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FONDAZIONE
ISTITUTO INTERNAZIONALE DI STORIA ECONOMICA “F. DATINI”
PRATO

Serie II – Atti delle “Settimane di Studi” e altri Convegni
40

LA FAMIGLIA
NELL'ECONOMIA EUROPEA
SECC. XIII-XVIII

THE ECONOMIC ROLE OF THE FAMILY
IN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMY
FROM THE 13TH TO THE 18TH CENTURIES

Atti della “Quarantesima Settimana di Studi”
6-10 aprile 2008

a cura di Simonetta Cavaciocchi

Firenze University Press
2009

La famiglia nell'economia europea. Secc. XIII-XVIII = The Economic Role of the Family in the European Economy from the 13th to the 18th Centuries : atti della "Quarantesima settimana di studi", 6-10 aprile 2008 / a cura di Simonetta Cavaciocchi. – Firenze : Firenze University Press, 2009. (Atti; 20)

<http://digital.casalini.it/9788884539113>

ISBN 978-88-8453-911-3 (online)

ISBN 978-88-8453-910-6 (print)

343 (20 ed.)

La Settimana di Studi è stata realizzata con il contributo di:
Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali

La pubblicazione del presente volume è stata realizzata con il contributo di:
Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali

La Fondazione Datini si dichiara fin d'ora disponibile ad assolvere i suoi obblighi per l'utilizzo delle immagini contenute nel volume nei confronti di eventuali aventi diritto.

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Università degli Studi di Firenze
Firenze University Press
Borgo Albizi, 28
50122 Firenze, Italy
<http://www.fupress.com/>

Printed in Italy

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Olga Katsiardi-Hering

Christian and Jewish Ottoman Subjects: Family, Inheritance and Commercial Networks between East and West (17th-18th C.)

In Trieste in 1809, Jovo Curtović from Trebinje, Herzegovina,¹ whose fortune had in 1780 amounted to the mythical sum for the age of 1,139,747 florins plus branches and parallel companies in Smyrna and Odessa, left bequests to the church and the ‘Illyrian’ (Serbian) community school in Trieste. On his death in 1813 Stephano Risnić from Sarajevo left behind an exceptional fortune of 531,234 florins, and co-owned companies in Trieste, Odessa and five cities in Herzegovina together with powerful relatives and fellow countrymen.² In 1785, Antonios Papas died unmarried and in debt to his *keoumbaros*, the large-scale merchant from Joannina, Nikolaos Plastaras, to whom he left some of his possessions along with an entreaty that the remainder be sold and the proceeds given to the “Nazione greca-greca”.³ In 1797, Nikolaos Plastaras, one of Trieste’s leading negociants, also bequeathed his fortune with admirable accuracy and equity to his wife and eight children.⁴ Dimitrios Kartsiotis from the Peloponnese, married to his second wife, Maria Voinović, daughter of the wealthy Giovanni conte Voinović, but childless, one of the most wealthy figures in late 18th-, early 19th-century Trieste and the owner of property, but chiefly the large ‘isola’ building, as he called it, specified in his will of 1819 that his fortune was to be shared between the male progeny of his brother, Prokopios, who, being a deacon, had to seek permission from the Patriarchate to marry, or otherwise to the female progeny of his sister, on the condition that they married men of Greek descent.⁵ In 1734, Lambros Maruzzi adopted a similar policy in Venice with a will which ensured his fortune remained in the hands of the Greek male descendants of the family.⁶ A total of ten Greek merchants from Venice⁷ left be-

¹ M. DOGO, *Una nazione di pii mercanti. La comunità serbo-illirica di Trieste, 1748-1908*, in *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste*, I, *La città dei gruppi*, R. FINZI, G. PANJEK eds., Trieste 2001 (Lint), p. 588.

² *Ibidem*. The firms had with Giovanni Palicuchia and nephew of him, Giovanni Rajović.

³ ARCHIVIO di STATO di TRIESTE (AST), *Archivio Notarile*, busta (=b.) 2, ff. 214, 1-2 (1783).

⁴ AST, *Archivio Notarile*, b. 6, ff. 628, 1-16 (1797).

⁵ AST, *Tribunale Commerciale Marittimo*, b. 351, 1819, D. Carciotti testament; s. also *Palazzo Carciotti a Trieste*, R. ILLY, S. ALBANESE, A. BERNHEIM eds., Trieste 1995 (Assicurazioni Generali).

⁶ K. MERTZIOS, *To en Bevetia Hπειρωτικόν Αρχείον* [The Epirus Archive in Venice], in “Epirotika Chronika”, 11, 1936, pp. 153-187.

⁷ G. PLOUMIDIS, *Σχολεία στην Ελλάδα συντηρούμενα από κληροδοτήματα Ελλήνων της Βενετίας (1603-1797)* [Schools in Greece preserved with the legates of Greeks in Venice (1603-1797)], in “Thesaurismata”, 9, 1972, pp. 236-249.

quests during the 17th and 18th centuries to the schools in their homelands (Epirus, Athens and the Peloponnese). Following the arrest in 1797 of the Chiot Eustratios Argentis, a major merchant in Vienna and supporter of the afterwards murdered visionary of Balkan revolution, Rigas Velestinlis, whose fate he shared, his brother Zorzis Argentis came to the Austrian capital from Chios to continue take charge of his commercial activities which, as part of the Chiot network,⁸ were so important for the Viennese economy. In Pest in 1814,⁹ Dimitrios Manos, a merchant descent from Vitolia (Monastir) appointed partners, colleagues and fellow-countrymen as executors of his will and guardians for his offspring. Jewish Ottoman subjects who settled from the 16th century on in Venice, with the permission of the Venetian authorities, and Ancona,¹⁰ with permission from the papal state, would send their sons in these cities as their agents. From the late 17th century and mainly during the 18th century, Jews from Livorno settled in Smyrni and Constantinople as protégés (beratlis) of the French as part of the Levant trade network with Livorno, Marseilles and Amsterdam.¹¹ The merchants of Ambelakia in Thessaly whose *in accomandita* association ("brotherhood") was between the late 18th and early 19th century made up of over 50 smaller trade-crafting companies of merchants and red yarn manufacturers from Thessaly, extended for over half a century in a commercial network in Central European commercial network whose main centres were Ambelakia, Vienna and Constantinople, and which headed by members of two or three powerful families interrelated by marriage and by their links to Ambelakia.¹² In Trieste in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Serbs and Greeks were primarily involved in insurance companies with a number of stock-holders.¹³ As a rule, to better share the risk ship ownership was shared between two or more financiers who were often bound by family (blood and marriage) or spiritual (koumbaria, such a fundamental bond in the Mediterranean world¹⁴) ties. Hydra's shipping incorporation in the late 18th and early 19th century was built on the close ties binding the isl-

⁸ O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *L'impresa al di sopra di tutto: parametri economici del martirio di Rigas*, in: *Rigas Fereos. La rivoluzione, la Grecia, i Balcani*, L. MARCHESELLI-LOUKAS ed., Trieste 1999 (Lint / Atti del Convegno Internazionale « Rigas Fereos-Bicentenario della morte », Trieste, 4-5 Dic. 1997), p. 66.

⁹ I. MANTOUVALOS, *Όψεις του παροικιακού ελληνισμού. Από το Μοναστήρι στην Πέστη. Επιχείρηση και αστική ταυτότητα της οικογένειας Μάνου (τέλη 18^{ου}-19^{ου} αι.)* [Aspects of the Greek diaspora. From Monastir to Pest. Entrepreneurship and bourgeois identity of the Manos family (end of 18th-beginning of 19th cent.)], unpublished PhD, Department of History and Archeology, University of Athens 2007, pp. 276-278, 332-337.

¹⁰ M. ROZEN, *A History of the Jewish Community in Istanbul. The Formative Years, 1453-1566*, Leiden-Boston 2002 (Brill), p. 237.

¹¹ M. ROZEN, *Strangers in a Strange Land: The Extraterritorial Status of Jews in Italy and the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries*, in *Ottoman and Turkish Jewry. Community and Leadership*, A. RODRIGUE ed., Bloomington 1992 (Indiana University Turkish Studies 12), pp. 144-154; especially for Thessaloniki s. M. ROZEN, *Contest and Rivalry in Mediterranean Maritime Commerce in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century: The Jews of Salonika and the European Presence*, in "Revue des études juives", 147, 1988, 3-4, pp. 309-352.

¹² See here p. 425 afterwards.

¹³ See here p. 420.

¹⁴ *Honour and Shame. The Values of Mediterranean Society*, J. PERISTIANY ed., London 1965; *Mediterranean Family Structures*, IDEM ed., Cambridge 1976.

and community's few leading families, their bonds with the captains and 'partner sailors' ('parcenevoli'), and their corporate and familial links with the sailors of their island neighbour, Spetses.¹⁵

Why all these examples? What is the common thread between them? Family, descent, ties to place, religion, subject status /'nationality', business-dealings in the Levant, the Adriatic, Central Europe and the Western Mediterranean and, in some cases, as far afield as Amsterdam. The title of my paper contains three core terms: 'Family', 'Ottoman subjects' and 'East and West'. In its broader sense, 'family' is a complex concept involving relationships, timing, and long and short durations. At first glance, might the term 'Ottoman subjects' refer the reader/listener to strictly legal content? That remains to be seen. The terms 'East' and 'West' take us straight to a large geographical space and mobility associated with trade. The life cycle of the family unit can also lead, when combined with mobility, to a broader approach to the content of 'Ottoman subject', who moves between East and West during the transitionary period in question. So my paper will be focusing on the role family played in the groups of Christian and Jewish traders on the move both within and without the Ottoman empire, orientated to the West. Since the 1970s, the historiography on the institution of the family and of the household has flourished, on the level both of demography and historical anthropology.¹⁶ In the field of economic history, the development of theories on economic networks, has boosted interest in the role of the family, familial relationships and friendship,¹⁷ where research has extended to trust between family members, and 'belonging' ('Us' and 'Them'),¹⁸ the relationship between the family and the business and the community,¹⁹ the tactics underpinning bequests/wills²⁰ and their effect on family businesses and the trade

¹⁵ See here pp. 429-431.

¹⁶ From the the extensive bibliography I hereby mention only the: Από την πλούσια βιβλιογραφία αναφέρω μόνο εδώ τα: *Household and the Family in the Past*, P. LASLETT, R. WALL eds., Cambridge 1972; M. MITTERAUER, R. SIEDER, *Vom Patriarchat zur Partnerschaft. Zum Strukturwandel der Familie*, München 1991; M. MITTERAUER, *Historisch-anthropologische Familienforschung. Fragestellungen und Zugangsweisen*, Vienna-Cologne 1990.

¹⁷ From the rich literature I quote only: M. ROSE, *The Family Firm in British Business, 1780-1914*, in *Business Enterprise in Modern Britain. From Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century*, M. KIRBY, M. ROSE eds., London-New York 1994 (Routledge), pp. 61-87; R. GRASSBY, *Kinship and Capitalism. Marriage, Family and Business in the English-Speaking World, 1580-1740*, Cambridge University Press 2001; L. FONTAINE, *The Organisation and Evolution of Traders' and Pedlars' Networks in Europe*, in *Spinning the Commercial Web. International Trade, Merchants and Commercial Cities, c. 1640-1939*, M. SCHULTE-BERBÜHL, J. VÖGELE eds., Frankfurt a. M. 2004 (Peter Lang), pp. 113-127.

¹⁸ L. KOUIJMANS, *Risk and Reputation. On the Mentality of Merchants in the Early Modern Period*, in *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Early-Modern Times. Merchants and Industrialists within the Orbit of the Dutch Staple Market*, C. LESGER, L. NOORDEGRAAF eds., Hague 1995, p. 26.

¹⁹ M. DUPREE, *Firm, Family and Community: Managerial and Household Strategies in the Staffordshire Potteries in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, in *From Family Firms to Corporate Capitalism. Essays in Business and Industrial History in Honour of Peter Mathias*, K. BRULAND, P. O'BRIEN eds., Oxford 1998 (Clarendon Press), pp. 51-83.

²⁰ A. OWENS, *Property, Gender and the Life Course: Inheritance and Family Welfare Provision in Early-Nineteenth-Century England*, in "Social History", 26, 2001, 3, pp. 299-317; IDEM, *Inheritance and the Life-Cycle of Family Firms in the Early Industrial Revolution*, in "Business History", 44, 2002, 1, pp. 21-46.

sector, the active role played by women and patriarchal tactics. The analysis that follows is very much part of the ongoing investigation of issues of this sort.

Edhem Eldem²¹ recently essayed a brief assessment of the historiography on Ottoman commerce, chiefly between the Capitulations and the early 19th century. Commenting on the image “of an increasingly aggressive encroachment of European trading activity on the Ottoman domains”, he notes - rightly, I think - that the image has essentially emerged from the sources available to historians until recently: namely Western European sources. Thanks to their policy of aggressive mercantilism, he writes, twestern governments were interested in having statistically measurable figures at their fingertips; from the Ottoman perspective, however, “a dominant fiscalist view of trade justified the neglect of commercial record keeping, replacing it with the much more useful - from the state’s perspective-tracking down of fiscal revenues generated by this trade”.²² Eldem’s text reached me just before I began work on the final version of this paper, and proved instrument in my decision on what to focus on below. The title of my paper includes the terms ‘East’ and ‘West’. Let me begin by defining both, though without entertaining ambitions of redressing the Eurocentric skew on trade - or, better, on Ottoman trade - the Venetian, French, English and Dutch perspectives have given the research. Venetians, French, English, Dutch, Tuscany, Austrians, Russians in chronological order from the 15th but mainly from the mid 16th century acquired a ‘privileged’ role in international Ottoman trade, either through the renewing of the privileges enjoyed by the Venetians - since the late Byzantine period - or through capitulations,²³ the founding of the Levant Company, or via those privileges specified in the treaties of Passarowitz (1718), Kuçuk Kainardji (1774) and that of 1783 impacting on Austrian trade. With the exception of the treaty of Passarowitz and, perhaps, that of 1783, the consequences of stipulations relating to ‘privileges’ are reflected in the trade passing through Ottoman ports. Which is to say that shipping played an important role, and that the Europe’s maritime powers would seem here to have played a significant part.²⁴ That said, as D. Panzac and Greek historians have shown,²⁵ a signif-

²¹ E. ELDEM, *Capitulations and Western Trade*, in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, 3, *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, S. FAROQHI ed., Cambridge UK 2006 (Cambridge University Press), pp. 283-289.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 288.

