

# Across the Danube

*Southeastern Europeans and Their  
Travelling Identities (17th–19th C.)*

*Edited by*

Olga Katsiardi-Hering  
Maria A. Stassinopoulou



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# Greek Immigrants in Central Europe: A Concise Study of Migration Routes from the Balkans to the Territories of the Hungarian Kingdom (From the Late 17th to the Early 19th Centuries)

*Ikaros Mantouvalos*

“Go, my dear child, with God’s blessing. I embrace you one last time as your mother, because I have a feeling I’ll never see you again”. These were the last words that twelve-year-old Panagiotis Naoum remembered his mother uttering in 1822 when he left his homeland Kastoria behind to follow the road to Central Europe.<sup>1</sup> The sentence is taken from the autobiography of this Kastorian émigré. It was written around 1871 and reflects one aspect of migration from the Ottoman-ruled Balkans to Central Europe.

Owing to their rarity, autobiographical texts such as this one are normally used on the periphery of empirical research to examine various aspects of the migratory phenomenon, since their protagonists were the social subjects themselves, the migrants. The shift in viewpoint from social structures to the strategies of groups and individuals – from a simple explanatory approach in accordance with the model of push-pull factors, to concepts such as chain migration, relying on relatives, friends and social networks, information and solidarity links, i.e. non-financial factors – reveals aspects of geographical mobility and especially the daily experience of migration. For the peoples of Southeastern Europe, the experience of migration from the 15th to the early 19th century was part of their daily lives,<sup>2</sup> a fact generally applicable to European societies of the early modern period, which were much less static than some people have imagined them. It is worth noting that according to Charles Tilly, as a result of a process of proletarianization in North Western Europe, capitalist societies emerged with a free labor market and geographical mobility.<sup>3</sup>

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1 The difficulties and adventures faced by a Macedonian migrant to Central Europe are vividly described in the autobiography (in Greek) of Panagiotis Naoum. Moullas, “Ένας Μακεδόνας απόδημος”.

2 Regarding the migration of population groups from Southeastern Europe from the 15th to the early 19th century, see Katsiardi-Hering, “Migration von Bevölkerungsgruppen”, pp. 125–48.

3 Tilly, “Migration in Modern European History”.

The intense population movements that took place within the Ottoman Empire<sup>4</sup> during the early centuries of Ottoman rule were supplemented by migratory outflows, initially westward and then, a little later, toward Central Europe.<sup>5</sup> The lack of security and stability created by the expansion of the Ottomans into the Balkans in the 16th century, in addition to specific migrations (e.g. the exodus of Greek scholars and artists heading for the intellectual centers of the Western world), also caused the major migratory wave of the Serbs (1537) toward the territories of Croatia; their permanent settlement there was associated with the defense policy of Vienna.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, the gradual incorporation of the Ottoman market into the world's capitalist economy, through the penetration of European capital into the Eastern Mediterranean and the stable orientation of Ottoman trade in the direction of European demand, created new financial conditions and opportunities for Ottoman subjects, especially Orthodox merchants, and contributed decisively to expanding their trade networks. This period of economic acceleration was decisive in their decision to move out of the Ottoman Empire.

Regarding the historiography of the Greek Diaspora, it is well known that the geographical mobility of Orthodox Christians and of Jews and Armenians from Southeastern to Central Europe (16th–17th century), with a view to organizing and extending their mercantile activities northward – initially (16th century) toward the territories of Transylvania and later (17th century) toward the Hungarian Kingdom – was associated with the incorporation of these Central European regions into the Ottoman state between 1526 and 1699. After the battle of Mohács (1526) and especially after 1541 when Hungary was split into three political units,<sup>7</sup> the economy of Transylvania – until its incorporation into the Habsburg Monarchy (1699) – became interwoven with the economic relations and commercial transactions of the Ottoman Empire with Central, Northern, and Western Europe. Even though commercial relations between Hungary and the Sublime Porte already existed before the political change in the Hungarian Kingdom, the expansion of the Ottomans into Central and Eastern Europe and

4 Vakalopoulos, *Ιστορία της Μακεδονίας 1354–1833*, pp. 139–43 and Mintsis, *Εθνολογική σύνθεση*, pp. 189–202.

5 Vakalopoulos, *Οι Δυτικομακεδόνες απόδημοι*, p. 7.

6 Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat*.

7 Its central section was annexed to the Ottoman Empire, the northern and western scetions constituted the main body of the Hungarian Kingdom, under the Habsburgs, and Transylvania functioned as a semi-autonomous principality, tributary to the Sultan. See Sugar "The Principality of Transylvania". About the history of Transylvania, see also Barta, et al., *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens*.

the placement of Transylvania under the economic domination of the Sultan,<sup>8</sup> the movement of processed products (e.g. cottons and silks), luxury goods, and spices from the Balkans and the Levant into the markets of Europe became more regular and frequent after the mid-16th century.

In the financial competition between the merchants of Moldavia and Wallachia with the Saxons of Transylvania,<sup>9</sup> Greeks and Armenians endeavored to take an active part in the transit trade of products from the Levant to Transylvania,<sup>10</sup> from which they were then dispatched to Hungary, Poland, Vienna, and the region we know today as Slovakia. At the same time, these merchants undertook to supply Ottoman markets with Western processed goods, thus controlling a significant part of its import and export trade.

The gradual increase in the number of Greek Orthodox merchants in the local markets of Transylvania obviously helped to strengthen their role in the financial life of the region. Despite this, the Saxon element does not appear to have been weakened, as it maintained its leadership of the country's internal market.<sup>11</sup> The desire of the political authorities to monitor the activities of 'foreign' salesmen, thus protecting the interests of the country's local mercantile elite, was initially mirrored in legislative interventions by the Sublime Porte. This desire was likewise registered in the issuing of decrees by local administrative authorities to regulate the legal framework governing Greek business activity in the cities of Braşov (Kronstadt) and Sibiu (Hermannstadt), its most important trade centers, with the medieval financial organization of an autonomous principality.<sup>12</sup>

To safeguard the rights of cities and the privileged position of Saxon merchants, the Diet had to take protective measures to limit free trading by Ottoman merchants in Transylvania, to oppose their conduct of retail trade in

8 Levantine fabrics, wood, and silk were already being imported to the Kingdom of Hungary even before the battle of Mohács, through the customs stations of Transylvanian Braşov (Brassó and Kronstadt) and Sibiu (Nagyszeben and Hermannstadt) as well as through the customs services of the cities of Nádorfehérvár (Beograd) and Temesvár (Timișoara). See Pach, *Hungary and the European Economy*, p. 241.

