

## The Historical Review/La Revue Historique

Vol 15 (2018)

The *H*istorical Review  
La Revue *H*istorique



VOLUME XV (2018)

Section de Recherches Néohelléniques  
Institut de Recherches Historiques / FNRS

Section of Neohellenic Research  
Institute of Historical Research / NHRF

### Charity from Afar: The Ioannina Foundations of the Greek Communities of Vienna (1769–1914)

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doi: [10.12681/hr.20452](https://doi.org/10.12681/hr.20452)

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#### To cite this article:

Saracino, S. (2019). Charity from Afar: The Ioannina Foundations of the Greek Communities of Vienna (1769–1914). *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 15, 271–304. <https://doi.org/10.12681/hr.20452>

CHARITY FROM AFAR: THE IOANNINA FOUNDATIONS OF  
THE GREEK COMMUNITIES OF VIENNA  
(1769–1914)

*Stefano Saracino*

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**ABSTRACT:** This article analyses eight charitable foundations established by persons from Ioannina between the 1780s and 1800s for the benefit of their home town that were administered by the two Greek Orthodox communities of Vienna. All of the endowments were based on large capital sums deposited in Viennese financial institutions, such as the Wiener Stadtbank, whose revenues were used for manifold charitable ends. The article reconstructs the wills and motivations of the founders, as well as the administrative/operative structures of their endowments, which were in existence up to 1914, when they fell victim to the hyperinflation of the following years. Whereas endowment historians usually focus on the founders' wills and establishment of endowments, research on their everyday operation over the long term is seldom. Furthermore, the present study proposes an approach to charitable foundations that focuses on their cultural, confessional, social and economic importance for migrant groups.

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The aim of this article is to explore the pious and charitable foundations that were founded in the last decades of the eighteenth and the first decade of the nineteenth centuries by persons from Ioannina for the benefit of their home town and which were administered by the two Greek Orthodox communities of Vienna. These communities, St George's (founded before 1726 for Greeks who were Ottoman subjects) and Holy Trinity (founded in 1787 for Greeks that had become Habsburg subjects), developed in the context of the expansion of the Greek diaspora community in Vienna in the course of the eighteenth century. Religious-confessional identity played an important role for this group, which consisted predominantly of merchants originating in the Ottoman Empire, especially the southern Balkan regions of Epirus, Macedonia and Thessaly. Some of them built up fortunes quite successfully in the Habsburg Empire. These merchants, who imported products such as cotton, wool, Turkish yarn and leather from the Ottoman Empire, played an important role, albeit one that declined from the mid-nineteenth century, in the Viennese market. The evolvment of this merchant community was fostered by the favourable

conditions for trade established by the peace treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718) between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires.<sup>1</sup>

Beneficiary practices like the foundation and administration of charitable endowments played an important role in the everyday life and financial structure of the Greek communities of St George and the Holy Trinity, shaping the cultural as well as the confessional identity of its members and fostering social advancement and economic success.<sup>2</sup> In the early stage of this system of charity, which was based on the administrative efforts of the two communities in Vienna, the share of founders originating from Ioannina is very high. Compared to their demographical strength in the communities, Epirotes founded more endowments proportionally than, for example, Macedonians or Thessalians. The endowments founded by persons from Ioannina that have come to light are listed in Table 1.

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<sup>1</sup> For the history of the two Greek Orthodox communities of Vienna, see Vaso Seirinidou, *Ελληνες στη Βιέννη (18ος–μέσα 19ου αιώνα)* [Greeks in Vienna, 18th–19th centuries], Athens: Irodotos 2011; Anna Ransmayr, *Untertanen des Sultans oder des Kaisers: Struktur und Organisationsform der beiden Wiener griechischen Gemeinden von den Anfängen im 18. Jahrhundert bis 1918*, Vienna: V&R Unipress, 2018. For the migration of merchants from the Ottoman to the Habsburg empires after 1718, see Traian Stoianovich, “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant”, *The Journal of Economic History* 20/2 (1960), pp. 234–313; Olga Katsiardi-Hering, “Greek Merchant Colonies in Central and South-Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries”, in *Merchant Colonies in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Victor N. Zakharov, Gelina Harlaftis and Olga Katsiardi-Hering, London: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 127–139; Olga Katsiardi-Hering and Maria Stassinopoulou (eds.), *Across the Danube: Southeastern Europeans and their Travelling Identities (17th–19th c.)*, Leiden: Brill, 2017. For the multiethnic character of the Viennese communities, comprising Greeks by language and birth, Aromanians, Albanians, Serbs and Bulgarians, see Maria Stassinopoulou, “Βαλκανική πολυγλωσσία στην αυτοκρατορία των Αψβούργων τον 18ο και 19ο αιώνα: Ένα γοητευτικό φαινόμενο και οι δυσκολίες των εθνικών ιστοριογραφιών” [Balkan polyglotism in the Habsburg empire during the 18th and 19th centuries: an astonishing phenomenon and the difficulties of the national historiographies], in *Διασπορά–Δίκτυα–Διαφωτισμός* [Diaspora–networks–enlightenment], ed. Maria Christina Chatziioannou and Maria A. Stassinopoulou, Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2005, pp. 17–32

<sup>2</sup> Maria Stassinopoulou, “Endowments as Instruments of Integration and Memory in an Urban Environment: The Panadi Building in Vienna”, in Katsiardi-Hering and Stassinopoulou, *Across the Danube*, pp.171–190. Material for this article is largely based on joint research with Dr Nathalie Soursos in the project “Social Commitment in the Greek Communities of St George and of the Holy Trinity in Vienna (18th–20th century)” (FWF P27140–G16); project leader: Prof Maria Stassinopoulou. The project has brought to light about 150 persons who founded charitable endowments or ordered charitable donations between 1769 and 1918. See the database at <https://wienergriechen.univie.ac.at/die-stiftungen-der-wiener-griechen/datenbank/>.

Table 1. Endowments founded in Vienna by persons from Ioannina

Name	Date	Bond No.	Financial institution	Value (in gulden)	Administrator	Recipients in Ioannina
Demeter Sava	1785	25573	Kupfer-, Quecksilber- und Bergwerks-zahlungshauptkassa	20,000	St George's	Poor and schools; redemption of slaves
Panagiotti Haggi Nico	1792	27779	Wiener Stadtbank	10,500	Holy Trinity	Dowries for poor girls; suffering Christians
Johann and Anastas Argyri Vreto	1792	33521	Wiener Stadtbank	22,500	Holy Trinity	Dowries for poor girls; poor prisoners; hospital; subvention for the poor for the payment of the haraç
Konsta Georgiou	1794	26910	Wiener Stadtbank	20,500	St George's	Poor families and prisoners
Demeter Pauli	1795	8414	Wiener Stadtbank	45,500	Holy Trinity	Subvention for the poor for the payment of the haraç; dowries for poor girls and widows; teachers of the Balaia School
Triantafillo Pano Cazzaro	1799	47702	Wiener Stadtbank	6,500	St George's	The poor
Panagiotti Haggi Nico	1805	113968	Wiener Stadtbank	9,000	Holy Trinity	The poor
Konsta Georgiou	1808	15998	Wiener Stadtbank	10,300	Holy Trinity	Education of orphans in Ioannina; school in Kapesovo

Source: Archiv Heiliger Georg (AHG), G23, F32; G30, F9–10; Archiv Heiliger Dreifaltigkeit (AHD), G40, F3–4.

These eight endowments consisted of considerable principals, which were mainly invested in bonds from the Wiener Stadtbank (founded in 1706) and whose revenues had to be sent, at regular intervals, by the administrators in Vienna to their intended destination. For reasons of space, endowments for the benefit of other places in Epirus (for example, Argyrokastró or Metsovo) that were also established in and administered by the Viennese Greek communities will not be discussed here.<sup>3</sup> The eight endowments in this case make up just

<sup>3</sup> See the endowment for the school in Argyrokastró by Christoph Constantin (with a capital of 4,000 gulden), based on a foundation charter dated 7 November 1793, Archiv Heilige Dreifaltigkeit, Vienna (AHD), G40, F3; for several charitable donations for the poor and

a small part of the total number of endowments administered by the Greek Orthodox communities of Vienna during the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Out of a sample of 150 founders, 38 established endowments between 1780 and 1815. They were dedicated to the benefit of various welfare institutions, like schools, churches, hospitals or poor relief, in the Ottoman Empire (in addition to the aforementioned places in Epirus, there were foundations dedicated to Kastoria, Serres, Meleniko, Doirani, Mount Athos and Crete) and in the Habsburg Empire (Vienna, Hungary, Sibiu, Braşov). Large endowments established by Christoph Nako de Nagy Szentmiklós, Georg Johann von Karajan and Kyriak Poliso, for example, benefited the Greek school in Vienna (founded in 1804), while those set up by Kyriak Christo Aformo and Johann Ziucka benefitted Vienna General Hospital (founded in 1784).

During a research trip to Ioannina in May 2016, I was able to collect further archival material concerning the aforementioned foundations.<sup>4</sup> In the history, as well as in the collective memory of this city, there is a long and vital tradition of beneficiary practices. Numerous endowments, founded by benefactors like Zois Kaplanis, the Zosima brothers, George Stavros, to name a few, and administered by the city's four churches (Metropolitan, Archimandreio, St Nikolaos' and St Marina's), served as the backbone of the welfare system, as well as the educational system, of Ioannina, which until 1913 was part of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>5</sup>

My analysis of the eight Viennese foundations listed in Table 1 focuses on the wills and motivations of the founders, on the one hand, and on the administrative structure of the foundations (their "architecture") on the other; in other words:

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the churches of Argyrokastro by Kyriak Poliso, see AHD, G30, F1, testament, 29 September 1811; for the donation to the churches of Argyrokastro by Anastas Margarit from 1825, see AHD, G40, F5, last will, 19 August 1825; cf. Kostas Gkatzonis, *Τα ελληνικά σχολεία στο Αργυρόκαστρο (1633–1960)*, Ioannina: Institute for Northern Epirote Studies, 2005.

<sup>4</sup> For their support and help during my research in Ioannina, I express my deep gratitude to Prof. Christos Stavrakos and Prof. Eleni Kigka of the University of Ioannina, the staff of the Society for Epirote Studies as well as Georgios Zarras and Fr Dimitrios Makris of the Archive of the Metropolis of Ioannina.

<sup>5</sup> Ioannis Lampridis, *Ηπειρωτικά αγαθοεργήματα και άλλα δημοσιεύματα* [Epirote beneficence and other publications], Ioannina: Society for Epirote Studies, 1971 (reprint of *Περί των εν Ήπειρω αγαθοεργήματων* [On beneficence in Epirus], 2 vols, Athens, 1880); Stefanos Bettis, *Ηπειρωτική ευποιία* [Epirote charity], 2 vols, Ioannina: Beneficent Institutions of the Metropolis of Ioannina, 1982; Bettis, *Οι Ζωσιμάδες και η συμβολή τους στην νεοελληνική αναγέννηση* [The Zosima family and its contribution to the modern Greek renaissance], Ioannina: Zosimaia Library, 1990; Bettis, *Ο Γεώργιος Σταύρος και τα "καταστήματα" Ν. Ζωσίμα στα Γιάννινα* [Georgios Stavros and the "institutions" of N. Zosima in Ioannina], Ioannina: Beneficent Institutions of the Metropolis of Ioannina, 1999; Spyros Ergolavos,

on ideas and wishes as well as on practices and realities. These wishes could be, as we will see, restricted by legal structures and by contradicting interests and motives of other (governmental and non-governmental) agents, which were involved in the negotiation of the architecture of these endowments as well as in their administration.

