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SCATTERED AMONG "THE OTHERS". THE GREEK PRESENCE IN BUKOVINA IN THE 19TH CENTURY

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Abstract: *Administratively organised and reorganised, 19th-century Bukovina was a full-fledged imperial limes and an outpost of the Habsburg civilisation in the so-called "Semi-Asia", located at the crossroads of East and West and on the ethnic border between the Slavic, Finno-Ugric and Latin peoples. It was also considered a viable form of multiculturalism and ethnic, confessional, civic, and political pluralism within the Austrian paradigm, with complex, fluid, hybrid and heterogeneous identities. Some of its autochthonous population and those who had colonised or migrated there earlier, particularly their elites, proved valuable to the imperial project, due to the tolerant orientalist curiosity of the modernising agents. Although incomplete during the first part of the 19th century, statistics on the ethnic structure of the imperial province demonstrate the prominence and demographic growth of Romanians, Ruthenians, Germans, Jews, Poles, Armenians, Gypsies, and Lipovan-Russians. However, Bukovina was home to other ethnic groups, all statistically smaller and frequently included among the "others": Italians, Slovaks, and Greeks. In the latter case, the information is dispersed throughout various documents. However, the lack of evidence, thereby hindering historical analysis, makes the presence of Greeks in Bukovina a research challenge because a community's worth is determined not only by its size but also by the traits and roles of its members. The paper focuses on information on "marginals" in official statistics – their local communities, characteristics, and personalities in political and cultural life. The main locations of the "Greek presence", the social categories in which it is found, and the elites who assumed the Greek identity or were referred to as "Greeks from Bukovina" are both identified and discussed.*

Keywords*: ethnicity, self-identification, modernity, assimilation, coexistence*

Rezumat: Risipiți printre „ceilalți". Prezența grecilor în Bucovina secolului al XIX-lea. *Organizată și reorganizată administrativ, Bucovina secolului al XIX-lea a fost un limes imperial cu drepturi depline și un avanpost al civilizației habsburgice în așa-numita „Semi-Asia", situată la răscrucea dintre Est și Vest și la granița etnică a popoarelor slave, fino-ugrice și latine. De asemenea, a fost considerată o formă viabilă de multiculturalism și pluralism etnic, confesional, civic și politic în cadrul paradigmei austriece, cu identități complexe, fluide, hibride și eterogene. Unele elemente ale populației sale autohtone sau cele colonizate/imigrate în fazele istorice anterioare (în special elitele lor) și-au dovedit utilitatea în proiectul imperial, bucurându-se de curiozitatea orientalistă tolerantă a agenților modernizatori. Deși incomplete pentru prima parte a secolului al XIX-lea, statisticile care reflectă structura etnică a provinciei imperiale indică, clar, concentrarea și evoluția numerică a românilor, rutenilor, germanilor, evreilor, polonezilor, armenilor, țiganilor și rușilor-lipoveni. Cu toate acestea, în Bucovina au existat mai multe grupuri etnice, mai mici numeric și, de obicei, grupate în categoria „ceilalți": italieni, slovaci și greci. În cazul celor din urmă, informațiile sunt dispersate în diverse surse. Dar tocmai această lipsă de date și, pe cale de consecință, de analiză istorică face din prezența grecilor în Bucovina o provocare, pentru că valoarea unei comunități nu rezidă doar în numărul membrilor ei, ci și în caracteristicile și îndatoririle lor. Lucrarea își propune să evidențieze informații despre „marginalii" din statisticile oficiale, reprezentativi pentru comunitățile locale, caracteristici și, mai ales, personalități ale vieții politice și culturale. Sunt nominalizate principalele locuri în care „prezența grecească" poate fi documentată, categoriile sociale în care aceasta se regăsește precum și elitele care și-au asumat identitatea elenă sau au fost numiți drept „greci din Bucovina".*

INTRODUCTION

The album about Suceava County, published by the Suceava County Council and the National Centre for Tourist Information and Promotion in 2019, describes Bukovina as "Europe in miniature", stating that "numerous other ethnicities settled there and created a homeland for themselves, among them: Armenians, Jews, Germans, Greeks, Italians, Hungarians, Poles, Roma, Russian-Lipovians, Ukrainians, etc."[1] Historians agree that Bukovina during the Austrian rule: 1775–1918 became a "multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-confessional conglomerate, offering a complex, challenging, and also enriching cultural horizon".[2] On the other hand, historical sources are severely deficient in

[1] ***, *Bucovina*, Suceava, Centrul național de Informare și promovare turistică, 2019, p. 16.
[2] Adolf Ambruster, *Vom Moldauwappen zum Doppeladler: Ausgewiihte Beitrage zur Geschichte der Bukowina*, Vol. II, Augsburg, Verlag Hofman, 1993, pp. 10-15; Emmanuel

information about Greeks and Italians, while statistics and analyses on Romanians, Ukrainians and Germans abound. This deficiency might explain the fascination with the Greek community, which is mentioned in a few reports, memoirs, travel impressions, notes, and observations but inadequately documented in official records.

