

ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΦΑΡΟΣ

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ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΒΑΡΒΟΥΝΗΣ

Καθηγητής

*του Τμήματος Ιστορίας και Εθνολογίας
του Δημοκριτείου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης*

ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΤΖΟΥΜΕΡΚΑΣ

Λέκτορας της Ανωτάτης

Εκκλησιαστικής Ακαδημίας Θεσσαλονίκης

ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ ΛΙΑΝΤΑΣ

Επίκουρος Καθηγητής της Ανωτάτης

Εκκλησιαστικής Ακαδημίας Θεσσαλονίκης

ΥΠΕΥΘΥΝΟΣ

† ο Γέρον Αξώμης κ. Πέτρος

**THE GREEKS IN TUNISIA
DURING THE 19th CENTURY.
Social adaptability, commercial
enterprise and political flexibility.**

Antonios Chaldeos¹

Abstract

The article discusses several aspects of the Greek community of Tunis during 19th century. Initially we will approach the anthropogeography of the Greek community focused on the characteristics of Greek migration in Tunisia. We will study a few demographic factors and will query why Greeks from certain geographical areas moved to Tunisia. Then we will refer to the main economic activities of the Greeks settled in Tunisia, including the operation of retail stores commerce and sponge fishery. We will define the framework through which, Greeks managed to get significant economic power and become Bey's main partners. Therefore, we will question the political status of the Greeks located in Tunisia during 19th century, analyzing their tactics and the reasons of their way of acting. Finally, we will examine the case of a few Greeks who arrived in Tunisia as enslaved in the first quarter of 19th century and gradually undertook import offices in the administrative mechanism of Tunisia government, supporting in parallel the Greek community's interest.

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The Greek community of Tunisia in the 19th century

Political and economic conditions encouraged Greek immigration to North Africa in the early nineteenth century. The Napoleonic Wars and mainly the blockade of a substantial part of the European continent, favored those who turned to risky grain trade. From the end of the 18th century the opening of fertile steppes and plains of the “New Russia,” as well as the settlement policy of the Tsars, was a springboard for the development of the Greek merchant shipping. Wheat will therefore become the main commodity of Greek ships and the basic business orientation of traders from the islands of the Aegean and Ionian Sea, the Peloponnese and Epirus.

An important part of the Greeks who settled in Tunis in the early decades of the 19th century came from the Ionian Islands. Since, by the end of the eighteenth century, any agricultural activity in the region beyond the olive had abandoned, this practice of monoculture resulted in inadequate food, making uncertain the survival of households. At the same time, like Malta, the Ionian Islands suffered greatly during the Napoleonic Wars. In 1797 they experienced the invasion of the French army and later they were occupied by the Venetians and then by Russians. In 1814, they fell into the hands of the British, but the fact of successive wars in Ionian Sea, intensified the emigration of islands’ residents. Due to the fact that, from 1815 to 1864, the Ionian Islands were under the protection of the British Crown, the Ionian Greeks arrived in Tunis exploiting their British citizenship, though some sought protection from France, Italy or Russia².

Apart from those who came from various parts of Greece, including the Ionian and Aegean islands, Crete, Cyprus and Macedonia, a part of the Greek community consisted of freedmen slaves, who were previously victims of pirates and held in various prisons of the city³. The Englishman Godfrey Feise, who was in Tunis in

2. Gallant, T.W., *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity, and Power in the British Mediterranean*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002, pp.6-14.

3. For piracy, especially in this period, see Krandonelli, A., *Istoria tis peirateias*

1812, estimates the number of Christian prisoners in two thousand persons, adding that the number decreased significantly after the acquisition of many Sicilians and Greeks of the Ionian Islands by the British state⁴. On the other hand, Daniel Panzac believes that Christian slaves did not exceed 600⁵. In 1823 we learn about the efforts of the English consul to liberate two Greeks who were captured during the war against the Ottomans regeneration. Despite the insistence of the consul, a move that led to conflict with the Bey, both Greeks remained slaves⁶. In the mid 19th century and particularly in 1842, Sir Thomas Reade⁷, General Consul of England in Tunis, began an effort to persuade Ahmed Bey to abolish slavery and to release the slaves. Eventually slavery will be abolished in 1846, making Tunisia the first Muslim country that has made such a move.

The coexistence and interaction of people from different nationalities, is the typical image that someone encountered in Tunis in 19th century⁸. In the early 19th century the population of Tunis is about 85,000 people, of which Europeans are only 1% of the total population. The demographic picture of the Greek community, until the mid-19th century, is somewhat unclear, since references in-

stous mesous hronous [History of piracy in the middle ages], Athens 1991, Vol. I.; Braudel, F., *I Mesogeios kai o mesogeiakos kosmos tin epohi tou Filippou B tis Ispanias: gegonota, politiki, anthroi* [The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II of Spain: Facts, politics, people], trans. by Claire Mitsotaki, Vol. III, MIET, Athens 1998.

4. Feise, G., *Observations on the Regency of Tunis, 1812, 1813*, manuscript no 15.417, The British Library, London, p. 9 .

5. Panzac, D., *Les corsaires barbaresques: La fin d'une épopée, 1800-1820*, Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1999, p. 98.

6. Pechot, L., *Histoire de L' Afrique du nord avant 1830, précédée de la géographie physique et politique de la Tunisie, de l'Algerie et du Maroc*, Cojosso, Alger 1914, p. 204.

