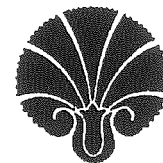


ARIT Newsletter

American Research Institute in Turkey



Number 33, Spring 2002

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

For those of you who have not learned, Toni Cross died in Ankara on April 11 after an extended illness. As Director of ARIT-Ankara since 1979, she was our senior officer in Turkey. Toni's passing is a tremendous loss for ARIT, for Anatolian archaeology, and generally for scholarship in Turkey. Her death is also a great personal loss for the many people who valued her as friend, good colleague, mentor, confidante. We extend our deepest sympathy to her husband, Professor İhsan Çetin; to her American and Turkish families; to her long-time fellow Director in Istanbul, Dr. Antony Greenwood; and to her staff in Ankara, Ms. Cennet Köse, Ms. Burçak Delikan, and Ms. Elmas Demirel.

As Director in Ankara, Toni transformed the appointment from that of a one- or two-year, part-time post held by ARIT grantees into a full-time, professional position entailing major responsibilities. The stars were right for her appointment. When Toni assumed the Directorship, she already had her Ph.D., she was married to İhsan and living in Ankara, and, as we all discovered, she was a born diplomat, organizer, and administrator. We owe a special debt to Lee Striker, the ARIT President who hired Toni.

Toni took great personal pleasure in what she and her office could do for research and scholarship in Turkey. Over the past year, for example, she had been working with the U.S. Embassy on ways that the application process for researchers in Turkey might be streamlined among the three ministries involved. In recent years, Toni took special pride in the role she played in the establishment of the Aegean Scholars Exchange program, an initiative of First Lady Hilary Rodham Clinton.

Under Toni's guidance, the ARIT-Ankara Friends became a major force for the promotion of ARIT in the capitol city, with lecture programs, seminars, and tours that helped to define our present mission of public outreach and education. These programs involved Turks, Americans, and other foreigners; college and graduate students, scholars, and those outside the academy. Traditions were established: the annual Mini-Symposium on American Archaeology in Turkey, held in conjunction with the week-long symposium on archaeology sponsored by the Ministry of Culture; the grand garden reception for attendees of the Symposium at the home of the U.S. Deputy Chief of Mission; the Annual Friends Dinner at the residence of the U.S. Ambassador.

Of all of Toni's noble works on behalf of ARIT, the library in Ankara assumes a special distinction. It was her pride and joy. The collection had already begun to be substantial when Toni became Director. Yet under her loving care and sound policy of acquisitions the library truly blossomed into a major facility for the conducting of serious research. As one of Toni's major legacies to ARIT, the library shall henceforth be the Toni M. Cross Library.

ARIT suffered another significant loss this spring with the death of Professor Ap-tullah Kuran. Please see Tony Greenwood's report from Istanbul.

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ARIT-ISTANBUL BRANCH NEWS

It was a cold and trying spring for the ARIT offices in Turkey. **Toni Cross** was already Director in Ankara when I assumed the post here in the Fall of 1982. I grew into this job with her support and encouragement, for which I shall always be indebted. I shall never forget her enthusiasm for ARIT, and the warmth and humor of her personality. In the Istanbul office, we shall all miss her tremendously.

With the death of **Aptullah Kuran** in the early spring, ARIT lost another friend who cared deeply for the Institute, one who had played a critical role in its development over the past quarter century. As President of the Türk Amerikan İlimi Araştırmalar Derneği, for many years he gave us the subtle and careful guidance that helped steer the Dernek away from potential troubles, particularly through the difficult period of reorganization after the coup in 1980.

Aptullah Kuran joined the Dernek in 1973. He was first elected president in 1976 and served in that capacity for most of the next twenty years until his retirement and subsequent resignation from the Dernek in 1996. There were only three years during that period he was not President, 1980-1982 and 1995-1996, during much of which time he was teaching outside of the country. I shall always remember him for his incisive humor, gentle manner, and unflinching instinct for where the Institute's best interests lay and how to proceed, slowly but surely, towards achieving them.

