

*LA SOCIÉTÉ GRECQUE  
SOUS LA DOMINATION OTTOMANE*

Treize historiens grecs reconnus consignent ici leurs études, qui se focalisent sur la société grecque de la période de la domination ottomane. L'examen de l'économie, soit en tant que mécanisme fiscal, soit comme mouvement et action des commerçants, constitue l'un de leurs objectifs, de même que l'analyse des autodéterminations, des hétéro-déterminations et des identités, aussi bien à l'étranger que dans le pays même. Les structures familiales et la configuration des couches sociales sont un troisième objectif important qui, inévitablement, conduit à étudier les conflits sociaux, idéologiques et politiques divers — et souvent complexes — que la société grecque présentait pendant la période ottomane (XIV<sup>e</sup> - premier quart du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle), et surtout pendant la guerre d'indépendance (1821-1828) qui s'acheva par la création de l'État grec moderne (1830). Conflits qui ne se sont pas terminés avec la formation du jeune État grec, mais qui ont nourri toute sa vie politique et sociale pour plus d'un siècle, jusqu'à la fin des aspirations nationales grecques avec la guerre turco-grecque en Asie Mineure, en 1922.

Contributions: Athanasia Anagnostopoulou, Spyros I. Asdrachas, Apostolos I. Diamantis, Maria Efthymiou, Nikolaos Kotaridis, Georgios V. Nikolaou, Martha Pyliá, Nikolaos V. Rotzokos, John D. Sakkas, Vasiliki Seirini-dou, Nikolaos Théotokas, Dionysios D. Tzakis, Nikolaos V. Vaféas.

Couverture: *Dîner au village de Chryssó, dans la maison de l'évêque de Salona* (aquatinte dessinée par Edward Dodwell au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, gravée et enluminée par T. Fielding) (publiée dans: Spyros I. Asdrachas [dir.], *Ἡ οἰκονομική δομή τῶν βαλκανικῶν χωρῶν, 15ος-19ος αἰῶνας* [*La structure économique des pays balkaniques, XV<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles*], Mélissa, Athènes, 1979, image XV<sup>e</sup>).

ÉDITIONS HÉRODOTOS  
9, rue Mantzarou  
GR 10672 Athènes  
Tél.: +30 21 03 62 63 48  
E-mail: info@herodotos.net  
Web site: www.herodotos.net

*Maria Efthymiou*  
(sous la direction)

**LA SOCIÉTÉ GRECQUE  
SOUS  
LA DOMINATION OTTOMANE**

**ÉCONOMIE, IDENTITÉ,  
STRUCTURE SOCIALE ET CONFLITS**

MARIA EFTHYMIΟΥ (DIR.) LA SOCIÉTÉ GRECQUE SOUS LA DOMINATION OTTOMANE

HÉRODOTOS

**H Ê R O D O T O S**

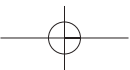
III.

*Vasiliki Seirinidou*

When the Turk is a Greek Orthodox  
and the Vlach a native Austrian. Greek *tourkomerites*  
and *entopioi* in 18th-19th century Vienna

---

Vasiliki Seirinidou is lecturer at the University of Athens.



An oil painting by the German artist Leopold Theodor Weller and dating from 1824 depicts two men sitting at a table in a Viennese café. One of them is dressed in multi-coloured eastern garb — a long robe, oriental cap and cloak —, has a hooked nose and a moustache, and is languidly smoking a water-pipe. The second is wearing a European frock coat with a top hat, has long side whiskers, and is grimly counting coins. The painting is entitled *Greeks in a Viennese café*.

A modern viewer would most probably wonder which of the two men is the Greek, particularly seeing as that one of them calls to mind the stereotypical image of a Turk. The search for the *essence* of Greekness has a long history, while the issue has re-emerged in recent years as a subject for discussion in a range of contexts. The painting's content would come as less of a surprise to historians of the Greek trading diaspora of the 18th and 19th centuries, since it depicts — albeit stereotypically — the same reality to which Stamatīs Petrou attests in so characteristic a fashion in his letters from 18th century Amsterdam describing the sartorial transformation of the young Korais, the important Greek intellectual: the adoption by part of the Greek trading diaspora of cultural norms compatible with the new social environment in which they found themselves after emigration, their release from traditional modes of behaviour, and, we would add, the coexistence of different cultural models within the Greek merchant communities<sup>1</sup>.

