



**3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference**

**Athens, 2-3 November 2018**

# **The Levantines: Identities and Heritage**



**Programme & Participant Information**

Information: [www.levantineheritage.com](http://www.levantineheritage.com)

Email: [contact@levantineheritage.com](mailto:contact@levantineheritage.com)



@LevantineHF

**Cover image**

Smyrna Fire Insurance Map 1905 - Charles E. Goad (1848-1910)

**Inner cover image**

Bazar of Athens 1821 - Edward Dodwell (1767-1832)



**The Levantine Heritage Foundation**

*Advancing education, research and the preservation of the heritage, arts and cultures of communities in the Levant*

The Levantine Heritage Foundation is a non-profit association with a constitution prepared and adopted according to the guidelines of The Charity Commission for England and Wales.

Trustees: Dr Kalliopi Amygdalou, Jonathan Beard, Zeynep Cebeci Suvari, Achilleas Chatziconstantinou, Nuri Çolakoğlu, Quentin Compton-Bishop, Dr Axel Çorlu, Dr Philip Mansel FRHS.

General Secretary: Craig Encer

Address: The Levantine Heritage Foundation, 71-75 Shelton Street, London WC2H 9JQ, UK

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## **Welcome to the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference in Athens**

Welcome to the third international conference organised by the Levantine Heritage Foundation.

The first conference “The Levantines: Commerce and Diplomacy”, held in Istanbul in 2014, launched our biennial international conference series. It was a new challenge for the LHF and, happily, proved a great success. Over 200 delegates attended to hear more than 30 papers. Networking events and tours of sites of Levantine interest in Istanbul added to the variety.

Our second conference in London in 2016, “The Levant and Europe: Shipping and Trade”, highlighted trade as the central dynamic in the creation of a Levantine world. It examined the complex economic networks that resulted and the equally complex social, cultural, political and material interactions that arose from the platform of trade.

We are delighted to be in Athens for our third international conference. Our programme explores the themes of identities and heritage. What did it mean to be a Levantine in a multicultural Ottoman world? How do you define a Levantine? What influenced personal and community identities, networks, interactions and cultural exchanges? And what legacies have we inherited in the post-Ottoman era that continue to influence our modern communities. The programme explores many topics, which I hope you find interesting.

The Levantine Heritage Foundation (LHF) was set up in 2010 with the mission of promoting education and research in the history and cultural

heritage of the Levantine communities, preserving that heritage and making it accessible for future generations worldwide.

The definition of who should be considered as “Levantines” is always a subject of lively debate at our conferences. In the context of the LHF’s mission and aims, we take a broad, inclusive view. We consider Levantines as people, some of European origin, whose long-term domicile was in the Eastern Mediterranean within the former boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. Many came to the Levant to seek their livelihoods in various ways, as traders, builders, farmers, miners and even as soldiers and government officials of the Ottoman Empire. Some came as refugees from troubled parts of Europe. Others came as diplomats and shipping agents, bridging the interfaces between the major trading nations of the world and the cities of the Levant.

Our research is on every aspect of their culture and heritage, including genealogy, economic employment, architecture, cuisine, the arts and society. Cities were the great epicentres of Levantine life and business – Salonika, Alexandria, Beirut, Jaffa, Aleppo, Smyrna and Constantinople, as they were then. Athens was and still is a hub for trade with the Levant. The heritage of Greek Levantine communities and networks still resonates today.

The LHF carries out its charitable mission by bringing together researchers, both professional academics and amateurs, to share their research on these historic communities and networks, and by making it accessible. Indeed, the LHF was founded on the back of the success of the remarkable collection of Levantine

family testimonials put together by our General Secretary, Craig Encer, and preserved on the website [www.levantineheritage.com](http://www.levantineheritage.com). We are very grateful to Craig for his huge contribution to the website and for facilitating the interactions between our network around the world.

We are also extremely grateful for the contributions of papers and family archive material made by colleagues and family researchers. Without this collaborative effort, the LHF's contribution to knowledge would be severely limited. Our ambition is to continue to build on this reserve of material, providing a safe home for it electronically in the near-term and one day, funds and owners permitting, enabling researcher and public access to original records. If you would like to support us in this mission in any way, please contact me or Craig or one of our Trustees.

Between conferences our networks have been busy. We hold three talks and informal dinners in London each year, the last at the Hellenic Centre. The LHF's Istanbul Group has organised

two conferences. And, most recently, our new Italian group held its first one-day conference in Turin.

None of this would be possible without the contributions of the LHF's members, supporters, trustees and volunteers. I wish to thank our financial supporters especially. Also, our team in Athens, all volunteers, who have worked so hard to put together the excellent academic programme and the overall conference organisation. Without them this conference would not be possible.

We have not yet decided where our next international conference will be held in 2020 or its themes. Beirut? Alexandria? Rome? Or New York? If you have suggestions, please share them with one of the LHF team.

I hope you enjoy the conference and I look forward to meeting as many of you as possible.

Quentin Compton-Bishop  
Chairman

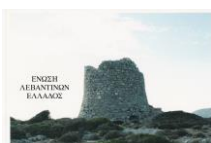
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We also thank a number of donors who  
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## Organisers

### Conference Programme

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Axel Çorlu

Dimitris Kamouzis

Alexander Kitroeff

George Vassiadis

### Conference Coordination

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Zeynep Cebeci Suvari

Craig Encer (General Secretary)

### Website Design & Digital Archive

Craig Encer

### LHF Membership

Quentin Compton-Bishop

## **Organisers' Biographical Notes**

The LHF Trustees wish to thank Achilleas Chatziconstantinou and Ioanna Koukouni and their respective teams for their key roles in organising the LHF's 3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference in Athens.

### **Achilleas Chatziconstantinou**

Chair of Athens Conference Programme, LHF Trustee & LHF Academic Advisory Committee

Born in Athens Greece to a family with roots on the island of Andros and Smyrna/Izmir. In 1994, he graduated with a Bachelor's degree in Geology from National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (NKUA) and in 1995 he earned an MSc in Geographical and Geodetic Information Systems from the University College London (UCL). From 1997 to 1999 he led the cartographic digitization project of the Athens-based non-profit Cultural Society "Panorama". Since 1999 he has been working as Planning and Network Systems Section Manager at COSMOTE Telecommunications SA in Greece.

As a geologist, he has been cooperating since 1994 with the Halassarna archaeological project, on Kos island, and was a member of the Corpus of Ancient Greek Quarries team, both of which have led to several publications and monographies.

He has been actively involved with the Levantine Heritage Foundation since its early days, promoting its work and exchanging data with scholars and history enthusiasts. He presented the paper 'The Image of the Levantines as Portrayed in the late 19th Century Travel Literature' at the First Levantine Symposium in Izmir, November 2010. Over the last 25 years, he has been travelling many times in Turkey as well as in countries of the Middle East. His

research activities include various aspects of the history and topography of Smyrna/Izmir, mainly focusing on the second half of the 19th century and up to 1922, such as the compilation of thematic timelines, and a complete local authorities chart (valis, mayors, consuls, religious leaders etc.) of that period.

His latest project involves the Quay of Smyrna, an extensive research and illustration of the city's legendary seafront which he has been studying along with the co-researcher George Poulimenos since 2012 and is expected to be published in Greek in autumn 2018.

### **Dr. Ioanna Koukouni**

Lead Coordinator of Athens Conference & LHF Academic Advisory Committee

Ioanna N. Koukouni is an archaeologist with expertise in the medieval eastern Mediterranean. She is a graduate of the University of Birmingham, Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies (2012), with scholarships from the Kougioulis Foundation and the School of Historical Studies.

As an EU fellow (2013-2016), she followed the strand of Digital Humanities and conducted postdoctoral research in audience development for cultural heritage via digital learning. In 2016 she co-founded the Centre for Historical Studies of the Genoese Overseas (CeSSGO) with Professors Sandra Origone and Gabriella Airaldi of the University of Genoa, aiming to bring together new research by established academics and early career scholars working on the Genoese commercial communities overseas.

In her capacity as a cultural professional, she supports public engagement to cultural heritage by launching learning activities and study tours on Chios island, her main research area.



## **LHF Trustees**

### **Dr. Kalliopi Amygdalou**

Trustee

Born in Chios, Kalliopi Amygdalou is an architectural historian. She is currently a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow at the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, carrying out post-doctoral research on the politicisation of architectural heritage in south-eastern Europe. Her research project is titled 'Architectural Replicas in the Scramble for the Past: Politics of Identity in Istanbul, Athens, Skopje' (REPLICIAS).

Kalliopi has worked as Lecturer for two years at the School of Architecture of Izmir Institute of Technology in Turkey (2015-2017). She completed her doctoral studies at the Bartlett School of Architecture (UCL) in 2014 with a thesis on the politics of heritage and modernisation in early-20th century Izmir and Thessaloniki. She also holds a M.Sc. in Culture and Society from London School of Economics (2010) and a Diploma in Architecture from the National Technical University of Athens (2009).

She speaks Greek, English, Turkish, French and German. Some of her publications can be found on Academia.edu.

### **Jonathan Beard**

Trustee

Jonathan Beard was born in Beirut, Lebanon, of a Levantine family of British extraction. He received his education in England and Switzerland where he developed his love for winter sports and mountaineering.

After university, he joined the Catoni Group, a shipping and trading enterprise. He was elected to the board

in 1990 and has served as chairman since 2004. He has held numerous positions in business and other associations.

He is currently researching "The impact of Levantines on Liquorice root, cotton and tobacco trade." Jonathan Beard lives in Istanbul and London.

### **Achilleas Chatziconstantinou**

Chair of Athens Conference Programme, LHF Trustee & LHF Academic Advisory Committee

See previous page.

### **Nuri Çolakoğlu**

Trustee

Nuri M. Çolakoğlu has been working as a journalist, broadcaster and media executive since 1969. Born in Izmir in 1943, he graduated from Robert College and took his BA in International Relations from the school of Political Sciences, Ankara.

He has held positions in Turkey and abroad. Starting with TRT, the Turkish public broadcaster, he went on to work for German news agency DPA, Swedish TV, German radio WDR, daily Aydınlık, BBC World Service, and Daily Milliyet. Upon his return to Turkey he was appointed as the news editor of Milliyet, and then moved to become the Deputy General Manager of TRT.

Since 1991 he has been involved in launching a number of private TV channels such as Show TV, Cine 5, news channel NTV, business news channel CNBC-e, Kanal D in Romania and Fenerbahçe TV. He launched a total of ten TV stations. He served as President and CEO of CNN Turk. For a while he served on the board of Dogan Media Group, managed their production company ANS and later became the President of Dogan Media International working as

coordinator for print media and TVs and external relations. He is now working as a media consultant with his own company, New Media Company, working in the field of corporate communication and producing content for various internet sites.

He is involved in a number of NGOs – currently serving as board member at TAIK (Turkish American Business Council), TUSIAD (Turkish Businessmen and Industrialists' Association), the Istanbul Arts & Culture Foundation, the Istanbul Modern Arts Museum and Contemporary Istanbul. He is a Board Member of the International Council of Paley Media Center, New York, Advisory Board Member of The Performance Theatre, London, and Chief Strategy Officer for Turkey of the World Economy Forum, Geneva.

