

6<sup>th</sup>

**M**EDITERRANEAN  
**M**ARITIME  
**H**ISTORY  
**N**ETWORK  
CONFERENCE

27 – 31 MAY 2024

Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH)

A B S T R A C T S



CENTER OF MARITIME HISTORY

INSTITUTE FOR MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES (IMS-FORTH)

# MONDAY 27 MAY 2024

ROOM 1 (Lecture room)

16:00 – 18:00: SESSION I - Projects and Projections in the East: Western European Economic Activity in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire

Chair: Mateo Bratanić, University of Zadar

**ANTONIO IODICE**, University of Roma Tre

*A Mendicant Network: the Custody of the Holy Land and its European Commissariats in the Seventeenth Century*

When thinking about early modern European participation in Levantine trade, prominent figures of merchant-adventurers, trading companies, and significant commercial treaties between the Ottoman Empire and Christian states (e.g. the Capitulations), come to mind. Beyond these circuits, and in part overlapping with them, there was a "minor" network characterized by exceptional stability and continuity: that of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land. This paper presents and discusses the main features of this network in the second half of the seventeenth century, thanks also to the data that are being collected through the ERC project *HolyLab*. The Custody is a custodial priory of the Order of Friars Minor in Jerusalem. Since 1342, the Franciscans were officially designated as the custodians of the Holy Places on behalf of the Catholic Church. The Custody received charitable donations from Catholic countries. To manage the sending of funds, people, and various types of goods to the Holy Land the friars instituted a Holy Land commissariat within each Franciscan province. These commissariats, particularly those situated in major Italian seaports such as Genoa, Livorno, Naples, Venice, and Messina, constituted the core network of the Custody. They acted as factories, like branches of a company in a foreign land. From each commissariat a balance account was periodically sent to Rome, listing all the revenues and expenses incurred. This documentation will facilitate the reconstruction of the Custody's network, enabling an evaluation of its economic undertakings falling within the domain of Levantine trade. The Commissariats routinely dispatched textiles, paper, and utensils to Jerusalem. There were informal port specializations; for instance, friars embarked from Messina to Jerusalem, subsequently returning via Livorno. They relied on the various Christian marines (also Protestant) involved on the primary trade networks in a significant overlapping, on which this paper will try to shed new light.

**JACKE DYBLE**, University of Padova

*The Threat of the Avania in the European Levant Trade*

This paper examines the so-called 'Avania' as a feature of Western European trade with the early modern Levant. This word, which only appears in European sources, was used refer to supposedly arbitrary and unjust financial imposition by the Ottoman authorities on European traders. In actual fact, the Avantias

were probably more like fines that were levied when a dispute between certain European merchants and their hosts spiralled out of control. Based on a preliminary survey of commercial-legal documentation, this paper suggests that there were solid legal and financial incentives for presenting these impositions in this way. The idea of the 'Avania' - or even just the potential threat of the Avania - legitimated the use of certain collective risk-sharing procedures that allowed the Europeans to manage these costs. It also provided an excuse for defraying the ordinary diplomatic expenses of managing the trade with the Ottoman Empire. These conclusions suggest a link between commerce and Orientalism and nuance a recent revisionist tendency in Mediterranean historiography with regard to the work of Edward Said.

**LEWIS WADE**, Leiden University

*Corporate Funds, Dynastic Interests: Joseph Fabre, the Mediterranean Company and Franco-Levantine Commerce*

The Mediterranean Company (*Compagnie de la mer Méditerranée*) was established by the French crown in 1685 to promote trade with the Ottoman Empire. Its sole historian to date treats the company as a success story of 'local leadership' and industrial innovation: Joseph Fabre, a prominent Marseillais merchant who served as the company's leading director, used corporate funds to develop a silk factory in Marseille, which served the Ottoman market and the court at Versailles. Fabre's able leadership ensured the success of this factory, this historian argues, which contributed to Marseille's economic vitality in the late seventeenth century. This paper paints a different picture, drawing on the letters and papers of numerous actors involved with the company to reassess its activities. Fabre's short-term success in developing a silk factory belies the chaos his leadership wrought in France and in the Levant. Put simply, Fabre hijacked the company machinery to pursue his own personal and familial interests rather than the ends envisioned by the crown in its establishment. The Mediterranean Company's core function was to support the development of the Languedocian woollen cloth industry through boosting exports to the Levant; however, Fabre actively obstructed this trade by privileging investment in silk manufacturing and torpedoing woollen cloth exports to the Levant. The French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire was emphatic that Fabre's familial agents in the Levant were recklessly negligent in conducting business on the company's behalf, while Fabre's own letters give credence to suggestions he had misappropriated corporate funds. The crown and corporate shareholders alike became increasingly desperate as they tried in vain to ascertain where their money had gone. This was not a corporate success story, then, but a peculiarly personal one: Fabre successfully commandeered a state company to develop a Mediterranean commercial network in service to his own dynastic interests.

ROOM 2 (Kalos Ontas)

## 16:00- 18:00: SESSION I - Shipbuilding, Naval Policies, and Maritime Cultures in the Mediterranean

Chair: Kostas Damianidis, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH)

**GABRIEL FARRUGIA**, European University Institute of Florence

*Sounds at Sea: An analysis of the soundscape on board the galleys of Malta (1600–1620)*

The soundscapes in the different lived spaces of a galley created communities who listened, understood, and acted in a collective manner. This presentation will address the soundscape on board the early modern Mediterranean war galleys of Malta and present an analyse of heard conversations, commands, and cries. The sounds of wooden boards squeaking, the oars rubbing against their holders and dropping into the sea, chains shifting, sails flapping, and ropes tightening, were only part of the material soundscape the galley labourer heard, and considered of limited meaning, as the vessel cut through the waves. However, such sounds could have easily become of importance and required listening attention. In a calm sea without the slightest of breeze, forcing the galleys to fully depend on their rowers, the sudden tightening of rope and the first flap of sail, signified the arrival of wind, at which sound the rowers took a sigh of relief and mariners sprang into action to take advantage of the fortunate change. Lack of sound was of equal importance and would have become noticeable with the passing of the day when moments of more intense activity and multiple sounds would have subsided with a certain regularity and thus silence dominated. On the other hand, when that regularity was broken, some form of action was required, as the sounds associated became charged with new meaning, provoking emotions, and exposing perceptions of Faith, otherness, and community. At sea, goal-oriented sounds like prayers, commands, and blasphemy served a political and social function which in turn provoked feelings such as courage, fear, anticipation. Most Inquisitorial trials against 17<sup>th</sup> century seamen from Malta's archives, in fact deal with reports of having heard sounds, words, or phrases that effected the thought processes and actions of who was listening; distorting or confirming perceptions of others; and accusing one another may have had future consequences.

**JORGE AGUILERA-LÓPEZ**, University of Helsinki

*The Construction of the New Spanish Flagship Galley (1586–89): Shipbuilding Complexities and Mediterranean Hegemony*

Appointed as the new Captain General of the Sea by Philip II, Gian Andrea Doria assumed supreme command over the Mediterranean naval operations and the Spanish Monarchy's galley squadrons in 1584. The rank also entailed captaining the *Real*, a unique galley, as it was superior to the rest in size, appearance, and symbolic status. It was the flagship of the Spanish Monarchy in the Western Mediterranean, waters where Spain exerted hegemony. This paper examines the intricacies of constructing the new royal galley in the Royal Shipyard of Barcelona, shedding light on the complexities that emerged during the building process. The rich sources provide valuable new insights into uncommon technical aspects and

Mediterranean shipbuilding details and practices. Given the lack of archaeological evidence of galleys from this era and the trade secrecy among shipwrights, this research contributes to deepening our understanding of these iconic Mediterranean ships during their golden age.

**MASSIMO BOMBONI**, University of Torino

*From Decisive Weapons to Financial Burden. The Use of Galleons and the Naval Policy in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany between the 16th and 17th Centuries*

This proposal aims to examine the use of galleons in the navy of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in the late 16th and early 17th centuries in the context of the evolution of Mediterranean warfare and naval technology. In the second half of the 16th century, the Tuscan navy, like many Mediterranean states, predominantly relied on rowing galleys, managed by the Knightly Order of Santo Stefano. However, as the 17th century approached, there was a significant shift towards employing heavily armed tall ships, either built locally or obtained from foreign sources. This transformation was fueled by the ambitions of Ferdinando I (r. 1587-1609), the third Grand Duke of Tuscany, who aimed to expand Tuscan influence in the Mediterranean, both defensively and by projecting naval power into the Levant and North African coasts. English and Dutch seamen, drawn to the Tuscan port of Livorno, also played a crucial role in driving this change. The use of galleons proved profitable, enabling the capture of substantial spoils during raids against Turkish and North African vessels, and facilitating ambitious expeditions such as the 1607 attack on Cyprus and the 1608 assault on the Ottoman merchant fleet. The great ships also proved to be important symbols of power and prestige for the Grand Duke in the ongoing competition for primacy with rival powers on the Italian peninsula. However, these advantages came with high maintenance costs, logistical challenges, and a reliance on foreign expertise and resources due to Tuscany's limited naval tradition and industry. As the Mediterranean landscape evolved and the profitability of Tuscan actions diminished, the Grand Duchy gradually phased out its tall ships. What had once been a powerful asset became a financial burden, leading the Medici rulers to consider alternatives such as renting out their fleet and retaining only a few galleys. In summary, the use of tall ships in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany's navy marked a significant episode in its maritime history, reflecting the challenges of maintaining a formidable naval presence amidst changing circumstances in the Mediterranean.

**MARLOES CORNELISSEN AYDEMIR**, Foundation Development Directorate of Sabanci University

*All at sea: Maritime materialities of captains and their ships in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Mediterranean and Aegean seas*

This paper investigates the possessions of ships and seafarers registered in the Dutch diplomatic court records in Istanbul during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Dutch diplomatic court, or so-called chancery, recorded the material possessions of the members of the small Dutch community in the city or those travelling through upon a variety of occasions, for instance when they died, married, started a long journey or when they were involved in a crime or conflict. Besides the inventory records of merchants, Ambassadors and

their entourage, and craftsmen, there are several records that pertain to captains and their vessels and passengers faring the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas. For instance, in 1731, Carel Segenberg, Captain of the Dutch Vessel 'Coning David', died under unknown circumstances while berthed at Istanbul. Soon after his demise, a record of his possessions was drawn up by the Chancellor. Similarly, after captain Westerbeek died in an accident at sea in 1775, the inventory of his Dutch ship 'De Navegatie' was recorded, along with that of his personal possessions and those of some of the ship's sailors and passengers. This paper, then, aims to look at these and similar cases recorded in the Chancery's registers, today kept in the Dutch National Archives. These records provide us with valuable insights in the, sometimes, mysterious circumstances of seafarers' deaths. A study of their possessions might shed more light on the roles between their lives, death, and the sea, particularly in the context of the early modern Mediterranean and Aegean seas.

# TUESDAY, 28 MAY 2024

ROOM 1 (Lecture room)

## 09:30 – 11:30: SESSION I - Transforming the Eastern Mediterranean: Ottoman Maritime Interactions

Chair: Marloes Cornelissen Aydemir, Foundation Development Directorate of Sabanci University

**LINDA T. DARLING**, University of Arizona

*The Ottoman Coast in the Eastern Mediterranean: The Case of Tripoli (Trablusşam)*

The Ottoman conquest of the Arab lands in and around 1517 more or less doubled the empire's coastline, expanding it around the entire eastern Mediterranean and into the western half of the sea, as well as giving them a strong position in the Red Sea, Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. The defense of these coasts and of their newly-acquired ports and shipping became an important function of the Ottoman military, among all their other responsibilities. Starting with an overview of the Ottomans' coastal defenses in the Mediterranean, this paper presents a closer examination of a single Ottoman port and its defenders. The port of Tripoli, the main port on the Syrian coast before the eighteenth century, was defended by a fortress manned by Janissaries. The salary records of these Janissaries still exist for a number of years between 1620 and 1656. These records list the names and salaries of the troops, providing information on who they were, how they were organized, their assignments, and to some extent what happened to them (deaths, promotions, etc.). Characterizing a perhaps typical Ottoman coastal garrison like Tripoli sheds light on a previously underexamined role of the Janissaries and prepares the ground for comparative studies.

**N. ZEYNEP YELÇE**, Sabanci University

*A News Hub in the Early Sixteenth Century: Candia*

This paper explores the role of Candia as a transit post in the Mediterranean news network of the early sixteenth century. The earliest colony of Venice in the eastern Mediterranean, the island of Crete (Candia) constituted an intersection point of major maritime routes that connected, on the one hand, Constantinople with Alexandria and, on the other hand, the western Mediterranean with Syria. It served as a transit hub for people and goods as well as all kinds of news ranging from corsair activities to trade, from the movement of the Ottoman navy to news from Egypt and Syria, from the latest rumors from Mamluk and Ottoman courts to petty gossip. This paper examines Candia as a specific portion of the Eastern Mediterranean communication route to shed light on the dynamics of transmission and distribution of news focusing on ways and manners of transmission, the sources and agents responsible

for the process, as well as the identities and motives of the senders and recipients. Based on research carried out within the framework of the 'TUBITAK 1001 Scientific and Technologic Research Support Fund' project numbered 113K655 (Ottoman Empire in the Mediterranean Intelligence Network during the First Half of the 16th Century), this study traces the process of collection of oral and written news within a wide range of sources, from official letters to eyewitness accounts, from familial correspondence to rumors, especially, but not only, from eastern Mediterranean port cities in Candia to be transmitted to Venice, from whence news would be distributed to various cities in Europe.

