entstehung und seiner Folgen,* Säkular Festschrift des K.K. evangelischen Oberkirchenrathes A.C. und H.C. in Wien, Wien 1881.

24. Peter Barton, "Das Toleranzpatent von 1781", in Bobbio, *Das Zeitalter der Menschenrechte, op.cit.*, pp. 152, 157, 170-172; particularly on the Tolerance edict on Hungary see: Eva Kowalská, "Religious Intolerance after the Patent of Toleration (1781): the Case of the Hungarian Lutherans", in Hálfdanarson, *Discrimination and Tolerance, op.cit.*, pp. 147-156.

25. O'Brien, "Ideas", *op.cit.*, p. 15, "Cameralism indirectly improved the position of religious minorities by habituating the government to look more to the state's economic than to its ecclesiastical interests".

with Joseph's religiosity with the assistance of an enlightened elite of academicians and philosophers surrounding the Emperor, and in the light of new state-political theories and practices (*Kameralistik* etc.). Joseph II's instruction in natural law was influenced by the pedagogue Christian August Beck, according to whom the treatment of religious nonconformists should be governed by natural law and social utility.[26] As Beck notes, this *tolérance civile* was a necessity "Out of respect for the people who had delegated the authority to the sovereign".[27] The "*beneficium emigrandi*" was one of them.[28] Various explanations have been proffered surrounding the motivations behind Joseph's tolerance policy, including "attracting foreign skilled craftsmen to the new industries of Austria and settlers to the wastes of Hungary".[29]

We can, however, assume the Edict/s of Tolerance expresses the religious tendencies of Joseph II., a loyal Catholic Christian, as well as utility. As he wrote to his Mother in a letter dated July 20, 1777: "Tolerance means to me that in purely temporal affairs, I would, without regard to religion, employ anyone in my service who is capable and industrious, and works for the welfare of the state; I would let him have land and exercise his profession, and I would give him citizenship".[30] In every form of Tolerance edict, the public *Religions-exercitium* remained the exclusive preserve of the Emperor's Catholic subjects, a decision that essentially restricted the amplitude of the sense of tolerance to a form of forbearance. A *Privat-exercitium* was reserved for the non-Catholics

26. *Op.cit.*, p. 16.

27. Jean Bérenger, "Tolérance: Joseph II", in Wolfgang Schmale–Renate Zedinger–Jean Mondot (eds.), *Josephinismus–eine Bilanz/Échecs et réussites du Joséphisme,* vol. of: *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts* 22 (2007), p. 187; Berenger's article is a concise and critical discussion of the recent literature on the subject of Joseph's Tolerance.

28. Barton, "Das Toleranzpatent", *op.cit.*, pp. 152-153.

29. The aspect of Ernst Wangermann (*From Joseph II to the Jacobin Trials*, London 1959, p. 14) cited by O'Brien, "Ideas", *op.cit.*, p. 1; see also Ernst Wangermann, "Joseph II. und seine Reformen in der Arena der politischen Öffentlichkeit", in Schmale et al., *Josephinismus*, *op.cit.*, pp. 161-174.

30. O'Brien, "Ideas", *op.cit.*, p. 21.

(*Akatholiken)*: for the Christians of the *Confessio Augustana et Helvetica* as well as for the Greeks not united with the Catholic Church (*Griechen nicht unirte)*.[31] Special edicts were also issued for the Jews in the various imperial provinces, as well, stimulating a long debate and confrontation.[32] According to this *Privat-exercitium*, all *Akatholiken* had the right to erect a temple and a school if more than 100 families lived in a place,[33] though bell-towers, other towers or street entrances were prohibited. However, privileges or other freedom letters [=*Freiheitsbriefe*] granted in the past to several groups and places within the Empire had to be recognized.[34] As we will demonstrate below, there was considerable heterogeneity in the vast area between the free city-port of Trieste to the capital city of Vienna, between the southern Hungarian provinces, where the Serbian Orthodox Church was also tolerated, and the Transylvanian cities of Braşov and Sibiu, where the antagonism of the Protestant Saxons,[35] who had lived there since the 12th century, proved conducive to another form of tolerance or intolerance. In these different cases, we very often have to distinguish between the 'tolerance' of the central authori-

31. Barton, "Das Toleranzpatent", *op.cit.*, pp. 162, 165.

32. O'Brien, "Ideas", *op.cit.*, pp. 29-31, where he discusses very briefly the cases referring to the Jews in the various Edicts of Tolerance in Galicia and Trieste, the two most opposite examples. The *Judenpatent* for Galicia tended to an assimilation of the Jewish people, which provoked many reactions. Different was the case in the free port of Trieste, Lois Dubin, *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste: Absolutist Politics and Enlightened Culture*, Stanford, CA, 1999; Tullia Catalan, *La Comunità ebraica di Trieste (1781-1914). Politica, società e cultura*, Trieste: LINT, 2000.

33. Barton, "Das Toleranzpatent", *op.cit.*, pp. 166-168.

34. *Op.cit.*, p. 177.

35. In Transylvania, the Counter Reformation was not so effective: O'Brien, "Ideas", *op.cit.*, p. 12, "The Protestant churches retained public worship and other rights granted by the Hapsburgs during the Turkish wars. Protestant continued to hold most public offices". About Saxons in Transylvania, see László Makkai, "Herausbildung der städtischen Gesellschaft (1172-1526)", Gábor Barta, "Die Anfänge des Fürstentums und erste Krisen (1526-1606)", and Katalin Péter, "Die Blütezeit des Fürstentums (1606-1660)", in Béla Köpeczi (ed.), *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens,* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1990, pp. 175-236, 241-298, 302-358.

ties and the 'intolerance' of established conditions and the local population or population groups, which led to contradictory behaviour, difficult circumstances and a differentiated meaning of tolerance *per se*.

The move toward religious tolerance had been prepared by the establishment during Maria Theresa's reign of various Commissions such as the Court Censorship Commission, the Court Commission on Education and the Court for Religious Affairs.[36] Some of these Commissions, including the Commission for Education, were transformed during the 1770s, especially after the educational edict of 1774 and the catalytic appointment of the Prussian Johann Ignaz Felbiger to lead educational reform.[37] Schools had also to be founded, given the Enlightened policy's focus on educating the Emperor's people. Teaching methods, schoolbooks and school administration had all to be conducted according to special imperial laws and under imperial supervision.[38]

Given the state policy of toleration, we will be discussing three specific points concentrating our attention on the diverse content of the term "tolerance" and its various versions. Our focus will be on the local level, both within the Habsburg Empire and the various religious and political equilibria brought into being both by the religious wars of the 16th century and by the different socio-economic composition of specific regions (Transylvania, Hungary) and their and annexation into the Monarchy after the Karlowitz Treaty (1699), but also on specific cities (the free port of Trieste and the capital, Vienna, and the cities and scattered rural population of Hungary). We will also be focusing on the cycles of Greek Ortho-

36. O'Brien, "Ideas", *op.cit.*, p. 14.

37. Olga Katsiardi-Hering, "Southeastern European Migrant Groups between the Ottoman and the Habsburg Empires. Multilateral Social and Cultural Transfers from the Eighteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries", in Harald Heppner–Eva Posch (eds.), *Encounters in Europe's Southeast. The Habsburg Empire and the Orthodox World in the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries* [The Eighteenth Century and the Habsburg Monarchy. International Series, vol. 5] Bochum: Dieter Winkler, 2012, pp. 155-156.