7. O Sir Thomas Reade(1782-1849) served as Consul from 1824 up to his death in 1849. For more, see Reade, Aleyn Lyell, *The Reades of Blackwood hill, in the parish of Horton, Staffordshire; a record of their descendants: with a full account of Dr. Johnson's ancestry, his kinsfolk and family connections*, Spottiswoode & co, London 1906.

8. Paul-Henri-Benjamin Balluet,, *La Politique Francaise en Tunisie: Le Protectorat et ses origins (1854-1891)*, Paris 1902.

clude either sporadic report of European consulates or voyagers testimonials who visited various cities of Tunisia. At the dawn of the 19th century, travelers like Vuillier, meet Greek fishing boats in Monastir⁹ and Mahdia. In Mahdia, we are also informed of the existence of forty *sakoleves*¹⁰ whose main occupation was sponge fishery¹¹. However, after the recognition of the Greek state, many Greeks have redefined their business plans and decided to return home. These departures, in connection with the coincidences of plague and cholera epidemics, as well as the persecutions of 1784, led to a dramatic reduction in the number of members of the Greek community. The demographic profile of the Greek community was further worsened after the epidemic of 1818. The images someone could see in the city of Tunis are indicative of the difficulties Greek colonists faced in their daily living. Nevertheless, those Greeks who had the financial wherewithal, trying to show solidarity with the plight of their fellow countrymen. According to Poulos, Charalambos Skamnakis helped many compatriots by giving them commodities such as oil and coal¹².

In 1830, Christians were nearly 3,000 people, although the data are controversial, because the first systematic census will take place only in 1906. The risk of incorrect estimates is intensified by the fact that even in the early years of the French protectorate, the data for non-French are incomplete¹³. However, incidents within and outside Tunisia will influence the demographic profile of Tunisia during 1830-1850. The fall of the Qaramanli dynasty in Tripoli of Libya in 1835, will lead many Greeks to move west and to settle in Tunis. In 1835, according to Michael Russell, the few Protestants lived in Tu-

9. Vuillier, G., *La Tunisie*, Tours A. Mame, 1896, p.164.

10. Greek sailing boat with square sails.

11. Vuillier, G., *La Tunisie.*, ibid, p. 165.

12. Kharalambis Poulos dit Lambis, *Les Hellènes*, dans Dessort (C.-H-Roger), *Histoire de la ville de Tunis*, E. Pfister, Alger. 1926, p.153.

13. Soumille, P., *Européens de Tunisie et questions religieuses (1892-1901)*, introduction of J. L. Miège, Aix-Marseille: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris 1975, p. 10.

nis addressed to the Greek Orthodox Church to celebrate weddings, baptisms and funerals¹⁴. We even have information that, in 1844, a Greek priest makes the wedding of the daughter of the British consul¹⁵. In 1848, according to a report of the British diplomatic mission in Tunis, we are informed of the presence of 5,800 British citizens, of whom 200 were Greeks originated from the Ionian Islands. The inhabitants of the Ionian Islands, who were deemed to be British citizens, had already taken benefit of the Treaties of 16/10/1813 and 04/17/1816, which were signed by Great Britain and Tunis government¹⁶. In the next decades, Ahmed Bey's policy to approach European powers, led to a rapid demographic change in Tunisia. So, in 1842 10,000 Europeans recorded in Tunisia while in 1856 they were almost 12,000¹⁷. The constant flow of people from Europe will continue in 1867, when 15,055 Catholics reside in Tunis. Finally, in 1878, Tunis's population consisted of 1,000,000 Muslims, 35,000 Jews, 300 Greeks, 50 Protestants and 16,287 Catholics¹⁸.

From our research in the archives of the Holy Archdiocese of Carthage, where marriages and deaths records exist, we can cast additional light in the demographics of the Greeks in Tunis for the entire 19th century. As we can see in Matrix 1, birth rate is stable between 1805 and 1850, but later there is an increase of around 132%. On the one hand, this tension resulted from the improvement of liv-

14. Russell, M., *History and Present Condition of the Barbary States*, Harper & brothers, New York 1854, p. 215.

15. Windler, C., *La Diplomatie comme experience de l'autre consuls francais au Maghreb (1700-1840)*, Librairie Droz, 2002, p. 117.

16. Hertslet, L., *Great Britain's commercial treaties: a complete collection of the treaties and conventions, and reciprocal regulations, at present subsisting between Great Britain and foreign powers, and of the laws, decrees, and orders in council, concerning the same, so far as they relate to commerce and navigation, to the repression and abolition of the slave trade, and to the privileges and interests of the subjects of the high contracting parties*, Vol. 3, Butterworth 1829, p. 60.

17. Sebag, P., *Une description de Tunis au XIXe siècle*, Cahiers de Tunisie, 6-7 (1959), p. 163.

18. Sainte Marie, E., *La Tunisie chretienne*, Lyon Bureaux des Missions Catholiques, 1878, p. 125.

ing conditions in Tunis, something which is also derived from the reduction in the number of deaths in the period 1851-1880. On the other hand, it is a consequence of the increasing presence of the Greeks in the country.

Time Period	Nr. Births	Nr. Deaths
1805-1820	52	28
1821-1840	66	60
1841-1850	68	43
1851-1870	158	18
1871-1880	78	61

Matrix 1. *Demographic data of the Greek community of Tunis based on the Holy Archdiocese of Carthage's records 1805-1880*¹⁹.