9 About the Saxons in Transylvania, see Makkai, "Herausbildung der städtischen Gesellschaft (1172–1526)", Barta, "Die Anfänge des Fürstentums und erste Krisen (1526–1606)", and Péter, "Die Blütezeit des Fürstentums (1606–1660)".

10 Regarding the role of Transylvanian cities in the long-distance trade between Western Europe and the Levant in the 16th century, see Pakucs-Willcocks, *Sibiu – Hermannstadt*, pp. 59–139.

11 Bur, "Das Raumergreifen balkanischer Kaufleute", p. 25.

12 Ibid.

its interior, to impose price controls and to prevent the export of gold coins.<sup>13</sup> However, in the first third of the 17th century, the need to secure additional resources for the principality's treasury helped change the stance of the central authority, which until the early decades of the 17th century was hostile to the conduct by 'foreigners' of commercial activity and to their settlement there. By means of a privilege issued in 1636, the prince of Transylvania, György Rákóczi I, permitted Greek tradesmen to become incorporated as the 'Greek Company'.<sup>14</sup> Based on this decision, merchant companies were established in Sibiu and Braşov in 1636 and 1678, respectively. Their members originated mainly from the region of Macedonia.<sup>15</sup> In his study "Pages from the History of the Macedonian Greeks in Hungary and Austria" in the journal *Neos Ellinomnemon*, Spyridon Lampros stressed, among other things, a significant aspect of the reasons why Balkan Orthodox subjects settled on the soil of Transylvania: the shortage of agricultural workers for the prince's farms, which resulted in the resettlement of peasants from the broader Macedonian region.<sup>16</sup>

Also of exceptional interest is the fact that with Rákóczi's privilege of 1636 "the general concept of the Greek merchant and the uncertain status of traveling Greek salesmen became crystallized in the concept of a community (*communitas*) with a financial character, i.e. the incorporation of those engaged in commerce".<sup>17</sup> The limitation of their financial obligations to the payment of an annual amount and of customs duties at the points of entrance to and exit from the country, as well as the right to self-administration and to the exercise of religious duties, were derived from this privileged status and special legal framework regarding the prerequisites for engaging in commerce and the administrative and judicial independence of company members.<sup>18</sup>

The formation of a collective financial organization (company/*compagnia*), which functioned as a kind of merchant guild, with binding administrative, judicial, and auditing provisions, regulated the business organization of its

13 Tsourka-Papastathi, *Η ελληνική εμπορική κομπανία*, p. 29.

14 Bur, "Das Raumergreifen balkanischer Kaufleute", p. 28.

15 Papacostea-Danielopolu, "L'organisation de la compagnie 'grecque' de Braşov (1777–1850)", and Karathanassis, *L'hellénisme en Transylvanie*. See also Tsourka-Papastathi, *Η ελληνική εμπορική κομπανία*, and Cicanci, "Το στάδιο της έρευνας σχετικά με την ελληνική εμπορική διασπορά", pp. 409–10, 417–20, with indicative bibliography on the Greek presence in Braşov and Sibiu.

16 Lampros, "Σελίδες εκ της ιστορίας", p. 265.

17 Tsourka-Papastathi, *Η ελληνική εμπορική κομπανία*, p. 41.

18 Documentation on the formation and function of the legal institutions in a Greek *communitas* in Transylvania, as well as on the manner of dispensing justice, can be found in Tsourka-Papastathi, *Η νομολογία του Κριτηρίου*.

members and their personal ethical behavior. These preferential policies were not independent of the socio-economic and political structures of the region, that is, the powerful local feudal system that favored such forms of incorporation.<sup>19</sup>

The change of rule in 1699 (Treaty of Karlowitz) created a new economic reality, as the annexation of Transylvania by the Habsburg Empire brought the former radically into the commercial and state economic structures of the latter in a center/periphery relationship. This change did not entail abolition of the preferential status of the Greek companies, but on the contrary, renewed and expanded their privileges. In the early 18th century, the Habsburg emperor Leopold I (1658–1705), through the charter that he issued, protected all the *graecae Nationis quaestores* who resided in Transylvania, or were even just passing through it, and at the same time accorded special privileges to the members of the Greek companies in the region – broader than those granted to the Greek companies in Hungary<sup>20</sup> – permitting them to settle in Transylvania, to conduct wholesale and retail trade in merchandise of all types, to operate stores and to acquire ownership of urban real estate.

It should be noted that the goal of Habsburg mercantile policy was to make Transylvania a new market for Austrian products and to expand the monarchy's financial interventions in the Ottoman Empire and the Levant through the close relations of the Transylvanian economy with the Danubian Principalities and the Sublime Porte.<sup>21</sup> Consequently, the Greek companies in Transylvania were of greater importance to Austria's eastern economic policy than were the corresponding groups in Hungary, as we shall see below. But, by the end of the 18th century, the upgraded importance of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean to Habsburg commercial interests had a negative effect on the Greek companies in Transylvania. On 24 February 1784 – still during the war and before the final peace treaty – the Sublime Porte issued a decree (the so-called Sened Act) which, among other things, permitted Austrian subjects and vessels to ship their merchandise freely to and from Ottoman provinces by sea and river routes. Such a development paved the way for the decline of the overland trade between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires and undermined the role of the privileged merchant companies in Transylvania.<sup>22</sup>

The Greek merchant companies that were established initially in Transylvania and expanded in the late 17th century into the royal territory of Hungary

19 Katsiardi-Hering, "Αδελφότητα, Κομπανία, Κοινότητα", p. 267.

20 Tsourka-Papastathi, *Η ελληνική εμπορική κομπανία*, pp. 54–55.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

22 Tsourka-Papastathis, "The Decline of the Greek 'Companies' in Transylvania".



continued throughout the 18th century to be a strong network offering legal protection and security to their members. The new political conditions created in Central Europe after the treaties of Passarowitz (1718) and Belgrade (1739) favored the numerical increase of the mercantile settlements of *Görögök* (Greeks in Hungarian)<sup>23</sup> in Hungary.<sup>24</sup> In the 18th century, the intensification of movements, especially by Greeks and Aromanians (Vlachs)<sup>25</sup> from Macedonia to Hungary, contributed to increasing the number of Greek merchant companies<sup>26</sup> in the cities and towns of the Hungarian Kingdom (mainly Zemun/Semlin, Neusatz/Újvidék/Novi Sad, Temesvár/Timișoara, Gyöngyös, Tokaj, Szegedin, Szentes, Kecskemét, Debrecen, Várad/Oradea, Vác, Gyarmat, Karcag, Kecskit, Leva, Békés, Seben, and Sopron), which were the predominant form of collectivity of Orthodox Balkan merchants in the Hungarian hinterlands (see Map 1.1).<sup>27</sup> We should keep in mind that in Central Europe, in addition to the company, there was also another form of collective organization, the community (such as in, for example, Pest, Miskolc, and others),<sup>28</sup> with basic administrative competencies but without the right to intervene in matters relating to its members' financial interests. The community administration represented them before the local authorities, while at the same time managing community finances. In addition, it was responsible for maintaining the church and appointing its priests, as well as exercising welfare policy, by establishing a community school and philanthropic institutions (hospitals, poor houses, orphanages).

