

Number & Title of Course:

HIST349 Alternative Histories: Greek Jews/Jewish Greeks and the Modern Nation

Semester/ Year and Location:

Spring 2023, Athens

Course Instructor:

Daphne Lappa

CYA Email: daphne.lappa@cyathens.org

Class Times (days, hours):

Monday 11.00am-12.35pm

Wednesday 11.00am-
12.35pm

Office Hours Available:

Monday & Wednesday after class

Course Description

The course focuses on the experiences of Jews living in Greece during the 19th and 20th centuries. It is structured around a core issue, namely the encounter between two different forms of belonging: a pre-national, imperial one where religious and ethnic diversity was the norm; and a 'modern' at the time, national one where sameness became a prerequisite.

The course is divided into three parts. In the first part, we will examine the gradual incorporation of Jewish communities into the Greek kingdom in the 19th and 20th centuries, and gain an understanding of the implications that the transition from the multireligious and multilingual Ottoman empire to the Greek nation-state entailed. To this end, we will identify the policies that the Greek state adopted to manage this transition, and trace the tensions manifested during the incorporation of Jewish people into a new-born state that aspired to become a homogenous national community bound together by the Greek-Orthodox religion. In the second part, we will discuss how Jews now incorporated into the Greek territory reacted to the exigencies of the new nation-state—reactions that covered the whole spectrum from migration to assimilation. We will examine in greater length how Jews took root in Greece during the late 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century and gradually molded their own version of «Greekness». This process was left incomplete due to WWII and the massive destruction of the Greek Jews. In the third part we will thus focus on the experiences of Greek Jews during WWII, and follow their post-Holocaust trajectories in Greece and the diaspora.

Understanding how Jews and more broadly people of different creed and origin invented alternative versions of «Greekness» that undermined the intimate connection between religious and national identity is more than relevant today that the asserted homogeneity of nation-states is seriously challenged by the waves of global migration. Studying the history of Greek Jews thus invites us to reflect more broadly on forms and definitions of belonging.

**Course
Approach
Readings**

We will read a wide variety of texts, secondary literature and primary sources, in order to understand both how the above raised issues are conceptualized in historiography as well as how historical actors thought, acted, felt and remembered their experiences.

Discussions

Each meeting will be structured around one or more core themes. Discussing them will be a vital part of the course.

Documentary & film screenings

We will be using excerpts of documentaries/films or whole documentaries as tools enriching our insight into the

eras and people we will be studying.

Walking tour & visits

We will have the chance to walk the area that in pre-WWII times used to be the heart of the Jewish neighborhood in Athens. We will visit the two Synagogues in the city center and the Jewish Museum of Greece.

Writing

Instead of a final exam all students are required to prepare a term paper addressing one of the core issues linked to the course. I will be discussing individually with students their interests so as to assist them in identifying the subject of their paper.

Oral presentations

Individual presentations of term papers will take place during the last meeting(s) of the course.

Personal meetings

Students are encouraged to approach me after class, by appointment or through e-mail, and share any concerns regarding the course, ideas that you would like to discuss etc.

Learning Objectives

By the end of the course, students should be able to:

- (a) Have a general overview of Greek history in the 19th and 20th centuries;
- (b) Have a general overview of the history of the Jews in Greece;
- (c) Become aware of and recognize the distinct traditions within Greek Jewry;
- (d) Reflect critically on the process of the transition from empires to nation-states, and understand the continuities, ruptures and long-term consequences that this transition entailed for both the state and its citizens;
- (d) Become aware of different versions of «Greekness» that non-Orthodox Greeks have devised and embodied in the course of the 20th century.

Course Requirements

1. Classroom and onsite attendance

Students are expected to report for classes promptly. Attendance in class and onsite is evaluated and will be part of the mid-term and final grade. Illness or other such compelling reasons which result in absences should be reported immediately to the Student Affairs Office.

2. Weekly readings, responses & class participation

Weekly readings will be assigned, roughly around 80 pages of textbook reading per week or 40 pages of close analytic reading of academic journals or monographs. All students are expected to read them and respond in written form on the Moodle platform (for the first class readings no responses are required).