### **Quentin Compton-Bishop**

LHF Chair & Trustee

A former diplomat and Middle East specialist whose family originates in part from Smyrna/Izmir and Beirut. His research in the genealogy of his family brought him to Craig Encer's original website on the Levantines and led to his becoming a founding trustee of the LHF.

He has an MA in Natural Sciences from the University of Cambridge and an MBA from Cranfield University.

His career has ranged from the British Diplomatic Service to Vodafone and to the founding and leadership of a number of technology-based start-ups, including RolaTube Technology and P2i.

Currently, he works for the University of Warwick as CEO, Warwick Ventures, which commercialises academic research and is a director of several spin-out companies.

### **Dr. Axel Çorlu**

Trustee & Athens Conference Programme

Born in Izmir, Turkey, to a Levantine (Italian/Greek/French/Armenian) family, Axel Corlu has a B.A. in Political Science and Public Administration from Bilkent University, an M.A. in History from Bilkent University, and a PhD in History from Binghamton University (State University of New York). Since 2002, he has taught history courses at Binghamton University (SUNY), SUNY-Cortland, University of Mary Washington, and Georgia Gwinnett College, on the U.S., the Ottoman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, and the Middle East, as well as thematic courses such as History of Warfare and History of Food. He currently teaches history at Georgia Gwinnett College, as Assistant Professor of History.

His current research into the history and sociology of food is shaping up into an article titled '*Going to War over Baklava and Cheese?: Food as Identity in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1912-Present*', while another article in military history is on its way, titled '*An Elaborate Fiction: the Myth of the 'Western Way of War' in the Context of Byzantine and Ottoman Warfare*'. His academic profiles can be found at [usg.academia.edu/AxelCorlu](http://usg.academia.edu/AxelCorlu) and [www.ggc.edu/about-ggc/directory//axel-corlu](http://www.ggc.edu/about-ggc/directory//axel-corlu).

Dr. Corlu lived in upstate New York from 1999 to 2012, and after a 2-year stint in Virginia, now resides in Atlanta, Georgia.

### **Craig Encer**

LHF Founder and General Secretary

Craig Encer has lived and worked in Turkey most of his life and in doing so was often reminded of the vestiges of the rich multicultural past, evident in diverse aspects of life there, from architecture to cuisine, to stories told to

him by old people in the back-streets of Beyoğlu.

Official history, as in most countries, has always ignored that mixture to provide a nation-based narrative that led to widespread misconceptions of the contributions of minorities, not least the Levantines. Craig's desire to go deeper into the stories of the past led to a personal research that stretched from local libraries to cemeteries, to chatty descendants and the then often overlooked academic researchers, over the late 1990s.

The Levantine Heritage website was born initially in 2004, merely to share the findings on Levantines, possibly the most misunderstood of the minorities of the Levant. As this website created slowly but surely its own followers, who subsequently became contributors, the wheel of creating an accessible database for reference and inspiration began to turn. With the encouragement of friends, the idea of bringing together contributors, academics, community members and the general public grew, and the first Symposium took place in Izmir in November 2010.

### **Dr. Philip Mansel FRHS**

Trustee

Philip Mansel is an historian of France and the Middle East and with a particular interest in the Levant. His books include '*Sultans in Splendour: Monarchs of the Middle East 1869-1945*', '*Constantinople: city of the World's Desire*' (1995), '*Paris between Empires*' (2001), '*Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean*' (2010), the first history in English of Smyrna, Alexandria and Beirut in the modern age, and '*Aleppo: The Rise and Fall of Syria's Great Merchant City*' (2016). Common themes include coexistence between Muslims, Christians

and Jews; relations between the Ottoman Empire and the powers of Europe; and the political importance of cities.

He has lived in Paris, Istanbul and Beirut, and lectures in the UK and abroad. He is currently writing a life of Louis XIV. In 2012, he won the London Library Life in Literature award. He is a Fellow of the Institute of Historical Research, London. For further information, please see [www.philipmansel.com](http://www.philipmansel.com).

### **Zeynep Cebeci Suvari**

Trustee

After obtaining a master's degree from the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome, Zeynep Cebeci Suvari attended Bosphorus University's history department. She has been working on her PhD thesis on the Italian community of Istanbul in the late Ottoman period.

She previously taught in Ca Foscari University of Venice and Bosphorus University in Istanbul. She lived in Damascus in 1999-2000 and studied Arabic there. She now lives in London.

### **LHF Academic Advisory Committee**

The Academic Advisory Committee provides general advice on academic and research matters to the LHF Board.

Dr. Francesco Pongiluppi (Coordinator)

Achilleas Chatziconstantinou

Dr. Ioanna Koukouni

Emanuela Pergolizzi

Behice Tezçakar Özdemir

Dr. Gül Tokay

For biographical notes not in this programme, please see <http://www.levantineheritage.com/research.html>.

## **Practical Information**

### **Conference Venue**

Cotsen Hall

The Gennadius Library

American School of Classical Studies

Souidias 61

Athens 106 76

Greece

Tel: (+30) 210-72-10-536

Opened in 1926 with 26,000 volumes from diplomat and bibliophile, Joannes Gennadius, the Gennadius Library now holds a richly diverse collection of over 120,000 books and rare bindings, archives, manuscripts, and works of art illuminating the Hellenic tradition and neighbouring cultures.

Located in an architecturally significant building across the street from the main American School campus, the Library has become an internationally renowned centre for the study of Greek history, literature, and art, from ancient to modern times. In addition to its role as a library and research institution, "the Gennadeion" is also an active participant in the Athenian and international community through its public lectures, seminars, concerts, exhibitions, and publications.

See map on next page.

### **Registration**

Registered participants will receive their badge and conference booklet at the Registration Desk.

## **Membership Information**

The Levantine Heritage Foundation is a non-profit membership association. If you wish to support our ongoing work, please consider becoming a member or making a donation. £20 (€22) for 1 year of membership, £80 (€90) for 5 years or £500 (€550) for Life Membership.

Members are kept informed of future events and receive discounts on tickets and LHF publications. Payment can be taken online through this page: <http://www.levantineheritage.com/join-us.html>

## **Insurance**

Registration does not cover insurance. Please arrange your own travel and personal insurance. The organisers will not be liable for accidents, theft and property damage, or for delays and/or modification of the program due to unforeseen circumstances.

## **Photographs / Videos**

The LHF will take photographs and videos during the conference and reproduce them in the LHF news materials whether in print, electronic, or other media, including the LHF website.

By participating in the Third International LHF Conference you grant the LHF the right to use your name, photograph and biography for such purposes.

If you do not wish your personal details to be used for such purposes, please let Craig Encer, the LHF's General Secretary, know so that he makes note of your wishes.

Email: [secretary@levantineheritage.com](mailto:secretary@levantineheritage.com)

## Cotsen Hall at the Gennadius Library

American School of Classical Studies, Soudias 61, Athens 106 76, Greece





## Conference Programme

### Day 1 - Friday 2 November

- 08.30 Registration
- 09.30 Welcome by LHF Chairman, Quentin Compton-Bishop  
Opening remarks by Professor Jenifer Neils, Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
- 10.00 - 11.00 Keynote speech: *The Challenges of Pluralism***  
Paschalis M. Kitromilides, Professor and Director of the Centre of Asia Minor Studies, Athens
- 11.00 - 11.30 Coffee break
- 11.30 - 13.00 Session 1 – Dignitaries in the Levantine World**  
Panel Chair: Elisabeth Fontan (Musée du Louvre)
- 11.30 *Greeks in the service of the Republic of Venice. Venetian Consuls in the Ottoman Empire (1670-1715)*  
Umberto Signori (State University of Milan)
- 11.50 *Merchant office holders in 18<sup>th</sup> century Levantine trade. Non-business profit-seeking mechanisms, power politics and Levantine identity*  
Despina Vlami (Academy of Athens)
- 12.10 *The Consulate of the Septinsular Republic (1800-07) in the Dardanelles and Ionian shipping in Constantinople and the Black Sea in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century*  
Gerassimos Pagratis (National & Kapodistrian University of Athens)
- 12.30 *Levantines and the British Consular Service*  
Lucia Patrizio Gunning (University College London)
- 12.50 Q&A
- 13.00 - 14.00 Lunch break

**14.00 - 15.30**

**Session 2 – Networks, Families and Institutions**

Panel Chair: Sophia Laiou (Ionian University, Corfu)

- 14.00 *The German Teutonia Club and its role as a cultural hub of the Levantines in pre-World War 1 Istanbul*  
Richard Wittman (Orient-Institut, Istanbul)
- 14.20 *The sports activity of the English Commercial School "Barkshire" in Smyrna and Athens*  
Andreas Baltas (Panteion University, Athens)
- 14.40 *The Durighellos: three generations of consuls, merchants and antiquarians in the Levant*  
Elisabeth Fontan (Musée du Louvre, Paris) and Michel Klat (independent researcher, London)
- 15.00 *The Baltazzi family and rural change in Western Anatolia in the Late Ottoman Empire*  
Önder Eren Akgül (Georgetown University, USA)
- 15.20 Q&A

15.30 - 16.00

Coffee break

**16.00 - 17.30**

**Session 3 – The role of Religion and Interreligious connections**

Panel Chair: Philip Mansel (Institute of Historical Research, London)

- 16.00 *The Catholic bishops and their community on the Island of Syros and the Ottoman authorities*  
Elias Kolovos (University of Crete)
- 16.20 *A Muslim ayan and his Christian partner: interreligious economic cooperation in Smyrna in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century*  
Sophia Laiou (Ionian University, Corfu)
- 16.40 *A visit to an invisible community: the Protestant Greeks of Asia Minor in the late Ottoman Empire*  
Gülen Göktürk (Eskisehir Osmangazi University, Turkey)
- 17.00 *American Protestantism, Greek Orthodoxy and Greece's Megali Idea: Evolution of the relationship between American Protestant missionaries and Greek Orthodox throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century*  
Ahmet Gençtürk (Tor Vergata University of Rome)



- 17.20 Q&A
- 17.30 - 18.30 Roundtable – Searching the Family Past / Family Portraits**  
Roundtable Chair: Quentin Compton-Bishop (LHF, UK)
- 17.30 *Exploring the Murat Levantine identity*  
Joseph Nicholas Murat
- Anastasia: Speaking her silence*  
Şebnem Şenyener
- The unknown story of a painter: Mario Prassinis (1916-1985)*  
Seza Sinanlar Uslu
- 18.30 - 18.40 Closing of Day 1**
- 18.40 Evening Reception at Cotsen Hall

## Day 2 – Saturday 3 November

- 08.30 Registration
- 09.30 - 10.30 Keynote speech: *Greeks and Levantines in Egypt: Parallel Lives***  
Alexander Kitroeff, Haverford College, USA
- 10.30 - 11.00 Book presentation: *The Smyrna Quay – Tracing a symbol of Progress and Splendour***  
Achilleas Chatziconstantinou and George Poulimenos
- 11.00 - 11.30 Coffee break
- 11.30 - 13.00 Session 4 – Levantine Identities – Who/what is a Levantine?**  
Panel Chair: Despina Vlami (Academy of Athens)
- 11.30 *The Levantines – an Italian word*  
Jérôme Muniglia de' Giustiniani (Independent researcher, France)

