



**Μαντούβαλος, Ίκαρος. Από το Μοναστήρι στην Πέστη.
Επιχείρηση και αστική ταυτότητα της οικογένειας Μάνου (τέλη 18^{ου} αιώνα – 19^{ος} αιώνας).
Αθήνα: Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών. Φιλοσοφική σχολή.
Βιβλιοθήκη Σοφίας Ν. Σαριπόλου, 2016 [2017].**

Shouldn't there be a special word in the dictionary for the feeling experienced by a citizen when strangers make him feel like a stranger in his own city? There are many ghost settlements in the Balkans and Bitola/Monastir is surely one of the foremost. As improvisation reaches its limits in this ruined sanctuary of Balkan history, overwhelming nostalgia leaves no doubt about its future being in its past. Unexpected and generous friends like Prof. Ikaros Mandouvalos suddenly raise Bitola's morals to such a level, that not only hope, but even pride starts emanating from this traditional migration hub.

The protohistory of this monograph, as often happens in academic circles, lasted for about a decade. Although its prehistory lasted less, the author still felt compelled to trace this "mythological" age in some detail in the foreword. Modern Greek awareness of

the archive of the Manno trade company (Mannó kereskedelmi cég iratai, in the Municipal Archive of Budapest / Budapest Főváros Léveltára) began with the legendary Agamemnon Tselikas, improved with Prof. Olga Katsiardi-Hering (the mentor in every sense of the word) and culminated with Prof. Mandouvalos' archival research since 1999. Included in the Herakleitos Program upon the intervention of the distinguished mentor, this doctoral dissertation was poised to grow into a great success. The long list of acknowledgements concludes with the Saripoleion Endowment, which included this dissertation in its publication series.

Already in the introduction we are faced with a heavily scientific style of writing, and moreover in Greek, which may not be as comfortable to the humble scholar of the regional and local past as it is to the

“bigwigs” of economic and social history. There is, however, no place for underappreciation, even if we choose to “hijack” this monograph for microhistory. Using some impressive bibliography, the author has actually tried to strike a balance between microhistorical analysis and macrohistorical observation in tracing the entrepreneurial and civic identity of Dimitrios Manos and of his son Stephanos. This book is obviously more than just another contribution to the “Hellenic Diaspora” series, for it goes far beyond narrow-minded national ideology, while still following the normal evolutionary course of Modern Greek historiography. As Prof. Mandouvalos openly admits, a serious setback to his endeavor was the unavailability of the archive of the “Greek and Macedono-Walachian community of Pest”, which could be only poorly substituted with Ödön Füves’ dissertation in the Hungarian original and in the German translation. Limiting the scope of his research accordingly, the author based his book on three thematic axes: the appealing conditions in Hungary and the settlement of the “conquering Balkan merchants”; family matters and commercial developments; the intimate space of the home and family within the general social framework. At the end of the introduction and under an appropriate subtitle, he presents the source material he used. Beside the enormous and therefore strategically processed archive of the Manno family in the Municipal Archive of Budapest, he also derived valuable data from some other collections kept in this institution. Naturally, one of the side effects of the preparation of this dissertation was that additional microfilms were made available in Athens, which will doubtlessly simplify and encourage further research.

The first part is divided in two chapters, the first being appropriately dedicated to the intriguing phenomenon of trade and population dynamics between the Ottoman and the Habsburg Empire, with the peace agreements of Karlowitz and Passarowitz as an important milestone. The second chapter duly enlightens the reader on the political and economic developments in Hungary during the period of intense immigration from the Balkans, a process that enabled the gradual integration of a family like Mano (Μάνοϋ / Μάννοϋ / Mannó).