As the mediaevalist and legal historian Michael Borgolte emphasises, the character of charitable endowments changes and variegates in different historical epochs and cultures. Nonetheless, endowments from ancient Babylonia to the present share at least three features.<sup>6</sup> Firstly, they are marked by longevity and sustainability: They are long-term institutions, founded potentially for eternity. Secondly, they rely on indisposable capital: The mobile or immobile property dedicated to the foundation is not at the disposal of its administrators or beneficiaries; only the capital revenues can be used for charitable ends. Finally, there is the importance of *memoria*: The commemoration of the founder for posterity, especially by the administrators and beneficiaries of the endowment, stabilises the existence of endowments over the course of time. In Catholic and Orthodox Christianity, the commemorative practices connected to the endowment also usually aimed at the salvation of the founder's soul (for example, requiem masses and memorial services).

Borgolte pleads for a concept that treats endowments not primarily as static legal institutions, but as dynamic social relationships between the founder, on the one hand, and the group of administrators/beneficiaries, on the other, as an interaction between the deceased and posterity, which is liable to change. Borgolte emphasises this dynamic quality of endowments by distinguishing the founder's intentions (*Stifterwille*) from the foundation's reality (*Stiftungswirklichkeit*).<sup>7</sup>

But what could have been the motivations of the founders under examination? The magnanimity of Greek benefactors in the Ottoman Empire, as well as in the diaspora, was, according to Protestant theologian Jakob Elsner in his *Neueste Beschreibung derer griechischen Christen in der Türckey* (1737), as well as Manouil Gedeon, in his *Ιστορία των του Χριστού Πενήτων* (1939), the economic

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Ηπειρωτικά κληροδοτήματα [Epirote endowments], Ioannina: Epiros, 1998; Christos Tsetsis, *Οι Ηπειρώτες ευεργέτες* [Epirote benefactors], Ioannina: self pub., 2004.

<sup>6</sup> For a definition of the concept of endowment and for the common features of endowments over time, see Michael Borgolte, "Five Thousand Years of Foundations: A Typology from Mesopotamia to the USA", *Endowment Studies* 1/1 (2017), pp. 60–95.

<sup>7</sup> Michael Borgolte (ed.), *Stiftungen und Stiftungswirklichkeiten: Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin: De Gruyter 2000; Borgolte, *Stiftung und Memoria*, Berlin: Akademie, 2012, pp. 96f.

backbone of Orthodox Christianity under Ottoman rule.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the Greek merchants in the Habsburg lands enjoyed the reputation of being success-oriented businessmen and excellent lobbyists. According to Alexander von Peez's *Die griechischen Kaufleute in Wien* (1888), due to the importance of these businessmen for the Habsburg economy, as well as their lobbying activities at the imperial court, it was the "rigid rule" of the Austrian government to treat the Greek Orthodox merchants in a privileged way.<sup>9</sup> The economic success of the Greeks of Vienna, together with the privileged treatment they seemed to enjoy from the authorities, spurred the distrust and envy of the locals. The Greeks had the reputation of being greedy and selfish. Indeed, a medical doctor in Vienna examining the young Alexander Poschar (who died in 1840), the son of Demeter Poschar (from Epirus or Moschopoli, depending on the source), and a Catholic, Maria Plusch, diagnosed that he was suffering from "avarice". For treatment, the doctor advised that Alexander be removed from the noxious environment of the Greek merchant community.<sup>10</sup>

Leaving aside the opinions and stereotypes of the host and home societies of the migrants in this case, if we wish to achieve reliable knowledge of the self-image and self-understanding of the benefactors from Ioannina, it is necessary to look at their ego-documents, such as their last wills, as declared in their testaments or in other written documents.

### I. The Perspective of the Benefactors

By the late eighteenth century, Ioannina, where these benefactors came from, had become a prospering economic centre. In an 1815 travel account, Henry Holland noted that "Ioannina, though an inland city, and surrounded by mountains, has long had much commercial importance; and the traveller will be surprised

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<sup>8</sup> Jakob Elsner, *Neueste Beschreibung derer griechischen Christen in der Türckey*, Berlin: Kunst, 1737, p. 10; Manuel Gedeon, *Ιστορία των του Χριστού πνήτων, 1453–1913* [History of Christ's paupers, 1453–1913], Athens: s.n., 1939. For the Islamic and Ottoman tradition of pious and charitable foundations (waqfs), which probably also influenced the founders in this case, see John Robert Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden: Brill, 1986; Kayhan Orbay, "Imperial Waqfs within the Ottoman Waqf System", *Imperial Subjects and Beneficence: Comparing Endowment Cultures from the 17th to the Early 20th Century*, ed. Nathalie Soursos, Saracino and Maria Stassinopoulou, special issue, *Endowment Studies* 1/2 (2017), pp. 135–153.

<sup>9</sup> Alexander von Peez, *Die Griechischen Kaufleute in Wien*, Vienna: Neue Freie Presse, 1888, p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> Seirinidou, *Έλληνες στη Βιέννη* [Greeks in Vienna], 160, 207. Cf. AHD, Matriken, Tod, 1790–1857, p. 5.

to find here merchants who have large connections, not only with the different parts of Turkey, but also with Germany, Italy, and Russia”.<sup>11</sup>

The capital investments and commercial activities of merchants from Ioannina and other places in Epirus also played an important role in the development of proto-industrial factories for Turkish yarn in Thessaly (Ambelakia, Agia), which was exported on a large scale to the Habsburg lands.<sup>12</sup> This economic prosperity went hand in hand with a revival in the area of culture and education.<sup>13</sup> The founders of schools and charitable foundations for Ioannina had often accumulated vast capital as merchants in trading places such as Venice, Vienna, Bucharest, Nižin and Moscow.

Several sources provide information concerning the presence of merchants from Ioannina in Vienna at the turn of the nineteenth century. The *Allgemeiner Handelsstands-Kalender für das Jahr 1792*, a business directory for Vienna, lists several trading houses headed by Ioanniotes – some of them were founders of endowments (Sava, Pauli), others acted as representatives and plenipotentiaries (like Stavros Ioannou or Demeter Poschar) of founders who were resident elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> In the conscription of Greek merchants and Ottoman subjects in Vienna of 1766/67, which also registered their places of origin, 5 individuals from Ioannina (and 3 persons from other places in Epirus) were listed, compared to 36 Macedonians and 18 Thessalians. Among the individuals from Ioannina is Demeter Sava (No. 59), the founder (in 1785) of the earliest endowment in

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<sup>11</sup> Henry Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia &c. during the years 1812 and 1813*, London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1815, pp. 148f. For the economy of Ioannina under Ottoman rule, see Michalis Kokolakis, *Το ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο πασαλίκι: Χώρος, διοίκηση και πληθυσμός στην τουρκοκρατούμενη Ήπειρο (1820–1913)* [The late pashalik of Ioannina: space, management and population in Ottoman Epirus (1820–1913)], Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2003.

<sup>12</sup> Olga Katsiardi-Hering, *Τεχνίτες και τεχνικές βαφής νημάτων: Από τη Θεσσαλία στην Κεντρική Ευρώπη (18ος–αρχές 19ου αι.)* [Craftsmen and techniques of dyeing: from Thessaly to central Europe (18th–early 19th century)], Athens: Irodotos, 2003, p. 114.

<sup>13</sup> Eleni Kourmantzi-Panagiotakou, *Η νεοελληνική αναγέννηση στα Γιάννενα από τον πάροικο έμπορο στον Αθ. Ψαλιδά και τον Ιω. Βηλαρά (17ος–αρχές 19ου αιώνα)* [The modern Greek renaissance in Ioannina from foreign commerce to A. Psalidas and I. Bilaras (17th–early 19th centuries)], Athens: Gutenberg, 2007.

<sup>14</sup> “Herrn Demeter Sava, am alten Fleischmarkt Nro. 743”; “Herr Demetter und Gebrüder Mammara, im heil. Kreuzhof Nro. 76”; “Herr Demeter Paul, am alten Fleischmarkt Nro. 704”; “Herr Stavro Johann u. Comp., am alten Fleischmarkt Nro. 702”; “Herr Demetter Joh. Poschar, am alten Fleischmarkt Nro. 748” (*Allgemeiner Handelsstands-Kalender für das Jahr 1792*, Vienna: Johann Martin Weimar, fol. 83f.).



our sample.<sup>15</sup> In a further document from 1808, entitled *Register der Namen Aller hier Befindlichen Griechen, welche Türkische Untertanen sind*, which is preserved in the archive of St George's community, of the 300 persons listed 17 were from Ioannina. Nearly all were merchants or employees of trading houses. In building No. 915 (now the corner of Wollzeile and Strobelgasse in the city's first district), in which a community of Ioanniotes lived, Stavros Ioannou, his son Georgios Stavrou (who would found the National Bank of Greece), and three of his employees, among them Zois Charamis, all natives of Ioannina, were enumerated in the conscription. The only person among the group of Ioannina natives conscripted in 1808 whose profession was not commercial was Neophytos Dukas, the priest of St George's community.<sup>16</sup> What do we know about the seven founding benefactors from Ioannina?

*Demeter Sava (Δημήτριος Σάββας) (ca. 1722–1784)*

A range of evidence is available regarding Demeter Sava's life, commercial activities and beneficiary practices. According to the aforementioned conscription, in March 1767 he was 45 years old and already 33 years in the Habsburg Empire (11 of which he had spent in Vienna), was unmarried and traded "mostly cotton" from Turkey, with a yearly commercial value of 20,000 gulden<sup>17</sup> As Olga Katsiardi-Hering has shown, already back in 1755 Sava had been active as an investor and a key figure in the effort of a group of Greeks to found a factory for Turkish yarn in Vienna.<sup>18</sup> In January 1760, he was one of

<sup>15</sup> The names of the others are "Michael Johann", "Pano Constanda", "Georg Pano", and "Theophilus Categar". See Polychronis K. Enepekides, *Griechische Handelsgesellschaften und Kaufleute in Wien aus dem Jahre 1766: Ein Konskriptionsbuch aus den Beständen des Wiener Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs*, Thessaloniki: Society for Macedonian Studies, 1959, pp. 8, 12, 16, 31, 36. For the total number of Epirotes, Macedonians and Thessalians, see Ransmayr, *Untertanen des Sultans*, pp. 247–250.

<sup>16</sup> Archiv Heiliger Georg, Vienna (AHG), G7, F18, p. 3, 13. Also registered were 11 persons from Metsovo, 9 from Argyrokaastro, 1 from Arta, 1 from Negades and 1 from Premeti (Përmeti). In this list, the Macedonians and Thessalians outnumber the Epirotes by far (see Ransmayr, *Untertanen des Sultans*, pp. 250–253).

<sup>17</sup> Enepekidis, *Griechische Handelsgesellschaften*, p. 31.