It was not a happy spring, but the business of the Institute continued unabated. The Institute's occasional lectures series began early this winter, and included talks by all three of this year's ARIT-NEH grantees, in addition to one U.S. Department of State / CAORC (Council of American Overseas Research Centers) fellow. (For lectures in the fall, see the Friends of ARIT-Istanbul column.)

By the end of March, the following talks had taken place at the Institute:

Dr. Baki Tezcan (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, ARIT-NEH fellow) "The Black Hyacinth: An African in the Ottoman Imperial Council"

Dr. Shahab Ahmed (Harvard University, Society of Fellows, ARIT-NEH fellow) "The Problem of the Satanic Verses and the Formation of Islamic Orthodoxy"

Professor Paul Rahe (University of Tulsa) "Jerusalem, Athens, & Rome: Thales of Miletus and the Distinctive Cosmopolitanism of the West"

Christine Philiou (Princeton University, ARIT-U.S. Department of State fellow) "The Duties of Servitude: Staying Ottoman and Christian in the National Age, 1770-1860"

Dr. James Grehan (University of Texas, Austin, ARIT-NEH fellow) "Street Violence, Popular Protest, and the Ottomanization of Crowds in Damascus, ca. 1500-1800"

As always I wish to single out for special gratitude those who have donated books, off-prints and other materials to the ARIT library. We depend greatly on their generosity. (Shipping addresses for donations are listed on page 4.)

In particular, I must thank once again **Alan Fisher** for his donation of 22 books, mostly recent Turkish publications we should have had but did not. Others who donated works include **David Cuthell, Ahmet Çakmak, Hasan Basrı Danişman, Selim Deringil, Teoman Duralı, Hakan Erdem, Paul Henze, Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, Paul Kaldjian, Süleyman Kırımtayıf, Nenad Moacanin, Lora and Ralph Redford, Mitchell Rothman, and Gültekin Yıldız.**

ISTANBUL FRIENDS OF ARIT NEWS

Every year the Istanbul Friends open up a new season of activities with their membership renewal open house in late September. At last Fall's **open house** over 100 members and prospective members wandered through ARIT's halls, some of them old friends, others new arrivals in search of ways of making closer contact with the history and culture of this country. It was a little crowded and stuffy in the building with that many people, but everyone seemed to enjoy it. At the end of the evening, when the guests had all gone home, Semrin's quick count showed that we had taken in some sixty memberships, including both renewals and newcomers. Not bad for a little party!

The Steering Committee's decision to broaden the range of membership options this year seemed to be received well. We had our first sign-ups for the **Benefactor** level – a lifetime membership that keeps you permanently attuned to Institute activities – as well as for the **Non-Resident** level (a less-expensive alternative designed especially for those who aren't usually around to participate but still want to hear about what's being planned).

Since anyone living anywhere outside of Istanbul is eligible to join as a Non-Resident member, this membership level could be of interest to those Friends who have left Turkey but plan on returning occasionally, or who might want to plan a trip back that coincides with some FARIT event. The wonders of e-mail, which is now the standard way of advertising all FARIT events, has helped to make this possible.

One of the highlights of the fall season is always the Friends' paid-lecture series. This year's topic was "**Archaeology Today**," and the program featured a series of talks focused upon current excavation projects and new methodologies currently in use within Turkey. It was a pleasure to welcome to ARIT-Istanbul some of the archaeologists who have guided past FARIT site trips

and to hear them speak in the context of a more formal presentation about the work they're doing across Turkey. The lectures were all well attended, with an audience of roughly thirty to sixty persons, and were followed by a small reception during which the Friends got a chance to talk informally with the speakers. Below is a list of this year's program.

