Cosmopolitanism or Constitutive Violence?

The Creation of "Turkish" Iraklio

ARIS ANAGNOSTOPOULOS

When thinking and speaking of past coexistence, we necessarily speak from the historically specific ideological conditions of contemporary discourses, since those discourses have been shaped by events of fissure and strife. This has become by now almost a truism in the social sciences, but it is far less accepted in public discourses on historical division. When studying peaceful coexistence before a period of interethnic strife, we need to wonder, for example, whether the subjects of this coexistence are social entities created after the fact of violent rupture. This is a point amply made by Rebecca Bryant in the introduction to this volume and need not be reiterated here. What I want to consider, however, is that this condition of reflexivity is not an epistemological adeptness—or lack thereof—on our part, but a historical "real": the very same processes and events that were recorded as transformative in the timeline of communities are often those that create the analytical categories we assume as natural. Historians and social scientists, as evidenced in this volume, speak and intervene as political subjects firmly embedded in an *ex post facto* arrangement of concepts, people, and things. In this respect, it may be more pertinent to instill a radical strangeness in these taken-for-granted agglomerates, rather than establish a final truth about communities and individuals in the past, which, as Bryant points out, may oftentimes be impossible. By studying these liminal positions of strangeness, we may hope to understand more clearly the construction of either/or binaries through which historical reason functions in intercommunal conflict (see Bakshi this volume), but also establish our position as engaged subjects, without recourse to essential identities and states (Bryant this volume).

The particular examples I discuss below show how historical categories such as "Turkocretans," widely accepted today as an accurate sociological denomination for Cretan Muslims and a political tool for reframing interreligious coexistence, when examined more closely present testimonies for a violence of definition that is the corollary of a social rupture they leave unexplained. The profound antagonism between Christian and Muslim Cretans produced a descriptive term for the latter, which bore the marks of the predominance of the former in all aspects of social life during the last half of the nineteenth century (Andriotis 2004). The creation of sociological entities such as "communities" is often intertwined with larger projects of power, which reshape the material environment and therefore alter the memoryscape in which groupings of people are imaginatively created and remembered. The way scholars and laypeople approach and recreate images of peaceful coexistence in the Ottoman Empire is oftentimes markedly aestheticized by the heritage industry of today, especially in the context of cosmopolitan Mediterranean ports, and often prevents them from understanding the context of coexistence in the past (e.g., Ilbert and Yannakakis, 1997; see also Driessen 2005; Waley 2009). Furthermore, a picture of coexistence painted after conflict has occurred may avoid the portrayal of power relations of exploitation or oppression on a multiplicity of levels—gender, class or otherwise—in favor of a major, usually ethnic, antagonism (see Starr this volume; compare Humphrey 2012: 45; Theodossopoulos 2006).

The turn of the twentieth century constituted a threshold in the history of Crete. Following a Christian insurrection that began in 1896, in 1898 the nearly two hundred-year-long Ottoman rule was succeeded by an autonomous regime that lasted for fifteen years, up to 1913, when Crete was officially annexed to Greece. The year 1898 marked, for the inhabitants of the city of Iraklio, the beginning of the destruction of the material traces of Ottoman presence. This was part of a class initiative to reshape the city into a western metropolis (Anagnostopoulos 2007)—a process that began after Iraklio was annexed; gathered pace in the decades following the 1923 exchange of populations, when the last Muslims left the island; was deepened by wartime destruction; and eventually reached its apex in the construction boom of the early 1970s. Throughout the destruction of the Ottoman past of the city runs a uniting thread that connects the annihilation of material artifacts with the effacement of the living memory of its Muslim inhabitants. The latter either abandoned the island in subsequent waves of immigration to Asia Minor and the Middle East, or they were forcibly relocated in the 1923 exchange of populations. The very process that guaranteed the destruction of the marks of their presence was the same process that created the

grounds for the nostalgia for the "others" that cohabited the cosmopolitan city. In a very apposite irony, this process began effacing the marks of those others by first naming them.

One City, One History, Two Cities, Two Histories, or Perhaps More?

In 2004, in view of the portion of the Olympic Games being held in the city, the municipality of Iraklio issued a DVD guide to the city in collaboration with the University of Crete. The guide, a celebration of the material and cultural heritage of the city, is called "Heraklion, A City Through the Ages."[1] The Greek subtitle of the guide is much more revealing of its scope: "One City, One History" (*mia poli, mia istoria*). The unification of the history of the city into one continuous narration, held together by the material fabric of the city and the traditions, real or invented, of the people inhabiting it today, is further pursued in the spoken text, especially in the section "Monuments" (or "Space" in the Greek version):

> Through [*sic*] a dynamic city, modern Iraklion is steeped in the history of its awe-inspiring defenses. A stronghold built by the sea, its walls stand in silent witness to the moments of glory and terror. Many races have found a home in its streets, and many gods have been invoked in its houses of prayer. Along its winding streets, humble dwellings are cramped cheek-by-jowl with neoclassical mansions and modern, multi-story apartment blocks. (Municipality of Heraklion 2004)

