

Palgrave Studies in Urban Anthropology

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Half of humanity lives in towns and cities and that proportion is expected to increase in the coming decades. Society, both Western and non-Western, is fast becoming urban and mega-urban as existing cities and a growing number of smaller towns are set on a path of demographic and spatial expansion. Given the disciplinary commitment to an empirically-based analysis, anthropology has a unique contribution to make to our understanding of our evolving urban world. It is in such a belief that we have established the Palgrave Studies in Urban Anthropology series. In the awareness of the unique contribution that ethnography offers for a better theoretical and practical grasp of our rapidly changing and increasingly complex cities, the series will seek high-quality contributions from anthropologists and other social scientists, such as geographers, political scientists, sociologists and others, engaged in empirical research in diverse ethnographic settings. Proposed topics should set the agenda concerning new debates and chart new theoretical directions, encouraging reflection on the significance of the anthropological paradigm in urban research and its centrality to mainstream academic debates and to society more broadly. The series aims to promote critical scholarship in international anthropology. Volumes published in the series should address theoretical and methodological issues, showing the relevance of ethnographic research in understanding the socio-cultural, demographic, economic and geopolitical changes of contemporary society.

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Diaspora of the City

Stories of Cosmopolitanism from
Istanbul and Athens

palgrave
macmillan

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I dedicate this book to the two best stories in my life, Alex and Denis.

PROLOGUE

PARALLEL HISTORIES, BROKEN PASTS

Imagine the city through the eyes of its founder. Imagine your name to be Byzas: you are a Greek merchant looking for a convenient stop for your ships and caravans en route between Ionia and Thrace. You find a spot in the middle of the passage, taking the warm waters of the Mediterranean first to the Sea of Propontida, famous for the white marbles of its small islands, through a narrow but wide-enough strait leading to the Sea of Pontus. Wide enough for ships to pass, narrow enough to cross from land. You become amazed by its beauty: little hills surrounded with three different masses of water that mingle but not mix. You pick a lovely small peninsula for your colony overlooking that daily dance of land and sea, north and south, east and west, the sea and the Bosphorus. The Bosphorus—the name rings a bell: you remember it from mythology, as the passage of the cow, created when Hera turned herself into a fly to chase her husband Zeus' beautiful lover Io, whom she had made a cow. A story of beauty and jealousy. You know that, when you create your colony here in this beautiful place, the world will turn as jealous as the goddess and try to take it away from you. Knowing that your time there will end, but your city will be eternal, you call it by your own name, Byzantion.

	680–658 BC
Foundation of Byzantium by Byzas as a Greek city-state	
	324–330 AD
Foundation of Constantinople “Nova Roma Constantino-politana” by Constantine the Great	
	356
Roman Empire splits; Constantinople becomes the capital of Eastern Rome	
	392
Christian Orthodoxy is accepted as the official religion	

Imagine the city through the eyes of the beholder. Imagine your name to be Constantine, Emperor of the Roman Empire. Things are not going well in Rome; you are looking for another center from which you will rule the eastern wing of the empire. You consider revitalizing Troy, the once prominent ancient city along the western coast of Asia Minor, but you sacrifice the holy appeal of the mythological past for a new land where you can build your own glorious future. You pick the little but thriving colony called Byzantium, where seas and continents meet each other. You build your New Rome on the peninsula with seven hills; it takes you seven years until its grandeur matches its beauty, to make it worthy of an imperial capital. You opt for eternity like your predecessor; you call your city after your own name: Constantinople.