Responses should be between one and two paragraphs for each class. They should discuss critically and productively the main idea(s) put forward by the author. They should not merely summarize the main idea(s), but rather expand and reflect critically on them. Responses should be posted on the Moodle platform by 9pm on the day before of our course. After that time the platform will not be accessible.

Responses will help students deepen their understanding of the readings and prepare them to participate in a fruitful in-class discussion. Both responses and active in-class participation are vitally important for the successful attendance of the course.

3. Mid-term exams

Mid-term exams will take place on **Wednesday March 15 2022**. They will be in written form during class hours. Students will have to answer 4 out of 8 questions. Questions will be based on key issues included in the Readings and discussed in class. Your answers should be precise, coherent and well-structured. They should not exceed one page in length.

4. Term papers

Term papers will be addressing one of the core issues linked to the course. They can be based exclusively on secondary literature or make use of primary sources as well. Papers need to present clearly articulated research questions, set them in context, and suggest answers based on argumentation. Individual meetings with students will take place so as to identify areas of interest, provide assistance in choosing the subject of the papers and follow the work progress. A first outline of the paper, that is a 2-3 pages working outline explaining the research questions, context, tentative conclusions and a partial bibliography, is due on **Friday April 21 2023**.

In-class individual presentations of term papers are scheduled to take place during our final meeting(s). Students will be expected to present key issues of their papers to their peers as well as reflect on the reasons why they focused on the specific subject matter. The use of PowerPoint is encouraged.

Final papers of **3,000 to 4,000 words** are due on **Friday May 19 2023**. Term papers must be turned in on the due date. No late assignments will be accepted.

Evaluation and Grading

Grades for this course will be based based on the following distribution:

Percentages

Class participation: 15%

Written responses to the readings:

15% Mid-term Exam: 20%

Oral Presentation of term paper: 10%

Term Paper: 40%

Grades are intended to give students a sense of the quality of their overall attendance to the course. Roughly speaking, a B means that you have done a good job with the writing, the ideas, and the organization of the work; a C conveys that the work lacks some important qualities and has some problems; and, an A means that the work is exemplary in some key ways: the writing is particularly clear, the ideas thoroughly treated, the organization of the presentation well considered and effective.

CYA Regulations and Accommodations Attendance Policy

CYA regards attendance in class and on-site (in Athens or during field study trips) as essential. Absences are recorded and have consequences. Illness or other such compelling reasons which result in absences should be reported immediately to the Student Affairs Office.

Academic Accommodations

If you are a registered (with your home institution) student with a disability and you are entitled to learning accommodation, please inform the Office of Academic Affairs and make sure that your school forwards the necessary documentation.

Policy on Original Work

Unless otherwise specified, all submitted work must be your own original work. Any ideas taken from the work of others must be clearly identified as quotations, paraphrases, summaries, figures etc., and accurate internal citations and/or captions (for visuals) as well as an accompanying bibliography must be provided (Check the Student Handbook, pg. 7).

Use of Laptops

In-class or onsite use of laptops and other devices is not permitted.

Class Schedule

Class Day	Day/Date	Topic / Readings / Assignments Due
PART A - FROM EMPIRE TO NATION STATE		
1	Mon Jan 30	<p>Introduction to the course: General concept, structure & requirements</p> <p><i>Optional bibliography</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Benveniste 2019a (online) Varon-Vassard 2019 (online)
2	Wed Feb 1	<p>Who are the Romaniotes?</p> <p><i>Description</i></p> <p>This class focuses on Romaniote Jews, that is Jews that trace their past back to the Roman and Byzantine empires. We explore their geographic locations, social profile and cultural outlook.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dalven 1990: 105-112 <i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i> 2007: vol. 11, 545-546 & vol. 17, 402-403 Kehila Kadosha Janina, The Jews of Ioannina <p><i>Optional bibliography</i></p> <p>Fromm 1992; Nachman 2004; Moissis 2017; https://jewishcomioannina.gr/synagogue/</p>
3	Mon Feb 6	<p>Who are the Sephardim?</p> <p><i>Description</i></p> <p>This class focuses on Sephardic Jews, that is Jews that came to the Ottoman Empire from the Iberian peninsula from the late 15th century onwards. We explore their geographic locations, social profile and cultural outlook.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cohen & Stein 2014: 1-14 Hacker 2018: 77-88, 94-105 <p><i>Optional bibliography</i></p> <p>Schiaky 2003; Stein 2004; <i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i> 2007: vol. 12, 427-435; Rodrigue & Stein 2012; Naar 2016b; Bunis 2016; https://www.sephardicmusic.org/;</p>
4	Wed Feb 8	<p>The Ottoman Empire vis-à-vis its non-Muslim population: Ottoman Jews</p> <p><i>Description</i></p> <p>This class offers an overview of the profile of Ottoman Jews during the early modern period. We discuss their position within the Ottoman social structure and their internal organization, and compare them with other non-Muslim communities.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rozen 2006: 256-263 Hacker 2018: 88-94 <p><i>Optional bibliography</i></p>