<sup>18</sup> The technical know-how for this manufacture, which received imperial privilege from Maria Theresa on 18 January 1755, was provided by the craftsmen Panagiotti Vangelino and Zafiri Nicko. See Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (OeStA), HKA, Kommerz Niederösterreich, rote No. 234, Fasz. 22r/v; see also Katsiardi-Hering, *Τεχνίτες και τεχνικές βαφής*, pp. 277–279.

the four wardens of the brotherhood of St George.<sup>19</sup> According to the register of deaths of St George's community, he died on 13 June 1784 in Vienna.<sup>20</sup>

A handwritten copy of Sava's last will (drafted in Vienna on 17 August 1769) is preserved in a codex containing the copies of several testaments of benefactors from Ioannina dating from 1769 to 1855. This manuscript was probably compiled after 1820.<sup>21</sup> In his testament, Sava ordered several pious donations for the salvation of his soul, as he writes in his testament, among them 2,000 gulden for the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, 1,300 gulden for the monasteries on Mount Athos, 900 gulden for St Catherine's monastery in Sinai, 24 gulden for every monastery on Ioannina Island, as well as 150 gulden for the "hospital for the poor in Vienna" and 50 gulden for the Roman Catholic cathedral of St Stephan in the Habsburg capital. Furthermore, Sava's beneficiaries included the parson (50 gulden) as well as the poor (50 gulden) of the Greek community of Vienna, which at that time congregated in the chapel of the Russian ambassador. (From 1762 to 1772, the Greeks had abandoned St George's, located at the Steyrerhof, because of conflicts with the Serbian clergy from the Metropolitanate of Karlowitz, which was in possession of the Orthodox chapel.) The sum of 50 gulden was bequeathed to another Greek Orthodox diaspora community, St Spyridon's in Trieste.<sup>22</sup> At the core of Sava's charitable practices is his endowment for the poor, schools and the release of slaves in his home town of Ioannina. The foundation charter from 1785, by which Emperor Joseph II placed this endowment under the highest imperial protection, as was usual, quotes Sava's testament, specifying that the

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<sup>19</sup> Sofronios Efstratiadis, *Ο εν Βιέννη ναός του Αγίου Γεωργίου και η κοινότης των Οθωμανών υπηκόων* [The church of St George in Vienna and the community of Ottoman subjects], Alexandria: Patriarchate, 1912, p. 21.

<sup>20</sup> AHG, Matriken, Heiliger Georg, 1777–1839, Tod, p. 191.

<sup>21</sup> Though the oldest of the sample, Sava's testament is not the first one by order of textual appearance. The first is the testament of Balanos Trofimov Matzos (Μπαλάνος Τροφίμοβ Μάτζος) from 1829. See Society for Epirote Studies (EHM), 7. Holy Metropolis of Ioannina, Originals (loose documents, fragments) and photocopies from codices, N. 31: Codex fragments of the Metropolis of Ioannina, 1791–1855, p. 210f. According to Aravantinos, the testaments of benefactors and founders from Ioannina who were abroad were destroyed by the fire that devastated the town in 1820, see Panagiottis S. Aravantinos, *Χρονογραφία της Ηπείρου* [Chronography of Epirus], vol. 2, Athens: Vlastos, 1856, p. 272.

<sup>22</sup> "For the Greek minister in the Muscovite chapel 50 gulden [...] for the community which is in the Muscovite chapel for the poor, 50 gulden" (Sava's testament, quoted in n. 21, p. 210); for the conflict with the Serbian clergy, see Ransmayr, *Untertanen des Sultans*, pp. 41–57. For St Spyridon before 1781 as a common church of all Greek Orthodox in Trieste, see Olga Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροικία της Τεργέστης (1751–1830)* [The Greek community of Trieste (1751–1830)], 2 vols, Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 1986.

founder had left it to his heir and executor of his testament, his brother Andreas Sava, to decide in which form and in which country the principal of 20,000 gulden should be invested.<sup>23</sup>

*Johann & Anastas Argyri Vreto (Ιωάννης & Αναστάσιος Αργύρη Βρετού)*

Johann Argyri Vreto was active as a merchant in the Italian port town of Livorno and member of its Greek Orthodox confraternity of the Holy Trinity.<sup>24</sup> Anastas, his brother and business associate, was domiciled Ioannina, where he was married and had five children (two sons, three daughters). The Argyri Vreto brothers belonged to the financial and political elite of the town. Their home hosted Lord Byron during his stay in 1809. A further guest of the brothers, the English traveller Thomas Smart Hughes, provides colourful descriptions of his hosts (“Anastasi Argyri”, “Giovanni Argyri”) in his travel account from 1820.<sup>25</sup> There is no evidence that the brothers ever came to Vienna, where they were represented by the influential merchant Stavros Ioannou, who until 1811 was domiciled in the Habsburg capital. In a March 1793 document, the brothers declared their intention to establish an endowment.<sup>26</sup> Actually, the foundation charter for their endowment, issued by Emperor Francis II in October 1792,

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Sava’s testament, p. 210, and AHG, G32, F23, foundation charter, 25 July 1785, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> Kourmantzi-Panagiotakou, *Η νεοελληνική αναγέννηση στα Γιάννενα* [The modern Greek renaissance in Ioannina], pp. 31–33; Mathieu Grenet, “La fabrique communautaire: Les Grecs à Venise, Livourne et Marseille, 1770–1830”, PhD diss., European University Institute, Florence, 2010, pp. 379–381.

<sup>25</sup> Hughes relates the episode of old Anastas Argyri Vreto intervening on behalf of a prisoner (a robber named Palasca) before Ali Pasha: “On the morning however which was to have seen his execution, a person found means to interest the father of our host, old Anastasi Argyri, in his behalf, and induce him to request a pardon from the vizir. Anastasi accordingly went to the serai and urged his petition upon his knees before Ali. ‘Leave him to his fate, φίλε μου, leave him to his fate, for he is an incorrigible rascal,’ said the vizir. Anastasi however renewed his entreaties, which he seconded by slipping a diamond ring of great value upon a finger of the hand which he held in supplication. ‘Well then,’ replied Ali, ‘if it must be so, I give you the man; take him and do what you please with him: but I know you will repent this interference.’ Upon this the old gentleman went to the prison, carried off the culprit to his own house, kept him there for a month, and then dismissed him with a sum of money and abundance of good counsel’ (Thomas Smart Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece & Albania*, vol. 2, London: Mawman, 1820, p. 172; cf. the description of Hughes visiting a Greek Orthodox funeral together with Ioannis Argyri, *ibid.*, pp. 85f.). For the stay of Lord Byron at the Vreto house and concerning Anastas and Johann Argyri Vreto, see also Bettis, *Ηπειρωτική ευποία*, pp. 42f.

<sup>26</sup> Printed in *Διαθήκαι των αείμνηστων ενεργητών των Ιωαννίνων* [Last wills of the memorable benefactors from Ioannina], Athens: Perris, 1887, pp. 1–3; cf. the original in the

refers to this “written instruction” of the brothers. The specific document is very detailed about the structure and the scope of the endowment. Vienna was just one of two bases of their foundation, for alongside the 22,500 gulden invested in Vienna (yielding an annual revenue of 880 gulden), the sum of 15,000 roubles (yearly revenue of 750 roubles) was invested in the treasury of Moscow orphanage. From these revenues, specified amounts had to be distributed in Ioannina as dowries for eight worthy poor girls (800 kuruş), 550 kuruş for poor inmates in the “prisons of the qadi and the zapit” in order to pay their *haraç* (tax for non-Muslims) or other debts. This was probably an important issue, for the tax burden under the reign of Ali Pasha had increased considerably. Furthermore 200 kuruş had to be given yearly to the “hospital for the sick upon its completion”.<sup>27</sup> A further purpose of the endowment of the Argyri Vreto brothers was the redemption of slaves, to which the sum of 200 kuruş was the yearly revenues was dedicated.

In their letter, they also specified the modality of the administration of the endowment, entrusting the distribution of the revenues to a commission comprising the wardens of three churches in Ioannina. Every year, they had to present an account of the distribution of revenues to the archbishop of Ioannina, the members of the town council and one or two members of the Argyri Vreto family.

#### *Panagiotti Haggi Nico (Παναγιώτης Χατζηνίκος) (1709–1796/97)*

In the historical narrative of charity culture in Ioannina, Panagiotti Haggi Nico plays an important role. It was he who picked up from the street the young and poor Zois Kaplanis (1736–1806), who originated from the village of Grammeno, and in 1754 made him his employee. Later on, Kaplanis became his trading associate, residing in Moscow. An anonymous biography of Kaplanis, printed in that city in 1809, states that his mentor, Haggi Nico, also shaped

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Archive of the Metropolis of Ioannina, AMI.AKI.KΛHP.6.2.64, Charities, endowments, wills, A–Z, and AHD, G40, F3, imperial foundation charter, 18 October 1792.

<sup>27</sup> The hospital had been completed by 1797, when Zois Kaplanis ordered in his will a donation of 10,000 roubles for it. See *Redkiĭ blagodel’nyĭ podvig’ Zoja Konstantinovicha Kaplani/Σπάνια ευποιίας έργα του Ζώη Κωνσταντίνου Καπλάνη* [Remarkable charitable works of Zois Konstantinos Kaplanis], Moscow: S. Selivanovskago, 1809, p. ix. For the tax burden under Ali Pasha, see Nikolaos B. Patselis, *Η οικονομική πολιτική και ο πλούτος Αλή πασά των Ιωαννίνων* [The economic policy and the wealth of Ali Pasha of Ioannina], Athens: s.n., 1936, pp. 7–16; K. E. Fleming, *The Muslim Bonaparte: Diplomacy and Orientalism in Ali Pasha’s Greece*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999, pp. 51–54.

Kaplanis' predisposition to establish pious and philanthropic foundations.<sup>28</sup> Haggi Nico is a well-known figure for historians of the Greek community of Braşov (Kronstadt) in Transylvania and a portrait of him is contained in the memoirs of Christophoros Ktenas, a priest of the city's Holy Trinity church in the 1930s.<sup>29</sup> According to the inscription on his gravestone, he was born 1709 in Ioannina and died on 28 March 1796 in Braşov. This date of death is puzzling as letters exist from later dates signed by him (in December 1796/January 1797).<sup>30</sup> Because of several endowments he established during his lifetime, he is commemorated as an important benefactor of the religious and cultural life of the Greeks of Braşov. He is immortalised in Braşov's Holy Trinity church (built in 1787) in an inscription listing the founders.<sup>31</sup> The foundation charters of two of these endowments for the benefit of Braşov are preserved in the Holy Trinity archive in Vienna, as this community was involved in their administration.<sup>32</sup> Haggi Nico, who was unmarried, was active as a fur and leather merchant in Moldavia and Wallachia. Due to the war between Russia and the

<sup>28</sup> "These God-pleasing deeds he [Kaplanis] learned first of all from the above-mentioned benefactor P. Haggi Nico" (*Σπάνια ευποιίας έργα* [Remarkable charitable works], pp. v f.).

<sup>29</sup> The portrait in Athanassios E. Karathanassis, *L'hellénisme en Transylvanie: L'activité culturelle, nationale et religieuse des compagnies commerciales helléniques de Sibiu et de Brasov aux XVIIIe–XIXe siècles*, Thessaloniki: Institute of Balkan Studies, 1989, p. 111, citing *Λεύκωμα της εν Στεφανουπόλει εθνικής ελληνικής εκκλησίας της Αγίας Τριάδος επί τη εκατοπενηκονταετηρίδι αυτής 1787–1937* [Album of the national Greek church of the Holy Trinity in Braşov on its 150th anniversary, 1787–1937], Bucharest, s.n., 1937.

