PUBLICITY, MEMORY AND POLITICS:
THE QUINCENTENNIAL FOUNDATION MUSEUM OF TURKISH JEWS

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_____

Prof. Dr.TülinGençöz
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Prof.Dr. Ayşe AyataHead of
Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Assoc. Prof.Dr. E. Attila Aytekin
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Necmi Erdoğan   (METU, ADM)   _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. E. Attila Aytekin   (METU, ADM)   _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. M. UğurÇınar   (BilkentUni., POLS)   _____

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ABSTRACT

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FOUNDATION MUSEUM OF TURKISH JEWS

Sert, Osman Cihan

M.S.,Department of PoliticalScienceandPublic Administration

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. E. Attila Aytekin

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This study analyzes the Quincentennial Foundation Museum of Turkish Jews, which is the first and single minority museum in the Turkish public domain. The principal aim of this analysis to shed light on the museum as an instutional indicator of the boundaries to take a place in the public sphere by the Turkish Jews and locating the museum between three main pillars of the Jewish-Holocaust memory politics'. The Quincentennial commemorations of the 1492 expulsion to the Europe and the Ottoman Empire narrated the Sepharad exile as another humanitarian tragedy within the relation of the Holocaust memory. The Turkish State and the Quincentennial Foundation played prime roles in this memory production. To this aim, the museum is analyzed in relation of the narration of the admission of the Sepharad refugees in 1492 and legitimation of Jewish presence in the thepublic sphere. This study will seek to answer of these questions; how the Jewish presence in Turkey is reflected over the memory of realms, how this presence is legitimized and how the Turkish State recognized

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and supported the quincentennial commemorations despite its traditional memory politics to the minorities. At the end, it will be concluded how the museum provides advantages to both sides and some dilemmas to the Jewish community.

ÖZ

KAMUSALLIK, HAFIZA VE SİYASET: BEŞYÜZÜNCÜ YIL VAKFI TÜRK MUSEVİLERİ MÜZESİ

Sert, Osman Cihan

Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü

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Bu çalışma Türk kamusal alanının ilk ve tek azınlık müzesi olan Beşyüzüncü Yıl Vakfı Türk Musevileri Müzesi'ni analizetmektedir. Analizin temel amacı Yahudi cemaatinin 1990lardan bu yana 'varoluş siyaseti'ne geçişiyle birlikte müzeyi kamusal alanda yer edinebilmenin sınırlarını gösteren bir kurum olarak ele alarak müzeye bu yönüyle ışık tutmak ve müzeyi dünyaYahudi-Holokost bellek politikalarının üç temel ayağı bağlamında konumlandırmaktır. İspanya tarafından 1492'te Osmanlıİmparatorluğu başta olmak üzere Avrupa'ya Sefarad Yahudilerinin sürgün edilişinin 1992 yılındaki 500. yılı anma etkinlikleri, sürgünü Holokost ekseninde bir diğer insanlık trajedisi olarak yeniden üretmiş veTürk devleti ile Beş Yüzüncü Yıl Vakfı bu bellek üretiminde başat rol oynamışlardır. Buradan hareketle; müze, Türk Devleti açısından 1492'te Sefarad Yahudi mültecilerinin Kabul edilişinin hikayelendirilmesi ve müzenin Türk Yahudi toplumu açısından kamusal alanda var oluşlarını meşrulaştırma ilişkileri noktasında ele alınacaktır. Bu çalışma genel olarak şu temel sorulara

cevap arayışı içindedir: Türkiye'deki Yahudi toplumunun varlığı hafıza mekanlarına nasıl yansıtılarak meşrulaştırılmıştır, Türk Devletinin geleneksel bellek politikasına rağmen devlet beşyüzüncü yıl etkinliklerini nasıl tanımış ve desteklemiştir? Çalışmanın sonunda müzenin devlet ve Yahudi toplumu açısından sağladığı avantajlar ve bazı ikilemlere değinilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Beş Yüzüncü Yıl, Vakıf, Sefarad, Yahudi, Müze

To My Family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVATIONS

JMB   : The Jewish Museum Berlin

EU   : The European Union

MOT   : The Museum of Tolerance, Los Angeles

UN   : The United Nations

USA   : The United States of America

USHMM : The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

'*Mozotros no moskarışeyamos en los meseles del hukumet'*

(We do not get involved in matters of government)

1.1 Introductory Framework

The square of the late Ottoman Mosque *OrtaköyCamii*, designed by an Armenian architect and globally recognized symbolic monument of cosmopolitan Istanbul, witnessed on 14 December 2015 the first open celebration of the Jewish religious festival*Hannukah* with participation of the Jewish, Muslim and Christian clergies, local, national governmental and other international representatives over the public sphere in the entire history of the Turkish Republic and among Muslim populated countries around the world. Turkish Jewish Community started to become visible in the public domain in contrast to their traditional *modes operandi* in the public sphere; which means keeping silence or low profile (*Kayadez* in Ladino) (Brink-Danan, 2011). At present, the Turkish Jews can be counted as about 20.000 in Turkey with 70 million population and they have started to perform "politics of presence" since the 1990s. First open-air *Hannukah* Celebration in Turkey is one of the last rings of such a long chain of Jewish performance not only in Turkey but also in the globe. The rise of Jewish awareness in the world and appearance of Jewry in the global public domain can be regarded as a current phenomenon for the last decades.

Transition to visible form from invisible form in a space has to bring a constructive past with it to legitimize visibility and existence in that space

because different groups in society promote their own versions of memory in order to serve their interests in the present (Özyürek, p.9), which is very briefly the function of memory. The present study is actually an attempt to understand Jewish memory in Turkey, which legitimizes visibility of the Jewish community in Turkish public sphere. Jewish *realms of memory* or *les lieux de memoiré* in Turkey and in particular case of the Quincentennial Foundation Museum of Turkish Jews (*500. Yıl Vakfı Türk Musevileri Müzesi*), first and single minority museum in the country, established and operated by the same named foundation since 2002, reflects and explains their long-term past in the country. Museums are the institutions of where people are educated, public history and indeed public memory are built. In addition to such an educational function, all museums are political in their nature because of the narrative they tells, the exhibitons they display.

My study depends on the qualitative new museology approach.The museum experience is produced and affected by three main elements: the narrative the museum wants to communicate in the panel texts, the space where the knowledge production happens through various media forms and agency of the institutions such as visitors, members of the community, stakeholders or staff who all set their own agendas with the museums (Dekel, 2013). Narratology will be my main approach. Narratology refers to analyzing the narrative structure because narrative is the most powerful form of address (Bal, 1992). It reads the museum like a text for its narrative structures and strategies. In museums, the textual approach can include analysis of the spatial narratives by the relationships and voices implicit in labeling. The narratology, the study of narrativity of the museum or the heritage display highlights a particular logic of representation, a particular legitimate and plausible coherence for itself (Mason, 2006, p.26-27). Studying narrative in the museums raises questions of unintentional meaning, omissions or contradictions present within displays

(Mason, 2006) because an order in which the panels and exhibits are to be viewed and read is presupposed by the space of a museum (Bal, 1992). A common strategy for these questions has been the practice of reading texts "against the grain" for their internal inconsistences, contradictions, discontinuities or subversive potential (Mason, 2006). Accordingly, as Silverstone states that narrative has a logic of theme and topic in a particular arrangement of exhibits in spatial, physical, intellectual or aesthetic links between them; the assessment of concentration span in relation to specific exhibits (Silverstone, 1994). Narratology reveals strategies for logic of theme and topic while studying structure of the narrative in the museum. Reading the museum "against the grain" of a text is to analyze its content and implications while searching for gaps in logic and meaning to extrapolate thought to logical conclusions and other inductive processing in the museum. A comprehensive narrative analysis with common strategy for reading text "against the grain" will be provided for the Main Hall exhibition, The Jewish Holidays and Holly Days Exhibition and the Exhibition of Jewish Settlements. Textual Analysis (Davis, 2008, p.56), will be used to ascertain how the exhibition is framed and presented, and if there are subtexts to the texts, intentional or unintentional to understand internal inconsistences, contradictions, discontinuities or subversive potential. The interpretive textual analysis will contain the Observation/Spatial analysis as a natural extension because from an experience angle, the exhibition's onsite 'materiality' provides the space with which to understand exchanges in social relations (if any) and where meanings are articulated and identities are communicated (Nightingale, 2008, p.105).

The Spatial analysis will be made for the spatial politics of the museum building and first or the last visual objects in the entrance of the building, entrance to the main and second floors and artifact displays in the main hall exhibition and anthropological exhibition at the first floor since the second floor

has relatively few artifacts but consists of more texts and photographs. What a museum communicates as the first and last messages in the museum building itself or the galleries to visitors is very significant since museums, like memories "exist" on several levels. Visitors encounter with museums first as spaces and then buildings in their physical landscape of architecture (Crane, p.2). The connection between the textual narrative and the spatial design, the narratology of the exhibition is important to reveal internal (in)consistencies between the museum's intention and the effect it produces. Accordingly, the similar exhibition strategies in the sort of the panels throughout the narrative will be referred to other Jewish and Holocaust museums presented in first part of the thesis. This is important to understand exhibition strategies for contextualization or de-contextualization between panel locations.

In these regards, my research question relates to how the Jewish presence in Turkey is reflected over these *les lieux de memoire* in particular example of the museum, depending on my field studies and visits on 20 June 2017 and 13, 15, 16 March 2018. Studying the structure of the narrative in the Main Hall will provide us how the museum historically authenticates the Jewish history in Turkey. Comparing the Anthropological and Main Halls in understanding of the visual sociology will provide us the gender construction according to their gatherings in different halls. Additionally, comparison of the Family Photo and Jewish Holly Day Installations will highlight relation of Jewishness with spaces. Finally, especially in Exhibition of the Jewish Settlements, I will focus on the utilization of already built cosmopolitan memory in the landscape during the 1990s and myths in popular culture like soup-operas in regard of the study of the narrativity in the related panels to understand how the museum deals with reality of the shrinking community in consistence of rest of the museum narrative. Interviewing with the museum curator will be used as a complementary second method to the observation and textual analysis

(Nightingale, 2008, p.113-116) and gather information about the curative strategy and purposes for the museum.

The significance of this study rests on two main reasons. Firstly, the Jewish image in Turkey has significant anti-Semitic discourses. These implications were invented by the nationalist and Islamist thinkers and ideologues. Indeed, anti-Semitic Jewish image became a significant reference point and ground in conspiracy theories.Traditional state attitude towards minority presence was exclusionary at the same time. In spite of such a strong negative image, Jewish politics of presence in the public sphere since the late 1980s and its institutionalization in 2002, the Quincentennial Foundation Museum, were supported and encouraged by the state and press. Despite such anti-Semitism embedded right wing thought, emergence of a positive Jewish-self representation necessitates questioning. The second reason renders this study significant is lack of a detailed study on the Jewish museum in Turkey. To my knowledge, there are rare studies including the museum. Some parts of both Süheyla Yıldız's master thesis (2012) and Marcy Brink Danan's publications (2011, 2012) and Phd dissertation (2005) make some references to the old museum narrative and exhibition in the 2000's Zülfiaris Building. The museum was, however, moved to next to Neve Shalom Synagogue with some significant changes in exhibition and narratives in 2015. These studies, nevertheless, do not take the museum as the main object of inquiry. I regard this thesis as an attempt to shed light on an unexplored issue, the museum as an institutionalization of Jewish presence in the Turkish public sphere due to its indication of the grounds for the presence.

Analyzing the Jewish museum of Turkish Jew necessitates setting global and national contexts. Firstly, setting pillars of the global Holocaust-Jewish museums and Quincentennial commemorations of 1992 as the context of analysis is necessary. Secondly, there is the need of setting Turkish memory

politics and anti-Semitic stereotypical Jewish image in Turkey to reveal the context within which Turkish Jews try to speak out. Accordingly, the ontological themes of the museum narrative is required to be assessed in its historical togetherness, gender and daily representations vis-a-vis pillars of the Holocaust-Jewish museums and cosmopolitan or minority representations in Turkey. In this purpose, I will try to find the answers of the following questions throughout all the text: How do Jewish image and memory of a same event, the Holocaust and emerge and differentiate with each other around the world? How did the Jewish image and Holocaust become a cosmopolitan and universal icon? In addition to the Holocaust, how did the Expulsion of 1492 appear as another humanitarian catastrophe in the 1990s? How can we approach to the stereotypical anti-Semitic Jewish image embedded in the Turkish right-wing political thought to understand creation of an alternative counter-representation in the Turkish museum? Why did the Turkish State support and organize with her Jewish minority the Quincentennial celebrations despite her memory politics, *administered collective amnesia*, to minorities in Turkey? How does such a cosmopolitan and universal Jewish image relate to the museum narrative? How are the Turkish Jews narrated and represented in relation to different Jewish images and narratives in the museums around the world? How does the museum represent relation of the Jewishness with different boundaries and spaces? How does the museum depict reality of the disappearing Jewish community in a consistency with rest of the museum narrative? How do these representations and narratives have constructive function to Jewish politics of presence in the Turkish public domain? And how does the museum narrative function to combat with anti-Semitism?

This introductory chapter will present briefly main debates in the Memory Studies and its relation with the Jewish history. Pierre Nora in the Durkheimian School and his conceptualization, realms of memory and analyzes of memory

in relation of signifiers and signified in three periods, pre-modern, national and cosmopolitan periods will make an analytical framework to understand transition of the Jews and Holocaust from national memories of Israel and the West Germany to American and European memory imperatives in the cosmopolitan age. The Critical Frankfurt School and Foucault's turn in the memory studies will help us to understand how the memories are politically installed as myths. The second chapter, Holocaust and Politics of Memory, will analyze and compare Holocaust museums (the Yad Vashem Museum, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Los Angeles Tolerance Museum and the Jewish Museum Berlin) and narratives with each other to highlight multiple narrations of Holocaust tragedy by the different memory politics and how the Jews became a universal cosmopolitan icon for the United States and the European Union. Despite the Holocaust narration in Yad Vashem Museum with the nationalist Zionist memory in heroic implications, its passive victimizations in the USHMM and the Los Angeles Museum with the cosmopolitan American narrative assigning a liberating position against the Nazi terror will indicate us the Americanization of the Holocaust memory is utilized for the international image of the United States. This case will be significantly important to understand the narration of Expulsion of 1492 by the Turkish State in similar manners and a saving Turkish position under the Quincentennial Celebrations campaign in the 1990s. The West German memory politics and Europeanization of the Holocaust memory are important to revitalize the Jewish heritage in an apalogical manner. Whereas the German case and Jewish Museum Berlin are important to understand to deal with the collective guilt in the past, the European Holocaust memory and the emerged Jewish heritage in the European landscape present that the anti-Semitism and absence of the European Jews are encapsulated in the Holocaust terror and the Soviet oppression while bypassing the local and national level anti-Semitism and tensions. This will be meaningful for the Turkish Jewish heritage and its

bypassing tensions in the past. While the revitalized Jewish heritage in Europe in an apalogical manner are making distinctly *Judaizing Terrain* in a European apalogical attitude for the lost Jewish minority, the Turkish Jewish heritage has an oppositional position to the European *Judaizing Terrain* and has hamonial attitude for the Turkish majority. Such a comparison is important to understand exhibition of the Jewish heritage and settlements in the Turkish museum. The third chapter, the Sephardic Memory Boom, will analyze that an alternative Jewish tragedy, Expulsion of 1492, became another Jewish icon for universality and cosmopolitanism alongside memory of Holocaust. Sephardic revival in the Israeli case will indicate how a counter-ethnic revival emerges from an apolitical position at the national level. Internationally, whereas the Spanish Quincentennial commemorations narrate the Andalusian legacy with discourse *convivencia*, coexistence, for Christians, Muslims and Jews as a medieval European Union model for recognition of the diversity, the Sephardic diaspora in the United States and their imagination of the Ottoman past are significantly important to understand how the Turkish State and its project, the Quincentennial celebrations reached to an achievement.

The sub-chapter of Turkey will focus on the similarities between liberator American image in the Holocaust and the savior Ottoman image for the Jews in the Quincentennial Celebrations of 1992. The Turkish State utilized the celebrations as an international public relations campaign for its image concerns. The chapter will draw a stereotypical anti-Semitic Jewish profile embedded in the Turkish Right-wing political thought in addition to the Turkish memory politics, *administered collective amnesia*, in a relation with the disappeared minority memories in Turkey. The fourth chapter seeks to analyze the museum's humanitarian position in a relation to the global Jewish and Holocaust museums and discuss historical narration and accordingly ontological grounds, tolerance, patriotism and nostalgia, for the Jewish

presence in Turkey in the exhibition panels. Here, I will elaborate on positions of Jews and the Turks to each other according to the tolerance and then focus on the patriotic depictions of the Jews vis-à-vis other 'traitor' minority roles in the Turkish history narrative. In this regard, depoliticization is a possible generalization for the museum narrative and exhibitions. I do not deny cultural politics (Toktaş, 2005) or politics of friendship and politics of presence (Brink-Danan, 2010) as conceptualizations for the Jewish presence since the 1990s. Depoliticization refers to avoidance of antagonism in its essence. The ontological Ottoman tolerance and patriotism have depoliticized functions to Jewish politics of presence in the public domain. In addition to highlighting the utilization of the already built cosmopolitan memories with restorative nostalgia in the gentrified landscape of Istanbul and the nostalgic neighbor myths in the popular culture, I will focus on consistence of the depoliticizing ontological tolerance between the narrative of Jewish history and the exhibition of Jewish presence and heritage. While the Jewish community is radically dwindling in Turkey, the museum constitutes nostalgic ground for the today's shrinking community while avoiding its problematization. The museum depicts alternatively counter and positive historical narrative of the Jewish presence against the anti-Semitic stereotypical Jewish images while avoiding criticizing or even representing presence of anti-Semitism in Turkey.

In the very ultimate point, this discussion will try to demonstrate that the depoliticized museum narrative provides instrumentally advantageous for the Turkish State but some dilemmas to the Turkish Jews. Avoiding the antagonistic politics leads to setting insufficient strategy to combat against the anti-Semitism.

1.2 From Memory Studies to the Holocaust Memory

It is possible to claim that the rise of global Jewish phenomena led to rapprochement of the Jewish and Memory Studies in the literature. Diaspora,

but not monotheism, may be the most important contribution that Judaism had made to the world. In the Jewish History and Studies, the term "diaspora" is often juxtaposed with the traditional term "exile" (*galut*) (Lehmann, 2008). The Jewish history consists of massive expulsions and migrations. Hence, the Jewish history provided a fertile ground for Memory Studies due to the latter one's need for remembering from any kind of breaking point in the diaspora past or trauma since memory is regarded as a kind of degree driven by the collectively experienced experiences or catastrophes, such as the Holocaust, genocide, slavery, forced migrations, wars, natural or ecological disasters, attendant upon the making of the modern, globalized world, encompassing instances where memory has intensified as a site of social practice (Radstone and Schwarz, p.3).

The memory boom refers to a development in which, over the last few decades, the prominence and significance of memory has risen within both the academy and society. From a critical perspective of some scholars like Pierre Nora, the memory boom has been linked to the idea of a crisis in which disappearance of memory can be attributed to a very real dangerous possibility of *social amnesia* or forgetfulness (Simine, p.14). Modernity is highlighted as the prime reason of the *social amnesia*. The study *How Modernity Forgets*, for instance, explains modernity-based-forgetfulness in capitalism oriented approach such as turbo life speed, megacities, alienated consumerism from labor process, temporality of urban architecture and landscapes and erosion of authentic locality (Connerton, p.15). Özyürek underlines that if twentieth century is the age of forgetting, the twenty-first century is the age of remembering(Özyürek, p.6).

As a topic of interest, forgetting, remembering and memory shifted from psychological field at the beginning of twentieth century to field of culture and social sciences since memory as a psychological concept is discovered as an explanatory power for the social phenomena and crises. Memory acknowledges

the fact that our view of the past is constantly adapted to our needs in the present. According to neuroscientists, memory is defined as a continuous process of re-creation instead of something that is unchangeable and can be reproduced, memory has become a form in which societies and communities act out their ever-changing relationship to the past in accordance with needs(Simine, 2013).

From psychological field to social sciences, the concept of memory was transited and developed in two main schools during the last century: The French Durkhaimian School headed by Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora in memory studies and the German Frankfurt School headed by Walter Benjamin and Adorno in critical approaches to memory. Whereas the Durkhaimian school focuses on how memory taken for granted 'functions' for social solidarity and harmony through rituals, symbols and institutions, the Frankfurt School elaborates the concept of memory as a ground of ideological struggles in political and indeed Marxist manner (Smith and Riley, 2016). The use of memory as a metaphor to explain the collective remembering, forgetting and memorywas made by the French Sociologist Maurice Halwachs as the foundational figure in sociological context of the 1910s and 1920s. He highlights that collective memory works through representations in temporal and spatial terms since mental organization of the experiences are coordinated by time and space (Levy and Sznaider, p.25).

