



THE LEVANT & EUROPE: SHIPPING & TRADE

**Networks of People
and Knowledge**

2nd International Conference | London | 2-4 November 2016
The Levantine Heritage Foundation

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SHIPPING AND TRADE**
Networks of People and Knowledge

The Levantine Heritage Foundation
2nd International Conference | London | 2-4.11.2016

PROGRAMME & PARTICIPANT INFORMATION



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Cover image

View of Constantinople,
Konstantinos Kaldis, 1851



The Levantine Heritage Foundation

Advancing research, preservation and education in the heritage, arts and culture of communities in the Levant region

The Levantine Heritage Foundation, 71-75 Shelton Street, Covent Garden, London WC2H 9JQ, UK

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. www.levantineheritage.com/

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

General Secretary: Craig Encer

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Welcome to the Second International LHF Conference in London

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

The first three-day conference “The Levantines: Commerce and Diplomacy”, held in Istanbul in 2014, 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 mix. Much was learned, distant cousins discovered and new friends made.

This second conference, which we hope will become a biennial series, highlights trade as the central dynamic in the creation of a Levantine world, with complex economic networks giving rise to equally complex social, cultural, political and material interactions.

Although the Levant has been part of Eurasian trade networks for millennia, it played an increasingly central role during the creation of the modern world. The expansion of capitalism, accompanied by imperialism, nationalism and the movement of people through the Levant helped shape the world as we know it. The essential “engine of history” in most of these historical dynamics was trade, providing the material exchanges and networks, which in turn generated an array of social and cultural interactions. The programme covers many topics, which I hope you find interesting.

I would like to take the opportunity to revisit the objectives of the Levantine Heritage Foundation (LHF). The LHF was set up in 2010 with the aims 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 usually a subject of debate at such conferences. In the context of the LHF’s mission, the Levantines were 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. London was a hub for the Levantine trade with Europe and so it is fitting that this second conference shifts the aspect of our studies and takes place in London.

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 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. We continue to be 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 we have been busy with other events. In September, I was delighted to attend the excellent conference organised by the LHF's Istanbul Group. It was supported enthusiastically by the Beyoğlu Municipality, which covers the districts known to Levantines as Pera and Galata in Istanbul, and took place in the Italian Institute of Culture (one of our hosts also in 2014). It attracted a large audience and the tours on the third day were

oversubscribed.

None of this would be possible without the contributions in their different ways of the LHF's members, supporters, trustees and volunteers. Our major financial supporters are listed in this programme and I wish to thank them here. Please take note of them and if you meet them thank them again. My thanks also to the many individuals who have helped us in the development and delivery of our objectives over the past two years and in preparing for this conference.

Finally, I would also like to highlight the generosity of our hosts, Europe House and the Hellenic Centre, who have provided their splendid facilities and the support of their teams for this conference.

We plan to highlight the Greek connection with the Levant in 2018 when this conference will be held in Athens.

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

Quentin Compton-Bishop
Chairman
The Levantine Heritage Foundation

Conference venues



2016 Conference sponsors

John and Aylin McCarthy (sponsors of the opening reception at the Oriental Club)



Consolidated
International
Agencies



Quentin Compton-Bishop

General LHF sponsors

 Vehbi Koç Foundation

We thank also a number of donors who wish to remain anonymous

Past sponsors



Antoine Makzume
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Zeynep Cebeci Suvari (Trustee)

Nuri Çolakoğlu (Trustee)

Web design & Digital Archive

Craig Encer (Trustee)

Quentin Compton-Bishop is a former diplomat, Middle East specialist, entrepreneur and now CEO of Warwick Ventures, which commercialises research from the University of Warwick. Researching his Levantine family background, which includes Izmir and Beirut, led him to the Levantine Heritage interest group and its many dedicated academic and amateur researchers, and into the history of the Levant region. This led him to become one of the founding Trustees and the first Chairman of the Levantine Heritage Foundation with its charitable mission to promote education and research in the history and cultural heritage of the Levant and to support its preservation for the benefit of future generations.

Craig Encer 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. This desire by Craig 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 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. Craig is currently the General Secretary of the Levantine Heritage Foundation.

Dr Philip Mansel FRHS is a historian of France and the Middle East, particularly interested 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) and *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* (2010), the first history in English of Smyrna, Alexandria and Beirut in the modern age. Its 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, lectures in the UK and abroad. He is currently writing a life of Louis XIV. His latest book is *Aleppo: the Rise and Fall of Syria's Great Merchant City* (2016). In 2012 he won the London Library Life in Literature award. He is a Fellow of the Institute of Historical Research, London, and a founding trustee of the Levantine Heritage Foundation. For further information see www.philipmansel.com

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 Cationi 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.

Born in Izmir, Turkey, to a Levantine (Italian/Greek/French/Armenian) family, **Dr. 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 Ph.D. 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. Dr. Corlu 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 and 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.

Born in Chios, Greece, **Dr Kalliopi Amygdalou** holds a Diploma in Architecture from the National Technical University of Athens (2009), a masters degree from the London School of Economics (MSc in Culture and Society, 2010) and a PhD in Architectural History and Theory from the Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London (2014).

Her doctoral research, titled 'A tale of two cities in search of a new identity: The politics of heritage and modernisation in early 20th-century Izmir and Thessaloniki' was funded by the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation (2011-2014)

and by the Foundation for Education and European Culture (IPEP, 2010-2011). She currently teaches at Izmir Institute of Technology, School of Architecture.

After obtaining a master's degree from the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome, **Zeynep Cebeci Suvvari** attended Bosphorus University's history department. Mrs. Suvvari has been working on her Ph.D. 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. Mrs. Suvvari lived in Damascus in 1999-2000 and studied Arabic.

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. He has three children and two grandchildren.

Practical Information

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. 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 organizers 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 Second International Conference and reproduce them in the LHF news materials whether in print, electronic, or other media, including LHF website. By participating in the Second International LHF Conference you grant the LHF the right to use your name, photograph and biography for such purposes. Photographing, audio recording and videotaping a presentation or speaker is prohibited without the presenter's prior written consent. You will be asked to fill such a form at Registration in order to allow us to videotape or audio record your presentation.

LHF Travel Awards

True to its aims to promote research on the Levant, the Levantine Heritage Foundation is very proud to be able to dedicate part of the donations it has received to supporting young researchers. This year two £500 travel awards were granted to two PhD candidates in order to facilitate their attendance to the conference.

The Awards ceremony will take place on Thursday 3 November at 10.00am

Venues and Maps

Wednesday, Nov. 2nd &
Thursday, Nov. 3rd

EUROPE HOUSE

32 Smith Square, Westminster,
London SW1P 3EU
Tube: St James Park / Westminster
/ Victoria

Europe House has been the shared home of the European Parliament Information Office and the European Commission Representation in the UK since 2010. Apart from hosting regular conferences and meetings with a European focus it also houses the 12 Star Gallery which shows work which celebrates the creativity and cultural diversity that is the hallmark of the European Union.

Friday Nov. 4th

THE HELLENIC CENTRE

16-18 Paddington Street, London
W1U 5AS
Tube: Baker Street

The Hellenic Centre is a vibrant cultural organisation founded in 1994 as a charity, with the aims of providing a focus for the Hellenic community, promoting an awareness of Hellenic culture in the UK and nurturing the unique relationship between Britain and the Hellenic world. The Centre offers a rich programme of lectures, exhibitions, concerts, social events and Greek language courses.

The Centre's elegant building dates from the early 1900s and has been sympathetically refurbished to provide a number of meeting and exhibition rooms, the most impressive of which is the Great Hall.

Wednesday, Nov. 2nd | RECEPTION
THE ORIENTAL CLUB
Stratford House, Stratford Place,
London W1C 1ES
Tube: Bond Street

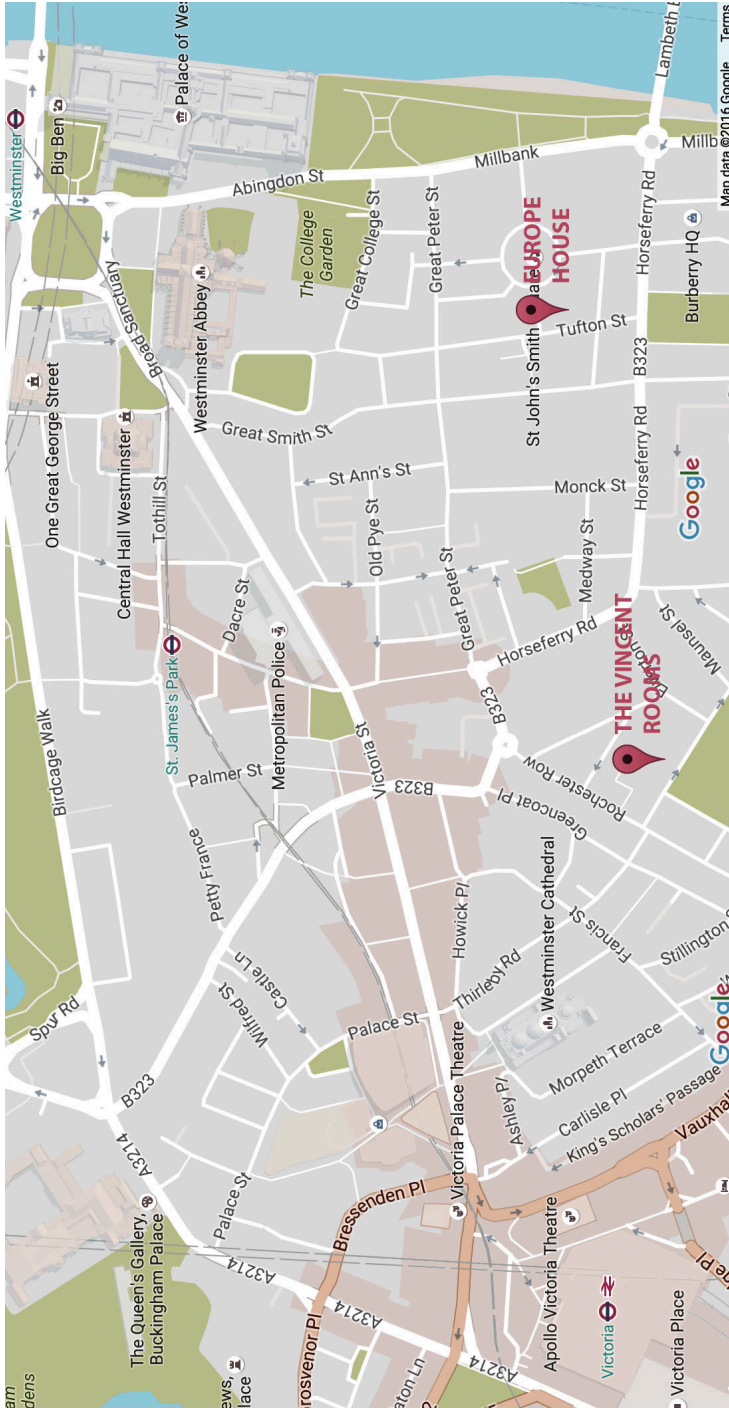
A reference point in literature throughout the 19th and into the 20th century, The Oriental Club has a rich history. It was founded by returning officers from India and the East. Its current home is Stratford house, a building constructed in the 1770s for Edward Stratford, later the second Earl of Aldborough. It has a rich Library and an extensive art collection.

Please note dress code: Jacket and tie and tailored trousers for gentlemen and equivalent smart formal dress for ladies is required.

Thursday, Nov. 3rd | DINNER

THE VINCENT ROOMS

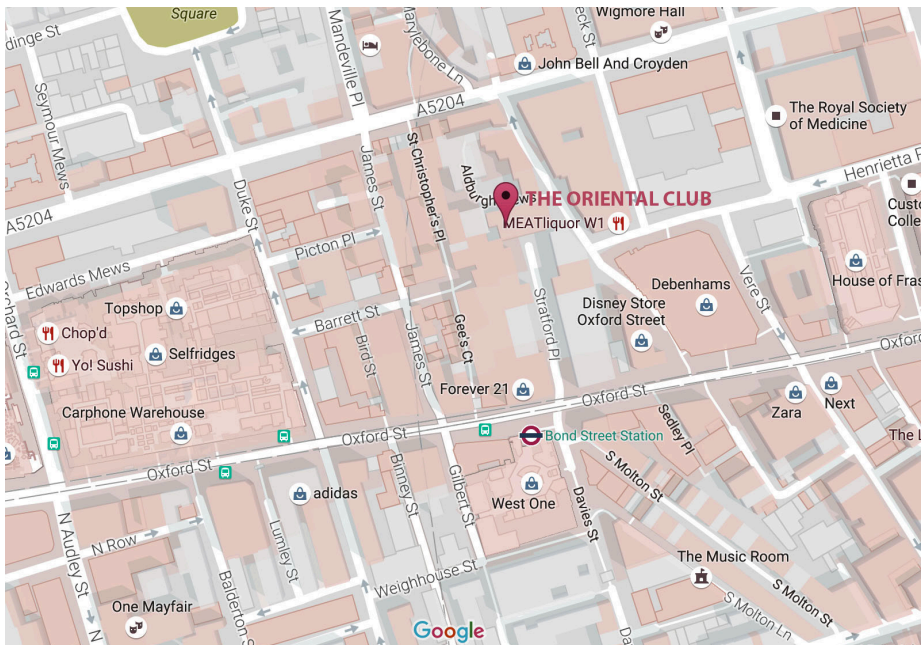
The Victoria Centre, Vincent Square,
London SW1P 2PD
Tube: St James Park / Westminster
/ Victoria



EUROPE HOUSE (SW1P 3EU) and THE VINCENT ROOMS (SW1P 2PD)



THE HELLENIC CENTRE (W1U 5AS)



THE ORIENTAL CLUB (W1C 1ES)

Programme

WEDNESDAY 2 NOVEMBER | Europe House

- 09.00 Registration (tea & coffee provided)
- 09.20 Opening remarks by Philip Mansel (Institute of Historical Research, London)
- 09.30 - 10.30** **Keynote speech:** *The International College of Smyrna: An Educational Enterprise at the Nexus of Business and Missionary Networks*
Sibel Zandi-Sayek, Associate Professor, Department of Art and Art History, The College of William and Mary
- 10.30 - 11.50** **Session 1: Cities and Companies in Finance and Trade in the Levant**
Panel Chair: Jason C White (Appalachian State University)
- 10.30 *The 1895 Stock Market Crisis in Constantinople*
Funda Soysal (Boğaziçi University)
- 10.50 *Trading with the Ottomans; the Levant Company in the Middle East*
Despina Vlami (Research Centre for Medieval and Modern Hellenism, Academy of Athens)
- 11.10 *Building Economic and Cultural Networks: the Oriental Railways Company*
Andreas Bouroutis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)
- 11.30 Q&A
- 11.50 Coffee Break

12.10 - 14.00 Session 2: Exploring Trade in the Levant through the Histories of Goods