<sup>30</sup> The inscription on his tombstone is in Karathanasis, *L'hellénisme en Transylvanie*, p. 152; cited from Christophoros Ktenas, *Αι επιγραφαί και οι αφιερωταί της εν Στεφανουπόλει ορθοδόξου ελληνικής εκκλησίας της Αγίας Τριάδος* [The epigraphs and dedicatory inscriptions in the Orthodox Greek church of the Holy Trinity in Braşov], Bucharest: s.n., 1938, p. 25. Also Lymperopoulos is sceptical about this date and quotes letters by Haggi Nico from December 1796. See Iannis G. Lymperopoulos, "Παναγιώτης Ν. Χατζηνίκου – Κονιτζιώτης (ο ευεργέτης) [Panagiotis N. Chatzinikos – from Konitsa (the benefactor)]", *Ηπειρωτικό Ημερολόγιο* 3 (1981), p. 271.

<sup>31</sup> For the inscription of the founders of Holy Trinity, see Karathanasis, *L'hellénisme en Transylvanie*, p. 180; Lymperopoulos, "Παναγιώτης Ν. Χατζηνίκου" [Panagiotis N. Chatzinikos], p. 294. For Haggi Nico's donation of 7,127 gulden for the church building, see Kourmantzi-Panagiotakou, *Η νεοελληνική αναγέννηση στα Γιάννενα* [The modern Greek renaissance in Ioannina], p. 64.

<sup>32</sup> Concerning Haggi Nico's endowment for the Greek school (10,000 gulden) and the endowment for the poor (10,000 gulden) of Braşov, the respective imperial foundation charters reproduce letters by him declaring his will to establish these foundations. Both letters are dated 21 January 1797 and translated from modern Greek into Latin ("ex neo Graeco"). They contain typical features of a last will (invoking the Holy Trinity, assessing the free will

Ottoman Empire, which afflicted these principalities, around 1770 he moved to Transylvania, which since 1718 was part of the Habsburg Empire. In the letter concerning his endowment for the poor of Braşov, he describes himself as a war refugee.<sup>33</sup> By 1779 Haggi Nico had invested a capital of 10,000 ducats in Venice as an endowment for the benefit of the poor of Ioannina and of the Greek school of Venice. A further endowment for the poor of Ioannina and of the village of Konitsa existed in Moscow, where Haggi Nico had deposited 21,000 roubles at its orphanage as the endowment's principal.<sup>34</sup>

The first of two endowments for the poor in Ioannina founded by Haggi Nico, who invested the principals for them at the Wiener Stadtbank, received imperial protection on 14 August 1792. In a letter addressed to Emperor Leopold II that was sent from Braşov in August 1791, Haggi Nico stated that he had decided to establish this foundation "many years before". He wrote that in 1785 he had already invested a sum in the Wiener Stadtbank for this purpose and had instructed Demeter Poschar, as his plenipotentiary in Vienna, on the details of his endowment. Obviously, matters had not progressed. He reminded the emperor that the will of founders was sacrosanct and had to be implemented.<sup>35</sup> Shortly before his death, he ordered the institution of a second endowment in Vienna, which was established after a delay of several years in 1805.<sup>36</sup>

#### *Demeter Pauli (Δημήτριος Παυλῆς/Παύλου) (†1793)*

Like Demeter Sava, Demeter Pauli was a successful, Vienna-based merchant and had been church warden of St George's community. Pauli died in the city

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and mental sanity of the testator, the signature of several witnesses); see AHD, G40, F4, letters in the foundation charters, 24 August 1798, pp. 4–7.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4. He states here that he founded the endowment for the poor of Braşov in order to show his gratitude for the peace and quiet he had enjoyed under the protection of the Habsburgs ("pro usu fructu quietis gratitudinem").

<sup>34</sup> For the endowment in Venice, see Lymperopoulos, "Παναγιώτης Ν. Χατζηνίκου" [Panagiotis N. Chatzinikos], pp. 289–293 (also for the letter of Haggi Nico, signed in Bucharest on 1 November 1779, declaring his intention to set up the endowment). For the endowment in Moscow, see *ibid.*, p. 273.

<sup>35</sup> Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv (NÖLA), St. Pölten, Landesfürstl. Verwaltung, Selekte, Geistl. Stiftbriefsam., Karton 95; see AHD, G40, F3, foundation charter, 14 August 1792. The letter to Leopold II is included in this foundation charter.

<sup>36</sup> See AHD, G40, F3, foundation charter, 21 March 1805; for the reasons for this delay, see further below.

on 8 January 1793.<sup>37</sup> He had made a fortune with his trading house.<sup>38</sup> When he drafted his last will in 1792, Pauli still possessed his paternal house and vineyard in Ioannina and wished that it be inherited by his brother, Andreas, who was active as a merchant in Iași. Demeter Pauli was also active in fundraising for a Greek–French–Italian dictionary, which was compiled by Georgios Vendotis and published in 1790 in Vienna.<sup>39</sup>

In Pauli’s loquacious testament (its German translation amounts to 23 pages), religious topics and formulas feature prominently. His religious-confessional commitment seems to be the strongest among our seven founding benefactors from Ioannina. Pauli ascribed his economic success to “divine assistance” and understood the preparation for the hour of his death as an opportunity to show his gratitude and to repay this assistance through charitable and pious actions. The fear of being unprepared for death and to be surprised by it, which according to Philippe Ariès played an important role in pre-modern culture and tamed people’s relationship to death, is reflected at the beginning of Pauli’s testament.<sup>40</sup> His endowment for the poor and the schools of Ioannina, which we

<sup>37</sup> AHG, Matriken, Heiliger Georg, 1777–1839, Tod, p. 193; for Pauli’s election as church warden, see Efstratiadis, *Ο εν Βιέννη ναός του Αγίου Γεωργίου* [The church of St George in Vienna], p. 72.

<sup>38</sup> See n. 14. For Pauli’s successful business, see AHD, G18, F5, Testament, 1 April 1791, codicils December 1792, p. 12.

<sup>39</sup> Eleni Kigka, “Η συμβολή της Ηπείρου στη λεξικογραφία της εποχής του Νεοελληνικού Διαφωτισμού (18ος–19ος αιώνας)” [The contribution of Epirus to lexicography in the era of the modern Greek enlightenment (18th–19th century)], in *Πρακτικά, Α΄ Πανεπιστημιακού Συνεδρίου, ιστορία-λογισύνη: Η Ήπειρος και τα Ιωάννινα από το 1430 έως το 1913* [Proceedings, 1st Panepirote Congress: history–scholarship: Epirus and Ioannina from 1430 to 1913], ed. Georgios Papageorgiou and Konstantinos Th. Petsios, Ioannina: Society for Epirote Studies, 2015, pp. 937ff. The role of Pauli in this enterprise is described in the title of the work: *Λεξικόν τρίγλωσσον της Γαλλικής, Ιταλικής και Ρωμαϊκής διαλέκτου, εις τόμους τρεις διηρημένον. Συνεραμισθέν παρά Γεωργίου Βεντότη. Επιταγή μεν και φιλοτίμω δαπάνη του υψηλοτάτου και γαληνοτάτου πρίγκιπος Μολδοβλαχίας κυρίου Αλεξάνδρου Ιωάννου του Μαυροκορδάτου. Συνδρομή δε και φιλοπόνω σπουδή του τιμιωτάτου εν Πραγματευταίς κυρίου Δημητρίου Παύλου Ευπατρίδου της εν Ηπείρω πρωτενούσης πόλεως Ιωαννίνων* [Trilingual dictionary of the French, Italian and Greek dialects], Vienna: Baumeister, 1790 (Émile Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, vol. 2, Paris: Garnier, 1928, pp. 509f.).

<sup>40</sup> “Zur Ehre der allerheiligsten Dreyfaltigkeit. So gewis der Todt ist, eben so [un]gewis ist deßen Stunde, dieß erlernen wir nicht bloß aus einigen Stellen der Hl. Schrift, sondern auch durch die längliche Erfahrung; denn wir sehen oft einen Menschen, der des morgens seine Geschäfte in guter Gesundheit verrichtet, und des abends von seiner Familie umringt und beweinet auf der Bahre lieget, dies ist der klägliche Zustand des menschlichen Lebens, und die erste Frucht unseres Sündenfalls, daher ist es die Pflicht eines jeden Menschen, und

are primarily interested in here, is accompanied by a further pious endowment with a complicated structure; Pauli bequeathed several religious institutions in different parts of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires with sums and ordered that their revenues had to be used for yearly memorial services: apart from the two Greek communities in Vienna, he directed money to several churches in Ioannina, the monasteries on its island, the Greek church in Iași, the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, Sinai monastery and Mount Athos. Each institution was given a different ecclesiastical feast day to celebrate the memorial service, for Pauli wished to be commemorated throughout the year.<sup>41</sup> The account books of the Metropolis of Ioannina prove that, at least concerning the annual memorial service on the feast of St Athanasius in the metropolitan church, Pauli's will was executed as he wished.<sup>42</sup> Concerning the principal he bequeathed to the monastery of St Nikolaos (also named Spanos) on Ioannina Island, where a memorial service had to be celebrated for his soul every year on the feast of St Nikolaos, he recommended that the money (500 piastres) should not be given directly to the monks but be invested in stable, immovable property.<sup>43</sup>

The passages in his will concerning the foundation for Ioannina (with a principal of 45,500 gulden, it is the largest among the endowments under analysis) make clear that, through it, Pauli intended to "preserve his and his parents' eternal memory". The revenues had to be used to help people in need ("the weak old and poor young") in paying their *haraç*, as dowries for poor girls and widows and, furthermore, as grants for the teachers of the Balanaia School.<sup>44</sup> In order to guarantee the regular administration of the money, Pauli

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besonders eines guten Christen beständig vorbereitet zu seyn, zu dieser fürchterlichen Stunde, weil er nicht weiß, was und in welchen Umständen er von dieser Welt abgerufen wird" (AHD, G18, F5, Testament, p. 1); cf. the testament of Kaplanis from 1806: "frightened that death may afflict me suddenly" (Σπάνια ευποΐας έργα [Remarkable charitable works], p. 28); Philipp Ariès, *Geschichte des Todes*, Munich: DTV, 2005, pp. 20ff.

<sup>41</sup> Testament, AHD, G18, F5, pp. 6f., 8–10.

<sup>42</sup> See the records for August 1836 and March 1839 in AMI.AKI.1.1.K.1, Charities, financial department, accounts, ledgers, 1827–1839, pp. 42r, 82r.

<sup>43</sup> Testament, AHD, G18, F5, pp. 6f. According to the minutes of the Metropolis of Ioannina, in 1897–1898 money originating from "pious endowments" was sent to Spano Monastery on Ioannina Island probably originating from Pauli's foundation. AMI.AKI.2.1.1, Charities, endowments, minute books, 1893–1905, p. 138.

<sup>44</sup> In Pauli's testament, 50,000 gulden had been designated for the endowment. Because after his death the estate turned out to be smaller than expected, his brother Andreas could deposit only 45,500 gulden in the Wiener Stadtbank; see Testament, pp. 3f., 12–14; cf. AHD, G40, F3, foundation charter, 24 March 1795. The sum was substantial. In 1786 the newly founded Holy Trinity community in Vienna invested a comparable amount (45,000 gulden)



developed a complicated system of checks and balances between different administrative institutions. He wished that the church wardens in Ioannina would elect a representative among the Greeks of Vienna, who had to receive the revenues collected from the Viennese bank by the wardens of Holy Trinity and to transfer them to their intended destination. Furthermore, he ordered that every involved clerical institution in Vienna and Ioannina should keep a copy of Pauli's written instructions in order to "remember his legacies". Once a year, the church wardens of Ioannina and further dignitaries of the town, as well as the relatives of the founder, had to hold a meeting to decide how to distribute the bequest.