The German memory school (*Erinnerung*) is dominated by the critical Frankfurt school. As the first figure in the 1930s, Walter Benjamin discusses how standardization of technology and capitalism loses unique, creative and even sacred "aura" sense of cultural products. Benjamin focuses on concept of remembrance as a form of memory modifying dead actualities through mass produced commodified objects of souvenirs (*Anderken*) and recollection (*Eingedenken*). In this sense, memory is actually an impetus for political action

and struggle. What he witnesses as political struggles that Nazist assaults on memory is a bourgeoning violence. The historiography, based on memory is not capable of changing the world but of changing the image of change. Memory clears the way for the forces of change and improves our position to fight against fascism. Memory deposits are blasted into "the now of recognizability" - "in which things adopt their true -surrealistic face (Leslie, 2010). Even though Benjamin focuses on remembrance, the post-war German way of challenge to the National Socialist atrocity led Adorno to conceptualize "destruction of memory" referring to forgetting. In essence, this was resulted by modern irrationality because forgetting of what has scarcely transpired is conformism rationality though more truly it is irrationality. Irrationality-led- loss of individuality leads to forgetting human suffering. Adorno finds in certain forms of aesthetic experience as an examplar of experience that can set open, dynamic or reconciled relationship with the object. Aesthetic experience makes regulative and specific act of forgetting. Art, hence, can be object of negative experience. Authentic experience instead of aesthetic one producing "negative experience" depends on its delivering logic of resistance. Instead of resistance, experience entailing reconciliation between subject and object in absence of antagonism between individuals, individual and society memory may serve as a model for harmonious relations in irrational mass society. Experience or memory is not taken for granted but entailing reconciliation (O'Connor, 2010).

From the critical debates, the current criticisms regarding the concept "collective memory" in a metaphorical sense was made by Sontag and Koselleck. The general criticisms suggest that such a term can mislead to creating of a kind of smokescreen for ideological and political instrumentalization of memory. Rather than nature of the collective memory, questions of ideology, power or authority which or who constructs memory of whom for what purposes in sense of Foucault should be focused on. In this

regard, collective memory can indeed appear in the form of *political myth* that is a narrative about past in high selective of events with capacity for mobilization of emotions among members of that community(Simine, 2013). This study, therefore, will focus on the creation of myths in Holocaust and Jewish memories around the world in a comparative sense. In this way, the study purports to highlight the exhibited myths and its political motivations in the Turkish Jewish*lieu de mémoire* (a realm of memory)in general and the Quincentennial Museum in particular through these comparisons.

The definitive concept for the Quincentennial Museum, the term *les lieux de memorie* (realms of memory) was coined by Pierre Nora as the second most celebrated figure with a second major turn in Durkheimian approach. His reputation is based on his analytical synchronic approach to classification. His high level of abstraction emerges from elaboration of the symbolic systems leading to unconscious organization of collective memory in the French National life with a tripartite diachronic progress (i.e. pre-modern, national and cosmopolitan memories) on the ground of temporality of memory. Nora's contribution into Memory Studies emerges from an overarching paradox: even though memory is dead in our contemporary age, memory is simultaneously omnipresent as well. Such a controversy is explained by 'temporality of memory' (Schwarz, p. 51). The temporality depends on the position of signifier and signified to each other.

Pre-modern Memory, for instance, is intimate and spontaneous through experiencing rural customs in which signified and signifiers were fused and melted into each other in a collective community. The French Revolution of 1789 started the era where the connection between signifiers and signified were divided into two splits. Hence, memory was performed and mediated by national institutions of the French Republic in which modern memory is crystallized and accreted. The term "*les lieux de memorie*" (realms of memory)

was coined by Pierre Nora to refer to any places occupied by memorial symbols such as commemorational ceremonies or days, memorials, emblems, holidays, anniversaries, complimentary speeches and museums. Nora's conception of memory, therefore, is broader than Halbswach (Kritzman and Nora, 1996). Between all these, the place of museum can be chosen as the most significant realm of memory because of its constructive and contributory function to historiography. As Anderson asserts (quoted in Keskin, 2017, p.156-157), that makes museums and their imagination ideological and political. On the other hand, the term "realms of memory" refers to a very wider framework from the most tangible and concrete sense of the word like death monuments or national archives to the most abstract sense like race, ancestry or religion in Nora's framework. History itself became a mediation of memory through prevailing over it. He underlines the epistemic collapse in modern memory of the French Republic with the 1970s. Globalization-driven-decolonization in France and world replaced modern national memory by patrimonial minority memories in civil society such as Jews, Corsicans, Bretons, French royalists, and women triggering an outbreak of a vortex memory where signifiers themselves were fetishized and atomized without any signified meaning. Artificial nature of *les lieux de memorie* comes fully into hand of their own authority. In other words, memory itself prevails over history in this time (Schwarz, p.55-56). This moment Nora asserts is not more than a global wave of cosmopolitanism and new cosmopolitan memory eroding national ones. Cosmopolitanization is defined as a process of 'internalized globalization'. That means that it is not a dialectical and linear process in which local and global occurs not as cultural binaries, rather, as interdependent principles and mutual bindings(Levy, Sznaider, p.9). Local Jewish memories in various countries particularly and Global Holocaust memory generally became part of the emerging universal cosmopolitan memory because 'the other'

became something to be glorified and celebrated. Hence, Jews provide a reference point for the perception of the 'other' (Holtschneider, p.1).

In such a world with blurred borders, global Jewish diaspora became a kind of mortar between universal and particular. In contrast to particularities relegated to the private sphere in era of modernity, justified cultural and religious distinctions through a universal insistence on difference led to appearance of particularly local and sub-national Jewish communal memories and generally global supra-national Holocaust memory appeared as down-up and up-down movement to national hegemony over memory. The Holocaust issue is, therefore, still primary and archetypal topic in general memory studies. Perhaps, the most significant study was *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age* written by Levy and Sznaider to understand how the global spread of Holocaust discourse has installed a new form of memory: 'cosmopolitan memory' which they define as 'a memory that owns a transcending possibility of national and ethnic boundaries' (Levy and Sznaider, p.4). In terms of memory coordination with time and space, they argued that the Holocaust has escaped from its spatial and temporal particularism as a common moral milestone in the wake of the Cold War. The negative memory of the extermination of the Jews can serve as a universal moral norm, they argue, and hence help for development of a human-right culture and global justice in corrosion of fixed spatial and temporal coordination of memory in age of globalization (Levy, Sznaider, p.28).

The dislocation of the Holocaust from fixed time and space is defined as the dissolution of particular over the universal. Because of its abstract nature of universal "good" and "evil", Holocaust has been located at a new extra territorial cosmopolitan memory that has been eroded from fixed space and time, resulting in its inscription into injustice and other traumatic national memories around the world (Seymour & Camino, p.16 and p.20). Analyzing

Holocaust remembrance in the age of globalization serves as a meansfor examining the relationship between the universal and the particular (Levy, Sznaider, p.9). Hence, the Jewish diaspora around the world functions in a dynamic relationship between local and global memories as a kind of "memory imperative".

CHAPTER 2

2. HOLOCAUST AND POLITICS OF MEMORY

The first Holocaust Museum in the world was projected by neither Israel nor the United States but the Nazi Germany intended to install a museum of their victims for their atrocious ideological propaganda. *Jüdisches Zentralmuseum* (Central Jewish Museum) in Prague would be a National Socialist propaganda museum to exhibit how the Jews were 'inferior race' and to 'necessitate' murder of the Jews. The Nazi Army, thus, assigned a team of Propagandakompanie to document mass murders and ghettos which would be exhibited in the museum after the war (Holtschneider, p.42 and 47).

World War II has the greatest impact on the evolution of the Jewish museology and public visuality around the world because of its traumatic consequences. Representation of the Holocaust tragedy becomes a reference point in the historiographical approach of the museum in question(Holtschneider, p.4). Separation of the Jewish Museum from the Holocaust Museum is debatable and therefore needs to be elaborated further. Holocaust museums gradually obtained their own entity. That is why, Jewish museums confronted with a major dilemma of how to settle the Holocaust within their exhibitions without being defined as a Holocaust Museum. This dilemma resulted in two contrast Jewish images in the two types of museums. One of them visualizes Jews as weak, victim, powerless and persecuted, whereas the other depicts success and celebrates integration and acceptance by majority (Cohen, 2012, p.11-12). In addition to such types of museums in the Jewish Museology, Jewish museology can be further categorized into social geographies or pillars of collective memories: Israel and the Federal Germany as part of their national memories and the United States and Post-Communist Europe as part of their cosmopolitan

memories accommodate differently Holocaust tragedy in their own history. Differentiation of the Holocaust memory in each cases actually is referred by Time Cole to the concept "myth of Holocaust" . Cole does not dismiss such a historical fact that 6 million Jews were really and systematically murdered by the Nazi Regime during World War II. Rather, what he implies is a rehetoric and reformation in human memory as Lawrence Langer points out (quoted in Cole, p.4). At present, 'myth of Holocaust' and its multiple narrative variations contributed to the emergence of three main pillars of the Jewish Holocaust memory: Zionist/Israelized, Americanized and Europeanized (which absorbs the Federal Germany) (Pinto, 2000). Although transition from national (Israel, the West Germany) to cosmopolitan memories (American and European) in which Holocaust has a place makes chronological sense, the section is organized in the following order so that it makes contextual sense: Israelized myth of Holocaust, Americanized myth of Holocaust, the German memory politics and the European one.

2.1 Israeli Memory Politics of Holocaust

It can be argued that referring to realms of memory (*lieu de mémoire*) coined by Pierre Nora, naming locations and streets in Hebrew with historical figures and their conversions from Arabic make all the Israeli country a realm of memory(Ofer, 2013). Construction of these sites of memory in Israel was inherited by two main Zionist concerns: dealing with the passive and humiliated image of the Jewry in history and remembrance of permanent Jewish ties with the land for 4000 years. The Holocaust tragedy, hence, had a controversial position with the Zionist historiography. Even though the tragedy legitimizes presence of a Jewish nation-state, it was at the same time regarded as inevitable result of a shameful diaspora community in Europe turning back to Zionism (Cole, p.123). In other words, as a symbol, the Holocaust delivered simultaneously perplexing messages of weakness and strength, of victimhood

and heroism. On the one hand, the Holocaust was perceived as weakness and powerlessness since it shows Jewish inability to defend themselves without protection of a Jewish nation-state. On the other hand, this same weakness turned out to become a source of strength, signifying the nation's imperative never to be in such a condition again. Precisely because the Holocaust brought the Jewish people to the brink of annihilation, it continues to motivate the Jewish nation's resolution to be strong and powerful, reducing any risk of similar catastrophe in the future (Keynan, 2018).

In addition to such a tension between the Holocaust and the Zionism, multifaceted commemorations of Holocaust by local Kibbutz communities and different social groups, either secular or religious, (since one third of the Israeli population during the 1950s was composed of the Holocaust Survivors and other half was Middle East origin countries) compelled the Israeli State to create a master narrative of the Holocaust. Construction of a master narrative of the Holocaust (*Shoah*) was aimed by the Israeli State in pursuit of recognizing the major components of the Zionist ethos of destruction and rebirth and those of exile and redemption through utilization of the tools such as museums, state ceremonies and the educational curriculum.

First significant memorization of the Holocaust victims following the establishment of the Israeli State was plantation of "The Forest of the Martyrs" on the Judean Hills in 1949. That actually makes sense for the Zionist myth of the rebirth of the country and the Zionist ethos of making the desert boom. In the following year, a memorial with a prayer corner was erected for the victims of the Holocaust which is believed to be King David's tomb on the Mountain Zion, with named *Martef Hashoah* (the Holocaust Cellar). The *Knesset* (the Israeli Parliament) issued a legislation marking 26th of April as Memorial Day for the Holocaust and the Ghetto Uprising. The Ghetto Fighters Museum was founded in Kibbutz *Lohamei Hagetot* in the same year. (Ofer, 2013).

Yad Vashem actually represents very clearly the changes that have taken place in Israeli memory vis-à-vis the Holocaust. Its founding in 1953 reflected the place of the genocide of the Jews in the new state: an emphasis was placed squarely on resistance (Stone, p.518). In such a peripheral role and regarded internal part of the Israeli national memory, the Holocaust issue was portrayed as the Jewish heroism in the *Yad Vashem* as the official and national memory center of the Israeli State in early days of the state-building. In other words, the main site of memory for the Israeli State regarding its monopolization over the Holocaust was the foundation of *Yad Vashem* -the Authority of Remembrance for the Holocaust and Heroism was established by a Knesset Law in 1951.The Knesset issued a law for the Memorial Day for the Holocaust and Heroism as well. The memory function of the *Yad Vashem* Museum obliged by the Israeli state was asserted by the Israeli Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett in 1954 in terms of a heroism and future oriented of the Holocaust memory (*Shoah Vegurah*, meaning Destruction and Heroism in Modern Hebrew). The motto *"Never Again!"* became a warning expression for what is possible in the absence of the single Jewish State on the Earth in the Israeli politics (Ofer, 2013). The alienation from war trauma and Holocaust trauma stand on the core of the Israeli public opinion with the belief that the Jewish nation confronts with a permanent threat to its resilience and very existence (Keynan, 2018). The museum narrated the events in a traditional way through photographs and text that suggested the irresistible *telos* of European anti-Semitism and saw creation of the state of Israel as a correction to Diaspora existence and a 'happy ending' to the tale of catastrophe (Stone, p.518).In these respects, the Holocaust memory gained a peripheral role rather than a central one in the Israeli national memory. The Eichmann trial and the Six Day War in 1967 were two central events during the 1960s regarding first changes of the Holocaust memory in Israel. Hannah Arendt's report in 1961 on Eichmann trial held in Israel in 1961 became first non-Israeli voice regarding the Holocaust

and changed vocabulary of collective memory since she anticipates two key perspectives in Holocaust Studies: one viewing the Holocaust as the worst act of anti-Semitics, and therefore principally as a crime against Jews; the other as the worst act of racism, and, as such, a crime against humanity (Hirsch and Spitzer, p.403).

In contrast to nationalized approach of the Labor Zionist memory of the Holocaust issue in a peripheral manner, *Era of Euphoria* starting with the Six Day War in 1967 led to transformation of the Zionist Myth of the Holocaust within more central manner through a dialectical fashion (Ofer, p.2013). "*Never Again*!" warning approach of the Israeli State towards the Holocaust Memory in case of any external threat and anxiety shifted to more center in Israeli worldview.

By the 1973 *Yom Kippur* War led to shift Israeli national consciousness from heroism to martyrdom because of unexpected Israeli casualties in the war. Myth of the 'Holocaust heroism' prompted by the *Era of Euphoria* changed again into 'destruction and rebirth' rather than 'destruction and heroism'. This reflected gradually over the representation of Holocaust in the *Yad Vashem.* The newer monuments in the Museum following the *Yom Kippur* War, for instance, Valley of the Communities and the Memorial to the Deportees concerned more with martyrdom, Holocaust and rebirth (*Shoah Vetekumah*) (Cole, p.128-130). It can be concluded that *Yad Vashem* consists of double layers regarding the Holocaust myths, which changed over years in Israel.

By the late 1960s, however, as the Holocaust seeped more deeply into Israeli consciousness, a new wave of memorial building at *Yad Vashem* created a series of less grandiose, more contemplative and interactive monuments. *Yad Vashem* has now become a veritable 'memory landscape' with its library, museum and 'path of the righteous gentiles' and numerous different memorials. Situated on

Har Hazikaron (Mount Memory), *Yad Vashem* is more than a museum, it is primarily the guardian of Israel's secular religion, the *Gründungmythos* -mythic narrative of foundation- of catastrophe and redemption(Stone, p.518-519). This polarized message would be reflected in Yad Vashem's commemoration mode, in which most of the *shoah* victims have been represented as a collective, while active fighters are praised as individuals; individual strength is portrayed as something which enables the collective resurrection (Keynan, 2018).

The Arab-Israeli wars have shaped the collective memory not only in the Middle East but also in the United States. Israeli Era of Euphoria increased consciousness of identity concerns as well because of the erosion in the Labor Zionist values promising the secular and territorial Israeliness. Instead, a new Zionism with global and religious tendencies gradually began to replace the Labor one (Weissbrod, 1981). The United States of America became one of the places where such an echo found its correspondence.

2.2 American Memory Politics of Holocaust

The United States of America and the Holocaust memory have unique relations in terms of two features. Firstly, the most American Jews are neither Holocaust survivors nor their relatives and they have chosen not to be Israeli Jew but American Jews. Secondly, the Holocaust tragedy did not happen on the American soils and most of the Americans were not involved into the Holocaust event. It has, however, emerged as a 'master paradigm' in American consciousness, especially since the 1980s.

Following Israel and the *Yad Vashem* Museum in the 1960s and the 1970s, the United States became a new geography where the Holocaust Memory was embraced. American interest in the Jewry, increased self-awareness in the American Jewish community and Holocaust memories were triggered by both the seven years of the *Israeli Era of Euphoria* between Six Day War in 1967

and *Yom Kippur* War in 1973 and the American television products(Cole, p.12). Jewish consciousness was raised among the Jewish minority in the United States.

Jewish imagery in the United States turned from not only "the people of the book" but also "the people of the Hollywood" in visual and printed media. The high visibility of the Holocaust in the US is a by-product of American Jews' heightened concern with the Holocaust (Novick, 2003, p.32). In such a context that nine-and-a-half-hour 1978 TV miniseries "Holocaust" appeared in NBC in 1978 and then questioned the European roots in American Jewish mind. The nine-and-a half hour TV representation of the Holocaust cultivated the idea of affirming primarily Jewishness through memory of Holocaust. A crucial role of Holocaust related Jewish self-definition during the 1970s and 1980s was played by TV dramas and magazines both in the United States and in the West Germany. In other words, the Holocaust had a resonance beyond the Jewish Americans (Cole, p.12).

Following the massive American interest in the Holocaust issue during the 1980s, the Holocaust narrative was subjected to "Americanization". Holocaust issue shifted from Europe where the crime was committed, Israel as the victims' country, and its center of gravity slipped to a less relative geography. The process was defined by the Israeli press as a counter-hegemonic movement against the Israeli monopoly over the Holocaust commemoration and then conceptualized as "*Americanization of the Holocaust.*" (Cole, p.147) The Holocaust memory would be reshaped for the fundamental tale of pluralism, tolerance, democracy, and human rights which is how the United States presents its image to the globe.

There are many Holocaust themed museums founded in the United States during the first half of the 1990s in cities such as Washington D.C., New York,

Los Angeles, Houston, Michigan and so forth. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C. (USHMM) opened in spring 1993 and The Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance (MOT, *The Beit Hashoah*) in Los Angeles in the same year are regarded as prominent American Holocaust museums thanks to their high volume of the visitor numbers, 2 million and 350.000 visitors in their first years.

In comparison to the first Holocaust Museum, Yad Vashem, the American museums especially USHMM and MOT differ in many respects. The American museums have extensive collections and artifacts such as the Auschwitz barracks, a freight car for the deportations, the victims' shoes and hair for bringing sense of reality for their authenticity problem while Yad Vashem empowers its narrative through location and event itself. In contrast to Yad Vashem, the American Holocaust museums offer an alternative remedy to the Holocaust. While Yad Vashem suggests Zionism as the ultimate answer to Jewish persecution in diaspora, the other one is offering a toleration of cultural and ethnic minorities in American liberalism. The former is a nationalist narrative to the Israeli citizens and the latter presents a humanist approach to non-Jewish American audiences (Bartov, p.75). Even though Yad Vashem visualizes active heroic resistance to Holocaust in Zionist implications, the USHMM narrates passive Jewish victims liberated by the United States from the Nazi terror. In terms of the spatial politics, Yad Vashem finalizes its trip with an overlooking over the hills of Jerusalem to offer a Zionist remedy to the Holocaust tragedy even though it happens in the USHMM viewing the Washington Monument (obelisk) that symbolizes the American liberalism to the Jews as an alternative remedy to the Holocaust (Cole, p.150).

The common problem about the USHMM can be mentioned about its "too aestheticization" of the Holocaust horror to an uncomfortable degree since the Holocaust museums intends to acquire a commemoration as well as education

with an entertainment (Edu-tainment) for instance like *Tower of Faces* with disorientation of the survivors at the museum entrance of USHMM. Additionally, the USHMM portraits the United States without an absolute evil for other issues like slavery, black or native Indian oppression, and avoids confrontation with the American past (Stone, p.519-520).

The second major Jewish museum in the United States is the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the Los Angeles Museum of Tolerance (MOT) in Los Angeles (Novick, 2003). The remedy offered in the museum to prevent another Holocaust or Los Angeles riots is tolerance, which is related to the American liberalism(Bartov, 1997). The museum is structured in two parts: the 'Tolerancenter' and the *Beit Hashoah* (House of the Holocaust). The Tolerancenter is staging on four installations regarding presentations of prejudice and violence on ethnicity, race, religion, gender with past and contemporary examples from the world and American history in contrast to the USHMM such as the American Indian genocide, slavery and discriminations against the Blacks, the Los Angeles Riots, Bosnian and Rwanda Genocides, fundamentalist terrorism, xenophobia and homophobia. The second part of the museum the *Beit Hashoah* is devoted to anti-Semitism and the Holocaust memory for the purpose of a universal teaching to combat against all other type of hate crimes due to its historically continuous and geographically ubiquitous and re-centerion of the Holocaust as the episode of "man's inhumanity to man" without another rival and parallel example in history in the sense of its universalization (Brown, p.107-115).

Such a structural organization of Tolerancenter as first part of the museum and the *Beit Hashoah* as second one is made to emphasize the Holocaust as ultimate case of the intolerance and prejudice over other cases of intolerance in history. Shifting from the last instillation "In Our Time" in the Toleranceter to *Beit Hashoah* with highlight of how the United States of America "discovered" its victory against the racism, fascism and anti-Semitism in World War II as

defender of democracy against universal evilness of Nazism is framing the United States of America as a secured place for the Jews and problematizing the Christian Europe for toleration of Jews since the *Beit Hashoah* is presenting persecution, extermination, internment or ghettoization of Jews by Nazi Germany (Brown, p.135-141).

