



*Sharing Nostalgia in Istanbul;
Christian and Muslim Pilgrims to St George's Sanctuary*

Maria Couroucli, CNRS-Universite Paris X

Paper presented at the international Conference:

**Sharing Sacred Space:
Religion and Conflict Resolution**

Columbia University, New York
February 14-15, 2008

This paper deals with conditions for tolerance at holy places, with special attention to issues related to central and peripheral sites. The contemporary general framework is the rise of religious fundamentalism, the growing political importance of the religious domain, sometimes the invasion of religion into the social life of countries bordering the Mediterranean - all relatively recent phenomena of the post-colonial era. The present configuration is marked by the ultimate separation of ethno-religious communities within most circum-Mediterranean nation states: during the 19th and 20th centuries, Christians, Jews and Muslims have strived to achieve religious homogeneity within political territories, putting an end to a long history of cohabitation.

Shared religious practices in the Balkans and the larger post-Ottoman space, have attracted recent ethnographic research (Bowman, 1993; Hayden, 2002; Hann and Goltz, forthcoming). These phenomena have often been related to representations of a past characterized by "tolerance" towards the religious other.

My contribution is based on ethnographic observation of an annual festival taking place at one of the sites traditionally visited by both Christians and Muslims in Istanbul - and still attracting tens of thousands of people. I look at the local configurations of such sacred places in a comparative perspective within the Eastern Mediterranean, where Christianity and Islam have a long tradition of coexistence and highlight the specific concepts of space and representations of the local community involved.

Shared shrines are mostly situated in marginal places, outside and beyond the state-controlled administrative territories, villages or towns, often in the wilderness. They become focal points of the autochthonous communities, across religious frontiers. Sharing sacra is a phenomenon at once local and marginal, pointing to the dynamics involved in the making of concepts of belonging to place - beyond and despite organized religious and political communities. These are places where members of mixed local societies communicate across religious frontiers, revealing the existence of larger collective identities that are expressed during annual festivals and other celebrations, outside the jurisdiction of political and religious authorities. Is there a relation between local sacred spirits and alternative concepts of local social identities?

Mixed holy sites: an old Mediterranean tradition

Coexistence of Christian and Muslim 'visitors' or 'pilgrims' to holy sites is an old feature of the Balkan and Anatolian landscape: travellers and ethnographers have observed mixed

religious practices since the early 20th century. They belong to many local traditions, some going back to the time of the Ottoman conquest and even to late Byzantine times (Hasluck 1929; Zeggini 2001 (1996); Foss 2002). These are lands where Islam and Christianity have met and co-existed, more or less peacefully, for more than a millennium and many aspects of local customs echo different types of relations between religious communities (including conversions, business associations and intermarriages¹). Not surprisingly, the frontier hero, often descending from two "races" (two genealogically distinct groups and, by extension, two separate 'people'), is a major theme in the epic poetry of the literary traditions of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East since the Middle Ages: warriors with ambiguous identities, that could be claimed by more than one community.

Pilgrimage to shared sacred places in the Eastern Mediterranean is a most spectacular expression of Christian and Muslim cohabitation; nevertheless, it has remained largely ignored by anthropologists, who have focused more on "normal" (rather than "marginal") traditions in the region, thus reinforcing local national discourses about the homogeneous character of the societies they are studying. After all, national folklore also tended to dismiss those practices as 'untypical' of the 'traditional society' that was the foundation of the nation. It is precisely because of their marginality and their difference, though, that the study of mixed practices around sacred places can provide valuable clues to the common experience of people who lived "together" for centuries, in or near the Holy Land, in Syria, Egypt, Anatolia or the Balkans. How did they make it? What exactly did they share? How did they avoid conflict? Did members of the different communities "cross" the boundaries and on what occasions? What were the consequences of this "crossing" for the larger society? Did people live together or did they live side-by-side?