The censuses of the Greek consulate, beyond the demographic profile of the community, give us information about the origin of the Greeks who lived in Tunis in 1879. According to the 1879 census, 86% of the Greeks resided in Tunis originate from Peloponnese and specific Arcadia (Tripoli, Mantinea, Gortynia) and Messinia (Kalamata, Methoni, Pylos, Trifilia). Of the rest, 7% comes from the Cyclades and especially Syros, and 7% from the Ionian islands, mainly Corfu and Zakynthos. In 1890 a new census carried out. This time, the percentage of the Peloponnesian remains at high levels, reaching 77%. Apart from the Ionian Islands where arrivals amounted to 3% and Syros which is estimated at 4%, most migrants originated from the islands of the northeast Aegean (Chios, Samos, Lemnos). Finally there are few from mainland Greece, such as Volos, Athens and Piraeus.

Apart from the anthropogeography of the Greek community, there is also information about their place of residence in Tunis. According to Poulos, before the arrival of the French in 1881, most

19. Holy Archdiocese of Carthage's records (from now on H.A.C.R.), "Book A', several ecclesiastical mysteries (marriages, baptisms and deaths) between 1805 and 1874."

Greeks lived inside the old town, Medina. Specifically, in Sidi-El-Mourdjani, was the residence of Savas Siganakis (Dar El Grigui), Dimitris Papadopoulos (Dar Dimitri) and Theodore Tsetses (Dar El-Caid). In the corner of “Rue de la Verrerie” and “De la Kasbah”, in “Sabat El Grigui”, was the residence of Konstantinos Siganakis. A few meters further, in “Dar El Houha,” was the house of Marinos Marinopoulos (Dar Marini). Finally, in “Rue des Epines” was the residence of Charalambos Skamnakis (Dar Kharalambi), which later became the “Dar Garn Felfel”²⁰.

Greeks’ commercial enterprise

During the 19th century, the main economic activities of the Greeks settled in Tunisia included the operation of retail stores and commerce. As emerges from the census of the Greek consulate in 1879, more than 50% of the Greeks members ran business like groceries, coffee shops, bakeries and patisseries. We should also include those who were allowed to sell alcohol. Merchants were almost 25% of the Greek community while there are also servants (12%) and employees (4%). Finally, there were Jews brokers and goldsmiths, originated from Corfu and Zakynthos, as well as a pharmacist²¹.

In the first decades of 19th century, Greeks of Tunisia used to own cafes. It is true that, in this time period, cafes were the most common place for male socialization. Cafes were scattered in various parts of the city and belonged to either Turks or to Tunisians. Moreover there were shops where alcohol was served, which belonged to Greek and Maltese. As more immigrants from the Mediterranean arrived to Tunisia, taverns, hotels and motels began to proliferate²². In

20. Poulos, K., *Les Hellènes*, *ibid.*, p. 154.

21. Ministère des affaires Etrangères, *Rapport au Président de la République sur la situation de la Tunisie en 1897*, Imprimerie nationale (Paris), p. 8.

22. Triulzi, A., “*Italian-Speaking Communities in Early Nineteenth Century Tunis*”, *ROMM* 9, 1 (1971), pp.167-77, Mohamed El Aziz Ben Achour, “*Islam et contrôle social à Tunis aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*” in *La ville arabe dans l’Islam*, ed. Abdelwahab Bouhdiba and Dominique Chevallier (Tunis: CÉRÈS, 1982), pp. 137-47.

the 1830s, mostly taverns belonged to Greeks. In the mid 19th century, the trade of illegal sale of alcohol intensifies. As a result, Greek shopkeepers who affected by unfair competition, accused the Sicilians and Maltese and required state intervention.

As mentioned above, the area of trade was a very profitable profession for the Greeks of Tunisia. Due to the fact that at the dawn of 18th century trade was the leading sector of the Tunisian economy, Greeks created hubs in Tunis, under the constitution of broader commercial networks²³. Gradually, they took control much of the trade between Tunis and eastern Mediterranean, particularly in the lucrative field of cereals, olive oil, tobacco, dried figs, liquor, silk and purple. For instance, in the early 19th century we are informed about the presence of a Greek merchant, Elias Krasakopoulos, who lived in Tunis for many years and imported wine from Samos, via a ship which was under French protection²⁴. Between 1835 and 1859, one of the most respectable and rich persons of Tunis was Stamatellos Maltezopoulos. Maltezopoulos, along with his family, visited his birth place Gargalianoi every year and when he returned to Tunis he donated a lot of gifts, both to local Bey and his ministers. According to a letter of Ahmed Bey in 1845, we are informed that the Bey offered Maltezopoulos an extensive coastal area in Bab El Bahar for the symbolic price of 5000 piastres. Nevertheless, Maltezopoulos refused politely²⁵. Greeks had also the exclusive right to trade tobacco. Specifically, George Sigankis and Apostolos Varinopoulos imported tobacco from Minor Asia and the Balkans. Another major merchant was Gregory Poulos, who originated from Filiatra. In 1862, although he was importing grapes from Peloponnese, he owned vast vineyards in several Tunisian cities such as Soukra, Marsa and Ras-Djebel. Poulos produced and bottled a kind

23. Charlafti, T., "Epiheirimatika diktya tis diasporas" [Commercial networks of Diaspora], *Historika*, 35 (2001), pp. 442-446.

24. Clancy-Smith, J. A. *Mediterranean: North Africa and Europe in an Age of Migration, c. 1800-1900*, California World History Library, Kindle Location 8922. University of California Press. Kindle Edition.

25. Poulos, K., *Les Hellènes*, *ibid*, p.155.

of syrup that Arabs called *sboula*. At the same time, he established a firm with other Greeks which produced and traded delights and gum. Other important Greek merchants were Theodore Tsetses, George Kougioutopoulos, Dimitris Kouvoopoulos and Bill Kougiteas, who were involved in the trade of salt and tobacco. In the last quarter of the 19th century, according to the archives of the Greek community of Tunis, most of the trade of Greek merchants regards exports to the countries of the Western Mediterranean (France, Italy, Spain), and Central Europe (Germany Belgium, Switzerland and Austria). Commodities also exported to St. Petersburg in Russia and several ports in the Black Sea, as well as ports located in north-western Africa, such as Oran, Algiers and Casablanca.

Apart from those Greeks who live in Tunis, we have evidence of their presence also in other cities across Tunisia. In 1887, Rae, passing through Sousse during a trip to Berber, spent the night in a hotel that belonged to a Greek, who was also the owner of a restaurant in the city²⁶. Few days later he arrived in Sfax, where he recorded the existence of 600 Greeks. They owned thirteen fishing boats, worked in the sponge fishery field and were extremely courageous and skillful. Rae added that “two years earlier, over a hundred Greek fishing vessels operating in an area stretching from Benghazi to the Sfax”²⁷.

The city of Sfax, due to its location on the east coast of Tunisia, was a popular destination both for Jewish and European merchants who settled in the European part of the city (Ville Européenne) around 1800s. In the late 1860s, the total population of the city was 7,000 people, including 1,300 Jews and 700 Europeans (Maltese, French, Italians and Greeks). The important role of Sfax in the Tunisian economy came primarily from its harbor, which was a major trade center of the eastern Mediterranean. As a result, until the 1860s, the first Greeks who settled in Sfax, worked in the export sec-

26. Rae, E., *The country of the Moors, A journey from Tripoli in Barbary to the City of Kairwan*, London 1877, p. 143.

27. Rae, E., *The country of the Moors*, *ibid*, p.184.

tor. Although the majority was trading Tunisian olive oil and grain²⁸, some of them were acting as resellers. After they had bought a variety of imported commodities, usually in huge quantities, they were selling them throughout Tunisia²⁹. In Djerba Island, that was famous for its olive groves, the trade of olive oil was the main activity of the Europeans living on the island since the beginnings of 19th century³⁰. Since the 1860s, Greek immigration both in Sfax and Djerba associated with sponge fishery³¹. As sponge fishery activity focused on the coast of North Africa, Greeks from Kalymnos, Symi, Hydra and Aigina discovered the rich and high quality sponge beds of northern Africa, stretching from Libya up to Tunisia and the Gulf of Gabès, sponges which are considered high quality. In 1875, Greeks sponge fishers from Kalymnos Island introduced the use of fishing with “*skandalopetra*”³² in the Gulf of Gabès. A few years later they will be pioneers in the use of scuba³³. Aside from sponges, another endearing activity of Greek fishermen of Sfax was fishing for octopus. The sponge fishery will show an upward trend over the centuries, reaching its peak in the period between 1865 and 1912. This bloom, in

28. Anderson, L., *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830-1980*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ., 1986, p. 99

29. “Olive oil was an increasingly important export during the nineteenth century, with much of it being shipped to the soap industry in Marseilles. This led to a shift in the centre of trade from Tunis to the ports near the olive-producing region, such as Sousse, Monastir, Mahdia and Sfax”. See more in Valensi, L., *Tunisian Peasants in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1985, p. 224.

30. Smith, A., “Murder in Jerba: Honour, Shame and Hospitality among Maltese in Ottoman Tunisia”, *History and Anthropology*, 15:2, 2004, p. 113.

31. De Lanesan, J., *La Tunisie*, *ibid*, p.196.

32. Skandalopetra diving dates from ancient Greece, when it was used by sponge fishermen and has been re-discovered in recent years as a free diving discipline. It consists of a variable ballast dive using a *skandalopetra* tied to a rope. A companion on a boat recovers the diver pulling the rope after the descent, always watching over from the surface.

33. Kazdaghli, H., “*Les Grecs de Sfax a l’ heure des choix*” in *Sud-Nord: Cultures coloniales en France (XIXe-XXe siècles)*, sous la direction de Colette Zytnicki, Chantal Bordes-Benayoun, Privat SAS, Toulouse 2004, p. 34.

the second half of the 19th century, was the result of the ignorance of the risks coming from the use of new diving equipment. Secondly, it was originated from the willingness and the needs of divers to take risks in order to earn their living and get rich. The golden era in the sponge fishery motivated Greeks who gradually began to settle in Sfax and Djerba³⁴. Consequently, in the 1880s, due to the growing Greek migration flow, most of the annual sponge fishery turnover was in the hands of the Greeks and Maltese³⁵. If we consider that, in 1899, Greeks owned 82 vessels, while Italians had only 54 ones, we can realize the superiority of the Greeks in the specific economic field³⁶.

Greeks' political status

Due to the significant contribution of the Greeks in the import and export trade of Tunisia, the Greek state realized the necessity for the establishment of diplomatic representation in the city of Tunis through the institution of the consulate. Historically, the main role of the consulate was to promote trade relations between the home and the host country. Moreover, consulate was responsible to create the appropriate framework in order to promote and protect the rights of the permanent or temporary citizens residing in the host country. Despite the fact that Greek-Tunisian unofficial bilateral relations date back in the first half of the 19th century, a variety of obstacles hindered the establishment of a Greek consulate in Tunis. The reasons for this delay resulted mainly by the Greek national liberation which was ongoing and the frequent disputes between Greeks and the Ottoman Porte. Though Tunisia was a semi-au-

34. Baedeker, K., *The Mediterranean; seaports and sea routes, including Madeira, the Canary Islands, the coast of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia*, handbook for travelers, New York 1911, p. 393.

35. Lambert, R., *Handbook for travelers: Algeria and Tunis*, 4th edition, London 1890, p. 327.

36. Ministère des affaires Étrangères, *Rapport au Président de la République sur la situation de la Tunisie en 1899*, Imprimerie nationale (Paris), p. 58.

tonomous status, its foreign policy was affected by the Ottoman authorities. As a result, every Greek effort to establish a consulate in this country of North Africa had to overcome a few difficulties.

Although the Greek state was officially recognized by the Porte in 1832, the official Tunisian authorities refused to recognize the members of the Greek community as citizens of the new state and as a result, they were opposed to accept Greek consulate in their country. Furthermore, since some of the Greeks who lived in Tunis originated from areas that were still territories of the Ottoman Empire, as Asia Minor, Macedonia and some Aegean islands, they were considered as Ottoman subjects. This fact deprived the Greek State of the opportunity to “embrace” these non-citizens, since such action lacked legal basis. Another reason for the inability of the Greek state to establish diplomatic representation in a country where Greeks were so active was European countries’ policy. English and Russian consulate in Tunisia used to attract persons from third countries. The majority of Greeks fled to Russian consular protection, not only because of their common religious identity, but mostly because of the great influence of the Russian consul Charles Nyssen³⁷.

This peculiar legal status made many Greeks to apply for citizenship and protection to the European consulates, which were located in Tunisia. This strategy also emerged both from legal and economic reasons. Being French, British or citizens of another European country, they could either ensure protection, especially on issues related to justice, or take advantage of the capitulations system. Since the majority of the Greeks were merchants, this flexibility was necessary for carrying out commercial activities. This tactics will continue until the establishment of Greek consulate. Greeks, however, asked for European consulates’ protection and for other reasons. In 1830, when Greece proclaimed its independence, the Greeks who wished to return to their country addressed to the consul of France, Mathieu de Lesseps, in order to obtain the necessary passport (*teskera*). Others sought the intervention of the European consuls to

37. Carlino Nyssen was of Dutch origin and served as Russia Consul between 1826 and 1886. See in Poulos, K., “*Les Hellène*”, *ibid*, p. 153.

regain their freedom or to seek legal protection for Penal Code matters³⁸. Another contentious issue which will urge Greeks to seek for the European consuls' protection was the repayment of loans granted to Tunisians, since only through the political pressure of the European consulates they could claim for their money.

Although the Greek consulate in Tunis typically established in 1853³⁹, the Greeks continued to belong to the political jurisdiction of the Sultan until 1860. This politics resulted from their resolution not to cause any misunderstandings to the Tunisian authorities that would lead to a change in their attitude towards Greek community. However, during the presence of Khaznadar in the Tunisian government, Greek community adapted its policy and made an attempt to connect with the Greek state. Actually, in this time period, the establishment procedure of diplomatic relations between Athens and Tunis intensified. Specifically in 1868, Spiridon Logiotidis, consul of the Greek state in Chios, took the initiative to send a letter to Mustapha Khaznadar so as to remind him of the need to establish bilateral relations between Tunisia and the Kingdom of Greece. The consul referred to the philhellenic feelings of Khaznadar and tried to persuade him taking advantage of a Greek from Chios named Michael Koutsoudis, who had trade relations with Tunis government and knew Khaznadar in person⁴⁰. Nevertheless, Mustapha Khaznadar did not respond to Logiotidis' letter. Probably the serious issues related to the economic situation of Tunisia that occurred this period did not allow Khaznadar to deal with this issue.

38. In 1844, the French Consul Lagau Guizot demanded the sentence of the person who murdered Dimitris. Although Dimitris was Greek, he was a French citizen. Letter of November 15th, 1844. See in Kazdaghli, H., *Communautés méditerranéennes de Tunisie. Les Grecs de Tunisie: du Millet-i-rum à l'assimilation française (XVII^e-XX^e siècles)*, pp.449-476, Bulletin de la Direction de l'agriculture, du commerce et de la colonisation, 11^e année, n° 42, 1^{er} trimestre 2007.

39. Government Gazette of Greek State (from now on G.G.G.S.) Nr. 46/31-12-1853. Peri organismou ton proxenikon arhon [About the organization of consular authorities].

40. Letter of November 20th, 1868 written by Spyridon Logiotidis. See more in Kazdaghli, H., *Communautés méditerranéennes de Tunisie.*, *ibid*.

The first official representative of Greek kingdom will settle in Tunis, shortly before the establishment of the French protectorate, although there is a controversy regarding the exact year of his placement. According to Kazdaghli, who relies on the correspondence of the first Greek consul to the Tunisian authorities, the Greek consulate established in August 1880. Kazdaghli also lists one letter of the Tunisian state to Athens, dated February 16th 1881, which is the formal recognition of the Greek consulate thus recognizing its institutional role in the protection of Greek citizens⁴¹. On the other hand, Poulos regards that the Greek consulate established in 1878⁴². M. Iskomakos was the first consul and remained in his position until 1884, while serving as president of the Greek consular court judging Greek citizens who involved in penal issues. The fact that the first official census of the Greeks of Tunisia undertaken by the Greek Consul in Tunis in 1879 indicates that consulate's operating year is 1878. At this point it should be noted that the Greek consular court, apart from Iskomakos, consisted of G. Siganakis, G. Kougioutopoulos, the interpreter G. Manidakis and Nick Halkias, who was Mustapha Khaznadar's nephew⁴³.

Apart from the consulate in Tunis, the Greek authorities established a second one in 1882 in the city of Sfax⁴⁴. The increasing presence of Greeks in the area, due to the bloom of sponge fishery, made the Greek state to ensure the economic interests of migrants. Because of the coexistence of Greeks, Italians and Maltese in the same professional field, the competition was very intense. This competition, however, lead several times the countries of origin of the aforementioned communities in conflicts violating the interstate agreements that were signed in order to adjust the fishing areas. Therefore, in order to provide assistance to the Greek community of Sfax, Greek state decided to proceed to the establishment of the local consulate. Moreover, from the very beginning, the Greek consulate in Tunis

41. Kazdaghli, H., *Communautés méditerranéennes de Tunisie.*, *ibid.*

42. Poulos, K., *Les Hellènes*, *ibid.*, p. 153.

43. Poulos, K., *Les Hellènes*, *ibid.*, p. 153.

44. G.G.G.S., Nr. 123/1-10-1882.

will take action by appointing consular officials in major port cities of the country such as Bizerte, Sousse and Monastir⁴⁵.

As we have seen previously, the large volume of commodities handled by the Tunisian ports attracted numerous Greek merchants, who found fertile ground and took advantage of the economic circumstances that were presented. As a result, the main task of consular officials was to protect Greek trade issues and to provide them with the necessary facilities both during their stay and their cooperation with the Tunisian authorities. Things will not change when the French protectorate established in the summer of 1881. On the contrary, the Greek diplomatic authorities will gradually thicken its dealer network by placing officers in more Tunisian cities. For instance officials settled in Gabès⁴⁶ and Mahdia⁴⁷, and they were responsible for regular reporting to the consulate in Tunis. In 1888 the Greek consulate in Tunis will be upgraded to General Consulate⁴⁸.

The local offices set up by the Greek consulate did not only staffed by Greeks. Consular officers usually flanked by two Tunisians acting as debts assistant. However, Tunisians had prior approval from the authority of the Protectorate. Through this process, the French Protectorate began gradually to give samples of the policy that would follow against foreign communities of Tunisia in the coming years. A policy of strict control aimed at limiting the flexibility and thus the autonomy of other European consular authorities. Towards this direction the French Protectorate issued the law of April 18th 1883 which abolished the consular courts which till then were responsible for judging European citizens. In this way, French justice expanded to all residents of Tunisia⁴⁹.

45. Letter of 28/1/1881 towards the manager of the Greek Consulate. See Kazdaghli, H., *Communautés méditerranéennes de Tunisie*. *ibid.*

46. Letter of 6/4/1883, towards the Greek agent in Gabes. See Kazdaghli, H., *Communautés méditerranéennes de Tunisie*. *ibid.*

47. Letter of 8/8/1883, towards the Greek agent in Mahdia. See in Kazdaghli, H., *Communautés méditerranéennes de Tunisie*. *ibid.*

48. G.G.G.S., Nr. 69/06-03-1888.

49. Mahjoubi, A., *L'établissement du Protectorat français en Tunisie*, Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Tunis, 1977, p. 176.

Greek officials in Tunisian government

From the beginning of the formation of the Greek community in Tunisia, the majority of Greeks were Ottoman citizens, since they originated from areas that belonged to the Ottoman Empire. As a result of the religious discrimination existed in Ottoman era, Greeks were members of the Christian millet and belonged to the religious jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. Greek community was represented by a sheikh and later, after the sign of Adrianople Treaty in 1827, Greeks had also a *kadi* for juridical issues. According to historical sources, the last sheikh was Theodore Tsetses⁵⁰.

Among the Ottomans citizens who lived in Tunis, it is true that Greeks, although they were not numerous, have benefited from the generosity and protection of the rulers of Husaynid dynasty since they enjoyed great autonomy in religious and community issues. Indeed, the reign of Ahmed Bey (1837-1855) was marked by several initiatives for the benefit of the Greeks of Tunisia. According to Ibn Abi Dhiaf, who lived in Bey's palace, ruler's policy in favor of Christians primarily reflects the economic interests of the regency⁵¹. It should be added that the measures taken in favor of the Christians, who were established in Tunis, was often the result of repeated complaints from representatives of the European powers⁵². But, as far as Greeks, whose community numbered two hundred and fifty people, according to eyewitnesses, it was an act in favor of a religious group rather than the result of exogenous pressure⁵³. The Tunisian authorities continued their favorable disposition towards the Greeks, especially in religious matters. At the end of 1863, Mohamed Sadok Bey (1859-1882), donated a plot of land to the Greek community

50. Poulos, K., *Les Hellènes*, *ibid.*, p. 153.

51. Kazdaghli, H., *Communautés méditerranéennes de Tunisie*. *ibid.*

52. Chater, K., *Dépendance et mutations précoloniales: la Régence de Tunis de 1815 à 1857*, Publ. de l'Université de Tunis, 1984, p. 524.

53. Dunant, H., *Notice sur la Régence de Tunis*, Genève, 1858, réédition de la S.T.D. Tunis 1975, p. 233 and Ganiage, J., *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie, 1861-1881*, M.T.E. 1968, p. 41.

through *enzel*⁵⁴ status, in order to enlarge their cemetery and to erect a church. The transaction took place between the minister of the Tunisian government, Mustafa Khaznadar, and the Greek representative Elias Manidakis⁵⁵.

The close relations between the Greek community and the Tunisian Bey will be strengthened through Greek state's policy in the last quarter of the 19th century. Greek government, considering the offer of Tunisian authorities to the Greeks of Tunisia, will commemorate general Mustafa, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Tunisia, with the Grand Cross of the second battalion of the Savior on 04/05/1880⁵⁶. In response to this action, Tunisian state would bestow medal to several Greek officers and diplomats⁵⁷.

The favourable attitude of the Tunisian government towards Greeks strengthened in the mid-19th century. Then, Islamized Greeks from Chios came to Tunisia and, after they had gradually acquired senior positions in the political mechanism of the country, they offered their help to the Greek community⁵⁸. For these Greeks

54. Σύμφωνα λοιπόν με τους όρους της συναλλαγής *enzel*, η έκταση ή το ακίνητο που είχε μισθωθεί θα απέδιδε επ' άπειρο μια ετήσια πρόσοδο στον προηγούμενο ιδιοκτήτη, και η οποία θα καθορίζονταν ύστερα από συμφωνία των δύο πλευρών. Δυνάμει του *enzel*, ο ενοικιαστής δύναται να πουλήσει ή να υποθηκεύσει, αυτός ή οι κληρονόμοι και δικαιούχοι του, το ακίνητο χωρίς βέβαια να σταματήσει να αποδίδει την ετήσια πρόσοδο στον ιδιοκτήτη. Εδώ αξίζει να σημειώσουμε ότι η ακίνητη περιουσία που παραχωρείται με τους όρους *enzel*, δεν μπορεί να απαλλοτριωθεί.

55. Kazdaghli, H., *Communautés méditerranéennes de Tunisie*, *ibid.*

56. G.G.G.S. Nr. 66/6-6-1880.

57. Major I. Botsaris, adjutant of the king, awarded with the medal of the Order of Nisan Iftichar b class. A. Sailer, the conductor of the garrison of Athens, awarded with the medal of the Order of Nisan Iftichar d order. Major I. Papadiamantopoulos, aide to king, awarded with the medal of the Order of Nisan Iftichar and Alexander Grigoriadis, Secretary of State Department, with the medal of the Order of Nisan Iftichar. G.G.G.S. Nr. 66/6-6-1880 και G.G.G.S. Nr. 70/20-6-1880.

58. As Eugenia Stravelakis states "There were many Chians inside palace. Xydas was a Şeyhülislam and he had so much money that could cover whole Chios Island with pearls". Eugenia also met George Koumarianos, Sourias, Lagadousis and Martoulas. Some of them were pashas with great influence on Tunis Bey. Vios, St., *I sfagi tis Chiou is to stoma tou Chiakou Laou [The massacre of Chios according to oral history of Chian people]*, Eleftherias print, Chios 1922, pp. 103-104.

from Chios, Charalambos Poulos wrote: “In 1821, during the Greek war of independence, the bloody suppression of the Turks caused the horrific massacres of Chios. Many Greeks, after they had been arrested and imprisoned were transferred in Tunisia. Among them, a few children led to Bardo⁵⁹ and were converted to Islam, creating an aristocracy of officials. The local Bey gave them important government positions in order to disable the jealousy between families born in Tunisia. The next decades, these Islamized Greeks acquired wealth and power.”⁶⁰ Poulos also refers to another Greek from Chios, Mohamed Khaznadar, who became Prime Minister of Tunisia (21/7/1877-24/8/1878 and 12/9/1881-10/1882). Mohamed Khaznadar brought also his mother in Tunisia and when she died was buried at the Greek Orthodox Cemetery⁶¹. In addition to, according to the Greek community archives, it comes out that Mohamed paid an amount of money to the local Greek Church so as to conduct a memorial service for his mother⁶².

However, the most famous Greek emerged as an important member of the Tunisian government was Mustapha Khaznadar⁶³. George Stravelakis, as his Greek name was, was born in 1817 in Kardamyla of Chios. His fate was similar to thousands of his compatriots after the massacre of Chios in 1822⁶⁴. After he had been arrested,

59. Le Bardo is a Tunisian city west of Tunis. Built by the Hafsid dynasty in the 15th century, Bardo became a residence of the Tunis court in the 18th century. With the arrival of Husseinite beys, Bardo became a political, intellectual and religious center.

60. Poulos, K., *Les Hellènes*, *ibid.*, σ. 152.

61. Poulos, K., *Les Hellènes*, *ibid.*, σ. 155.

62. A.H.C.R., “Church book starts from 19/11/1864 and includes revenues and expenses”. According to book registries of 6/1/1865 and 12/12/1865, “Mohamed offered 2000 riyals for his mother Loula”.

63. Khaznadar (treasurer). For more see Papanastasopoulou, B.- Ade Hasan El Koki, *Moustapha Khaznadar. Politic and Economic Role in Tunisia’s history during 19th century (1837-1878)*, ed. Mohamed El Azhar El Gharbi, University of Tunis, Department of Social Anthropology, 2007-2008.

64. For the events of his captivity and his final transfer in Tunisia there are two historic sources. The first is the testimony of Chatziefgenias Stravelakis, the bride of the third brother of George Stravelakis, Constanti, who escaped the massacre and

along with his brother John and his mother Irene transferred initially in Smyrna. Although his mother remained in Smyrne, the two brothers were sold and taken to Constantinople. In 1823 the children were sold again to a Tunisian dealer, Ben Abdesslem, who sent them as a gift to Hussein Bey. Hussein Bey introduced the young Mamluk⁶⁵, George Stravelakis, who was renamed Mustapha, in the social circle of his nephew Ahmed, while his brother John was named Ahmed. John Stravelakis, whose full name was Ahmed Amir Liwa al-Khiyala, will be promoted to cavalry officer and will die in a plague epidemic in 1849. He was sent to the western part of the country in order to prevent the people come into the city Tunis during an effort to limit the expanded thereby epidemic⁶⁶.

Although George Stravelakis retained memories of his Greek origin, he embraced Islam and completely forgot his native language. From the outset, Ahmed Bey chose him to be his personal secretary and advisor and then promoted him as treasurer of state finance department (*khaznadar*). In 1837, at the age of 20, Mustapha Khaznadar managed to reach the highest level of the state hierarchy, where he remained for the next 36 years. Demonstrating intelligence and adaptability he managed to overcome even Beys themselves. As General Duchesne de Bellecourt states in September 1865 “Mustafa Khaznadar was the absolute ruler of the country.”

In the foreign affairs field, it can be seen that Mustafa Khaznadar generally followed a wavering policy. His decisions balanced between France and Great Britain’s desires to control Tunisia and his

remained in Chios. The second testimony comes from a note of Mustapha Khaznadar’s son, Mohamed, in narrative Mustapha Khaznadar itself. For more see Vios, St., *I sfaqi tis Chiou is to stoma tou Chiakou Laou*, *ibid*, pp. 94-99 and Kolakis, I., *Mustapha Khaznadar i Georgios Stefani Stravelakis i Halikias (1817 - 26 Iouliou 1878) – Apo ta arxeia kai tin proforiki paradosi tis Chiou* [Mustapha Khaznadar or Georgios Stefani Stravelakis or Halikias (1817 – July 26 1878)], *Chiaki gnomi* (electronic newspaper), June 2011 (9/6/2011, 16/6/2011, 23/6/2011).

65. The Mamluks were the militias of slaves, who often managed to get power and to become officials in Islamic states. See Brown, L. C., *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey, 1837-1855*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey 1974, pp. 41-53.

66. Brown, L. C., *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey*, *ibid.*, p. 51.

efforts to preserve country's independence. As far as his domestic politics, Khaznadar was responsible for the formation of the first Tunisian constitution. Nevertheless, his economic mismanagement was responsible for Tunisia's bankruptcy, which led to Khaznadar's dismissal. Having accepted the charges and pleaded guilty in 1873, he was deprived of all his titles, was arrested and was placed under house arrest in his palace in Tunis with the final category of removing 80 million francs from state funds. Although he died isolated and hated by all on July 26th 1878, was buried with honours in Tourbet El Bey as a member of the prince family⁶⁷.

Mustafa Khaznadar, throughout his presence in the political scene of Tunisia, was in contact with his relatives in Greece. Eugenia Stravelaki testimonies the search of Constantis by his brothers Mustapha and Ahmed around 1844 and later the visit of Constanti Stravelakis in Tunisia to see his brothers between 1844 and 1849. She also states another visit of Stravelakis family members in Tunisia between 1861 and 1862-63⁶⁸. From the Tunisian sources, we also informed that Mustapha Khaznadar had sent 10,000 riyals to his nephews from Chios, in order to study in Paris⁶⁹.

Mustapha Khaznadar did not help only his relatives but also the Greek community in Tunis. In 1864 he donated an area of 9,905 square meters where the church of St. George is now located, in order Greeks to extend their cemetery. Although the Tunisian government had expropriated a land owned by the Greek community in order to build railway station, only after the intervention of Khaznadar and an explanatory letter of the English Consul Richard Wood, Mouchir Mohamed Es Sadok Pasha granted the above mentioned area as compensation to the community. The agreement si-

67. Today in Tunisia there are still descendants of Mustapha Khaznadar. They are descendants of Khaznadar's son, Hasan. For details see Kolakis, I., *Mustapha Khaznadar*, ibid.

68. "At the age of 61 I went to Tunis with my husband Labrinos, son of Constanti, and his brothers and stayed for almost two years". See Vios, St., *I sfagi tis Chiou is to stoma tou Chiakou Laou*, ibid, p. 102.

69. Gallagher, N.E., *Medicine and Power in Tunisia, 1780-1900*, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 75.

gued on 25/5/1864 at the presence of Xavier Mancardi and Edouard Vickring, representatives of the Italian railways in Tunis and Elias Manidakis, representative of the Greek community. The relevant decree issued, justified the decision of the Tunisian government and was addressed to the Consulate General of the Netherlands, representing the interests of several Europeans, such as Elias Manidakis. The valuable interference of Khaznadar helped the Greek community not only to acquire an extensive area in order to be used as a cemetery, but also to build later the magnificent church of St. George as well as various edifices that, up today, are a valuable source of income for the Greek community of Tunis. Having recognized Khaznadar's contribution to his compatriots, the Greek community of Tunis decided in the early 20th century to place an honorary inscription in the Community cultural center, near the church of St. George⁷⁰.

Conclusion

The Greek community, having completed more than two centuries of presence in Tunisia, took advantage of the commercial enterprise of its members and showed great adaptability throughout the 19th century. Having emerged in a major economic factor of the country, followed a flexible policy in order to safeguard the interests of its members. In a period of time when bilateral relations between Tunisia and Greek kingdom were complicated, Greeks of Tunisia managed to win Bey's favour. Certainly, one can note the decisive participation of many Islamized Greeks from Chios, who after they had emerged as influential persons in the Tunisian government, they ensured the interests of their fellow countrymen and contribute to the economic empowerment of the Greek community.

70. The inscription, which created by Fumaro-an Italian artist, was placed on 1/9/1917.

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