Imagine the city becoming the capital of the first state to adopt Christianity as the official religion. Imagine being an Emperor, of what came later to be known as Byzantium after the original name of its capital, trying to impress not only Rome but also God through your city. You crown the city with monuments chosen from all around the world, but you add your jewels in the form of churches such as no one has encountered before. You build your empire large and strong like your greatest work, Hagia Sophia; you gain the secret admiration but obvious envy of the world: they come to see it, they come to raid it, they come to live in it—you end up with neighboring colonies of the Italian city states, living with North Africans, Macedonians, Mesopotamians, Persians, Arabs under and against your rule, threatening yet coexisting, mingling but not mixing, like the waters surrounding your city. Imagine when one of the threats becomes too big to be ignored, by the Muslims who are too different to be tolerated, so that the now crumbled but turned-Christian Europe

unites in arms to wage a series of wars against those threatening your religion and your empire. Imagine the disappointment when years later these Latin armies stop to rest on their way back from the forth of their crusades, staying for over five decades, plundering your beautiful city of all its riches that you have worked so hard to build. Imagine the double disappointment when the biggest danger of all arrives outside your great walls, and when you call out for help from your coreligionist Europeans, none comes to save the city that they so admired and so plundered two and a half centuries ago. Imagine not being able to endure one of the toughest raids that history has ever seen; imagine Constantinople falling.

Imagine the city through the eyes of the conqueror. Your name is Mehmet, after your prophet Mohammed, who said once that it would be the greatest victory for Islam to take over Constantinople. Imagine you are only 21 years old, already ruling over a state that stretches from Crimea to Kosovo, having already won over some of the greatest empires, including the Byzantine that reigned over one and a half millennia in the region. When it is time to name your own empire, imagine the confidence in entertaining the idea of calling yourself the Emperor of Rome, but then deciding on the name of your forefathers, to carve the word Ottoman in history for more than four centuries to come.

	1071
The defeat of the Byzantine army by the Seljuk Turkish state at Manzigert; beginning of Turkish advancement in Asia Minor	
	1204–1261
Sack of Constantinople by the Latin armies of the Fourth Crusade; major looting of the city	
	1453
Fall of Constantinople and the end of the Byzantine Empire; Conquest of Istanbul, new capital of the Ottoman Empire	
	1454
Sultan Mehmed II recognizes the Patriarch of Constantinople as leader of the Rum <i>millet</i>	
	1599
The Ecumenical Patriarchate moves to Fanar on the Golden Horn	

Imagine the city, through the eyes of the city-dweller. You are a Christian Orthodox Roman citizen; there are many around you, but you are one of the ruling majority. You speak Greek; you call yourself Romios,

after Romeos, meaning Roman. You live in the city that is the capital of your empire, the center of your religion, with your Ecumenical Patriarchate, reigning over the entire Eastern Church. Just as you think that your empire rules all over the civilized world, your city suddenly gets sacked by the people of another order, another belief. You fear for your people's safety, you fear for your city's integrity, you fear for your religion's continuity. You hear that the Sultan, who entered the city mounted on his white horse, summoned the Patriarch, along with the other religious leaders, to his tent. You stop your advance mourning when you hear that they were set free after pledging to be loyal to the Sultan and to make sure that their people would do the same. You are relieved to hear that the Patriarch is now in charge of not only the religious but also the administrative, legal, and social affairs of the Orthodox community. Your Patriarch is an Ethnarch; your community is millet-i Rum.

Imagine the city, again as a Rum, few centuries later, through the eyes of its elite. You are a Fanariot, named after the neighborhood where the Patriarchate is now located. You are not only close to the Orthodox religious order, you are also high up in the ranks of the Ottoman imperial order. Sultans and viziers trust you to translate their secret state documents, they let you run regions far from the center, they confide in you their financial troubles and allow you to solve them, they make you represent the Empire abroad, they bestow upon you titles given to nobody else; you can be the Dragoman of the Porte, Voyvoda of Moldavia, Governor of Samos, Ambassador to Great Britain, making you the closest to nobility in an empire where there is no aristocratic tradition. Imagine the embarrassment when some among you use their power to start up a rebellion, even though they were told not to do so by the Patriarch on threat of excommunication. Imagine the trembling when the Ottomans punish the Patriarch when the event takes place nonetheless, by hanging him outside the door of his own patriarchal church, alongside fellow families of Fanariots, who were the respected elites of Ottoman society for centuries. Realize the connection of all this with what was going on in the Peloponnese, where mainland Greeks engaged in a rebellion that eventually led to the independence of the Greek state, first among the many national movements to follow. Watch the European Powers embrace the new nation as Ancient Greece reborn, not acknowledging the historical legacy that took place in the City. Wonder why.