**CHRISTINE ISOM-VERHAAREN**, Brigham Young University

*Admirals and Finances: Ali Pasha Husambeyzade's Admiralship*

Ali Pasha had long served within the naval hierarchy of the Ottoman Empire when in 1650 he was selected as admiral. By 1650, Ali had been derya bey of Rhodes, providing a squadron for protecting Ottoman shipping between Istanbul and Alexandria. In 1645, the Ottomans started a war to conquer the island of Crete, which was essential for their control of the eastern Mediterranean, and despite initial success under admiral Yusuf Pasha, after his execution the war was characterized by a long siege of Candia and incompetent naval leadership. In the 5 years after the war began in 1645, 8 men became admiral for short periods until Husambeyzade Ali was promoted in October 1650. While Katib Celebi in his naval history merely recounts Ali's successes and failures as admiral--for example, transporting reinforcements in winter to Crete and failure at the battle of Naxos--other authors analyze the financial intrigue surrounding his appointment. The historian Naima explains that when the grand vizier Melek Ahmed Pasha demanded a fee/bribe for Ali's rank advancement, another vizier critiqued Melek Ahmed because of the necessity of having a qualified naval expert leading the naval forces when the empire was fighting a war. This occurred during the period that Hasan Aga as customs officer loaned money to keep the empire afloat. Thus the demands of the grand vizier, although detrimental to the well-being of the state, must be seen in the context of extreme financial disarray prompting efforts to raise funds. Thus we see that protecting the empire was not a simple matter of finding a talented admiral but intersected with the financial difficulties of the empire in the 17th century.

**GÜL ŞEN**, University of Bonn

*The Best Way to Punish Criminals in the Early Modern Mediterranean? The Naval Arsenal as a Penal Institution*

Naval warfare in the Ottoman Empire was based to a large extent on the use of unfree labor, such as war captives and criminals, in the early modern period. The need for a workforce to maintain military dominance at sea was enormous, especially during the navigating season in spring and summer. In order to attract, maintain and organize this labor force, all available means were used. The present paper investigates the issue of the recruitment of criminals for the Ottoman Navy and the changing role of the Naval Arsenal. The prison registers of the Imperial Naval Arsenal in Istanbul document that in some cases even a simple theft could result in a condemnation to hard labor on the galleys. Such cases in particular



suggest that law enforcement was seen here as a convenient means of recruiting a naval workforce. Another important aspect is that with this practice the Ottoman state followed the tendency in north-western Europe since the seventeenth century to punish crimes and violations of public order no longer by the physical destruction of the delinquent, but by placing their labor in the service of the public. Therefore, the Naval Arsenal attained a new importance not only as a military facility, but also as a penal institution.

### 12:00 – 14:00: SESSION II - Crossing the Sea: Mediterranean Mobilities and Maritime Ventures

Chair: Apostolos Delis, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH)

**NIKOLAOS CHRISSIDIS**, Southern Connecticut State University

*Peculiarities of "National" Seaborne Pilgrimage: Sailing to the Holy Land from the Russian Empire, 19th-Early 20th Centuries*

Peasant pilgrims, most of them middle-aged or older women, praying at the ship's stern – rain or shine – and surviving on dried bread rations during the trip of a lifetime; rich pilgrims enjoying the hospitable, sometimes luxurious, set up of the ship's first class cabins; the wife of a Russian consul verbally sparring and actively competing with a Greek Constantinopolitan-Athenian banker over the grandest kind of souvenir, a piece of the original Holy Cross; a peasant woman grabbing the steam winch's rope and ending up with several amputated fingers and a cancelled journey to Jerusalem; radical activist sailors ridiculing what they consider to be superstitious religious practices and openly voicing such opinions to the distressed pilgrims; ship captains preferring to transport animals (especially rams!) over pilgrims, whom they do not consider especially profitable "cargo"; the ship's crew carelessly throwing the luggage of poorer pilgrims around and relocating them in the ship to make room for more passengers, resulting in loss of foodstuffs and clothing; shipping agents becoming pilgrimage hostel officials and consuls, and subsequently wining and dining visiting sailors and their officers in the Holy Land. These are some of the vignettes reflecting the peculiarities of "national" seaborne pilgrimage from the Russian Empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The paper seeks to uncover precisely these lesser-known aspects of the seaborne part of the pilgrimage voyage, which are habitually left out of the relevant scholarly analysis.

**MATTEO BARBANO**, University of Genova

*Investigating Mediterranean low-cost seaborne mobilities in the age of steam: the MedMaD project approach*

The project 'MedMaD - Mediterranean Mass Mobilities and Displacements in the Age of Steam (1869-1914)' proposes a novel approach to the study of low-cost mass mobility in the "wider Mediterranean", including the Black Sea and the Red Sea, between the opening of the Suez Canal and First World War. The project's overall objective is to examine from a global perspective the development of mass transport

maritime services in the age of steam, exploring their impact on inter- and extra-Mediterranean mobilities and displacements of passengers travelling in low-cost classes (third- and fourth-class or deck passengers, as defined by the ticket) by studying the operations of three major Mediterranean shipping companies: the Lloyd Austriaco, the Messageries Maritimes, and the Navigazione Generale Italiana. This paper aims to present the two main levels of analysis on which the project is developed. On the first level, MedMaD addresses these companies as observatories to investigate the relationships between state policies, technological progress, and private business constituting the structural factors for the development of low-cost Mediterranean mass transport services. On a second level, it proposes to approach the single steamship as the basic unit of analysis for studying the segmented trajectories of lower classes (as defined by the travel ticket) Mediterranean waterborne mobilities, targeting the enclosed spatial dimension of the decks as the nodal point of physical contact, socio-cultural encounter or overt segregation - depending on companies' policies - that ultimately defined the shared experience of overseas travels.

**MITIA FRUMIN**, Hadassah Academic College of Jerusalem - **LIAM GAUCI**, Malta Maritime Museum, Heritage Malta

*Timeo Meltensis et dona ferentis?*

Study of the Marian cultic phenomena in the Eastern Mediterranean usually lays emphasis on the maritime routes from the Adriatic to the Holy Land, which corresponded to the maritime pilgrimage in the Late Medieval times in which outstanding is the particular Marian devotion. As a result, the Aegean Sea and its insular shrines are usually out of the scope of researchers, especially when later time periods are considered. The present case study focuses on the very special cult object found in the museum of Panagia Ekatontapiliani historic Byzantine church complex in Parikia town, on the island of Paros. The unique ex-voto provides an opportunity to investigate far less studied subjects of Marian devotion among the seafarers of the very different kind – adventurers and legal robbers, i.e among the corsairs. The ex-voto, made in the middle of the XVIII century, is an interesting example of the cross- confessional Marian devotion: a prominent and completely Orthodox icon is respectfully venerated by the famous Maltese corsair Francesco di Natali, who was, without doubt, zealous Catholic. Apart from the thrilling religious angle, the ex-voto is also indicative of the unofficial and for that reason usually poorly documented relations between the Maltese corsairs and the local Greek inhabitants of the Archipelago. The article will try to determine more precisely a time period when the ex-voto was produced and also will consider the most likely circumstances under which the unusual icon was ordered and donated to the Panagia Ekatontapiliani church.

15:30 – 17:30: SESSION II - The use of historic media as an exceptional source for the study of maritime commerce and traffic. PortADa Project

Chair: Akin Sefer, Kadir Has University

**NADIA FERNÁNDEZ DE PINEDO**, Autonomous University of Madrid

*Maritime Crossroads: Navigating 19th-century Cuba via El Diario de la Marina*

Cuba, situated in the Gulf of Mexico, emerged as a pivotal strategic point for maritime activities during the 19th century. Its natural harbours and geographic location positioned it as a vital hub for maritime operations. This paper explores the multifaceted importance of Cuba from a maritime perspective, shedding light on its role in global trade and regional dynamics. Cuba's strategic location facilitated its growth as a key player in the maritime world. The expansion of maritime trade and advancements in vessel design played a crucial role in elevating Cuba's maritime significance. Larger and more efficient vessels enabled the transportation of larger cargo volumes, and Cuba's ports, such as Havana and Santiago de Cuba, adapted to accommodate these vessels, resulting in a surge in maritime traffic. The era saw a substantial increase in long-distance transportation, fostering the development of maritime trade routes and a remarkable uptick in global maritime traffic. This intensified circulation of goods and people laid the groundwork for the late 19th-century wave of globalization. To gain a deeper understanding of this historical process, this paper places a specific focus on *El Diario de la Marina*, a newspaper published in Havana from 1844 to 1960. As an advocate for maritime and commercial interests, this newspaper served as a valuable primary source, documenting maritime activities and providing a record of trade and navigation in Cuba. By exploring a diverse range of sources, the interdisciplinary team of researchers of PortADa will unravel the rich tapestry of Cuba's 19th-century maritime history, emphasizing its global trade role and its impact on the island's development. This research contributes to a comprehensive understanding of Cuba's maritime heritage within the broader context of maritime history.

**JORDI IBARZ**, University of Barcelona – **BRENDAN VON BRIESEN**, University of Barcelona

*The Diario de Barcelona as a source of analysis of the ships arriving to the port, 1850-1910*

*El Diario de Barcelona* was one of the most important newspapers in the city. It was published almost uninterruptedly from 1792 to 1984. One of its usual sections was the one that, under different titles, recorded daily the list of ships arriving to the port. This information is the basis upon which we plan to carry out the reconstruction of the maritime traffic of Barcelona between 1850 and 1910 in the PortADa project. In this communication, we carry out a comparative work for the period under study between the information on the number and characteristics of the ships that entered the port provided by the *Diario de Barcelona* and the limited statistics available on the number, nationality, and GRT of the vessels that entered the port. Likewise, we will make the comparison between the data published in the newspaper and some records of ships entering the port that we have for a short period of three months in 1852. These two analyses have a macro and micro perspective, respectively. The objective of the comparison is

to measure the validity of the information contained in the newspaper sources that will be used in the project.

**JOSÉ ANTONIO MATEO & MAXIMILIANO CAMARDA**, Universidad Nacional de Entre Rios - **LAURA CARUSO**, National University of San Martín - **AGUSTÍN NIETO**, National University of Mar de Plata

*Ships in the port of Buenos Aires in the mid-19th century: the potential of The British Packet and Argentine News*

Before becoming a country and after the processes that led to its independence, Argentina's economy was dependent on the exportation of goods from the primary sector (initially mineral, then agricultural) and the importation of manufactured goods. One port hegemonized this flow – that of Buenos Aires. The objective of this work is to carry out a study of ship arrivals in that port covering a one-year period. The year chosen for analysis is that of 1856. The Republic of Argentina found itself split in two between the Argentine Confederation and the State of Buenos Aires. Importantly, there were no restrictions on international trade. We will test the capabilities of the initial informational technologies of the PortADa project to automatically recuperate information from newspapers and compare the results with manually entered data. Using the range of information provided in The British Packet and Argentine – a weekly edited for the British and United States community in Buenos Aires – we intend to determine a variety of considerations, including: any seasonality and the route, distances covered, and duration of the voyages; the length of stay in port, based on the arrival and departure dates; ship characteristics (masts, sails, dimensions, etc.); the vessel's flag; the cosignatory companies; and an understanding of the port's foreland based on the port of departure, any stops, and the final destination. This effort will allow us to adjust methodological aspects of the project to extend our analysis to the beginning of the twentieth century. This way, we will be able to measure and evaluate key transformations in shipping: we will be able to objectively measure and evaluate the relationship between the technological changes in naval technology and architecture with the progress of steam-powered navigation.