Panel Chair: Malcolm Billings (Malcolm Billings and Associates)

12.10 *Illicit Latin Trade in the Levant during the Later Middle Ages*

Mike Carr (University of Edinburgh)

12.30 *Fruits of Empire: Figs, Raisins, and the Transformation of Western Anatolia in the Late Nineteenth Century*

Onur Inal (Independent Researcher, Hamburg)

12.50 *Trader/smuggler: Levantine Commerce in Opium in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1900-1940*

Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal (British Institute at Ankara)

13.10 *Drinking (Beer) from the Sea of Gaza; Late Ottoman Palestine nomads, the Victorian Beer Culture and "Gaza Barley" Trade*

Dotan Halevy (Columbia University)

13.30 Q&A

14.00 Lunch Break

15.00- 17.10 Session 3: Networks and Ideologies

Panel Chair: Axel Çorlu (Georgia Gwinnett College)

15.00 *The Levant Company and the Early Modern Origins of Capitalism, State, and Empire*
Jason C White (Appalachian State University)

15.20 *Levantine Labour Networks before the First World War*
Anthony Gorman (University of Edinburgh)

15.40 *Anarchy in the Empire: Levantines and Minorities as 'Enemies of the State', 1850-1917*
Axel Çorlu (Georgia Gwinnett College)

16.00 *The Italian Trade Network in Turkey in the Years 1923-1939*
Francesco Pongiluppi (Sapienza University of Rome)

16.20 *Living in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Capital: Bulgarian Merchants Between Parochialism and Cosmopolitanism*
Evguenia Davidova (Portland State University)

16.40 Q&A

18.30

Drinks reception at the Oriental Club

Please note dress code: Jacket and tie and tailored trousers for gentlemen and equivalent smart formal dress for ladies is required

THURSDAY 3 NOVEMBER | Europe House

09.30

Registration (tea & coffee provided)

10.00 - 10.30

Awards Ceremony: Two travel awards presented to participating doctorate students

10.30 - 11.50

Session 4: Print and Image Culture between Europe and the Levant

Panel Chair: Nicolas Pitsos (Center of European-Eurasian Studies at the Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations (INALCO), Paris)

10.30

Viewing Istanbul through Western Brushstrokes: Nineteenth-Century Levantine Artists

Belgin Demirsar Arlı (Istanbul University) – Selva Suman (Istanbul Technical University)

10.50

Istanbul and the Nineteenth Century Transnational Trade of Print Products: the Leipzig Network

Alberto Gabriele (Tel Aviv University)

11.10

The Levantines and their Legacy in the Ottoman Newspaper Press: a Case Study about William Nosworthy Churchill

Birten Çelik (Middle East Technical University)

11.30

Q&A

11.50

Coffee Break

12.10 - 14.00

Session 5: Cities & Infrastructure

Panel Chair: Kalliopi Amygdalou (Izmir Institute of Technology)

12.10

Early Modern Levantine Commerce Revisited: The Commerce of Izmir (1580 – 1780)

Mehmet Kuru (University of Toronto)

12.30

Construction of Quays as a Catalyser of Urban Change: Smyrna and Salonica (1860-1900)

İrem Gençer (Yıldız Technical University)

- 12.50 *Demeter and Poseidon: the "Ottoman Railway from Smyrna to Aidin" and the Historical Relations between the Levantine Port-City of Smyrna and the Aegean Valleys*
Giulia Tacchini (Politecnico di Milano)
- 13.10 *The Long-lived Egyptian Okelle; Extraterritorial Microcosms and Long-Distance Trade*
Cristina Pallini (Politecnico di Milano), Manar El Gammal (Politecnico di Milano) and Silvia Boca (Independent Researcher)
- 13.30 Q&A
- 14.00 Lunch Break
- 15.00 17.10 Session 6: The European Commercial World and the Levant: Maritime Trade between Middle and Modern Ages**
- Panel Chair: Salvatore Bottari (Università degli Studi di Messina)
- 15.00 *The Levant and Sicily: Trade, Merchants and Merchandise between the XII and XV Centuries*
Elisa Vermiglio (Università per Stranieri di Reggio Calabria "Dante Alighieri")
- 15.20 *Levantine Merchants from Constantinople in the Late Sixteenth Century International Maritime Trade in North-Western Black Sea and Lower Danube Areas*
Cristian Luca (Lower Danube University of Galați)
- 15.40 *Gate to the Levant: Malta and the Maritime Trade between the Eastern and Western Mediterranean (1740-1750)*
Salvatore Bottari (Università degli Studi di Messina)
- 16.00 *Trade Exchanges between the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the Countries of the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea (1734-1861)*
Maria Sirago (Liceo Jacopo Sannazzaro, Napoli) and Franca Pirolo (University of Catania)
- 16.20 *Trade in the Levant in the Neapolitan Diplomatic Correspondence in Constantinople (1803-1804)*
Mirella Vera Mafrici (University of Salerno)
- 16.40 Q&A
- 19.00 Conference Dinner at The Vincent Rooms

FRIDAY 4 NOVEMBER | The Hellenic Centre

- 09.00 Registration (tea & coffee provided)
- 09.30 - 10.30** **Keynote Speech:** *Was Aleppo a Levantine City?*
Philip Mansel (Institute of Historical Research, London)
- 10.30 11.50** **Session 7: Consumption and Taste in the Levantine World**
Panel Chair: James Whidden (Acadia University)
- 10.30 *Accounting for Taste: Florentine Cloth and its Ottoman Consumers in the 16th century*
Ingrid Houssaye Michienzi (The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies)
- 10.50 *Sublime Purveyor of Levantine Trade and Taste: The David van Lennep Family Portrait*
Caroline Mesrobian Hickman (Independent Art and Architectural Historian)
- 11.10 *Towards the Creation of a Shared Levantine-European Consumer Space at the Turning of the 20th century: the Role of Press Advertisements*
Nicolas Pitsos (Center of European-Eurasian Studies at the Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations (INALCO), Paris)
- 11.30 Q&A
- 11.50 Coffee Break
- 12.10 - 14.00** **Session 8: Families and Identities between Europe and the Levant**
Panel Chair: Philip Mansel (Institute of Historical Research, London)
- 12.10 *A Levantine Family: The Barkers of Alexandria*
James Whidden (Acadia University)
- 12.30 *The Death of David Altaras: Levantine Identity in Early Modern Aleppo*
Mary Momdjian (University of California, Los Angeles)
- 12.50 *The Life and Death of Samson Rowlie, alias Hassan Agha*
Daniel Bamford (Independent Researcher)

- 13.10 *An Agent of Mediation and Modernity in a Commercial Levantine City: The French Consul in Nineteenth Century Ottoman Larnaca.*
Michalis N. Michael (University of Cyprus)
- 13.30 Q&A
- 14.00 Lunch Break
- 15.00 - 16.50 **Session 9: Communities between Europe and the Levant****
- Panel Chair: Evguenia Davidova (Portland State University)
- 15.00 *Trading Health: Venetian Medicine and Diplomacy in the Early Modern Levant*
Valentina Pugliano (University of Cambridge)
- 15.20 *From Surat to Izmir, Aleppo and Venice: Family Networks of Armenian Gem Merchants in early Modern Global Trade of Diamonds*
Sona Tajiryan (University of California, Los Angeles)
- 15.40 *Greeks from the Pelion Region in Egypt: a Case of Levantine Diaspora, 1825-1950*
Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)
- 16.00 *The Zantiot Community in Eighteenth Century Cyprus*
Theoharis Stavrides (University of Cyprus)
- 16.20 Q&A
- 16.50 Closing remarks by Axel Çorlu (Georgia Gwinnett College)
- 17.10 Closing of the conference by Quentin Compton-Bishop, Chairman of the Levantine Heritage Foundation

Abstracts & Bios

Keynote Speeches

The International College of Smyrna: An Educational Enterprise at the Nexus of Business and Missionary Networks

Sibel Zandi-Sayek

Lauded as one of the American Board of Missionary's seven citadels of higher learning in Anatolia, the International College of Smyrna also offers valuable insights into the entrepreneurial spirit that characterized late Ottoman Izmir. Originally established in 1879 in rented, inner-city premises, the small American Boys' School rapidly grew to become a prestigious collegiate institution, boasting by 1913 its own, purpose-built suburban campus. Accredited by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the College continued operating through the turbulent transition of the Ottoman Empire to a national Turkish state until 1934 when increasingly drastic government restrictions forced it to relocate to Beirut.

This paper situates the International College—specifically, its institutional organization, physical facilities, and curriculum—at the nexus of missionary and commercial ambitions, foregrounding how these designs intersected and reinforced one another in building a highly resilient educational enterprise. To begin with, attempts at setting up a lasting missionary school had been unsuccessful until the arrival of Reverend Alexander MacLachlan in the 1890s, who, looking outside the usual constraints of the mission,

tapped into Izmir's commercial circles for financial and administrative support and turned the school into a prominent institution fully embedded in its locality. Secondly, the College's ability to navigate effectively the local property regime and draw support from an unusual mix of local patrons, overseas donors, and Ottoman authorities proved central to the institution's continuous physical expansion, and eventually to the building of its state-of-the-art campus in Buca. Finally, a rich and diversified College curriculum, adapted to the needs and aspirations of a plural business community, drew students from a variety of religious backgrounds helping sustain a robust enrollment. I argue that focusing on the College as a simple missionary outpost in the Near East or a bit player in US diplomatic history in the region—as has generally been done—obscures our ability to appreciate this institution in its own right, as a unique enclave, representative of and contributing to reproducing Izmir's rich entrepreneurial culture.

Sibel Zandi-Sayek, Associate Professor in the department of Art and Art History at the College of William and Mary, holds professional degrees in architecture and city planning from the University of Pennsylvania, and a Ph.D. in architectural history from the University of California, Berkeley. Her research and teaching focuses on comparative and transnational histories of modern architecture and planning, and the material dimension of cross-cultural exchange. She is the author of *Ottoman Izmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840-1880* (University of Minnesota Press, 2012), awarded the M. Fuat

Köprülü award for best book in Ottoman and Turkish Studies. Her published work includes articles on the cosmopolitan geographies of the Eastern Mediterranean; the modernization of urban space in the Middle East and North Africa; and the politics of space and identity in the late Ottoman Empire. Her research has been supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, and the Fulbright Institute for International Education. Her current project investigates the history of nineteenth-century industrialization through entrepreneurial networks forged by architects, engineers and investors in Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

Was Aleppo a Levantine City?

Philip Mansel

After the Ottoman conquest in 1516 Aleppo had an economic boom. Situated at the end of the Silk Road, on the edge of the Mediterranean, the Arabian desert and many trade routes, it had a favourable geographical situation. It attracted people of so many different nationalities that it was called, by the English chaplain in 1628, 'an epitome of the whole world'. Lacking major religious shrines, it developed a commercial ethos. A man from Aleppo, it was said, could sell you a dead donkey skin. One Aleppo proverb was: 'if you do business with a dog, kindly call him Sir.' Aleppo was said to do more trade - it specialised in selling silk, textiles and horses - in a week than Cairo in a month. Christians and Jews flourished in this majority Muslim city, and often used Muslim law-courts. The only major inter-

communal riot was in 1850. Aleppo, which had been visited by Suleyman 'the Magnificent' and Murad IV during their Persian campaigns, remained more pro-Ottoman than many other Arab-speaking cities. The creation of modern Syria after 1920 cut it off from traditional markets. The current civil war has destroyed what was, in some ways the last Levantine city in the Middle East - proof that even the most peaceful city can switch from tolerance to terrorism.

For Philip Mansel's biographical note please see p.8.

Session 1: Cities and Companies in Finance and Trade in the Levant

For Jason C White's biographical note please see p.33

The 1895 Stock Market Crisis in Constantinople

Funda Soysal

Sir Edgar Vincent (later 1st Viscount D'Abernon)'s tenure as the Director General of the Imperial Ottoman Bank (IOB) in Constantinople between 1889-1897 leaves historians rather perplexed. On the one hand, many studies credit him for the expanding the mercantile life within the Empire (Eldem, Toksöz). Under his management, the Bank is even considered to have become a multinational bank (Clay). Yet, historians also note how Vincent entangled the once respectable Bank in the notorious South African gold-mining speculation, which crashed spectacularly in late 1895 and caused a run on the Bank that almost halved the quote price of its shares in London (Eldem, Davenport-Haines, Autherlonie).

Although the impact of this crisis on the Ottoman Bank has been assessed (Authemann, Eldem), the local context of this story has been remarkably understudied, and neither has it been linked properly with the developments in South Africa. This cosmopolitan financial milieu escaped the attention of Turkish historians who did not consider them local enough, and remained too embedded in the Ottoman context to attract the attention of this speculation's Western observers and historians. My analysis first sets this speculation in the context of the fluid state of Ottoman regulation and the structuring of Constantinople's financial establishment on the basis of archival research on issues like stamp duty and foreign limited liability companies. I then focus on the unravelling of the speculation in the context of the diplomatic crisis that reached a climax in the aftermath of the September 30 Armenian demonstration in Constantinople. The interrelation of the political and financial crises raises questions that will go beyond the scope of this paper. Nonetheless, by analysing the performance of the share prices of the so-called Local Securities in 1894-5 and studying the IOB's records of the identity of investors' accounts, I will try to assess the impact of the crisis on Constantinople's financial milieu, which comprised primarily of Levantines. It looks that just as the events of 1895 left a long shadow over the Armenian question in the Empire, the financial crisis of 1895 severed irrevocably Constantinople's integration to global financial networks.

Graduated from Grinnell College, IA in 1996 with a BA in History, **Funda Soysal** completed her MA at Istan-

bul's Bosphorus University Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History in 2001. She is currently working on her PhD at the BU History Department as an advisee of Prof. Edhem Eldem. In 2010-11 she took part in the two workshops of the "The Making of Southern Africa 1867-1899: Local and Global Perspectives," a AHRC project led by Prof. Ian Phimister currently of University of Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa. Her primary research interest is to study late Ottoman history as a synchronous part of global history.