Securing their institutional independence and taking advantage of the opportunities and new prospects opening out before them, this group of

23 The word *Görögök* did not refer solely to those who belonged to the group of ethnic Greeks, but also described all Balkan peoples who were members of the Eastern Orthodox Church and used Greek as their main language of communication. It also designated the merchant. Füves, *Oi Έλληνες της Ουγγαρίας*, pp. 7–8.

24 Regarding Greek commercial establishments in Hungary, see indicatively Füves, *Oi Έλληνες της Ουγγαρίας*; Bur, “Handelsgesellschaften – Organisationen der Kaufleute”; Bácskai, “Gesellschaftliche Veränderungen in den Städten Mittel-und Osteuropas”; Bur, “The Greek Company in Hungary”.

25 The Aromanians (Vlachs) are a Latin-speaking ethnic group native to the southern Balkans. Regarding the Vlachs of Macedonia and Epirus, see indicatively Koukoudis, *Oi Μητροπόλεις και η Διασπορά των Βλάχων*, as well as Weigand, *Die Aromunen*.

26 Füves, *Oi Έλληνες της Ουγγαρίας*, pp. 22–25.

27 Bácskai, “Gesellschaftliche Veränderungen in den Städten Mittel-und Osteuropas”; Bur “The Greek Company in Hungary”.

28 Füves, “Görögök Pesten”; Katsiardi-Hering, “Αδελφότητα, Κομπανία, Κοινότητα”; Mantouvalos, “Μεταναστευτικές διαδρομές”.



MAP 1.1 *Greek Orthodox communities in Hungarian lands 16th–19th centuries*

NOTE: THE RED LINES INDICATE THE COMMUNICATION ROADS.

SOURCE: BASED ON: Ö. FÜVES, ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΟΥΓΓΡΙΑ, THESSALONIKI 1965, REVISED BY O. KATSIARDI-HERING, I. MANTOUVALOS, M. NIKOLAKAINAS.

Balkan merchants endeavored to fill the gap created by the lack of a dynamic Hungarian business class. As middlemen in the commercial transactions between the hereditary lands of the Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, the *Görögök* became significant factors in the Hungarian economy, regulators of the transit trade, and protagonists in the wholesale and retail commerce. It is, nevertheless, worth noting that the most common type of Greek merchant in the Hungarian hinterlands in the first half of the 18th century was a retailer.<sup>29</sup>

The forms of commerce they selected were mainly dependent on the specific conditions prevailing in the sectors of trade and commercial milieu. According to Füves, in the Hungarian Kingdom three basic types of Greek merchants were active: peddlers or itinerant salesmen who covered the consumer and productive needs of the agrarian population, those established in the country who opened shops to sell their merchandise, and those who transported goods.<sup>30</sup>

People active in long-distance trade were frequently organized into merchant companies, a fact that allowed them to increase the amount of capital available to them and to limit market hazards. Usually two to four people comprised the corporate core of the enterprise, by laying down capital in the form of merchandise, credit, real estate (shops, vineyards), and cash. Within the extensive commercial and financial network that extended from South-eastern Europe to the markets of the Kingdom of Hungary, family members were active either as partners and commercial agents or as middlemen in different regions, depending on the goods they were selling each time. The commercial enterprises of Pondikas,<sup>31</sup> Sideris, Kyranis, and Tournas are just some of the Greek companies based in Pest that were organized around a family nucleus in the second half of the 18th century.<sup>32</sup> The family structure of the corporate organization, which had been the predominant model of corporate activity in Western Europe since the early stages of its industrialization, provided stable and secure conditions for planning and conducting mercantile businesses. The relations of trust among the partners were frequently built on marital or other relations, for instance. god-parenthood, between powerful merchant families. They allowed commercial practice and information to retain bonds with local or foreign markets. There is no doubt that formalization, ritualization, and publicity of ties were used by entrepreneurs in Early

29 Füves, *Οι Έλληνες της Ουγγαρίας*, p. 18.

30 Ibid., pp. 14–19.

31 Regarding the Pondikas family, see Papakonstantinou, “Ελληνικές επιχειρήσεις στην Κεντρική Ευρώπη”.

32 Füves, “Görögök Pesten”, p. 428.

Modern Europe to establish trust with their business associates, for example when information was asymmetric or when institutions were perceived as inefficient in guaranteeing mutual good behavior.<sup>33</sup> The logic of financial alliances included the marriage of Konstantinos Pop, member of the Sibiu company, to the daughter of Haji Petros Loukas, which contributed to expanding the horizons of his father-in-law's business (whose main field was the cattle trade) in the direction of general long-distance trade, and a little later, toward a type of banking activity.<sup>34</sup> The same motives can be discerned in the marriages of Zoe Dimtsa from Miskolc to Ioannis Haji Spyros from Vienna, that of Maria Haji Georgiou from Pest to Georgios Leporas from Bratislava (Preßburg/Pozsony), of Anastasios Pamperis from Warsaw to the daughter of Georgios Gergas from Miskolc and that of Katerina Kousorintsa from Eger to Georgios Lazarou from Miskolc. Their commercial interests were basically determined by the geographical breadth of their marriage strategy, which expanded into significant key points of the transit trade in central and northern Europe, such as Pest, Vienna, Miskolc, Tokaj, Eger, Bratislava, Warsaw, etc.<sup>35</sup>

Common origin in terms of place and culture ensured the same advantages as family bonds. Rallying together members of an ethnic group can be found in the merchant activity of the Macedonian Vlachs in the urban centers of the Habsburg Empire (Budapest, Vienna).<sup>36</sup> Their marked numerical and financial presence, as well as their linguistic and progressively ethnic differentiation from the Greeks, may have contributed to the organization of the land trade on ethnic criteria, such as we see in the case of the merchant house of Manos in Pest,<sup>37</sup> or in corporate collaborations in Miskolc (the brothers Antonios and Naum Bougias with Ladislao Demtsos, and of Konstantinos Semsis and the latter with the brothers Georgios and Naum Rozas in the merchant company Rozas and Co).<sup>38</sup>

The majority of the Greek and Macedonian Vlach merchants in Hungary could be found in provinces east and northeast of the Danube, between it and the river Tisza (Theiß) where they settled in communities with elementary market structures and local products suitable for commercial trade. Olga