²³ A comparative overview s. *Ibid.*, p. 292-297.

²⁴ From the relatively extensive bibliography I hereby mention P. MASSON, *Histoire de commerce français dans le Levant au XVII^e siècle*, Paris 1896; IDEM, *Histoire de commerce français dans le Levant au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1911; N. SVORONOS, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1956 (P.U.F.); M. EYTHYMIΟΥ-HADZILACOU, *Rhodes et sa région élargie au 18^eme siècle: les activités portuaires*, Athens 1988 (University of Athens, Library of S. Saripolou); H. FRANGAKIS-SYRETT, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century (1700-1820)*, Athens 1992 (Center for Asia Minor Studies); E. ELDEM, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, Leiden-Boston-Köln 1999 (Brill); V. KREMMYDAS, *Το εμπόριο της Πελοποννήσου κατά το 18^ο αιώνα (1715-1792) (Με βάση τα γαλλικά αρχεία)* [The Commerce of Peloponnes in the 18th century (1715-1792) (on the basis of the French Archives)], Athens 1972.

²⁵ D. PANZAC, *Commerce et navigation dans l’empire ottoman au XVIII^e s.*, Istanbul 1996; V. KREMMYDAS, *Ελληνική Ναυτιλία 1776-1835*, [Greek Shipping, 1776-1835], I, *Όψεις της Μεσογειακής Ναυσιπλοΐας* [Aspects of the Mediterranean navigation], II, *Οι μηχανισμοί* [The Mecanisms], Athens 1985, 1986 (Historical Archive of the Commercial Bank of Greece); G. HARLAFTIS, *Ιστορία της ελληνόκτητης ναυτιλίας, 19ος-20ός αιώνας* [A History of Geek-Owned Shipping, 19th-20th Centuries],

icant portion of the Asia Minor coastal trade, the island trade, and the Black Sea trade was in the hands of Ottoman Muslim sailors. Similarly, the maritime trade - chiefly - of the Aegean and, from the late 18th century on, that of the Black Sea with extensions towards the Adriatic and the Western Mediterranean, was dominated by Christian sailors, especially Greeks, who were Ottoman subjects.

In adding the limitation “Ottoman subjects between East and West” to my title, I was not intending to address in full the contribution these Ottoman subjects made to trade (which would clearly have exceeded the scope of this paper), but rather to use the available sources--at least those that are accessible to me - to shed light on the commercial role these non-Muslim Ottoman subjects played ‘between East and West’ via their family concerns in the key period of the 17th and 18th centuries, and mostly during the creative and long 18th century. Interpersonal relationships in family firms -of short, middle or long duration, on land, at sea or both- constitute a core axis for readdressing the relationship between East and West. I have been interested in the role played by non- Muslim Ottoman subjects and of Orthodox and Jewish subjects of Venice, who were active from very early on in the sphere designated in the title as “between East and West” since the era in which the theoretical model of the centre/periphery/semiperiphery was being debated - a model which has come in for considerable criticism,²⁶ or, rather, given rise to much fruitful discussion. My interest centred on how well the model could explain the role of the Jewish and Orthodox Christian merchants of the 18th and early 19th centuries who had settled from Dutch Amsterdam to French Marseilles to Tuscan Livorno, Venice, Habsburg Trieste, Vienna, Habsburg/Hungarian Pest, Transylvanian Braşov and Sibiu, as far afield as Ottoman Thessaloniki, Smyrna, Constantinople and the southern Russian ports, primarily Odessa. It would, of course, be methodologically unsound to attempt to unify this extensive geographic area into a single explanatory model. Using all the sources I could gather and compare given the scope of today’s limited paper, I have attempted to apply the model to groups of people moving to and from Ottoman commercial centres to and from some of the above centres, each of which earlier historiography could have included in the centre or the semi-periphery. These merchants were part of family groupings and remained, in the case of the first generation at least, more dependent on their Ottoman places of departure. However, they gradually integrated into their places of reception as they became more familiar with their host’s legal and economic framework, availing themselves of the advantage of remaining Ottoman subjects or opting to become

Athens 2001 (Nefeli), this is the Greek translation of the English book (London 1996) with the addition of the first chapter concerning the time of the Ottoman period, 15th-beginning of 19th cent.

²⁶ From the rich literature I mention only *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy*, H. İSLAMOĞLU-İNAN ed., Cambridge-New York-Paris 2004 (1st ed. 1987) (Cambridge University Press/Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme), especially the introduction and the part I; about the various stages of incorporation s. M. ÇIZAKÇA *Incorporation of the Middle East into the European World Economy*, in “Review”, 8, 1985, 3, pp. 353-378; G. DERTILIS, *Το κέντρο, η περιφέρεια, η ιστορία. Ένα μεθοδολογικό δοκίμιο*, [The Center, the Periphery and the History. A Methodological Essay], in IDEM, *Ευρώπη. Δύο δοκίμια και τρία σχόλια* [Europe. Two Essays and three Comments], Athens 1998 (Kastaniotis), p. 89-138.

naturalized citizens of their host country.²⁷ Undoubtedly, as they manoeuvred between two or more worlds and countries, they certainly played their part in blurring the boundaries between the ‘semi-peripheral’ and the ‘peripheral’ and often playing a leading role -in Central Europe at least- in local institutions instrumental in shaping economic conditions (*Borsa, Camera di Commercio, Tribunale mercantile*).²⁸ They certainly moved “between East and West”, though their respective limits may not have been obvious, and -more significantly- the merchants themselves may not always have made a clear distinction between the two, on a business or personal/family/habitual level. I should perhaps have added the subtitle “within and out of the Ottoman Empire”, but this would have led to other inclusions and exclusions.

I include Europe “in the framework between East and West” as well as the Habsburg Empire, seeing as, since its Hungarian and Transylvanian provinces were part of the Ottoman Empire until the treaty of Karlowitz (1699), Ottoman subjects (mainly Serbs and Aromunians) could move, immigrate and settle there. We face one more difficulty in respect of the distinction between East and West and the role played by Ottoman subjects, since some of those we label Ottoman subjects were, in the period in question, resident in areas which had previously been under Venetian rule. Moving out of the Ottoman Empire, had settled in cities (Ancona, Venice, Livorno, Trieste) where they were also categorized in terms of their faith (‘di rito Greco-orientale’, Jews or Armenians) and were treated as such by their host authorities. Indeed, it was common for a time for the Orthodox Christians among them to ‘share’ the same confraternities, Communities, ‘Compagnie’, churches²⁹ or to form companies together. For their part, the Jews would struggle to found their synagogues where possible, irrespective of internal divisions between *inter alia* Ashkenazim and Sepharadim, Romaniotes and ‘New Christians’. The change of subject status (‘nationality’) noted among some members of the family businesses in cities in Western and Central Europe poses a further methodological problem, seeing as they often remained in the same companies as Ottoman subjects resident in host cities/countries in the West or in the Ottoman Empire too, or left their families in the Ottoman East for various lengths of time.

²⁷ O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Η ελληνική παροικία της Τεργέστης, 1751-1830*, [The Greek ‘paroikia’ [community] in Trieste, 1751-1830], I-II, Athens 1986 (Vivliothiki S. Saripoulou, Nr 52, University of Athens); pp. 383-392; V. SEIRINIDOU, *Έλληνες στη Βιέννη, 1780-1850*, [Greeks in Vienna, 1780-1850], unpublished PhD, Department of History and Archeology, University of Athens, Athens 2002 (forthcoming in ed. Herodotos); M. DOGO, *Una nazione di pii mercanti*, cit., pp. 577-578.

²⁸ O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Η ελληνική παροικία*, cit., pp. 441-448.

²⁹ About the literature of the greek diaspora s. O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Από τις ‘ελληνικές κοινότητες του εξωτερικού’ στην ιστοριογραφία του μεταναστευτικού φαινομένου (15^{ου}-19^{ου} αι.)* [From the ‘Greek communities abroad’ to the historiography of the migratory phenomenon (15th-19th cent.)], in *Ιστοριογραφία της νεότερης και σύγχρονης Ελλάδας, 1833-2002*, [Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Greece, 1833-2002, IV International Congress, Proceedings], P. KITROMILIDES, T. SKLAVENTIS eds., Athens 2004 (Institute for Neohellenic Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation), II, pp. 223-250; <http://www.arch.uoa.gr/diaspora/bibl/> a bibliography; O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Central and Peripheral Communities in the Greek Diaspora: Interlocal and Local Economic, Political and Cultural Networks in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, in *Home-Lands and Diasporas. Greeks, Jews and their Migrations*, M. ROZEN ed., London-New York 2008 (I.B. Tauris), pp. 169-180.

When examining the role played by family relationships in business and commerce, how are we to isolate problems of this sort which extend beyond the purely economic into the realm of habit and custom? To what extent does the subject stop feeling Ottoman, or – better - how powerfully does the Serb (‘Illyrian’) from Herzegovina, Bosnia, the Greek Orthodox from Epirus, the Peloponnese, Smyrna or the Aegean islands feel to the Ottoman Levant when he becomes a subject of Venice or Austria or Tuscany, and we see him trading with the Ottoman Levant, his source of his commodities or through or with which he trades his bills of exchange? The pitfalls and the prejudices of subject-status, whether it goes beyond the surface or not, in a pre-national era in which locality seems to have exerted a greater influence may be easier through an examination of the role of the family and the ties by which its members are bound to it. The immediate geo-economic environment, and the products it provided the family trade network, were more important, and were sometimes the factor which determined whether the initial stages of any commercial relationship were successful. In the Ionian/Adriatic in particular, the proximity of Ottoman and Venetian provinces, and hence of Ottoman and Venetian subjects, often makes it extremely difficult to define the role played by the nationality of the members of family businesses active in Venice and near-by Trieste, whose Greek or other Balkan members, former Venetian subjects, would sometimes move to the Austrian port where they were recognized simply as “greci di rito orientale” or as “connazionali” integrated into the city’s Orthodox community which, from 1751 on, was home to and governed by both Greek and Illyrian Orthodox.³⁰ The position of protégés (beratalis) raises comparable problems when it comes to specifying the role of nationality in business networks. The emphasis on nationality provides us with a starting point for studying the legal framework in which the merchants were active. However, there is a danger of sliding into generalizations regarding their exclusion by way of flexibility tactics on which they drew through the family, kinship, friendship and local bonds. Moreover, whether they retained their Ottoman subject-status in their host places of residence, where they organized themselves into confraternities or communities depending on their faith, did not necessarily lead in the period under examination to distinctions of identity. Identities were fluid and multiple in multiethnic empires, and depended on various factors:³¹ religious values and shared customs were often more powerful

³⁰ From the rich literature on Venice s. M. MANOUSSAKAS, *A History of the Greek Confraternity (1498-1953) and the Activity of the Greek Institute of Venice*, in “Modern Greek Studies Yearbook”, 5, 1989, pp. 321-394; Δημοσία Παρά. 500 years since the foundation of the Greekorthodox community in Venice, Venice 1999 (Greek Institute in Venice); *I Greci a Venezia*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio, Venezia, 5-7 Nov. 1998, M.-F. TIEPOLO, Eu. TONETTI eds., Venezia 2002 (Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti); B. IMHAUS, *Le minoranze orientali a Venezia, 1300-1510*, (trad. from french), Rome 1997 (Il Veltro); on Trieste, except O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Η ελληνική παροικία*, cit.; *Il Nuovo Giorno...; I Serbi a Trieste. Storia, religione, arte*, G. MILOSSEVICH, M. BIANCO-FIORIN eds., Udine 1978; M. PURKOVIĆ, *Istorija srpske pravoslavne crkvene opštine u Trstu*, Trieste 1959 (Comunità Serbo-Ortodossa di Trieste); D. MEDAKOVIĆ, Dj. MILOŠEVIĆ, *Chronik der Serben in Triest*, Belgrad 1987 (Jugoslovenka revija); M. DOGO, *Una nazione di pii mercanti*, cit.

³¹ V. SEIRINIDOU, *Έλληνες στη Βιέννη, 1780-1850*, cit., p. 254 ff.

bonds at this time.³² In the early part of the period under consideration, businessmen could not see themselves as independent agents; they were part of a socio-economic network which, along with the environment of the places they started out from and ended up residing, exerted a powerful influence over his behaviour. Emotional and moral factors also played a key role in determining economic decisions and the parallel development of the business and the family. That neoclassical theory cannot explain complex economic developments unaided for the period up to the early 19th century is, I think, now accepted, as is the inadequacy of statistics alone. “The early-modern entrepreneur cannot be seen as an independent agent. He was invariably part of a socio-economic network, which exerted a coercive influence on his behaviour”.³³ Our investigation will focus on everyday personal relations within the group/network, as illuminated by correspondence and financial journals,³⁴ along with the institutional framework regulating the placed of departure, reception and transit.³⁵

The chronological framework will encompass the 17th and entire 18th centuries, the 17th century being a period which, though inadequately documented, witnessed the radical reorganization of commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Venetians and other powers found themselves in crisis vis-à-vis the Ottoman Empire

³² M. SPRUNGER, *Entrepreneurs and Ethics. Mennonite Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam*, in *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship*, cit., p. 213.

³³ A. WEGENER-SLEESWIJK, *Social Ties and Commercial Transactions of an Eighteenth-Century French Merchant*, in *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship*, cit., p. 203.

³⁴ Indicatively see M. MANOUSSACAS, *Η αυτοβιογραφία του εμπόρου του Λιβόρνου Αλεξ. Πατρινού και οι εντυπώσεις του από το Παρίσι κατά το μεσοδιάστημα του Ναπολέοντα (1810)* [The autobiography of the merchant in Livorno Alex. Patrinos and his impressions from Paris during the apogee of Napoleon (1810)], in: “Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών”, 63, 1988, 1, pp. 235-272; E. LIATA, *Ένας Έλληνας έμπορος στη Δύση. Πορεία μιας ζωής από τον 17^ο στον 18^ο αιώνα* [A Greek merchant in West. A life course from the 17th to the 18th centuries], in “Rodonia”, Honour to M. Manoussacas, University of Crete, Rethymno 1994, I, pp. 279-297; K. PAPAΚONSTANTINOY, *Ελληνικές εμπορικές επιχειρήσεις στην Κεντρική Ευρώπη το β' μισό του 18^{ου} αιώνα. Η οικογένεια Πόνδικα* [Greek commercial entrepreneurships in Central Europe during the second half of the 18th century. The Pondikas family], unpublished PhD, Department of History and Archeology, University of Athens 2002; I. MANTOUVALOS, *Μάνος*, cit.

