ABSTRACTS
& CURRICULA VITAE

VIENNA AND THESSALONIKI.
TWO CITIES AND THEIR JEWISH HISTORIES

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SALONIKA, VIENNA: ENTAGLED JEWISH HISTORIES IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Entangled histories (*histoires croisées*) of Salonika and Vienna in the 20th century bring forward the similarities and the differences between the histories of the Jews in the two cities. My presentation structures a narrative which highlights encounters and discrepancies, common structures, and varying contingencies. By adop@ng multiple scales and entries to the analysis, the telling of the histories reveals a history of movement: travels, deportations, migra@ons.

On the turn from the 19th to the 20th century, a railway connection between the two cities promised travel, economic exchanges, and prosperity. After the collapse of the Empires, the Jews in multiethnic Salonica and Vienna felt the gathering of the black clouds of antisemitism over their cities. World War II led to a point when railroads did not mean any more leisure or business trips. In the few years, from the Anschluss to the deportations to the East, and from the German Occupation of Salonica to the deportations to Auschwitz, the roads to safety became hard and perilous. How did so many Jews succeed to avoid the fatal wagons and leM Vienna? How did the few Jews who had not been forced into the trains to Auschwitz escape from Thessaloniki? What trajectories did they follow? Did Viennese exiles and survivors return to their hometown? Did survivors from Salonica return to live in their hometown or did they decide to emigrate? What meant in both cities the suppression of the memory of the Shoah? How does the history of the Jewish monuments of the two cities testify to this suppression? The lens of entangled histories may help us rethink the complexity of the European Jewish past.

Rika Benveniste

Thessaloniki
(University of Thessaly)

Rika Benveniste was born in Thessaloniki. She studied History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and completed her doctoral studies in Medieval History at the Université de Sorbonne (Paris I, Panthéon). She is at present Professor of European Medieval History at the Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology of the University of Thessaly, in Volos. Her research in Medieval History includes issues of law and society, religiosity and conversion, Jewish history, and historiography. She has also researched and published widely on the Holocaust. Her current research focuses on the history of Jews in the post-war years and the emigration of Greek Jews. Her most recent monographs, both of which have received numerous awards and in addition have been translated into many languages, include *Those who survived: Deportation, Resistance, Return* (Athens: Polis, 2014) (Berlin: Romiosini, 2016) (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2022, forthcoming in English) and *Luna. An Essay in Historical Biography* (Athens: Polis 2017) (Paris: Signes et Balises, 2023, forthcoming).

INTRODUCTION

Dimitrios Varvaritis

(University of Vienna)

Dimitrios Varvaritis is a historian, freelance researcher and lecturer (Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, University of Vienna). He studied law and history at the Universities of Sydney and London and completed his doctorate at Kings College London. His research interests focus on antisemitism in Greece as well as on aspects of the broader history of Greek Jewry. He has been awarded Fellowships at the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies and the American Jewish Archives. His latest publication, a study of a set of photographs of the Austrian scholar Felix von Luschan, was included in the exhibition catalogue, *Überleben im Bild "Rettungsanthropologie" in der fotographsichen Sammlung Emma und Felix von Luschan* (Salzburg: Fotohof 2021).

FELLOW BALKAN MERCHANTS - THE TURKISH-ISRAELITE AND THE TWO GREEK COMMUNITIES OF VIENNA FROM 1718 TO WORLD WAR II

As a result of the trade agreements that accompanied the peace treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718) between the Ottoman and the Habsburg Empires merchants from the Ottoman lands started coming to Vienna in the early 18th century. While most of them were Orthodox Christians (Greeks), there was also a smaller group of Sephardi Jews as well as some Armenians and Muslims (Turks). The origins of what later became the two Greek-Orthodox and the Turkish-Israelite communities of Vienna can be traced back to the first half of the 18th century. The fact that these merchants were tolerated even though they belonged to non-Catholic confessions has to do with the trade privileges they enjoyed as Ottoman subjects based on the peace treaties between the two empires. For this reason, the members of Vienna's Sephardic community had much more rights than the local Jews and the so-called Turkish-Israelite Community thus became the first officially legitimated Jewish community in the city. Both the Greek Community of St. George and the Turkish-Israelite Community were given documents that granted them the right to exercise their religion already by empress Maria Theresa, i.e. before her son Joseph II. published his patents of toleration for non- Catholic believers (Protestants and Greek-Orthodox in 1781, Jews in 1782).

While during the 18th century we can observe a range of similarities between the Turkish-Israelite Community and the Greek Community of St. George of the Ottoman subjects, in the course of the 19th century there are also parallels with the Greek Community of the Holy Trinity of the Austrian subjects (founded in 1787).

On the one hand this is due to the reason that the Austrian administrative authorities demanded analogous modes of organization and administration by the non-Catholic communities, on the other hand there was obviously an exchange between the Sephardic and the two Greek communities in dealing with upcoming organizational and institutional issues they faced in the 19th century. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the communities show similar features regarding their acculturation and integration into the Viennese Habsburg society.

Apart from a short presentation by myself in 2017 the relations between the Turkish-Israelite and the Greek communities in Vienna have not been studied. In my paper I want to give an overview of all aspects of the parallels and similarities in the history of these communities starting from the early 18th century and ending with World War II.

Anna Ransmayr
(University of Vienna)

Anna Ransmayr has studied Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, Classical Philology (Ancient Greek) and Library and Information Studies at the University of Vienna. Her dissertation in Modern Greek Studies deals with history of the Viennese Greek communities in the Habsburg Monarchy.
She is the head of the Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies Library at Vienna University Library.

VIENNESE JEWISH SPACES 1880 - 1930: A RELATIONAL APPROACH

Around 1900, Vienna's second district, Leopoldstadt, was renowned as "Jewish quarter" far beyond the city's borders. It was not only home to the northern railway station, which connected the capital of the Habsburg empire with its eastern provinces and was thus the first port of call for Jewish migrants from Eastern Europe, but also home to many synagogues and Jewish institutions. It was this—the historical settlement area of the Jewish community in early modern times—plus the fact that at the turn of the 20th century many Jews continued to live in the area, that earned the district the name Mazzesinsel.

By no means, however, were Jews the only ones living in Leopoldstadt. Counting around 3,000 houses, the district was the most densely populated part of the city for both Jews and non- Jews. In the apartment buildings, people shared sanitary facilities and usually also the dormitories because bed lodgers were widespread in the Habsburg metropolis (20 percent of the population). In wealthier households, Jewish and non-Jewish domestic servants worked and lived their daily lives with the families for whom they worked. Jews and non-Jews regularly met in the streets. In the neighboring parks, leisure time was spent side by side. What is more, Jews did not live exclusively in Leopoldstadt, but also in the other districts. Although a different narrative has long prevailed in research, Jews shared neighborhoods and even living spaces throughout Vienna.

This presentation scrutinizes the exclusivity of "Jewish" and "non-Jewish" districts by examining three examples of a residential building in Vienna 1880–1930. Using a micro- historical approach, I reconstruct the residents and their neighborhood from a variety of sources (oral history interviews, autobiographies, address books, newspapers, registration card index). I will present how Jews and non-Jews developed a sense of community through various habitual activities and a strong identification with the larger space. In doing so, I demonstrate that microhistory and spatial considerations can be productively combined to gain new insights into Jewish–non-Jewish relations in private and public spaces.

Susanne Korbel

(University of Graz)

Dr. Susanne Korbel is an FWF-funded researcher and lecturer at the Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Graz specializing in Cultural Studies, Migration Studies, and Jewish history. She is currently working on a project on new, non-exclusive narratives of the history of Jews in Vienna around 1900 based on everyday life encounters and relations aiming to overcome narratives of particularity (FWF project P31036-G28). Her first book is entitled Auf die Tour! Jüdinnen und Juden in Singspielhalle, Kabarett und Varieté zwischen Habsburgermonarchie und Amerika um 1900 (Böhlau 2021). She has held fellowships in Jerusalem, New York, Southampton, and Tübingen, and taught as visiting faculty at the Andrássy University Budapest and the University of Haifa. She studied Cultural Studies, History and Cultural Anthropology in Graz, Jerusalem, Budapest, and New York and earned her doctoral degree from the University of Graz.