33 Alfani and Gourdon, "Entrepreneurs, Formalization of Social Ties, and Trustbuilding in Europe".

34 Diamantis, *Τύποι εμπόρων και μορφές συνείδησης*, pp. 73–74.

35 Dobrossy, "Family and Economic Relations", pp. 207–11.

36 Chatziioannou, "Νέες προσεγγίσεις στη μελέτη των εμπορικών δικτύων της διασποράς", pp. 153–56.

37 Mantouvalos, "Όψεις του παροικιακού ελληνισμού", pp. 107–19, 201.

38 Mantouvalos, "Μεταναστευτικές διαδρομές", p. 196.

Katsiardi-Hering has explored and highlighted the relationship between the socio-economic movement of Balkan Orthodox people and smaller or larger commercial regions.<sup>39</sup> Companies that were oriented mainly toward buying and selling wine flourished in cities such as Miskolc<sup>40</sup> and Tokaj,<sup>41</sup> which belonged to regions with significant viticulture and wine production. In the mid-18th century, the total number of their members<sup>42</sup> operating in the towns of Tokaj, Miskolc, Gyöngyös, Eger, Diószeg, Kecskemét, and Novi Sad was 627 merchants, 163 (26 percent) of whom belonged to the company of Kecskemét, a region with a large stockbreeding output located at the crossroads of vital significance to the sale of livestock in Hungary.<sup>43</sup> It should be noted, however, that a significant percentage of commercial activities were outside the context of united professional groups in the counties of Pest, Heves, Borsod, Bihar, Csanád, Ung, Abauj, Baranya, Bars, Vas, Komárom, Gömör, Győr, Moson, and Nitra.<sup>44</sup>

With the eventual goal of exploiting Hungary's agricultural and stockbreeding output and supplying the Kingdom of Hungary with merchandise, Greeks and Vlachs (Aromanians) from the broader region of Macedonia, such as Moschopolis (Voskopolje), Kozani, Siatista, Servia, Doirani, Meleniko (Melnik), Monastiri/Bitola/Vitolia, Selitsa, Grabova, Velesa/Veles, Kleisoura, Korsovo, and Naousa, chose various urban or semi-urban towns in the Hungarian Kingdom as their place of residence. The economic function of the migrants'<sup>45</sup> place of origin and the geographical proximity of mountainous or semi-mountainous cities in the northern Balkans to territories of the Habsburg Empire were important in determining their geographical orientations and final destinations. From the 18th-century censuses, it can be concluded that economic

39 Katsiardi-Hering, "Commerce and Merchants in Southeastern Europe, 17th–18th Centuries".

40 Katsiardi-Hering, "Αδελφότητα, Κομπανία, Κοινότητα"; Mantouvalos, "Miskolc – Sátoraljaújhely – Βουδαπέστη"; Mantouvalos, "Μεταναστευτικές διαδρομές", in which there is a bibliography of the Greek presence and activity in Miskolc and also in the broader region of Hungary (17th–early 19th century).

41 Bur, "Handelsgesellschaften – Organisationen der Kaufleute", pp. 273–75; Hering, "Die griechische Handelsgesellschaft in Tokaj".

42 It should be stressed that many company members frequently worked long distances from their home: see Füves, *Οι Έλληνες της Ουγγαρίας*, p. 21.

43 Bur, "Handelsgesellschaften – Organisationen der Kaufleute", pp. 271, 282–86; Bur, "The Greek Company in Hungary", pp. 154–56. See also Hajnóczy, *A kecskeméti görögség története*.

44 Bur, "Das Raumergreifen balkanischer Kaufleute", p. 48.

45 Gounaris and Koukoudis, "Από την Πίνδο ως τη Ροδόπη"; Panagiotopoulos, "Οικονομικός χώρος των Ελλήνων".

migrants moved and settled in a city based on the criterion of local production and functioned as attraction for further migrants from their place of origin. In 1762 the merchant companies in Tokaj had 598 members, the majority of whom originated from Kozani.<sup>46</sup> The increased presence of salesmen from Kozani and Ioannina in the merchant companies of Sibiu and Braşov, the large number of people from Kozani in Hódmezővásárhely and Szentes, cities near Kecskemét and Pest,<sup>47</sup> and the origin of the majority of Greeks in Kecskemét<sup>48</sup> and in the region of Jász-kunság (Central Hungary) who were from Siatista and Kozani<sup>49</sup> reflected both the mechanisms by which the family functioned as well as the role of the geographical factor, ethnic and cultural origin, and social networks in the subjects' movements. This becomes even more visible after the two sackings of Moschopolis (1769, 1788),<sup>50</sup> which reinforced numerically the numbers of Aromanians already settled in Greek companies in Hungary, such as the company of Miskolc, lending it a strong local ethnic and cultural character. Similar changes took place in the composition of the population of Zemun,<sup>51</sup> as shown in Figure 1.1.

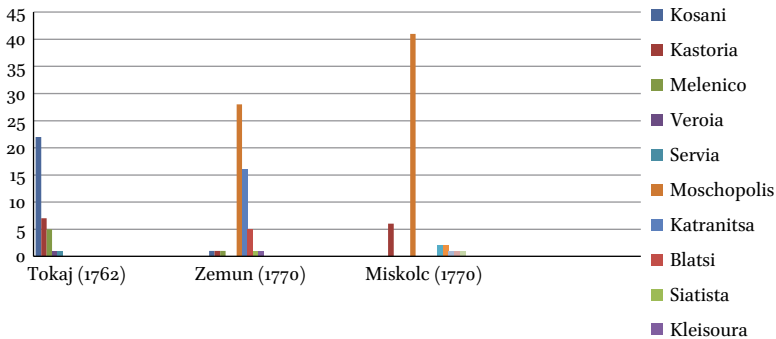


FIGURE 1.1 *The geographical origins of Greeks in the cities of Zemun (Semlin), Tokaj and Miskolc*

SOURCE: PAPANIANOS, *ΟΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΠΑΡΟΙΚΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΕΜΑΙΝΟΥ*, P. 53;  
 HERING, "DIE GRIECHISCHE HANDELSGESELLSCHAFT IN TOKAJ", P. 271;  
 MANTOUVALOS, "ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΕΥΤΙΚΕΣ ΔΙΑΔΡΟΜΕΣ", PP. 228–30.

46 Hering, "Die griechische Handelsgesellschaft in Tokaj", p. 271.

47 Füves, "Görögök Pesten"; Chatziioannou, "Η Κοζάνη και η περιοχή της", pp. 164–71.

48 Laios, *Η Σιάτιστα και οι εμπορικοί οίκοι*, p. 63.

49 Papp, "Greek Merchants in the Eighteenth-Century Jász-kunság", p. 269.

50 Regarding the destruction of Moschopolis, see Martinianos, *Μοσχόπολις*, pp. 163–98; Peyfuss, *Die Druckerei von Moschopolis*, pp. 41–46.