The presentation of the family itinerary is taken up in part two, with a first chapter that immediately takes us *in medias res*, leaving the Mano homeland and origins for later. Dimitrios and Stephanos were obviously not the first people in Hungary with this surname, for it appears already at the beginning of the 18th century. A certain Anastasios Manos from Monastir had obtained a nobility title already in 1712, and seventy years later a company founded by Athanasios Manos appears. For a complete experience of scholarly humility, providence has introduced another Dimi-

trios and even another Stephanos Manos in Pest, who must not be confused with the heroes of this story. Our Dimitrios Manos first established himself in Vienna at the very end of the 18th century and immediately became involved in import and export through a company named “Manos and Ziolis” (Μάνοϋϋ και Ζιόληϋϋ). He was able to become a benefactor to the Greek community already in 1803, when he moved to Pest. The acquisition of Hungarian nationality and of the rights of a citizen of Pest (Bürgerrecht) substantially upgraded his business and social status. Unfortunately, he died relatively young in 1815, leaving his children to the care of some of his friends and associates, as well as of his second wife Pelagia, who passed away just four years later. Her son Stephanos was properly educated not just for a trade career in a common company with his father’s associate Georgios Mantzos (Μάντζοϋϋ και Μάνοϋϋ), but also for political office (government adviser and member of a political party). He died in 1888 as a member of the Hungarian social elite, leaving behind children that were no strangers to their Central European environment.

Dimitrios Manos forsook the too competitive Vienna and bought a house in the rapidly developing Pest in 1802. After the elaborate presentation of the improved and attractive living and working conditions in the second chapter, the author turns to the crucial question of marital strategies. As in all other Aromanian communities exiled throughout Europe and beyond, here too the principle of endogamy, i. e. marital unions according to tribal, territorial and religious identity, was cherished at least until the first half of the 19th century. Naturally, the bride was expected to bear children from an early age and support the family integrity and progress in every way, dowry included. While Dimitrios’ sister was married to an associate of his back in Bitola, Konstantinos, his only grand-son from Stephanos, was the first to marry a Hungarian Catholic in 1874, just fourteen years before he died at the age of 48. His mother was from the renowned Moschopolitan family Kapra and his sister married Nikolaos Doumba at the age of 17. Protestants first entered the family in the generation of Konstantinos’ children, which meant that there was no turning back from full assimilation and incorporation into Hungarian society.

In spite of striving to begin a new life on Habsburg soil, far from the permanent chaos of Ali Pasha’s dominion and from the challenges of a traditionally unstable population, Dimitrios Manos could not easily forget his relatives, friends, partners and countrymen in Bitola and the wider region. Following his archival sources, Prof. Mandouvalos claims that there could be no doubt that Dimitrios was born in Bitola, something I would not readily agree with. His Aromanian origin is clearly attested by the documents quoted in

the fourth chapter, but that population settled massively in Bitola only circa 1770, after the first disaster of Moschopolis and of other neighboring settlements. If Dimitrios was indeed born in Bitola, that would make his family a precursor of this fateful immigration that changed Bitola for good. Many of the families he mentions in his orthographically funny letters are completely unknown to modernity. Sadly, we still do not have at our disposal sufficient sources for the study of this early period, which, on the other hand, makes it impossible for great damage to arise from a foreign scholar's understandably limited grasp of the bibliography on Bitola. Dimitrios himself supported disadvantaged people and schools there, but was also beholden through his uncle Christos' testament to do this in his name, while paying as well for memorial services and liturgies for the benefit of his soul. Notable is the case of his supporting a troublesome teacher in Trnovo, who chose to teach in Vlach rather than in the prestigious, albeit broken "romeika". The fifth and last chapter in this part deals with the complex social phenomenon that is the testament. Both such available documents, that of Dimitrios and that of Stephanos, benefited not only the immediate family, but also some other relatives and friends. Dimitrios' namesake, a nephew from a sister of his married in the Mosikos family from Bitola, held approximately the same role as that which his uncle held in relation to his own uncle, Christos Manos. Both father and son supported various religious and social institutions in their new homeland, but none in their old country.