Trading with the Ottomans; the Levant Company in the Middle East

Despina Vlami

The Levant Company, commonly known, as the Turkey Company, was a corporation of English merchants who, under a royal charter granted by Elizabeth I in 1581, enjoyed the trading monopoly with the Ottoman Empire. The company's representative to the Ottoman Porte was given diplomatic authority as an ambassador. Subsequently, the company organized offices or "factories" at strategic trading outposts in the eastern Mediterranean such as Aleppo, Smyrna, Patras, Cairo, Algiers, Larnaca and Salonica. Consuls, members of the company, were dispatched to defend the capitulation agreements signed between England and the Ottoman Empire from 1580, to enforce the company's ordinances throughout the Levant, to maintain law and order, to levy consulage on imports and exports and to adjudicate in disputes. The company's London-based governing body represented

the company before the English state authorities, while the ambassador and the consuls defended the property, business interests and personal security of English subjects before the Ottoman authorities. To support its administration, factories and employees financially, the company imposed taxes on English trade, levying consulage duties in London and the Levant; it was also partially financed by the English state. With my presentation I intend to position the Levant Company in the long process of the evolution of the modern commercial enterprise from the sixteen to the nineteenth centuries. To do so, I will follow the company's contribution to the development of modern corporate and individual business organization and techniques during a period of transition by examining its organization, strategy and performance in the last 30 years of its history, from the outbreak of war against France in 1793 until the abdication of the company's authority to the British state in 1825. This was a period of crisis and change, contemplation and maturity for the company and – in comparison to previous years – a period of profit augmentation. A series of wars and conflicts created conditions of permanent insecurity in transport and commercial trade, augmented the risk of engaging in international business and favoured speculation. Successive crises put merchants under strain and required flexible strategies and innovative spirit. New trade routes were traced and opportunities for quick profits increased. In my presentation I will show how the Levant Company and its members performed in these new conditions, and how its business identity, organization and strategy were affected at a corporate and individual

level. I will also examine how this process was related to the evolution of commercial enterprises and the persistent demands of part of British society for the emancipation of British trade.

Despina Vlami was born in Athens. She has received a B.A. in Political Sciences (Law School, University of Athens) and a Ph.D. in History and Civilization from the European University Institute in Florence. In 2003, she was admitted as a junior researcher (4th grade) in the prestigious institution of the Academy of Athens. She currently works as a senior researcher (2nd grade) in the Research Center for Medieval and Modern Greek Studies of the Academy of Athens where she directs two research programs: a) *Trade and Diplomacy in Eastern Mediterranean, 17th-19th centuries* and b) *Family Entrepreneurship and Entrepreneurial Family. The case of the merchant Michail Vassiliou as depicted in his personal and business archive (18th -19th centuries)*. Vlami is the author of a book published recently on the history of the English Levant Company (*Trading with the Ottomans. The Levant Company in the Middle East*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2015). In 2000 her book on the history of the Greek merchant community in Leghorn, was published in Athens (*The Florin, the Grain and Via del Giardino. Greek Merchants in Leghorn, 1750-1868*, Athens: Themelio Pb, 2000). Vlami has published many articles in Greek and European journals and has participated in conferences in Greece and abroad. Her research interests comprise the study of entrepreneurship and business history, the merchant diaspora and Mediterranean trade in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Building Economic and Cultural Networks: the Oriental Railways Company

Andreas Bouroutis

The development of steam ship navigation during the 19th century greatly benefited the Levant ports but few things originally had been done to improve trade in the interior. This situation completely changed when railways, the “greatest invention” of the Industrial Revolution, came into a being in the Ottoman territories. The biggest enterprise in the Balkan Peninsula was the Oriental Railways Company (Chemin de fer Orientaux – CO) which connected Constantinople with Europe. Salonica with three railway lines greatly benefited by this development. Two out of the three lines (Salonica – Skopje – Europe and Salonica – Monastir) were controlled by the CO company. The most interesting part in the operation of a big European capital company in the Ottoman Empire was not only the development of the trade network and the profits created but also its successful involvement in other fields like the cultural one. That gave the opportunity to the company to expand its influence to a greater scale. The opening of schools, the so-called Eisenbahnen Schule, by the company in the cities where the Oriental Railways operated (Salonica, Philipopol, Adrianople, Haidar Pascha- Constantinople, Eskisehir), was a new type of ascendancy. Originally built in the beginning to educate the children of the railways employees’, soon they expanded to the bourgeoisie class of the cities and had a major success. Furthermore, these new schools allowed for the mingling of children from the various communities. The German School

(Deutsche Schule) of Thessaloniki, which operated under the presidency of the highest ranking executive of the CO in the city, is an excellent example of the coexistence of students from all ethnic groups.

The paper will also focus in the lives of the new “Franks”. The Oriental Railways managers, such as Emanuel Steiner, Operations Director, acted as the new Levantines in the Ottoman cities. Steiner lived and prospered in Thessaloniki for almost 40 years. A German with an oriental identity.

The aim of the paper is to present a different form of building networks. The CO successfully operated not only a railway network but also a school one. This diversity expanded the influence of the company and gave it a competitive advantage. Furthermore, the CO executives lived and prospered as new Levantines in cities like Salonica and supported the coexistence of the different communities. For a big enterprise like the Oriental Railways company, this was extremely important for the smooth operation of the business and the essential promotion of the corporate image.

Dr. Andreas Bouroutis is an economist with a postgraduate degree in Political Analysis. He recently defended his doctoral thesis on “European school institutions in Thessaloniki (1888-1943), cultural and social breakthrough on a late empire city” at the Department Political Sciences, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. He has been a scholar for the education exchange program between Greece and Germany (DAAD) in 2013, a scholar for the John Latsis Public Foundation in 2014, member of the scientific project: “People of

the Underworld: Ideologies and policies of discrimination, exclusion and prosecution in modern world" and a bursary of the Italian State in 2016. He has participated in several conferences in Greece and abroad and has published articles in collective books. He is now working on a book about the Holocaust of the Jews of Thessaloniki and the activities of the Italian consulate in Thessaloniki to save the Italian Jews of the city. His research interests include urban history and multicultural societies (Levant ports), Jewish communities in Greece (19th-20th centuries) and nationalism and refugee flows in the Balkans. He is currently working as a Deputy Director in the Greek Council for Refugees.

Session 2: Exploring Trade in the Levant through the Histories of Goods

Malcolm Billings did not reach the study of archaeology by a conventional route. Although he was interested in the subject at his school in Melbourne, Australia, his career in London at the BBC was centred on Current Affairs. During the 1960s and 1970s, he was a reporter and presenter on the R4 TODAY PROGRAMME. He moved aside in Broadcasting House in to take up a new role as presenter of the series "ORIGINS" in July 1977. The programme quickly became established as an important source of archaeological information and proof that radio could create archaeological "pictures" as sharp as any TV series dealing with the subject. One memorable and "ground breaking" feature was the excavation and conservation of the

terracotta Warriors at Xian in China. Malcolm, along with BBC Producer Christopher Stone, and Dr Jessica Rawson, Keeper of the Department of Oriental antiquities at the British Museum, recorded the first authoritative feature for BBC Radio in July 1980. Malcolm's contribution to archaeology on the BBC World Service includes the long running series "Heritage". Its brief was also worldwide and included programmes recorded in Thailand, India, Sri Lanka, Ireland, Australia, Mexico and the excavation of James Town - the first successful English settlement in Virginia. "Heritage", produced by Brigid O'Hara and presented by Malcolm Billings and Dr Geoffrey King of SOAS, traced the history of the Pilgrim Hejaz railway from Damascus to Medina in Saudi Arabia, and was one of the last archaeological radio feature programmes recorded on location before war broke out in the Near East. Malcolm Billings's books on archaeology and History include *The Cross and the Crescent*; *The Crusades*; *Archaeology of London*; and *History of the English*.

Illicit Latin Trade in the Levant during the Later Middle Ages

Mike Carr

This paper will provide an insight into "illicit" trade in the eastern Mediterranean during the period from roughly the fall of Acre in 1291 until the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453. This was a period which witnessed increasing commercial contacts between the European maritime states and the Islamic powers, but also one which witnessed growing attempts by the papacy to control and restrict the activities of Latin merchants in the

region. The paper will focus primarily on Venetian and Genoese contacts with the Mamluk empire, the Anatolian beyliks and the Mongol Golden Horde, but it will also cover the activities of other European merchants such as Catalans, Provençals and Hospitallers. It will begin by exploring what trade was deemed to be "illicit" and why, such as the sale of war materials by Latin merchants to Islamic states, and their participation in the slave trade. It will then provide an overview of the ways in which the papacy aimed to regulate commerce in the Levant through trade embargos, and the ways in which Latin merchants attempted to overcome these restrictions, such as through trading illegally and by gaining papal commercial exemptions.

Because illicit trade took place on the fringes of legality it does not often show up in sources typical of medieval Mediterranean trade. Nevertheless, research on the topic in recent years (e.g. by Georg Christ, Stefan Stantchev and Arnold Esch) has uncovered significant amounts of new information regarding the trade in illicit goods during this period, namely through the exploration of previously overlooked sources such as papal trade licences and absolutions for illegal trade found in the Vatican archives. The overarching aim of this paper is therefore to utilise this new material in order to demonstrate how illicit trade fits into our broader understanding of Levantine commerce in the period, such as its influence on trade networks and shipping, on movements of peoples and goods, on notions of illegality and maritime law, and on Latin perceptions of the Levant and of the peoples it was deemed legal or illegal to trade with.

Mike Carr is a Leverhulme Early Career Research Fellow at the University of Edinburgh. His project, co-funded by the Leverhulme Trust and the University of Edinburgh, is titled 'Managing Otherness: Papal Permissions for Trade with the "Infidel", 1342-1394' and will run from 2016-19. His research focuses on the history of the Mediterranean during the period 1000-1500, especially the interactions between Latin, Greek and Islamic cultures. He is particularly interested in the role which merchants played in crossing cultural boundaries in the Mediterranean and their participation in crusades, both to the Holy Land, and also in the later period against the Byzantine and Ottoman empires. He received his PhD from Royal Holloway, University of London, in 2011 and has held postdoctoral fellowships at the Institute of Historical Research and the British School at Rome. He has published on his main interests, which include relations between Latins, Greeks and Turks in the eastern Mediterranean, the crusades, maritime history and the papacy. His first monograph is *Merchant Crusaders in the Aegean, 1291-1352* (Boydell and Brewer, 2015) and he is also the co-editor of the volume *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204-1453*, with Nikolaos Christis (Ashgate, 2014).

Fruits of Empire: Figs, Raisins, and the Transformation of Western Anatolia in the Late Nineteenth Century

Onur Inal

In the second half of the nineteenth century, demographic, economic, and technological changes in Western Anatolia brought about major urban and rural transformations and

ended the economic and ecological separation of Izmir from its immediate countryside. In this period, Izmir surpassed its rivals, and attained preeminence as a "gateway city," which conveyed the natural wealth of Western Anatolian river valleys to European markets. As a major avenue between the Ottoman Empire and the global markets, the city connected distinct economic and ecological zones and regions. It served as the main link between agricultural producers in Western Anatolia and their markets in Europe.

My paper will discuss the role of fig and grape trade in the development of Izmir into the first gateway city of the Ottoman Empire from the perspective of environmental history. From the 1870s on, figs and raisins were together a dynamic force promoting the opening up of hitherto unexploited areas of Western Anatolia to commercial agriculture. What the banana meant for tropical lands was for Western Anatolia the fig and grape. Fig trees and vines were commercially grown almost everywhere in the region, from the edge of the waters of the Mediterranean to the hilltops. Rural residents reclaimed large tracts of wasteland for planting figs and vines, while the quantity of figs and raisins annually exported amounted to thousands of tons as the introduction of railroads, formation of commercial networks, and development of processing, packing, and shipment operations facilitated their production and trade.

The expansion of fig and grape growing was an integral part of the process of Western Anatolia's integration into the market economy and is demonstrated by the railroads, stations, warehouses, and packing units found in Izmir and its hinterland. Figs and grapes attracted for-

eign capital investment and technology, promoted trade, and stimulated the movement of people across the region. The expansion of fig and grape cultivation created seasonal employment for thousands of men and women in the city and countryside. In short, fig and grape growing across Western Anatolia had a profound impact on the region's human and natural landscape. With cereals, cotton, olives, and other crops, figs and raisins transformed valleys, marshlands, and hilltops into the physical basis for Izmir's growth and development in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Onur Inal was born in Izmir, Turkey in 1979. He completed his undergraduate studies in the Political Science and International Relations Department of Yeditepe University in Istanbul. He received his M.A degree from Koç University's Anatolian Civilizations and Cultural Heritage Management program with a thesis entitled "Levantine Heritage in Izmir". He finished his Ph.D. in the History Department of the University of Arizona in 2015. His dissertation, "A Port and Its Hinterland: An Environmental History of Izmir in the Late-Ottoman Period" deals with the urban and environmental history of Ottoman Izmir and Western Anatolia. Inal has written a number of academic articles on the history of consumption, trade, and tourism in the Ottoman Empire. Currently, he works as a freelance author and translator in Hamburg. He is also an affiliate researcher at the Türkei-Europa Zentrum of the University of Hamburg.

Trader/smuggler: Levantine Commerce in Opium in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1900-1940

Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal

Levantine family firms, such as the British Whittal Co., Austrian F Fidao & Co, and Dutch Keun and Lavino Companies, dominated the Ottoman opium trade, buying Anatolian-grown poppy crops and exporting raw opium from Izmir and Istanbul for refinement in Europe. The year 1925 marked a turning point in this profitable trade, however. That year the implementation of an international treaty restricting opium refinement across Europe trade left Turkey a relative safe haven. While this opportunity was capitalised on by Levantine families like the Taran-to brothers, who opened the largest of the three new opium refinement factories that substituted European refinement capacity in Istanbul, others withdrew from an increasingly stigmatised business under the pressure of their respective consuls. Into the 1930s, Levantines in this area of the economy, like many others, came under pressure from a state nationalisation campaign, which resulted in the monopolisation of opium growing and export from 1931 onwards. But in an ongoing tale of adaptation that speaks to the resilience of marginalised minorities, Levantine residents of Turkey were quick to use their international connections to develop a fast blossoming illegal trade in both opium and its refined forms such as heroin. Working from Turkish state papers, local newspaper reports, League of Nations documentation and the consular papers of Britain, France, and the United States my paper reveals the extent of this clandestine trade that brought together individuals

across commonly exaggerated religious and communal divides in basements, farmhouses, and inconspicuous apartment buildings in and around Istanbul and on the ships, trains, planes, camels, donkeys and automobiles that transported their wares not only to nearby European and middle eastern neighbours but as far as the Americas and East Asia. I investigate smuggling and its attempted suppression both as a motif and method of the division of former Ottoman territories in the Mediterranean, and as both a source of sustenance for diasporic minorities and a rhetorical tool, through an instrumentalised association with corruptive influences, in their persecution.

Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal

received his Ph.D from the University of Cambridge in 2014. His thesis, titled 'Britain's Levantine empire, 1914-1923', compared the principle cities of the eastern Mediterranean's experience of Allied occupation during and after the First World War. His research interests include smuggling, prostitution, urban planning and governance, nightlife, cosmopolitanism, migration, imperialism and internationalism in the early twentieth century Ottoman and post-Ottoman Mediterranean. His current research project on 'Smuggling and the remaking of the eastern Mediterranean, 1912-1940' examines the impact of the rise of national and international restrictions on the trade and consumption of narcotics on the social history of Istanbul and other port cities.