Between 1800 and 1918, the statisticians of the Austrian small duchy failed to account for the Greek population, lumping them in with the "others", along with Italians, French, English, and so forth. During the interwar period, researchers such as Nicolae Iorga, Constantin C. Giurescu and Teodor Bălan identified, in the documents they carefully collected and edited records that revealed the identities and public functions or basic occupations of some of the Greeks in Bucovina. Regrettably, contemporary scholars still regard these "others" traits and circumstances as unimportant, although notable figures from Bukovina's past may be associated with them.

This study proposes a first and unprecedented retrospective on the Greeks' presence in Bucovina addressing three issues: where they lived, what made them stand out in the community, and prominent individuals who played a role in the region's history.

1. WHERE IN BUKOVINA IS THE GREEK PRESENCE DOCUMENTED?

The Greeks established a permanent presence in Moldavia, beginning with the Middle Ages. Their unique status, reinforced by the confessions of the local population, gave them access to public positions, noble ranks, and properties. Greek traders were settled in the cities of Moldavia (the term "Greek" became synonymous with "merchant"[3]), some of them leading the merchants' guild. Many Greeks became governors, treasurers, customs officers, and seneschals. When referring to the two important towns in the future Austrian province of Bukovina, mention should be made about the great treasurer "pan lane, who was called

Turczynski, *Geschichte der Bukowina in der Neuzeit. Zur Sozial und Kulturgeschichte einer mittel europäisch geprägten Landeschaft*, Wiesbaden, 1993, SS. 26-31, 42-53; Ştefan Purici, *Bucovina – Metamorfozele unei provincii* [Bukovina – the Metamorphoses of a Province], in "Analele Bucovinei", Vol. 59, 2022, no. 2, p. 343-344.

[3] Andrei Pippidi, *Changes of Emphases: Greek Christendom, Westernization, South-Eastern Europe, and Neo-Mitteleuropa*, in „Balkanologie. Revue d'études pluridisciplinaires", 1999, Vol. III, no. 2: http://journals.openedition.org/balkanologie/747; DOI: https://doi.org/ 10.4000/balkanologie.747 (Accesed on 01.11.2023).

Calughere Koligheropolos",[4] Manoil was the Greek ruler,[5] Chiracola/Kiracola, the treasurer and customs officer of Suceava,[6] and the starostas Ienacachi Millo[7] and Dimitrie Macri from Chernivtsi.[8]

The Habsburg Empire's 1775 annexation of Bukovina sparked political, social, cultural, and ethnic transformations. The Court of Vienna encouraged foreigners, including Poles, Germans, and Hungarians, to settle in the region. Travelling through Bukovina in the early 1800s, the statistician Joseph Rohrer wrote, "this part of the monarchy was built to offer refuge to all confessions and nations", allowing "Moldovans, Szeklers, Jews, Armenians, Poles, Russians, Greeks, and Gypsies" to live in a "confined territory".[9] German journals from the first two decades of the 1800s described the same ethnic mosaic. One of them mentioned that the "majority population in Bukovina is Vlach, with a smaller population of Greeks, Gypsies, Armenians, and more than 200,000 dispersed Jews".[10] Another journal noted, "By 1800, 35,307 families, or 190,389 individuals live there. These people reside in 259 villages, three fairs, and three towns - Czernowitz, Sereth, and Suczawa. Germans, Moldavians, Szeklers, Jews, Armenians, Poles, Russians, Greeks, and Gypsies are frequently found within a few miles of each other".[11] The Greek community in the Principality of Moldavia,

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[4] Emil Ioan Emandi, Mihai Ştefan Ceauşu, *Contribuţii de morfologie urbană la cunoaşterea istoriei oraşului Suceava, 1388-1988* [Contributions of Urban Morphology to the Knowledge of the History of Suceava. 1388–1988], in "Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Judeţean", Vol. XV, 1988, p. 73.

[5] Nicolae Iorga, *La cronologia vechilor domni moldoveni* [On the Chronology of the Old Moldavian Rulers], in "Memoriile Secţiunii Istorice", Tom XII, 1931, p. 40.

[6] Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor* [History of the Romanians], Bucharest, Royal Foundation for Literature and Art, 1943, p. 458.

[7] Nicolae Iorga, *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes im Rahmen seiner Staatsbildungen*, Gotha, Vol. II, 1905, p. 181, 185; Idem, *Documentele familiei Callimachi* [The Documents of Callimachi Family], Bucharest, Vol. II, 1903, p. 190.

