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Encounters in Europe's Southeast

The Habsburg Empire and the Orthodox World in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Offprint

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Cover: Entrance of the orthodox „Belgradkathedrale“, Szent Endre (Hungary); photo: Harald Heppner

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Southeastern European Migrant Groups between the Ottoman and the Habsburg Empires Multilateral Social and Cultural Transfers from the Eighteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries¹

OLGA KATSIARDI-HERING

Two seemingly unrelated experiences led to my proposing the thematic section under the same title, which formed part of the Thirteenth International Congress on the Eighteenth Century held in Graz in July 2011², and to my writing this paper. The first was my visit to the thirteenth-century Monastery of John the Baptist in Serres in January 2009, where I saw the glorious mural paintings with its imagined depiction of Schönbrunn in Vienna³ or, according to other researchers, of the Louvre and Tuilleries Gardens in Paris.⁴ (Fig. 1)

It was painted by Nedelkos 'of Adrianoupolis'⁵ in 1795, along with frescoes depicting Rome and Constantinople. Hanging beside it in the *Synodikon* antechamber, an engraving from 1761 portrayed the history of the monastery and images from the life of the Baptist in an equally Western-influenced style.⁶ The engraving was composed in Vienna at the expenses of Hatzi Petkou, a merchant from Serres, under the technical supervision of Konstantinos Oikonomou, another merchant from the wealthy neighbouring Macedonian city of Meleniko. Oikonomou had overseen the creation of another seven engravings in Vienna between 1760 and 1780, and had also collaborated with the Serbian Orthodox Church.⁷ The second experience was my stumbling upon a copy of the Short [Orthodox] Catechism for school use, the fourth impression of which was printed in Buda in 1824 with funds donated by another two Macedonian merchants, the Sakellariou brothers of Kastoria.⁸

1 This research has been supported by the Special Account for Research Grants of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens.

2 http://www.18thcenturycongress-graz2011.at/downloads/CongressProgramme_18thCCGraz2011.pdf, (last visit 19. 12. 2011)

3 Aggeliki STRATI, *Παρουσίαση των κοσμικών τοιχογραφιών στο Αρχονταρίκι της Μονής*. In: *ΙΔΕΜ, Η ζωγραφική στην Ιερά Μονή Τιμίου Προδρόμου Σερρών (14^{ος}-19^{ος} αι.)*. Μελέτες και άρθρα (Thessaloniki 2007), 131-144, the photo of Schönbrunn on the pp. 132, 136-137/nr. 107, 110.

4 Pelli MASTORA, *The Painted Decoration in the Synodikon Hall of the Monastery of Timios Prodromos*. In: *The Synodikon Hall at the Monastery of Timios Prodromos near Serres* (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia 2011; in Greek), 31-54, here 39-41, photo p. 40, nr. 3. I would like to thank the Leventis Foundation of Cyprus for having given me the permission to reproduce this photo in this volume. Published here is a black-and-white version whereas the original one is in color.

5 Vassilis KATSAROS, *The Painter Nedelkos*. In: *The Synodikon*, see above, 55-86.

6 Dori PAPASTRATOU, *Χάρτινες εικόνες. Ορθόδοξα θρησκευτικά χαρακτηριστικά 1665-1899* (Athens 1986), 498-499.

7 *Ibid.*, 157.

8 Vassileios PASCHALIDIS, *Το αρχοντικό των Σακελλαρίων στην Κοζάνη, 1670-1977* (Kozani 1999).

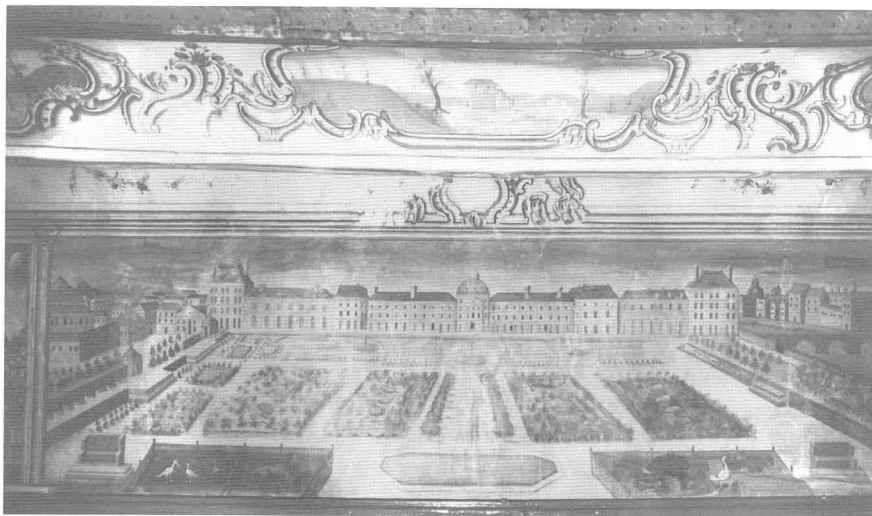


Figure 1:

Synodikon at the Monastery of Timios Prodromos near Serres – Pelli Mastora, “The Painted Decoration in the Synodikon Hall of the Monastery of Timios Prodromos”. [In: *The Synodikon Hall at the Monastery of Timios Prodromos near Serres* (also in Greek) (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia 2011), photo no3, on page 40 [With the permission of the Leventis Foundation of Cyprus.]

The engraving⁹ on the frontispiece depicts catechetical instructions being given by an Orthodox priest not, as was customary, in the Ottoman East, but rather in an urban Central European classroom furnished in a contemporary bourgeois style, to students dressed accordingly.

Leaving to one side the sad news that the monastery’s wonderful *Synodikon* was completely destroyed in the fire of 13 December 2010¹⁰, let us now proceed with the linking of these two seemingly unrelated events. The above sources reference merchants from Serres, Meleniko and Kastoria who were active in Central Europe¹¹ but also undertook charitable works of a cultural nature in their places of

9 Μικρά Κατήχησις ή σύντομος ορθόδοξος ομολογία των της Ανατολικής Εκκλησίας τέκνων εκ τετάρτου εκδοθείσα δαπάνη των Αυταδέλφων Σακελλαρίου εκ Καστορίας (Buda 1824); the photo can be found at <http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/2/a/b/metadata-114-000018.tkl> (last visit 19. 12. 2011).

10 Nikolaos ΒΑΚΙΡΤΖΙΣ, *Μονή Τιμίου Προδρόμου Σερρών. Ιστορικές, αρχαιολογικές, πολιτισμικές αξίες και η καταστροφική πυρκαγιά της 13^{ης} Δεκεμβρίου 2010* (Serres 2011).

11 Apostolos ΒΑΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Οι Δυτικομακεδόνες απόδημοι επί Τουρκοκρατίας* (Thessaloniki 1958). On the rich literature, see Ikaros ΜΑΔΟΥΒΑΛΟΣ, *Μεταναστευτικές διαδρομές από τον χώρο της Μακεδονίας στην ουγγρική ενδοχώρα (17^{ος}–αρχές 19^{ου} αι.)*. In: Ioannis ΚΟΛΙΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Iakovos ΜΗΑΙΛΙΔΗΣ (eds.), *Οι Μακεδόνες στη Διασπορά, 17^{ος}, 18^{ος}, 19^{ος} αι.* (Thessaloniki 2011), 178–235.

origin. Serres, of course, was one of the main sources of the cotton¹² exported from Macedonia to textile mills in German lands and the Habsburg empire; Meleniko¹³, a historic Byzantine city now in Bulgaria, was the place of origin of a commercial diaspora which wielded considerable power in Southeastern and Central Europe, and Kastoria was home to a thriving fur trade, with furriers from the town active in Constantinople and Russia as well as Central Europe.¹⁴

Therefore, my arguments in this article will centre on 'cultural transfers' to and from the diaspora, rather than on commercial transfers and practices.¹⁵ Cultural transfers between the West and Ottoman East have featured widely in literature, and research in the area is constantly evolving. Scholars have examined the gifts exchanged between ambassadors and the Ottoman authorities in Constantinople, and between these authorities and the courts of Europe¹⁶, as well as changes in the consumption habits of the Ottoman élite (the celebrated 'tulips era', for instance).¹⁷ The Ottomans' reluctance to adopt new techniques and ideas has also formed the focus of a number of specialized studies.¹⁸ Issues raised in the context of the important debate stimulated by the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism*,

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- 12 On Serres see *Ιστορία των Σερρών: από Αλώσεως αυτών υπό των Τούρκων μέχρι της απελευθερώσεώς των υπό των Ελλήνων, 1383–1913* (2 Athens 1966); *Οι Σέρρες και η περιοχή τους από την αρχαία στη μεταβυζαντινή κοινωνία*, Proceedings of the International Conference 29 Sept. – 3 Oct. 1993 (Thessaloniki 1998).
 - 13 Theodoros VLACHOS, *Die Geschichte der byzantinischen Stadt Melenikon* (Thessaloniki 1969); Petros PENNAS, *Το Κοινό του Μελενίκου και το σύστημα διοικήσεώς του. Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν της οργανώσεως των ελληνικών κοινοτήτων επί Τουρκοκρατίας* (Athens [1946]).
 - 14 Theophilos ΠΑΡΑΚΟΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ, *Η Καστοριά: γεωγραφία – ιστορία – τέχνη* (Athens [1930]); Apostolos VACALOPOULOS, *History of Macedonia, 1354–1833*, trans. from Greek by Peter Morgan (Thessaloniki 1973); on fur production and trade, see Traian STOIANOVICH, *The types and mechanisms of the market*. In: Spyros ASDRACHAS et al (eds.), *Greek Economic History, 15th–19th centuries*, trans. from Greek by Doolie Sloman (2 Athens 2007), 457–483; here 475.
 - 15 For a very good theoretical approach see: Michael NORTH, *Economic History and Cultural History*. In: Francesco AMMANNATI (ed.), *Dove va la storia economica? Metodi e prospettive secc. XIII–XVIII*, Atti delle 'Settimane di Studi', Fondazione Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica 'F. Datini', Prato, vol. 42, (Florence 2011), 497–507.
 - 16 There is an extensive bibliography on this subject from which I list some recent examples for illustration: Hedda REINOLL-KIEL, *East is East and West is West, and Sometimes the Twain Did Meet Diplomatic Gift Exchange in the Ottoman Empire*. In: Colin IMBER, Keiko KINOTAKI, Rhoads MURPHEY (eds.), *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies*, (London–New York 2005), II, 113–123; Deborah HOWARD, *Cultural Transfer between Venice and the Ottoman in the 15th and 16th centuries*. In: Herman RODENBURG (ed.), *Forging European Identities, 1400–1700* (= Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe 4, Cambridge 2007), 138–177.
 - 17 Ariel SALZMANN, *The Age of Tulips: Confluence and Conflict in Early Modern Consumer Society (1550–1730)*. In: Donald QUATAERT (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922. An Introduction* (State University of New York Press 2000), 83–106.
 - 18 See the literature in: Rossitsa GRADEVA, *On 'Frenk' Objects in Everyday Life in Ottoman Balkans: the Case of Sofia, Mid-17th – Mid-18th Centuries*. In: Simonetta CAVACIOCCHI (ed.), *Relazioni economiche tra Europa e mondo islamico secc. XIII–XVIII / Europe's economic relations with the Islamic World 13th–18th centuries*, Atti della "Trentottesima Settimana di Studi", 1–5 maggio 2006, Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini" (Prato 2007), 769–800; here 785.

with the trends in music and art brought about by European contact with the Turks and with Islam (made manifest in, for example, Beethoven's *Türkischen Marsch* or *Die Ruinen von Athen*, Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, and the popularity of *alla turca* styles, *Turquerie* etc.¹⁹), or the impact on European art of the artefacts brought back as plunder from the Ottoman wars²⁰ will not be tackled in this paper. The publication of texts, pamphlets etc. relating to the appearance of the Ottoman Turks in European history has stimulated discussion in the fields of mentalities and cultural exchange studies for a long time.²¹ I will also not be focusing on the commercial transfers and practices which accompanied Balkan Orthodox merchants settling in the Habsburg lands, especially after the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718. Commercial transactions between southeastern and Central Europe have been studied in recent years, and we have learnt a good deal about the transfer of products (like textiles and clocks²²) in both directions which would play a key role in changing cultural habits and modes of consumption in Central Europe, including the way in which people dressed and ate. We also enjoy more profound insights into the conditions underlying the spread of the habit of consuming coffee – and with it tea and tobacco – to Europe, and to Vienna in particular.²³ From the *Caffé Greco* founded in Rome in 1760²⁴ to the coffee house of the same name

19 The literature is huge. See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkish_music_\(style\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkish_music_(style)) or <http://cnx.org/content/m15861/latest>, (last visit 18. 9. 2011).

20 See also the collection in Karlsruhe (<http://Türkenbeute.de>, last visit 18. 9. 2011) and other similar collections in Vienna, for example.