	1821
Revolt in Moldavia-Wallachia led by Filiki Eteria, suppressed by the Ottomans; Rebellion in Morea evolves into national struggle and leads to Greek independence	
	1838
Commercial Treaty signed with Great Britain	
	1839
The Edict of Reorganization (Tanzimat) constitutes equal rights between Ottoman subjects; period of Ottoman modernization	
	1840
Establishment of local administrative councils for the representation of non-Muslims	
	1856
The Edict of Reform (Islahat) confirms and extends the Tanzimat; increased level of involvement of non-Muslim communities in governmental posts	
	1876
The first Ottoman Constitution and the first constitutional monarchy (Meşrutiyet)	
	1878
The Congress of Berlin grants further rights to non-Muslim Ottomans	
	1908
The second Ottoman constitutional monarchy (Meşrutiyet); Young Turk Revolution	

Imagine the city, at the turn of the last century. You are an Ottoman Rum merchant, specializing in shipping trade with the British. Business is good ever since capital started flowing in the city following the signing of the British Trade Union in 1838. There are wars in action all over the region, bringing not only tradesmen and diplomats but also exiles and refugees to the city. You live in Pera, the new quarter located across the old peninsula of Constantinople, a little further from Galata, which was built by the Genoese. This is the cosmopolitan center of fashion, modernity, and high culture in the city. All European nations have their consulates, branches of their companies, their own post offices, churches, synagogues, schools, foundations, community centers, along with luxury hotels, operas, ballrooms, patisseries, cafés, florists, and boutiques that cater to a Westernized taste. Walk down the Grand Rue du Pera, the main street cut through with a tramway, hearing all the languages of Babel from the well-dressed, well-mannered, civilized multicultural crowd of visitors and Istanbulites, residents and foreigners, all existing side by side, like the

seas of the city, mingling but not mixing. Imagine the institutionalization of this social order by a group of Young Turks from Salonika taking over the Ottoman rule with a silent revolution, writing a constitution to guarantee the equal rights of all the religious communities of the millet, thereby planting the seeds of their own individual struggle for liberation for an independent Turkish nation.

Imagine the city through the eyes of a Rum under the new Turkish Republic. It is the late 1930s. You still control most of the economy in Istanbul. Business is going well, you are only competing with the Jews and the Armenians, the two other non-Muslim communities officially recognized as minorities under the Treaty of Lausanne. It is rather calm after the signing of a friendship treaty between the two leaders of Greece and Turkey, Venizelos and Atatürk. Imagine working hard to secure your wealth and investing it in a house in Mega Revma (now Arnavutköy), in a shop in Pera (now Beyoğlu), and in your summer house on the island of Halki (now Heybeli), only a half-hour boat ride outside the city. You have a good quality of life, not only economically but also socially and culturally: your daughter goes to Zappeion, your son to Zografeion, two eminent schools built by the generous funds of the wealthy Rum bankers whose names they bear. You hope they will become medical doctors like their uncles, taking care of their grandmother, who is spending her last years in the Baloukli hospital and nursing home with her Rum friends. You imagine reading their names in the Greek newspapers published in the city, making you as proud as their mother, who is a famous poet and writer. Think of the possibility of the Rum element flourishing in the new Republic, resembling the ideal of the Organization of Constantinople a few decades ago, of creating a Hellenic–Ottoman Empire, which now can be realized within a democratic state. Think what your future in the City might offer; think of an Istanbulite cosmopolitan utopia.