- 11.50 *Through the eyes of a Levantine: Hieronymo Giustiniani's manuscript on Genoese Chios*  
Ioanna Koukouni (Athens)
- 12.10 *Greek as a language of communication and cultural heritage of the Levantines*  
Rinaldo Marmara (Independent researcher, Istanbul)
- 12.30 *Levantine Identities in Eric Ambler's 'The Mask of Dimitrios and The Light of Day'*  
Nagihan Haliloğlu (Ibn Haldun University, Turkey)
- 12.50 Q&A
- 13.00 - 14.00 Lunch break
- 14.00 - 15.30 Session 5 – Cosmopolitan cities in transition**  
Panel Chair: Andreas Bouroutis (Yad Vashem Holocaust Research Institute, Jerusalem)
- 14.00 *Salonica, Jerusalem of the Balkans*  
Philip Mansel (Institute of Historical Research, London)
- 14.20 *Cosmopolitan Athens: the communities of western Europeans in Athens 1800-1920*  
Nikos Potamianos (Foundation for Research and Technology - Hellas)
- 14.40 *Smyrna in the wartime: End of October 1914 – September 8<sup>th</sup>, 1922*  
Hervé Georgelin (National & Kapodistrian University of Athens)
- 15.00 *The network of the Bank of Athens in the Levant, 1893-1930@ Urban and architectural aspects*  
Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)
- 15.20 Q&A
- 15.30 - 16.00 Coffee break

- 16.00 - 17.30      Session 6 – Levantines in a post-Ottoman world**  
 Panel Chair: Dimitris Kamouzis (Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Athens)
- 16.00      *Between the Levant and the League: Thanassis Aghnides and the Greco-Turkish population exchange*  
 Haakon Ikonomou (Aarhus University, Denmark)
- 16.20      *The role of Malta following the Smyrna humanitarian crisis of 1922*  
 Giorgio Peresso (Malta)
- 16.40      *Uncertain legal status: Rise and fall of Turkey’s Levantine community*  
 Giordano Altarozzi (Petro Maior University, Romania) and Iulia-Alexandra Oprea (Sapienza University of Rome)
- 17.00      Q&A
- 17.10      18.10      Levantine Unions socializing event**  
 Coordinator: Craig Encer (LHF, UK)
- 17.10      Izmir Levantine Union, Istanbul Levantine Union, LHF, Levantine Hellenic Union. Discussion on challenges, collaborations and synergies
- 18.10 - 18.20      Closing of the Conference**  
 Quentin Compton-Bishop, LHF Chairman

## Abstracts & Biographical Notes

### Keynote Speeches

#### ***The Challenges of Pluralism***

Paschalis M. Kitromilides

**Paschalis M. Kitromilides**, PhD Harvard University, is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Athens and Director of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies.

From 2000 to 2011 he was Director of the Institute of Neohellenic Research at the National Hellenic Research Foundation.

His books in English include:

The enlightenment as Social Criticism. Iosipos Moisioudax and Greek Culture in the Eighteenth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992);

Enlightenment Nationalism Orthodox (Variorum, 1994);

An Orthodox Commonwealth. Symbolic Legacies and Cultural Encounters in South-eastern Europe (Variorum Collected Studies Series, Ashgate, 2007);

Adamantios Korais and the European Enlightenment (Voltaire Foundation, 2010);

Enlightenment and Revolution. The Making of Modern Greece (Harvard University Press, 2013);

Enlightenment and religion in the Orthodox world (Voltaire Foundation, 2016).

#### ***Greeks and Levantines in Egypt: Parallel Lives***

Alexander Kitroeff

Like the Levantines, the Greeks were also denizens of the Eastern Mediterranean, and the two lived, worked and worshipped next to each other. Yet many Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean considered themselves distinct from the Levantines because they had roots in the region and could claim a particular ancestry and heritage. By the same token for many Greeks, the term "Levantine" acquired a scornful connotation.

By focusing closely on the cosmopolitan characteristics of the Greeks of the Eastern Mediterranean, and especially those in Alexandria and Cairo, this presentation argues that notwithstanding their differences, the Greeks and the Levantines shared many characteristics. This was certainly the case of many outsiders who recorded their views of the Greeks in Egypt. But it also true in terms of the ways the Greeks in Egypt, saw themselves as indigenous to Egypt, as their own appellation Αιγυπτιώτες suggests. These claims to being indigenous became increasingly articulate against the backdrop of the rise of Egyptian nationalism after World War I and their examination and their implications form the core of this presentation.

**Alexander Kitroeff** is currently Associate Professor at History Department at Haverford College. He was born in Athens and received his doctorate from Oxford University. He researches the history of identity in Modern Greece and its diaspora in a broad range of fields, from politics to sports and has published four books on those topics.

His new book *The Greeks and the Making of Modern Egypt: from Muhammad Ali to Nasser* is being published by the American University of Cairo Press and will appear on November 5th of this year. He has also completed a book-length study of the history of the Greek Orthodox Church in America in the twentieth century.

Kitroeff has collaborated as historical consultant with director Maria Iliou in several documentary films including "Smyrna 1922 – the Destruction of a Cosmopolitan City" and "From Both Sides of the Aegean: Expulsion & Exchange of Populations Turkey-Greece 1922-1924." Kitroeff and Iliou are currently working on a new project, a 5-part documentary film on the history of Modern Athens.

He also served on the editorial board of the *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* from 1980 through 2013 when it ceased publication.

## **Book Presentation**

### ***The Smyrna Quay – Tracing a symbol of Progress and Splendour***

Achilleas Chatziconstantinou and George Poulimenos

This book by George Poulimenos and Achilleas Chatziconstantinou, as its title implies, involves the historical and topographical study of the waterfront of Smyrna (modern-day İzmir, Turkey), during the period spanning from its construction in 1869 up to 1922 and the present times.

The authors, not discouraged by the lack of ground truth due to the September 1922 Great Fire and the rapid urbanization of Izmir afterwards, looked for evidence in every possible direction: maps and city plans, postcards, photographs and panoramas, annual

commercial guides, newspapers, memoirs and family archives, Greek and international bibliography, assisted by high-end computer technology. The result is almost-accurate drawings of all the edifices (>200 residences, companies, theatres, cinemas, clubs, cafés, hotels, warehouses and administration buildings) lying on the legendary seafront boulevard, along with rich evidence, shedding light on their occupants' stories for the first time. More specifically, this decade-long ambitious endeavour covered the following aspects of research:

1. Development of scaled reconstructions of all the facades that existed along the quay up until 1922, spanning from the northern tip of Punta (modern Alsancak), to the Imperial Barracks in the south end, covering a distance of 3.3 km.
2. Indexing of every structure and corpus compilation, where many different types of material are gathered, thus creating the object's ID record. These are: photographs, private/public/commercial use, ownership, architect, style, construction phases, related events, etc.
3. A study of the challenging quay construction process, from the engineer's point of view, and the changes that the vivid port city went through, in terms of topography, infrastructure, commerce, factors that reflected its importance and spirit.
4. And finally, the improvement of our comprehension of the historical framework and the local socioeconomic environment.

The Quay of Smyrna is presented in two volumes geographically and thematically divided, where drawings, Greek text, photographs and maps are combined in order to document and illustrate it as closely as possible.

For the biographical note of **Achilleas Chatziconstantinou**, please see p8.

**George Poulimenos** was born in Athens in 1959 and his maternal origin is from Kato Panagia (modern-day Çiftlik, Turkey), a village on the Erythrean peninsula. He studied chemical engineering in Germany but chose to work as a software programmer/analyst. Among his interests are computing and the history of Smyrna/Izmir and environs, with emphasis given on old maps and commercial guides.

He has published the book '*A Lexicon of Smyrneika*', a dictionary of the Smyrniot Greek dialect with definitions given in Greek, Turkish and English, along with Alex Baltazzi and George Galdies, and the map '*Smyrni / İzmir - Historical map*', where the locations of existing and lost historical monuments are depicted on a map of modern day İzmir. In publication are '*The Smyrna Quay*', a two-volume book co-authored with Achilleas Chatziconstantinou, as well as a novel about the last years of Smyrna.

## **Session 1 – Dignitaries in the Levantine World**

Panel Chair: **Elisabeth Fontan** (for biographical notes, please see p28)

### ***Greeks in the service of the Republic of Venice. Venetian Consuls in the Ottoman Empire (1670-1715)***

Umberto Signori

This presentation deals with the identity of some Greek notables (both Catholic and Orthodox) living in the Ottoman Empire, especially in the Archipelago, Morea, and Athens between 1670 and 1715. The presentation explores two main directions. The first is to analyse the professional and social background of those Greek notables that petitioned

different Venetian magistrates to be recognised as consuls in the Eastern Mediterranean. This point focuses on the ability of some individuals and their families to enjoy some privileges, from which non-Muslim "locals" were excluded, by constituting social associations with the Republic of Venice.

The second goal is to examine the reasons that motivated these individuals to seek a formal recognition of their status as consuls. This examination allows to analyse the role of their requests to be recognised as such in the political and social formation of their local identity.

The cases presented will provide important insights on the instability of belonging, in which the classification of individuals was determined by rigid fiscal and legal categories as well as by more fluid social relations. This presentation relies on documentation preserved at the Archivio di Stato di Venezia — in most cases, letters sent by those Greek notables (before and after becoming Venetian consuls) to the bailo, the permanent ambassador in Istanbul, or to the other Venetian magistrates in Levant. Usually containing petitionary reports, these consular letters rhetorically requested the restoration of justice, that is to say, either the enforcement of a legal resource or the redress of unjust identification committed by the local authorities.

This research casts light upon the institutional resources available to social actors to produce evidence of their own identity in a context of jurisdictional competition. But it will also show how the ability to enjoy some privileges, and not only some rights, through diplomatic negotiation decided the classification of people as "protected foreigners" or "vulnerable locals".

**Umberto Signori** received a M.A. in Historical Sciences in October 2014 (University of Padua) and a PhD in Early Modern History in June 2018 (University of Milan). His PhD thesis was entitled *Proteggere i privilegio dello straniero. I console veneziani nell'Impero ottoman tra Sei e Settecento (Protecting Foreigners' Privileges. The Venetian Consuls in the Ottoman Empire between Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries)*. During his PhD period he participated in several national and international conferences and he received a fellowship for a doctoral research visit with Professor Filippo de Vivo in the Department of History, Classics and Archaeology of Birkbeck (University of London). Since November 2017 he is Fellow at the Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici in Naples. He specializes in the institutional and social history of the Mediterranean world in the early modern period, with a focus on consuls, migrants and foreigners.

<https://unimi.academia.edu/UmbertoSignori>

***Merchant office holders in 18<sup>th</sup> century Levantine trade. Non-business profit-seeking mechanisms, power politics and Levantine identity***

Despina Vlami

From the sixteenth century the organization and monitoring of European trade and navigation in the Levant, required the establishment of a system of consular representation in the major trade outposts and port cities of the Ottoman Empire. European countries assigned to their consuls a twofold task: they were to be vehicles of national sovereignty in a foreign country, conveying to the Ottoman authorities the policies of their respective governments on Levantine trade and navigation and

were delegated to oversee and protect their fellow countrymen's personal safety and business transactions inside local societies; they also collected taxes and duties imposed upon trade and navigation.

Some countries appointed distinguished merchants as consuls, while others chose high profile citizens. Gradually local Ottoman agents of European commercial houses were given posts as consuls and vice consuls receiving European protection and prospects of international business in exchange for their expertise in local markets and political connections. Consuls in the Ottoman Empire received emoluments and had access to power lobbies back home and inside local societies. Their offices became synonymous with power, security, connections and profit and were sought after, despite the unexpected risks to which they sometimes exposed their holders.