DECENTERING THE CENTRES: REASSESSING THE ROLE OF VIENNA AND THESSALONIKI IN A BALKAN CONTEXT

Often referred to as the 'Jerusalem of the Balkans', Thessaloniki (or in a Jewish context, rather, Salonica) has commonly been conceptualized as the Jewish Sephardic center of the Balkans. Jewish Vienna, on the other hand can be regarded as synonymous with an idea of 19th and early 20th century progressive, artistic, intellectual, and assimilated *Bildungsbürgertum* and a cradle of Zionism. Those two cities thus form a bracket for the entire Balkan peninsula with its diverse Jewish population. Much scholarly work has been done on carving out their centrality, importance, and model character for Balkan Jewish communities, mainly based on literary, biographical, epigraphic, or journalistic evidence.

This paper will look at this assumed central role of those two cities from an architectural point of view. By basing my analysis on synagogue architecture from the Balkans, I will seek to deconstruct this narrative and bring into focus otherwise important but often neglected Balkan Jewish centers. By doing so, this paper will address the various missing links that can help better understand the mechanisms of (dis-)entanglement between the Jewish communities of Vienna, the Balkans, and Thessaloniki in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Fani Gargova
(University of Vienna)

Fani Gargova is a Lecturer in Art History at the University of Vienna. She received her doctorate from the same institution in 2019 with a thesis on the Central Synagogue of Sofia. Previously, she was Byzantine research associate at Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University and has held fellowships from the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the Rothschild Foundation (Hanadiv), and the IFK in Vienna. Her research focuses on architectural Byzantinisms, medievalisms, and Orientalisms with a special interest in Jewish architecture and Jewish spaces in the Balkans, as well as the historiography of Byzantine art history and its relation to nationalisms. Most recently, she has published articles on choir and organ in synagogue architecture (2021), Marcus Ehrenpreis' role as chief rabbi of Bulgaria (2021), and the Byzantine revival at the 1900 Paris World Fair (forthcoming). Fani Gargova has edited the publication of the 1940s project materials for The Holy Apostles: A Lost Monument, a Forgotten Project, and the Presentness of the Past (2020) and curated the online exhibition Das Erbe von Byzanz on the collection of historic photographs housed at the Vienna Department of Art History (2021).

GREEK JEWISH, LEFTIST AND WOMEN NARRATING THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SHOAH

In this presentation, I examine the itineraries of Greek Jewish women who during the Occupation took part in the leftist Resistance or, more broadly, belonged ideologically to the Left. In addition, I examine the gender-based difficulties faced by the women after the Second World War and during the Greek civil war (1946-1949) as they attempted to reconstruct a post-survivor self.

Taking into account that gender is an important constituent in the process of narrativization of the self, my research aims to illuminate the gendered dimension of these women's experiences by focusing mainly on how a Greek Jewish feminine identity is constructed through narratives. At the same time, and while the suggested approach aims to fullfil a gap in the relevant Holocaust and Gender studies bibliography on Greece, we should take into consideration that although the survivors' reminiscences are unavoidably gendered, gender does not constitute the totality of one's experience. Nevertheless, an approach which focuses on gender allows us to examine the conditions under which women's identity is "dismantled" or threatened to be "dismantled" under the conditions of the war, or is (re)constructed.

My analysis will be based on five cases of Greek Jewish women, three of which originate from Salonica, and one each from the towns of Trikala (Thessaly) and Chalkida (Central Greece, Euboea). Different cities of origin allow us to illuminate the case of Salonica in relation to the two other cities, the latter being more closely situated to mountainous areas, which were controlled by the Resistance forces, and, thus, study the role that geography played as regards the possibilites of escape the women had, their decision to take part in the Resistance or their ideological adherence to the Left. The perspective adopted is one of a close analysis of women's discourse, aiming to shed light on the multiple transformations of the female Jewish leftist identity in the years that preceded the Second World War until the first post-war decade.

Eleni Beze

(University of Thessaly)

Eleni Beze is currently a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology at the University of Thessaly, where she is conducting research on the experience of the Shoah in the formation of a female Jewishness in Greece. She has been awarded a scholarship for this research from the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah. Her PhD examines issues of memory and identity of the Jews of Greece in the immediate aftermath of the Shoah (Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology, University of Thessaly). She holds an MA in Philosophy (University of Crete) and a BA in Philosophy and Social Sciences (University of Crete). She has worked in secondary education and, since 2010, she collaborates with the Jewish Museum of Greece.

AFTERMATH: VIENNESE AND SALONIKAN JEWS INTERVIEWED BY DAVID BODER IN 1946

David P. Boder, an American Latvian-born psychologist, came to Europe in 1946 to interview Holocaust survivors in order to study how the impact of the catastrophe had affected them and to let American people grasp the dramatic situation of displaced persons in Europe.
He interviewed about 100 survivors, many of them in Paris. Among them there were Jews from Thessaloniki and Vienna, whose interviews were recorded with a wire recorder, later transcribed and translated into English. They represent an effective means for a deeper understanding of both the survivors' situation after the liberation and the way they dealt with their own past and future, in particular in relation with the cities they were from.
There were many differences between Thessaloniki's and Vienna's Jewish communities but, at the same time, in their history there were similarities. Thessaloniki's Sephardi community shaped the city's features for four centuries, since until the end of the Twenties the Jews constituted the majority of the population. The community in Vienna was mainly Ashkenazi and constituted a minority which nonetheless deeply influenced the cultural and economical life of the city. Both in Thessaloniki and in Vienna the Jewish population included people of different nationalities, which influenced their fate during the Nazi persecution and the Holocaust. In Thessaloniki people owning a Spanish, Italian and Portuguese citizenship were initially excluded from the anti-Jewish policy, which started in summer 1942 against the Greek nationals, but eventually, in 1943/4 many of them were deported: the Spanish and the Portuguese nationals to Bergen Belsen, the Italians to Auschwitz. In Vienna, where the persecution began much earlier, as a consequence of the Anschluss, and the Nazis aimed at getting rid of the Jewish population, emigration became a matter of life or death: to hold a citizenship of Poland or Austria, or Hungary, for instance, made a difference in getting a visa or papers to emigrate. In both cities members of the same family might have had different citizenships, therefore they endured also the tragedy of separation which was particularly hard in Vienna, more rare in Thessaloniki, where the speed of the ghettoization and deportation didn't allow emigration. My research is focused in particular on 6 interviews: three given by Salonikan Jews, three by Viennese. My purpose is to analyze how the Nazi persecution affected people coming from different backgrounds, what were the analogies and the differences between their experiences, how they dealt with the persecution and what was their relation with their hometown after the liberation. Boder's interviews allows also to understand the different kinds of trauma the survivors endured: for instance the Viennese Jews's persecution began much earlier and forced them to emigrate and often leave part of the family behind, Salonikan Jews were persecuted and deported at a much faster pace: in about one year, the Jewish community of Salonika was almost totally annihilated. These interviews are among the earliest testimonies on the Holocaust and were recorded in that time, between the liberation and the beginning of a new life, when the survivors were in a sort of limbo between a painful past and an uncertain future: no one of them wanted to go back to their cities, their world had vanished.

Stefania Zezza

(Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata)

Stefania Zezza is a teacher and PhD candidate in history and social sciences at the Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata. Her doctoral project focuses on the epistemological value and interpretation of Holocaust testimonies. She graduated with an International Master of Holocaust Studies from Roma Tre University with a thesis concerning David Boder's interviews with survivors from Salonika. Her research interests include the relation between memory, trauma and language. She has been studying, for many years, the Holocaust in Salonika and about which she has published several articles, most recently *We are a Strict Iron Group: the Greek Jews from Salonika to Warsaw via Auschwitz* (2020), *Without a compass: Salonikan Jews in Nazi Concentration Camps and later* (2021). She is currently the president of Etnhos (European Teachers Network on Holocaust Studies).

