

GREEK ECONOMIC HISTORY,
15th-19th CENTURIES

Volume One

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GREEK
ECONOMIC HISTORY

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Translated by Doolie Sloman



PIRAEUS GROUP BANK
CULTURAL FOUNDATION

Back in 2003, the Foundation had the privilege of publishing the 'Greek Economic History: 15th to 19th centuries', by Spyros Asdrachas and his colleagues.

Recently, rereading the foreword to that edition, I realised that I had been running ahead of myself. 'We are happy', I had written, 'to present the Greek and the international public with an economic history of modern Greece'. In truth, the 'international public' can only now gain access to this seminal work.

The extraordinary success of the Greek edition, which was enthusiastically received by academics, specialist and laymen alike, prompted the Foundation to undertake the demanding task of publishing the work in English.

We thought that it would be a dereliction of duty not to publish in English, considering that the interest in the period of Ottoman and Venetian rule in the Eastern Mediterranean grows unabated, not only in our country but worldwide.

At the Foundation we all feel joy and pride that the work will now be available to English-speakers and therefore to the global community of scholarship.

We hope that this English edition will enjoy the same acclaim as its Greek counterpart.

Sophia Staikou

President

Piraeus Bank Group Cultural Foundation

PREFACE

This book, published in Greek in 2003 by the Piraeus Bank Group Cultural Foundation, is a collective work. The task of translating Volume I was assigned to Mrs Doolie Sloman and Volume II to Mr John Davis. I thank them both sincerely and underline that they have endeavoured to render a text that should be precise and clear while faithful to the authors' styles. I would also note that the chapters by Traian Stoianovich were originally written in English. This work is based on a plan of historiography whose rationale is set out in the Introduction that follows. Its component texts are exactly attributed to each contributor in the Table of Contents. The second volume contains items from records whose purpose is to illustrate, metaphorically or literally, the chapters of the first volume. A general Index of proper and place-names as well as notions provides a nexus for the related factual and notional elements of the book.

I wish at this stage to draw attention to the fact that this book's contents were elaborated at differing times and in a diversity of manner of composition or expression; its subjects are approached from varying viewpoints, so that the same themes are consequently recurrent, always with a different notional and therefore interpretational dimension. They are not repeated, rather re-disposed in accordance with the rationale of the historiography. As is explained in the Introduction, it is the same case in the chronological unfolding of each thematic entity: the chronological limits are not uniform, for the time-spans of the phenomena are not uniform. This also applies to the geographical scope: certain thematic entities dwell on the example or, in other words, the segmented illustration of a mechanism of generalised validity; other entities, obeying to the dictates of communication and of networks – in short, of the manner of circulation of goods and their human factors – emphasize the geography of the example and broaden its horizon. This signifies that the book cannot be read selectively, in a search for 'useful' pertinent sections.

I should like to add that we have tried to give a view of the economy of the conquered, and not of the economies of the states responsible for effecting and organising the conquest; to set the limits of the incorporation of the economy of the conquered, whether these regarded the system

of the conquest or the overall spheres of the economies with which the conquered come into contact. It is a view, primarily, of the extent to which the relation of the people to the production carried out by them – at specific levels – was submitted to modifications capable of resulting in vertical mobility, in the end altering this relation, or of the degree to which the perpetuation of the producer's relation solely to his production permitted diversification within what was in essence an immutable system: the system of the agrarian economy, on which was based every economic movement, with its consequential urban social formations. If this is clearly manifest through the diverse approaches of historical documentation and their complementary accompaniment of thematic organisation, then this book will have accomplished the fundamental objective of any economic history, which is to contain – and debouch into – the social history.

Spyros I. Asdrachas

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the geography of mercantile traffic. The Greek Diaspora will be examined here at two levels of analysis: the one typological and, in the relevant chapter, the other at the level of the whole of commercial economy.

2. *The Greek Diaspora: its geography and typology*

'My fellow-villager making arrangements for a hired coach for the following day, to Vienna' was noted in 1871 by Panagiotis P. Naum recording his emigration to Central Europe in 1822, 'he also provided my victuals for the road, consisting of a little roast meat, cheese and bread and gave me, written in Greek characters on a sheet of paper, these two German words: *Wasser* (water) and *Brot* (bread) to be used for my needs, and told me he had spoken to the coachman about arrangements for my overnight resting places [...] He also gave me forty kreuzers for my travelling expenses. My travelling companions were a man and three young girls. I, who was dressed in my country's local costume, caused them great hilarity. [...] Finally, at the end of an eight-hour corkscrew coach ride (in those days there were two options for travel, either by public stage or private coach) we arrived at the first overnight stop (there were three between Pest and Vienna, a distance covered nowadays by rail in eight hours.) I [...] took up a position on guard opposite the stable door [...] Willy-nilly I followed the coachman who, leading me into the stable, indicated to me with signs a space to sleep between two rows of horses"⁴⁹.

This graphic extract by an emigrant from Kastoria, although dating from the end of the 19th century, has every reason to be believed as describing the commonplace circumstances of travel through the lengthy duration of movements of the peoples of Southeastern Europe. The long time taken for the trip, the difficulties of communication, the fear, the bafflement before the strange and unfamiliar, the effort to adapt, are some of the elements met with in the movements of Greeks, en masse or individual, or in chain migration whether through friends or family, for economic reasons primarily, in the period under scrutiny. 'European men and women who opted to move, or not, undertook it within the confines of their village, of their family, of their convictions'⁵⁰. Dwelling on the macro-economic factors alone risks losing the real heroes of the drama by denying the inclusion of the role of the individual factor (e.g. in the instance of the colonies of Greeks, Serbs and Vlachs) or in particular the life course of the emigrants. If light is shed solely on the individual element (e.g. the case of Greek scholars in the West during the Renaissance), the 'career immigrants' (according to Charles Tilly's formulation), the risk is the loss of the opportunity to connect migration to historical changes.

The question here, however, is the movements of people in relation to the economy and, in the present particular, of trade. With a view to a typology of the movements of Greeks from the 15th century, they must necessarily be included in the political-economic framework of the countries, as also in the separate smaller or broader areas of departure and arrival, to examine concurrently the 'push and pull factors' (according to Charles Tilly's formulation)⁵¹, the role of the geographic factor, the mechanisms of function of the family, of the origins. The explanation of establishment on mainland or coastal locations is thus facilitated, the temporary or permanent residence in the form of individual households, or marriages contracted with a view to merging fortunes, the family organisation in minor or major enterprises, the networks formed among multiple trading centres, with the consequent internationalisation of economic occupations, the inclusion in guild formations, or the organisation of 'companies' in order to confront local competition and fiscal liabilities. The ethnic-religious factor will not be examined here in analytical detail although it will be threaded through the process under examination, since the organisation of the communities at the colonies must also be explained through the motivation of the necessity to shape and preserve the social identities of the displaced merchants. In any case, the restricted economic cooperation with representatives of other ethnic-religious groups, at least until the end of the 18th century, is one of the phenomena requiring exposition.

It is necessary to view these movements of Greeks as well as of other peoples of the Balkans also within the framework of the broader Ottoman or Venetian economic policy (the Ottoman and Venetian subjects emigrating during the period under examination are mainly Greeks), as also in relation to the separate economic orientations and conflicts of the Central-Western European powers in the regions where the Greeks settled. It is known that during the 14th century through to the 18th, commerce was organised also through the 'mercantile colonies' in port stations such as Antwerp, Amsterdam, London, Seville, Marseille, Livorno, Ancona, Venice, Trieste, Smyrna – to mention only maritime trade and the widespread network of travelling merchants representing branches of firms in multiple trading stations. In the region herein concerned, broad-based commercial networks are established in which, successively, new powers are incorporated, for example the Hapsburgs and Russia from the 18th century, some in competition and others attempting, by colonising measures granting mercantile privileges, to stimulate the interest of immigrants to contribute to the development of their economic strength.

It is precisely this multiplicity and variety, of epoch, geography, historical conjunctures, of the development of commercial networks of the colonies, that determine the contents of a typology which, in order to be explicatory, cannot be one-sided.

Periodization The classic distinction of the phenomenon of colonisation into periods – of a) 15th-16th centuries and b) 17th to late 19th – may also be applied here: in the first period, certainly, movement to the West of scholars and personalities appears to predominate; it must be stressed, however, that it is precisely in this period that mass emigration of populations (Greeks and Albanians)⁵² is observed in the direction of the highland agro-animal husbandry regions of Southern Italy and Sicily, where by reason of geographic and economic conditions they will remain blocked in the agro-livestock production sector, far from the perspective of incorporation in the networks of overland or maritime routes in which the establishments of their more northern fellow-villagers became incorporated.

In fact, during this first period privileges were granted to Greeks, initially the scholars, then seamen and merchants at a later date, for the organisation of the colony (known as *parikia*) in Venice. It was, however, more a matter of movement of Venetian subjects within the confines of the Venetian dominions, that is of internal migration of inhabitants of the periphery to the metropolis. Greek Ottoman subjects were gradually added to the immigrants, from Epirus, Continental Greece, the Peloponnese, the Aegean Islands, i.e. from regions incorporated in the Venetian mercantile web of trade routes⁵³. It was also in this first period that the Pope granted privileges to Greeks from Ancona⁵⁴, a pivotal commercial port of Central Italy. The fortunes of the Greek merchants followed the development of Ancona and in the early 18th century, when it was declared a free port⁵⁵, a revival of the Greek mercantile *parikia* is observable. Similar data may be mentioned for the establishment of Greeks during the first period in Naples, Corsica, Tuscany⁵⁶, Greeks experiencing the consequences of the Veneto-Turkish war or wars of European powers against Turkey.

The engagement here, however, is not the enumeration of the *parikias* but their incorporation into exegetic formations; the basic observation is that, despite the fragmented character of movements of the first period, their dispersion in areas of dissimilar economies, elements may be recognised in it of the development of *parikias* connecting to the ensuing phase. To be precise: *parikias* develop and are established, that are incorporated in the web of what was international trade of the day, initially maritime,

subsequently terrestrial. These *parikias* are primarily in Venice, less in Livorno and Ancona; in their constant evolution are also observable the modifications of movements, the organisation of commercial enterprises, the development of mercantile tactics.

The basic objective sought as an initial phase, therewith passing into the second period of movement of merchants from the 17th century and after, is the localisation of the trade networks in the broader area of the Eastern Mediterranean. The first migrant seamen of the Aegean Islands in the 15th and 16th centuries developed their transportation web in these trade networks, gradually to become shipowners and established traders of Venice⁵⁷.

The situation in the Ottoman Empire from the end of the 16th century, the changing general conditions of trade, competition between European powers, particularly in maritime commerce⁵⁸, as causes and results also of the lengthy wars of the 17th century, provoked and imposed a reformulation of trade networks. The fall of Cyprus (1570) and of Crete (1669), the last unsuccessful siege of Vienna (1683), the treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718)⁵⁹ are only some of the landmark dates contributing to the establishment of novel conditions. Nonetheless, the political-military conditions are not sufficient to explain the economic phenomena. Included in the estimate must be the diverse economic tactics of the countries involved in the networks and the transformation of their interests, even in minor time-spans such as that of the 18th century. However, to remain on the subject of the networks:

While the main characteristic of the first period is movement from the Orient to the West, notably to the Italian Peninsula, from the 17th century reaching a peak in the 18th, when merchants moved to reinforce the east-west trend, the opening of south-north communication routes intensified in the direction of Central Europe and from the end of the 18th century to southern Russia. Multiple webs of commercial communications developed which, in the course of their exceptional progression in the 19th century, were incorporated into the ramifications of the family enterprises of Chiot and other merchants.

The geography of the Diaspora

Two basic networks of movement of merchants and goods may be distinguished: a) of the Mediterranean and b) on the mainland – interlinked, however, and constituted in common of smaller central webs. The first commercial *parikias* of the Mediterranean network develop until the 17th century, in this broadened form served by the *parikias* of Venice, Trieste

from the early 18th century, Amsterdam, Ancona, Livorno, Marseille and in part by Minorca⁶⁰. The field of competition was figured by the Western European powers and, as their protégés, the Greeks undertook the technique of trade. The emergence of the Hapsburg power as regulating factor of overland trading in Southeastern Europe transformed the commercial networks. Land routes in south-north direction and vice versa⁶¹, already familiar to the Balkan peoples travelling in caravans from the 17th century, with the objective of taking part in regional and annual general markets and fairs of the dominions of the Danubian principalities and Transylvania⁶² as well as of Central Europe, acquired a crucial significance for the traffic of merchants and goods. The configuration of the terrain by the valleys of the rivers Axios, Morava, Sava, Tisza and Danube facilitated the development of trading stations for the convenience of the caravans, initially in the barter of commodities and eventually for the establishment of merchants, the founding of commercial agencies by riverine ports (Zemun, Vienna, Pest et al). The exceptional progress of the *parikias* initially in the area between the Danube and Tisza rivers⁶³ is indicative of the vital importance of river transport in the 18th century, of the favourable lie of the land and of the key position of the region, at the crossroads of land travel between south and north, as well as from east to west and conversely. Upon the opening up of this Central European network, second in importance, the direct connection to that of the Mediterranean rapidly ensued, while from the end of the 18th century, especially following the treaty of Küçük Kaynarçı (1714), the third vital link in the web, that of the Black Sea, opened up to extend the Eastern Mediterranean network.