Archaeology Today: New Sites, New Methodologies

"Ten Years at the Ancient Cilician Port of Kinet Höyük" by **Dr. Marie-Henriette Gates** (Bilkent University)

"Portrait of a Palace in the Early 2nd Millennium BC: Qarni-Lim at Tell Leilan" by **Dr. Gül Pulhan** (Koç University)

"Imperial City and Sumptuous Ivory: an Iron Age Capital on the Kerkenes Dağ in Central Turkey" by **Dr. Geoffrey Summers** (Middle East Technical University)

"Sealings, Sections, and Sea Peoples: the Bogaziçi University Tarsus-Gözlüküle Interdisciplinary Project" by **Dr. Aslı Özyar** (Bogaziçi University)

"Çatalhöyük: Excavating the Local/Global Context of a Neolithic Site" by **Dr. Ayfer Bartu** (Koç University)

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The program of tours for the fall offered a combination of old and new experiences. We began, as always, with our trip up the Bosphorus by boat to visit the Black Sea castles. The seas were too rough to allow a landing at **Garipçe**, but the scramble up to **Pompey's Pillar**, the lunch on the **Clashing Rocks**, and the hike around the Genoese Castle at **Anadolu Kavak** were the classic stuff of a FARIT tour.

Over the long Cumhuriyet Bayrami weekend FARIT tried something different, flying out to **Samsun** and coming back by bus along the Black Sea. Unfortunately there wasn't time to do the whole glorious (but also extremely time-consuming) coastal road, so after a day in **Sinop** the group turned inland toward **Kastamonu**, making a special detour to see the gem of a little wooden mosque in **Kasaba** and then spent the final day strolling around **Safranbolu** and getting a real feel for provincial Ottoman domestic architecture.

A week later FARIT Steering Committee member and Koç University Professor of Art History **Lucienne Thys-Şenocak** took a FARIT group to the Dardanelles to see the Ottoman castles that she and her team have been surveying for several years. Along the way they stopped off in **Mürefte** at the **Doluca Vineries** for the full blown tour, a half day with meal and wine tasting, where they saw ample evidence of the speed with which the Turkish wine industry has improved in recent years.

In late November frequent ARIT guide **Professor John Freely** led the Friends on an afternoon walking tour around the First Hill of the Old City. The tour ended at the Stables of Topkapi Palace, where the group had the privilege of enjoying a reception in honor of the closing night of the exhibit "The Last Fifty Years of Modern Turkish Art," featuring a special lecture and guided tour of the exhibit by curator **Professor Tomur Atagök**.

In December FARIT was perhaps unrealistically optimistic in advertising a Bayram tour to the **Lycian Coast**, including a day trip by boat to **Kekova**. Unfortunately, the trip was cancelled a week in advance of departure when the weather turned truly foul, foul enough not only to prevent a boat trip but even to close the main coastal road for almost a day with landslides.

The last trip of the season was a day tour of Istanbul led by art historian **Çiğdem Kafescioğlu**, whose special focus was on the construction of an Ottoman Imperial Capital in the fifty years after the conquest of the city. Çiğdem led the group on foot from the **Mahmut Paşa Camii** to the newly reconstructed **Tahta Kale Hamamı**, then after lunch to the **Fatih** complex and finally out to **Koca Mustafa Paşa** for the **Türbe of Sümbül Efendi** and the picturesque complex surrounding the converted **Church of St. Andrew**.

The last event of the season was the **Friends' 18th Annual Dinner**, held this year in the newly opened section of the **Rahmi Koç Museum of Technology** on the Golden Horn. A crowd of some 180 persons, including the U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, **Mr. Robert Pearson**, and the Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, **Ms. Patricia Harrison**, attended the dinner. They enjoyed the opportunity to tour the eclectic but fascinating collection, from 19th century Istanbul baby prams to every standard size of Bosphorus rowboat (sandal), from a fully operational olive oil press to the prams to every standard size of Bosphorus rowboat (sandal), from a fully operational olive oil press to the collection of antique cars – in the midst of which we sat down to dinner.

As a fundraiser, it was the most successful dinner ever, and went a long ways towards meeting the Steering Committee's goal of doubling this year the funds the Friends contribute to fellowships for non-U.S. scholars.



ARIT-ANKARA BRANCH NEWS

(The following report has been compiled using notes by Toni Cross, Cennet Köse, and Maggie Lynch.)