Braude & Lewis 1982; Shaw 1991; Levy 1994; Veinstein 2013

5	Mon Feb 13	<p>The Ottoman Empire responding to the challenges of the 19th century</p>
		<p><i>Description</i></p> <p>The emergence of nation-states in the Balkan peninsula during the 19th century posed a major challenge to the integrity and identity of the Ottoman Empire. In this class we discuss how the Ottoman Empire responded to this challenge, and chart the ways Ottoman Jews negotiated their position in a constantly changing environment.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Benbassa & Rodrigue 2000: 65-72 • Rodrigue 1996 • Stein 2004 <p><i>Optional bibliography</i></p> <p>Braude & Lewis 1982; Rodrigue 1990; Rodrigue 1995; Cohen 2014</p>
6	Mon Feb 20	<p>From the Empire to the Nation-State: The Greek Revolution (1821), the Greek state and the Jews</p>
		<p><i>Description</i></p> <p>The Greek Revolution came together with widespread violence against the Jews living in the Ottoman Empire. The Greek state that soon emerged established the primacy of Greek-Orthodox religion. This class is thus dedicated to the reversal of hierarchies existing in the Ottoman empire and the new position that non-Orthodox population acquired within the ‘new- born’ Greek state.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fleming 2008: 15-23 • Doxiadis 2018: 19-21, 30-45 <p><i>Optional bibliography</i></p> <p>Mazower 2005; Gallant 2015</p>
7	Wed Feb 22	<p>The Greek kingdom in the 19th century. An expanding new-born state facing its non-Orthodox citizens</p>
		<p><i>Description</i></p> <p>As the Greek state was expanding, new non-Orthodox populations came to be added to its territory. This class discusses the first reactions of the state towards them and the policies it devised in order to manage this multi-religious and multiethnic landscape.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fleming 2008: 23-31 • Tsitselikis 2012: 26-36 <p><i>Optional bibliography</i></p> <p>Carabott 2011; Doxiadis 2018; Gallant 2015</p>
<p>PART B - GREEK JEWS</p>		
8	Wed Mar 1	<p>Jews in the Greek kingdom before 1912</p>
		<p><i>Description</i></p> <p>This class deals with the first decades of Jewish-Christian coexistence within the Greek state. After introducing an overview of the communities incorpo-</p>

rated in Greece until 1912, it focuses on the case of Corfu, the most prominent Jewish community at the time, so as to trace the reactions of the Jews confronted with the new reality of the Greek nation-state.

Required reading

- Fleming 2008: 32-48 & 54-59
- Ginio 2017: [1-25]

Optional bibliography

Gekas 2004; Doxiadis 2018

9 Mon Mar 6

The Balkan Wars and the incorporation of the city of Salonica into the Greek state - I

Description

The Balkan Wars brought about the redrawing of borders in the region and the almost complete withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire from it. Salonica was incorporated into the Greek state. And with it came one of the most prominent Jewish communities. These two classes focus on the state policies devised to deal with this new reality as well as on the reaction of the Jews of Salonica to a state that insisted on its Greek-Orthodox identity.