---

1. STAMATIS PETROU, *Γράμματα από τὸ Ἄμστερνταμ (Letters from Amsterdam)*, in PHILIPPOS ILIOU (ed.), Estia, Athens, 1976, p. λα'-λβ', 12, 21, 27.

*Vasiliki Seirinidou*

The focus of this paper are the radical changes emigration brought about to the way identity and otherness were defined. The case of Greek trade emigration to Vienna provides us with an especially interesting aspect of these changes: the appearance alongside religion, the main organizational principle in the Ottoman empire, of a new organizational category applied in their place of settlement — subjecthood — and the changes this brought about to the bipolar «Greeks»/«Turks» model.

The emigration of Greek and other Orthodox merchants from the Balkans to Vienna was both the result of links between the agricultural Balkan economy on the one hand and Austrian and Bohemian manufacture production on the other, and the means by which this connection was achieved. A dynamic part of the Balkan diaspora that took shape on Habsburg lands between the 17th and 19th centuries, the Greek trading diaspora in Vienna was organized around the export and transportation of raw materials from the Levante into Central Europe, and the distribution of European manufactured goods to Ottoman markets<sup>2</sup>. Greek commercial activity in the Habsburg capital peaked in the last quarter of the 18th and first two decades of the 19th century. Although no accurate data is available, we can posit a population of some 2.000 souls for the Greek-Orthodox community of Vienna during its most populous years (1780-1815)<sup>3</sup>. The Greek-Orthodox merchants formed a small, wealthy immigrant group with their own quarter, their own communities and churches, their own Greek school, charitable fund, and places of relaxation and entertainment.

---

2. On the formation of the Balkan trade diaspora, see the classic work by TRAIAN STOLANOVICH, «The conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant», *Journal of Economic History* 20 (1960), p. 243-313, as reprinted in IDEM, *Between East and West: the Balkan and Mediterranean worlds*, Aristides D. Caratzas, New York, 1992, vol. II, p. 1-77. See also, MÁRTA BUR, «Das Raumergreifen balkanischer Kaufleute im Wirtschaftsleben der ostmitteleuropäischen Länder im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert», in VERA BÁCSKAI (ed.), *Bürgertum und bürgerliche Entwicklung in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, Budapest, 1986, vol. I, p. 17-88.

3. VASILIKI SEIRINIDOU, *Έλληνες στη Βιέννη (1780-1850) (Greeks in Vienna, 1780-1850)*, unpublished thesis, University of Athens, 2002, p. 85-88. On the demographic trends of the Greeks in Vienna, see PETER SCHMIDTBAUER, «Zur Familienstruktur der Griechen in Wien», *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 35 (1980), p. 150-160.

### *When the Turk is a Greek Orthodox*

The Greek-Orthodox merchants of Vienna constituted a religious minority, and as such were subject to certain limitations in the ecclesiastic and spiritual spheres. For instance, even after Joseph II's religious tolerance decree of 1781 (*Toleranzpatent*), the Orthodox church of Agia Triada was permitted neither a bell tower nor direct street access (both rights were acquired in 1796)<sup>4</sup>. Similarly, the Greek school, which was founded in 1804, operated under the suffocating supervision of the Austrian educational authorities<sup>5</sup>. However, unlike the city's other religious minorities — the German Jews and the Protestants — the institutional set-up of the Greek-Orthodox merchants of Vienna was not derived from their particular religious identity<sup>6</sup>. The emigration, settlement and economic activity of the Orthodox, Jewish, Armenian and very few Muslim Ottoman subjects resident in Vienna<sup>7</sup> were regulated by the bilateral commercial agreements between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires, beginning with the treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718). These treaties sanctioned free trade by land and sea between the two empires, and ensured tax and tariff reductions for the subjects of both, along with the right to settle and trade on the other's soil.