As reported at the end of the last Branch News column (Spring 2001), much of the summer and early fall were taken up with settling the offices and library into their new quarters in Gazi Osman Paşa (at Kent Sitesi B Blok, Turan Emeksiz No. 7). Although the library was closed on August 20 to prepare for the move, the first half of August saw a steady stream of visitors to the old location at Kenedi Caddesi.

Happily, when the library reopened in mid-September, students and scholars began to return in ever-increasing (and quite respectable) numbers. By November, over 120 visitors were arriving per month. Many who found their way to the new ARIT expressed their delight at the new quarters, making this difficult but necessary move – the third in five years – seem less onerous than it was. One young woman said that the library is now such a convenient place to work that she just loves it. Music to our ears.

The hostel remained as busy as it has been in recent summers, in August providing housing for a total of fifteen guests. Most were graduate students and scholars, traveling or undertaking research in the Ankara region, brought together from institutions of higher learning all over the U.S. As usual, the frequency of guests dropped over the fall, the departure of the archaeological teams and independent scholars reducing the numbers of those who usually stay in the comfortable accommodations of the hostel. In spite of the record low number of travelers following September 11, the hostel continued to house visitors throughout the fall, specifically graduate and Fulbright students with projects in Ankara.

A few other notable developments occurred during the fall. The office and library computers were networked together, freeing up a line to receive faxes only (a welcome development for those wishing to reach the offices by fax!) Because they were so well-received last year, ARIT once again issued New Year's cards to Friends and supporters of the ARIT-Ankara branch.

At about the same time, after a great deal of detailed planning, the Ankara Dernek founding general meeting took place on December 1, 2001, with great relief to all involved. Sixteen of the nineteen members (the exact number necessary) could attend, and the Dernek official sent to oversee the meeting was most helpful, cooperative and pleasant.

Another positive development was the return in December of **Dr. Lale Özgen**, one of the ARIT Aegean Fellows. The Aegean Fellows program has been mentioned in this newsletter before, as the successor of the Turkey-Greece Scholar Exchange Program. Dr. Özgen returned from almost three months at the American of Classical Studies in Athens (ASCSA) with a glowing report of her stay. Everything had been wonderful: library fa-

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cilities, room and board at Loring Hall, visits to sites and museums within and near Athens, friendships with American and Greek colleagues, even an appropriate tennis partner (Lale is a former Turkish champion). It is a great pleasure to everyone at ARIT to see this program already working so well, and the selected Fellows who have been chosen to participate so enjoying their involvement in this exchange.

A single lecture was given this fall, in early December, by **Dr. İhsan Çetin**, Professor of Economics at Bilkent University. His subject – a timely one – was “The Current Economic Crisis in Turkey”, and the speaker explained in detail the recent developments of how and why this crisis occurred, as well as what can be done to end the crisis. The lecture was well-attended and a lively question and answer period followed.

ANKARA FRIENDS OF ARIT NEWS

(The following report was compiled using notes by Toni Cross, Cennet Köse, and Maggie Lynch.)

The summer and fall of 2001 saw the organization of numerous Friends' events, some familiar and some new. In late July, 25 Friends participated in the annual trip to **Gordion**. As usual, our President, **Professor Ken Sams**, led a detailed tour of the excavations, including a stop at the most recent trenches where **Dr. Mary Voigt** has been excavating Roman houses and artifacts. Conservator **Dr. Richard Liebhart** gave a talk and a tour of the work being done on the **tumulus of King Midas**. The only negative aspect was that everyone who ate the chicken from the box lunches - both Friends and Gordion staff members - soon came to regret the experience. A few Friends, however, claimed that the trip was well worth it!

While security concerns in the post-September 11 environment disrupted travel plans everywhere, ARIT continued to sponsor tours and lead undaunted travelers to various parts of Turkey. Although

low participation did force the cancellation of the traditional annual 4-Day Thanksgiving trip to Antalya, other ventures continued forward as scheduled after a hiatus of tours in August and September.