*Triantafillo Pano Cazzaro (Τριαντάφυλλος Πάνος Κατσαρός) (†1812)*

Although few details exist about the life and final testament of Triantafillo Pano Cazzaro, who left his mark as a merchant in Livorno and Chios, we do know that his familial situation was the central motivation for his endowment.<sup>45</sup> He was unmarried and had no children. As his nephew Christodoulos Fouskidis, the son of his sister Eleni, would state many years later, he was unable to find his uncle's testament in Ioannina. Writing to St George's community in November 1841, he claimed he was not aware of his uncle's endowment and pointed out that when his uncle made his testament, "Ali Pasha Tepelenlis was the governor of Ioannina and he did what he liked with the inheritances of unmarried Ioannioties, wherever they died, without respecting either the law or the relatives".<sup>46</sup>

Cazzaro's family status is typical for the majority of the other founding benefactors under study and most of the members of the Greek communities of Vienna in this period. Vaso Seirinidou has shown that the Greek diaspora in Vienna, at least in its early period, was dominated demographically by men, who were either unmarried or had left their families in their places of origin – a typical feature of economic migrant communities.<sup>47</sup> According to Fouskidis, Cazzaro died in March 1812 in Chios. The archive of St George's contains letters from

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for the purchase of the plot and for the building (the so called Stockhammer'sche Haus) at Alter Fleischmarkt, No. 705, for the new church (Ransmayr, *Untertanen des Sultans*, p. 100).

<sup>45</sup> For Cazzaro's commercial activities in Livorno and his membership of the Holy Trinity community, see Kourmantzi-Panagiotakou, *Η νεοελληνική αναγέννηση στα Γιάννενα* [The modern Greek renaissance in Ioannina], pp. 31–33.

<sup>46</sup> AHG, G30, F9, letter, 17 November 1841, p. 1. Fouskidis' statement corresponds with information from other sources about Ali Pasha's arbitrary treatment of the properties of persons who died without heirs: see Fleming, *The Muslim Bonaparte*, p. 55.

<sup>47</sup> Seirinidou, *Έλληνες στη Βιέννη* [Greeks in Vienna], pp. 235–267.

Cazzaro in Chios (dated 28 June 1800 and 7 July 1804) concerning the transition of the revenues from the endowment that he had founded in Vienna in 1799 for the poor of Ioannina. Cazzaro's letters, as well as the imperial foundation charter, testify that he had also commissioned Stavros Ioannou to invest his capital in the Wiener Stadtbank and to negotiate with the state authorities and with St George's community in Vienna.<sup>48</sup>

*Konsta Georg/Georg Consta (Κώνστας Γεωργίου/Γεώργιος Κώνσταντινίου)*  
(c. †1808)

The motivation of Konsta Georg to found charitable foundations was similar to Cazzaro's. In a letter sent on 6 July 1802 (his testament was drafted in February 1802) from Ioannina to the Holy Trinity community, he outlined the difficulties childless men faced in drawing up a will: "naturally all men wish to settle well their affairs not only while they are alive, but also for the time after their death; and for those who have children and heirs this is very easy, but for those without heirs and children – those like me – this is very difficult."

Konsta's testament (which he signed as "Κώνστας Γεωργίου"), however, gives evidence that he was married, to a woman called Margarita, and had an adopted child called Maria, to whom he bequeathed 400 kuruş as well as a lifelong yearly income of 50 kuruş from the revenues of his endowment.<sup>49</sup> A testimony from 1836 shows that the adoptee, now married to a priest, still received income from Konsta's endowment via the Metropolis of Ioannina.<sup>50</sup>

There is uncertainty over Konsta's date of birth and death. If the assumption is correct that this benefactor, who according to his testament came from the village of Kapesovo in the Zagori region, is identical to the author and lexicographer Georgios Konstantinou from Zagori, as several scholars assert,

<sup>48</sup> Foundation charter, 7 September 1799; AHG, G30, F9, letters from Cazzaro, 28 June 1800 and 7 July 1804.

<sup>49</sup> The quotation is from AHD, G18, F7, letter from "Κώστας Γεωργίου" to Holy Trinity, 2 July 1802, p. 1; cf. his testament: "to my adopted child Maria 400 kuruş and I beg you, my honourable commissioners, to take care of her, a foreigner and an orphan, that she marries a good and self-controlled subject" (Testament in Kostas P. Lazaridis, *Ο Καπέσοβιτής λεξικογράφος Κώνστας Γεώργιου (Γεώργιος Κωνσταντίνου – Ζαγορίτης – Ζαορίτης – Ζαγοραίος – Κώνστας η Κώστας)* [The lexicographer from Kapesovo Konstas Georgiou (Georgios Konstantinou–Zagoritis–Zaoritis–Zagoreos–Zaoritis)], Ioannina: Themeli, 1975, pp. 37–42, 39); for the yearly income for Konsta's adopted child, see AHD, G40, F3, foundation charter, 3 November 1808.

<sup>50</sup> AMI.AKI.1.1.K.1, 1827–1839, p. 47r.

he must have been born around 1720 to 1725.<sup>51</sup> From 1749, there is evidence that Konstantinou was employed as a proofreader in Venetian publishing houses. In 1757 in Venice, he published the *Λεξικόν Τετράγλωσσον*, a vocabulary for ancient Greek, modern Greek, Latin and Italian intended for the practical use of professional groups like merchants, artisans and soldiers.<sup>52</sup> An inscription in the Church of the Dormition in Kapesovo testifies that in 1763 Konsta had sponsored the frescoes.<sup>53</sup> Whether Konsta ever came personally to Vienna is uncertain. Like the Argyri Vreto brothers and Cazzaro, he commissioned Greek merchants in Vienna (Stavros Ioannou and the Oikonomou brothers) to take care of his endowments. He must have died in Ioannina sometime before November 1808, as the Austrian imperial foundation charter issued that month refers to him as deceased.

At the beginning of his testament, Konsta bequeathed Ali Pasha with 2,000 kuruş as a sign of gratitude for the safety provided under his reign (1786–1820). In addition, he ordered that immediately after his death, his last will should be

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<sup>51</sup> Lazaridis, *Ο Καπέσοβιτής λεξικογράφος* [The lexicographer from Kapesovo]; Kigka, “Η συμβολή της Ηπείρου στη λεξικογραφία” [The contribution of Epirus to lexicography], pp. 925–927. Bettis expresses doubts about the identification of the charitable founder with the lexicographer but does not make his reasons clear. See Bettis, *Ηπειρωτική ευποιία*, p. 38. For the lexicographer Georgios Konstantinou from Zagori, see Georgios I. Zaviras, *Νέα Έλλάς: ή ελληνικόν θέατρον* [New Greece: or the Greek theatre], Athens: Typois Efimeridos ton Syzitiseon, 1872, pp. 214f. To the Austrian authorities he was known as Konsta Georg and as a merchant: “griechischer Handelsmann und türkischer Unterthan aus Janina in Epirus” (AHD, G40, F3, foundation charter, 3 November 1808, pp. 1f.).

<sup>52</sup> See *Οδός Μαθηματικής [...] Επιμελεία δε, ως οίον τε ην, και διορθώσει Γεωργίου Κωνσταντίνου Ζαγορίτου έξ Ιωαννίνων*, Venice: Antonio Bortoli, 1749; *Λεξικόν Τετράγλωσσον, Περιέχον δηλαδή τας τέσσερας ταυτάς διαλέκτους, Ελληνικήν, πεζήν ήτοι απλήν Ρωμαϊκήν, Λατινικήν και Ιταλικήν, νυν μεν πρώτον συνταχθέν, φιλοπονηθέν και εις φως αχθέν σπουδή και πόνω Γεωργίου Κωνσταντίνου έξ Ιωαννίνων. Dictionarium Quatuor Linguarum: Graecae scilicet literalis, Graecae vulgaris, Latinae, atque Italicae, nunc primum concinnatum & in lucem editum, studio & opera Georgii Constantini Joanninensis*, Venice: Typis Antonii Bortoli, 1757. Antonio Bortoli (Émile Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, vol. 1, Paris: Garnier, 1918, pp. 472f.); for these works, see Kigka, “Η συμβολή της Ηπείρου στη λεξικογραφία” [The contribution of Epirus to lexicography], pp. 927f.

<sup>53</sup> The donor’s inscription under the fresco, dated February 1763, cites Archon Konsta Georgiou, son of Georgios Dasiou, as sponsor (“ΔΑΠΙΑΝΗC ΤΟΥ ΕΝΤΙ / ΜΟΤΑΤΟΥ Α[Ρ] ΧΩΝΤΟC ΚΥΡΗ / ΟΥ ΚΥΡ ΚΩΝΣΤΑ ΥΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΝΤΑCΙΟΥ”). Cited in Manuel Baud-Bovy, *Αρχιτεκτονική στο Ζαγόρι: Καπέσοβο και άλλα γειτονικά χωριά* [Architecture in Zagori: Kapesovo and other neighbouring villages], Ioannina: University of Ioannina, 2010, p. 125.

delivered to the ruler in order to prevent any suspicion on the latter's part.<sup>54</sup> He furthermore ordered several pious donations; among them 150 kuruş for the monasteries on Mount Athos, 50 kuruş for the priests of his native village, Kapesovo; 50 kuruş for the 10 monasteries on Ioannina Island for memorial services; 150 kuruş for the church of Kapesovo and 350 kuruş for the hospital in Ioannina. The revenues from a further sum of 500 kuruş were prescribed for the salary of the teacher of the school in Kapesovo.

The revenues from Konsta's first foundation in Vienna (20,500 gulden), established in 1794, were dedicated to the poor families of Ioannina and to poor prisoners. His second foundation (10,300 gulden), which was established only after his death in 1808, benefited a greater number of recipients. The revenues from a part of its principal (300 gulden) were provided for the poor of Holy Trinity's Greek community in Vienna. Of the remaining yearly revenues, which had to be transferred to the churches of Ioannina, 100 kuruş had to be used for the education of poor children in that city, 50 kuruş each for the school and the poor in Kapesovo and 25 kuruş for the archbishop of Ioannina for memorial services. The sum of 200 kuruş was to be sent to his widow and 50 to his adopted child and upon their deaths, these amounts were to go to the poor of Ioannina.<sup>55</sup>

## *II. The Architecture of the Endowments*

The second part of this article focuses on the perspective of the institutions and persons involved in the administration of the Viennese endowments for Ioannina. While the wills of founding benefactors provided the framework of the endowments, the administrators also had considerable agency in shaping their structure. I would like to distinguish three groups of administrators: a) individuals who were appointed by the founders as plenipotentiaries or testament executors; b) ecclesiastical institutions like the two Greek Orthodox communities in Vienna as well as the churches in Ioannina; c) government institutions.

As regards the first group, after the death of the founder, the task of implementing their wills (and their intentions regarding endowments) was

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<sup>54</sup> Konsta's testament, p. 42. The testament also states that 2,000 kuruş should be given to Ali Pasha because of the peaceful and quiet existence the testator could live under his reign (p. 37).