21 The core works in the abundant literature are: Carl GOELLNER, *Turcica. Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vols. I-II (Bucuresti–Berlin 1961–1968); *Die Türkenfrage in der öffentlichen Meinung Europas im 16. Jahrhundert*, vol. III (Bucuresti–Baden-Baden 1978); Michael FRASSETTO, David R. BLANKS (eds.), *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Perceptions of Other* (New York 1999); Bodo GUTHMÜLLER, Wilhelm KÜHLMANN (eds.), *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance* (Tübingen 2000); Matthew BIRCHWOOD (ed.), *Cultural encounters between East and West, 1453–1699* (Amersham 2005); Roderick CAVALIERO, *Ottomania. The Romantics and the Myth of the Islamic Orient* (= Library for Ottoman Studies 24, Leiden 2010); Nebahat AVCIOĞLU, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation, 1728–1876* (Farnham 2011).

22 From the exceptional literature on the Balkan commerce during the Ottoman occupation see: Spyros ASDRACHAS (ed.), *Η οικονομική δομή των βαλκανικών χωρών (15^{ος}-19^{ος} αιώνας)* (Athens 1979); Bruce MCGOWAN, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600–1800* (Cambridge–New York 1981); Daniel PANZAC (ed.), *Histoire économique et sociale de l'empire ottomane et de la Turquie (1326–1960)*, Actes du sixième congrès international tenu à Aix-en-Provence du 1er au 4 juillet 1992 (Paris 1995); ASDRACHAS (ed.), *Greek economic history*, with a very rich literature; S. GABRILOVIĆ, *Građa o balkanskim trgovcima u Ugarskoj XVI-II veka. Carinarnice*, vol. II, III (Beograd 1996, 2008); GRADEVA, *On 'Frenk' Objects*, with information on the transportation of textiles, clocks and everyday articles found in the inventories of estates in the Ottoman sources in Sofia. In this volume, also see the article by Andreas Lyberatos on the use of clocks and watches in Bulgaria.

23 The introduction of coffee to England has been associated with Levantines, Brian William COWAN, *The social life of coffee; the emergence of the British coffeehouses* (New Haven 2005), 171–172.

24 Tamara Felicitas HUFSCHMIDT, Livio JANNATTONI, *Antico Caffé Greco. Storia – Ambienti – Collezioni* (Roma [1989]); Riccardo DI VINCENZO (ed.), *Dal Greco al Florian. Scrittori italiani al caffè* (Milano 2003).

established later in Trieste²⁵, the coffee houses of the time often featured the epithet 'Greco' in their descriptions. Recent studies²⁶ have separated myth from reality in the adoption of the coffee habit and the running of the first coffee house in Vienna, although the eighteenth-century accounts of Greeks, Armenians, Turks and others do reveal them to have been predominant among the coffee sellers and coffee house owners of the time.²⁷ One of the first Greeks to settle in Trieste was the coffee shop proprietor Theodoros Petratos from Cefalonia, who arrived in 1748, while 7 per cent of the Greek merchants in the free port were *cafetieri* in 1756.²⁸ Coffee features as a key product on inventories²⁹ along with three other commodities that would change consumption habits, everyday life and modes of socialization in Europe and beyond: tobacco, tea and chocolate.³⁰ Coffee shops became hubs for social intercourse as well as venues for secret political assemblies – a change which made it considerably easier for the powerful secret police to do their job.³¹ Commercial practices and the conducting of cashless exchanges have also been subject to research which has produced a number of serious studies dealing with the era's commercial centres and with early bank transactions, chiefly between Constantinople, Vienna, Augsburg and Venice – exchanges in which Greek Orthodox trading houses from Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, Smyrna and elsewhere played an important role.³² It was the merchants themselves who mediated the process of cultur-

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- 25 Giuseppe CAPRIN, *I nostri nonni* (⁶ Trieste 1926), 41–42 with a photo of the *Caffè Greco*.
- 26 Karl TEPPL, *Die Einführung des Kaffees in Wien. Georg Franz Koltschitzky, Johannes Diodato, Isaak de Luca* (Wien 1980); see also Christian BRANDSTÄTTER, Werner J. SCHWEIGER, *Das Wiener Kaffeehaus*, einleitender Essay von Hans Weigel (Wien–München–Zürich 1978); Gerhard H. OBERZILL, *Ins Kaffeehaus. Geschichten einer Wiener Institution* (Wien 1983).
- 27 Ulla HEISE, *Kaffee und Kaffee-Haus. Eine Kulturgeschichte* (Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 1987), 103–106.
- 28 Olga KATSIARDI-HERING, *Η ελληνική παροικία της Τεργέστης, 1753–1830* (Athens 1986), II, 398–399; 401.
- 29 N. G. SVORONOS, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris 1956), passim; Elena FRANGAKIS-SYRETT, *The commerce of Smyrna in the eighteenth century (1700–1820)* (Athens 1992), passim.
- 30 Roman SANDGRUBER, *Die Anfänge der Konsumgesellschaft. Konsumgüterverbrauch, Lebensstandard und Alltagskultur in Österreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Wien 1982), 192–216; HEISE, *Kaffee und Kaffee-Haus*, 49–53; 91ff; Annerose MENNINGER, *Genuss im kulturellen Wandel. Tabak, Kaffee, Tee und Schokolade in Europa (16.–19. Jahrhundert)* (Stuttgart 2004).
- 31 HEISE, *Kaffee und Kaffee-Haus*, 107. There have been cases of police surveillance, especially during the Napoleonic wars and the revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Polychronis ENEPEKIDES, *Beiträge zur kulturellen und politischen Geheimtätigkeit der Griechen in Wien vor dem griechischen Aufstand* (= Akademie Verlag, Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten 20, Berlin 1960), 28–31.
- 32 From the rich literature, I quote ASDRACHAS et al, *Greek economic history; Αγγελικη ΙΓΓΛΕΣΣΙ, Βορειοελλαδίτες έμποροι στο τέλος της Τουρκοκρατίας. Ο Σταύρος Ιωάννου* (Athens 2004); Ikaros MADOYVALOS, *Όψεις του παροικιακού ελληνισμού. Από το Μοναστήρι στην Πέστη. Επιχείρηση και αστική ταυτότητα της οικογένειας Μάνου (τέλη 18^{ου}-19^{ου} α.)* (Athens 2007, unpubl. PhD thesis); for more literature, see Olga KATSIARDI-HERING, Maria STASSINOPOULOU, *The Long 18th Century of Greek Commerce in the Habsburg Empire. Social Careers*. In: Harald HEPPNER, Peter URBANITSCH, Renate ZEDINGER (eds.), *Social Change in the Habsburg Monarchy/Les transfor-*

al transfer, whether they were itinerant or settled and established on the road to a bourgeois identity, and contributed to the bourgeoisification of their places of origin. Trade routes and the journeys made along them would also serve as mediators in these cultural transfers.³³

The debate on research into and the methodology of this process has moved on since the era in which Michel Espagne and Michael Werner published their book on Franco-German “*transfers culturels*”.³⁴ Contemporary researchers do not restrict themselves to exchanges relating to ideology and the formation of national identity, and now tackle multifaceted issues relating both to the movement of people, materials, views and cultural notations³⁵ and their reception by the host countries and its institutions. Our focus here is not on the ability or desire to ‘export’ ideas and tendencies, but rather their reception, meaning the embracing of the ‘foreign’ and the new and its assimilation and processing.

In the extended research carried out into the transfer of ideas into south-eastern Europe in the context of the European enlightenment, the discussion has centred on the transfer, or *metakenosis*, of ideas relating to scientific and philosophical reception. I shall be focusing on cultural transfer at the level of popular enlightenment (*Volksaufklärung*).³⁶ Since the thoughts that follow comprise proposals for a programme in progress, and, because space is limited, I shall restrict myself to some illustrative examples. Thus, cultural transfer is “a dynamic process linking three elements – a) the source culture, b) the mediators and c) the target culture”³⁷ – while cultural spheres are not hermetically sealed, and are the result

mations dans la monarchie des Habsbourg: l'époque des Lumières (= The Eighteenth Century and the Habsburg Monarchy 3, Bochum 2011), 191–203.

- 33 Michael GASSERT, *Kulturtransfer durch Fernhandelskaufleute. Stadt, Region und Fernhandel in der europäischen Geschichte. Eine wirtschaftshistorische Untersuchung der Beziehungen anhand von Karten, 12. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a. M. 2001), 61.
- 34 Michel ESPAGNE, Michael WERNER (eds.), *Transfers. Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand* (Paris 1988); also see: Michel ESPAGNE, *Les transferts culturels Franco-Allemands* (Paris 1999).
- 35 Matthias MIDDELL, *Kulturtransfer und historische Komparatistik. Thesen zu ihrem Verhältnis*. In: *Comparativ, Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung* 10,1 (2000), 7–41; here 18–21; IDEM: *Von der Wechselseitigkeit der Kulturen im Austausch: das Konzept des Kulturtransfers in verschiedenen Forschungskontexten*. In: Andrea LANGER, Georg MICHELS (eds.), *Metropolen und Kulturtransfer im 15./16. Jahrhundert. Prag – Krakau – Danzig – Wien* (Stuttgart 2001), 15–52; here 17–18.
- 36 James VAN HORN MELTON, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (= New Approaches in European History, Cambridge 2004).
- 37 Wolfgang SCHMALE, *Einleitung: Das Konzept 'Kulturtransfer' und das 16. Jahrhundert. Einige theoretische Grundlagen*. In: IDEM (ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck–Wien 2003), 41–62; here 43; Hans-Jürgen LÜSEBRINK, *Interkulturelle Kommunikationen. Interaktion, Fremdwahrnehmung, Kulturtransfer* (Weimar 2005), 129–130.

of numerous interweavings. Cultural transfer focuses on the observation of social groups which cross political and cultural borders.³⁸

The object of my observations, as mediators but also as recipients, are the Balkan merchants who, having set out chiefly from mountain or village milieu – although some were from small towns in Ottoman or Venetian-held territories, with their own discrete economic and social traditions –, mingled in the towns and (in particular) cities of their new host lands. They were received into the multiethnic provinces of the Habsburg lands, from the free port of Trieste to the imperial capital and the Hereditary Lands, but also the economically distinct provinces of Hungary and Transylvania. Of course, their reception space was also the urban environment in which they established themselves, founding churches and schools and organizing communities and commercial entities. The cities were the ‘border areas’ in which the competing and overlapping cultural communication spaces emerged.³⁹ In the cities, they mingled but also clashed with the local population, while the burgeoning bourgeoisie was made up of disparate national and religious groups (Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Armenians), especially in Hungary’s scattered towns⁴⁰ and the newly-established free port of Trieste. Moreover, the Balkan merchants were not, as the host authorities supposed, always united by their Orthodox faith, which differentiated them from each other as much as from the social majority. Furthermore, the great Serb migrations (*velika seoba*) of the late eighteenth century⁴¹ and the founding of the Metropolis of Karlowitz/Karlovci put the Serbs in a privileged position vis-à-vis the other Orthodox groups. Consequently, our study should be orientated towards bilateral as well as multilateral transfers in the long and short term. It is thus the acculturation process⁴² that will provide us with explanations of cultural exchanges from the host society to the societies of origin, as well as cultural exchanges from the Balkan newcomers to their host countries.

I have chosen the following, in my opinion, representative, thematic sections:

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- 38 Intervention of Michel ESPAGNE, “Podiumdiskussion in den Wiener Vorlesungen”. In: Wolfgang SCHMALE (ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck–Wien 2003), 15.
- 39 Moritz CSÁKY, *Kommunikation, Information, Kultur*. In: Johannes FRIMMEL, Michael WÖGERAUER (eds.), *Kommunikation und Information im 18. Jahrhundert. Das Beispiel der Habsburgermonarchie*. (= Buchforschung. Beiträge zum Buchwesen in Österreich 5, Wiesbaden 2009), 21–30; here 25. On the cities as centres of cultural exchanges, see also: Donatella CALABI, Stephen TURK CHRISTENSEN (eds.), *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe* (= Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe 2, Cambridge 2007).
- 40 Olga KATSIARDI-HERING, *Central and peripheral communities in the Greek Diaspora: Interlocal and local economic, political, and cultural networks in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, In: Minna ROZEN (ed.), *Homelands and Diasporas. Greeks, Jews and their Migrations* (London–New York 2008), 169–180.
- 41 Walter LUKAN, ‘*Velika seoba Srba*’. *Der große Serbenzug des Jahres 1690 ins Habsburgerreich*. In: Österreichische Osthefte 33 (1991), 35–54; R. SAMARDŽIĆ, *Velika seoba Srba 1690. Godine*. In: Sentandrejski zbornik 2 (1992), 7–24.
- 42 LÜSEBRINK, *Interkulturelle Kommunikationen*, 130.