While in the immigrant's Ottoman homelands, it was Orthodoxy — meaning their religion — that primarily defined their place in

---

4. WILLIBALD PLÖCHL, *Die Wiener orthodoxen Griechen. Eine Studie zur Rechts- und Kulturgeschichte der Kirchengemeinden zum hl. Georg und zur hl. Dreifaltigkeit und zur Errichtung der Metropolis von Austria*, Verlag des Verbandes der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, Vienna, 1983, p. 47-48.

5. See the Greek translation of the imperial decree of 1804, published by SPYRIDON LOUKATOS, «'Ο πολιτικός βίος τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βιέννης κατὰ τὴν τουρκοκρατίαν καὶ τὰ αὐτοκρατορικὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς προνόμια» («The political life of the Greeks of Vienna during Ottoman rule and the imperial privileges toward them»), *Deltion tis Historikis kai Ethnologikis Etaireias tis Hellados* 15 (1961), p. 347-350.

6. On the status of the Protestant and Jewish minority in Vienna after the Toleration Decrees of 1781/1782, see INGRID MITTENZWEI, *Zwischen Gestern und Morgen. Wiens frühe Bourgeoisie an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert*, Böhlau, Vienna, 1998, p. 82-98, which contains the relevant literature.

7. See the census of Ottoman merchants living or sojourning in Vienna in 1766/1767, published by VLADIMIR POPOVIĆ, «Les marchands Ottomans à Vienne en 1767», *Revue historique du sud-est européen* 17 (1940), p. 166-187. Especially on the Greek-Orthodox Ottoman merchants of 1766/1767, see POLYCHRONIS K. ENEPEKIDES, *Griechische Handelsgesellschaften und Kaufleute in Wien aus dem Jahre 1766 (Ein Konskriptionsbuch)*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1959.

*Vasiliki Seirinidou*

the social structure, in Vienna the legal status of the emigrants from the East was primarily derived from their status as Ottoman subjects (*türkischer Unterthan*, in the language of Habsburg bureaucracy). A number of vital benefits enjoyed by the Greek Orthodox merchants of the Habsburg capital, such as their privileged tariff rate of 3% of the value of goods imported and exported, their exemption from additional taxes, their right to seek redress from the nobles' court of Lower Austria (*NÖ Landrecht*), as well as a number of significant limitations, including bans on retail trading, on taking part in the domestic trade in Habsburg products within the empire, on owning real estate, as well as various regulations inhibiting movement stem from the fact that they were Ottoman subjects.

It was this same attribute, their status as Ottoman subjects, that the Greek-Orthodox merchants invoked when their economic interests were threatened by the Habsburg authorities, either referring back to the terms of the commercial treaties, which — as they did not fail to point out — bore the Sultan's signature, or in some cases turning to the Sublime Porte's diplomatic emissaries in Vienna, whom they requested to intervene on their behalf in settling issues that concerned them<sup>8</sup>. Habsburg concerns over the increasing number of foreign merchants in the empire heightened still further when the balance of trade between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires tilted in favour of the latter. By the mid 18th century, mercantilist economic advisers were already drawing attention to the risk of Habsburg domestic trade falling into the hands of *Turks*, a danger whose implications transcended the purely economic. Referring to the presence of Orthodox Balkan merchants in Hungary, a Habsburg official in Vienna wondered «how wise it is to leave the greater part of the Hungarian trade in foreign hands and, as some claim, to have seventeen to eighteen thousand Turkish families feeding off the nation and the public purse who, in case of war, would be transformed into the same number of enemies, and with an in-depth knowledge of the land at that»<sup>9</sup>. Almost a century

---

8. VASILIKI SEIRINIDOU, *op. cit.*, p. 122-125.

9. MARIANNE VON HERZFELD, «Zur Orienthandelspolitik unter Maria Theresia in der Zeit von 1740-1771», *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 108 (1919), p. 297.

### *When the Turk is a Greek Orthodox*

after the Ottoman army was repelled at the gates to Vienna for a second time, the image of the Turk as an enemy and a threat to Christendom, an image deeply embedded in the Habsburg collective imagination, was rendered flesh and blood in the person of the Sultan's Christian Orthodox subjects<sup>10</sup>.