The appropriation of such public appointments instigated antagonism, bitter disputes and undercover tactics. Levantine merchants who succeeded to be nominated consuls and vice-consuls were involved in power politics and bureaucratic procedures, undertook a large spectrum of responsibilities and carried through transactions that had eventually a serious impact upon their business strategies and national loyalties.

Picking up evidence from the rich records of the English Levant Company, Dutch business correspondence and published French sources, we reveal some unknown aspects of the organization and operation of the consular system established by various European countries in the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century. We get glimpses of the methods used by European and Ottoman merchants to gain offices and

the impact of this process on their image, identity and income.

Finally, we show how the extended and alternating web of European consular representatives in the major mercantile centres of the Empire, shaped a semi-autonomous system of power distribution and transactions that operated through and against the Ottoman central and local administration.

This system of diplomatic and business representation enhanced solidarities and antagonisms that transcended established dichotomies of Ottoman markets and local societies (foreigners versus locals, Europeans versus non-Europeans, Christians versus Muslims). In that sense it contributed to the formation and development of a specific Levantine identity.

**Dr. Despina Vlami** is a senior Researcher in the Research Center for Medieval and Modern Hellenism of the Academy of Athens where she is directing the research program Trade and Diplomacy in the Eastern Mediterranean, 17th-19th centuries. She has received a B.A. in Political Sciences (Law School, National and Capodistrian University of Athens). She studied in London and Florence and received her PhD in History and Civilization from the European University Institute (Badia Fiesolana, Florence).

She is the author of a book on the Greek merchant community in Leghorn, Italy (*The Florin, the Grain and Via del Giardino. Greek Merchants in Leghorn 1750-1868, Athens: Themelio Pb., 2000*). Her book *Trading with the Ottomans. The Levant Company in the Middle East* was published by the I.B. Tauris Pb. in London in 2015. Her most recent book is *Entrepreneurship and Protection in the Levant Trade 1798-1825. The British Levant Company and a*

*Greek Trojan Horse, published by the Academy of Athens in 2017.*

She is currently writing a book based on the business correspondence between the Dutch merchant Thomas De Vogel of Amsterdam and the Cardamici commercial houses in Smyrna and Constantinople. She has published many articles in Greek and European journals and has participated in congresses in Greece and abroad. Her research interests comprise the study of entrepreneurship, business history, merchant diasporas and international trade in the 18th and 19th centuries.

***The Consulate of the Septinsular Republic (1800-07) in the Dardanelles and Ionian shipping in Constantinople and the Black Sea in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century***

Gerassimos Pagratis

The creation of a new state, the Septinsular Republic, in 1800 benefited Ionian merchant shipping. This new state, formed after an alliance between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, was also protected by Great Britain. Through the Septinsular Republic these three powers aimed to prevent the French from expanding into the eastern Mediterranean.

The research draws on the whole of the consular archives of the Septinsular Republic, with an emphasis on the consulate established in the Dardanelles. After a brief presentation of the conditions that led to the creation of this state, we will attempt to examine the functions of the consulate and focus on the qualitative and quantitative aspects of Ionian shipping activities in the Black Sea at the time.

**Gerassimos D. Pagratis** was born in Corfu in 1970. He studied in Italy



(University of Lecce) and Greece (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens). In 2001 he received his PhD degree from the History Department of the Ionian University (Corfu) with a thesis entitled '*Maritime Trade in Venetian-ruled Corfu (1496–1538)*'. He was Adjunct Lecturer of Maritime History in the Department of Shipping, Trade & Transport of the University of Aegean (Chios, 2001-2004). Today, he is Professor of the Modern History of Italy and the History of the Venetian Republic at the University of Athens.

<http://uoa.academia.edu/GerassimosPagratis>

### ***Levantines and the British Consular Service***

Lucia Patrizio Gunning

When the Foreign Office took over British diplomatic representation in the Ottoman Empire from the Levant Company in 1825, a wave of newspaper articles attacked the reliability of the service due to the consistent presence of 'Levantines'. Debates in Parliament discussed their engagement and inquiries assessed the suitability of their employment in the newly created government organisation.

Due to the mistrust provoked by the press, for a number of years the government tried to eliminate the Levantines from the consular service in the Ottoman Empire and replace them with British personnel.

In reality, the British born personnel lacked the understanding and familiarity with local habits, knowledge and ability to speak the language, and trust of the locals, which had made the Levantines a precious and fundamental part of the service.

In the particular context of the search for antiquities for European museums,

moreover, it was especially on this type of personnel that British diplomats came to rely with increasing success.

This paper will examine the perception of Levantines and their involvement in the British consular service in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century and explain why, rather than being eliminated, their use increased with time, especially in the Aegean.

**Lucia Patrizio Gunning** is a Modern Historian specialising in cultural heritage, with a particular focus on the history of collecting for European museums.

Her research interests cover diplomatic, social and cultural history. She specialises in museum formation, state involvement in the collection of antiquities in the 19th century and its implications on contemporary issues of collecting and restitution. She has experience in the protection of heritage at risk, especially post-earthquake. Her areas of interest, research and expertise also cover the ethics of collecting and the position and nature of museums in today's globalised society.

She has written and researched on: the wider nineteenth-century cultural and social scene, the grand tour and British perceptions of the Mediterranean, British travellers in the Abruzzi, Lord Byron and the fight for Greek independence, and Italian immigration in the UK from the nineteenth century to the present day.

Her PhD thesis (UCL) examined the British diplomatic presence in the eastern Mediterranean in the late nineteenth century. Its central topic was the basis for her publication *The British Consular Service in the Aegean and the Collection of Antiquities for the British Museum* (Ashgate 2009). The book provides the basis for her approach to research on the role of institutions in the collection of antiquities. This role, the

repercussions on today's attitudes toward cultural heritage, post-disaster reconstruction, and the position of museums in society, are the focus of her current research interests.

## **Session 2 – Networks, Families and Institutions**

**Panel Chair: Sophia Laiou** (for biographical notes, please see p31)

### ***The German Teutonia Club and its role as a cultural hub of the Levantines in pre-World War 1 Istanbul***

Richard Wittman

Originally founded as an association of German-speaking journeymen in the Ottoman capital Istanbul in 1847, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century the - still-existing - Teutonia Club of Istanbul had developed into the foremost benevolent society for craftspeople and merchants whose families or themselves descended from central Europe. The Teutonia Club soon became a main social and cultural focal point for a diverse community of German-speaking foreign residents as well as for the Levantine community at large.

After various short-lived clubhouses in different parts of Istanbul, most of which shared the fate of many of the traditionally wooden structures in the city centre by being destroyed by one of the frequent fires in the nineteenth century, in 1897 the Teutonia association members were able to move into a new representative club house in the central district of Galata that was solidly built in stone and stands to this day. The sizeable building includes one of the few theatres that Constantinople

possessed at the turn of the century. Aside from its classical functions as a German clubhouse, the new building opened the door for the Teutonia Club to take on an extended role as a cultural venue serving the urban population at large.

This paper aims to shed light on the prominent role that the Teutonia Club played in the years leading up to World War One as a venue for concerts, operas and theatre plays. Used no longer only by the German-speaking community, the Teutonia Club now also provided a much sought-after stage for local performers as well international artists from Germany as well as many other European countries.

Drawing on the Istanbul daily Ottoman Lloyd (Osmanischer Lloyd/Lloyd Ottoman) that was published in a French and German edition from 1908 until 1918, this paper will help to reconstruct the artistic program of the Teutonia Club during the musical seasons of 1910-1913 as a contribution to recreate the rich tapestry of theatre, opera and concert life in the Ottoman capital before the outbreak of the Great War.

**Richard Wittmann** (PhD in History and Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University 2008) is the Associate Director of the Orient-Institut Istanbul, a German humanities research institute abroad. After studying Law, Islamic Studies, and Turcology at the University of Munich and at Freie Universität Berlin he was awarded a scholarship from Harvard University where he continued his studies at the Department of History and at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies.

His research interests focus on Islamic legal history and the social history of the Ottoman Empire. Special attention is given in his work to the consideration of self-narratives as historic sources for the

study of the Near East. He is the editor of the publication series *Memoria. Fontes Minores ad Historiam Imperii Ottomanici Pertinentes*

([www.perspectivia.net/publikationen/memoria](http://www.perspectivia.net/publikationen/memoria)) and (co)editor (with Christoph Herzog) of the monograph series *Life Narratives of the Ottoman Realm: Individual and Empire in the Near East* (<https://www.routledge.com/Life-Narratives-of-the-Ottoman-Realm-Individual-and-Empire-in-the-Near-East/book-series/LNOR>).

### ***The sports activity of the English Commercial School "Barkshire" in Smyrna and Athens***

Andreas Baltas

This paper examines the sports activity developed by the English Commercial School "Barkshire" in Smyrna and Athens, from its foundation in 1872 to the interwar years. This activity is part of the general context of the introduction of British sports to the Ottoman territory and Greece, from the last quarter of the 19th century to the interwar period, as Britain used sports as a means of cultural penetration in areas where Britons were active and where its troops were stationed. Sports have been part of British culture and have been a cultural product that has been exported to different regions of the world, while contributing to the cohesion of British communities all over the world.

Smyrna was one of the most typical examples of a Mediterranean port, where members of local European communities, with British being prominent, formed sports networks involving members of local communities, mainly Greek Orthodox middle class. British private schools, have contributed decisively to the introduction of sports to the educational institutions of Smyrna by establishing physical education in their

curriculum and by developing sports activities.

The English Commercial School "Barkshire" was a pioneer in this field, integrating physical education into its program, which was based on the Oxford and Cambridge University curricula. The school always held its annual internal sports competitions, while its students participated in the school games of the Panionios Club of Smyrna. Its football team was also famous. In Athens, where its seat was moved after the so-called Asia Minor Catastrophe, the school continued to attach great importance to the physical education of its students, holding its annual sports competitions and participating in the local schools championships.

In order to investigate the physiognomy of the school and its emphasis on gymnastics and sports, it is also important to sketch the characters of the people who ran the school both in Smyrna and Athens, such as the founder William Barkshire, his son Charles Barkshire, and the latter's wife Henriette Chabert.

In conclusion, through the exploration of the sports activity of the English Commercial School "Barkshire", we can draw important conclusions on the role played by the British and the Levantines of Smyrna, in general, about the development of the sports in the city and the impact of their sports heritage in Greece, after 1922.

**Andreas Baltas** is a graduate of Physical Education and Sports Science, as well as a graduate of Political Science and Public Administration of Athens University. He also holds a Masters Degree in Organization and Management of Sports Institutions and Enterprises from the University of Peloponnese.

At present, he is a PhD candidate in the department of Political Science and

History at Panteio University of Political and Social Sciences. The subject of his thesis is: "Refugees' sports clubs in Greece during the Interwar period 1922-1940". His main scientific interests concern the social history of modern Greek sports, the history of the Greek Orthodox communities of Asia Minor and generally the policies of memory in modern Greek society.