- A) At the institutional/economic level of Habsburg and Central European policy and the integration of the members of the Balkan diaspora:
- a.1.) In light of the growing needs of the Habsburg textile mills, the imperial authorities granted exclusive privileges to Greek craftsmen from Thessaly in the mid eighteenth century, allowing them to set up red cotton yarn dyeing fabrics in Vienna and other imperial cities from Trieste to Transylvania.⁴³ Reflecting the state's interest in promoting technical training, the terms of the privileges included the requirement that local young people also be employed in the factories. This development in the context of the cultural exchange process was of special technological interest and would lead to a series of academic studies relating inter alia to the chemical production of dyes.⁴⁴ Such conditions are part and parcel of the transfer of industrial techniques and of the important role cotton played in changing paradigms in dress and furnishing fashions as well as consumption.⁴⁵ A similar technical transfer is evident in the fabrics used for making the heavy woollen cloaks (*capotti alla greca*) suitable for both farmers and sailors. Thus, the *capottaj* of Kalarrytes, an Epirote village, had made a name for themselves in Trieste by 1781, and had no fewer than eight workshops in the city by 1802 — an impressive number if one bears in mind the limited number of craft and industrial production units in the free port.⁴⁶ A distinct *capottaj* guild had also been formed by the mid eighteenth century in Venice⁴⁷, while, in Ancona, there were six *botteghe di Greci scismatici* (i. e. workshops of Greek scismatics not linked to the Catholic Church) producing cloaks using raw materials imported from the Levant in 1775, with the sources referring to others in the neighbouring Papal cities of Fermo and Rimini.⁴⁸ In the Papal city of Loreto, efforts were made to

43 Olga KATSIARDI-HERING, *Τεχνίτες και τεχνικές βαφής νημάτων. Από τη Θεσσαλία στην Κεντρική Ευρώπη (18ος -αρχές 19ου αι.). Επίμετρο: Η Αμπελακιώτικη Συντροφιά (1805)* (Athens 2003); see EADEM, *The allure of red Cotton Yarn, and how it came to Vienna: Associations of Greek artisans and merchants operating between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empire*. In: Suraiya FAROQHI, Gilles VEINSTEIN (eds.), *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* (= Collection Turcica 15, Paris-Louvain 2009), 97–131.

44 See literature in: Olga KATSIARDI-HERING, *Έλληνες τεχνίτες και έμποροι στην Ευρώπη, 18ος-19ος αι.: από την τεχνική στην επιστήμη και ο ρόλος της οικονομίας*. In: *Nefsīs* 18 (2009), 18–32; here 26–27.

45 GASSERT, *Kulturtransfer durch Fernhandelskaufleute*, 70.

46 KATSIARDI-HERING, *Ελληνική παροικία Τεργέστης*, 396–397.

47 Georgios PLOUMIDES, *Έλληνες καποτάδες στη Βενετία (18ος αι.)*. In: *Deltion Istorikis kai Ethnologikis Etaireias tis Ellados* 27 (1984), 21–22.

48 Alberto CARACCILO, *Il porto franco di Ancona. Crescita e crisi di un ambiente mercantile* (= *Proposte e Ricerche* 28, Ancona 2002), 294 (transl. from French, first published in 1965); Maria Christina CHATZIOANNOU, *Η εξέλιξη μιας παραδοσιακής επιχείρησης στο πρώτο μισό του 19ου αιώνα*. In: Christina AGRIANTONI, Maria Christina CHATZIOANNOU (eds.), *Το Μεταξουργείο της Αθήνας* (= Institute for Neohellenic Research/National Research Center 5, Athens 1995), 17–29.

teach the art to the residents of the orphanage.⁴⁹ Factories producing *Moussoline stampate ad uso di Levante* (i. e. mousselines printed according to the traditions in the Levant) were also operated in Vienna and Trieste by Greek and Jewish entrepreneurs from the Ottoman empire, who had brought the techniques with them from the Levant.⁵⁰

- a.2) The monopoly enjoyed by Thessalian merchants from Agia and – primarily – Ambelakia in the red cotton yarn trade led to trading-production companies in the form of *società in accomandita* (i. e. societies with limited partnership) operating for over half a century with their production base in Ambelakia and their distribution and commercial headquarters in Vienna from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. The interesting thing here is that these companies operated in accordance with Austrian commercial law, since Ottoman law made no provisions for practices of this sort.⁵¹ If we frame their position in terms of the historiographical discourse on the ‘centre and periphery’, we should acknowledge that the entrepreneurs of the Greek diaspora operated more as members of the ‘centre’ or ‘semi-periphery’ than of the Ottoman periphery.

The emergence of comparable corporate structures in the diaspora led to a number of companies active in Central Europe opening subsidiaries in the Levant which employed practices familiar from Central Europe, or setting up commercial agents in the Ottoman East and the Balkans who would take their place in the interlocal network.⁵² Banking practices such as *escomptes* or *sconti di piazza* (i. e. discounts) were also ‘imported’ into the Levant. As apprentice secretaries working for merchants in the diaspora⁵³, the younger members of the commercial community were familiar with these commercial practices and transferred them to the Levant. Moreover, these commercial practices were also ‘taught’ and explained in detail in manuals dealing with commercial and mathematical subjects, which were printed in Venice and Trieste as well as Vienna.⁵⁴ These manuals were compiled by Greeks –

49 Sergio ANSELMINI, *Introduzione e manifattura dei cappotti alla Greca nello Stato Pontificio, 1751–1830*. In: *Annuario del Liceo classico statale di Ancona curata per il Centenario dell’Istituto* (Ancona 1964), 1–18.

50 KATSIARDI-HERING, *Έλληνες τεχνίτες και έμποροι στην Ευρώπη*; ΕΑΔΕΜ, *Από την τεχνική στην επιστήμη*, 28–29.

51 KATSIARDI-HERING, *The allure of red Cotton Yarn*.

52 The transfer of legal regulations via merchants is a recognized strategy, see GASSERT, *Kulturtransfer durch Fernhandelskaufleute*, 59.

53 Olga KATSIARDI-HERING, *Christian and Jewish Ottoman Subjects: Family, Inheritance and Commercial Networks between East and West (17th – 18th C.)*. In: Simonetta CAVACIOCCHI (ed.), *La famiglia nell’economia europea secc. XIII–XVIII*, (=Atti della “Quarantesima Settimana di Studi”, 6–10 aprile 2008, Florence 2009), 409–440; here 430; GASSERT, *Kulturtransfer durch Fernhandelskaufleute*, 93.

54 Triantafyllos SKLAVENTITIS, *Τα εμπορικά εγχειρίδια της Βενετοκρατίας και Τουρκοκρατίας και η Έμπορική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Νικολάου Παπαδόπουλου* (= Etaireia Meletis Neou Ellinismou,

most of them part of the circle of scholars and merchants from Kastoria, Siatista and Kleisoura⁵⁵ in Western Macedonia – but also by Serbs. And although the handbooks were largely modelled on French, Italian⁵⁶ and German originals⁵⁷, their authors took care to supply contemporary examples which would be of practical use to merchants and which covered every type of commercial practice from setting up a company to issuing, selling and trading in bills of exchange, and from currency exchange rates in the different markets of Europe and the Near East to – and especially – the techniques of double-entry book-keeping (*scrittura doppia*). Their examples often drew on the economic experience of the merchants of the diaspora, revealing cultural exchanges in the process, which included the assimilation of linguistic elements⁵⁸ in accordance with the manuals' place of publication and intended readership. With trade axes centred, respectively, on Venice–Trieste⁵⁹ and Vienna⁶⁰–Pest, specialized trade networks and practices can be identified in relation to both the maritime and overland trade, which often reveal the corresponding linguistic influences. They also demonstrate that Greek was the commercial *lingua franca* among Balkan merchants, but that the merchants also adopted a specialized technical commercial vocabulary borrowed

Supplement of the Journal *Mnimon* 5, Athens 1991). Many of these commercial books can be found at <http://www.lib.uoa.gr/hellinonmnimon>.

- 55 See for example Ioannis ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΙΛ from Kastoria, *Στοιχείων της αριθμητικής δοκίμιον* (Vienna 1797); Demetrius DARVARIS, *Πρόχειρος Αριθμητική διδάσκουσα όλα τα είδη του λογαριασμού [...] παράρτημα περί των εις την εμπορίαν ερανισθείσα [...]* (Vienna 1803); Thomas ΔΕΜΕΤΡΙΟΥ from Siatista, *Χειραγωγός έμπειρος της πραγματείας, ήτοι βιβλίον, περιέχον όλους τους αναγκαίους, σχεδόν, λογαριασμούς της πραγματείας [...]* (Vienna ² 1809, ¹ 1793).
- 56 *Ζυγόμετρον: ήτοι τα ζύγια, και μέτρα διαφόρων εμπορίων, χρήσιμον εις τους Πραγματεύοντας. Δηρημένον εις δύο μέρη* (Venice 1803), vol IV; the editor mentions that the book was based on an Italian volume printed in Livorno in 1746.
- 57 A large number of commercial books were printed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in various European languages which sought to raise awareness of and standardize commercial and banking transactions, see: <http://www.kruenitz1.uni-trier.de>.
- 58 Radoslav ΚΑΤΙΤΙĆ (ed.), *'Herrschaft' und 'Staat': Untersuchungen zum Zivilisationswortschatz im südosteuropäischen Raum 1840–1870. Eine erste Bilanz* (= Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 2004).
- 59 Ιωάννης Τζορτζέλλου, *Εμπορική Οδηγία, [...] Κοινώς την Σκριττούρα Ντόπια [...]* (Trieste 1793); the title page features an engraving with an idealized view of Trieste harbour and merchants in Levantine dress. *Ζυγόμετρον*, op. cit., with examples of harbours in the Western and Eastern Mediterranean; Panagiotis ΣΠΑΝΟΥΛΟΣ, *Αριθμητική Εμπορική, ήτοι Βιβλίον περιέχον πολλούς, και διαφόρους λογαριασμούς [...] προς ωφέλειαν των νέων οπου μέλλουσι να μεταχειρισθούν τα εμπορικά, [...]* (Trieste 1803); the examples on commercial practices included in this book encompass harbours as far afield as Amsterdam, Hamburg, London, and commercial centres in France, Milan, Constantinople and Smyrna.
- 60 An outstanding example: Demetrius DARVARIS, *Πρόχειρος Αριθμητική [...] παράρτημα Περί των εις την εμπορίαν ανηκόντων λογαριασμών* (Vienna 1803); IDEM, *Επιστολάριον κοινωφελές εις χρήσιν των περί την σπουδήν και εμπορίαν καταγινόμενων νέων [...]* (Vienna 1808); Thomas ΔΕΜΕΤΡΙΟΥ, *Χειραγωγός*, with examples of commercial practices extending from Vienna to locations in Central Europe and Amsterdam, Hamburg, Livorno, Venice and Constantinople.

from their host languages. As representatives of, and participants in multiple worlds, merchants had to write in universally comprehensible terms⁶¹. Similar observations can be made in relation to *epistolarii* – especially those with commercial content. These influences are particularly evident in the *epistolarium* of Demetrios Darvaris (1808), which reflects Central European models of commercial correspondence as well as the educational and linguistic reforms introduced during the reign of Maria Theresa and similar manuals written in Serbian.⁶² Such *epistolarii* and commercial handbooks also led to the emergence of a class of professional commercial secretaries among the Balkan merchants⁶³, who would systematically undertake the commercial correspondence between trading companies in Central and Southeastern Europe, conveying commercial, social and personal information and contributing to communication between the two European regions.⁶⁴ Commercial correspondence, which had been a given for many years in Europe, would also become the core element in the cultural exchanges between the merchants of the Central European diaspora.⁶⁵ Members of the diaspora communities also began to publish commercial encyclopaedias⁶⁶ and newspapers⁶⁷ in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

- B) At the level of self-government: Once settled with their families, the merchants' first concern was to acquire privileges from the Habsburg authorities