1999

Major earthquake in Turkey followed by another in Greece; period of rapprochement;

Greece lifts its veto over Turkey's EU candidacy

2005

Turkey starts talks for EU accession

2008

Partial return of properties seized from minorities in Turkey

Imagine the city of Istanbul through the eyes of its current residents. You are a Muslim Turk growing up in the aftermath of the military coup of 1980, during the period of depoliticization, economic opening, inflation, and mass migration. Imagine the city growing with the speed of light at the same time as its fabric is being destroyed in the darkness of silence. As forests are wiped out for villas and skyscrapers, neighborhoods are being demolished for the passing of new highways; witness the development of a nostalgia for an Istanbul lost. Realize that not only have local Istanbulites become a minority, but also that the local minorities have ceased to reside in Istanbul. Imagine the city as a cosmopolitan center, a meeting place of language groups, ethnicities, religions, cultural orientations. As you turn your face to your past, imagine this becoming a way for the future: imagine recreating an Istanbul with the Rum, the Armenian, the Jew, the Latin, the Ottoman, the Byzantine, the cosmopolitan becoming ours once more. Think of an Istanbulite cosmopolitan nostalgia.

IMAGINE ASKING YOURSELF:

WHEN THEY WERE LIVING TOGETHER HAPPILY FOR SO LONG, HOW DID THE GREEKS AND TURKS BECOME ENEMIES ALL OF A SUDDEN;

REALLY, WHY DID THE *GREEKS LEAVE* ISTANBUL?

Flashback to the turn of the last century: you are a Rum living in Istanbul all over again in your memory. Imagine reading the local Greek newspaper one day, say in 1912, reporting on the war in the Balkans, where the Ottoman lands in Europe fall prey to the nationalistic demands of Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece. Imagine the dissolution of the imperial order that defined you for generations as an Ottoman Rum, and the success of the small kingdom of Greece, a nation that takes your religion and your language at the heart of its organization. Imagine the two entities fighting against each other, as they did several times before, during, and after World War I. In the early 1920s, when the Greek army starts advancing into the Western lands of Asia Minor, to claim its share from the Treaty of Sèvres, imagine them being pushed back by an army of national struggle for liberating Turkey, an offspring of the Young Turks. Imagine the catastrophe when hundreds of thousands rush toward the Aegean Sea, fleeing the advancing Turkish troops, the fire, and the destruction chasing them. It is September 1922. Imagine staying behind with those celebrating this tragedy as victory, a victory that calls the truce, liberates Asia Minor, establishes Turkey as an independent state and, one year later, as a Republic, with Mustafa Kemal as its founder.

	1912
First Balkan War waged by Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro against the Ottomans	
	1914
First World War breaks out; annexation of Cyprus by Great Britain	
	1915
Battles of WWI alongside bloody clashes and civil strife rage in Ottoman lands; additional acts of deportation and massacre result in the death of millions of Anatolians, amounting to the near annihilation of Armenians	
	1918
Mudros Armistice ends World War I; Allied occupation of Istanbul	
	1919
Paris Peace Conference designates the regions of the Ottoman Empire to be occupied; Greek troops land in Smyrna and advance through Western Asia Minor; beginning of the Turkish National Struggle in Asia Minor	
	1920
First Turkish National Assembly founded in Ankara; Treaty of Sevres signed between the Allies and the Ottomans, not ratified by Ankara	
	1922
Greek army is defeated by the Turkish Liberation forces who capture all of Asia Minor; the Great Catastrophe and the burning of Smyrna; abolition of the Ottoman government and the Sultanate; departure of leading Ottoman Christians from Istanbul	

As a prelude to the birth of the new nation, imagine hearing that a Treaty was signed in Lausanne that dictated your old nation to leave the country. Disheartening and disappointing as it may sound, imagine that they would take more than a million people away from the lands they plowed, the wine they grew, the water they drank, the fruit they ate, the neighbors they loved, the air they inhaled for as long as they knew themselves and their ancestors to have been there, to be tucked in a ship toward a land they not know. Imagine sitting inside a tent in Greece months later with the thin clothes you were wearing when you were torn away from home, thinking whether the jam you made that day was still warm or whether the neighbors forgot to feed the cat you left behind. Imagine you

are a Rum still in Istanbul, unable to feel relieved that these things are not happening to you, that you are held exempt from the forced exchange of population between Greece and Turkey.