Especially the *BeitHashoah* represents how the Holocaust became a universal icon for American actions in the binary oppositions of justice-injustice, right-wrong, good-evil and civility-terrorism. The Museum narrates American invasions in Afghanistan and Iraq for another 'liberator' action like it was so against the Nazi Germany. The American liberalism universalizes tolerance through Holocaust memory to mask its own global politics and engagements (Brown, p.129-136). In such an American universalization of the Holocaust memory, the United States are imaged as a land of tolerance and harmony for the Jewish immigrants whereas the Christian Europe is continent of intolerance and injustice. As a most victorious and powerful country in the world, the United States protected and liberated the Jews from the Holocaust and became a free country for them. The Second World War, hence, is "the Good War" as "one of the few remaining anchoring points of American national mythology" (Whitmarsh, 2001, p.6). It is actually part of a universal American narrative that American engagement within the Second World War was a moral action which legitimizes American self-image during the 1990s as the leader of the world (Whitmarsh 2001).

Waves of the American miniseries in the United States and in the West Germany raised awareness of the Holocaust. In addition to 120 million Americans, 14 million German audiences watched the miniseries as well (Cole, p.13) and became part of the triggered public debates about the Jewish memory in the West Germany(Kansteiner, p.110).

2.3 The West German Memory Politics of Holocaust

Apart from Israel, the West Germany is another country whose national memory includes the Holocaust. It is possible to make periodization of the Jewish memory in the Federal Germany in four stages. The first period under *Vergangenheitsbewaltigung* (coming to the terms in the past) the memory politics of the West Germany lasted until end of the 1960s. The second period witnessed during the 1970s witnessed institutionalization of the Jewish museology and first permanent Jewish exhibitions in the state museums during the 1970s. The 1980s in German History and Historical Culture witnessed public debates of *Alltagsgeschichte*, Everyday History, in early of the 1980s as a popular historical culture discussion and *Historikestreit*, Historians' Debate, in the late 1980s as an academic historical culture discussions. Commemorative events of the 50th Anniversary of the *Kristallnacht Pogrom* of 1938 is marked as the third phase with new Museology of the Jewish culture and history in Germany. Unification of the Federal Germany in 1990 and establishment of the European Union led to the fourth and final phase with Europeanization or "Normalization" of the Jewish memory in Germany.

The Post-War German Memory Politics was generally defined as the *Vergangenheitsbewaltigung* (coming to terms with the past) as an unusual phenomenon: management of the symbolic collective guilt instead of the personal guilt. In contrast to past types of guilt, the new category of collective symbolic guilt was not defined in any concrete legal, political or moral terms and procedures of atonement and could be addressed only through symbolic politics and cultural memory work (Kansteiner, p.4). In pursuit of understanding the nature of collective symbolic guilt, there is a general conclusion that *Vergangenheitsbewaltigung* is an ongoing, open-ended obligation. That position makes a good deal of political and didactic sense. Continued identification with the cause *Vergangeheitsbewaltigung* does not

make a lot of emotional sense for younger Germans, who are several generations away from the catastrophe of World War II and the Holocaust (Kansteiner, p.8).

The growth of a radical and critical warfare generation and process of *Vergangenheitsbewaltigung* in West Germany opened first public debates and workshops about Jews. The common point in the Jewish exhibitions during the 1960s was the effort to separate the Jewish image from the Nazi stigmas such as "degenerated" or "alien" imposed by the Third Reich regime through its reintegration into national culture of Germany. Hence, the main emphasis was on religion rather than culture since organizers wanted to display the common shared roots of Judaism and Christianity. To emphasize these same roots, the Latin entitled Jewish organizations *Synagoga* in Frankfurt and *Monumenta Judaica* in Cologne and *Historia Hebreica* in Berlin were three major public exhibitions regarding Judaism (Bertz, p.83-87).

The first instance of *Vergangenheitsbewaltigung* lost its momentum due to Middle East conflicts during the 1970s (Bertz, p.88), but the institutional development of the Jewish Museology gradually remained with first permanent Jewish exhibitions of the state museums in the cities of Frankfurt, Göttingen, Cologne, Kassel, Lübeck, Mayence, and Schnaittach and institutionalization of the Jewish museum groups such as (*Arbeits-gemeinschaft jüdischer Sammlungen in der Bundesrepublikund* [West] *Berlin*) to have an annual forum for the exchange of information and experience (Bertz, p.88).

In addition to these silent gradual developments, general exclusionary attitude of the German historiography about Nazism and its place in the German history witnessed a paradigm shift, especially because of the structural criticisms. As a central explanatory topic for Nazism, the issue of collapse of the Weimar Republic was replaced by the 'Final Solution' or the Holocaust in the late

1970s. Although the early attitude of the German historiography was arguing Nazism as German manifestation of the general European totalitarianism in the inter-war era, its admission to the German history as an exceptional but not a general totalitarian regime led to notion of the Holocaust's singularity and uniqueness in the human history (Kansteiner, p.59). It was followed by the *Historikestreit,* Historians' Debate in late 1980s in the printed press especially *Die Zeit* and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* between conservative, traditional historians like Ernst Nolte and liberal ones like Jürgen Habermas. Whereas conservatives were defending similarities between mass exterminations by the Soviet Union and Jewish Holocaust by the Nazi Germany, liberals strictly denied it and insisted that Holocaust is an exceptional and unique historical event in the entire human history.

1980s in German History and Historical Culture underwent a massive transformation in public level with *Alltagsgeschichte*, Everyday History, in early of the 1980s as a popular historical culture and in academic level with *Historikestreit*, Historians' Debate, in the late 1980s as an academic following historical culture(Bertz, p.91-92). *Alltagsgeschichte* , in not only West Germany but in rest of the Western Europe, the United States and Japan as well, emerged as a popular phenomenon through printed and visual media and created a popular interest about past events in tangible and concrete local traditions, actors and practices through more visual ways such as photographs and moving images. The wave of new media images presented a vision of everyday life during Nazism while setting agenda for important groups of victims such as Jews, Gypsies, political dissidents, and Soviet prisoners of war (Kansteiner, p.65). Popular doing ways of history such as the *Geschichtswerkstätten* (history workshops), and elaborated previously marginal historical projects such as student debates into the national limelight. The workshops provided a fertile ground for the counter-critical historical culture. These were resulted in an

unprecedented wave of exhibitions and new museums. *Alltagsgeschichte* led to main innovation of the Jewish museology in West Germany, which is division between historical and religious sections. Sections dealing with religion generally made use of ceremonial objects to illustrate the Jewish year, the lifecycle, and rituals practiced in the synagogue, whereas the historical sections addressed the local and regional history of the Jews (Bertz, p.91).

The 50th anniversary of the 1938 *Kristallnacht* Pogrom was coincided with these popular and academic discussions in Germany. The 50th anniversary commemorations became a national "*theater of memory*" coined by sociologist Michal Bodemann in the museums of Frankfurt, Rendsburg, Essen and Gröbzig (in East Germany) and in West Berlin. These memorial events prompted German communities to address their local Jewish history for the very first time. For instance, the Jewish Museum of Frankfurt was opened on the anniversary of 1938 Pogrom in order to show Jews in history as active agents with their own everyday culture, their own political interests and their own interpretations of history" rather than focusing on their victim position in the Holocaust event as its director Georg Heuberger said (quoted in Bertz, p.93-96).

The final phase of the Jewish memory in Germany can be called Europeanization or 'Normalization' of the Jewish memory in Germany following the unification of the East and West parts, fall of Communism and establishment of the European Union. Foundations and narratives in Jewish Museums in both Berlin can be shown as the last example of the post-modern Holocaust museums. Daniel Libeskind's post-modern architectural model of the museum building which would be opened in 1999 embodied integration and independence through intertwining them permanently. The zigzagging building depicting a distorted Star of David utilizes the Post-Modern architecture for Jewish memorials. It consisted of two lines with one straight and one jagged.

Intersection of the lines is designed to emphasize the voids and absence of Jews. In this regard, even though the Jewish Museum is not intended to be a Holocaust Museum, it can be regarded as Germany's de-facto national Holocaust memorial museum. However, rejection of being such a categorization and focusing on celebration German-Jewish togetherness instead of the Holocaust, the Museum is a product of counter-memory movements of the 1980s in Germany. The five voids of the Museum including the Entrance hall and the Holocaust Tower emphasizes the absence of the German Jews today and three axis in the building symbolizes the contradictions of the German society (Sodaro, 2013). In addition to utilization of the post-modern and unique architectural characteristics of the museum, "the JMB differs from Israelization and Americanization of the Holocausts in respect to its narration of the Nazi terror as a result of its recent debates.

Jewish Museum Berlin was founded as a part of debates *Integrationsmodell* ('integrational model') implying Jewish integration to the city history since the 1990s among the academics and museum directors, Amnon Barzel and Michael Blumenthal, about Jewish integration into sense of local city history. The debate was resulted in favor of narration of the integral history of Jews in Berlin and Germany with theme of 2000 years of German-Jewish history in a more ethnically diverse and tolerant present. While emphasizing similarities and Jewish integration to the German society under very authoritarian narrative of the *Integrationsmodell*, the exhibition makes a sudden shift to narration in the segment of "Jewish Reactions to Nazi Persecutions 1933-1945" without conceptualizing and narrating the rise of anti-Semitism in the German Empire in previous centuries and direct consequence of the Holocaust by the hand of Nazi Germany (Holtschneider, p.79-141). It can be concluded that such a Holocaust narration is a result of *'local patriotism'* emerged from the 50th anniversary of the *Kristallnacht* Commemorations of 1988. The common thesis

is that before 1933, there was no anti-Semitism in Germany and during the Nazi period, the perpetrators emerged from the outside world but not from the local land and German society itself (Purin, p.141). The Jewish Museum Berlin utilizes "Politics of Nostalgia" as an antidote to negative past. Coming to terms with negative past is soften with nostalgic remembrance. Nostalgia with its wistful memories is essentially history without guilt. "Shame of Regret" is soften with a dose of nostalgic remembrance. Multicultural past of Berlin shaped by the minority Jewish population is depicted within a nostalgic remembrance and on a contemporary site of contestation over to what extent and whether Berlin and Germany can accommodate a multicultural present and future. Nostalgia is a political instrument behind the Museum's narrative and provides a guilty-free way to remember and include a multi-ethnic Germany while maintaining the status quo."(Sodaro, 2013, p.89).

The last instances of Vergangenheitsbewaltigung formed by *Alltagsgeschichte* and local patriotism, nostalgic authenticity of Jewry embedded in the German lands, part of the overall European continent, will also make a wider sense to cosmopolitan European memories. Nazism and Communism, which both are alienated ideologies from the European values, would be indicated as the main reasons behind the anti-Semitism and the Holocaust without narration and visualization of the local or national anti-Semitic history.

2.4 Post-Communist European Memory Politics of Holocaust

In contrast to Israel and the United States, the Europe was the place where the Holocaust tragedy took place. Holocaust was the genocide in European soils, committed by Europeans against other Europeans in the absence of European values (Levy, Sznaider 2006) and resulted in a loss of significant part of the European cultural heritage.

European pillar of the Jewish identity and memory was shaped by two major revolutions in the late1980s. The former as political was the fall of Communism and 1989 Revolutions in East Europe and the latter as spectacle can be conceptualized as a Virtual Revolution in the realms of memories as well(Cohen, 2012, p.12). The term "*Filling in the Blanks*" coined by Ruth Ellen Gruber refers to the sudden appearance of Jewish memory boom and restoration of the Jewish heritage in European landscape among the Post-Soviet geographies (Gruber, 2002).

The process "*Filling in the Blanks"* can be explained to portray Jewish history within the broader context of European, national and local development (Gruber, p.155). By the late 1980s and 1990s and the creation of the European Union, there emerged a rich literature regarding the European citizenship and identity. The literature emphasizes the common European values of liberalism, democracy, rule of law, human rights, recognition and protection of minorities and free market economy while problematizing a common identity issue. Even though Jürgen Habermas argued a united Europe of citizenship and a common political culture, Jacques Derrida mentioned about a multiplicity of European identity with coexistence of national and other identities. Behind all these debates of a common European identity, a powerful European symbols and myths as underlined by Ariane Chebel D'Appollonia was created by Tony Judt in 1992 with the idea of Europe based on collective national memories against the Nazi terror (Ostow, p. 4-5). In other words, the European Union legitimizes its existence explicitly through the memory phenomena. Such a memory behind pan-European identity and values makes European Jews pillar of European-self definition as 'recognition of diversity'. This means that Jews occupy a central role in European claims to cosmopolitanism, especially as a foil against which to counter the cries of intolerance made by other differentiated citizens (Peck, p.154-174). The European Union and a pan-European dream constructed its

legitimated existence on destructive results of World War II. In that extent, the totalitarian Nazi Regime and its Jewish victims were utilized to highlight 'What if the absence of the liberal values and the Union, guarantees peace on the Continent?' Especially Levy and Schnaizder tend to conflate the West with world and to treat Holocaust as a genocide that took place in Europe and was committed by Europeans against Europeans in the case of disappearance of cosmopolitan European values and indeed criticized as having indeed Eurocentric approach to Holocaust (Craps, 2014, p.201).

The European urban landscape such as Vienna, Krakow and Berlin became key sites to show "to be European city, it seems to have Jews" through Jewish spectacles like museums, memorials and cafes...etc. (Brick-Danan, 2010, p. 281). The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe passed a resolution recognizing "the very considerable and distinctive contribution that Jews and the tradition of Judaism have made to the historical development of Europe in the cultural and other domains" (Gruber, p.3). Jewish heritage and its contribution to the European civilization have stood over the European memory of the Jewry.

In addition to the universal Nazi evilness in the Continental Past, new liberal regimes in the East European states had a much more closer "dark past", the Communist Era. The lost Jewish phenomenon of the East European countries was made related to the oppression of the Communism over the minorities. The World War and the Communist Past were introduced as an "interrupting dark gap" in the national memories, expected flowing naturally in "a good path". The "discovered" but "oppressed and disappeared" national "heritages" were revealed in the public sphere again to remember "*old good days*" in the Pre-Communist and war era(Gruber, p.7). Memory of Gulag (Communist Crimes) and memory of Holocaust are two competing memories to deal with not only the Nazism but also the Communism in illiberal past (Kucia, 2016).

It is critical to note that even though Levy and Schneider argues the role of the Holocaust memory in the emergence of a cosmopolitan European identity, the transnational European institutions such as the International Forum on the Holocaust staged by Sweden, the European Parliament, Council of Europe, the OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe), and the UN played an active role to create Europeanization of the Holocaust memory. As long as the Eastern European countries joined the Union, the European Parliament resolutions equalized the Nazi crimes (Holocaust memory) and Stalinist-communist crimes (Gulag memory) in the same manners: totalitarian regimes and their crimes against Humanity it is because the Holocaust became a cornerstone in West European memory, post-Communist East European countries competed the Holocaust and Gulag memories with each other in presence of lost Jewish population and heritage to highlight how Nazism and Communism posed a threat to their existence in their national memory.

The image of "the lost Jewish heritage and people" was utilized by new European Union and newly emerged East European regimes against their illiberal past. The process '*Fill in the Blank Spaces*' was made by these East European regimes to "remember" their lost and destroyed local Jewish heritage during both World War II and the oppressive Communist rule. Remembering local Jews, commemorating them and their visible Jewish heritage in the public sphere became a reference for '*old good days'* in a nostalgic form before the Communism and World War (Gruber, p.8) in the times of liberal and democratic values.. The lost and destroyed Jewish heritage became a symbol of cost for losing liberal democracy.

The political motivations behind the exhibition of the Jewish phenomena in the public spheres, the virtual revolution accompanied with its appearance in the front of this phenomena. The reflection of this virtual revolution over different fields has been discussed as "New Museological Turn", "New Heritage

Industry" and "New Cultural Tourism" since the 1980s(Cohen, 2012, p.12). The prominent revolutionist character of this transition aligns itself with experimental theater. The display history of the site emerged as a shift from commemoration to exploration, from ceremony to visuality and from authoritative narrative to ongoing conversation. The site appeals derive from its failure as the perfect time machine (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998,p. 10).

In the local level, the cultural and historical sides of the public spheres were re-organized by the newly emerged heritage industry. The heritage industry is penetration of the market forces into realms of memory, replacing the state dominancy over it. During the 1990s, what was emerging from the Central and Eastern Europe with these political and virtual revolutions was defined as two figures: the French historian Diana Pinto and German sociologist Michal Bodemann. Diana Pinto offers the term "*Jewish space*" to describe the place dominated by the Jewish phenomena within present's European society (Ganthner and Oppenheim, 2014). What she means integration of the Holocaust and local Jewish memories into national histories in Europe through any kind of activity regardless physical existence and population of local Jews. She adds that there is a Jewish space in Europe that will exist even in the absence of Jews on planning for the future of Europeann Jewry (Pinto, 2000). The Jewish thing is becoming universal. Michal Bodemann at the same time coined the term *Judaisierendes Milieu* ('*Judaizing the terrain*'). In his view, the term defined an intellectual, cultural and local field enlarged through motivation and interest in the Jewish history and the interpretation of Jewish motifs(Ganther and Oppenheim, 2014).

While *Judaizing Terrain* process in East Europe, restoration of Synagogues and old Jewish houses and quarters in the East European cities, Jewish historical costumed actors, David star incorporated window frames, Kosher and Jewish food served Jewish style café and restaurants, book and gift-stores with Jewish

souvenirs like Holocaust reduced t-shirts with motto '*Never Again!*' or Jewish folkloric dressed dolls, Jewish festival and concerts all became simply parts of a kaleidoscopic whole. In this regard, Jewish heritage of Prague, for instance, was sarcastically described by the cartoonist Eli Valley as "*Jurassic Park of Judaism*" to refer to specific discomfiture with the staggering tourist exploitation. The terms imply the turn of Jewish history and particularly a tragic recent history of Jews in the city into just another of the city's many draws (Gruber, p.131). *Jewrassic Park* is another similar conceptualization referring to the same heritage industry process(Lackmann, 2000).

Preserving the history like a 'Jurassic Park' in the space promises an experience of traveling the Medieval Jewish times. What the visitor experiences, however, is the juxtaposition of the medieval and present and the willingly forgetting by the Jews in the city today of all that occurred after the medieval times. The visitor has the uncanny sense of seeing into a future that those locked into the eternity of the medieval are not supposed to know. Actors and visitors collaborate in a jumbling of time by sustaining one small slice of it indefinitely, even while abutting it with the present moment (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, p.10). The creation of Jurassic Park of Judaism or Jewrassic Park in the heritage is based on a process of invention and creation of past which can be explained by *simulacra* as "hyperreality" meaning a world of fantasy which is truer than reality as elaborated by theoreticians Umberto Eco and Jean Baudrillard. The term *simulacra* refers to the conditions under which "the copy is truer than the original" for performative exhibitions in museums and heritage sites, losing its authentic aura in sense of Benjamin Walter's approach, to recreate authenticity through duplication, reconstruction and imitation. Hence, differentiation between the copy, the original and the imitation becomes blurred although the simulacra devoids of the original. Thus, it is argued that it is not a withdrawal from "reality" but rather the collapse of reality into hyperreality. In the domain

of hyperreality, the differentiation between reality itself and simulation of reality disintegrates. The imaginary and the reality incessantly blend into one another to the extent to be experienced as similar. Simulacra or hyperreality refer to any kind of 'reality' it is intended. In regard of construction of authentic 'past', hyperreality creates an authoritative and hegemonic attempt in order to create a substitution that surpasses the reality of a life that no longer exists. In other words, hyperreality provides a means for manipulative substitution to set a hegemonic memory. Such a hyperrealistic memory of "*old good days*" of Jews in the authentic past is a useful way to depict a past about a colorful Jewish presence in the Medieval Europe without problematizing Medieval anti-Semitism and linked to anti-Semitic past and their absence to Communism and Nazism as only two universal actors to explain their absence (Gruber, p.7-8). The European pillar of the cosmopolitan Jewish memory is visualized in a nostalgic form to emphasize the 'presence of absence'.

In the age of globalization, the Holocaust memory became different myths in each pillars of Israel, America and Europe for their own political purposes. Zionism is presented as the ultimate answer to Jewish persecution by host gentile nations and the other one argues that toleration, understanding and Liberal values (either American or European) for cultural and ethnic minorities. The United States of America represents a contrast image of Europe where the Holocaust took place. The United States is the land of harmony and tolerance as the equivalent of a "*terrestrial Jerusalem*". Post-Communist Europe is visualizing 'presence of absence' of the abandoned Jewish heritage in a nostalgic form. Idealized Jewish contributions and achievements in the rise of idealized Pre-Holocaust Europe destroyed by Nazism and Communism as 'alien' ideologies to liberal European values.

CHAPTER 3

QUINCENTENARY ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1492 EXPULSION AND THE SEPHARDIC MEMORY BOOM

Holocaust was labeled as the central event in the history of the Jewish people in the recent centuries and a turning point to determine how Jewish history unfolds (Engel, p.67). With the strong influence of the Holocaust in Jewish historiography, development of the Holocaust Studies focused on the Eastern Europe where mass exterminations took place, thus marginalizing other regions (Rodrigue, 2004). The Extermination camp Auschwitz in Poland, where almost one million Jews died, became a symbol of all the Holocaust in which the six million Jewish victims were murdered. It is a general criticism that the Auschwitz Camp was where the 'Jewish Holocaustisation' took place, which ignores about 75000 Poles, 21000 Gypsies, 15000 Soviet prisoners and 15000 other nationals died but became symbol for the Jewish victims in general (Cole, p.104). Auschwitz and East Europe, however, became not only the symbol of 'Jewish Holocaustisation' but also icon for Yiddish Speaking *Askenazi* Holocaust. It is because, in 1939 there were almost one million Askhenazi Jews in East Europe which would be exterminated in addition to a smaller Jewish Sephardic Community with 150000 members in Southeastern Europe excluding Turkey. That led Sephardic victims to be relatively unnoticed in comparison with greater Askhenazi presence in the Holocaust (Rodrigue, 2004).