Required reading

- Mazower 2005: ch. 14 (275-285)
- Fleming 2008: 72-80
- Molho 2002: 186-194

Optional bibliography

Yerolympos 1988; Mazower 2000; Gallant 2001; Papamichos-Chronakis 2014

10 Wed Mar 8

The Balkan Wars and the incorporation of the city of Salonica into the Greek state - II

Description

The Balkan Wars brought about the redrawing of borders in the region and the almost complete withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire from it. Salonica was incorporated into the Greek State. And with it came one of the most prominent Jewish communities. These two classes focus on the state policies devised to deal with this new reality as well as on the reaction of the Jews of Salonica to a state that insisted on its Greek-Orthodox identity.

Required reading

- Ginio 2002
- Naar 2017: [1-24]

Optional bibliography

Yerolympos 1988; Mazower 2000; Mazower 2005; Gallant 2001; Papamichos-Chronakis 2014; Amygdalou 2014

11 Mon Mar 13

Wrap-up before mid-term exams

12 Wed Mar 15

Mid-term exams

13 Mon Mar 20

Visit to the Synagogues & walking tour

Required reading

- Droumpouki 2016
-

14 Wed Mar 22

Jews and other non-Orthodox Christians in Greece (1913-1941) - I

Description

The years between the Balkan Wars and WWII was a transformative period for the Greek state. A first decade (1913-1922) of ethno-religious coexistence was followed by the Asia Minor catastrophe in 1922, the population exchange and the consequent reception of a considerable number of Greek-Orthodox migrants from Turkey. These two classes consider the reactions of Greek society against these newcomers as well as the wider repercussions that this event had on the Jews of Greece.

Required reading

- Mazower 2005: 321-332
- Fleming 2008: 80-88 & 91-100

Optional bibliography

Clogg 2002; Clark 2009; Naar 2015; Myofa & Papadias 2016; Rozen 2018

15 Mon Mar 27

Jews and other non-Orthodox Christians in Greece (1913-1941) - II

Description

The years between the Balkan Wars and WWII was a transformative period for the Greek state. A first decade (1913-1922) of ethno-religious coexistence was followed by the Asia Minor catastrophe in 1922, the population exchange and the consequent reception of a considerable number of Greek-Orthodox migrants from Turkey. These two classes focus on the wider repercussions that this event had on the Jews of Greece.

Required reading

- Benbassa & Rodrigue: 134-143 & 154-158
- Papamichos Chronakis 2018a: 59-63

Optional bibliography

Clogg 2002; Naar 2015; Myofa & Papadias 2016; Rozen 2018

PART C - HOLOCAUST & AFTERMATH

16 Mon Apr 3

WWII and the Holocaust in Greece - I

Description

These two classes focus on the Holocaust in Greece. We follow the actual events and discuss the paths that Jews could take to save themselves; the reaction of the Christian fellow citizens, neighbors and friends; and the ways that the camp experience transformed survivors.

Required reading

- Fleming 2008: 147-165
- Chandrinou & Droumpouki 2018: 15-35

Optional bibliography

Levi 1959; Wiesel 1960; Kitroeff 1986; Mazower 1993; Hilberg 2003; Bowman 2006; Bowman 2006; Mazower 2008; Bowman 2009; Saltiel 2014; Varon-Vassard 2016

17 Wed Apr 5

WWII and the Holocaust in Greece - II

Description

These two classes focus on the Holocaust in Greece. We follow the actual

events and discuss the paths that Jews could take to save themselves; the reaction of the Christian fellow citizens, neighbors and friends; and the ways that the camp experience transformed survivors.

Required reading

- Papamichos Chronakis 2018b: 157–180

Optional bibliography

Levi 1959; Wiesel 1960; Kitroeff 1986; Mazower 1993; Hilberg 2003; Bowman 2006; Bowman 2006; Mazower 2008; Bowman 2009; Saltiel 2014; Varon-Vassard 2016

18 Wed Apr 19

Music and the Holocaust

Description

This class is dedicated to the diverse roles that music assumed in the concentration camps: as a Nazi instrument of enforcement; a survival tool for the gifted; or a medium that permitted Jews in concentration camps to preserve their humanity.