38. Barton, "Das Toleranzpatent", *op.cit.,* p. 171.

dox settlers (*paroikoi*), the Serbs, Greeks and Vlachs (Aromunians) who migrated from South-eastern Europe to the Habsburg lands in Central Europe during the long 18th century; our purpose here is to highlight some aspects of toleration or intolerance among various local populations adhering to different religious dogmas in the Habsburg Empire. Finally, we will delineate different dimensions of tolerance or intolerance (at the local and social level) within the cities of the Monarchy, from cosmopolitan Trieste to the imperial capital, Vienna, and both Hungarian and Transylvanian towns.

At this point, we will examine the role of the 'tolerant' policy the Habsburg authorities maintained towards Orthodox groups (Ottoman subjects in the main, but Venetian subjects, too, from the Ionian Islands, in particular), with a view to their establishing merchant communities in imperial lands. The initial aim of the Habsburg authorities was to encourage commercial exchanges with the South-Eastern regions after the Treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718) and with their people, who specialized in trading products vital for the industrial development of the host Habsburg countries. This policy can also be understood within the framework of the theory and practice of 'populationism'.

We are coming nearer to our argumentation on the basis of the practice of populationism and particularly the colonization of the Military Frontier across Croatian-Slavonia and Hungary during the long Ottoman-Habsburg wars,[39] the Banat of Temesvar,[40] as well

39. Karl Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat*. *Die Militarisierung der agrarischen Gesellschaft an der kroatisch-slawonischen Militärgrenze (1535-1881)*, Graz 1986; Dávid Géza (ed.), *Ottomans, Hungarians and Habsburgs in Central Europe: the Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*, Leiden (et al.): Brill, 2002; Márta Fata, "Die Rolle des Militärs in der habsburgischen Impopulationspolitik außerhalb der Militärgrenze in der Übergangszeit zwischen Krieg und Frieden (1686-1740)", in Matthias Asche–Michael Herrmann–Ulrike Ludwig–Anton Schindling (eds.), *Krieg, Militär und Migration in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin: LIT Verlag 2008, pp. 251-264; Sabine Jesner, Habsburgische Grenzraumpolitik in der Siebenbürgischen Militärgrenze (1760-1830): Verteidigungs- und Präventionsstrategien, PhD University of Graz 2013, http://www.onb.ac.at and http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC11104770 (visited on 18.11.2014).

40. Josef Kallbrunner, *Das kaiserliche Banat*. *Einrichtung und Entwicklung des Banats bis 1739*, München 1958; Benjamin Landais, "Habsburg's State and

the impopulation policy pursued through the so-called 'Deutsche Schwaben' in the 18th century, especially in Hungary.[41] The bright Banat area was colonized by Croats, Serbs and Vlachs (Aromunians) from South-Eastern Europe in an effort both to defend the Habsburg Empire against the Ottomans and to cultivate the large areas destroyed and depopulated by the years of wars between the Habsburgs and Ottomans. The first permanent military institution in the Habsburg realm was not a standing army but a craggy line of frontier defences begun in 1522 to ward off the Ottomans; it was manned by mercenaries, local militia and –most significantly– armed peasants organized into military colonies. The structure of these colonies was based on the *zadruga*, a multi-extended family organizational schema.[42] In November 1630, the Emperor proclaimed the *Statuta Wallachorum* or Vlach Statute, which regulated the status of the 'Vlach' settlers (including Croats, Serbs and Vlachs) from the Ottoman Empire with regard to the military command, their obligations, and their right to internal self-administration.[43]

the Local Orthodox Elite. The Case of Temesvár (1750-1780)", in Harald Heppner–Eva Posch (eds.), *Encounters in Europe's Southeast. The Habsburg Empire and the Orthodox World in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,* The Eighteenth Century and the Habsburg Monarchy, International Series, Vol. 5, Bochum: Dr Dieter Winkler Verlag, 2012, pp. 109-120.

41. Felix Milleker, *Die Besiedlung der Banater Militärgrenze*. Belacrkva, Weißkirchen, 1926; Immo Eberl et al. (eds.), *Die Donauschwaben*. *Deutsche Siedlung in Südosteuropa. Ausstellungskatalog,* Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1989; Ingomar Senz, *Die Donau-Schwaben*. Studienbuchreihe der Stiftung Ostdeutscher Kulturrat, vol. 5, München: Langen Müller, 1994.

42. Maria Todorova, *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern*, Budapest, Central European University, 2006, pp. 155-156; on *zadruga* see Karl Kaser, *Familie und Verwandschaft auf dem Balkan*. *Analyse einer untergehenden Kultur,* Wien–Köln–Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1995; Idem, *Freier Bauer*; more literature on Olga Katsiardi-Hering, "Historische Familienforschung in Südosteuropa. Pluralität der Forschungstendenzen im internationalen Kontext", *Historische Anthropologie* 5 (1997), pp. 140-142, 148-151.

43. Kaser, *Freier Bauer*, *op.cit.*, pp. 108-130. See also Géza Pálffy, "The Origins and the Development of the Border Defence System Against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (Up to the Early Eighteenth Century)", in Géza Dávid–Pál

To encourage settlers, the Habsburg rulers promised special privileges such as free land or exemption from feudal obligations. The guarantees of religious freedom and exemption from feudal obligations made the Orthodox Serbs valuable allies for the monarchy in its seventeenth-century struggle against the Catholic Croatian nobility, especially after the so-called Serbian '*velika seoba*' of 1690-1691.[44] When the Military Frontier was extended eastward after the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, Serb (and some Croat) border guards played a similar role for the Monarchy against the Hungarian nobility. The newly-founded Serbian Orthodox Metropolis of Karlowitz[45] and the 'Illyrische Hofdeputation' would serve as authorities for the Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy for many years.[46]

Mercantilism led the Habsburg authorities to take a series of special measures in order to expand the Empire's commercial and maritime activities. Around the time of the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718),[47] Charles VI issued a number of edicts including the 'Patent on Freedom of Navigation in the Adriatic" (1717), the Patent designating Trieste and Fiume (Rijeka) as Free-ports (1719), and

Fodor (eds.), *Ottomans, Hungarians, and the Habsburgs in Central Europe: the Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*, Leiden: Brill, 2000, p. 60.