[8] Mihai-Bogdan Atanasiu, *Cariera unui grec, staroste al ţinutului Cernăuţi – Dimitrie Macri* [The Career of a Greek, Starosta of the Chernivtsi County - Dimitrie Macri], in Mihai-Bogdan Atanasiu, Mircea-Cristian Ghenghea (eds.), *Pro Bucovina. Repere istorice* [Pro Bucovina. Historical Landmarks], Bucharest, Mitropolit Iacov Putneanul Publishing House, 2010, p. 39-48.

[9] Joseph Rohrer, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise von der Türkischen Gränze über die Bukowina durch Ost- und Westgalizien, Schlesien und Mähren nach Wien*, Wien, 1804, S. 43.

[10] ***, *Rheinisches Conversations. Lexicon de encyclopädisches Handwörterbuch für gebildete Stände*, Bd. V, 1825, S. 432.

[11] ***, *Leipzig der in der Expedition and Literatur - Zeitung in der Königlich Sächsischen Zeitungs*, in "Expedition Neue Leipziger Literaturzeitung", Bd. III, 1808, S. 2282.

whether Romanianized or not, was separated by the new borders. Historians refer to the Greeks in Bukovina as "Romanianized" since Ioan Budai Deleanu described them, at the start of the 19th century, as "few" and "most of them nationalised".[12]

Ethnic Greeks settled mainly in or close to towns and fairs. Thus, a "Greek Lane"[13] was marked in Suceava, close to the church of St. Nicholas (*Nicogaios*, constructed in the sixteenth century). The 1865 cadastral document, created during the Austrian administration, included the same toponym, although fewer Greeks lived in Suceava than in the 17th century.[14] The great merchants of Suceava – Constantin, Stamati, and Dumitraş Pantazi – are remembered from the early years of Austrian occupation. They brought furniture, jewellery, and clothing from Leipzig and Vienna that were in line with French or Viennese fashion.[15] Enzenberg, the Governor of Bukovina, established an annual tax obligation of one Florin for Greek traders.[16] Some Greeks from Suceava dealt with crafts. For example, Dele and Mihai Ioan were registered in the Cadastral Register of Suceava, in 1785, as "Furriers".[17] Others were itinerant instructors,[18] although this occupation gradually disappeared in the first half of the 19th century. By 1850, it was recommended that Armenian and Greek students be taught German, as "their mother tongue is neither Romanian nor Ruthenian".[19] Additionally, learning the language of the new imperial administration had become essential; the Greek

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[12] Ioan Chindriş, Niculina Iacob, *Ioan Budai-Deleanu în mărturii antologice* [Ioan Budai-Deleanu in Anthological Testimonies], Cluj-Napoca, Napoca Star Publishing House, 2012, p. 505.

[13] Or „Hellenic Lane", according to *Atlas istoric al oraşelor din România*. *Suceava* [Historical atlas of cities in Romania. Suceava], Bucharest, Enciclopedică Publishing House, 2005, Appendix IX.

[14] In 1639, ruler Vasile Lupu exempted 100 "Greek" subjects of the Metropolis, placed in two areas, near the Suceava market, called "Greeks", from all royal taxes. See Emil Ioan Emandi, Mihai Ştefan Ceauşu, *Contribuţii de morfologie urbană*...[Contributions of Urban Morphology ...], p. 73.

[15] The location of the properties (Constantin had inherited a house on „Great Lane") or the huts (Dumitraş had two huts in the "Market" of Suceava) further reflect the solid reputation of the Greeks from the Pantazi family in the Suceava community, according to Emil Ioan Emandi, *Habitatul urban şi cultura spaţiului* [The Urban Habitat and the Culture of Space], Iaşi, Glasul Bucovinei Publishing House, 1996, p. 564-565.

[16] Liviu-George Maha, Gabriel Donici, Sorin-Ştefan Maha, *The Economic Development of Bukovina (I). The First Period of Austrian Rule: 1774 – 1849*, in "Review of Economic and Business Studies", Vol. III, 2010, no. 2, p. 236.

[17] Emil Ioan Emandi, *Habitatul urban*..., p. 568, 570.

[18] Dr. I. Nistor, *Zur Geschichte des Schulwesens in der Bukowina*, in "Jahresbericht der gr. - or. Ober-Realschule in Czernowitz", Bd. XLVIII, 1912, S. 23.

[19] ***, *Die Bevölkerung der Bukowina. II*, in "Bukowina", 1862, no. 37, 5. April, S. 3.