Required reading

- Fackler 2007: [1-24]

Optional bibliography

Stroumsa 1996; Gilbert 2005; Brauer 2016

! Fr Apr 21

Deadline for the submission of term paper drafts

19 Mon Apr 24

Visit to the Greek Jewish Museum of Athens

20 Wed Apr 26

Post-Holocaust itineraries - I

Description

The destruction of the Jews during the war brought about a new geography of the communities in post-war Greece as well as a new prioritization of these communities. Within this context, we will focus on the choices that survivors returning from concentration camps or coming out of hiding places were left with after the end of the war.

Required reading

- Fleming 2008: 166-189
- Benveniste 2019b ([online](#))

Optional bibliography

Lewkowicz 2000; Yiakoumaki 2010; Jacobs 2016; Carabott & Vassilikou 2018

21 Wed May 3

Post-Holocaust itineraries - II

Description

The destruction of the Jews during the war brought about a new geography of the communities in post-war Greece as well as a new prioritization of these communities. Within this context, we will focus on the choices that survivors returning from concentration camps or coming out of hiding places were left with after the end of the war.

Required reading

- Fleming 2008: 190-204
 - Naar 2018: 273–303
-

Optional bibliography

Lewkowicz 2000; Yiakoumaki 2010; Jacobs 2016; Carabott & Vassilikou 2018

22	Mon May 8	Annual Student Conference attendance
23	Wed May 10	In-class presentation of term papers
!	Fr May 19	Deadline for the submission of term papers

Books & Course Materials

All books and course materials for required reading can be found on the Moodle platform. Some of them can also be found at the CYA Library.

N.B.: The course schedule, in terms of subjects and readings, may be subject to change to benefit student learning and to keep up to date with current research.

Course Bibliography

- Amygdalou, Kalliopi** (2014). 'Building the Nation at the Crossroads of «East» and «West»: Ernest Hébrard and Henri Prost in the Near East'. *Opticon* 1826 15 [1-19].
- Benbassa, Esther & Aaron Rodrigue** (2000). *Sephardi Jewry A History of the Judeo-Spanish Community, 14th-20th Centuries*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Benveniste, Henriette-Rika** (2019a). 'Henriette-Rika Benveniste on the history of Greek Jewish communities and the rise of the extreme right in Europe'. Interview at *Rethinking Greece* ([online](#)).
- — — — — (2019b). 'Allatini Dormitory, 3 Paraskevopoulou Street: Despair and Hope in Salonika after the Shoah'. In *Historiein* 18:2 ([online](#)).
- Bowman, Steven** (2006). *Jewish Resistance in Wartime Greece*. London & Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell.
- — — — — (2009). *The agony of Greek Jews, 1940-1945*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Braude, Benjamin & Bernard Lewis, eds.** (1982). *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*. New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers.
- Brauer, Juliane** (2016). 'How Can Music Be Torturous? Music in Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camps'. *Music and Politics* 10.1: [1-34].
- Bunis, David** (2016). 'Judezmo'. In *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, edited by Lily Kahn & Aaron R. Dubin, 366-450. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Carabott, Philip** (2011). 'State, Society and the Religious "Other" in Nineteenth-Century Greece'. In *Κάμπος: Cambridge Papers in Modern Greek* 18: 1-33.
- — — — — & Maria Vassilikou (2018). «New Men vs Old Jews»: Greek Jewry in the Wake of the Shoah, 1945– 1947'. In *The Holocaust in Greece*, edited by Giorgos Antoniou & A. Dirk Moses, 255-272. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chandrinou, Iason & Anna Maria Droumpouki** (2018). 'The German Occupation and the Holocaust in Greece: A Survey'. In *The Holocaust in Greece*, edited by Giorgos Antoniou & A. Dirk Moses, 15-35. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clark, Bruce** (2009). *Twice A Stranger. How Mass Expulsion Forged Modern Greek and Turkey*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Clogg, Richard** (2002). *Minorities in Greece: Aspects of a Plural Society*. London: C Hurst & Co Publishers.
- Cohen, Julia Philips** (2014). *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cohen, Julia Philips & Sarah Abrevaya Stein** (2014). *Sephardi Lives. A Documentary History, 1700-1950*. Stanford, Ca: Stanford University Press.
- Dalven, Rae** (1990). *The Jews of Ioannina*. Athens: Lycabettus Press.
- Doxiadis, Evdoxios** (2018). *State, Nationalism, and the Jewish Communities of Greece*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Droumpouki, Anna Maria** (2016). 'Shaping Holocaust Memory in Greece. Memorials and their Public History'. *National Identities* 18.2: 199-216.