44. Walter Lukan, "'*Velika seoba Srba*'. Der große Serbenzug des Jahres 1690 ins Habsburgerreich", *Österreichische Osthefte* 33 (1991), pp. 35-54; R. Samardžić, "Velika seoba Srba 1690. Godine", *Sentandrejski zbornik* 2 (Belgrade 1992), pp. 7-24; Noel Malcolm, "The 'Great Migration' of the Serbs from Kosovo (1690): History, Myth and Ideology", in Oliver Jens Schmitt–Eva Anne Frantz (eds.), *Albanische Geschichte. Stand und Perspektiven der Forschung*, München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009, pp. 225-251, gives a very interesting historiographic critical account on the subject.

45. Ioannis Tarnanidis, *Τα προβλήματα της Μητροπόλεως Καρλοβικίων κατά τον ΙΗ΄ αιώνα και ο Jovan Rajić (1726-1801)*, Thessaloniki 1972.

46. During the period 1741-1749, the Theiss-Marosh military frontier was gradually abolished in the face of bitter Serbian resistance; the lands passed under Hungarian administration. Thereafter, about 3,000 Serbs decided to emigrate to Russia (Alfred Rieber, *The Struggle for the Eurasian Borderlands: from the Rise of Early Modern Empires to the End of the First World War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 48).

47. From the rich literature on the Treaty, see the recent book: Gharles Ingrao–Nikola Samardžić–Jovan Pešalj (eds.), *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718*, Purdue University Press 2011.

the foundation of the so-called *Orientalische Kompagnie* (1719) aiming to consolidate Habsburg influence in South-Eastern Europe.[48] Free land and sea trade between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires by Ottoman and Habsburg subjects was established on a pre-emptive duty of 3%-5% on imports and exports, while the Treaty also provided for free navigation of the Danube. Maria Theresa followed a more intensive policy, which sought to invite people to establish their commercial networks in Habsburg lands and to contribute to the industrial expansion on the other.[49] Ottoman and Venetian subjects took advantage of the treaty and the Habsburg Monarchy's need for Ottoman agricultural and handicraft products, and activated the trade. This encouraging of the Christian population of the Ottoman Empire to migrate can also be seen in the light of the Eastern Question, whereby a Great Power typically extended protection to a selected minority in the Ottoman Empire in the hopes of extending its influence there. Moreover, the reconquest of the Ottoman Lands by the Habsburg Empire was followed by policies that ultimately favoured Greek Orthodox traders. The Habsburgs needed to expand their commercial and maritime activities and consolidate their influence in the Ottoman lands.

The core of our argument, however, will be an examination of the evolution of 'permission' or 'recognition' into 'tolerance'. It has to be mentioned that before the era of the 'Toleration-edict' (1781), the Habsburgs had also faced difficulties relating to the co-existence of various ethnic and religious groups (Catholics, Unitar-

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48. Wilhelm Kaltenstadler, "Der österreichische Seehandel über Triest im 18. Jahrhundert", *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 55 (1968), pp. 484-485; Ivan Erceg, "Außenhandel der Nordadriatischen Seestädte als Faktor im Entstehen der kapitalistischen Beziehungen in Österreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert", *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial–und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 55 (1968), pp. 464-480; Olga Katsiardi-Hering, *Η Ελληνική παροικία της Τεργέστης, (1751-1830)*, Athens: Saripolou Library, University of Athens, vol. 52, 1986, pp. 1-10.

49. On the rich literature on the subject, see: Olga Katsiardi-Hering, *Τεχνίτες και τεχνικές βαφής νημάτων. Από τη Θεσσαλία στην Κεντρική Ευρώπη (18ος-αρχές 19ου αι.). Επίμετρο: Η Αμπελακιώτικη Συντροφιά (1805)*, Athens–Ambelakia 2003, pp. 53-66.

ians, Orthodox, Protestants, Jews, Armenians).[50] The wars of the Habsburgs against the Ottomans[51] and their need to make alliances with other Christians (among them Protestants) also led them to adopt a practice of 'tolerance'. Moreover, in some cases the authorities permitted the newcomers to organize their social and economic life, granting them privileges allowing the formation of confraternities, 'companies' and communities.

It is clear that the integration of Greek Orthodox people into a mutually shared Western European value system began in early Modern times, and particularly during the Age of Enlightenment and the era of the French Revolution. Orthodox people from the regions of Epirus, Macedonia, Thessaly, the Peloponnese, Asia Minor and Serbia became integrated in the networks of the Mediterranean (along the axis of the Adriatic) and South-Eastern Europe[52]

50. See Joachim Bahlecke–Arno Strohmeyer (eds.), *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa: Wirkungen des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur*, Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999 [Forschungen zur Geschichte und Struktur des östlichen Mitteleuropa vol. 3].

51. Ekkehard Eickoff, *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen (1645-1700)*, München 1970; Jan Paul Niederkorn, *Die europäischen Mächte und der 'Lange Türkenkrieg' Kaiser Rudolphs II (1593-1606)*, Wien 1993; Bertrand Michael Buchmann, *Österreich und das Osmanische Reich. Eine bilaterale Geschichte*, Wien 1999; Ivan Pǎrvev, *Habsburgs and the Ottomans between Vienna and Belgrade, 1683-1739*, New York 1995; Plamen Dimitrov Mitev (ed.), *Empires and Peninsulas: Southeastern Europe between Karlowitz and the Peace of Adrianople, 1699-1829*, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2010.

52. http://xeee.web.auth.gr/HCS/HCS_Conf_el/12_diaspora_hungary.pps (visited on 18.11.2014). We would like to thank Prof. Evangelos Livieratos and especially the cartographer Dr. Aggeliki Tsorlini/Aristoteleian University of Thessaloniki, who drew these maps for the Cartographic conference held in Kozani, 19.10.2013, on the occasion of the exposition "On the map: Westmacedonians and Kozaniots to central Europe – Hungary": http://xeee.web.auth.gr/ HCS/HCS_Conf_el/12_Kozani_2012_el.htm (visited on 30.1.2013). Dr. Tsorlini used the map elaborated by Ödön Füves, *Οι Έλληνες της Ουγγαρίας*, Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1965, and the article by Ikaros Mantouvalos, "Μεταναστευτικές διαδρομές από τον χώρο της Μακεδονίας στην ουγγρική ενδοχώρα (17ος αιώνας-αρχές 19ου αιώνα)", in Ioannis Koliopoulos–Iakovos Mihailidis (eds.), *Οι Μακεδόνες στη Διασπορά, 17ος, 18ος και 19ος αιώνας*, Thessaloniki: Society for Macedonian Studies, 2011, pp. 178-235; Μαρία Στασινοπούλου–Μαρία Χριστίνα Χατζηιωάννου (eds.), *Διασπορά–Δίκτυα–Διαφωτισμός*,

(tending to extend from south to north and into central Europe), through either collaboration or collision in the communitarian and commercial sector, paving the way for social, cultural and national identity consciousness.