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- 61 Triantafyllos SKLAVENITIS, *Τα έντυπα επιστολάρια της Βενετίας (1757–1832)*. In: Proceedings of the scientific conference on Neohellenic Correspondence, 16th to 19th centuries. *Mesaionika kai Nea Ellinika* 8 (2006), 151–168; here 157; the manuals usually transliterate the names of currencies from the predominant language of the country that issued them: e. g. 'ράιχς τάλληρον' [= Reichs Thaler], 'φιορίν' [= Fiorin], 'σίλλιγγ φλαίμικον' [= Flemish schilling] etc. In: Thomas ΔΕΜΕΤΡΙΟΥ, *Χειραγωγός*, 295 with examples of the names of goods traded.
- 62 Maria STASSINOPOULOU, *Ξαναδιαβάζοντας το επιστολάριο του Δημητρίου Δάρβαρη*. In: Proceedings of the scientific conference on Neohellenic Correspondence, 16th–19th cent., *Mesaionika kai Nea Ellinika* 8 (2006), 169–180, here 176–178.
- 63 Euythia ΛΙΑΤΑ, *Με 'μυστικές γραφές' και 'τίμιες'. Οι εντιμότατοι πραγματευτές αλληλογραφούν και νεγκοτσιάρουν τον 18^ο αιώνα*, *ibid.*, 303–316.
- 64 The commercial correspondence of the Orthodox merchants in Venice, Vienna, Pest has been examined in various papers: Katerina ΠΑΡΑΚΟΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ, *Ελληνικές εμπορικές επιχειρήσεις στην Κεντρική Ευρώπη το β' μισό του 18^{ου} αιώνα. Η οικογένεια Πόνδικα* (Athens 2002, unpubl. PhD thesis); MADOUVALOS, *Όψεις του παροικιακού ελληνισμού*; Euythia ΛΙΑΤΑ, *G. A. Melos trading network (Venice, 1712–1732): Structural characteristics and temporary partnerships*. In: *The Historical Review* 7 (2010), 127–178.
- 65 See, especially, the articles of Mario INFELISE and Francesca TRIVELLATO In: FRANCISCO BETHENCOURT, Florike EGMOND (eds.), *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (= *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* 3, Cambridge 2007), 33–52; 80–103.
- 66 Nikolaos ΠΑΡΑΔΟΡΟΥΛΟΣ, *Ερμής ο Κερδώος ήτοι Εμπορική Γκυκλοπαιδεία*, 4 vols. (Venice 1815–1817).
- 67 *Εμπορικός Τηλέγραφος ή Περιοδική Εφημερίς Πολιτική, Φιλολογική τε και Εμπορική*, Vienna 1812–1836, see: Aikaterini ΚΟΥΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ, *Die griechische Vorrevolutionäre Presse, Wien – Paris (1784–1821)* (= *Stiftung der Griechischen Kultur*, Athens 1995) (also in Greek), 69–82.

and then to set up communities and organize themselves into confraternities, into specific commercial societies (*compagnie*) and communities.⁶⁸ Their statutes allowed for their administration in line with the customary practice in their host countries and, sometimes, in combination with the conventions that held in their countries of origin, since the community was a very important institution in the Ottoman provinces.⁶⁹ The organization of the Venetian Greek and other communities⁷⁰ provided a model for these later diaspora communities, as did the various types of brotherhood in the host countries – whether these were in the form of guilds, or *compagnia*, as in the case of Transylvania⁷¹, Eastern Hungary or the Banat of Temesvár – which led to osmosis for various administrative systems. Only fragments of statutes relating to the election of dignitaries have survived to shed light on the institutional organization of communities within the Ottoman empire. Real proof of bilateral cultural transfer is provided by the only complete, printed statute referencing the organization of a Greek community in the Ottoman East prior to the mid nineteenth century, when community statutes were introduced in the wake of the Tanzimat reforms⁷² namely, the statute of the community (*Κοινόν*) of Meleniko, which was printed in Vienna in 1813.⁷³ The systematic manner in which it deals with organization reflects the influence of the institutional framework in which the merchants of the Meleniko diaspora operated in Central Europe.⁷⁴

68 Olga KATSIARDI-HERING, *Αδελφότητα, κομπανία, κοινότητα. Για μια τυπολογία των ελληνικών κοινοτήτων της Κεντρικής Ευρώπης, με αφορμή το άγνωστο καταστατικό του Miskolc (1801)*. In: *Εώα και Εσπέρια* 7 (2007), 247–310, includes an extensive bibliography concerning the organisation of the commercial diaspora communities. For a wider-ranging bibliography on the Greek diaspora, see <http://old.arch.uoa.gr/diaspora/main/index.php> and the results of a recent research programme in <http://old.arch.uoa.gr/elkoinoites/>

69 Εfthyia ΛΙΑΤΑ, *Οι κοινότητες. Ένας θεσμός με πολλές όψεις*. In: Vassilis PANAGIOTOPOULOS (ed.), *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού, 1770–2000* (Athens 2003), II, 309–324, with a selected bibliography.

70 From the rich literature on Venice, s. M. ΜΑΝΟΥSSAKAS, *A History of the Greek Confraternity (1498–1953) and the activity of the Greek Institute of Venice*. In: *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 5 (1989), 321–394; *Δημοσία Ιλαρία. 500 years since the foundation of the Greekorthodox community in Venice* (Venice 1999); Maria-Francesca ΤΙΕΡΟΛΟ, Eu. ΤΟΝΕΤΤΙ (eds.), *I Greci a Venezia*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio, Venezia, 5–7 Nov. 1998 (Venezia 2002); Brunehilde ΙΜΗΑΥS, *Le minoranze orientali a Venezia, 1300–1510* (Rome 1997, transl. from French); M. GRENET, *La Fabrique Communautaire. Les Grecs à Venise*, Livourne et Marseille, v. 1770 – v. 1830 (Florence 2010, unpubl. PhD thesis).

71 See the literature in KATSIARDI-HERING, *Αδελφότητα, κομπανία, κοινότητα*; see also the recent book by Despoina-Eirini ΤSOURKA-ΡΑΡΑΣΤΑΤΗ, *Η νομολογία του κριτηρίου της ελληνικής 'κομπανίας' του Σιμπίου Τρανσυλβανίας 17^{ος}–18^{ος} αι. Πηγές του δικαίου και των θεσμών του απόδημου ελληνισμού* (= Academy of Athens, Athens 2011).

72 Charalampos ΡΑΡΑΣΤΑΤΗΣ, *Οι κανονισμοί των ορθόδοξων ελληνικών κοινοτήτων του οθωμανικού κράτους και της διασποράς* (Thessaloniki 1984).

73 *Σύστημα ή Διαταγαί κατά κοινήν ψήφον, απάσης της συνελεύσεως της εν Μακεδονία Πόλεως Μελενίκου [...]*, (Vienna 1813), reprint in: PENNAS, *Το Κοινόν του Μελενίκου*.

74 GASSERT, *Kulturtransfer durch Fernhandelskaufleute*, 115–117.

- C) The urbanization of the members of the diaspora communities and their places of origin:
- c.1) Cultural transfer found one of its primary applications in the urbanization of life and habits, and our example demonstrates this. Chiefly pastoral and agricultural in origin, the Balkan people who moved to Central Europe – rather than those who moved to the city-port of Trieste⁷⁵ – found themselves in a new, urban environment. The people in ‘Turkish’ dress whose arrival was recorded on census forms at the Habsburg border⁷⁶ and who provided local colour to descriptions of the empire’s cities, including its capital⁷⁷, or were portrayed in contemporary eighteenth-century lithographs, would very often change the way in which they lived⁷⁸ or dressed.⁷⁹ Dwelling in the centre of cities, they absorbed developments in their urban environment and observed and assimilated its various processes.⁸⁰ The Greeks of Trieste who competed

75 Olga KATSIARDI-HERING, *Il mondo europeo degli intellettuali Greci della Diaspora (sec. XVIII ex. –XIX in.)*. In: Francesco BRUNI (ed.), *Niccolò Tommaseo: Popolo e Nazioni. Italiani, Corsi, Greci, Illirici*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi nel bicentenario della nascita di Niccolò Tommaseo, Venezia, 23–25 gennaio 2003 (Roma–Padova 2004), 69–85.

76 Olga KATSIARDI-HERING, *Grenz-, Staats- und Gemeindegrenzkonstruktionen in der Habsburgermonarchie: Identitätsdiskurs bei den Menschen aus dem Süden*. In: Maria ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ, Maria STASSINOPOULOU, Ioannis ZELEPOS (eds.), *Griechische Dimensionen südosteuropäischer Kultur seit dem 18. Jahrhundert. Verortung, Bewegung, Grenzüberschreibung* (Frankfurt a. M. et al 2011), 231–252; here 249.

77 CSÁKY, *Kommunikation, Information*, 26.

78 Vaso SEIRINIDOU, *Griechen in Wien im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert. Soziale Identitäten. In: Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich*. Jahrbuch der österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts 12 (1997), 7–28; EADEM: *Η εγκατάσταση των Ελλήνων στη Βιέννη, 1780–1820* (Athens 1998, MA thesis); Katerina KARADIMA, *Διαφυλάσσοντας την περιουσία, την τιμή και την επαγγελματική αξία για τις επόμενες γενιές: οι διαθήκες των εμπόρων της Τεργέστης (1775–1850)* (Athens 2010, MA thesis); MADOUVALOS, *Όψεις παροικιακού ελληνισμού*, 395–412, for the case of the Manos merchant family in Pest; all four studies are based on inventories and wills; see also Miroslav ΤΙΜΟΤΙЈΕΒΙĆ, *Rađanje moderne privatnosti: privatni život Srba u Habzburškoj monarhiji od kraja 17. do početka 19. veka* (Beograd 2006). I would like to thank Mag. Jovan Pešalj for bringing the book to my attention. For a corresponding European-wide view, see Michael NORTH, *Genuss und Glück des Lebens. Kulturkonsum im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Köln–Weimar–Wien 2003), 55–98.

79 See the example of Adamantios Korais, in Giorgos DERTILIS, *Entrepreneurs grecs: trois générations, 1770–1900*. In: Franco ANGIOLINI, Daniel ROCHE (eds.), *Cultures et formations négociantes dans l’Europe moderne* (Paris 1995), 111–119; KATSIARDI-HERING, *Αδελφότητα, Κομπανία, Κοινότητα*, 304, art. 36 of the statute of the confraternity of Miskolc (1801), which advises its apprentice members not to wear English clothes and to avoid flashy, foreign styles in general of dress.

80 From the rich literature on the bourgeois class in Austria, see: Ernst BRUCKMÜLLER, Hannes STECKL, *Zur Geschichte des Bürgertums in Österreich*. In: Jürgen KOCKA (ed.), *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert, I: Einheit und Vielfalt Europas* (= Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe 1573, Göttingen 1995), 166–198; Jürgen KOCKA, *Das europäische Muster und der deutsche Fall*. In: IDEM (ed.), *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert, I: 9–75*; Kostas RAPTIS, *Αστικές τάξεις και αστικότητα στην Ευρώπη, 1789–1914: Προσανατολισμοί της σύγχρονης ιστοριογραφίας*. In: *Mnimon* 20 (1998), 211–243.

amongst themselves in erecting impressive buildings, often with “classical” facades and decorations, were the people ‘who made Trieste’ (*che hanno ‘fatto’ Trieste*).⁸¹ They invited architects who specialized in the classical style to renovate the exteriors of their buildings, and commissioned celebrated sculptors to adorn their interiors (Demetrios Kartsiotis, for example, engaged the German architect Matteo Pertch to oversee the renovation of his palazzo).⁸²

- c.2) The building and decoration of the churches of the religious communities in the diaspora shed even more light on multilateral cultural transfer, with the simple single-aisle basilicas of the Greek/Serbian Saint Spyridon (in the 1750s) and the Greek Saint Nicholas in Trieste (in the 1780s)⁸³ being built in the style of the Greek islands from which the majority of the early settlers came.⁸⁴ The Greek and (in particular) Serbian Orthodox churches of the Hungarian hinterland, the provinces of the Military Frontier and the Banat of Temesvár, borrowed elements from Central European architecture.⁸⁵ Following the founding of the Metropolis of Karlowitz and the Austrian occupation of the Belgrade area (1717–1739), the church bells – and later the façade and, in some cases, the entire architecture of the churches – in the Military Frontier area began to reflect the baroque style. This cultural osmosis was facilitated by Serbian craftsmen collaborating with German and Austrian engineers and architects in a multiethnic urban environment, as well as by the baroque influences to which Serbian artists of the diaspora were exposed by Ukrainian craftsmen.⁸⁶ The baroquization (*Barockisierung*) quickly spread to religious icons, chiefly in the frames and background of the icons painted in churches across trans-Danubia.⁸⁷ The artists of the numerically larger Serbian, as well as Greek communities⁸⁸ decorated the interiors of the Orthodox churches in Hungary, which often had mixed Greek and Serbian or Vlach (Aromunian) communities. In Trieste, Corfiote artists painted the late eighteenth-century

81 Marco POZZETTO, *Gli uomini che hanno ‘fatto’ Trieste*. In: La Bora, year IV, Nr 5 (Trieste 1980), 16–29 and V, Nr 1 (Dec.–Jan. 1981), 13–20.

82 R. ILLY, S. ALBANESE, A. BERNHEIM (eds.), *Palazzo Carciotti a Trieste* (Trieste 1995).

83 KATSIARDI-HERING, *H ελληνική παροικία της Τεργέστης*, 85–90; 215–238; Dejan MEDAKOVIĆ, Djordje MILOŠEVIĆ, *Chronik der Serben in Triest* (Belgrade 1987), 73; 77; 81; 82–123.

84 The first Greek-Serbian church in Trieste took the name of St. Spiridon after the patron saint of Corfu, the home of the first archimandrite of the Orthodox Church in Trieste.