<sup>55</sup> AHG, G30, F10, foundation charter, 30 January 1794; AHD, G18, F7, letter from Konsta to Holy Trinity in Vienna, 6 July 1802; AHD, G40, F3, foundation charter, 3 November 1808. In his testament, Konsta mentions a capital deposited in Vienna for charitable foundations, without specifying its amount (Konsta's testament, p. 41).

usually up to the testament executors (for example, Andreas Sava, the brother of Demeter Sava, or Andreas Pauli, the brother of Demeter Pauli). Where founders had their domicile elsewhere and established endowments in Vienna during their lifetime, such as the Argyri Vreto brothers, Haggi Nico, Cazzaro and Konsta, they appointed representatives from the group of Greek merchants in Vienna (who were often also from Ioannina). For these founders, who were probably not acquainted with the legal, financial and economic situation in Vienna, it was of great importance to commission someone like Stavros Ioannou, an experienced and well-connected Vienna-based businessman, with the task of negotiating with the local Greek communities and the Habsburg authorities the modalities of their endowments.<sup>56</sup> As far as the Viennese endowments for Ioannina are concerned, Ioannou had his fingers in every pie. With the exception of the Sava and Pauli endowments, he was appointed by all the other founders to administer their endowments. He looked after the investment of the endowment principals at the Wiener Stadtbank, represented the interests of his benefactors before the state authorities, safeguarded the wills of deceased founders, dealt with the correspondence from foreign-based founders, communicated with the Viennese Greek Orthodox communities and supervised the transfer of revenues to Ioannina.

Ioannou accomplished his task in a very active and resolute way, as demonstrated by his intervention concerning Haggi Nico's second Viennese endowment for Ioannina. The principal of this endowment, sanctioned by the Habsburg authorities only in 1805 when the founder was already dead, had to be reduced from 10,000 to 9,000 gulden because of the financial difficulties that the Wiener Stadtbank faced after the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, the endowment was only realised after several years of legal proceedings, because Pano Demeter Haggi Nico, a nephew of the founder, had contested the validity of his uncle's declaration concerning the endowment and claimed the money for himself. Ioannou refused to deliver the capital bond to the nephew and gave it instead to the authorities, encouraging them to intervene in favour of the endowment.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> For Stavros Ioannou's sojourn in Vienna (1771–1811), see Stefanos Bettis, “Συμβολή στη μελέτη του Ηπειρωτικού Διαφωτισμού. VII: Σταύρος Ιωάννου Τσιαπαλάμος” [Contribution to the study of the Epirote enlightenment. VII: Stavros Ioannou Tsiapalamos], *Ηπειρωτική Εστία* 19 (1970), pp. 223–224, 680–692, and Seirinidou, *Έλληνες στη Βιέννη* [Greeks in Vienna], pp. 129f.

<sup>57</sup> AHD, G40, F3, foundation charter, pp. 1f.

<sup>58</sup> “[Haggi Nico] gab diese Obligazion dato 8. Jänner 796 No 19584 erstgenannten Stavro Johann in Verwahrung. [...] Nach dessen Tod meldete sich dessen Universalerbe [...] und bath um die Erfolglassung dieses Kapitals kraft seines Erbrechts: allein Stavro Johann deren

Ioannou returned to Ioannina in 1811 and, until his death in 1823, was simultaneously the financial right-hand man of Ali Pasha and the respected political leader of the Greek population in the town. That position gave him substantial influence on the form and administration of charitable endowments in Ioannina. For somebody like Cazzaro's sister Eleni, who tried to obtain information about her brother's endowment capital in Vienna, Ioannou was the appropriate contact person.<sup>59</sup> An account book kept by the Holy Trinity community regarding charitable endowments from 1810 to 1838 proves that until his death, Ioannou remained the administrator of the endowments of Demeter Pauli, the Argyri Vreto brothers, Georg Konsta and Panagiotti Haggi Nico.<sup>60</sup>

As regards ecclesiastical institutions, the role of the two Greek Orthodox communities of Vienna cannot be separated from endowment administrators like Ioannou, who was also an influential figure in the leadership of the St George community and of its commercial brotherhood.<sup>61</sup> According to the imperial privileges acquired by the communities of St George in 1776 (from Maria Theresa) and the Holy Trinity in 1787 (from Joseph II), they were entitled to collect and administer funds for charitable ends.<sup>62</sup> In the case of six of the seven founders (Demeter Sava being the exception), we know that it was their explicit will that either one or the other of the Greek Orthodox communities should supervise the endowments and draw down, at regular terms, the revenues from their capital. Often (but not always) the communities in Vienna were entitled by the founder to retain a specified amount from the yearly revenues in compensation for their services. In the case of the endowments of the Argyri

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Depositar verweigerte sie ihm, forderte die Hofkammerprokuratur zur Vertretung der Stiftung auf, und depositirte sie [...] zu Gerichts Händen" (NÖLA, Landesfürstl. Verwaltung, Selekte, Geistliche Stiftbriefsammlung, Karton 95).

<sup>59</sup> Fouskidis states that his mother contacted Stavros Ioannou. See AHG, G30, F9, letter from Christodoulos Fouskidis, 17 November 1841, p. 1. Ioannou belonged to the board that administered the endowments from Vienna and from Moscow (for example, Kaplanis' one). See Bettis, "Συμβολή στη μελέτη του Ηπειρωτικού Διαφωτισμού" [Contribution to the study of the Epirote enlightenment], p. 687.

<sup>60</sup> AHD, G115, Protokollbuch Stiftungen, 1810–1838.

<sup>61</sup> He was elected almost continuously church warden between 1790 and 1811 (Efstratiadis, *Ο εν Βιέννη ναός του Αγίου Γεωργίου* [The church of St George in Vienna], pp. 73–75).

<sup>62</sup> Privilege St. Georg, §3, in Willibald M. Plöchl, *Die Wiener Orthodoxen Griechen: Eine Studie zur Rechts- und Kulturgeschichte der Kirchengemeinden zum Hl. Georg und zur Hl. Dreifaltigkeit*, Vienna: Verband der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1983, p. 134; Privilege Hl. Trinity, §5, in *Von Seiner Majestät Kaiser Franz des Zweyten, huldreichst verliehene Privilegien*, Vienna: P. P. Mechitaristen, 1822, p. 14.

Vreto brothers, of Haggi Nico and of Konsta, this remuneration amounted to 20 gulden annually. The Viennese communities received from the Habsburg government a copy of the foundation charter for their archives. Furthermore, they were contacted by relatives of the founders and had to deal with their claims or protests.

Those of the founders who were Ottoman subjects did not always choose, as one might assume, the St George community as an administrative organ. No particular pattern is recognisable that could explain why the founders chose St George's community (Sava, Konsta, Cazzaro) or the Holy Trinity community (Haggi Nico, Argyri Vreto brothers, Konsta). Demeter Pauli, an Ottoman subject and active member of the community for Ottoman subjects (St George), according to his testament, nonetheless, entrusted his endowment to Holy Trinity, which catered to Greeks that were Habsburg subjects.

After extracting the yearly revenues from the endowment capital and transferring these sums to Ioannina, the task of the Viennese communities was accomplished. At that point, it was up to the ecclesiastical institutions on site to take care of the distribution of the revenues to the beneficiaries. As we have seen, the founders specified in their wills the role of the ecclesiastical institutions in Ioannina. They were aware of their important function in the administration of charity in this town. Because of the lack of sources (the existing account books and correspondence concerning the administration of endowments preserved in the Metropolis of Ioannina only go back to the late 1820s), the last wills of the founders of the Viennese endowments, as well as the ones in Moscow (for example, Kaplanis' testament from 1806) are of great importance for the reconstruction of the modes of organisation of the endowments under Ali Pasha's rule. They testify to the existence of a legal institution, a board composed of the church wardens and the wardens of the hospital of Ioannina that was responsible for the administration of welfare in the town.<sup>63</sup> With the exception of Sava (who made no disposition of this sort) and Haggi Nico (who appointed the Archimandreiō alone as the administrative organ), all the other founders of Vienna-based endowments, as well as Kaplanis, specified in their wills (some in broad strokes, others in every detail) that the wardens of three churches in Ioannina (the Metropolitan, Archimandreiō and St Nikolaos') conjointly had to allocate the funds according to their wills

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<sup>63</sup> See also *Τα αγαθοεργά καταστήματα Ιωαννίνων: Ιστορικά και νομικά στοιχεία* [The beneficent institutions of Ioannina: historical and legal facts], Ioannina, s.n., 1985, p. 10. In this booklet, published by the Metropolis of Ioannina, Kaplanis' will (1806) is quoted as the oldest testimony for the existence of the institution. The wills of the Viennese founders provide even older testimonies for this institution.

and, furthermore, that at regular intervals accounts of the allocation should be presented to external agents (archbishop, political representatives, relatives of the founders).<sup>64</sup> The correspondence between the church communities in Vienna and in Ioannina and the account books of the Metropolis of Ioannina show that, at least in later periods, it had become standard for these institutions to treat the Viennese endowments intended for Ioannina as a unit and to appoint a single representative in Vienna, who had to take care of all of them.<sup>65</sup>

As regards the role of government institutions, already during the long reign of Maria Theresa (1740–1780), the state had taken steps to place charitable and pious endowments under stricter control. Her successor, Joseph II, continued this policy in the 1780s, placing more controls on ecclesiastical properties (as well as on pious foundations), even to the point of secularising them. The state institutions exercising control over the pious and charitable foundations that had been created under Maria Theresa were the *Stiftungshofkommission* (special commission for foundations), the *Stiftungsbuchhaltung* (a special accounting department) and the *Stiftungshauptkassa* (special exchequer). Under Joseph II, a directory board (*Stiftungsoberdirektion*) was created, which was under the authority of the Provincial Government of Lower Austria (*Statthalterei*). It was the body to which the Greek founders or their representatives in Vienna had to address.<sup>66</sup> The first Greek merchants who founded endowments in Vienna in the 1780s and the Greek communities who administrated them were subjected to this increased state surveillance by these institutions, to whom they had to provide detailed accounts. The Habsburg state, furthermore, defined a range of preconditions before a foundation could be approved; for example, the founder had to declare his intentions concerning his foundation (in testaments or other written declarations), the capital had to be deposited in non-callable

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<sup>64</sup> AHD, G18, F5, Demeter Pauli's testament, p. 14; letter from the Argyri Vreto brothers, see n. 26; AHD, G40, F3, Argyri Vreto brothers' foundation charter, 18 October 1792, p. 3; AHG, G30, F9, Cazzaro's foundation charter, 7 September 1799, p. 2; AHG, G30, F10, Georg Konsta's foundation charter, p. 2; AHD, G40, F3, Georg Konsta's foundation charter, 3 November 1808, p. 3. Cf. Kaplanis' testament in *Σπάνια εμποϊακς έργα* [Remarkable charitable works], pp. 30f., 46.

<sup>65</sup> Early evidence for this mode of handling the Viennese endowments is a letter from the church wardens and the archbishop of Ioannina to Holy Trinity in Vienna confirming the election of Anastas D. Doudoumi as successor of the late Stavros Ioannou as their representative in Vienna. AHD, G18, F8, letter, 22 February 1826.