Pilgrimage is both an individual act and a collective practice and this dual character makes it more complex to analyse (Dagron 1985, 2004). The vast majority of visitors to shared sacred places in the broader Byzantine and Ottoman world have always been local men and women and their devotional activities form part of a common and widespread pattern containing elements from more than one religious tradition. In this part of the world pilgrimage is not a specific state or activity; while the western pilgrim "has a name, an iconography and a story", the oriental Christian "travels" to shrines to accomplish an act of devotion. Pilgrimage is not a specific state, every Oriental was a virtual pilgrim of a longer or shorter journey; there was no need for a specific word to name this activity (ibid.). In fact, Oriental Christian practice is referred to as *proskynesis*, veneration of a personage in certain sacred places where its "presence" can be felt: "More than the one who travelled, the Byzantine pilgrim is a *proskynetes*, one who venerated; the critical movement was over the threshold of access to the one venerated. The space claimed was one less of distance than of presence" (Weyl Carr 2002).

Recent ethnographic interest in religious practices reflects the popularity and the greater visibility of these phenomena taking place in a new context where 20th century secular traditions are becoming things of the past: post-Kemalism² in Turkey, post-socialism/neo-

¹ Intermarriage is a poorly documented phenomenon in the Ottoman world. Children of mixed unions always belong to their father's *millet*. From the administration's point of view, only conversions to Islam exist: when a non-Muslim woman marries a Muslim, she converts to Islam and her ties to her original community are severed and "forgotten". Conversions of Muslims into other religions being prohibited, it is theoretically impossible for Muslim women to marry outside her community (Green).

² The term refers to present-day Turkish political establishment and ideology, where the ideas of Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the Turkish Republic in 1923, are less dominant. For an ethnographic analysis of modern Turkey in relation to this heritage, cf. Ozyurek, 2006).

nationalism in the Balkans, neo-orthodoxy in Greece are some of the characteristic trends. Observing these phenomena implies addressing recent issues about multiculturalism, religious tolerance and politically correct attitudes vis-à-vis minorities, at the heart of contemporary political debate (Kuper, 2002).

Mixed religious practices are part of the Ottoman legacy and as such cannot be reduced to local expressions of a "cosmopolitan" lifestyle. Cosmopolitanism, a spirit related to the lifestyle of the urban elites of Ottoman society, is to be distinguished from the general population's experience of religious plurality and tolerance in Ottoman society, that allowed shared practices at certain moments (Driessen 2005). Such shared practices have inaccurately and anachronistically been associated with cosmopolitanism, a concept that has lately come under some interesting criticism. Cosmopolitanism fails to incorporate the understanding of the particularity of experience (Brubaker 2000), while contemporary issues of identity and difference point to the "hollowness" of categories, to the constant "re-interpretations" and adaptations of the "other" (Theodossopoulos 2006). They also reveal tensions and passions involved in discussing such issues as "collective representations" and national stereotypes (Kechriotis 2002; Calotychos 2003; Hirschon 2003; Papagaroufali 2005). I hope to show below that shared sacra do not imply a shared religious identity and that their sacredness stems from the relation between the human community and the land: shared sacra are primarily **sacred places**.

Mixed religious practices across the vast Byzantine and Ottoman space-time have not been the result of any top-down "tolerant" or "multicultural" ideology or policy; no legal dispositions or other kinds of texts emanating from official authorities seem to uphold any such hypothesis³. Instead, the "tolerant" attitude of the Byzantine and Ottoman societies is best understood in relation to their intrinsic nature as political entities: Empires with a long tradition of cultural pluralism characterized by the coexistence of more than one symbolic systems within a relatively loosely organized society, a social order maintained for centuries over vast territories. In this context, common ritual practices are a grass-root phenomenon whose existence and perseverance can better be understood by looking into the ethnographic detail of these experiences, keeping in mind that they have marked the memory of the "communities" involved in quite different ways.

St George as shared spirit and shrine

St George is one of the most popular saints of Oriental Christendom, whose cult is widely spread, from Egypt to Georgia and from the Balkans to Anatolia. Shrines dedicated to St George or the Virgin Mary are the two typically syncretic holy places in the Levant, traditionally attracting Muslim men and women along with Christian pilgrims (Albera 2005; Voile 2004). One of the most important present-day "shared" celebrations of the Saint is the annual festival taking place on April 23d on Princes Islands (*Prinkipo/Buyukada*) near Istanbul. My ethnographic material is based on a series of observations of the pilgrimage between 1992 and 2004.