³⁵ R. PEARSON, D. RICHARDSON, *Business Networking in the Industrial Revolution*, in “Economic Historical Review”, 54, 2001, 4, p. 657. In the recent years the literature on network-analysis is very rich. I mention only some of the titles: G. HARLAFTIS, *Το επιχειρηματικό δίκτυο των Ελλήνων της Διασποράς. Η ‘χρώτικη’ φάση (1830-1860)* [The entrepreneurial network of Greeks in the Diaspora. The phase of Chios, 1830-1860], in “Mnimon”, 15, 1993, pp. 69-127; G. COOKSON, *Family Firms and Business Networks: Textile Engineering in Yorkshire, 1780-1830*, in “Business History”, 93, 1997, 1, pp. 1-20; J. OJALA, *The Merchant Networks between Finland and Europe during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, in “European Review of Economic History”, 1, 1997, pp. 323-352; E. FRANGAKIS-SYRETT, *Networks of Friendship, Networks of Kinship: Eighteenth-Century Levant Merchants*, in “Eurasian Studies”, 1, 2002, 2, pp. 184-205; *Commercial Networks in the Early Modern World*, S. RAMADA CURTO, A. MOLHO eds., San Domenico (FI) 2002 (European University Florence), especially the Introduction and the articles of Fr. TRIVELLATO and M. FUSARO; *Spinning the Commercial Web. International Trade, Merchants and Commercial Cities, c. 1640-1939*, M. SCHULTE-BEERBÜHL, J. VÖGELE eds., Frankfurt a. M. 2004 (Peter Lang Verlag); *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks. Four Centuries of History*, I. BAGHDIAANTZ MCCABE, G. HARLAFTIS, I. PEPELASIS MINOGLU eds., Oxford-New York 2005 (Berg); *Διασπορά – Δίκτυα – Διαφωτισμός* [Diaspora - Networks - Enlightenment], M. STASSINOPOULOU, M.- Ch. CHATZIOANNOU eds., Athens 2005 (*Tetradia Ergasias*, 28, Institute for Neohellenic Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation).

due to the long-running war between Venice and the Ottoman empire which led to the former losing Crete to the latter in 1649. In 1670, new capitulations were granted to the French. The century ended turbulently with the war of the Sacra Liga, in which the European powers were arraigned against the Ottomans. The Venetians retook the Peloponnese between 1685 and 1715, though with the capture of Tinos, the entire Aegean was now in Ottoman hands. International trade was in flux. In the Ottoman East, the Jewish community was shaken by the Shabbetai Tzevi crisis, as well as by the crisis in the production of the wollen uniforms for Janissaries.³⁶ The Armenians had still to consolidate in Ottoman Asia Minor, which they were to do during the 18th century, especially in Constantinople³⁷ and later in Smyrna, too. The Greeks began to move within the Balkans towards Transylvania from the late 17th century on, and to found--having been granted privileges by the local authorities in the face of competition from local and Saxon merchants--the first commercial 'compagnie' integrated into the Ottoman empire's interlocal trade with Central Europe.³⁸ They were also present in the limited coastal trade, or were at the tentative stage of their induction into the circle of foreign merchants based in the ports of the Ottoman East (Smyrna, Thessaloniki, Constantinople). The 17th-century landscape was different from that of the 16th, when Venice gave permission for the founding of the Fondaco dei Turchi and when the Popes applied a similar policy in Ancona.³⁹ This was the period in which the Confraternities of Greek Orthodox and other peoples from the Dalmatian and Albanian coasts began to flourish, and when unofficial communities of Jews and Christian Ottoman subjects began to function temporarily in Ancona and Livorno. Generally, the 17th century has left us fragmentary data for the study of Eastern Mediterranean trade,⁴⁰ though it is clear that the dominance of English trade--at least in Smyrna, where the English commerce faced stiff competition from the French, as it did in Thessaloniki, closely followed by the Dutch--brought with it a powerful change as the century

³⁶ G. HERING, *Die Juden in Saloniki*, in "Südost-Forschungen", 58, 1999, pp. 23-39; A. LEVY, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton- New Jersey 1992 (The Darwin Press), pp. 74-89.

³⁷ R. MANTRAN, *Foreign Merchants and the Minorities in Istanbul during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empires. The Functioning of a Plural Society*, B. BRAUDE, B. LEWIS eds., New York-London 1982 (Holmes and Meier Publishers), 1, *The Central Lands*, pp.133-134; I. BAGHDIANZ MCCABE, *Global Trading Ambitions in Diaspora: The Armenians and their Eurasian Silk Trade, 1530-1750*, in *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks*, cit., pp. 27-50; I. HASSIOTIS, *Ιστορικές προϋποθέσεις του Ελληνικού και Αρμενικού Διαφωτισμού: Συγκλίσεις και αποκλίσεις* [Historical Conditions of the Greek and Armenian Enlightenment: Convergencies and divergencies], in *Ο ελληνικός κόσμος ανάμεσα στην εποχή του Διαφωτισμού και στον εικοστό αιώνα*, Proceedings of the 3rd European Congress of Neohellenic Studies, Bucarest, 2-4 June 2006, K. DIMADIS ed., Athens 2007 (Ellilnika Grammata), pp. 335-348.

³⁸ O. CİCANCI, *Companiile Grecești din Transilvania și comerțul european în anii 1636-1746*, Bucarest 1981; D.-Eİ. TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI, *Η ελληνική εμπορική κομπανία του Σιμπίου Τρανσυλβανίας 1636-1848. Οργάνωση και δίκαιο* [The Greek commercial 'compagnia' in Sibiu of Transylvania 1636-1848. Organisation and law], Thessaloniki 1994 (Institute for Balkan Studies).

³⁹ For the Greeks s. N. MOSCHONAS, *Ελληνικοί Εποικισμοί στην Ιταλία*, [Greek settlements in Italy], in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, [History of the Greek Nation], 10, Athens 1974 (Ekdotiki Athinon), p. 236; and for the Jews s. B. ARBEL, *Trading Nations. Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean*, Leiden-New York-Köln 1995 (E. J. Brill), p. 4.

⁴⁰ ELDEM, *Capitulations and Western Trade*, cit., pp. 297-298 (where also bibliography).

neared its end. The local Ottoman subjects began slowly to emerge among their ranks, and from the dynamic 18th century on, to hold key positions in the trade, by land and sea, of the empire and the West, building up simple family businesses in the form of general partnerships, sleeping partnerships and joint stock enterprises.

The phrase 'between East and West' thus clearly denoted temporary the mobility, travelling, migrating - or, later, settling - abroad it required of some family members. Movement became relative and horizons broadened with regard to behaviour, logic and business tactics. It created the ambition to return to the beginning, the need to proceed carefully and to keep links with the environment of the place left behind strong both for the family and to safeguard supply. Later, the inclusion of the established merchant into new prospects and challenged did not necessarily entail his identifying completely with the new environment. A long-lasting trend of adapting to and being flexible with regard to the new geographical and legal framework brought problems to light in need of a solution along with the possibility of its opposite: failure and isolation. The networks of the Greek, Serbian, Jewish and Armenian diasporas did, however, convey the context in which *between East and West*.

The mobility of the merchants requires flexibility on the part of the researcher. Merchants moved for short periods, gradually, permanently, and frequently did not retain the same subject-status ('nationality') from birth till death. They became naturalized Venetian, Austrian, Russian subjects in order to take advantage of the legal framework of their host countries, allowing the members of these family businesses to successfully run companies which radiated outwards from the West to the Levant. Jews, Greeks and Armenians became the protégés (*beratlis*) primarily of the French, but also of the English (usually as interpreters) and the Dutch,⁴¹ in order to escape the Ottoman system and be inducted indirectly - and later, directly- at some stage in their lives into an international trade network, moving to a port in the Western Mediterranean and perhaps changing their status as Ottoman subjects or reclaiming it, though now familiar with the international trade of their day and having acquired experience of the legal, technical and linguistic aspects of commerce.

What were the repercussions on the personality as well as the fortunes of commercial formations when one or more members of a family business changed nationality? How was this change affected by the fluid orientations brought about when the businessman himself or his financial backers move between East and West? What deficiency in the Ottoman legal framework may have prevented Ottoman subjects in the Levant to open up on an institutional level into organized international companies, setting off from Ottoman soil until the late 18th century, and how were these companies boosted by the legal framework in 'Western' cities?

Did Ottoman subjects look Westwards or from the West Eastwards, returning to the West through the supply of goods through the network of agents and commissioners, by moving bills of exchange, or in the form of short-duration maritime companies, usually for a single voyage from East to West or vice-versa? Or did they return to the East in search of a wife from a rich family in their homeland, which

⁴¹ P. KONTOGIANNIS, *Οι προστατευόμενοι* [The 'protégés'], Athens 1917; M.H. VAN DEN BOOGERT, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System. Qadis, Consuls and Beratlis in the 18th century*, Leiden-Boston 2005; About the Jews protégés s. ROZEN, *Contest and Rivalry*, cit.

would allow their business to expand,⁴² to take on new stock holders, or to expand geographically, or was it family bonds that kept them indirectly and mentally in the Ottoman East, where their wives and children lived, paying taxes, discomforted by the prolonged absence of the *pater familiae*?⁴³ Or did they return mentally to the East to make bequests, on death's door, for setting up a school, supporting the village church and poor relations despite having long been naturalised as Venetian, Austrian or Russian subjects? Might we have to accept subject status as more fluid, as something that has to be viewed through a complex model of economic practices, mentalities and sequences of political events, if we are to successfully continue our analysis?

Before I advance in the examination of certain specific cases-examples in order to support my arguments, it is essential next to the time and geographic frames to locate the complex problem of legal frames round which the commercial entities under review moved. The merchants either moving temporarily for short or longer periods or settling in the areas of reception were simultaneously bearers of institutions of customary law and legal frames as well as recipients of new legal situations, in which they owed or wished to be included or they sought ways of escaping or at least informally disobeyed.⁴⁴ Whoever settled in free ports (Trieste, Ancona, and Livorno during the 18th century), enjoyed additional benefits, subjected to favorable economic regulations. As time went by, in the cities where they settled, they founded regulated communities (*Costituzioni, Capitoli*⁴⁵), that were approved by the state. The participation in the community was based on religious or 'ethnic/linguistic' origin. The community and the church constituted for them the nucleus of collective gathering, determination and representation in the local society. While the Community organization did not limit or had a say in the operation of the individual or familial enterprises of tradesmen, nevertheless the latter, particularly the financially powerful, sought to participate actively in the administration of their Community aggregation; in this way, the tradesmen both offer and received *prestige* but also participated in the local collective bodies of representation of individual cities. Being members of these communities or moving independently they

⁴² S. the revealing autobiographical description (1790) of the merchant Patrinos in Livorno about his wedding with the daughter of the rich family of his first employer Argyris Vretos, descending from Ioannina, his hometown. A great dowry in money removed his scruples. Apart from that, the young woman was greatly sought by many commercial firms in Venice as well as in Livorno! (M. MANOUSSACAS, *Η αυτοβιογραφία*, cit., pp. 248-249).

⁴³ Κ. ΠΑΡΑΚΟΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ, *Πόνδισας*, cit.

⁴⁴ Common are the cases i.e., Hungarian merchants who complained about abuses against local trade committed by Greek merchants in Hungary during the 18th cent., when they exceeded the limits agreed by the treaties with the Ottoman empire, a fact that forced the local authorities to compel the ottoman subjects to swear an oath of faith in 1774 and consequently to resettle their families in Hungary. Κ. ΠΑΡΑΚΟΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ, *Πόνδισας*, cit.; Ζ. ÁCS, *Marchands grecs en Hongrie aux 17^e-18^e siècles*, in *Études Historiques Hongroises, publiées à l'occasion du 17^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques*, Budapest 1990, II, pp. 41-58.

⁴⁵ An overview of the organisatory systems s. O. ΚΑΤΣΙΑΡΔΙ-HERING, *Για μια τυπολογία των ελληνικών κοινοτήτων της Κεντρικής Ευρώπης, με αφορμή το άγνωστο καταστατικό του Miskolc (1801)*, [At a typology of the Greek communities in Central Europe, on the occasion of the unknown Statutes of Miskolc (1801)], in "Eoa and Esperia", 7, 2007, pp. 247-310.

did or did not maintain the citizenship of the place of origin,⁴⁶ Ottoman in this respect, and they were facilitated when they were to enjoy special privileges (as e.g. in the Habsburg Monarchy after the treaty of Passarowitz, or in Tuscany after the treaty with Ottoman Empire 1747) on duty regulations.⁴⁷ They also maintained the citizenship in cases their families remained in the Ottoman East and consequently they continued depending on the tax obligations hence on the legal frame of operation of the annexes of their enterprise in the East.⁴⁸ Thus they had better access to the natural supply resources of rural products or raw material, used in the developing fabric industry as well as in the processing of leather of Western and Central Europe, where they were present. The wandering tradesmen often originated from regions that had previously been under Genoese or Venetian rule, or were included in the commercial network of Dalmatian coast or belonged to the hinterland of semi-autonomous commercial city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) or they themselves had been protégés of European tradesmen. The commercial practices or the legal status of the Venetian environment and the rest of the dominant commercial cities of the Italian peninsula had jointly shaped for centuries a multifaceted legal economic frame, round which the maritime trade and the settled enterprising organizations moved, having incorporated necessary adjustments. Round this frame orbited not only the Venetians and their subjects but also the Jews⁴⁹ and the Christian tradesmen that were active within the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman East had its own legal commercial frame and often a group of villages comprised a network of commercial islands within which weekly, monthly or annual fairs (panayır

⁴⁶ Unique case of segregation of communities depending on the citizenship existed in Vienna, where by the end of 18th century two communities were founded, one for the Ottoman and one for the Habsbourg subjects and a separate one for the 'Illyrian' (Serb) Orthodox. This separation, apart from internal Community conflicts did not appear to influence the overall financial activity of its members. βλ. S. EUSRATIADIS, *Ο εν Βιέννη Ναός του Αγίου Γεωργίου και η κοινότης των Ελλήνων Οθωμανών υπηκόων*, [The Church of St. George in Vienna and the community of the Greeks Ottoman Subjects], Athens 1997 (1st ed. 1912); V. SEIRINIDOU, *Οι Έλληνες στη Βιέννη*, cit.