**APOSTOLOS DELIS**, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH) - **KALLIOPI VASILAKI**, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH)

*From codified notes to analytical categories in maritime history: the Semaphore de Marseille ship arrivals data*

During the nineteenth century, the port of Marseille emerged as the preeminent maritime and commercial hub of the French Mediterranean. The confluence of colonial trade expansion, coupled with the advent of the industrial revolution and enhanced connections to Marseille's hinterland further intensified the port's traffic during this period. Founded in 1827, *Le Sémaphore de Marseille*, stood as the primary newspaper in Marseille specialising in maritime affairs. The publication meticulously chronicled the daily arrivals of ships at the port. Within the framework of the PortADa project, our objective is to systematically document and analyze Marseille's port traffic patterns between 1850 and 1910, using the digitized form of *Le Sémaphore de Marseille*, and employing Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software to construct a comprehensive historical database. In this context, this paper aims to present the methodologies, challenges, and processes involved in treating such a significant historical source, though

digital humanities and quantitative historical methodologies. This paper will illuminate the methodologies employed in handling the Semaphore de Marseille ship arrivals data for the formation of a standardised and reliable dataset, and will assess the complex use of this data for historical inquiries related to maritime history and history of navigation during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

ROOM 2 (Kalos Ontas)

## 09:30 – 11:30: SESSION I - East Adriatic in the Mediterranean Context

Chair: Gelina Harlaftis, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH)

**ZRINKA PODHRAŠKI ČIZMEK**, University of Zagreb

*Adriatic Seafaring and Ships Compared in the Transition from the 18th to the 19th Century: Methodology and Key Research Questions*

The Adriatic, as one of the Mediterranean seas, exhibits its peculiarities that have been reflected in the material culture created by man for centuries. On one hand, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the last century of the Republic of San Marco, we observe an incredible liveliness of trade between the two shores (cf. *Croatian Maritime Regesta*, vol. I-III, the IV in progress). On the other hand, source analyses have demonstrated a great wealth of forms and names of ships, up to 80 different types, that were part of daily life in the Adriatic (see *Navigli adriatici fra le due Sponde dell'Adriatico nel Settecento*, Pesaro 2021). The decline of the *Serenissima* Republic on one side and the Habsburg opening to the Adriatic on the other, were changes that profoundly affected the lives of Adriatic communities, which, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, faced new challenges. This contribution aims to shed light on key research questions concerning the changes in Adriatic seafaring around the turn of the century and to examine the methodologies for studying changes in the types of sailing ships, from structural modifications to the complete disappearance of entire typologies that existed for centuries in the Adriatic and Mediterranean. With the transition from handwritten sources of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to those published by the sundry gazettes of the time (from the various *Annuari Marittimi*, to the *Portate dei bastimenti in entrata nei Porti*), it traces the difficulties and challenges that researcher encounters not only in the historiographic but also in cultural and linguistic approaches.

**MARIN BANOVIĆ**, University of Zadar

*Maritime Entrepreneurs in the East Adriatic at the Dawn of the 19th Century*

The objects of this presentation are East Adriatic maritime merchants and shipowners in turbulent political successions at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century. Croatian towns during dramatic 1797 left almost four centuries-long Venetian *dominium maris* and came under Habsburg Empire as the rising maritime hegemon. In 1806 Adriatic Sea passed into the hands of Napoleon, but soon in 1813, once more became the Habsburg region for the whole next century. With that in mind, the presentation would

analyze how each of the three imperial states treated the navigational and commercial potentiality of the East Adriatic coast. Furthermore, had those administrative transitions subsequently redistributed main commodity flows and is it possible in that sense to propose a theoretical concept of the “extended Adriatic”? But the most important question is how maritime entrepreneurs manage to survive that political discontinuity? How did they circumvent different barriers in both legal and illegal ways? The aim of this presentation is to shed light on those neglected historiographical issues and to consider some research perspectives.

**MATEO BRATANIĆ**, University of Zadar & **SANDA UGLEŠIĆ**, University of Zadar

*Maritime Education during the Period of Sailing Ships’ Decline in the East Adriatic*

The sailing and the steering of the merchant East Adriatic sailing ships was the result of the accumulation of the vast experience transferred to new generation of the seamen. The practice of sailing provided for the positions in the officers’ ranks all the way to the captains. However, with the increase of administrative and social circumstances during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, especially after the consolidation of Habsburg Empire on the Adriatic such pattern became insufficient to gain the commanding positions onboard the sailing ships. During that period nautical schools were founded offering to teach specific knowledge to steer and command the sailing ships. While, during the second part of the century the need for the expertise of steamship management increased, the scheme of nautical schools went through the transformation in order to provide the new set skills. During the following decades the nautical schools reaffirmed their position within the local maritime centres with the increased conviction in the need of their institutional affirmation. This was substantiated with the rigorous exam for the officers’ position as ordered by the Maritime Government (*Governo Marittimo*) that included theoretical knowledge impossible to gain without attending nautical schools. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the broad reform of nautical schools in the Austria-Hungary was implemented following the widespread steamship transfer. In 1902 the Maritime Government issued an Order that demanded the graduation from nautical school to be a prerequisite for getting the officer’s rank aboard the ship. Within such framework this presentation would show the research done on the archival material of nautical schools compared with the exams for the officer’s ranks together with the lists (*Annuario Marittimo*) of the captains and lieutenants who passed the exam. This would be contrasted with the numbers of sailing ships and steamships of the Australian merchant fleet in order to investigate the potential correlations.

12:00 – 14:00: SESSION II – Perspectives on Maritime Trade

Chair: Tomislav Popić, University of Zagreb

**ANDREJA KATANČEVIĆ**, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Law

*Regulation of Sea Salt Trade in Medieval Serbia*

Medieval Serbia was a state without any mines of rock salt for the most part of its medieval history. This made sea salt the most vital, the most valuable and the most significant import good during the centuries. Therefore, Serbian rulers were highly interested in the regulation of this economic activity. An additional reason was the fact that import taxes were regal rights and formed a considerable part of a ruler's income. There is no doubt that the sea salt commerce was first regulated by customs, which are not easy to reconstruct due to the lack of sources. However, from the late XII century until the XV century and downfall of Serbian medieval state, there was a large number of written legal sources concerning the salt dealership. These regulations are the object of this paper. The aim of the presentation is to reveal the historical development and changes of regulation of sea salt import and commerce in medieval Serbia in that period, regarding the market places, import routes, taxation, tax-farming, the legal position and powers of tax collectors, the fiscal sovereignty, position of the foreign merchants and competence of Serbian tax collectors on foreign territory of Dubrovnik. Special attention will be paid to the state agreements with Dubrovnik of King Vladislav and King Uroš I from the thirties and fifties of the XIII century and the question if those acts introduced novelties or confirmed previous customs. Additionally, various other sources will be taken into consideration, especially the records preserved in Dubrovnik archive. The applied methods will be linguistic, systemic and historical interpretation of above mentioned preserved sources.

**NICOLA CAROTENUTO**, University of Oxford

*Rethinking Venetian Medieval Trade (13th-15th centuries)*

For a long time, the analysis of Venetian trade and shipping has largely coincided with the survey of the number of state-owned galleys sent each year by the Venetian republic across the Mediterranean. Yet, a more granular analysis of Venetian trade reveals the importance of the shared ownership of vessels, and the identification of ships as a microcosm of interactions between different nationalities, and the merchandise thereof. Vessels and merchandise were part of a brokerage process between different actors and entangled in complex and detailed practices purporting to identify them, through the use of merchant's signs and other devices. Once we abandon a 'national' perspective to trade, whereby for instance Venetian trade was carried out on Venetian ships steered by Venetians with merchandise belonging to Venetians, relegating the agency of foreigner to the manning of the said ship, we might finally appreciate the heterotopia of medieval vessels. At the same time, we might appreciate the differentiation of shipping based on the type of merchandise they transported, including 'humbler wares' as foodstuff, beverages, and raw materials. Venetian shipping was tripartite, resting on long ships such as the galley, round ship such as cogs and carracks and flat-bottomed ships such as burchi and rascone. Galleys and larger cogs were used for international trade, smaller cogs and round naves were used for regional commerce, whilst rascone and burchi were employed in fluvial trade and for cabotage along the Adriatic coast. We can thus reassess the role of Venice itself as a port: rather than conceiving it as merely the commercial capital of a 'trade empire', we might regard it as a land-maritime node of networks encompassing multiple directions and scales of trade, focusing for instance on the presence of foreignly-

owned vessels in the city and on the connexions between Venice, the mainland, and the Adriatic, comparing it with other Mediterranean ports.

**GERASSIMOS PAGRATIS**, National Kapodistrian University of Athens - **CRISTIAN LUCA**, University of Lower Danube *Venetian maritime trade in Crete at the end of the 18th century*

The Venetians' interest in Crete continued after 1669. In addition to political matters, the island's considerable commercial and economic advantages prompted the Venetians to establish consulates to act as a link between Crete and the central Venetian administration. The archives of this important institution provide valuable data. Their processing is the central aim of our communication, which seeks to establish the role of the port of Chania in the movement of Venetian trade over a two-year period (1789-90), the type and purpose of transports carried out by Venetian ships a few years before the fall of the Serenissima Republic, the profile of the various maritime entrepreneurs of the Venetian state, etc.

### 15:30 – 17:30: SESSION III – Adriatic Ventures: Diplomacy, Trade and Piracy

Chair: Linda T. Darling, University of Arizona

**RANIA MOHAMMAD**, Zagreb University, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences - **SABINE FLORENCE**

**FABIJANEC**, Institute of Historical & Social Research of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb

*The Economic and Diplomatic Relations between the Croatian East-Adriatic Coast & the Mameluke's State and the Beginning of the Ottoman Period from the 13th to the 16th Centuries. A first approach*

Since long, the majority of researches have been dealing with the economic and diplomatic relations between Italy and the Orient in general. Thanks to some records that have not been fully study yet, we are able to approach some other participants of the relationships between the two shores of Mediterranean, especially the Croatian territory with the Mamelukes' State & the beginning period of the Ottoman Empire. At first, we should talk about the available record in Latin-Italian & in Arabic, such as Statute laws, custom's taxes, diplomatic issues that are mentioning the actors from Dalmatian coast and North Africa & Syria. It will give also an opportunity to stretch some cases about cheating in the quality spices in Egyptian market. Then it will be talk about the political-economic context & facilities in Croatia & in the Mameluke's State, with a special description of the complete administrative procedure in Alexandrian's port through who every traders had to pass, including Croatians merchants. Indeed, the Mameluke state in Egypt and Syria (1250-1517) has been extensively study, but several areas still require further investigation. For instance, we can give a glance about the diplomatic and commercial episode in Egyptian-Dubrovnik relations in the late Mameluke and early Ottoman period. Finally, we will present an overview of the trade exchange between Dalmatia and Muslim's governments in Africa. For that, we also can use another case study for Zadar about the trial intended in Alexandria by the Zaratini Antonio Guidonis the Genovese Benedetto de Grimaldi because of some cheating trade issue.



**TOMISLAV POPIĆ**, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Croatian Studies

*Maritime Trade Ventures and Their Failures in the Adriatic at the Turn of the 14th and 15th Century*

Around 1000 pages of documentation of the Zadar *Curia consulum et maris* from the second half of the 14th and the first half of the 15th century have been preserved to date. This court was responsible for tackling commercial and maritime disputes between Zaratine citizens and/or foreigners. The surviving records contain entries from about 800 lawsuits, having a significant research potential, and yet they have garnered almost no interest from historians. Concerning commercial and maritime endeavours in the Middle Ages for example, these court records constitute one of the most important categories of written traces of the past for their study. On the one hand, they complement our understanding of how people negotiated deals, what we mainly glean from notarial records. But on the other hand, the court records dispel the illusion created by notarial evidence that all maritime trade ventures ended favourably, while also informing us about the reasons behind their failures. So, in this presentation I would like to focus on some of the reasons for the failure of maritime trade ventures and/or merchandise, as well as on damage compensations depicted in these relatively small but content-rich archival collection.

**ANTE BEĆIR**, Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb

*Piracy and Power Dynamics. Venetian Expansion in the Eastern Adriatic in the 15th century*

This presentation will focus mostly on insurgent piracy primarily caused by the circumstances of the Venetian-Hungarian war over Dalmatia (Eastern Adriatic) between 1409 and 1420, in context of which Venice introduced a naval blockade over the Dalmatian cities. For centuries Venice tried to establish dominance over the Eastern Adriatic cities as to have a total control of the Adriatic maritime routes towards their commercial hubs in the Eastern Mediterranean. However, only after 1409/1420 did Venice succeed to institute long-term rule all the way until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, during which Dalmatia was a constitutive part of the *Stato da mar*. But nobody thought it to be a definitive state of affairs at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as Dalmatian towns such as Šibenik and Trogir who resisted Venetian attempts with assistance of their sovereign, the king of Hungary Sigismund of Luxembourg. In that respect, leading members of the Trogir nobility became royal corsairs in (nominal) service to their king, but for the Venetian imperial-maritime understandings they were just pirates and criminals who resisted legitimate Venetian claims for Dalmatia and the Eastern Adriatic. These claims were based on the contract made in 1409 between Venice and the titular king of Hungary, namely Ladislaus the king of Naples, by which the latter relinquished his rights to Dalmatia and all the real possessions he still maintained in Dalmatia at the time. Therefore, this paper will explore the interplay of power dynamics on a wider Adriatic scale and one of its immediate consequences – namely the pirates/corsairs – with a short reflection on the role of Adriatic piracy in earlier centuries.