***The Durighellos: three generations of consuls, merchants and antiquarians in the Levant***

Elisabeth Fontan and Michel Klat (absent)

Angiolo Durighello (1767-1841), is the founder of the Levantine branch of this Venetian family. In 1787 he moved to Aleppo working for the consul of Venice. In 1802 he passed to the service of the Kingdom of Spain and remained there as Consul and Consul-General until his death. In addition to this position he was appointed Consul-General of the Kingdom of Sweden and Norway, French Consul under the reign of Louis-Philippe and the first Consul-General of the United States of America while conducting his trading activities.

His son Alphonse ((1822-1896) in turn embraced the consular career in Aleppo, then in Saïda (Sidon) where he was appointed agent in the French Consulate in 1853 and promoted vice-consul in 1859. He discovered that archaeological research was a lucrative business and in 1855 he made a sensational find: the sarcophagus of King Esmunazor. Later on, he became one of Ernest Renan's close collaborators during the Mission de Phénicie. He had an excellent knowledge of the archaeological remains of ancient Sidon and passed on his passion for antiquities to two of his sons.

Edmond (1854-1922) started digging with his father in 1880 and, the following year, they discovered the so-called temple of Mithras. Edmond will prove to be a relentless "amateur" of illegal excavations. Joseph-Ange (1863-1924), the youngest son and the most famous figure of the family, collected antiques from an early age. He established himself as a merchant in Saïda in 1882, then in Beirut in 1895. During the second part of his life he settled in Paris as a dealer in works of art. He was a generous donor to the Louvre

Alphonse, Edmond and Joseph-Ange contributed greatly to the enrichment of the archaeological collections of the Louvre Museum.

**Elisabeth Fontan** is emeritus Chief Curator, French National Heritage. She is an expert in Ancient Near East Art and Archaeology. She joined the *Département des Antiquités Orientales* of the Musée du Louvre where she was in charge of Assyrian, Phoenician, Syrian, Palestinian and Cypriot collections (1st millennium B.C.).

As a scientific exhibition curator, she organized and managed *De Khorsabad à Paris: la découverte des Assyriens*, Musée du Louvre, 1993 and *De Tyr à Carthage: la Méditerranée des Phéniciens*, Institut du Monde arabe, 2007.

She is one of the editors of the *Catalogue de la sculpture de tradition phénicienne du Musée du Louvre* (Snoeck- RMN 2002) and of *Les ivoires d'Arslan Tash. Décor de mobilier syrien (IX è-VIIIè siècles avant J.C.)* Editions du Louvre-Picard 2018.

She has worked in the museum's international cooperation program for Jordan (Jerash), Syria (Aleppo Museum) and Palestine.

She used to teach at the École du Louvre and at the Institut du Patrimoine

Publication in preparation: *Les Durighello, consuls, collectionneurs et marchands à Sidon*.

**Michel G. Klat** is a descendant of the Durighello family, great-grandson of a daughter of Alphonse Durighello. He is a retired industrialist/ businessman who has always been interested in the archaeology of the Near East. He has assembled an important collection of terracottas (Claude Doumet-Serhal, *Near Eastern terracotta models and figurines*, 2009). His *Catalogue of the Post-reform Dirhams: The Umayyad Dynasty* (Spink 2002) is the standard reference book on this period of Islamic Numismatics. He has also amassed a significant collection of British art including 32 watercolours by David Roberts which are included in '*David Roberts..Travels in the Holy Land*' by Gabriel Naughton published in 2013. He has collected postal history of Lebanon and the Near East for many years.

### ***The Baltazzi family and rural change in Western Anatolia in the Late Ottoman Empire***

Önder Eren Akgül

This paper explores the role of a very prominent Levantine family, the Baltazzis, in the agroecological change of rural Western Anatolia in the nineteenth century. The sixteenth century transformation in the Mediterranean economy and the seventeenth century crisis of the Ottoman Empire were accompanied by an ecological change in the Ottoman Empire's western Anatolian lands. The lowland plains, home for cultivation before, were largely abandoned and taken over by swamps and wetlands where malaria producing mosquitoes found a perfect home for

breeding. The lowlands of the region along the basins of the Gediz and Menderes rivers continued to be fertile but malarial conditions left these areas largely unexploited. They were put into use by pastoralists only in their winter cycle of transhumance and by temporary cultivation.

However, the introduction of commercial cultivation marked a moment of reversal in the trajectory of the region and its lowlands beginning in the 1740s. From 1740s to the 1910s the ecology of Aegean Anatolia changed dramatically as most of the uncultivable malarial swamps, wastelands, and the woodlands of the region were brought under the plough and put to productive use. The demand of European markets for commercial crops provided ample opportunities for Western Anatolian notable families to open uncultivated pastoral lands and malarial lowlands of the basin to commercial agriculture through converting them into the big farms (çiftlik).

The Baltazzis, based in Smyrna, were one such family which invested in the rural hinterland of Smyrna and formed çiftliks especially in the late nineteenth century. The process of çiftlik making in the Western Anatolia radically changed the social and ecological output of the region and opened it to global capitalism. The Baltazzis did not only invest in land and form their own çiftliks but also financed the state-owned imperial çiftliks (çiftlikat-ı hümayun).

The literature on the family has mostly focused on the Baltazzis' financial networks and activities in Smyrna and Galata. This paper, however, goes beyond the urban framework and explores the family's activities in a rural hinterland, and hence will show their very significant role in the rural change of Western Anatolia.

**Önder Eren Akgül** is a PhD candidate in the department of History at Georgetown University. Before coming to Georgetown University, he received his BA degree from the department of International Relations at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara and completed his MA degree in Sabanci University History program in Istanbul. For his dissertation project, he is working on the social and ecological transformation of Western Anatolian provinces of the Ottoman Empire from late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries. His research interests include history of the Late Ottoman Empire, social and environmental history of the eastern Mediterranean, and history of global capitalism.

### **Session 3 – The role of Religion and Interreligious connections**

**Panel Chair: Philip Mansel** (for biographical notes, please see p41)

#### ***The Catholic bishops and their community on the Island of Syros and the Ottoman authorities***

Elias Kolovos

The paper is based on research on the Ottoman documents preserved in the Archives of the Catholic bishopric of Syros.

The presentation will investigate the relations of the Catholic bishops and their community on the island of Syros vis-à-vis the Ottoman authorities, according to the Ottoman documents in the archive, between the late 15th and the 19th century.

**Elias Kolovos** is Associate Professor in Ottoman History at the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Crete. He holds a PhD from

the Aristotle University of Salonica, where he studied. He is an elected member of the Board of the International Association for Ottoman Economic and Social History.

He has written, edited, and coedited ten books and over 40 papers in Greek and international publications and journals. His research interests include the Mediterranean economic history, the history of the insular worlds, the history of the frontiers, rural and environmental history, as well as the spatial history and legacies of the Ottoman Empire.

Publications:

<http://crete.academia.edu/EliasKolovos>

#### ***A Muslim ayan and his Christian partner: interreligious economic cooperation in Smyrna in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century***

Sophia Laiou

The aim of this paper is twofold: a) to explore the economic network of an Ottoman ayan of Smyrna, who included both Ottoman protégés (beratlıs) and foreign merchants and b) to analyse the stance of the Ottoman administration towards the Ottoman protégés. More specifically, the paper focuses on Katipzade, an ayan of Smyrna, who was executed in the 1810s.

Katipzade belonged to a well-known Muslim ayan family of the region that controlled part of the local offices and, as in other cases, it became the target of Mahmud II's policy to eliminate the power of the local elders. According to the procedure following the executions, the Ottoman administration ordered a thorough investigation of all the economic assets of the deceased, in order to have them seized by the state. In this framework, a report submitted to the sultan described the stages of the investigation during which the

cooperation of Katipzade with a non-Muslim Ottoman protégé and the latter's various investments were revealed.

Common investments in ship-ownership and trade are some interesting aspects of this cooperation. Moreover, the involvement of the foreign embassies complicated the whole situation, as they interfered during the investigation process, protecting the interests of the Ottoman protégé and foreign merchants.

The paper is based on archival material from the Ottoman archives of Istanbul and on the contemporary Ottoman histories.

**Sophia Laiou** graduated from the Department of History and Archaeology at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and from the University of Birmingham (MA in Ottoman History). She submitted her PhD thesis at the Department of History and Archaeology (Aristotle University of Thessalokini).

She has published the books *Hi Samos kata tin othomaniki periodo*, Thessaloniki 2002 and *Ta othomanika eggrafa tis monis Varlaam Meteoron*, Athens 2011. Her research focuses on the social and economic history during the Ottoman period and she is associate professor at the Department of History, Ionian University.

***A visit to an invisible community: the Protestant Greeks of Asia Minor in the late Ottoman Empire***

Gülen Göktürk

Almost 2500 Protestant Greeks, notwithstanding their unexchangeable status, found themselves entangled with thousands of Orthodox Greeks who moved to Greece during and after the signing of the Convention for the Compulsory Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey at Lausanne

in 1923. Different from the other communities who did not fit into the designated criteria of the Exchange, like the Albanian Muslims, the Protestant Greeks have not received any attention in the literature on the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations. It was not unexpected, since they were already invisible in the literature about Protestantism and missionary activities in Asia Minor.

The present study explores the history of the Protestant Greek communities in Asia Minor from their conversion during the second half of nineteenth century to their departure from Asia Minor in the 1920s. It is the author's contention that during this period under consideration the Protestant Greek communities followed a separate trajectory of community development characterized by major grievances with the Orthodox Greek communities on the one hand, and certain inevitable family bonds with them, on the other. In that respect, the present study conceptualizes the Protestant Greek community of Asia Minor as a closed community and aims to uncover their special position within the broad Greek community of Asia Minor. While fulfilling this task, the presentation will also pay attention to their relations with the Greek Orthodox Church and vice versa. The ultimate aim of the paper is to make visible the Protestant Greeks of Asia Minor, who still hold on to their separate community consciousness in Modern Greece, in the historiography of Asia Minor Greeks.

The paper is based on the records of the Greek Historical Evangelical Archive, the missionary newspapers *Angeliaforos* and the *Missionary Herald* and some information accidentally found in the Cappadocia folders of the Oral Tradition Archive at the Center for Asia Minor Studies.

**Gülen Göktürk** received her B.Sc. degree with honours in Political Science and Public Administration from Middle East Technical University in 2008. She completed her master's degree in Nationalism Studies at the Central European University in 2009 with a thesis titled '*Clash of identity myths in the hybrid presence of the Karamanlis*'. She received her PhD in Political Science at Middle East Technical University with a dissertation titled '*Well-preserved boundaries: faith and co-existence in the late Ottoman Empire*'.

She currently works as an assistant professor at Eskisehir Osmangazi University. Her research interests include nationalism studies and Ottoman Greeks.

***American Protestantism, Greek Orthodoxy and Greece's Megali Idea: Evolution of the relationship between American Protestant missionaries and Greek Orthodox throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century***

Ahmet Gençturk

Despite the vast amount of research on American missionary activities in the Near East in the 19th century, little is known about the perspective of the Greek Orthodox in their encounter with American missionaries. This paper intends to reveal the dual nature of the relationship between the missionaries and the Ottoman Greeks, which secularized and modernized both.

American missionary endeavours among Greeks started as early as 1820. Missionaries not only sympathized with Greeks who rebelled against the rule of non-Christian Ottoman State, but also they hoped to build an anti-Catholic pact with them. To this end, missionaries successfully conducted much-needed donation rallies and a PR campaign, both

of which contributed to the independence of Greece.