⁴⁷ O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Η Ελληνική παροικία της Τεργέστης*, cit., pp. 20-26; M. BUR, *Handelsgesellschaften-Organisationen der Kaufleute der Balkanländer in Ungarn im 17-18 Jahrhundert*, in "Balkan Studies", 25, 1984, pp. 267-307.

⁴⁸ See the important case of the Vienna merchant Stavros Ioannou who, despite having by the last decade of 18th century important enterprise in Vienna with networks of agents in several Balkan and central European places and although he participated in the administration of Greek community of Ottoman subjects, he kept the Ottoman subject status, as he played an important role for the community of his homeland Ioannina, maintaining indeed contacts with Ali Pasha of Ioannina. The development of familial enterprise in Ioannina and Vienna and the later enrichment of his son and founder of the first National Bank of Greece, Georgios Stavrou, justifies not only the familial form but also the tight relations between influential merchants and local authorities. (For the enterprise see. A. IGGLESİ, *Βορειοελλαδίτες έμποροι στο τέλος της Τουρκοκρατίας. Ο Σταύρος Ιωάννου* [Merchants from Northern Greece at the end of the Tourkokratia. Stavros Ioannou], Athens 2004 (Archive of the Commercial Bank of Greece).

⁴⁹ S. PANOVA, *Die Anwendung des Handelsrechtes der Jüdischen Kaufleute im Osmanischen Reich im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, in "Österreichische Osthefte", 31, 1989, 3, pp. 348-365.

πανηγύρια)⁵⁰, open air or enclosed (begesten) took place. The Ottoman did not have however developed, at least up to the period we examine, the essential legal frame that would support international enterprises. The Christians and the Greeks in particular among the subjects of the Ottoman Empire had a customary law that determined mainly the inheritance habits but also the unwritten and written Roman-Byzantine law that prescribed the structure and the forms of their familial organization.⁵¹ Nevertheless locality, eco-geo-system (different needs imposed e.g. the environment of an island compared to that of a mountain or a broad cultivable plain), tradition contributed in a big variety so far as the organization of the family, the inheritance relations in the various regions of the Balkan Peninsula⁵² as well as the insular area. Thus the existence of nuclear familial forms, but also extended households; the tselingata of the Epirus or the forms of zadruga in areas of the mountainous, inland Balkan Peninsula, coexisted and jointly shaped the rules of maintenance of property, production, commercial process. In the areas of reception they accepted the local legislation on inheritance⁵³ and they followed it making their wills, element that constitutes the majority of primary sources⁵⁴ of this paper. Generally however, the common Roman law, based on which all European societies functioned as a rule, did not surprise the sojourner merchants in a completely foreigner on inheritance environment. The merchants however active in the new areas of reception adapted to the new commercial law that foresaw systematic principals of entrepreneurial organization. Thus it is a common phenomenon the international at the time companies, organized by Ottoman subjects or naturalized

⁵⁰ S. PANOVA, *Die Juden zwischen Toleranz und Völkerrecht im Osmanischen Reich. Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der Juden im Osmanischen Reich (die Südosteuropaländer vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert)*, Frankfurt a. M.-Berlin-N. York-Wien 1997 (Peter Lang, Europäische Hochschulschriften, III/752), pp. 16-17.

⁵¹ A basic synopsis of the relevant clauses comprises the encodement of Konstantinos ARMENOPOULOS, *Πρόχειρον Νόμων ή Εξάβιβλος*, [Proheiron Nomon or Exavivlos], Athens 1971 (1st ed. 1345) (Dodoni) that formed the basic manual of civil and family law for the Greek christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire too.

⁵² S. especially K. KARAVIDAS, *Αγροτικά. Έρευνα επί της οικονομικής και κοινωνικής μορφολογίας εν Ελλάδι και εν ταις γειτονικαίς σλαβικαίς χώρας* [Agrarian themes. A research on the economic, social morphology in Greece and in the slavic neighbour countries], Athens 1931; M. TODOROVA, *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern. Demographic Developments in Ottoman Bulgaria*, Washington 1993; A. KASDAGLI, *Land and Marriage Settlements in the Aegean. A Case Study of Seventeenth-Century Naxos*, Venice 1999 (Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies/ Vikelea Municipal Library of Iraklion- Crete); K. KASER, *Familie und Verwandtschaft auf dem Balkan. Analyse einer untergeordneten Kultur*, Vienna-Köln-Weimar 1995; O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Historische Familienforschung in Südosteuropa. Pluralität und Forschungstendenzen im internationalen Kontext*, in "Historische Anthropologie", 5, 1997, 1, pp. 139-155; K. KASER, *Macht und Erbe. Männer-herrschaft, Besitz und Familie im östlichen Europa (1500-1900)*, Vienna-Köln-Weimar 2000 (Böhlau Verlag, Zur Kunde Südosteuropas II/30).

⁵³ In the Habsburgempire the hereditary law was codified in the year 1812, but most of the provisions were in effect previously.

⁵⁴ For this article I studied among others a just number of wills of Greek merchants from Venice (17th-18th cent.), as well as Greek and Serb merchants in Trieste (18th cent.), from AST, *Archivio Notarile and Tribunale Mercantile* and from the Archivio della Comunità Greco-Ortodossa di Trieste), from Vienna (V. SEIRINIDOU, *Η εγκατάσταση των Ελλήνων στη Βιέννη, 1780-1820* [The settlement of Greeks in Vienna, 1780-1820], in Vienna, 1780-1820], Master Thesis, Department of History and Archeology, University of Athens 1998), and a very few in Pest, (MANTOUVALOS, *Μάνοζ*, cit.).

Ottomans in commercial centers of the West, to function according to the new hosting laws, which indirectly also determined the operation of their annexes in the East or at least the subsidiary companies of theirs there or the actions of their commercial representatives. As commonly the commercial language in the Balkans was often the Greek, as *lingua franca*, the modern for the time commercial handbooks⁵⁵ were also printed in Greek; language in which from the 18th century onwards the merchants printed in the Greek and Austrian printing-houses of Vienna but also of Venice, Trieste etc. They were usually translations or paraphrases with a lot of influence from Italian, Venetian terminology but also the Austrian environment, adapted for the needs of merchants that moved inside and outside the Ottoman Empire and aimed for the modernization of their commercial practices.⁵⁶ These manuals facilitated the composition of corporate contracts, observation of commercial correspondence and commercial inventories (*scrittura doppia*), exchange rates of currencies and conversions of weight, issuing of commercial bills, etc. Particularly the commercial correspondence, wherever it is available, constitutes a precious source⁵⁷ for our argumentation, as well as apart from the commercial content it also initiates us into the problematic of the merchants regarding issues of information of economic importance (prices, quality and availability of products, competition etc), familial conflicts or tactics for the confrontation of issues regarding the network of relatives, friends and fellow countrymen. They were informed by these manuals about the restrictions and the specifications imposed by the commercial tribunals of the areas of reception, according to which, they would operate the recognized by them enterprises of theirs. Indirectly or directly it was created thus an informal legal environment that influenced the operation of their enterprises in the East and this is one of the most important points of communication of merchants between East and West. The Christians and Jewish tradesmen were engrafted by the law of the areas of reception, with regard to the organization of enterprises, the shipping and insurance laws, or at least the insurance practices, the foundation of long term corporate enterprises that replaced the *commenda* and enterprises-voyages or enterprises-boat-merchandise that constituted dominant forms in Ottoman Levant. On the other hand, the states of reception as time went by took restrictive measures towards the “foreigners” in order to limit the entry of new tradesmen. The confrontation with the new legal frame consequently led the Ottoman subjects to readjust their orientation and their economic practices. They

⁵⁵ T. SKLAVENTIS, *Τα Εμπορικά εγχειρίδια της βενετοκρατίας και τουρκοκρατίας και η Εμπορική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Νικολάου Παπαδοπούλου*. [The commercial handbooks during the Venetian and Ottoman occupation and the *Commercial Encyclopedia* of Nicolaos Papadopoulos], Athens 1991 (Mnimon/ Supplement Nr 5).

⁵⁶ G. PAPAGEORGIΟΥ, *Ο εκσυγχρονισμός τους Έλληνα πραγματενή σύμφωνα με τα ευρωπαϊκά πρότυπα (τέλη 18^{ου}-αρχές 19^{ου} αι.)*. Ένα μαθηματάριο εμπορίου του Αθανασίου Ψαλίδα, [The modernization of the Greek merchant according to the european patterns (end of the 18th- beginning of the 19th cent.). A trade manual by Athanasios Psalidas], Athens 1990 (Tolidis).

⁵⁷ Especially s. K. PAPAΚONSTANTINOY, *Πόνδικας*, cit.; I. MANTOUVALOS, *Μάνος*, cit.; that have utilized the trade correspondance of the Pondicas and Manos Houses in Pest during the 18th and the beginning of the 19th cent.

were often supported by Ottoman, Russian consuls in the harbors of reception, even though often enough this role undertook fellow Greeks or Serbs.

I will then try to highlight specific trends on the basis case studies in support of my thus far primarily theoretical arguments. Examples of maritime enterprises which, though active *between East and West*, had not physically moved beyond the Ottoman empire backed up secondary archive material - mostly Greek - and the relevant secondary literature. On Orthodox merchants in the Balkans - Greeks, Serbs - I located a good deal of valuable material in community archives in Central Europe and the Italian peninsula, in the state archives of Livorno, Venice, Trieste, Vienna, Pest, Braşov and Sibiu (Amsterdam and Odessa, too, though to a lesser extent), and from the large number of academic studies published in recent years. The archival material relates, in the main, to the commercial courts, which also proved a rich source of firm contracts, wills, list of the possessions of the deceased and censuses. For material relating to the Jews, I relied on an selective reading of the extensive, secondary literature. The arguments and conclusions that follow are all, needless to say, indicative rather than all-embracing. They aim to serve primarily as a proposal for further research. I shall attempt to analyze the forms of the enterprises they organized, the role of family relationships and their effect on the development of new members and of businesses in general and networking, on bequest tactics, the position of the father - or at least the enterprise's father, the important of a commercial apprenticeship in the family network, the accepted role and place of women, socio-economic marriages within families, the merchants' relationship with their places of departure and settlement, the role of the extended network of friends and relatives by marriage and *koumbaria*, and the possibility of commercial networks containing representatives of different 'national' groups.⁵⁸ For the reasons listed above, there is many times more material available from the late 17th century on, and especially after the mid 18th century.

Turning to the Jews, the family / commerce issues is profoundly related to that of immigration and flight. Not all the persecuted Jews of the Iberian peninsula found refuge in the Ottoman empire; instead, the refugees formed a Jewish diaspora across the Mediterranean bound together by bonds on the frontier between familial and communal. During the period under examination, a second - Portuguese Jewish - diaspora had formed alongside the Spanish Jewish, which began to diffuse into Amsterdam and - especially - Livorno in the 17th century.⁵⁹ Based on the detailed sources available - or those, at least, to which I enjoyed access - it would not be wrong to state that in the 16th century, those Jewish subjects of the Ottoman empire who decided to settle in Venice and Ancona with no change of subject status, the family business prevailed. They were chiefly active within the Ottoman empire, where they made use of their special relationship with the Sultanic administration arising from their involvement in producing woollen cloth for the

⁵⁸ O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Griechen, Serben, Juden in Triest. Koexistenz oder Symbiose?*, in "Zibaldone", Zeitschrift für italienische Kultur und Gegenwart, 15, March 1993, pp. 20-31.

⁵⁹ A. MILANO, *Storia degli ebrei Italiani nel Levante*, Florence 1949 (Casa Editrice Israel), p. 185; J. ISRAEL, *Diasporas Jewish and non-Jewish and the World Maritime Empires*, in *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks*, cit., p. 20.

Janissary Corps and in other craft and production spheres, bolstered by the tightly-knit network within the empire.⁶⁰ In the 17th century, the economic crisis forced a number of Jews to abandon Thessaloniki for other Balkan cities, and, starting at the end of the century, to settle in Smyrna and other rapidly developing locations. The new capitulations granted to the French in 1670⁶¹ resulted in the Jews of Livorno receiving a powerful economic boost due to their status as their protégés. Poor or members Jewish families from Livorno became known as ‘Francos’ in Thessaloniki⁶² and other Ottoman cities. The Ottoman-Tuscan treaty of 1747⁶³ and the favourable terms it bestowed on the Tuscan authorities for its foreign communities in Livorno, including the Jews and the Greeks, led to the port and its merchants emerging as an important transit point in the trade between the Eastern and Western Mediterranean. The Livornese Jews resident in Ottoman harbours, chiefly Thessaloniki, put the role and experience of the local - Ottoman - Jews to good use and quickly became both wealthy and key players in the Mediterranean and maritime trade despite the objections - or with the forbearance - of the French.⁶⁴ During the 18th century, some of the Ottoman Jews aspired in term to the status of French protégés, though the currently available sources do not permit us to make observations relating to the family dimension, bequest tactics etc. comparable to those for the Greek, Serbian, and other Balkan merchants of Ottoman subject status. We can be certain that for the Jews, family / community / religious identity resulted in tightly-knit economic organization, though it was not the Ottoman Jews who were to play a decisive role in the East-West trade in the late 17th and 18th centuries.