JEWISH CHILDREN IN THE PRELUDE OF DEPORTATIONS: VIENNA, PRAGUE AND THESSALONIKI

In my contribution, I will pay special attention to the liminality of the Holocaust in three different geographic settings as witnessed by Jewish parents and children separated by persecution and war. By focusing on political and geographic variability and diachroneity imposed on these families by the anti-Jewish measures I wish to illuminate the impact of timing. Drawing on recently published research on Vienna published by Elisabeth Anthony and a set of family letters between Prague and St. Luis from 1939-1941, scholarly edited by Kateřina Čapková, I elaborate in my micro-study on a family from Thessaloniki, of which several children survived the war hiding with their non-Jewish guardians and had to come to terms with the fact that their parents were deported while other family members found a sanctuary within Greece. The decision-making and Jewish experience during World War II and its aftermath created traumatic layers in the family memories for decades to come which I aim to bring closer based on audio-visual accounts and archival sources.

Kateřina Králová

(Charles University)

Professor at the Charles University in Prague, focuses in her research particularly on the Holocaust and its aftermath in Greece. She obtained several prestigious scholarships, including the IKY (Greece), the VWI (Austria), and a Fulbright Fellowship at Yale (USA). In 2015, she was a USHMM Fellow (USA) and in 2021/22, a Humboldt fellow at the HU Berlin (DE). She is, among others, the author of *Das Vermächtnis der Besatzung* (Böhlau 2016/BPB 2017) and the editor of *Jewish Life in Southeast Europe* (Routledge 2019).

COMMUNITY, CITY AND HINTERLANDS: THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF SALONICA AND ITS SUB-COMMUNITIES DURING THE BALKAN WARS

The Ottoman loss of the European provinces during the Balkan Wars (1912-13) had a tremendous impact on the traditional Ottoman urban centers in the Balkans. Major cities, like Edirne and Salonica, lost much of their rural hinterlands. Consequently, they both endured severe economic and demographic crises and transformations. The existing academic literature on interwar Salonica offers a stimulating discussion about the loss of the city's hinterland and the ramifications on its economy and administrative significance. However, the impact of this change on the Jewish communities of the Peninsula is still understudied. Until the Balkan Wars, Jewish Salonica played a central role in leading the much smaller communities of the Western Balkans. Networks of study, commerce and social relations, conducted in Ladino (and sometimes in Hebrew) and benefiting for free movement, sustained the social and economic dependence of the smaller communities on the Salonican community. This was particularly true in times of crises.

The Salonican community's transfer into Greek rule, while much of the smaller communities found themselves under the rule of Bulgaria and Serbia (later Yugoslavia), triggered significant changes in the relations of the Salonican community with its "daughter communities". The loss of the "Ottoman-Sephardi" hinterland and its division among the different Balkan kingdoms stands at the center of this presentation. First, I explore the role of the Salonican community in offering assistance and shelter to the surrounding smaller communities during the Balkan Wars. Indeed, Salonica in the West and Edirne and Istanbul in the East became centers of assistance for destitute Jewish refugees who were fleeing the advance of the Balkan Armies. As the larger Jewish communities of the Balkans, they could offer local and international networks of assistance in time of sever need. Then, I move to discuss the impact of the new boundaries on the Salonican community's ability to offer assistance to its coreligionists, now foreign citizens of neighboring countries.

My main case-study is the small Jewish community of İştip (nowadays Štip in North Macedonia). This small community, of about 500 members, fled the town as a whole at the beginning of the First Balkan War towards Salonica where they remained for much of the Balkan Wars. Taking advantage of the Jewish infrastructure in the city and the presence of international Jewish aid organizations, the refugees were accommodated in Jewish schools and other communal institutions. However, as their town became part of Serbia following the Second Balkan War, they came under the pressure to leave Salonica and return to "their" national state. By exploring articles published by Jewish and Ottoman press in Ladino, Hebrew and Turkish as well as reports produced by Jewish aid organizations, the presentation analyses the role of Salonica as a center of Jewish aid catering to the Jewish smaller communities of the Balkans and the impact of the newly created borders on its ability to continue playing this role.

Eyal Ginio

(Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Eyal Ginio is Associate Professor in the Department of Islam and Middle Eastern Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He also serves also as the Director of the Forum for Turkish Studies at the Institute of Asian and African Studies at the Hebrew University. His research and publications focus on social history of the Ottoman Empire with a particular emphasis on Ottoman Salonica in the eighteenth century and about the Balkan Wars (1912-13). His recent publications include *The Ottoman Culture of Defeat: The Balkan Wars and Their Aftermath*. London: Hurst Publications and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016; (ed.) together with Karl Kaser, *Ottoman Legacies in the Contemporary Mediterranean: the Balkans and the Middle East Compared*. Jerusalem: The Forum for European Studies, 2013. He is currently prepares a manuscript about the reshaping of the sultanate under the constitutional regime (1908-1918).

SALONICA JEWS IN THE HABSBURG EMPIRE, 1867-1918 A FORGOTTEN STORY

With regards to Salonica Jews, emphasis is usually put on the influence of France, while the role of "Italian Jews" is also considered to have been of major importance for the development of the Jews in Salonica. While both these states indeed played a vital role in turning the Jewish community of Salonica into the vibrant group that it came to be, another power of the time, the Habsburg Empire, is often left out of the frame of those states which, in several ways, influenced its evolution- and that the city as a total. This essay aims at presenting some initial results of the research conducted, aiming to fill that lacuna in our knowledge.

After 1888, when the railway connection between Salonica and Vienna was completed, the trip between the two cities lasted only a day and a half. The press of the time often reported on departures and arrivals from Vienna, while there often were correspondences from the city by Salonica Jews who were there. One such example is that of Nehama Mallah, who often reported to "Journal de Salonique" the events that transpired in the Habsburg capital. He was one of the several Jews that found themselves residing in the empire every few months to conduct business. For some of those people, this back-and-forth evolved and turned into a more permanent settlement, especially after the Balkan Wars, when there was a massive wave of naturalizations from Salonica Jews to the Habsburg Empire- not nearly as numerous as were the naturalizations in other countries, such as in France, yet of great significance nonetheless, since the elite of the Salonican Jewry (the Modiano, the Fernandez, the Mallah, just to name a few) were among those who become Austrians. It is during this period that we find Rachel Mallah, wife of the (deceased by that time) Nehama that was previously mentioned, applying and acquiring Austrian citizenship. Their case is indicative of the interrelations between preexisting financial and eventual creation of political links between Jews from Salonica and the Habsburg state, while at the same time studying this case leads us to reevaluate our understanding of the family structure and the gender roles in (upper-class) Salonican Jewry. This essay approaches the subject from the scope of migration studies, will also applying the Social Network Analysis and Prosopography theory. By doing so, it examines the mobilities of the actors, while also determining who were the most crucial among them. At the same time, by applying this methodology, this subject is inscribed into the wider framework of works regarding migration and the Habsburg Empire, while also offering a different paradigm, since, in most cases, the Habsburg lands are considered to be the migrants' place of origin rather than their destination. Hence, by approaching the mobilities of Salonica Jews to the Habsburg lands, we reevaluate several aspects of our understanding of Salonica Jewry at the time and the mobilities in the European framework.

Lida Dodou

(University of Vienna)

Lida-Maria Dodou is a PhD candidate at the University of Vienna. Her research project concerns the Salonican Jews, who settled in the Habsburg Empire and is incorporated in the research cluster State, Politics and Governance in Historical Perspective. She holds a MA in Political Sciences and History from Panteion University in Athens, and was granted a fellowship from the Provincial Government of Styria, Austria, for her MA-thesis.She is currently a Junior Fellow at the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies. Her research interests concern periods and areas of transition and the formation of (self-) identities.

‚TRADING WITH THE ENEMY'
SALONICAN JEWS, CENTRAL EUROPE, AND THE POLITICS OF CONTRABAND TRADE DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

This paper repositions the politics of contraband trade in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean during World War One at the interstices of state policies and individual merchant action. It examines how the British and French military authorities imaginatively adopted a variety of non-economic criteria to define as 'contraband' the business activities of numerous prominent Jewish and Dönme (i.e., Islamicized Jews) merchants in Salonica, and how in turn these merchants challenged their blacklisting by employing a multi-faceted social, cultural and political capital to prove their loyalty to the Entente Powers.

In the early years of the war, Salonican Jewish merchants took advantage of Greece's initial neutrality, their own local political connections, and their foreign citizenship to adjust to and profit from the new realities of economic blockade. By mobilizing anew their robust trans- Mediterranean and Central European business networks, they successfully circumvented Greek commercial restrictions and the Allies' embargo of the Central Powers and engaged in a lucrative trade by importing goods from Britain, France, Italy, and the United States only to export them anew through neutral Salonica and Kavala to Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Ottoman Empire.