Now, it is convenient to sketch the immigration of Greek Orthodox populations from the Balkans into the Habsburg Empire, on the one hand, and their establishment in the host societies, on the other. It is known that from the 18th century, particularly after the commercial treaty of Passarowitz (1718), the Habsburg Monarchy became a locus for a maritime and overland trade, which led to the emergence of Greek Orthodox urban merchant colonies (commercial 'paroikies'). Following the proclamation of Trieste as a free port, the city became one of the major destinations for *Greci* immigrants from the Ionian Islands, Western Continental Greece, the Peloponnese, and –principally– the Aegean Islands and the coast of Asia Minor.[53]

In the mid-18th century, the Greeks who settled in Trieste very quickly acquired religious and political privileges. It is true that Austria was interested in luring experienced merchants including Greeks to their realm in order to make Austrian trade competitive with other mercantile powers, for instance Venice. Thus, in 1751, Maria-Theresa issued a Decree of Privileges for the 'Greci' (Greeks and 'Illyrici')[54] of Trieste. In the following years, and on the basis of the decree in question, the 'Greci' managed to erect the

Athens: Center for Neohellenic Studies, National Research Foundation, 2005; Olga Katsiardi-Hering, «Δούναβης: Ποτάμι πολέμων και ειρήνης–Γέφυρα ψυχών και ειδών», in *Σκεύος εις Τιμήν,* Αφιερωματικός τόμος επί τη συμπληρώσει 25ετίας από της εις Επίσκοπον χειροτονίας και 20ετίας από της ενθρονίσεως του Μητροπολίτου Αυστρίας και Εξάρχου Ουγγαρίας και Μεσευρώπης, κ. Μιχαήλ, Athens 2011, pp. 405-419.

    [53] Olga Katsiardi-Hering, "Greek Merchant Colonies in Central and South-Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century", in Victor N. Zakharov–Gelina Harlaftis–Olga Katsiardi-Hering (eds.), *Merchant Colonies in the Early Modern Period*, London, Vermont: Pickering & Chatto, 2012, pp. 127-140.

    54. At this time, *Greci* was used to designate not only the Greeks but Orthodox people in general, and therefore the "Illyrici" (Serbians) of Trieste. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η Ελληνική παροικία, op.cit.*, pp. 85-102.

Orthodox Church of the Annunciation and St. Spyridon, despite major financial difficulties; they also sought to organize a *Confraternità* of the Orthodox Greek-Serbian (Illyrian) community in 1772.[55] It was thus because of the policy of tolerance pursued by the state, and the tolerant behaviour of the residents of Trieste, that a cosmopolitan society emerged so very quickly in the city. The contribution of Greek and Serbian immigrants to Trieste's economy and society may be reflected in the common topographical and architectural language of Trieste and in the tolerant coexistence of its inhabitants. Specifically, unlike in Venice (Campo dei Greci) or Vienna (Griechengasse), there was no Greek neighbourhood in the city. The Greeks, like other newcomers in the free port, were not considered "foreigners" by their host society, but belonged to the circle of people who together "made" Trieste.[56]

Regarding the movements of groups or individuals from the Balkans to territories in Central and Northern Europe, we should stress that they did not take place exclusively in the 18th century, even though the opening up of continental trade and the impetus of entrepreneurial activity by the "Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant"[57] in this period reinforced the migration phenomenon. Until the end of the 17th century, the majority of historical Hungary (including Transylvania) remained under Ottoman domination. Thus, as early as the second half of the 16th century, Aromunians, Greeks, Armenians and Serbs, all of whom were Ottoman subjects, relying on a network of local and regional markets,[58] took an active part in trading local raw materials, agricultural products, fabrics, spices, salted products, nuts and other commodities from the Levant to

55. Katsiardi-Hering, *op.cit*., pp. 98-102.

56. Olga Katsiardi-Hering, "Griechen, Serben und Juden in Triest. Koexistenz oder Symbiose?", *Zibaldone* 15 (May 1993), pp. 20-31.

57. Traian Stojanovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant", *Journal of Economic History* 20 (1960), pp. 234-313.

58. On the long-distance migration networks of these people from the 14th-17th century see Lidia Cotovanu, Migrations et mutations identitaires dans l'Europe du Sud-est (vues de Valachie et de Moldavie, XIVe-XVIIe siècles), Thèse de Doctorat nouveau régime, EHESS, Paris 2014.

Transylvania through Wallachia and Moldavia.[59] However, given the various commercial privileges granted by the authorities, the 18th century, as we will see in detail later, witnessed the most intense economic migration of all, displaying the features of a self-supplying chain phenomenon.

The case of Transylvania is of particular research interest, because its political situation was entirely different from that of Trieste. Transylvania had initially been obliged to pay tribute to the Sultan (1526-1699) before being transformed into the Principality of Transylvania (1571-1711), which was ruled primarily by Calvinist Hungarian princes; after the Treaty of Karlowitz, it became subject to the rule of the Habsburgs. When Transylvania became an independent principality in 1540, four major ethnic groups (whose exact ratio cannot be established) clearly lived within its borders: Hungarians, Székelys, "Romanians" and Saxons. The latter were a people of German ethnicity who settled in Transylvania after the mid-12th century. The first Saxons, who had settled in and around Nagyszeben/Sibiu/Hermannstadt, and later arrivals who established themselves around Beszterce/Bistrita/Bistritz, became active in mining and farming, and the crucial eastern trade was mainly in their hands. In 1224, King Andrew II of Hungary codified their rights (*Diploma Andreanum of 1224*), giving them a fixed territory, determining their taxes and military obligations, and conferring upon them religious and administrative autonomy. Thus, the Germans managed very quickly to control trade in and around the cities where they settled.[60] Therefore, when Greek merchants arrived in the markets of Transylvania towards the end of the 16th century, the Saxon entrepreneurs considered them a threat to their interests and repeatedly attempted to create barriers to their commercial activities, often with the support of the local authorities.

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59. Z.P. Pach, "The role of East-Central Europe in international trade (16th and 17th centuries)", in Z.P. Pach (ed.), *Hungary and the European Economy in Early Modern Times*, London 1994, p. 243.

60. László Makkai, "Herausbildung der städtischen Gesellschaft (1172-1526)", in Béla Köpeczi (ed.) *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens,* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1990, p. 278.