In early October, the always-energetic **Dr. Julian Bennet** of Bilkent University led fourteen Friends on a weekend trip to **Trabzon** and environs. The weather proved unusually beautiful for that time of year, and all enjoyed the hike up to the **Soumela Monastery** near **Maçka**. The group also visited the 18th century **Kastel Kona** at **Surmene**, an Armenian mansion that is nearing completion of years of restoration. The trip also featured a scenic drive into the pine-covered mountains, up to the yaylas (summer pastures), and a visit to a tea factory in Rize.

In late October, **Dr. Geoffrey Summers** at Middle East Technical University led the annual day trip to Hittite sites near **Boğazköy**, northeast of Ankara. Once again, unusually warm and beautiful fall weather - at a time of year which is often cold and rainy on the Anatolian Plateau - made the trip to the land of the Hittites all the more delightful. Thirteen friends joined in on the visit to the 13th century BC Hittite capital at **Hattusha** and to view the rock carvings at the nearby sanctuary at **Yazılıkaya**.

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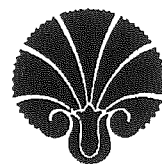
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DR. TONI MARIE CROSS

August 12, 1945 – April 11, 2002

A funeral service was held for Dr. Toni Cross at Kocatepe Mosque in Ankara at noon prayer time on April 13, 2002. Dr. Cross was buried at Cebeci Asri Mezarlığı.

A memorial service was held at the American Embassy Residence on the evening of May 15, 2002. The service was attended by numerous friends, colleagues and co-workers of Toni, and several moving tributes were offered on Toni's behalf, about her life, her wonderful and unique spirit, and her achievements during her long tenure at ARIT-Ankara. Speakers included Ambassador Robert Pearson, Charles Gates, Suna Güven and Feride Acar.

A second memorial service was held at the Turkish Embassy in Washington, DC, on May 30, 2002. Reminiscences were offered by Ambassador Marc Grossman (Under Secretary for Political Affairs at the Department of State), Mrs. Morton Abramowitz, Mrs. Hillary Metternich (on behalf of Dr. Gary Leiser), and Ambassador Richard Barkley. A professional tribute, "Dr. Toni Cross, ARIT and American Archaeology in Turkey," was offered by Dr. Scott Redford, a close friend and long-time colleague of Toni's.

For those wishing to contribute to the ARIT scholarship fund in memory of Toni Cross, please contact Dr. Nancy Leinwand, ARIT, University of Pennsylvania Museum, 33rd and Spruce Streets, Philadelphia PA 19104. Charitable receipts will be provided to donors.



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Ilay Örs, Istanbul Friends of ARIT Fellow and Ph.D. candidate in the Joint program of Anthropology and Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University.

Project: *On Cosmopolitan Lives Past and Present: the Greeks of Istanbul*

For my fieldwork endeavor I chose not one, but two field sites: Istanbul and Athens. Research combining these two sites was critical to do justice to my broad, understudied, and potentially charged topic: the culture and identity of the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul and the Constantinopolitans in Athens.

Research: First Impressions

When I began my research, my conviction was that the Istanbulite Greeks in Athens and Istanbul were essentially the same community. The Constantinopolitans in Athens had had to leave their families and friends behind when they migrated from Istanbul throughout the 20th century. Many, however, retained close ties to the Rum community (the community of Greeks in Istanbul who hold Turkish citizenship), traveling back and forth in order to maintain the connection with their hometown - their *memleket* - even if they did not have any relatives left in Istanbul. In my mind, however, the relationship between the Greek Constantinopolitan and Istanbul was much more than a city-dweller's ties to their village. It was the ultimately urban, cosmopolitan quality of being somebody from "the City," in reference to the capital city and the center of the Orthodox Church.

It was in this quality, I originally argued, that the Constantinopolitan Greeks took pride, since their Istanbul origins were their main source of identity. They were more likely to refer to themselves as Istanbul Rum than Hellenes, and to feel that their migration to Athens was in no sense an act of "going back," as some might have mistakenly believed. They constituted a diaspora in Athens, yet a different kind, a diaspora of a City, of Istanbul.