# WEDNESDAY 29 MAY 2024

ROOM 1 (Lecture room)

## 9:30 – 11:30 SESSION I - Sailing through adversities: risk management in early modern maritime business

Chair: Sabine Florence Fabijanec, Institute of Historical & Social Research of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts

**PAOLA NARDONE**, University 'G. d'Annunzio' of Chieti-Pescara

*Sailing through Adversities: Management and Accounting of Ragusan Ships in the Renaissance (1555-1588)*

Through the ledger of a Ragusan ship, with the accounting records kept by sailors and shipowners and using Renaissance-era navigation and accounting manuals, this contribution aims to reconstruct the management of risk by ship crews during navigation. It will consider operations related to damages and navigation incidents and activities aimed at preventing maritime risk. Finally, it will reconstruct the most significant issues related to the management of ships and, more broadly, Ragusan merchant and ship-owning companies. The risk of navigation of modern merchant ships is generally studied through official declarations made by the crews once they reached the mainland, in front of a public official or a notary. There are not many testimonies of the activities carried out by the sailors to prevent and address the risk while at sea. These activities involve operations carried out by the crew in anticipation of difficult situations, in the moments immediately following a negative event, or for necessary repairs to ships that suffered damage. In this context, the onboard accounting books are very useful, as they are rich in information and details about regular and extraordinary maintenance activities. Maintaining these records was a necessary condition for the proper distribution of profits and costs among the co-owners of each ship.

**NATASCIA RIDOLFI**, University 'G. d'Annunzio' of Chieti-Pescara - **ADA DI NUCCI**, University 'G. d'Annunzio' of Chieti-Pescara

*The "lookouts of the sea": the coastal towers in Abruzzo (16th-19th centuries)*

The objective of this paper is to analyse the economic and social role of the towers along the Abruzzo coast, through the documentation preserved in local and national public archives. The system of coastal towers in Abruzzo, designed and built by the Spanish during the 16th century, had defensive, economic and health purposes that influenced maritime risk. At first, the construction was dictated by strategic military needs relating to the protection of coastal population centres from attacks by Turkish ships. Subsequently, the Spanish government used these structures to control and limit maritime smuggling traffic, to guarantee the safety and legality of the "loading and unloading" operations. Finally, these towers proved to be a valid support even during periods of epidemic and pandemic for the construction of the maritime sanitary cordon. The coastal towers were in all respects an important asset in the

panorama of the economic policies of the Spanish kingdom and required planning, construction and military organization activities. As the years passed, the economic functionality of the coastal towers diminished and starting from the first years of the Bourbon restoration, they were used above all as the first reception centres for illegal immigrants and sick people arriving from the sea.

**LUISA PICCINNO**, University of Genoa - **ANTONIO IODICE**, University of Roma Tre

*The Price of Risk. Comparing transaction costs in Genoese maritime business (17th century)*

Maritime business in the early modern period was indeed a risky business. Shipwreck and seizure of vessels by enemies, whether pirates or navies of belligerent nations, were common occurrences. Even more common were those damages that affected the ship and its cargo as a result of storms and bad weather. Such damages could be transferred to a third party, for example through insurance. In this case, the premium was the main transaction cost paid by the cargo owners or by the shipowners. Another possibility was the use of a risk-sharing technique, the General Average (GA). This institution redistributes extraordinary costs caused by intentional damage to vessel, cargo or other voluntary expenses to secure the safety of vessel and cargo, across all parties engaged in the business venture (shipowners, merchants, insurers). Insurance and GA could coexist: in this case, the transaction costs resulting from a GA practice were paid from the insurers. We aim at evaluating the transaction costs related to the use of these two risk management tools in the Genoese market over the seventeenth century. The analysis of Average sources is based on a sample of more than 1,200 Average procedures drafted in Genoa available through the Open Access online database AveTransRisk. The analysis of insurance sources, on the other hand, will be based on more than 300 insurance policies uploaded in the Open Access online database Risky Business, and on private insurance policies underwritten by Genoese patricians

### 12:00 – 14:00: SESSION III Men and Sea: Maritime Labour and Legal Practices

Chair: Elefteria Zei, University of Crete

**AKIN SEFER**, Kadir Has University

*Shipbuilding, Coercion, and Labour Mobility along the Black Sea Coast in the Nineteenth Century*

This paper will explore the relationship between the Ottoman labour draft for shipbuilding and the migration and mobility of workers along the Black Sea Coast and Istanbul in the nineteenth century. Following a brief overview of the shipbuilding sites for the Ottoman navy (including where and how naval vessels were built) in the Black Sea districts and the state's tributary labour draft practices for these worksites from these districts, the paper will present statistical evidence of the mobility of workers for shipbuilding, particularly towards Istanbul in the mid-nineteenth century, based on population records and wage registers of the era. Arguing for the relationality of the draft practices and the migration processes of the nineteenth century, the paper will analyze such mobility in the context of the changing relations of production in the shipbuilding sites in this period. In particular, it will highlight the impacts of this connection on urban settlement patterns in Istanbul, where this connection was particularly visible in

the neighbourhoods around the Imperial Arsenal. In this way, the paper aims to discuss the significance of coercive practices of the Ottoman state in maritime industries, and the struggles around them, for the Ottoman subjects' relationship with the sea both in Istanbul and the "coastal districts" in the nineteenth century. This paper is based on an ongoing research project on the connections between shipbuilding and labour migration along the Black Sea Coast and Istanbul in the mid-nineteenth century.

**ELLI STOGIANNOU**, Utrecht University

*Jack of all trades, master of none: a Greek trans-imperial subject in the early modern Mediterranean*

Giorgio Moschetti, a Greek priest in the service of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, was one of the unfortunate victims of the Ottoman attack on the Galleon Prospera in 1612. While in captivity, parts of Moschetti's past come to light as his alliances are disclosed by those who met him under diverse disguises. Sailors recognize him as a corsair given his time on-board Galleon vessels. Greeks and Turks he befriended during his trip around Ottoman Greece reveal the favours that they granted him. The final nail on Moschetti's coffin is vehemently put by a redeemed slave who met, or saw/heard of, Moschetti in Florence. What a small world, one may think. The redeemed slave informs the Bei of Rhodes of Moschetti's tightknit affiliation with the Medici court, showcasing how Moschetti hardened the Turk's redeeming process by increasing the ransom price. Accordingly, Moschetti faces similar condemnation for being a spy and an enemy of the Ottoman Empire on the island of Chio. However peculiar, this episode is representative of a linked world rather than the adventures of one unlucky man. These final scenes of Moschetti's lengthy yet understudied travel report are highly insightful as to the presence of Catholic corsairs in the Aegean, their perception by non-Latins, and the danger of being associated with the West. In reconstructing Moschetti's paper trail, we learn about the identities available to a Greek man living in the West and observe how they play out in the Eastern Mediterranean. Studies investigating the liminal position of Greeks in the West vary and have showcased how one minority group managed to reap primarily fiscal privileges using their knowledge of and access to the East. This source is interesting as it illuminates the, often-forgotten, opposite side to the same coin: the liminal position of Greeks back in the East.

**ARISTIDE CHRYSOULIS**, University of Cambridge

*To be Samiot within the Ottoman and Hellenic Aegean. A case of Legal and Insular Exceptionality in the 19th century*

Almost twenty years ago, Olivier Bouquet explored what it meant to be Prince of Samos, from the perspective of two holders of that title, Stefanos/Istefanaki and Konstantinos/Kostaki Mousouros Paşa. Within their correspondence transpired different conceptions of the office, opposing isolating insularity and even danger, to the prestige of a Princely title. Yet, little has been written about what it meant to be a Samiot islander at the time of the Principality (1834-1912). This paper aims to attempt a definition of that condition. Indeed, did holding such a passport equate to a status of citizenship in its own right? How did the actors themselves apprehend and comprehend this instrument? Was this an attractive status for

economic enterprises in the maritime and connected space of the Aegean? To observe this, the legal records held in Samos itself, as well as in other jurisdictions, offer pertinent examples. Within those, commercial litigations, civil disputes or even criminal cases appear as entry points into the contradictory legal views on how far this insular and autonomous Ottoman polity could project and affirm its jurisdictional privileges. And how much of that was carried out by the individual enterprises of islanders that found a comparative advantage in the status of the Principality. As such, the key argument is that, to understand better what it meant to be a Samiot can highlight a different expression and manifestation of Ottomanism in the changing times of the Tanzimat. And second, most importantly, to argue that the island of Samos formed a legal buffer-zone of exceptionality, shaped by the legal knowledge and strategies of different players of the Aegean legal worlds.

### 15:30–17:30: Session III - Maritime Professions through Time

Chair: Kalliopi Vasilaki, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH)

**MÁRQUEZ ANTÓN PAU**, Independent Researcher

*The evolution of the ship mates formation between 1850 and 1910*

This paper will be aimed at presenting the preliminary results of a doctoral thesis research that has been started this year. The subject in question is a not a topic with a lot of historiographical analysis, as is the case of the formal education and training of ship mates. The research will consist of how the legal aspects of this profession change and evolve from 1850 to 1910. During this period in the Spanish maritime sector, the industrial revolution arrives and transforms the work, specifically in this case, the maritime work with the transition from sail to steam. For that reason, I will carry out an investigation through the legal regulations referring to the mates, gathered in the newspaper "Gacetade Madrid", and especially in the Manual of Royal General Orders for the Government of the Navy, in Spanish: "Manual de Reales órdenes de generalidad para el gobierno de la Armada, 1824-1891". In that case, this focuses on a first period, from 1850 until 1891. For the second period, from 1891 until 1910, I will consult the Navy Legislative Collection, "Colección Legislativa de la Armada". Even though this research has just started, those are a specific result that I can achieve and with this start building a project that in a future could become a research about how the social mobility worked in this profession and along this convulse and innovative period.

**WIM DE WINTER**, KU Leuven/Ghent University

*Mediterranean Seafaring on Distant Seas: Greek Island Sailors' Contribution to the Spanish Transpacific Presence (16th-17th century)*

In 1685, French buccaneer Raveneau de Lussan encountered Spanish ships sailed by 'Greeks' near Panama. He mentioned them as "people gathered from diverse nations", who "passed from 'other seas' to serve as soldiers and sailors with the Spanish in the Pacific". This was not a recent phenomenon. Greek sailors had been present in the Spanish Pacific since the 16<sup>th</sup> century: the most notable case was that of navigator Ioánnis Fokás from Kefallonia, captured by British pirate Thomas Cavendish near Californian shores in 1587. A wider investigation into Spanish colonial sources and shipboard documents reveals a consistent pattern of Greek (and Venetian) seamanship in the Pacific. Thus, one finds multiple Greek mariners near Peruvian and Chilean shores, such as Nicolás de Rodas from Skyros (1567), maritime trader Nicolao Griego from Kythira (1592), or Constantino Griego of the 'isle of Candia' (1598). The wills of such sailors show how they frequently originated from Mediterranean islands such as Chios, Cyprus, or Crete and mutually connected through shared religious or regional affiliations. Moreover, these ties were not lost as some sailors returned back to the Mediterranean after sailing years on the Pacific. This paper argues that these Greek sailors' skills and backgrounds played an important role in shaping Spanish Pacific navigation. Using geo-informatics data, it shows how inter-island navigational skills born in the Mediterranean environment were an asset to navigating the specific winds and countercurrents in the Pacific. The skills and knowledge they developed in this shared environment formed a crucial element for wayfinding and environmental interaction in both transpacific and coastal navigation. The presence of Greek sailors in the Spanish Pacific shows how skills and histories originating in the Mediterranean contributed to a richly varied Transpacific maritime history.

**PETROS KASTRINAKIS**, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH)

*Work on a Cretan ship and in a Cretan port. Maritime professions and labor in Chania during the transitional period 1870-1918*

The second half of the 19th century in the Eastern Mediterranean was marked by the rapid development of trade, the emergence of the steamship and the transformation of the infrastructure of the port cities of the region. This came in conjunction with the increase in the population of these cities, and the impact this had on the work in these port cities. Particularly in the case of Ottoman ports, little attention has been paid to the maritime professions and the state of labor in relation to them at that time. Even if there is some information on larger ports such as Smyrna and Thessaloniki, information on smaller ports such as those of Crete remains unknown. In the case of sailing ships in Crete these were limited to short voyages, a situation that was further exacerbated by the advent of the steamship and affected the lives of Cretan seafarers, such as the payment and the general working conditions of the seamen on the ships. At the

same time, port work was significantly affected by the growth of trade and the emergence and prevalence of steamship transport, while the lack of infrastructure projects also had a significant impact on the port professions. This paper aims to highlight aspects of the work of seamen, boatmen and porters in a small Eastern Mediterranean port during a transitional period.

**VUKAŠIN STANOJLOVIĆ**, University of Belgrad

*Navigating the Legal Waters: The Role and Responsibilities of a Ship's Captain in Roman Maritime Law*

The ship's captain (*magister navis*) holds the pivotal role in overseeing maritime operations and managing the vessel. Thanks to the praetorian institute of *actio exercitoria*, he possesses the authority to act on behalf of the *exercitor navis* or *dominus negotii* in legal transactions. This legal power remains irrespective of his personal status or legal capacity. In cases where a ship has multiple captains, each of them retains the right to execute legal agreements for third parties. Nevertheless, certain circumstances may entail shared or divided jurisdiction in contract negotiations. On the other hand, legal sources testify that the captain's position is transferable and not tied to a specific person. While on the voyage, the ship's captain, driven by the vested interests of the *dominus negotii*, retains the prerogative to autonomously designate a deputy (*promagister navis*). The deputy captain was responsible for any damages or misdeeds affecting the *exercitor navis* or person under whose *potestas* he was, albeit not the *magister navis* who appointed him. In such a case, the approval of the *dominus negotii* was not required for the appointment of the ship's deputy captain. As gleaned from our research, the captain's appointment of a deputy is permissible only when it becomes imperative to safeguard the interests of all participants involved in the maritime operation (*utilitatem navigantium*). With reference to the mentioned, the author seeks for the origin of this lawsuit, as well as the instances of divided jurisdiction among ship captains and legal positions of their deputies. The paper uses linguistic, historical and systematic interpretation of passages from Gaius Institutes and Justinian Digesta, as well as historical method.