Drinking (Beer) from the Sea of Gaza; Late Ottoman Palestine nomads, the Victorian Beer Culture and "Gaza Barley" Trade

Dotan Halevy

For a little more than half a century prior to the First World War, Gaza- a meager and provincial town in southern Palestine came to take part in a global system of maritime trade. It was the barley exported from Gaza's shore, a commodity of specified qualities for beer brewing, which situated the town on this modern map of merchants, steamers and political interests. Alongside the development of the barley trade and the "Gaza Barley" trademark during the latter half of the nineteenth century, Gaza's geographic sphere of influence and its economic role within it were fully transformed. The town has abandoned its traditional position as a supplier of foodstuff and logistics to caravans travelling along the Hajj routes in Transjordan and Sinai, and became, almost solely, an exporter of barley originating in the much more limited locality of the northern Negev desert. Following the emergence of this commerce and the ways by which it was conducted, my lecture will demonstrate how modernization processes that took place at the Ottoman desert frontiers and in parallel in the urban industries and culture in Victorian Britain, entangled to create supply, demand and a set of connectors between them. In essence, Ottoman ongoing efforts to "civilize" the Bedouin tribes of southern Palestine by forced settlement and pacification of violent struggles have enabled these nomad societies to increasingly rely on cultivation of barley - the most suitable species of grain for desert farming, as their

mainstay. As the tribes turned from nomadic to seminomadic and even sometimes to urbanized state, they managed to accumulate great surpluses of this "cash crop" and traded it in the markets of nearby Gaza. Concurrently in Britain, new systems of taxation opened up the brewing industry and the sale of beer to private retailers, thus creating a surge in demand for the beverage. Technological innovations introduced at the same time in the breweries such as coalfueled ovens and refrigeration gave rise to new flavors, colors and textures of beer that largely shifted the experience of its consumption. In the search for large quantities of the perfect raw material for modern brewing, "Gaza Barley" was imported to Britain. The same steamers that retired Gaza from its centuries-old occupation of a pilgrimage way station, by carrying pilgrims by sea to the Islamic shrine cities in Arabia, became the instruments by which the city's new source of income was transported to Europe. Following a few decades of a "Barley Boom," however, a series of droughts proved this monoculture financial backbone as highly unreliable for Gaza. From a *longue durée* perspective it can be even argued that the barley trade prevented Gaza from fully evolving into a port city, thus situating it on a different path into the twentieth century than its neighboring coastal cities along the Mediterranean shore.

Dotan Halevy is a Ph.D student in the history department in Columbia University in New York. His research project focuses on the history of the city of Gaza in the transition between the Late Ottoman and British mandate periods.

Session 3: Networks and Ideologies

For Axel Çorlu's biographical note please see p.8.

The Levant Company and the Early Modern Origins of Capitalism, State, and Empire

Jason C White

This paper will argue that the English Levant Company, as an institution, influenced the formation of important aspects of modern Britain, namely capitalism, the state, and the empire. The Levant Company, first chartered in 1581, was one of the most successful English overseas ventures of the early modern period. While early attempts at colonization and trade either disappeared (the lost Roanoke colony), faced major disasters such as starvation and massacre (Jamestown), failed outright (the Munster Plantation in Ireland), or languished behind international competitors (the English East India Company did not surpass its Dutch counterpart until the end of the 17th century), the Levant Company built a profitable and extensive trade network with the wealthy markets of the eastern Mediterranean. As one contemporary described it in 1638, the Levant Company was "the most flourishing and most beneficial company to the commonwealth of any in England." As a trading venture, the merchants of the company found markets for English goods such as cloth, tin, and pig iron and brought back valuable commodities such as silk, spices, and currants. This trade was highly profitable and it meant that the Levant merchants eventually became important sources of both capital

and taxation. Many Levant merchants invested their capital in other enterprises, such as the East India Company, or, in the case of the Williams family, who were prominent Levant traders, trans-Atlantic ventures such as sugar plantations in Barbados. The English state, still quite weak in the seventeenth century, came to depend on the customs duties supplied by the Levant merchants to fund the government, but, perhaps more importantly, the company acted as its own mini-state and controlled almost all English contact with the near east. The Company was responsible for paying for ambassadors and consuls, collecting taxes, supplying clergy, and protecting its trade routes from pirates and others – all of these were state-like functions the company laid down that the British state and empire would take over in the modern period. Finally, as Alison Games has shown, English activity in the Levant was a crucial building-block of empire. For Games the Levant was where "cosmopolitanism" came to be a feature of English interactions with the wider-world creating a kind of wanderlust amongst English overseas adventurers. However, while many individual English travelers and merchants could be described as "cosmopolitan" the Levant Company as an institution had a much more complicated relationship with it. Indeed, the Company's insistence that Englishmen abroad remained essentially English should not be underestimated.

Jason White is an assistant professor of history at Appalachian State University in Boone, North Carolina. He earned his PhD from Brown University in 2008 and is currently

working on a book on the Levant Company in the seventeenth century.

Levantine Labour Networks before the First World War

Anthony Gorman

From the middle of the nineteenth century until the outbreak of the First World War, large numbers of workers from Italy, Greece and other European countries migrated to the Eastern Mediterranean. Attracted on the one hand by employment opportunities opening up during a period of expanding trade and early local industrialisation and on the other by the safe haven from political oppression, this movement of people was facilitated and sustained by increasing transport and communication links operating between Europe and the East. In time these working communities established themselves across the region, particularly in Egypt, Palestine Syria, forming local societies and educational institutions, publishing newspapers and periodicals, and establishing political associations influenced by some of the radical socialist ideas of the time.

This paper will explore the emergence of these international labour networks over this period focusing particularly on the Italian, Greek and Jewish working communities, exploring the character of their presence in the Eastern Mediterranean and examining their interaction with their host societies and especially with indigenous working communities in promoting ideas of radical social and economic reform in the region.

Dr **Anthony Gorman** is Senior Lecturer in Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Edinburgh. He has taught at universities in Australia, Egypt and Britain and is the author of *Historians, State and Politics in Twentieth Century Egypt: Contesting the Nation* (Routledge-Curzon, 2003) as well as a number of articles on the activities of the resident foreign presence in modern Egypt. He is co-editor (with Marilyn Booth) of *The Long 1890s in Egypt: Colonial Quiescence, Subterranean Resistance* (Edinburgh University Press, 2014) and (with Sossie Kasbarian) co-editor of *Diasporas of the Modern Middle East: Contextualising Community* (Edinburgh University Press, 2015) where he has contributed a chapter on the Italians of Egypt. He is currently editing (with Didier Monciaud) a book on the press in the Middle East before independence and is completing a monograph on a history of the prison in the Middle East titled, *Prison, Punishment and Society 1800-1950*.

Anarchy in the Empire: Levantines and Minorities as 'Enemies of the State', 1850-1917

Axel Çorlu

Anarchism has left deep marks as a formative influence upon numerous social movements, as well as influencing state formation and response to political violence around the world. The truly transnational character of the movement itself requires an equally transnational approach to understand the adherents of this idea beyond geo-cultural, or nation-state boundaries, and invites a new and comparative approach.

Levantines, as well as minorities such as Armenians, Greeks, and others in the Ottoman Empire responded to the call of political movements that swept the world in the late 19th-early 20th centuries; anarchism was no exception, and it found fertile ground in the cosmopolitan cities of the Eastern Mediterranean. One cannot fully understand these people, or the response of the states they flowed through in a vacuum; they were enemies locked in a struggle, and had a dialectical relationship, defining each other.

Whether they were Levantines, Armenians, or Greeks, anarchists in the empire were not terrorists, or bloodthirsty madmen; they had a sophisticated understanding of power and conflict, and their methods and ideas reflected their response to empower themselves given the limitations of their context. The multiple states that responded to their activities, while in very different circumstances, and with very different priorities otherwise, used remarkably similar strategies and priorities in "dealing with" the "anarchist threat." This study draws from archives in the United States, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, and Turkey, utilizing primary sources in five languages, to present an overview of how anarchists formulated their ideas, connected them to their material reality, and interacted with existing structures of power on their own terms. At the same time, using government surveillance reports, police records, and diplomatic correspondence from state archives in the U.S., Italy, and Turkey, it provides never-before-seen statistical analysis in this field, and develops the existing theories of causation as they apply to state responses to anarchists, in the United States, Italy, and the

Ottoman Empire, at the turn of the century.

Finally, the study also reveals for the very first time, the narrative of a singular Levantine individual, whose path covered intersections of political idealism, adventure on the high seas, assassination of a king, and conversion to Islam for marriage, in a geography that included the United States, the U.K., France, Italy, Malta, South Africa, Zanzibar, Egypt, Greece, and ended mysteriously somewhere between Smyrna (Izmir) and Constantinople (Istanbul).

*For **Axel Çorlu's** biographical note please see p.8.*

The Italian Trade Network in Turkey in the Years 1923-1939

Francesco Pongiluppi

Since the Middle Age, Italian merchants had established their colonies in the Levant in order to develop the trade between the West and East. As a result of their presence, Italians were able to enlarge their networks during the Ottoman period which enabled them to have a main role in the circulation of goods, ideas and culture in the Levantine cities. Through out of the 19th century, thanks to the foundation of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861, the Italians of the Levant took advantage of the new institutions created by the Italian state. Consequently, this gave them a stronger link to their motherland. In this regard, the establishment of an Italian Chamber of Commerce in the Ottoman capital in 1885, was the first step towards the development of an Italian-Ottoman

economical relationship. This body, the Italian Chamber of Commerce, was behind the publication of a commercial bulletin, the *Rassegna Italiana - Organo degli Interessi Italiani in Oriente*, which supported and informed people about the Levantine trade. The aim of this paper is to investigate the Italian trade network in Turkey after the establishment of the Turkish Republic. This study will deeply examine the Italian presence in the new Turkish market through a research on the Italian institutions, Consular Agencies and other entities that functioned during the interwar period. The main questions of this work will be focused on how Italy kept her predominant position in Turkish regions during the past Ottoman period and how her Levantine appendix reacted in the face of the changed political environment. The sources of this paper will be the records of the Italian Chamber of Commerce in Istanbul, the material published by the *Rassegna Italiana*, the archival documents coming from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome and other information available in several private institutions. A bibliography on this subject in Italian, English, French and Turkish will further buttress and strengthen this research.

Francesco Pongiluppi is a PhD Candidate in History of Europe at the department of Political Science at La Sapienza University of Rome. His Research Project focuses on the organization of the Italian National Fascist Party in Turkey between the two world wars. In order to achieve the goals of his research, he studied the Italian communities of Turkey, their multicultural identities

and the society of Istanbul and Izmir between the late Ottoman Empire period and the first years of the Republic of Turkey. He has conducted his studies and researches in Italy, Middle East, France and United States. He has authored numerous articles on the Italian presence in the Levant and has just published a volume about the historical Bulletin of the Italian Chamber of Commerce of Istanbul: *La Rassegna Italiana - Organo degli Interessi Italiani in Oriente* (Edizioni Isis, Istanbul, 2015, pp. 218). In Italy, he is a contributor for several journals.

Living in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Capital: Bulgarian Merchants Between Parochialism and Cosmopolitanism

Evguenia Davidova

This paper will focus on the Bulgarian merchants who lived in Istanbul and their economic and social interactions in the Ottoman capital and other European cities. Through the examination of case studies, I will interpret the geographic and social fluidity of the multiple networks they constructed and the intersection of personal and business contacts, status, and political preferences. Many small and medium-size merchants brought their parochial mentality into the polis, living and working amongst their fellow Bulgarians, usually from the same locality and their local and regional identities were thereby reproduced within the backdrop of multicultural urban complexities. A few rich traders cum tax farmers became part of the Constantinople's multiethnic commercial milieu and maintained contacts in various European trade centers, such as Marseilles, London, Odessa,

and Vienna. Thus, the dynamics within such networks, the fluidity of local, regional, interregional, and international configurations, and the complex competition between nationalist and economic interests gave rise to a broad range of strategies and practices. Traders did not simply occupy an array of social spaces; they also created assortments of cultural exchanges by navigating diverse commercial networks, the Ottoman bureaucracy, European banks, manufacturers, and educational institutions. This paper draws on a variety of primary sources: commercial correspondence, ledgers, newspapers, and memoirs.

Evguenia Davidova is an Associate Professor in the Department of International and Global Studies at Portland State University. Her research interests focus on the late Ottoman and post-Ottoman Balkans: commerce, nationalism, travel, and medical practices. Davidova is the author of *Balkan Transitions to Modernity and Nation-States. Through the Eyes of Three Generations of Merchants (1780s-1890s)* (Brill, 2013) and the editor of *Wealth in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman Balkans: A Socio-Economic History* (I.B. Tauris, 2016).

Session 4: Print and Image Culture between Europe and the Levant

For **Nikolas Pitsos's** biographical note please see p.54

Viewing Istanbul through Western Brushstrokes: Nineteenth-Century Levantine Artists

Belgin Demirsar Arlı – Selva Suman

The nineteenth century witnessed a series of reforms in the Ottoman Empire and it is through these reforms and privileges granted to diverse ethnic groups that Latins started migrating to Istanbul in masses. Hence, we can say that the Levantine community in the capital city reached its apogee around 1850's. These people, mostly Italian, French, and English were populated around Pera and Galata making this area the most European district of the city. Although they were mostly involved in business and trade, there were also architects and artists who came to the "Levant" to settle. Some of them were born here and some came from different European countries to capture the beauties of the city on their canvases. Jean Brindesi (1826-1888) was an Istanbul-born watercolor artist, an orientalist who depicted the daily lives and sartorial patterns of contemporary Ottomans. Leonardo de Mango (1843-1930), another orientalist painter, was born in Italy but lived in Istanbul for more than 40 years and he died here. Among other artists we can cite names such as, Amadeo Preziosi, Sydney La Fontaine, and Fausto Zonaro.

In our presentation, we are going to talk about these artists mostly focusing on their works, their iden-

tity, their families, and their patterns of living. We will be discussing how and why they came to Istanbul and how they lived. We are going to present a number of visuals from their selected works and lifestyles. Some of them died in Istanbul and were buried in various Catholic cemeteries of the city; we shall also be looking at their graves expounding on the funerary art and artistic styles of their tombs.

Belgin Demirsar Arlı graduated from the Istanbul University, Department of History of Art in 1984. Her MA thesis was completed in 1987 and titled "The Connection with Reality in the Paintings of Osman Hamdi Bey". She received her PhD in 1996 with her thesis entitled "The Evaluation of Figurative Ceramics Found in Iznik Tile Kiln Excavations" and became Ass. Prof. in 1999. She is currently pursuing her academic studies at the same department at Istanbul University. Since 2007, she is the head of the Iznik Tile Kiln Excavations that she has continuously participated from 1982 onwards. She also presided the research project entitled "Ottoman Period Architecture and Tiles in Jerusalem" during 1999 and 2000, sponsored by the Research Fund of Istanbul University. Her main research field is the art of ceramic in Anatolia from the Byzantine period until Republican era.