Many would think that the homeland of Greeks is Greece, and those who do not live in Greece to-

day are part of Hellenism abroad; they are one of the few million members of the Greek diaspora together with those in South Africa, Australia, North America and elsewhere. Yet Istanbulites resist being categorized as such. There are always exceptions to categories, and Istanbul is an exceptional city.

I found that these ideas were confirmed to some extent by the community in Athens. Istanbulites distinguish themselves from Athenians, the Greeks of Greece, Greeks abroad, and Greeks from Asia Minor. There was no question that there was a distinct identity of the Istanbul Rum, and there was much suspicion that this was an identity of distinction. One Rum person who arrived in the late 1950's noted: "Obviously there is a big difference between the culture of the city and of the countryside. Athens had nothing when we came here, all these people here came from some village." Another person, hearing that I was speaking Turkish, thought that I might have been "one of those from Anatolia." Only after learning that I was also from Istanbul did he relax and start talking to me freely. My Turkish origins did not matter.

Progressing with my interactions within the community in Athens, I discovered that there were several distinct Istanbulite identities. Just as Istanbul has an exceptional record of histories, demographics, interchanges, and mobilities, the Istanbul Greeks also presented an amazingly diverse picture of multiple trajectories. The community in Athens is big, formed through several waves of migration throughout the second half of the last century. All came under very different circumstances, carrying with them unique experiences that bound them into a shared community. They all shaped the memory of their lives in Istanbul in the light of recent experiences, and, absorbing the current reality in a different light each time, re-shaped their identity accordingly. The task at hand was enormous, and since I was not going to get a neat picture of the Istanbul Rum in Athens very easily, I decided to get my hands muddied in Istanbul first.

Istanbul: insiders and outsiders

Right from the start, I was more relaxed about the part of my research that I was going to conduct in Istanbul. I was born and raised there, I knew the geography, and could find the right connections and language for communication. I also believed that the informants would be more comfortable with me than those in Greece, as I was not a foreigner in Istanbul. I was quickly proven wrong. I was reminded many times that the Rum Orthodox community in Istanbul, or what remained of it, had a quite "stubborn" center of conservatives, who felt that their already disappearing religious and traditional structure was threatened through contact with the "outsiders." This was the same circle that exercised what the Rum youngsters call "community pressure" which often inserted a feeling of guilt in them whenever they chose to have non-Rum friends or, even worse, spouses. Some thought that this heightened sense of pressure was some kind of "defense mechanism," while others used a proverb to interpret the situation: "Conflict becomes greater when the stakes get smaller."

In reference to the community's high level of internal segregation, informants noted that although the number of Istanbul Rum living in Istanbul does not exceed 3,000, there are currently more than 80 societies that are still active to some extent. This number is higher than that of Athens, where the number of social centers or clubs exclusive to Constantinopolitans is not estimated to be more than 15-20, although the number of the first generation Istanbulites is perhaps around 50,000. The establishments in Istanbul remain from the times when the Rum population was much larger, but it seems that diminishing numbers do not necessarily couple with diminishing tensions.

Institutions: sites of disappearance

Given the complex institutional structure and established history of the Rum community in Istanbul, I felt the need to focus on several institutions that represent landmarks of the Rum culture in the City. These include, among others, the Balıklı Hospital and Nursing Home, Kurtuluşspor and Beyoğluspor clubs, newspapers published in Greek, and few primary and secondary level schools, such as the Zapyon Kız and Zografyon Erkek Liseleri.

Research and interviews concerning the current situation of the educational system showed that the present circumstances effecting the educational life of the community are quite severe. The lack of appropriate staff and faculty makes it difficult to meet the needs of even the extremely low and ever dropping number of students. As a result, the standards of education have diminished considerably over the last few decades. This is the main reason why many families either send their children to study abroad, or move with them out of Istanbul (mostly to Athens) in order to restart a life for them under better conditions. These rarely come back to Istanbul; often they build social and business relations in Greece, marry and eventually raise their families there. A second reason for young people to leave is the small probability of finding eligible partners within the Rum community in Istanbul. Pressure against having relationships with non-Rum does not help better this situation.