Throughout the 16th century, their control and supervision over the Greeks was relentless. However, within a few generations, the Greeks obtained the privilege allowing them to found their own trading companies both in Sibiu (1636) and Braşov (1678),[61] rendering the staple right privileges null and void, bolstering the presence of Greek merchants in Braşov and allowing them to dominate the region's internal and external trade.[62] In 1636, the Prince of Transylvania, George Rakoczy, granted a Privilege to the *Universitas Quaestorum Graecorum*, allowing Greek merchants to carry on a wholesale trade in Transylvanian fairs and to form self-governing "companies", a kind of corporation, in Sibiu (1639) and Braşov (1678). In 1701, Emperor Leopold I renewed the Privilege of the *Societates Graecorum* of Transylvania; seventy-six years later, Maria Theresa would also renew it, though she reduced their jurisdiction and the number of tax exceptions.[63]

61. Mária Pakucs-Willcocks, *Sibiu–Hermannstadt. Oriental Trade in Sixteenth Century Transylvania*, Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2007, p. 120.

62. See also Gheorghe Lažar, *Les marchands en Valachie, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles*, Institutul Cultural Român, Bucarest, 2006, pp. 10-15. Regarding the internal organisation of the companies in Transylvania, see Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, "L'organisation de la Compagnie grecque de Braşov (1777-1850)", *Balkan Studies* 14 (1973), pp. 312-323; Idem, "La Compagnie grecque de Braşov. La lute pour la conservation des privilèges (1777-1850)", *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 12 (1974), pp. 59-78; Olga Cicanci, "Les statuts et les règlements de fonctionnement des Compagnies grecques de Transylvanie (1636-1736)–la Compagnie de Sibiú", *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 14 (1976), pp. 477-496; Athanassios E. Karathanassis, *L'Hellénisme en Transylvanie. L'activité culturelle, nationale, et religieuse des compagnies commerciales helléniques de Sibiú et de Braşov aux XVIII-XIX siècles,* Thessaloniki 1989; Despina-Eirene Tsourka-Papastathis, *Η ελληνική εμπορική κομπανία του Σιμπίου Τρανσυλβανίας 1636-1848, Οργάνωση και Δίκαιο*, Thessaloniki 1994; Idem, *Η νομολογία του Κριτηρίου της ελληνικής 'Κομπανίας' του Σιμπίου Τρανσυλβανίας 17ος-18ος αι.: πηγές του δικαίου και των θεσμών του απόδημου ελληνισμού*, Athens: Academy of Athens, 2011.

63. Despoina Tsourka-Papastathis, "The Decline of the Greek 'Companies' in Transylvania: An Aspect of Habsburg Economic Policies in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean", in Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos–Constantinos D. Svolopoulos–Béla K. Király (eds.), *Southeast European maritime commerce and naval policies from the mid-eighteenth century to 1914*, Columbia University Press, 1988, pp. 213-218.

In contract to the tolerant state policy towards the Greek Orthodox was the intolerant behaviour of the dynamic commercial group of Lutheran Saxons.[64] This tension was reflected in their inter-merchant relations and may also be verified by the topography of the town. For instance, the members of the *compagnia greceşti* in Sibiu who tried and finally managed to erect a church were not permitted to do so within the city walls, unlike the members of the Braşov merchant company who managed to get their church build in the heart of the city, albeit –given the strong Saxon presence there– in an out of sight spot.[65]

Let us now take a look at the Greek diaspora in Central Europe in the 18th century. Taking advantage of the favourable terms of the commercial treaty of 1718, Greek merchants were able to insist on their right to establish themselves and to trade, demanding property rights and the right to maintain retail stores from the local authorities.[66] Most of them originated from Macedonia, Thessaly and Epirus and settled in Central Europe, particularly in Vienna and Hungarian cities (Pest, Gyöngyös, Eger, Miskolc, Tokaj, Nagyvárad, Kecskemét, Novisad etc.).[67] Note that the *Görögök* (Greeks in Hungarian) settled in towns that had an elementary market structure and some local production, which lent itself to commercial exploitation. Some of them operated as peddlers around the villages

64. Peter Sugar, "The Principality of Transylvania", in Peter Sugar–Péter Hanák–Tibor Frank (eds.), *A History of Hungary*, Bloomington 1994, p. 127.

65. Olga Katsiardi-Hering, "Η ελληνική διασπορά στην Κεντρκή Ευρώπη: ο χώρος, η κοινωνία και οι άνθρωποι", in Nikos Fokas (ed.), *Ελληνική Διασπορά στην Κεντρική Ευρώπη*, Budapest: Ú.M.K, 2012, pp. 21-26.

66. Bur, "Handelsgesellschaften", pp. 267-290.

67. Ödön Füves, *Οι Έλληνες της Ουγγαρίας*, Thessaloniki 1965; Marta Bur, "Handelsgesellschaften–Organisationen der Kaufleute der Balkanländer in Ungarn im 17.-18. Jh.", *Balkan Studies* 25 (1984), pp. 267-307; Vera Bácskai, "Gesellschaftliche Veränderungen in den Städten Mittel–und Osteuropas zur Zeit der Entfaltung der kapitalistischen Verhältnisse", in Vera Bácskai (ed.), *Bürgertum und bürgerliche Entwicklung in Mittel–und Osteuropa*, Budapest 1986, v.1, pp. 143-227; Marta Bur, "The Greek Company in Hungary in the 17th-18th centuries", in M. Fossey (ed.), *Proceedings of the first International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora from Antiquity to Modern Times*, Amsterdam 1991, vol. 1, pp. 155-166.

and trade fairs of Hungary, profiting from agricultural products such as wine and livestock; others worked as wholesale merchants, transporting wool, cotton, red yarns, leather, tobacco, salted goods, saffron and other commodities (e.g. spices)[68] from Ottoman provinces to the production centres of the Habsburg Monarchy.

The tolerance policy implemented by the Habsburgs in the first half of the 18th century played a key role in creating conditions in which the Greeks could organize and represent themselves before the authorities. Therefore, they organized themselves under the administratively comprehensive term 'Greek' by establishing communities (in Pest, Miskolc et al.)[69] and commercial companies (in Zemun/Semlin, Neusatz, Temesvár, Gyöngyös, Tokaj, Szegedin, Szentes, Kecskemét, Debrecen, Várad, Vaz, Gyarmat, Karcag, Kecskit, Leva, Békés, Seben, Sopron, et al.) which were the main forms of their incorporation in Central Europe.[70]

However, despite the occasional tolerance policy of local authorities, from the first half of the 18th century, the Habsburg authorities expressed concerns about foreign merchants in the internal retail and wholesale trade of the empire. In 1741, they decreed that Ottoman subjects had an unrestricted right to conduct wholesale and retail trade, provided they transferred their families to Hungary. By dint of a decree issued by Maria Theresa in 1769, full freedom of trade for Ottoman subjects was directly linked to their permanent residency, to their transferring their families to Hungary

68. Bur, "Handelsgesellschaften", p. 52; S. Papadopoulos, «Οι ελληνικές κοινότητες της Ουγγαρίας και η συμβολή τους στην οικονομική και πολιτιστική ανάπτυξη της Β. Ελλάδας κατά την περίοδο της τουρκοκρατίας», *Δωδώνη* 18 (1989), p. 97.