To identify Iraklio with its Venetian ramparts is here a convenient way of conceiving the city as a single, compact body, transformed though history. Many of the "races" implied in the voiceover lived in the city long before the "awe-inspiring defenses" were constructed in the fifteenth century CE. The idea of the enclosed city-organism is the converging point for the rationales of modern heritage industry and nationalist history: past antagonisms and historical transformations are subsumed into a major antagonism, which in this case is understood as the liberation of Cretans—Greeks—from subsequent waves of invasion and occupation, which is inscribed in the unified material infrastructure of the city and sold as a packaged commodity to the thousands of tourist visitors each year. In view of this subsumation, material markers of communal or other identity that were prominent in the past are naturalized as marks of the "pluralism" of the cultural heritage of the city. The different "races" that walked the streets of the city, the different religions that prayed

in its confines, and the different classes and gendered individuals that lived in the city, are all transformed into positive forces that "secreted" the multifarious built record of the city, which proves a selling point in the context of the heritage industry today. Ironically, the effort to show the city as a unique transhistorical organism is a distinctively modern concept. The Cretan Autonomy period (1898–1913) was marked by the effort of the prevailing Christian Cretans to modernize the city according to Western precepts (Anagnostopoulos 2007). City authorities and entrepreneurs cut into the fabric of the city, excising most signs of heterodox presence—especially Muslim.[2] For example, there is not a single standing minaret in Iraklio, whereas the minarets of the other main cities of Crete (Chania and Rethimno) constitute iconic selling points for these cities. Much later, during the commercial and tourist boom of the 1960s and 1970s, important Venetian landmarks—such as the church of St. Salvador—were demolished by the city authorities following decisions to encourage progress aimed at creating a cityscape more akin to a western metropolis. The idea was to open up spaces and roads in the urban fabric that to many progress-minded commentators looked like a "tourkopolis" (Turkish city) (Dermitzakis 1963: 89). Now this dedication to progress has put Iraklio in the difficult situation of having to shape a past by pulling together what remains of the destructive effects of modernization (Anagnostopoulos 2007, 2011).

In the DVD, the Muslims of Crete are rarely encountered. In fact, they are only mentioned as the mob that perpetuated the uprising of 25 August 1898 and the slaughter of some two hundred Christian Irakliots and eighteen British soldiers (Karelis 2001). However, many of the old houses that are presented as the built heritage of the city are Muslim Cretan houses. In fact, throughout the nineteenth century at least, Cretan cities were predominately Muslim. Iraklio itself had a very pronounced Muslim element, which declined after the transition to the autonomous regime in 1898 and the massive immigration of Cretan Muslims.[3] Irakliot Muslims were notorious for their propensity to mass violence; however, there is little known about the social reasons for the reactions of the most destitute of Iraklio Muslims (see Anagnostopoulos 2007: 88; Andriotis 2004: 71). This "barbarous mob" featuring in most histories of Crete and the city is responsible however for most of the remaining buildings that constitute the "old Iraklio" today.

The periodization of Cretan history presented in the DVD is based on the tacit understanding that the history of Crete is the history of its conquest by foreign armies, and that the time between the Byzantine era and 1898 was merely a break in the continuation of Greek history on the island. To give only one example, the nineteenth century, a century of

profound changes in the administration and character of the Ottoman Empire (Ortaylı 1999), which had equally deep and long-lasting effects on the social formations in Crete, is described in the work of historians of Crete as "the era of Cretan revolutions" (e.g., Detorakis 2005: 26). International events feature in this kind of history only as a backdrop, as echoes from distant shores, but Cretan history is conceived as a product of the voluntarism of its people and their desire for union with Greece. The dramatic and epic scale such events are described in this history contrasts starkly with the parochial character historians attribute to it, since they consistently refuse to examine Crete as part of a wider network of economic exchanges and political power. Consequently, all interpersonal, familial, or clan instances of violence recorded throughout the nineteenth century are inscribed into this narrative of the struggle of all (Christian) Cretans for unification with Greece.

While this picture is currently being rectified in economic history (e.g., Perakis 2008), social history remains trapped in a strange conundrum. Contemporary historians attempt to counter strictly nationalist narratives by emphasizing the cosmopolitan past of the city. Giannis Zaimakis, for example, in a chapter titled "The Cosmopolitan City, 1900–1923," after stating that "historical events and political changes transformed the social body of the 'oriental' city" (Zaimakis 1999: 69), gives the following description:

> Cultural elements of the spatial organization, like religious monuments (Orthodox, Sinai and Armenian temples, mosques, minarets and *tekkes*), Venetian buildings (the Koule,[4] the Loggia, the tall ramparts etc), the Arabian wall, poor neighbourhoods with stone paved alleys and low-ceilinged houses, *mondain* ['kosmikos'] squares with theatre halls and nightclubs and, finally, scattered *cafe aman* and *cafe chantants* shaped a landscape that testified to the cosmopolitan character of the city and the mix, in its environment, of various cultural traditions. (Zaimakis 1999: 70)