However, Ottoman subjecthood was not only advertised in the light of its regulatory role in the context of relations between the immigrants and the authorities. Even within Vienna's Greek Orthodox merchant community, the identity of the *tourkomeritis* (he who comes from the Turkish lands, in Greek) revealed a range of orientations and contradictions.

In 1776, the empress Maria Theresa recognized the possession of the Orthodox church of Agios Georgios in the brotherhood of «non-Unitarian Greeks, the subjects of the Ottoman Porte, and residents of the imperial cathedral city of Vienna (denen der Ottomanischen Pforte unterworfenen allhier handelnden Griechen der nicht unirten Orientalischen Kirche)»<sup>11</sup>. This decree ended a dispute in the brotherhood's favour that had broken out in the first half of the century between the Greek-Orthodox merchants of Vienna and the Serbian metropolis of the Slavonic city of Karlowitz (on the Habsburg empire's southern borders) under whose jurisdiction the Habsburg authorities had placed the church of Agios Georgios<sup>12</sup>. The empress recognized the brotherhood's exclusive right to administer the church and to elect priests who were «Romaioi by dint of their nation and their religion (sowohl in Ansehung der Nation, als

10. WINFRIED SCHULZE, *Reich und Türkengefahr im späten 16. Jahrhundert: Studien zu den politischen und gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen einer äusseren Bedrohung*, Munich, 1978.

11. The *Privilege* of 1776 has been reaffirmed by Emperor Joseph II in 1782 and published in 1783 in German, and in Greek and Slavonic translations (*Die von Seiner Majestät dem römischen Kaiser Joseph dem II. Denen in der kaiserl. Residenzstadt Wien handelnden, der ottomanischen Pforte unterhänigen nicht unirten Griechen, in Betreff ihres Gottesdienstes in der Kapelle des heil. Georgius im Steyerhof allergnädigst ertheilte Freyheit*, Vienna, 1783). See the Greek text in SPYRIDON LOUKATOS, *op. cit.*, p. 339-343, and the German one in WILLIBALD PLÖCHL, *op. cit.*, p. 133-136.

12. On the chronicle of this conflict, see SOFRONIOS EFSTRATIADIS, 'Ο ἐν Βιέννῃ ναὸς τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου καὶ ἡ κοινότης τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀθωμανῶν ὑπηκόων (*The Church of Saint George in Vienna and the community of Greek Ottoman subjects*), CH. CHODZAKOGLU (ed.), Spanos, Athens, 1997, p. 8-35.



*Vasiliki Seirinidou*

auch der Religion Griechen)», limited the jurisdiction of the metropolis of Karlowitz to rubber stamping the appointment of priests, while the Serbs (*illyrische Nazion*) who visited the church retained a single right: maintaining a priest at their own expense to cover their confessionary needs.

The row over who had the upper hand in the Orthodox church of Agios Georgios in Vienna was just one aspect of the broader conflicts that emerged after the mid 18th century within the Habsburg empire's ethnically mixed Orthodox communities in which the Greeks and Serbs were predominant. The increased importance of language rather than religion as a basis on which communities could form, the creation of single-nation communities, the significance assigned to the study of language, the founding of schools and funding of publications were all manifestations of the nation-making processes at work in the communities of the Balkan trading diaspora<sup>13</sup>. However, the studious repetition by the masters of the church of their status as Ottoman subjects — ten times in a single document such as the 1776 decree regulating the domestic affairs of the Orthodox minority — would suggest that the regulations were not solely aimed at the metropolitan of Karlowitz and the Serbian flock in Vienna: the 1776 privilege was illustrative, too, of the *tourkometerites'* desire to keep the Greek-Orthodox merchants who had taken Habsburg citizenship — the so-called *entopioi* (locals, in Greek) — off the church's governing body.