51 Papanianos, *Οι Έλληνες πάροικοι του Σεμλίνου*, p. 53.

For the inhabitants of Western Macedonia, the course of the Aliakmon River created a long narrow basin that became the natural path of their communication with the Balkan countries to the North and Central Europe.<sup>52</sup> Also, three land arteries started out from Thessaloniki: the first through Sofia and Nissa (Niš), reached Zemun through Belgrade,<sup>53</sup> the former being the southernmost frontier post on Habsburg territory, then entered its Hungarian section. The second passed through Serres, Meleniko, Sofia, and Vidin and ended in Orsova, another important post on the Habsburg border. And finally the third road, through Sarajevo, led to the territories of the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>54</sup>

Securing the necessary documents – travel permit, passport, certificate of health – allowed the migrants to move legally among these territories. In a number of treaties and trade agreements (e.g. the previously mentioned Sened of 1784) between the Court in Vienna and the Sublime Porte, the framework was created for the free movement of Habsburg and Ottoman subjects between the two neighboring states. The increasing control applied by the Habsburgs in the last quarter of the 18th century, both for movements within their territory and at the frontiers of the Kingdom of Hungary with the Ottoman Empire, was associated on the one hand with state security and public health, and on the other with the country's economic interests and balance of trade. Information about the effective surveillance of Orthodox Balkan merchants of Ottoman origin and the legality of their residence in the Hungarian hinterlands is provided by the census data compiled by the authorities for the purpose of political and health inspection.<sup>55</sup>

Crossing borders was decisive on the material and symbolic level alike. Very early in their journeys, migrants began to experience the consequences of discrimination, discovering what it meant to be a 'foreigner'<sup>56</sup> in a country with a different religious environment (Catholic and Protestant), submitting themselves to the social and cultural codes of the 'Other'. Nevertheless, by transforming the temporary into the permanent, the subjects created a new basis

52 Vakalopoulos, *Ιστορία της Μακεδονίας*, p. 349; Chatziioannou, *Η ιστορική εξέλιξη των οικισμών στην περιοχή του Αλιάκμονα*, pp. 13–46.

53 Regarding the significance of Zemun as an intermediary station of Greek migrants, see Papadrianos, *Οι Έλληνες πάροικοι του Σεμλίνου*, p. 52.

54 Mehlan, *Οι εμπορικοί δρόμοι στα Βαλκάνια*, p. 376.

55 See Katsiardi-Hering, "Grenz-, Staats- und Gemeindegrenzkriptionen in der Habsburgermonarchie", p. 237; Mantouvalos, "Conscriptions Graecorum in Eighteenth-Century Central Europe".

56 Regarding the term "foreigner", interwoven with the Orthodox Balkan migrants in Habsburg territories, see Katsiardi-Hering, "Migration von Bevölkerungsgruppen", pp. 132–33.

for their gradual incorporation into the host society and their financial stabilization there. The differentiation based on the subjects' transience or permanency of residence depended on a set of parameters, such as family status, age and stage in the family life cycle at the moment of migration.

By the end of the 1760s, the majority of those who had left their towns in Macedonia with Hungary as their destination, whether permanently or temporarily, were men of whom most were unmarried.<sup>57</sup> Some left their wives and children behind in Ottoman-held homelands, while not a few remarried where they had settled.<sup>58</sup> After 1769 and especially after 1774, this picture gradually began to change. On the basis of the decree by Maria Theresa (5 April 1769), full freedom of trade for Ottoman subjects was directly linked to their permanent settlement, moving their families to Hungary and swearing the oath of allegiance, which meant that they also became subject to the Hungarian Crown.<sup>59</sup> At the same time, they lost the privilege of exemption from customs duties enjoyed by Ottoman subjects that had been secured for them by the Treaty of Passarowitz. Only under the conditions described above would they be granted the right to pursue commercial activity and to look for a permanent residence.<sup>60</sup> Ten years later, in 1784, a decree was issued on the basis of which every 'foreigner' could be regarded as a semi-local, on condition that they had lived in the Kingdom for at least ten consecutive years.<sup>61</sup> The process of their civic incorporation undoubtedly reflected the Viennese government's deeper intention and priority, which was none other than redrawing the lines between integration and exclusion of the 'Other'.

Among migrants to the Habsburg Empire there were also adolescents and children. For example, more than half the 'Greeks' living in Vienna in 1766 had migrated there as youths or children for occupational reasons.<sup>62</sup> These movements were associated with trade and the opportunities it generated. It is also known that, throughout modern times in Europe, child labor has been directly related to structural mobility and migration. Children of the lower urban and agrarian social strata, from families of merchants and artisans, moved through the real labor market, either to learn a trade, or to join the workforce

57 Fűves, "Απογραφές των Ελλήνων παροίκων", p. 195.

58 Papadrianos, *Οι Έλληνες πάροικοι του Σεμλίνου*, p. 31.

59 Fűves, *Οι Έλληνες της Ουγγαρίας*, p. 28.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

61 Burger, "Die Staatsbürgerschaft", p. 98.

62 Seirinidou, *Έλληνες στη Βιέννη*, pp. 55–61.



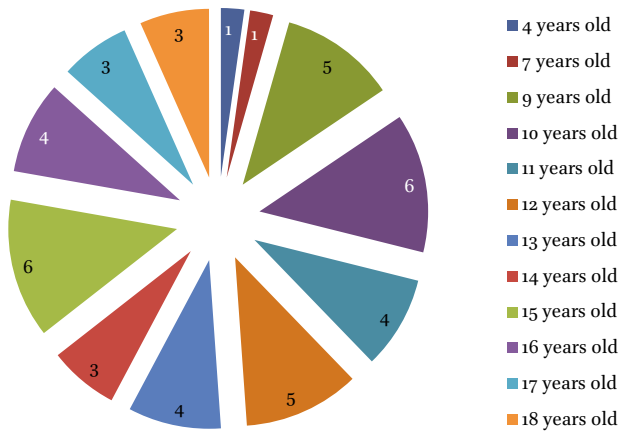


FIGURE 1.2 *Greeks in Miskolc. Age of arrival in Hungary*  
 SOURCE: MANTOUVALOS, “*METANAΣΤΕΥΤΙΚΕΣ ΔΙΑΔΡΟΜΕΣ*”, PP. 228–30.

immediately. A number of boys between nine and eighteen years old,<sup>63</sup> usually accompanied by experienced merchants – relatives or compatriots – headed from Macedonia to the commercial capitals of Central Europe, primarily to learn the art of doing business.