Selva Suman received her MA at the History Department of Boğaziçi University in Istanbul, majoring on the History of Art and Architecture program. She is currently a PhD candidate at the History of Art Department of Istanbul Technical University. Her studies focus on

Ottoman art and architecture during the XVIII to early XX centuries, multi-cultural interactions, westernization, and artistic styles in late Ottoman Istanbul.

She has published several articles, book reviews, and has written book chapters. Her article "Questioning an Icon of Change: The Nuruosmaniye Complex and the Writing of Ottoman Architectural History" based on her MA thesis was published in the Journal of Faculty of Architecture, METU (2011).

She has recently presented her paper "Reading Tomb Structures as Funerary Art: The Latin Catholic Cemetery in Feriköy, Istanbul" at the 15th International Congress of Turkish Art organized in Naples, Italy, September 16-18, 2015.

She is currently a lecturer at Bahçeşehir University, Istanbul.

Istanbul and the Nineteenth Century Transnational Trade of Print Products: the Leipzig Network

Alberto Gabriele

The research for this paper is part of a major project that discusses the transnational, transmedial and plurilinguistic network of distribution of print products (books, periodicals and photographs) in the 1860s-80s by highlighting the business activities of a group of publishers and booksellers that were agents of the London-based publisher of Irish descent John Maxwell. The paper, more specifically, will focus on the activities of the Istanbul bookseller that was Maxwell's business partner. His activities will be placed in a larger network of continental distribution that linked several capitals and had a connected center of distribution

in Leipzig. The flow of print products emanating from Leipzig expanded south-eastward in several directions, including Italy, Greece and the Ottoman Empire. Before the establishment of the transnational publishing empires that conflated the activities of several mediators of the transfer of knowledge, a different business model appears in the period discussed, one of transitional collaboration, which was in place before the passing of copyright legislation, and the entrenchment of nationalist interests that came with it, contributed to the restructuring of the book trade.

Alberto Gabriele, a graduate of New York University's Comparative Literature Department is the author of *Reading Popular Culture in Victorian Print: Belgravia and Sensationalism* (2009). He has been visiting scholar at at the School of Cultural Texts and Records, Jadavpur University, Kolkata, and visiting fellow at The University of New South Wales at ADFA, Canberra, the University of Sydney, and Women's College within the University of Sydney. He has recently completed two monographs on *Precinema and the Literary Imagination*. Volume I: *The Emergence of Precinema is in production*, and Volume II: *The Nineteenth Century Novel* is forthcoming. He is also the editor of a collection of essays, *Sensationalism and the Genealogy of Modernity: a Global Nineteenth Century Perspective*, in production. He has been awarded a three-year grant to complete the project on Leipzig as one of the capitals of continental book publishing and distribution in the course of the nineteenth century. During his recent residency at the University of Melbourne as a Macgeorge fellow he has

continued his research for his fourth book on the global networks of distribution of Victorian print culture in the 1860s-70s.

The Levantines and their legacy in the Ottoman Newspaper Press: a Case Study about William Nosworthy Churchill

Birten Çelik

The Levantines living in the Ottoman Empire played a pioneering role in the foundation of a newspaper press. Some of the Levantine merchants published the first private newspapers either in French or in English to provide commercial and other related news mainly for the foreigners like them living and doing business in the empire. Some transformed this into a family business as in the example of William Nosworthy Churchill who published the first Turkish private newspaper called *Ceride-i Havadis* (News Paper) in Istanbul with the financial support given by the Ottoman government. Churchill was known as a wood merchant and an interpreter at the US Consulate in Istanbul. His new business as a newspaper proprietor started in fact as a kind of compensation for his detention in prison by the Ottoman authorities after leaving a Turkish boy injured in an area where Churchill should not have entered without permission. His detention caused a diplomatic crisis between the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain in addition to a crisis that occurred among Ottoman statesmen. Shortly after this crisis W.N. Churchill was awarded with a decoration by the Ottoman sultan with the privileges to publish a newspaper and to make investments. Churchill published the

newspaper as *Ceride-i Havadis* on 31 July 1840 with the technical support given by the Ottoman Imperial Printing House. However its publication was suspended in 1842 yet started to be republished in the following year.

William N. Churchill kept on publishing this paper until his death in 1846, and then his son Alfred Black Churchill continued this family business until his death in 1870. Following him, his son William Sydney Churchill ran the business until 1887. The Churchill family in these years introduced new experiences in the field of journalism to the Turkish press as well. For example, Alfred B. Churchill published a daily supplement called *Ruzname* during the Crimean War (1853-56). He even went to Sevastopol in 1854 to report from the war zone. The Churchill family was able to continue to publish their newspaper with name changes like *Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis* (*Ceride* with Daily Supplement) until 1887. The Ottoman authorities favored them, and even provided financial support to the family members whenever they were in need.

This paper, in the light of the Ottoman archival materials, newspaper copies and relevant academic sources examines the Levantine Churchill family and their legacy in the history of the Turkish press.

Birten Çelik is an Associate Professor at the Department of History at Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey where she currently teaches Ottoman Modernization, Ottoman Labor History, and the history of the Turkish press as well as the history of women in Turkey. Çelik is the author of number of articles

and reference book entries on Ottoman social and political history, the Gallipoli Campaigns and press, Ottoman labor and women history, and most of these publications have appeared in internationally-renowned books and academic journals.

Session 5: Cities & Infrastructure

*For **Kalliopi Amygdalou's** biographical note please see p.9*

Early Modern Levantine Commerce Revisited: The Commerce of Izmir (1580 – 1780)

Mehmet Kuru

The commercial history of Izmir, as the prominent port-city of Levant, has been examined by numerous researchers in different contexts for a long time. However, in these works, the focus was generally on the mercantile groups and their economic activities rather than the market itself. Especially, the economic indicators were mainly provided from European archives and the current scholarship has traced the commercial activities operated by specific mercantile groups through the port of Izmir. These works undoubtedly have made significant contributions in order to shed light on the commercial networks growing throughout the Mediterranean. However, they could not provide us with a holistic viewpoint on the commerce of Izmir for the early modern period. In this paper, the commercial growth of Izmir observed during the pre-modern period will be revisited under the light of new archival data compiled from Ottoman archives.

Based on these new evidences on total custom revenues for the port of Izmir, I argue that commercial "explosion" of Izmir/western Anatolia reached its limits in about two decades between the 1580s and 1600s. After this transitional phase, commercial growth became dependent on the development of Ottoman markets. Consequently, it is difficult to insist on an ongoing integration process between the markets of Europe and Western Anatolia from the late 16th to the 19th centuries; rather it is more accurate to mention a long-term commercial stability, or more precisely, co-movement with the fluctuation of Ottoman markets. Furthermore, by comparing the statistics on Izmir commerce with the custom revenues of the eastern Anatolian trade gate, customs of Erzurum, I also suggest that "early incorporation" was not limited to the emergent commercial ties between the Ottoman Empire and European markets as the Eurocentric modernist view tends to focus on but Ottoman markets also engaged with eastern economies, largely Iranian markets, through caravan trade simultaneously on the same degree as a result of economic transformation of the Ottoman Empire observed during the late 16th century.

Mehmet Kuru is a senior PhD candidate in the department of History at the University of Toronto. He got his M.A. degree in history at Sabanci University/Istanbul in 2009, and his B.A. at Galatasaray University/Istanbul in 2007. He also spent a year in Leiden University/Netherlands as a guest student during his M.A. years.

His dissertation title is "Locating an Ottoman port city in early modern Mediterranean world: Izmir 1580-1780" and his supervisor is Natalie Rothman. In his research, he mainly aims to reveal long term economic, demographic, migratory and urban patterns of Izmir observed during the early modern period and suggests a relocation of this port-city within the early modern Ottoman and Mediterranean history/historiography. Apart from his dissertation project, his research interests include early modern cultural history, interactions among ethno-religious groups and "go-betweenes".

Construction of Quays as a Catalyst of Urban Change: Smyrna and Salonica (1860-1900)

Ceylan İrem Gençer

Starting from 1840s, Levantine port cities witnessed dramatic changes due to Ottoman reforms, the boom in foreign trade and technological advancements, which reflected on the transformation of the traditional urban realm. Smyrna and Salonica, the busiest trade hubs in their region, were the foremost towns in the Ottoman State to experience the urban novelties, such as the implementation of large-scale infrastructure projects. Construction of quays in both cities can be considered as the core project which acted as a catalyst of urban change. This paper aims to present a comparative study of the quay construction process in Smyrna and Salonica and thus contribute to the common historiography of these cities through this process between 1860-1900.

In the 19th century, the ports of Smyrna and Salonica carried out the

highest import-export activities in the Ottoman Empire. Their geographic position, rich hinterlands with various agricultural goods and mines, as well as intermingling cosmopolitan societies were the factors that boosted their commercial life. Albeit their prestigious position in international trade, both cities lacked modern embankment and port facilities until 1870s. Although in Smyrna the construction of a port in Alsancak was discussed along the construction of the railways, it was not realised. Later, the State initiated the construction of a quay on the shore of the Frank Quarter to control the smuggling of goods and regulate the disorganised seafront piled up with buildings and small piers. On the other hand, in Salonica the State aimed to open up the congested intramural city by demolishing the sea walls. In addition, the customs and harbour facilities outside the walls were found inadequate, therefore the debris of the sea walls were used to fill in the sea shore and create a new customs zone.

Even though initiated with different motives, the construction history of quays in Smyrna and Salonica bears a lot of similarities. The same British entrepreneurs applied for the concession of the quay construction in both cities, first in Smyrna (1863), then in Salonica (1867). The governor of Smyrna, responsible for finalising negotiations between the State and the contractors, was then appointed to Salonica for the implementation of the quay project. Moreover, the architect responsible for the Salonica Quay was from Smyrna. This paper will analyse the construction process of quays through these mutual relations which help us provide a broader perspective on the urban transformation of Smyrna

and Salonica at the turn of the nineteenth century. All these factors enhanced the common history of trade-oriented port cities in the Levantine world.

Architect **Irem Gençer** is an Assistant Professor at Yıldız Technical University Architecture Faculty, Restoration Department. She completed her doctorate degree with the dissertation "Urban and architectural transformation in Izmir and Thessaloniki between 1840-1912" in Restoration Program in Istanbul Technical University in 2012. She has participated in several international workshops, field studies and conferences on heritage preservation. Her field of research includes urban preservation, vernacular architecture in Anatolian settlements and planning history in Mediterranean towns.

Demeter and Poseidon : the "Ottoman Railway from Smyrna to Aidin" and the Historical Relations between the Levantine Port-City of Smyrna and the Aegean Valleys

Giulia Tacchini

The story of any Levantine port-city is certainly connected with the history of its harbor, but it does not resolve simply in it, as the Mediterranean can be approached both from the sea and from the river valleys that feed into the sea, providing the goods commersed in its ports. Interest in Smyrna (Izmir) as a case study lies in the geographical and structural connection between the port-city and its region. Investigating the relations between geography and long-term history, the present research focuses on the changes

generated by the Smyrna-Aidin railroad (1856) in the urban and rural landscapes of the Aegean region. Towards this aim, the crystallization of the commercial net, which developed around Smyrna, will be framed into the larger Mediterranean and Anatolian context, and described through its main historical steps: its making in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, its "manufacturing" in the nineteenth, and its "dismantling", during the reorganization of Anatolia as Turkish territory. Set in the centre of an unrivaled history of communications, where the main land roads meet the Aegean easy-navigable waters, the region owed its prominence as an emporium to the wealth of its territory and to its strategic location. In the multi-ethnic Ottoman western Anatolia, the symbiotic coexistence of different territorial organizations drew, on the slopes and in the plains of the Aegean valleys, a landscape historically characterized by agricultural exploitation in the floor and on the foothills, integrated with higher altitude pasture and with commercial activities led by the port-cities. Starting from the XVII century, when -led by the British- the world market demand for cash-crops increased, Smyrna confirmed itself as a port exporting agricultural products and raw materials produced in these fertile valleys. These valley-harbor relations took their main infrastructural form with the construction, promoted by British capital, of the Smyrna-Aidin railroad (1856-66), the first railroad on the Anatolian lands. Following closely the old caravan trails, the railroad, by efficiently and cheaply connecting Smyrna with its fertile hinterland, stimulated the production of exportable cropland, and -supplemented

with the construction of the harbor, Les Quais des Smyrna- drew the attention of British merchants to the agricultural resources of the region. Shaped by commercial relations, this flow of people and goods changed the built form of urban spaces, and left a marked impact on the regional territorial organization and rural landscape. Wherever we go in this contemporary landscape we run across a series of signs. Often there is little but ruins to see. Here, like a manuscript of which most of the words are rubbed away, Smyrna's peculiar history, otherwise mostly non-existent, is written in the landscape. Observing the surviving architectural heritage; the ruins of bridges, roads, watercourses, cisterns and mills; the very names of the cities, villages, quarters and streets; the terraces where olive trees grow, we will point out how the Aegean landscape mainly reflects the long-term effects of ethnic, religious and linguistic relations on Ottoman lands, as well as the mark left by the loss of this dialogue.

Architect and researcher, **Giulia Tacchini's** main interests focus on the historical development of the Mediterranean landscapes, seen in an geographical, architectural and anthropological perspective. In June 2016 she received her PhD (with honors) in Architectural Composition at the Department of Architecture, Built Environment and Construction Engineering, Politecnico di Milano, with the thesis "Demeter and Poseidon, Architecture and trade in the metamorphoses of the Ionian landscape" (Thesis supervisor: Cristina Pallini). From 2011 to 2014, she was teaching assistant in Architectural Composition Studio led by Prof.

C. Pallini and M. Meriggi, and was involved in the researched titled 'Port Cities in the Mediterranean' and carried out by the Macro-urban Planning Laboratory. She is a graduate in Architecture from Politecnico di Milano in 2011, with a project for a new railway connection between Burgos and the Port of Bilbao, which was published in November 2012 in "Port-Cities, QAP 3 Landscape Notebook".

The Long-lived Egyptian Okelle; Extraterritorial Microcosms and Long-Distance Trade

Cristina Pallini, Manar El Gammal and Silvia Boca

The Arab word *okelle* means 'agency' and, in Egypt, also defines an old type of commercial structure including warehouses and accommodation for the dealers. Somehow similar to the *fondouks* of the Middle-Ages (so popular throughout the Levant) *okelles* were generally compact buildings with an arcaded inner courtyard and a single entrance from the street. They were to be found in transit points of long-distance trade routes, fulfilling the function of 'extra-territorial islands'. Some *okelles* were built for merchants from the same origins, others instead grouped the same kind of goods. Trade was carried on in the main courtyard, the warehouses laying behind the arcade; a glance upward revealed the sleeping quarters, temporary accommodation for the merchants as well as for the residents. At the time of Napoleon Expedition, many old *okelles* were still to be found at Bulaq, the river port of Cairo, in the Mediterranean ports of Alexandria, Rashid, and Dumyat, but also in the ports along the Red

Sea.