In present-day Turkey, April 23d is a national holiday, the day of children and the Republic (23 Nisan Ulusal Egemenlik ve Çocuk Bayramı) commemorating Kemal Atatürk's coming to power in 1920. Families spend the day outdoors, picnicking in parks and woods. For the Greek orthodox mini-community now numbering around 1500 people, it is also St George's day, an important religious feast, traditionally celebrated in the countryside: religious service in monasteries or country chapels being followed by a picnic or a shared

³ For a more extended discussion on cosmopolitanism in relation to shared shrines in the ottoman tradition, Cf. Couroucli in Chris Hann (ed)., (forthcoming).

meal. Thus, the Greek orthodox monastery of St George, built at the top of the hill on Princes Island near Istanbul, still attracts a very impressive –and increasing over the years- number of visitors, estimated at 100.000 people in 2004. Most are “cultural Muslims”, belonging to the Muslim majority in Turkey. The typical pilgrims to the island are literate women from the middle classes of Istanbul brought up in the secular tradition of modern Turkey. The more recent migrants from Anatolian towns and villages only go to mosques. It takes deep local knowledge and local connexions before the Muslim pilgrim penetrates a Christian sacred place. Autochthonous inhabitants of the City, those born and raised in Istanbul, either Muslim or Rum share local ways, among these the sacred map of Istanbul, which also contains many more smaller shared shrines⁴.

Ritual time and sacred place are not fixed realities. For example, while Muslim feast days follow the lunar calendar, Christian holidays are fixed by using both the lunar and the solar calendar: Christmas is always celebrated on December 25th, following the solar calendar, but Easter's date depends on both the solar and the lunar cycle. Moreover, the Oriental church considers Lent as a period of fasting and prayer; celebrations of joy cannot be held during this period. Marriages, for example, are best postponed for the period following Easter, during May and June. The same seems to hold true for St George's feast, for whenever April 23d happens during Lent, the holiday is transferred to Easter Monday. In practice, St George's shrines host different types of celebrations, depending on the specific calendar configurations: when April 23d is after Orthodox Easter, both Christian and Muslim pilgrims gather together. Thus in Princes Islands in Istanbul, when the holiday happens during Lent, Christians do not celebrate; but the tens of thousands of Muslim pilgrims, ignoring this, visit the monastery and monks and priests welcome them in the usual way. Priests are very pleased by the great numbers of Muslim pilgrims, since they are the proof of the "power" of the saint and of Christian shrines in general: *They have faith and when they come to us we welcome them ... we read them prayers*⁵. Ordinary Christians are less enthusiastic about the attractiveness of the shrine; they refer to the feast as “the Muslim feast” and prefer not to go "up the hill" that day. On the boat taking day-trippers back to Istanbul from Prinkipo three young Armenian girls explained: “On April 23d it is the Muslims who come, Christians come on Sundays, there are less people”.

Local curators of the sanctuary say they welcome Muslim visitors because they "have faith": *The Ottomans (sic) have faith. When they come with faith, I have to welcome them and read them prayers. If I don't it is me who commits both a sin and a blasphemy.* According to the priests, Muslims go to St George because the saint can heal: *Even the imam sends these people to us priests, because they (the imam) cannot heal people. They also come to the (parish) churches. St George is famous for his power to help for a house and for business. They come to make tamata (votive offerings).* Greek orthodox churchgoers in Istanbul share the same view. At Trinity church in Pera, near Taksim, a woman in her 60s told me in 2004:

⁴ Among the important reference points, the *Ayazma* (in Turkish, from the Greek Agiasma, ‘holyful’), holy fountains to be found in or near Christian churches known for their healing powers who receive pious visitors at certain dates. On Fridays one can go to St Mary's church at *Vlachernai*⁴, on Saturdays to St *Dimitrios* at *Kurucesme*, on Christmas Eve the high society goes to St Antoine's catholic church at *Istiklal* for midnight mass. Local Christians also visit *Eyup Sultan Camii* near the Golden Horn, the miraculous tomb of a muslim Saint of the 7th century, where thousands of pilgrims gather to pray and perform sacrifice every week. Syncretism is part of Istanbul local culture, within a long tradition of coexistence, where religious communities lived side-by-side.