ROOM 2 (Kalos Ontas)

**9:30 – 11:30: SESSION I – Sounding the Sea: Exploring Waters and Tracking Deep Networks**

Chair: Petros Kastrinakis, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH)

**EFFIE DOROVITSA**, University of Seville

*Building bridges with the thalassographic past: Greek oceanographic endeavours, 1896-1921*

At the 1919 Madrid International Oceanography Conference, Greek delegate Admiral M. Matheopoulos, declared his commitment that Greece would actively participate in the oceanographic exploration of the Mediterranean Sea and in this manner would regain its right of maternal impact upon the Mediterranean Sea and its nations. Matheopoulos' bold statement essentially signalled the Greek Navy's ambition to chart a systematic, scientifically grounded and empirically driven pathway of oceanographic investigation of the Greek Seas. This paper follows the trail of early oceanographic – or as it was termed in the Greek

Nautical Press ‘thalassographic’- research by the Greek Hydrography Service, kicking off with preliminary surveys at the port of Piraeus in the 1890s to the first proper oceanographic voyage in 1921. It argues that deep sea research of Greek waters shifted from being an accessible terrain of foreign scientific operations to an ideologically loaded vehicle that promoted Greek maritime prowess within the Mediterranean basin. This transition hinged on ancestral claims of Greece as being the archetypal Mediterranean maritime nation. It was further driven by the necessity to initiate marine biology and fisheries research in order to finally effectively exploit the fish stockpiles of the Greek seas and the desire to make Greece the scientific hub of deep-sea exploration in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean. Finally, this paper briefly looks into how oceanographic activity within Greece in the time period under examination was evaluated by those figures directly involved in its operations, i.e., the Navy officers who took part in thalassographic voyages and/or in hydrographic surveys more broadly. It follows on the premise that the ideological burden to live up to its ancestral grandeur, weighed down heavily on the Greek sea science community, and was equally reflected in the assessments of its works.

**OKCAN YILDIRIMTURK**, Free University of Berlin

*A Survey of Confusion in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Processual Approach to the British Hydrographic Mission of Cyprus in 1849*

This presentation problematises how a mid-19th century hydrographic survey towards improving navigation emerged and materialised with respect to different interests and agendas throughout the process. Employing a processual approach, it examines the British Admiralty’s survey of Cyprus from its first expressions in the early 1840s until its actual undertaking in 1849. In doing so, it first illustrates various factors, motivations and obstacles taking the Cyprus survey on/off the agenda by investigating the relationship between the British Consulate of Cyprus, the Foreign Office and the Admiralty. In addition to sketching out this intricate network, this study also touches upon the numerous dynamics and contingencies that impacted the undertaking on the ground. These were, for example, the influence of the British learned societies such as the Royal Geographical Society, the Ottoman re-establishment of the Province of the White Sea and its Governor-General’s visit and meeting with the British surveyors, and the surveying team’s interaction and engagement with the British Consulate. Finally, it deals with the survey’s later usage and examines how the finished chart and plans would maintain their importance and actuality throughout the Ottoman period until and after the British take-over of the administration of Cyprus. The study was possible thanks to a range of written and visual sources from the National Archives – Kew, the United Kingdom Hydrographic Archive – Taunton, and the Ottoman Archives – Istanbul. In aggregate, a close inspection of these documents permits a comprehensive analysis of the diversity of interests and agendas in the case of the British hydrographic survey of Cyprus and how it ultimately unfolded in conversation with different economic and political considerations as well as (trans)imperial visions.



**BERNA KAMAY**, Sabancı University

*Network of Crime Across the Mediterranean: Reading the Crimean War through Fraud and Forgers*

This paper brings to life the account of the Ottoman Empire and the nascent Italian nation who exerted collaborative efforts against a vast criminal network formed during the Crimean War (1853-56) that had expanded from Istanbul to Turin and across the Mediterranean. These entailed domestic legislative efforts as well as stricter preventive and punitive measures between two powers whose relations were for long established in line of the capitulatory system. The kaime (the Ottoman paper money) forgers, most of whom were wartime profiteers with a middle-class profile, availed themselves of the security vacuum created by the Crimean War and current political upheavals resulting from the Risorgimento period. Forgery was a severe offense considered anarchist activity, and the states called for joint actions to address it everywhere in the world in the nineteenth century. In the same vein, this chapter recounts an early example of how Ottoman international relations were not limited to political and economic alliances but evolved through diverse diplomatic dialogues and legal mediations to control an international crime. Therefore, this study treats law as an interactive process to explain the political, social, and diplomatic implications of extradition. The diplomatic networks Ottoman officials established across the Mediterranean route and seaports and the informal agencies they communicated with, resulted in an elaborate information channel extending beyond imperial borders. As such, it was a world of skillful diplomats, of state officials with expertise in law, and of cunning state politics. However, it was also a world of professional impostors and fugitive criminals whose transnational mobility and offenses shaped international security policies. Accordingly, this paper undertakes a micro- scale analysis of an episode within a transnational framework that revealed the multiplicity of dimensions in interpreting the historical phenomena.

### 12:00 – 14:00: SESSION II - Maritime Business in Mediterranean waters

Chair: Christine Isom-Verhaaren, Brigham Young University

**GOKHAN TOKA**, Istanbul Medeniyet University

*A Cross-Cultural Transportation Network: Tracing Bills of Exchange in the 18th Century Eastern Mediterranean*

This research closely examines the utilisation of bills of exchange in commercial transactions by prominent figures, including the governor of Cyprus and Venetian merchants. These individuals employed ships to transport various materials, information, and gifts along the Eastern Mediterranean coast. The study extensively relies on primary sources from the Archives of Venetian Cyprus Consulate, providing comprehensive insights into trade routes linking important centres such as Aleppo, Rhodes, Crete, Cyprus, and Constantinople. The research centres on a meticulous examination of the personal correspondence exchanged between the Venetian Consulate of Cyprus and the governor-muhassıl, revealing the existence of a highly sophisticated financial transaction network strategically centred around the ports of the Levant. Furthermore, the study sheds light on the significant role played by Captain Cilar De Slostrini, who

acted as a key figure in transmitting letters and bills of exchange documents between these strategically vital ports. Intriguingly, this investigation goes beyond financial transactions, documenting the exchange of gifts between the consul and the governor, encompassing tangible items such as oranges, rice, and even firearms. This multidimensional study offers a fresh perspective on the pre-modern world, illuminating the intricate transport networks that emerged through personal relationships within the Eastern Mediterranean region.

**HASAN ILBAN**, University of Birmingham

*British Engagements in the Ottoman Empire and the Character of British Entrepreneurial Enterprise in the 18th Century Eastern Mediterranean*

The British presence in the eighteenth-century eastern Mediterranean had long been interpreted as a period of decline and segregation due to decreased volume of trade and lack of interaction with the Ottomans. Yet such a rigid understanding of British-Ottoman relations obscures the complexities of relationships and the multiplicity of engagements the British had in the Ottoman realms in this crucial period. This paper therefore examines how British merchants constituted an entrepreneurial enterprise in the region in the eighteenth century to shed light on these complex and manifold relations between the British and the Ottomans. British merchants created a web of interconnected trading posts located in the port-cities and emporia of the Ottoman Empire, mainly for commercial purposes. To increase the effectiveness of their business activities and protect their trading rights and interests, British merchants were engaged in gift-giving to Ottoman authorities and legal practices in Ottoman *sharī‘a* courts and the Imperial Council (*dīvān-ı hümāyūn*) and offered diplomatic and financial services to the Ottomans. These activities, in large measure, shaped the character of British entrepreneurial enterprise in the region during the eighteenth century. As such, British merchants became the integral components of the Ottoman social structure while also serving their own needs and interests. This paper considers these engagements and their implications in Ottoman Aleppo, Izmir and Cyprus by examining British merchants’ business correspondence, British petitions to the Imperial Council, Ottoman imperial orders in response to British petitions, and the Ottoman court records of Aleppo and Cyprus.

**APOSTOLIS TODI**, University of Crete

*Greek merchant shipping during World War I. The case of shipping firm S.G. Embiricos*

The subject of the paper is the wartime sea born transport system and more specifically the role of Greek merchant shipping during the World War 1 (or the Great War of 1914-1918). The aim is to examine the impact of war in the operation and development and at the same time to evaluate the contribution of Greek shipping in the service of the belligerent nations. This is a topic that has not been studied so far by the existing scholarship, except for the naval historians. The study of this subject necessitates the analysis of the national and international political context as well as the financial and

military aspects of the war. The three main questions are: a) How did the armed conflict affected Greek shipping and in witch way did Greek ship owners adjusted to the wartime conditions, b) How did the Greek state and the political events affected the shipping industry and c) What was the material and human cost paid during the war period. The strategy of the Greek shipping firms in the wartime is being examined, not only in macro perspective, but also in micro perspective. More specifically, it will focus on the case-study of the shipping firm of S.G. Embiricos and its wartime losses, by using the company's unexplored archive.

### 15:30 – 17:30: SESSION III Maritime networks in the Mediterranean and beyond

Chair: Ante Bećir, Croatian Institute of History

**DOMENICO MARRAZZO**, Independent Researcher

*Under a foreign flag. Naples and the route through the Suez Canal 1869-1913*

This research proposal aims to investigate the impact of the increasing number of ocean liners calling at Naples' port after the opening of the Suez Canal on the city's economic development between 1869 and 1913. In particular, it seeks to understand why, despite Naples's advantageous geographical location in the heart of the Mediterranean, trade relations between the city and regions beyond the Suez Canal failed to significantly boost the Neapolitan economy. Existing historical scholarship has emphasised the role of Naples' port facilities and the transformation of its hinterland due to the expansion of the national railway network following Italian unification (Potito, 2018). Often framed within the traditional paradigm of the economic underdevelopment of southern Italy, these interpretations overlook the ways in which the opening of the Suez Canal and the wider transport revolution reshaped the complex trade networks in which Mediterranean ports were embedded, often leading to their marginalisation (Curli, 2022). The importance of foreign subsidised steamship companies and their links to the economic interests of colonial ports is particularly emphasised in this proposal. This approach aims to shed light on why the Suez Canal ultimately represented a missed opportunity for the city of Naples.

**FLORIAN AMBACH**, University of Innsbruck

*Mediterranean Networks between Austria and Egypt and the Habsburg Monarchy's Quest for a Global Hinterland*

Especially in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century the Habsburg monarchy, traditionally seen primarily as a terrestrial rather than a maritime empire, developed ambitious plans to expand its overseas trade. The Adriatic port city of Trieste emerged as their central hub, gaining increasing importance in the shadow of Venice – originally in the waters of the Adriatic, but soon also in the eastern Mediterranean. Additional ideas to extend its trade activities into the Indian Ocean with the foundation of an Austrian East India Company made Egypt a focal point of interest. Merchants from Trieste even considered making use of the route via

Suez and the Red Sea for their new global aspirations. From the 1840s onward, some merchants, scientists and politicians involved in the military expansion of the Egyptian viceroy Muhammad Ali Pasha became eager to establish an Austrian colony in Sudan. Especially in the port city of Trieste, such colonial fantasies were met with enthusiasm, not least also to implement schemes to forge stronger commercial ties with Asia. The proposed paper focuses on the maritime connections between Trieste and Egypt in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Based on an analysis of the shipping networks between Trieste and Egypt and of the accounts of Austrian merchants, statesmen, and consuls, the paper aims to highlight the central role that maritime interconnection between Trieste and Alexandria played in the global strategies of the Habsburg Monarchy. Specific emphasis will be placed on Austria's commercial activities in Asia, as well as colonial plans in Sudan. This study argues that the formation of a maritime axis between Trieste and Egypt was crucial for the development of a potential (colonial) hinterland in Africa and Asia.

**DARIO SALVATORE**, University of Udine

*Reshaping the global ties: the port of Naples during the interwar period*

The purpose of this contribution is to illustrate the fluctuations in routes, supply chains, and navigation systems during the interwar period from the perspective of the Port of Naples in Italy, which was the third national port at that time. This case study enables us to elucidate the significant impact of the Great War on international steam navigation, particularly within the Mediterranean routes. Indeed, any upheaval also presents opportunities for late-coming nations or entrepreneurial classes to supplant the influence and economic interests of other countries in specific regions. Consequently, the Mediterranean Sea became an arena of contention after the war. The Neapolitan maritime society embarked on an ambitious program for economic expansion in the eastern Mediterranean Sea, aligning with the geopolitical interests of the last liberal governments. The rise of the Fascism introduced the concept of "mare nostrum", which meant a heightened level of political and ideological investment in this geographic area. Nonetheless, Naples had a long and robust tradition of economic relations with the Atlantic region, primarily with the United States and the United Kingdom. As a result, there was a disconnect between the vision of economic development for the port and the practical reality of its entrepreneurial networks. This paper seeks to analyze the impact of a global event, such as the Great War, and a political agenda, like the fascist aspiration to establish an Italian empire, on the specific maritime relationships of the Port of Naples and its economic hinterland. What were the responses of local maritime traders to these factors? Furthermore, to what extent did the Neapolitan maritime society influence these global and national processes? Finally, what were the outcomes following nearly two decades of reshaping connectivity?