Nonetheless, Auschwitz Memorial Campus represents Sephardic victims at present with memorial plaques in Ladino language. It is because, even though the Holocaust memory conserves its hegemony because of its universalization for crimes against humanity rather than only Jews (Levy, Sznaider 2006), there appeared another memory for massive trajectory of a Jewish group, which

would stand on similar reasons to be accounted as yet another turning point of the Jewish history: Sephardic Expulsion of 1492.

As Jewish scholars of those times such as Isaac Abarbanel stated that "In the end, all suffered: some by the sword, and some by captivity and some by disease, until but a few remained of the many. In the words of our fathers: Behold we perish, we die, we are all perishing." (Ray, p.33). Commemoration of a previous massive trauma, suffered by the Sephardic Jews, around the world led to its recognition in global Jewish agenda during the late 1980s and 1990s. The traumatic similarity between the Holocaust and Expulsion of 1492 was stated by Pinto as Post-1492 Spain was assumed to be equivalent to post-Holocaust Europe it is because Sephardic Exile of 1492 was a previous traumatic event before the Holocaust in the European Jewish memory (Pinto, 2000). Actually, Expulsion of 1492 centered on the traumatic memory of the diaspora Jews since according to tradition and perhaps historical reality, the deadline was eventually extended from July 31 until August 2. In the Jewish religious calendar, this date corresponded to the ninth day of the month of Ab, the anniversary of the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple and second Jewish expulsion by the Roman Empire in the year 70 C.E (Cohen, 1992).

What happened in 1492 the Iberian Peninsula can be explained briefly with reference to the social and religious policies of the United Catholic Kingdom of Castilia and Aragorn[1] following the completion of *Reconquista*[2]. The last Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula, *Granada* in January 1492 was surrendered to the Catholic armies while requesting religious and cultural autonomy for its own Muslim and Jewish citizens. The new Kingdom in the Iberian Peninsula,

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[1]The two kingdoms were united after the marriage of King of Aragorn, Ferdinand and Queen of Castilia, Isabella within policy of Spanish unification.

[2]*Reconquista* (Re-Conquest) is a historical Spanish concept referring to long-term-purpose of 'liberation' of the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslim invasion.

however, targeted a total unity including religion. After 3 months of the surrounding, three options were proposed to Sephardic Jews on 31 March 1492; Conversion to Catholicism, Expulsion or the Inquisition Judgment (Death Penalty). The given deadline was 3 months ending on 31 July 1492. The Royal announcement notified that people who would practice Judaism after 31 July 1492 could be jailed, tortured, burned at the stake for such 'crimes' and their possessions would be confiscated. One-half to two-third of the Sephardic Jews had to leave Spain (Hart, 2016) about 1500-year-long nearly secure, stable and advanced Jewish home compare to the rest of Europe and the Middle East. Hispanic culture had been so consolidated place in the Sephardic identity that exiled Sephardic Jews kept their memorial linkage to Spain because their identification abroad remained with Spanish origin. The Ladino language kept the ties with Spain alive in their new homes (Elkin, 1992). The word "Sephardi" derives from the noun-Sepharad, a biblical place-name which by the eighth century was commonly used by Jews to designate the Iberian Peninsula. The name Sepharad appears only once in the Hebrew Bible at the very beginning referring to a town in Anatolia replace to reference to Iberian peninsula in people's usage.

As a result of the Expulsion, even if the number is still controversial today, a great number of Sephardic Jews between 50.000 and 200.000 were exiled to abroad. The Sephardic refugees were heterogeneously distributed to Portugal, France, Netherlands and the Balkans. The Italian city-States closed their boundaries to all immigrants. This first and major expulsion-based-migration was followed by other minor waves in the following decades due to several expulsion decisions for not only Jews but also 'New Christians' forcefully converted from Judaism or Islam including Portugal, France, Netherlands, Italian City-States. 1492 Spanish Exile was followed by 1497 and 1540 Portuguese, 1540 Milan, 1497 and 1550 Venice Exiles. Henry VII, Henry VIII

and Elizabeth I of England restricted admission of Sephardic Refugees and Netherlands prohibited future Jewish emigrations in 1654 (Cohen, 1992).

Today, the Sephardic Jewish diaspora has spread over a wide geography from the Latin and North Americas to Israel, France, former Yugoslavian countries, Italy, Greece and Turkey as well. These two geographical directions, either north and west to Europe and the Americas or the Mediterranean Basin were shaped with three significant migration waves in history; Exile of 1492, the Balkan Wars- World War I and the Holocaust. Accordingly, exile, decline and revival are the key concepts to understand the Sephardic identity (Zohar, p.14-15).

Through the Quincentenary anniversary of the 1492 Expulsion, the world witnessed a Sephardic revival within numerous conferences, symposia, seminars, workshops, round-tables, concerts, and museum installations resulting in the launching of a plethora of periodicals, books, radio broadcasts, cultural and folkloric events, and pedagogical programs—all dealing with the heritage of the Sephardic Jews (Kerem, 2018). The origin and host countries became centers of the Sephardic memory boom during the 1980s and 1990s. In this regard, it could be argued that the Sephardic memory boom was mainly centralized in Israel as an identity revival, in Spain as a state-level commemoration, in the United States with a celebration with its Sephardic diaspora and in Turkey as a state-level celebration. The Sephardic boom was shaped in relation with hegemony of the Holocaust memory in Israel with its Zionisation, in Spain with its Europeanization and the United States with its Americanization. Especially European and American pillars emphasized pluralism and cosmopolitanism while setting their universal liberal hegemony in the Post-Communism Era. Spanish Quincentennial commemorations simply imagined Spanish Golden Age communicating the message of how coexistence of Jews, Christians and Muslims under the Christian rule was a medieval

example of the European values and the Union and how such a medieval model of the Union was tragically ended with the Expulsion of 1492. As Americanization of Holocaust depicts the American lands as a Jewish haven where the alive Jewish presence exists in contrast to Europe after the Holocaust, American Quincentennial celebrations focused on active and alive Sephardic existence in the United States. The memory of the Sephardic diaspora in the United States imagined the Ottoman and Turkish lands as a similar safe and free cosmopolitan country since most of their origin country was the Ottoman Empire following their emigration after the Balkan Wars in 1912-13 and the Ottoman withdrawal from the Balkan region. Such a similar imagination in the memory of the American Sephardic diaspora supported purposes of the Turkish State sponsored Quincentennial celebrations depicting Turkey as another and exceptional Jewish haven in the world. The Turkish State used the Quincentennial celebrations as a political project and international public relations campaign as a response to international criticisms about the minority and human right violations in Turkey.

3.1 Israel

Unlike Spain, the United States of America and Turkey, Israel did not witness a specific Sephardic Memory Boom and Quincentennial commemorations of 1492 Expulsion at state or civil society level. What happened, instead, is a counter-protest civil society awaking as an ethnic revival since the late 1970s. Israeli case is specifically important because of its relatively high Sephardic population in the country when compared to others. Israel is a case in which a communal memory has political implications for changing state-society relations to understand how returning to cultural ties both in Israel and in diaspora heritage is depoliticized despite a significant population. Emergence of a communal memory is political because it is a political action of an ethnic community which views the past as a unifying factor (Feldman, 2015).

Asian-African origin Jews constitute about 47 % of the total Jewish population in 2000 compared to about 25 % 50 years earlier and reached to about 50% by 1990 (Dellapergola and Medding, p.13-14). The Sephardic identity today is regarded as a sub-category of this Ladino in part of general Arabic speaking *Mizrahim* (Eastern Jews from Muslim populated North Africa and Middle Eastern countries) in Israel as second major Jewish group after the Yiddish Speaking Eastern Europe origin *Askhenazi* Jews. Especially, the term "ethnic" in Israel refers to *Mizrahim* rather than *Askhenazi*. They were and are in some cases considered 'inferior' to Jewish immigrants from Christian countries in terms of culture, economics, politics and status(Feldman, 2015).

Askhenazi figures popularly enrolled in ideological and foundational creation of the Israeli State before its independence in 1948. The founder ideology, Secular Labor Zionism was assuming the Israeli nationality as a melting pot *(mizug galuyot)*where all the ethnic differences of the Jewish diaspora would be disappeared (Picard, 2017). The master narrative of the Israeli national memory, thus, assigns *Askhenazi* figures into a prominent position through selection of the Holocaust as a founder national memory in *Yad Vashem* Museumwhile ignoring the rest of the Jewish past and diaspora roots around the World and selection of East European *Askhenazi* victims in the Holocaust while ignoring *Sephardic* victims in the Balkan region. The Israeli national master narrative creates some dualities on Zionist homeland-negation of diaspora (*Shlilat ha-golah*), Askhenazi-Mizrahi communities and Holocaust-neglected pre-Holocaust diaspora past (Semi, Miccoli and Parfitt, 2013).

The promotion of *Askhenazi* identity and memory by Labor Zionist state oppression forced the plural religious and ethnic faces to operate underground as a sociological generalization. *Era of Euphoria* and its ending in Yom Kippur War of 1973 led to erosion of the Labor Zionist hegemony and its replacement with alternative searches in Israel. Worker Party *Mapai* lost the Parliament

majority for first time in the 1977 elections, which was ultimate consequence of the formal ideological erosion. What happens is that multicultural Israeli society appeared without a necessary multicultural ideology (Refael, 2015) even though it is a political action of an ethnic community which views the past as a unifying factor. The politicization of multi-cultural society in Israel was limited to their demand to recognition of their presence in public and cultural life through museums, music and literature. The common problems of integration, assimilation and indeed sometimes discrimination against *Askhenazi* communites led the various Jewish communities to remind of their diaspora roots of 50 years ago rather than an exile of 500 years ago.

This trend became popular in new *lieu de mémoire* in the late 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. The first state-hand diaspora museum *lieu de mémoire* was founded in Israel in 1978. The Museum of the Jewish Diaspora on campus of Tel Aviv University exhibits Jewish past in diaspora. However, the museum concludes the move of the diaspora Jewish life into Zionist homeland (Shenhav-Keller, 2013). This state museum was followed by four main private museums with the common message of recognizing diaspora roots in the past and Mizrahim Jews' contribution to Israel: Jewish Moroccan Museum and Archive for Living Culture conceived at the end of the 1980s, the Moroccan House, a center for the Moroccan Jewish Heritage (*Ha-Bait Ha-Marokai, Merkaz Moreshet Yehudei Moroko*) in 1998, The Yaacov Hazan Museum of the Founders (*Muzeon Ha-Meyasdim, Yaacov Hazan*) in 2011, The David Amar World Center for North African Jewry Heritage in 2011 (*Ha-merkaz Ha-olamile-morashet yahudt Tzafon Africa, David Amar*). Several independent curators, foundations and even business people appeared to make Jewish past both in Israel and diaspora geography. *Entrepreneur de memory* appeared a term referring to volunteer collectors and investors of Jewish objects and heritage for diaspora roots (Semi, 2013).

As part of the Mizrahim Revival, the *Sephardic Renaissance* emerged in the late 1970s. However the cultural renaissance is performed in passive cultural components rather than active. It was a selective cultural components such as the yearning for Sephardic cuisine, Ladino music and the Sephardic folk tales making a 'comfortable path' for Sephardic people to walk for Israel's future while emphasizing diaspora roots from Mizrahim geography. The process is a cultural reproduction of the Sephardic musical and literature heritage for their supply to cultural consumption of Israeli people with interest and pleasure on the Sepharad. Sephardic revival became limited to cultural consumption. The commodification or marketization of cultural products makes them passivized (Refael, 2015). It is actually the consequence of market competition tailoring the specific preferences for production of popular memories (Brunk, Giesler, Hartman, 2017). In this regard, *Ladinostalgia* is a coined term referring to imposed nostalgic memory in Ladino songs in the 1980s and 1990s, which strengthens the connection to the familiar identity and create a measure of exoticism (Refael, 2015) as a kind of alienation at the same time.

In this extent, *Mizrahim* Memory Boom and more specifically *Sephardic* Renaissance perform in a middle way between a critical and traditional memory forms (Rüsen, p.27-28) while claiming a critical presence against traditional or national Labor Zionist master narrative and integration to Israel as well. The marketization of *Sephardic Renaissance* softens such a contradiction of affirming a traditional past of togetherness and criticizing a past denying its presence. Selective cultural components of Sephardic identity as commodification of language, song and cuisine became passivized in markets in a constant process of decline and assimilation into broader Israeli culture instead of revitalization of all aspects to engage within a Sephardic way of life in the spirit and Sephardic Judaism. Many Ladino singers and artists such as Betty Klein, Hadas Pal-Yarden, Ruth Yaakov, Dany Akiva, Yasmin Levy, Guy

Zuaretz, Yehuda Poliker, Shlomi Shabat and Lea Shabat became popular figures during the 1980s and 1990s not only in Israel but also internationally (Refael, 2015).

In addition to neoliberal marketization as a ground for performing cultural existence in Israel, relations of Israel to Mizrahim and Sephardic diaspora was strengthen through educational-cultural foundations and *entrepreneur de memory*. Since then, there have been some investments for Jewish heritage in the Mizrahim diaspora geographies as well for serving heritage tourism. Israeli educational, cultural and tourism organizations discovered and joined the Jewish tourism trends in Europe to refer to a 'different point of view of the sites' rather than the 'Holocaust' tourism. This 'pining for the past' leads to a kind of tourism that provides a way for Jews of the diaspora to get in touch with their roots (Kreiner and Olsen, p.286).

Since it was taken by Mizrahim and Sephardic society more meaningful the ties with former countries for diaspora roots in recent years as a protest counter-narrative against the master-one rather than Exile of 1492 in long past, it is possible to state there were no significant commemorations at national level by either state or society. What happened, however, establishment of multiple Mizrahim *lieu de mémoire* by leading people *entrepreneur de mémoire*, Cultural *Ladinostalgia* in Israel, Israeli *hyperrealistic* extension and penetration into diaspora heritage tourism around the world have affirmed Mizrahim and Sephardic roots in a depoliticized manner.

3.2 Spain

Spain is one of the countries where the Quincentennial celebrations were organized at state-level because the 500th anniversary of the 1492 Expulsion coincided with the imposed political transitional period in Spain. The

replacement of the Franco dictatorship with domestic democratization in Spain and its accession to the European Union were taking place in 1992.

Memory politics of the Franco dictatorship regarding the Spanish Past can be conceptualized as *Castilianization* which refers to "domination of all the traces of Spain's liberal and integrative past with an intolerant, anti-secular, and anti-foreign Catholic conservatism" (Gilmour, 2017). The historical mission of the Franco regime was to restore Spain's past grandeur as empire and sanctuary of Catholicism despite his desire to connect his regime directly with the Spanish golden age. That is why, the Catholic Monarchy centered memory construction of the Francist Nationalist Regime (1939-1975) issued the anti-Semitic practices made by the Monarchy towards the Sephardic Jewish population in the past such as the Inquisition and the Expulsion of 1492 exalting imperial, Catholic, Castilian Spain, with the Jews depicted as enemies of Christ and of Spain (Gilmour, 2017). The negated memory of Jews in the Francist Spanish past was generally linked to any opposition to the regime either Catalan or Basque separationists or left-wing labor politics through the concept *conversos*[3] and the Jews.

Struggling with the Franco legacy and anti-democratic past led to some tensions reflected over media and academy in Spain regarding two options of considering the past: Desire, one of the characteristics of Spain's negotiated path to democracy, to move forward and not look back, and a growing need to re-examine the past and provide a satisfactory reckoning with it. Since Franco's death, the academic debates about the Spanish identity and the Spanish past in the Spanish historiography has risen, which had gone on from the mid-twentieth century. Although the traditional Spanish historiographical school

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[3]Conversos meaning the converted refers to enforced converted Jews to Catholics in the 15th Century under threat of death penalty and not regarded as authentic Catholics and implies "internal enemies" in daily anti-Semitic discourse.

headed by Claudio Sânchez-Albornoz was focusing on the Gothic myth of Spain with a purely Catholic and European heritage that had continued from Roman to modern times essentially unchanged, the term *convivencia* (coexistence) was argued by the an alternative historiography headed by America Castro while highlighting the peacefulness and togetherness of the three cultures (Christian, Jewish and Muslim) in the Medieval peninsula and contribution of such a cultural harmony in formation of modern Spanish identity and history (Green, 1998).

In Spain, the Sephardic memory was boosted through not only the *Convivencia* debates but also the rise of local history in the Spanish historiography since the late 1960s such as population, types of occupations, internal organization of the *aljama* (local Jewish community government), property ownership, food and clothing, the geography of the Jewish quarter, and other demographic and social information commonly available in the archival records(Green, 1998). All these sudden remembering diversified local history of Spain, including the Sephardic heritage became part of the democratic transition project during the 1980s. Growth in self-rule and identification with the autonomous regions with local minority groups made a kind of idealization of the regional past with the *convivencia*, harmonious coexistence between Catholics, Muslims and Jews and attributes traumatic events to "outsiders"(Gilmour, 2017).

Commemoration of the 1492 Exile in Spain was organized under such a new memory politics of newly democratic country and member of the European Union. 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games, Madrid as European Cultural Capital of 1992 and the 500th anniversary of discovery of the new world, the American continents, were part of the Spanish public relation project for its corrupted image in the Franco Era (Hristova, p.109). Within new and democratized Spanish politics memory preferred remembering a diversified past of the Spanish history with its "some exceptional negative events" as well through the

discourse of *the Spanish Golden Age*. It is possible to see such a tendency in the official commemorative ceremony of the 1492 Exile on April 1st 1992 in Beth Yaakov Synagogue of Madrid, attended by the Spanish King Juan Carlos, the Queen and the Israeli State President Chaim Herzog. While avoidance of making a royal apology for the Exile, the King emphasized "contemporary tolerance" and symbolically annulled the royal decree of 1492 Exile. He asserted that:

> "We have known moments of splendor and of decadence…We have lived through periods of great respect for political and ideological freedom, as well as periods of intolerance and persecution for political, ideological or religious reasons." (Jewish Telegraph Agency, 1992).

Remembering the Judeo-Sephardic past of Spain in the early 1990s was organized by *the 1992 Seferad* Organization centered in Toledo, 500 Years-500 Programs and several government-sponsored cultural and educational initiatives on Judeo-Spanish heritage in Spain and Latin America. In 1987, Toledo was declared the capital city of *the Sefarad 92 Programme* with many conferences, exhibitions and publications regarding the Spain's Jewish past. Much of the publicity was aimed at highlighting the lost (or actively repressed) Jewish culture of Spain's past, without necessarily focusing too overtly on the events leading to this loss.

Spain is an experienced player in contemporary global debates over cultural and religious conflict. The initiatives include the 'discovery' and refashioning of old Jewish quarters in a number of Spanish cities and towns; the use of these historic quarters (Flesler, Linhald and Melgosa, 2011). Most of these initiatives are connected to the configuration of the '*Red de Juderías de España*', an association created in 1995 to foster research, restoration and tourist promotion of the historic Jewish quarters in each participating city. The association

succeeded in turning these places into sites for consumption (Flesler and Melgosa, 2010) into tourist destinations that become 'exhibit of themselves' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, p.151). This process of patrimonialization has resulted in the incorporation of many participating towns into tourist circuits that cater to an international Jewish clientele. It has also brought to each community a series of unexpected collateral effects, reopening previously dormant questions about local ethnic, religious and cultural identities.

Spanish memory politics of the Sephardic Jews cannot be considered independently from the European Union's memory politics of Jews as criteria for recognition of diversity and European cosmopolitanism. Spain idealized *Spanish Golden Age* as a medieval model of coexistence of Catholic, Muslim and Jewish diversity as a promoted European value and it also articulated Exile of 1492 as an exceptional negative event ending *Convivencia.* Spanish roots were reconciled and affirmed by the Sephardic diaspora around the world during the Quincentennial commemorations including the United States.

3.3 The United States of America
Compared to Spain with very few Sephardic population, the United States of America was the country where the Quincentennial commemorations turned into a civil society-based celebrations rather than governmental ones. The fact that ideal American lands are safe and alive Jewish haven in Americanization of Holocaust is joint imagination with American Sephardic memory. The Quincentennial celebrations in the United States became a kind of liberation of the Sephardic memory from burden of a tragedy of the expulsion in 1492. Instead, the anniversary was a motivation for reconciliation between Sepharad (Spain) and the Sephardim (Judeo-Spanish diaspora) (Elkin, 1992). In addition to affirming Spanish roots, the celebrations reflected long-term alive and active Jewish life in the United States after the Sephardic emigration to America. How the American lands were imagined in the Sephardic Jewish memory would

have not only relevance with their Ottoman imagination but it would also be significant for the Turkish state sponsored Quincentennial celebrations later.

The Judeo-Spanish music groups "*Voice of the Turtle*" and "*Voices of Sepharad*" traveled across European and American continents as the rise of popular awareness and celebration of emigration to America (Kerem, 2018). In addition to popular culture, the local Sephardic Jewish communities in the United States organized commemorations for the Quincentennial anniversary of 1492 Exile. Traveling exhibitions such as *Mosaic: Jewish Life in Florida*, *In the Footsteps of Columbus: Jews in America in 1654–1880*, *Anti-Defamation League's "Voyages to Freedom: 500 Years of Jewish Life in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Yeshiva University Museum in New York staged a long year exhibition of "The Sephardic Journey: 1492-1992" and universities in the United States such as Tucson and Yeshiva University organized a number of academic conferences. The common theme in these various exhibitions, "*Voyages to Freedom: 500 Years of Jewish Life in America and the Caribbean*" and others, commemorate Quincentennial anniversary of both Columbus' voyage and Jewish Expulsion from Spain to American lands(Shofar, 1992). The exhibition and conferences explored the 'negative Jewish presence' during Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American republics in the recent history. While the exhibitions are depicting the American lands as free and safe Jewish haven, the theme of Quincentenary laysa good basis for Sephardic community to set their relations with Hispanic World and Spain(Elkin, 1992).