69. Ödön Füves, *Görögök Pesten (1686-1931)* [Die Griechen in Pest] unpublished Habilitation, University of Budapest 1972 (trans. Andrea Seidler into German); Olga Katsiardi-Hering, "Αδελφότητα, Κομπανία, Κοινότητα. Για μια τυπολογία των ελληνικών κοινοτήτων της Κεντρικής Ευρώπης, με αφορμή το άγνωστο καταστατικό του Miskolc (1801)", *Eoa kai Esperia* 7 (2007), pp. 247-310; Ikaros Mantouvalos, "Μεταναστευτικές διαδρομές από τον χώρο της Μακεδονίας στην ουγγρική ενδοχώρα (17ος αιώνας-αρχές 19ου αιώνα)", in Koliopoulos–Mihailidis (eds.), *Οι Μακεδόνες στη διασπορά, op.cit.*, pp. 178-235.

70. Bácskai, "Gesellschaftliche Veränderungen"; Bur, "The Greek Company in Hungary".

and taking the oath of allegiance, which meant they would receive Hungarian citizenship.[71] However, in doing so they lost the Ottoman subjects' privilege of customs exemption secured for them by the treaty of Passarowitz. Only under these conditions were they given the right to develop commercial activity and permanent residency.[72]

The Enlightened Habsburgs adopted *inter alia* Josiah Child's (1688) argument that naturalization had a significant role to play in foreign trade. The Act of Naturalization issued in 1774 led successful Greek entrepreneurs to lose their Ottoman *Untertanenschaft* ("subject status"). This procedure, on the part of the Greeks, was intensified mainly after the *Edicts of Tolerance*. So this policy made it easier for Balkan Orthodox people to settle permanently in Hungary, while simultaneously accelerating their "Hungarization" and integration into local society. In fact, the Act of 1774 was a determining factor in the Greeks' accession to a multi-ethnic Habsburgs Empire, which became their '*zweites Vaterland*' or second '*patria*'. Moreover, it gave Greek capitalists the opportunity to acquire civil rights (*Bürgerrechte*) and to become members of an economic elite known as *Wirtschaftsbürgertum*.[73]

Within the context of their institutional organization, and from their arrival in the urban settlements of Hungary, the migrants declared their interest in serving their religious needs. Building an Orthodox church and creating a cemetery were the most basic concerns of the Greeks established in non-Ottoman environments. In central Europe, they initially attended Serb churches and Catholic chapels as well as worshipping in private homes.[74] In Pest, which was the most significant centre of the Greek Diaspora after Vienna, the Greeks and Macedonian-Vlachs (Aromunians), who moved there as early as the second decade of the eighteenth century, at-

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71. Füves, *Οι Έλληνες της Ουγγαρίας, op.cit.*, p. 28.

72. *Op.cit.*

73. Vaso Seirinidou, *Οι Έλληνες στη Βιέννη (18ος-μέσα 19ου αιώνα)*, Athens: Herodotos, 2011, pp. 88, 91.

74. István Dobrossy, "Greek (Orthodox) Church", in Tamás Faragó (ed.), *Miskolc története* III/2 (2000), p. 929.

tended the Serbian church of Saint Georgios with their Serbian co-religionists until 1783, when they decided to secede from the Serbian community and found their own community association: the "Greek and Macedonian Vlach Community of Pest". The *Görögök* exercised their religious duties, sometimes unhindered with the tolerance of the authorities, sometimes in a climate of opposition, restricted by local ecclesiastical and secular officials. In short, the process of consolidating their collective religious identity was frequently subject to strong social and political pressure, as was the case for the Orthodox population of Pec (German Fünfkirchen) in 1720 and 1729. This process prohibited them from exercising their religious rights freely.[75]

Until 1745, the Greeks of Miskolc attended religious rites in a place assigned to them in the church rectory of the neighbouring town of Tapolca. Later, members of the community decided to rent a place owned by a member of the noble Vay family (because they had been forbidden to own landed property until then) and use it as a chapel consecrated to St Naum.[76] The community was free to choose its own priest, whose name was then ratified by the Metropolitan of Karlowitz.[77] Nevertheless, a basic request by Orthodox Balkan subjects was that the migrants' ecclesiastical life be transferred from the small chapel to a large church.

75. Charalampos Chotzakoglou–Christian Gastgeber, "Griechische Mönche in Ungarn. Zwei Dokumente aus dem 17. Jahrhundert über das Sammeln von Almosen und den Einfluss der Unierten am Athos", *Ελληνικά* 48/1 (1998), p. 98.

76. Mariann Olbert, «Οι τρεις πιο αξιόλογοι ναοί και εικονοστάσια της ελληνικής διασποράς της Ουγγαρίας: του Eger, του Miskolc και της Βουδαπέστης», in Eszter Kovács–Vasilios Stamatopoulos (eds.), *Görög Örökség. A Görög Ortodox Diaszpóra Magyarországon a XVII-XIX. században/Greek Heritage* (The Greek Orthodox Diaspora in Hungary 17th-19th century), Budapest 2009, p. 117.

77. In 1766, a new Serb diocese was established on the territory of the Habsburg Empire after which the Orthodox population belonged to the Serb diocese in Hungary, whose seat was in Karlowitz. The Greeks initially attended religious worship in the existing Serb churches; later, they either took some of them into their own hands or built their own churches, but, very often, under the jurisdiction of the Serb bishop. See Willibald M. Plöchl, "Die orthodoxe Kirche in der Habsburgischen Donaumonarchie (1526-1918)", *Balkan Studies* 13 (1972), pp. 17-30.