While arguing that the Egyptian *okelle* is a 'functional' building type whose resilience has been tested over the long period, this paper will consider its evolution and adaptability to different geographical and urban contexts. The discussion will also focus on the revival of the *okelle* in 19th-century Alexandria. Here many *okelles* were adapted to house the European consuls, the first collections of antiquities, and even the first theatres.

The Italian engineer Francesco Mancini fully understood the potentialities and adaptability of this age-old building type, particularly in Alexandria a city which was being resettled by a series of ethno-religious enclaves. In Mancini's interpretation the *okelle* embodied principles of symmetry, spatial fluidity and regularity of the external facades. His simplified neoclassical style became a sort of *lingua franca*. The real innovation however lied in the fact that Mancini lined up a number of *okelles* to form the main square of the European Town: *Place the Consuls*. The finest *okelle* along the square was later to become the Bourse of Alexandria.

The continuity of this building type as a symbol of the past but also of modern Egypt is proved by the fact that an *okelle* was rebuilt in Paris for the 1867 Universal Exhibition: "The *okelle* is built round a large courtyard with shops facing onto it ..., but it is also a hotel, a bazaar, a warehouse, a workshop and even a stock exchange and may be summed up as a large public building where a people pursue their industrious activity." (Ch. Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle de 1867*, Paris: E. Dentu, 1867, pp.19 e 215).

Cristina Pallini - Milan, 1964; MA in Architecture, Politecnico di Milano (1990); PhD in Architectural Composition, IUAV Venice (2001) - is a senior researcher at Department ABC, member of the Scientific Committee and of the PhD programme teaching board.

From February to July 2016, she was visiting fellow at SALP, Newcastle University. In 2015, she taught at the School of Urban Design, Wuhan University and at the Faculty of Urban and Regional Planning, Peking University.

Her research on architectural design, settlement dynamics and urban change has been funded by Italian and foreign institutions, including AKPIA @ MIT (2004) and the Onassis Foundation (2006). She has collaborated in EU-funded research (ARCHING -- EU Culture Programme 2010-2012; DeMuCiv - Designing the Museum of the City of Volos - THALES program, European Social Fund 2007-2010), PI in PU-MAH Planning, Urban Management and Heritage (FP7 Marie Curie IRSES, 2012-2016) and MODSCAPES (Modernist reinventions of the rural landscape), HERA call "Uses of the past", 2016-2019). Among her key publications are: 'Alexandria's Waterfronts. Form, Identity and Architecture of a Port City', in *Waterfronts Revisited*, eds H. Porfyriou, M. Sepe, 2016; Smouha, Pallini & Bruwier, *The Smouha City Venture*, 2014; Geographic Theatres, Port Landscapes and Architecture in the Eastern Mediterranean: Salonica, Alexandria, Izmir, in *Cities of the Mediterranean*, eds M. Toksoz, B. Kolluoğlu Kirli, 2010.

Manar Ahmed El Gammal is a Visiting Scholar at UC Berkeley University and a PhD scholar at Politecnico

di Milano. She holds a Masters from Catania University in Economics and Valorisation of Cultural Heritage (with Honours). She was Teaching Assistant at Cairo University and 6th October University. She is Former Consultant Architect for Al Aga Khan in their programme about Historic cities, Former Board member in the Egyptian Engineering Syndicate (2012-14) and Head of the Sustainability and Urban Development committee.

Architect with a Master Degree with honors in "Architecture" obtained in 2013 at Politecnico di Milano, **Silvia Boca** will attend Phd Program at ABC Department of Politecnico di Milano from November 2016. Until now her research has focused on architecture and the rural-urban aspects in Egypt.

Session 6: The European Commercial World and the Levant: Maritime Trade between Middle and Modern Ages

For **Salvatore Bottari's** biographical note please see p.48

The Levant and Sicily: Trade, Merchants and Merchandise between the XII and XV Centuries Elisa Vermiglio

During the Middle Ages, Sicily was an important base in the Mediterranean sea and its relationship with the Levantine area is documented in various sources. This research will focus on the trade between Sicily and the Levant in the Middle Ages and in particular on the role of the port of Messina between XII- XV centuries.

Due to its particular geographical location between the eastern and western Mediterranean Sea, Sicily assumed a strategic relevance in mercantile business and its ports were an important market for the import and export of goods in food trade and luxury commerce.

The objective of the present research is a close examination of Levantine trade from a specific context in the Southern Italy - eastern Sicily - by means of historiography and archival documents dating back to the late Middle Ages. Through the port of Messina, oriental silk, spices, African skins and gold arrived to the island from the eastern Mediterranean. The aim of this article is to examine the ways in which local merchants intruded into Levantine commerce, and the role of foreign merchants in developing these peculiar nodes of contact, focusing on political and economic

factors of the Sicilian history that have conditioned the trade in eastern Mediterranean sea.

Elisa Vermiglio is Assistant Professor in Medieval History at the University for Foreigners Dante Alighieri of Reggio Calabria. She taught also at the University of Messina (degree course in Modern Literature).

Graduate in Modern Humanities from the University of Messina (110/110 cum laude), in 2006 she was awarded her PhD in Medieval History at Palermo's University (XVII doctoral course); from 2006 to 2010 she gained a postdoctoral fellowship in the Department of History and Social Sciences of the University of Messina.

She has worked in the international project @ SMM - Historical Archive Multimedia Mediterranean. She participated in several Prin projects and international congresses and has published studies on the socio-economic situation in Sicily and on trade in the Mediterranean. Her interests focus on the socio-economic analysis of Southern Italy, history of trade, migration and integration of cultures in the late Middle Ages in the Mediterranean area with particular reference to area of the Strait of Messina, as a place of identity and integrated economy system.

Among her recent publications are: "L'Islam e il Mediterraneo: dalla Sicilia araba al modello della Sicilia normanna", in *Temi e riflessioni sul diritto nella prospettiva culturale dell'Islam*, ed.by H. Ezzat, A. Monorchio, D. Siclari, Reggio Calabria, Laruffa Editore, 2015, and "«Ad bonam fortunam et risicum dei maris et gentium». Scambi e commerci nel Quattrocento messinese", in *Medioevo per Enrico Pispisa*,

ed. by L. Catalioto, P. Corsi, E. Cuozzo, G. Sangermano, S. Tramontana, B. Vetere, Centro Internazionale di Studi Umanistici, Messina 2014, pp. 395-408.

Levantine Merchants from Constantinople in the Late Sixteenth Century International Maritime Trade in North-Western Black Sea and Lower Danube Areas

Cristian Luca

The Levantine merchants from Constantinople, often referred to in contemporary sources as “Perotti”, were involved in various professional fields. They are well known as interpreters and clerks working for the Western embassies in the Ottoman capital, but also as merchants engaged in international maritime ventures. They enjoyed an easier access to the Black Sea, as subjects of the Porte, they were associated with Muslim merchants or used the commercial vessels of Ottoman ship-owners in order to reach the ports of the maritime Danube, transit centres for goods sent for sale to the Polish market. The Venetian merchants were bound, by mutual economic interests, with the Levantine Constantinopolitan traders, and were often associated with them in transactions with raw materials or with Cretan wine exported to the Polish markets. The Levantine merchants Pietro Panzani and Piero/Pietro Galante were among the most important merchants who controlled the maritime trade routes between Constantinople and the ports of the mouths of the Danube in the second half of the sixteenth century. This paper will highlight their professional activity, as they were part of the community of Levantine

merchants from Pera who chose the business environment, unlike many of the Levantine families who continued to serve the Western diplomatic embassies in Constantinople.

Cristian Luca attended the University of Bucharest, where he completed a B.A. in Medieval History in 1999, an M.A. in Eastern European Medieval and Early Modern History in 2001 and a Ph.D. degree magna cum laude in Early Modern European History in 2006. He was awarded the «Nicolae Iorga» National Fellowship for Research and Postgraduate Specialization in Venice from 2002 to 2004, and was Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow to the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences from September 2008 to February 2009, and was also awarded other grants and stipends for research and specialist training in Italy. Professor of Late Medieval and Early Modern History at the Lower Danube University of Galati (Romania), he teaches Late Mediaeval and Early Modern history of Eastern Europe and the Romanian Principalities. He is currently the Deputy Director of the Romanian Institute of Culture and Humanities Research in Venice (Italy). His research interests include maritime trade in the north-western Black Sea from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries, Western diplomacy and embassy staff in Constantinople during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the social and economic history of the Romanian Principalities in the Early Modern period.

Gate to the Levant: Malta and the Maritime Trade between the Eastern and Western Mediterranean (1740-1750)

Salvatore Bottari

Malta served as a gate to the Levant for the western merchants who were permitted to conduct business with the Ottoman Empire. This was due to its geographical position as well as the Lazaretto, the Quarantine Station located on Manoel Island (Marsamxett Harbour). The proposed paper will analyze some aspects of the maritime trade and commercial networks between the eastern and western Mediterranean choosing Malta as a point of reference in the 1740s, a period in which the plague that affected Messina (1743-1745) increased the importance of the island's location as a midpoint in the 'great sea' trade routes. The sources comprise documents kept in British, French, Italian and, above all, Maltese libraries and archives.

Salvatore Bottari is Associate Professor at the 'Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche e Giuridiche' (University of Messina, IT), where he teaches Early Modern History. He is on the Editorial Board of *Journal of Maltese History*, member of the Executive Committee of the Istituto di Studi Storici 'Gaetano Salvemini' of Messina, member of the Scientific Committee of the 'Laboratorio di Storia Marittima e Navale' (University of Genova, IT), secretary of the Società Messinese di Storia Patria and fellow of a number of international historical associations. His interests embrace the social, cultural and political history of the Mediterranean lands, especially Southern Italy and Sicily, in the early modern age.

Among his last publications are: *Messina tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento. Il "caso" Antonello, la cultura, le élites politiche, le attività produttive* (Soveria Mannelli 2010); *Nel Mediterraneo dal Mare del Nord: la presenza commerciale inglese nella Sicilia del Settecento* (Rome 2012); "Per sollievo e beneficio di questo Regno": Carlo di Borbone e il governo economico della Sicilia (1734-1759)", in J. Martínez Millán, C. Camarero Bullón, M. Luzzi Traficante (eds.), *La Corte de los Borbones: crisis del modelo cortesano* (Madrid 2013); "Trade and Politics between Naples, Sicily and the Ottoman Empire during the Kingdom of Charles of Bourbon (1734-1759)", in Halil Ersin Avcı (ed.), *Türk Denizcilik Tarihi Bildiriler*, Proceedings of the International Symposium of Piri Reis and Turkish Maritime History (Prime Minister Ottoman Archives in Istanbul, 26-29 settembre 2013), (Ankara 2014), "Lotte politiche nel Parlamento siciliano dopo la Costituzione del 1812", in Giuseppe Bottaro e Vittoria Calabrò (eds.), *Democrazia e sistema bicamerale. Teoria politica, profili storici e prospettive costituzionali* (Palermo 2015); "The Accademia della Fucina: Culture and Politics in Seventeenth-Century Messina", in Jane E. Everson, Denis V. Reidy and Lisa Sampson (eds.), *The Italian Academies 1525-1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, (Oxford 2016).

Trade Exchanges between the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the Countries of the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea (1734-1861)

Maria Sirago and Franca Pirolo

When Charles of Bourbon occupied the kingdom of Naples, in 1734, the

situation was quite critical because it lacked infrastructure, the fleet had been destroyed, the harbours were in disuse and its trade was in crisis. Around 1750, some very big ships, called "polacche" (polacres), were built: they were also equipped with guns, and they took part in the trade between England and the (American) colonies. During the regency of Bernardo Tanucci (1759-1767), mainmasts for the new fleet were sent from Sweden and Denmark, with whom the Bourbons had already stipulated some trade agreements (in 1742 and 1748). Trade expanded both in the Baltic and in the Black Seas after a further agreement made with Russia in 1787. Actually, these trading routes developed only after the congress of Vienna, in 1815, when trade steadily increased between the two seas thanks to the barques, the new type of sailing ships which were built in Piano and Meta di Sorrento. The purpose of this paper is to establish a framework of the trade routes between the Kingdom of Naples and the new emporia in the Black Sea and in the Baltic Sea. To this end, an examination of customs documents used in foreign trade during the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies kept in the State Archives of Naples will be the main concern of the paper. A survey of the legislation related to the trade policy of the Kingdom, including the agreements made with foreign powers, will supplement the research.

Maria Sirago is permanent state teacher of literary subjects at "Liceo Classico Jacopo Sannazaro" in Naples since 1987. She has been studying maritime history in its different aspects, carrying out, in particular, studies on the Southern Italy port

system, on Southern Italy Navy in Spanish, Austrian and Bourbon periods, on merchant ships, on maritime insurances, on trade, on naval schools and on fishing systems. As a result of these studies, she has published various essays and six monographic studies. Her latest publications include "Il consolato napoletano nel Mar Nero e lo sviluppo di Odessa tra la fine del '700 e la prima metà dell'800", in M. Mafrici L. Mascilli Migliorini ed., *Convegno Mediterraneo e'è Mar Nero. Due mari tra età moderna e contemporanea*, Napoli, ESI, 2012; 'The shipbuilding industry and trade exchanges between the kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the countries of the Baltic and the Black Sea (1734 -1861)', in "Mediterranean Review", IMS, vol.5 n. 2, dec.2012, pp.81-107 (ISSN 1229-7542) and 'The development of the new steamships and the history of the shipping industry in the Kingdom of Two Sicilies (1816-1861)', in R.PISANO, ed., *A Bridge between Conceptual Frameworks, Sciences, Society and Technology Studies*, Springer ed, Amsterdam, 2015, pp. 495 - 511.

Franca Pirolò holds a Bachelor's Degree in Economics (University of Salerno), and a PhD in the History of Italian Industry and Sociology of mass media. Currently she is working as a Professor of History of Economic Thought and as researcher of Economic History at the University of Catania, Department of Economics and Business. She won several scholarships (including for doctoral studies and for a Concentration study at the Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini" in Prato); she was also a post-doctoral fellow and a Didactic Manager for the degree courses of the Faculty

of Economics for the project "Campus Campania". She is a member of the Società Italiana degli Storici dell'Economia and of Società Salernitana di Storia Patria. Her latest publication is titled 'Peace treaties and trade between the Kingdom of Naples and Tripoli in the eighteenth century', Mediterranean Studies Association, 19th Annual International Congress, maggio 2016, Palermo.