The Adriatic Examination of the separate divisions of these networks enables a better understanding also of the movements of Greek merchants to specific trading centres. While the Aegean Sea and its islands constituted the birthplace for Greek commercial shipping as it evolved in the 18th century and after, the Adriatic Sea was the first pole for the orientation of Greek seamen and merchants. Known as the Golfo Veneziano, in honour of Venice, one of its special characteristics was its economic and cultural linking of cities and countries in development on its shores⁶⁴, despite clashes and conflicts dividing regions with common borders. Bonaparte's keen interest, in the aftermath of the conquest of the Italian Peninsula and the founding of the 'Illyrian Provinces' after 1797, with the ensuing continental embargo, merely reinforced the premise for its vital significance in commercial communica-

tions. Ancona and Venice initially, then Trieste, from its declaration as a free port in 1719, are the three port centres enticing the establishment of Greek merchants and the installation of *parikias*. The Hapsburgs attempted to conduct the struggle of economic confrontation with Venice in the Adriatic Sea, declaring (by Charles VI's *Patent* 2 of June 1717)⁶⁵ the freedom of shipping lanes in the Adriatic; until the 17th century the city/semi-autonomous state of Ragusa/Dubrovnik⁶⁶, the Ottoman Empire's Adriatic port, prospered. The Adriatic, familiar to Greeks for centuries, was the first area of prime importance as destination for their cargo ships from the Ionian Islands, Western Continental Greece, the Peloponnese and, principally, the Aegean Islands and the coast of Asia Minor⁶⁷. In consequence, Greeks from the Ionian Islands, Epirus, Western Continental Greece, the Peloponnese, the Aegean Islands and mainly Crete, Chios and Smyrna were the merchants, initially itinerant and subsequently established, who, in the execution of their trading activities, settled in these first sites on the Adriatic Sea⁶⁸. Greeks originating from the same regions gave Livorno's *parikia* its impetus, both in the 16th century as, and mainly, from the 18th to 19th century⁶⁹, also in Marseille⁷⁰ and further north in Amsterdam⁷¹. Greek shipowners of vessels with relatively substantial tonnage (180-100 tons) could, after the first half of the 18th century, compete with the commercial navies of Venice, Holland, France and England⁷², and embark upon long-haul trading voyages.

The conditions under which the voyages of the Greek commercial fleets were effected are known from their history – their length of duration, obligatory delays for resupply or quarantine, or by reason of unfavourable weather or war⁷³ – all of which had an impact of various first impressions for the Greek seamen encountering the localities which were to become the cradles of development of their subsequent trading *parikias*. These same conditions of travel as well as the natural configuration of harbours, also the state policy for development of the town plan and the commercial activities of each port town, contributed to the speedier, longer-lasting and more competitive organisation of establishment in them of the Greek merchants, as will be demonstrated.

The Balkans and Central Europe

While the Adriatic was the first pole of attraction for Greek merchants, with the Western Mediterranean the extension thereof, the central Balkan countries and the Hapsburg Monarchy lands, particularly from the 17th and 18th centuries became the locations for land trade in which the Greek, Serb and Vlach urban commercial *parikias* evolved. They fol-

lowed the pivotal caravan routes connecting the southern with the northern Balkan Peninsula⁷⁴.

'Most inhabitants (of Western Macedonia) emigrated to the North. Their journeys were undoubtedly much facilitated also by the long narrow valley of the upper reaches of the Aliakmon river, which had always constituted the natural path of communication for the inhabitants of the region'⁷⁵. '[During the period of] Turkish domination it was the natural direct route for the *tatars* (postal couriers) and the caravans departing from Grevena and Monastir (Bitolia). [...] Substantial caravans set out from Siatista, Kastoria and other towns and villages [...] and followed the direction of the valley of the Aliakmon leading to the next natural route to Central Europe, the Axios River valley and reaching Belgrade. They then crossed the Danube and Sava rivers to reach Zemun, which was the first town encountered in Hungary and the first station for trans-shipment. They then continued on to Budapest and Vienna, the two major centres of Macedonian Greeks in Austro-Hungary.'⁷⁶

This record by Apostolos Vacalopoulos pinpoints the significance of the tributary valleys for the passage of merchants and merchandise in the Balkans. Western Macedonians had already sporadically maintained commercial connections with Hungary while it was under Turkish domination (1526-1687)⁷⁷, but contact was intensified after 1699 and 1718. The first key stations for Kozanites⁷⁸ and Siatistites were Belgrade, Niš, Kragujevac to the north, Kruševac, Valievo, Požarevac, Smederevo and mainly Zemun⁷⁹, a trans-shipment centre at the confluence of the Danube and Sava rivers, Novi Sad/Neusatz/Ujvidek (Greek Neophyton) at the col formed by the rivers Danube and Tisza, where a thriving *parikia* developed of '*Graiki* and *Graikovlachs*'⁸⁰. Censuses of Ottoman subjects for the years 1754-1766⁸¹ and those later effected by the Hungarian authorities enable the tracing of their progression from station to station, albeit not their precise origins. The exact location of their site of arrival is generally covered by the blanket geo-political term of Macedonia, which had the most frequent communication with the Hungarian and Transylvanian regions. Its livestock products, skins and wool, and its situation (it was on the trade route from Epirus and Thessaly) facilitated its evolution into a powerful centre for trade with Central Europe.

Greeks, Serbs and Vlachs chose to establish themselves in central Hungary in areas crucial for commerce to Vienna and Transylvania. The emplacement of commercial *parikias* in Jaskunság is thus explained, for its strategic location between the Sava and Tisza rivers⁸² in regard to Hungarian commerce. Their subsequent dispersion in the Hungarian interior

and the towns of Eger, Gyöngyös and Hatvan is explained by the crucial location of these stations for communication of the Balkans with Pest and Vienna⁸³, while the progress made by other *parikias* of the interior, besides the central position of the *parikia* of Pest, with its port of access Széttendre, is explained also by their key location for trade with Europe further north, especially Leipzig, Poznan and others, but particularly with Transylvania.

'The import and export trade of Transylvania is conducted principally to and from Constantinople, Wallachia and Moldavia, Vienna, Venice, as well as Poland. The end destinations of transit goods passing through Transylvania cannot be defined with exactitude, as data for totals are lacking. In the 17th century one of them will have been Hungary, for oriental products mainly. Leading to this conclusion is the existence of Greek commercial communities near the Hungarian-Transylvanian border (Debrecen), Kecskemét, Miskolc, Tokaj, constituting a sort of network with the outlet of Pest. [...] A further trade route, departing from Transylvania, leads via Karánsebes to Belgrade, Zemun and Vidini and thence to Niš, Skopje or Ragusa, as well as to the equally important centres of Monastir, Ioannina, Moschopolis, Durrazzo and thence to Trieste and Venice. There are also indications of a trade route to Transylvania from Western (Siatista, Kozani) and Eastern Macedonia (Serres, Meleniko) and also Philippoupolis, Tyrnovo etc [...]'⁸⁴

'Towards the end of the 18th century a caravan travelling from Bucharest to Constantinople took longer than a month to cover the distance; a vehicle laden with merchandise required about 20 days for the distance between Braşov to Vienna; in the early 20th century the Bucharest-Sibiu postal service took 4-5 days in winter, as the mail had to be fumigated at the lazaret, the regular post from Sibiu to Vienna took 72 days, stagecoaches 30 days, express post 8-10 days'⁸⁵.

Transylvania, as will be seen below, already from the time of its semi-autonomous hegemony paying tribute to the Sultan (1540-1688)⁸⁶, had taken in Greek merchants of mainly Macedonian origin, who organised themselves in companies in the towns of Sibiu (Hermannstadt) and Braşov (Kronstadt). It lay on the route for the passage of goods to and from Constantinople, Bulgaria, as well as Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, and the products with provenance from the Black Sea to Hungary, Austria, Poland, Germany. Leipzig's trade fair⁸⁷, an exchange centre for the products of Central and Northern Europe with merchandise, principally skins and raw material, from the Balkans and the broader Ottoman Empire, increased in importance during the 17th and 18th centuries, attracting Greek merchants⁸⁸.

Black Sea and Egypt From the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, two extensions of eastern Mediterranean trade were opened to Greek merchants also, that of the Black Sea⁸⁹ and that of Egypt⁹⁰, and suitable political-economic conditions were created for the founding of fresh port towns (e.g. Odessa⁹¹) as well as establishment of *parikias* in key commercial centres (Taganrog, Mariupol et al). The old Greek *parikia* of Nizna in the Ukraine was reinforced, becoming a strategically-placed trading centre. The grain trade was incorporated in the broader Mediterranean network⁹², connecting the communities of southern Russia and Ukraine with those of Egypt, the Italian Peninsula and, above all, Marseille and London.

Regional and family connections

Although natural routes directed and facilitated the displacement of merchants, fellowship of country and kin contributed to the choice of and establishment in the one or the other locality for settlement and broadening of networks. Merchants, seamen or land-dwellers generally moved following the steps of the narratives and the experiences of their fellow countrymen, thus explaining the establishment of Siatistians and Macedonians generally in, for example, Zemun, Kecskemét and Vienna⁹³; of Epirots, mainly from Ioannina, at Nizna⁹⁴; of Chiots in Trieste, Livorno, Marseille, Odessa and London⁹⁵. The instance of Miskolc and the prosperous *parikia* of Greeks from Moschopolis and the Aromounians⁹⁶ are possibly the strongest corroborations of the premise.

Censuses extant in the Hungarian archives enable us to determine that, at least until the mid-18th century, many Greeks arrived in Hungary before they were 15 years old⁹⁷, having travelled not alone but with their parents or relatives or merchants who had been there before; for such as frequently crossed the border, health certificates were of paramount importance and were strictly checked for fear of the plague. Adults generally travelled without their families, who were left behind in their home country and were financially sustained by them, and in many instances those who were married returned to their native land only after 20 or 40 years, or died without ever having returned. They were sometimes obliged to fetch their families, in order to acquire a permit of permanent residence in the localities of reception⁹⁸, the right to landownership or citizenship, when their enterprises required a new orientation. They frequently remained single and the percentage is considerable of households consisting of unmarried single men or men with brothers with possibly one or two of their children⁹⁹, who were their partners or just their colleagues.

Travelling conditions were arduous, for the pioneers especially, and were multiplied or smoothed, according to occasion, by the state's economic policy, the antagonistic or peaceable attitude towards them of the locals or other foreign merchants¹⁰⁰, or also due to the obstacles presented for reasons of religious policy by the authorities, or because of the ethnic prejudice of settlers – who were often of the same faith (for example, opposition between Greeks and Serbs, Greek/Serbs and Vlachs)¹⁰¹.

The reception points

When immigrant merchants chose the site for their establishment, they were oriented towards towns, large or small, trading centres, and were incorporated in their urban population. They often developed *parikias* specialising in a specific sector of commerce, e.g. wine (*parikias* in Tokaj, Eger, Miskolc, Gyöngyös) or livestock and skins (Diószeg, Kecskemét, Novi Sad¹⁰²), grain (Odessa), cotton (Alexandria¹⁰³). Merchant magnates, at least, established themselves successively in every developing Mediterranean port: Venice, Trieste, Livorno, Marseille, Odessa, Alexandria¹⁰⁴. In the towns they lived in the neighbourhood of their churches, which they opted to erect close by sea- or river ports (Trieste¹⁰⁵, Livorno, Ancona, Pest, Szentendre, Zemun et al), or congregating in opportune situations for their commercial activities (in Vienna, mainly in the old Fleischmarkt or the 'Steuerhof'¹⁰⁶). The quarters round the Greek churches or dwellings were called 'Greek' quarters or named on the basis of Greek locations: Campo dei Greci in Venice, Griechengasse in Vienna, Görög utca at Szentendre (in Hungary 'görög' often also meant merchant¹⁰⁷), Riva Carciotti at Trieste, via Rodi, Cipro, Samos, Riga de Greci or Strada dei Greci et al in Sinigallia, where the well-known fair took place¹⁰⁸.

settle as of 1791.¹⁰⁸ The Jewish population of Thessaloniki, Semlin (Zemun), Belgrade, Üsküp and Ragusa declined. That of Venice, Vienna, Trieste, Livorno, Amsterdam, London and Hamburg grew.