<sup>66</sup> Gabriele Schneider, "Zu den Anfängen der staatlichen Stiftungsaufsicht in Österreich", in *Grundlagen der österreichischen Rechtskultur: Festschrift für Werner Ogris zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Thomas Olechowski, Christian Neschwara and Alina Lengauer, Vienna: Böhlau, 2010, pp. 459–476.



public bonds, the bond had to be kept by the Stiftungshauptkassa and not the communities, the size of the endowment capital had to be in proportion to its purpose. The state assumed a considerable range of control, as well as decisional power, over the pious foundations of its subjects, which infringed not only the religious-confessional conventions of the Roman Catholic majority but also the Greek Orthodox minority.<sup>67</sup>

The Treaty of Passarowitz (1718) did not entail clauses against the foundation of charitable endowments by Ottoman subjects, a court ruled in 1795,<sup>68</sup> by which time state documents give the impression that the authorisation of endowments of the Greek merchants in Vienna had become routine. But one may not forget that the (cross-border) endowments founded by them for the benefit of places in the Ottoman Empire were a novelty for the Habsburg state and represented considerable potential for conflict. What would happen in the event of a new war with the Porte? Time had not yet healed the wounds of the last military conflict when in 1795 (the last Turkish-Austrian war had ended in 1791) Andreas Pauli made the claim that the state should guarantee that revenues would be sent to Ioannina even in the case of a new war. Although Pauli's petition was successful, the internal correspondence of the authorities show that there were great objections to this, for such a guarantee would deprive the state of an important retaliatory measure.<sup>69</sup> Demeter Pauli had ordered in his will that in the event that the Austrian government would not approve the modalities

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<sup>67</sup> For example, the explicit wish of Demeter Pauli that the capital bond of his endowment for the poor of Ioannina should be kept in the treasury of the Holy Trinity community in Vienna was denied by the government of Lower Austria. NÖLA, Reg., N, Fasz. 13, 1794, Z 20050, report to court concerning the endowment of Pauli, 11 November 1794, pp. 1f.. Furthermore the government refused to classify the 1,500 kuruş Pauli bequeathed to Holy Trinity as an endowment. Pauli had ordered that the benefited church in return had to commemorate the founder every year by lighting 10 candles. According to the government, this capital was "in no proportion" to its purpose. See NÖLA, Landesfürstl. Verwaltung, Selekte, Geistliche Stiftbriefsamm., Karton 95, Z. 1197, Landrecht to court, 28 March 1797; cf. Pauli's testament, pp. 8, 10.

<sup>68</sup> "Es ist keinem oesterreichischem, noch weniger einem türkischen Unterthan, dem nach dem passarowitzter Verträge eine freie Anordnung über sein Vermögen zusteht, verboten, Stiftungen zu machen" (Court to the government of Lower Austria, NÖLA, Reg., N, Fasz. 13, Z 2876/1795).

<sup>69</sup> "In diesem Bericht ist die Kammerprokuratur zwar ganz mit der angetragenen Stiftung verstanden, glaubt aber, daß über den in Gesuche enthaltene Beysatz, daß die Interessen auch in dem Falle eines mit der Pforte entstandenen Krieges verabfolgt, und nach Joanina eingeschickt, werden sollen, hinaus gegangen werden soll, weil sich der Staat das juris retorsionis, oder sonstigen Gerechtsamen bey eintretenden, nicht vorher zu sehenden

he had predefined for his endowment, his heir and executor was entitled to invest the money and establish the foundation somewhere else, preferably in Venice or in Netherlands.<sup>70</sup> This must have been perceived as a threat by the Habsburg authorities, for the sources show that officials were perfectly aware of the benefits to the state from the endowment capital invested by the Greeks.<sup>71</sup> Other internal correspondence between state institutions complained, however, that some endowments founded by Greeks primarily benefited places abroad and that, as such, they represented a permanent drain of money from Vienna to their native places in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>72</sup>

Like the Austrian state, Ali Pasha was also interested in the pious endowments of his Greek Orthodox subjects. He tried to expand the control of the apparatus of his pashalik over them in a very similar way to the Austrian state. Correspondence between the pasha, on the one hand, and Stavros Ioannou and the church wardens of Ioannina, on the other, show that Ali was aware of the existence of considerable endowment capitals of Epirotes abroad. Emphasising the negative consequences for the poor, he urged the churches to be more diligent and efficient in securing the prompt disbursal of revenue from foreign endowments:

Dear debt-collectors, the Metropolitan of Ioannina and Arta and Stravros Ioannou, I wish to announce to you, because the endowments dedicated to this place, Ioannina, and invested in the banks of different kingdoms do not arrive regularly due to the negligence of the administrators who are in those lands and because they are not

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fallen nicht wohl begeben kann" (NÖLA Landesfürstl. Verwaltung, Selekte, Geistl. Stiftbr. Sammlung, Karton 95, Government of Lower Austria to court, 28 January 1795, pp. 1f.).

<sup>70</sup> Pauli's testament, p. 4.

<sup>71</sup> Several documents produced by the Viennese court and by the government of Lower Austria emphasised the size and perpetuity of the capital invested by the Greeks for endowments as well as their utility ("Nutzen", "Vorteil") for the Austrian state: see the note of the Government of Lower Austria for the court concerning the endowment of Pauli from 1795, like n. 69; cf. NÖLA, Nö. Reg. C-Akten C 21 (de 1796), Karton 424, Nro 3431 and Nro 2031, note of the court agent Joseph Hartl to Francis II, 12 November 1793; quoted in Ransmayr, *Untertanen des Sultans*, pp. 423–428.

<sup>72</sup> For example, concerning the second foundation of Panagiotti Haggi Nico established posthumously in 1805: "daß das Kapital pr 9000 Gulden wie Regierung zum Beweggrund anführt, für den Staat nichts weniger als ganz gewonnen werde, sondern durch die jähr. Interessen Bezahlung unzählige Mahle ins Ausland gehe, sobald die Stiftung im hiesigen Staatsfond eine weltewige Fortdauer haben solle" (OeStA, AVA, Kultus AK, Akatholisch, Griechisch Orthodox, Karton 9, Fasz. "Stiftungen u. Stipendien", Court to Government of Lower Austria, 14 October 1804, pp. 1f.)

distributed as they should be due to the disorder of the administrators here, that I command you, inspectors, to clear up this situation; and everything should be executed from now on according to the deeds and wills of those who dedicated them [the endowment principals]. You shall change the commissioners in all of these places who don't behave well and always pay attention that they act according to the will of those who invested them, and without harm to the orphans who should get them.<sup>73</sup>

Another document from 1818, however, gives the impression that Ali Pasha was not aware of the existence of the Argyri Vreto brothers' endowment. He urged the representatives of the churches of Ioannina to use the capital deposited by the brothers in Vienna to service the debts of the son-in-law of Anastas Argyri Vreto. In a rather dextrous way, the representatives of the beneficiary institutions of the endowment (the churches, hospital and prison) underlined to Ali Pasha that this capital belonged to a pious foundation (“βακούφην”, which was the Ottoman terminology for Islamic foundations) and that a manipulative use of it would deter other potential founders in the future from acting as benefactors and founders. Furthermore, one would expect the Viennese communities to halt the transfer of revenue after such an infringement.<sup>74</sup> On the other hand, documents presented in this article also suggest that under Ali Pasha, it was legally unclear whether testators, especially those without male heirs, could make provisions for their posthumous affairs. This probably was a major motivation for founders to create an administration to manage their endowments abroad. The example of the Habsburg state and Ali Pasha's pashalik demonstrate Borgolte's statement that charity-based endowment systems have a deeply ambivalent relationship to state power. The state's guaranteeing of the legal system and the property rights of subjects is an indispensable precondition for endowments, but the increasing reach of the state on endowments reduces the readiness of potential benefactors to make capital available for charitable ends.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Letter from Ali Pasha, 29 May 1813, “Το ηπειρωτικόν αρχεῖον Σταύρου Ἰωάννου” [The Epirote archive of Stavros Ioannou], *Ηπειρωτικά χρονικά* 14/40 (1939), p. 66.

<sup>74</sup> Letter to Ali Pasha signed by Stavros Ioannou as well as by the principals of the Metropolis, St Nikolaos, the Archimandreio, the hospital and the prison, 16 January 1818, *ibid.*, No. 88, p. 88f. Cf. a further letter from Ali Pasha demanding that Ioannou and the archbishop of Ioannina present him the records of the Kaplanis endowment, 30 December 1818, *ibid.*, No. 95, pp. 92f.

<sup>75</sup> Borgolte argues that political organisation in the Middle Ages, with a rather weak state, was conducive to the evolution of a system of charity based on endowments (Borgolte, *Stiftung und Memoria*, p. 79).

### III. The Administration of the Endowments from Afar and their End

According to the sources, the day-to-day administration of the eight endowments in Ioannina from afar in Vienna and from Ioannina proceeded without any great complications for almost 130 years. The minute and account books of the two Viennese communities, as well as of the Metropolis of Ioannina, prove that the revenues from the endowment principals were dispatched regularly from Vienna to their intended destination throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>76</sup> Regarding Konsta's endowment for the school in Kapesovo, letters from the Holy Trinity community from the 1880s show that village representatives had complained that the Metropolis of Ioannina had stopped transferring money to them in 1875. It cannot be ascertained if the capital flow from Ioannina to Kapesovo resumed, but these documents prove that the endowment was still active at least until the final quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>77</sup>

In Vienna, there was always someone in charge of the Epirote foundations. From Ioannou's death in 1823 until about 1845, Anastas D. Doudoumi held the position.<sup>78</sup> He was followed by Zois Charamis (from 1845 to 1860), who had been an employee of Ioannou's Viennese trading house and had lived with him in house No. 915 in the first district. After 1860, the Doumba brothers, who were influential figures in the Greek communities as well as in Viennese economy and politics, oversaw the transfer of capital revenue to and the correspondence with Ioannina.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> AHG, 26, Kopiaibuch, 1815–1868; AHD, G115, Rechnungsbuch auswärtige Stiftungen, 1810–1838 and Rechnungsbuch auswärtige Stiftungen, 1839–1858; AMI.AKI.1.1.K.1, Charities, financial department, accounts, ledgers, 1827–1839, p. 14v ff; 22v ff, 41v ff, 46v ff, 53v ff, 63v ff, 72v ff, 78v ff, 81v ff; Έκθεσις περί της διαχειρίσεως των έλεων Ιωαννίνων του έτους 1879 υπό της Επιτροπείας αυτών [Account of the management of the charities of Ioannina for the year 1879 by its provosts], Athens, s.p., 1880, pp. 5–7; AMI.AKI.2.1.1, Charities, endowments, minute books, 1893–1905, pp. 49–51, 105–107, 157f.; AMI.AKI.2.3.2.2, Charities, administrative department, correspondence, Greek community of Vienna, 1848–1937/1947.

<sup>77</sup> AHD, G40, F2, letters, 10 March 1880 and 27 March 1883. However the account books of the Metropolis of Ioannina testify that in 1897/1898 “money from pious foundations” was sent to Kapesovo. See AMI.AKI.2.1.1, Charities, endowments, minute books, 1893–1905, p. 138.

<sup>78</sup> In the account books of Holy Trinity community, Doudoumi is indicated as responsible for the endowments from 1824 onwards (AHD, G115, Rechnungsbuch auswärtige Stiftungen, 1810–1838, pp. 51, 55, 67, 79, 87); for the correspondence of the Metropolis of Ioannina with Doudoumi in the 1830s and 1840s, see AMI.AKI.2.3.1.1, Charities, administration, correspondence, copies of outgoing correspondence.