Trade in the Levant in the Neapolitan Diplomatic Correspondence in Constantinople (1803-1804)

Mirella Vera Mafri

The paper intends to examine the diplomatic correspondence of the Neapolitan chancellor in Constantinople between years 1803 and 1804. During this period the ambassador Guglielmo Costantino Ludolf was leaving the Ottoman capital putting the regency of the Neapolitan legation in the hands of the royal chancellor, Giacomo de Marini. The chancellor reported at the Neapolitan government on what was happening in the Ottoman Dominion, on the sultan's decision to remain unrelated to the wars that were tearing to pieces the Napoleonic Europe. The sultan declared his neutrality in the conflict between France and England in an official note at the delegates of the European Courts. But the conflict between the two States had big impacts in the Mediterranean area, especially with regards to commercial exchanges. The chancellor provided exhaustive information on trade hoping for the opening of the Straits of the Dardanelles to commercial shipping. His intent was to assist the Neapolitan ships

that arrived in Constantinople: the Turkish prohibition (1803) of grain trade from the Black Sea nullified the agreements between Naples and Constantinople. The chancellor was able to obtain safe-conducts to ensure the trade to the Neapolitan ships also from attacks by Barbary. But trade in Levant was complicated by Russia's decision to declare the port of Sevastopol a war port, prohibiting the landing of ships and the settlement of consuls and merchants.

Mirella Vera Mafri is Contract Professor at the "Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici" (University of Salerno, IT), where he teaches Modern History. She is on the Editorial Board of "Rivista Storica Calabrese", member of the Scientific Committee of the Mediterranean Maritime History Network, member of the Executive Board of the Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Calabria, member of the Société Internationale des Historiens de la Méditerranée and fellow of a number of international historical associations.

Her researches on Mediterranean Europe include institutions, economy, society, diplomatic and dynastic history in the modern age. Currently, she is researching the Mediterranean history as based on the diplomatic and commercial relations among Kingdom of Naples, Russian Empire and Turkish Empire (XVIII-XIX centuries).

Among her latest publications are: «Felipe de Borbóm, el ducado de Parma y la corte de Madrid», in J. Martínez Millán, C. Camarero Bullón, M. Luzzi Traficante (eds.), *La Corte de los Borbones: la crisis del modelo cortesano* (Madrid 2013); «The Kingdom of Naples and the Ottoman Empire during the Napoleonic era:

diplomatic and trade relations”, in D. Couto, F. Gunergun, M. P. Pedani (eds.), *Seapower, technology and trade. Studies in Turkish Maritime History* (Istanbul 2014); «The Turks in the Mediterranean: the expedition of Hayreddin Barbarossa (1543-1544)» in *Uluslararası Piri Reis ve Türk Denizcilik Tahiri Sempozyumu* (Istanbul 2014); «Il Codice Romano Carratelli nel sistema difensivo del Regno di Napoli» in F. Martorano (ed.), *Progettare la difesa, rappresentare il territorio. Il Codice Romano Carratelli e la fortificazione nel Mediterraneo secoli XVI-XVII* (Reggio Calabria 2015). She has been the editor of multiple volumes.

Session 7: Consumption and Taste in the Levantine World

For **James Whidden’s** biographical note please see p.55

Accounting for Taste: Florentine Cloth and its Ottoman Consumers in the 16th century

Ingrid Houssaye Michienzi

Early modern Florentine business records, comprising of account books and copious correspondence, offer a privileged source for the study of European and Mediterranean trade and culture. In this paper, I will use these extraordinary sources to investigate the material tastes and fashion preferences of Ottoman Empire buyers of Florentine silk and wool cloths in the sixteenth century, and reflect on what impact these preferences had on production.

This paper will use sources produced in Florence and in the Ottoman Empire to study how taste and fashion shaped production. Florentine business companies had agents

in the major cities of the Ottoman Empire that were reporting to their commercial partners in Florence on the sales of silk and wool cloth. These agents played an intermediary role between the consumers and the producers, and therefore influenced the ways in which the cloth was woven and dyed to conform to the clothing desires of their Ottoman consumers. Similarly, account books from textile workshops and commercial companies in Florence, where the cloths were manufactured and shipped out to the Ottoman Empire, contain lists of bales of different types of wool and silk cloth sent to the Ottoman markets, in which not only the quality but the colour of each piece of cloth is mentioned. This mass of information gives precious insights into the colour tastes of the Ottoman buyers at the time. By crossing registers, letters, and the extant old cloths preserved in textile collections and in iconography, I will identify the Ottoman consumers of Florentine textiles and their different tastes according to their social status. Some textiles were manufactured in Florence for specific consumers, for example, the Ottoman court; others were of different qualities and sold mainly to shopkeepers in the Bedesten of Constantinople and to drapers in Bursa. I will examine the impact of the Ottoman tastes on Florentine production structures, as almost 30 to 40% of the Florentine woollens production was exported to the Ottoman markets.

Ingrid Houssaye Michienzi is a permanent researcher at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS, Orient & Méditerranée UMR 8167). She earned her PhD in History and Civilization from

the European University Institute (Florence, 2010). She is the author of *Datini, Majorque et le Maghreb (14e-15e siècles)*. *Réseaux, espaces méditerranéés et stratégies marchandes* (Brill, 2013). She has recently been a part of a collective research project named ENPrESA (Entreprise, négoce et production en Europe: les compagnies Salviati, XIVE-XVIIe siècles). Her interests encompass the Mediterranean commercial relationships in the Later Middle Ages with a particular focus on interreligious trade, merchant networks and strategies, commercial methods and practices, Florentine trade companies, and the articulation between economy and social relationships. For more details see: <https://cnrs.academia.edu/IngridHoussayeM-ichienzi>

Sublime Purveyor of Levantine Trade and Taste: The David van Lennep Family Portrait

Caroline Mesrobian Hickman

Recent publications concerning 18th century Dutch and Ottoman trade and the Levant include a reproduction and brief descriptive summary of the David van Lennep Family portrait, thus introducing the striking image to an academic and general audience. The monumental group portrait, attributed to Antoine de Favray, ca. 1771 (fig. 1), depicts the sizable Dutch Levantine family of Smyrna confidently facing the viewer, richly clothed in colorful Ottoman and European dress. Present are the prominent Dutch trading merchant David George van Lennep (1712-1797); his wife Anna Maria (1734-1802); their seven surviving children; Anna's father Justinus Leytstar, a fur trader in Ankara and Smyrna; and the family tutor M.

d'Anton. As Philip Mansel has remarked, the painting is "an icon of Smyrna's cosmopolitan past."

This paper will interpret the portrait in a broad socio-economic and cultural context, drawing on histories of the van Lennep family, changing concepts of familial social order informed by the Enlightenment, as well as studies on *turquerie* and the dynamics of 18th century European group portraiture. What do members of this important Levantine family reveal about the long-standing commercial interaction between the Netherlands and the Ottoman Empire and their specific roles in its advancement? What do these self-fashioning actors convey about individual, familial, and geographic identities? How are acculturated Ottoman and European gender roles of late 18th century affirmed and subverted?

This paper will argue that the portrait negotiates between the perceived exoticism of the "East" and restrained etiquette of the "West," a visual feast of intertwined trade, culture, and customs. The van Lennep's trading interests and decades of residence in Smyrna move the portrait beyond 18th century European *turquerie*, as seen in other works by de Favray as well as those by Jean-Étienne Liotard. Ottoman dress is both an emblem of their mercantile activities and representative of the luxury goods they wore. More than overt displays of wealth, social status, and socially appropriate behavior, the clothing, ornament, and other material attributes authentically encode the sitters' professional, social, and familial gendered roles.

The actors' positions within the group and postures appear to document shifts in social practice or ideology concerning familial authority

as well as relationships between generations. Anna van Lennep's dominant position suggests a shift from patriarchic to matricentric family. The eldest sons' dress and other material attributes suggest aspirations for an upwardly mobile transition from merchant social standing to gentry. The posture, position, and costume of Elisabeth Clara, the eldest daughter, demonstrate her readiness to assume van Lennep's Levantine trade interests, subverting gender-specific norms regarding the mercantile profession. Indeed, such cultural and generational gendered differences intersect in her figure, an amalgam of "East" and "West," professional gender categorization and enlightened thought regarding the role of women in society.

Caroline Mesrobian Hickman is an independent art and architectural historian in Washington, DC., who acts as a researcher, exhibition curator, writer, and editor. She received her B.A. in anthropology from Duke University, M.A. in art history from Tulane University, and Ph.D. in art history from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Her areas of interest include 18th - 20th century American painting, graphic art, and architecture, particularly American colonial portraiture and Washington, D.C., historic buildings. Her most recent publication concerns the art, architecture, and early diplomatic history of the palatial Turkish Ambassador's Residence located on Washington's "Embassy Row."

Dr. Hickman is working on a book and exhibition about the architectural career of her grandfather Mihran Mesrobian (1889-1975), who had a prolific career in Washington during the 1920s, 30s, and 40s. The Ottoman Armenian had strong profes-

sional and personal connections to Istanbul and Smyrna/Izmir, among them diplôme from the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, municipal architect and designer in Smyrna/Izmir, and assistant to chief palace architect Vedat on the restoration of the Dolmabahçe Palace.

Towards the Creation of a Shared Levantine-European Consumer Space at the Turning of the 20th century : the Role of Press Advertisements

Nicolas Pitsos

The end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was accompanied by a flourishing Press industry and a widespread circulation of newspapers within European metropolises as well as in the urban and maritime centers of Eastern Mediterranean sea. Among many factors, such as literacy advances, technological achievements in the production and diffusion process, notably the progress in printing methods or transportation means, the 'colonisation' of media space by advertisements, was another major explanation of such a trend. On the one hand, these advertisements sustained newspapers' reading democratisation process, allowing people of various socioeconomic backgrounds to buy them. On the other hand, they both announced and participated in the advent of mass consumption society and culture. This paper aims at studying how advertisements became agents for weaving commercial ties and for shaping common consumption patterns between the Levantine and the European space. Which are the products, the brands, crossing the sea in both directions? And which are the Orientalist/Occidental

representations and imageries that followed them in their journey? Through the consultation of newspapers edited on the one hand, in French, English, or Greek, in cosmopolitan cities such as Alexandria, Smyrna, Salonica or Istanbul/Constantinople, and on the other hand in these languages in Paris, London or Athens, this study wishes to start piecing together fragments of a consumer's culture fresco at the turning of the 20th century.

After a Master degree on social and cultural history at the University of Sorbonne, **Nicolas Pitsos** obtained his PhD at the INALCO, French Institute for Oriental languages and civilizations. He is currently teaching history of the Byzantine, Ottoman empires and history of the Eastern question at the ICES (Institut Catholique d'Études Supérieures). At the same time, he is member of Transfopress, a transnational network for the study of foreign language press, whereas, he is pursuing his researches on French and Greek-speaking newspapers, history of advertisements and consumption, as well as French perceptions of Southeastern Europe, during the 19th-20th centuries. Among his recent publications are «Fighting Balkan Wars along the Grands Boulevards: Antagonistic media narratives in French public space », in Mustafa Türkeş, *The Centenary of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913): contested stances*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014, pp.759-771; «De Paris à Istanbul: représentations d'un ailleurs sensoriel sur les rives du Bosphore, au temps de la Question d'Orient», in Robert Beck, Ulrike Krampl, Emmanuelle Retaillaud-Bajac, (dir.), *Les Cinq sens de la ville, du Moyen Age à nos jours*, Tours, Presses Uni-

versitaires François-Rabelais, 2013, pp.257-275.

Session 8: Families and Identities between Europe and the Levant

For **Philip Mansel's** biographical note please see p.8

A Levantine Family: The Barkers of Alexandria

James Whidden

James Mather has shown that there was a high degree of cultural tolerance exhibited by British merchants toward the Ottoman inhabitants of the Levant in the pre-1800 era. Individuals adapted their lifestyles to the requirements of trade. Arguably, the post-1800 period reversed this trend. Economic histories highlight the insularity of the British and suggest that the Capitulations established the political dominance of the foreigners. The contradictory interpretations can at least partly be explained by method. Mather describes individuals and their everyday lives within a Levantine milieu, whereas economic historians analyze larger structures over the long-term and, obviously with hindsight, the process afoot amounted to the eventual domination of the Europeans. Phillip Mansell's study of the Levant offers a synthesis of these differing interpretations. While recognizing that the imperial state in Europe shaped unequal social relations between Europeans and Ottoman subjects, Mansell has also said that the 'cities of the Levant were protagonists in the dialogues between cities and states, ports and hinterlands, as well as between East and West'. From this

perspective, the 'Levant' represented 'interstices' or 'bridgeheads' and thus a Levantine 'mentality' could survive the Byzantine, Ottoman and British Empires. Mansell's insights can be compared to the descriptions of colonial space in works on British imperial history by John Darwin, David Lambert or Alan Lester, which have also focused on biographical treatments. These methods can be applied to the case of the Barker family of Alexandria, a preeminent British commercial family in the Levant from the eighteenth to twentieth century. In many ways, the family narrative reconstructed from the archive at Exeter University corresponds to elements of a Levantine identity; most notably that the family's cultural and social connections to Alexandria outlasted the family's financial and commercial connections and, at decisive moments in the family's centuries-long residence, the social and cultural connections trumped economic interest. The family portrait that emerges from reading the memoirs (a series of files of notes taken from diaries, letters, and memorabilia, and thus not a cohesive narrative) supports a highly localized identity, not insular, nor inscribed with political privilege. In the proposed paper the particular history of the Barker family is recounted, based on the archive, while placing that history in the larger and long-term structures, as described by imperial and economic historians.

James Whidden is Professor of History at Acadia University, Canada. He holds a PhD in History from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. His works include the book, *Monarchy and Modernity in Egypt: Politics,*

Islam and Neo-colonialism between the Wars (2013).

The Death of David Altaras: Levantine Identity in Early Modern Aleppo

Mary Momdjian

In a letter to the Cinque Savii, (the Venetian board of trade), written on April 15th 1774, the Venetian Consul in Aleppo informs the members of the death of David Altaras, the head of the Aleppine Jewish Altaras clan, and the strange circumstances that followed his death. Directly after the passing of Altaras, both the Venetian consul and the Ottoman Qadi (judge) turned up at the house to place a seal on the door, claiming the deceased as one of their own. This tug of war between the two sides dragged on for a long time, while the body was left to decompose in a sealed house. It wasn't until after four European consuls, in a rare show of solidarity, came together to petition, that the Qadi gave way under pressure and allowed the body to be buried without paying the required taxes.

The Altaras clan exemplify the Levantine families who straddled the divide between the Ottoman and European worlds, and rose to commercial power in the second half of the eighteenth century as a result of a change in commerce and market patterns. Identity in the Ottoman Empire in the early modern period was fairly fluid and opportunistic. Members of the Levantine community were long-standing inhabitants of the empire who had lived there over an extended period of time, and as such, considered themselves subjects of the sultan. However, many of them simulta-

neously retained their European identities, which was Venetian in the case of the Altaras. By thenineteenth century, the Levantine identity meant being part of a growing commercial bourgeoisie, cultural go-betweens, dragomans, and even consuls or representatives of European nations.

By examining the letter announcing the death of Altaras and other such correspondence from the Venetian state archives, this paper will demonstrate the ambivalent approach the Levantines took towards their hybridity using their dual identities to leverage trade and further their ambitions. This paper will argue that they were able to do this by availing themselves of the dual legal systems provided to them by both the Europeans and the Ottoman authorities and using them both to their advantage.