Angelaki from the Câmpulung Moldovenesc court was mentioned in an account of early Austrian Bukovina. The man "could neither read nor write" German.[20] The presence of Greeks in Siret, which Victor Prelicz reported to have been populated in the 17th century, cannot be confirmed; he wrote that "absolutely no memory has been preserved"[21] of them. Even so, in 1821, a Greek, Apostolo Dumitropoulos and his family would have been present. According to researcher Willi Kosiul, up until the end of the 1800s, Greek merchants, craftsmen, and tenants were drawn to Chernivtsi due to its status as an urban centre and later as the province's capital.[22] Other Greeks (merchants, tailors, tenants, and boyars with servants, priests, and teachers) sought refuge in Bukovina following the Ottoman military intervention in Moldavia and the suppression of the Eterist insurrection. Focusing on Austria's treatment of the Greeks between 1821 and 1830, historian Christos Aliprantis wrote "When individuals or groups seemed less politically motivated but needed real humanitarian assistance, the Austrian state was less suspicious and more willing to help (...)." Metternich, who held strong humanitarian and Christian principles, wrote to the police and border guards in Bukovina, asking them to look after these unfortunate people. The only requirement was that these individuals had not participated in any of the revolutions that occurred in their home countries".[23]

The locations where the Greek refugees either temporarily or permanently settled are listed in the documents published by Teodor Bălan: Capu Câmpului, Chernivtsi, Costâna, Sadagura, Siret, Stroiesti, Suceava, Valea Seacă, and Vascăuţi pe Ceremuş. Feeling threatened by "the unrest in the Turkish provinces," some said they would remain until the spring of 1823 "because of the winter," but others realized that being part of the Greek nation could cause problems for them when they returned to Moldavia.[24]

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[20] Prof. H.J. Bidermann, *Die Bukowina unter Osterreichischer Verwaltung, 1775-1875*, Lemberg, 1876, S. 32.

[21] Victor Prelicz, *Geschichte der Stadt Sereth und Ihre Alterthumer*, Iaşi, TipoMoldova Publishing House, 2011, S. 104.

[22] Willi Kosiul, *Czernowitz – Tschernowitz, die damalige Landeshauptstadt der Bukowina*, https://bukovinasociety.org/bsa-file_villages-e/bsa-file_villages_list-e/bsa-file_villages_czernowitz-hauptstadt-der-bukowina-d/ (Accessed on 30.10.2023)

[23] Christos Aliprantis, *Policing Subversion in Post-Napoleonic Europe: Austria and the Greek Revolution of 1821–1830*, in "Journal of Modern European History", Vol. 21, 2023, no. 2, p. 252.

[24] Teodor Bălan, *Refugiaţi moldoveni în Bucovina, 1821 şi 1848* [Moldavian Refugees in Bukovina, 1821 and 1848], Bucureşti, Cartea Românească Publishing House, 1929, pp. 78-87.

2. WHO WERE THE GREEKS IN BUKOVINA?

In the 19th century, the Greek population of Bukovina was not large enough to be recorded in statistics. Migration is one of the primary causes that affected the Greek population's growth in Bukovina. Political and economic contexts favoured both emigration and immigration. The political motivations partially stem from separating the more or less assimilated Greek community from the Principality of Moldavia following Bukovina's annexation. Economic factors, such as unfair competition or strong business rivalry with the Armenians and the Jews significantly impeded the Greek artisans and merchants.[25] The Greeks who chose to live in Bukovina were described as speaking "partially modern Greek and partly German or Romanian" in an 1862 issue of the journal "Bukowina".[26]

It is challenging to determine the overall Greek population in Bukovina because the scant data mostly refers to the two major cities, Suceava and Chernivtsi, rather than the province as a whole. Professor Bidermann mentioned that in 1779, 80 Greek families lived in Suceava. He also noted that "the Greeks were gradually lost among the Moldavians". Concerning Czernowitz, the priest-scholar Constantin Morariu wrote about the Secondary School in Chernivtsi "from 1850 to 1888", where three Greek students had also studied.[27] At Upper Royal Orthodox-Oriental School in Chernivtsi "from 1864 to 1888", twenty-three young Greeks had been trained,[28] alongside thousands of Jewish, German, and Polish pupils and hundreds of Romanians and Ruthenians.

One specific mention of the number of Greeks in Bukovina can be found in a provincial newspaper. The information was derived "partly from official statistical works", partly from the authors' "own experience and compilations undertaken over the years" along with "historical sources that are recognized as accurate and therefore reliable". The 1857 census stated that "the total population of Bukovina

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[25] Ştefan Petrescu, *Grecii din România: Însemnările de călătorie ale unui jurnalist atenian la sfârşitul secolului al XIX-lea* [Greeks from Romania: The Travel Notes of an Athenian Journalist at the end of the 19th Century], in "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A. D. Xenopol" Yearbook of the Institute of History A. D. Xenopol, Vol. LIV, 2017, p. 185.