Imagine the changes that take place in a lifetime to be beyond your imagination. Witness an Empire fade away, watch a new nation come into being, experience the implementation of new constitutions, institutions, laws, manners, customs. Watch the highly visible transformation in the calendar, alphabet, headgear, clothing, and in every other aspect of daily life. You will not run into your priest on the street wearing black anymore; nor will you come across an imam in his garb. It is for time to show if this version of a secularist republic will allow more freedom for the minority communities than they enjoyed under the multireligious theocracy that the Ottomans have been. Wait in agony or in excitement; prepare for the gray days ahead.

	1923
Treaty of Lausanne fixes the boundaries between Greece and Turkey; forced exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey; Allied forces leave Istanbul; declaration of the Turkish Republic	
	1924
Greece becomes a republic, followed by a series of military coups; Caliphate abolished by the Turkish parliament	
	1926
Civil Code accepted in Turkey, along with secularism as a fundamental principle	
	1928
New Turkish constitution eliminates state religion	
	1930
The Ankara Convention, aka Greek–Turkish friendship treaty	
	1934
The signing of Balkan Pact; period of <i>détente</i> between Greece and Turkey	
	1939
Metaxas dictatorship in Greece; beginning of WWII	
	1940
Italian forces invade Northern Greece; Greece enters the WWII with the Allies	
	1942
Occupation of Greece by German, Italian, Bulgarian forces; foundation of National Liberation Front	
	1944
The end of the occupation of Greece	
	1946
Outbreak of Civil War in Greece to last for 3 years	

Imagine the city as no longer the capital of the nation. After a millennium and a half, for the first time, Istanbul is to become the second city. Imagine the effort of building a new city from scratch in order to overshadow the old center, in order to symbolize the fresh birth of a nation in Ankara, in the middle of Anatolia, distant from the ashes of the Empire. Imagine the head of state, father of the nation, boycotting the city of Istanbul while preaching nationalism over cosmopolitanism, and not going there for over a decade,

until he reaches his deathbed in 1938. Hear the rumors that Atatürk did not want to be replaced by İnönü. Witness the latter's hardline politics becoming further hardened during World War II, from which, you have to give it to him, he managed to spare the country. Tremble when one day they decide to draft all boys over 20 years of age, with immediate effect upon being caught, to send them to the depths of Anatolia. Wait for news from your son for two years. Decide that as soon as he gets back, you will leave for another place where your children will be safe. Question your decision every day, suffer sleeplessness from fear of ambiguity every night. Imagine living in the city nevertheless, making do as life goes on. Imagine you are a loyal, regular, tax-paying Turkish citizen, who wakes up one day only to find out that you are going to have to pay an incredibly high amount to the government, in cash and in one installment, as something called Wealth Tax. Imagine finding out that this is an arbitrarily imposed tax, where the amount is determined in accordance with the religion of the taxpayer, ranking highest to lowest from Greek Orthodox to Jewish, Armenian, Other Christian, Dönme, and Muslim. Sell all your property at much below its market value to avoid being forced to go to a labor camp far into the mountains of Eastern Anatolia, fearing what would happen to you there, with this taking place during World War II. Realize that this nation is not really built on the basis of secular markers like citizenship, but that religion is still a discriminating factor despite all claims, promises, constitutions, and international treaties signed to establish otherwise.