They also opened schools in various parts of mainland Greece, the Aegean Islands and in Istanbul. Nonetheless, after the independence of Greece in 1830, relations rapidly deteriorated as a result of growing anti-Protestant feelings among Greeks. Both the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople and Church of Greece issued edicts against American missionaries and condemned them as enemies of both the Greek Orthodox Church, which is the original church of Christ and, 'Greekness'.

From the 1870s, the Greek Kingdom intensified its efforts to export Greek nationalism to Ottoman Greeks. Cooperating with the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople for the dissemination of the values and ideology of Greek nationalism among Greeks in Anatolia, it used education as the primary mechanism to realize this aim. Meanwhile, American missionaries also decided that influencing souls through schooling instead of openly preaching Protestantism, spread their network of schools across Anatolia. Therefore, Greek schools had to compete with missionary schools in recruiting the Orthodox flock's children. For this purpose, not only a robust anti-missionary campaign was pursued, but also the content of school curricula was reformed to accommodate more science and language classes.

In summary, this paper argues that the Greek Orthodox and the American Protestants were in a dynamic competition. To support this argument, the paper will compare the reactions and measures by Greek Orthodox towards American missionaries in different time periods and geographies.

**Ahmet Gençturk** is a PhD candidate at the department of history at University



of Rome 2 Tor Vergata and he is writing a dissertation titled '*Agents of Modernization or Provocateurs from the West: American Missionary Works Among Ottoman Greeks in the late 19th Century*'. He holds a B.A in International Relations from Ankara University; M.A in Southeast European Studies from the National University of Athens and a post-graduate certificate in political sciences from Central European University.

Among his research interests are Nationalism Studies, modern Balkan history with a particular focus on the history of Modern Greece, Late Ottoman History, Orientalism, Colonialism, and history of American missions.

## **Roundtable – Searching the Family Past / Family Portraits**

**Roundtable Chair: Quentin Compton-Bishop** (for his biographical note, please see p10)

## **Exploring the Murat Levantine identity**

Joseph Nicholas Murat

The Murats were originally Catholic Franks living in Santorini. By the 1890s my great-grandfather Dr Jean Murat held a medical practice in Bornova, Smyrna. In 1897, he married Cristina Hadji Costis. The long established Smyrniot family added the Hadji prefix following their pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Cristina's Ottoman Passport shows her as Rum. In Bornova the Catholic and Orthodox communities shared adjoining cemeteries with no boundaries.

Dr Jean Murat was an Anglophile treating and serving wealthy British families. He is described in English as Dr John Murat on his death announcement in 1918.

The children born into this transnational family grew up speaking Greek, French, English and presumably some Turkish too. The eldest child, Josef was sent to Vienna to look after business interests where he also would have learned German. Aged 18 he had neatly avoided conscription into the Ottoman Army in 1914. Their letters to their cousins were in French but they wrote to each other in Greek. He sourced material to support the Greek army in Smyrna in 1919.

In 1922 the family were refugees in Athens where they were granted aid to travel to Trieste to be united with Josef. They included the Greek journalist and historian Nikos Hadji Costi.

In Trieste they were welcomed as part of the comunita greco orientale di Trieste which ratified all their subsequent documents – marriage certificate, passport application etc. This was vital for Josef's work as an importer of dried foodstuffs and to assist his claim for compensation for their properties and business in Smyrna.

Soon after my father, aunt and uncle were born. The Greeks became the 'enemy within' in Fascist Italy when the second world war began. Josef died aged 53 during an air raid in 1944.

After leaving school, my uncle took a job as a policeman in the Trieste Police. As soon as he was old enough my father joined him. In 1954 the backlash against the British-run police was so strong that the British extended assisted passage to Australia to all Triestino policemen and both my uncle and father applied, without mentioning their Greek identity.

In 1963 my father was working as a purser on the Greek Line ship, the TSMS Lakonia, where my mother also worked as a Nurse. His Commonwealth passport allowed him to settle in London where I was born. Soon after my father, aunt and uncle were born.

**Joseph Murat** is an independent researcher and a long-time member of the Levantine Heritage Foundation.

### **Anastasia: Speaking her silence** Şebnem Şenyener

A century ago, in Smyrna, the pearl of the Levant, my grandmother, as a young girl, embroidered her bridal sheets. Ever since I have had a room of my own I have carried them with me – from İzmir to İstanbul, to New York, to Rome, and now to London. One early summer morning in 2016, I reached into the closet where I kept them. That morning they were different. For the first time, the embroidery came into focus for me, I felt free - free, first of all, from my own long obedience to the silence of history.

My grandmother's signature revealed her secret to me. Since then, I have learnt not only who she actually was, but also who I am. The gleaming white thread of the embroidery cuts small round and oval holes into the white cotton. These "eyelets" sprout to grow flowers, leaves, vines and stems. Amid this obsessively perfect stitching, the floral pattern transforms itself into calligraphy. From the ripe, vibrant bouquet springs a letter, the capital "Alpha" in Greek, the beginning of all things. The script reaches out across the design to give birth from its belly to the rest of the letters: Α - ν - α - σ - τ - α - σ - ι - α. Anastasia. Yet we knew my grandmother only by her Turkish name: Melek ("angel"). Half a century after her death, my grandmother's bridal bed-linens finally told me the compelling story of her silence. In Greek. How could it be that my Turkish grandmother, who married the Müfti's son in İzmir, wrote in Greek? Whose name would she stitch on her bridal sheets but her own, Anastasia?

This presentation is taken from my work-in-progress '*Anastasia: Speaking Her Silence*', a voyage into the unspoken history of the Aegean. Her story involves the town where she was born, Çal; the city where she married, İzmir; the island that was her family's home, Rhodes; and the sea, the Aegean - at war and in peace. It is our memory. It is our spirit. And most of all, it is an emotional nationality that coins the question: is there a Turk? If there is, what is a Turk?

Born in İzmir, **Şebnem Şenyener** is a novelist. She has published six novels in Turkish. She was a founding member of the İletişim Publishing house, and the bi-weekly Yeni Gündem. She was New York correspondent of Cumhuriyet for 14 years. She organized a freedom of expression campaign for the Committee to Protect Journalists in New York that led to release of a prominent Turkish journalist Işık Yurtçu and a change in the law that freed 80 other journalists in 1998. She has also published essays, features, travel literature and short stories in publications including the Varlık literary magazine, the Milliyet Art magazine, Milliyet Book Review, Aktüel, Eurozine and currently writes a weekly column for T24, the online newspaper.

### ***The unknown story of a painter:*** **Mario Prassinis (1916-1985)**

Seza Sinanlar Uslu

In July 1916 there were five people living at apartment number five of the Topçubaşı Cul-de-Sac number five: the Italian Levantine grandmother Anastasia Saltelli, the French step-grandfather Prétextat Lecomte, the mother Victorina Prassinis, the Greek Orthodox father Lysandros Prassinis, and the newly born Mario Prassinis (July 30th, 1916). It was an ordinary cosmopolitan Pera family, one that was quite common in

the Ottoman Empire of the period. It had been two years since World War I began; daily life at Pera continued as usual despite epic transformations shaking up the Empire, such as the ongoing battles in the Dardanelles, national mobilization, and deportation.

His step-grandfather Pr textat Lecomte was no longer writing articles on art in the Stamboul newspaper or teaching art and French at the Commercial School in Heybeliada, but still painting when he received private commissions. The father, Lysandros Prassinos, on the other hand, was teaching literature at the Greek-French High School and keeping himself busy at home with his amateur interest in painting and photography. The women of this multilingual household were speaking a blend of Italian and French interwoven with Greek and Turkish words. Mario, the child, was playing with his grandfather's paints and boxes filled with mosaics and he was dreaming while he was looking his father's books, photographs, maps, and drawings.

This was the beginning of an artistic life which would continue in Nanterre after a definitive departure from Constantinople in 1922. And thereafter a new life would realize it self in the lively artistic atmosphere of Paris with surrealists and other famous intellectual figures of time such as Andr  Breton, R ne Char, Jean Vilar, Man Ray, Paul Elouard etc...

This paper will cover the whole story of this interesting and important artist Mario Prassinos regarding his art works as the reflection of his childhood memories.

Born in 1973, **Mrs. Sinanlar Uslu**, had her high school education at Galatasaray Lycee. After her undergraduate studies in History of Art Department of Istanbul University she attended to the master

program of History Department of Boğaziçi University and her master thesis has been published by Kitap Yayınevi in 2005 under the name of '*Atmeydanı: Bizans Araba Yarışlarından Osmanlı Şenliklerine*'. Her PhD dissertation called '*1844-1916 Pera'da Resim Üretim Ortamı*' accepted by the History of Art Department of Istanbul Technical University in 2008.

Since 2009, she is the academic member of the Art Management Department of Yıldız Technical University. Her research domain contains mostly 19th century Ottoman cultural life, art and press. In addition to this field, she also gives lectures, seminars and workshops on different topics such as Industrial Design History, Contemporary Art Practices and Urban History. Her curatorial experiences gave birth to several exhibitions as well.

#### **Session 4 – Levantine Identities – Who/what is a Levantine?**

**Panel Chair: Despina Vlami** (for biographical notes, please see p24)

##### ***The Levantines – an Italian word***

J r me Muniglia de' Giustiniani

In Italian, the word *Levantine* means where the sun rises, that is, the Mediterranean territories at the East of the heel of Italy. This is in contrast with the western end or Ponente (Maghreb in Arabic), meaning where the sun goes down (Tramonto).

The development of Western commerce in the East in the Middle Ages began in Italian maritime cities: Amalfi, Pisa, Venice, Genoa, in Catalonia and the Republic of Ragusa or Dubrovnik. Faced with Venice and the Franks who destroyed the Byzantine Empire in 1204,

Genoa helped reinstate the Byzantine Empire in 1261 and created a commercial monopoly in Greco-Turkish islands and the Black Sea.

The word *Levantino* is still sometimes used in the Italian language to designate one who presents himself as profitable in his financial success, displaying a certain deceitfulness and contempt for deontology. Qualities sometimes ascribed to Venetians.

The word *Tramontato*, on the contrary, corresponds to one who is completely out of step with his time, misses good opportunities and remains dressed in or thinking in an outdated fashion. He is of stinging and severe appearance - characteristics attributed to the Genoese. This corresponds to the traders who traded with the Muslim world of the West of the Mediterranean Area, until the time of the Reconquista in which the Genoese and Pisans were very invested: that is to say in addition to North Africa, Spain, Portugal, Balears, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta.

During the Italian wars, France took possession of Genoa several times and ended up copying its Capitulations elaborated with the Byzantine Empire and continued with the Ottoman Empire. Francis the First, seeking to extricate himself from the power of the Empire of Charles V, signed Capitulations with Suleyman the Magnificent that would last until Attatürk. He thus permanently implemented French influence between 'the scales of the Levant' and those of Barbary.

Genoese Chios, as early as 1408, is the first ferment of the cosmopolitan world of the Levantines, as demonstrated by Prof. Balard in the second Symposium of Smyrna in October 2014. The Chios' Island population had the most active shipowners of Greece and still does today. The rich city of Smyrna was born around 1630 with the connivance of the

French following the fall of Chios in 1566, which benefited the Ottomans and therefore the French.