The Habsburg naturalization of Ottoman subjects was a measure inspired by mercantilist philosophies and applied from the 1770s on with a view to keeping the profits from the Levantine trade within the empire. In Hungary (1774) and Transylvania (1777), Ottoman merchants were forcibly naturalized and compelled to move their families and wealth from the Ottoman empire to their new places of residence. In Vienna and Trieste, a series of limitations imposed on Ottoman merchants convinced a number to become naturalized Habsburg subjects<sup>14</sup>. In doing so, they may have

---

13. OLGA KATSIARDI-HERING, «Das Habsburgerreich: Anlaufpunkt für Griechen und andere Balkanvölker im 17.-19. Jahrhundert», *Österreichische Osthefte* 38 (1996), p. 171-188.

14. On this process see OLGA KATSIARDI-HERING, *Ἡ ἐλληνικὴ παροικία τῆς Τεργέστης (1751-1830) (The Greek Paroikia of Trieste, 1751-1830)*, Sofia N. Saripoulou's Library, Athens, 1986, vol. II, p. 375-380.

### *When the Turk is a Greek Orthodox*

forfeited the privileges stemming from the treaty of Passarowitz, but gained all the rights enjoyed by native merchants.

In 1787, emperor Joseph II granted a privilege to his Greek and Vlach subjects («in der k.k. Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt Wien ansässigen Griechen und Wallachen von der orientalischen Religion, k.k. Untertanen») allowing them to found the church of Agia Triada in the Fleischmarkt quarter<sup>15</sup>. Three years before the publication of the Privilege, the brotherhood of Agios Georgios had examined a proposal from the Greek-Orthodox Austrian subjects to jointly found a new church and brotherhood, resolving that the *Tourkomerites Romaioi should not unite with the Romaioi who are subjects of the Kaiser of the Romans*<sup>16</sup>.

The existence of two Greek-Orthodox communities defined by the political authority under which they came made Vienna unique within the Greek trading diaspora. In so far as this distinction was imposed neither from above nor from without, it set its seal institutionally, too, both on the differing economic orientations of the two Greek diaspora networks in the Habsburg capital and the competition between them.

The available statistics on Greek economic activity in Vienna allow us to identify, until 1820 at least, a relative correspondence between subjecthood, financial status and provenance. Numbering among the *entopioi* were some of the wealthiest Greek families that made a name for themselves in Viennese economic and social life, including the Sina, Karagian, Kourti and Derra families. Most of the naturalized Austrian citizens came from Macedonia and Epirus, and were for the most part Vlachs. They were thus part of the

---

15. The Privilege of 1787 was reaffirmed by emperor Francis II in 1796 and published in 1822 and 1856 in German, Greek, Slavonic and Rumanian («Von Seiner Majestät Kaiser Franz des Zweiten, huldreichst verliehene Privilegien, denen in der k.k. Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt Wien ansässigen Griechen und Wallachen von der orientalischen Religion, k.k. Unterthanen, in Betreff ihres Gottesdienstes in der Pfarr-Kirche zur heiligen Dreifaltigkeit am alten Fleischmarkt», Vienna, 1822). See the Greek text in SPYRIDON LOUKATOS («The political life...», *op. cit.*, p. 343-347) and the German one in WILLIBALD PLÖCHL (*Die Wiener orthodoxen Griechen...*, *op. cit.*, p. 137-140). See also, MAX DEMETER PEYFUSS, «Balkanorthodoxe Kauffleute in Wien. Soziale und nationale Differenzierung im Spiegel der Privilegien für die griechisch-orthodoxe Kirche zur heiligen Dreifaltigkeit», *Österreichische Osthefte* 17 (1975), p. 258-268.

16. SOFRONIOS EFSTRATIADIS, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

*Vasiliki Seirinidou*

ethno-local trade network that was already active in Transylvania and Hungary in the late 17th century and dominated the Orthodox trade settlements in the Habsburg empire's eastern lands<sup>17</sup>. The Macedonians and Epirotes were the first to move to Vienna, when, from the mid 18th century on, the development of foreign trade between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires made the Austrian capital a key distribution point for raw materials from the East<sup>18</sup>.