Examining the other groups of Christian Ottoman subjects that played an important role in trade in the period in question, I shall mention three representative groupings: Firstly, to the family enterprises which emerged amongst merchants from the Ottoman Levant settled in Western and Central Europe and trading with centres in the Ottoman East, the Balkans, the Asia Minor coast and the Aegean islands. This grouping displays all the problems and issues listed above most clearly. Secondly, to the network of a *société en accomandite* (brotherhood according to the sources) of multiple red yarn dyers and traders which started in Ambelakia, Thessaly, and extending between 1770 and c.1811 into both Central Europe and the Ottoman East, was based on ties of kinship and locality, and on the extreme ease with which one could move between the eastern and western legal / economic frameworks. Thirdly, to the incorporated maritime enterprises, mainly of Hydriot sailors between the mid 18th and early 19th centuries, which revealed both the important role

⁶⁰ E. BENBASSA, A. RODRIGUE, *The Jews of the Balkans. The Judeo-Spanish Community, 15th to 20th Centuries*, Oxford UK-Cambridge USA 1995 (Blackwell), pp. 37-44; S. PANOVA, *Die Juden zwischen Toleranz und Völkerrecht*, cit.; especially s. the thorough article of M. ROZEN, *La vie économique des Juifs du bassin méditerranéen de l'expulsion d'Espagne (1492) à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*, in *La société juive à travers l'histoire*, 3, *Le passage d'Israël*, S. TRIGANO ed., Paris 1993 (Fayard), pp. 296-352.

⁶¹ M.ROZEN, *La vie économique*, cit., p. 333.

⁶² M.ROZEN, *Contest and Rivalry*, cit., p. 321ff.

⁶³ M.ROZEN, *Strangers in a Strange Land*, cit., p.150.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 338-352.

played by powerful families, the community, and sailors, captains and financiers working collaboratively.

Between East and West in the sample below, I shall turn to Serbs and Greeks as subjects of the Ottoman empire (who may well have acquired Venetian, Austrian or Russian subject status⁶⁵ at some point in their lives), who settled in a Western or Central European city and set up single trader enterprises, family firms or *compagnie* based in their city of residence but oriented both to and from the East, meaning “they saw the East through the West”. The samples are to be found in data from *compagnie* in Transylvania and Eastern Hungary, from single trader and family firms in Venice, Trieste, Vienna, Hungary and, less often, from Amsterdam, Livorno, the Ukraine/Russia. The sources were archives from commercial courts, customs and communities, wills and the capacious secondary literature—only sampled here—and private archives. As far as I know, those private archives from family firms founded outside the Ottoman empire which have thus far been subjected to historical analysis have mainly been from Greek-owned enterprises.⁶⁶ The brief analysis that follows may demonstrate state privileges afforded single merchants who set up enterprises the opportunity to form a longer-lived example of economic organization, in relation to the other two cases of land-locked and maritime incorporations to be examined below. These independent, sole traders were certainly followed by family members and quickly formed boutiques, firms/*ditte*, flexible companies with a few shareholders. Some of these firms included individuals resident in the Ottoman empire or other cities of the Greek or Serbian diaspora who were not, however, part of any broader incorporation which would limit exchange, rapid decision-making, dissolution and reconstitution with new partners and professional orienta-

⁶⁵ The co-examination of life cycle in the study of family history, specifically trade family enterprises must be taken into consideration. On life cycle s. T. HAREVEN, *Families, History and Social Change. Life Course and Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, Westview Press 2000.

⁶⁶ For the period under consideration, archives of Greek merchants have been historically researched i.e., from Venice: G. PLOUMIDIS, *Το βενετικόν τοπογραφείον του Δημητρίου και του Πάνου Θεοδοσίου (1755-1824)* [The Venetian printhouse of Demeter and Panos Theodosiou, 1755-1824], Athens 1969; G. VELOUDIS, *Das griechische Druck- und Verlagsbaus 'Glikis' in Venedig (1670-1854). Das griechische Buch zur Zeit der Türkenherrschaft*, Wiesbaden 1974 (O. Harrasowitz); V. KREMMYDAS, *Ιστορία του ελληνικού εμπορικού οίκου της Βενετίας 'Σελέκης και Σάρρος'. Μια στατιστική προσέγγιση* [History of the Greek commercial house in Venice, Selekis and Sarros'. A statistical approach], in “Thesaurismata”, 12, 1975, pp. 171-199; ΛΙΑΤΑ, ‘Ένας Έλληνας έμπορος στη Δύση, cit. about the Greek merchant Melos; P. MIHAILARIS, *Η εμπορική εταιρική συνεργασία του βενετικού οίκου Ταρονίτη- Θεοτόκη και των αδελφών Γ. και Κ. Γεωργιάδων (1732-1737) (ο ρόλος και η δράση του εμπορικού πράκτορα Δημ. Χαμόδρακα)*, [The commercial entrepreneurial co-operation of the Venetian house Taronitis-Theotokis and G. and K. Georgivalos brothers (1732-1737) (The role and activity of the commercial agent Dimitrios Hamodrakas)], in “Mnimon”, 8, 1980-1982, pp. 226-300; from Vienna: A. IGGLESI, *Βορειοελλαδίτες έμποροι*; from Pest: K. PAPAΚONSTANTINOY, *Πρόδικας*, cit.; I. MANTOUVALOS, *Μάνος*, cit.; see also the monographies G. LAIOS, *Γεώργιος Σίνας* [George Sinas], Athens 1972 (Academy of Athens); A. LANIER, *Die Geschichte des Bank- und des Handelsbausens Sina*, Frankfurt a. M. 1995 (Peter Lang); G. LAIOS, *Η Σιάτιστα και οι εμπορικοί οίκοι Χατζημυχαήλ και Μανούση (17ος-19ος αι.)* [Siatista and the commercial houses of Hatzimihail and Manoussi, (17th- 19th cent.)], Thessaloniki 1982, (Macedonian Library); a very thorough book but for the 19th cent. is that of M.-Ch. CHATZIOANNOY, *Οικογενειακή στρατηγική και εμπορικός ανταγωνισμός. Ο οίκος Γερούση τον 19ο αιώνα* [Family strategy and commercial antagonism. The Gerousis house in the 19th cent.], Athens 2003 (Cultural Institute of National Bank of Greece).

tions and in new centres. Above all, though single traders played a role in administering their communities and attained prestige through doing so both in the society of the host city and among their fellow ‘nationals’, they were not bound by the community’s rules when it came to their personal ambitions (as was the case, for instance, with the incorporations of Ambelakia and Hydra, and the *compagnie* of Transylvania before them).

We shall take the example of Trieste for our analysis, where we have data on both Serbs (‘Illirici’) and Greeks. We note that, taking advantage of Trieste’s new status as a free port, they gradually began to settle in the city after 1720, and that they acquired the right (1751) to build a church (St. Spyridon) as a joint *nazione greca-non unita* or *dei greci scismatici*. Though fewer in number (never more than a hundred families⁶⁷), the Serbian community included several families (*inter alia* the Kurtović, Miletić, Voinović, Risnić, Teodorović, Nicolić, Palicucchia families) who acquired especially large fortunes. Jovo Kurtović, who arrived in Trieste from Trebinje in Hercegovina in 1748 as a man of moderate means,⁶⁸ had brought afterwards his brothers and begun to trade with the Dalmatian coast as well as with Smyrna, Vienna, Prague and Amsterdam, acquired property in Trieste and linked himself to new fewer than nine of the city’s most powerful Serbian families by means of *koumbaria*.⁶⁹

The Greeks, alone at first,⁷⁰ later with brothers, fathers or uncles, set up small shops (*negoziji*) and succeeded in large numbers, afterwards, to establish ‘ditte negozianti’ between 1785 and 1815: ventures recognized by the local commercial tribunals (Tribunale mercantile) whose capital varied between 10,000 and 300,000 fiorins.⁷¹ For their part, the Serbs, closer to Trieste’s port, did not choose to settle there permanently with their families; they were, in any case, active in the overland trade with the Habsburg Monarchy and as a consequence had numerous settlements in Austria and - chiefly - in Hungary. Having come from⁷² Bosnia, Hercegovina or the Dalmatian coast, they shifted between Ottoman and Venetian subject status, while some of them (Stephano conte Petrović, Giovanni conte Voinović, Nicolò conte Petrović, Pietro Giovanović⁷³) were recognized as Russian subjects / officers, chiefly after their engagement in the first and second Russo-Turkish wars under Catherine II, which also benefited them financially as they acquired ships and entered into the maritime trade. The Greeks were mostly from Epirus, the Peloponnese, Crete and Smyrna, and from the early 18th century on, from Chios. The

⁶⁷ *Ortodossi a Trieste. Greci e Serbi nella storia di una città*. Catalogo di mostra. Trieste 1999 (Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, Comune di Trieste), p. 12.

⁶⁸ M. DOGO, *Una nazione di pii mercanti*, cit., p. 573.

⁶⁹ M. PURKOVIĆ, *Istorija srpske*, cit., p. 18. Respectively see the numerous ‘spiritual sponsorships’ (koubaries) of the powerfull Sina family in Vienna, V. SEIRINIDOU, *H ergatástasē tōn Ellhōnōn*, cit., p. 95.

⁷⁰ O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *H ellhnikē paroiikía tēs Tergésthēs*, cit., pp. 67-84, 123-132, the demographical approach of the Greek community on the basis of conscriptions of the population of Trieste, 1756, 1756, 1775, 1780, 1808.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, table IV, p. 579-585.

⁷² M. PURKOVIĆ, *Istorija srpske*, cit., pp. 49-51.

⁷³ See their wills in AST, *Archivio Notarile*, b. 2, 1783, f. 158/1-5; b. 4, 1790, f. 380/3-8; b. 6, 1797, f. 627/2-5; b. 6, 1797, f. 612/1-2.

Venetians subjects among them were from the Ionian islands, but formed companies with fellow Greeks who were Ottoman subjects and were part of the same trade networks. From the seventeenth seventies onwards, they increasingly opted to settle in their host cities with their families, meaning that the Greek households, which initially consisted of single men or a pair of men (who were usually partners), began to normalize into nuclear families and thence to extended households through the addition of further partners or servants, secretaries or apprentices.⁷⁴ Of the 45 firms approved by the commercial court 1787-1815, 25 had partners from Smyrna, 17 from the Peloponnese, 10 from Chios, 8 from Thessaly and 4 from Epirus. Six of the companies consisted of brothers, 5 of an uncle and nephews, 3 of a father and son. In three instances, the partners were from the same region of Crete, and in 11 they were from Smyrna. In the remaining firms, the ties were strengthened by marriage.⁷⁵ The dissolution and reconstitution of companies was often motivated by marriages involving partners' daughters, and often in preparation for the company's financial and geographical expansion. Thus, for example, the daughters of the powerful *negoziante* Nikolaos Plastaras married powerful merchants in Messini, Vienna (one to the powerful merchant Charisseios Oikonomou, another to Stamatis Kotsikopoulos), Trieste (one to the merchant Lambros Nikologlou, another to the powerful Chiot merchant Eustratios Petrokokkinos, which facilitated his family's incorporation into the powerful Chiot network).⁷⁶

For the period 1773-1815, for which similar data is available, 25 companies were single trader, 18 consisted of two, and 16 of between 3 and 5 partners, and 11 were *sociétés en accomandite*.⁷⁷ The companies with one or two partners (usually father and son, uncle and nephew or two brothers) were longer lived than (lasting as long as 28 years). From 1790 on, companies with more partners became more common, while 11 new *in accomandita* were formed between 1798 and 1815. These two forms of company lasted 3-6 years between dissolution and reconstitution, since many of the *negozianti* chose to invest their capital as 'sleeping partners' (Dimitrios Kartsiotis, the Plastaras brothers) in companies owned by their *koumbaroi* or nephews. Trade was essentially *commissioni* and *spedizioni*, though they involved themselves in banking activities (*sconti di piazza*) from the late 18th century on. This was followed by the purchase, or rather the co-ownership of ships, from the rich Jovo Kurtović, a naturalized Austrian citizen since 1763, who had 8 ships in his possession in 1780,⁷⁸ to the 16 Greek family enterprises involved in the co-ownership of ships in 1798 and the 11 in 1802,⁷⁹ there were ship co-owners large and small whose vessels sailed under the Austrian flag, since most had opted for Austrian subject status without

⁷⁴ Relative situation see also about the Greek population of Livorno, VLAMI, *To φορτίο, το σκάρι*, cit., p. 183. Respective is also the image of the *nations* that settled in the ports of the Mediterranean as the formation of the family was based on periodic migration.

⁷⁵ O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Η ελληνική παρουσία της Τεργέστης*, cit., table V, pp. 588-591.

⁷⁶ AST, *Archivio Notarile*, b. 6, 1797, f. 628/1-16.

⁷⁷ About the firms in *accomandita* s. O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Η ελληνική παρουσία της Τεργέστης*, cit., pp. 422-427.

⁷⁸ M. DOGO, *Una nazione di pii mercanti*, cit., p. 576.

⁷⁹ O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Η ελληνική παρουσία της Τεργέστης*, cit., tables VIII-IX, pp. 597-609.

this in any way impeding their dealings with the Ottoman markets and their countrymen there. Indeed, many of them served as *raccomandatari* for ships owned by their fellow countrymen which arrived in Trieste with cargo which they took care of. Generally speaking, however, the Serbs were a more powerful presence in ship ownership than the Greeks.⁸⁰ A safer option for investment was the acquisition of large properties, usually the homes of members of the extended collaborators in a family enterprise (cf. the buildings of Greeks and Serbs in Trieste⁸¹ as well as those of Parascos Katraros in Ponte Rosso, Trieste, and which, being unmarried, he level-headedly ensured his four nephews inherited along with his trading business⁸²), but also warehouses, shops, servants' homes, storage for coaches and stables.

Starting in 1789, insurance companies were another sphere in which individuals and family enterprises took part as shareholders, investing capital and helping raise Trieste's profit-making profile. The Napoleonic Wars made Mediterranean voyages ever more perilous, and insuring ships and cargo offered profits despite the considerable risk, which was managed by the setting up of companies in the form of *società in azioni e in accomandita*. From the Società Greca di Assicurazioni in 1789, 63.75% of whose capital was Greek, to the joint formation of the Amici Assicuratori in 1801 by 5 family enterprises, one Greek (Plastaras Brothers), three Serbian (Stephano Risnić e Palicuccia, Giovanni Nikolić, Giorgio Teodorović) and one Jewish (Jakob Vital),⁸³ the exchange of shares and collaboration between the city's powerful commercial groups played its part in creating another flourishing field of action and investment which brought East and West closer together.