During the 1980s and 1990s, Jewish communities (both Askhenazi and Sephardics) in the United States imagined American lands as a safe and free Jewish haven through Americanization of Holocaust and Sephardic Quincentennial Commemorations of 1492. However, there was actually a deeper root in the American Sephardic memory about idealization of America and it stems from a very distant country: Turkey. It is because the Sephardic

history characterized by not one, but two diasporas the first stretching about 1492 and the second one was result of economic and politic instability in the Ottoman territories beginning in the late nineteenth century (Zucker, p.2): with three following wave of emigrations from the Balkan territories including the Ottoman Salonica (*Mother of Israel, Jerusalem of Europe*). Three wave of emigrations, the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, the Balkan Wars between 1912 and 1913 and dissolution of the Ottoman Empire following the end of World War I made New York a new Sephardic home with one of the largest populations of Ottoman-born Jews in the world after Salonica, Istanbul, Izmir and Edirne (Naar, 2015). In the years between 1881 and 1924, in addition to over two million Askhenazi Jews from Eastern Europe as the dominant force in American Jewish life, a second, much less known group of about eighty thousand Sephardic Jewish immigrants left the shores of Europe and Asia to come to the United States with their nickname they would be entitled later in the United States such as *Monastirli, Castorli, Rhodesli, Yaniotli or Salonikli*. In spite of the less population of the Sephardics in the American Jewish community, they soon became part of American Jewish myth. They were viewed as the "Grandees" of American Jewish society as an aristocratic, acculturated group thanks to their high level of literacy comparing to East European Askhenaz immigrants(Cohen, 1992). As a kind of such a weighted position in the American Jewish myth, it can be claimed that their memory towards the Ottomans would be effective for future American Jews' attitude toward Turkey and Turkish Quincentennial celebrations.

It is possible to argue that the Sephardic Jewish memory in the post-Balkan Wars era can be divided in three periods in terms of the reactions to the catastrophe. Some Sephardic newspapers and auto-biographic memoirs issued by the immigrant Sephardic Jews showed some binary relations of Expulsion of 1492-Balkan Catastrophe and Ottomans-United States. The first and immediate

memorialization of the Balkan Wars was conceptualized as *Nuevo Gerush* (New Expulsion) by the Ottoman Jewish press. Following the shock of the war in 1912, the local Jewish press in Istanbul mentioned the dispersed Balkan Jews under the enlarged Balkan states (Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria) with reference to the Exile of 1492. The Jewish columnists tended to equate the fall of Islamic *Andulusia*, where Jews, Muslims and Christians had lived in a peaceful coexistence until the Catholic Spanish aggression, *Reconquista*, with the Ottoman withdrawal and the Orthodox Balkan states' aggression (Naar, 2007).

With massive Sephardic immigration to the United States and city of New York, the Ottoman times were remembered in a melancholic yearning and nostalgic memorialization because of integration problems to the American society during the 1910s and 1920s and their exclusion from Askhenazi dominant American Jewish community with cultural and linguistic alienation. The fact that some published poems in the American Jewish newspapers following the migration also implies these melancholic and nostalgic remembering of the Ottoman lands. The most well-known of these Sephardic newspapers was the weekly published in city of New York *La Amérika* (America) "A National, Literary, Political and Commercial Weekly" between 1910 and 1926 founded by a Sephardic businessman, Moshe Gadol who had been born in Rusçuk in the Ottoman Bulgaria. In addition to the Sephardic immigrants' daily life and adaptation problems, the Ottoman lands and epic poems dedicated to the Ottoman lands were also elaborated (Karkason, n.d.). For instance, it is possible to see such a melancholic and nostalgic poem dedicated to the Ottoman times written by a Salonica origin Ottoman Jew, Moise Soulam (Naar, 2015).

> I abandoned Salonica forever,
>
> Where I was poor and not rich

And I came to America to labor night and day.

But always I will love my homeland (patria), Turkey . . .

Farewell, I cry, my dear Salonica,

For you were always fertile and rich.

But since the Greeks have been in power,

Almost, if not entirely, they already destroyed you.

Farewell, I cry as well to my homeland (patria), Turkey,

Since with the Turk I lived in harmony.

Farewell, farewell blessed and beautiful Turkey.

You were never a threat to the Jew.

In the final phase, the Sephardic Jews' adaptation to the American society was completed following the Second World War. The first and second generation of the Sephardic immigrants intertwined cosmopolitan Ottoman nostalgia and their liberal American experience while enhancing the Ottoman nostalgia at the same time. For instance, although the autobiographical texts of disturbed and allured Eastern European Askhenazi Jews defines their Americanization in a broken link with the Old World, the Sephardic Jews had an unusual memorial and nostalgic attachment to the Ottoman world they had left their behind. Through examining the first Sephardic autobiographies released in the Unites States, written Leon Sciaky's (1893-1958) *"Farewell to Salonica"* in description of his own teenage in the Ottoman Salonico, *"All the Way Home"* by Herbert Hadad (1946-) about his father's childhood in the Ottoman Beirut, *"Nona"* by Gloria Kircheimer in her family's past in the Ottoman Izmir and *"Fabric"* by Rosaly DeMaios ROffmans, Diane Matza arrived at a common conclusion that the lost Ottoman world was remembered as a lovely and peaceful place in the Sephardic memory in contrast to the brutal Yiddish persecution in the Eastern Europe (Matza, 1999).

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All these Sephardic American writers and intellectuals had a common combination of the cosmopolitan Ottoman memory with liberal American values. Many of them were grown in a multi-cultural society of the Sephardic elite and well-educated in the secular schools in the Ottoman Empire like the Alliance Israelie Univesale. Their migration from a world that crossed various ethnic and religious communities to another world which is the United States. It can be generalized that they were generally secure in their sense of being American and belonging on American soil, praising the country's best values was cosmopolitan in outlook, passionately attached to their homeland, and promoted the democratic values for which many in the Levant were striving. Optimism about the idealist secular values of peace and harmony that they learned in the cosmopolitan Ottoman Levant and exhortation to the United States to fulfill these ideals in their memoirs can be stated as the concluding remarks in their memoirs.

It is important to note that such a Sephardic Jewish memory in the United States is very convenient with Americanized myth of the Holocaust in the 1980s since the Sephardic memoir writers have already constructed an imagination of the United States of America in a way of safe, liberal and secured Jewish haven inspired from the cosmopolitan Ottoman Levant where the multi-ethnic society had been living in a peaceful coexistence in their memory. An idealized Sephardic world in the Ottoman Balkans were destructed by the catastrophic Balkan Wars and the United States of America replaced the Ottoman Empire as a kind of new cosmopolitan and liberal home in the memory of the Sephardic Jewish diaspora. As a third and final phase of the Sephardic Jewish memory in the American diaspora, the timing of such an idealized Jewish haven of the United States inspired from the Ottoman admission to the Spain exiled Sephardic Jews in its super power era in the 16[th]Century coincides with the end of World War II when it emerged as a

super-power, world peace seeker and flagship of the liberal-democratic camp in the bi-polar world.

It is no wonder that the Turkish state sponsored Quincentenary commemorations in 1992 would find a significant echo in the United States of America thanks to its relevance with the images of the American lands in either Holocaust or Sephardic Jews' memory.

3.4 Turkey

Even though global Jewish Memory is dispersed into three different social geographies in Israel, the United States of America and the European Union; the definitive concept for the general Jewish memory is *lachrymose* (Brink-Danan, 2012, p. 44). Israeli, American and European *les lieux de mémoirs* such as Yad Vashem, Jewish Museum of Berlin, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Tolerance Museum in Los Angeles, *Judaizing terrains* in Europe and Holocaust commemorative days promote and necessitate their universality through narrating the tragic consequences of Holocaust in absence of their own ideologies, Zionism, American liberalism and common European values. While Holocaust dominates the concept *lachrymose* of Jewish memory, Spain is another example for *lachrymose* narration of Jewish memory. It is because, even though Spain narrates *Convivencia* -Catholics, Jews and Muslims in the Medieval Spain- as a Spanish medieval model for the contemporary European values, Exile of 1492 is presented as a tragic end of this coexistence. The United States Sephardic civil society celebrated their voyage to a land of freedom and life and noticed their roots to Spanish roots at the same time. Similarly, Turkey is another but the examplar of how a Quincentennial commemorations of a dramatic expulsion turned into a state led political project and a happy celebration during the late 1980s and 1990s.

Among all the Jewish memory mapping activities in the globe, Turkey captures an exceptional and unique position with a narrative of very positive and happy Jewish past. Turkey was neither occupied by the Nazi Germany, hence no experienced Holocaust destruction, and nor part of the Soviet Union. Rather, as *Beth Hatefutsoth Museum* (Jewish Museum of Diaspora) at Tel Aviv University in Israel in March 1984 decided to search and record Sephardic monuments and heritage in Turkey, the research is legitimized in the final text entitled *Anyos Munchos I Buenos* (Good Years and Many More) prologue with long-term peaceful coexistence between Muslim and Jewish Turks in the country since the 15th century. Stressing its faithful membership of NATO and democratic-secular Western Alliance as a country straddling Europe and Middle East in the prologue gives a positive first impression about Turkey as another West-like safe and secured Jewish home (Gürsan-Salzman; p.X). A positive Jewish past in a West-America-like imaged safe Jewish home was deeply utilized and elaborated by a Turkish state-sponsored project later: Quincentennial 'Celebrations' of the 1492 Exile. In comparison to Spain and the United States and even if there was no a significant State-level-commemoration in Israel, why the Turkish State funded the project and developed its theme were shaped by its current and desired international position in a changing World of Post-Communist Era. Turkey wanted to join international and cosmopolitan liberal order through an active alliance with the United States and membership to the European Union.

The 500-long-year existence of Sephardic Jews in a predominantly Muslim society of Turkey began with the Expulsion of 1492. The Ottoman Sultan Bayazid II issued a proclamation ordering his officials to admit the Sephardic refugees into his empire. Around 100.000 Sephardic Jewish refugees were accepted to the Ottoman lands, with most heading towards Istanbul and its neighborhoods which absorbed a total of Sephardic 40,000 Jews (Svastics,

p.20). From a general perspective, non-Muslims have relatively more guaranteed presence in the Islamic law such as Jews or "marginalized" Christian communities like the Egyptian Copts under the Islamic rule as opposed to the Christian rule.[4] Like *Andulujia* in Spain*,* the Ottoman Empire, therefore, had a multi-religious society from its very beginning. The early era of the Ottomans already included recognition of a significant number of Anatolian Orthodox Greeks and Bulgarians, Gregorian Armenians and Romanot Jews[5]. To manage the diversity, exiles and population movements were, however, imperial policies over the communities. The Sephardic refugees were settled in depopulated Byzantine Greek cities in Balkans and Thrace such as Salonica for their re-population after exiles of local residents. (Ginio, 2002). The orthodox historiography utilizes a definite term, *Millet* System for the relation between the Imperial Rule and its non-Muslim subjects on the base of *Zımmi* (protected) status in accordance with the Islamic Code, *Sharia.* The *Sharia* tolerates existence of *Zımmi*on payment of tax called *Haraç* and their acceptance of supremacy of Islam. *Millet* (Community) System refers to departmentalized compartments as autonomous religious communities under the authority of their own clergy leaders loyal to Sultan in hierarchical structure of dominant *Millet*, Muslim Community and Subject *Millets*, non-Muslim communities (Akgönül, p.69-72).

The formation of secular Turkish nation-state eliminated diversity and targeted at creation of homogeneous nation and state. It is significant to note that "there

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[4]It is a common consensus that the Egyptian Copts had subjected to sectarian oppressions in the Byzantium era and had an easier life in the early centuries of the Islamic rule. For detailed information, have a look at Sayyid-Marsot, A. L. (2007). *A History of Egypt: From the Arab Conquest to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press

[5]Romanot Jews were the very local Jewish diaspora in Byzantine and early Ottoman Anatolia-Thrace. Culturally and linguistically they embraced the Greek identity. Following the massive Sephardic emigrations, the community was absorbed by the Sephardic Jews(Svastics, 2011, p.16-22).

are legally recognized non-Muslim minorities in Turkey like the Greeks, Armenians and the Jews and other ethnic and cultural groups of Alawites, Kurds, Lazs, Circassions and Georgians...etc." (Toktaş, 2005).

The founder Kemalist nationalist elites and the Turkish State became a single monopoly over creating nationalist Turkish historiography and a master narrative to create a nationalist identity on the basis of their ideological motivations (Keyder, 1998, p. 47). Turkish historiography and national memory hided and excluded minorities and their tragedies, (Armenians in 1915, Population Exchange of 1923 with the Anatolian Greeks, Thracian Pogrom of 1934 targeting Jews, Wealth Tax of 1942 targeting mainly Jews and Armenians, September 6-7 Pogrom of 1955 targeting mainly Greeks and other non—Muslim minorities and Istanbulite Greek Deportation of 1964) from official Kemalist narrative of the Secular Turkish Republic and social consciousness of Turkish society. Lack of national consciousness about how ninety percent of the Anatolian Christian population and one over six total Anatolian population disappeared (Keyder, 1998, p. 46-47). That was related to organized and administered amnesia by the Turkish State (Özyürek, 2007, p.3). Such collective amnesia was a memory politics of Turkish State on not only the tragedies of the non-Muslims but also its own Muslim citizens. For instance, there was neither systematic records nor museum installations regarding the diaspora roots and tragedies of the Turkish Muslim immigrants (*muhacir)*. This can be explained by the target of the Kemalist State on Anatolian based homogeneous national identity and memory since there were central regional implications and indeed emphasizes of Anatolia in the early Republican museums such as Museum of Anatolian Civilizations or Ethnographic Museum or even architecture of Anıtkabir (Atatürk's tomb and memorial) with Anatolian inspirations (Shaw, 2011).

Despite the administered collective amnesia and accordingly absence of Jewish image in the realms of memories and museums, it is possible to draw a framework of a Jewish image produced under hegemony of the right-wing thought in Turkey. The stereotypical Jewish image produced by the Turkish right does not refer to certain figures or portraits. It is reproduced by all fractions in the Turkish right, either Islamism or Turkish nationalism, because they share similar 'concerns' and strategies. Kadir Dede and Aylin Özman (2016) analyze the production of the anti-Semitic Jewish image in relation to the populism of the Turkish right. From very beginning, the Turkish right locates itself in an 'aggrieved' position vis-à-vis the other. It is a populist polarizing strategy to mobilize and alarm 'masses' for any 'internal' or 'external' threat. For changing conjuncture, populism needs a flexible and fluid images for reproduction of other. In this regard, the Jewish image functions as a 'patch' for a reproduced threat. Even though such a function creates contradictions and inconsistencies in the Jewish image, the anti-semitic Jewish image becomes a marginalized reference for any kind of 'threat' in all the world of Turkish rightwing thought. Jews are 'penetrated' and 'leaked' into Turkish nation as an invisible ghost. The Jewish agent is so hidden that it is very hard to detect but so pervasive that it can manipulate and control all aspects of life in general. Such an imagination locates Jews into a distinct and privileged position of a minority group as happy and felicitous elites over poor and miserable Turkish masses. As a closed group, Jews are internationally organized around the world and work in favor of their own secret agenda. Their imagination of such invisible but 'leaked' form is related to their association with two historically real social groups and institutions which are the cripto-converted group of Sabatayists, historically heretic regarded and excommunicated by the majority of the Turkish Jews and free-masons. Sabbateans or donmehs (the converts) refer to a Jew who is a Muslim in appearance. Sabbatai Sevi was an Ottoman Jew and his religious view, Sabbatainism, emerged from his

declaration of his messianic mission in the 17. century resulting in a massive instability in the Jewish world and then conversion to Islam in the hands of the Ottoman authorities. Sabbatainism historically refers to a double life with Muslim identity in the public sphere and Jewish one in the private domain (Montet, 2006). Sabbateans as a tiny group, hence, are generalized for the Jews and included in the production of the anti-Semitic conspiracy theories in general.

Tanıl Bora (2015) makes a nationalism centered definition of the Turkish rightwing. For him, it consists of three main forms (Türk Sağı'nın Üç Hali), rather than position, in order of solid-liquid-gas; Nationalism, Islamism and Conservatism. Nationalism is grammar, vocabulary and body of the Turkish right, Islamism is its spiritual soul and conservatism is its general visible attitude and these three forms are interwoven forms in the right wing understanding. Such an interwoven structure leads them to understand and conceptualize a common world-view on the 'other'. The production of a stereotypical Jewish image in the Turkish right is result of this relation between three forms.

The Kemalist nationalis on two main ideological trends of the Ottoman modernization, the Turkish Nationalism and Secular Westernism, regarded any religiously or ethnically different community as an internal and external threat against the integrity of new Republican regime and the Turkish nation. Ayhan Kaya (2013) conceptualizes the Kemalist definition of Turkish nation with 'holy trinity'; Sunni-Muslim-Turk. Kemalist nationalism does not have a specific problem with Jews but a generally with all groups out of the holy trinity. The new secular Republican regime suggests equal citizenship regardless of ethnicity and religion on the one hand and it demands internalization of Turkish culture and identity from all the different ethno-religious communities to create an organic and united Turkish nation on the

other. Otherwise, they would provide a threat to national integration. In this regard, the Jew image had two main implications to the Kemalist nationalism: Jewish denial of speaking Turkish but Ladino, a foreign element to the Turkish culture and 'unfair' and 'privileged' Jewish position in economy which Kemalist regime was seeking for nationalization of the economy at the same time. The only explicit violent event targeting Jews in the Kemalist era, Thrace Pogrom of 1934, highlighted the notion of the stereotypical Jew. The pogrom took place for almost two weeks in June and July of 1934 following the Resettlement Law of 2510. Today, it is a consensus that the Resettlement Law of 2510 was legislated in the Turkish Parliament with the purpose of cultural Turkification of Kurdish and other minorities in Turkey (Kuyucu, 2005). Before the enachtment of the law in June 1934, there were three established Inspectorates-General in border regions, Diyarbakir centered first Inspectorate in the southeast, Edirne centered second Inspectorate over Thracian Jewish populated provinces and Erzurum centeredeastern provinces. Not only the Inspectorate Reports but also the ruling Republican People's Party reports especially issued by Inspector of Thracian provinces, Ibrahim Tali (Öngeren) about the Thrace shared a common idea about the privileged positions of the Jewish community, which leads to economic inequality, and some Jewish populated towns not speaking Turkish but Ladino (Pınar, 2015). In addition to the economic and lingustic reasons, there is newly emerged another motivation behind the pogrom; which is security. Aktar (1996) argues that new security concerns of the government in the Thracian region due to both the Fascist Italian Expansion of Mussolini in the Mediterranean region and possible Bulgarian expansion in the East Thrace cannot be independently evaluated from the Pogrom of 1934 and accordingly the government declaration in July 1934 defines the Jews as a foreign threat to internal security and their possible espionage activities in the region.

The next episode about the "privileged" position of the Jews in Turkish economy was the Wealth Tax of 1942. It was legislated to charge taxation on 'unfair' earnings and income during the extraordinary conditions of World War II. The general purpose behind the law, however, was to nationalize and Turkify the economy through capital transfer from non-Muslims to the state. It was charged on the fixed assets, such as landed estates, building owners, real estate brokers, businesses, and industrial enterprises of all citizens, and especially targeted the minorities with a ratio 87% of all the tax owners (Akar, p.192).

Harmony instead of conflict is the main difference of the Kemalist nationalism from the Turkish ultra-nationalism (racism). Kemalism imagines a peaceful harmony in the organically well integrated national and international sphere. The years of the World War II was the time period in which Turkish ultra-nationalism (racism) reached its peak. The Jewish image implied as a threat to national integrity and security in the 1930s was reproducedwith addition of anti-communism by the ultra-nationalist discourse. Nihal Atsız and Cevat Rıfat Atilhan, who were two prominent figures in the Turkish racist discourse, differ from the Kemalist nationalism in terms of imagination of the Turkishness and this would bring a difference in their attitude to the Jewish community. The Kemalist nationalism assumes Turkishness as a cultural matter. It invites the minorities to cultural assimilation because of their potentiality to be internal enemies. In contrast, the Atilhan's thought regards Turkishness as 'matter of blood' and thus opposes minority asimmilation. The Jews among other minorities is the main threat to national integrity and security. Moreover, this ideology depicts very stereotypical Jewish image borrowed from European and Nazis anti-Semitic discourses. The very typical anti-Semitic image of the 'coward Jew' is utilized by the Turkish racism to consolidate their conspiracy theories about the invisible Jewish agent. Another stereotypical Jewish image is

their 'acquisitive' nature and dominancy in economic life. The idea Jewish exploitation of the Turkish national economy was a popular public opinion in the 1930s. Another significant Turkish racist figure, Cevat Rıfat Atilhan and his magazine *Milli Inkılab* and Atsız's magazine *Orhun* led to rise of public reaction to Jewish economic activities in the Thracian region and contributed to expansion of the 1934 Pogrom against the regional Jewish community (Yaşlı, 2009).

 The Nazi Germany's defeat in the World War II and accordingly the Turkish government's crackdown on the Turkish racist figures resulted in its loss of momentum about end of the World War II. After the war and the British withdrawal from the Mandate Palestine, the foundation of the Israeli State in 1948, however, led to a rise of anti-Semitic discourses in the Turkish Islamist thought at this time. The Islamist version of the Jewish stereotypical image had some continuities with the racist imagination. Especially, a prominent Islamist figure, Necip Fazıl and his journal, *Büyük Doğu* (The Great East), Sezai Karakoç's *Diriliş* (The Resurrection), and *Hilal* (The Cressent) magazine produces a Jewish image with both racist and religious inspirations. Islamist imagination of Jews links Zionist nationalismto their religious sources such as Talmud. Ali Haydar Öztürk's article published in Hilal bases Jewish political aim of 'a Jewish State from Nile to Euphrates' (including southeastern part of Turkey) on Talmud's religious commandments for Jews. Another Islamist thinker, Emin Toykoç, criticizes all the modernist process in the Middle East including Turkey and the Arab states due to its narcotizing effect over believers against foundation of the Israeli State. Modernism is actually a Jewish invention to make lost 'real' consciousness of believers to make sure that Jews could reach to their own political agenda (Cankara, 2015).

Necip Fazıl in his Büyük Doğu argues that Jews are targeting at overthrowing all anti-Jewish governments to have a global rule. He claims that Jews can

manipulate all the international system to found a Jewish state since Theodor Herzl. Accordingly, Sultan Abdulhamid's overthrown in 1909 and March 31 Rebellion were narrated as a secret Jewish action against Sultan Abdulhamid because of his rejection of Herzl's Zionist proposal on the Palestinian territory of the Empire. In this regard, all the Ottoman defeats, the Balkan Wars and the World War I, resulted from deliberate Jewish actions in pursuit of founding the Israeli state as well as the prevention of therise of Islam (Özkaya, 2018). Atilhan relates Jewish Black market in the Ottoman Thrace to the Ottoman defeat by the Bulgarian army in the Balkan War. He presents an alternative narration for the Ottoman failure in the Palestinian front in World War I. While the Kemalist nationalism was narrating the Arab Revolt and betrayal for the main reason behind the Ottoman defeat to legitimize Turkish nationalism and secularism, his discourse replaces Jewish espionage in the Palestine for the defeat. A Palestinian Jewish, Suzi Liberman and her espionage activities were kept responsible as delivered intelligence to the British army by her. Briefly, the international, national crisis and military defeats Turkey confronted in history were planned Jewish 'treason' to seek a Zionist state in the Ottoman Palestine. 'Treacherous' Jewish figure was regarded as the main factor behind the military defeats of Turkey (Karaca, 2008).

'Treacherous' Jewish image from racist and nationalist discourse were consolidated by religious dimension of Islamism. 'Jews who those betrayed their prophets sent by the God' and 'Jews, thus, curved by the God' were the main stereotypical Jewish images in Necip Fazıl's view (Özkaya, 2018). 'Treacherous' Jewish image in the Islamist thought contributed to inclusion of Jewish figure into Sevres Syndrome against non-Muslim minorities and their kin states. The non-Muslims in Turkey were generally linked to be "natural" extensions of their "kin state"; Greece for the Greek minority, Armenia for the Armenian minority, and Israel for the Jewish minority (Toktaş, 2005). Sevres

Syndrome refers to any domestic 'separationist extensions' provoked by any "kin state".

The racist idea that communism is a Jewish invention has been well rooted in the Islamist thought since the 1940s. In addition to internationality of communism, it corrupts the morality of the nations by attacking the religion, family, freedom and private property. Sezai Karakoç argues that both capitalism and communism passivize the nations in favor of the Jewish political agenda because of their materialist and immoral essence (Cankara, 2015). On the one hand the Jewish capital Western civilization enslaved by suggests irrational consumption without questioning, the Jews on the other hand invented communism, through Revolution of 1917 inspired from thought of Karl Marx who had a Jewish mother, to engage in a struggle with capitalism (Özkaya, 2018).

Islamist understanding of history explains almost all significant events in the past with Jewish conspiracies for their own political purposes. Most modern revolutions were supposedly backed by the underground Freemason organizations in order to both firstly disguise their own secret agenda under mottos of revolutionism and modernization and secondly to take away humanity especially Muslims, Turks from their own moral and original essence and historical path. Nurettin Topçu considers that Jews are responsible for emergence of cold between capitalist America and communist Russia in order to keep the humanity under oppression of materialism in contrast to spiritual salvation promised by Islam (Cankara, 2015).

What Tanıl Bora calls as *ideolojilerin zımmileşmesi,*(2015, p.33) has led the Turkish right and Islamism to label leftism and communism as Armenian and Jewish values in an attempt to imply the non-authentic sources of these ideologies. This indeed signifies a radical detachment of Turkish Islamism from

the cosmopolitan Ottomanist past. Their narration excluded Armenian, Greek and Jewish presence from the Anatolian past to glorify Anatolia as a 'pure' spiritual land. Remembering an Ottoman cosmopolitanism with Christian and Jewish multi-religious past by the Turkish Islamism, however, happened in the 1990s after end of the Cold War. (Duran and Aydın, 2016). During the Cold War, the presence of non-Muslim minorities and especially Jews had been used to express Islamist anxiety for communist threat on Turkey to

The end of Cold War brought along marked despite the persistence of anti-Semitism in Islamist thought and the Turkish right, positive memories of diversity and a cosmopolitan past into academic debates, civil society movements and public sphere. For example, the prophet Mohammad signed Medina Charter with Jewish tribes became an icon for 'pluralist' and 'participatory' society in many Turkish liberals. As happened in Spanish *Convivencia* model, coexistence with Jews and other non-Muslims became another model for Turkey's Islamism as inspired by early Islam.

This memory politica which was diversity centered was followed by a growing civil society movement in the late 1980s and 1990s against the collective amnesia. The rising Political Islamism and the Kurdish movement questioned the official national memory of Turkey(Akgönül, p. 90). These new opposition groups in the public sphere created their own alternative memories distorting the official secular and nationalist narrative of the Turkish state (Özyürek, 2007). Minority rights, identities and their past, mainly Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Alewites and Kurds appeared in late 1980s and early 1990s as a critical debate in Turkish civil society helped by social movements and the European Union accession process (Dönmez, p.10). Even though in the AKP era it seems that the museums and memorial sites are dedicated to largely Islamic heritage as counter-narratives to secular Kemalist foundational myth (Kern, p.211-212), in the 1990s the three minorities in question (Greeks, Armenians and Jews)

were at the center of attention in liberal circles similar to the a global trend (Akgönül, p.90).

The press, cinema like *Salkım Hanım'ın Taneleri,* academia and civil society movement called *Second Republicans* positioned in a critical approach to collective amnesia administered by the Turkish State to remind the presence of minorities and their past in Turkey. The privatization of the state ideology with official state memory turned out to be a similar process with other countries during the 1980s and 1990s through emerging civil society and neo-liberalism (Özyürek, 2007).

In addition to domestic voices, Turkey was subjected to immense international criticisms on human right violations in the Post-1980 Coup Era. The humanitarian cost of the coup dated on September 12 1980 was very heavy in the following four years. More than 170.000 people taken in the custody, about 65000 people arrested, more than 40000 sentenced prisoners, 326 death penalties out of which would be executed. Additionally, the Turkish State was accused by its past and present treatments to ethnic minorities. In addition to Armenian Genocide debates from its past, *Cyprus Peace Operation* launched by the Turkish Armed Forces in 1974 brought another international critical voice against Turkey and its approach to Cypriot Greeks. The Kurdish Question in Turkey appeared as another and current case for the minority rights in Turkey in international domain following the 1980 Military Coup. All these criticisms and international demands such as financial or land compensations to Armenia, Cyprus and claimants maintain politicization of these events and topics in international sphere. The popular Hollywood movies like *Midnight Express* disturbed the Turkish image in the international sphere regarding human right violations. Finally and most importantly, these criticisms were mainly voiced by the active Armenian and Greek lobbies in the United States. The maneuver room for the Turkey in the American foreign policy was rather

restricted during the 1980s(Bali, 2009, p.358-361). In addition to minority and human right oriented image distortions, the lobby activities such as arms embargo issued by the Greek Lobby in the American Congress against Turkey following the *Cyprus Peace Operation,* the escalating Asala Terror murdering Turkish diplomats and coming international commemorations of the 70th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide and related legislation attempts in the American Congress by the Armenian Lobby forced the Turkish State to have another ally in the American and international political sphere: Jewish Lobby and Israel (Ojalvo, Şalom, 2008). Historical relations of the Turkish State with its minorities became highly politicized in the international sphere through tensions and conflicts in the past.

Beyond these domestic and international criticisms against Turkey, why the Turkish State felt the need to perform cosmopolitanism through Quincentennial commemorations is about the *Zeitgheist* (the Spirit of the time). The late 1980s and 1990s witnessed rediscovery of cosmopolitanism in a case of a neo-liberal 'globalizing agenda' in which the "emphasis falls more on individualist aspirations and universalizing norms" (Falzon, p.38). It is not wrong to argue that these universalizing norms have human rights and coexistence orientations. Cosmopolitanism is not a simple erosion of distinct national, cultural and economic borders in neo-liberal globalization but it implies the involuntary confrontation with an 'alien' in a world of re-ethnification and re-nationalization. Cosmopolitanism provides an answer for a need a hermeneutics of the alien other in order to live and work in a world in which violent division and unprecedented intermingling coexists and danger and opportunity vie. This may influence human identity construction, which needs no longer to be shaped in opposition to others as in confrontational dichotomy of 'we' and 'them' (Beck, 2009, p.xi-xii). Cosmopolitanism became neo-liberal governmentality in globalized world, as Peter Gowan suggested. Neo-liberal cosmopolitan

governmentality explains how American neo-liberal "hegemony" is sustained in part through the expansion of liberal democracy and a set of world political institutions working through the "machinery" of human rights and neo-liberal economic cosmopolitanism based on visions of a single human race peacefully united by free trade and common legal norms, led by states featuring civic liberties and representative institutions(Peters, 2014). The United States of America and the European Union promote their own universal political projects in Post-Communist Era with a universal cosmopolitan implications headed by a dominant image: Holocaust memory and Jewish heritage. In this era, Jews occupied a central role for universal claims to cosmopolitanism (Brink-Danan, 2010, p.281). Subjecting to minority and human rights criticisms by the Turkish State in a world recognizing and celebrating diversity, the Turkish State found project of the Quincentennial commemoration as a celebration and remedy to all these criticism points boosting the negative international image of Turkey.[6] The campaign would not only highlight how Turkey had deeply historical harmonious coexistence with its one group of the non-Muslim fellow citizens, Jews but also provided a fertile ground for setting mutual relations with the American Jewish lobby against the Armenian and Greek lobby activities.

The Quincentennial Celebrations were designed and performed as a public relations campaign (Brink-Danan, 2012, p.40) to mostly international and especially American politics and audience on the basis of two main memorial themes: admissions of both the exiled Jews in 1492 by the Ottoman Empire and the German Jewish Scholars fleeing the Nazi Germany in the 1930s by Republican Turkey. It was a coherent cooperation of state and civil society project issued by the Turkish government and several foundation networks

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[6]For more information about the international and diplomatic perspective, a study on the Quincentennial Foundation and its lobby activities in the United States available by *Denis Ojalyo* at Galatasaray University in his master thesis entitled *Le Lobbysme juif en Turquie* (Türk Yahudi Lobiciliği)

headed by the Quincentennial Foundation of Turkish Jews. The volume of celebration agenda split into the United States and Turkey highlights its high rank officially from the very beginning. The state sponsored project the Quincentennial celebrations would be a public relations campaign for Turkey to target at influencing international, especially American audiences and politics rather than Turkish public opinion. In this purpose, the initial idea of the project, "promoting humanitarian values of the Turkish nation to all the world" as stated by the Turkish State President Kenan Evren (Bali, 2009, p.356) was evolved according to target audience with respect to narration and institutional pillars from the very beginning.

In terms of narration, the communicative message of the project was shaped and compared in accordance with Americanization of the Holocaust in four manners: the humanitarian origin of campaign, the image of the Turkey, depiction of the Turkish lands and remedy to these tragedies. Firstly, according to most Jews in the World, post-1492 Spain was assumed to be equivalent with post-Holocaust Europe in terms of no longer harboring significant Jewish life (Pinto, 2000). As iconization of Holocaust memory for humanitarian tragedies, Expulsion of 1492 was similarly taken as a humanitarian crisis due to radical disappearance of Jewish diaspora and heritage from Spain. Catholic Kingdom of Spain replaces Third Reich of Germany, religious discrimination replaces the racist one, the Expulsion replaces Holocaust and savior Ottomans replace liberator Americans. Origin of the Quincentennial campaign was constructed on this humanitarian side of the Expulsion. As chosen slogan for the celebrations, admitting the Jewish refugees was "an example to humanity" (The Quincentennial Foundation, 2012, p.4).

These example actions to humanity were actively taken by the Ottoman Empire and its successor Turkey. As liberator mission of the United States in World War II for Jewish prisons from the Concentration Camps and defeater mission

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of the illiberal despotic regimes such as the Nazi Germany, the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic were entitled "saviors" by the Quincentennial Foundation. Image of the Ottomans and Turkey was fictionalized as active actors struggling for humanitarian crisis. The Ottoman Empire, its successor the Turkish Republic and the United States are gathered on share with humanitarian values of welcoming and protecting immigrants from oppressive and despotic regimes. It was stated on April 27th 1992 in New York City at the Quincentennial Gala night by the American President George Bush:

> The Turkish people have a long and honorable tradition of welcoming refugees, be they the Jews from Spain of 500 years ago, the Germans fleeing the Nazi regime of the 1930s or the Kurds fleeing the despotic Saddam Hussein…...Turkey and the United States share a history of offering refuge to the oppressed….. (Quincentennial Foundation, 2012)

As happens in iconization of Holocaust for humanitarian and liberal initiatives issued by the United States, Expulsion of 1492 became a Turkish icon for humanitarian initiatives taken by Turkey. As stated by the Quincentennial Foundation,

> The savior hand that the Turkish people extended through centuries to those who suffered from cruelty and bigotry became monument of honor for all nations. The humanly attitude of the Turkish Nation towards Jews, Pols, Tsarist Russians, the people of Bangladesh, Afgans, North Iraqis were example dedicated to the mankind. (Quincentennial Foundation, 2012, p.10).

Following the savior role of Turkey, where the refugee Jews came; the Turkish lands are depicted as a happy and free Jewish haven. The cosmopolitan is not the savior Ottoman or the Turkish state itself but the Turkish lands with ruled non-Muslim subjects. In diaspora geography, after the United States (Pinto, 2000), Turkey is exceptionally portrayed only one country as a safe Jewish haven with a long peaceful harmony and coexistence between Jews and Muslims in contrast to religious conflicts in the Middle East. The campaign was introduced to the American politics by Stephen J. Solarz's speech in the Congress Session, who was representative of New York, and a New Yorker

Jewish, in the House of Representatives in the American Congress on September 17, 1990. The introductory speech sets analogy between how both the United States and the Ottoman Empire welcome the immigrants and promises a new life. "…The Sultan's (Beyazıd II) actions predate by almost four centuries the American immigrant ideal, emblazoned on the Statue of Liberty, which eloquently states give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free….", (Solarz, 1996, p. XVIII). As Americanization of Holocaust is based on such a depiction, the center of the American cosmopolitan liberalism is occupied by the theme immigration. American society is diversified with a massive immigrant groups attracted by an "American Dream" with four main immigrant waves since its colonization. The United States celebrates itself unabashedly as a "nation of immigrants" and the "land of opportunity" from very beginning (Hauhart, p.1-23). The quotation from introductory speech in the American Congress equalizes the Ottoman Empire and the United States of America on the base of admitting the immigrants and promising a new life to them. Rather, the Ottoman cosmopolitanism and American cosmopolitan liberalism were constructed by memory of "hopeful immigrants". This is actually American hegemony over construction of Ottoman cosmopolitanism since introductory speech depicts the Ottoman Empire under American hegemony in this equalization since it is the Ottomans predating America instead of America postdating the Ottomans.

In response to a humanitarian disaster by a savior state and nation: the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish lands provided a safe and free Jewish haven thanks to tolerance as a natural spirit of the Turkish nation. What is presented as a remedy to these kind of humanitarian crisis during the celebrations is the Ottoman tolerance. As long as American liberalism obtains hegemonic power, it has de-politicizing power as well especially over the contradictions in memory and history. The most contradictory case is the fact that while

American liberalism is presented as a remedy to the Holocaust, Americanization of Holocaust simply ignores historical trauma and genocides of the American natives and discrimination on other ethnicities in history. However, American liberalism reduces humanitarian tragedies to case of what if it is absent in Americanization of Holocaust, having no explanation in abundance of lands by the native Americans (Brown, 2008, p.111-112). Forming liberal cosmopolitanism in contemporary world system predominated by both human rights and cosmopolitan law makes the United States posed as hegemonic defenders of human rights (Peters, 2014). Similarly, tolerance became a theme among the panoply of goods promised by a universal doctrine of human rights (Brown, 2008, p.9). What the Quincentennial Foundation targets at promoting tolerance as remedy to humanitarian crisis like Expulsion of 1492 is to create a hegemonic and depoliticizing discourse: tolerance as a part of universal doctrine of human rights led by the United States. As a result of the discourse tolerance and in a response to international criticisms on minority and human right violations in Turkey, anti-minority events in Turkish history was made insignificant and even ignored during the campaign. Rather, Judeo-Turkish past was subjected to systematic beautification. Harry Ojalvo, the coordinator of the Foundation, stated that "[d]rawing a line of 500-year-long Judeo-Turkish relations, it is a pure white line with few black blotches but it is the reddest line of all other countries with full of black blotches." (Bali, 2009, p.376). Despite similarity on the depoliticization of the remedy, the main difference about the between Americanization of the Holocaust and Quincentennial Campaign by the Turkish State relates to their origin. Even though American liberalism is an invented ideology, the tolerance is stated as a "natural spirit and humanitarian quality of the Turkish nation" by the Quincentennial Foundation (Quincentennial Foundation, 2011, p.4). In this regard, while the American remedy to the Holocaust is presented as socially constructed, the Turkish remedy, tolerance is presented as a solution depending

on arbitrariness of the Turkish attitude. The consequences of these similarities and differences on the presented remedies will be elaborated in the Museum part with its concrete exhibitional strategies.

Institutionalization of the Quincentennial campaign was shaped according to expectations of the Turkish State and its international target audiences from very beginning. The proposition of the Quincentennial Celebrations was presented to the Turkish State President Kenan Evren in 1982 by significant names of the Turkish Jewish Community: Jak Kamhi, Chief-Rabbi David Asseo and Yako Veissi as a historical moment worth celebrating it is because, centennial commemorations of the Sephardic Jewish Emigration to the Ottoman Empire has been accepted as a tradition since 1892. Quincentennial coincidence with international criticisms was considered as an opportunity by the Turkish State to respond to all these critical voices. From the very beginning, it turned to a state craft project by joint committees with Jewish community members and governmental representatives. In addition to the community donations, the Turkish State allocated 4 million dollars from her own budget to the project (Bali, 2009, p.371-372). In addition to the state dominance in the organization process, the project was planned according to consultations from various advertisement and public relations campaigns such as *İlancılık* Advertisement Agency in 1983 for celebrations in Turkey and both Manajans Thompson I.C in 1989 and GCI Public Relations Company Group for celebrations in the United States.

The appearing civil society wing of the cooperation was officially institutionalized through formation of the Quincentennial Foundation of the Turkish Jews on July 19 1989. The executive board of the foundation consisted of the President Jak Kamhi, the deputies Naim Güleryüz, Ambassador Tevfik Saraçoğlu, Yako Veissid and members Eli Acıman, Ogan Soysal and general secretary Ambassador Behçet Türemen, Coordinator Nedim Yahya, Consultant

Harry Ojalvo, academic Stanford Shaw and journalist Sami Kohen (Ojalvo, Şalom, 2008). As Jak Kamhi described theethos of the Foundation in 1996 as such;

> It is common knowledge that the Quincentennial Foundation has two main goals. The first one is to remind the whole world of the high humanitarian qualities of the Turkish people, to those who approached with goodwill, by showing what they did not know and confronting the malicious with historical facts. The second goal of the Foundation was to assist the Jewish citizens of Turkey, who are now [an] inseparable part of the Turkish Nation, in expressing their gratitude for the humanly embrace that their ancestors encountered in the Turkish lands five centuries ago…..We surpassed our goals and reached far, proved that the political pretention [that] those two different religions, i.e. Islam and Judaism, can never co-exist peacefully, because they were like fire and water, was wrong. That Muslims and Jews lived peacefully side by side for more than five centuries in Turkey and this harmonious co-existence is still going on today. (The Quincentennial Foundation, 2012)

The Turkish State was seeking a state level dialogue with the United States and Israel for the coming celebrations and found significant support in the American politics such as American ex-secretary of state Henry Kissinger, Members of the House of Representatives, Stephan Solarz and Tom Lantos (Bali, 2009). The Quincentennial Foundation of the Turkish Jews had a mission for improving relations with the American Jewish diaspora and civil society. Institutionally, the decision regarding internationality of the Quincentennial Celebrations were declared by a joint meeting in Ankara with American Jewish Congress, the American Ambassador, Turkish Jewish representatives and the Turkish Foreign Ministry in 1986 (Ojalvo, Şalom, 2008). With pioneer position of the Quincentennial Foundation of Istanbul (or Turkish Jews), its American sub-branch, the Quincentennial Foundation of the USA headed by President of American Sephardic Federation Leon Levy, Arnold& Porter (APCO) Lobby Company the official contacting with American Jewish associations, Conference of Presidents the umbrella organization of the American Jewish foundations, American Sephardic Federation and American Association of Jewish Friends of Turkey (Bali, 2009, p.371-372). These foundational

rapprochements led mobilization in American public opinion and American universities in favor of the campaign and the Turkish State. The Quincentennial Foundation of the USA gathered 150.000 dollar donation for the campaign. American scholars such as Dr. George Gruen at Columbia University, Dr. Health Lowry at Institute of Turkish Studies in Washington D.C., Prof. Walter Weiker at Rutgers University and Prof. Avigdor Levy at Branders University contributed to create a public opinion in the United States for the Quincentennial celebrations through academic conferences and publications(Ojalvo, Şalom 2008).