Before the mid-17th century, Jews were of negligible numerical significance in Wallachia and Moldavia. By 1825 their number in these principalities reached 80,000, continuing to grow until the end of the century. The Jewish population of Holland grew from 3,000 in 1650 to 50,000 in 1790. That of Hungary grew from less than 12,000 in 1735 to 75,000 in 1785 to 128,000 in 1805, and to 225,000 in 1825. The trend continued until the end of the century, albeit arrested to some degree by the conversion of many Hungarian Jews to Catholicism.¹⁰⁹

Jewish emigration from Poland-Lithuania southeastward to the former Tatar and Ottoman territories conquered by Russia and westward to Germany, Austria and Hungary had a basis in two important facts: the pull factor of the commercialisation of these zones of attraction and the push factor of the Ashkenazic Jewish stem family. The oldest son in a Jewish family could expect to marry and inherit the property of his parents. Younger sons, on the other hand, were expected to seek their fortune. The furtherance by Austria of colonisation and rapid population growth in Hungary, and by Russia in its new southern territories, and the growth of cities everywhere in Europe, drew to them such younger sons. They came as peddlers or, in Hungary, to become *hazi jido*, the overseer of a landlord. When, after 1848, the petty gentry of Hungary lost some of its land to the peasantry, it found comfort in posts of public administration. Jews, on the other hand, obtained the right to own land. As the petty gentry was drawn to a life of conspicuous consumption, many of them had to sell their land, often to their own *hazi jido*¹¹⁰.

Other Jews made their fortune in trade in the market towns of Hungary. In the town of Arad, for example, the Jews were, in the 1820s, according to Rev. Robert Walsh, 'the most opulent inhabitants,' holders of 'exclusive monopolies of tobacco, corn, and other commodities.' They had made Arad into a 'great emporium for commodities,' embarking upon the Maros (Mures) and taking such goods as timber, firewood, wheat and salt downstream to the Danube and then upstream to different parts of Hungary and Austria, or downstream from the Danube and up the Sava to Croatia.¹¹¹

4. *The networks of the Greek commercial traffic*

The general economic character The following excerpt, from a register of merchants, Ottoman subjects, drawn up in Vienna in 1767, regards the forty year old, as yet unmarried Ioannes Pappolyzos from Macedonia.

‘He first came to the Hapsburg hereditary countries 12 years ago crossing at the Semlin (Zemun) border point, but no longer has his quarantine certificate and passport; in the course of the past years he lived partly in Hungary, partly in Trieste and partly here. He intends to live here to attend to the demands of his business, and has two warehouses at the Steuerhof; he also has a company (*Societät*) together with his three brothers, of whom Nikolaos is in Breslau, Constantinos in Smyrna, Christophoros in their homeland, as well as with Panayiotis Gligorakis who is in Trieste and Manolis Georgis Bakalis who is in Tyrnavos in the Kingdom (*Königreich*) of Thessaly. He imports from Turkey for his company, partly in his own name, partly in the name of his partners, olive oil, dyed red yarn, cotton, fruit, wine, coffee, to the value of about 50,000 florins per annum, and sends in part exchange for these, steel, iron products, imperial Thalers in cash and foreign currency (*Wechsel*) to Smyrna and other places in Turkey.¹¹²

This register, and others similar, from one of the rare sources that have survived¹¹³, provide us with a wealth of information on the movement of goods, commercial centres, business partners, commercial networks. The primary contributors to the establishment of merchants and development of commercial networks¹¹⁴ were the trade routes, personal contacts – and in consequence transmission and exchange of experience – the policies of the powers involved in trade, general economic conditions, the position of the Ottoman Empire, particularly following the crisis at the end of the 16th century, the minor and the broader markets of the trade centres or establishments. The Ottoman Empire’s conditions of economic organisation had, from a very early date, enabled Greeks to deal in shipping, and the orientation toward maritime transportation thus opened the way to the ‘discovery’ of maritime markets suitable for the transit trade.

Travelling merchants or agents and delegates from commercial enterprises orient themselves to the markets and the fairs, where, until the 18th century, trade in exchange of merchandise is of considerable extent. In this way, in the 18th century, a peak period for Greeks in commerce, circuits of mainland fairs and markets, key trading points were linked together, where the enterprises and their correspondents had their seat, as well as in the riverine and sea ports.

It is by now a commonplace that the merchants of the Balkans exported raw materials and foodstuffs from the Ottoman Empire and its trade centres to Western and Central Europe, importing ores and elaborated products in general, coins, and moreover, besides merchandise, they also conveyed coins and letters of credit. While the ports of the eastern Italian peninsula had been receiving Greek sailors/shippers since the 15th and

16th centuries, the markets and fairs of the central Balkans, Transylvania and Hungary¹¹⁵ attracted itinerant merchants and representatives of corporation or company associates/members. To assess their precise role, it is indispensable to take the policy of the state authorities into account, which was at times favourable to foreigners, Greeks or other, and sometimes unfavourable. The same is valid for the organisational structure of the economy of the different regions. All these factors contributed to the alteration of entrepreneurial orientation of business. In the grouping or formation that unavoidably follows, it is indispensable to bear in mind the diversifications appearing from one area to another and from one year to another: for example, the semi-autonomous sovereignty of Transylvania, initially subject to payment of tribute to the Sultan, under Hapsburg rule in the 18th century; Hungary, an Ottoman province from 1526 to 1688/1699¹¹⁶, with a feudal economy, subsequently subjected to a regime of strict control of its trade by the central Austrian administration¹¹⁷; Austrian policy, dictated by mercantilism and its orientation toward the declaration of free ports (Fiume, Trieste 1719)¹¹⁸, all constitute the multi-form web with the ensuing variations, in the interior itself of the Hapsburg monarchy for instance, which accordingly generate either obstacles or facilitations for the merchants. In the same direction, it is reminded that Venice and the Papal States permitted less free economic, maritime or other development to their subjects, at least until the 18th century (in the case of the ports of Ancona¹¹⁹ and Senigallia¹²⁰). They do not, that is to say, permit the hatching of conditions enabling these trade centres to compete satisfactorily with those of the Northern Adriatic¹²¹, Livorno¹²² and Marseille¹²³, obliging the observer to bear in mind the trend of French and English commerce, and the privileges or restrictions for foreign merchants in the diverse places. Equivalent particularities are presented by the trade in Southern Russia from the end of the 18th century¹²⁴, due to the orientation of the economy and the commerce of the region, resulting in the granting of privileges unknown to other regions of the same era, in consequence creating exceptionally competitive situations.

The periodic markets abroad

While the routes of maritime transportation were familiar to the Greeks, from the 16th century mainland markets and fairs of the Northern Balkans and Central Europe became a magnet for the Greek and other merchants of the Balkans. The regime governing Transylvania imposed upon its rulers a policy of protectionism against the Greek merchants, who were in competition with the Saxon urban commercial population.

'Towns with commercial privileges, such as Sibiu and Braşov battled to conserve them and protect them from the foreign merchants, who handled a substantial portion of imports and exports from Transylvania. In respect however of transportation, they had indubitable exclusivity. The foreigners, on the other hand, attempted to by-pass the limitations posed by the towns' privileges, by means of various benefits offered to the officials and nobles, who did not, on the one hand, have the right to deal in trade and, on the other, had the majority in the Diet. Thus, through the decisions of the Diet, a tug-of-war may be observed between the Saxons of the privileged towns and the foreign merchants, Greeks in the great majority, but also Armenians, Jews, as well as Romanians from the Danubian Principalities, Levantines, Serbs, Turks and Bulgarians. The towns' privileges consisted in collection of dues for participation in trade fairs and warehousing dues (*droit d'entrepôt*) [...] The trade fairs were a fundamental institution of the Transylvanian economy [...] The right to hold trade fairs, on the basis of a relevant permission by the ruler, belonged to the towns, the nobles and the Church. However, [...] the basic characteristic institution of the Transylvanian town's economic and social structure was the corporate organisation of the professions'¹²⁵.

The corporate organisation of the towns' professions, the tense economic relations with the Ottoman Empire, inaccessible to the Saxons¹²⁶, enabled the ruler to favour Greek and other foreign merchants with privileges. These were granted to the Greek merchants in 1636 by the ruler Rácoczy I, for them to incorporate into a 'company', 'in order for their members to collect the taxes the ruler was in need of, in exchange for his protection to carry out, freely but under certain, albeit onerous terms, transportation trading by Greeks, as well as for them to take part in trade fairs'¹²⁷. Participation in these trade fairs and in the corporation was the aim of Greek merchants from Arvanitochori (near Tyrnovo of Bulgaria), Philippoupolis, Meleniko, Kozani, Serres, Monastir, Moschopolis, Ioannina, and fewer from Constantinople, Thessaloniki, the Black Sea, Asia Minor, Thessaly¹²⁸, actively promoting the transit trade.

Next to the organised Transylvanian fairs and the transportation trade route to the West, merchandise was also channeled to the commercial markets and fairs of the Hungarian towns. Hungary was also feudal, and the regime of the organisation of trade fairs varied from town to town and from ruler to ruler. Here too there is frequent mention of clashes, from the start of the 17th century, between Greeks and locals, proportional to the benefit targeted and the competition¹²⁹. It should be noted that, mainly in Hungary, the term 'görög' applies also to the Serbian Orthodox Christians, and indeed to those who had been established in the Hungarian prov-

inces much earlier¹³⁰. Greeks / *Griechen* thus in some cases had the right 'to sell their merchandise on Mondays until noon, under an awning or in a shop, while in the street they could trade for a fortnight *sub poena* f. 12'¹³¹. The privileges granted by Leopold I, and mainly, the Treaty of Passarowitz, favourably regulated trading by Ottoman subjects and consequently Greeks also, in the countries under the Hapsburg monarchy, as they were obliged to pay customs duty of 3% on merchandise in passage between the two countries¹³², with exemption from further taxes. Their transactions took place principally at the fairs, and specialised – also on the basis of their privileges – in the trade of 'Turkish' products, under prohibition to export metal ores and money. The itinerant merchants¹³³ supplied the rural population, whose treatment of them provoked fewer problems. The conduct of trade, however, was not unobstructed for such as were established in the towns, because they faced difficulties in obtaining permits to sell in shops and markets/bazaars¹³⁴.

Austrian policy in regard to the foreign merchants – especially Ottoman subjects and hence the Greeks – was dictated by the need to establish trade with the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman subjects had experience of the routes, the methods and techniques of production and, above all, of the local markets, being acquainted with producers and local merchants, having direct relations with the production within the corporation framework (particularly the Epirots and Macedonians) and were thus indispensable to Austria's policy, which intended to penetrate the Balkan markets. As long as this stage of quest and adaptation lasted during the 18th century, it was expressed in the policy of attracting foreign merchants.¹³⁵ An equivalent policy prevailed besides more or less in all trade centres, when they were in course of development, Livorno, Aquilea¹³⁶, Senigallia, Ancona, Egypt and, most of all, Southern Russia¹³⁷, where at the end of the 18th century a series of decrees targeted the inducement of Greeks, principally from the Aegean Islands, to settle in Odessa, with exemption from taxes and military service and with rights to purchase land and properties. The positive attitude toward foreigners of this policy was on occasion adulterated by a tendency to place foreigners – mainly the Ottoman subjects – on an equal footing with the local inhabitants (Austrians¹³⁸, Hungarians, Transylvanian inhabitants, Russians *et al.*), according to the course taken by the economy of the host country. In this way, in about the 1770s, in Austria, Hungary¹³⁹, Transylvania, Livorno, after 1830 in Southern Russia¹⁴⁰ and similarly in Marseille, a reduction is observed in the policy of granting privileges to foreigners. With various limitations of tax exemptions, with the right to trade in products other than Ottoman,

as well as the right to buy land and acquire titles of nobility¹⁴¹, the way was open for the incorporation and the placing on a par of the Greeks too in local and international circuits of markets and insurance and banking activities.

The Italian fairs In contrast to the mainland trade fairs of Central Europe (Austria, Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia)¹⁴² governed by regimes of varying restrictions, frequently interwoven with the function of the market in feudal regimes, the coastal fairs of the Italian peninsula (Recanati, Fano, Senigallia)¹⁴³ on the route of the transit trade to the central Italian peninsula and Central Europe enjoyed exceptional freedoms. In the 18th century particularly, a policy of free ports prevailed (Trieste, Fiume, Ancona), and consequently also of free fairs. Privileged tax exemptions, exemption from the consumption tax in the town-ports, docking facilities, also for warehousing of products destined for overland or maritime transportation, attracted increasing interest on the part of merchants from the Eastern Mediterranean. While the conditions prevalent in free ports such as Ancona or Trieste facilitated the establishment of merchants, the temporary freedom of fairs such as Senigallia's offered, in a very short time-span (about a fortnight in the summer months), the opportunity for commercial contacts, mercantile and currency exchange profits, without the expense incurred by the maintenance of a permanent commercial office. The merchants displayed their wares on stalls in the open, on the banks of the canal or in small shops leased from the town authorities or private individuals.¹⁴⁵ Transactions were effected directly in kind or cash, agreements were concluded for the next year or for the course of the current year, but as a rule no records were kept of the transactions. Only a few minor sections of private commercial archives¹⁴⁶, or public records kept for taxation purposes¹⁴⁷ provide indirect, albeit valuable information on the significance of these fairs. Their significance is evidenced by the additional fact that they were attended by merchants from near-by ports (Ancona, Venice, Trieste, Fiume, Spalato) as well as from the Eastern Mediterranean and Central European countries, since the range of these fairs was not merely regional but directed at the Mediterranean market in its broader sense.