Regarding the Greeks in Vienna, in 1717 Charles VI issued a patent addressed to Orthodox Ottoman subjects who traded in Vienna, enshrining their right to trade and defining the terms of their trade. In 1723, the Emperor allowed them to settle in the little Steyrerhof between the Fleischmarkt and the Rotenturmstraße. They also had the little Chapel Saint George at their disposal, where they could pray in privacy with the Serbs. In 1776, the chapel became a church and official toleration was admitted; there is no doubt that the group had arrived at their religious self-determination.[78]

The crucial change in the organization of the life of Greek communities in the Habsburg Empire came after the promulgation of the *Edict of Toleration* (1781) and Joseph II's desire to solve the problems not only between Catholics and Protestants but also among members of the same religious dogma. As a consequence of this policy, after 1781 a series of imperial degrees issued in various parts of Austria, Hungary and Transylvania permitted Greeks and Serbs to establish not only their own churches (without *campanile*)[79] but also their own schools. In some cases, local reactions forced the Greek merchants to erect their small churches outside the city walls (Sibiu) or, as mentioned above, in the centre but without direct street access (Braşov).[80]

It is not a coincidence that during the last decades of the 18th century, Greeks attempted and finally managed to build their own churches, assuring independence from their Serbian brethren. At the turn of the 18th century, permission to establish the Serbian Me-

78. Seirinidou, *Οι Έλληνες στη Βιέννη, op.cit.*, pp. 276-277, 285; Willibald M. Plöchl, *Die Wiener orthodoxen Griechen. Eine Studie zur Rechts- und Kulturgeschichte der Kirchengemeinden zum Hl. Georg und zur Hl. Dreifaltigkeit und zur Errichtung der Metropolis von Austria*, Wien 1983.

79. In 1787 the members of the Greek community of Miskolc submitted a request to the bishop of Karlowitz, asking him to allow them to build their own church tower, "because we, scattered around the city, cannot be deprived of using bells, which is held absolutely necessary for the service of the Church" (Mantouvalos, "Μεταναστευτικές διαδρομές", *op.cit.*, pp. 234-235).

80. Katsiardi-Hering, "Η ελληνική διασπορά στην Κεντρική Ευρώπη", *op.cit.*, pp. 21-23.

tropolis of Karlowitz was granted by the Habsburgs to provide for
the religious needs of all Greek-Orthodox Balkan peoples. This,
given that the smaller number of Greeks, allowed the Serbs to dom-
inate the church and the affairs of the mixed communities. During
the 18th century, economic and social differences between the
Greek and Serb trade diasporas of the Habsburg Empire "were act-
ed out in the form of disputes concerning ecclesiastical and cultural
life". At issue was the language of the church liturgy and of school
education in the multi-ethnic Orthodox trade communities of the
Habsburg Monarchy. Disputes broke out in many Greco-Illyrian
communities, many of which resulted in the separation of the two
groups after the Edict of Toleration. With the exception of the Vi-
enna Community, where the church of St. George was officially
ceded to the Greeks (1776), in other communities (including Tri-
este in 1782 and Pest in 1790), the Greeks decided to pursue their
separate communal development and leave the church they shared
with the Illyrians to build their own.[81]

In addition to the issues that were interwoven into the migrants'
religious life, the community also took care to build an educational
system that would safeguard the linguistic and cultural identity of
its members. This was also a necessary condition for assimilating
migrant children into the host society. The interest in educational
themes on the part of migrants throughout the Monarchy grew
stronger after the second half of the 18th century, when legislative
decrees were issued that regulated significant aspects of the basic
education received by Habsburg subjects and which concerned not
only the empire's German Catholic population, but also inhabitants
of other nationalities, whatever their faith. The educational reforms
of 1774 made a crucial contribution to the real popular Enlighten-
ment (*Volskaufklärung*) while simultaneously producing the "cata-
lytic power"[82] required to educate the people of South-Eastern Eu-

81. Füves, *Görögök Pesten*, *op.cit.*, pp. 60-118; Katsiardi-Hering, *Η Ελληνική
παροικία*, *op.cit.*, pp. 67-117; Seirinidou, *Οι Έλληνες στη Βιέννη*, *op.cit.*, pp. 282-
286.

82. Alexandru Duţu, "Die 'katalytische Kraft' der deutschen Kultur: Das Bei-
spiel Südost-Europas zur Zeit der Aufklärung", in Anton Schwob (ed.), *Metho-*

rope (Serb colonists and migrants as well as Greek merchants), who established schools with programmes of study that reflected the new educational system.[83] In Hungary, after the official state recognition and institution of the Orthodox Church,[84] schools began to be established in Orthodox communities. The newcomers founded schools whose curricula reflected the new educational system. In the late 1770s, Court School-Commissions were established and their status was renewed by Joseph II within the framework of the Edict of Toleration. As O'Brien points out: "If the non-Catholics, Jews or Christians, were to enjoy their new rights, the intolerant mentality of the people had to undergo a fundamental change. For this purpose the government used the schools and the censorship to train the people and especially their spiritual leaders, the government officials, schoolteachers, and clergy, to regard the dissenters as fellow subjects".[85] Nevertheless, this project was not particularly easy, as is evident from the difficulties faced by the Greeks with regard to their effort to organize their own education system. However, despite the problems, by the end of the 18th century, the educational situation had improved considerably with the increase in the number of schools and their operation in 17 Hungarian cities.[86]

In 1770-1771, a list was drawn up of the schools in Hungary, which showed that there were 89 functioning Orthodox churches,

dologische Studien zur deutschen Literatur Ostmittel- und Südost-Europas, München 1994, 39-53.

83. The Court School Committees were established in the late 1770s; their status was renewed by Joseph II as part of the Edict of Tolerance. Another Committee was also established to monitor the religious and educational activities of the non-Catholics, including school books, with the help of the revitalized Committee for Judicial Censorship. On school reform among the Orthodox minorities in the Habsburg empire, see Philip J. Adler, "Habsburg School Reform Among the Orthodox Minorities, 1770-1780", *Slavic Review* 33/1 (1974), pp. 23-45.

84. Regarding the history of the Orthodox Church in Hungary, see Feriz Berki, *Η εν Ουγγαρία Ορθόδοξος Εκκλησία,*Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1964.

85. O'Brien, "Ideas", *op.cit.*, p. 43.

86. Andreas Horváth, *Η ζωή και τα έργα του Γεωργίου Ζαβίρα/Zavirasz György élete és munkái*, Budapest 1937, pp. 5-6.

63 of which were Serbian and 21 Romanian. Of these churches, only in Győr, Miskolc and Tokaj was there an exclusively Greek-speaking school, whereas in the cities of Eger and Komárom, the school was bilingual, and the children who attended it were taught their lessons in both Serbian and Greek. It should be noted that community education was not systematically organized at all, and that many of the communities did not have even their own build-ings for teaching young students. Education in the Greek communi-ty of Miskolc[87] was organized long before the school was built in 1805. As early as the 1770s, its members had arranged to rent space to cover the community's educational needs. However, the problem of housing the school appears to have taken on a different form by the end of the century, owing to the increase in the number of pu-pils, a fact that obliged the administration to seek a permanent solu-tion.[88] Among the Greek schools, the one at Zemun was particular-ly well-known. The conflicts between Greeks and Serbs which had broken out in 1793 resulted in the mediation of the bishop of Kar-lowitz. One year later, the school was built, and its financial self-sufficiency was ensured by a school fund.[89] In 1796, after their se-cession from the Community of *Illyrici* (1791), the Greeks and Aromunians in Pest set up their own school.[90] The first Greek school in Vienna, financed and overseen by the Greek Community of the Holy Trinity, was founded in 1804.[91] In Trieste, the Greek school founded in 1801 was designed to function much like public