Dedicated to the personal ventures and properties, the third part begins with a chapter on business correspondence. Whether writing about merchandise or credit, D. Manos' style obviously didn't follow the current prescriptions. A broken demotic, with little respect for spelling and syntax, it was full of emotion and various borrowings from Vlach, Turkish, German, Italian... The second chapter is about the legal framework of D. Manos' trade activity. He boldly broke the ice with the "Manos and Ziolis" company in Vienna and the contemporary "D. Manos and company" in Bitola, importing various materials (cotton, leather, textiles...) from the Ottoman Empire and exporting finished industrial products into the Balkans. After moving to Pest, he did business only individually. The complex trade network that developed along the roads connecting the Balkans with Central Europe unquestionably deserves special attention and has been appropriately dealt with in the third chapter. D. Manos had to take part in it on the basis of preexisting relations of friendship and blood, or rather on those of ethnicity, culture and religion. It may have seemed impossible with all the expected friction along the road, but it actually worked and profitably at that. People like his brother-in-law D.

Haci Athanasiou usually purchased cheap merchandise, especially during various Balkan fairs, which was then to be sold at much higher prices in Central Europe. Such initiatives in the mysteries of Hermes Kerdoos were strategically positioned throughout the two neighboring regions and engaged in trade and transport as well as in financial operations and speculations. The next chapter examines the means of transportation of the merchandise, which had to be cheap and reliable. Caravans of "kyracis" followed the established roads towards the border crossings at Zemun and Orșova with lazarettos (quarantine stations), while postal services enabled the quick flow of essential information. Sometimes merchandise was lost and sometimes uprisings and wars blocked its transportation. The fifth chapter describes the primary types of merchandise, together with their respective places of production and requirement, as well as the varieties and price variations. Besides the leather, cotton, thread and wool exported to the Habsburg territories and the textile imported in the Ottoman lands, D. Manos was also involved in some limited trade operations between the capital Vienna and Pest. The sixth chapter introduces another, more "modern" way of making profit, namely the bonds, the bills of exchange and the money exchange with their various intricacies and adaptations to constantly changing conditions. The seventh delves into the professional ethics, so important to D. Manos, that he did not withhold from advising others. The period of the custody (1815-1827), as developed in the eighth chapter, demonstrated the honesty and responsibility of the guardians of his children and property, whose only personal financial gain was the availability of Dimitrios' capital for borrowing. Although it was sometimes necessary to borrow money for the uninterrupted wellbeing of the family, the continuous borrowing in the opposite direction and the rent received for some of their real estate kept the family finances in a pretty good shape. G. Mantzos, one of the guardians, and St. Manos then formed a company which initially profited from both Georgios' heavy investment and Stephanos' higher education. This business was an expected expansion of that of his father, enabling a tenfold increase of his personal clear property in the period from 1841, when the new company was established, until 1853, when G. Mantzos passed away. Storage fee and insurance of the merchandise began to be applied. They borrowed from and cooperated with companies within the Empire, as well as with some from the neighboring regions. The company's extensive operations were not limited to leather, but still largely dominated by it. Certainly, there were many other types of merchandise transported and sold not just between Ottoman and Habsburg lands. The Hungarian Uprising from 1848 and the ensuing ethnic turmoil that justified

the central government's bloody intervention had serious repercussions on business, negative rather than positive, right until the "Ausgleich" of 1867. There is, however, no need for us to dwell on what we cannot fully appreciate, so let's move to the last, tenth chapter of this part. It deals primarily with the family's real estate, but also with the valuables, like various bonds. D. Manos was satisfied with owning a decent family residence on the "Waitznergasse" (later "Váci utca"), but his son Stephanos, a distinguished member of Pestan society and even a loyal government advisor, went far beyond. He eventually became a great landowner, with multiple pieces of real estate in his possession, not just in Budapest, but also in other parts of Hungary and even in Transylvania. However, humanly unable to process the entire archival material at his disposal, Prof. Mandouvalos withheld from thoroughly examining the entirety of Stephanos' immovable possessions for the time being. The final subchapter in this part is duly dedicated to the investments in the shares of various strategic companies (mills and bakeries, railways, insurance, printing, foundries and machine shops, hospitality) and banks in Pest, which clearly testify to Stephanos' patriotic and progressive mentality.