The networks While early mercantile movement of the 15th to 17th centuries was dictated by exchanges and transactions between two points, and a voyage to a port or trade market was followed by a return trip, the broadening and internationalisation of the market

gradually brought about commercial networks, and Greek merchants participated in them during the lengthy period scrutinised herein. These networks developed gradually and are characterised by the serial establishment of merchants, the links of the chain usually constituted by members of the same family, or travelling company associates, commercial agents, transporters, assisted by commissionaires and consuls. If a grouping of these networks is wished, for the 18th century also, at least for the commercial sector their operations may schematically be represented as follows: a) in Southeastern Europe, tending to extend from south to north and to Central Europe; b) in the Mediterranean on the axes of the Aegean and the Adriatic, and of the Aegean and the Black Sea with the Western Mediterranean, tending to expand toward Amsterdam and, from the second decade of the 19th century, toward England. Finally, the evolution of trade, and mainly of the banking and insurance concerns, led to the establishment of the complex mixed land and sea trade functioning from the start of the 19th century onward.

'The Hadjimichail brothers [end of the 18th century]', in the words of G.G. Laios¹⁴⁸, 'had organised their import-export trade from their seat in Siatista and, from 1750 onward, a second seat in Vienna. They collaborated with merchants and agents of every nationality and religion, travelled to the major trade fairs, where they respectively supplied or procured oriental commodities, mainly European raw materials and industrial products generally, conducted commercial exchanges in European Turkey from Belgrade, Niš and Velessa as far as Larissa, Lamia and Livadeia, and from Durrazzo and Elbasan as far as Thessaloniki, Serres, Constantinople and Smyrna. Their enterprises in Europe reached from Budapest and Vienna to Leipzig and further north to Amsterdam in Holland [...] In 1783 Pavlos Hadjimichail, with his family, settled in Vienna [...] following strenuous efforts, acquiring the privilege to hold a weekly free commercial market and an annual trade fair in the country town of Török Becse in Hungary'.¹⁴⁹

This example is only one sample of the extent of range of the first network, incorporating merchants from Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, transporting the products of their handicraft industries, tobacco and raw materials for the weaving manufactures of Central Europe (as was the case of the Ampelakia corporation, focused on the processing and dyeing of cotton yarn and its almost exclusive exports to Central Europe, along a mercantile-handicrafts network reaching as far as Leipzig and Northern Europe).

The instance of Stavros Ioannou, son of Georgios Stavrou¹⁵⁰, is a characteristic example of the expansion, from Ioannina to Semlino/Zemun,

Vienna, Bucharest, Braşov, Sibiu, Livorno, Florence, concurrently with contacts with Ali Paşa within the framework of collaboration with the ruling powers. The phenomenon is also found in the colonies where (in Trieste and Livorno, for instance) in the course of their brief occupation by the French, a great portion of the Greek merchants sides with the Austrian regime, ardently desiring the restoration of Austrian administration, despite the apparently 'democratic' orientation of some of them.¹⁵¹

'The Manikatis family, surnamed Safranou, natives of Meleniko and established in Sibiu toward the mid-18th century, founded a renowned commercial house. Its commercial network (which included Sibiu, Braşov, Cluj, Temesuar, Pest, Vienna, Leipzig, Hamburg, Trieste, Venice, Constantinople, Bursa, Iasi, Moscow) was based on relatives and friends who had departed at different times from the same regions as the Manikatis'.¹⁵²

Examples are not exhausted by these few instances. Of course Greeks, Serbs, Vlachs from all the regions of Epirus, Macedonia and Serbia integrated in this network, either in collaboration or collision in the communitarian and commercial sector, preparing for the course to social, cultural and national identity consciousness. Collaboration with other national-religious groups, Armenians, Jews, Germans, is rarer until the end of the 18th century, and especially among those who remain Ottoman subjects despite the intermarriages noted. Collaboration ensues at a later date, particularly from the early 19th century.

The maritime network, of oldest date and most familiar to Greeks, did not comprise only the better known ports of the Adriatic and Western Mediterranean, the Aegean Islands, the Asia Minor and Peloponnesian littorals, but tended equally to a mixed ramification to mainland trading, particularly through the Epirot merchants. Epirots take part in the transit trade with products (e.g. honey, fabrics, skins) even from Central Europe (Poland, Germany, Chechia, Danubian Principalities) directed to the port of Arta and thence channelled to Venice, Trieste, Ancona, Marseille.¹⁵³

The network of commercial interrelations of the colonies at the Mediterranean ports may be distinguished into four directions: 1) that of the Eastern Mediterranean and in particular of the Aegean with the Adriatic Seas: instances of the 'colonists' (*paroiki*) of Venice, Trieste, Ancona¹⁵⁴ with Constantinople, Smyrna, Chios, Crete, the Aegean Islands, as basic centres of collaboration, especially as commercial trans-shipment points, the Ionian Islands, the coasts of the Peloponnese, Continental Greece and Epirus; 2) of the Eastern Mediterranean, of the Ionian Islands with the Western Mediterranean (instances of Livorno, Marseille¹⁵⁵). From the end of the 18th century, the port constituting the point of reference for all

Mediterranean diaspora centres is Smyrna¹⁵⁶; 3) of the broader Mediterranean network into which, from the end of the 18th century, the communities in Ukraine¹⁵⁷ and the Black Sea¹⁵⁸ penetrated and to which from the early 19th century the colonies of Egypt¹⁵⁹ were linked: the wheat¹⁶⁰ and cotton¹⁶¹ trades, next to the broadening sphere of speculative banking interests, contribute to the expansion of the network to London; 4) the mixed network with commercial interrelations of the littoral centres with Southeastern and Central Europe. The map 'Commercial centres of the business dealings of the company Androulakis, Tabiskos and Co. (1801)'¹⁶² illustrates indicatively one only of these expanded networks. The instance of Livorno presents a corresponding picture where, in the period from 1808 to 1815, Greek houses of commerce at the town, mainly of Chiot origin, have commercial contacts with Smyrna, Constantinople, Zakynthos, Corfu, the Peloponnese, Venice, Trieste, Ancona, Vienna, Milan, Rome, Piacenza, Naples.¹⁶³ The case of the Zizinia family's transposition and ramifications, from 1734 (from Galatas, Constantinople), to Smyrna and Marseille (1816), and then on to Trieste and Odessa, until its spectacular expansion in Alexandria (1820)¹⁶⁴, is not a particularly rare example of the commercial interconnections of the period. Possibly the most impressive network of all, which was to predominate for virtually the entire 19th century in the European overseas and mainland banking markets, was that of the Chiots¹⁶⁵, with main bases on the Black Sea, Trieste, Marseille, Alexandria, Livorno, Syros, with exceptional expansion to London after 1820.

Following the relocations brought about in the course of the Greek War of Independence, when mainly Chiot refugees founded Hermoupolis on Syros, this island came to be included among the hitherto known crossroads of interconnection of Greeks of the diaspora.¹⁶⁶ Merchants either remain in the diaspora communities or return to Greece¹⁶⁷, adding Hermoupolis in Syros to the network of their commercial travelling and to their business centres, following the loss of Chios and the Smyrna crisis, as the centre for the orientation of their trade to the Eastern Mediterranean.

From the circuits of local buying and selling, the commercial networks evolve into broader networks of credit dealing. The Greeks, familiar with the local market in their native lands, successful in advance purchases of products, were in a position to influence cultivation and production according to the demands of the market, and to compete with the Western European merchants. Domination in the maritime circles and the family organisation of the enterprises facilitated direct communication, speedy collection of information and execution of decisions.

Commercial practices 'The availability of raw-material surpluses – wool, cheese and skins – and craft products, the migratory habits of the men and their intimate knowledge of the difficult routes [...] finally persuaded a portion of the pastoral folk to become carriers and traders of goods' is the laconic observation of Trajan Stoianovich¹⁶⁸ in reference to the Macedonian, Thessalian and Epirot conveyors of the 17th century and onward, adding: 'A very large portion of the merchants of the Danube-Tisza-Mureş-Sava-Kupa zone of commerce began their commercial careers as muleteers. The thriftier and more enterprising muleteers became forwarding agents, and the forwarding agents who made good began to import and export on their own account. Finally, most forwarding agents and import-export merchants engaged, at least occasionally, in moneylending. A few of the moneylenders became bankers of more than just local renown.'¹⁶⁹

This comprehensive depiction shows the evolution of the representatives of the mercantile profession in certain areas and in the span of a single generation. While on land the muleteers became established merchants, in the maritime trade, captains of cargo vessels evolved into established merchants with partnerships in companies, shipowners, insurance agents, bankers.

The itinerant merchants It must be stressed from the beginning that this evolution did not take place at the same rhythm, at the same time nor in the same areas. The reasons do not always relate to the personality of the merchant themselves but also to the particular conditions prevailing in the areas of trade and reception. The evolution of the same person in the diverse forms of commercial practice did not necessarily signify also the complete abandonment of former practices; merchants-company associates, for instance continued to visit fairs, to journey from town to town of the Balkans, targeting profitable purchases and promoting profitable sales. Füves¹⁷⁰ classifies the Greek merchants as: itinerants supplying the rural population, those established in the territory and the carriers of merchandise. Their journeying frequently lasted for months or a year, as the same merchant visited several markets successively, or stayed temporarily in trade centres, seeking inexpensive purchases, suitable cargoes etc.

The developments of commercial practices in the 18th century could not be covered by itinerant or travelling merchants; in any case, the policy applied by each country in order to attract foreign merchants favoured, as has been seen, the more permanent establishment of diaspora merchants.

While wholesale merchants (*negozianti*), because of their role in the development of the economy, have left visible evidence of the part they played, nevertheless next to them numerous merchants of minor status were active in every colony, as were other factors of commerce and handicrafts, linked in the orbit of long-distance trade.

These are: 'the "small" merchant, handling minor or local trade, that is locally buying and selling merchandise, not wholesale as do the great merchants but in retail'¹⁷¹; the *bottegai*¹⁷², itinerant or permanently established in a market where they open a 'shop' (*bottega* = general store); the 'artisans', on occasion regarded with suspicion (e.g. in Hungary¹⁷³ and in Transylvania¹⁷⁴), supplying the local market, or anyway oriented to it. There exists between the major and the minor merchants of the diaspora communities a 'relationship of complementation'. The minor merchants play an important role in the operation of the enterprises of the great Greek merchants, 'serving as intermediaries between the large-scale wholesalers and the local populations.'¹⁷⁵

Commercial personnel A supplementary and complementary role was played in the affairs of the wholesalers by the following: 'Commissionaire (*paragelmatias*): he who accepts orders for advance purchases of merchandise, and having made the purchase, forwards it to the commissioner accompanied by the accounts for their bill of purchase (*fatura*), drawing on cash or awaiting a transfer of payment [...]

Supplier (*provisionarios*): he who receives merchandise forwarded to him by others, to sell for his own account, and upon their sale has the right to his commission plus expenses [...]

Agent (*agentis*): he who, in the absence of the wholesaler or commissionaire, acts according to instructions received from them for advance purchases of merchandise. Such agents for account of the major commissionaires in Europe live where the manufactures are located and to whom from time to time they pass on the orders received from the commissionaires, agreeing the prices of the merchandise and the delivery deadline which, upon receipt they forward to the commissionaires, drawing on their credit for assembly of the merchandise, expenses and their commission [...]

Expediter (*speditoros*): resident in a coastal town or any other place, or receiving merchandise forwarded by a commissionaire or wholesaler, for trans-shipment or further forwarding, following the instructions he is given, agreeing on the expenses incurred by the merchandise and his commission, either with those from whom he receives the order or with those to whom he forwards the goods [...]

Shipper (*karikatoros*): sent by a wholesaler or commissionaire to a coastal town or any place, to receive and lade a single consignment or, being resident

there, regularly to take delivery and lade any merchandise forwarded to him by them, and convey it to the desired destination [...]

Recipient of an order (*racomandatorio*): undertaking an order from foreign merchants passing through his town of residence, for the sale or purchase of merchandise through his agency, as well as consignments from ships captains or muleteers carrying freight belonging to various of his fellow citizens and delivered to him for forwarding to whom it belongs and arranging for the shipping or haulage costs [...]¹⁷⁶

Austrian mercantile policy of the 18th century, and in particular the intensive development of trade especially with the Eastern Mediterranean, dictated the establishment of a special service of brokers (*sensali*) to control commercial transactions. Until the 19th century the number of such brokers was fixed and had in fact a stable representation by local merchants, Jews, Greeks and others.¹⁷⁷ In regard to products of the Orient, the role of broker was frequently undertaken by Greeks with Austrian nationality, in preparation in fact for the role of *negoziante*.