The question here, of course, is how in the two years that followed the end of Ottoman rule the city was transformed from "oriental" to "cosmopolitan." On further examination, the question remains: what exactly is the difference between the two cities, since the picture Zaimakis gives us can apply to the city at the end of the nineteenth century as well as at the beginning of the twentieth (see Zei 2005: 82). The answer, according to the same author, is that the violent antagonism of the two main religious elements brought about profound demographic changes, with the emigration of some 40,000 to 50,000 "Turkocretans" to Asia Minor and

North Africa. It thus transformed a predominantly Muslim city into a city where the two elements were almost equally represented, with the Muslim element constantly declining until their final departure during the population exchange following the Asia Minor defeat of the Greek army in 1923. At the same time, the British occupation of the city, the development of trans-local communication networks and the mingling of different ethnicities within the city "created conditions of cosmopolitanism" (Zaimakis 1999: 70).

One could counter that trans-local communication networks were already in place by at least the beginning of the eighteenth century (Triantafillidou-Balladié 1988), while contact with foreign ideas and mores was a mainstay for the wealthier classes of the city at least since the middle of the nineteenth century (Svolopoulos 2005: 147). Besides that, the main import of this description is to contrast cosmopolitanism to the "oriental" city. In a few words, cosmopolitanism is secured only after the ethnic (religious) balance is shifted, when the Turkocretans leave the island, and only when the legitimate use of force (to use a Weberian category) changes hands and comes to employ distinctively Western techniques of liberal governance (Svolopoulos 2005: 122–23; compare Foucault 1997: 73–74). Up to then the Ottoman Empire was the guarantor of the health and prosperity of the Muslim element. Now, the Great Powers were the guarantors of the growing economic and social power of the Christian element, and the legitimacy of the new autonomous state. The predominance of the Muslim element was prohibitive of cosmopolitanism, but contributed greatly to it through its minority existence after its gradual uprooting from Crete. Its non-presence, and the marks that it leaves behind, become cultural markers that secure the character of the new, cosmopolitan city. In fact, the cosmopolitan city becomes cosmopolitan only when contrasted to the older, "oriental" city, and incorporates the material fabric of this city as an indicator of this passage to modernity (compare Said 1978: 6–7).

Cosmopolitan versions of the city's past are strikingly similar to what Renato Rosaldo has termed "imperialist nostalgia": the agents of ruination feel nostalgic toward the state of things they have destroyed. The very force of destruction is the one that produces its memory, but occludes the process of destruction itself (Rosaldo 1989). Central to the "crypto colonialism" (Herzfeld 2002) of the West in this case is the activity of merchant elites, especially Christian ones, in the forging of a cosmopolitan identity for the city. In fact, as recent work on "actually existing cosmopolitanism" (Robbins 1998: 2) shows, cosmopolitanism is an explicitly class-bound "ethos" that is intrinsic to the activity of mercantile elites who integrated the eastern Mediterranean into the world

economy (Driessen 2005; Sifneos 2005). The ways in which this class ethos and its related ethnic politics translated into an aesthetic outlook of nostalgic cosmopolitanism is well documented for other port cities, as for example for Habsburg Trieste (e.g., Ballinger 2003a, 2003b; Waley 2009). The paradoxical nature of nostalgic claims to Irakliot cosmopolitanism is that it runs counter to wider political understandings of cosmopolitanism. Recent revisions of the notion have stressed that cosmopolitanism— as a political program envisioned in the early nineteenth century—is inimical to the territorial demands of the nation-state, although it can be a compliment to nationalism and irredentism (Cheah 1998: 25; see also Fine 2003, 2006). In the case of Crete, cosmopolitanism in its port cities was enhanced, rather than inhibited, by the protection of the *millet* system (compare Driessen 2005: 138), and flourished in tandem with the irredentism and nationalism of its Christian inhabitants. As Ballinger shows in the case of Trieste (Ballinger 2003b: 93), the apparent paradox of Cretan irredentism coinciding with cosmopolitanism is no paradox at all, in fact it is part of the political action that created a network of contacts and power that caused political and social change. What is really paradoxical is that this cosmopolitanism is attributed to its effect, rather than its cause: that it was really produced by the coming of the territorial state—which was the end result of its political mobilization—rather than the social relationships of empire that produced and nourished it.

The construction of the historical entity of the "old Iraklio" (*to palio Iraklio*), which represents the city at an indeterminate point in time amounts to a project of "aesthetic cosmopolitanism" (Kofman 2005; Calhoun 2008), stripped of its social or political corollaries and presented as a characteristic of the city-organism rather than a trait of a specific class. It selectively connects a Eurocentric vision of modernity to a fetishization of ruins in the promotion of the European character of the city: the unifying characteristic is not the haphazard, maze-like urban fabric of "oriental" times, but the sturdy, imposing ramparts of Venetian, i.e., European, tradition. The erasure of poor, disenfranchised, oriental subjectivities from the shaping of history, through a variety of means, described below, is therefore the other central characteristic of this aesthetic. The remains of this underrepresented element constitute an addendum to aesthetic cosmopolitanism: without these remains, a cosmopolitan image is impossible.