# THURSDAY 30 MAY 2024

ROOM 1 (Lecture room)

## 9:30–11:30: SESSION I - Disseminating Mediterranean Maritime History

Chair: Jordi Ibarz, University of Barcelona

**APOSTOLOS DELIS**, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH)

*Playing the Mediterranean Maritime History*

Board games and history have a long interrelated past. Many companies of board games have heavily invested on scenarios of games with a history as a subject, from the ancient up to the contemporary period. Therefore, a large category of board games concerns important historical events, especially military ones as wars or specific battles. There are however, other games on historic subjects as well related to diplomacy, civilization process or transportation competition. In the context of the ERC STG 2016 project SealIT, despite the fact that it was not initially designed, we have produced a board game on shipping and navigation in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea during the long 19th century, namely from 1790 to 1910. The game is based on hard evidence from historical sources and on results from the existing literature on Mediterranean Maritime History. The game has an entertaining as well as an educational character. The players may learn elements of the mechanism of shipping industry, like the marine insurance, the ship market, the demand and the supply for commodities as well as the vagaries of navigation in the historical context of the 19th century. They may learn as well the limits of ship technology as well as the uneven importance of ports and of geography in the international division of labor. The game is an innovative tool that can be applied not only for the individual learning of the person which decides to play, but also as a teaching method in academic and high school classes and as a stimulus for further investigation on various aspects of the Mediterranean Maritime History, engaging both the academic and the broader public.

**AYBERK SÖZEN**, Dokuz Eylül University

*A Comprehensive Journey in Reviving the Xebec-Requin Ship through 3D Modelling, Rendering, Animating, and 3D Printing for Modelmaking*

This paper presents a comprehensive exploration into the revival of the Xebec-Requin ship, a historical maritime vessel, through the integration of modern technologies, specifically 3D modeling, rendering, animation, and 3D printing, with the ultimate goal of modelmaking. A Xebec was an 18th-century Mediterranean vessel characterised by its three masts and triangular Latin sails, supported by extensive yards, some of which reached nearly 40 meters in length on the tallest masts. These ships were a defining

feature of the Barbary fleets during that era. Recognising the need to counter these swift vessels that posed a threat to the Provence coasts, Louis XIV's navy decided to equip itself with similar ships. Commissioned with 24 guns and crewed by nearly 200 men, the Xebec was a formidable warship, boasting both speed and manoeuvrability. Le Requin, one of these Xebecs, was constructed in Toulon in 1750 by skilled Majorcan Shipwrights. This construction was part of a series of four Xebecs, all of which were emblematic of Mediterranean maritime activity during the 18th century. The Xebec-Requin, a vessel that has long vanished from the Mediterranean's seas, serves as a captivating case study for this multifaceted project, offering insight into the challenges and rewards of digitally reconstructing and recreating historical artefacts. This journey encompasses meticulous research, advanced digital reconstruction techniques, and the application of innovative modelling processes. The paper discusses the methodologies, tools, and strategies employed in every stage of the project, highlighting the potential for fostering a deeper understanding of the ship's design, historical significance, and the advancement of techniques for historical preservation and education. The journey detailed herein exemplifies how technology can be harnessed to breathe new life into the treasures of the past, enabling us to study, appreciate, and learn from history in novel and compelling ways.

**KOSTAS DAMIANIDIS**, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH)\*

*Digital 3D study of historic ship-models: The brig "Aris" of Anastasios Tsamados*

\*in collaboration with: Gelina Harlaftis & Georgios Tzavaras, Institute of Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH) - Spyros Vosinakis & Nikolaos Politopoulos & Vasiliki Nikolakopoulou, Department of Product and Systems Design Engineering of the University of the Aegean - Eleni Bintsi & Sotiris Trikas, Folklife Camp, Ethnological Museum of Macedonia-Thrace - Spyros Tsafaras & Alexandros Tourtas & Alexandros Arapandonis, Tetragon

The study of the brig "Aris" of Anastasios Tsamados was undertaken in the framework of the project "VIRTUAL HISTORIC SAILING SHIPS-VHSS". The project aims to create 3D digital models of 19th century sailing ships based on original data like historic models in scale, drawings, old photographs, technical descriptions, and other contemporary artifacts from Museums and archives. The representation of the brig "Aris" is based originally on the physical model of the wooden ship "Aris" which is in the collection of the National Historic Museum / Athens. The model was built by a model maker with the surname Dedes, who served aboard the "Aris" in the period shortly before she sank. According to the records of the Museum, the model was constructed of wood from the actual ship that was part of the Hellenic Navy until 1921. The overall length of the model is 97cm. The model offers a very detailed representation of the rigging components of the 19th century 's Greek brigs. We study the representation of the original ship, by comparing the model with other historic data, like paintings of the ship, archive material and archive photographs of the real ship (end of 19th beginning of 20th c.). The geometry of the model's hull has been acquired in great detail with the use of a handheld scanner. The digital reconstruction of the rigging is based on the model as well as on paintings of the ship "Aris" of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, photos, archive material and bibliography. Finally, a VR application is being developed that will let users to visit the deck of the ship and find out aspects of rigging and working environment on board. This application with other exhibits

concerning sailing ships from the 19th century, are parts of the exhibition “From Counter Stern to Stem” which is one of the final outputs of the VHSS research project.

**KATERINA DELOUCA**, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH) - **KOSTAS DAMIANIDIS**, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH)

*Preliminary report of the project “Historic Ship Graffiti on Greek Monuments–HISGM”*

The HISGM is a research program of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies / Foundation of Research and Technology-Hellas (IMS-FORTH). The project aims to record and study historic ship graffiti (SG) in areas of the Aegean Sea. The first task of this project is to identify historic SG on selected Monuments in Megaris, Aegina, Chios, Andros, Patmos, and Crete. In these areas several SG have been recorded in a haphazard way without systematic research. All the SG that will be identified or updated in these areas will be recorded, classified, documented and published by the HISGM project. Furthermore, the project will undertake comparison work with other contemporary depictions and evidence about ships from the same period and it will try to cast some new light on the maritime activity, sea communication and ship technology of the Aegean in the post Byzantine period and especially in the 18th and 19th centuries. The project will suggest techniques to protect and preserve SG in situ and promote their significance in the monument. The project establishes an optimized and effective methodology for the documentation of SG with the use of advanced digital tools (photography, scanning and digital restoration including selected 3D representations). The locations will be established by GIS and special e-publications will be issued for these parts of the monuments that are not easy to be identified. Finally, a web site will be created for the needs of HISGM project including an open data for historical SG in Greece.

### 12:00 – 14:00: SESSION II – Representations of Maritime Power

Chair: Nikolaos Chrissidis, Southern Connecticut State University

**NUNO SALDANHA**, University of Lisbon

*Pageantry and Power - Luxury as a Deterrent Power. The Portuguese Armada sent to Savoy in 1682*

In the spring of 1682, a magnificent armada sailed from Lisbon, travelling through the western Mediterranean, to fetch Duke Vitor Amadeu from Savoy, in accordance with the planned marriage of Princess Isabel Luísa Josefa of Braganza, daughter of the regent Pedro and his wife Maria Francisca. According to the agreement between the two nations, the regent prince Pedro commissioned his Navy to send a fleet, according to one of the competences that fell to him, on these occasions. Characterized and admired by all who have seen it, for its great richness, especially with regard to its profuse decoration, according to the standards of Naval Architecture of the Baroque period, it is a perfect example of the way in which the Baroque enhanced the glorious image of the king, building an image of power through Art, that is, of the power of the Image, while at the same time promoting respect and admiration. Following the instructions of Jean Baptiste Colbert in 1669, the greatness of the sovereign was not to depend only

on the number and strength of the ships, but on the richness and magnificence of the beauty of their ornaments. Highlighting the importance of Aesthetics, decoration occupies a place of particular importance, representing a sense of strength and power, defined by an imaginary of heroic figures, inspired by biblical texts, or by the stories and legends of Antiquity, who end up building a political or theological ideology, which is intended to be displayed, and visible to all. In addition to the symbolic means of expressing the king's fame, power, greatness, and central place, ornamentation is also a mirror of his nation's cultural development, wealth, technical and artistic progress. Luxury as a Deterrent Power.

**RICHARD UNGER**, University of British Columbia - **SARAH SPENCE**, University of Georgia

*Lepanto and its Poets: Latin Versifiers and Theories of Holy League Success*

The western victory at the Battle of Lepanto (October 7, 1571) has been ascribed to many causes, including better strategic and tactical use of ships and artillery, better body protection for Holy League fighters, and better deployment of forces. Yet accounts written at the time, including Spanish broadsides and Latin poems, suggest other factors. While the Latin poetry about the event has been plumbed for its classical sources (Lepanto lies close to Actium where Octavian defeated Antony), the poems have yet to be mined for contemporary ideas about possible explanations for the outcome of the battle. These poems were all published within a year of the battle, so it stands to reason that they might contain pertinent information. Our initial research points to two such paths of inquiry. First, the fact that the wind shifted from a strong northerly breeze to a calm southeastern one is mentioned repeatedly by the poets and seconded by a Spanish broadside. How this might have affected Ottoman tactics is one question we will address. Second, there is a brief mention in one poem about an Ottoman spy who, while on a reconnaissance mission, misunderstood what he saw and told his comrades they had nothing to fear from the west. Yet what he describes—a large ship decorated with lots of color—is not the shipping vessel he thinks it is but rather a Venetian galleass, a repurposed cargo ship now armed to the teeth. While the importance of the galleasses, their size and superior weaponry, has been noted, the notion that they were misconstrued as transport vessels rather than fighting ones is provocative. The role, if any, of the misinformation in the outcome of the battle points to a second line of inquiry

**MAXIME MOREL**, European University Institute

*Naval Salutes and International Rank between France and Italy in the Seventeenth Century*

From the end of the sixteenth century, the sea became the theatre of a new way to assert precedence among European powers: naval salutes. Although by then artillery had been present on ships for about a century, records of ceremonial gunfire started appearing massively in archival texts after the 1570s. I argue that this is due to emerging states using naval salutes as an “invented tradition” – in Eric Hobsbawm’s sense of “a set of practices [...] of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms [...], which automatically implies continuity with the past” – as a new, symbolic way to assert their power. Those states had different goals depending on their international rank. For instance, whereas naval prestige was a tool for Louis XIV to assert his military and diplomatic precedence above



Spain, smaller states, such as the Republic of Genoa and the Knights of Malta, used salutes as a defence mechanism for their very sovereignty. This process shares similarities (such as the importance of ceremony) and differences (such as the potential for violence, symbolic or non-symbolic) with land diplomacy. Moreover, I will argue that, because saluting always involved a ship's flag, this simple piece of cloth was as much a representation of sovereigns and princes in absentia as a diplomat was. Therefore, I will show that, far from being an anecdotal and harmless tradition, seventeenth-century naval salutes were an integral part of states' diplomatic arsenal to assert their sovereignty. Although the narrative of salutes for the North Sea is well established around the key role of England, I will use the diversity of actors in the Western Mediterranean to showcase the many aspects of the weaponisation of naval prestige, especially around the smaller, non-monarchical Italian states.

**SARA EL-SAYED KITAT**, Alexandria University

*Ceremonies of ship launching in Egypt between past and present in the context of maritime heritage*

In the Roman World, the opening of the shipping season was annually celebrated on the 5<sup>th</sup> of March. The sailors launched the "vessel of Isis", apparently the situla, into the sea to symbolize their opening of the shipping season. During the festival, the priests of Isis carried vessels of the Nile water to represent the resurrection of her husband Osiris. According to Apuleius, the festival was witnessed by a great crowd of people. The chief priest of Isis cult inaugurated "the Launching of the ships" after reciting prayers for the Roman emperor. During the festival, which was accompanied with carnival procession, people sang songs for Isis and carried lanterns in the form of a golden boat. On the following day, the priests of Isis dedicated new ship of her to the sea. After the spread of Christianity, ship christenings or baptisms continued to include liturgical elements, but in Protestant Europe, they appear to have been temporarily discontinued after the reformation. The so-called "standing cup" was a huge cup made of priceless metal. The presiding official ceremoniously drank a sip of wine before pouring the remainder over the bow or onto the deck as the ship started to slide down the ways. In the Ottoman period, a rule that dates back to Süleyman the Lawgiver's reign and was upheld by Selim II and Murad III required the Sultan to attend ship launching ceremonies. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, celebrations were held to launch many ships in Egypt, particularly the royal and military ones, such as; the Egyptian Tall Ship known as "Hurriyya". After reciting prayers and verse 41 of Surah Houd in Quran, the ship was launched through slipways. Films, newspapers and documentaries attested the continuity of such ceremonies in modern Egypt.