The third and last part comprises only two chapters, the first of which studies the various regular expenses of the family as a whole and of its separate members, as much as the preserved archival sources allowed it. They quickly outgrew the basic human needs, but still remained far from any exhibitionism and extravagancy. Sugar, coffee and wine cannot be considered as luxuries, although they were sometimes used as additional payment to hired help. Clothes were rarely bought as final products and frequently sewn by capable tailors from the fabric chosen and purchased in advance by their clients. Travels and stays in other Hungarian cities were customary only for the boys (Ioannis and Stephanos), who needed additional education in law and languages, beyond what private tutors could offer. A piano, a globe and a canvas became a necessity, as well as a caretaker and even a concierge for a limited time. Medicine and hygiene certainly had their cost and the residence also had to be kept in good shape. The expenses around the funeral of D. Manos are representative for the cultural community to which these people belonged traditionally. The second chapter explores the clothes, jewels and other items worn by the family members, which changed along with social status. The interior of the house, comprising various furnishings, accessories, installations etc., is also carefully examined. Probably the most impressive pieces of furniture were the two libraries, which contained a total of about 900 volumes.

The textual part of this monograph ends with a summary of sorts in place of conclusion, immediately followed by three precious tables representing the family genealogy and the trade networks of D. Manos and

of his son's company "Mantzos and Manos". Many associates from Bitola and the surroundings were obviously also active in some other Balkan cities and beyond (Steriou, Risman, Ziolis, Tzitzifas, Gorganis, Hacı Athanasiou, Konstas, Hacı Georgiou, Osmanli, Nikarousis, Nittas, Grouios, Tzomou, Zallis, Zoutsos, Vistas, Rallis, Nasis, Liatzos, Nistos, Paraskevas, Tellos). The author also decided to add some interesting appendices: a facsimile of D. Manos' "Bürgerbrief"; a table of loans given by D. Manos to various clients in Vienna in 1802; a table of the rents collected by St. Manos for his real estate; tables of rents and lodgers of the old residence on Waitznergasse for 1815, 1823, 1825, 1826 and 1827; a table of items procured for the educational needs of D. Manos' children (1815-1827) and a table of imported leather in Zemun (1855-1860). Before the short summary in English there are three borrowed, somewhat distorted and for such a publication unsatisfactory maps, two of the Hungarian lands with their attractive settlements and one of the road network between Thessaloniki and Vienna. The impressive bibliography already known from the robust footnotes is given in a single piece at the end, just after the list of archival sources that have been exploited successfully. This volume is concluded by an incomplete index of personal and place names, a flaw fixed through the addition of a separate printout, comprising a list with some mistakes identified in the text and the complete index. A relatively large borrowed topographic map of Pest and Ofen (or Buda) from 1863 is also supplied separately.

Monographs heavily based on archival sources are even more valuable than the publications of the archival collections themselves. Most of them suffer the pressure of unrealistic expectations, which are in stark contrast to the patience and painstaking work invested by heroic scholars. All those who have any experience with archival research can easily imagine how Prof. Mandouvalos must have felt when he finally received his PhD and subsequently published his dissertation. His contribution to the field cannot be overestimated and his book ought to be a desideratum for many libraries, not just specialized ones. But our shared awareness of the importance and outcomes of such studies and publishing endeavors should not end there. Teams of archivists and scientists must take on the challenge of processing, preserving and publishing the priceless collections kept in various institutions in and around the Balkans, many of which remain almost completely unavailable and untouched. It is the only way to prevent all sorts of material and intellectual abuse, which unfortunately still have not been fully eradicated in our "civilized" age.

Jovica Grozdanovski