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Vaso Seirinidou, *Ἐλληνες στη Βιέννη (18<sup>ο</sup>-μέσα 19<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα)* (Greeks in Vienna [18<sup>th</sup>-middle 19<sup>th</sup> c.]) (Athens: Herodotus, 2011), 497 pp.

During the eighteenth century, when the Habsburg imperial rule extended over multiple regions, peoples, and cultures in central and southeastern Europe, Vienna's role as a hub progressively increased and developed in order to serve the financial needs of the empire. To provide a market vehicle for state-issued bonds, Empress Maria Theresa founded Vienna's stock exchange in 1771, long after those established in Antwerp, London, and Paris. As a result, Vienna became a financial market and supported big banks. Trade, crafts, and industry thrived, and Vienna became a comfortable place to live, a destination for immigrants, and a place of entrepreneurial opportunities. The fact that, a mere decade after the establishment of its stock exchange, the young composer Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart came to settle in Vienna, aptly and eloquently illustrates the city's preeminence.

About the same time, a hide trader from Moschopolis, a central commercial hub in the Ottoman Empire at that time, applied for a license to join the hide trader's union in Vienna, in order to deal not only in Ottoman but also in European hides, as well as for a permit to trade in retail. The procedure required that the applicant submit his accounting records, in order to prove that, after thirty years of trading in Vienna, his business was sound. Then, he needed to produce two merchants as character references. These two merchants, who owed their emigration from Moschopolis to Vienna to the encouragement of that same merchant, would testify to his honesty. This story, set in a period of profound economic changes in the Habsburg Empire, illustrates chain migration and ethnic-religious networking.

The above story is one of several cases brought to light in the book under review. A revised doctoral dissertation, *Έλληνες στη Βιέννη (18<sup>ος</sup>–μέσα 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα)*, by Vaso Seirinidou, deals with Greeks in Vienna in the course of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. The book makes a valuable contribution to the study of migration, the Greek diaspora, business networking, and social and gender stratification. This is one of the few well-researched diaspora-centered doctoral dissertations supervised by Olga Katsiadri-Hering of the University of Athens. These dissertations are also the results of a long-lasting collaboration between the Department of History and Archaeology, University of Athens, with professor of modern history Gunnar Hering (1934–94), who taught at the Institut für Byzantinistik and Neogräzistik at the University of Vienna and who played a decisive role in the revival of southeastern European studies.

Seirinidou's book begins with a thorough historiographical and methodological introduction to the subject of commercial migrations and networking leading to the formation of migrant communities. Most of the original material comes from Austrian archives (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv, Hofkammerarchiv, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv), which were meticulously researched by the author. The archival sources of the two Greek communities in Vienna (St. George and Holy Trinity) were not accessible to scholars at the time this research was being conducted.

During the Ottoman occupation, economic factors—commercial transactions and supply of specialized craftsmen—mobilized a large part of the population from Greek lands to emigrate. This economic migration of Greeks spread within the “unified” territory of the Ottoman Empire, which included the geographical area corresponding to the later Greek state. Trade in agricultural products and raw materials had increased in Ottoman mar-

kets which were in frequent contact with corresponding centers in the Habsburg, Russian, and British Empires.

Indicative of inland emigration in the eighteenth century is the small mountain town of Moschopolis, in what is now Albania, whose Greek-Vlach population enhanced the presence of their hometown through a network of commercial activity in the cities of Hungary and Austria. Unfortunately, successive destructions of the town by the Ottomans, from the mid-eighteenth century, had an effect equivalent to the destruction of Chios (1822), in that they created a critical mass of emigrant merchants who, having developed commercial know-how, were violently cut off from their place of origin. This estrangement proved to be fatal in the case of Moschopolis, which, unlike Chios, never became part of the Greek state. Consequently, Moschopolitans never managed to establish a homogeneous business group in the most important place of immigration, Vienna, whereas Chiods formed “cartels” wherever they established immigrant communities, thereby maintaining strong ties with their native island.

The majority of land routes, dictated by commercial purposes, originated from various places in Macedonia, Epirus, and Thessaly under Ottoman rule and spread to Transylvania, Hungary, and Austria. Greek Orthodox Christians were numerically superior to the other millet groups—almost ten thousand Greeks (*Gorog*) were living in Hungary in the later eighteenth century (48). Two factors, imperial economic policy and entrepreneurial choices, mobilized these individuals and groups to undertake the Austrian trade with the East in Habsburg economic centers.

In every period, historians make comparisons in order to better understand their times. Thus, well into the nineteenth century, the Habsburg Empire was compared to China. Was Austria a country with a strict hierarchical social stratification, with

a certain degree of economic and intellectual isolation from the rest of the world, although commercial and financial development was evident there as early as the eighteenth century? This question is systematically examined in *Ελληνες στη Βιέννη*, in order to answer the main question that the book deals with: was Vienna an Eldorado of its time? First, the Austrian state imposed rather strict and demanding prerequisites for trading activities. Experience in trade and a minimum starting capital (fifteen-twenty thousand florins) were required for a wholesale merchant's permit. A permit for wholesale activities allowed the same merchant to deal in financial activities. So, the period from the mid-eighteenth century to the first decades of the nineteenth century became the golden age for private trade and finance, which facilitated private and state needs. Gradually in the nineteenth century new financial institutions like the Rothschilds and the Greek Sinases controlled a large part of the financial market in Vienna, including industry and transport.

The relevant historiography has already acknowledged the importance of immigrants in the rejuvenation of the entrepreneurial spirit in Austria as well as in the formation of a bourgeois class in the Habsburg Empire. The entrepreneurial spirit among Jewish and Protestant groups enabled them to climb the social ladder in Austria through trade, finance, and, in the case of Protestants, industry.

Along with these groups, Greeks arrived in Vienna as Ottoman subjects—an ethnic identity less important to the Habsburg authorities than to the migrants. They acquired a national identity long before the establishment of the national Greek state while retaining their regional identities as Macedonians, Epirotes, Vlachs (identities with strong geospatial connotations). After these Greeks arrived in the Habsburg Empire to embark on trade activities with the Ottoman Empire, or the

Levant, sooner or later they had to choose between being Ottoman subjects and enjoying privileges deriving from capitulation agreements with the Ottoman Empire and Austrian nationality, which could give them Austrian protection in the Ottoman Empire and a limited permission to trade wholesale in all products, as well as trade in retail.

According to Austrian censuses in 1766/1767, 82 male Greeks resided in Vienna, while another 134 Ottoman subjects traded in Vienna but were not present at the time of the census. In censuses of that time, Greeks, a mixed category anyhow, could be specified as Greeks, Ottomans, or Orthodox. According to various estimates, the maximum number of Greeks in Vienna in the beginning of the nineteenth century did not exceed 1,500–2,000 persons in a total of 240,000 residents of the city. After the middle of the nineteenth century, the number of Greeks there steadily declined, while the population of Vienna as a whole increased (236–37). The quality of information of the sources available at that time allows for few conclusions regarding the demography of the predominantly male Greek community in Vienna. But the reconstruction of everyday life is given through description of material culture in the Greek community: Western dress versus traditional costumes, jewelry as status symbol and social capital, fashionable furniture, and, of course, book reading and collecting, a bourgeois pathway followed at the time in Vienna in various degrees by all immigrants, be they merchants, bankers, or entrepreneurs.

The examination of communal organization of the Greeks in Vienna is one of the highlights of the book. These members were migrants of mixed origin, living on the edge of Ottoman and Habsburg imperial standards, having in common basically the Orthodox identity and, secondly, the Greek language, which was challenged by a non-written language, the Vlach. The two Orthodox Churches mentioned above lay at

the heart of a difficult symbiosis characterized by unity and rivalry. Nonetheless, Greek migrants in Vienna succumbed to the charm of that form of the Enlightenment associated with the production of books and journals and the promotion of education which gave way to a new Greek identity beyond the local one. This climate bred revolutionary aspirations, supporting Greek national independence and state formation in geographical areas, known through ancient topography, which in most cases did not comprise—until much later—particular countries, be it Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Chios.

Another highlight of *Ελληνες στη Βιέννη* is the analysis of the formation of Greek ethnic religious networks, based predominantly on the place of origin—Moschopolis or Chios. Not all members of the two Greek communities in Vienna were wealthy and prosperous, although successful ones naturally left more traces for historians to reconstruct their cases. The type of merchant banker who traded goods and lent money, managed the circulation of bills of credit, and speculated on currency values is well illustrated in cases like Stavros Ioannou and George and Simon Sinas, along with other lesser known houses. The Sinas house was for Hapsburg Greeks what the Rothschild house was for British Jews. The prominence of the two houses is illustrated by their competition for the bid to finance a large part of railway construction within the Hapsburg Empire. The Sinas house became a landmark, with its plurivalent entrepreneurial and philanthropic activities and estates, while other Greek enterprises in Vienna faded from memory. In conclusion, Vaso Seirinidou's *Ελληνες στη Βιέννη* scrutinizes eighteenth-century Greek migration to Vienna as a case study that deepens our understanding of diaspora studies as a whole.

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The main objective of the *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* is the dissemination of scholarly information in the field of modern Greek studies. The field is broadly defined to include the social sciences and the humanities, indeed any body of knowledge that touches on the modern Greek experience. Topics dealing with earlier periods, the Byzantine and even the Classical, will be considered provided they relate, in some way, to aspects of later Greek history and culture. Geographically, the field extends to any place where modern Hellenism flourished and made significant contributions, whether in the "Hellenic space" proper or in the *Diaspora*. More importantly, in comparative and contextual terms, the Mediterranean basin and Europe fall within the province of the *Yearbook's* objectives. Special attention will be paid to subjects dealing with Greek-Slavic relations and Eastern Orthodox history and culture in general.

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