15:30 – 17:30: SESSION III - Rhetoric of progress. Discourses, representations and urban ideologies in European port cities between the 19th and 20th centuries

Chair: Luisa Piccinno, University of Genoa

**GIOVANNI FAVERO**, Università Ca' Foscari

*The railway, the Port and the arsenal: Reimagining Venice as a maritime hub in the 19th century*

The decadence of Venice following the fall of its Republic in 1797, Napoleonic Wars and the subsequent Austrian domination, implied a loss of importance as a maritime hub, in favour of Trieste in particular. The granting of freeport privileges in 1830 and the railway connection to the mainland in 1847 were not restoring the city as the main regional gateway, nor were intended to this aim. However, following the unification to Italy in 1866 and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, new development perspectives were started, implying widespread debates concerning the naval industry and the ancient Arsenal, the port and its transfer, and technical education with the establishment of a School of Commerce. The partial realisation of such projects kept the issue alive, structuring the belle-époque opposition between the prospect of modernising the city with the extension of the insular port into a proper industrial area, and the idea of a Greater Venice with an industrial port in the mainland that would maintain the city heritage and make of it a tourist attraction. Such a conflict was solved under the exceptional circumstances brought about by WW1 and the subsequent rise of the fascist dictatorship. The mobilisation of local, national and international interests in this conflict about the future of the city in the age of the Second Industrial Revolution is analysed in this paper comparing the historical literature with the press debate of the time.

**GIOVANNI CRISTINA**, University of Roma Tre

*Mediterranean modernisations. Progress and infrastructure in Catania and Valencia between the 19th and 20th centuries*

Since the 1980s-1990s, historiography has recognized the existence of patterns of socio-economic modernization at the urban level that took place in the Mediterranean area between the 1800s and 1900s, blurring the traditional hierarchical distinctions between "centers" and "peripheries" of industrialization at the European level. In particular, the cases of some medium-sized urban centers in Spain and southern Italy revealed a certain socioeconomic dynamism based on the foreign export of valuable agricultural products from their hinterlands, to forms of «light» industrialization and the management of urban growth. Crucial to these dynamics was the process of building infrastructures such as ports and railways, which fueled in the local ruling classes and economic elites expectations of progress and rhetoric about the geo-strategic and commercial prospects of these cities. The paper will focus on the ways in which the two cities of Catania (Italy) and Valencia (Spain) rethought this cycle of urban and economic transformations related to infrastructure construction between the 1850s and 1920s in a cultural and identity sense.

**MICHAEL-W.SERRUYS**, Otto Friedrich University Bamberg, Germany/Royal Belgian Marine Society  
*Belgium's bimaritimity: the Romantic coast versus the Economic coast*

Geopolitics, or géohistoire as Braudel calls it, is the science or the discipline which explores the link between geography on the one side, and the past and present political, economic, cultural, religious, etc. relations on the other. Most geopolitical studies have treated the military or international aspects of great powers. Little attention has been given to the geopolitical aspects of smaller nations. Nevertheless geopolitics of smaller countries can give us some very interesting information on how those countries perceive their role in their geographic environment. The relation of a nation, a people or a country with the sea, in other words its maritime identity, can thus be described and explained in geopolitical terms. By using geopolitical methods the odd relation of Belgium with the sea can be clarified. On the one hand Belgium offers major world ports, like Antwerp, while on the other hand a sense of maritime identity, as compared to its seafaring neighbours, is completely missing. To solve this paradox we must go back to the partition of the Low Countries after the Dutch Revolt in the sixteenth century. As a result of this partition, a new border not only cut off the major port of Antwerp from the North Sea, it also shaped a new geopolitical configuration for the Southern Netherlands, nowadays Belgium, that is still visible today. In this configuration Belgium can be perceived as a bimaritime state, or a state with two separate coasts, in this case the North Sea coast in the west, and the Scheldt estuary near Antwerp. Great powers, like France or the United States, have always had to make choices between their two – very visible – coasts. But like these great powers, a small country like Belgium has also had to make strategic choices between these two coasts. By choosing Antwerp as their main focal point, the Belgians opted for a landlocked maritime hub and thus created a continental identity with little regard for the vast possibilities the sea has to offer. Antwerp is a place where foreign ships come to load and unload goods, it is in other words perceived as the 'economic' coast. The North Sea coast, Belgium's second coast, has largely remained devoid of important maritime activities. In the Belgians' minds the North Sea coast is the 'romantic' coast, where the natural elements rule, the traditional (as in an old fashioned or bygone way) maritime activities as fishing still exist and where you would go on holiday. In the proposed presentation we would briefly like to show the existence of Belgium's bimaritime status, but also how this status is perceived by its population. This perception, economic coast versus romantic coast, can be seen on numerous engravings in schoolbook manuals (geography, history, etc.), murals in for instance railway stations, statues and national monuments. It gives the continuing (up to this day) interacting tensions between modernity and nostalgia. These works of art are tokens indicating this rather unknown aspect of the country's geographical features. It also gives an insight into how the Belgians perceive their country's maritime identity and destiny.

ROOM 2 (Kalos Ontas)

**9:30 – 11:30: SESSION I - Maritime history in the inter-war period and beyond**

Chair: Effie Dorovitsa, University of Seville

**ELENI KATSANEVA**, University of Crete*Fishing practices during interwar years in Chania, west Crete*

Crete, known by the Greeks as “Megalonisos” (big island), seems to have been too big to be considered an island; this inverted image of an island as a continent is relevant to the long dependence of Crete’s economy on the exploitation of the inside, that is on its agricultural and livestock production. Nevertheless, the findings of our historical and anthropological research - still in progress- show that specific groups of people in the western part of Crete turned to the sea and formed a local fishing fleet shortly before the outbreak of WW2. Analyzing archival material (official records as well as articles and comments in the local newspapers of the time) and drawing upon Bourdieu’s concepts, we investigate fishing practices in the region of Chania during the interwar period, seeking to pinpoint the interests and conflicts of the field. Until early 1920’s fish supply lied in the hands of Cretan Muslims and Italian fishermen. At the same time, seaside communities drew on the sea for food, resorting to “illegal” methods. On the one hand, the settlement of Asia Minor refugees with a fishing culture in Souda (one of the largest natural harbors in the Mediterranean Sea) and, on the other hand, the collaboration of local merchants with fishermen from Vatika (southeast Peloponnesus), contributed to the transformation of fisheries in the region into specific directions.

**DIMITRA KARDAKARI**, Ionian University - **THANASIS NASIARAS**, University of Crete*Digitalizing the Greek Tramp Shipping in the Interwar Period: The creation of the MARECHRONSTAT database 1931-1939*

This paper aims to present the initial findings of the under-construction statistical database regarding the movement of the Greek tramp ships during the Interwar period, especially from 1931 to 1939. The recently digitized journal “Naftika Chronika, which is one of the most important and richest sources of data on Greek tramp shipping of the Interwar period, is the main database source. The compilation of this database is based on the extraction, processing, and systemic classification of detailed datasets regarding the movement of Greek ships in the Greek shipping industry. The database will encompass the data: (a) annual records of tramp ship purchases and sales, (b) tramp ship age information, (c) yearly variations in the global shipping market, (d) fortnightly voyages of tramp ships within the Greek-owned fleet, and (e) occurrences related to registries, ship transfers, repairs, new orders, dismantling, and surveys. This database will be a useful tool for researchers providing a wide range of information. Finally, the purpose of this database is to be a part of the general attempt, that has been made by the Centre for Maritime History of the Institute of Mediterranean Studies, to analyze and digitize valuable data on Greek shipping of the twentieth century.

**IOANNIS LIMNIOS-SEKERIS**, Panteion University

*A flourishing business: subsidised international migration and the shipping sector, 1951-1980*

The paper researches the work of the *Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM)*, an Organisation established in 1951 with the task to manage part of the European 'overpopulation' problem created after the end of WWII and redistribute it among overseas US-allies. In 1952-80 more than 1.2 million migrants and refugees from Southern Europe migrated through ICEM. Migration was a remunerating business for the transport companies participating in the ICEM migrant traffic by earning in 1956-80 more than half a billion dollars. The shipping and airline companies from the Mediterranean countries (Italy, Greece, France, Spain, and Malta) were actively participating in the ICEM traffic and competed for a larger share of the migrant business. Especially during the 1950s the transport companies could rely on ICEM for the provision at regular intervals of passengers ready for transport, to establish new transport connections between Europe and overseas countries, and to extend their collateral businesses: tourist/passenger/cargo trade. The attraction of the ICEM transport funds also involved the governments of the respective companies which tried to influence the decisions of ICEM for the benefit of the companies under their flag. When the business interests in migration field segregated, conflicts arose; when opposition by ICEM emerged, collaboration from the Mediterranean transport companies strengthened. The paper challenges the establishing role of ICEM. Was ICEM primarily an organisation for the international management of migration or an agency assisting in the development of business opportunities and increase of development rates for the US allies? The institutional and political conflicts in the migrants' transport business are highlighted, by focusing on the most important emigration and maritime countries from Mediterranean Sea participating in ICEM, Italy and Greece. ICEM was a hub for the creation of opportunities and traffic work for the transport companies in the 1950s and it is recognised as a tool of the West for the reconstitution of the international trade and development rates. The paper uses primary sources from the International Organization for Migration archives in Geneva and Athens, and national archives from the United States (NARA), Australia (NAA) and Greece (Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

### 12:00 – 14:00: SESSION II - Transport Systems in Mediterranean Waters

Chair: Wim de Winter, KU Leuven/Ghent University

**OSMAN ÖZKAN**, Koç University

*The Re-creation of the Eastern Mediterranean Steamship Transportation System (1830-1900): Sources, Problems, Methods, and Analyses*

For many years in human history, attempts to find an alternative to muscle power, wind, and currents have been made, and finally, in 1807, with the successful voyage of Robert Fulton's steamship on the Hudson River, these searches came to an end, and a new era in maritime transportation began. Steamships, which offered the opportunity to transport passengers and commodities in a predictable

travel time, in larger quantities, with greater safety and comfort, were quickly allocated among the Eastern Mediterranean ports, and their number increased day by day thanks to shipowners who chose this new technology and steamship companies that joined the transportation sector. Furthermore, the regular voyage routes established by the steamship companies resulted in the emergence of a complex and variable steam transportation network that allowed for transportation between many port cities on the Eastern Mediterranean coast, via alternative routes and at varying rates and conditions. The historical development of this transportation network, which includes the entire routes along which steam shipping companies operated, is critical for a better understanding of the socioeconomic connections between the port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean in the nineteenth century, and this transportation network can be simulated using today's technological capabilities. This study aims to introduce primary and secondary sources that can be used to reconstruct the steam transportation network in the Eastern Mediterranean, to address problems that can be encountered in a model's dataset using different types of sources, and finally to present and discuss ideas for analysis that can be done with this transportation network model.

**DIMITRIS KYPRIOTAKIS**, Historical Museum of Crete

*About Coastal Shipping: the continuous endeavours for the evolution of coastal shipping in Crete in from the late 19th century until the Interwar period*

The development of a closer interconnection between Crete and international trade during the second half of the 19th century led to the inclusion of remoted areas, which had been isolated for centuries in the trade networks. This was needed in order to connect those areas with the main trade centers, the three port cities at the northern coast of the island and, rarely, the direct export and import of goods from various areas and the few natural harbors. The maritime transports which were done mostly by small sailing ships constituted the only solution due to the almost total lack of land networks. The steamships would have served better for this purpose, but most of these companies were active only in the zone area between Chania, Heraklion and rarely reaching Agios Nikolaos. In order to accommodate the needs of the remote areas and to support the local trade, state aid was offered as a solution to private steamship companies. The efforts for this begun during the Chalepa period (1878-1889) and they were strengthened during the period of the Cretan State (1898-1913), only to recede during the Interwar period, because of the arrival of the cars and the expansion of the road network. The aim of this presentation is to look into the evolution of coasting shipping in Crete. Firstly, the parameters which led to the introduction of this demand will be examined, along with the initiatives taken on political and legal level and the financing methods. Moreover, the shaping of the different steamship networks, the involvement of the steamship companies as well as the reasons for which this particular practice failed to accommodate, for the most part, the local needs.

**KALLIOPI VASILAKI**, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH)

*The maritime transport system of Ithaca island: the fleet, the people and the traffic*

The paper aims to examine the maritime activities of the population of Ithaca island, located in the Ionian Sea, during the period from the 1830s to the 1850s. This period marked significant economic growth for the island, driven by its involvement in the Black Sea grain trade and the emergence for Ithacan merchants and shipowners on the Danube river. At the same time, the island's population maintained a strong connection with the neighboring islands and the adjacent mainland, establishing themselves as main carriers of the local trade in the Ionian and Adriatic seas. Focusing on these two pivotal decades under the British Protectorate of the United States of the Ionian Islands, this paper aims to investigate the characteristics of the island's population and its deep connection to the sea. By examining both the micro and macro aspects of Ithaca's maritime activities, the paper will analyse the island's fleet, primary transport networks, and the characteristics of its seafaring population. The analysis will be primarily based on *naftologia*, the crewlists for all ships registered at the port of Vathi, the island's main port, as issued by the port authorities upon each ship's departure. These registers serve as indispensable sources for the study of the island's maritime activities, providing data related to the ship's specifications, destination, detailed list of the crew, including their profession, age, birthplace, physical attributes and salaries (Ithaca General State Archives). This contribution seeks to illuminate the transport systems of the island, covering both short and long-distance journeys, as well as the enduring connection of the population to the sea.