Imagine yourself about one decade later, again in Istanbul, when the news of the civil clashes between the Turkish and Greek Cypriots on the island in the Mediterranean turn into an anti-Greek campaign in the press. Imagine your child being hit by a stranger on the street for talking to his mother in Greek rather than Turkish. Imagine the anger for being scrutinized by people who came from elsewhere not knowing even the basics about you: that those living in Istanbul were the local Rum community, native to the city since its foundation, whereas those in Greece were called Yunan and were not really related to you, except in language and religion, as it is the case with the Cypriot Rum, with whom the Rum of Istanbul had no connection. Imagine the impossibility of trying to explain this to the crowd that is even more angry about this situation than you are, further agitated by the rumor that the Greeks bombed the late Mustafa Kemal's house in Salonika. Imagine the mob holding sticks and hammers in their hands, determined to tear down anything and everything that belonged to Greeks, Cypriots, Christians, whatever. Get up after that traumatic and sleepless night, on 7 September, year 1955, to be shocked by the unimaginable sight of Istanbul with thousands of buildings destroyed, looted,

burned down; imagine walking past the shattered shop windows, vandalized hospitals, plundered churches, broken down houses, ruined schools, and the graves of your grandparents opened up, turned inside out. The rumor turns out to be false, the bomb having been planted by a Turk, damages get partially covered by the government, the environment eventually calms down; but the harm is done: fear of tomorrow settles among the Rum of Istanbul; flight to another land starts being imagined.

	1929
Great fire destroys the Rum-dominated neighborhood of Tatavla in Istanbul; Tatavla renamed Kurtuluş (Liberation)	
	1938
Law passed in Turkey restricts the professions that may be practiced by non-Muslim minorities	
	1938
Death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk; İnönü becomes president of Turkey	
	1941
Drafting of all non-Muslim men between 18 and 45 in Turkey	
	1942
Wealth Tax in Turkey imposed in order to tax individual wartime profiteering; deportation of thousands who could not pay taxes to a labor camp in Askale in Eastern Anatolia	
	1955
Outbreak of armed struggle in Cyprus; <i>Septemvriana</i> (6–7 September events) in Istanbul cause massive destruction and looting	
	1958
Hellenic Union of Constantinopolitans shut down; Expulsion of leading Rum Polites with Greek nationality	
	1960
Military coup in Turkey; Yassıada trials find Prime Minister Menderes and two ministers guilty as charged, leading to their execution by hanging	
	1964
Major civil strife and bloodshed in Cyprus; Turkey unilaterally annuls the 1930 Ankara Convention over the Cypriot issue; Expulsions of Rum Polites with Greek citizenship by thousands as their residence and work permits of get canceled	
	1974
Demonstrations against Istanbul Rum following the invasion of Northern Cyprus by Turkish army	

Imagine leaving behind the horror of that September night, soothing down your fear, rebuilding your business, and restoring your house in the decade that follows. Imagine reading your name published in the newspaper, in a list that includes people who have to leave the country within two weeks. It is because you hold a Greek passport, and because your residence permit that is automatically renewed is no longer valid, owing to the Turkish government's unilateral decision to cancel the friendship agreement that was signed 34 years ago. The year is 1964, with the bloody civil war waging wild in Cyprus again. Imagine suddenly becoming an illegally residing foreigner in a city where you and your children were born, where your parents and grandparents are buried. Imagine having to leave behind your relatives, your friends, your business, your life, your city, taking with you a small suitcase containing only your personal items and nothing valuable—except for your memory of the city.