87. Regarding the education of Greek children in the Miskolc community, see Ikaros Mantouvalos, "Τὸ ἑλληνικὸν σχολεῖον εἶναι τὸ μόνον μέσον τῆς προκοπῆς καὶ μαθήσεως τῶν Νέων, εἰς τὰ ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα": πτυχές τῆς εκπαιδευτικῆς ζωῆς τῆς ελληνοβλαχικῆς κοινότητας του Miskolc (τέλη 18ου-αρχές 19ου αι.)", *Μεσαιωνικὰ καὶ Νέα Ελληνικά* 10 (2012), pp. 103-128.

88. Mantouvalos, *op.cit.*, pp. 108-109.

89. Ioannis Papadrianos, *Οι Έλληνες πάροικοι του Σεμλίνου (18ος-19ος αι.). Διαμόρφωση τῆς παροικίας, δημογραφικὰ στοιχεία, διοικητικὸ σύστημα, πνευμα-τικὴ καὶ πολιτιστικὴ δραστηριότητα,* Thessaloniki 1988, pp. 129-131.

90. Füves, *Görögök Pesten, op.cit.*, pp. 364-365.

91. Seirinidou, *Έλληνες στη Βιέννη, op.cit.*, pp. 315-335.

schools throughout the Habsburg Monarchy, and was placed under the supervision of the Austrian educational authorities of the city.[92]

As mentioned previously, the Commission for the 'Acatholics' was also established to supervise the religious and the educational activities of the non-Catholics and to control the textbooks used with the aid of the renewed Court Censorship Commission. There is no doubt that the invention of the term 'Acatholics' is more indicative of a policy of forbearance than of genuine tolerance. Nevertheless, these reforms made it easier to set up Greek printing presses in Vienna.[93] Greek and Illyrian (Serbian) newspapers and journals had been edited in the Habsburg capital city. In the printing houses of the cities of Vienna, Pest, Trieste, Leipzig –and, after 1801, in Venice– reading primers *(ABC-Lehrbücher)* were printed in the Cyrillic and Greek alphabets and included passages dealing with everyday life in their host cities rather than the pastoral space in which their parents had grown up. The reading passages in the schoolbooks praised the emperor, good manners and morality, but also the *Volk*, their *Γένος=Έθνος=Nation* in its new connotation.[94]

Enlightened Despotism wanted its urban subjects to be devout as well as upstanding members of the bourgeoisie, ready to engage in trade or with literature. In their new environment, the *'paroikoi'* [colonists] had the opportunity to manage the education of their children, to be integrated into local society and simultaneously to engage with the ideological waves of Nationalism. In the above mentioned printing houses, a large number of academic works on Geography, Physics, Mathematics, Grammar, Philosophy, History etc, were also published. It is well known that Vienna became both the 'laboratory' and the literary centre for Neohellenic and the Serbian national identity.

92. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η Ελληνική παροικία, op.cit.*, pp. 256-296.

93. K. Staikos, *Die in Wien Gedruckten Griechischen Bücher 1749-1800,* Athens: Stiftung der Griechischen Kultur, 1995; Aikaterini Koumarianou, *Die griechische Vorrevolutionäre Presse, Wien–Paris (1784-1821),* Athens: Stiftung der Griechischen Kultur, 1995.

94. Katsiardi-Hering, "Southeastern European Migrant Groups", *op.cit.*, pp. 154-162.

The communication of the various South-Eastern European People with each other in the host lands led to a new conjunction and cooperation on an ideological level, as well. The migrants were able to join the *unitas multiplex* that was Europe at the end of the 18th century. For all of them, Central Europe became a new *patria* and a new way of participating both in the dialogue on constructing the Idea of Europe and on founding their own modern nation-states. Through their texts and correspondence, they developed a real and 'imagined' dialogue with the enlightened, Christian, wise Europe in whose universities they studied; they tried and wished to be part of that '*ευνομουμένη*' (well-governed) Europe.[95]

To paraphrase Rabaut Saint Étienne, who addressed the French Assembly in August 1789 on tolerance and the freedom: "Mais Messieurs, ce n'est même pas la tolérance que je réclame; c'est la liberté! La tolérance! Le support! Le pardon! La clémence!",[96] we can understand the desire for liberty, for political freedom, manifest in the Greek political texts published illegally in Vienna, Bologna or Livorno in the last decade of the 18th and the first of the 19th century. One needs only mention Rhigas Velestinlis, an extreme example of a scholar and Ottoman subject taking advantage of the brief window of opportunity provided by Josephinism and the French Revolution to publish liberal material and pursue political activities. Is it a coincidence that enlightenment political thought in South-Eastern Europe, as represented by the radical republicanism of Rhigas Velestinlis, incorporated the idea of cultural pluralism in a project for a unitary democratic state, modelled on the 'Republic

95. Olga Katsiardi-Hering, "Die Europaidee in den Texten des griechischen Unabhängigkeitskrieges (1821-1829)", in Konrad Clewing und Oliver Jens Schmitt (eds.), *Südosteuropa. Von vormoderner Vielfalt und nationalstaatlicher Vereinheitlichung. Festschrift für Edgar Hösch,* München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2005, pp. 245-252.

96. *De la tolérance aux droits de l'homme. Écrits sur la liberté de conscience, des guerres de Religion à la Révolution française, suivis de la laïcité entre la tolérance et la liberté par Jean Baubérot*. Textes réunis et présentés par Michel Kneubühler, Grigny: Editions paroles d'Aube, 1998, p. 25; See also Wolfgang Schmale, *Archäologie der Grund- und Menschenrechte in der Frühen Neuzeit: ein deutsch-französisches Paradigma*, München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1997.

of Virtue', that was expected to replace despotism and to transform its subjects into free citizens?[97]

Consequently, the multi-dimensional character of the diasporic identity of the Greeks took shape in the context of the policies of tolerance or intolerance pursued by the Habsburgs during the long 18th century; this identity was interwoven not with cultural entrenchment or cultural assimilation in the host country, but with practices and choices that prevailed throughout the immigration experience and through osmosis with other groups in the host society or other ethnic communities in Europe.

97. Paschalis Kitromilides, "An Enlightenment Perspective on Balkan Cultural Pluralism. The Republican Vision of Rhigas Velestinlis", *History of Political Thought* 24/ 3 (2003), pp. 445-479.