According to census data from the county of Borsod in 1770,<sup>64</sup> the majority of Greeks in Miskolc left their homeland when they were still children or adolescents. Specifically, it is reported that 45 of the 56 registered Greeks in the city, were between four and eighteen years of age when they arrived in Hungary (See figure 1.2).

The desire to engage in a trade was the motivating force that drove people – usually youths or children – to decide to leave their homeland and seek opportunities to make money and rise socially in the urban environments of Central Europe. Initially they worked as assistants and apprentices and later as heads of businesses and partners in trading houses. Yet, among the Ottoman subjects who crossed the Habsburg borders there were also some who already held a high social position in their communities of origin, and had a significant

63 Fűves, “Fejezetek a szentendrei görögök életéből”, pp. 119–20; Mantouvalos, “*Μεταναστευτικές διαδρομές*”, pp. 193–94, 228–30.

64 Rita, “A Borsod vármegyei görög kereskedők ősszeírása”; Mantouvalos, “*Μεταναστευτικές διαδρομές*”, pp. 228–30; Mantouvalos, “*Conscriptiones Graecorum in Eighteenth-Century Central Europe*”.

fortune in land and money before deciding to migrate, such as the members of the merchant families Sinas<sup>65</sup> and Pondikas.<sup>66</sup>

Although trade was the main field of capital investment and professional activity of the economic migrants from Southeastern Europe, their participation in other sectors of the economy, to a lesser degree of course, such as manufacturing or the practice of various middle-class professions (lawyer, doctor, teacher, etc.)<sup>67</sup> testifies to the scope of their incorporation into the professional and social fabric of the host society. Furthermore, the capital accumulated from commerce allowed its owners to orient themselves to 'investments' that were not necessarily intended for profit-making, such as the acquisition of titles and the purchase of real estate. The financially stronger middle class frequently sought formal equality with the aristocracy that dominated the higher ranks of the army and diplomatic corps, and held key positions in government. The granting of Hungarian nationality permitted the Greek capitalists of Aromanian and Greek descent to achieve recognition by the emperor through aristocratic titles.<sup>68</sup> In the 18th century, the progressive incorporation of Greek landowners into the ranks of the local aristocracy was obviously associated with the mass awarding of royal offices to reward their respect of the law and in recognition of their achievements.<sup>69</sup>

Among their investment initiatives, the Greek businessmen of Hungary, as noted above, entered the real estate market (shops, warehouses, vineyards, wine cellars, farmlands, city lots, large land holdings, guest houses, and homes) either in the city or in fertile regions of Hungary, Transylvania,<sup>70</sup> and the Banat of Temesvár.<sup>71</sup> For example, in Tokaj, as early as the 17th century, Balkan merchants owned farmlands that were used to grow grapes.<sup>72</sup> On the main commercial street of Miskolc there were also vineyards, pasturelands, shops, wine

65 Lampros, "Η Μοσχόπολις και η οικογένεια Σίνας", p. 163; Laios, *Σίμων Σίνας*, pp. 14–15.

66 Papakonstantinou, *Ελληνικές επιχειρήσεις στην Κεντρική Ευρώπη*, pp. 47, 49.

67 Füves, "Görögök Pesten", pp. 452–53, 464–67.

68 Füves, "Die bekanntesten geadelten Griechen in Ungarn".

69 The contribution of Christophoros Nakos in developing Hungarian agriculture by introducing the cultivation of cotton into the country was recognized by Joseph II, who honored him in 1784 with the title of Count, granting him large areas in Nagyszentmiklos in the Hungarian county of Torontál. See Lampros, "Σελίδες εκ της ιστορίας", p. 284; Peyfuss, "Aromanian Landlords", pp. 77–78.

70 Füves, "Görögök Pesten", p. 463; Mantouvalos, *Όψεις του παροικιακού ελλητισμού*, pp. 321–23.

71 Peyfuss, "Aromanian Landlords", p. 62; Laios, *Σίμων Σίνας*, pp. 79–73; Lanier, *Die Geschichte des Bank- und Handelshauses Sina*, pp. 116–19.

72 Bur, "Handelsgesellschaften – Organisationen der Kaufleute", p. 274.

cellars, and the homes of wealthy foreigners.<sup>73</sup> As part of the process of securing a permanent home, wealthy Greek businessmen invested in the housing market, usually within the urban core (Hung. *Bélváros*, Germ. *Innenstadt*), which functioned as a place of social reference and confirmed their class origin. The case of Pest is characteristic, since in the late 18th century it was becoming a pole of attraction for Greek merchants who would invest capital to purchase homes in *Bélváros*.

The market for houses and land in the city paved the way for acquiring the right to citizenship (*Bürgerrecht*) which was automatically equivalent to its holder's entry into the middle class (*Bürgertum*). The majority of middle-class residents (*Stadtbürger*) of Pest, which after 1703 became a free royal city (*Liberæ et Regiæ Civitates*), were foreigners who spoke German. Of the 2,354 people who acquired citizen's rights in the period 1687–1700, 44 percent did not originate in Hungary, but in Austria (30 percent) and regions of Germany (14 percent).<sup>74</sup> In the period between 1687 and 1848, civil rights were granted to 248 Greeks, when the total number of residents who held the right to citizenship numbered 8,703.<sup>75</sup>

The inclusion and gradual integration of Greeks and Vlachs into the host society, whose authorities and the majority of the population were Catholic (and to a lesser degree Protestant), was certainly associated with the policies of tolerance implemented by the Habsburg emperors during the 18th century.<sup>76</sup> Before Joseph II's Edict of Tolerance (1781), which made it possible for non-Catholics to conduct their religious worship in private religious institutions, the *Görögök* would attend church – frequently in a climate of objections and restrictions by local ecclesiastical and secular officials – initially in Serbian Orthodox churches, but also in Catholic chapels and in private homes.<sup>77</sup> It should be noted that recognition of the Serbian church as the organizational and administrative vehicle for all Serbian institutions in the territory of the Kingdom (through the privileges granted by Emperor Leopold in the 1690s) laid the foundation, on the one hand, for the religious organization of all

73 Dobrossy, “Die ethnographische Bedeutung der neugriechischen Diasporen des Karpatenbeckens”, p. 262; Dobrossy, “Kereskedő csoportok, családok és dinasztiák Miskolc társadalmában”.

74 Ránki, “Die Entwicklung des ungarischen Bürgertums”, p. 231.

75 Füves, “Οι κατάλογοι των πολιτογραφθέντων ελλήνων παροίκων”, p. 107.

76 Regarding the policies of tolerance practiced in the 18th century in the Habsburg Empire towards the Orthodox peoples of southeastern Europe, see Katsiardi-Hering and Madouvalos, “The Tolerant Policy of the Habsburg Authorities”, also: Csepregi, “Das königliche Ungarn im Jahrhundert vor der Toleranz (1681–1781)”.