⁵ From the church's point of view, the importance of a shrine is related to the numbers of pilgrims who visit it; early accounts of shrines mention the crowds attending them at festivals (Foss, 2002).

Many people go to St George at Prinkipo, because he grants everything that people ask from him: a house, work, good health, he gives everything. The saint has "a good reputation" and the priests are very hospitable (to non-Christians).

Istanbul: between nostalgia and modernity

St George's celebrations in Prinkipo have been associated with the multicultural Istanbul of the beginning of the 20th century where Rum, Armenian or Jewish "minorities" represented half of the city's population, a time when one out of five Ottoman subjects was a Christian. (Alexandris 1983, Berktaç 1998, Keyder 2002). In Istanbul today the urban/rural gap divides those who 'know' from those who possess no memory of the local tradition. Descendants of the old Istanbul-born urban Muslim elites share a common memory of the multicultural society of Ottoman times, not possessed by recent migrants from the Anatolian provinces. Pilgrims to Prinkipo on 23rd April can be said to partake in the imagined community of the natives of Istanbul, those who "remember" the times when the city was home to Turks, Greeks, Armenians and Jews alike. These memories are nourishing a kind of "structural nostalgia", present-day representations and discourses about the past as a lost Eden.⁶ It is therefore important to point out that while the crowds that gather on Prinkipo on 23rd April are too large to be ignored, the event remains marginal and somehow disconnected from public life in Istanbul. For example, television coverage does not comment on the religious character of the event, presenting it as one of the many festivities that take place on this national holiday.⁷ On the other hand, the site attracts all kinds of activities: at the foot of the hill, at the beginning of the path leading to the monastery, between twenty and twenty-five stands are selling votive souvenirs, candles, small icons, blue glass beads of all sizes and even clothes. Higher up, a group of protestant young Turkish Americans were proposing the Bible in Turkish and offering "blessing" to passers-by. Syncretism means both inclusion and diversity.

Istanbul's transformation from a cultural mosaic of one million people at the turn of the 20th century into an all-Turkish ten million megalopolis within less than a hundred years has informed self-representations and local narratives about national identity. Istanbul has always been a constantly changing topos. As Dagron has pointed out, "Constantinople ... seems laden with memories, reminiscences it does not really own, nor really knows how to deal with. It lives in the present. Fundamentally, it is a new city, and has remained such for the last thousand years" (1992:572). Today, Istanbul is also the focus of nostalgia for the Ottoman past. And although the memory of this lost Eden, when Christians, Armenians, Muslims and Jews all shared the same city, still exists and is expressed in a positive way, recollection stops here: all this belongs to the past, a new society took its place. "How" all this came to an end is not part of the narrative, for the magic of nostalgia would have been dispelled. Marginal discourses, in literature for example, include more explicit references to the dramatic events that accompanied the making of Modern Turkey (Soysal 1992). Historical narratives on both sides of the Aegean Sea had long avoided the last years of the Ottoman era (Herzfeld 1997; Couroucli 2003; Mazower 2004; Couroucli 2005). Population exchanges between the Balkans and Anatolia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were a protean form of ethno-religious

⁶ "the collective representation of an Edenic order -a time before time- in which the balanced perfection of social relations has not yet suffered the decay that affects everything human. Structural nostalgia characterizes the discourse of both the state and its most lawless citizens". (1997:109).

⁷ I am indebted to Alexander Toumarkine of the French Institute of Anatolian Studies, Istanbul, for this personal communication.

"cleansing" that accompanied the transformation of the multicultural, multi-religious and multilingual Ottoman society into many monochrome, homogenized nation-states, with little contact across borders for the best part of a century (Lory 1996; Keyder 2002 ; Hirschon 2003).