If the language of the traders in the Levant would remain Italian (*lingua franca*, *sabir*, *pataouète*) until the beginning of the XIX<sup>e</sup> century, French would prevail in diplomatic relations until the arrival of the Americans and NATO after the Second World War. The English language would appear in the Mediterranean possessions of the Commonwealth (Ionian Islands, Cyprus, Malta, Gibraltar), but only spread with French decolonization and the arrival of computing.

The Greek world would make use of the Latin alphabet in the Chiotico-Levantine language.

This historical course of geopolitics based on linguistics demonstrates the complex social reality behind the word: Levantine.

**Jérôme Muniglia** draws his origins from one of the fifteen Giustiniani families, that ruled the islands of Chios, Samos, Ikaria, and the two Phoceas in Asia Minor. For more than thirty years he has been researching his family history, aiming to explore the Levantine area and in recent years, the Mediterranean as well.

His archaeological studies at the Pantheon-Sorbonne, university of Paris I, included a thesis about urbanism evolution of a roman-medieval town, 50 km from Paris.

Founder of several Giustiniani family associations, Jérôme helped create the Levantine Symposium in Smyrna in October 2014, following his meeting with Alex Baltazzi. He took part in the International Symposium in Voltri, Genoa at which took place the official presentation of his academic team, the Centre for Historical Studies of the

Genoese Overseas. He also helped create the First Medieval Festival of Chios in August 2018. His next Levantine Symposium will be part of the Second Medieval Festival of Chios, in August 2019.

He is author of a number of conference papers and publications, including: *'L'Hôtel de Munille'*, ed. Patrimoine de Seine-et-Marne (2001) and *'I Moneglia'*, ed. Moneglia (2005).

***Through the eyes of a Levantine: Hieronymo Giustiniani's manuscript on Genoese Chios***

Ioanna Koukouni

This paper presents a sixteenth-century manuscript entitled *'History and Description of the Island of Scio or Chios'* by Hieronimo Giustiniani. The manuscript is important for a number of reasons: it is the authentic testimony of a Levantine recounting the context of the making of Levantine society, its description and characteristics, the ambience within which people lived and interacted, and other facets of their life. The *"History"* was written in Paris in 1586, during the High Renaissance period, only twenty years after the capture of Chios by the Ottomans (1566), constituting "the earliest monograph of the regional history of any part of Greece".

The author, Hieronimo Giustiniano, was scion of the last Genoese governor of Chios. His family survived the capture of Chios by the Ottomans in 1566, whence Hieronimo fled to Paris, living thereafter in the court of the King of France, Charles IX, as his Majesty's Councillor and Ambassador. It was there that he wrote the history of his home island.

His lively and vivid account – despite long digressions – illustrates the features of the Levantine identity, an elite society

which stands out by virtue of its culture: they were Westerners (largely from Genoa) who settled in the Levant, associating in businesses as well as in family bonds with locals; it was their education, multi-lingualism, broadmindedness, manners and customs, that made the Levantines a special culture celebrated by travellers, foreign diplomats, intellectuals and so on.

The Levantines were forerunners and first bearers of values, such as intercultural dialogue, diversity and tolerance.

**Ioanna N. Koukouni** is an archaeologist with expertise in the medieval eastern Mediterranean, graduate of the University of Birmingham, Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies (2012). As EU postdoctoral fellow (2013-2016) she followed the strand of Digital Humanities conducting research in audience development for cultural heritage via digital learning. Her work is part of the Europeana digital platform.

She is a co-founder of the Centre for Historical Studies of the Genoese Overseas (CeSSGO) with Professors Sandra Origone and Gabriella Airaldi (University of Genoa), and associated of the Fondazione Alte Vie (Prof. Paolo Stringa-University of Genoa) aiming to promote the candidacy of the Genoese commercial networks to UNESCO and the Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe.

***Greek as a language of communication and cultural heritage of the Levantines***

Rinaldo Marmara

Spoken Levantine Greek, progressively adopted by much of the western

community established in Constantinople, became the language of communication of the Levantines both in their dealings with Greeks and with Levantines of other nationalities. To communicate with Greeks, Levantines hellenised Turkish or Italian words, thereby filling the gaps in their knowledge of Greek.

Following the Lausanne convention of 30 January 1923 between Greece and Turkey, concerning the exchange of populations, almost 1,500,000 Turkish subjects of the Greek Orthodox religion were obliged to leave Turkey. Their language followed these Greeks into exile. Its linguistic influence can easily be imagined, considering that Greece at this time contained only five and a half million people.

Doctor of the Université Paul Valéry of Montpellier, **Rinaldo Marmara** is the official historian of the Apostolic Vicariate of Istanbul, and spokesperson and cultural attaché of the Episcopal Conference of Turkey.

The subject of his doctorate, under the direction of Madame le Professeur Marie-Paule Masson, was the Levantine Community of Constantinople, from Byzantium to the modern day, and its cultural influence on modern Greek.

Author of more than forty books and a hundred articles in specialist reviews, he continues his researches in the secret archives of the Vatican. Specialising in the diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the Turkish Republic, he has taught at the Aydın University of Istanbul.

He has been decorated by the Holy See and made Knight of the Order of Saint Gregory the Great; and received the *Bene Merito* medal of the Republic of Poland.

## ***Levantine Identities in Eric Ambler's 'The Mask of Dimitrios and The Light of Day'***

Nagihan Haliloğlu

This paper explores the Levantine identities depicted in Eric Ambler's novels *The Mask of Dimitrios* (1939) and *The Light of Day* (1962). Having spent almost no time in the Levant, Ambler still managed to create several life-like Levantines in his stories, and set many of his stories in and around the Mediterranean basin.

The author argues that Ambler's Levantines are important in understanding the connotations and the field of meaning that the word 'Levantine' conjures up, as both the novels examined in this paper were made into popular Hollywood films. In many ways, Ambler's novels revolve around one of the central questions set for this conference: Why and how did people in the Levant switch identities? It is the perfect question for the crime novelist to ask, and it is the question the fictional novelist asks and pursues through the length of *The Mask of Dimitrios*.

Written not long after the exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece, Ambler's novel is an exploration of Dimitrios's identity which takes us to Romania, reminding us that what happens in the navel of the world has repercussions elsewhere. Dimitrios starts his criminal career in occupied Smyrna and flees as the Turks retake the city. The several layers of crimes committed by states, by petty officers and then the petty criminals paint a picture of a Levant where anything is possible, and the loss of identity and homeland that is rued in conventional memoirs of the exchange of population proves, in the criminal world that Ambler creates, an opportunity.

The opportunities opened up by 'loss of identity' are further explored in *The Light of Day*, where it is the narrator Arthur Abdel Simpson, whose account of his own Levantine name is a short history of eastern Mediterranean, who must make money through illicit means on either side of the Aegean. Ambler uses the crimes of both Dimitrios and Abdel as the microcosm of a world and borders that are designed on fraudulent terms. In both cases, England and its institutions become secret sharers in this Levantine world, a medium through which these tales are shared with the wider world.

**Nagihan** Haliloğlu is an assistant professor at the Comparative Literature Department of Ibn Haldun University. She holds a MSt in Oriental Studies from the University of Oxford and a PhD in English from the University of Heidelberg. Her book on Jean Rhys, *Narrating from the Margins* was published by Rodopi in 2011. She has published articles on multiculturalism, modernism, travel writing and contemporary Turkish literature. She is currently working on a project on narratives of melancholy.

## **Session 5 – Cosmopolitan cities in transition**

### **Panel Chair: Andreas Bouroutis**

**Dr. Andreas Bouroutis** is an Economist – Historian. He has taught '*Economy and Society in the Balkans*' at the University of Ioannina (department of History) and at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (school of Political Sciences). In the spring semester 2018 he taught: '*History, Economy and Politics in the Levant ports*' (school of Political Sciences, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki).

His monograph '*The Bourgeoisie and the European School Institutions in Thessaloniki (1888- 1943): cultural and social breakthrough on a late empire city*' has been published in 2018 in Thessaloniki.

He has been a scholar of the education exchange program between Greece and Germany (DAAD) in 2013, a scholar for the John Latsis Public Foundation in 2014, and a bursary of the Italian State in 2016.

Dr Bouroutis is currently a Research Fellow at Yad Vashem Holocaust Research Institute in Jerusalem Israel.

### ***Salonica, Jerusalem of the Balkans*** Philip Mansel

Salonica before 1912 was not only a great Ottoman, Jewish and Greek city. It was also a key Levantine city. Like other Levantine cities it was innovative, mixed, polyglot, commercial and vulnerable. Consuls played a vital role in the political, educational and medical life of the city (and would arrange its peaceful surrender to the Greek army in 1912).

This paper will particularly focus on the role of Salonica in the Young Turk revolution in 1908 and 1909. The city's distance from the Sultan's power base in Constantinople facilitated the Young Turks' military coup, and later the Sultan's overthrow (after which Abdulhamid was taken, by the same recently constructed railway which had carried the troops who had overthrown him, to live under house arrest in Salonica). For three years until 1912 this Levantine city was the 'holy city' of the Young Turk Revolution, called the 'Ka'aba of Liberty'.

Using new sources and photographs, this paper will show that this Levantine city by its cosmopolitan nature facilitated a national revolution. The two

characteristics are less contradictory than is often claimed. Mustafa Kemal himself was born in Salonica.

**Dr. Philip Mansel** is author of, among other books, *Constantinople City of the World's Desire* (1995); *Paris between Empires* (2001); *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* (2010), a history of Smyrna, Alexandria and Beirut; and *Aleppo; The Rise and Fall of Syria's Great Merchant City* (2016). *Constantinople* and *Levant* have been translated into Greek. He is currently finishing a biography of Louis XIV. He is a Fellow of the Institute of Historical Research, London and a founder of the Society for Court Studies ([www.courtstudies.org](http://www.courtstudies.org))

***Cosmopolitan Athens: the communities of western Europeans in Athens 1800-1920***

Nikos Potamianos

The paper will present the basic facts regarding the settlement of people from other countries of Europe in the 19th century Athens. It will argue that Athens, apart from being the capital of a new national state and one of the centres of the 19th century Hellenic world in the Eastern Mediterranean, had a strong international character as well.

The author will present the (small but steady) waves of migration to Athens from various countries: their timing, the way they were related to Greek history and the history of the country of origin, and their character in terms of class, profession and gender.

Milestones in this history of European settlement in Athens are the regency and the kingship of the Bavarians in the 1830s; the European revolutions of 1848; the mushrooming of café-chantants after the 1870s; the big

construction works of the 1880s; the creation of an affluent middle class in Athens willing to hire European teachers and maids; the Russian revolution of 1917.

**Nikos Potamianos** is a researcher at the Institute for Mediterranean Studies – FORTH. His PhD in History and Archaeology at the University of Crete was entitled '*The "petty bourgeoisie" of Athens. Master artisans and shopkeepers 1880-1925*'.

His papers and other publications are available at <https://forth.academia.edu/NikosPotamianos>

***Smyrna in the wartime: End of October 1914 – September 8<sup>th</sup>, 1922***

Hervé Georgelin

While Smyrna has attracted much attention as far as its cosmopolitanism is concerned or how it was destroyed through arson from September 13<sup>rd</sup>, 1922 onwards, the slow end of normalcy in wartime has been rather neglected so far, as if the final catastrophe had erased the longer, low intensity crisis in the years before.