77 Dobrossy, “Görögkeleti (Ortodox) egyház”, p. 929.

Orthodox believers who moved from the Balkans to Central Europe in the 18th century, irrespective of their ethnic origin and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Ottoman Empire, and on the other hand for the submission of all Orthodox churches in the Kingdom to the jurisdiction of the Serbian Orthodox diocese in Karlowitz. After the Edict of 1781 the interest expressed by the Greeks in Hungary in acquiring their own place of worship was manifested more strongly, as can be concluded from the submission of relevant applications. In the late 18th and early 19th century, fifteen Orthodox churches were built with funds donated by Balkan merchants. Indicative was the construction of the church of the Dormition of the Virgin for the “Greek and Macedono-Vlach community of Pest” (1790) and the Holy Trinity church for the “Greek-Vlach community of Miskolc”, construction on which began in 1785 and was completed in 1806.<sup>78</sup>

In cases where the Greeks of the Kingdom were initially subject to the ecclesiastical community of the Illyrians (as was often the administrative nomenclature for Serbs), the conflicts between Greeks and Serbs over the issue of the language used in church services and their equal participation in the administration of the community led to the creation of separate communities (Pest, Trieste), to a compromise (Zemun), or even to the exclusion of one group from the ecclesiastical administration (Vienna).<sup>79</sup> Despite the resolution of some differences between the Serbs and Greeks, the discord between ethnic communities did not cease. In the “Greek and Macedo-Vlach community of Pest” the language of the church service rapidly became a thorn in the flesh of relations between Greeks and Vlachs, whose co-existence would end a century or so later, in 1888.<sup>80</sup>

The interest of foreigners of Greek origin was also extended to matters of education and became stronger after the second half of the 18th century, through the issuing of legislative decrees regarding basic education for Habsburg subjects. In particular, influenced by the principles of the Enlightenment, Maria Theresa (1740–80) and then Joseph II (1780–90) undertook to organize the state’s educational system on a new basis. As Kowalská put it, “The basic aim of the Theresian-Josephinist school reforms was to create an effective educational system that was able to educate all classes of the imperial subjects in accordance with their social rank”.<sup>81</sup> Without confining themselves to their Catholic subjects, they extended the educational measures to include persons from other nations or religions who were inhabitants of the empire, with the prospect of

78 Dobrossy, “A Miskolci templom”, p. 22.

79 Seirinidou, “Βαλκάνιοι έμποροι”, pp. 60–61.

80 Füves, “Gründungsurkunde der griechischen Gemeinde”, p. 337.

81 Kowalská, “School Reforms in the Habsburg Monarchy”, p. 267.

reducing illiteracy, encouraging trade, developing local industry, and training employees to administer the state.<sup>82</sup> In Hungary, after the official state recognition and institution of the Orthodox Church,<sup>83</sup> schools and Orthodox religious communities began to be established. In 1770–71, when the schools of the Hungarian region were surveyed, there were 89 Orthodox churches operating, among whom 63 were Serbian and 21 Romanian. Of these, Győr, Miskolc, and Tokaj alone ran a uniquely Greek-language school, whereas in the cities of Eger and Komárom the schools were bilingual and the children who attended them were taught their lessons in both the Serbian and Greek languages.<sup>84</sup>

Even though the wealthier members of the Greek communities in Hungary could hire private tutors to educate their children, or send their children to heterodox, mainly Catholic schools in the cities, the building of an educational system that would preserve their communities' linguistic cultural identity was one of the main aims of the elite of the Greek Diaspora. For the Greeks of Hungary, the ultimate goal was to educate their children (boys and girls alike) in the polyglot and multi-ethnic environment of the Kingdom.<sup>85</sup> The establishment of schools, their staffing with capable teachers,<sup>86</sup> and the creation of libraries were key factors in the rise of social mobility across generations. This educational orientation was focused, among other things, on linguistic training, through cultivation of the Greek language but also on learning the languages of their social environment, German and Hungarian.<sup>87</sup> It is worth noting that in Pest, the issue of the language used for teaching rapidly evolved into a field of ideological conflicts between Greeks and Vlachs, reflecting the

82 See Stachel, "Das österreichische Bildungssystem".

83 Regarding the history of the Orthodox Church in Hungary, see Berki, *Η εν Ουγγαρία Ορθόδοξος Εκκλησία*.

84 Füves, "A pesti görög-román iskolák", p. 134.

85 Regarding multilingualism in the Kingdom of Hungary and the co-existence of many ethnic groups (such as ethnic groups from Balkans) with a different mother tongue, see Stassinopoulou, "Βαλκανική πολυγλωσσία στην αυτοκρατορία των Αψβούργων", and Seidler, "Η ανάδυση του λόγου περί εθνικής ταυτότητας".

86 A fascinating world of teachers emerged among the "paroikoi" (settlers) in Hungary and many of them combined entrepreneurial activity with private tutoring and the work of a scholar. Georgios Zaviras, a scholar–merchant who authored works of his own, represents this combined professional identity. See Katsiardi-Hering and Stassinopoulou, "The Long 18th Century of Greek Commerce in the Habsburg Empire", pp. 206–10. He offers "a dense personification of multiple functions in the complex system of micro-environments inside the boundaries of the Habsburg Empire", as aptly pointed out by Maria A. Stassinopoulou in "Trading Places", p. 164.

87 Katsiardi-Hering, "Εκπαίδευση στη Διασπορά", p. 155.

context of both the Neohellenic Enlightenment and the efforts to establish a separate Vlach identity.<sup>88</sup>

In addition to the organized educational system, community authorities also endeavored to preserve social cohesion, by exercising welfare policy through poor houses, hospitals, and financial assistance to the destitute. Apart from the regular and special offerings to the community, a significant percentage of the expenditures entailed in organizing and operating philanthropic welfare institutions was likewise covered by bequests and donations from well-to-do Greeks. In this way, the latter accumulated symbolic capital and enhanced their social prestige, while at the same time creating a regulatory framework to monitor the behavior of community members.

Regard for the community welfare institutions was an expression of the enclave's solidarity. This tendency to internality was evident in the members of the financial elite as well as in the middle and lower social classes in the Greek Diaspora of Hungary. Donors came from all levels of society, although certainly not to an equal extent. Let's also add that, according to the data, the childless and the unmarried, and those who had fallen out with their spouse or descendants, saw themselves bereft of the usual ways of distributing their estate and had special reasons to contribute to the common good.