85 Arpad SOMOGYI, *Kunstdenkmäler der griechischen Diaspora in Ungarn* (Thessaloniki 1970); Márta NAGY, *Ortodox Falképek Magyarországon* (Dunakönyv Kiadó 1994).

86 MEDAKOVIĆ, MILOŠEVIĆ, *Chronik der Serben*, passim; Márta NAGY, *A Magyarországi görög diaszpóra egyházművészeti emlékei I. Ikonok, ikonosztázionok* (Debrecen 1998); EADEM, *Ikon-festészet Magyarországon/Icon painting in Hungary* (Debrecen 2000).

87 Dejan MEDAKOVIĆ, *Serbischer Barock. Sakrale Kunst im Donauraum. Unter Mitarbeit von Sieglinde Preßlinger* (Wien–Köln–Weimar 1991), 18–26; 30–46; 66–81, especially on the architecture and, passim, on icon painting and engravings.

88 Márta NAGY, *Νικόλαος Ιωάννου Ταληδόρος (Jankovicz Miklós) ca. 1750–1817 and his wood-carver’s workshop in Eger*. In: *Balkan Studies* 30,1 (1989), 43–66. Nikolaos Janković also worked on iconostasis of the Greek Orthodox churches in Pest, Karcag, Miskolc.

icons of the altar screen in a post-Byzantine style reminiscent of church interiors on Corfu. A few years later in Saint Nicholas' church, the Italians Giacomo Graziosi and Cesare dell'Acqua would paint the ceiling frescoes and large icons on its long side walls in an utterly Western style.⁸⁹ Similar observations can be made of the Greek Orthodox churches of Saint George and the Holy Trinity in Vienna.⁹⁰ The Central European Orthodox diaspora experienced osmosis as long and wide-ranging as the one that had occurred in the Greek-Venetian East after the fourteenth century⁹¹, and among the Catholic and Protestant populations of Transylvania.⁹²

As the eighteenth century neared its end, communities often began to make distinctions on the basis of the ethnic origins of their members (Serbian, Greek) or citizenship (e.g. separate communities for Ottoman and Habsburg subjects in Vienna).⁹³ Such divisions were made in the context of another tendency in cultural transfers – the formation of national identities manifesting themselves through the spread of a rapidly growing national awareness from the diaspora's countries of reception to its societies of origin.⁹⁴

- c.3) One of the most representative trends towards collaboration and multilateral cultural transfers can be traced via the host of engravings made during this era. Printed in Venice from the late seventeenth century, and primarily in Vi-

89 KATSIARDI-HERING, *Η ελληνική παροικία της Τεργέστης*, 215–238.

90 Georgios TSIGARAS, *Ο ναός του Αγίου Γεωργίου Βιέννης. Ιστορία και τέχνη / Die Kirche zum heiligen Georg in Wien. Geschichte und Kunst* (Thessaloniki 2005).

91 From the rich literature, I mention Nano CHATZIDAKI, *Από τον Χάνδακα στη Βενετία. Ελληνικές εικόνες στην Ιταλία, 15–16^{ος} αι.* (Athens 1993); Chryssa MALTEZOU (ed.), *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα. Προσεγγίζοντας την ιστορία της*, vol. I. (= Hellenic Institute for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies in Venice 30, Athens–Venice 2010), especially the articles on pp. 479–636.

92 Maria CRĂCIUN, *Rural altarpieces and religious experiences in Transylvania's Saxon communities*. In: Heinz SCHILLING, István György TÓTH (eds.), *Religion and Cultural exchange in Europe 1400–1700* (= Cultural exchange in Early Modern Europe 1, Cambridge University Press 2006), 191–217.

93 KATSIARDI-HERING, *Η ελληνική παροικία στην Τεργέστη*, op. cit., 92–117; Vaso SEIRINIDOU, *Έλληνες στη Βιέννη (18^{ος}–μέσα 19^{ου} αι.)* (Athens 2011). The ethnic contradistinctions between the Greeks and Vlachs in Hungary were not conducive to the separation of their common communities: Ödön FÜVES, *Görögök Pesten (1686–1931)* (Budapest 1972, unpubl. habilitation thesis; I used the unpublished German translation of Andrea Seidler: Griechen in Pest); Gunnar HERING, *Der Konflikt zwischen Griechen und Walachen in der Pester orthodoxen Gemeinde*. In: IDEM (ed.), *Dimensionen griechischer Literatur und Geschichte. Festschrift für Pavlos Tzermias zum 65. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt a. M. 1993), 145–160.

94 The literature concerning the formation of national identities in the Balkans is very rewarding, see among others: Martin BLINKHORN, Thanos VEREMIS (eds.), *Modern Greece. Nationalism and Nationality* (Athens 1989); Dimitris TZIOVAS (ed.), *Greece and the Balkans: Identities, perceptions and cultural encounters since the Enlightenment* (Aldershot 2003); Raymond DETREZ, Pieter PLAS (eds.), *Developing cultural identity in the Balkans* (Frankfurt a. M. 2005); Ulf BRUNNBAUER, Andreas HELMEDACH, Stephan TROEBST (eds.), *Schnittstellen. Gesellschaft, Nation, Konflikt und Erinnerung in Südosteuropa. Festschrift für Holm Sundhausen zum 65. Geburtstag* (München 2007); Paschalis KITROMILIDES, *An Orthodox Commonwealth. Symbolic Legacies and Cultural Encounters in Southeastern Europe* (= Variorum Reprints, Aldershot 2008).

enna and Pest from the eighteenth century on, these 'paper icons' should be viewed in the context of monastic efforts to bolster religious sentiment and amass funds. In addition, both the numerous Serbian colonists in the Military Frontier of the Habsburg lands and the Greeks and other merchants and communities of the Diaspora handed out or sold paper icons to raise funds for a church during its saint's day celebrations.⁹⁵ The prints were the fruit of collaborations between artists (Christofor Žefarović⁹⁶, for instance, who was born in Doirani, Macedonia at the end of the seventeenth century, was active in and around the Metropolis of Karlowitz and died in Russia in 1753), printers and engravers (like Vienna's Thomas Messmer and Jakob Schmutzer⁹⁷), and Greek, Serbian and Vlach merchants who acted as benefactors both to their communities of origin in the Ottoman empire and to the communities of the diaspora.⁹⁸ Some of these engravings did not restrict themselves to depictions of saints, and their style soon included Western (baroque and rococo) influences. The captions were in Greek and Slavian-Serbian⁹⁹, and idealized towns from the immigrants' host lands and their countries of origin played a central or peripheral role in the compositions.¹⁰⁰

- c.4) The urbanization of the diaspora communities would inevitably be conveyed back to their places of origin. Since the merchants of the Greek Orthodox diaspora travelling back and forth between their places of origin and Central Europe, villages and towns in Epirus (Metsovo, Zagorochoria), Western Macedonia (Siatista, Kozani, Kastoria, Servia, Monastiri/Vitola etc.), Thessaly (Ambelakia and Agia, but also Zagora and Milies on Mount Pelion), the Peloponnese, Smyrna and the Aegean islands also absorbed urban, bourgeois developments indirectly through a process of osmosis. In the Ottoman empire, the Christian minorities – and, above all, the Greeks and Armenians – were the first to become part of the bourgeoisie, either through the *beratlis*

95 PAPASTRATOU, *Χάρτινες εικόνες*.

96 PAPASTRATOU, *Χάρτινες εικόνες*, I: 19, 24, 81, 168–175, 269–270; on Žefarović see *Delo Christofora Žefaroviča* (Novi Sad 1961); DINKO MEDAKOVIĆ, *Serbischer Barock*, 245–261, and passim. Especially on his engravings see DINKO DAVIDOV, *Zaharije Orfelin, Christofor Žefarović, Srpski barokrezi 18. veka* (Novi Sad 1983); IVAN BENCHEV, *Die Technologie in den griechischen und bulgarischen Malerbüchern des 16.–19. Jahrhunderts. Nektarij/Anonymus I und II/Dionysios von Phourna/Georgi Damjanov/Panagiotis Doxaras/Christofor Žefarović/Zacharij Petrović/Christo Jovević/Cod. D. slavo 39/Dičo Zograf/Zacharij Zograf* (Recklinghausen 2004).

97 The best example is *Stematografija. Izbrazenije oruzij iliriceskih. Izrez u bakru Hristofor Žefarović i Toma Mesmer* (Vienna 1741), facsimile reprint and editorial additions by DINKO DAVIDOV (Novi Sad 1972); MEDAKOVIĆ, *Serbischer Barock*, 22–24; 56–60; 253–256; see also *Privilegia per divos Imperatores Leopoldum, Josephum, et Carolum VI [...] Paulum Nenadovich, Episcopum [...]* (Vienna 1743).

98 PAPASTRATOU, *Χάρτινες εικόνες*, 498, Nr 535, pp. 575–6, Nr 615; A comparative study based on the wealth of material published by Papastratou would yield important conclusions on this collaboration.

99 PAPASTRATOU, *Χάρτινες εικόνες*, Nr. 209.

100 *Ibid.*, Nr. 167, 168; pp. 169, 171, 270, 498.

system (i. e. a system of special protection) or more generally through their participation in foreign commerce.¹⁰¹

From the mid eighteenth century, this osmosis manifested itself in the interior decoration of their mansions. The well-travelled merchants mentally superimposed the space of their journeys¹⁰² onto their lands of origin by decorating their drawing rooms with mannered depictions of Frankfurt¹⁰³ in Siatista and of Constantinople, Rome, Vienna and other cities¹⁰⁴ in the mansions of the wealthy merchants and manufacturers Georges and Demetrios Schwartz in Ambelakia. Wall paintings in the diaspora's countries of origin were sometimes modelled on European engravings¹⁰⁵ by the – generally anonymous – local craftsmen¹⁰⁶ who decorated the mansions in accordance with their owners' wishes. The builders – journeymen who travelled in teams – followed the late-Byzantine style of the southern Balkans (Epirus, Macedonia) in the mansions' architecture.¹⁰⁷ However, influenced by the spread of the so-called 'Turkish baroque' to the Ottoman empire¹⁰⁸, the craftsmen came to develop a decorative fusion which would become familiar to the middle classes of Macedonia and Epirus, and, from the nineteenth century on, take root in southern Bulgarian and Romanian¹⁰⁹ areas, too. Their mansions were thus decorated with elaborate plant motifs in the baroque and rococo¹¹⁰ styles, and with fireplaces and wall panels adorned with murals de-

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- 101 Fatma Müge GÖÇEK, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire, Ottoman Westernization of Social Change* (New York–Oxford 1996), 43 ff.; 89–100.
- 102 Nikolaos ΜΟΥΤΣΟΡΟΥΛΟΣ, *Τα Θεσσαλικά Αμπελάκια*. In: Θεσσαλία, Supplement of the journal *Ήώς* (2 Athens 2001), 178–181.
- 103 Nikolaos ΜΟΥΤΣΟΡΟΥΛΟΣ, *Τα αρχοντικά της Σιάτιστας* (Thessaloniki 1964), tables 46, 67, Maliogas' mansion in Siatista; See also other examples of mansions in Siatista and Kastoria in Georgios BONTAS, *Η Σιάτιστα* (Thessaloniki 1984), 13–16 on the mansions of Manoussis and Chatzimichail, rich merchants in the Habsburg empire and others; on those merchants, see also Georgios LAIOS, *Η Σιάτιστα και οι εμπορικοί οίκοι Χατζήμιχαήλ και Μανούση (17ος – 19ος αι.)* (= Makedoniki vivliothiki, Thessaloniki 1982).
- 104 Anastasia ΔΙΑΜΑΝΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Αμπελάκια* (Athens 1986); see also many examples in Dimitris PHILIPPIDIS, *Διακοσμητικές τέχνες. Τρεις αιώνες τέχνης στην ελληνική αρχιτεκτονική* (Athens 1998), passim; ΜΟΥΤΣΟΡΟΥΛΟΣ, *Τα Θεσσαλικά Αμπελάκια*, 156–157: images of central European cities, perhaps Vienna.
- 105 Miltos GARIDIS, *Καινούργια χαλκογραφικά πρότυπα για την κοσμική διακοσμητική ζωγραφική το 18ο και 19ο αιώνα*. In: *Μακεδονικά* 22 (1982), 1–16; here 3–4, about a Johann Balthassar Probst's engraving for the 'FRANKFURT AMAYN' depiction in Maliogas' mansion.
- 106 For some exceptions, see Georgios MEGAS, *Σιάτιστα. Τ' αρχοντικά της, τα τραγούδια της κ' οι μουσικοί της* (Athens 1963), 10.
- 107 Kitsos ΜΑΚΡΗΣ, *Χιονιάδιτες ζωγράφοι. 65 λαϊκοί ζωγράφοι από το χωριό Χιονιάδες της Ηπείρου* (Athens [1981]), 26; Nikolaos ΜΟΥΤΣΟΡΟΥΛΟΣ, *Καστοριά. Τα αρχοντικά* (Athens 1962).
- 108 See the excellent book by Miltos GARIDIS, *Διακοσμητική ζωγραφική. Βαλκάνια – Μικρασία 18ος – 19ος αιώνας. Μπαρόκ και ροκοκό. Ανατολική και Βυζαντινή κληρονομιά* (Athens 1996), 9 ff., with a rich literature.
- 109 GARIDIS, *Διακοσμητική ζωγραφική*, 70–71.
- 110 Numerous examples are to be found throughout the literature cited above.

picting contemporary European political life – for example, the murals in Zagori (Pindus), depicting Napoleon and Josephine¹¹¹ (fig. 2), or those depicting Austrian ‘hussars’ in Zagori and Siatista¹¹² (fig. 3).