This paper will present some of the results of the research about this critical period, which may explain the probability of a major crisis, in order to solve the tensions both resulting from the local Ottoman society and imposed by external factors. The corpus of sources is diverse: it encompasses diplomatic archives from Britain and France but also Germany and Austria-Hungary and Greece, personal narratives published or unpublished, and testimonies by Greek Orthodox refugees registered in the Archives of the Oral Tradition at the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens.



It will focus on the following questions: How was everyday life for most people in the Smyrna area during these uneasy years? What were the political plans for this region in circles who might have a say after the conflict? How did the ethnic and/or religious affiliation of Smyrna residents influence their fate and their opinions about the war and its immediate aftermath? How was the social milieu? Was the atmosphere in Hellenic Smyrna close to some normalcy again or was it symptomatic of the difficulties the Greek state had to establish itself on the Eastern shore of the Aegean? Finally, can we distinguish a Levantine discourse and concrete actions in the given setting?

**Hervé Georgelin** is lecturer in History, Department of Modern Turkish and Asian Studies, National University of Athens appointed: February 2016).

His book, *'La fin de Smyrne: du cosmopolitisme aux nationalismes'* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2005), has been translated into Modern Greek: *'Σμύρνη: από τον κοσμοπολιτισμό έως τους εθνικισμούς'* (Athens: Kedros, 2007), 3rd edition: 2017 and into Turkish: *'Smyrna'nın Sonu, Kozmopolitizmden Milliyetçiliğe'* (Istanbul: Birzamanlar Yayıncılık, 2008).

Some articles by him include:

*'Geç Dönem Osmanlı Smyrna'sında Ermenilerin Toplumlararası İlişkileri'* pp. 195-209 in Richard G. Hovannisian (ed) *İzmir - Tarihi Kentler ve Ermeniler* (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2018); *'Survivre en toute conscience à l'épreuve génocidaire'*, pp. 89-95 in Gérard Dédéyan and Carol Iancu (eds), *Du Génocide des Arméniens à la Shoah. Typologie des massacres du XXe siècle* (Toulouse: Privat, 2015); common text with Bernard Lory, *'Les temps entrelacés de deux villes pluricommunautaires : Smyrne et Monastir'*, pp. 173-201 in

François Georgeon, Frédéric Hitzel (eds), *Les Ottomans et le temps*, (Leiden & Boston: E. J. Brill, 2012); and *'Living Together in Urban Contexts: Port-Cities versus Inner Anatolian Places (1880 - 1924)'*, pp. 357-383 in *Erytheia, Revista de Estudios Bizantinos y Neogriegos*, Volume 32 (2011). <http://www.hispanohelenica.org/erytheia.htm>

### ***The network of the Bank of Athens in the Levant, 1893-1930@ Urban and architectural aspects***

Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis

The paper will present research on the network of premises established by the Bank of Athens in the Levant, since the creation of the bank in 1893 up to 1930.

The Bank was created and developed as a Mediterranean or Levant bank, thanks to the Greek Diaspora, especially in those regions of the Levant where Greek entrepreneurs had developed significant business activities. The Bank opened the first branch in Alexandria in 1896, and soon extended its network from the Levant to Marseilles and from Soudan to Londo. It held the second largest network of branches in the region after the Imperial Ottoman Bank; by 1911 it operated 39 branches, in continental Greece, Crete, Cyprus, Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, Soudan, as well as in London, Liverpool, Hamburg, Romania and Marseilles. With the decline of the Greek Diaspora the Bank reduced its operations and in 1956 was eventually merged with the National Bank of Greece.

The Bank of Athens emerged in an era of major changes that transformed the multi-communal Levantine towns into cosmopolitan cities, which attracted foreign investments, new financial institutions, novel social/cultural venues,

and shaped modern business districts. The banks were essential elements of those new landscapes of economy and culture. The Bank of Athens erected privately-owned premises in important urban centres of the Eastern Mediterranean. Its facilities were all centrally located and designed by prominent architects, such as E.Ziller in Athens, P.Karathanasopoulos in Athens and Volos, V.Kouremenos in Istanbul, N.Paraskeyas and P.Gryparis in Alexandria, D.Rabaonis in Izmir, D.Fyllizis in Trabzon, et.al. In the 1920s I.Axelos served as the Bank's architect and designed or renovated its premises in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean. Some of the numerous bank buildings survive today, mostly refurbished to new uses, such as those in Chios, Volos, Athens, Alexandria, Istanbul (Karaköy), and remind the Bank's previously powerful presence.

Drawing on rich and original research material, the paper will consider the spatial dimensions of the Banks' branches in terms of their presence in the new setting and their relation to the urban transformations of the host cities. It will map out the Banks' buildings in the urban context, and examine their architecture as a significant contribution in city reshaping, and the formation of the cosmopolitan downtown districts in Levantine cities.

**Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis** is Professor Emerita of the School of Architecture, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece. She has authored several articles and books on the Greek and Eastern Mediterranean cities in the late nineteenth and the twentieth century. Her research interests include planning history, urban modernization and heritage preservation.

The paper draws mainly on research pursued in the framework of EU funded research programme '*Designing the*

*Museum of the City of Volos: Historical Research and Development of innovative interactive content for the dissemination of knowledge (DeMuCiV)*', 2013-2016.

## **Session 6 – Levantines in a post-Ottoman world**

### **Panel Chair: Dimitris Kamouzis**

**Dimitris Kamouzis** is a Researcher at the Centre for Asia Minor Studies since 2010. He received his PhD in History at the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, King's College London. He has written several articles on the Greek Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire/Turkey and is a co-editor of the collective volume '*State - Nationalisms in the Ottoman Empire, Greece and Turkey: Orthodox and Muslims, 1830-1945*' (Oxon: SOAS/Routledge Studies on the Middle East, 2013).

His most recent publication was '*Out of Harm's Way? Structural Violence and the Greek Orthodox Community of Istanbul during World War I,*' Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association, 4,1 (2017). Research interests include: Non-Muslim Minorities in the Ottoman Empire/Turkey, Greek-Turkish Relations, History of Greek Diaspora, Oral History, Refugee Studies and History of Humanitarianism.

### ***Between the Levant and the League: Thanassis Aghnides and the Greco-Turkish population exchange***

Haakon Ikonou

This paper explores the trajectory of the Ottoman Greek Thanassis Aghnides and the role he came to play in the exodus and population exchange of 1922-24 as one of the rising stars of the newly

established League of Nations Secretariat. Born in Niğde in 1889, Aghnides belonged to the Orthodox Christian community of the historic region of Cappadocia, in the heartland of Anatolia. His pluralistic religious education and linguistic skills; his identification with both the legacies of empire and the promises of the nation; and the dynamic reach of British imperial and diplomatic networks – from Istanbul, via Paris, to London – propelled the young Ottoman-turned-Greek into the League of Nations following the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

The paper analyses these trajectories and argues that Aghnides had the makings of the kind of ‘hybrid bureaucrat’ that would be so influential within the League Secretariat. Operating between Turkish and Greek authorities, and between the League and the many vested interests in the region, Aghnides sought to balance the role of an envoy of the international cause and a cultural broker, with his personal identification with the humanitarian catastrophe unfolding in the wake of the Greek defeat in Asia Minor, the Treaty of Lausanne and the ensuing population exchange.

It is through this prism, the paper seeks to connect the literature on post-imperial identities and mobility with the new historiography of internationalism, highlighting a little recognized connection between the two.

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### ***The role of Malta following the Smyrna humanitarian crisis of 1922***

Giorgio Peresso

The imminent entry of Atatürk in Smyrna convinced the British authorities to evacuate its subjects to its colonial outposts in the Mediterranean such as Malta. The island was faced with providing temporary home to some 1500 persons, half of whom claimed a Maltese connection. Most of these had no relatives in Malta and were four generations removed from the island of their ancestors. Like their counterparts in the Ionian Islands, their connection was merely sentimental; just having a Maltese surname, at times with a Greek name: they spoke no English or Maltese but only Greek. In fact there were about 30 persons who had Polycarp as their first name. About 100 Greek refugees accompanied their British Levantine masters, such as the Whittall clan, which numbered 70 of its members as having landed in Malta. The Greek Foreign Minister Calogeropoulos expressed to the Greek Consul in Malta his county’s inability to accept the repatriation of those refugees who were perceived to be Greeks owing to the several hundred thousand already on Greek soil. There was a small but prosperous Greek community, engaged in business, in

Malta consisting of about 30 persons. Some had offered to pay for the repatriation of refugees to Greece.

The urge of some refugees, who remained in Malta to return to Smyrna was ingrained in even those who left a story about the misery the Turkish occupation. One person, although blind, pleaded with Imperial authorities in Malta to be allowed to return. A few succeeded and although they had their passports in order, several of the Maltese born in Turkey were not only distrusted by the Turkish authorities, who considered such 'Maltese' as having sympathised with the Greeks and the slain Greek archbishop but were treated as Greeks in disguise. In some cases, a number of Smyrniots arrived in Greece after two years stay in Malta.

Malta had just obtained self-government from Britain. The country was trying not only to gain political emancipation, but also to provide some subsistence to its people. As a colony the Maltese Government had no say in foreign relations but nevertheless provided the logistics such as giving shelter for refugees. Malta had just been released from sheltering Russian refugees fleeing the Revolution. A small number of refugees were accommodated in hotels, but the majority lived in camps, previously used by Great War prisoners. Eventually, the majority of Smyrna refugees were dispersed in countries where they were welcome while a number were integrated in Maltese society.

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*Courts on the eve of the Second World War*' (University of Edinburgh, 2014) , '*Umberto Calosso-Ramingo - the wandering antifascist*', (University of Reading, 2015) and '*Giovanni Giglio - the journalist expelled by Mussolini twice*' (University of Bristol, 2016).

He authored a book about two émigrés who lived in Malta during the inter-war period entitled '*Calosso: Giuseppe Donati and Umberto Calosso - Two Italian anti-fascist refugees in Malta*'. For several years, he has been researching about the Malta connection of the Smyrna catastrophe as well as the plight of the Maltese Diaspora in Corfu.

### ***Uncertain legal status: Rise and fall of Turkey's Levantine community***

Giordano Altarozzi and Iulia-Alexandra Oprea

The paper explores the evolution of the judicial status of the Levantine community from the beginning of the Great War to the first decades of republican Turkey. Although at the beginning of the First World War, the majority of Levantines did not have Ottoman citizenship - being foreign residents of the Empire -, they were well-regarded and enjoyed extensive rights and privileges due to the Capitulations and their prosperous economic activities, in the context of virtually non-existent Ottoman bourgeoisie.

However, the emergence of nationalist movements in Europe and the Ottoman Empire, and the establishment of the Turkish national state had a great impact on the multicultural community and radically changed its situation, cancelling the privileges of the Levantines and transforming them in second-class citizens. An "agent" of the Western world, perceived both as enemy -

mastermind of the Sèvres Treaty - and development model – inspiration for the Kemalist regime-, the Levantine community was faced with ambiguous treatment and attitudes, most of their problems originating in their unclear status. Consequently, the community struggled with high risk of expropriation, lack of financial support, persecutions, discrimination and unfair laws.

The correspondence found in the Levantine archives of Istanbul together with the laws adopted in the first years of the Turkish Republic give us a clearer picture of what meant to be a Levantine in modern Turkey.

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## NOTES