Anxious to identify the parties involved in such illicit trade, the Entente Powers often resorted through their local consuls to dubious criteria of classification interpreting long- established commercial connections with the Central Powers, pro-royalist sentiments, and links to German Zionism as signs of Germanophilia and adequate reasons for inclusion into their blacklists. Through a close reading of particular cases, the paper will show how Salonican Jewish and Dönme merchants countered such designations by manipulating a complex, highly volatile, political environment. On the one hand, they mobilized their multi-faceted social, cultural, and political capital, (as major contractors, communal notables, foreign citizens, and members of the local European communities), to demonstrate their loyalty to the Entente. On the other hand, they exploited the conflicting French, British, and Italian imperialist ambitions to advertise their own economic importance and service their particular business interests in the Eastern Mediterranean. Such political maneuvering thus allowed them to reclaim their legality and eventually maintain their Mediterranean connections. Salonican post-Ottoman Jewish and Dönme commercial elites were therefore a major force in shaping the conceptualization of 'contraband trade' and determining the implementation of blockade policies on the shifting grounds of the Macedonian Front.

Mainstream historiography on the political economy of illicit trade during the Great War has so far adopted a largely nation-bound approach focusing on the processes of state-building and the establishment of national economies sustained by an increasingly tighter control over international trade. This paper adopts instead an actor-network approach to bring the merchants' own actions and experiences back at center stage. Drawing from Greek and Entente government records, archives of international Jewish organizations, and the local press, it prioritizes the interactions within and without formal and informal cross-ethnic networks to argue that the multiethnic, post-imperial Jewish and Dönme commercial elites of Salonica actively shaped the convoluted politics of contraband trade as their regions transitioned from empire to nation-state. The paper thus highlights the porousness of clashing imperial and national borders in the Mediterranean and the importance of attending to transnational mobility, fluid national allegiances, and shifting notions of state territoriality when examining the economics of the Great War.

Paris Papamichos Chronakis
(Royal Holloway University of London)

PhD, University of Crete, 2011; MA in Comparative History, University of Essex, UK, 1998; BA Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece, 1996; Chronakis is Lecturer in Modern Greek History at Royal Holloway, University of London. His research focuses on the imperial and post-imperial histories of the port-cities of the Eastern Mediterranean and his manuscript in progress narrates the passage of Salonica from the Ottoman Empire to the Greek nation-state by bringing together the interrelated histories of Sephardic Jewish, Greek Orthodox and Muslim entrepreneurial elites. Recently, he has also been investigating the Holocaust of Greek Jewry and exploring the potential of digital humanities in reconstructing life in hiding and in the concentration camps.

A “BLACK” PHOTO DIARY.
THE RARE PHOTOGRAPHIC MATERIAL OF THE YOUNG GERMAN SOLDIER WERNER RANGE ON BLACK SATURDAY IN THESSALONIKI (Andreas Assael’s collection)

"How mournful that Saturday was ... The call was for 9 am," writes Iakovos Strumsa ... July 11, 1942: the first massive hostile move by the German authorities against the Jewish Community of Thessaloniki was motivated by Greek collaborators before the application of the racial laws and the deportation to death in February-March 1943. The chief executive of the military administration of the city, Friedrich Heine, ordered the official census of competent for work male Jews (from 18 to 45 years) that would work in military projects undertaken by the German companies Müller and Todt, an engineering unit of the German army.
The order was published in the newspaper Apogevmatini (Afternoon paper) on July 7 and was re-published in Nea Evropi (New Europe) on Saturday, July 11, 1942, the day on which the operation started. The approximately 7,000 to 9,000 men who went to pick up their work cards in Liberty Square ended up in being tortured for hours under the burning sun of July. "They forced the men to jump, roll on the ground, crawl through the dust and perform ridiculous exercises ..." writes Iakovos Hantalis. The above picture is described in a multitude of written sources and testimonies as well as in the well-known pictures of the German Propaganda Office of the era.
However, photographic material, unknown till 2011, that was found in Germany, comes to shed more light on the Jewish tragedy in German occupied Thessaloniki. The personal album of Werner Range, a German soldier, in fact a musician, contained shocking images from the gathering at Freedom Square. The photos of "Black Saturday," as it is called the Saturday of July 11, 1942, were found by the Thessalonian Jew, Andreas Assael, in a German bazaar. The old salesman had just cleaned up the house of a musician in Burghausen, a town near Khemitz in Saxony.
The young soldier Werner Range was a trombone player and a band member in an Engineering unit of the German Army. He arrived in Thessaloniki - after staying in Edessa and Kavala - in February 1942. During his stay in the three Macedonian cities, he captured pictures of everyday life on streets and squares with a photo camera (probably Leica). All these photographic production is indicated of a more General tendency dominant among the German troops. The German soldiers armed with Leica and Rolleiflex cameras, were officially commissioned as photographers, while others were asked by their commanders to snap records of events and often to act as tourists in the occupied lands. In fact, the recent work of Ian Jeffrey (2020) points out that the style and content of their work changed along with the collective mood after 1942. The German musician witnessed the gathering and torturing of the Jewish men at Freedom Square in Thessaloniki. The rare photographic material reveals a distant and cynical “touristic” view of the German military observer. At the same time, the photographs portray exceptional details and contributes with elements of microhistory to a clearer and detailed narrative of that day of July 1942 that meant the beginning of the end for the Jewish community of the city.

Maria Kavala
(Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Maria Kavala is an assistant professor of Modern History (exclusions and discriminations) in the School of Political Sciences, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki since 2012 and she teaches in the Hellenic Open University since 2010. The subject of her thesis was “Thessaloniki under the Nazi Occupation (1941 - 1944): Society, Economy and Persecution of the Jews”.
During her research career she gained scholarships from the Greek State Scholarships Foundation, Excellence award from the Aristotle University, "Alberto Nar", Yad Vashem, Rothschild and Fulbright scholarships (at the UCSB), also from the John Latsis Public Benefit foundation (team scientific project “People of the Underworld: ideologies and policies of discrimination, exclusion and prosecution in the modern world” (http://www.historyguide.gr/). She has participated in several conferences in Greece and abroad.

PHOTOGRAPHS AS EVIDENCE IN WAR CRIME TRIALS AND MEMORIAL LITERATURE

Roland Barthe's much discussed twin concept of *studium* and *punctum* has inspired us as researchers to interpret photographs as historical source, but also to feel as spectators the wounding in a detail of a picture. The proposed paper will approach visual sources from the Greek Holocaust by using methods of visual historical picture analysis in order to interpret the use of photographs as evidence in war crime trials and in memorial literature.

When analysing the years of occupation in Greece, historians seldom analyse private photographs taken either by a portrait photographer, a street photographer or an amateur photographer and family member and reproduced in memorial literature, or in special exhibitions or archives. Historiography prefers the reproduction of official photographs collected in archives. In case of occupied Greece the photographs taken by the German propaganda-units (PK), especially those of the "Black Sabbath" by Walter Dick, were longtime used without any critical analysis of the photographer, his commission and the photographs visual antisemitic propaganda.

This noncritical use of photographs accompanies us through the years. During the events, they were documenting the Nazi order and strength as well as the humiliation of the male Jewish citizens of Salonica. Immediately afterwards they were utilised as antisemitic propaganda in newspaper articles and reports. In postwar years the same images functioned as judicial evidence in the Eichmann trial. A survivor evoked on the witness stand his „memoire volontaire" by looking at these photographs. Finally these meanwhile iconic photographs are reproduced in memorial literature next to family pictures.

In my presentation I will try to combine visual and oral/written evidence in order to fill the blind spots, inside the pictures, but also outside the pictures frames. I will analyse the history behind the photographs, the operator, the spectator and the eidolon/the depicted.

Nathalie Patricia Soursos

(University of Vienna)

Nathalie Soursos is currently a lecturer in Modern Greek History and Gender Studies at the University of Vienna. She studied history and philology at the Universities of Vienna and Athens. Her PhD examines the photography of Greece under Ioannis Metaxas and Italy under Benito Mussolini. As post-doc researcher her research focussed on the Greek migration to Vienna in the 18th to 19th century and on post-war Viennese music history.