[26] ***, *Die Bevölkerung der Bukowina. I,* in "Bukowina", 1862, no. 36, 3. April, S. 3.

[27] Constantin Morariu, *Părţi din istoria românilor bucovineni* [Parts of the History of Romanians from Bukovina], Chernivtsi, Arh. Silvestru Morariu Andrievici Publishing House, 1893, p. 119.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

was 456,920 souls", 1,679 of whom were Greeks.[29]

The relatively small number of Greeks can also be attributed to the evolution of events in the second half of the 19th century and the "discovery" made by many of the intellectuals or large landowners of the time that they were not Greeks, but Romanians, Albanians, Bulgarians or Macedonians. These people were eager to integrate, "with a quasi-religious zeal", among the majority of those they perceived to be their own.[30] It is certain that, in the "General Census of the Romanian Population" held on December 29, 1930, 23 individuals identified themselves as "Greek" by nationality, out of the 853,009 residents of Bukovina.[31]

The Greeks displayed differing views toward their identities. Most of them mentioned the province of origin (Epirotes, c(h)Ephalonites, Chiots). Those who were fluent in Greek, which served as a genuine communication link for many Balkan residents, including Macedonians, Bulgarians, and Albanians, identified as "Greeks," particularly if they had ties to the business world. Within the Austrian bureaucratic lexicon, the term "Greeks" carried confessional overtones, referring to individuals of the Orthodox rite (Greek-Eastern, as opposed to Greek-Western, which signified the Orthodox Church merged with the Roman Catholic one). This is why it is so challenging to identify the ethnic Greeks in Bukovina.

It is very likely that, in addition to their first name, some of them went by an informal name, related to their origin: "Russian", "German", or "Greek", such as Mayor Nicolae Zaharia Grecu/ Nicolae Zaharia the Greek and his brothers, Constantin, Lazăr, and Michalaki, who dealt in real estate and land in Czernowitz;[32] the merchant Stavri Grecul/Stavri the Greek, a refugee in Suceava after the etherist movement,[33] etc. As evidenced by the Bukovina "Register of Nobility" from 1803, one of the families bearing this name was elevated to the status of "von Grekul". Some of his descendants' names (e.g., "Demeter",[34]

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[29] ***, *Die Bevölkerung der Bukowina. I,* in "Bukowina", 1862, no. 36, 3. April, S. 3.

[30] Peter Mackridge, *Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766-1976*, OUP Oxford, 2010, p. 188.

[31] Alexandru Procopovici, *Bucovina noastră* [Our Bukovina], in "Transilvania", 1941, no. 5-6, p. 347.

[32] The table with the names of the owners in Chernivtsi, according to the *Pitzelli Protocol and Plan*, see Alexandru Bocăneţu, *Istoria oraşului Cernăuţi* [The History of Chernivtsi], Cernăuţi, Zelena Bukovyna Publishing House, 2010 p. 82.

[33] Teodor Bălan, *Refugiaţi moldoveni în Bucovina…*, p. 84.

[34] *Verordnungsblatt für die k. k. Landwehr. Allerhöchste Entschließungen. Seine k. und k. Apostolische Majestät geruhten allergnädigst (mit 1. Mai 1879),* 1879, no. 15, 23. April, S. 73.

"Dionys/Dionisie"[35], and "Themistokles"[36]) will suggest their Greek ancestry, but the family is typically identified as having "purely Romanian" ancestry.[37]

3. WHO WERE THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS GREEKS FROM BUKOVINA?

According to Professor Bidermann, among the 114 "big landowners of the country" on the electoral list for the imperial council and parliament on April 9, 1875, there were 42 Romanians, 38 Catholic Armenians and Poles, 14 Jews, 12 Armenians "of oriental faith," 4 Germans, 1 Hungarian, and an Italian. However, the author further stated that even though the boyars looked like "Romanians," "Logothetti, Mustatza, and Petrino were of Greek origin".[38] The results of the 1864 local council elections in Chernivtsi, where Baron "Mustazza Nikolaus," a Greek "by nationality," was declared the winner, show the same point.[39]