Figure 2:

Napoleon – Dimitris Philippidis, *Διακοσμητικές τέχνες. Τρεις αιώνες τέχνης στην ελληνική αρχιτεκτονική* (Athens: Melissa, 1998), p. 64, picture 124

[With the permission of the editing house ‘Melissa’.]

111 Dimitris PHILIPPIDIS, *Διακοσμητικές τέχνες. Τρεις αιώνες τέχνης στην ελληνική αρχιτεκτονική* (Athens 1998), p. 64, picture 124 (with the permission of the editing house ‘Melissa’); ΜΑΚΡΙΣ, *Χιονιαδίτες ζωγράφοι*, 46–48.

112 PHILIPPIDIS, *op. cit.*, p. 64, picture 123 (again with the permission of the editing house ‘Melissa’); ΜΟΥΤΣΟΡΟΥΛΟΣ, *Τα αρχοντικά της Σιάτιστας*, pict. 85, ‘*Le Housare d’Autriche*’ in Maliogas’ mansion in Siatista.



Figure 3

Hussars – Dimitris Philippidis, Διακοσμητικές τέχνες. Τρεις αιώνες τέχνης στη
ελληνική αρχιτεκτονική (Athens: Melissa, 1998), p. 64, picture 123

[With the permission of the editing house 'Melissa'.]

The teams of traditional craftsmen, including the Hioniadites artists of Epirus, would adapt their techniques to the urban or semiurban environment.¹¹³ Thus, in the Southern Balkans at least, baroque or rococo decorations were not necessarily combined with Western-style furnishings, though Western styles of furnishing were adopted far more rapidly on the islands, which had had considerably more contact with the West through the centuries thanks to their involvement in maritime trading and sporadic periods of Western rule.¹¹⁴ The furnishings were also complemented with moveable objects like mirrors¹¹⁵,

113 ΜΑΚΡΗΣ, *Χιονιαδίτες ζωγράφοι*, 39–48; Andromahi ΚΑΤΣΕΛΑΚΗ, Maria ΝΑΝΟΥ, *Ανθίβωλα από τους Χιονιάδες, Συλλογή Μακρή – Μαργαρίτη* (= Museum of Greek Folk Art and the Makris-Margaritis Collection, Athens 2009).

114 This is made clear in engravings produced by travellers to the islands as well as by furniture in mansions on Hydra, Spetses and elsewhere; see also Dimitris ΔΙΜΙΤΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *The living conditions in the houses of the Cyclades islands during the 17th and 18th centuries*, in print.

115 Dimitris ΔΙΜΙΤΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Στοιχεία για τον οικιακό εξοπλισμό στα χρόνια της οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας; η περίπτωση του καθρέπτη*. In: *Τα Ιστορικά* 24/25 (1996), 37–66.

porcelain¹¹⁶ and crystal imported from the West. The rich and newly-urbanized members of the diaspora thus competed with one another in the display of wealth and *objets d'art* in interior decorations in the context of their new way of life, as well as in patterns of consumption which, driven by the desire to refashion and modernize their culture, extended beyond the human body and home furnishings.¹¹⁷

- D) I would like to end our thematic references with the one I consider the most significant of them all: education. In 1763, the king of France stripped the Jesuit order by royal decree of the powerful educational jurisdiction it had enjoyed until then, paving the way for the institution of public schools which were considered 'un des fondemens les plus solides de la prospérité des Etats.'¹¹⁸ At the end of the eighteenth century, a modern debate on primary education taking the theoretical tools developed by Pestalozzi and Rochow (1734–1805) as its starting point¹¹⁹ spread to Prussia, the Habsburg empire and beyond. The 'discovery' of the 'people' (*peuple/Volk*)¹²⁰ with regards to the need to educate the agrarian population as to the increasingly special-

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- 116 U. BARAM, *Clay Tobacco Pipes and Coffee Cup Sherds in the Archaeology of Social Tensions from the Ottoman Past*. In: International Journal of Historical Archaeology 3(1999), 137–151; IDEM, *Entangled objects from the Palestinian Past: Archaeological Perspectives for the Ottoman Period, 1500–1900*. In: H. BARAM, L. CAROLL (eds.), *A historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire: Breaking New ground* (New York 2000), 12–29; Joanita VROOM, *Kütahya between the lines: Post-Medieval ceramics as historical information*. In: Siriol DAVIES, Jack L. DAVIS (eds.), *Between Venice and Istanbul. Colonial landscapes in Early Modern Greece* (= American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Hesperia Supplement, 40 Athens 2007), 71–96; here 84–86 and a bibliography.
- 117 Matthias MIDDPELL, *Von der Wechselseitigkeit der Kulturen im Austausch: das Konzept des Kulturtransfers in verschiedene Forschungskontexten*. In: Andrea LANGER, Georg MICHELS (eds.), *Metro-polen. Kulturtransfer im 15/16 Jahrhundert*, Prag, Krakau, Danzig, Wien (Stuttgart 2001), 15–52; here 28; also see Peter BURKE, 'Res et verba': *Conspicuous consumption in the early modern world*. In: John BREWER, Roy POTER (eds.), *Consumption and the world of goods* (2 London–New York 2005), 148–161; here 150–151; Jan DE VRIES, *The Industrious Revolution. Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the present* (Cambridge–New York 2008), 127.
- 118 Fritz OSTERWALDER, *Volksschule –Internationaler Diskurs und nationale Kontexte von Rochow und Pestalozzi*. In: Hanno SCHMITT, Rebekka HORLACHER, Daniel TRÖHLER (eds.), *Pädagogische Volksaufklärung im 18. Jahrhundert im europäischen Kontext: Rochow und Pestalozzi im Vergleich* (Bern–Stuttgart–Wien 2007), 10–31; here 12–13 on the edict issued by the French king in 1763; on Rochow, see also Hanno SCHMITT, Frank TOSCH (eds.), *Vernunft fürs Volk. Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow, 1734–1805 im Aufbruch Preußens* (Berlin 2001), especially the articles of Holger BÖNING, *Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow und seine Wirkung in der deutschen Volksaufklärung*, 177–186, and Michael FREYER, *Rochows 'Kinderfreund' – ein Bestseller der Schulgeschichte*, 187–192.
- 119 SCHMITT, HORLACHER, TRÖHLER (eds.), *Pädagogische Volksaufklärung*.
- 120 Holger BÖNING, *Entgrenzte Aufklärung. Die Entwicklung der Volksaufklärung von der ökonomischen Reform zur Emanzipationsbewegung*. In: Holger BÖNING, Hanno SCHMITT, Reinhart SIEGERT (eds.), *Volksaufklärung. Eine praktische Reformbewegung des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Bremen 2007), 13–50; here 22–23; see also Anne CONRAD, Arno HERZIG, Franklin KOPITZSCH (eds.), *Das Volk im Visier der Aufklärung. Studien zur Popularisierung der Aufklärung im späten 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg 1998).

ized modes of cultivation and new products, as well as the requirements to train the urban population to meet the demands of industrialization, led to the terms 'nation' and 'people' being assigned new meanings. Intellectuals and politicians took measures aimed at an 'éducation nationale'¹²¹; Rochow's *Vom Nationalcharakter durch Volksschulen* broadened the task of schools, elevating the education of the people (*Volksbildung*) to an axiom of state policy¹²² and bound together the concepts of *Natio*' and *Volk* in the process. Of course, the choice of *Volksschulen* to denote primary education was anything but random. The division of schools into various types (*Trivialschulen*, *Normalschulen*, *Stadtschulen*, *Realschulen*) as part of successive educational reforms in Prussia and the Habsburg lands sought to facilitate precisely these efforts aimed at educating more segments of the population, but did so on the basis of specific goals relating to the socio-economic status of the groups to be educated in view of the 'risk' to the absolutist monarchy and a social order which afforded primacy to the empire's aristocracy.¹²³

This was followed by a series of educational reforms in Prussia¹²⁴, the Habsburg lands and Russia¹²⁵ in the context of which educational reformers moved from country to country in response to the dialogue between rulers, becoming the real agents of educational cultural transfers. As an educational and ideological school of thought, public enlightenment (*Volksaufklärung*) led to the composition of hundreds of textbooks, their contents also taking into account the socio-economic status of the population to be educated¹²⁶; these textbooks were also translated into various languages and adapted for different target audiences.

Austrian educational reforms introduced in this context would have a direct impact both on the Orthodox communities from the Balkans and on multiple cultural transfers, as well as contributing to the awakening of national identities. In 1773, in light of his activities in Prussia and Silesia, Johann Ignaz Felbiger was invited by Maria Theresa to draft a set of general rules for schools in collaboration with imperial advisers; the *Allgemeine Schulordnung* was com-

121 OSTERWALDER, *Volksschule*, 14.

122 BÖNING, *Entgrenzte Aufklärung*, 23; Heins STÜBIG, *Nationalerziehung: Zur politischen Dimension der Pädagogik Rochows*. In: SCHMITT, TOSCH (eds.), *Vernunft fürs Volk*, 145–154; here 145: "Nationalcharakter: soll heißen: "Von Verbesserung des Volksunterrichts durch Volksschulen".

123 James VAN HORN MELTON, *Absolutism and the eighteenth-century origins of compulsory schooling in Prussia and Austria* (Cambridge–New York 1988), 176.

124 Peter ALBRECHT, Ernst HINRICHS (eds.), *Das niedere Schulwesen im Übergang vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen 1995).

125 Peter POLZ, *Theodor Janković und die Schulreform in Russland*. In: Erna LESKY, Strahinja K. KOSTIĆ, Josef MATL, Georg von RAUCH (eds.), *Die Aufklärung in Ost- und Südosteuropa. Aufsätze, Vorträge, Dokumentationen* (Köln–Wien 1972), 119–174.

126 Holger BÖNING, Reinhart SIEGERT, *Volksaufklärung, bibliographisches Handbuch zur Popularisierung aufklärerischen Denkens im deutschen Sprachraum von den Anfängen bis 1850*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart 1990).

pleted in 1774¹²⁷ and it foresaw the founding of schools to be attended by children of both sexes between the ages of six and twelve, as well as a series of detailed measures relating to their timetables, teaching methods, teachers' education and abilities, textbooks and local and extra-local scholastic supervision – the extra-local inspectors were obliged by law to submit a report to the central educational commission (*Schulkommission*) every six months. The reforms focused primarily on primary language education and the teaching of history with a focus on the homeland (*in Absicht auf das Vaterland*), on religious catechism¹²⁸ and other lessons, and included provisions for the establishment of a dedicated textbook press in Vienna.¹²⁹

These reforms would provide the 'catalytic power'¹³⁰ for educating the peoples of southeastern Europe. The reforms would have an immediate impact on the education of Serbian colonists and immigrants, the empire's densest Orthodox population¹³¹. Enlightened despotism sought to make its urban subjects devout as well as upstanding members of the bourgeoisie, ready to engage in trade or with literature. In their new environment, the colonists found the opportunity to educate their children and, in time, to be assimilated into local society. Measures were also taken to educate non-Catholic sub-