On discourses and nostalgia

A second component of my research has been to examine the role of nostalgic discourse among these communities. Some have argued that the life of Istanbul's struggling community of Orthodox Rum seems to be desperately endangered. They mourn the greatness lost, nostalgically revisit the past, recall memories of an Istanbul where ethnic, national religious, linguistic groups of all economic, professional, historical backgrounds coexisted in total harmony, each with their own unique ways of being. They remember an Istanbul -- especially a Pera -- which displayed the many facets of such a colorful urban society. In this nostalgic discourse, the Rum emerge as but one major entity confirming, and in turn strengthening this cosmopolitan culture by their very existence. In fact, the disappearance of that multiculturalism is often linked to their departure: "*Rumlar gitti, o Istanbul bitti.*" Playing the leading role in the drama of nostalgia, it is the Rum who became the symbol of cosmopolitanism as far as Istanbul is concerned.

Such nostalgic discourse should not be dismissed as pure fiction or distortion. It creates new sources of knowledge about past realities, and its

recreation of the knowledge about the past reveals present realities as well. An analytical approach towards nostalgic discourses should take into account the many interlinked socio-political factors effecting the way in which the past is conceptualized and represented. In this view, the treatment of nostalgic discourses should not be too different from the treatment of official histories, even if their intent or content may be very different indeed. In effect, however, they both have the potential of blocking the recognition of certain important realities in order to romanticize others. It is this superficiality that one needs to avoid while accepting any of these versions.

In the case of Istanbul Rumlar, the discourse that puts them in the center of a cosmopolitan picture of Istanbul is one that seeks to evoke a feeling of sympathy. Reacting to those who see the Rum as a color contributing the multicultural decoration of the city, they resent being objectified, "*sanki bir vazo, bir süsmüşüz gibi.*" They feel themselves reduced to a mechanical role they are made to fill, an empty place in the "*kültür yelpazesini*" of Istanbul.

For there is a competing discourse, closely linked with Greek romanticism and to some extent the Greek official history. In this discourse, the Greeks (here the distinction between the Rum and the Hellene is lifted in favor of the latter) are the true founders, and thus owners of Konstantinoupoli, a name which Greeks still prefer to use when they refer to Istanbul. Ever since the Byzantine times, Greeks have been considered the bearers of culture and civilization, and even the Turkish sultans recognized these qualities. In spite of their minority and subject status, they were granted exceptional leeway to pursue their civic, religious, and commercial affairs. Although under Turkish rule they could not advance as far as they might have otherwise, any act and manner of Europeanization and modernization under the Ottoman Empire is credited to the Greek population.

Both discourses tend to veil the part of the Rum community in Istanbul who may have been neither as prosperous, educated, modern, open-minded, or visible as others who emerged on the stage of history depicted by the above discourses. One of these discourses creates a picture of multicultural

coexistence and cosmopolitan urban culture, into the anonymity of which the Istanbul Rum person disappears. The other discourse singles out this person, tells the history of the community in the light of what we know about successful statesmen and rich entrepreneurs, at the expense of understanding the parameters that effected the majority of modest Rum. In both cases the problem still stands: the lack of an effective, analytical framework suited for a thorough understanding of the Istanbul Rum community as it changes through time, across space, and as interlinked with the wider political, economic, demographic systems and phenomena in our world.

In my research, I am attempting to use the views of the Rum people themselves in order to question the many discourses and categorizations that have been imposed upon them throughout the centuries. In the absence of sound, insightful studies, conceptualizations have tended to occur through stereotypical imagery based on little knowledge that is essentialized. The life of the Rum in Istanbul is full of cases in which this happened, and as a result of which they suffered. Yet there has been astonishingly little written, even conveyed about their telling and consequential experiences. My ongoing research is intended to break the silence on and of the Constantinopolitans in order to provide an insight not only into a rich and varied cultural community, but also to revisit the way in which we view conceptualizations such as city, diaspora, difference, and identity.

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