Historians and researchers believe that baron Teodor Musteaţă - one of the wealthiest Bukovinians in the first half of the 19th century - was actually a "Vlach" from Ottoman Macedonia. His "new homeland" of Moldavia granted him the status of "Greek" due to his place of origin and his "alişveriş" practices.[40] Land transactions "in a grand style, from which one could make significant incomes" were his main area of interest. He got an "immense fortune" through the purchase, sale, and rental of estates in Moldavia and Bukovina. He leased "all the revenue of the Sadagura fair", where he owned - besides the mansion surrounded by the park, 'similar to the Cernauca one of Doxachi Hurmuzachi'[41] (another "Romanian, with a Greek name"[42], mentioned in Dēmētrios Darvaris' *Enkyklopaideia*, from 1829[43]) – mills, taverns and guesthouses.[44] As a result of Musteaţă's transactions in the Habsburg Empire, his reputation as a "great merchant", his "good behaviour," and his ability to pay "impeccably all his obligations" inspired the government adviser

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[35] ***, *Kleine Chronik – Verzeichnis*, in "Bukowinaer Rundschau", 1887, no. 329, 24. Februar, S. 3.
[36] ***, *Demaskirung*, in "Bukowinaer Post", 1903, no. 1516, 13. Oktober, S. 10.
[37] Arcadie M. Bodale, *Un recensământ necunoscut al mazililor şi ruptaşilor din Bucovina* [An Unknown Census of the Mazils and Ruptaş from Bukovina], in "Analele Bucovinei", 2016, no. 2, p. 255.
[38] H. J. Bidermann, *Die Bukowina unter Osterreichischer Verwaltung…*, p. 48.
[39] ***, *Der Neue Gemeinderath von Czernowitz*, in "Bukowina", 1864, no. 172, 31. August, S. 2.
[40] Teodor Bălan, *Refugiaţi moldoveni în Bucovina…*, p. 6.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[42] Nicolae Iorga, *Românismul în trecutul Bucovinei* [Romanianism in the Past of Bukovina], Bucharest, 1938, p. 78.
[43] Dēmētrios N. Darvaris, *Enkyklopaideia*, J. V. Sbek, 1829, p. ις.
[44] Teodor Bălan, *Refugiaţi moldoveni în Bucovina…*

Iordachi Balş to recommend him for " a better social position", "granting him the rank of a nobleman".[45] The letter to the people of Ciupelovo, in the Zagor region, shows that the ties with Epirus, where his family had its roots, remained intact even after years. Some asked for assistance (Demetra, the widow of Nicolae Antoniad, the baron's cousin), while others expressed their gratitude (twenty locals were grateful for the amount of 950 "Dutch florins" sent by Mustaţa for the school village and the Bogovu monastery).[46]

The descendants of Baron Teodor Musteata have been mentioned several times throughout Bukovina's history; Ioan (Johann, Iancu/Janku) inherited the Sadagura estate and the spirit of enterprise in land acquisition from his father.[47] He was a member of the Bukovina committee tasked with drafting the provincial electoral law and the Constitution; in the spring of 1861, he joined the Diet of Bukovina, where he took the side of the "federalists".[48] His son, Baron Nicolae (Nikolaus), was a representative of the Romanian party in Bukovina, as well as a "threat from within", showing the highest degree of loyalty to the German language and culture. He was the main character in one of the incidents that the newspapers reported on and then discussed later. Bukovina dignitaries presented Baron Nicholas Mustatza as "a particularly good Romanian, a quality that befits the head of the national party" to the King of Romania, Carol I, upon his arrival at the Chernivtsi train station. "Truly thinking he was speaking with a Romanian of pure blood," the king addressed him in Romanian and was "astonished" to hear Mustatza responding in German: "Here, we are educated in German!" The Romanians turned bright red with embarrassment as their hero apologized ("Wir sind hier Deutsch erzogen!"), admitting to not knowing Romanian.[49] While Nicolae Iorga tried to suggest that Mustatza's unusual conduct was the result of a Viennese conspiracy, the incident earned the baron "an Austrian decoration, many Austrian

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[45] 1794, Noem. 5, Lemberg: Diploma of Nobility of Teodor Mustiaţa. «Nos Collegium Statuum Regnorum Galliciae et Lodomeriae... supplici petito Theodori Mustiaca honorum Sadagura in circulo bucovinensi... notum testatumque facimus modernum supplicantem Theodorum Mustiaca de Sadagura... primo classi nobilium eiusdem circuli adnumeratum esse, titulisque ac praerogativis huic statui competentibus legaliter gaudere», according to Teodor Bălan, *Documente bucovinene* [Bukovinian Documents], Vol. VI (1760-1833), Bucharest, 1941, p. 389.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 387.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

[48] Mihai Ştefan Ceauşu, *Eudoxiu Hurmuzachi versus Alexandru Petrino. Centralism contra federalism (1861-1871)* [Eudoxiu Hurmuzachi versus Alexandru Petrino. Centralism against Federalism (1861-1871)], in "Analele Bucovinei", 2010, no. 1, p. 26.