Encyclopedia Judaica. 2nd ed., vol. 1-22. Detroit: Thompson Gale, 2007.

- Fackler, Guido** (2007). 'Music in Concentration Camps 1933–1945'. *Music and Politics* 1:1.
- Fromm, Annette** (1992). *We Are Few. Folklore and Ethnic Identity of the Jewish Community of Ioannina*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Fleming, Katherine** (2008). *Greece, a Jewish History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Gallant, Thomas** (2001). *Modern Greece*. London: Arnold.
- (2015). *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1768 to 1913. The Long Nineteenth Century*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Gekas, Sakis** (2004). 'The Port Jews of Corfu and the «Blood Libel» of 1891. A Tale of Many Centuries and of One Event'. *Jewish Culture and History* 7.1-2: 171-196.
- Gilbert, Shirli** (2005). *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press.
- Ginio, Eyal** (2002). «Learning the Beautiful Language of Homer». Judeo-Spanish-Speaking Jews and the Greek Language and Culture between the Wars'. *Jewish History* 16.3: 235–262.
- (2017). 'To Write the History of Jews in Modern Greece. The Case of Corfu'. *Archeiotaxio* 19: [1-25].
- Hacker, Joseph** (2018). 'The Rise of Ottoman Jewry'. In *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. VII, 77-112. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hilberg, Raul** (2003). *The Destruction of the European Jews*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Jacobs, Janet** (2016). *The Holocaust Across Generations: Trauma and its Inheritance Among Descendants of Survivors*. New York: New York University Press.
- Kehila Kadosha Janina**, [The Jews of Ioannina](#)
- Lewkowicz, Bea** (2000). «After the War We Were All Together». Jewish Memories of Postwar Thessaloniki'. In *After the War Was Over. Reconstructing the Family, Nation, and State in Greece, 1943-1960*, edited by Mark Mazower, 247-272. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Levi, Primo** (1959). *Survival in Auschwitz: The Nazi Assault on Humanity*. London: Orion Press (first published in Italian: Turin: Da Silva, 1948).
- Levy, Avigdor** (1994). *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*. Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press
- Kitroeff, Alexander** (1986). 'Wartime Greek Attitudes towards the Jews in Athens'. *Forum on the Jewish People and Zionism* 60: 41-51.
- Mazower, Mark** (1993). *Inside Hitler's Greece. The Experience of Occupation, 1941-1944*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- (2000). *The Balkans: A Short History*. New York: Modern Library.
- (2005). *Salonica, City of Ghosts. Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430-1950*. New York: Alfred A. Knoff.
- (2008). *Hitler's Empire. Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe*. London: Penguin Books.
- Moissis, Alexander** (2017). *The Nissim Levis Panorama, 1898-1944*. Athens: Kapon.
- Molho, Renna** (2002). 'Jewish Working-Class Neighborhoods Established in Salonica Following the 1890 and 1917 Fires'. In *The Last Ottoman Century and Beyond: The Jews in Turkey and the Balkans 1808-1945*, vol. II, edited by Minna Rozen, 173-194. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University.
- Naar, Devin** (2015). 'Turkinos Beyond the Empire: Ottoman Jews in America, 1893-1924'. *Jewish Quarterly Review* 105.2: 174-205.
- (2016a). 'The «Mother of Israel» or the «Sephardi Metropolis»? Sephardim, Ashkenazim, and Romaniotes in Salonica'. *Jewish Social Studies*, 22.1: 81-129.
- (2016b). «Sephardim Since Birth»: Reconfiguring Jewish Identity in America'. In *The Sephardi and Mizrahi Jews in America*, edited by Saba Soomekh, 75-104. Purdue University Press.
- (2017). 'Echoes of Empire: The Jewish Community of Thessaloniki and the Paradox of Hellenization.'. *Arxeiotaxio* 19.
- (2018). «You are Your Brother's Keeper»: Rebuilding the Jewish Community of Salonica from Afar'. In *The Holocaust in Greece*, edited by Giorgos Antoniou & A. Dirk Moses, 273–303. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nachman, Eftihia** (2004). *Yannina. A Journey to the Past*. New York: Bloch Pub.
- Papamichos Chronakis, Paris** (2014). 'De-Judaizing a Class, Hellenizing a City: Jewish Merchants and the Future of Salonica in Greek Public Discourse, 1913–1914'. In *Jewish History* 28: 373–403.
- (2018a). 'A National Home in the Diaspora? Salonican Zionism and the Making of a Greco-Jewish City'.