Contemporary ethnographic data from Istanbul and elsewhere in the ex-Ottoman lands of the Eastern Mediterranean contains many similarities with archival ethnographic material on ritual practices in the Balkans and Anatolia in early 20th century (Albera and Couroucli, forthcoming). One of the most important common elements is that syncretic practices take place, then as now, *outside* parish territories, beyond the reach of religious authorities; in fact, beyond and in spite of the *millet* system and the Ottoman administration⁸. Another element that needs to be stressed is the preponderance of churches over mosques within the traditional Ottoman space, especially in small localities and rural areas, as well as the important number of monastic foundations. The closest Muslim equivalent to the Christian monks or local clergy or would be members of the different religious orders (*tarikats*), local curators of *tekkes* (lodges associated with a saint's tomb) and not subject to any central authority. These are the holy men to whom one can turn to in times of trouble or illness; in very much the same way as people turned to monks living in Christian monasteries. It is not fortuitous that in the Balkans Christian chapels and shrines as well as *tekkes* are all referred to as *vakf* (pious establishments) still today (Albera and Couroucli, forthcoming).

In the mixed villages and towns of Anatolia, interaction between members of the different *millet* followed a general pattern. For example, the mixed localities of the Black Sea in the early 20th century, dignitaries from each community (Muslim Pashas, civil servants and/or big landlords, and Greek Orthodox or Armenian priests and merchants) exchanged visits on important holidays, Muslims visiting Christians on Christian holidays and Christians visiting Muslims on Muslim holidays. In Istanbul, people still talk about how Christian neighbourhood friends offered Easter eggs to their family and how they returned the gift by offering sweets on *bayram* days. This does not imply that "sharing" and "mixing" was a feature of everyday life or that everyone lived together. On the contrary: sharing, mixing and exchanging were extraordinary events that happened at specific calendar dates or other special occasions. Extraordinary but not dramatic: well-regulated mixed practices in fact provided the necessary pathways across community boundaries, making regular communication possible between communities. The same holds true for holy places visited by pilgrims from more than one religious community: the pilgrim follows a given trail and adapts to the specificities of each site. In Christian shrines visitors focus on the icons, while in Muslim ones the focal point is the saints' tomb. In St George's monastery in Princes islands, both Christian and Muslim pilgrims light candles, offer oil and pass before the saint's icon. In other Christian chapels of Istanbul, the trail includes drinking water from the holy fountain. Likewise in *Eyup*, the most sacred Muslim *türbe* in Istanbul, Christians visitors come to offer sacrifice to the saint, according to Muslim custom. The symbolic transfers by means of which the relation of pilgrim to saint is established – the gestures performed (kneeling, praying, or receiving prayers from the priest), the objects manipulated (coins rubbed against slabs of stone or icons, pieces of cloth attached to a tree next to the shrine, piles of stones, threads pulled along the path leading to the sacred place), the practices attached to objects (drinking and sprinkling holy water, touching chains or icons, using keys on doors) and finally the gifts brought to the saint (oil for the lamps, candles) all point to continuities between older

⁸ The *millet* organisation was not a structure implying either equivalence or equality between communities: each was organized according to its own principles, their members living side-by-side but not really together. In mixed villages and towns, neighbourhoods (*mahalle*) were mono-religious social spaces (Keyder, Anagnostopoulou).

traditions and the present-day Istanbul. Last, but not least, shared practices are extraordinary; they represent *moments*, events happening outside normal time. They are not (and were not traditionally) part of everyday experiences; they take place in special places on particular dates and often mark exceptional events in the lives of those who participate. On pilgrimage sites, members of the two communities can coexist while, peacefully and gracefully, they avoid mixing and confrontation; clerics avoid face-to-face encounters and do not perform side-by-side; they're usually present at the sacred places at different times. In other words, spirits, their curators and the general population all partake of a system where syncretism and practices related to it are part of a way to live together.