The members of the financial elite had to confront the 'judgement' of the community, whence they drew recognition, and adhere to the ruling principles that required them to support the poor. For instance, eminent members of the Greek-Vlach community of Pest, such as Count Christophoros Nakos, a member of the Hungarian nobility, Thomas Bokou, and Georgios Lykas, dedicated a significant portion of their fortunes to hospitals and charitable foundations. Nakos also provided a large capital infusion of 8,475 forints to the community poorhouse. Without touching this capital, the foundation trustees utilized the annual interest, which corresponded to 5 percent. The bequests of Lepora and Tsikos, as well as the Chariseion Foundation, through which they contributed, inter alia, to the Pest community's charitable work are also considered important.<sup>89</sup> The above initiatives were apparently in tune with the dominant bourgeois concept of 19th century Europe, which viewed society's vulnerable members as needing charity to ameliorate their living conditions, a view formulated in the context of the need to manage, control and reform the poor.<sup>90</sup>

88 Ibid, pp. 172–77. Regarding the question of the Vlach ethnic awareness, see also Konstantakopoulou, *Η ελληνική γλώσσα στα Βαλκάνια*.

89 Füves, "Görögök Pesten", pp. 399–403.

90 From the rich literature on philanthropy in Europe, see Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*; Prochaska, "Philanthropy"; Adam, *Philanthropy, Patronage and Civil Society*; and Adam, *Buying Respectability*.

The range of the beneficence of Greek expatriates extended beyond the limits of the Greek community, since expatriate solidarity was also expressed on an intercommunal level. In the context of forging cohesive bonds between the expatriate nuclei in the monarchy, members of the Greek-Vlach community of Pest provided funds to church communities throughout Hungary (Vác, Székesfehérvár, Adony, Szentendre, Gyöngyös, Miskolc, etc.).<sup>91</sup> Despite the closed nature of the Greek communities in Hungary, the Greeks and Aromanians of Pest left bequests not only to their own religious communities, but also to other religious communities in the city,<sup>92</sup> as well as to state welfare institutions. As in other migrant centers of the monarchy, such as Vienna and Trieste, the charitable practices of the Greeks in Hungary were in a dialectical relationship with the objectives of state welfare, proving that the special bonds with the symbolic gathering points (churches, schools, hospitals) of the communities did not lead to the entrenchment of the minorities. The acquisition of the Hungarian subjecthood (*Untertanenschaft*, beginning as early as the last quarter of the 18th century) and political rights, as well as their ascension to the upper social strata of Hungary, imposed upon the devisors new behaviors and attitudes toward the state and city institutions, which were naturally also determined to some degree by the Habsburg civil law system (Civil Code, 1811).

One of the most common expressions of the social acceptance of wealth acquired abroad was for the migrant to make donations to their community of origin.<sup>93</sup> The building and maintenance of schools, the donation of scholarships and the purchase and dispatch of books to the Ottoman-held region of Macedonia reveal the extent of private initiatives in the field of education.<sup>94</sup> The ratification of their social position in their country of origin, accomplished through the ideology of benefaction, caused – not always – the Greek expatriates of Pest to bequeath capital to strengthen the welfare and educational structures of their homeland. Let's look at the following two examples that reveal aspects of self-consciousness and personal identity of the *Görögök* in 19th-century Hungary. In 1839, the will of Georgios Mantzos, a rich merchant from Pest, who emerged as a benefactor of the community of Bitola (Western Macedonia) sought to compensate for deficiencies in education, in the field of philanthropy, and in the social infrastructures in general by donating 1,000 forints to the community hospital. His name was entered in Bitola's list of founders and, thus, is memorialized in the city he endowed, while a service

91 Mantouvalos, "Μεταναστευτικές διαδρομές", pp. 220.

92 Füves, "Görögök Pesten", p. 507.

93 Theodorou, "Ευεργετισμός και όψεις της κοινωνικής ενσωμάτωσης", p. 148.

94 Mantouvalos, "Μεταναστευτικές διαδρομές", pp. 220–22.

took place annually in his memory.<sup>95</sup> On the contrary, Stephanos Manos, a representative of the second generation of Pest immigrants, an important financier and businessman in Hungary, preferred, in his 1853 will, to limit his social benevolence to the level of the organization of the community of the “Greeks” in Pest and the Habsburg state. He did not, even symbolically, reconnect with the community of his place of origin, which also happened to be Bitola. His Magyarization and rise to the upper socio-economic echelons of the Hungarian state contributed to his emotional, mental, and imagined detachment from his ‘paternal hearth’, from Western Macedonia, which, until the early 20th century remained under Ottoman rule.<sup>96</sup>

With the rise of nationalism in Central Europe in the mid-19th century, the issue of shaping the national consciousness and redefining the traditional identities of Greek migrant families in Hungary was placed on a new basis. Cultural incorporation into Hungarian society, which had begun to intensify in the second half of the previous century, undermined the differences between migrants and the ethnic Hungarian population, and the transformation of the former’s national identity. Their involvement in public life, starting from the end of the previous century,<sup>97</sup> and their participation in political developments, such as the Hungarian Revolution in 1848,<sup>98</sup> contributed to transforming their identity. This transformation was reinforced by mixed marriages and the gradual Magyarization of the Greek community in the second half of the 19th century. Let’s not forget that assimilation or acculturation process and civil society were closely connected. According to Eva Margaret Bodnar, “Magyarization unfolded within the confines of civil society, and civil society was meant to guarantee that magyarization would leave room for cultural homogeneity.”<sup>99</sup>

95 Ibid., pp. 222.

96 Mantouvalos, *Όψεις του παροικιακού ελληνισμού*, p. 282.

97 Three men from western Macedonia rose to the office of first citizen of Zemun: Ioannis Kalligraphou-Kyritsas (1803), Konstantinos Athanasiou Petrovits (1872) and Panagiotis Morphis (1884). Members of eponymous families from the Greek and Macedonian-Vlach communities were elected to the city council of Pest, such as Michail Popovits (1767) Naum Derras (1789), Dimitrios Doumtsas (1831), Dimitrios Sakellarios (1834) and others. For 30 consecutive years the merchant and landowner of Macedonian descent Evgenios Doumtsas (1831) was elected Mayor of Szentendre. See Füves, “Görögök Pesten”, pp. 476–78; Papadrianos, *Οι Έλληνες πάροικοι του Σεμλίνου*, pp. 91–98; Chotzakoglou, *Ελληνικά χειρόγραφα και παλαιότυπα*, pp. 25, 27.

98 Füves, “Görögök Pesten”, pp. 289–93; Papp, “The Son of a Greek Merchant in Diószeg”; Mantouvalos, *Όψεις του παροικιακού ελληνισμού*, pp. 220, 222–23; Sasvári and Diószegi, *A pest-buda görögök*.

99 Bodnar, *Making Magyars. Creating Hungary*.



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