[49] ***, *Glückliche Katastrophe*, in "Bukowinaer Rundschau", 1898, no. 2789, 29. Juli, S. 1.

sympathies and the disapproval of all Romanians from Bukovina".[50] In turn, Ion Nistor blamed Musteatza, emphasizing his "foreign" origins and his peerage as a reward for the "Greek merchants" who provided the Habsburgs ammunition during the Napoleonic Wars.[51] Yet, Nicolae Must(e)aţa's German response could also be perceived as a polite gesture towards a German-speaking Hohenzollern. Furthermore, the Mustatza family's close ties to Vienna's political hub were demonstrated by their use of German, which was Habsburg's monarchy standard tongue.[52] However, his reputation as a "non-conformist fanariot"[53] persisted; according to his contemporary, "it was easy for Nikolaus Mustratza to collaborate with all the ethnic groups in Bukovina, but also to disappoint them just as easily because his only true love was Greece".[54]

Equally controversial were some of the actions of Alexandru Petrino, labelled by the Viennese researcher Lothar Höbelt, as "the Greek condottiere in the Austrian Parliament".[55] Regarding the Petrino family, Iorga described it as "of Greek origin, and with Greek feelings",[56] Teodor Bălan suggested that it was of Macedonian-Romanian descent, and an 1867 "Almanac" said it was Albanian.[57] Two brothers, Hristodulo and Apostolo Ioan Petrino, made Iasi their home and sold "colonials" there. They arrived in Bukovina in 1809, becoming "Austrian citizens" at Teodor Musteaţă's insistence.[58] Apostolo acquired the estates in Bukovina and Hristodulo in Moldavia, following the distribution of wealth in 1816. Still, Hristodulo temporarily relocated to Bukovina, where he had relatives by alliance (his son Petru married Eufrosina, daughter of Doxachi Hurmuzachi). He went back to the Bessarabian estates and, on December 1826, swore "of faith and eternal obedience to the throne of Russia" to become a member of the Bessarabian

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[50] Nicolae Iorga, *Neamul românesc în Bucovina* [The Romanian Nation in Bukovina], Bucharest, Institutul de Arte Grafice Minerva, 1905, p. 236.

[51] Ion Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei* [The History of Bukovina], Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1991, p. 208-209.

[52] Andrei Corbea-Hoişie, *La Bucovine - Éléments d'histoire politique et culturelle*, Paris, Institut d'Études Slaves, 2004, p. 20.

[53] Lothar Höbelt, *Aleksander Petrino. A Greek condottiere in the Austrian Parliament*, in "Parliaments, Estates & Representation", Vol. 42, 2022, no. 2, p. 178, https://doi.org/10.1080/02606755.2022.2084288

[54] *Ibid*.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

[56] Nicolae Iorga, *Românismul în trecutul Bucovinei...*, p. 79.

[57] Sigmund Hahn, *Reichsraths-Almanach für die Session 1867*, Prag, H. Carl I. Satow, vorm . f. f. Hof-Buch- und Kunsthandlung F. A. Credner, 1867, S. 132.

[58] Teodor Bălan, *Refugiaţi moldoveni...*, p. 10.

nobility.[59] However, he was also unable to separate from Bukovina. Towards the end of his life, he compensated his brothers-in-law, sold off his wealth and moved to Cernauca and Czernowitz where he drafted his will in January 1828.[60]

Cartoon of the politician Alexandru/Alexander von Petrino (1824-1899), revealing his "Greek" origins and habits
(Source: "Der Floh", 2 Oktober 1870, p. 3; https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=flo&datum=18701002&seite=3, accessed on 12.08.2023)

Fifty years after Hristodulo's ennoblement, his grandson, poet Dimitrie Petrino, "living in Bukovina," addressed "the request to be freed from Russian subordination".[61] Although gifted, he had a wasteful behaviour and a passion for

[59] Dinu Poştarencu, *Din istoria familiei Petrino* [From the History of the Petrino Family], in "Analele Bucovinei", 2020, no. 2, p. 415.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 415.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 421-422.

drunkenness". He passed away without leaving any heirs. The only male members of the Petrino family were Nicolae (Nikola) and Alexandru, the sons of Apostolo. Nicholas was appointed to the so-called "enlarged Imperial Council", in 1860 and Alexandru distinguished himself as "the most active parliamentarian in Bukovina". His "pivot" attitude in dealing with the Romanians, Poles, Armenians, Jews, and Germans from Bukovina brought him both praise and criticism. Many of his peers did not comprehend the compromise between the Romanian and Armenian-Poles groups, regarding the allocation of seats in the Imperial Parliament to the large landowners from Bukovina. The "stigma" of being a "fanariot" helped him gain the title of "ideal candidate in power mediation". Furthermore, when his brother Nikola left some of his fortune to the city of Athens,[62] the Petrino family's Phanariote ties became evident to all. Surprisingly, the writer of Alexandru's obituary from April 1899 revived the story of some Armenian (not Greek) ancestors, questioning the alienation from his Greek heritage.[63]