The commercial companies owned by Habsburg (formerly Ottoman) subjects in Vienna. Livorno and Marseilles presents a similar picture in the 19th century.⁸⁴ Moreover, one finds the same forms of family enterprise among Jewish business.⁸⁵

Less frequently, merchant financiers and experienced craft workers formed *società di fabbrica* such as those producing red cotton yarn in Vienna and Trieste from the second half of the 18th century;⁸⁶ in these cases, the participants usually inter-married to produce stronger alliances. The frequent changes among commercial

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 499, table 45, between the years 1754-1780 we find 32 Serbs holding navigation/shipownership *patents* compared to 12 Greeks; the latter increase in number after the last decade of the 18th cent., when co-ownership of vessels comprises a way of investment.

⁸¹ M. POZZETTO, *Gli uomini che hanno 'fatto' Trieste*, in "La Bora", IV, 1980, 5, pp. 16-29 and V, Nr 1 (Dec. – Jan. 1981) 13-20.

⁸² AST, *Archivio notarile*, b. 4, 1790, f. 380/3-8. His nephew Kyriakos Katraros elevated to a significant financial persona of Trieste and it was he that supervised the construction of the new Borsa building in 1801. E. CERVI (and others), *Il palazzo della Borsa Vecchia di Trieste, 1800-1980. Arte e storia*, Trieste 1981 (Lint).

⁸³ O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *H ελληνική παροικία της Τεργέστης*, cit., pp. 449-474. Giovanni Drossos Plastaras had expanded into insurance services in Livorno EADEM, *La presenza dei Greci a Trieste: tra economia e società (metà sec. XVIII – fine sec. XIX)*, in *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste*, I, *La città dei gruppi*, R. FINZI, G. PANJEK eds, Trieste 2001 (Lint), I, p. 533.

⁸⁴ K. PAPA-KONSTANTINOU, V. SEIRINIDOU, *Έλληνες στη Βιέννη*, cit., pp. 108-190; VLAMI, *To φορβόν, το στάτορ*, cit., pp. 180-198; A. MANDILARA, *The Greek Business Community in Marseille, 1816-1900: Individual and Network Strategies*, Phd, European University Institute, Florence 1998.

⁸⁵ S. PANOVA, *Die Juden*, cit., pp. 118-138.

⁸⁶ O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Τεχνίτες και τεχνικές βαφής*, cit., pp. 99-127, 160-167.

partners from Epirus and Smyrna, from where most of the cotton yarn arriving in Trieste was imported, can be explained with reference to demand for the product, the aggressive tactics applied by the stock owners and family disagreements.

Family companies were not formed with stock holders and investing settling in the West immediately; the immigration legislation then,⁸⁷ as today, usually ensured it was a gradual process in which one thing led to another, with an initial wave of 'pioneers' followed by apprentices and agents from their immediate family who subsequently moved in turn to key locations for the trade in which the company was engaged to form a new diaspora. One instance of contact with the West was the frequency with which merchants from the Ottoman East sent their children to trading companies owned by their relatives as apprentices. "Essendo con l'ajuto del Sign Iddio venuto io in questa Republica Dominante nel 1693 spedito dal quodam mio padre in casa del Sig. Nicolò Glichì ove mi fermai alquanti mesi, restituitomi a Janina, poi ritornato a Venezia verso l'anno 1695 in casa della Ditta Glichì e Strati nella quale mi trattenni per apprendere ed applicarmi al negozio sino l'anno 1698 indi ritornavo a Janena, mi restitui a Venezia nell'anno 1699. Verso l'anno 1700, solo, senza verun principio della casa paterna e riserva e concetto e nome del padre, quindi mi fermai avendo già contratto amici e corrispondenze e fatto negozio col mio nome. Indi chiamato a Venezia dopo anni 7 circa il Sign. Simon mio fratello in mia compagnia e ajuto, corse la Ditta col mio solo nome sino l'anno 1717; già successe la morte del nostro padre l' anno 1713 e corse poi dall' anno sudetto 1717 la ditta in nome di ambedue nostri fratelli Lambro e Simon con la benedictione di Dio",⁸⁸ as the wealthy negotiant from Ioannina, Lambros Maruzzi, elegantly wrote in his will after a life rich in profits though not in children shortly before his death in Venice in 1734. The extract reveals the importance of one's origins: the merchants and owners of Venice's eminent Greek publishing house "Glykeis" were also from Ioannina, though we do not know their family relationship to the Maruzzi family,⁸⁹ which had ties of kinship with the owner of the city's other press, Panos Theodosios,⁹⁰ which created a triangle of powerful economic links and bonds of kinship in Venice which maintained close ties with Epirus, where the other wing of the family's enterprises owned by Maruzzi's father and brothers was active. The conditions of apprenticeship required sacrifices from the apprentices,⁹¹ who often had to live in small rooms in relatives' houses or in the community church, and to pay for their keep - as was the rule, too, with craft guilds or contracts of apprenticeship - in return for learning the secrets and language of the art of commerce. Alternatively, they might work as *garzoni di bottega*⁹² in the merchants' household. However, the

⁸⁷ From the very rich literature about the historical migration s. *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, J. LUCASSEN, L. LUCASSEN eds., Bern 1997 (Lang).

⁸⁸ K. MERTZIOS, *To en Bevetia Hπειρωτικόν Αρχείον* [The Epirus Archive in Venice], in "Epirotika Chronika", 11, 1936, p. 153.

⁸⁹ G. VELOUDIS, *Das griechische Druck- und Verlagshaus 'Glikis'*, cit., p. 16.

⁹⁰ K. MERTZIOS, *To en Bevetia Hπειρωτικόν Αρχείον*, cit., pp. 155-156.

⁹¹ M. MANOUSSAKAS, *Πατριωτής*, cit., pp. 243-244.

⁹² O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Η ελληνική παροικία της Τεργέστης*, cit., p. 401, according to the population census of Trieste in 1765, 1775 and that of the Greeks only in 1780, 1808, the percentage

apprenticeship began for everyone, as it did for the great Greek man of letters, Adamantios Korais, who started life as an ‘*apprenti marchand*’; when he was sent from his father’s enterprise on Smyrna to Amsterdam (1770-1774), it meant an enormous change both in business practices and - still more importantly - in world view and mentality. It meant he would be Westernized, which provoked a reaction from his servant, Stamatis Petrou, and the despair of his father when his son abandoned commerce for the Arts.⁹³ The firm in the West, like that of Stavros Ioannou from Epirus, would also pay promising apprentices - who were generally relatives or countrymen - during their apprenticeship until they reached the stage of being a paid employee and partner.⁹⁴ Moreover, “the family form also provided a source of respectable employment for family members”.⁹⁵ The need to keep abreast of developments often necessitated that the younger generation study at commercial schools as well as gaining practical experience.⁹⁶ Experienced, up-to-date collaborators were absolutely essential for Stavros Ioannou who really was active in two cities - Vienna and Ioannina - and two institutions - the community of Greek Ottoman subjects in Vienna and the community in Ioannina - in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and who had a family enterprise, participated in firms in accomandita, and had agents, most of whom were members of his extended family and shared his origins, in Larisa, Siatista and Constantinople, and also maintained a wide-rangin network for moving and selling bills of exchange between Vienna, Amsterdam and Constantinople.⁹⁷ The imported capital into Constantinople was distributed between Smyrna, Thessaloniki, the Peloponnese and elsewhere for the purchase of raw materials and other products for export to European markets.⁹⁸

After their apprenticeship, family members moved up to the rank of secretary or agent/factor,⁹⁹ the latter usually on their way to becoming partners. Commerce required up-to-the-minute information, trust, flexibility and experience, all of which could often be found in the pre-Modern era gathered together in family members

of *garzoni di bottega*, that as a rule ranged between the age of 10 and 19 years of age, amounted between 6,09% to 19,08%.

⁹³ G. DERTILIS, *Entrepreneurs grecs: trois générations, 1770-1900*, in *Cultures et formations négociantes dans l'Europe moderne*, F. ANGIOLINI, D. ROCHE eds., Paris 1995 (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales), pp. 111-119; E. FRANGAKIS-SYRETT, *Networks of Friendship*, cit.

⁹⁴ A. IGGLESI, *Βορειοελλαδίτες έμποροι*, cit., p. 233, where about Ioannis Sykas, apprenticed in the firm of Stavros Ioannou in Vienna, during the years 1790-1794.

⁹⁵ A. OWENS, *Inheritance and the Life-Cycle*, cit., p. 21.

⁹⁶ A. IGGLESI, *Βορειοελλαδίτες έμποροι*, cit., p. 235 the case of George Stavrou, son of Stavros Ioannou, who studied in a commercial school in Vienna from the year 1803 onwards; he became later the founder of the National Bank of Greece.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75, and especially p. 79, table 2, where the capital imported in the Ottoman Empire through the bills of exchange.

⁹⁹ V. KREMMYDAS, *Έμποροι και εμπορικά δίκτυα στα χρόνια του ειρσοιένα (1820-1835). Κυκλαδίτες έμποροι και πλοιοκτητές* [Merchants and merchant-networks during the 1820s (1820-1835). Merchants from Cyclades and shipowners], Athens 1995, (Aegean Maritime Museum), p. 20 for the role of the ‘secretary’. On the role of the ‘correspondents’ s. R. MENARD, *Transport costs and long-range trade, 1300-1800: Was there a European ‘transport revolution’ in the early modern era?*, in: *The political economy of merchant empires*, J. TRACY ed., Cambridge 1994 (Cambridge University Press (1st ed. 1991), p. 279.

who travelled from fair to fair, sometimes settling for a longer or shorter time in cities in the Balkans; the members of the Pondikas family, for instance, merchants from Thessaloniki, who were active as agents between Pazardjik, Debrecen, Foxani, L'vof, Bucharest and Pest in the second half of the 18th century.¹⁰⁰ In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Dimitrios Manos manned his commercial network in the main from the area from which he originated (Vitolia/Monastir, but also central Balkan cities including Semlin/Zemun, Belgrade, Orsova and Vienna - the first city he moved to on leaving the Ottoman empire - and, finally, Pest).¹⁰¹ To secure supplies of *inter alia* leather, cotton and tobacco - Balkan products destined for Central European markets - merchants had to be quick on their feet and ready to deal with competition from locals and their fellow countrymen from Macedonia.

If a life in commerce began with apprenticeship and a stint as a secretary, a stage which has left us a good deal of information-rich commercial correspondence and journals, its end - the will - also provides us with material relevant to our study of the merchant's family, albeit in the terminal stages of a life due to old age or illness.¹⁰² When wills are not accompanied by an inventory of the material possessions of the deceased, they can leave the researcher in the dark with regard to the development and size of the enterprises in his possession, the extent of his dealings, and the changes in his financial status during his lifetime. They still, however, provide us with valuable insights into mentality, family organization, whether the family members presented a united front and the role of members of the extended family. My study of the limited number of wills taken into account in the writing of this paper - and relating to Greeks from 17th and 18th-century Venice, Greeks and Serbs from late 18th and 19th-century Trieste, and Greeks from Vienna over the same period¹⁰³ - has prompted the following observations: If the Christian subjects - Ottoman, as a rule, though some from Venetian lands or the Dalmatian coast - were 'looking' Westwards when they began their career as apprentices and secretaries, or became firm managers or shareholders, bankers, engaging in constant journeys by land and sea transporting or selling products from the East, as they reached the end of their lives, the gaze of the majority was firmly fixed on the East. Their last wills and testaments reveal their unbroken ties with the Ottoman East or Venetian lands where they were born and from where they embarked on their lifetime's journeyings; their constant ties with their religion, families, countrymen and their nationality. Having left a symbolic - as a rule - sum to the charitable institutions of their host city in accordance with the law of their lands of reception, and having been asked whether they wished to do so by the public notary drawing up their will, they would then proceed to leave larger bequests to poor countrymen, to commu-

¹⁰⁰ See the analysis of K. ΠΑΠΑΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ, *Πρόδικας*, cit., pp. 63-90, 167-230.

¹⁰¹ I. ΜΑΝΤΟΥΒΑΛΟΣ, *Μάνος*, cit., p. 110 and especially p. 201.

¹⁰² About the significance of life-course analysis on the basis of wills and inheritance practice s. A. OWENS, *Property, Gender and the Life Course*, cit.; IDEM, *Inheritance and the Life-Cycle*, cit.

¹⁰³ See the very good Master Thesis of V. ΣΕΙΡΙΝΙΔΟΥ, *Η εγκατάσταση των Ελλήνων*, cit., Seirinidou has written her thesis on the basis of a rich archival material from the *Archiv der Stadt Wien*, containing the wills as well as the inventories of the properties of the Greeks, Habsburg subjects, after their death (Verlassenschaftsakten). The material concerning the Ottoman subjects is a latent one, but we can suppose from other cases an analogous normativity.

nity hospitals in their host city, to Orthodox churches. In Trieste, it comes as a pleasant surprise to see Serbs and Greeks who in life had played a leading role in separating the two communities in 1782 making posthumous bequests to both the churches of Saint Spyridon and Saint Nicholas;¹⁰⁴ the long period in which the two communities lived and prayed together and a degree of economic collaboration allowed them to soften their disagreements. However, the bequests were generally destined, in the period under examination, at least, for relatives both in their place of residence in the West and homelands in the East, not necessarily business partners, but often poor, nephews and nieces, girls in need of a financial boost prior to marriage.¹⁰⁵ Many bequests were also made to churches, monasteries and charitable institutions in the East. The fear of death brought the people of the time closer to God,¹⁰⁶ rendering them more devout and with a greater sense of responsibility towards their family, at least until the end of the 18th century.¹⁰⁷ A surge in Orthodox charity is obvious in three wills: that made by the merchant in Venice, S. Rizos, from Delvino in Epirus (1749), and by two merchants from Trieste: Pietro Palicuchia,¹⁰⁸ and Nicolò conte (in the service of Russia) Petrović (1797).¹⁰⁹ Rizos left money to 15 monasteries and churches in and around the place of his birth, Mount Athos, Saint Catherine's monastery in the Sinai, the Patmos monastery, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Palicuchia and Petrović left bequests to some 25 monasteries in 'Illyria' (Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro), and to the Illyrian and Greek monastery of Agias Lavras on Mount Athos, Saint Catherine's in Sinai, and to Jerusalem. However, as M. Dogo rightly points out: "Per molti la nazione illirica, l'affiliazione confessionale rinviava ad una più ampia identità culturale, che non rispettava i confini statali, né quelle delle giurisdizioni ecclesiastiche".¹¹⁰ The legacies made to community schools in the host cities, but mainly in the homelands left behind, are to be viewed in the context of a surge in education in the European

¹⁰⁴ See the wills of Panagiotis Seklistinos AST, *Archivio Notarile*, b. 2, 1786; of Parascos Catraros, cit., b.4, 1792; Giovanni Popović, cit., b. 6, 1796; Nicolò Petrović, cit., b. 6, 1797; about the reasons that conducted to the separation between the Serbs and Greeks s. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Η ελληνική παρουσία της Τεργέστης*, cit., p. 85-117.