I have emphasized the contingent character of St George's festival in Istanbul and attributed part of its popularity to an increasing nostalgia for the Pax Ottomana on both sides of the Aegean. This tendency is developing within a particular political climate in south-eastern Europe, where the integration of the Balkan states and Turkey into the European Union is one of the major political stakes. In Turkey, remembering and celebrating the Ottoman multicultural past is very much bound up with efforts to promote minority and human rights. Similarly, recent positive images of Turks and things Turkish in Greece cannot be separated from the reorientation of Greek diplomacy, promoting Turkey's entry to the EU and pursuing constructive solutions to the Cyprus problem. Within this new political climate a re-imagined community seems to be emerging as the basis of post-Cold War "political correctness". Greeks' recent infatuation with baklava, Istanbul cuisine, or baptism and marriage ceremonies at the Patriarchate followed by receptions at the newly restored plush Ottoman palaces on the shores of the Bosphorus are all part of the new reality of the re-imagined community of the 'authentic' inhabitants of Istanbul. This phenomenon also gives insight into one of the basic characteristics of Eastern Christian traditions: their capacity to survive alongside and beyond dominant alien cultural and ideological modes. As the priest on Princes Island told me "They come with faith and we welcome them".

Conclusion

Key issues of contemporary politics always inform historical and sociological discourses, about the past, as "memory preserves the past so as to serve both present and future" (LeGoff⁹). Representations of the Ottoman world as a social system characterized by peaceful coexistence and religious tolerance are shaping a new collective memory about cosmopolitan city life in the eastern Mediterranean region. These combine a nostalgic view of the past with a modern, post-Kemalist discourse about how this particular past has shaped present-day Turkey (Hirschon 2003; Ozyurek 2006). In other words, historical discourses on both sides of the Aegean are still very much informed by ideological constructions of the past, based on heavily ethno-centric representations of the nation.

To maintain tolerance and peaceful coexistence it is important to understand this historical heritage of Eastern Mediterranean societies. Syncretism was a local way of life, despite the religious and political authorities' emphasis on unified ideas and practices. In other words, shared sacred sites were in the past and remain up to our times places where different people gather without necessarily hearing the same drummer at the same time. It is therefore important to emphasize both the local and the traditional heritage in the presence of competing national discourses on each side and analyse with more critical and historically informed tools recent ideas of civilisations "clashing". The idea of a "clash of civilizations" is

⁹ Quoted by Todorov, 2004: 7.

a very simplified way to look at cultural differences and a rather a-historic way to deal with tensions related to religious identities. Local mechanisms constitute important elements for peaceful coexistence: local communities are far better equipped to deal with diversity than larger, national societies; state authorities could be inspired from these traditional ways and try not to underline the boundaries between communities, especially during these "mixed" practices. Mechanisms of protection include respect of traditional practices and also respect of minorities. Tensions are more likely to arise when sites are directly taken over by official religious authorities who have no other option but to enforce mainstream religious practices and therefore condemn marginal practices. In this context, it is equally important to remember that no central religious authority tolerates mixing and hybridity¹⁰. The ethnographic evidence point to another interesting feature about sacred places: people who gather there do so as individuals hoping to receive help in their everyday problems, not primarily as members of a religious community celebrating its identity. This is what local priests and monks in Istanbul mean when they say that "Muslims come with faith and we have to help them and read them prayers": sacred places are places of "time out" and it is important to preserve them as such. Shared shrines are definitely placed at the margins, which is another way of being at the crossroads between communities and competing entities. When pilgrims to these shrines share local traditions tensions are unlikely to arise. It is among newcomers, informed by the political context of the day, that tensions may arise: this context includes "collective memory", often cultivated by official policies about dealing with the past. Simplified versions of these official discourses appear in school textbooks, tourist guides and official speeches on commemorations of "national" events. When political discourse about the past begins to be informed by research in historical anthropology, people visiting shared shrines are bound to hear a more peaceful drummer.

¹⁰ Cf. Mary Douglas' Purity and Danger on how "mixing" and "crossing boundaries" are practices condemned by both Christian and Jewish religious traditions.