Finally, Giacomo (Iacob, Iacov) Logothetti assumed a long history of Byzantine filiation, with ancestry dating back to the emperor Nichifor I Logothetes (802–811), and roots on the Ionian island of Zakynthos.[64] An officer of the Venetian Republic who was ennobled for his services to Venice, he settled in Moldavia, and married Ecaterina, the daughter of the well-known starost of Cernăuti, Leon d'Ymbault (Imbault), in August 1775.[65] As a result of this marriage, he inherited several properties. His mother-in-law granted him both the title of "*clironom* over the grandchildren's property" and all of the movable and immovable properties because he "showed care towards the children, being a good father[66] (...), a good master of the household (...), a good husband for her daughter Ecaterina and (...) a good son-in-law".[67] The Romanian branch of the

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[62] *Ibid.*, p. 178.

[63] ***, *Inland*, in "Neue Freie Presse", 1899, no. 12447, 18. April, S. 2.

[64] Other sources indicate the island of Corfu as the birthplace of the Logothetti family, see ***, *Tagespost. Todesfall*, in "Bukowinaer Post", 1896, no. 388, 31. Mai, S. 3.

[65] Teodor Bălan, *Documente bucovinene* [Bukovinian Documents], Vol. VIII-IX, Iaşi, Taida Publishing House, 2006, p. 104.

[66] Iacob Logothetti had six children: Leon, Iosef, Aloys, Franz, Maria and Suzana. Iosef is mentioned in the document of June 25, 1809, when the prefect of Bukovina, Johan von Platzer, invited him, along with other boyars, to a conference on the "defence of the country". The other two sons, Aloys and Francisc (Franz), embraced the military career, serving in the Austrian army, in different parts of the empire, according to Teodor Bălan, *Documente bucovinene...*, p. 41-42.

[67] Alina Felea, *Câteva date despre familia Imbault* [Some Facts about the Imbault Family], in "Tyragetia", Vol. XVII, 2008, no. 2, p. 138.

Logothetti family tree was set by Leon, Iacob's eldest son. One of his descendants, Count Luis de Logothetti, felt "completely Romanian", and sought to address all issues affecting "the country to which he belonged". Adjusting to the "spirit of his time," he was aware of "neither religious intolerance nor national hatred".[68] His son, Emanuil Logothetti lived a short life (only 23 years old) but stood out in the Romanian national group as the vice president of the academic society "România Junǎ" ("Young Romania")[69] and the president of the Provisional Committee for the preparation of the Putna Celebration on August 15, 1870, a manifestation of a Romanian nationalist nature. His three sisters - Elena, Olga and Catinca - donated the sum of 2,000 florins to the Society for Romanian Culture and Literature in Bukovina to establish the "Count Emanuil Logothetti" Foundation, which provided scholarships to Romanian students. Elena Popovici-Logothetti would stand out as the founder and, for many years, president of the "Society of Romanian Ladies from Bukovina" while Olga de Grigorcea-Logothetti was the founder and honorary member of the "Junimea" Academic Society, which she generously sponsored.[70]

CONCLUSIONS

The presence of Greeks in Bukovina remains insufficiently documented due to a scarcity of information and disparate or undiscovered data, maps and property documents. In the absence of reliable historical sources capable of shedding light on, for example, the history of the small Greek communities in Suceava or Chernivtsi, with their surroundings, the only certainty remains their transnational character and the function of a lens, useful for the analysis of administrative or social policies and measures - cultural from a certain period. Furthermore, distinguishing between "old Greeks" (on a trend of Romanization) and "new Greeks" (arrived as a result of economic activities or as political-military refugees) adds to the research's interest, nuance and complexity.

Coexistence and mixed marriages, as well as perfect adaptation to the conditions of the Austrian province, made it more difficult to categorise certain Greeks as "Greeks" or "Romanians", as demonstrated by the representatives of the great Musteaţă, Petrino and Logothetti families. The country they aspired to call

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[68] ***, *Tagespost. Todesfall...,* S. 3.

[69] Dragoş Olaru, *Un personaj important al Serbării de la Putna din 1871: Emanuel Logothetti. Schiţă biografică* [A Key Participant in the 1871 Putna Celebration: Emanuel Logothetti. Biographical sketch], in "Analele Putnei", 2022, no. 1, pp. 75-88.

[70] *Ibid*.

"homeland" and their desire to be "perfect citizens," or human models ready to defend their country against enemies from within or without, were among their mutual material and cultural benefits, along with significant wealth, successful businesses, and public positions.

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