Closely linked to the profession of merchant of long-distance trading was the position of secretary (*scrivano*), an experienced employee responsible for commercial correspondence.¹⁷⁸ The reliability required by the position, as well as experience of the market, were suitable equipment for the evolution of a secretary to the stage of *negoziante*.¹⁷⁹ In relation to other professions, their numbers increased as commerce expanded, multiplying the number of wholesalers, and double-entry book-keeping¹⁸⁰, demanding specialised knowledge. In Trieste thus, in 1780, 15 wholesalers, 35 minor merchants and 5 secretaries are mentioned, while in 1818 there are 93 wholesalers, 10 dealers (a variant of the wholesaler, dealing on a lesser scale and range, in local and export trading), 67 minor merchants and 79 secretaries.¹⁸¹ Wine merchants, coffee-shop owners, numerous *garzoni di bottega* completed the profiles of the commercial professions.

The wholesalers The field of commercial activities, however, in which the Greeks of the diaspora were distinguished, was that of the wholesale merchants/*negozianti*/*Grosshändler*. From an early date, in the 17th century already, the conspicuous presence of Greeks in Venice¹⁸² enables us to distinguish the principal characteristics of the organisation of commercial enterprises, which may be summarized as follows: a) collaboration on a form of partnership with family members; extension of the family was achieved by intermarriage with financial orientation; b) establishing a company network from the merchants' place of origin to the centres of the diaspora and other key trading points of the Eastern Mediterranean, Central and Western Europe, positioning permanent or temporary commercial agents, shippers, or in collaboration with wholesale importers and exporters in Greek territory. With the addi-

tional assistance of other merchants and commercial brokers, the direct exchange of merchandise with the trading houses of the diaspora was ensured.¹⁸³

The firms From the 17th century on, and particularly in the 18th, the commerce of Mediterranean dimensions is organised on the basis of commercial firms. Private commercial societies, societies *in accomandita*, corporations (*Negozio all'ingrosso in conto compagnia*), 'companies' (companies) of the Braşov and Sibiu type, shareholding firms (mainly in insurance and shipownership), banking, stockbrokers' offices. In the simple private companies, as well as the later composite firms, partners were members of the same family¹⁸⁴ (father and son, brothers, uncle and nephews, father-in-law and son-in-law). Inter-marriage among the powerful commercial families, either of the same family network (e.g. the case of the Chiots¹⁸⁵) or, to a lesser extent, also with representatives of other powerful ethnic groups (as in the typical example of the Peloponnesian Demetrios Carcciotti, agent in Trieste in 1776 for a commercial house of Smyrna, who later evolved into a *negoziante* and expanded his business following his marriage to Maria Yoinović, daughter of a major Serb commercial family¹⁸⁶), as well as godfather or best man relationships¹⁸⁷ permitted commercial operations and information to be preserved within the same narrow or broader family circle, to maintain links with the local market, to inherit experience, to conserve craft secrets.

In the absence of available or suitable family members, compatriots frequently filled or complemented the deficiency. This constituted the rule mainly for the Austrian, Hungarian and Russian colonies, verified by the example of the merchants from Siatista in Vienna or Kecskemét¹⁸⁸, of the Moschopolitans in Miskolc, the Epirots – mainly from Ioannina – earlier in Venice, of the Greeks in Braşov and Sibiu, and others. A common geographical origin often ensured the same advantages as family kinship, and possibly provided greater flexibility in the forming and re-constituting of companies without obligations of inheritance.

The prerequisite for the formation of a company was the deposit of a capital, which could consist of a) merchandise stored in the partners' warehouses, ready for sale, or already forwarded, or ordered and in the hands of others; b) credits with merchants of the markets with which they had dealings; c) bills of exchange; d) cash reserves, more rarely; e) a share in the value of ships in their ownership; f) property values, and, g) shares in insurance companies where they were shareholders and when permitted by the partnership contract.¹⁸⁹

The companies were formed on the basis of a specific agreement, corporate or of partnership¹⁹⁰, defining the duration of the company, the capital, the obligations of the partners. The duration foreseen did not usually exceed 9 years. The short time-span facilitated clarification of profit and loss, investment of profits and renewal of the companies, with the objective of increasing or reducing capital, expanding the business with new partnerships, inclusion of fresh markets, modification of the directors of the formation of the company.¹⁹¹ Dissolution of the company prior to the time foreseen by the contract could occur upon the decease of the principal capital shareholder, or upon his wish for re-adaptation of the partnership's conduct of business. Companies submitted their agreements for approval to the appropriate commercial courts¹⁹², who verified the legality of their operation and protected the partners in the case of litigation or irregularities.

In areas such as Transylvania and Hungary principally, initial operation over a lengthy period was not easy, neither for individual merchants nor for simple private companies. The medieval nature of the function of their economies, the privileges of certain groups of inhabitants (nobles in Hungary, or Saxons, e.g., in Transylvania) led to the establishment – with the tolerance and approval of the authorities – of what were known as 'companias'. In Transylvania, mainly in Braşov and Sibiu¹⁹³, they were incorporations of Greeks as well as of other merchants and commercial firms, to which privileges were granted (1636) by the ruler of Transylvania George Rákoczy I, renewed in 1701 by the emperor Leopold I and 'instituting an exceptional legal right (*ius singulare*), [...] defining: 1) their commercial activity; 2) their self-administration; 3) the jurisdiction of their incorporations (*ius indicandi*).¹⁹⁴ Company associates were 'Romaioi dealers' (*romaioi pragmateftes*). There is mention in the privileges of 'community' (*communitas*) or 'society' (*societas*) of the Greek merchants (*Graecorum Quaestorum excercentium* or *negotiatorum*)¹⁹⁵. The company members 'had the right to conduct trade (wholesale or retail) in Transylvania in every kind of product of every provenance only at the trade fairs and only for the duration of the three last days before their dissolution or termination' (1636 privileges)¹⁹⁶. The 1701 privileges granted them the right to wholesale and retail trading both at the trade fairs 'as well as outside them, in towns, villages, forts, where they could have shops.' They were thus protected from abuse by the nobles, administrative officials, Saxons and others. The ruler ensured the collection of taxes, finding which was the responsibility of the administrative agencies of the 'compania', distributing the financial burden among its associates, in this way also

taking advantage of the experience of the merchants from the developing commerce in the Balkans. The 'compania' members were Ottoman nationals but subjects of the ruler – subsequently of the Austrian emperor – residents in Transylvania and were not itinerants – who also conducted trade but were domiciled in Ottoman territory¹⁹⁷. The 'compania' was a professional body and not a commercial firm, 'for it was not formed with owned capital nor conducted trade and generally had an entirely different purpose' (from the commercial firms of Western Europe of the 16th to 18th centuries, such as the Levant Company and others)¹⁹⁸. In the course of time its administrative structure from a special body of elected members acquired the character of a communitarian organisation attending, as did the other communities, to founding churches or operating schools. The 'Kriterion' (the compania's judicial body) decided the buying and selling of merchandise, the contracts with firms/'guilds' of limited or unlimited duration among the 'compania' members, contracting loans, guarantees ('kefilimes') and stocks of supply, also regulating payment for labour (of apprentices, employees, servants)¹⁹⁹. Privileges were in any case enjoyed by a limited number of merchants. Of the 285 merchants, Ottoman subjects, registered by Transylvania's regional administration in 1702, only 127 were members of the 'compania': 102 of these were in Sibiu and 20 in Braşov²⁰⁰. It is assumed that a large part of Greeks from the Ottoman Empire traded illegally, and there were consequently numerous instances of complaints on the part of local inhabitants and the authorities. The privileged regime of the 'companias' changed within the framework of Maria Theresa's policy (with the 1777 privileges)²⁰¹ for the protection of Austrian merchants, especially following the Sened of the Ottoman Porte (24 November 1784), permitting the free transportation to and from the Ottoman provinces by river and sea.²⁰² Gradually, only individual merchants finally remained in Transylvania, or such as had managed to integrate in the circuits of international commercial exchanges.

Similar 'companias', albeit on a minor scale, also had operations in the commercial centre-towns of Hungary. According to the incomplete census drawn up by the Hungarian authorities in 1754 of the Balkan merchants Ottoman subjects, out of 1167 a mere 62 were members of some of the 'companias'²⁰³, scattered around the broad vinicultural and wine producing region: Tokaj, Miskolc, Gyöngyös or the stock-raising regions of Dioszeg, Kecskemét, Novi Sad.

Each 'compania' had its particularity²⁰⁴. Their common starting point was the attempt to enjoy certain exemptions and the right to self-administration. Most 'companias' began operations from the early 18th century

upon the expansion of Southeastern European trading, while the flourishing Miskolc 'compania' appears to have existed already in 1685²⁰⁵. Its members originated from Moschopolis, Macedonia (Kastoria, Monastir, Siatista and elsewhere), and specialised in the wine trade among Poland, Hungary and Ukraine. The earliest surviving statutes relating to the 'companias' operation regulate relations with apprentices and their behaviour in general (as defined in the 1735 internal regulation)²⁰⁶. Later decisions arrived at in the General Assembly led to development of the statute of the 'compania' which, besides matters of commercial discipline, regulated issues of self-determination, similar to those found in the statutes of the other communities of the diaspora.

A document provides information on a first simplistic form of the constitution of such a 'compania', whereby 8 corporate companies (dealers with their comrades) originating from Kozani formed a 'compania' in Kecskemét in 1708: 'for our own good and salvation to have as first principle to listen to one another for the best to ourselves'; if 'on whatever road we may travel,' it should chance that 'a carriage have an accident [...] whoever should happen to be there and does not take measures, if being a pasha giving florins 24 and if a lad, giving florins 12, he should be beaten 12 blows; and whoever swears with profanity should have to answer to the braves and whoever falls asleep on the journey to have to pay florins 6; and whatever lad should leave his pasha must pay florins 12 as *paskalikia*; [...] and whoever has no companion and finds one amongst us, that is well; and if he takes on a stranger must pay florins 50 to the 'compania' [...].²⁰⁷ This document, as well as one of a later date (1715)²⁰⁸ concerned corporate company regulations and prepared (1721) the drawing up of a written agreement with the Kecskemét municipal authority, following upon the intervention of the local landowner Count Stephan Kohári²⁰⁹.

On studying other Hungarian 'companias'²¹⁰, differences are found from those of Transylvania, in that they are rather corporate companies of broad extent, under strict organisational control. Besides, in the developing policy of placing Ottoman and Austrian subjects on a par, the obligation, from 1774, for any who wished to trade in Hungarian products, to swear the Hungarian oath of fidelity and settle their families permanently in Hungary, the road was further opened for wholesale merchants and firms with multiple associates, principally those *in accomandita*: it was the latter²¹¹ that marked the capitalistic development of the Greeks of the diaspora. They continued to be personal and not shareholder firms, their members were usually relatives, but partners were distinguished into 'sleeping' and manifest partners. 'Sleeping partners' were the main capital holders, with participation in more than one company. When independent

merchants had accumulated surplus capital, they formed partnerships with other merchants, newly emerged or experienced, who at some point were in need of funds. They frequently maintained their personal commercial affairs. Their founding and operation and their statutes remained those familiar from the simple personal companies; one of the partners, generally the 'front man', made the company known in the market by signing and circulating 'circular letters' (*circolari*)²¹². These firms were characterised by a broader geographic expansion, gradual decentralization and, above all, flexibility in the entrepreneurial policy of company business conducted. Partnerships also with non-compatriot merchants²¹³ or merchants whose seat was in other trade centres (Livorno-Alexandria²¹⁴; Trieste-Smyrna; Trieste-Vienna; Livorno-Trieste-London or elsewhere²¹⁵) expanded the horizons of business and facilitated decision taking. To be able to compete with the major Western capitalist businessmen, they adopted commercial entrepreneurial strategies resulting in the increase of the capital in circulation and encouraged profitability by the tactic of commercial credits.²¹⁶ Through the broadening of the family networks of their companies, they minimised the role of intervention of intermediaries and kept in more direct contact with the production²¹⁷, through agents and representatives, either travelling or settled in the production centres. By founding and expanding their companies in the strategic European centres, they competed with Western European merchants in the Eastern Mediterranean markets.

As the majority of the diaspora communities survived the crisis of the French wars, many of them entered into a period of re-adaptation or prosperity, integrated, after 1815, in a phase of activities of crucial significance, in banking, shipownership, insurance, and with a range extending well beyond the Mediterranean and even Russia, reaching London²¹⁸ and, gradually, to the New World. From commissionaires (on *commissioni*) and shippers (in *spedizioni*), they advanced to assessments and arbitrage (*speculazioni/arbitrii*) and discounts of bills of exchange (*sconti in piazza*), in business of a purely banking nature.²¹⁹

Stock-exchange activities 'The Sina merchant family of Moschopolis, settled in Sarajevo *circa* 1750, going thence to Slavonski Brod and finally establishing itself in the Austrian capital. Simon G. Sina (1753-1822) was born in Sarajevo. Moving to Vienna with his parents, he started a banking enterprise of European renown in the Austrian capital and became the foremost importer of cotton and wool from the Ottoman Empire during the British blockade of Napoleonic France and Europe. Three years before his death, he was ennobled. His son, Baron

Georg S. Sina inherited the affairs of the family bank, obtaining control of a large share of the wool, cotton and tobacco import and export trade of Austria and Hungary.²²⁰

There is also the eloquent *Treatise by a patriotic Greek on the situation of Greeks (Graiikoi) living in Odessa in the year 1816* (Διατριβή φιλογενοῦς τινός Γραικοῦ περί τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἐν Ὀδησσῶ οἰκούντων Γραικῶν κατὰ τό ἔτος 1816): 'The Franks (*Frangoi*), being educated and wise, for they were born and brought up where there is care for the Muses, had to show a new commercial system to the inexperienced Greeks of Odessa, who, sensitive as to their honour, were, by good fortune, touched therein by the spirit in which it was agreed that the attempt was undertaken, in the words wherein it was couched by the Franks, led them make their decision in the second instance, and instantly of themselves to put the system into practice, which they named the "Odessa Commercial Fund", whose purpose is to grant loans on interest to dealers to enable them to defray their debts.' In the same year they had also founded the 'Commercial Loans Coffe (Banca)'. The 'Compatriots' Friend' continues: 'A critic of the situation in Odessa, were he to examine the case more exactly, would learn that commerce is in the hands of the Greeks, for it is they who attend to it conscientiously and profitably within the Kingdom, on the one hand proceeding to various speculations, trading and promoting local products and in this way bringing profits to the inhabitants in the interior of the Kingdom, or protecting the price of the products in Odessa, where they are sold if the price is high and where in consequence the profit remains; in exports, on the other hand, they convey goods to Constantinople and thence further to Italy, France, Spain, wherever most profitable, in such a way that all profits, from wherever they derive, revert again to the local inhabitants, benefiting the state [...]'²²¹.

Insurance companies Travel, and in particular sea voyages, because of piracy and conjunctures of warfare, particularly at the end of the 18th century, were considered increasingly dangerous.²²² The tendency for activating the surplus capital of the personal companies found its materialisation in the profitable branch of insurance. Ships and merchandise were insured. In particular in the commercial ports of Trieste, Venice, Livorno and Odessa, insurance companies founded on shareholding capital reached their zenith. Shareholding merchants were thus offered the opportunity to participate in more than one firm, investing, risking, venturing an increase of their capital, yet at the same time contributing to maintaining the calm and stability of the market. Dealing in the insurance sector proved particularly profitable, as may be deduced from the establishment of Greek insurance companies in all the key Mediterranean ports and their broadly based participation in the other insurance firms of the areas in which they were established.

In 1789 the first Società Greca di Assicurazione was founded in Trieste (1789-[1811?]/1815-1830)²²³ with a share capital of 46 shareholders, who constituted the main body at the companies' general assemblies of the Board. The nature of the shares as a tradeable title deed explains why a number of shareholders deposited shares in the Greek insurance company (as well as of other firms) as capital in their mercantile enterprises. Their example was imitated by other societies/companies with either few or many associates, with wide participation by Greeks, such as the following: Compagnia d'Assicuratori particolari; Stabilimento d'Assicuratori; Amici Assicuratori; Greco Banco d'Assicurazione; Adriatico Banco d'Assicurazioni; Assicurazioni Generali; Riunione Adriatica di Sicurtà and others²²⁴.

In Livorno correspondingly, Greeks were already participating in the Compagnia d'Assicurazioni marittime²²⁵ in 1788. Ioannes Drossos Plastaras, of the well-known great merchant family of Trieste, moved there in 1817 and, with Giuseppe Fajani, was director of the Società Anonima d'Intrepidi Austro-Toscani Assicuratori²²⁶. Plastaras transferred to Livorno his experience of long date in Trieste, moving in the same entrepreneurial environment.

In Odessa on the Black Sea, the Greeks, together with other merchants and with the favour of the town's governor Richelieu, founded a joint-stock company in 1806, the Camera Imperiale delle Assicurazioni²²⁷. 'When the Greeks of Odessa were invited to take part in this system, it happened, for their good fortune, that they were displeased by certain things said by the Franks so that, touched on a point of honour, they decided on the spur of the moment to set up a similar system, and it was no sooner said than done, in 1808, named "Greco-Russian Corporation of Insurance" (*Γραικορωσσιική Συντροφία τῶν Ἀσφαλειῶν*), proving by experience to be greatly more worthy and profitable than the first had been [...]'²²⁸. In 1817-1818 they formed the Company of United Greek Insurers (*Ἐταιρεία τῶν Ἠνωμένων Ἀσφαλιστικῶν Γραικῶν*)²²⁹.

The artisans abroad The orientation of Greeks of the diaspora to the forwarding/trading occupations, and in particular to the economic organisation of the towns in which they established themselves (professions formed into crafts in Venice and in their continental communities), or their orientation toward trade in the ports of Trieste, Livorno, Ancona and Odessa, implied their minor participation in the sector of handicrafts or industry until at least the mid-19th century. As was the case in most major ports of the day, the field of occupations in the handicraft or industrial sector belonged to those who

processed raw materials and subsequently exported the finished product. In this way, among the pioneers in the crafts of tailors, tanners, shoemakers, and especially the cape-makers (*capotai*)²³⁰ – or, in Venice, painters, silversmiths, engravers – in the 18th century the soap manufactures came to the fore, whose product was required by the increasing European textile industry²³¹ and by the distilleries (*fabbriche*) of the *rosoli* liquor²³² and, principally, the handicraft industry of red-dyed yarn²³³.

Cotton, of which yarn was mainly made – and in particular the red-dyed yarn – was one of the principal exports of the Ottoman Empire, especially from the Greek territories. It has been noted that the development of the Ampelakia corporation at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries is based on the processing and dyeing of yarn, as was the network formed of a mixed type of handicraft and commercial organisation in the Northern Balkans and Central and Northern Europe, as far as Vienna and Leipzig. The object of the authorities of the European countries with a mercantile organisation was to discover the ‘secret’ of yarn dyeing, known to the Greeks, with view to ‘equipping’ their textile units therewith²³⁴. Greek dyers become sought after in France (e.g. in Montpellier) as well as in Trieste, Vienna²³⁵ and Transylvania. The interest in the product and the effort to reduce transportation costs from the Eastern Mediterranean led merchants to collaborate with yarn dyers in a formation unknown to other handicraft production, a ‘*fabbrica* corporation’²³⁶ permitting to a few merchant-entrepreneurs some marginal, temporary investment in the ‘secondary’ sector of the economy²³⁷.

The field in which, as is well known, production and commerce were combined, both long-lasting and successful, was printing, with the publishing houses of Venice and, partially, of Vienna. Merchants in Venice, the Saros, Theodossiou and Glykiies, had instituted a commercial company already in the 17th century, with relatives from Ioannina, and succeeded, thanks to their persistence, in overcoming the obstacles and being accepted in the corporations of printers of Venice, setting up printing works that became publishing houses, and thus contributing to the revival of scholarship. Books, as a cultural and commercial commodity²³⁸, were the object of the interest of Greeks of the diaspora, since, in regard to modern literature at least, sponsors, subscribers²³⁹ and merchants demonstrated their interest.

Shipping enterprises abroad

Commercial enterprises frequently expanded into shipping ventures and ownership or partnerships in vessels. The maritime network particularly, especially the

'deposit trade' of wheat from the Black Sea²⁴⁰ to the Mediterranean ports after 1820, also depended on the capacity of merchants to participate with their own vessels.

As Greek shipping developed in the 18th century, principally under Greco-Ottoman, Russian and other flags, the commercial traffic of the colonies was served mainly by Greek-owned ships. In the ports of Trieste²⁴¹ and Odessa²⁴², according to research conducted to date, the Greeks made progress in developing enterprises of ownership of and partnership in of vessels. In Trieste, the Austrian shipping policy from 1774 was oriented to reinforcing Austrian shipping, a policy facilitated by the political conditions prevailing after 1784 and particularly following the fall of Venice in 1797. Austrian subjects were enabled to acquire ships, an opportunity gradually and increasingly taken advantage of by the Greeks. Their preference was once more for investing their capital in partnership enterprises (to avoid major risks at sea), in the form of family enterprises and, in fact, in correspondence with their commercial associated company enterprises. With the development of steam shipping, expansion of trade, and maritime insurance agencies of long duration and broad extent, shipowning enterprises transferred to London, with Chiots as the main representatives of the network, who developed their business between the Black Sea, Syros, Alexandria, Trieste, Livorno, Marseille and London.

47. This arises from the roll of deaths of the monastery, published with annotations by Chrysostomos Florentis, *Βραβείον τῆς Τεραῶς Μονῆς Ἀγ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου Πάτμου*, Award of the Monastery of St. John the Divine of Patmos, Athens 1980.

48. On the meaning and forms of 'zeteia' (alms-begging), P. Conortas, 'Les Contributions ecclésiastiques "patriarchikè zèteia" et "basilikon charatzion". Contribution à l'histoire économique du Patriarcat œcuménique aux XVe et XVI siècles', *Économies Méditerranéennes: équilibres et intercommunications, XIIIe- XIX siècles*, Actes du IIe Colloque International d'Histoire (KNE/EIE), 3, Athens 1986, pp 217-255. On the 'sycho-riohartia' (indulgences), Philippe Pliou, 'Συγχωροχάρτια', *Τά Ἱστορικά* 1/1 (1983), pp 35-84, 2/3 3-44. A typical instance of a journey with enrolling of the faithful for memorialization, Penelope Stathi, 'Τό ἀνέκδοτο ὁδοιπορικό τοῦ Χρυσάνθου Νοταρά', *Μεσαιωνικά καί Νέα Ἑλληνικά* 1 (1984), pp 127-280; cf by the same 'Τά κατάστιχα συλλογῆς ἐλαίων τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου. Ἡ μελέτη καί ἡ προβληματική τους', Σύλλογος Ἐπιστημονικοῦ Προσωπικοῦ Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, Ἐπιστημονικές Ἀνακοινώσεις, Association of Scientific Personnel of the Academy of Athens, Scientific Papers, Athens 1982, pp 125-137; see also I.C. Voyatzidis, 'Τάξιδιωτῶν ἐνθυμήσεις τοῦ ἡ' αἰῶνος', *Ἀφιέρωμα εἰς Γ.Ν. Χατζιδάκιν*, Dedication to G.N. Hadjidakis, Athens 1921, pp 142-149.

49. Pan. Moullas, 'Ἐνας Μακεδόνας ἀπόδημος στήν Κεντρική Εὐρώπη', *Ἐποχές* 15 (July 1964), p 94 (and in the combined volume: *Σταθμοί πρός τήν Νέα Ἑλληνική Κοινωνία*, Athens 1965).

50. Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans. Migrations in Western Europe since 1650*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington/Indianapolis 1992, p 2.

51. *Idem*, pp 16-17.

52. A. Ducellier, 'Δημογραφία, μεταναστεύσεις', pp 19-44.

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98. O. Füves, *Οί Έλληνες τής Ούγγαρίας*, Thessaloniki 1965, p 28.

99. Olga Katsiardi-Hering *Η έλληνική παροιμία τής Τεργέστης*, pp 78-79; D. Vlami, *Τό φιορίνι*, Appendix III, pp 459-465; by the same, "Η οίκογένεια τών Έλλήνων έμπόρων τής διασποράς: μερικές παρατηρήσεις για τήν περίπτωση τού Λιβόρνο", *Τά Ιστορικά* 13/24-25 (1996), pp 177-204; P. Enepekides, *Griechische Handelsgesellschaften*: out of the 89 Greeks currently Ottoman subjects at the time of the census, 39 were unmarried; see also the processing of the census by P. Schmidbauer, 'Zur Familienstruktur der Griechen in Wien', *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 35 (1980), pp 150-160.

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104. See observations in the same, p 255.

105. Olga Katsiardi-Hering, *Η έλληνική παροιμία τής Τεργέστης*, p 86, see also map 8.

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CHAPTER FIVE

(pp 238-274)

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terreanean' [= A. Vacalopoulos *et al.*, *Southeast European Maritime Commerce and Naval Policies*, pp 213-218].

97. Paul Cernovodeanu, 'Les Marchands balkaniques intermédiaires du commerce entre l'Angleterre, la Valachie et la Transylvanie durant les années 1660-1714', *Association Internationale d'Études Balkaniques, Actes du Premier Congrès International des Études Balkaniques*, 3, pp 649-658.

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109. Tr. Stoianovich, 'The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant', pp 10-13.

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116. See in summary D. Tsourka-Papastathis, *Η ελληνική εμπορική κομπανία του Σιμπίου*.

117. August Fournier, 'Handel und Verkehr in Ungarn und Polen um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Österreichischen Commercialpolitik', *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* 69 (1887), pp 317-481; Joseph Grunzel, *Die Handelsbeziehungen Österreich-Ungarns zu den Balkanländern*, Wien 1892; P. Hanak, *Die Geschichte Ungarns*, Essen 1988.

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125. D. Tsourka-Papastathis, *Η ελληνική εμπορική κομπανία του Σιμπίου*, p 29.

126. *Idem*, p 33.

127. *Idem*, pp 37-39.

128. *Idem*, p 39.

129. Z. Ács, 'Les Marchands grecs', pp 41 *et sequ.*

130. Olga Katsiardi-Hering, 'Das Habsburgerreich Anlaufpunkt für Griechen und andere Balkanvölker im 17.-19. Jahrhundert', *Österreichische Osthefte* 38/2 (1996), wherein also bibliography relating to Serb emigration to the military border area (Millitärengrenze Gebiet).

131. Z. Ács, 'Les Marchands grecs', pp 41-42, reference from a 1618 register of the town of Debrecen.

132. J. Grunzel, *Die Handelsbeziehungen Österreich-Ungarns*, p 9.

133. See the division of O. Füves, *Οί Έλληνες τής Ούγγαρίας*, p 17; Z. Acs, 'Les Marchands grecs', p 51.

134. Z. Acs, 'Les Marchands grecs', p 52; conditions for establishment were more favourable in areas such as Jászunkság, a strategic region for trade with the Southern Balkans. I. Papp, 'Greek Merchants in the Eighteenth-Century Jászunkság', *Balkan Studies* 30 (1989), pp 261-281 (264-265).

135. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροικία τής Τεργέστης*, pp 20-26.

136. Despina Vlasi, 'Ο έποικισμός τής Άκυλίας από Έλληνες (ιη' αι.) και , ανταγωνισμός Αυστρίας-Βενετίας. Άνέκδοτα έγγραφα', *Θησαυρίσματα* 15 (1978), pp 177-214, in which the instance of granting of privileges for a settlement of Greek settlers from the Peloponnese (1775, 1777), for reasons of diversion from Venice, with the perspective of developing a new commercial port, after completion of the necessary works. The project was not completed but is indicative of the Austrian policy of the period.

137. Vyrion Karydis, 'A Greek Mercantile Paroikia: Odessa 1774-1829' [= Richard Clogg (ed.), *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence*, New York 1981, pp 111-136].

138. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροικία τής Τεργέστης*, pp 371-392.

139. *Idem*, pp 383-392; I. Papp, 'Greek Merchants in the Eighteenth-Century Jászunkság', relating to the 1774 decree by which Ottoman subjects are required to swear 'an oath of fidelity' (nationality) in order to be able to trade in products other than the 'Turkish'.

140. V. Karydis, 'A Greek Mercantile Paroikia: Odessa', p 117.

141. D. Tsourka-Papastathis, *Η ελληνική έμπορική κομπανία του Σιμπίου*, pp 50-52.

142. Georgetta Penelea, *Les Foires de la Valachie pendant la période 1774-1848*, Bucarest 1973.

143. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Λησμονημένοι όρίζοντες*, wherein also bibliography.

144. Paul Masson, *Ports francs. D'autrefois et d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1904; A. Caracciolo, *Le Port franc d'Ancône*; O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροικία τής Τεργέστης*, pp 7-19, wherein also bibliography.

145. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Λησμονημένοι όρίζοντες*, p 67 *et sequ.*; cf also for Hungary, I. Papp, 'Greeks in Jászberény in the 18th and 19th Centuries', *Balkan Studies* 34 (1993), pp 229-257 (233, 238).

146. G. Papageorgiou, 'Μαρτυρίες για τίς δραστηριότητες καλαρρυτινών εμπόρων (τέλη 18ου αιώνα - 1821). Μέ βάση τό Άρχείο Γ. Δουρούτη', *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 30 (1992), pp 177 *et al.*

147. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Λησμονημένοι όρίζοντες*, pp 114 *et sequ.* relative to the archive of the Dogana della fiera in respect of traffic of fabrics.

148. G. Laios, *Η Σιάτιστα και οι έμπορικοί οίκοι Χατζημιχαήλ και Μανούση (17ος-19ος αι.)*, Thessaloniki 1982, p 107.

149. *Idem*, p 113.

150. S. Kougeas, 'Τό ήπειρωτικό άρχείο του Σταύρου Γ. Ίωάννου', *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 14 (1939), pp 145-333.

151. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροικία τής Τεργέστης*, pp 187-192; D. Vlami, *Τό φιορίνι*, pp 71-79.

152. D. Limona, 'Les Relations commerciales du sud-est de l'Europe à la fin du XVIIIe siècle et au début du XIXe, reflétées dans les documents archivistiques du Bucarest, Sibiu, Braşov', 'L'Époque phanariote', *Symposium*, 21-25 oct. 1970, Thessaloniki 1974, pp 385-399.

153. Cf The examples relating to the merchants from Kalarrytes, G. Papageorgiou, 'Μαρτυρίες για τίς δραστηριότητες καλαρρυτινῶν ἐμπόρων', pp 171-189.
154. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ παροικία τῆς Τεργέστης*, pp 547-548, 551, map 6; by the same, 'Ἡ αὐστριακὴ πολιτικὴ καὶ ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ναυσιπλοῖα (1750-1800 περίπου)', *Παρουσία* 5 (1987), pp 445-538, wherein also bibliography.
155. V. Kremmydas, *Ἑλληνικὴ ναυτιλία, 1776-1835*, 1-2, Athens 1985-1986.
156. Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna*.
157. Elena Terentieva, 'Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ κοινότητα στὴν Οὐκρανία. Οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῦ Νέζιν', postgraduate paper, Department of History and Archaeology, Athens University, 1997, pp 41-53.
158. G. Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping. The Making of an International Tramp Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day*, London/New York 1996.
159. Chr. Hadziiossif, *La Colonie grecque en Égypte (1833-1856)*, doctorat de troisième cycle, EPHE, IVe Section – Paris University IV, 1980.
160. V. Kremmydas, *Ἑλληνικὴ ναυτιλία*, 1, pp 113-117 *et al.*
161. Chr. Hadziiossif, *La Colonie grecque en Égypte*, p 109 *et sequi*.
162. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ παροικία τῆς Τεργέστης*, p 730, map 7, *see also* pp 547-548.
163. D. Vlami, *Τὸ φιορίνι*, appendix 2, p 377-378; cf correspondingly also *Marseille*, pp 22-23, 85 *et sequi*.
164. Chr. Hadziiossif, *La Colonie grecque en Égypte*, pp 291-292.
165. Gelina Harlaftis, 'Ἐμπόριο καὶ ναυτιλία τὸ 19ο αἰ. Τὸ ἐπιχειρηματικὸ δίκτυο τῆς ἑλληνικῆς διασπορᾶς. Ἡ "χιώτικη" φάση, 1830-1860', *Μνήμων* 15 (1993), pp 69-127; a very interesting exposé, by the same, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping*.
166. Vassilis Kardassis, *Σύρος. Σταυροδρόμι τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Μεσογείου (1832-1857)*, Athens 1987.
167. A good instance is provided from the exploitation of the Gerusis family archive by Maria Christina Chatzioannou, *Ὁ ἐμπορικὸς οἶκος Γερούση, 1823-1870. Ἀπὸ τὴν ὀθωμανικὴ Αὐτοκρατορία στοῦ ἑλληνικὸ κράτος*, PhD Thesis, Athens University, 1989.
168. Tr. Stoianovich, 'The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant', *Between East & West*, vol. II (1992) p 38.
169. *Idem*, p 55.
170. O. Füves, *Οἱ Ἕλληνες στὴν Οὐγγαρία*, pp 14-18; *see also* Katerina Papanstantinou, 'Βαλκάνιοι ἔμποροι στὴν Κεντρικὴ Εὐρώπη τὸ β' μισό τοῦ 18ου αἰ. Τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς οἰκογένειας Πόνδινκα' (essay for the obtention of a postgraduate degree from the Department of History and Archaeology of Athens University), 1997, p 8.
171. P. Charissis, *Ἀλληλοδιπλογραφία ἤτοι σύγγραμμα ἐμπορικῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλληλογραφίας τοῦ ἐμπορίου καὶ τῶν διπλογραφικῶν αὐτοῦ βιβλίων [...]*, Vienna 1837, p 28.
172. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ παροικία τῆς Τεργέστης*, pp 403-404.
173. I. Papp, 'Greek Merchants in the Eighteenth-Century Jászkunság', pp 261-267.
174. D. Tsourka-Papastathis, *Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ἐμπορικὴ κομπανία τοῦ Σμυρίου*, pp 29-30.
175. Chr. Hadziiossif, *La Colonie grecque en Égypte*, pp 247-248.
176. P. Charissis, *Ἀλληλοδιπλογραφία*, pp 28-30; *see also* O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ παροικία τῆς Τεργέστης*, pp 396-406, 431-436; D. Vlami, *Τὸ φιορίνι*, pp

74-77, Appendix 3, pp 459-465. An interesting analysis of commercial practices and mainly for the procedure of purchase and the intermediary roles of the merchants, see Vassilis Kremmydas, *Εμπορικές πρακτικές στό τέλος τής Τουρκοκρατίας. Μυκονιάτες έμποροι και πλοιοκτήτες*, Athens 1993, p 100 *et sequ.*

177. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροιμία τής Τεργέστης*, pp 399-403; G. Laïos, *Η Σιάτιστα*, pp 84-86; according to Ignazio Sonnleithner, *Guida al diritto di commercio e di cambio austriaco, Prima versione italiana della terza edizione di Vienna*, Milan 1816, p 89 § 191: 'brokers (sensali) are the persons that the administrative authority for commercial matters, equipping them with a special privilege (personne patentate) destines to be intermediaries, against a certain proportional fee (commission), in sales of merchandise, bills of exchange payable in trade centres abroad, in ships' charters (noleggi), in lading and discharging cargoes and other related matters'.

178. Triantaphyllos E. Sklavenitis, *Τά έμπορικά έγχειρίδια τής Βενετοκρατίας και Τουρκοκρατίας και ή Έμπορική Έγκυκλοπαιδεία του Νικολάου Παπαδοπούλου*, EMNE-Μνήμων, Athens 1991, pp 11-12, 33, 57, 107; also, V. Kremmydas, *Εμπορικές πρακτικές*, pp 181-184 *et al.*

179. D. Vlami, *Τό φιορίνι*, Appendix 3, pp 459-465.

180. P. Charissis, *Άλληλοδιπλογραφία*; Tr. Sklavenitis, *Τά έμπορικά έγχειρίδια*.

181. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροιμία τής Τεργέστης*, p 401.

182. From the comprehensive research on the Greeks of Venice, (see M. Manousacas, 'Βιβλιογραφία του έλληνισμού τής Βενετίας', *Θησαυρίσματα* 10 (1973), pp 7-87 and by the same, 'Συμπλήρωμα (1973-1980)', *Θησαυρίσματα* 17 (1980), pp 7-21 (publications of the years 1973-1980)] there is to date a lack of specialised research on the significant economic presence of Greeks there. The exception is the research on the printing works, cf G. Ploumidis, *Τό βενετικόν τυπογραφείον του Δημητρίου και του Πάνου Θεοδοσίου (1755-1824)*, Athens 1969; G. Veloudis, *Τό ελληνικό τυπογραφείο των Γλυκήδων στη Βενετία (1670-1854). Συμβολή στη μελέτη του ελληνικού βιβλίου κατά την εποχή τής Τουρκοκρατίας*, Athens 1987 (transl. from German) *et al.* The research of Pan. Michailaris, 'Η έμπορική έταιρική συνεργασία του βενετικού οίκου Ταρωνίτη-Θεοτόκη και των Αδελφών Γ. και Θ. Γεωργίβαλων (1732-1737). Ο ρόλος και ή δράση του έμπορικού πράκτορα Δημ. Χαμόδρακα', *Μνήμων* 8 (1980-1982), pp 226-302 and 'L'attività armatoriale di Demetrio Peruli ed il suo intervento al traffico mediterraneo', «*Économies méditerranéennes: équilibres et intercommunications*», *Actes du IIe Colloque International d'Histoire* [KNE/EIE], 1, Athens 1985, p 175 as well as by Eftychia Liata, 'Ειδήσεις για την κίνηση του ελληνικού βιβλίου στις αρχές του 18ου αϊ.', *Ο Έραμιστής* 14 (1977), pp 1-35 and "Ένας Έλληνας έμπορος στη Δύση. Πορεία μιās ζωής από τον 17ο στον 18ο αϊ.", *Ροδωνιά. Τιμή στον Μ.Ι. Μανούσακα*, 1, Rethymnon 1994, pp 279-297, are some of the little research conducted on the economic activities of the Greeks of Venice published after 1980.

183. V. Kremmydas, "Ιστορία του ελληνικού έμπορικού οίκου τής Βενετίας Σελέκη και Σάρου. Μιά στατιστική προσέγγιση", *Θησαυρίσματα* 12 (1975), p 186.

184. G. Veloudis, *Τό ελληνικό τυπογραφείο των Γλυκήδων*, p 17 *et sequ.*; G. Ploumidis, *Τό βενετικόν τυπογραφείον του Δημητρίου και του Πάνου Θεοδοσίου*, p 13 *et sequ.*; see also examples in O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροιμία τής Τεργέστης*, p 414 *et sequ.* and Tables 4 and 5, pp 579-591; D. Vlami, *Τό φιορίνι*, p 180 *et sequ.*, 187-190, Table 29 and particularly pp 389-393; G. Laïos, *Η Σιάτιστα*, p 56 *et sequ.*; P. Enepekides, *Griechische Handelsgesellschaften*; G. Harlaftis, "Έμπόριο και ναυτιλία"; Chr. Hadziiossif, *La Colonie grecque en Égypte*, p 276.

185. G. Harlaftis, 'Εμπόριο καί ναυτιλία'.
186. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροικία τῆς Τεργέστης*, p 175 and Table 5, and Christina Koulouri, *Η βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Σχολῆς Καρτσιώτη στόν Άγιο Γωάννη Κουουριάς. Από τήν προεπαναστατική στή μετεπαναστατική σχολική βιβλιοθήκη*, Astros 1991, pp 14 *et sequ.*
187. D. Vlami, *Τό φιορίνι*, pp 242 *et sequ.*
188. G. Laïos, *Η Σιάτιστα*, pp 42 *et sequ.*, 74 *et sequ.*
189. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροικία τῆς Τεργέστης*, pp 416-417.
190. P. Charissis, *Άλληλοδιπλογραφία*, pp 3-7; O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροικία τῆς Τεργέστης*, pp 421-422. A few examples, P. Michailaris, 'Η ἔμπορική ἐταιρική συνεργασία τοῦ βενετικοῦ οἴκου Ταρωνίτη-Θεοτόκη'; G. Laïos, 'Ο ἐν Βιέννη ἔμπορικός οἶκος "Άργέντη" (Άνέκδοτα ἔγγραφα ἐκ τῶν ἀρχείων τῆς Βιέννης)', *Εἰς μνήμην Κ. Αμάντου*, 1874-1960, Athens 1960, pp 167-186.
191. See the example of the agreement of dissolution of the commercial company Nikolaos Glykis - Georgios Savas, G. Veloudis, *Τό ἑλληνικό τυπογραφεῖο τῶν Γλυκῶν*, pp 320-322.
192. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροικία τῆς Τεργέστης*, pp 408-412; the archives of commercial law courts, when they have survived, provide valuable material for the composition of the companies, their movements, the disputes of merchants, etc. Research to date on Trieste and Livorno have proved their significance. When equivalent research is carried out on Vienna and the colonies in Hungary, they will provide us with detailed information of interest on the mobility of merchants, their interrelations, their communications with other ethnic groups, etc.; see the observations of Gunnar Hering, 'Die griechische Handelsgesellschaft in Tokaj', *Südost-Forschungen* 46 (1987), pp 79-93.
193. See the exceptional work by D. Tsourka-Papastathis, *Η ελληνική ἔμπορική κομπανία τοῦ Σιμπίου*, and the research by O. Cicanci, particularly Olga Cicanci, *Companiile grecești din Transilvania și comerțul european în anii 1636-1746*, București 1988; also Lidia Démény, 'Le Régime des douanes et des commerçants grecs en Transylvanie au cours de la période de la principauté autonome (1541-1691)', *Μακεδονικά* 15 (1975), pp 62-113.
194. D. Tsourka-Papastathis, *Η ελληνική ἔμπορική κομπανία τοῦ Σιμπίου*, p 81 *et sequ.*
195. *Idem.*, p 103.
196. *Idem.*, p 82.
197. *Idem.*, pp 112-113.
198. *Idem.*, p 181, in which the relevant aspects of O. Cicanci are discussed.
199. *Idem.*, p 194 *et sequ.*
200. M. Bur, 'The "Greek Company" in Hungary in the 17th-18th Centuries', *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Hellenic Diaspora from Antiquity to Modern Times*, 2: *From 1453 to Modern Times*, ed. John M. Fossey, McGill University Monographs in Classical Archaeology and History, GIEBEN, Amsterdam 1991, p 160.
201. D. Tsourka-Papastathis, *Η ελληνική ἔμπορική κομπανία τοῦ Σιμπίου*, p 97 *et sequ.*
202. D. Tsourka-Papastathis, 'The Decline of the Greek "Companies"', pp 213-218.
203. M. Bur, 'The "Greek Company"', p 161.
204. M. Bur, 'Handelsgesellschaften'; also, for Tokaj, see G. Hering, 'Die griechische Handelsgesellschaft in Tokaj', in which also bibliography.

205. Nadya Danova – Varban Todorov, 'Ελληνικά έγγραφα από τό αρχείο τής πόλης Μίσκολτς (Ούγγαρία)', *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Hellenic Diaspora*, 2, p 167; M. Bur, 'Handelsgesellschaften', pp 278-280.

206. N. Danova – V. Todorov, 'Ελληνικά έγγραφα από τό αρχείο τής πόλης Μίσκολτς', pp 175-177, the text of the statutes.

207. G. Laïos, *Η Σιάτιστα*, p 45.

208. *Idem*, pp 46-48.

209. *Idem*, pp 48-50.

210. M. Bur, 'Handelsgesellschaften'; see also the articles by Bur, Hidas, Fűves, Danova in the *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Hellenic Diaspora*, 2.

211. For these see O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροικία τής Τεργέστης*, pp 422 *et sequ.* Wherein also examples.

212. Christos Moulias, 'Τά ἐγκύκλια ἐμπορικά γράμματα', *Τά Ιστορικά* 18/19 (1993), pp 39-52; G. Papageorgiou, 'Εμπόρου πατρός ἐπιστολαί πρός τόν ἑαυτοῦ υἱόν', *Δωδώνη* 20/1 (1991), pp 298-299; contained in the Archivio Diplomatico di Trieste, 1/2 A1, in 13 volumes, is the body of the Circolari degli Stabilimenti Mercantili formalmente insinuati in Trieste 1750-1856.

213. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροικία τής Τεργέστης*, p 429.

214. Chr. Hadziiossif, *La Colonie grecque en Égypte*, pp 293 *et sequ.*, for the instance of the Tositsa family.

215. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροικία τής Τεργέστης*, p 430.

216. Chr. Hadziiossif, *La Colonie grecque en Égypte*, pp 262-263.

217. *Idem*, pp 263-264.

218. *Idem*, p 267.

219. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροικία τής Τεργέστης*, pp 431-434; D. Limona, 'Les Relations commerciales', pp 392-393; bibliography for this bank work, see Charles Carrière, 'Escomptait-on les lettres de change au XVIIIe siècle?' [= Ch. Carrière *et al.*, *Banque et capitalisme commercial. La lettre de change au XVIIIe s.*, Marseille 1976, pp 21-46].

220. Tr. Stojanovich, 'The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant', *Between East & West*, vol. II (1992) p 56.

221. Catherine Coumarianou, 'Ο ἑλληνισμός τής 'Οδησσού. Από τήν κοινότητα τῶν ἐμπόρων στή Φιλική Ἐταιρεία. Μουσείο τής Φιλικῆς Ἐταιρείας. 'Οδησός, Hellenic Foundation for Culture, Athens 1994, pp 37, 42, excerpts from Λόγιος Ἑρμοῦς (Logios Hermes); interesting technique for profitable orders, buying and selling and ways of payment, between Greeks of Marseille and the Levant, see P. Échinard, *Grecs et Philhellènes*, p. 111.

222. Insurance of merchandise was in any case a usual practice; see V. Kremmydas, 'Εμπορικές πρακτικές', pp 119-122 and D. Ch.Gofas, 'Ασφαλιστήρια τοῦ 16ου αἰῶνος ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχείου τοῦ ἐν Βενετίᾳ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου', *Θησαυρίσματα* 16 (1979), pp 54-88.

223. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροικία τής Τεργέστης*, p 455 *et sequ.*

224. *El Centenario delle Assicurazioni Generali. 1831-1931*, Trieste 1931; *Nel Primo Centenario della Riunione Adriatica di Sicurtà* 1938, Trieste 1939.

225. G. Papageorgiou, 'Ο ἐκσυγχρονισμός τοῦ Ἑλληνα πραγματευτῆ σύμφωνα μέ τά εὐρωπαϊκά πρότυπα (τέλη 18ου-ἀρχές 19ου αἰ.). Ἐνα μαθηματάριο ἐμπορίου τοῦ Ἀθανασίου Ψαλίδα, Athens 1990, pp 28-29.

226. D. Vlami, *Τό φιορίνι*, p 163, Table 27.

227. V. Karydis, 'A Greek Mercantile Paroikia: Odessa', p 127; P. Herlihy, *Odessa*, p 38.

228. C. Coumariou, 'Ο έλληνισμός τής Όδησοῦ, p 38, excerpt from *Logios Hermes*.
 229. *Idem*, p 42.
 230. O. Katsiardi-Hering, 'Η έλληνική παροιμία τής Τεργέστης, pp 396-398; by the same, *Λησμονημένοι όρίζοντες*, pp 138-140 *et al.*; Sergio Anselmi, 'Introduzione e manifattura dei cappotti alla greca nello Stato Pontificio (1751-1830)', *I cento anni de Liceo-Ginnasio 'G. Rinaldini di Ancona', 1863-1963*, Ancona 1964, pp 291-302; G. Papageorgiou, 'Μαρτυρίες για τίς δραστηριότητες καλαρρυτινών έμπόρων'.
 231. O. Katsiardi-Hering, 'Η έλληνική παροιμία τής Τεργέστης, pp 478-479, in which also bibliography; P. Herlihy, *Odessa*, p 109.
 232. O. Katsiardi-Hering, 'Η έλληνική παροιμία τής Τεργέστης, pp 479-482.
 233. *Idem*, pp 482-487.
 234. Félix Beaujour, *Tableau du commerce de la Grèce, formé d'après une année moyenne, depuis 1787 jusqu'à 1797*, 2, Paris, Year VIII [1800], pp 261-272.
 235. O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Τεχνίτες και τεχνικές έρυθροβαφής νημάτων. Από τή Θεσσαλία στην κεντρική Ευρώπη (τέλη 18ου-άρχές 19ου αι.)*, *Επίμετρο: Η Άμπελακιώτικη συντροφιά (1805)*, Athens / Ampelakia 2003.
 236. O. Katsiardi-Hering, 'Η έλληνική παροιμία τής Τεργέστης, pp 483-487, the firms Constantinos Bellagouras and Co, Mengus and Bellagouras, Panos Spyrou and Co. *et al.*
 237. Carlo Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution. European Society and Economy, 1000-1700*, London 1980 (1st edition 1976), pp 73-74 [and Greek edition in transl. by Petros Stamoulis, 'Η Εδρώπη πριν από τή βιομηχανική επανάσταση. Κοινωνία και οίκονομία, 1000-1700, Θεμέλιο, Athens 1988].
 238. Indicatively for the book trade, see Sp. Asdrachas, 'Faits économiques et sois culturelles: à propos du commerce de livre entre Venise et la Méditerranée orientale au XVIII^e s.', *Studi Veneziani* 13 (1971), pp 587-621; Eft. Liata, 'Ειδήσεις για τήν κίνηση του έλληνικού βιβλίου'; Ζαχαρίας Τσιρπανλής, 'Μαρτυρίες για τό έμπόριο του έλληνικού βιβλίου (1780, 1783)', *Δωδώνη* 10 (1981), pp 139-165.
 239. Philippe Iliou, 'Βιβλία μέ συνδρομητές. 1: Τά χρόνια του Διαφωτισμού (1749-1821)', *Ό Έρασιστής* 13 (1975), pp 102-179, in which also the map of the urban centres, of the diaspora mainly, from which came advance subscriptions for the publication of the books.
 240. G. Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping*, p 14.
 241. O. Katsiardi-Hering, 'Η έλληνική παροιμία τής Τεργέστης, pp 488-505, Table 8 & 9, pp 597-609.
 242. G. Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping, passim*; N. Vlassopoulos, *Η ναυτιλία των Ιονίων νήσων, 1700-1864*, 2, Athens 1995, pp 51 *et sequ.*

CHAPTER NINE

(pp 457-483)

1. Jean Gilissen, 'The Notion of Fair in the Light of the Comparative Method' [= *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, Bruxelles 1953, pp 332-342 (336)]; Jean Georgelin, 'Géographie du commerce de gros et de détail en Vénétie à la fin du XVIII^e siècle (1766-1770)' [= *Centre de la Méditerranée Moderne et Contemporaine, 'Commerce de gros, commerce de détail dans les pays méditerranéens (XVI^e-XIX^e siècles)*'], *Actes des Journées d'Études*, Bendor, 25-26 avril 1975, Nice 1976, pp 75-92 (80)].