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- 127 Helmut ENGELBRECHT, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens. Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs*, III: *Von der frühen Aufklärung bis zum Vormärz* (Wien 1984), 68–171; VAN HORN MELTON, *Absolutism*, 98–103; 200–239; IDEM, *The Theresian School Reform of 1774*. In: James B. COLLINA, Karen L. TAYLOR (eds.), *Early Modern Europe. Issues and Interpretations* (Malden–Oxford 2006), 55–68. About the later school reforms see: Anton WEISS, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte des Volksschul-Planes von 1804* (Graz 1900) and IDEM: *Geschichte der Österreichischen Volksschule*, II: *Geschichte der Österreichischen Volksschule unter Franz I. und Ferdinand I. 1792–1848* (Graz 1904).
- 128 Anton WEISS, *Die Allgemeine Schulordnung der Kaiserin Maria Theresia und J.J. Felbigers Forderungen an Schulmeister und Lehrer* (= Neudrucke Pädagogischer Schriften 15, Leipzig 1896), 12–14.
- 129 Ingeborg JAKLIN, *Das österreichische Schulbuch im 18. Jahrhundert. Aus dem Wiener Verlag Trattner und dem Schulbuchverlag* (Vienna 2003).
- 130 Alexandru DUȚU, *Die 'katalytische Kraft' der deutschen Kultur: Das Beispiel Südost-Europas zur Zeit der Aufklärung*. In: Anton SCHWOB (ed.), *Methodologische Studien zur deutschen Literatur Ostmittel- und Südost-Europas* (München 1994), 94–53; see also Manuela ANTON, *Educational and moral literature of the German Enlightenment in the Romanian Culture (1770–1850)*. In: Agnieszka PUFELSKA, Iwan MICHELANGELO D'APRILE (eds.), *Aufklärung und Kulturtransfer in Mittel- und Osteuropa* (Saarbrücken, 2009), 209–225, here 16.
- 131 Philip J. ADLER, *Habsburg School Reform Among the Orthodox Minorities, 1770–1780*. In: *Slavic Review* 33,1 (1974), 23–45; Strahinja K. KOSTIĆ, *Kulturorientierung und Volksschule der Serben in der Donaumonarchie zur Zeit Maria Theresias*. In: Richard PLASCHKA, Grete KLINGENSTEIN, et al (eds.), *Österreich im Europa der Aufklärung. Kontinuität und Zäsur in Europa zur Zeit Maria Theresias und Josephs II.* Internationales Symposium in Wien, 20.–23. Oktober 1980, 2 vols. (= Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Vienna 1985), 847–866; Dejan MEDAKOVIĆ, *Das historische Bewußtsein bei den Serben zur Zeit der Kaiserin Maria Theresia*. In: PLASCHKA, KLINGENSTEIN (eds.), *Österreich im Europa*, 867–882; Vladimir SMIĆ, *Orphelins Kalligraphie. Reformen des Schulwesens und serbische Gesellschaft in der Habsburgermonarchie des 18. Jahrhunderts*. In: PUFELSKA, D'APRILE (eds.), *Aufklärung und Kulturtransfer*, 135–166.

jects in an effort to avoid problems relating to conversions and crypto-Protestantism. An official service was set up to monitor the education of the 'Akatholiken' (*Acattolici*) on behalf of the central authorities.¹³² The Metropolitan of Karlowitz/Karlovci was forced to sever the community's educational dependence on Russia¹³³ and, following the founding of the *Illyrische Hofdeputation* (1776), was made to accept both the establishment of schools whose curricula reflected the new educational system and, even more importantly, the printing of a number of textbooks mirroring those written by Felbiger and subsequent reformers. The Kurzböck press¹³⁴, whose exclusive privilege to print textbooks for a twenty-year period also extended to Serbian Orthodox schools, was thus one of the main agents of cultural transfer. Viewed in this light, the book – and this would remain true of every future Habsburg educational reform – was the medium through which the power of the centre was transferred to the periphery.¹³⁵ The edict of tolerance (*Toleranzpatent*) and that which concerned press and censorship (*Pressepatent*) of 1781, the arrival of the Venetian publisher Polyzois Labanitziotis in Vienna¹³⁶, and the setting up of Greek¹³⁷ and Serbian printing houses prepared the way for a cultural transfer of varying scopes. The starting point for the bilingual Greek–German textbooks¹³⁸ and grammar, written in Vienna by the tireless

132 KATSIARDI-HERING, *Παροικία Τεργέστης*, 261–274.

133 Emanuel TURCZYNSKI, *Gestaltwandel und Trägerschichten der Aufklärung in Ost- und Südosteuropa*. In: LESKY, KOSTIĆ, MATL, RAUCH (eds.), *Die Aufklärung*, 23–49; Strahinja KOSTIĆ, *Austrahlungen deutscher literarisch-volkstümlicher Aufklärung im südslawischen Raum unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Schulwesens*. In: *ibid.*, 175–194.

134 Peter R. FRANK, Johannes FRIMMEL, *Buchwesen in Wien 1750–1850. Kommentiertes Verzeichnis der Buchdrucker, Buchhändler und Verleger. Mit einer um Informationen zur Verteilung der Befugnisse, Adressen und Biographien wesentlich erweiterten Fassung im PDF-Format auf CD-ROM* (Wiesbaden 2008); Helmut ENGELBRECHT, J. I. Felbiger und die Vereinheitlichung des Primarschulwesens in Österreich. *Bemerkungen zur pädagogischen Schrift 'Kern des Methondenbuches, besonders für die Landschulmeister in den kaiserlich-königlichen Staaten' (1777)* (2 Wien 1981).

135 Jan HARASIMOWICZ, *Buchdruck und bildende Kunst im östlichen Europa*. In: Detlef HABERLAND (ed.), *Buch- und Wissenstransfer in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Beiträge der Tagung an der Universität Szeged vom 25.–28. April 2006 (München 2007), 57–154; here 136; see also the article of Wolfgang KESSLER, *Zur Geschichte des Buchdrucks im binnenkroatischen Raum bis zum Beginn der 'Illyristischen Bewegung'*, *ibid.*, 215–280.

136 Stefanos BETTIS, *Συμβολή στη μελέτη του Ηπειρωτικού Διαφωτισμού. Πολυζώης Λαμπαντζιώτης*. In: *Ηπειρωτική Εστία* 188 (1967), 497–523.

137 Konstantinos STAIKOS, *Die in Wien gedruckten griechischen Bücher 1749–1800* (Athens 1995); Koumariou, *Die griechische Vorrevolutionäre Presse*.

138 Olga KATSIARDI-HERING, *Εκπαίδευση στη Διασπορά. Προς μια παιδεία ελληνική ή προς 'θεραπεία' της πολυγλωσσίας*. In: *Νεοελληνική παιδεία και κοινωνία*. Papers of the international conference in memory of K.Th. Dimaras (Athens 1995), 153–176; Maria STASSINOPOULOU, *Βαλκανική πολυγλωσσία στην αυτοκρατορία των Αψβούργων τον 18^ο αι. και 19^ο αι. Ένα γοητευτικό φαινόμενο και οι δυσκολίες των εθνικών ιστοριογραφιών*. In: EADEM, Maria-Christina CHATZIOIOANNOU (eds.), *Διασπορά – Δίκτυα – Διαφωτισμός* (= Τετράδια εργασίας, 28, Institute for Neohellenic Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens 2005), 17–32.

Demetrios Darvaris of Kleisoura (Macedonia) and the pioneering Michael Papa Georgiou of Siatista, was usually the German language, with everyday German expressions or terms whose Greek renderings jarred since much of the new Greek urban lexicon was still rough-hewn and imprecise. Greek– or Serbian–German dictionaries and textbooks translated from German or based on German models (Vujanovski’s German grammar of 1772¹³⁹, Darvaris’ German grammar of 1785 based on Gottsched’s most recent, much-discussed work¹⁴⁰, Dimitrijević Sekereš’ dictionary of 1790 based on the German-Russian lexicon by Jacob Rodde¹⁴¹, Bojadschi’s Greek grammar based on the grammar by Johann Adolf Erdmann Schmidt¹⁴² etc.) would figure in the lively debate conducted by enlightened scholars on the role of language and the systematization of the vernacular and of grammatical rules. Reading primers (*ABC-Lehrbücher*) were also printed in the Cyrillic and Greek alphabets. The books mirrored those of the German language and their methodology, doing away with lists of grammatical rules and providing thematic vocabularies, which were often presented in tabular form as recommended by the latest methodology.¹⁴³ They included passages dealing with everyday life in their host towns rather than the pastoral space in which their parents had grown up. The reading passages praised the emperor¹⁴⁴, good man-

139 Stefan VUJANOVSKI, *Nemeckaja grammatika iz razlicnych avtorov, najpačeže gotseodnych knig sobrana* [...] (Vienna 1772).

140 Demetrios DARVARIS, *Γραμματική γερμανική ακριβεστάτη εκ διαφόρων παλαιών τε και νεωτέρων Συγγραφέων επιμελώς συλλεχθείσα* [...] (Vienna 1785); on the creative debate of the new enlightenment thinking in relation to German language textbooks and the volume written by J. Chr. Gottsched, see Paul ROESSLER, *Die deutschen Grammatiken der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts in Österreich. Ein Beitrag zur Reform der deutschen Schriftsprache* (Frankfurt a. M. 1997), 15–31; on the basis of the library of the intellectual Demetrios Darvaris, see the thorough work by Vasso SEIRINIDOU, *Το εργαστήριο του λογίου. Λόγια παραγωγή και επικοινωνία του Διαφωτισμού μέσα από τις μαρτυρίες μιας ιδιωτικής βιβλιοθήκης* (Athens 2012, forthcoming).

141 Strahinja K. KOSTIĆ, *Udžbenici nemačkog jezika kod srba u XVIII veku*. In: *Godišnjak Filozofskog Fakulteta u Novom Sadu* 15,2 (1972), 511–550; EADEM, *Ausstrahlungen*.

142 Michael G. BOJADSCHI, *Kurzgefaßte Neugriechische Sprachlehre, nebst einer Sammlung der nothwendigen Wörter, einer Auswahl von freundschaftlichen Gesprächen, Lebensarten, Sprichwörtern und Leseübungen* [...] (Vienna 1823), also in Greek.

143 On the Greek textbooks in the enlightenment, see Vesna CVJETKOVIĆ-KURELEC, “Τα εγχειρίδια της νεοελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας την περίοδο πριν τη σύσταση του νέου κράτους (αρχές 19ου αιώνα)”. In: *Μελέτες για την ελληνική γλώσσα*. Proceedings of the 19th annual meeting of the Department of Linguistics of the Faculty of Letters, Aristoteleian University of the Thessaloniki (Thessaloniki 1999), 160–173; EADEM, “Η ρύθμιση της Νεοελληνικής και οι Γραμματικές του διαφωτισμού”. In: Asterios ARGYRIOU, Konstantinos DIMADIS, Anastasia Danaï LAZARIDOU (eds.), *Ο ελληνικός κόσμος ανάμεσα στην Ανατολή και τη Δύση, 1453–1821* (Athens 1999), I: 537–546.

144 Demetrius DARVARIS, *Πρωτοπερία απλοελληνική χάριν των μικρών παιδίων φιλοπονηθείσα* [...] (Vienna 1818), 71, 74, with short passages on Emperor Joseph II, probably from an Austrian textbook.

ners and morality¹⁴⁵ in an ever-increasing number of versions. Their subject-matter and vocabulary, which differed in clearly defined ways depending on the intended readership, related to the senses, nature, plants, animals, simple cosmography, agricultural and – mostly – urban jobs, modes of dress, family and social life, food and geography. A number of the terms included in the dictionaries were Vlach, Slav, Turkish or Hungarian words or German terms transcribed into Greek.¹⁴⁶ There were also occasional extracts from the ancient Greek myths, since the works were modelled on Austrian and German textbooks and intended to educate children living in a Central European environment.¹⁴⁷

The new bourgeois (*Bürger*) had to be educated. The textbook prologues reveal an indirect dialogue between Greek and Serbian authors influenced by the arguments of their German and Austrian counterparts. The naturalistic viewpoint and modern pedagogical perception of the child stated that these books should include easily understood, “pleasant, useful things, [...] material or natural, which were seen on an everyday basis”¹⁴⁸. The textbooks themselves aspired to the common good, and accorded with the social-economic spirit of the age.¹⁴⁹ Rochow’s *Kinderfreund* had blazed new trails, while Leopold Chimani’s textbooks provided a wealth of pleasant passages introducing the reader to the ‘homeland’ (*Vaterland*).¹⁵⁰ According to the textbooks’ authors, their young fellow Greeks (*ομογενείς*) should be educated to serve as capable merchants trading in Austria and the Levant, but also to love their homeland (*φιλοπάτριδες*) as ‘brave descendents of the Greeks’, and to be *au fait* with the Vlach (Aromunian) language.¹⁵¹ A modernist discourse was

145 Emy ΒΑΙΚΟΥΣΣΙ, *Χρηστοίθθειες και διαμόρφωση της συμπεριφοράς των νέων στην ελληνική κοινωνία (18^{ος}-19^{ος} αι.)*. In: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Historicity of the Childhood (Athens 1986), I: 287–299.

146 One of the most revealing of these is the textbook *Πρόχειρος και ευπόριστος Διδάσκαλος των πρωτοπέριων Ρωμελιτών, της Γερμανικής Γλώσσης* [...] ωσάν οπού περιέχει πρώτον, Γερμανικόν Αλφαβητάριον, δεύτερον Ρωμαϊκόγερμανικόν Λεξικόν και τρίτον Γερμανορωμαϊκούς διαλόγους [...] παρά του Μιχαήλ Παπά Γεωργίου του Σιατιστέως (Vienna 1782); further research may reveal links between this book and those of Dimitrijević and perhaps of Rodde, too.

147 Dr Ikaros Madouvalos is researching the influence of Greek school textbooks published in Austria.

148 DARVARIS, *Πρωτοπερία απλοελληνική*, γ’.

149 Holger BÖNING, *Die Entdeckung des niederen Schulwesens in der deutschen Aufklärung*. In: Peter ALBRECHT, Ernst HINRICHS (eds.), *Das niedere Schulwesen im Übergang vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen 1995), 75–108; here 84.