Mary Momdjian is currently a Ph.D. candidate in Ottoman History in the department of History at the University of California Los Angeles. Her dissertation is entitled "The Merchant consuls of Aleppo", which concentrates on the social and cultural aspects of Levantine/European merchants in Ottoman Aleppo during the 18th and 19th centuries. More specifically her work examines the characteristics of the European Levantine merchant communities that settled in Aleppo, their complicated kinship ties, their identity and their pivotal role in the formation and development of East West relations. She also examines their "mirror society" which was comprised of the local Christian and Armenian merchants and how, due the influx and influence of the Levantines, they were compelled to re-examine and redefine their group identities and

loyalties. She is scheduled to complete her dissertation in December 2016.

Her research interests include Syria, the Ottoman Empire, Levantine merchant communities, minority communities in the Ottoman Empire, the history of the Armenians in Aleppo, and social History in the early modern period.

Her pedagogical interests are comprised of Ottoman history, Levantine communities, social history, and Middle Eastern and Mediterranean studies.

Publications: "Halabis and foreigners in Aleppo's Mediterranean trade: The role of the Halabi merchant in 19th Century trade networks." *Requiem for Ottoman Aleppo/ Alep à L'époque Ottomane, un requiem*, ed. Stefan Winter (forthcoming).

The Life and Death of Samson Rowlie, alias Hassan Agha

Daniel Bamford

There is only very limited evidence for the life of the sixteenth century English renegade and eunuch slave, Hassan Agha, whose birth name was Samson Rowlie. Until now, he has been known from a single letter written in 1586, supplemented by a striking watercolour portrait from 1588. However, new research on early English diplomatic relations with the Ottomans has uncovered further evidence of Hassan Agha's later life and continued contacts with his fellow Englishmen. This previously unstudied evidence includes a report of Hassan Agha's premature death in sinister circumstances, presumed murdered.

This paper will present these original research findings in the context of England's early diplomatic and

commercial relations with the Ottoman Levant. Particular attention will be paid to the position of eunuch slaves within Ottoman government and society, as well as questions of personal identity and loyalty amongst renegade ministers and officials. This will address the proposed conference topics of 'consular, diplomatic and commercial interactions' and 'individual or family histories that reveal aspects of the Levantine world'.

Daniel Bamford (MA Hons. 2001, MLitt. 2004) is a graduate of the University of St. Andrews. From 2005 to 2008 he was an AHRC doctoral student at the University of Birmingham, researching the career of the English diplomat Edward Barton in relation to the Long Turkish War (1593 – 1606). He was unable to submit a thesis by the final deadline and has subsequently taught English for Academic Purposes. Following a drastic restructuring of the text, he will now be able to complete his thesis and submit it for examination back at Birmingham. In 2014, he was awarded the Sir John Neale Prize in Tudor History by the Institute of Historical Research (London). He has also written book reviews for the *Revue des études sud-est européennes* (Bucharest) and *Rosetta* (Birmingham). For more details, please visit <http://st-andrews.academia.edu/DanielBamford>

An Agent of Mediation and Modernity in a Commercial Levantine City: The French Consul in Nineteenth Century Ottoman Larnaca

Michalis N. Michael

The aim of this paper is to analyze the role of the French consul in

Larnaca, the port city of Cyprus, during the first half of the 19th century. The fact that Larnaca was home to the main commercial port of Cyprus, the consulates of other states and a significant number of Levantines led the city to adopt a more "urban" image, contrary to the "traditional Ottoman" image of Nicosia. In 1809, the traveller Coransez points out that many Europeans reside in Larnaca, and "thus there are many opportunities for social life and for someone to reacquire European habits". In 1816, the traveller Otto von Richter notes in his texts that "For the European who returns from Asia, the particular charm that Larnaca has or offers are the traces of Europeanism that he sees in its image and first of all the hat that has set aside the turban". Later, in 1845, the French consul, in his description of the capital Nicosia, notes that it was a "city with medieval ideas without any Europeans", contrary to Larnaca, the people of which he characterizes as educated, stating that "if the seat of the government was transferred to Larnaca, the implementation of new decrees would have been easier". Various sources give a great amount of information regarding the consul's role on different occasions, such as the revolts of 1804 and 1833, the events of 1821, and the effort of the Sublime Porte to implement the Tanzimat reforms on the island shortly after the proclamation of the *Hatt-i Şerif*. These sources are the documents of the French consulate in Cyprus, Ottoman documents regarding the abovementioned events and some Greek documents from the archive of the Church of Cyprus. What is easily understood from the content of these documents is that the French consul was perhaps the most influential European representative

on the island. He very often acted as an agent of mediation between the local population and the Ottoman authorities. For example, in the 1804 revolt, according to all accounts known to us, the mediation of French consul Regnault was requested from all sides, the rebels, the Ottoman administration and the local population. During the three parallel revolts on the island in 1833, his mediation was once again asked from all sides in the conflict. His meetings and negotiations with the Ottoman administration officials were the turning point, since the Ottoman administration cancelled a certain degree and the first revolt of that year ended without any loss. During the events of 1821 in Cyprus, the French consulate becomes the target of some soldiers, but the consul manages to avoid further conflicts. In 1840, when a newly appointed *muhasil* on the island tries to apply the reform measures in the framework of the *Tanzimat*, the French consul becomes his constant advisor, and all the documents verify his role as an agent of modernity. It is obvious that the main roles fulfilled by the French consul's activity during the first half of the 19th century in Cyprus can be characterized as the following two: mediator between conflicting sides on the island and agent of modernity, supporting the *Tanzimat* reforms, advising the newly appointed *muhasil* and expressing the mentality of a modern type of administration.

Michalis N. Michael obtained a BA in Turkish Studies (1996) from the University of Cyprus (Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies). He received his MA (1998) from the University of Crete (Department

of History and Archaeology), and his PhD (2004) from the University of Cyprus (Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies). He is the author of the books: *The Church of Cyprus during the Ottoman period: The Gradual Formation of an Institution of Political Power* (Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia 2005, in Greek). *Revolts as a Field of Power Negotiation. Ottoman Cyprus, 1804-1841* (Alexandria, Athens 2016, in Greek) and the co-editor of *Ottoman Cyprus. A Collection of Studies on History and Culture* (Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2009), *The Archbishop's of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, London 2013) and the editor of the Special Issue on Cyprus of the *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 32 (2015). He has published articles in *Archivum Ottomanicum* (2009, 2012, 2015), *Chronos* (2010, 2014), *Social Compass* (2009), *Religions* (2010), *Historica* (2005, 2007, 2009), *Turkish Historical Review* (2011), *International Review of Turkish Studies* (2013), *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* (2013), *The Cyprus Review* (2015), and has chapters in several books including *Nationalism in the Troubled Triangle: Cyprus, Greece and Turkey* (Palgrave Macmillan, London 2010), *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books* (Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 2010), *Histories of Ottoman Larnaca* (National Research Foundation, Athens 2012). He is an Assistant Professor of Ottoman History at the Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies in the University of Cyprus.

Session 9: Communities between Europe and the Levant

For *Evguenia Davidova's* biographical note please see p.37

Trading Health: Venetian Medicine and Diplomacy in the Early Modern Levant

Valentina Pugliano

In 1547, the physician Cornelio Bianchi returned to Venice after spending four years between Damascus and Tripoli of Syria in the service of the Venetian consuls Nicolo' Bon and Domenico Da Molin. Along with small gifts for his extended family, Bianchi brought back two journals filled with accounts and observations, one of which has survived. Far from being an occasional traveller to the Ottoman Empire, Bianchi was part of a little-known network of medical provision set up by the Venetian Republic across the eastern Mediterranean and wider Levant to take care of the health of its diplomats and merchants. From the late fourteenth century, Venice began to appoint physicians, surgeons and apothecaries to the administrative outposts in its maritime dominion as to those key Levantine entrepôts where it had commercial interests and thus consular bases, notably in Egypt, Syria, and Constantinople. Mapping onto a pre-existing trading and diplomatic network, this system of medical appointments is still in need of exploration. Yet it promises to offer valuable insights into the movement of people, ideas, and commodities across the region. This is not least because of its longevity, surviving into the eighteenth century; its reach across the Levant; and the heterogeneity of its

actors, an array of Christian, Jewish and *converso* practitioners enlisted from across the Mediterranean.

Drawing on the notes of Bianchi and his contemporaries, this paper will introduce this medical network for the sixteenth century. It will explore how the role of its practitioners, also known as *medici condotti*, went in fact beyond medical practice and branched into the domain of politics and intellectual exchange. As medicine opened more doors than diplomacy, these practitioners often became key factors in ensuring that trade and political relations ran smoothly between Venice and its counterparts in the Levant, acquiring sensitive information as well as collecting favours through their promise of cure to Ottoman neighbours and notables. At the same time, as I will show, these practitioners took advantage of their contacts with local scholars and healers to further their own intellectual interests. Thus they made of this medical infrastructure a major circuit for mobilizing antiquarian, natural historical and Islamic medical knowledge in the service of European scholars increasingly interested in the objects, languages and intellectual traditions of the Near East.

Valentina Pugliano is a Wellcome Trust Research Fellow at the Department of History and Philosophy of Science, Univ. of Cambridge.

From Surat to Izmir, Aleppo and Venice: Family Networks of Armenian Gem Merchants in early Modern Global Trade of Diamonds

Sona Tajiryan

A brown leather-bound book kept

under the number P.D. 66.c in *Museo Civico e Raccolta Correr di Venezia*, is an unpublished accounting ledger, which belongs to the commendata agent of Minasian family firm, Agha di Matus (1644 - 1709). This unique ledger contains information about the cities in which he traded between 1679 and late 1680s and has not been published or closely scrutinized before. The consignments, described in the accounting ledger, contained diamonds and rubies, pearls, turquoise, lazurite, etc, all shipped or brought to Agha di Matus personally in Venice by different agents of the Minasian family firm trading from Surat in India to Izmir, Aleppo, Constantinople, Baghdad in the Levant and Venice, Livorno, Amsterdam, Marseille and London in Europe.

Diamonds and gems formed some of the most lucrative global commodities of the early modern period and provided an important link between the production or mining centers in the Mughal Empire and the consumption centers in Europe. This trade was largely conducted by Armenian merchants from New Julfa as well as their counterparts from the Sephardic trade diaspora in Europe, and the various chartered East India companies of Europe. Like other Asian mercantile communities of the period, the Julfans organized their business ventures around the economic institution known as the "family firm." Julfans did so by combining the archaic structure of the patriarchal family with modern techniques of investment and credit transactions.

My paper will investigate Agha di Matus's life as a diamond merchant and the history of the Minasian Family firm, thus shedding light on the important yet largely neglected

history of this Armenian family firm and their most significant agent. It will treat Agha di Matus as broadly representative of a group of other Armenian merchants involved in the diamond and gem trade of the early modern period. Based on the above-mentioned accounting ledger and around a four dozen mercantile letters from four different archives it will explore the various ways in which Agha di Matus and other agents of the Minasian family network traded with gemstones on the caravan trade routes of Safavid Iran and the Levant, followed by the maritime routes stretching from Izmir to Venice and Livorno. By exploring the details of participation of Julfan diamond merchants in the commodity trade between India and Europe, this paper seeks to fill in the gap in the existing scholarship of the early modern diamond trade and the involvement of Armenian merchants in it.

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Greeks from the Pelion Region in Egypt: a Case of Levantine Diaspora, 1825-1950

Vilma Hastaoglu- Martinidis

The paper will present a research account on the settlement of people from Pelion (Thessaly, Greece) in Egypt, after 1825. The migration of Pelion people to Egypt followed the broader pattern of the Greek Diaspora in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea that started at around 1815. In Egypt, the Greeks' settlement followed the invitation by the Khedive Muhammad Ali and a growing immigration flow was developed, involving people from the mountainous regions of Epirus and Pelion, and the Aegean islands. The decline of traditional handcrafting and trade in the formerly prosperous Pelion villages prompted many inhabitants to immigrate to Egypt. Over 160 family names have been identified so far, originated mostly of four larger Pelion villages. Initially they settled in Alexandria before moving to interior towns and places in the fertile Delta area.

The paper intends to bring into light research material for roughly thirty family cases; each case presents the family's migration trajectory, biography, entrepreneurial activity and involvement in local affairs at large, as well as the physical evidence of their presence in Egypt.

The majority of the Pelion Diaspora excelled in three sectors: 1. Cotton plantation, manufacturing and trade, 2. Tobacco manufacturing and trade, 3. Trade, stock exchange and banking.

Pelion people were a dynamic component of the Greek Diaspora in Egypt. They decisively contributed to the take-off of cosmopolitanism, and they left tangible traces by

way of various business premises (factories, shops, cotton farms etc.) they established, and community amenities they founded (schools, hospitals, orphanages, churches etc). Rich illustration material will be used to depict the above.

Lastly, a particular aspect of the Pelion Diaspora will be addressed, that concerns the bonds they maintained with their homeland and their contribution to its development in manpower, enterprising ideas, cosmopolitan culture and material support, through important donations for innovative institutions and manufacturing ventures that fostered its commercial and industrial evolution.

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She is the author of numerous books and articles on the Greek and Eastern Mediterranean cities in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Her research focuses on planning history, urban modernization and heritage preservation, and has been sponsored by Greek and EU funds. Currently she is involved in "The Assessment Project for the Conservation of Architectural Heritage Built by Non-Muslim Communities", conducted by Association for the Protection of Cultural Heritage (Kültürel Mirası Koruma Derneği), Istanbul.

The Zantiot Community in Eighteenth Century Cyprus

Theoharis Stavrides

In the middle of the eighteenth century, a group of Venetian subjects from the Ionian Islands began settling in the port of Larnaca, in Ottoman Cyprus. As the members of this group were predominantly Greek speakers and belonged to the Greek Orthodox faith, they formed a distinct community that had much closer contacts with the local Greek Orthodox population than had been hitherto customary for foreign merchants. In this way, they became the main intermediaries between the local population and European culture and ideology. Under the aegis of the Venetian Consulate in Larnaca, some members of this community thrived in the second half of the eighteenth century, becoming the island's most successful and prominent merchants, dominating local society and economy well into the nineteenth century. It is characteristic that, in the course of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, members of this community became Consuls, not only of Venice, but also of other important powers, like Britain and Russia.

Based on a variety of Italian, Greek and Ottoman sources, drawn mainly from the State Archives of Venice, this paper aims to examine, through individual cases, the formation and nature of the Zantiot community of Ottoman Cyprus in the eighteenth century. Topics to be discussed will be their financial and social interactions with locals, their Levantine and European trading network, the evolution of their social status within the island, as well as their political ideology and cultural world. There will be an attempt to gauge not

only the impact of this community on the island's society, but also the influence of the local environment on them. Moreover, using a comparative perspective, there will be an attempt to evaluate the extent to which an analysis of this community may reveal aspects and trends that concern the broader Levantine world in this period.

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Notes