Marks of Coexistence and Invisible Minorities

Invisible and unrepresented, the Muslim element is usually identified with the anonymous mass that produced the indiscriminate maze of

low-rise houses in the poorest neighborhoods of the city. This maze in its nostalgic content becomes in other narratives a symbol of something else entirely: the peaceful coexistence of the "common people," who in fact had nothing to divide them and were living in a continuous peace that was wracked by the forces of politics (compare Millas 2006). Interestingly, accounts of this sort were descriptions of the Muslim element after the predominance of the Christian, in the two decades or so between the regime change of 1898 and the forced repatriation of Cretan Muslims in 1923.

Elli Alexiou, a female, left-wing writer, disciple and friend of Kazantzakis, wrote an autobiographical short story (published in 1938), in which this association of built monuments in space is precisely tallied with the forced excision of Muslim Cretans from the past of the city and the island, leaving only their material traces behind. The short story begins with the communal spring donated by one "Brahim Baba," which was the mainstay of the neighborhood and a common source for water. It was built by Ibrahim Baba, still alive at the time of Alexiou's writing, as a donation for his son's well-being. Alexiou describes it as a communal monument, a place for socialization, and also a marker for very personal coming-of-age rituals. The story then recounts the forced expatriation of Muslims and how their Christian friends reacted with sadness and a true sense of loss. Exhorted by her friend Hayriye Hanım, Ibrahim Baba's wife, Alexiou's mother sends the then teenage writer to tend the grave of Hayriye's unfortunate son, to whose health the spring was donated. The story ends with Alexiou and her brother encountering two civil engineers taking measurements of the Muslim cemetery for the refugee encampment subsequently built on the grounds: "The foundations of the houses were built on skulls and all sorts of human remains" (Alexiou 1978: 73). To Hayriye Hanım's constant questions in letters of whether the hyacinths on her son's grave were in bloom, Alexiou's mother falsely replies "yes, indeed they are again this year" (Alexiou 1978: 73).

While, in a sense, accounts such as these aim to subvert the nationalist narrative of predating Turks by showing the plight of Cretan Muslims, they nevertheless accept the major antagonism central in these accounts as valid. They accept, in other words, that the cultural differences between Christians and Muslims were the only real differences worth considering. Other, less politically discerning writers, offer a much more nuanced picture. For example Marika Freri, born in 1907, describes the neighborhood where she grew up in the only Christian house, not as an "ethnic," undifferentiated social space, marked by the idiosyncrasies of Cretan Muslims, but as a space where other differences, and particularly class differences, were also active. She explicitly contrasts the wealth of

Fatima, wife of the rich landowner Sami Bey, with the destitution of her fellow Muslims who lived in miserable abodes at the edge of the neighborhood (Freri 1979: 36–40).

The extent, however, to which the prevailing narrative about Cretan Muslims blinded social commentators and memoirists to the difference and variety crisscrossing Irakliot society at the time, is equally evident in discerning accounts of urban life. Manolis Dermitzakis, for example, a local barber, poet, and memoirist tends to lump all together as "Turks" Turkish officers; wealthy Muslims, educated in the ways of Islam; and the lower Muslim strata (Dermitzakis 1962). Furthermore, while women writers, such as Freri or Alexiou, stress cultural differences as elements of difference but not antagonism, their male counterparts reminisce somewhat differently, by coupling stories of coexistence with more polemic accounts; a good example of the latter is Kazantzakis's account of the city in *Kapetan Michalis* (Bien 2001). Both men and women writers, however, represent women as guarantors of peaceful coexistence in the city, due to their mild character and female charms (see Anagnostopoulos 2014). Kondylakis, for example, in a series of articles that I will analyze below, notes with evident nostalgia: "Poor Hanıms! If it was up to most of them, there would be such concord between Turks and Christians! They are especially conciliatory, and their beauty is often so great that it softens the cruelest heart" (Kondylakis 1896b). This is an oblique recognition of the communal ethos that emerged from practical considerations of everyday coexistence, of communal organization on the ground. Christians and Muslims shared common ground and habits, especially in the markets of the city, but also a deep-seated antagonism, which translated much larger stories of national strife into everyday terms (Dermitzakis 1962; Vardavas 1971a). It is therefore significant that stories of coexistence are woven into narratives that involve women as active agents and take place in essentially "effeminized" urban public spaces, such as communal springs (Anagnostopoulos 2011).

The Muslim element was doubly erased from the memory of the city. In nationalist versions, all Muslims are presented as the demonic "other," the instrument of the oppressing "Turkish" regime, against whom Christians (Greeks) rose in revolt, rightly ousting them from the island. On the other hand, the contribution of this element to the built fabric of the city is cleansed of any reference to ethnic or religious denominations as active agents, and presented as the result of a regime of "coexistence." These twin versions present us with the same conundrum: either the Muslims of Crete were violent barbarians or they were peaceful nonentities. Their violence is either vile or nonexistent, but in any case it has no social roots at all.

The Muslims of Crete as a historical entity are a mute subject as well as a construction of historical thinking. Others speak about them; their speech is mediated by the reminiscences of their Christian compatriots or the appreciation of the authorities for their humble abodes. There are rare occasions where a distinctively Muslim "voice" can be heard (e.g., Planakis 2011; Anagnostopoulos 2011). Appropriately, a recent investigation into the Muslims of Crete by a social historian was called "Turcocretes: In Search of Identity" (Tzedaki-Apostolaki 2001). Yet, the search for identity that is more evident right now is that conducted by the historians themselves. The existence of Cretan Muslims constitutes a major historiographic problem, that of writing about a group of people that has left sparse representations of itself as a community of any kind (see, e.g., Andriotis 2004; Peponakis 1997). However, in their attempt to resolve the question of political violence, social historians reverted to a notion that is totally created by the Christians of Crete, namely the Turkocretan.

The problem, then, is not whether the Muslims of Crete were violent or not. The problem is the question itself, which presupposes that the Muslims of Crete were one thing that must be examined in its totality as a political entity; that their violence, collective or individual, must be explained accordingly, based on social, cultural, or, even worse, "racial" traits. That violence, especially ethnic violence, is central in the political constitution of this entity is evident. However, this violence is much different than the one supposed by the historians. Historians attempt a sum totaling of acts of violence under the common denominator of ethnicity-religion. For example, Margaritis states that the massacres perpetuated by the Muslims in Iraklio were of lesser impact and scale to the massacres perpetuated by Christians in Sitia (Margaritis 2001: 104). It is unclear whether the Muslims of Iraklio had anything in common with the Muslims in Sitia, and the same goes for the Christians of the same regions. In fact, fractionalism was much more pronounced in the two purported camps than is commonly accepted (e.g., Aggelakis 2004). Losses on two "sides" presuppose that there *are* two sides that understand themselves as such. Not only as enemies of one another, but also as friends, as culturally common within their confines. The notion of the *millet* may have been an official way of thinking, but it is unclear to what extent it unified the religious element on the ground, beyond a merely strategic identification with a religious creed that regulated access to state services. As has been noted, the imagination of the antagonistic other is paramount in the transgression of these fractional differences within the community and sometimes the constitution of a nation-in-waiting from people who would not think of themselves as

members of a community (Bowman 2003, 2007). In this case, it also constitutes the Other as a distinct community, through a process that misrepresents this Other, effaces the social grounds of its existence and leaves traces that become ex post facto histories of this imagined Other.

Naming the Other

The category "Turkocretes" (Turkish Cretans) used by modern-day historians to denote and analyze Cretan Muslims as a community, as a consistent ethnicity, has a revealing genealogy. As a descriptive term, it collapses regional and class variations, and proposes a common identity, which probably only gained some significance after the last of the Muslims had left the island for the Asia Minor and North African coasts in 1923. Then it came to signify Greek-speaking, Muslim refugees from Crete. The first public appearance of the term in writing that I have located is in an article by the popular fiction writer and journalist Ioannis Kondylakis in the Athens daily *Estia,* on 15 June 1896. While it is certain that Kondylakis did not himself invent the term, he is probably responsible for turning it into a sociological category of invented ethnicity. Kondylakis aimed to show that Cretan Muslims were in their majority Cretans who were converted to Islam after the Ottoman occupation of Crete in 1669 (see also Peponakis 1997). The new converts, albeit forced to change their religion, were so eager to show their allegiance that they were gradually transformed into "the fiercest and most reprobate of Turks" (Kondylakis 1896a). He recognizes that this accusation is not valid for the entire Muslim population of Crete, stating that the Muslims of the Iraklio rural provinces are more tame and industrious (Kondylakis 1896b), or that the differences in customs and appearance between Christians and Muslims are minor and attributable to religion: "Their life in general differs from the mores of Christians only where it is connected with their religion or soiled [*sic*] by Turkish wickedness" (Kondylakis 1896b). He nevertheless attempts to give an account of differences that constitute the Muslims of Crete as a distinct ethnic group, and furthermore, one responsible for the perpetuation of the violence of the Ottoman state against its subjects.

But why did Kondylakis seek to introduce this new term at the time for the Athenian reading public? He could simply refer to Cretan Muslims, as foreign diplomats, politicians, and the international press called them, and at least some of the Cretan Muslims called themselves this at the time (e.g., Députation des Musulmans de Crête 1896). Kondylakis was writing amid an uprising by the Christian element of Crete that was

meant to be the last under Ottoman rule. The nationalist atmosphere in Greece, which would lead to the unfortunate Greek-Turkish war of 1897, brought the "Cretan Question" to center stage once more, as a pivot to the populist nationalism of different political factions in Athens (Gianoulopoulos 2001: 132). Simultaneously, the time seemed ripe for the annexation of Crete, either through diplomatic means or through direct intervention of the Greek army (see Holland and Markides 2006: 87).

While the violent transition from Ottoman rule to autonomous state took place, other political questions emerged, regarding the status of Cretan Muslims in a new territorial state, whether autonomous or annexed to Greece. This debate took place in view of massive Muslim out-migration from Crete. Muslim smallholders sold off their property, pressed by the Christian insurgents in the countryside, and left the island permanently (Andriotis 2004: 88; Margaritis 2001). The emerging regime was forced to guarantee equal treatment to prevent further out-migration and depletion of the island's productive workforce (Svolopoulos 2005: 111). The equality of the two creeds was guaranteed in the new constitution of the autonomous regime by the notion of *ithagenia* (autochthony), which employed the ideological notion of the Cretan *soil* as a basis for an *ad hoc* Cretan ethnicity, which transversed "older" religious differences and securely tied ethnic identity to the territory of the new state (Anagnostopoulos 2007: 177). Simultaneously, however, an official discourse was necessary that would account for interethnic violence, an analysis that would simultaneously advance the irredentist cause of Cretan Christians to its final consummation at *enosis* (union) with Greece, and pave the way to peaceful coexistence afterwards. The attention of social commentators turned to the "Turkocretans," as a slippery category denoting every Cretan Muslim by referring to the most fanatic among them. By naming this social group, it created it. At the same time, however, it concealed the social sources of events of religious fanaticism, and especially the ever-increasing numbers of Muslim Cretans who were violently pushed into poverty in contrast to the rising fortunes of their Christian compatriots (Andriotis 2004: 87–90).

Kondylakis's first use of the term is already loaded: the apparent confusion that ensued from a term that aimed to denote ethnicity in the context of religious affiliation in the *millet* system shows how the political position of Kondylakis determined its content, but also allowed for other meanings to slip in. This is evident for example in the brochure "Turkokrites" written by the translator and specialist in Ottoman law Konstantinos Fournarakis in 1929 (Fournarakis 1929). Fournarakis manages to use the term Turkocretes only a handful of times, preferring the

more descriptive Cretan Muslim instead, pointing to the fact that ethnic identity and religious conviction were situation-bound and contingent, rather than ascriptive, especially in view of the devolution of the *millet* system and the empire as a political formation. He seems to reserve the characterization for those Cretan Muslims who were better off and had closer ties with the Ottoman administration, the urban and rural *aghas* and *beys*, wealthy enough to afford harems and konaks (Fournarakis 1929: 9). The marked class differences within the Muslim population, and its class relations with the Christian element, are already discernible in Kondylakis's account several decades earlier, as well as other contemporary accounts as we have seen above.

Fournarakis was writing six years after the last of the Muslim Cretans were forcefully transferred to the Asia Minor coast, as a result of the "population exchange" agreed to in the Lausanne Treaty. Therefore the author was referring to a social category that was already in the past, and its manipulation into nostalgia could be safely completed. To this day, the term has been so profoundly consolidated to signify Muslim Cretans in general, that scholarly debate can talk about "Turkocretans" as if they were a "really existing" ethnicity even before the events of their violent excision from the island (e.g., Tzedaki-Apostolaki 2001). As Slavoj Žižek argues, the identity of an object is "*the retroactive effect of naming itself*: it is the name itself, the signifier, which supports the identity of an object" (1989: 95, emphasis in the original). Indeed, the creation of a name marked the precise moment of the beginning of the excision of this population from the life of the island, and in particular the economic and social life of the city. To look for the missing identity of "Turkocretans" without looking at the genealogy of the term itself, is an incomplete undertaking, and furthermore one that embodies a profound symbolic violence. The very category that is aimed at bringing to light a supposedly forgotten "ethnicity" forgets the conditions of the creation of this category.

Spatial Politics: The "Oriental" City Versus the "Modern Western" Metropolis

As Thomas Hansen points out, "[t]he question of naming revolves," among questions of history and language, "around the question of which space, and whose, should the name fix and territorialize as its object" (Hansen 2001: 3). A bundle of interconnected processes were at work in this erasure, all of which had to do with novel techniques and ideologies of managing space in the city. In Crete, and especially in the cities, the

creation of "Turkocretans" went hand in hand with the political project of restructuring urban space. The Christian bourgeoisie, who had consolidated their control over the political fortunes of the cities, developed a discourse of progress from the filthy and disorganized Ottoman city to the controllable, clean and ordered Western, cosmopolitan metropolis, that put the blame for the destitute condition of the city in the aftermath of the 1896 uprising on the cultural shortcomings of the Muslim element.

The image of the city when a British garrison was stationed there in 1897 was nearly apocalyptic. Almost 50,000 destitute, impoverished and hungry Muslim refugees were lumped within the city walls, when in times of peace the city had a mere 20,000 inhabitants (Detorakis 2001: 112). The sanitation officials of the British occupying army described the situation with alarm in their reports to the Foreign Office. In those papers, written by Lieutenant Clarke (sanitation officer for the British garrison in Iraklio, and later advisor for public health with the Cretan government), was a report copied verbatim from his correspondence with Amabile Ittar, a doctor of Italian descent, member of the "good society" of Christian Irakliots. Ittar accounts for the sorry state of the city by giving a description of the island's Muslims, saying that while for "Orthodox" Muslims in general bodily hygiene is of major importance, for the rural Muslims, because they are of the Bektashi order and therefore more secular, ablutions are not the norm, so they are "still less apt to feel horror of filth and dirt" (*Turkey No. 1 (1899): Further Correspondence*: 130). The medical gaze of the two correspondents was informed by the already established practices of the European urban sanitation movement. But their ideological proximity was not based on a community of interest: Clarke's concerns were practical, as he wanted to sanitize the eastern neighborhoods of the city, packed to capacity by impoverished Muslim refugees. These neighborhoods were a potential source of contagion, and were close to the ramparts where the British garrison was stationed (Anagnostopoulos 2007: 114–16). For Ittar, cleaning these neighborhoods was part of a much larger scheme. On the one hand, his alarm was not only of a sanitary nature, but of a moral one as well. These neighborhoods were locally known as *berbat mahalle*—and sanctioned most of the city's unsolicited brothels and makeshift taverns.[5] These neighborhoods were thus seen as sources of pollution on two fronts.

Ittar was a vocal spokesman for the developing scheme of urban reform that was brought forward by the most enterprising of the city's bourgeoisie. Sanitary ideologies effectively justified the Christian bourgeois class offensive that reshaped the built form of the city and altered its conceptual geography. It prompted a view of the modern city that

contrasted its present with the abject past of disorganized, ad hoc Ottoman administration. It partly did so by creating an abject subject of Muslim Cretans, and organizing it in specific geographic locations. It is only seemingly paradoxical that these very same abject spaces are today rendered in a nostalgic manner as the creation of the peaceful coexistence of "common people" in their meandering alleys; seemingly, because from the moment of their inception in official schemes of city building, they were already "older" spaces, representing the Ottoman past of the city, which ended with the triumph of Christian Cretans over their Muslim compatriots.

Interethnic Violence, Nationalism, Religion and Urban Space: From Stories to History

The wholesale reshuffling of urban space in ethnic terms accompanied the process of solidifying local, contingent, person-specific stories into grand narratives of nationalist history. Both these processes—shaping space and consolidating the history of this space—share the same logic of transforming smaller, seemingly unconnected events of local significance into an organized, interconnected whole. At the same time, however, they create meaning for these smaller parts that they may not have had in advance. For example, the street known locally as *karteria* was at the beginning of the century a badly lit alley that led from a gambling house for the wealthier urban professionals to the center of the city. Local (Christian) lore exploited the similarity of the name *karteria* derived from the Italian *quartiere,* for the Venetian military quarters that stood in the street, with the Greek *karteri,* meaning ambush, urged possibly by the frequency of muggings in the area. Although Christian thieves were possibly equally involved in such exploits, the local lore has it that the name derived from the ambushes set up by Christian vigilantes that caught Muslim thieves in their getaway from robbing Christian gamblers, and then returned the money to the victims (Vardavas 1971b).

As unlikely and convoluted as this story sounds, the way it is narrated is meaningful. It seeks to connect stories of male prowess with struggles for the organization of space and the creation of ethnic subjects in the same process (compare Herzfeld 1988). The exploits of Christian and Muslim hoodlums in the city are a mainstay in accounts of the times (e.g., Vardavas 1971a, 1973; see also Zaimakis 1999). These accounts make it clear that their behavior transgressed religious or ethnic boundaries and sought to establish "turfs" as networks of personal status and prestige. The example of one Ali Obashi, a fierce former lieutenant in

the Ottoman gendarmerie, who physically attacked a fellow Muslim for abusing a Christian passer-by in religious terms, is instructive. It is clear that Ali was at this particular time more interested in keeping order over his "turf" and preserving good relations with neighboring Christians, than playing on religious or ethnic difference. This behavior becomes even more relevant to discussions about violence and coexistence when we learn that this same Ali Obashi was arrested for massacring Christians during the August 25 riots in 1898 (Dermitzakis 1962: 31). Relations with other male hoodlums, based on a violent male code of honor became more important than religious difference in the context of everyday diplomacy even in peaceful times (see Bryant this volume). These exploits were made iconic of the widespread occurrence of violence in interpersonal relations. The stories of manly feats that accompany the exploits of such men point to a narrative organization of customary, quotidian violence that transforms it into a commonsensical occurrence in the community (Ferrándiz and Feixa 2007: 57; Scheper-Hughes 1997). Violence in interpersonal relationships was constitutive in many aspects of social life in the city at the end of the nineteenth century. From establishing the boundaries of a social group such as a neighborhood to resolving interpersonal disputes, to opposing challenges to one's integrity and honor (see Anagnostopoulos 2007 for extensive discussion). Historical circumstance, however, selectively transformed the stories about local hoodlums of both religious faiths into a series of symbolic statements of Christian retributive violence.

The nineteenth-century irredentist "state of emergency" legitimized a number of common criminals as bulwarks of the struggle for liberation (e.g., Bien 2001: 373), while the military and political organization of Cretan insurgents was based on a network of status and manly violence developed in rural areas (Anagnostopoulos 2007: 90–94). As the "modern" Autonomous Cretan polity was instituted, it had to perform a double feat: delegitimize personal violence by arresting and marginalizing its perpetrators as insults to the civilization and propriety of the "new" city, and at the same time make it heroic by ousting it into the past, incorporating it into the national narrative, and forgetting the mundane character of personal violence by referring to exceptional acts of collective violence. We have already seen how the "Turkocretan" subject was constituted as a violent subject symbolic of the institutional violence of the Ottoman regime. In spatial terms, the activity of hoodlums of both religions was morally colored by the abject urban spaces that it demarcated as its turf. That these spaces were the habitation of the majority of impoverished Muslims was, of course, no coincidence. Finally, the defining violence of Christian discourses had to be invested with historical

legitimacy, which would simultaneously justify the widespread social violence of the time, especially when coming from Christian subjects. Thus, the violence of "Turkocretans" was an inherent trait, caused by their religious affiliation and their corruption by the "Turkish" maladministration (Kondylakis 1896a), whereas the violence of the Christians was a legitimate strategy, in view of their irredentist struggle.

What does this mean for the researcher who tries to establish the climate of peaceful coexistence between the two creeds? First, that coexistence is not necessarily peaceful. Reconstructions of it, especially in fiction, had a specific, progressive program that sought to present the city as a cosmopolitan haven, broken down by nationalist excesses. However, historical research makes it clear that violence was a common occurrence, moving both vertically (people oppressed by their more powerful compatriots) and horizontally (across religious groups). Especially in the case of Iraklio, to employ notions of cosmopolitanism is to ignore the plurality of antagonisms at the heart of this urban society. Second, it means that the creeds themselves were social subjects that were created by violence not on the everyday level, but rather when this violence became transvaluated (Tambiah 1996: 191) by nationalist or religious retelling. The process of transvaluation takes everyday disputes over "turf"—either personal or group territory—and invests them with imagined meaning that presupposes something "beyond" the direct community of interest, a utopian space opened by the dream-nation (Gourgouris 1996). What changes in periods of widespread interethnic violence is that precisely this common occurrence of violence is orchestrated around a common cause, which in turn justifies the proliferation of such violent incidents. Whereas the national dream proposes the abolition of all violence, its political program is to justify the violence that engenders it, and in the course of this, it allows for personal strategies of identification that justify all instances of interpersonal violence through reference to a common cause.

This process of justification is inextricably linked with the recreation of the built fabric of the city. In fact, as I have proposed in this paper, it is the very same process that produces modern ruins and furnishes them with nostalgic histories. This is a process resulting in social fetishism in the classic sense of the term, in that it creates material "testimonies" of the cosmopolitan city that occlude the social processes that have enabled them to exist at all; it seeks to present luxurious mansions, official buildings, and humble abodes as one thing, created by the linear advancement of one people through history. However, the hidden genealogy of antagonism inherent in struggles over space comes out in the stories told about the space itself. Historical and anthropological re-

search needs to read it, instead of opting for the romantically inflected nostalgia for ruins that is inherent in notions of past cosmopolitanism.

Aris Anagnostopoulos holds a PhD in social anthropology and an MA in urban history. His research focuses on the ways in which the material remains of the past are conceptualized and acted upon by contemporary societies, and the ways in which the past influences the shaping of social space. His recent work brings together the concerns and methods of archaeology and social anthropology, in the emergent sphere of archaeological ethnography. He is an honorary lecturer at the School of European Culture and Languages and a post-doctoral researcher with the Initiative for Heritage Conservancy in Greece; he currently serves as assistant director of the Irish Institute of Hellenic Studies at Athens.

Notes

1. The municipality uses the transliteration Heraklion, whereas in this article I use the much simpler and demotic Iraklio.
2. While in other areas of the Greek state this process was a conscious effort of state authorities in order to "Hellenize" local populations, in Crete the Autonomous State at least acted as a buffer to interethnic violence and attempted to safeguard the rights of Muslims, in an effort to dampen emigration and prevent economic stagnation. Local initiative was paramount in reshaping the urban environment and excising Muslim landmarks from the city, which accounts for the differences in built heritage between Cretan cities, as well as their differential management (see, e.g., Herzfeld 1991).
3. In 1881, there were 6,421 Christians in total in the city and 14,597 Muslims (Stavrakis 1890: 68). In 1900, there were 10,753 Christians and 11,659 Muslims (Kritiki Politeia 1904). In 1911, there were 15,877 Christians and 9,248 Muslims (Efimeris tis Kyberniseos 1911).
4. The local name for the Venetian castle at the Iraklio port.
5. This is another phonetic allusion, as the one described in the following paragraphs: the word *berbantis* in Greek means the dissolute philanderer. While the etymology of the word probably derives from the Italian *birbante,* which in turn derives from *birba* (crook, bum), it is phonetically close to the Turkish *berbat* (terrible, disgusting). Later commentators, e.g., Vardavas (see references), use the phrase *berbat mahalle* to refer to the neighborhood as a place of ill-repute that *berbantis* males would frequently visit, unaware of its original Turkish meaning (terrible neighborhood). I am indebted to the editor of this volume for alerting me to this particular detail.

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