REFERENCES

- Albera, D. 2005. 'La vierge et l'islam, Mélange de civilisations en méditerranée', *le Débat*, No 137, pp. 134-44.
- Albera, D. and Couroucli, M. (eds), forthcoming. *Religions Traversées, Lieux saints partagés entre chrétiens, musulmans et juifs en Méditerranée*, Arles, Actes Sud, 366 pp.
- Bowman, G. 1993. 'Nationalizing the sacred: shrines and shifting identities in the Israeli-occupied territories', *Man*, 28, pp. 431-60.
- Brubaker, R. a. C., Frederick 2000. 'Beyond "identity"', *Theory and Society*, Volume(1): 1-47.
- Calotychos, V. 2003. *Modern Greece: a Cultural Poetics* Oxford: Berg.
- Couroucli, M. 2003. 'Genos, ethnos, nation et Etat-nation', *Ateliers*, 26, 2003.
- Couroucli, M. 2007. "Identity, nationalism and anthropologists", in Sant Cassia, P. (ed), *Between Europe and the Mediterranean*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 73-87.
- Couroucli, M. (forthcoming), *Empire Dust, an imagined community between nostalgia and modernity; the web of relations in Saint George's festival in Istanbul*, in Golts, H and Hann, Ch. (eds) *Eastern Christianities in Anthropological Perspective*, University of California Press.
- Dagron, G. 1985, 2004. 'Préface', in P. Maraval (ed.), *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient, Histoire et Géographie, Des Origines à la conquête arabe*, paris: Cerf.
- Driessen, H. 2005. "Mediterranean Port Cities: cosmopolitanism reconsidered", *History and Anthropology* 16, pp. 129-141.
- Foss, C. 2002. 'Pilgrimage in medieval Asia Minor', *DOP (Dumbarton Oaks Papers)*, Volume: 129-51.
- Greene, M. 2000. *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Hann, C, Goltz, H. (eds.), *Eastern Christians in Anthropological Perspective*: University of California Press (forthcoming).
- Hasluck, M. M. (ed.) 1929. *Hasluck, F. W., Christianity and Islam under the sultans* Oxford: Clarendon press.
- Hayden, R. M. 2002. 'Antagonistic Tolerance: Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites in South Asia and the Balkans', *Current Anthropology*, vol. 43 (2): 205-31.
- Herzfeld, M. 1997. *Cultural Intimacy, Social Poetics in the Nation-State*. New York: Routledge.
- Hirschon, R. e. 2003. *Crossing the Aegean, an Appraisal of the 1923 compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Kechriotis, V. 2002. 'From Trauma to Self-Reflection: Greek Historiography meets the Young Turks 'Bizarre' Revolution', in K. Christina (ed.), *Clio in the Balkans*, 91-108. Thessaloniki CDRSEE.

Keyder, C. 2002 'The consequences of the Exchange of Populations for Turkey', in R. Hirschon (ed.), *Crossing the Aegean*, Oxford: Berghahn Books

Kuper, Adam, 2002 "Can multiculturalism work?" A talk given on November 2002 in Institut Français in London, http://www.kenanmalik.com/debates/multiculturalism_talks.html

Lory, B. 1996. 'Les Balkans, carrefour des peuples et des nations: pour une approche historique renouvelée', in M. Couroucli, rapporteur général (ed.), *Les Balkans, carrefour d'ethnies et de cultures: les aspects éducatifs et culturels*, 37-42. Strasbourg: Editions du Conseil de l'Europe.

Mazower, M. 2004. *Salonica, city of ghosts. Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950*. London: Harper Perennial.

Ozyurek, E. 2006. *Nostalgia for the Modern, State secularism and everyday politics in Turkey*. Duke University Press.

Papagaroufali, E. 2005. 'Town Twinning in Greece: Reconstructing Local Histories through Translocal Sensory-Affective Performances', *History and Anthropology*, Vol 16 (3): 335-47.

Soysal, A. 1992. 'Prononcer aujourd'hui le 'très ancien nom'', *Critique*, No. 543-544, Byzance-Istanbul.

Theodossopoulos, D. 2006. 'Introduction: The 'Turks' in the Imaginagion of the 'Greeks'', *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 11(1): 1-32.

Voile, B. 2004. *Les Coptes d'Egypte sous Nasser. Sainteté, miracles, apparitions*. Paris CNRS Editions.

Weyl Carr, A. 2002. 'Icons and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople', *DOP (Dumbarton Oaks Papers)*, Voume: 75-92.

Zegginis, E. 2001 (1996). *O bektasismos sti ditiki Thraki (Bektashism in Western Thrace)* Thessaloniki: Pournaras