150 Friedrich Eberhard von ROCHOW, *Der Kinderfreund. Ein Lesebuch zum Gebrauch in Landschulen* (Brandenburg–Leipzig 1776); Leopold CHIMANI, *Vaterländischer Kinderfreund. Ein belehrendes und unterhaltendes Lesebuch für die Jugend des Österreichischen Kaiserstaate*, 6 vols. (Vienna 1814).

151 *Romanische oder Macedowlachische Sprachlehre. Verfaßt und zum ersten Mahle herausgegeben von Michael G. BOJADSCHI* [...], (also in Greek) (Vienna 1813), ι’; IDEM, *Kurzgefaßte Neugriechische Sprachlehre*, V–VI, XVI, but also Vassileios ΠΑΡΑ ΕΡΤΗΜΙΟΥ, *Αλφαβητάριον απλοελληνικόν*

also unfolding on the textbook level that would mould national consciousness and prepare the peoples of southeastern Europe for the national awakenings to come.¹⁵² Unofficial networks of scholars came into being – a “*res publica literaria*”¹⁵³ – dedicated to progress in education which was chiefly represented in the diaspora by Serbs and Greeks but also extended to mainly Greek schools in the Ottoman empire, where it exerted a modernizing influence on school curricula.¹⁵⁴ The founding of schools in the host communities and the numbers of Greek, Serbs and other students who studied in Central European universities during the enlightenment and the era of the French Revolution served to strengthen ideological orientations and instil dissent among the Orthodox peoples of southeastern Europe. The transfer of national ideologies to the homelands tended to trigger a new era there.

However, it was in the teaching of the catechism and the related printed material that the greatest break was made with the past. The catechism was one of the main causes of friction and subjects of dialogue, especially after the Reformation, and the debate was resumed with renewed vigour at the end of the eighteenth century in the context of the *Volksaufklärung*. For example, the *Allgemeine Schulordnung* required the *Schulkommissionen* and teachers in the Habsburg lands to check and certify the teaching of the catechism to young pupils every six months. Felbiger’s *Kleiner Katechismus*¹⁵⁵ paved the way for the publication of corresponding texts employing the question–and–answer–method for the empire’s non-Catholic subjects, too. The Orthodox had also published Orthodox Confessions of Faith in the past, though these

επιμέθοδον, σύντομον, [...] (Vienna 1807), 3–6. It is interesting to note that Bojadschi taught Greek at the ‘National-Schule’ of the Greek Orthodox community for imperial subjects in Vienna; on this school see SEIRINIDOU, Έλληνες στη Βιέννη, 315–335.

- 152 This subject, and its preeminent figures of Adamantios Korais in Paris and his circle in the diaspora and, in terms of scholarly production, of Dosithej Obradović, has been addressed in a number of studies to date; it shall therefore not be included in this paper, since my emphasis here is on the *Volksaufklärung*. By way of illustration, I refer to Maria STASSINOPOULOU, *Weltgeschichte im Denken eines griechischen Aufklärers. Konstantinos Michail Koumas als Historiograph* (Frankfurt a. M.–Wien et al 1992); Paschalis KITROMILIDES, *Νεοελληνικός διαφωτισμός. Οι πολιτικές και κοινωνικές ιδέες* (Athens 1999).
- 153 SIMIĆ, *Orphelins Kalligraphie*, 151.
- 154 Many of these schools were founded with bequests from Greeks of the diaspora. The related bibliography is extensive.
- 155 *Des Saganischen Abts von FELBIGER Vorlesungen über die Kunst zu Katechisiren, die er sienen jungen geistlichen zu halten pflegt [...] (Vienna 1774); the teaching of the catechism during the later enlightenment would stimulate a major debate. For instance, see WEISS, *Die Entstehungs-Geschichte*, 59–64; 98–124; Johann SCHMITT, *Der Kampf um den Katechismus in der Aufklärungsperiode Deutschlands* (München 1935), 280–443, especially on Felbiger’s catechism; Rainer BENDL, *Der Seelsorger im Dienst der Volkserziehung. Seelsorge im Bistum Breslau im Zeichen der Aufklärung* (Vienna 1996), 287–341; Stefan EHRENPREIS, *Teaching religion in Early Modern Europe: Catechisms, emblems and local traditions*. In: Heinz SCHILLING, István György TÓTH (eds.), *Religion and cultural exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, (= Robert MUCHEMBLED (ed.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 2006), I: 256–273.*

were essentially contributions to the inter-church dialogue made by theological scholars, while their instructional content was primarily intended for seminary use.¹⁵⁶ In my opinion, simple and easy-to-understand catechisms for the laity which used the question and answer format only became common in an Orthodox context following the Austrian reforms and the diffusion of similar Catholic works. The Metropolitan of Karlowitz/Karlovci was the first to comply, approving in 1774 the publication of a *Short Catechism* for the empire's Orthodox residents.¹⁵⁷ The catechism would later be translated into Hungarian¹⁵⁸ and Greek, and published in multiple versions for the children of the Greek and Vlach (Aromunian) communities in Austria and Hungary. In 1782, the young Adamantios Korais translated the German version of the *Big Catechism*, originally written in Russian by Metropolitan Platon of Moscow¹⁵⁹, while a new translation from its French version was published in Vienna in 1783.¹⁶⁰ These catechisms and manuals (*χειραγωγίες*) for children –

156 Gerhard PODSKALSKY, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453–1821). Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens* (München 1988), 160–162; 234–236; 356.

157 Μικρά κατήχησις, ήτοι Γνωσία και Σύντομος ομολογία της μη ηνωμένης Θρησκείας των ΓΡΑΙΚΩΝ, εις χρήσιν των μη ηνωμένων Ιλλυριών, Σέρβων και Βλάχων παιδιών. Συντεθείσα και κυρωθείσα υπό της εν Καρλοβίτζη Συνόδου εν έτει 1774. Συναθροισθείσης των μη ηνωμένων Επισκόπων Συνόδου, και τυπωθείσα κατά το αυτό έτος εις την Ιλλυρικήν, Βλαχικήν και Γερμανικήν διάλεκτον, Εν Βιέννη τη Αουστριακή, Μεταφρασθείσα δε νυν από της Γερμανικής εις την ελληνορωμαϊκήν διάλεκτον (Venice: Nicolaus Glykis, 1783). It has been republished in Vienna in the year 1791: Μικρά Κατήχησις, ήτοι, Σύντομος ορθόδοξος ομολογία της Ανατολικής Εκκλησίας των Γραικών ή Ρωμαίων. Εις χρήσιν των της Ανατολικής Εκκλησίας τέκνων Γραικών τε και Βλάχων, συντεθείσα, και υπό της εν Καρλοβίτζη κατά το 1774 συγκροτηθείσης Ιεράς Συνόδου των ορθόδοξων Επισκόπων επικυρωθείσα (Vienna: Baumeister 1791).

158 Μικρά Κατήχησις ήτοι Σύντομος Ορθόδοξος Ομολογία της αγίας Ανατολικής Εκκλησίας των Γραικών, Συντεθήσα και εκδοθήσα εν τη Μητροπόλει Καρλοβίτσας, εν έτει αφοδ' νυν δε παρά του εφημερίου της αγίας Εκκλησίας Γγιουριου [Győr] Ααρών Γεώργιβιτς εκ του ρωμαϊκού ιδιόματους εις την Ουγγαρικήν μεταφρασθήσα, και εις χρήσιν των της άνω ειρημένης Εκκλησίας τέκνων εκδοθήσα. Εν Γγιούρι [Győr], Τύποις Ιωσήφ Στραμπιγ, αωα' [1801] (followed by the title in Hungarian: *Kis Kátékizmus...Györben, Streibig József, Betüivél 1801*).

159 Ορθόδοξος διδασκαλία είπουν Σύνοψις της Χριστιανικής Θεολογίας, συγγραφείσα παρά του [...] Κυρίου Πλάτωνος [...] Πανιερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Μόσχας [...] (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1782); Korais' introduction, pp. V-XXX, reveals an early and profound awareness of the activities surrounding the discourse on the catechism in the context of the *Volksaufklärung*. This Catechism would be introduced into the Greek state's first schools, and would be reprinted many times in both full and simplified forms.

160 Ορθόδοξος διδασκαλία, ήτοι, Χριστιανική θεολογία εν συνόψει [...] παρά του Μητροπολίτου Μόσκβας Πλάτωνος [...] (Vienna: Gerold, 1783). In another Greek community, in Amsterdam, Ioannis Pringos was also writing a "Christian primer" using the question-and-answer-method to provide his fellow Greeks with dogmatic instruction, Nikolaos KATSIANRAS (ed.), *Ιωάννου Πρίγκου του εκ Ζαγοράς, Χριστιανική Διδασκαλία* (Karditsa 1992), I should like to thank Kostas Lappas for bringing the book to my attention. Catechisms during this period are clearly a subject for comparative study. See also PODSKALSKY, *Griechische Theologie*, 376–377.

and Darvaris' publications¹⁶¹ in particular – would prove to be of inestimable educational and publicational value. Each of these catechisms broke new ground via their simplified instructions owing to the use of the question–and–answer–method, and in their realization of the need to introduce catechismal instruction into Orthodox schools, too. The textbooks also found their way into schools in the Ottoman empire – Smyrna's Philological Gymnasium, for instance – as well as into the newly-established Balkan nation states in the nineteenth century, though they sparked inter alia a great deal of debate, social conflict and ecclesiastical intervention.¹⁶² The new catechisms replaced the Octoechos and the Book of Psalms (*Ψαλτήριον*), the ecclesiastical books which had until then been used as a source of readings.¹⁶³

I should like to end with a hypothesis that is in need of further research. In 1777–9, disappointed by his reception in the Danubian Principalities, Iosepos Moisi-odax¹⁶⁴ would travel across the Greek Orthodox communities from Braşov, Pest and other towns in Hungary as far as Trieste. In 1779, he was preparing to print his *Παιδαγωγία* (Pedagogy) in Venice with funds donated by the community of merchants from Moschopolis in Pest. As I see it, his text takes a stand on a number of the then burning pedagogical issues in Habsburg society, relating to the need for public schools and the methods by which the catechism, grammar and language in general should be taught.¹⁶⁵ Should Moisi-odax and his work be included in the cultural transfer under discussion above?

161 In 1803, DARVARIS published in Vienna his *Εγχειρίδιον Χριστιανικόν* [...] (Vienna: Vendottis, 1803), also in a question–answer form, and later another *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις* on the basis of that of Platon of Moscow, which has been republished for the Greek schools in Athens during the nineteenth century.

162 See Kostas LAPPAS, Rodi STAMOULI (eds.), *Κωνσταντίνος Οικονόμος ο εξ Οικονόμων Αλληλογραφία*, vol. 1. 1802–1817 (Athens 1989), λδ', λστ', 143–177; 183–189; 217–218; 342–375; Philippos ΙΛΙΟΥ, *Ελληνική βιβλιογραφία, Βιβλία – Φυλλάδια*, vol. 1, 1801–1818 (Athens 1997), 366–367, on Konstantinos Oikonomos' *Κατήχησις* published in Vienna in 1813 for the 'Philologikon Gymnasion' in Smyrna, and the reaction of conservative circles within the Patriarchate in Constantinople. His catechism was based on that of Plato, Bishop of Moscow. On the issue of social problems in Smyrna, see Philippos ΙΛΙΟΥ, *Κοινωνικοί αγώνες και διαφωτισμός: η περίπτωση της Σμύρνης, 1819* (= Hetaireia Meletis Neou Ellinismou – Mnimon, Athens 1981).

163 Aggeliki SKARVELI-ΝΙΚΟΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Τα μαθηματάρια των ελληνικών σχολείων της Τουρκοκρατίας: Διδασκόµενα κείµενα, σχολικά προγράµµατα, διδακτικές µέθοδοι: Συµβολή στην ιστορία της νεοελληνικής παιδείας* (Athens 1993). Patousas' encyclopaedia, which was printed in the early eighteenth century in Venice, may be the only collection intended for school use which did not only include texts of a religious nature. That said, from the end of the eighteenth century onwards, and through Adamantios Korais' circle, a series of educational texts of a secular nature were published in Venice and – primarily – in Vienna.

164 Paschalis ΚΥΤΡΟΜΙΛΙΔΕΣ, *Ιώσηπος Μοισιόδαξ. Οι συντεταγµένες της βαλκανικής σκέψης τον 18^ο αιώνα* (= Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece, Athens 1985), 107; 123–124.

165 Grigoris ΚΑΡΑΦΥΛΛΙΣ (ed.), *Ιώσηπος Μοισιόδαξ, Πραγµατεία περί παιδων αγωγής ή παιδαγωγία* (Kozani 1998), 85–90, 103ff, 116–118.

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