¹⁰⁵ In Venice see the testaments of Epiphanius Hegoumenos/Ioannina, 1647, as well as Emmanuel or Manos Gionmas/Ioannina, 1676, Lampros Maroutsis/ Ioannina, 1734 (K. MERTZIOS, *Το εν Βενετία Ηπειρωτικόν Αρχαίον*, cit.) and Stephanos Rizos/ Delvino in Epirus, 1749, (K. MERTZIOS, *Ανέκδοτα ηπειρωτικά μνημεία. Ολόκληρος η διαθήκη του εκ Δελβίνου Σ. Ρίζου*, [Unpublished materials from Epirus. The whole will of S. Rizos from Epirus], "Epirotika Chronika", 13 (1938) 91-102); Dimitrios Pulos/ Zante, AST, *Archivio notarile*, b. 2, 1785; Panagiotis Seklistinos/ Arta, cit., 1786; Policronios Stambolis/ Santa Maura, cit., 1786; Nicolaos Plastaras/ Ioannina, cit., b. 6, 1797; Eugenia Cocolachi/ Chios, cit., b. 6, 1797.

¹⁰⁶ PH. ARIÈS, *L'homme devant la mort*, Paris 1977 (Seuil).

¹⁰⁷ See also the table with the donations of the Greeks in Vienna, 1780-1850, in V. SEIRINIDOU, *Έλληνες στη Βιέννη*, cit., pp. 338-343.

¹⁰⁸ About Rizos the footnote 105; about Palicuchia s. M. DOGO, *Una nazione di pii mercanti*, cit., p. 585.

¹⁰⁹ AST, cit., b. 6, 1797.

¹¹⁰ M. DOGO, *Una nazione di pii mercanti*, cit., p. 585.

atmosphere in which the merchants lived.¹¹¹ The largest bequests were usually made by merchants who died childless.

Merchants living in European cities had no choice but to obey the laws governing inheritance which applied there, which required fortunes to be shared equally between the wife and children of both sexes. It is thus obvious from the wills studied¹¹² that, as a rule, the spouse was the first to be taken into account, notwithstanding exceptions, as the *erede usufruttaria* and at times as the general inheritor in the absence of children. However, given that these wills were written by merchants with ongoing business, the general inheritors - and, hence, the individuals taking over the enterprise, were usually sons or brothers in the host city or the corresponding city in the Ottoman empire where the other branch of the business was based. The wills also often gave specific instructions arranging how inheritance issues were to be dealt with which related to the company in the East. The author of the will usually left a small sum of money or none at all to girls who had already received their dowries,¹¹³ along with a sum of money, property being reserved for sons or nephews. The spouse was usually appointed the guardian of offspring yet to reach their legal maturity, but under the supervision of business colleagues, whose responsibility was a prerequisite for the firm's continuation. When there are any,¹¹⁴ wife inheritors generally managed their dowry or the inheritance left them by their husband. The generally patriarchal feel of the mentality regarding the drafting of wills is explicable both by the organization of the family and by the need to ensure that the firm continued to do business uninterrupted - and that, except of a few cases, was a male preserve.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ PLOUMIDIS, *Σχολεία στην Ελλάδα*, cit.; A. KARATHANASIS, *Η Φλαγγίνειος Σχολή της Βενετίας* [The Flagginis School in Venice], Thessaloniki 1975; similar legates came from Greeks and Serbs in the Habsburg Empire and Russia; CH. KOULOURI, *Η βιβλιοθήκη της σχολής Καρτσιώτη στον Άγιο Ιωάννη Κυνουρίας. Από την προεπαναστατική στη μετεπαναστατική σχολική βιβλιοθήκη* [The Library of Kartsiotis school in St. Ioannis Kynourias. From the prerevolutionary to the postrevolutionary school-library], Astros 1991.

¹¹² In AST, *Archivio Notarile*, b. 2, 4, 6 I have studied the wills of the following Greeks and Serbs during the years 1783-1799: Giuseppe Milletić, Stephano Conte Petrović (1783), Dimitrios Pulos (1785), Apostolos Baciliotis, Panagiotis Seclistinos, Policronios Stambolis (1786), Nicolò Marinos (1787), Elena Apostoli, George Bojazoglu, Cristoforos Giacomopulos (1789), Giovanni Conte Voinović (1790), Parascos Catraros, Moisé Magazinović, Paolina Vordoni (1792), Anthula Aroni, Marcos Cassurbachis, Giovanni Popović (1796), Eugenia Cocolachi, Giuseppe Vranić, Nicolò Petrović, Nicolaos Plastaras, George Liberos, Pietro Giovanović, Elisabetta Jancović, Isabella Petrović (1797), Stauros Daniel(i), Costantino Botta (1798), Giovanni Saphiris, Dimitrios Tricachis (1799). Similar picture, as above, we find in Vienna s. V. SEIRINIDOU, *Οι Έλληνες στη Βιέννη*, cit., pp. 338-343 and in Livorno regarding the testaments of the Greeks there, 1826-1875, VLAMI, *Το φιορίνι, το σιτάρι*, cit., pp. 196-201.

¹¹³ An exception is Nikolaos Plastaras by the extraordinarily just distribution, even for his already married daughters; he notes in detail the future use and investment of the sums that he leaves to his children.

¹¹⁴ As far as the sample of Trieste is concerned, we find in the 29 wills from 1783 to 1800 four Greek and two 'Illyrian' women. The same proportion we meet in Vienna (V. SEIRINIDOU, cit.)

¹¹⁵ On the role of the women in the business and inheritance s. R. GRASSBY, *Kinship and Capitalism*, cit., pp. 322-335.

We return to the second case-study that we will deal with; perhaps the most representative case supporting our arguments constitute the trade-crafting ‘common-associations’ (*Bruderschaften, Societäten*) formed between Thessalian craftsmen specialized in dyeing cotton yarn red and tradesmen in the region of Ayia¹¹⁶ and mainly in Ambelakia in Thessaly.¹¹⁷ The increasing demand, coming mainly from the fabric manufacturing of Central Europe, for hard wearing and indelible red yarn led from the middle of 18th century Thessalian tradesmen to create networks in Austrian, Bohemian and German Lands in order to sell their product. The production was done in small domestic units in the villages of Thessaly but mainly in the above mentioned towns by men and women alike. Small groups of craftsmen and tradesmen constituted small trade-crafting companies, organised on a family base. In Ayia from 1780 to 1810 the activity was shared among 18 companies. The craftsmen produced in the vicinity of Thessaly and the tradesmen marketed the product in the commercial fairs three times a year (one in Leipzig and two in Brno/Brünn), while agents operated in Vienna, Moravia (Sternberg, Brno, Tropolau). The companies usually lasted three years. The constant re-organization led them to dissolution, re-establishment or consolidation. Decisive factor was the kinship. The companies functioned as a close circuit, as area of family investment. Their expansion or consolidation was done due to intermarriage and consequently due to management of family capital (characteristic examples the companies of Magalios Haggi Georgiou, the brothers Haggi Ioannou and the ‘common association’ of 1800).

While in the case of Ayia the characteristic factor has been the few-membered, re-establishing companies, the case of Ambelakia is extremely interesting, as already since the decade of 1770, most probably even earlier, the smaller companies decided to proceed into a formation of a ‘common company’ (*syndrofia*), aiming at a coordinated supply of the product in the central European market, often antagonizing the product of Ayia. The yarns were carried, according to a testimony,¹¹⁸ by caravans of approximately 100 horses, traversing the Balkan Peninsula. Individual tradesmen settled in Leipzig (main lever being George Schwartz, his name probably translated from the Greek ‘Mavros’, craftsman and tradesman since the decade of 1740 in Leipzig) and elsewhere in central Europe, initially operating within the frame of few-membered companies, decided, probably during the decade of 1760, to establish a ‘common company’ (*syndrofia*) in order to co-ordinate and systemati-

¹¹⁶ About Ayia s. M. STAMATOYANNOPOULOS, *Société rurale et industrie textile: le cas d’Ayia en Thessalie ottomane (1780-1810)*, thèse de doctorat de 3^{ème} cycle, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris 1984, on the basis of the rich archive of the *Ayia archive* in the National Library of Greece.

¹¹⁷ What follows is based in archival research in Greek and Austrian archives (Hofkammerarchiv and Archiv der Stadt Wien), as well as in the rich literature on the theme. The previous literature see in O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Τεχνίτες και τεχνικές βαφής νημάτων. Από τη Θεσσαλία στην Κεντρική Ευρώπη (18^{ος}-αρχές 19^{ου} αι.)*. *Επιμέτρο: Η Αμπελακιώτικη 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 Ambelakia (1805)], Athens 2003 (Herodotos); s. also IDEM, *The Allure of Red Cotton Yarn, and how it Came to Vienna: Associations of Greek Artisans and Merchants Operating between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires*, in *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire*, S. FAROQHI, G. VEINSTEIN eds., London-New York 2008 (Collection Turcica, 15), pp. 97-132.

¹¹⁸ E. GEORGIU, *Ιστορία και συνεταιρισμός των Αμπελακιών* [History and association of Ampelakia], Athens 1951, p. 18.

cally supply the product to the industrial units of the Hapsburg monarchy and the German states. They were led to this decision probably by equivalent forms of organization that prevailed in Europe.¹¹⁹ From the organization of these ‘common associations’ survive three memoranda (1780, 1795, 1805¹²⁰), correspondence, contracts of dissolution of these companies etc. These ‘common associations’ operated as *società in accomandita*. They consisted, as a rule, by two or three large corporate formations into which smaller few-membered trade-crafting companies associated, that consisted of craftsmen and tradesmen. Based on the memorandum of 1805, for which we have the names of the main signatories, we can conclude that the common ‘*syndrofia*’ of that year, that bore the name *Schwartz et Comp.*, consisted of three corporate formations of *Haggi Prassa Mezevir et Comp.*, *Drossino Haggi Ivo Schwartz et Comp.*, *Gebriüder Schwarz et Comp.*, with a total capital summing to 679.166 piaster!! In two of these companies the main shareholders were members belonging to the *Schwartz* family. All three companies were based in Vienna and in each one participated 24, 16, 12, smaller corporate formations respectively. Out of the 24 corporate formations, 16 belonged to kin families (Haggi Prassa, Gorzoti, Gerovno, Mezevir, Maniari, Liago, Haggi Demeter). Respectively we find percentages in the other two companies. Members of wider families like the Maniari, Schwartz are found in all three companies. Spirit of the foundation of these common associations was since the beginning George Schwartz and their brother and later on their children and their families. Ambelakia consisted the headquarters of the company, in which the smaller companies participated by submitting capital. The duration of the companies was being set, according to the first surviving memorandum, to three years, but we do not know if it did apply. Ambelakia was designated as the base of the common ‘*syndrofia*’ in all memoranda. The financial statement was issued annually in this town. The notables of the company, who as a rule were the notables of the community of Ambelakia as well, were located there, combining in this manner the role of the ‘*syndrofia*’ with the community defining the association of the community with the Ottoman authorities, the local groups etc. Representatives of the common ‘*syndrofia*’ in Vienna participated in the body of the local notables in the there Greek community of the Ottoman subjects, influencing the governance there as well.¹²¹ Rearrangements of families, capital, agent expansion in cities in Europe, disputes and competition led to re-establishment, expansion, but also the further amplification of the role of the representatives living in Vienna, that

¹¹⁹ P. HUDSON, *Financing Firms, 1700-1850*, in *Business Enterprise*, M. KIRBY, M. ROSE eds., cit., pp. 90-112.

¹²⁰ The texts s. GEORGIU, cit., p. 26-31 (1780); F. BOULANGER, *Ambelakia ou les associations et le municipalités helléniques avec documents confirmatifs*, Paris 1875, pp. 53-72 (1795); O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Τεχνίτες*, cit, pp. 301-311 (1805).

¹²¹ About the role of the community and familial enterprises see also S. CAUNCE, *Complexity, Community Structure and Competitive Advantage within the Yorkshire Woollen Industry c. 1700-1850*, in “Business History”, 39, 1997, 4, pp. 28, 37, 39; G. COOKSON, *Family Networks Textile Engineering in Yorkshire, 1780-1830*, in “Business History”, 39, 1997, 1, pp. 1-20; M. DUPREE, *Firm, Family and Community: Managerial and Household Strategies in the Staffordshire Potteries in the Nineteenth Century*, in *From Family Firms to Corporate Capitalism. Essays in Business and Industrial History in Honour of Meter Mathias*, K. BRULAND, P. O’BRIEN eds., Oxford 1998 (Clarendon Press), pp. 51-83.

the dissolution of the 'syndrofia' of 1801¹²² and the memorandum of 1805 were registered in the Commercial Court of Vienna for approval.¹²³

Obviously the Austrian legislation provided the legal frame for the operation of the polyprosopi and unique in its kind company, but the tradesmen shareholders and the craftsmen, although they were Ottoman subjects, maintained their bonds with Thessaly, even though the network of the branches of the companies and the agents spread to Saxony, Bohemia, Moravia, also in Trieste, even in Petrograd. Apart from Ambelakia and Vienna, Constantinople and Smyrna also played a role in the operation of the company, as noted in the memoranda. Constantinople as the centre through which financial bills were circulated, paid off or paid in advance, along the model that we encountered earlier on from the company of Ioannis Stavrou in Vienna and Ioannina, Smyrna obviously as one of the areas of yarn supply, but also as a centre of pay off of financial bills, consisted the two other centers of activity of the common 'syndrofia' inside the Ottoman Empire. The largest commercial houses in Ambelakia, Vienna, Constantinople and Smyrna mutually obliged to exchange information, mainly to prevent their falling into the hands of bankrupts. The representatives of the companies in Vienna and central Europe owed to receive and support the young off-springs of the members of the companies, initiate them into the commercial profession so that they integrated later on as members of the 'syndrofia'. The people of Ambelakia virtually monopolized the lucrative trade of red yarn for 50 years, consisting a competitive obstacle in the attempts of fellow countrymen or others to establish red-dyeing facilities within the Hapsburg monarchy. Their decline around 1811 owed to the Viennese bankrupt, the lack of technical modernization, the lingering in a stage of proto-industrialization, the disputes of the members of the family companies, the tax pressure from Ali Pasha of Ioannina and of course the inability of the Ottoman state to advance into taking measures towards industrialization. A powerful collective example of interconnection between East and West remained without continuation.