The preparations for the Quincentennial Celebrations in the United States were completed for a gala dinner on April 27, 1992 with the attendance of the Turkish State President Turgut Özal, video-message participation of the American President George Bush, American high officials including American former secretary of State Henry Kissinger, a number of members of the US Senate and Congress and representatives of various Jewish organizations (Pejsa, 2002). The Gala dinner was followed by a Sephardic Jews themed Turkish Pride in city of New York with American and Turkish Jewish representatives, Deputy Turkish Chief Rabbi Ishak Haleva and officials of Turkish Islamic Religious Directorate walked arm in arm. The celebrations in Turkey were also made at the state level. Turkish Chief Rabbi David Asseo and representatives of the Quincentennial Foundation's visit to high officials of the Turkish State in Ankara, a Grace Praying Ceremony in Neve Shalom Synagogue in Istanbul and the peak event; a premiere night on 16 July 1992 in Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul with the invited attendants of the Israeli State President Chaim Herzog, the Turkish State President Turgut Özal, the Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel, the Turkish Army Commanders and other State high officials. As the then Turkish Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel stated to

express the magnificence of the celebrations, "we need another five centuries to live such a night again." (Bali, 2009, p.364-365).

The common criticism leveled at the celebrations in both Turkey and the United States was its excessive official and ceremonial faces, which could not be penetrated to ordinary people on the streets. In order to create more permanent memorials for public masses, except temporal activities for the celebrations, there were decided three permanent memorial projects in rest of the 1990s about the Sephardic Jews' emigration to Turkey. These were restoration of the Byzantium period *Ahrida* Synagogue in Balat selected as a monumental Jewish structure, creation of a memorial forest in Istanbul and installation of a private Museum dedicated for Turkish Jews in an Ottoman periodSynagogue: *Zülfaris* (Bali, 2009).

Ahrida Synagogue in Balat, Istanbul was selected as *lieu de mémoire* to restore in scope of the Quincentennial Celebrations by the foundation. The Jewish heritage in Istanbul cannot be restricted to only the synagogues. The Istanbulite Jews contributed to extension of the city in both Ottoman and the Republican eras through libraries, hospitals, educational facilities, the first modern commercial and apartment complexes of the late Ottoman Istanbul. At present, Kanaat Library, Balat Or-Ahayim Hospital, the Burla Building, the Nordstern Han, Krepen Pasajı as first commercial centers in the Late Ottoman period, Barnathan Apartment and Yahudhane Complex (*Kortejo*) as first civil apartments in Istanbul and the Balat Jewish Bathroom can be given example as significant instances and most still in use(Svastics, 2011). Selection criteria of the Foundation was listed as historical importance, architectural identity and properties of the surrounding region, being still in use (Ojavo and Akpınar, 2011).

The particular selection of a synagogue as a monumental structure for performing cosmopolitanism cannot be explained by a single reason of religiosity of Turkish Sephardic Jews who are indeed well known by their secular life style in Turkey (Brink-Danan, 2010, p.282). Selection of the building cannot be also explained by its Sephardic history because the *Ahrida* Synagogue was originally built by the Greek speaking Romanot Jews in Byzantine Constantinople. Its selection as a monumental Jewish building in context of the Quincentennial Celebrations resulted from its usage in another memorial and political project in the previous century. The *Ahrida* Synagogue witnessed Quatercentenary (400th Anniversary) celebrations by the Ottoman Jews, which was the first commemoration of the Sephardic arrival to the Ottoman lands in history. A few years before this celebration, the Synagogue also staged the first official level religious ceremony decorated by the Ottoman flags with participation of a crowd of community members, the Ottoman imperial representatives and religious leaders for the victory of the Ottoman armies in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878 when the Ottoman Jews strove to teach and learn the Ottoman patriotism. An interesting participant of the opening ceremony of Ahrida Synagogue in November 19 1992, Alparslan Türkeş, who was founder and then leader of the right wing Nationalist Movement Party, would remind the ceremony in 1877 to legitimize his attend (Bali, 2009, p.368).

The performance of Jewish patriotism by the Ottoman Jewish elites to the late Ottoman Empire in the Synagogue was regarded as a sufficient reason to be a monumental structure in the 1990s. The visualization of Jewish patriotism to the Ottoman Empire in the building was made by erosion of the differences. Behind displaying Jewish heritage in the Turkish landscape, the communicative message can be explained with the term *lieu de harmonie* (realm of harmony)by Ojalvo and Akpınar (2011) for new representation of Jewish memory in

landscape of Istanbul while emphasizing peace rather than conflict and similarity rather than difference. *lieu de harmonie* even absorbs the differences and melt them in sameness as a mosque-like-building after restoration. To have a comparison, it is important to remind the process of *Judaizing Terrain* in Post-Cold War Europe for displaying Jewish heritage in both Turkey and Europe. It is radically stressed distinct Jewishness in touristic attractions through any kind of explicit and sometimes inauthentic Jewish signs on touristic facilities such as cafes, restaurants, synagogues or even restored Medieval houses with windows nailed later 6 edged David's Star in town where there is no Jewish population anymore. This is because these virtual Jewishness in the *Judaizing Terrain* is performed by mostly non-Jewish European initiatives and figures in contrast to the case of Quincentennial Foundation of Istanbul. European *Judaizing Terrain* create their own virtual realities that perpetuate an image of Jewish presence from non-Jewish outsider perspective and iconization of the distinct Jewish visuality is result of the manufacture and merchandizing process in East Europe where Jews are no present anymore(Gruber, p.6-7). The communicative message behind the *Judaizing Terrain* in Europe focused on "presence of absence" while highlighting the Jewish distinctiveness whereas the message was harmony and peace between non-Muslim minorities and Muslim majority since the newly-restored building is that Muslim, Jewish and Christian buildings in the Imperial capital, Istanbul, were actually similar(Ojalvo and Akpınar, 2011). In spite of such a contrast with Europe, displaying Jewish heritage in Istanbul is not simply a local matter; it involves European and other supranational actors and is closely connected to processes of Europeanization and globalization to fulfill recognition of diversity criteria in the European Union (Soysal, p.304). How different and indeed contrast communicative messages were located behind the restoration of a historical heritage can be explained by the term *hyperreality* as discussed in the Israeli Sephardic Memory Boom. In order to recreate a sense of lost authentic

aura coined by Benjamin Walter in heritage site; duplication, reconstruction and imitation are used to have an authoritative message substituting the reality of a life that no longer exists.

Regarding *Ahrida* Synagogue, the main feature of the restoration process was the highlight of its "typical Ottoman architecture" under architect Hüsrev Tayla's project, who was also responsible for the Kocatepe Mosque [7]in Ankara. Indeed, Ahrida Synagogue was subjected to several restorations in 1694, 1709, 1823, 1840, 1881, 1893, 1926 and 1955 due to damaging fires and earthquakes. That led to multi-layer and eclectic architectural compositions. Even though the project was based on 1694 restoration with its then Baroque influence, it actually eliminated "foreign" influences over the building such as its Baroque character. The project relied more for architectural references on several historical buildings with similar typical Ottoman structural components of Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa's mansion, the Topkapı Palace, the Damat İbrahim Paşa campus and others. Under these circumstances, Ojalvo and Akpınar (2011) conclude that the restoration process was based on choices with the goal of emphasizing Ahrida Synagogue as a typical Ottoman architecture rather than distinctly Jewish or European. In the promotion process of the Synagogue, it was narrated with references of Ottoman styles rather than particular Jewish architectural characters.

The Quincentennial Celebrations revealed borders of imaged Ottoman cosmopolitanism by the Turkish State and criteria to claim a room in this cosmopolitanism. A depoliticized discourse arbitrary tolerance of the state decides who can be subject to tolerance and who can take part beyond borders of the Ottoman cosmopolitanism. Narrative pillars of the Quincentennial

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[7]Kocatepe Mosque was constructed between 1967-1987 in traditional Ottoman form. It is a monumental building in the capital city Ankara, serving as unofficial state mosque of the secular republic and where the official funeral ceremonies are made.

campaign over the narration of the Exile in 1992 shaped in the following years, how Jewish heritage in Turkey is displayed and reflected over the Turkish landscape as seen in the *Ahrida* Synagogue by hand of the Turkish State. The depoliticizing discourse tolerance as remedy to a humanitarian crises to Expulsion of 1492 was showed by the savior Ottoman Empire to admit the Jewish refugees into the cosmopolitan Turkish lands with harmony and peace between Muslims and non-Muslims. The restoration of the *Ahrida* Synagogue as displaying Jewish heritage in Turkish lands indicates two main criteria to claim a room in the Ottoman cosmopolitanism by minorities and visualization in Turkish landscape. The first one is to perform patriotism/ loyalty to the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic and the second is to be part of *lieu de harmonie* in the Ottoman cosmopolitanism under hegemonic tolerance. It is actually *exclusionary incorporation* as suggested by Partridge. The term suggests counting of the non-Muslims as Turks while retaining their excluded differences as minorities(quoted in Brink-Danan, 2011). That suggests that exclusion or inclusion of differences of minorities about their 'outsider' position to the Ottoman cosmopolitanism depends on their depoliticization or politicization of their minority differences in this sense. *Exclusionary Incorporation* implies such a selection to take part in cosmopolitanism. Therefore, following the Quincentennial campaign, what the cosmopolitan part of the Ottoman cosmopolitanism is not the Ottoman and Turkish State but their landscape and ruled people with peace and harmony of Muslims between non-Muslims. To be recognized as diversity, there is need to be part of *lieu de harmonie,* taken by selective *exclusionary incorporation* into the Ottoman cosmopolitanism. Bypassing tensions and conflicts in the past, emphasizing a permanent harmony, even sameness and patriotic attachment lead to depoliticization of the Ottoman cosmopolitanism emerging from the Turkish landscape.

The main debate about the Quincentennial Foundation can be summarized with two points. Firstly, its insistence of traditional loyalty and avoidance of the antagonistic politics against the state (Toktaş, 2005) subjected to some criticisms from the non-Muslim minorities mainly the Armenian community in the critical atmosphere of the 1990s. The exclusion of all the negative events from the narrative and memory presented by the Foundation and concentrating on merely the happy and peaceful togetherness in a strong cooperation with the Turkish state led to their exclusion from the perception of the oppressed minorities in critical left-wing civil society circles. Today, whereas minority problems are voiced by the left-wing groups while calling the state for confrontation with history, the Jews are often not included because of cooperation of the Quincentannial Foundation with the establishment (*müesses nizam*) during the Quincentennial campaign (*müesses nizam*). Bali refers to a very interesting case in the popular culture, the music band Kardeş Türküler. The group sings the songs in Kurdish, Greek, Armenian and Assyrian languages as the voice of oppressed minorities, but they do not include the Ladino songs in their repertoire because of the exclusion of Jewish community from their perception of the 'oppressed minority' (Bali, p.575-576). For left-wing circles, the Quincentennial Foundation narrates the official history, cooperates with the global world order for its own interests and is silent about the human and minority right violations. Secondly, another critical voice emerged from the younger generation of Jews in the 2000s. Even though these younger Jews did not demand a total opposition , according to them, a 'moderately' critical attitude was necessary as a response to synagogue attacks in 2003 and rise of anti-Semitism in the 2000s   parallel to the political Islamism and Turkey's tensions with Israel. Whereas they do not problematize any relation with the state, they do not prefer a total silence against the anti-Semitic discourses and practices (Yıldız, 2015). Actually, thisattitude change into 'moderate' criticism is already reflected in the new museum exhibition in

its new building: Neva Shalom Synagogue compare to the previous Zülfiaris Synagogue.

In addition to these critiques,with the restoration of Ahrida Synagogue, the foundation had already responded to the very first critique regarding permanency and elitist concept of the celebrations. The installation of a museum by the Quincentennial Foundation of the Turkish Jews was another permanent *lieu de harmonie* following the restoration of the Ahrida Synagogue as a monumental structure. The Quincentennial Foundation Museum of Turkish Jews (Beşyüzüncü Yıl Vakfı Türk Musevileri Müzesi), opened in Zülfiaris Synagogue Building in 2002 and relocatedto Neve Shalom Synagogue Building in 2015, is significant in terms of how the Turkish Jews ha been performing cosmopolitanism within these depoliticized borders in Turkey as a the most convenien*t lieu de mémoire* and the manifestation of Turkish Jewish' memory to rest of the Turkish nation and global Jewish diaspora.

CHAPTER 4

THE MUSEUM

4.1 General Information

The Quincentennial Museum was removed from historical building of Zülfiaris (*Kal Kadosh Galata*) Synagogue in 2015 to adjoined place of Neve Shalom (*Oasis of Peace*) Synagogue and open to public visits in historical Galata district in Istanbul. The Museum consists of four floors. An elevator is available in service for disabled and elder visitors. A hospitable cafeteria is serving special tastes of the Sephardic cuisine to visitors on the underground floor and the ground floor is where book installations and giftshop are located. The Main Hall is standing on the first floor exhibiting history of Turkish Jews in Anatolia. Attached to this floor, there is a balcony overlooking the Neve Shalom Synagogue from where religious ceremonies can be witnessed. Judaica and connected Ethnography sections exhibit Judaism and how it is part of the Turkish Jews' life. The top floor is dedicated mainly to Jewish religious days, cross sections from Jewish life in Turkey and Jewish Settlements (Güleryüz, 2016, p.51-52).

Whereas exhibitions in the previous Museum building, *Zülfiaris*, was planned and curated by Naim Güleryüz, the available exhibitions in the new Museum buildings were curated by a young woman Nisya Isman Allovi. These both different curator administrations lead to some multilayered different approaches on the narrations and panel statements. These are briefly exhibition of violent events in recent history, usage of terms Musevi-Yahudi in Turkish texts and extension of Jewish presence from 600-year-old to 3000-year-old period. It seems that new curator administration in the 2010s has more reformist and critical attitude towards orthodox narrative of the Quincentennial Foundation in

the 1990s. These differences in the attitude will be elaborated later in the following parts. These differences will appear in sections on Jewish history in Anatolia, violent events in Panel *Recent History* and preference of Turkish vocabulary to refer to Jewishness which are *Musevi* and *Yahudi* and Ladino language.

I conducted an interview with the museum curator and director Allovi on 16 March 2018. In the interview, she highlights the educational function of the Museum about the Jewish presence in Turkey. She states that annually 10.000 local and international visitors come to the Museum. She underlines that the decline in the international tourist number during the recent years is replaced by the local visitors. There has been many visits of the student fun clubs from various high schools and universities including Imam Hatips and other Islamic Divinity schools as well as annual and regular pupil trips from Ulus Jewish College in Istanbul. Since it is a private museum, its finance is provided only by the Foundation and is open to any donations from the public. (C. Sert, personal communication, March 16, 2018)

4.2 Spatial Politics of the Museum Building: Neve Shalom Synagogue

As mentioned before*, "Spatial politics* is a term that refers as much to the location of the museum building as to the exhibition spaces." (Holtschneider, p.3). The Neve Shalom synagogue has been a key symbol through which the Istanbullite Jews understand their existence in the city, not through prayer or worship, but through their politics of performance and negotiation of cosmopolitanism (Brink-Danan, 2010, p. 287). The synagogue is located on a narrow street ending with the monumental Galata Tower. As is known, the tower was built by the Genoese merchants and sailors in the Byzantine Constantinople for security in the 14. century. At present the tower is a globally recognized monumental structure symbolizing the cosmopolitan past of

Istanbul. The visitors to the museum face the view of Galata Tower at the beginning and end of their visit since entrance and exit are through same gates.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum utilizes the view of the Washington Monument in the end of its trip to suggest visitors the American liberalism as a remedy for the Holocaust tragedy and Yad Vashem Museum in Jerusalem stages view of the Jerusalem Hills in the end of the trip to suggest Zionism for the Holocaust tragedy. Similarly, the Quincentennial Museum of Turkish Jews uses monumental view of the Galata[8] Tower to offer its visitors at the beginning and end of the trip 'Ottoman cosmopolitanism and tolerance' as an authentic remedy for Jewish presence in Turkey. It is because, the Galata district, near trade ports and its symbol monument Galata Tower has hosted the most diverse cosmopolitan population of the city in not only early Turkish Republic or the Ottoman Empire but also even the Byzantine Empire for almost 1000 years because the Galata Tower has been promoted as one of the monumental structures referring to the Ottoman cosmopolitan past of Istanbul since the 1980s (Soysal, 2010).

As the very first sign and suggestion of Ottoman cosmopolitanism by the Galata Tower for Jewish presence in Turkey at the entrance of the museum, depiction of Ottoman cosmopolitanism in the museum is as a constructed memory in accordance with the context of the 1990s when the cooperation of Turkish State with Quincentennial Foundation was intense. In the Post-Communist era, political cosmopolitanism posits the development of a global legal order which can be seen as the institutionalization of cosmopolitan values

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[8]La Kula which means Tower in Sephardic Language and refers to historical Jewish neigborhood in Galata district. Gifts of Language: Multilingualism and Turkish-Sephardic Culture

such as equality, solidarity, human rights, universal political consensus (Nowicka and Rovisco, p.4-5). Cosmopolitanism occurs with self-transformations that are linked to specific historical imaginaries. Cosmopolitan approaches often set linkage of globalization to post-national phenomena. Actually, while individual cosmopolitanism in distinct world sites is defined in banal ways (*synchronic time*), cosmopolitan imagineries for ethico-political appearances is also possible with historically-rooted memories (*diachronic time*). Cosmopolitan imagination works as a cultural resource leading one to trace shifts in the meanings of cosmopolitanism in terms of specific historical socio-cultural contexts (Nowicka and Rovisco, p.9). In the Turkish case, the multi-ethnic Ottoman past provides a fertile ground for diachronic cosmopolitanism in a globalized world. Ottoman cosmopolitanism therefore has emerged as a fictional imaginary and frame of memory for Turkey in the search for a place in universal cosmopolitanism.

The name Neve Shalom means *Oasis of Peace* in Hebrew. In contrast to Ahrida and Zülfiaris Synagogues, Neve Shalom Synagogue is a quite modern building opened in 1951. What makes the Synagogue symbolic monument for the Istanbullite Jews is not its history but its being the largest synagogue in the city and more importantly its subjection to two Islamic fundamentalist terrorist attacks. Attacks on September 6, 1986 and November 15, 2003 targeted the community of the synagogue in their holly *Shabbat* worship. The attacks and the Synagogue had a significant place in the Istanbullite Jews' collective memory. In addition to the local Jewish memory, the attacks made the Turkish Jews visible international. The immense interests of American, European and Israeli media in the attacks led to recognition of the Turkish Jews with Neve Shalom Synagogue in the international arena. Today, explosion signs on the walls of the Praying Hall and bullet marks on the chairs in the praying hall are still preserved and exhibited.

In addition to *spatial politics*, what welcomes visitors in front of the museum at first glance are a message and a procedure. The very first message communicates neither the Expulsion of 1492 nor the Sephardic arrivals to the Ottoman lands 500 years ago but the Turkish Jews' historic patriotic loyalty to the Turkish land. There is a hanged plaque with sentence in English, Turkish and Hebrew at the entrance. The English message is "*.... and seek the peace of the city whether I have caused you to be carried away...and pray unto the Lord for it.*" It is translated into Turkish as "*Seni yerleştirdiğim şehrin barışını gözetecek ve tanrıya bunun için yakaracaksın.*" Even though the Turkish translation seems a full quotation, the English version explicitly is a partial one with triple dots. As the only those who are familiar with can understand, it is actually a verse [29:7] from the Book of Jeremiah. The Turkish translation that targets the Turkish visitors seems softer than the English one. The expression "carry away" corresponds to "*seni yerleştirdiğim*" which exactly means the point/place where I located/settled you although the phrase "carry away" implies a harsher meaning like taking/ pushing away one from its authentic place. This ambiguity actually stems from its partial quotation form of the original verse [29:7]. "*And seek the peace of the city whether I have cause you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace.*" (The Book of Yirmeyahu, 29:7).

The word *captives* are carefully 'carried away' from the sentence at the entrance as part of the linguistic strategy. Erasure as one of the semiotic process' in which ideology, while simplifying the field of linguistic practices, makes some activities, persons or socio-linguistic phenomena invisible. Facts that have no consistence with the ideological ground may get explained away or go unnoticed. (Gal and Irvine, 1995).

The Book of Jeremiah is related to the Babylonian Captivity-Exile during most of the 500s BC. Following plundering of ancient city of Jerusalem, destruction

of the First Holly Temple, and fall of the Kingdom of Judah in the hand of the cruel Babylonian King Nebuchadrezzar, Jews were exiled to city of Babylonia as captives (Center for Online Judaic Studies, 2017).

Therefore, the Babylonian Exile is considered the first Jewish Exile and diaspora in history. In the context of the Book Jeremiah, the city in the quoted verse refers to the city of Babylon, the place of exile. The sense in the verse was deconstructed from the exile oriented content and reconstructed again in favor of the Jewish patriotism to the Turkish land in general and city of Istanbul in particular by expurgating a word in English and using a softer translation into Turkish. In short, the message is that Turkish Jews do not remember their long term presence in Turkey as another exile.