<sup>79</sup> For Charamis as an employee of Ioannou, see n. 16. For Charamis' responsibility for the endowments, see AHD, G115, Rechnungsbuch auswärtige Stiftungen, 1839–1858, pp. 11, 19,

But was the revenue received from Vienna used in the way prescribed by the endowment founders? Who were the final usufructuaries of the money? I will take into consideration the records in the account books from three different dates (1830s, 1879 and 1890s) in order to outline the distributive mechanism. The heuristic value of this comparison lies purely in the reconstruction of the administrative mechanisms of the institutions involved. An investigation into the development of the mentalities of both administrators and beneficiaries in Vienna and Ioannina over time, as well into their local identities or national consciousness, is not possible here but should be pursued in further studies. At half-year intervals, entries in the account books of the Metropolis of Ioannina document the income from Viennese revenues alongside the revenues from other endowments whose capital was deposited in Moscow, Ioannina or Athens, the capital of the newly founded Greek state.<sup>80</sup> The value of this incoming money was liable to fluctuate according to the currency exchange rate. After these funds had arrived from abroad, they were spent on diverse charitable ends. The Muscovite and Viennese endowments resembled each other in that they benefited similar groups of usufructuaries (the poor, dowries for poor girls, welfare for slaves and prisoners, schools, hospitals). However, the sources do not give the impression that specific amounts from endowment revenues were singled out for certain groups of usufructuaries, as most of the founders had determined in their wills. The endowments from Vienna were treated as a unit and were integrated into existing welfare structures.

What types of expenditure were covered with the money from Vienna? The accounts for January–April 1835 show funds went towards the redemption of slaves (all female in this case), for dowries for poor girls, the upkeep or assistance of prisoners, the poor (several hundred people were given alms at

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51, 63; the correspondence with Charamis from 1848 to 1860, as well as the correspondence with the Doumba brothers, is in AMI.AKI.2.3.2.2, Charities, administrative department, correspondence, Greek community of Vienna, 1848–1937/1947.

<sup>80</sup> The amounts transferred from Moscow were six to seven times greater than the amounts from Vienna: in January 1835, 10,121 kuruş came from Vienna compared to 73,859 kuruş from Moscow; in August 1836, 12,675 kuruş were received from Vienna compared to 74,000 kuruş from Moscow (AMI.AKI.1.1.K.1, Charities, financial department, accounts, ledgers, 1827–1839, pp. 14v, 41v); in 1879, 49,765 kuruş (corresponding to 5,000 gulden) were received from Vienna compared to 339,015 kuruş from Russia (*Εκθεσις περί της διαχείρισεως των έλεων Ιωαννίνων* [Account of the management of the charities of Ioannina], pp. 5–7); in February 1896, 45,446 kuruş came from Vienna compared to 292,065 kuruş from Russia; in August 1896, the sum of 46,414 kuruş was received from Vienna compared to 284,956 kuruş from Russia (AMI.AKI.2.1.1, Charities, endowments, minute books, 1893–1905, pp. 105–107, 157f.).

Easter), schools (building, books, teachers), the hospital and the prison.<sup>81</sup> In other entries from the 1830s, assisting the poor in paying their *haraç*, which was a central purpose of the endowments of Pauli and the Argyri Vreto brothers, was a prominent activity.<sup>82</sup> The annual report for 1879 published by the Metropolis of Ioannina for the expenses of its welfare institutions shows that although the recipient institutions had changed somewhat, the scope remained the same as in the 1830s.<sup>83</sup> The yearly accounts for the 1890s included in the minutes of the Metropolis of Ioannina list the same recipient institutions as the 1879 report.

After 1914, the transfer of revenues from the Viennese endowments for Ioannina was interrupted.<sup>84</sup> Due to the outbreak of World War I, the foreign transfer of Austrian currency was prohibited. A further factor, which could have influenced the functioning of the endowments was the entry of Greece into World War I on the side of the Entente in 1917.<sup>85</sup> These endowments finally fell victim to the hyper-inflation and devaluation of the Austrian currency, which had begun during the war and culminated in its collapse after the end of the war.<sup>86</sup> The Holy Trinity community in Vienna claimed the interruption

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<sup>81</sup> I list in detail only the entries regarding the redemption of slaves: “for the liberation of the slave of Arif Efenti”; “for the ransom of the slave of Mouchtar Vasiari”; “for the ransom of a slave of Halit Pasia, 3,225 kuruş”; “ransom for the slave Maria Psariani for Mister Ioannis Douka, 500 kuruş”; “for the ransom of a slave from Bekir Aga, named Konstanto from Salona, 967.20”; “for the slave of Baith Eventı”. AMI.AKI.1.1.K.1, Charities, financial department, accounts, ledgers, 1827–1839, pp. 15r ff.

<sup>82</sup> Entries citing the expenses for the support of paying the *haraç* or other debts, August 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 42r, 72v.

<sup>83</sup> Zosimaia School, 187,856 kuruş (16%); School for young girls, 57,691 kuruş (4.9%); city schools, 50,902 kuruş (4.3%); Pharmacy for the poor, 42,413 kuruş (3.6%); General Hospital, 46,784 kuruş (4%); Old-age home, 42,578 kuruş (3.6%); Chatzikonsta Hospital, 19,359 kuruş (1.7%); Orphanage, 42,924 kuruş (3.6%); poor families, 107,634 kuruş (9.2%); distribution at Easter and Christmas, 120,430 kuruş (19.3%); distribution of dowries, 57,340 kuruş (4.9%); military tax for the poor, 39,381 kuruş (3.4%); doctors for the poor and surgeons, 34,768 kuruş (3%). See *Εκθεσις περί της διαχειρίσεως των ἐλεων Ιωαννίνων* [Account of the management of the charities of Ioannina], p. 9.

<sup>84</sup> “The revenues [from the Viennese endowments] were delayed from 1 February 1914 to 31 December 1936, amounting altogether to 213,784.95 kronen.” AMI.AKI.2.3.2.2, Charities, administrative department, correspondence, Greek community of Vienna, 1848–1937/1947.

<sup>85</sup> A decree issued by the government of Lower Austria on 27 July 1917 ordered the Holy Trinity community to stop paying support to Greek citizens from the endowments (AHD, G11, F8; cf. Ransmayr, *Untertanen des Sultans*, p. 236).

<sup>86</sup> See Erik Eybl, *Von der Eule zum Euro: Nicht nur eine österreichische Geldgeschichte*, Klagenfurt: Mohorjeva–Hermagoras, 2005. The prohibition on exporting currency is mentioned in AMI.AKI.2.3.2.2, Charities, administrative department, correspondence, Greek

was justified by indicating to the leadership of the churches in Ioannina that after 1915 the Austrian currency had rapidly lost its value, a development that threatened the very existence of the community and making it dependent on the charity of coreligionists in Greece.<sup>87</sup> As is recorded in a letter from the Metropolis of Ioannina to the Greek ambassador in Vienna on 24 April 1934, after the collapse of the currency the corresponding value of the revenues from the eight endowments did not even cover the expenses necessary for their transfer to Ioannina, bringing them thus to an end:

Since then [February 1914], because of the universal European war, because of the following dissolution of the Austrian state and the nullification of the Austrian currency, the Beneficent Institutions of Ioannina [Αγαθοεργά Καταστήματα Ιωαννίνων] ceased to receive the yearly revenues because they did not even cover the cost of transferring them.<sup>88</sup>

### *Conclusions*

The founding benefactors from Ioannina who funded endowments in Vienna in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries for the benefit of their native town succeeded in having their wishes and wills implemented by the ecclesiastical and political institutions in Vienna and Ioannina, in the Habsburg and Ottoman empires, for almost 130 years, until the turmoil of World War I. The general impression given by the sources analysed for this article is that, although modifications could occasionally occur that contradicted the founder's will, fidelity and accuracy largely prevailed in the actions of administrators, who, of course, due to practical reasons, had to accommodate the will of the founder to the existing administrative welfare structures. In the Greek Orthodox communities of Vienna, as well as in the ecclesiastical institutions of Ioannina, the eight endowments in this case made up just a small part of the total number of endowments that they administered. But the wishes of the founders were respected and taken seriously. In an official document published by the Metropolis of Ioannina in 1879, the sacrosanctity of the wills of endowment

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community of Vienna, 1848–1937/1947, letter from the principals of the churches of Ioannina to the community of St George in Vienna, 8 August 1929.

<sup>87</sup> AMI.AKI.2.3.2.2, Charities, administrative department, correspondence, Greek community of Vienna, 1848–1937/1947, letter, 20 September 1929.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

founders is emphasised as is the necessity to interpret them and to bring them up to date because of changing circumstances.<sup>89</sup>

Let us return the question posed at the outset concerning the motivation of the founders. Did there exist a *primum mobile* in their actions as benefactors and founders of endowments at the turn of the nineteenth century? At this stage of my research, it is not possible to give a definitive or singular answer to this question. Undoubtedly local patriotism (rather than a national-ethnic one) played an important role for the Epirote endowment founders under study. Other Greek merchants in Vienna from other regions in the Ottoman Empire (for example, Macedonians and Aromanians) who founded endowments in the same period took more care to donate money also to philanthropic institutions in Vienna.<sup>90</sup>

As it is, the widely travelled merchants from Ioannina who founded charitable endowments in Vienna or Moscow had in mind not only Ioannina, the capital and economic centre of Epirus, but also the small villages from where they and their ancestors originated. For example, Haggi Nico also donated to the village of Konitsa and Konsta the village of Kapesovo. The portrait of Zois Kaplanis published in an anonymous biography of the benefactor in 1809 shows him with a cane in his left hand and pointing to a map of Epirus with his right, on which Ioannina and his father's village of Grammeno (16km west of Ioannina) are marked (fig. 1). The map creates the impression that both town and village had the same importance in Kaplanis' social concept of space. Indeed, his biographer underlined that, after leaving Grammeno at the age of 18 after the death of his parents, his subject never forgot his humble origins.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> For example, concerning the problem that the founders had benefited mostly the needy in the town of Ioannina, but the churches had to take care also of the poor in the surrounding villages. See *Ἐκθεσις περί της διαχειρίσεως των ελεών Ιωαννίνων* [Account of the management of the charities of Ioannina], p. 35.

<sup>90</sup> See the database quoted in n. 2.

<sup>91</sup> *Σπάνια ευποιίας έργα* [Remarkable charitable works], p. iii. For the relevance of the "spatial turn" in endowment history, see Borgolte, *Stiftung und Memoria*, pp. 387ff.





Fig. 1. Portrait of Zois Kaplanis, from *Redkiĭ blagodel'nyĭ podvig' Zoja Konstantinovicha Kaplani/Σπάνια ευποιΐα έργα του Ζώη Κωνσταντίνου Καπλιάνη*, Moscow: S. Selivanovskago, 1809, p. ix.

Through pious foundations benefiting Greek Orthodox religious institutions, Greek migrants in Vienna could preserve the confessional and cultural identities of their homelands. That they expected to die unmarried and without direct descendants was also surely an important factor in the decision of the Ioanniote founders to dedicate great amounts to charitable foundations and to deposit them abroad. As the testimony of Fouskidis, a nephew of Cazzaro, makes clear, founders also decided to invest their property in foreign centres (Vienna, Moscow, Venice, the Netherlands) because of the insecurity in their places of origin in the Ottoman Empire. However, while they succeeded in keeping their capital from the grasp of Ali Pasha's pashalik, they moved it within reach of the Habsburg state, which at the end of the eighteenth century was massively expanding its control over the religious-confessional sector in general and pious foundations in particular. Seen from the internal perspective of the Greek communities of Vienna, the contribution of the Ioanniote founders to the emergence and development of charitable endowments administered by either of these communities was seminal. Several generations of founders belonging to the Greek diaspora of Vienna would follow their example. The original founders were pioneers and dominated the first stage in the development of a system of charity controlled by these two communities.

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