Journal of Levantine Studies 8.2: 59-84.

----- (2018b). '«We Lived as Greeks and We Died as Greeks»: Thessalonican Jews in Auschwitz and the

Meanings of Nationhood'. In *The Holocaust in Greece*, edited by Giorgos Antoniou & A. Dirk Moses, 157–180. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rodrigue, Aron (1990). *French Jews, Turkish Jews*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

———— (1995). 'From Millet to Minority: Turkish Jewry'. In *Paths of Emancipation Jews, States, and Citizenship*, edited by Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson, 238-261. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

———— (1996). 'An Interview: Difference and Tolerance in the Ottoman Empire', interviewed by Nancy Reynolds. *Stanford Electronic Humanities Review* 5.1.

———— & Sarah Abrevaya Stein (2012). *A Jewish Voice from Ottoman Salonica. The Ladino Memoir of Sa'adi Besalel a-Levi*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Rozen, Minna (2006). 'The Ottoman Jews'. In *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 4, 262-271. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———— (2018). 'On Nationalizing Minorities: The Education of Salonikan Jewry, 1912–1941'. *Αρχείων Ανάλεκτα: Περιοδική έκδοση μελέτης και έρευνας αρχείων* 2.3: 127-232.

Saltiel, Leon (2014). 'Dehumanizing the Dead. The Destruction of Tesseloniki's Jewish Cemetery in the Light of New Sources'. *Yad Vashem Studies* 42.1: 1-35.

Schiaky, Leon (2003). *Farewell to Salonica. City at the Crossroads*. Philadelphia: Paul Dry Books.

Shaw, Stanford (1991). *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Stein, Sarah Abrevaya (2004). 'The Permeable Boundaries of Ottoman Jewry'. In *Boundaries and Belongings. States and Societies in the Struggle to Shape Identities and Local Practices*, edited by Joel S. Migdal, 49–70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———— (2016). *Family Papers: A Sephardic Journey Through the Twentieth Century*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Stroumsa, Jacques (1996). *Violinist in Auschwitz: From Salonica to Jerusalem, 1913-1967*. Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre.

Tsitselikis, Konstantinos (2012). *Old and New Islam in Greece. From Historical Minorities to Immigrant Newcomers*. Leiden, Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Varon-Vassard, Odette (2016). 'The enlisting of Greek Jews in the Resistance. Silence, Memory and Discourse', 268-281. In *Εβραϊκές κοινότητες ανάμεσα σε Ανατολή και Δύση, 15ος-20ός αιώνας. Οικονομία, κοινωνία, πολιτική, πολιτισμός*. Ioannina: Esnafi.

———— (2019). 'The Emergence and Construction of the Memory of the Shoah in Greece (1945-2015): From Oblivion to Memory'. *Historein* 18:1 ([online](#)).

Veinstein, Gilles (2013). 'Jews and Muslims in the Ottoman Empire'. In *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations. From the Origin to the Present Day*, edited by Abdelwahab Meddeb & Benjamin Stora, 171-202. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Yiakoumaki, Vassiliki (2010). 'Of Jews, Christians, and Travelers in Crete: Recovered «Roots», Unwanted «Heritage»'. In *Thinking Through Tourism*, edited by Julie Scott & Tom Selwyn, 161-182. London: Berg.

Yerolympos, Alexandra (1988). 'Thessaloniki (Salonica) Before and After 1917. Twentieth Century Planning Versus 20 Centuries of Urban Evolution'. *Planning Perspectives* 3: 141-166.

Wiesel, Elie (1960). *Night*. New York: Hill & Wan (first published in French: Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1958; second English translation: New York: Hill & Wang, 2006).