### 15:30 – 17:30: SESSION III - A Sea of Transience

Chair: Anna Sydorenko, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH)

**TAMTA KHALVASHI**, Ilia State University

*Boats of Turbulence*

This essay together with the multimedia artwork evoke the Black Sea as a transient, yet recurrent space of unrest, provoking turbulent feelings about living on its shores. I will capture visually and textually the quotidian description of life along and on the Georgian Black Sea through what locals call *mghehvareba* or "turbulence." Activating multiple registers of "turbulence"—sudden changes in flow of waves, experience of unrest, moving very strongly and suddenly—I illustrate how lives on the Black Sea are swept up and animated by wars and political transformations, and what survives despite such insistent changes. The Black Sea, in other words, embodies unsettling feelings and memories of both loss and recuperation, coming and going as a wave of turbulence. Initiating a theory and method of reading the metaphor and materiality of the turbulence, specifically through tracking various maritime vessels carrying refugees, tourists and boat employees, I show how these ships mark and haunt lives on the Black Sea over time. They produce conditions of emotional turbulence, but also something in excess of it. Formulating the turbulence or "*mghehvareba*" as sites of artistic production, resistance, and possibility for living, this

presentation offers a way forward to think about the Black Sea in times of brokenness and omnipresent precarity.

**ESMA BERIKISHVILI**, Ilia State University

*Disrupted Waves: Navigating Economic Transitions and State Reforms in Post-Soviet Poti*

In the wake of the Soviet Union's dissolution, the maritime infrastructure of Poti, a pivotal Georgian port city, witnessed a profound decline, leading to the adoption of informal economic strategies by local inhabitants to sustain their longstanding connections with the sea and its resources. The period from the 1990s onward witnessed the transformation of fishing and fish-smoking practices into indispensable survival mechanisms for individuals grappling with unemployment during the tumultuous shift from a socialist to a market-oriented economy. This study delves into the transformative impact of reforms implemented after the "Rose Revolution" in 2003, specifically focusing on the revolutionary government's initiatives aimed at reconciling interests between private fishing enterprises and local fishers. By closely examining how these state-driven reforms subjected the maritime domain to capitalist logic, the research illuminates the subsequent disenfranchisement of local communities from their traditional rights to maritime resources. Addressing fundamental queries such as "Who holds the right to the sea?" and "How does the state exert control over maritime spaces?" this talk critically evaluates the transient nature of resources and the ramifications of 'sea-grabbing' for communities dependent on maritime assets. The analysis underscores that governmental intervention not only altered established practices but also spurred the emergence of new informal economic strategies among local communities. These strategies, adopted as a response, reflect a concerted effort to reclaim and safeguard their inherent rights to the sea in the face of evolving political and economic landscapes.

**KETEVAN GURCHIANI**, Ilia State University

*Magnetic Hopes at the Black Sea: Healing Tourism in Ureki and Grigoleti*

Seas are transient, while sands can stand for permanence. A Georgian proverb says: "The water goes back and forth, the sand stays". Especially when the sand is advertised as magnetic, it invites a great attraction. Since the 1940s, a certain section of the Black Sea coast was designated as a special health resort to cure people with mobility problems as the sand was supposed to "cure muscle and joint diseases". In the hope of being reborn healthy, thousands of people flocked to the Black Sea coast near Ureki and Grigoleti. Walking on the beaches of Ureki, heads could be seen emerging from the black sand: Hoping to get the most out of the magnetic sand, parents buried (and still do) their children up to their heads in the sand. The sea was supposed to bring minerals to shore and refresh them again and again. The ephemeral nature of the sea made sand a magnetic bonding agent. The idea of sand magnetism developed without much scientific study but lives on today as a phenomenon of hope. This talk explores how liquid/fluid places become "magnetic" through material properties and immaterial hopes. The talk explores how the intersection of the social and the material can be understood without neglecting one or the other.



**ELENE GAVASHELISHVILI**, Ilia State University

*Between the Sea and the Land: Work and Family Lives of Georgian Sailors*

The collapse of the Soviet Union and post-Soviet upheavals fragmented and dispersed the Georgian shipping fleet, but the Black Sea coast, especially the regional center of Batumi, remains home to many seafarers. Instead of well-established sea routes and familiar crews, during the period of post-Soviet turbulence, sailors had to launch themselves into the previously untapped capitalist maelstrom. Despite many challenges, the high salaries of crew members, especially high-ranking sailors, are driving the growth of interest in long-distance sailing. Sailors are constantly represented as people between two worlds, whose work determines their spatial and temporal existence and constantly places them between sea and land. According to the present essay, despite their cosmopolitan occupation, sailors are "locals" who are associated with land regarding their plans and hopes, sadness, and joy. Behind the attractiveness of high salaries lies the necessity to accept the transience, which permeates both the seafarers' work contracts and their family ties, especially the physical time spent with the family. This essay aims to analyze both the seafarer's land life and the absence, which fills the lives of sailors' family members with different emotions and practices. The study of absence is even more interesting given that in the wake of technological development, physical absence is increasingly filled with virtual presence.

## FRIDAY 31 MAY 2024

ROOM 1 (Lecture room)

## 09:30-11:30: Session I - Charting Progress: Evolution of Port Cities and Trade Networks in the Black Sea Region

Chair: Katerina Galani, Institute for Historical Studies, National Hellenic Research Foundation

**ANNA SYDORENKO**, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH)*Navigating the Northern Black Sea: Model of Analysis of the Port Cities of the Northern Coast of the Black Sea*

This presentation delves into the complex dynamics of economic development and integration into Western European markets among port cities along the northern coast of the Black Sea. Utilizing a comprehensive methodology, we analyze various factors, including economic, geographical, political, and social influences, shaping the evolution of these ports. The study emphasizes the pivotal role of hinterland and foreland in port development, driven primarily by grain trade and supported by 19th-century railway networks. The forelands, with established maritime and commercial networks, facilitated exports to Western Europe and the Mediterranean. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for comprehending the complexities of port development and their integration into broader economic systems along the northern Black Sea coast despite the challenges faced.

**SVITLANA ARABADZHY**, University of Oslo/Mariupol State University*From a Small to One of the Leading Ports in the Azov Sea Region: Development of the Port of Mariupol (19th – beginning of the 20th century)*

The research aims to explore the development of the port of Mariupol, its role in the international market, and its contribution to the process of industrialization of the city and its transformation into a metallurgic centre of the Azov Sea region. It will also consider the advantages and disadvantages of the port's geographical location, the impact of the transition from sailing to steam shipping, as well as the impact of port infrastructure modernisation on the development of the Mariupol port. The city port is seen as a dynamic unit responding to changes in the political situation and changes in the international trade market, which in turn influenced the economy of the hinterland. Based on a variety of Russian, British, French, and Italian sources, such as statistics, consular reports, and others, the research reflects a picture of the export and import of goods, that responded to the supply and demand of the markets. The list of merchants and consuls and the description of their activities give an overview of the involvement and role of different countries and ethnic groups in the development of international trade, as well as the size and strength of the Mariupol city's merchant community.

**IRYNA PONOMAREVA**, Mariupol State University

*The port city of Mariupol as a unique industrial - resort and tourist center of Ukraine*

During the 20th and early 21st centuries, the seaside city of Mariupol became famous thanks to the development of the seaport, metallurgical and machine-building plants. The uniqueness of the city lies in the fact that in the zone of a large number of industrial enterprises, numerous resorts for adults and children functioned, where they rested and were treated for various diseases. The Sea of Azov was considered to be one of the most useful for health, as it is rich in various microelements and healing mud that helps restore health. Despite the fact that in Soviet times, Mariupol was considered to be one of the most polluted industrial cities of the USSR, vacationers from all over the country came there in summer. This phenomenon will be analyzed in the article. It is interesting that the development of tourism and the formation of the sea resort system in Mariupol was directly connected with the industrial development of the city. In the report, we will analyze the interconnection between city enterprises and sea resorts. And the presentation will demonstrate the organization of treatment and leisure for workers in sanatoriums and preventive clinics of the city in times of different political systems (the Russian Empire, the USSR and independent Ukraine).

### 12.00 – 14.00 SESSION II - "PiraeusPortCity Research Project" - Ports and Maritime centers during industrialization

Chair: Matteo Barbano, University of Genova

**KATERINA GALANI**, Institute for Historical Studies, National Hellenic Research Foundation

*The Port of Piraeus in the long 19th century. A maritime register of shipping and sea-related industries.*

Piraeus was built in the 1830s with the intention to serve as the national and international port of the nascent Greek Kingdom. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it had surpassed all other ports in the Greek dominion in terms of volume of trade and traffic and it emerged as a prime maritime centre in the Eastern Mediterranean. The paper probes the notion of 'maritime centers' in the age of steam and globalization through the case study of the Piraeus. This notion is conceived in purely economic terms and describes the concentration of maritime and secondary services in the physical location of the port district, that combines trade, warehousing, banking, insurance, industries, labour market, and acts as hub where the maritime and the land transport system converge. To this end, a detailed register of businesses is compiled with domestic and international steamship companies, insurance agencies, migration and labour agencies, banks, consulates and embassies, suppliers, coal merchants and warehouses, ship chandlers, hotels, technical schools et al. that constituted the vivid maritime world of the port and were indispensable for the daily operation of shipping and trade. The local newspapers of Piraeus and a few surviving City Guides form the backbone of this maritime register. Furthermore, the paper focuses on the

economic activity of the port on the macro-level, which breaks down to the fleet, the trade, the port traffic, the sea routes and the connection with international markets. Separate databases are being constructed drawing upon official national statistics and consular reports for the volume of inbound and outbound trade, the passengers, and the arrivals of ships at the port of Piraeus. Through this statistical data we address the nature of the port (transit, import, export or mixed) as well as its interconnection with domestic and foreign markets in the period under examination.

**MINAS ANTYPAS**, University of Crete

*Sea and Port-related occupations in Piraeus (1869-1904). The making of the city's maritime population.*

Greek historiography concerning the formation of Piraeus and its historical evolution during the 19th century tended to emphasize the city's function as an industrial centre. Consequently, the focus of research has been on the formation of Piraeus' industrial proletariat through rural exodus and urban migration towards the new city (Tsokopoulos 1984, Panagiotopoulos 1985, Papastefanaki 2009). With few exceptions (Bafounis 1985), little attention has been given to the emergence of Piraeus as a port of the eastern Mediterranean and the shaping of the city's maritime population. This presentation aims to trace the composition of the occupations associated with the sea and the port of Piraeus during the last decades of the 19th century. To achieve this, I make use of the information provided by the Municipal Registry of Piraeus for the years 1869-1904 and the population censuses of 1870, 1876, 1889, and 1896. By processing this archival material, we can obtain relatively reliable quantitative and qualitative data on the size of Piraeus' maritime population and its proportion in relation to the city's overall labour force. This paper also intends to examine the ethnic and local origins of merchant seamen and port workers as well as their spatial distribution within the city of Piraeus. In this way, I argue, it is possible to identify the pull-push factors that induced certain population groups to settle in the new city, thus forming its maritime community/ies in the following decades.

**THOMAS KALESIOS**, University of Crete

*Dock workers from free workers to employees: the transformation of labour relations in the port of Piraeus (1914-1936).*

The proposed paper aims to investigate the waterfront workforce of the port of Piraeus between the period 1914-1936. In this particular period Greece underwent radical changes: engaged in a continuous warring situation it almost doubled its territory, but had as a consequence the influx of over a million of refugees, and the outbreak of a civil war. On the other hand, it was also a period of reorganization of the state and society. In this framework the port of Piraeus, the biggest and most important port of the country, was at the center of interest from economic, political and social factors. A law of 1914 made obligatory the formation of unions. The unions achieved the control of the workforce of the port and was mandatory for every worker to become a member in order to be employed. Most of the loading/unloading works were carried out manually and was organized in small gangs with family ties, which controlled the

organization of the labor of the port. The necessity of manual workforce in the port strengthened the position of workers. Their role became vital and important in terms of the function of the port, but also of the control of the workforce on the port. This situation was a constant reason for conflict. The struggle for the control of the port between workers one hand and ship chandlers, ship-owners and government on the other was a long, intense and continuous process, that did not end until the 1930s with the foundation of the independent organization of the Port Authority of Piraeus (OLP). Clear aim of OLP was to control the workforce of the port, by transforming the free-wage workers to employees of OLP. It was a radical change that was promoted by the political climate of the Interwar governments in Greece and in particular by the dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas.