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# Byzantine Studies and Istanbul's Greek-Speaking Community: The 1950s and the Tenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies

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Ari Çokona, a teacher at Zografeion High School and a well-known translator of modern Greek literature into Turkish, recently shared with me the following about the Greek Orthodox community's schools in Istanbul: "Okullarımızda Rum öğretmenlerin tarih hakkında konuşması pek desteklenen bir şey değil [It is generally discouraged for Greek teachers to discuss history in our schools]." This discouragement, or rather imposed erasure, has deep roots. The renowned English Byzantinist Sir Steven Runciman, who taught at Istanbul University between 1942 and 1945, recalls that Turkish authorities discouraged "members of minority races – Greeks, Armenians and Jews – from participating in history classes," although these same authorities, Runciman notes, had no objections to "minority races" studying art and archaeology.<sup>1</sup>

Setting aside the implicit assumption that studying history is a more serious and politically charged endeavor than studying art and archaeology, the statements above raise intriguing questions about the history of the engagement of Istanbul's Greek-speaking community with Byzantine studies during the republican period in Turkey. Who were the Greek-speaking Istanbulites (Tr. *Rum*, Gr. *Romioi/Paῖμοι*) studying Byzantium? What subjects interested them? Were they involved individually, or as part of an institution? What were the advantages and disadvantages of being "Greek" and "Christian" and studying Byzantium in a republic founded on nationalistic and secular ideals? These questions are manifold and complex, making it difficult to address them thoroughly in a brief piece, especially considering the span of time involved, over a century, from 1923 to 2024. Instead, I plan to focus on the planned participation of Rum scholars in the Tenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in Istanbul in 1955, as a case study to explore some of the questions raised above. There is no in-depth study on the Rum community's contributions to Byzantine studies in Turkey.<sup>2</sup> Their works and life stories are totally absent from the modern accounts of the field's development in the country. This article can be seen as an intervention, restoring the voices of Rum scholars and acknowledging their overlooked contributions.

From September 15 to 21, 1955, Istanbul hosted the Tenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies (10. Milletlerarası Bizans Tetkikleri Kongresi), held at the Literature Faculty of Istanbul University. Given the limited number of native Byzantinists at the time, the organizing committee (*tertip komitesi*) was composed primarily of Turkish academics specializing in Classical Roman and Ottoman studies. Its members were fully aware of the congress's significance for the development of Byzantine studies in Turkey. Scholars from Turkey had been participating in the meetings of the International Byzantine Congress since the 1930s, and the Turkish government had been working to restore such major Byzantine monu-

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1 Steven Runciman, *A Traveller's Alphabet: Partial Memoirs* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 59.

2 That said, a few studies do address the contributions of particular Rum scholars. For the republican period, see the relevant sections in Koray Durak, *The Odyssey of Byzantine Studies in Turkey* (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2023). And for the late Ottoman and early republican periods, see Firuzan Melike Sümertaş, "Geçmiş'ten Gelen, Bugüne Direnen: Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Geçişte Bizans Mirasının Yerli Uzmanları, İstanbullu Rumlar," *Mimar.İst* 77 (Summer 2023): 84–91.

ments as the Hagia Sophia and Chora (Kariye). The Istanbul congress marked the culmination of these efforts, and foreign Byzantinists eagerly greeted the opportunity to convene “in the ancient capital of the Eastern Empire,” as noted by the esteemed French Byzantinist Raymond Janin. Meanwhile, Turkish authorities viewed this event as a chance to showcase the young republic’s new position as member of the Western bloc and to promote Turkey’s tourism industry. The congress was inaugurated under the auspices of Turkish President Celal Bayar and featured a speech by the minister of education, Celal Yardımcı. The advisory board included members from universities, the Turkish Historical Society, and the Ministry of Education. It was partially funded by the Ministry of Education. In other words, this international event was truly a state-driven affair.<sup>3</sup>

We are fortunate to have access to the archives of the organizing committee, consisting of roughly three hundred individual sheets in the form of correspondence and handwritten or typed notes reflecting the committee’s activities. These documents, housed in Istanbul University’s Antalya Region Archaeological Research Center (Antalya Bölgesi Arkeoloji Araştırma Merkezi Arşivi, ABAAM), were gathered and stored by Arif Müfid Mansel (d. 1975), who served as a professor at the same university. The documents date from 1954 to 1960 and detail the preparation processes, invitations, announcements, and financial transactions related to the congress. Of particular interest for the present paper are the invitations extended by the organizing committee to the Rum scholars of Istanbul, and their responses to them. “Vasil Anagnostopulos” (Basil Anagnostopoulos), self-described as a professor of patristics (*patroloji profesörü*),<sup>4</sup> thanks the organizing committee for inviting him to represent the Theological School of Chalke (Heybeliada Rum Rahipler Okulu) at the congress. Likewise, in a short note to the organizing committee in March 1955, “Kostantini Kallinikos” (Konstantinos Kallinikos) accepts their invitation to attend the congress as a representative of the Theological School. He records his title as professor of church history (*kilise tarihi profesörü*).<sup>5</sup> The organizing committee did not invite only professors from the Theological School. There is also “Vladimir Mirmiroğlu” (Vladimir Mirmiroglou), who wrote a positive response from his office as a lawyer at Büyük Balıklı Han in Pera in February 1955 to the invitation letter sent by the committee in November 1954.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, the organizing committee’s archive includes presentation abstracts from six other Rum individuals: “P. Demircioğlu” (Panagiotis Demircoglou-Siderides), “Yen. Arabacıoğlu (Arabadjoglou)” (Gennadios Arabacioglou), “G. Patriarcheas” (Georgios Patriarkheas), “Chrysostomos Konstantinidis” (Chrysostomos Konstantinides), “Aristide Passadeos” (Aristides Pasadeos), and “Ant. Maletsko” (Antonios Maletskos).<sup>7</sup> Although we cannot be sure, it is possible that these six individuals might have been invited by the organizing committee, similar to the three above whose invitation letters confirm the committee’s initiative.

In addition, the published proceedings of the 1955 congress includes a list of delegates organized according to institution and country, with the names Kallinikos and Pasadeos, both mentioned above, as well as two new additions, “M. V. İstavridis” (Basil Stavrides) and Recep Ülke, all four listed under the “Rum Rahipler Okulu” (Theological School of Chalke). Including Stavrides but excluding Recep Ülke, a graduate of Istanbul University who taught Turkish history at the high-school division of the Theological School of Chalke from 1952 until his death,<sup>8</sup> this brings the total number of Rum scholars who would have attended the congress to ten.

3 Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, “The 10th International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Istanbul, September 15–21, 1955,” *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies* 1 (2019): 123–144. For a Turkish summary, see Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, “10. Milletlerarası Bizans Tetkikleri Kongresi, İstanbul, 15–21 Eylül 1955,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 348 (2022): 38–43. For a detailed study of the 1955 congress based in the archives of the organizing committee, see Koray Durak, “The Archive of the Organizing Committee for the Tenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies: Organizing a Congress in Istanbul and the State of Byzantine Studies in Turkey in 1950s,” in *A Century of Byzantine Studies in Turkey: Papers from the Sixth International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium* (Istanbul: Koç University Press, forthcoming); Raymond Janin, “Le Xe congrès international d’études byzantines (Istanbul, 15–21 septembre 1955),” *Revue des études byzantines* 13 (1955): 281.

4 Archive of Istanbul University’s Antalya Region Archaeological Research Center (hereafter cited as ABAAM), 298:12.

5 ABAAM, 211.

6 ABAAM, 128.

7 Summaries of the presentations, ABAAM.

8 Basil Stavrides, *Ἡ Ἱερά Θεολογική Σχολή τῆς Χάλκης* (Thessaloniki: Αφοι Κυριακίδη Εκδόσεις Α.Ε, 1988), 458; Salih İnci, “Fener Rum Patrikhanesi Dergisi Ortodoksia (Ορθοδοξία) (1926–1963) – (1–38),” *Avrasya İncelemeleri Dergisi / Journal of Eurasian Inquiries* 7, no. 2 (2018): 202–203. For the history of the Theological School of Chalke and its teachers in Turkish, see Salih İnci, *Heybeliada Ruhban Okulu* (Istanbul: Yedirenk, 2010).

Unfortunately, the Istanbul Riots (6–7 Eylül Olayları / Σεπτεμβριανά) occurred just nine days before the congress began. Targeting the lives and property of Istanbul’s Christian communities, and particularly the Rum community, this pogrom led to the withdrawal of both the Greek delegation, which would have been the largest in the event, and all ten of the individuals mentioned above, none of whom appear in the congress’s final program or “index des communications.”<sup>9</sup> In other words, facing one of the most challenging moments for their community’s survival, the Rum scholars of Byzantine culture collectively withdrew from the congress, likely as an act of protest. A closer look at these ten figures reveals that four were professors at the academy section of the Theological School of Chalke, while another four were affiliated with the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate. The remaining two were lay members of the Istanbul’s Greek-speaking community with no institutional affiliations. Tracing the life stories of these ten individuals stands to tell us much about the engagement of Istanbul’s Rum community in Byzantine studies in the first few decades of the Turkish Republic.

### The Four Professors at the Theological School of Chalke

Basil Stavrides (Βασίλειος Σταυρίδης) appears in the proceedings of the 1955 congress as a member of the delegates from the Theological School of Chalke, but he did not submit any abstract. Even though he received a well-rounded education in Byzantine religious history, he did not produce academic work on Byzantium later in his life. Born in Karaköy in 1925, he began his education at the Great School of the Nation (Özel Fener Rum Lisesi), but in 1941 he transferred to the Chalke. He graduated in 1948 with a thesis titled “The Characterisation of Origen.” Pursuing advanced studies in the United States, he earned an MA from Boston University in 1949 with a thesis on “The Ethics of Clement of Alexandria,” followed by a PhD in 1951 on theological education at the Alexandrian school in the late antique and medieval periods. Despite facing significant challenges during his youth in Istanbul, he chose not to start a new life in the United States and instead returned to the city he cherished. In 1951, at the remarkably young age of twenty-six, he was appointed professor of ecclesiastical history at the Theological School of Chalke, where he taught courses on the ecumenical movement (fig. 1). After completing his mandatory military service in Ankara between 1951 and 1953, he married Julia Zafiradou in 1953. The couple resided first in Arnavutköy and later in Cihangir. Stavrides remained dedicated to teaching at the Chalke until the school’s closure in 1971. He devoted himself to working in the Chalke library and at the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate for years thereafter. His academic journey later took him to Lebanon, where he taught at the Holy Monastery of St. John of Damascus at Balamand, but he was forced to leave when the Lebanese Civil War erupted. Renowned as the most prolific writer at the Chalke, he produced an impressive body of work, although not specifically focused on Byzantine history. A true polyglot with a vast personal library, he was a beloved figure in the Fener and Cihangir neighborhoods, known for his routine walks from Cihangir to the ferry bound for Heybeliada. He passed away in 2016, two years after the death of his wife, and was laid to rest beside her in the Orthodox Cemetery of the Prophet Elias in Arnavutköy.<sup>10</sup>

Another Istanbulite who was invited to the congress in his official capacity as professor of church history at the Chalke was Konstantinos Kallinikos (Κωνσταντίνος Καλλίνικος). Born in 1912, he was admitted to the Theological School of Chalke in 1923 at a young age. He graduated from there with a thesis entitled “The Tarasios of Constantinople,” and he continued his studies at the philosophical school of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki between 1931 and 1936. He attended lectures at the Faculty of Theology and of Philosophy at the University of Berlin between 1937 and 1944, benefiting especially from Hans Lietzmann’s course on ecclesiastical history. During the tumultuous years of the Second World War, he married Elkan Folkmann, who converted to Orthodox Christianity. Receiving his doctoral

9 X. Milletlerarası Bizans Tetkikleri Kongresi Tebliğleri / Actes du Xe congrès international d’études byzantines (Istanbul, 15–21.IX.1955) (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1978), 16–17, 71–83, 340–344.

10 Paschales Balsamides, “Η ζωή και το έργο του Καθηγητή της Θεολογικής Σχολής της Χάλκης Βασιλείου Σταυρίδη,” in *Η λογοσύνη της Πόλης: εκπαιδευτικοί & λογοτέχνες της σύγχρονης περιόδου*, ed. Evangelia Achlade and Sabbas Tzilenes (Athens: Σισμανόγλειο Μέγαρο, 2023), 15–31; Balsamides, *Ο καθηγητής της Θεολογικής Σχολής της Χάλκης Βασίλειος Θ. Σταυρίδης. Μια ιστορική και πνευματική προσωπικότητα της Κωνσταντινούπολης* (Thessaloniki: Κυριακίδη Αφοί Α.Ε., 2013).



Figure 1: Basil Stavrides next to Jacob Stefanides, Metropolitan of Konya, announcing the student grades at the Theological School of Chalke.

(*Η λογιόσύνη της Πόλης: εκπαιδευτικοί & λογοτέχνες της σύγχρονης περιόδου*, edited by Evangelia Achlade and Sabbas Tzilenes, 29. Athens: Σισμανόγλειο Μέγαρο, 2023).

degree from the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki with his thesis “Considerations on the Chronology of the Epistles of Basil the Great” in 1951, he was appointed as a professor at the Theological School of Chalke in the same year, teaching ecclesiastical history, New Testament exegesis, hermeneutics, and Jewish archaeology. He is known primarily as a scholar of Basil the Great, one of the late antique church fathers, as his scholarship proves: *Συμβολαί εις τὸ Πρόβλημα τῆς Ἐρέυνης τοῦ Χρόνου Συγγραφῆς τῶν Ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ Μεγάλου Βασιλείου* [Notes on the problem of researching the time of writing of the letters of Basil the Great] (Athens, 1978); “Α’ Σχέσεις τοῦ Μεγάλου Βασιλείου πρὸς τον Μέγαν Αθανάσιον [Relations of Basil the Great to Athanasius the Great],” *Ἐκκλησία και Θεολογία* 2 (1981): 661–669; and “Ο Μέγας Βασίλειος ὡς Ἐκκλησιαστικός Πολιτικός [Basil the Great as an ecclesiastical politician],” *Ἐκκλησία και Θεολογία*, vol. 4 (1983): 5–72, vol. 5 (1984): 119–301.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Kallinikos traveled frequently to Germany to participate in conferences and give lectures, drawing on his educational background and the networks he had established there. He talked on Orthodox hermeneutics and the understanding of the New Testament from an Orthodox point of view in his lectures abroad. He participated in ecclesiastical symposia such as the World Council of Churches as a representative of the patriarchate, and in various Orthodox conferences convened in Greece from 1972 onward. Antonis Parisianos, a retired teacher of classical Greek at the Zografeion High School, told me in an interview that Kallinikos was a pleasant and talkative individual. According to his students, he was known for his humor, which could easily transform a grave atmosphere into a cheerful one. The following remarks of Chrysotomos (Zafiris) Peristeriou, writing in the 1980s, both confirm these observations and show the impact of German scholarship on Kallinikos’s career: “What remains unforgettable is the liveliness and demonstrativeness of his teaching, which he varied through anecdotes and various dexterous hand movements, or the smoothness and simplicity of the language, the method and system of the great German teachers, the scientific clarity, or deep penetrating and global presentation of the subject.”<sup>11</sup>

Aristides Pasadeos (Αριστειδης Παραδαίος), whose abstract for the 1955 congress was titled “À propos d’un édifice mal connu de la capitale [Regarding a less well-known building of the capital city],” was both an accomplished architect and a dedicated teacher. Born in 1912 on Heybeliada (Chalke Island), he attended the high school of the Theological School of Chalke (1925–1927) before transferring to the Zografeion High School in Pera (1927–1930).

<sup>11</sup> Stavrides, *Ἡ Ἱερά Θεολογική Σχολή τῆς Χάλκης*, 398–405; Aristidou Panote, “Καλλίνικος Κωνσταντίνος,” *Θρησκευτική και Ἠθική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια* 7 (1965): 261–262; Chrysostomos (Zafires) Peristeriou, *Ἡ Ἱερά Θεολογική Σχολή τῆς Χάλκης* (Athens, 1986), 333–339; private conversation with Antonis Parisianos.

He pursued his architectural studies at the Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts (Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, later renamed Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi), graduating in 1936. He subsequently enrolled at the Art History Institute of Istanbul University, where he studied between 1949 and 1953. There, he specialized in Byzantine archaeology under the guidance of Philip Schweinfurth, Islamic studies under Ernst Dietz, and European art under Mazhar Ş. İpşiroğlu. He initially wrote his doctoral thesis on Byzantine architecture with Schweinfurth, entitled “On Two Byzantine Monuments of Unknown Name in the City of Constantinople.” However, upon his professor’s untimely death, he submitted his thesis instead to the National Technical University of Athens (School of Architecture), receiving his diploma and the title of Doctor of Engineering in 1964.

Recognized for his talent as both a scholar and an architect, Pasadeos was appointed by the Orthodox Church in 1947 as a professor of Christian architecture (Christian art and aesthetics) at the Theological School of Chalke, a position he held until 1971. Throughout his career, he lectured at various scientific institutions both abroad and in Turkey, including Yıldız University. His contributions to the field were acknowledged through several honorary distinctions, such as an award from the Union of Architects of Turkey in 1969 and another from the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in 1991. Beyond the talk he planned for the 1955 congress, Pasadeos delivered a lecture titled “Form and Relationship of the Patriarchal Buildings to the South of Hagia Sophia” at the Fifteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in Athens in 1976. His academic output was extensive, focusing on the aesthetics of architecture, Christian art, and art as philosophy and aesthetics. He published his work both in the journals and magazines of Istanbul’s Rum community, such as *Orthodoxy* (*Ορθοδοξία*), *Estia* (*Εστία*), *Tekhni/Tέχνη* (*Sanat*), and *Pirsos* (*Πυρσός*) from the 1940s to 1960s, and in academic publications in Greece. Regarding his work on Byzantine culture, his main focus was on Byzantine architectural features such as domes and ceramic decoration, Byzantine churches of Constantinople (Kefeli Mescidi, Toklu Dede Mescidi, Heybeliada Panagia Kamariotissisa), and the history of the Bosphorus.<sup>12</sup> As a professional architect, he worked on architectural projects at Istanbul University between 1952 and 1962 and the Balıklı Greek Hospital in Yedikule, Istanbul, between 1962 and 1966. Notably, between 1981 and 1991 he was appointed by the patriarchate as the chief architect responsible for the restoration of the patriarchate’s building complex, which had burned down during the fire of 1941 (fig. 2). For his services, he was awarded an honorary title. Pasadeos passed away in 2003.<sup>13</sup>

Basil Anagnostopoulos (Βασίλειος Αναγνωστόπουλος), invited to the congress as a professor of patristics at the Theological School of Chalke, was born in May 1923 in Pera, Istanbul. He first attended the community school of Chalcedon (Özel Kadıköy Rum İlkokulu) and then enrolled at the Chalke in 1939. After graduation, Anagnostopoulos was sent by the patriarchate to England for higher studies to promote good relations between the Orthodox and the Anglican Churches. In June 1950, Anagnostopoulos graduated from the University of Oxford (Christ Church College), where he wrote his thesis on “A Study of the Life and Writings of St. John of Damascus.” He was appointed as a professor at the Chalke in November 1950, teaching patristics, Old and New Testament exegesis, and catechism up to the academic year 1966–1967. During this long period of teaching at the Chalke, he married Aikaterini Narlis in 1951. They had two sons, Nikolaon and Panagiotes, both born in the 1950s. Anagnostopoulos participated in various international conferences from the 1960s to 1980s, presenting papers on two major issues: patristics and relations between the churches in the modern world. These were academic gatherings around theological topics, such as

12 Aristides Pasadeos, *Επί δύο βυζαντινών μνημείων της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως αγνώστου ονομασίας* (Athens: Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία, 1965); Pasadeos, “Κεφίλη,” *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* (1967): 29–69; Pasadeos, “Παρατηρήσεις επί της αισθητικής αξίας των Θεοδοσιανών Τειχών,” *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* (1968): 59–76; Pasdeos, “Το φέρον την ονομασίαν Τοκλού Ιμπραχίμ Ντεντέ Μεστζηνέι Βυζαντινών κτήριον,” *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* (1969): 80–124; Pasadeos, “Ἡ ἐν Χάλκη Μονὴ Παναγίας Καμαριωτίσσης,” *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* (1971): 1–55; Pasadeos, *Ὁ κεραμοπλαστικός διάκοσμος των βυζαντινῶν κτηρίων τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* (Athens: Ἡ ἐν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία, 1973); Pasadeos, *Ἡ πόλη τοῦ Βοσπόρου: σύντομος συστηματικός οδηγός* (Athens: Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία, 1981).

13 ΒΧΠ, “Αριστείδης Πασαδαίος (1914–23 Ιουνίου 2003),” *Ὁ Μέντωρ* 80 (2006): 121–122; Stefanos Dekaballas, *Λογοτεχνικά σκίτσα Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν* (Athens: Εκδόσεις Τσουκάτου, 2010), 48–61; Stavrides, *Ἡ Περὰ Θεολογική Σχολή τῆς Χάλκης*, 371–375.

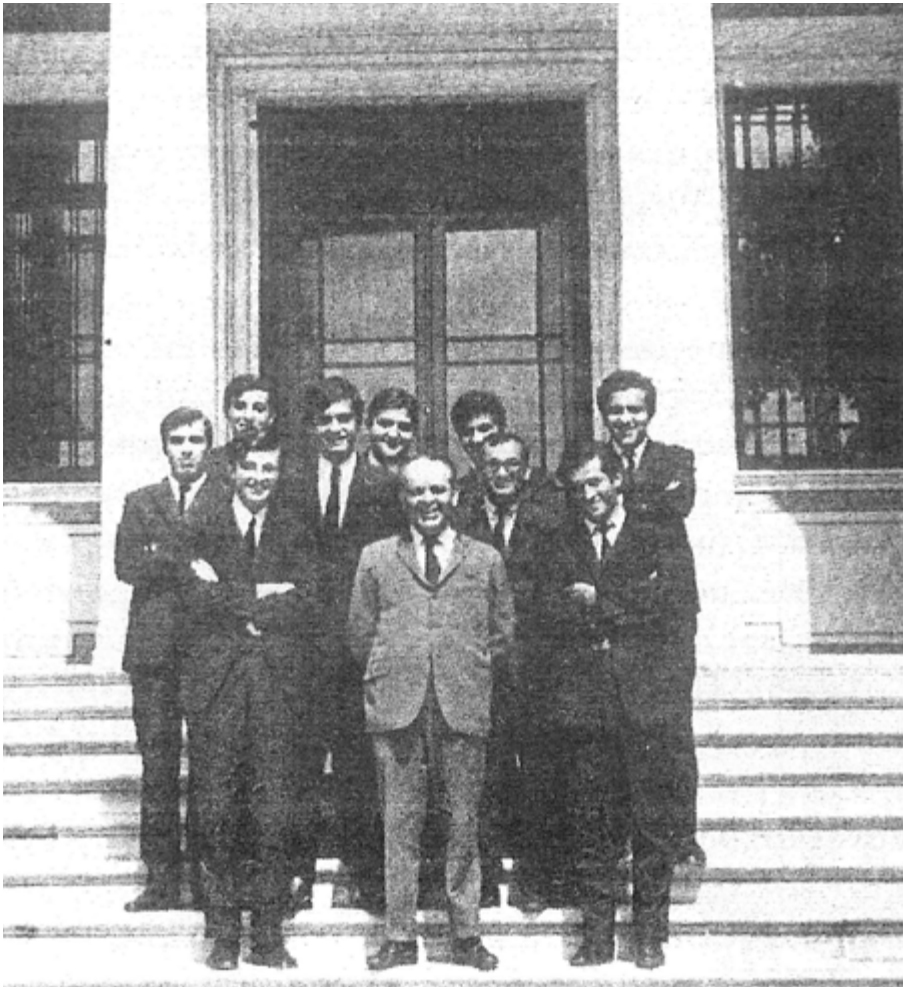


Figure 2: The final graduating class of the high school division of the Theological School of Chalke, accompanied by their teacher Aristides Pasadeos, during the academic year 1970-1971. (Στέφανος Α. Δεκαβάλλας, *Λογοτεχνικά σκίτσα Κωνσταντινουπολιτών*, 49. Athens: Εκδόσεις Τσουκάτου, 2010).

the International Conference on Patristics held at Oxford University.

Forced into retirement at a still reasonably young age because of the closing of the Theological School of Chalke in 1971, Anagnostopoulos moved to Athens in 1980 and accepted the presidency of the Chalke Theological School Graduates' Association (Εστία Θεολόγων Χάλκης) in 1982. In his own words, one of Anagnostopoulos's "very burning desires" was "to see the Chalke Theological School, where I spent seven whole years of my life studying before going up to Oxford and later another 21 years lecturing there, reopen its doors to fresh students." He died in February 2022 in Vouliagmeni, a suburb of Athens, without seeing his wish fulfilled. Anagnostopoulos said, "I always tried to pass on the traditions and English scholarship values to my students." Nikolaos Uzunoğlu, a fellow Istanbulite and an emeritus professor of electrical and computer engineering from the National Technical University of Athens, told me via email that he remembers Anagnostopoulos as a highly esteemed (*muhterem*) professor. Among his publications related to Byzantine studies, one can count *Η περί τῆς Θεοτόκου Διδασκαλία του Ιαλάντου του Δαμασκηνου* [The teaching of John of Damascus about the Theotokos] (Athens, 1958); "'Mysterion' in the Sacramental Teaching of John of Damascus," *Studia Patristica* 2 (Leipzig, 1957): 164-174; and "John of Damascus on the Place of the Falling Asleep of the Virgin Mary," *Ekkl. Pharos* 53 (1971): 550-556.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Stavrides, *Η Ίερά Θεολογική Σχολή τῆς Χάλκης*, 376-381; a note written by Basileios Anagnostopoulos to Christ Church at Oxford University given to me by his son; a private conversation with Nikos Uzunoğlu; "Πέθανε ο καθηγητής της Θεολογικής Σχολῆς Χάλκης Βασίλης Αναγνωστόπουλος," Newsbomb, February 9, 2022, <https://www.newsbomb.gr/>

Figure 3: Gennadios Arabacioglou, Metropolitan of Heliopolis and Thira. *Αδελφότητα Κωνσταντινουπολιτών Μεγάλου Ρεύματος Βοσπόρου "Ο Ταξιάρχης,"* accessed December 17, 2024, <https://www.megarevma.gr/>.



### The Four Scholars Affiliated with the Patriarchate

Among the affiliates of the patriarchate slated to attend the 1955 congress, two were clerics at the Orthodox Church who developed an interest in Byzantine studies. The first of these was Gennadios Arabacioglou (Γεννάδιος Μ. Αραμπατζόγλου). According to the abstract he submitted to the congress, he proposed to present a paper on “Le monastère de Sure-Esperance [the Monastery of Certain Hope].” He developed his research on the location of the Monastery of Theotokos of Certain Hope in an article published one year later in the journal *Θεολογία*. There, he identifies the monastery in question as the Kontaskalion Church in Kumkapı, Istanbul.<sup>15</sup> Born Odysseus Mazarakis Arabacioglou in Samakova in Kırklareli

ellada/story/1282042/pethane-o-kathigitis-tis-theologikis-sxolis-xalkis-vasilis-anagnostopoulos; Chrysostomos (Zafiris), *Ἡ Ἱερά Θεολογική Σχολή τῆς Χάλκης*, 309–317.

<sup>15</sup> Gennadios Arabacioglou, “Monastère de Notre-Dame de Bonne-Espérance (Θεοτόκου τῆς Βεβαίας Ἐλπίδος) situé à Constantinople,” *Θεολογία* 27 (1956): 45–52.



140 in 1883, Arabacioglu graduated from the Theological School of Chalke in 1905. He was ordained a deacon the same year, then served in Lemnos and Thessaloniki until 1925, when he was elected metropolitan of Heliopolis and Thira in western Anatolia. Before he was appointed as metropolitan, he spent time in Lausanne, studying theology, philosophy, and law. Probably because of his education in Europe, he was assigned by the patriarchate as a representative in interconfessional dialogue abroad, for instance at the Second World Council of Churches in Evanston, Illinois, in 1954. Basil Stavrides laments that Arabacioglu did not teach at the Chalke, even though he was a prolific writer and a polyglot with an extraordinary memory. Specifically related to Byzantine history are his books on the early fourteenth-century Byzantine patriarch Athanasios I, the origins of the patriarchate in the fourth century, the naming of the Chora (Kariye) Monastery, and the baptistery of Hagia Sophia.<sup>16</sup> He fulfilled his pastoral duties until he passed away in 1956 (fig. 3). He was buried in his family's plot at the Orthodox Cemetery of the Prophet Elias in Arnautköy.<sup>17</sup>

The other member of the Orthodox clergy in our list of Rum individuals interested in Byzantine history is Chrysostomos Konstantinides (Χρυσόστομος Κωνσταντινίδης). As the metropolitan of Myra and later Ephesus, Konstantinides planned to analyze the meaning of the cross-shaped or star-like sign on the forehead of the Holy Virgin in Byzantine icons in the 1955 congress. In his extensive abstract, entitled "Une particularité de l'iconographie byzantine: Le sens du signe 'croix-étoile' sur le front de la sainte vierge des images byzantines," he proposed four interpretations ranging from simple ornamentation to profound mystical symbolism. Born in Üsküdar in 1921 and named Emilios, he studied at the Theological School of Chalke. He was ordained a deacon in 1941, a year before his graduation. Given the name Chrysostomos, he served as deacon in the Holy Church of Saints Constantine and Helen of the Cross in Pera from 1941 to 1946. During this time, he also worked as a secretary and librarian at the Chalke. His writing activity began in 1943 in the editorial office of the patriarchate. Between 1947 and 1951 he studied at the Institute of Oriental Studies in Rome, focusing on Eastern systematic theology and Christian archaeology. Although his graduation thesis at the Chalke was not related to Byzantine history, his doctoral thesis on dogmatic theology at the University of Strasbourg in 1950/51 was entitled "The Concept of the Sacred in Early and Later Byzantine Sources."

Konstantinides started teaching what he learned in Europe, dogmatics and Christian archaeology, at the Theological School of Chalke in 1951. He was an active participant in international Byzantine studies, attending the Ninth International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Thessaloniki in 1953 and the Eleventh International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Munich in 1958. He was ordained as the metropolitan of Myra in 1961 and was elected as the metropolitan of Ephesus thirty years later. Nurturing his prior connections with European educational institutions, he taught at numerous theological schools abroad and was awarded honorary doctorates by several of them. His academic work spanned a range of topics, including the relations between churches and dogmatic history.<sup>18</sup> However, his contributions to Byzantine studies was limited to his presentations at the Byzantine congresses and his reports on the congresses in question, which were published in the patriarchal journal *Απόστολος Ανδρέας* in 1953 and 1958.<sup>19</sup> He passed away in 2006 and was buried, upon his request, on the Greek island of Syros. According to Professor Basil Stavrides, he was "an outstanding member of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Constantinople; refined in manners, sociable in character, eager to assist

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16 Gennadios Arabacioglu, *Μελέτη περί ονομασίας της Μονής της Χώρας (Καχριέ ή Καριέ Τζαμιί)* (Istanbul, 1930); Arabacioglu, *Το Βαπτιστήριον της Ἁγίας Σοφίας* (Istanbul, 1943); Arabacioglu, *Ιστορία του Μεγάλου Ρεύματος (Αρναουτκιογι)* (Istanbul: Τύπος Ἀδελφῶν Τσιτούρη, 1949); Arabacioglu, *I. Του Οικουμενικού Πατριάρχου Αθανασίου Α' επιστολμιαία διδασκαλία προς τον Αυτοκράτορα Ανδρόνικον Β' - II. Χειρόγραφον του Βρεττανικού Μουσείου - III. Σχέσεις Ορθοδόξων και Αγγλικανῶν κατά τας αρχάς του ΙΗ' αιώνος (Συμπλήρωσις της Μικράς Αγγλογραφικίας)* (Istanbul: Πατριαρχικού τυπογραφείου, 1952); Arabacioglu, *Η οριστική διαμόρφωσις του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου και η εν Χαλκηδόνι Σύνοδος: εἰς ἀφορμῆς της 1500ῆς ἐπετηρίδος της Δ' Οικουμενικῆς Συνόδου (451-1951)* (Istanbul: Πατριαρχικού τυπογραφείου, 1952).

17 Basil Stavrides, "Γεννάδιος Μητροπολίτης Ἡλιουπόλεως και Θεΐρων (1883-1956)," *Θεολογία* 27 (1956): 341-344.

18 Basil Stavrides, "Χρυσόστομος Μύρων," *Θρησκευτική και Ἠθική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια* 12 (1968): 438-442; Chrysostomos (Zafires) Peristeriou, *Ἡ Τερά Θεολογική Σχολή τῆς Χάλκης*, 318-332; Basil Stavrides, *Ἡ Τερά Θεολογική Σχολή τῆς Χάλκης*, 382-397.

19 Chrysostomos Konstantinides, "Τὸ Θ' Βυζαντινολογικὸν Συνέδριον Θεσσαλονίκης," *Απόστολος Ανδρέας* 2 (1953): 96; Konstantinides, "Τὸ ΙΑ' Διεθνές Βυζαντινολογικὸν Συνέδριον τοῦ Μονάχου," *Απόστολος Ανδρέας* 8 (1958): 379.



Figure 4: Photo of Antonios Maletskos at the Greek Orthodox cemetery on Büyükdada. Photo: Koray Durak.

others, versatile in education, a distinguished theologian in the field of Systematic Theology.”<sup>20</sup> Another Byzantinist affiliated with the patriarchate was Antonios Maletskos (Αντώνιος Μαλέτσκος). Born in 1894, Maletskos worked as the patriarchate treasurer. His tombstone, located in the Greek Orthodox cemetery on Büyükdada, still bears the inscription “the treasurer of the Ecumenical Patriarchate” beneath his photograph, along with the date of his death in 1956 (fig. 4). The contribution of this resident of the Princes’ Islands to Byzantine studies includes a 1940 article on the history of the Monastery of St. George on Büyükdada (Prinkipo) titled “Η ἐν τη νήσῳ Πριγκίπω Ἱερά Μονή Ἁγίου Γεωργίου του Κουδουνά” (The Holy Monastery of Saint George Koudounas on the Island of Prinkipo), published in *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, and a 1954 monograph on Byzantine brick stamps, entitled *Η ἔννοια των ἐνεπιγραφῶν βυζαντινῶν πλίνθων* (The meaning of inscribed Byzantine bricks).<sup>21</sup> Additionally, Maletskos collaborated with two members of Istanbul’s Greek-speaking community in his research on Byzantine culture: Konstantinos Karavias-Grivas (Κωνσταντῖνος Καραβίας-Γριβας) and Teofanes Mencos (Θεοφάνης Μέντζος). Together, they wrote articles on Byzantine material culture under the pseudonym Mamegrıs (Μαμεγρις), a name created by combining the first syllables of their last names (Μα-λέτσκος, Μέ-ντζος, and Γρι-βας).<sup>22</sup>

The fourth Byzantinist affiliated with the patriarchate, again not as a member of the clergy but in a professional capacity, was Vladimir Mirmiroglou (Βλαδίμηρος Μιρμίρογλου). As stated earlier, he was invited by the organizing committee of the 1955 congress. His career and scholarship differ from those of many of the other figures discussed here. Born in Darıca in 1875, he completed his primary and secondary education in Turkish schools (the Fatih Rüştiyesi and Vefa İdadisi) in Istanbul, before graduating from the Darülfünun (Imperial College) Law School at the end of the nineteenth century. He practiced law from 1902 to 1924, spending most of his time in his office in Galata. He also assumed ecclesiastical duties during his career. He acted as the legal representative of the Holy Sepulcher Church of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem in the first two decades of the twentieth century, and he assumed the position of *megas rhetor* in the Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul between 1925 and 1928. However, he lost his license to work as a lawyer in the transition from the imperial to the republican era. Dimitris Stamatopoulos suggests that the revocation of his license may be linked to his involvement in real-estate lawsuits brought against the Turkish state by the Greeks of Istanbul who had left Turkey. He was able to regain his license when the Democrat Party government, led by Adnan Menderes, assumed power in 1950.

During the three long decades in which he was barred from practicing law, Mirmiroglou, a resident of Büyükdere, likely generated some income through other business activities. During this period, he also devoted himself to historical research. As he stated in application to the Istanbul Bar Association, “[he] wrote historical articles aimed at contributing to the reconciliation between Greek and Turkish people, and engaged in translating works of Byzantine historians.”<sup>23</sup> From 1945 to 1966, Mirmiroglou published on Byzantine–Turkish relations in the late Byzantine era and the reign of Sultan Mehmed II,<sup>24</sup> as well as on several

20 Chrysostomos Sabbatos, “Χρυσόστομος Σ. Κωνσταντινίδης Γέρων Μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου (ὁ πὸ Μύρων) 1921–2006. Ὁ Ἱεράρχης καὶ καθηγητὴς τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας καὶ θεολογίας,” *Επιστημονικὴ Επετηρίδα* 5 (2016): 40.

21 Antonios Maletskos, “Η ἐν τη νήσῳ Πριγκίπω Ἱερά Μονή Ἁγίου Γεωργίου του Κουδουνά,” *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 16 (1940): 281–314; Maletskos, *Η ἔννοια των ἐνεπιγραφῶν βυζαντινῶν πλίνθων* (Athens: Τυπογραφεῖον Μυρτίδη, 1954).

22 Mamegrıs, “Η περὶ Ἁγίων Σοφίων διάλεξις του κου. Μουζαφέρ Ραμαζάνογλου,” *Ὀρθοδοξία* 22 (1947): 289–294; Mamegrıs, “Μεταφορὰ ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης εἰς τὴν Μονὴν τοῦ Παντοκράτορος τῆς Πόλεως, τοῦ προκαλύμματος τῆς σοροῦ τοῦ Μεγαλομάρτυρος Δημητρίου,” *Ὀρθοδοξία* 24 (1949): 381–389; Mamegrıs, “Ἡ Ἁγία Σοφία τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ ὁ Πορθητὴς Μωάμεθ ὁ Β΄,” *Μορφές* 5 (1951): 201–203, 225–226.

23 Istanbul Bar Association Archive, Vladimir Mirmiroglou’s file (number 2592), as discussed by Dimitris Stamatopoulos. Dimitris Stamatopoulos, “Το ἀρχεῖο του δικηγορικοῦ γραφεῖου του Βλαδίμηρου Μιρμίρογλου: Μια ἐρμηνεία γιὰ τον ἀποχωρισμὸ του τμήματος του ἀρχεῖου του Ἁγιοταφικοῦ Μετοχίου [The archive of the law office of Vladimir Mirmiroglou: An interpretation of the separation of a section of the archives of the Holy Sepulcher],” *Δελτίο Εταιρείας Μελέτης τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς Ἀνατολῆς* 1 (2004): 83–95; Stamatopoulos, “Hayatta Kalma Stratejileri: Avukat Vladimir Mirmiroglu ve İsgal İstanbul’unda Rum Burjuvazisi (1919–1922),” in *Yok Edilen Medeniyet: Geç Osmanlı ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemlerinde Gayrimüslim Varlığı Konferans Tebliğleri Kasım 2015*, ed. Ararat Şekeryan and Nvart Taşçı (Istanbul: Mas Matbaacılık, 2017), 104–112.

24 Vladimir Mirmiroglou, *Fatih Sultan Mehmet Han Hazretleri’nin Devrine Ait Tarihi Vesikalar* (Istanbul: Çituri Biraderler,

142 Byzantine monuments in Istanbul.<sup>25</sup> He also translated (Michael) Doukas's historical work and Georgios Sphrantzes's *Khronikon* into Turkish.<sup>26</sup> His publications in respected journals such as *Belleten* and *Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni*, as well as in more popular magazines such as the nationalist-leaning *Türk Yurdu*, reflect his strong connections with and acceptance by leading Turkish research institutions and publishing houses dedicated to historical scholarship, as well as his rapport with Turkish nationalist circles.

Semavi Eyice, the famous art historian of Byzantium from Istanbul University, recalls that Mirmiroglou was a member of an unnamed private club of intellectuals (described by Eyice as the "İsimsiz Entelektüeller Topluluğu"). This group was created in the 1950s by Feridun Dirimtekin, the director of the Hagia Sophia Museum, and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, a well-known architect who was involved in the activities of the Istanbul Conquest Association (İstanbul Fetih Derneği) and acted as the director of the Istanbul Institute in 1955. Among the earliest members of this unofficial group were Fehmi Karatay (director of the Istanbul University Library), Arif Müfit Mansel (professor of archaeology at Istanbul University), Kurt Bittel (director of the German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul), Aziz Ogan (director of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums), Mustafa İnan (president of Istanbul Technical University), and Semavi Eyice. Monthly meetings were held in members' private homes, featuring a presentation on a specific art history topic followed by a discussion, as well as tea and cake. Having regained his legal practice and developed close relations with Turkish intellectual circles, Mirmiroglou passed away without children on September 4, 1966, in Istanbul, leaving behind his wife. He was buried in the Şişli Greek Orthodox Cemetery.<sup>27</sup>

### The Two Delegates with No Institutional Affiliations

Among the Rum scholars of Byzantium who submitted abstracts for the 1955 congress, Panagiotes Demircioglu-Siderides (Παναγιώτης Σιδεριδής) remains the least documented. He was not a member of the Orthodox clergy in Turkey. Our knowledge about him comes from Semavi Eyice, who notes that Demircioğlu-Siderides completed his unpublished graduation thesis, entitled "Küçük Ayasofya Camii [Küçük Ayasofya Mosque]," at the Department of History, Istanbul University, under Steven Runciman's supervision. Eyice describes Demircioglu-Siderides's thesis as weak and unoriginal, reflecting his characteristically dismissive attitude toward the works of others. Demircioglu-Siderides first appears among the participants at the Ninth International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Thessaloniki in 1953, where he presented his graduate work. In his review of the Thessaloniki congress, the famous Belgian Byzantinist Henri Grégoire writes that "P. Demircioglu-Siderides (Istanbul)" gave a talk entitled "Welche Kirche ist die heutige Küdjük Aghia Sofia Mosschee? [Which church is the present-day Küçük Ayasofya Mosque?]." Demircioglu-Siderides seems to have moved on to a new topic by the Istanbul congress in 1955, because his proposed presentation centered on the early years of Byzantine emperor Herakleios's reign and was entitled "Beitrag zur Geschichte der ersten Regierungsjahre Heraklius 601–641 [Contribution to the history of the early years of Herakleios's reign (601–641)]." He stated in his abstract that he was working on a monograph dedicated to Herakleios.<sup>28</sup>

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1945); Mirmiroglou, *Fatih'in Donanması ve Deniz Savaşları* (Istanbul: Belediye Matbaası, 1946); Mirmiroglou, "Orhan Bey ile Bizans İmparatoru III. Andronikos Arasındaki Pelekan Muharebesi," *Belleten* 13, no. 50 (1949): 309–322.

25 Vladimir Mirmiroglou, "Studio Kalesi," *Belleten* 12, no. 50 (1949): 341–348; Vladimir Mirmiroglou and Aziz Ogan, *Kariye Camii: Eski Hora Manastırı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1955); Vladimir Mirmiroglou, "Mosquée de Zeyrek," *Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni*, no. 213 (1959): 21–22. For a more extensive bibliography, see Şahin Kılıç and Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, eds., *Byzantine Studies in Turkey: A Bibliography (19th Century–2020)*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 2021), 2:727–728.

26 Yeoryios Francis, *Vekayiname*, trans. V. Mirmiroglou [unpublished] (commissioned by Türk Tarih Kurumu in Ankara and accomplished in 1949); Dukas, *Bizans Tarihi*, trans. V. Mirmiroglou (Istanbul: İstanbul Fethi Derneği / İstanbul Enstitüsü, 1956).

27 "İstanbul'un Entelektüel Mazisi," *Derin Tarih*, no. 28 (2014); Stamatopoulos, "Hayatta Kalma Stratejileri," 112.

28 Henri Grégoire, "Le IXe congrès des études byzantines Thessalonique, 12–25 avril 1953," *Byzantion* 22 (1952): 427; Semavi Eyice, "Türkiye'de Bizans Sanatı Araştırmaları ve İstanbul Üniversitesi'nde Bizans Sanatı," in *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılına Armağan*, ed. Cengiz Orhonlu (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1973), 408–409; Kılıç and Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, *Byzantine Studies in Turkey*, 1:374. The following work lists the date "Panayot Özdemirci" submitted his thesis as 1947 and describes Mükrimin Halil Yinanç as his thesis advisor: Aşşenur Erdoğan, ed., *Fatih Suriçi İstanbullu Bibliyografyası* (Istanbul: Kültür Sanat Basımevi, 2020), 158.

Another enigmatic figure without any institutional affiliation among the Rum scholars interested in Byzantium is Georgios Patriarkheas (Γεώργιος Πατριαρχέας). He was primarily a bookseller and a poet, but we find his name together with Panayot Demircioğlu-Siderides in an abstract submitted to the 1955 congress. They planned to examine late-Palaiologan-period icons from Istanbul's Orthodox churches in their presentation "Sechs unveröffentlichte tragbare Ikonen der späten Paleologenkunst von den orthodoxen Kirchen in Istanbul [Six unpublished portable icons of late Palaiologan art from the Orthodox churches in Istanbul]." Born in 1908, Patriarkheas bought a bookstore on Yüksek Kaldırım, Pera, from (Adolf) Plathner in the 1930s. Plathner, originally a partner of Otto Keil, who presented himself as the official bookseller to the Ottoman court in the first two decades of the twentieth century, sold German books and maps. Patriarkheas managed the bookstore in the 1930s. The store acquired the name "la Librairie de Péra" later. Semavi Eyice, who taught Byzantine art history at Istanbul University for long decades, remembers that he used to visit Patriarkheas's store as a very young man to find books on Byzantine history. One day, Eyice went to Yüksek Kaldırım, Pera, in hope of finding books on Byzantine culture. He entered a bookstore where he met a "cute" girl. The girl took the list of books Eyice brought with him and showed it to her brother, who, Eyice learned later, was Patriarkheas. Patriarkheas told Eyice that finding all the books on the list would not be easy, but he was nevertheless able to find some of them. Eyice later became friends with Patriarkheas, whom he remembers as "a peculiar character who knew Byzantine history exceptionally well [bilhassa bizans tarihini çok mükemmel bilen acayip bir tipti]." In 1940, Patriarkheas sold the bookstore to Miltiades I. Nomides, another famous bookseller who was also a scholar of Byzantine Constantinople's topography. Patriarkheas was not involved deeply in Byzantine studies. He was more of a poet, publishing poetry books in Turkey and later in Greece. For example, he published *Captive Verses* (*Αιχμάλωτοι Στίχοι*) in Istanbul in 1955, and between 1956 and 1958 he published poems in *Pirsos* (*Πυρσός*), a literary magazine of the Greek-speaking community of Istanbul.<sup>29</sup> During a private conversation I had in Athens in November 2024 with Akilas Millas, known for his articles on Byzantine numismatics and his status as a key authority on the history of the Princes' Islands, he mentioned that Patriarkheas was among those Rum who were deported by Turkish authorities on charges of "activities against Turkey's interests." He was a member of the Greek Association of the Constantinopolitans (Ελληνική Ένωση Κωνσταντινουπολιτών), an organization dedicated to organizing cultural activities. Founded in 1933, it had grown to 1,200 members by the 1950s. The association was accused of supporting the attempted union of Cyprus with Greece. In 1956, twelve of its members were arrested on charges of "espionage" and deported, with an additional fifteen members banished in 1959.<sup>30</sup> Patriarkheas may have been deported during the 1956 or the 1959 waves. He passed away in 1999 in Greece, far from his homeland.

## Conclusion

In summary, a significant number of Rum scholars with diverse interests and institutional or non-institutional affiliations were originally expected to participate in the 1955 congress, had the Istanbul Riots not taken place. The organizing committee of the 1955 congress recognized the Chalke as a legitimate actor to be counted among the institutions under the Turkish delegation, alongside various other state and educational institutions. Moreover, collaboration between Rum and Turkish scholars independent of the congress is evidenced by Mirmiroglou's translation of Georgios Sphrantzes's work into Turkish for the Turkish Historical Association (Türk Tarih Kurumu), as well as his joint efforts with Aziz Ogan, the director of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, to publish *Kariye Camii: Eski*

29 *Semavi Eyice Kitabı: İstanbul'un Yaşayan Efsanesi*, interview by Selim Efe Erdem (Istanbul: Timaş, 2014), 90–91; Sonia Baïmpourtidou, "Pirsos Dergisi Üzerine Bir İnceleme" (master's thesis, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2018), 49–50; interview with Uğur Güracar, the last owner of Librairie de Péra, in Ayşe Adlı, "Koleksiyon Yapmak, Taksim Meydanı'nı Karış Karış Satın Almak Gibidir," *Nadir Kitap*, April 2018, <https://www.nadirkitap.com/ugur-guracar-roportaji-blog17.html>.

30 For more on the association and the deportations, see Sula Bozic, *İstanbullu Rumlar* (Istanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 154–155; Samim Akgönül, *Türkiye Rumları: Ulus-Devlet Çağından Küreselleşme Çağına Bir Azınlığın Yok Oluş Süreci* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2021), 252–253; Hakan Yücel, "İstanbul'da Rum Olmak, Atina'da Rum Kalmak," *Sosyalbilimler*, Ankara Konuşmaları, September 6, 2016, <https://www.sosyalbilimler.org/istanbulda-rum-olmak-atina-rum-kalmak/>.

144 *Hora Manastırı* (Kariye Mosque: Monastery of Chora) in 1955. However, neither the organizing committee nor the advisory board (*istişare komitesi*) of the 1955 congress included any members from the Rum community.

The profiles of these ten individuals provide interesting insights into the Rum community's involvement in Byzantine studies in the early republican period. Many of them were affiliated with the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, either as members of the clergy or as teachers at the Theological School of Chalke. However, the nature of the ABAAM archive may have an impact on the evidence, since the organizing committee of the 1955 congress considered the Chalke as one of institutions represented under the Turkish delegation and sent letters of invitation to its professors. Yet it is important to recognize that numerous other Greek-speaking Istanbulites submitted paper abstracts to the committee independently, without any record of prior invitation. For instance, individuals like Demircioglou and Patriarkheas were not associated with either the patriarchate or the Chalke. Furthermore, figures such as Aristides Pasadeos and Vladimir Mirmiroglou, while employed by the patriarchate, also pursued private careers, respectively as an architect and a lawyer.

Concerning the educational background of these ten individuals, nearly all of them received their elementary education at the schools of the Rum community, with the exception of Mirmiroglou. Most of them continued their studies at the community's high schools, such as the Zografeion, the Great School of the Nation, or the Chalke. While three of the ten (Mirmiroglou, Demircioglou-Siderides, and, partially, Pasadeos) studied at Turkish universities, the four Chalke professors (Stavrvides, Anagnostopoulos, Kallinikos, and, partially, Pasadeos) went abroad for advanced studies (to the United States, England, Germany, and Greece) after completing the academy division of the Chalke, which offered theological training. Additionally, the two clergymen (Chrysostomos Konstantinides and Gennadios Arabacioglou) attended higher-education institutions in Italy and Switzerland. Through their foreign educations and multilingual capabilities, these professors and clergymen established academic connections with various educational and theological institutions across Western Europe and the United States. Their engagements were not limited to lectures, conferences, and representing the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul; they were also active in interconfessional dialogues aimed at improving the relations among the churches. These activities of representation and dialogue, along with numerous publications on pastoral care, Christianity as a living faith, and the relations among the churches show that studying Byzantium constituted only one aspect of their broader professional pursuits.

It is important to note that not all ten names made contributions of equal significance to Byzantine studies. Scholars such as Pasadeos, Arabacioglou, and Mirmiroglou were relatively prolific writers, while figures like Stavrides and Konstantinides did not produce any academic work on Byzantium during their careers. The scholarly pursuits of these individuals within the field of Byzantine studies were largely concentrated on theological history, art history, and architectural history. The theology professors from the Chalke primarily focused on the church fathers, such as Basil the Great and John of Damascus. In contrast, Aristides Pasadeos dedicated himself to the study of Byzantine monuments and architectural features. Interestingly, the two clergymen (Konstantinides and Arabacioglou) also focused on the architecture of Byzantine Constantinople, despite not having received formal training in the area. Historical subjects, however, captured the interest of only a few—namely, Demircioglou and, especially, Mirmiroglou. The latter was particularly known for his work on Byzantine–Turkish relations and his translations of late Byzantine historical sources into Turkish. The strong focus on Byzantine theology and material culture is not surprising, given the predominantly theological education of most of these scholars, as well as the abundance of Byzantine monuments in Istanbul, which presented research opportunities for local academics.

The language of the academic publications of these scholars was predominantly Greek, with most of their works being published in Greece, reflecting their strong ties to the Greek-speaking world. However, Greece was not their sole outlet for publication. Pasadeos, for example, contributed short pieces to local magazines such as *Pirsos*, while the two journals published by the patriarchate—*Ἀπόστολος Ανδρέας* and *Ορθοδοξία*—offered further opportunities for publication. Arabacioglou preferred the patriarchal publishing house or that of

Çituri Biraderler (Αδελφοί Τσιτούρη). Çituri Biraderler appears once again as the publisher of Mirmiroglou's book on historical documents from the reign of Sultan Mehmed II. Alexander (Aleko) and his brother Dimitrios Tsitouris were two entrepreneurs in the publishing and stationery business in Galata, Istanbul. They published numerous books in Greek as well as guidebooks such as Ernest Mamboury's *Istanbul touristique* in 1951. However, they were deported by a cabinet decree in 1957, accused of "inciting priests against Turkey."<sup>31</sup> Finally, among these ten scholars, Mirmiroglou seems to be the only one who reached a broader Turkish readership by publishing his work in *Belleten, Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni*, and the press of the Turkish Historical Association.

While it is difficult to quantify the scholarly impact of these Rum scholars, references to their works, especially their works on Byzantine material culture, can be found in academic publications of the twentieth century. However, these ten scholars did not publish in the prominent academic journals of Western Europe and the United States, and they did not achieve recognition as leading names in the field of Byzantine studies, either in Turkey or abroad. For instance, today, Turkish Byzantinists and historians in general are familiar only with the names of Pasadeos and Mirmiroglou.<sup>32</sup> It is difficult to argue that conditions in Turkey were ever conducive to the flourishing of Byzantine studies within the Rum community. The withdrawal of the Rum contributors to the 1955 Istanbul congress was a direct result consequence of the Istanbul Riots, which, along with the Cyprus crisis in the 1960s, led to the exodus of the community from Istanbul. Furthermore, the enforced closure of the Theological School of Chalke in 1971 resulted in the loss of the current and future professors who might otherwise have contributed to Byzantine studies.

Nevertheless, it would be premature to draw any final conclusions without tracing the full history of the involvement of the Rum Byzantinists from the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 to the present day. In other words, one should look beyond the individuals associated with the Tenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Istanbul. Numerous other scholars from Istanbul's Rum community were actively engaged in exploring Byzantine culture during the 1950s and the rest of the twentieth century. This includes figures such as Alexander Veglery of Yeniköy (d. 1990), an internationally renowned specialist of Byzantine seals, and Miltiades I. Nomides (d. 1959), a prominent cartographer who ran a rare-books store in Pera. Others include Konstantinos Karavias Grivas (d. 1996), the great savant of the Byzantine material culture lying beneath modern Istanbul and the author of two books on Constantinople's palace and the Hagia Sophia, and Akilas Millas. Moreover, one should not forget the impact of those Rum individuals who, in the words of Millas, lived "like true Byzantines" and possessed an intimate knowledge of Istanbul's Byzantine heritage. Dimitris Haviaropoulos (d. 1993) and Kallinikos Guzeloglou (d. early 1990s) did not write on Byzantium, but they generously shared their extensive knowledge with others. The stories of these individuals, and many others, are a topic that warrants fuller study.

31 Akdoğan Özkan, *Galata Gezi Rehberi* (Istanbul: Global Basım, 2017), 74–75.

32 For instance, only Pasadeos and Mirmiroglou appear in the "Istanbul Bibliyografyası" prepared by Cemal Toksoy and Yunus Uğur, containing 3,700 bibliographic entries on Istanbul's history, in *Antik Çağ'dan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İBB Kültür AŞ and İSAM, 2015), 10:296–401.