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SALONIKA, VIENNA: ENTAGLED JEWISH HISTORIES IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Entangled histories (*histoires croisées*) of Salonika and Vienna in the 20th century bring forward the similarities and the differences between the histories of the Jews in the two cities. My presentation structures a narrative which highlights encounters and discrepancies, common structures, and varying contingencies. By adop@ng multiple scales and entries to the analysis, the telling of the histories reveals a history of movement: travels, deportations, migra@ons.

On the turn from the 19th to the 20th century, a railway connection between the two cities promised travel, economic exchanges, and prosperity. After the collapse of the Empires, the Jews in multiethnic Salonica and Vienna felt the gathering of the black clouds of antisemitism over their cities. World War II led to a point when railroads did not mean any more leisure or business trips. In the few years, from the Anschluss to the deportations to the East, and from the German Occupation of Salonica to the deportations to Auschwitz, the roads to safety became hard and perilous. How did so many Jews succeed to avoid the fatal wagons and leM Vienna? How did the few Jews who had not been forced into the trains to Auschwitz escape from Thessaloniki? What trajectories did they follow? Did Viennese exiles and survivors return to their hometown? Did survivors from Salonica return to live in their hometown or did they decide to emigrate? What meant in both cities the suppression of the memory of the Shoah? How does the history of the Jewish monuments of the two cities testify to this suppression? The lens of entangled histories may help us rethink the complexity of the European Jewish past.

Rika Benveniste

Thessaloniki
(University of Thessaly)

Rika Benveniste was born in Thessaloniki. She studied History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and completed her doctoral studies in Medieval History at the Université de Sorbonne (Paris I, Panthéon). She is at present Professor of European Medieval History at the Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology of the University of Thessaly, in Volos. Her research in Medieval History includes issues of law and society, religiosity and conversion, Jewish history, and historiography. She has also researched and published widely on the Holocaust. Her current research focuses on the history of Jews in the post-war years and the emigration of Greek Jews. Her most recent monographs, both of which have received numerous awards and in addition have been translated into many languages, include *Those who survived: Deportation, Resistance, Return* (Athens: Polis, 2014) (Berlin: Romiosini, 2016) (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2022, forthcoming in English) and *Luna. An Essay in Historical Biography* (Athens: Polis 2017) (Paris: Signes et Balises, 2023, forthcoming).

INTRODUCTION

Dimitrios Varvaritis

(University of Vienna)

Dimitrios Varvaritis is a historian, freelance researcher and lecturer (Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, University of Vienna). He studied law and history at the Universities of Sydney and London and completed his doctorate at Kings College London. His research interests focus on antisemitism in Greece as well as on aspects of the broader history of Greek Jewry. He has been awarded Fellowships at the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies and the American Jewish Archives. His latest publication, a study of a set of photographs of the Austrian scholar Felix von Luschan, was included in the exhibition catalogue, *Überleben im Bild "Rettungsanthropologie" in der fotographsichen Sammlung Emma und Felix von Luschan* (Salzburg: Fotohof 2021).

FELLOW BALKAN MERCHANTS - THE TURKISH-ISRAELITE AND THE TWO GREEK COMMUNITIES OF VIENNA FROM 1718 TO WORLD WAR II

As a result of the trade agreements that accompanied the peace treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718) between the Ottoman and the Habsburg Empires merchants from the Ottoman lands started coming to Vienna in the early 18th century. While most of them were Orthodox Christians (Greeks), there was also a smaller group of Sephardi Jews as well as some Armenians and Muslims (Turks). The origins of what later became the two Greek-Orthodox and the Turkish-Israelite communities of Vienna can be traced back to the first half of the 18th century. The fact that these merchants were tolerated even though they belonged to non-Catholic confessions has to do with the trade privileges they enjoyed as Ottoman subjects based on the peace treaties between the two empires. For this reason, the members of Vienna's Sephardic community had much more rights than the local Jews and the so-called Turkish-Israelite Community thus became the first officially legitimated Jewish community in the city. Both the Greek Community of St. George and the Turkish-Israelite Community were given documents that granted them the right to exercise their religion already by empress Maria Theresa, i.e. before her son Joseph II. published his patents of toleration for non- Catholic believers (Protestants and Greek-Orthodox in 1781, Jews in 1782).

While during the 18th century we can observe a range of similarities between the Turkish-Israelite Community and the Greek Community of St. George of the Ottoman subjects, in the course of the 19th century there are also parallels with the Greek Community of the Holy Trinity of the Austrian subjects (founded in 1787).

On the one hand this is due to the reason that the Austrian administrative authorities demanded analogous modes of organization and administration by the non-Catholic communities, on the other hand there was obviously an exchange between the Sephardic and the two Greek communities in dealing with upcoming organizational and institutional issues they faced in the 19th century. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the communities show similar features regarding their acculturation and integration into the Viennese Habsburg society.

Apart from a short presentation by myself in 2017 the relations between the Turkish-Israelite and the Greek communities in Vienna have not been studied. In my paper I want to give an overview of all aspects of the parallels and similarities in the history of these communities starting from the early 18th century and ending with World War II.

Anna Ransmayr
(University of Vienna)

Anna Ransmayr has studied Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, Classical Philology (Ancient Greek) and Library and Information Studies at the University of Vienna. Her dissertation in Modern Greek Studies deals with history of the Viennese Greek communities in the Habsburg Monarchy.
She is the head of the Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies Library at Vienna University Library.

VIENNESE JEWISH SPACES 1880 - 1930: A RELATIONAL APPROACH

Around 1900, Vienna's second district, Leopoldstadt, was renowned as "Jewish quarter" far beyond the city's borders. It was not only home to the northern railway station, which connected the capital of the Habsburg empire with its eastern provinces and was thus the first port of call for Jewish migrants from Eastern Europe, but also home to many synagogues and Jewish institutions. It was this—the historical settlement area of the Jewish community in early modern times—plus the fact that at the turn of the 20th century many Jews continued to live in the area, that earned the district the name Mazzesinsel.

By no means, however, were Jews the only ones living in Leopoldstadt. Counting around 3,000 houses, the district was the most densely populated part of the city for both Jews and non- Jews. In the apartment buildings, people shared sanitary facilities and usually also the dormitories because bed lodgers were widespread in the Habsburg metropolis (20 percent of the population). In wealthier households, Jewish and non-Jewish domestic servants worked and lived their daily lives with the families for whom they worked. Jews and non-Jews regularly met in the streets. In the neighboring parks, leisure time was spent side by side. What is more, Jews did not live exclusively in Leopoldstadt, but also in the other districts. Although a different narrative has long prevailed in research, Jews shared neighborhoods and even living spaces throughout Vienna.

This presentation scrutinizes the exclusivity of "Jewish" and "non-Jewish" districts by examining three examples of a residential building in Vienna 1880–1930. Using a micro- historical approach, I reconstruct the residents and their neighborhood from a variety of sources (oral history interviews, autobiographies, address books, newspapers, registration card index). I will present how Jews and non-Jews developed a sense of community through various habitual activities and a strong identification with the larger space. In doing so, I demonstrate that microhistory and spatial considerations can be productively combined to gain new insights into Jewish–non-Jewish relations in private and public spaces.

Susanne Korbel

(University of Graz)

Dr. Susanne Korbel is an FWF-funded researcher and lecturer at the Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Graz specializing in Cultural Studies, Migration Studies, and Jewish history. She is currently working on a project on new, non-exclusive narratives of the history of Jews in Vienna around 1900 based on everyday life encounters and relations aiming to overcome narratives of particularity (FWF project P31036-G28). Her first book is entitled Auf die Tour! Jüdinnen und Juden in Singspielhalle, Kabarett und Varieté zwischen Habsburgermonarchie und Amerika um 1900 (Böhlau 2021). She has held fellowships in Jerusalem, New York, Southampton, and Tübingen, and taught as visiting faculty at the Andrássy University Budapest and the University of Haifa. She studied Cultural Studies, History and Cultural Anthropology in Graz, Jerusalem, Budapest, and New York and earned her doctoral degree from the University of Graz.

DECENTERING THE CENTRES: REASSESSING THE ROLE OF VIENNA AND THESSALONIKI IN A BALKAN CONTEXT

Often referred to as the 'Jerusalem of the Balkans', Thessaloniki (or in a Jewish context, rather, Salonica) has commonly been conceptualized as the Jewish Sephardic center of the Balkans. Jewish Vienna, on the other hand can be regarded as synonymous with an idea of 19th and early 20th century progressive, artistic, intellectual, and assimilated *Bildungsbürgertum* and a cradle of Zionism. Those two cities thus form a bracket for the entire Balkan peninsula with its diverse Jewish population. Much scholarly work has been done on carving out their centrality, importance, and model character for Balkan Jewish communities, mainly based on literary, biographical, epigraphic, or journalistic evidence.

This paper will look at this assumed central role of those two cities from an architectural point of view. By basing my analysis on synagogue architecture from the Balkans, I will seek to deconstruct this narrative and bring into focus otherwise important but often neglected Balkan Jewish centers. By doing so, this paper will address the various missing links that can help better understand the mechanisms of (dis-)entanglement between the Jewish communities of Vienna, the Balkans, and Thessaloniki in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Fani Gargova
(University of Vienna)

Fani Gargova is a Lecturer in Art History at the University of Vienna. She received her doctorate from the same institution in 2019 with a thesis on the Central Synagogue of Sofia. Previously, she was Byzantine research associate at Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University and has held fellowships from the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the Rothschild Foundation (Hanadiv), and the IFK in Vienna. Her research focuses on architectural Byzantinisms, medievalisms, and Orientalisms with a special interest in Jewish architecture and Jewish spaces in the Balkans, as well as the historiography of Byzantine art history and its relation to nationalisms. Most recently, she has published articles on choir and organ in synagogue architecture (2021), Marcus Ehrenpreis' role as chief rabbi of Bulgaria (2021), and the Byzantine revival at the 1900 Paris World Fair (forthcoming). Fani Gargova has edited the publication of the 1940s project materials for The Holy Apostles: A Lost Monument, a Forgotten Project, and the Presentness of the Past (2020) and curated the online exhibition Das Erbe von Byzanz on the collection of historic photographs housed at the Vienna Department of Art History (2021).

GREEK JEWISH, LEFTIST AND WOMEN NARRATING THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SHOAH

In this presentation, I examine the itineraries of Greek Jewish women who during the Occupation took part in the leftist Resistance or, more broadly, belonged ideologically to the Left. In addition, I examine the gender-based difficulties faced by the women after the Second World War and during the Greek civil war (1946-1949) as they attempted to reconstruct a post-survivor self.

Taking into account that gender is an important constituent in the process of narrativization of the self, my research aims to illuminate the gendered dimension of these women's experiences by focusing mainly on how a Greek Jewish feminine identity is constructed through narratives. At the same time, and while the suggested approach aims to fullfil a gap in the relevant Holocaust and Gender studies bibliography on Greece, we should take into consideration that although the survivors' reminiscences are unavoidably gendered, gender does not constitute the totality of one's experience. Nevertheless, an approach which focuses on gender allows us to examine the conditions under which women's identity is "dismantled" or threatened to be "dismantled" under the conditions of the war, or is (re)constructed.

My analysis will be based on five cases of Greek Jewish women, three of which originate from Salonica, and one each from the towns of Trikala (Thessaly) and Chalkida (Central Greece, Euboea). Different cities of origin allow us to illuminate the case of Salonica in relation to the two other cities, the latter being more closely situated to mountainous areas, which were controlled by the Resistance forces, and, thus, study the role that geography played as regards the possibilites of escape the women had, their decision to take part in the Resistance or their ideological adherence to the Left. The perspective adopted is one of a close analysis of women's discourse, aiming to shed light on the multiple transformations of the female Jewish leftist identity in the years that preceded the Second World War until the first post-war decade.

Eleni Beze
(University of Thessaly)

Eleni Beze is currently a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology at the University of Thessaly, where she is conducting research on the experience of the Shoah in the formation of a female Jewishness in Greece. She has been awarded a scholarship for this research from the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah. Her PhD examines issues of memory and identity of the Jews of Greece in the immediate aftermath of the Shoah (Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology, University of Thessaly). She holds an MA in Philosophy (University of Crete) and a BA in Philosophy and Social Sciences (University of Crete). She has worked in secondary education and, since 2010, she collaborates with the Jewish Museum of Greece.

AFTERMATH: VIENNESE AND SALONIKAN JEWS INTERVIEWED BY DAVID BODER IN 1946

David P. Boder, an American Latvian-born psychologist, came to Europe in 1946 to interview Holocaust survivors in order to study how the impact of the catastrophe had affected them and to let American people grasp the dramatic situation of displaced persons in Europe.
He interviewed about 100 survivors, many of them in Paris. Among them there were Jews from Thessaloniki and Vienna, whose interviews were recorded with a wire recorder, later transcribed and translated into English. They represent an effective means for a deeper understanding of both the survivors' situation after the liberation and the way they dealt with their own past and future, in particular in relation with the cities they were from.
There were many differences between Thessaloniki's and Vienna's Jewish communities but, at the same time, in their history there were similarities. Thessaloniki's Sephardi community shaped the city's features for four centuries, since until the end of the Twenties the Jews constituted the majority of the population. The community in Vienna was mainly Ashkenazi and constituted a minority which nonetheless deeply influenced the cultural and economical life of the city. Both in Thessaloniki and in Vienna the Jewish population included people of different nationalities, which influenced their fate during the Nazi persecution and the Holocaust. In Thessaloniki people owning a Spanish, Italian and Portuguese citizenship were initially excluded from the anti-Jewish policy, which started in summer 1942 against the Greek nationals, but eventually, in 1943/4 many of them were deported: the Spanish and the Portuguese nationals to Bergen Belsen, the Italians to Auschwitz. In Vienna, where the persecution began much earlier, as a consequence of the Anschluss, and the Nazis aimed at getting rid of the Jewish population, emigration became a matter of life or death: to hold a citizenship of Poland or Austria, or Hungary, for instance, made a difference in getting a visa or papers to emigrate. In both cities members of the same family might have had different citizenships, therefore they endured also the tragedy of separation which was particularly hard in Vienna, more rare in Thessaloniki, where the speed of the ghettoization and deportation didn't allow emigration. My research is focused in particular on 6 interviews: three given by Salonikan Jews, three by Viennese. My purpose is to analyze how the Nazi persecution affected people coming from different backgrounds, what were the analogies and the differences between their experiences, how they dealt with the persecution and what was their relation with their hometown after the liberation. Boder's interviews allows also to understand the different kinds of trauma the survivors endured: for instance the Viennese Jews's persecution began much earlier and forced them to emigrate and often leave part of the family behind, Salonikan Jews were persecuted and deported at a much faster pace: in about one year, the Jewish community of Salonika was almost totally annihilated. These interviews are among the earliest testimonies on the Holocaust and were recorded in that time, between the liberation and the beginning of a new life, when the survivors were in a sort of limbo between a painful past and an uncertain future: no one of them wanted to go back to their cities, their world had vanished.

Stefania Zezza

(Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata)

Stefania Zezza is a teacher and PhD candidate in history and social sciences at the Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata. Her doctoral project focuses on the epistemological value and interpretation of Holocaust testimonies. She graduated with an International Master of Holocaust Studies from Roma Tre University with a thesis concerning David Boder's interviews with survivors from Salonika. Her research interests include the relation between memory, trauma and language. She has been studying, for many years, the Holocaust in Salonika and about which she has published several articles, most recently *We are a Strict Iron Group: the Greek Jews from Salonika to Warsaw via Auschwitz* (2020), *Without a compass: Salonikan Jews in Nazi Concentration Camps and later* (2021). She is currently the president of Etnhos (European Teachers Network on Holocaust Studies).

JEWISH CHILDREN IN THE PRELUDE OF DEPORTATIONS: VIENNA, PRAGUE AND THESSALONIKI

In my contribution, I will pay special attention to the liminality of the Holocaust in three different geographic settings as witnessed by Jewish parents and children separated by persecution and war. By focusing on political and geographic variability and diachroneity imposed on these families by the anti-Jewish measures I wish to illuminate the impact of timing. Drawing on recently published research on Vienna published by Elisabeth Anthony and a set of family letters between Prague and St. Luis from 1939-1941, scholarly edited by Kateřina Čapková, I elaborate in my micro-study on a family from Thessaloniki, of which several children survived the war hiding with their non-Jewish guardians and had to come to terms with the fact that their parents were deported while other family members found a sanctuary within Greece. The decision-making and Jewish experience during World War II and its aftermath created traumatic layers in the family memories for decades to come which I aim to bring closer based on audio-visual accounts and archival sources.

Kateřina Králová
(Charles University)

Professor at the Charles University in Prague, focuses in her research particularly on the Holocaust and its aftermath in Greece. She obtained several prestigious scholarships, including the IKY (Greece), the VWI (Austria), and a Fulbright Fellowship at Yale (USA). In 2015, she was a USHMM Fellow (USA) and in 2021/22, a Humboldt fellow at the HU Berlin (DE). She is, among others, the author of *Das Vermächtnis der Besatzung* (Böhlau 2016/BPB 2017) and the editor of *Jewish Life in Southeast Europe* (Routledge 2019).

COMMUNITY, CITY AND HINTERLANDS: THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF SALONICA AND ITS SUB-COMMUNITIES DURING THE BALKAN WARS

The Ottoman loss of the European provinces during the Balkan Wars (1912-13) had a tremendous impact on the traditional Ottoman urban centers in the Balkans. Major cities, like Edirne and Salonica, lost much of their rural hinterlands. Consequently, they both endured severe economic and demographic crises and transformations. The existing academic literature on interwar Salonica offers a stimulating discussion about the loss of the city's hinterland and the ramifications on its economy and administrative significance. However, the impact of this change on the Jewish communities of the Peninsula is still understudied. Until the Balkan Wars, Jewish Salonica played a central role in leading the much smaller communities of the Western Balkans. Networks of study, commerce and social relations, conducted in Ladino (and sometimes in Hebrew) and benefiting for free movement, sustained the social and economic dependence of the smaller communities on the Salonican community. This was particularly true in times of crises.

The Salonican community's transfer into Greek rule, while much of the smaller communities found themselves under the rule of Bulgaria and Serbia (later Yugoslavia), triggered significant changes in the relations of the Salonican community with its "daughter communities". The loss of the "Ottoman-Sephardi" hinterland and its division among the different Balkan kingdoms stands at the center of this presentation. First, I explore the role of the Salonican community in offering assistance and shelter to the surrounding smaller communities during the Balkan Wars. Indeed, Salonica in the West and Edirne and Istanbul in the East became centers of assistance for destitute Jewish refugees who were fleeing the advance of the Balkan Armies. As the larger Jewish communities of the Balkans, they could offer local and international networks of assistance in time of sever need. Then, I move to discuss the impact of the new boundaries on the Salonican community's ability to offer assistance to its coreligionists, now foreign citizens of neighboring countries.

My main case-study is the small Jewish community of İştip (nowadays Štip in North Macedonia). This small community, of about 500 members, fled the town as a whole at the beginning of the First Balkan War towards Salonica where they remained for much of the Balkan Wars. Taking advantage of the Jewish infrastructure in the city and the presence of international Jewish aid organizations, the refugees were accommodated in Jewish schools and other communal institutions. However, as their town became part of Serbia following the Second Balkan War, they came under the pressure to leave Salonica and return to "their" national state. By exploring articles published by Jewish and Ottoman press in Ladino, Hebrew and Turkish as well as reports produced by Jewish aid organizations, the presentation analyses the role of Salonica as a center of Jewish aid catering to the Jewish smaller communities of the Balkans and the impact of the newly created borders on its ability to continue playing this role.

Eyal Ginio

(Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Eyal Ginio is Associate Professor in the Department of Islam and Middle Eastern Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He also serves also as the Director of the Forum for Turkish Studies at the Institute of Asian and African Studies at the Hebrew University. His research and publications focus on social history of the Ottoman Empire with a particular emphasis on Ottoman Salonica in the eighteenth century and about the Balkan Wars (1912-13). His recent publications include *The Ottoman Culture of Defeat: The Balkan Wars and Their Aftermath*. London: Hurst Publications and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016; (ed.) together with Karl Kaser, *Ottoman Legacies in the Contemporary Mediterranean: the Balkans and the Middle East Compared*. Jerusalem: The Forum for European Studies, 2013. He is currently prepares a manuscript about the reshaping of the sultanate under the constitutional regime (1908-1918).

SALONICA JEWS IN THE HABSBURG EMPIRE, 1867-1918
A FORGOTTEN STORY

With regards to Salonica Jews, emphasis is usually put on the influence of France, while the role of "Italian Jews" is also considered to have been of major importance for the development of the Jews in Salonica. While both these states indeed played a vital role in turning the Jewish community of Salonica into the vibrant group that it came to be, another power of the time, the Habsburg Empire, is often left out of the frame of those states which, in several ways, influenced its evolution- and that the city as a total. This essay aims at presenting some initial results of the research conducted, aiming to fill that lacuna in our knowledge.

After 1888, when the railway connection between Salonica and Vienna was completed, the trip between the two cities lasted only a day and a half. The press of the time often reported on departures and arrivals from Vienna, while there often were correspondences from the city by Salonica Jews who were there. One such example is that of Nehama Mallah, who often reported to "Journal de Salonique" the events that transpired in the Habsburg capital. He was one of the several Jews that found themselves residing in the empire every few months to conduct business. For some of those people, this back-and-forth evolved and turned into a more permanent settlement, especially after the Balkan Wars, when there was a massive wave of naturalizations from Salonica Jews to the Habsburg Empire- not nearly as numerous as were the naturalizations in other countries, such as in France, yet of great significance nonetheless, since the elite of the Salonican Jewry (the Modiano, the Fernandez, the Mallah, just to name a few) were among those who become Austrians. It is during this period that we find Rachel Mallah, wife of the (deceased by that time) Nehama that was previously mentioned, applying and acquiring Austrian citizenship. Their case is indicative of the interrelations between preexisting financial and eventual creation of political links between Jews from Salonica and the Habsburg state, while at the same time studying this case leads us to reevaluate our understanding of the family structure and the gender roles in (upper-class) Salonican Jewry. This essay approaches the subject from the scope of migration studies, will also applying the Social Network Analysis and Prosopography theory. By doing so, it examines the mobilities of the actors, while also determining who were the most crucial among them. At the same time, by applying this methodology, this subject is inscribed into the wider framework of works regarding migration and the Habsburg Empire, while also offering a different paradigm, since, in most cases, the Habsburg lands are considered to be the migrants' place of origin rather than their destination. Hence, by approaching the mobilities of Salonica Jews to the Habsburg lands, we reevaluate several aspects of our understanding of Salonica Jewry at the time and the mobilities in the European framework.

Lida Dodou
(University of Vienna)

Lida-Maria Dodou is a PhD candidate at the University of Vienna. Her research project concerns the Salonican Jews, who settled in the Habsburg Empire and is incorporated in the research cluster State, Politics and Governance in Historical Perspective. She holds a MA in Political Sciences and History from Panteion University in Athens, and was granted a fellowship from the Provincial Government of Styria, Austria, for her MA-thesis.She is currently a Junior Fellow at the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies. Her research interests concern periods and areas of transition and the formation of (self-) identities.

‚TRADING WITH THE ENEMY'
SALONICAN JEWS, CENTRAL EUROPE, AND THE POLITICS OF CONTRABAND TRADE DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

This paper repositions the politics of contraband trade in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean during World War One at the interstices of state policies and individual merchant action. It examines how the British and French military authorities imaginatively adopted a variety of non-economic criteria to define as 'contraband' the business activities of numerous prominent Jewish and Dönme (i.e., Islamicized Jews) merchants in Salonica, and how in turn these merchants challenged their blacklisting by employing a multi-faceted social, cultural and political capital to prove their loyalty to the Entente Powers.

In the early years of the war, Salonican Jewish merchants took advantage of Greece's initial neutrality, their own local political connections, and their foreign citizenship to adjust to and profit from the new realities of economic blockade. By mobilizing anew their robust trans- Mediterranean and Central European business networks, they successfully circumvented Greek commercial restrictions and the Allies' embargo of the Central Powers and engaged in a lucrative trade by importing goods from Britain, France, Italy, and the United States only to export them anew through neutral Salonica and Kavala to Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Ottoman Empire.

Anxious to identify the parties involved in such illicit trade, the Entente Powers often resorted through their local consuls to dubious criteria of classification interpreting long- established commercial connections with the Central Powers, pro-royalist sentiments, and links to German Zionism as signs of Germanophilia and adequate reasons for inclusion into their blacklists. Through a close reading of particular cases, the paper will show how Salonican Jewish and Dönme merchants countered such designations by manipulating a complex, highly volatile, political environment. On the one hand, they mobilized their multi-faceted social, cultural, and political capital, (as major contractors, communal notables, foreign citizens, and members of the local European communities), to demonstrate their loyalty to the Entente. On the other hand, they exploited the conflicting French, British, and Italian imperialist ambitions to advertise their own economic importance and service their particular business interests in the Eastern Mediterranean. Such political maneuvering thus allowed them to reclaim their legality and eventually maintain their Mediterranean connections. Salonican post-Ottoman Jewish and Dönme commercial elites were therefore a major force in shaping the conceptualization of 'contraband trade' and determining the implementation of blockade policies on the shifting grounds of the Macedonian Front.

Mainstream historiography on the political economy of illicit trade during the Great War has so far adopted a largely nation-bound approach focusing on the processes of state-building and the establishment of national economies sustained by an increasingly tighter control over international trade. This paper adopts instead an actor-network approach to bring the merchants' own actions and experiences back at center stage. Drawing from Greek and Entente government records, archives of international Jewish organizations, and the local press, it prioritizes the interactions within and without formal and informal cross-ethnic networks to argue that the multiethnic, post-imperial Jewish and Dönme commercial elites of Salonica actively shaped the convoluted politics of contraband trade as their regions transitioned from empire to nation-state. The paper thus highlights the porousness of clashing imperial and national borders in the Mediterranean and the importance of attending to transnational mobility, fluid national allegiances, and shifting notions of state territoriality when examining the economics of the Great War.

Paris Papamichos Chronakis
(Royal Holloway University of London)

PhD, University of Crete, 2011; MA in Comparative History, University of Essex, UK, 1998; BA Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece, 1996; Chronakis is Lecturer in Modern Greek History at Royal Holloway, University of London. His research focuses on the imperial and post-imperial histories of the port-cities of the Eastern Mediterranean and his manuscript in progress narrates the passage of Salonica from the Ottoman Empire to the Greek nation-state by bringing together the interrelated histories of Sephardic Jewish, Greek Orthodox and Muslim entrepreneurial elites. Recently, he has also been investigating the Holocaust of Greek Jewry and exploring the potential of digital humanities in reconstructing life in hiding and in the concentration camps.

A “BLACK” PHOTO DIARY.
THE RARE PHOTOGRAPHIC MATERIAL OF THE YOUNG GERMAN SOLDIER WERNER RANGE ON BLACK SATURDAY IN THESSALONIKI (Andreas Assael’s collection)

"How mournful that Saturday was ... The call was for 9 am," writes Iakovos Strumsa ... July 11, 1942: the first massive hostile move by the German authorities against the Jewish Community of Thessaloniki was motivated by Greek collaborators before the application of the racial laws and the deportation to death in February-March 1943. The chief executive of the military administration of the city, Friedrich Heine, ordered the official census of competent for work male Jews (from 18 to 45 years) that would work in military projects undertaken by the German companies Müller and Todt, an engineering unit of the German army.

The order was published in the newspaper Apogevmatini (Afternoon paper) on July 7 and was re-published in Nea Evropi (New Europe) on Saturday, July 11, 1942, the day on which the operation started. The approximately 7,000 to 9,000 men who went to pick up their work cards in Liberty Square ended up in being tortured for hours under the burning sun of July. "They forced the men to jump, roll on the ground, crawl through the dust and perform ridiculous exercises ..." writes Iakovos Hantalis. The above picture is described in a multitude of written sources and testimonies as well as in the well-known pictures of the German Propaganda Office of the era.

However, photographic material, unknown till 2011, that was found in Germany, comes to shed more light on the Jewish tragedy in German occupied Thessaloniki. The personal album of Werner Range, a German soldier, in fact a musician, contained shocking images from the gathering at Freedom Square. The photos of "Black Saturday," as it is called the Saturday of July 11, 1942, were found by the Thessalonian Jew, Andreas Assael, in a German bazaar. The old salesman had just cleaned up the house of a musician in Burghausen, a town near Khemitz in Saxony.

The young soldier Werner Range was a trombone player and a band member in an Engineering unit of the German Army. He arrived in Thessaloniki - after staying in Edessa and Kavala - in February 1942. During his stay in the three Macedonian cities, he captured pictures of everyday life on streets and squares with a photo camera (probably Leica). All these photographic production is indicated of a more General tendency dominant among the German troops. The German soldiers armed with Leica and Rolleiflex cameras, were officially commissioned as photographers, while others were asked by their commanders to snap records of events and often to act as tourists in the occupied lands. In fact, the recent work of Ian Jeffrey (2020) points out that the style and content of their work changed along with the collective mood after 1942. The German musician witnessed the gathering and torturing of the Jewish men at Freedom Square in Thessaloniki. The rare photographic material reveals a distant and cynical “touristic” view of the German military observer. At the same time, the photographs portray exceptional details and contributes with elements of microhistory to a clearer and detailed narrative of that day of July 1942 that meant the beginning of the end for the Jewish community of the city.

Maria Kavala

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Maria Kavala is an assistant professor of Modern History (exclusions and discriminations) in the School of Political Sciences, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki since 2012 and she teaches in the Hellenic Open University since 2010. The subject of her thesis was “Thessaloniki under the Nazi Occupation (1941 - 1944): Society, Economy and Persecution of the Jews”.

During her research career she gained scholarships from the Greek State Scholarships Foundation, Excellence award from the Aristotle University, "Alberto Nar", Yad Vashem, Rothschild and Fulbright scholarships (at the UCSB), also from the John Latsis Public Benefit foundation (team scientific project “People of the Underworld: ideologies and policies of discrimination, exclusion and prosecution in the modern world” (http://www.historyguide.gr/). She has participated in several conferences in Greece and abroad.

PHOTOGRAPHS AS EVIDENCE IN WAR CRIME TRIALS AND MEMORIAL LITERATURE

Roland Barthe's much discussed twin concept of *studium* and *punctum* has inspired us as researchers to interpret photographs as historical source, but also to feel as spectators the wounding in a detail of a picture. The proposed paper will approach visual sources from the Greek Holocaust by using methods of visual historical picture analysis in order to interpret the use of photographs as evidence in war crime trials and in memorial literature.

When analysing the years of occupation in Greece, historians seldom analyse private photographs taken either by a portrait photographer, a street photographer or an amateur photographer and family member and reproduced in memorial literature, or in special exhibitions or archives. Historiography prefers the reproduction of official photographs collected in archives. In case of occupied Greece the photographs taken by the German propaganda-units (PK), especially those of the "Black Sabbath" by Walter Dick, were longtime used without any critical analysis of the photographer, his commission and the photographs visual antisemitic propaganda.

This noncritical use of photographs accompanies us through the years. During the events, they were documenting the Nazi order and strength as well as the humiliation of the male Jewish citizens of Salonica. Immediately afterwards they were utilised as antisemitic propaganda in newspaper articles and reports. In postwar years the same images functioned as judicial evidence in the Eichmann trial. A survivor evoked on the witness stand his „memoire volontaire" by looking at these photographs. Finally these meanwhile iconic photographs are reproduced in memorial literature next to family pictures.

In my presentation I will try to combine visual and oral/written evidence in order to fill the blind spots, inside the pictures, but also outside the pictures frames. I will analyse the history behind the photographs, the operator, the spectator and the eidolon/the depicted.

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Nathalie Soursos is currently a lecturer in Modern Greek History and Gender Studies at the University of Vienna. She studied history and philology at the Universities of Vienna and Athens. Her PhD examines the photography of Greece under Ioannis Metaxas and Italy under Benito Mussolini. As post-doc researcher her research focussed on the Greek migration to Vienna in the 18th to 19th century and on post-war Viennese music history.