While there was no doubting Macedonian/Epirote dominance in the Orthodox trade settlements of the Habsburg hinterland, in Vienna, new local immigrant networks were demanding their share of the wholesale trade between the two empires: the Thessalians, who had wrested control of the trade in Thessalian red cotton yarn from the Epirotes circa 1775 and remained dominant for the half century until 1820<sup>19</sup>, and the Chiotes who had arrived from Trieste in the early 19th century to found branches in Vienna, having perceived the geographical importance of the latter in the distribution of products imported into the Habsburg empire<sup>20</sup>.

Competition with the new entrepreneurial networks and the feeling that the boom in the Ottoman export trade would be a short-lived phenomenon coinciding with the Napoleonic wars and the continental blockade could perhaps explain why Vienna's most wealthy Macedonian and Epirote merchants were orientated towards acquiring Habsburg citizenship, and hence to exploiting a

---

17. See the indication of the place of origin in the census of Greek Orthodox merchants in Hungary, published by ÓDÓN FÜVES, «'Απογραφές τῶν Ἑλλήνων παροίκων τοῦ νομοῦ τῆς Πέστης» («Censuses of the Greek paroikoi in the county of Pest»), *Makedonika* 5 (1961/1963), p. 194-241.

18. See the indication of the place of origin in the census of Greek-Orthodox merchants in Vienna in 1766/1767, in POLYCHRONIS K. ENEPEKIDES, *Griechische Handelsgesellschaften...*, *op. cit.*

19. On the trade in Thessalian cotton yarns in Central Europe, see MARIA STAMATOYANNOPOULOS, *Société rurale et industrie textile: le cas d'Avia en Thessalie ottomane (1780-1810)*, thèse de doctorat de troisième cycle, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1984. See also OLGA KATSIARDI-HERING, *Τεχνίτες και τεχνικές βαφῆς νημάτων. Ἀπὸ τῆ Θεσσαλία στὴν κεντρικὴ Εὐρώπη (18ος - ἀρχὲς 19ου αἰώνα). Ἐπίμετρο: Ἡ Ἀμπελακιώτικη Συντροφιά (1805) (Artisans and cotton-yarn dyeing methods. From Thessaly to Central Europe [18th to the beginning of the 19th century]. Addendum: The "Company" of Ampelakia, 1805)*, Hêrodotos, Athens, 2003.

20. On the Chiot merchant firms in Vienna, see VASILIKI SEIRINIDOU, *op. cit.*, p. 177-179.

*When the Turk is a Greek Orthodox*

new field of business activities from which Ottoman subjects were barred: the highly profitable trade between Austria and Hungary. In so doing, they relied on the network of relatives and fellow townsmen who had settled in the Hungarian hinterland. Some of Vienna's best known Macedonian and Epirote merchant families, including the Sina, Nako, Nikolits, Chatzimichail, Bekella and Derra families, seem to have made their fortunes primarily as middle men in Hungary's Austrian trade — and especially in the trade in Hungarian cereals and beef which was so central to the Austrian capital's supplies of foodstuffs — rather than by trading between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires<sup>21</sup>.

Nevertheless, Austria's Greek-Orthodox subjects continued to lay claim to a share of the Levantine trade while this remained buoyant, utilizing methods that were not purely economic to achieve their goal. Highlighting their *entopios* status, they attempted to persuade the authorities of the advantages that would accrue to the domestic economy if they took part in the eastern trade, while underlining the danger «that with the countless Turks constantly streaming into Vienna, the highly important trade with the Levant would no longer be in the hands of Habsburg subjects»<sup>22</sup>. In their joint representation to the authorities in 1802, twelve leading members of the Greek-Vlach community of Agia Triada went beyond identifying their economic activity with the empire's economic well-being: «The disorder rife among the businesses, the bankruptcies amongst the foreign Greek merchants that have come here, and the lack of trust instilled by the fact that every foreign Greek, every lowly clerk, can open his own trading house, has put us in the unpleasant position of no longer being able to maintain our once robust commercial firms<sup>23</sup>.» A new shade of Greek identity, the foreigner and the local, the Turk and the Austrian, depending on

---

21. See the indicative cases of Sina and Chatzimichail families, studied by GEORGIOS S. LAIOS, *Σίμων Σίνας (Simon Sinas)*, Academy of Athens, Athens, 1972); and IDEM, *Ἡ Σιάτιστα καὶ οἱ ἐμπορικοὶ οἴκοι Χατζημιχαήλ καὶ Μανούση (17ος-19ος αἰ.) (Siatista and the Merchant Houses of Chatzimichail and Manoussi, 17th-19th c.)*, Society for Macedonian Studies, Thessaloniki, 1982.

22. Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreich Kommerz F. 53, rote Nr. 115, f. 616r. (Translation from the German, V.S.)

23. HKA, Niederösterreich Kommerz F. 53, rote Nr. 115, f. 479r. (Translation from German, V.S.)

*Vasiliki Seirinidou*

political allegiance to Sultan and Kaiser respectively, would appear to have emerged in Vienna and to have been emphasized with a view to achieving economic goals.

And it is precisely in these foreign Greeks — these *tourkomerites* — that Greek historians have recognized the depositories of Greek identity in the diaspora, considering their Ottoman subjecthood as a guarantee of Greekness. Spyridon Loukatos, for example, argues that by remaining «Ottoman subjects, [the *tourkomerites*] felt more Greek and hence more subject to slavery than the subjects of the Austrian crown, and consequently played a more important role in the struggle for national freedom»<sup>24</sup>. In turn, Apostolos Vakalopoulos writes: «When Greek immigrants acquire Austrian or Hungarian citizenship, and especially when they take a foreign wife, they are intensely affected by the foreign environment and culture they admire and hence move further away from their familial, national and religious traditions»<sup>25</sup>.» So who could Leopold Theodor Weller have had in mind in 1823 when he painted the man with the fez and the water-pipe in the Greek café in Vienna?

Both the search for a specific cultural essence behind Ottoman or Habsburg subjecthood, and the national content that is attributed to this, obscure the complex nature of immigrant identity. Without constituting the rule, we can identify differences between the cultural models favoured by the *tourkomerites* on the one hand and the *entopioi* on the other — just as we can within both groups and between the first and second generations of immigrants — which are largely attributable to the two groups' differing migrational prospects. The gradual abandonment on the part of the *entopioi* of economic and social links with the Ottoman empire and their orientation towards occupying favourable positions in the economy of the land in which they had settled was not a solely economic process. It also meant the piecemeal or progressive withdrawal from the corresponding cultural facets of the Balkan trade, meaning the Greek language and culture, and the adoption of cultural means that allowed them better access to their new economic and social environments. However, it was the *entopioi* themselves who took

24. SPYRIDON LOUKATOS, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

25. APOSTOLOS E. VAKALOPOULOS, *Ιστορία τοῦ νέου ἑλληνισμοῦ (History of Modern Hellenism)*, Hêrodotos, Athens, <sup>2</sup>2005, vol. IV, p. 235.

*When the Turk is a Greek Orthodox*

the initiative in founding a Greek school in Vienna and provided financial support for Greek publications<sup>26</sup>.

One cannot read the before and after of migration, the different cultures of the land of their birth and the land in which they settled, cultural entrenchment and cultural assimilation into the identity of the *tourkomerites* and the *entopioi*. These are identities that do not exist outside the experience of immigration and which are formed through the social relationships that developed in the place of settlement and are affected by the quality and type of the categorizing criteria applied by the recipient authorities and society. In the context of such relationships, old and well-known signifiers can acquire new meanings and be used to express new facts. «Turk» could signify a Greek-Orthodox, and «Greek Vlach» a native Austrian.

---

26. Olga Katsiardi-Hering discusses the problems of Greek-speaking education in the Diaspora from this point of view, in OLGA KATSIARDI-HERING, «Έκπαίδευση στη διασπορά. Πρός μιὰ παιδεία έλληνική ή προς “θεραπεία” τής πολυγλωσσίας;», in *Νεοελληνική παιδεία και κοινωνία. Πρακτικά διεθνούς συνεδρίου αφιερωμένου στη μνήμη του Κ.Θ. Δημαρά* («Education in the Diaspora. Towards a Greek education, or a “therapy” of multilingualism?», in *Modern Greek Education and Society. Proceedings of the International Conference Dedicated to the Memory of K.Th. Dimaras*), Athens, 1995, p. 153-177.