Imagine the city of Athens through the eyes of the new arrival: the biggest city of Greece, the capital of both its ancient and modern versions, booming as a result of internal migration, starting to become secure and stable after long years of occupation and civil war, only to last, however, a few more years until the junta of 1967. You rent a tiny apartment overlooking the cemented streets of central Athens, trying to get used to the idea of not being able to see the Bosphorus view from your large living room ever again. Imagine selling sandwiches on the street, reaching a low after being the most renowned restaurateur in Istanbul only a short time ago. Your children are having difficulty in school for not knowing enough about the heroic deeds of the Greeks during Tourkokratia or the mythological characters of a pagan past or the correct pronunciation of the words in the Athenian demotic as opposed to the forms used in Istanbul Greek or Rumca or Politika. Imagine trying to explain to the Athenians that you are not simply other Hellenes, but Romioi from the City, that you are from the Konstantinoupolites or, for short, Polites, bearing the identity of the city. Ignore the ignorance of Elladites, Greeks from Greece, and try to excuse them for asking if you were also baptized and if you had churches back there. Try to make them realize that you come from the city, the only one known to Greeks as the City, which is the center of Christian Orthodoxy, capital of the Byzantine Empire, throne of the Patriarch, location of Hagia Sophia, crown jewel of Greek civilization. Realize yourself that the only way the Elladites relate to your city is in their imagination of a Greek Constantinople, which in time will be theirs once more. Imagine that they do not know anything about its multicultural heritage and the

cosmopolitan culture that the Polites helped maintain. Look around yourself, see only Greeks. Start imagining living without the other.

Imagine a certain part of the city full of Rum Polites, call it Paleo Faliro, or if you so prefer, Istanbulistan. Recreate there your practice of everyday life as in the city you left behind. Imagine shopping for food from the charcuterie, buying treats flown in daily, sitting in coffeeshops and patisseries named after famous Rum establishments of Istanbul, eating fresh fish from the Bosphorus grilled by the best chef from the City, chatting with friends continuously bringing up intricate details of your life as it was back then and how it turned out to be now. Build up your business, make sure that your children study well to secure their place in society, let them socialize with other children of Polites in the sports clubs, foundations, educational institutions that are self-funded by the community. Imagine them getting married to other Polites and raising their children in accordance with the ways of Istanbul. Criticize the Athenians, Elladites, Mikrasiates, and others for not knowing those ways. Every day, imagine a return to your birthplace, but do not dare to make this trip on any given day for several decades. Imagine suffering from permanent homesickness, not being able to cure it for years.

	1952
Greece and Turkey become members of NATO	
	1967
Military coup in Greece	
	1974
Invasion of Cyprus/Peace Maneuver by the Turkish army and navy; split of Cyprus into North and South, corresponding to Turkish and Greek zones; end of the Greek junta followed by a civil government led by Konstantionos Karamanlis	
	1981
Greece becomes a member state of the European Community	
	1983
Declaration of the Northern Cypriot Republic of Cyprus	
	1987
Crisis between Greece and Turkey over the Aegean shelf	
	1988
Davos convention starts a period of cordial relations between Greece and Turkey	
	1996
Crisis over the Aegean islet of Kardak/Imia	
	1997–98
Crisis over Cyprus's purchase of S-300 missiles from Russia	
	1998
Crisis over the capture of the Kurdish PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan	
	1999
Earthquakes in Turkey and Greece initiate a period of rapprochement	

Imagine being an Istanbulite in Athens, this time at the turn of the twenty-first century. You are a Turkish woman in Greece, trying to open your ears to both sides of the story in bilateral relations. Imagine you are an anthropology student from Harvard, trying to reconcile between your personal position and trends in the discipline, putting to the fore what the people you study are telling you. The people you study come from the city that is your home. Hear them talk about their home, your shared place of longing. Listen to their parallel histories, broken pasts, changing perspectives. Meet the man who decides to tell his story to make a change; talk to the woman who is too bitter to talk. Feel the weight of what you learn, blend these things with what you know, compose stories, and write them down. Share the story of your fieldwork as made up from stories you were told. Always remember that there will be another story, many stories that compete, contrast, or overlap with the story you end up telling. Imagine the city, through the stories told about it. Enjoy the stories.

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