More successful and of longer duration appeared, on a collective level again, the association with the West in the maritime sector this time. Within the boundaries that imposed the competition of the European powers in the Ottoman Eastern Mediterranean, shipping was mainly dedicated to the communication between East and West, so far as it concerned transportation of people and goods alike. A dynamic 'come and go' in which Greek ship-owners with their family-maritime enterprises were present.¹²⁴ A large portion of the international trade was based on ships, despite the sea dangers, during the period under examination; due to the size- and

¹²² O. KATSIARDI-HERING, cit., pp. 295-298.

¹²³ The material is in the ARCHIV DER STADT WIEN, *Merkantilgericht*, Griechen, A 6-3 (Fasz. 6), Nr 281-372, CCLXLIII.

¹²⁴ G. HARLAFTIS, *Η ναυτιλιακή ιστορία 'εν πλώ και υπ'ατμόν'*, [Maritime history 'on board and under steam'], in *Ιστοριογραφία της νεότερης και σύγχρονης Ελλάδας, 1833-2002*, P. ΚΙΤΡΟΜΙΛΙΔΗΣ, Τ. ΣΚΛΑΒΕΝΙΤΗΣ eds., II, pp. 440-442 emphasises the role of the family shipping firms.

consequently the volume of the transported products-, the speed but also the relative safety compared to the trade by land. Despite the fact that the biggest portion of the East Mediterranean international trade was conducted by Venetian, French and English ships during the 17th century and French and English ships during the long 18th century, increasingly more Dulcinian and mainly Greek ships¹²⁵ participated in transportation of the transit trade between East and West. The circumstances turned in their favor after the Russian-Turkish war (1768-1774) and the role that the Greek islands played, specifically the so called ‘maritime’, Hydra, Spetsae (close to the East coast of the Peloponnese), Psara but also Mykonos etc. Following the unsuccessful revolt called ‘the Orlofika’ in the Peloponnese (1769-1770), several Peloponnesians¹²⁶ fled to Hydra but also to Spetsae, carrying their capital with them. A number of immigrant Albanians also lived on these islands, since the 16th century.¹²⁷ Since the end of the 17th century residents of Hydra built boats involving in coastal trade, while since the 18th century they expanded their maritime activities. Due to the new Peloponnesian immigration, strong commercial bonds developed with the fertile Peloponnese. The favorable circumstances developed since the end of the 18th century, specifically the treaty of Kuçuk Kaınardji (1774) and the right was given to the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire to sail under the Russian flag as well, the opening of the wheat belt of Novorossija, the positive attitude of the people of Hydra towards the Ottomans during the Russian-Turkish wars, led the Ottoman authorities to concede beneficial status of self governance to the island in 1778 and to maintain a favorable attitude regarding their merchant marine stance.¹²⁸

The initial merchant marine enterprises had developed on the known commercial form of ‘tradesman-seafarer’,¹²⁹ as occurred with most of the islands seamen, till the end of the 18th century. The Hydra shipyards had gradually developed since the 17th century and the boats of the island covered long distances. The improve-

¹²⁵ G. HARLAFTIS, S. LAIOU, *Ottoman State Policy in Mediterranean Trade and Shipping, c. 1780-c.1820: The Rise of the Greek-Owned Ottoman Merchant Fleet*, in *Networks of Power in Modern Greece*, M. MAZOWER ed., Hurst 2008 (forthcoming). S. also G. HARLAFTIS, M. HARITATOS, E. BENEKI, *Πλωτά Έλληνες καραβοκώρηδες και εφοπλιστές από τα τέλη του 18^{ου} αιώνα έως τον Β΄ Παγκόσμιο πόλεμο* [‘Plota’. Greek captains and shipowners from the end of the 18th century until the World War II], Athens 2002 (Elliniko Logotehniko kai Istoriko Arheio).

¹²⁶ The French consul in Zante speaks about 706 families that migrated in the small and infertile island, A. KRANTONELLI, *Ελληνική πειρατεία και κούρσος τον ΙΗ΄ αιώνα και μέχρι την Ελληνική Επανάσταση*, [The Greek piracy and the course in the 18th century and until the Greek Revolution], Athens 1998 (Estia), p. 94.

¹²⁷ HASLUCK, *Albanian Settlements in the Aegean Islands*, in “The Annual of the British School of Archeology at Athens”, 15, 1908-1909, pp. 223-228.

¹²⁸ M. EFTHYMIΟΥ, *Call in and Keep Out: Local Communities and Ottoman Rule in the Privileged-Status Islands of Hydra and Samos*, in *I Turchi, il Mediterraneo e l'Europa*, G. MOTTA ed., Milano 1998 (Franco Angeli), pp. 429-444, where also the rich Greek literature on the subject; s. EADEM, *Greek Seamen in the Ottoman Navy*, in *Following the Nereides. Sea Routes and Maritime Business, 16th-20th Centuries*, M.-Ch. CHATZHOANNOU, G. HARLAFTIS eds., Athens 2006 (Kerkyra publications), pp. 74-83; N. PISSIS, *Investments in the Greek Merchant Marine (1783-1821)*, in *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire*, cit., pp. 151-164.

¹²⁹ V. KREMNYDAS, *Εμπορικές πρακτικές στο τέλος της Τουρκοκρατίας. Μικρονήτες έμποροι και πλοιοκτήτες* [Commercial practices at the end of Tourkokratia. Merchants and shipowners from Mykonos], Athens 1993 (Aegean Marine Museum), p. 47.

ment of the ships during the 18th century, the accumulation of capital, mainly in association with Peloponnesian merchants, but also with entrepreneurial investments by merchants from Chios,¹³⁰ added up to the favorable factors. Hydra followed what had been a practice in other Aegean islands but also in various areas in Europe (i.e. Finland¹³¹): the formation of multi membered corporate schemes responsible for the construction, building, or purchase of a ship, so that the risk of sea dangers would break down, but also formation of companies covering the boat-cargo-trip (cargo-company). As we know from the archive of the merchant family of Haggipanagioti from Tsakonia of eastern Peloponnese, the co-owners of the ship were shareholders of the company and seem to have kin relations as a rule,¹³² the main financier was usually the captain of the ship in consequence. Normally the company that invested on the ship proceeded to the following cargo-companies. As it has correctly been mentioned “the Greek ship of the period up to 1815 functioned as a merchant”. The participants, associated as a rule by family bonds, deposited a capital called ‘sermagia’ in order to constitute the cargo, the main participation being that of the principal shareholder that as a rule was also the captain. Namely it is “a new capital company that constitutes in view of buying and selling the merchandise”. The company usually lasted as long as the trip and at the end of it the balance of profits and losses was calculated.¹³³ In the case of Hydra the chains of co-operation exceeded the boundaries of the family-kinship and ‘embraced’ the whole local society and the community. In cargo-companies that a key role was played by the financiers of the dominant families of the island (Koundouriotis, Tombazis, Tsamados, Boudouris, Voulgaris, etc) but also other ‘parcenevoli’ and the crews, they agreed about the percentage of the profits, usually relative to the proximity of the trip.¹³⁴ The decisions were made in the community of Hydra that was based in the monastery of Virgin Mary, where the annual assemblies of the community also took place with the participation, as a rule, of church representatives, the most powerful families, connected by blood relations but also with spiritual such (koumbaries); often enough all the males of the island also participated. The preparation of the cargo-company and its assessment was also done in the community. Thus the maritime life in Hydra resembled a ‘corporation’.¹³⁵ The ships

¹³⁰ E. FRANGAKIS-SYRETT, *Greek Mercantile Activities in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1780-1820*, in “Balkan Studies”, 28, 1987, p. 84.

¹³¹ J. OJALA, *Approaching Europe: The merchant networks between Finland and Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, in “European Review of Economic History”, 1, 1997, pp. 323-352, where about the so-called ‘kapkale-system’.

¹³² V. KREMMYDAS, *Ελληνική Ναυτιλία 1776-1835*, cit., II, pp. 20-23; s. also IDEM, *Αρχείο Χατζηπαναγιώτη. Α' Χατζηπαναγιώτης-Πολίτης* [Chatzipanagiotis Archive,] Athens 1973, pp. 52-57.

¹³³ V. KREMMYDAS, *Ελληνική Ναυτιλία 1776-1835*, cit., II, pp. 58-60.

¹³⁴ N. PISSIS, *Investments*, cit., p. 6; s. also the marine law of Hydra of the year 1818 in: I. MANIATOPOULOS, *Το ναυτικόν δίκαιον της Ύδρας (1757-1821)* [The marine law of Hydra (1757-1821)], Athens 1939, pp. 101-114.

¹³⁵ See the very good Master thesis of P. THEOCHARIS, *Η Ύδρα του τέλους του 18^{ου} αιώνα. Όψεις της κοινωνικοπολιτικής και οικονομικής ζωής του νησιού, όπως προκύπτουν μέσα από το αρχείο της κοινότητας (1778-1802)* [Hydra at the end of 18th century. Aspects of the sociopolitical and economical life of the island, according to the community archive (1778-1802)], Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki,

of Hydra carried mainly wheat from the Black Sea to the western Mediterranean (Livorno, Marseille), principally during the critical years of the Napoleonic Wars; also olive oil and other products from Asia Minor and the Peloponnese to Trieste, Ancona, etc. The trips could last even over four months and there was strict regulation as to their route, the intermediary control and the stopover in Hydra for supplies and probably redefinition of objectives. The fleet of Hydra was exceptionally developed. Out of the 214 ships under greco-ottomana flag that arrived in Trieste from 1781 to 1788, 149 belonged to Hydra and from these ‘per conto proprio’ were over 100.¹³⁶ As a rule these commercial trips were conducted ‘per conto proprio’, that is why the ships were seldom ‘raccomandati’ in one of the agents-merchants, that were settled in the ports of the Mediterranean. This is how the absence of settled Hydriots is explained in centers of the Greek diaspora. The link between East and West was done ‘per conto proprio’ and the community had a significant say.¹³⁷ May I risk to make a comparison to Ragusa’s organisation?

Forty years after Trajan Stojanovich’s groundbreaking paper “The Conquering Orthodox Balkan Merchant”,¹³⁸ numerous research projects¹³⁹ have confirmed the title with respect to the land trade, but partly with respect to its maritime equivalent. It was also Christian and Jewish Ottoman subjects active, and mainly settled, in nodal commercial centres in the West who facilitated the Ottoman empire’s incorporation into the international market. The flexible family firms, most of which engaged in large scale trading, were supported by a network of numerous smaller-scale traders in the Levant¹⁴⁰ which a flexible web of ties rendered durable, and which inheritance rendered long-lived. These entrepreneurs successfully integrated into their host communities and evolved into economic *gremia* and, consequently, developed international capital and trade networks during the 19th century, mainly in the maritime sector.¹⁴¹ In contrast, the ‘common-associations’ flourished, taking

Department of History and Archeology, 2002. Except of the published archival material (A. LIGNOS, *Αρχείον της κοινότητας Ύδρας (1778-1832)* [Archive of the Hydra Community], I-XVI, Athens 1921-1931; in the island exists a rich historical archive, too.

¹³⁶ O. KATSIARDI-HERING, *Η αυστριακή πολιτική και η ελληνική ναυσιπλοΐα (1750-1800 περίπου)* [The Austrian policy and the Greek navigation, c. 1750-1800], in “Parousia”, 5, 1987, tables 5, 6 p. 510-536; s. also V. KREMMYDAS, *Ελληνική Ναυτιλία 1776-1835*, cit., pp. 45-46 about the number of the ships of Hydra during 1786-1821; about the Greek-owned ships visited the Mediterranean harbours in the 18th cent. s. also HARLAFTIS, *Ιστορία της ελληνόκτητης ναυτιλίας*, cit., pp. 75-76, 78-79; Prof. Harlaftis has a great research program concerning the Greek shipping and the first results are forthcoming.

¹³⁷ About the role of the community in the development of entrepreneurial relations specifically during the Industrial Revolution in England see. M. KIRBY, M. ROSE, *Introduction*, in: *Business Enterprises*, cit., p. 20.

¹³⁸ In: “Journal of Economic History”, 20, 1960, pp. 234-313.

¹³⁹ From the very rich literature I quote V. PASKALEVA, *Contributions aux relations commerciales des provinces balkaniques de l’Empire Ottoman avec les États Européens au cours du XVIII^e et la première moitié du XIX^e siècle*, in “Études Balkaniques”, 4, 1968, pp. 265-292; BUR, *Handelsgesellschaften-Organisationen*, cit.; S. ASDRACHAS and others, *Ελληνική Οικονομική Ιστορία, ΙΕ-ΙΘ αιώνας* [Greek Economic History, 15-19th cent.], I, Athens 2003 (Cultural Foundation of the Group ‘Piraios’).

¹⁴⁰ LIATA, *Ένας έλληνας έμπορος στη Δόση*, cit., pp. 279-285; V. KREMMYDAS, *Ιστορία του ελληνικού εμπορικού οίκου της Βενετίας ‘Σελένης και Σάρρος’*, cit.

¹⁴¹ G. HARLAFTIS, *Mapping the Greek Maritime Diaspora from the Early Eighteenth to the Late Twentieth Centuries*, in: *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks. Four Centuries of History*, cit., pp. 147-172.

advantage of the economic and legal circumstances, but for a limited time, since they failed to assign the requisite importance to keeping themselves up-to-date and received little support from the Ottoman economic framework.

At the end I would like to thank Mrs Renia Paxinou and Mr Michael Eleftheriou for their help in the english text of this paper.