After this, the second experience before accessing to the museum is going through a thorough security check. There is detailed security procedures at entrance rooms by the Turkish police staff before accessing to the Museum. In our case, the multiple check points constitute a mediator and separator between the Jewish and Turkish public spaces. Security implies a danger or a threat in its nature.

The contrast between terrorist attacks or 'protests' as sign of intolerance and a symbolic synagogue named with peace, including a museum dedicated for tolerance is indicated by Brink-Danan as "it is seen the 1986 attack as a metonymic device through which Turkish Jews justify separateness and social invisibility in the face of homogenizing Turkish State ideology. The basic element of differentiation, the physical border dividing private Jewish space from the public Turkish domain, is represented through the community's practice of *güvenlik* [security]." (Brink-Danan, 2012, p. 87). The Jewish and Turkish public domains, thus, are sharply separated from each other through necessity and availability of the security borders. Security is the procedure that

any visitor has to perform to take a place in the Jewish space. If not only the exhibitions but also the selective procedure as part of the performative Museum experience, it can be also elaborated that all the visitors, either Jewish or Gentile, experience how Turkish Jews are performing their visibility in the Turkish public domain. The strictness of security creates a contrast with how the Museum depict Turkey as a land of tranquility and tolerance. This contrast is explained with a stress on the foreign roots and international nature of the terrorist attacks in the electronic screen of Recent History panel at the Main Hall, disregarding that the Synagogue has been subject to some local Islamist ' protest' as well.

Visitors are welcomed by the smiling museum staff in souvenir and book installation and informed about the plan of the museum. It is not wrong to argue that the museum visit provides the majority of Gentile Turks their first encounter with a Turkish Jew. This encounter makes the staff 'living exhibition objects' (Schneider, 2003). For many Gentile Turks, the security gate makes the Jewish identity of the staff apparent. Otherwise, knowing someone's religious or ethnic identity in the Turkish public sphere is not so possible; the Turkish modernization has promoted secular homogeneity until recently.

4.3 Narrating Judeo-Turkish Relations

The museum narrative is linear bur not strictly chronological. It is assumed the visitors are already familiar with the mainstream lines in the Ottoman and Turkish history because main events/ historical figures are not explained such as *the Lausanne Treaty*, *the Tanzimat Reforms* , *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk* and sevaral *Ottoman Sultans.* The Jewish presence is located into a broader Ottoman/ Turkish historiography. It is because probably in pursuit of avoiding the boring repeats for the Turkish visitors but the international tourists can be emancipated from the historical flowing in the exhibition. In addition to chronological progress, the Main Hall exhibition is indeed chrono-thematic.

That means, whereas the exhibition is divided into chronological periods, the exhibition is narrated not only chronologically but also thematically (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2015). Hence, in addition to a timeline, the gallery is consisted of panels and showcases entitled with Rabbinate, Sport, Military, Jewish Press and Jewish Music as well.

The entrances to exhibition halls only provide visitors with a short visual briefing (Holltschneider, p.34). The stairs are transitional places from the Information desk to the permanent exhibition on the first floor. In that case, rather than an exhibition, some preparatory signifiers are located for the visitors' engagement with the master narrative. There are two main oil pictures in a dark gloomy theme, prior the deportation of the Sephardic Jewish masses by the King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella from the Catholic Spanish lands, referred by the Cathedral of Toledo and the latter sailing voyage on the ships coming to the shadow of Istanbul referred by the minarets and mosques. The pictures simply refers to the Exile of 1492 and the Jewish Sephardic Refugees' Arrivals to the Ottoman Empire.

Such references to the arrival to the new home at the entrance of the exhibition is not unique for the Quincentennial Museum but some other museums with emigration theme. In Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw, Poland, for instance, the visitors enters the exhibit through an artificial forest, which is intended to emancipate the visitors from their everyday world and to visualize how the immigrant Askhenazi Jews arrived in Medieval Poland, when forests were occupying most of the Europe. The trees figures of the forest are not naturalistic. Rather, they seem a Shakespearean forest in which humans are likely to become enchanted and lost (Ostow, p.161). The idea of lost and enchanted can be related to the dark and gloomy pictures in the Quincentennial Museum to communicate the message of uncertainty of the emigration and seeking by the Jewish refugees a new life and a new home. The exhibition in

Main Hall and other Halls are divided into panels and each panel consists of informative bilingual texts in Turkish and English, a visual image; a picture or photo and a related artifact if available.

An exhibition has to have a 'key message' for the essence it wants to communicate. It is not possible to be 'encyclopedic' and it cannot simply state that a particular historical period was very complex. "Neither of these constraints excludes the possibility of conveying divergent perspectives or complexity." (Holtschneider, p.31-32). The most effective medium and way to erode historical complexities is narrative, only by ways and means of such supplementation by a rival, textual medium (as part of the documentation area) is the proper museal exhibition free to concentrate on the presentation of material artifacts and their expressive value, creating the illusion for the visitor of entering a direct dialogue with the objects of the past. (Ernst, p.33) Simplification of history settles actors into fixed positions. The key message of the Quincentennial Foundation Museum of Turkish Jews is mutual harmony and togetherness of Jews and Muslims in Turkey. This togetherness is narrated in History exhibition under two grand narratives of first; historical procession of Turkish tolerance to Jews and second; Jewish community's integration and patriotism to Turkey in return. In first part of the exhibition, the panels entitled with *Meetings with Ottomans and Togetherness, The Emigration Routes A new home: Haven of Tranquility: The Ottoman Empire, The Budin Charter, The Blood Libel Decree, Chief Rabbinate Institution* stress a constant Turkish tolerance to Jews. In return of the Ottoman Sultans' tolerant attitude to Jews, the display order in rest of the exhibition wants to communicate a narrative of integration within progress from a religious community in the Empire to part of the Turkish Nation in segments entitled with *Turkish Jews in the Public Life, Cultural Interaction, Turkish Jews in Military-Sport, Defending the Country and Lausanne-Republic of Turkey.* Exhibitions are important places of

knowledge transfer from the academy to the interested public. "Insofar as exhibitions elevate historical subject matter to public recognition, they valorize reflection on a topic in ways that books do not." (Holtschneider, p.9). In this sense, the Quincentennial Foundation does not target historical accuracy, but to create a kind of public relations "theater" (Brick-Danan, 2012, p.51).

The Museum raises expectations about the representation of Jewishness. There are no normative definitions and presentations of Judaism. Instead of a priori-definitions, the Museum trip starts with a historical narrative in the Main Hall. Choosing an option based of flowing time implies that who is a Turkish Jew (in case of Quincentennial Museum) remains an open question and Turkish Jews continue to be work in progress (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2015). As the previous curator of the museum puts it the museum approaches Jewish presence as part of 700-year-old peaceful coexistence serving as "*example to humanity*"(Güleryüz, 2004, p.IX). However, rather than the question of what constitutes Jewishness, the narration in the Main Hall constitutes a historiography on how others' attitudes to Jews was either tolerant or intolerant. All histories are controversial. Hence it is not possible to create a consensus through Museum narrations. (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2015). The framework of tolerance, however, creates a depoliticization affect. Tolerance as a moral discourse has a capacity to hide or absorb power relations generating inequality, domination or any kind of conflict by reducing personal prejudices and enmities. In other words, power disappears as individuals are treated as agents of the conflict and attitude is treated as its source without any historical, political contexts, analysis and reasons (Brown, 2008, p. 142-143).

The Main Hall makes representations of three monolithic identity sides regardless of time and space. These are Jewish identity; Greek speaking Anatolian Romanots, Ladino speaking Iberian Sephardics and Yiddish speaking East European Ashkenazi Jews. The second one is Islamic and Turkish; the

Anatolian Seljukians, Andalusian Moors, the Ottomans and the secular Turkish Republic and the third one is Christian West including the Byzantium Empire, Catholic Spain, Nazi Germany and Europe in general.

These monolithic identities are located in fixed positions in accordance with their historical approaches to Jews. Quincentennial Foundation's motto "*An Example to Humanity*" is melted in Sultan Bayazıd's "given" or "in-born" tolerance as Jak Kamhi, who was the first President of the Quincentennial Foundation, states that

> the basic purpose of humanity is to achieve a permanent state of peace for a better world. It is the aim of the Quincentennial Foundation to inform the wider public of the sanctuary that has been offered to Jews, who have suffered such a painful history, by Turkish and similar societies through values which represent an example to humanity. (Güleryüz, 2004, p. vii).

At the other side of the equilibrium, such an assumption without any reasoning may make Spain and the Byzantines at all were "in-born" intolerant and anti-Semitic to their Sephardic and Romanot Jewish subjects as well. Such fixed positions with in-born tolerance and intolerance to Jews constitute and consolidate tolerant ground for Jewish presence in history since the discourse tolerance creates 'ontological naturalness'. Differences between object of tolerance and the tolerating subject appear as natural provocation to that which tolerates it (Brown, 2008 p.15). The Christian West in variation of from the Byzantium Empire and Medieval Spain to the Nazi Germany is representative of anti-Semitic treatments. Turkish-Islamic side creates a binary opposition with the Christian West. Muslim Andalusia-the Ottoman Empire versus Catholic Spain, Anatolian Seljukians and early Ottomans versus the Byzantium Empire, Republic of Turkey versus the Nazi Germany are presented as the tolerant and intolerant countries. It is possible to recognize these binaries in very first panel.

During the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantium) era, Jews lived under intermit periods of freedom, but were mostly under varying degrees of oppression. Jews were granted freedom of religion and worship by the Anatolian Seljuk Empire (1077-1308), Jews lived in peace and tranquility under most of the Turkish seigniory of Anatolia…..When Osman Bey's son Orhan Bey, conquered Bursa in 1326, Jews who had left the city because of war, returned to the city, Orhan and his brother Aleaddin showed special interest to Jews whom they believed had talent in industry and finance……….In every city that they conquered, the Ottomans were met by Jews that regarded them as 'saviors': Gallipoli (1354), Ankara (1360), Edirne (1361), Izmir (1422), Thessalonica (1429) and finally Istanbul (1453).

The East Roman/ Byzantium panel ends with a very popular figure in contemporary Turkey: Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror's famous oil picture and his quotation. The sultan who captured the Byzantine Constantinople in 1453 symbolizes the end of the Byzantine oppression over Jews. His quotation

….[God] commanded me to look after, to provide sustenance for, and to protect the descendants of his disciples Prophets Abraham and Jacob…Who amongst you would like to come to the capital Istanbul…......to live in peace, to engage freely in commerce and to own property?

The figure of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror is not only a signifier of the Conquest of the Byzantine Constantinople but also memory of the cosmopolitan Ottoman Empire as well in the public museums in Turkey. *Panorama 1453* in Istanbul is a rare museum where the Ottoman minorities are depicted in a positive way with figure of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror having generous attitude of the Ottomans towards conquered Christian communities as part of the national narrative. In the exhibition of the Panorama 1453, "the young sultan is depicted as a savior of the suppressed minorities under the umbrella in which all minorities could live together in peace and harmony."(Kern, p.216).

Moreover, Turkification of Anatolia since the 11. Century and its finalizing figure Sultan Mehmed II are exhibited before the destruction of the ancient Jewish Kingdoms of Judah and Israel and the Jewish expulsions by hands of the

Roman Empire. The next panel is a visual big electronic screen about Jewish emigrations and exiles in history with geographical routes. This is indeed similar to the exhibition strategy in the United States Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C. There, the theme of American 'liberation' at the entrance of the museum is experienced before theme of 'Holocaust destruction' through depiction of the American troops liberating concentration camps. In other words, 'Liberation of 1945' is witnessed before the 'Nazi Destruction' starting in 1933 (Cole, p.152) because in both cases of museums, there is a common problem in historical exhibitions which is representing a past that is by definition absent, notwithstanding the authenticity of the original exhibit (Ernst, p.32). For authenticity of historical events abroad, Holocaust in European soils and destruction of ancient Judaic Kingdoms by Romans and Jewish Exiles in history, the USHMM and the Quincentennial Museum relativize the host country with Jewish community as entitling mission of 'liberators' and 'saviors'.

The following panel presents the Iberian Peninsula following the Jewish emigration from Kingdoms of Judah and Israel. The informative panel defines Tarık Bin Ziyad's Arab Armies' invasions over the Iberian Peninsula as 'conquest' and the panel locates the Umayyad Dynasty where the *Spanish Golden Age* took place against the Catholic monarchs where anti-Semitism rooted at local and royal levels. The Spanish Golden Age is depicted an advanced civilization created by Muslims, Jews and Christians. Text on the panel is taking its center the Golden Age ended by its destruction by the Spanish Reconquista movement and fall of the Granada in 1492. One of the most significant myths is the Golden Age myth (Benbassa & Rodrigue, p.396-397). The Golden Age assumes a unique Sephardic Jewish harmony with the Iberian society and an outstanding cultural, artistic and intellectual productivity as outcome of this harmony. As Benbassa and Rodrigue states that myth of the

Golden Age which assumes the Iberian Peninsula to be a place where three monotheistic religions coexisted in harmony and peace dominates and forgets other realities. A turbulent and sensitive togetherness in multicultural Iberian society in history necessitated by the hard sociopolitical conditions was gradually converted to a peace fantasy and ideal religious tolerance in the Golden Age myth.

The Museum exhibition utilizes such an already built-in myth in the Sephardic collective memory to constitute a base for rapid Sephardic Jewish adaptation to the Ottoman Empire thanks to exhibited capacity of these two religious communities living in peace. It is in contrast to utilization of the same myth by contemporary Spain in scope of Quincentennial commemorations of the 1492 Exile. The Spanish government highlighted *convivencia* (coexistence) under early times of Christian expansions against Islamic rule to present a Medieval Spanish model for the European Union while George Bush praised the historical Jewish-Muslim friendship as an example for Middle East turmoils today in his speech to Quincentennial Celebrations in New York in 1992 (The Quincentennial Foundation, 2012 p.20). The most basic idea of memory boom since the 1980s is about its democratization of past with plural social agents instead of single narrative of history (Simine p.17). Democratizing memory and legacy of same myth can be adopted for different political projects in different geographies to solve political and social crisis since myth becomes revival in the times of crisis (Kaya, p.14).

The myth of the Golden Age was suddenly collapsed in the next panel because of fall of Granada and then it remained in the Ottoman Empire in the following panels. In the narration of the Quincentennial Foundation, The Spanish Golden Age was moved to the Ottoman lands. For 300 years following the expulsion, the prosperity and creativity of the Ottoman Jews rivaled that of the Golden

Age of Spain (Güleryüz, 2016, p.17). The Expulsion of 1492 by Catholic Spain is depicted an interrupter in continuity of Jewish-Muslim togetherness.

The panel entitled "*A new country: the Ottoman Empire haven of tranquility*" depicts idealization of the Turkish lands by the Sephardic Jews. The panel contrasts two different attitudes towards Jews. the Catholic Spain versus the Ottoman Empire as intolerant and tolerant countries through juxtaposition of two royal decrees signed by the King Ferdinand of Aragorn and Queen Isabella of Castilia which was the decision of Sephardic deportation and other by Sultan Beyazıd II, which accepted the Sephardic Refugees to the Ottoman lands. The anti-Semitism of the Spanish King and the tolerance of the Ottoman Sultan is taking for granted. Why the Spanish King and Queen suddenly decided to expulse their Sephardic subjects and why the Ottoman Sultan suddenly accepted the Sephardic refugees are not contexualized and explained.

Appearance of tolerance as natural and historical spirit of Turkish nation and its practices by the Ottoman Sultans make Turks "philo-Semitic" against "anti-Semitic" Byzantine oppression and Spanish Inquisition. However, such two attitudes are actually considered as two sides of same coin (Gruber, p.41) since anti-Semitism and philo-Semitism share same grounds. Anti-, philo- or allosemitism have function as a cultural code and as a visual screen onto which were projected affairs and concerns that are only marginally about Jews (Moyn, 2009). Positing Jews into fixed 'marginal' stereotypes in cultural and memorial codes endangers its conversion to anti-Semitism since same marginal reasons can lead to both. (Kravitz, 2002). Such marginal Jewish stereotypes of unconditional love and unconditional hate is possible to convert to each other. The discourse tolerance and intolerance can lead to consolidation of 'marginal' positions for tolerated groups since ontological tolerance tends to cast group conflicts as rooted in ontologically natural hostility toward essentialized religious, ethnic or cultural differences (Brown, 2008 p.15).

The panels about post-Expulsion era depicts multiple Ottoman tolerance examples from history. Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent exempts the Hungarian Jews from taxation when he captured *Budin* (Medieval Budapest). The Ottoman Expansion in Europe seems as savior Turkish struggle against intolerant Europe oppressing Jews. The primary concern is to communicate main message of the Museum through the exhibition design and the display of artifacts, photographs, which together embody claims to the authenticity, historicity and truthfulness of the historiography of the exhibition. (Holtschneider, p.15). This strategy is followed in the next panels to highlight the Ottoman Sultans' tolerance toward the Jews. For instance, Visual image of the Tax Exemption decrees (*firman*) granted to the Hungarian Jews and issued by the Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent or textual parts from the royal decree signed by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent or the visual image of the decree issued by Sultan Abdülmecid in order to prevent anti-semitic labels like the Blood Libel[9] or the Ottoman firman (the royal decree) is about creation of the Ottoman Chief Rabbi in 1865 are exhibited on the panels to show the Ottoman tolerance. Giant visual image of tolerance firmans sealed by flashy signs (*tuğra)* by the Ottoman Sultans and their translations dominate first part of the Hall. The philo-semitic, unconditional love to Jews, are repeating in almost every tolerance case. As in example of the Budin Charter panel, the Sultan Suleiman were, for instance, very pleased for unconditional presented city keys by the Hungarian Jews and he granted tax exemption to these Jews.

Tolerance was actually a tool for elaboration of state-society relations in the Ottoman Empire. Tolerance is not an in-born Ottoman or Turkish qualification but an imperial policy. Distinctiveness was accepted as a valid social and legal

[9] The Blood Label emerged from the Medieval Europe and accuses Jews of using the blood of Christian children in the baking of traditional Jewish bread *Matzot.*

norm and that's why distinctiveness was perceived as a fact necessary its management by the Ottoman elites. Construction of tolerance policy is a gradual process and result of negotiations between pragmatic networks among distinct religious-ethnic communities and imperial administrative institutions of the Ottoman Empire but not a 'grace' or 'in-born quality'. Tolerance is neither absolute equality nor imperial version of modern multi-culturalism. Rather, it is an administrative apparatus and a way for realizing, consolidating and enlarging imperial authority over its communities. Tolerance in the Ottoman Empire is a negotiated policy with non-Muslim communities on the base of *Sharia* promoting secondary class citizenship for the non-Muslim subjects as long as their acceptance of Islamic supremacy. In addition to hierarchical effect inherited in its discourse making a polarization of tolerating and tolerated, institutionalization of the tolerance policy in the Ottoman Empire, the Millet System[10] conserves and consolidates diversity in other words distinctiveness between the communities (Barkey, 2011). Hence, "Ottoman tolerance indeed was governmentality." (Kaya, p.12). As long as the Sultan's demands from his Jewish Community were found and even corrected in accordance with principles of Judaism by recognized Community leaders, it was presented to Sultan's approval. Policy of Tolerance was performed in negotiation and interaction between Jewish Community and the Ottoman Palace but not a one-sided 'grace' (Barkey, p.165).

Regarding the tolerance depicted as one-sided grace, the main debate around the Jewish images in the Museums, especially the Holocaust ones, active agents versus passive subjects (Cohen, 2012, p.11-12) can be applied in our case for passivity. To break such an image, a notion of active Jewish image as a kind of

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[10]Benjamin Braude "Foundation Myths of the Millet System", Christians and Jews in Millet System in ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, (New York and London: Holmes & Meier, 1982), 69-88

bridge between West and East is visualized through emphasize of Jewish Press in the 15. Century. The Ottoman Empire witnessed the flourishing of Jewish literature and music in Ottoman Sephardic cosmopolises and Sephardic Jews linked a bridge in culture and diplomacy with Europe (Canefe, p.242). The exhibition includes, for instance, some performative exhibitions as part of New Museology trends are utilized to highlight Sephardic Jewish contributions to the Ottoman Empire and then Turkish Republic. The Sephardic Jews' expertise and advanced skills in press, chemistry, algebra, philosophy, manufacturing of weapons, dyeing, textile and industry are showed as the possible reason of why the Sultan Bayazıd II admitted the Sephardic refugees through his well-known quotation: " *How can you refer to this emperor as 'The Wise Ferdinand' when he impoverishes his country and enriches mine*?"

The drawers entitled with "*What we brought* [from Spain] about silk, printing house, karambola, Sephardic Cuisine, Sephardic Culture, copper workmanship and leatherwork or in the following of the Main Hall the exhibited electronic screen of Turkish Jews in Public Life, drawers dedicated for Jewish newspapers during the Imperial and Republican Eras, electronic screen with an earphone for listening to some instances of the Turkish-Jews' musical culture in showcase of Jewish Music are displayed through visitors' active engagement with the exhibition help to memorize the experience (Macdonald, p.2-3). New Museums show growing evidence of a shift in politics and aesthetics by adopting new missions and new representational strategies. Curatorial and outreach practice is simultaneously to empower visitors, engage the emotionally and entertain them (Simine, p.8). In case of the Quincentennial Museum, depiction of the Jews as more active agents is performed through more active visitor engagements to the exhibitions. Apart from these exceptional panels, dominant passivity of Jews is replaced by representation of active Jewish agencies in rest of the exhibition. However, as much as Jewish

depiction is turned to active actors, their distinctive Jewishness would disappear as well as happened in Jewish Museum Berlin (Holtschnaider, p.103-104).

Following the Ottoman Sultans' tolerant rules to Jews, the display order in rest of the exhibition wants to communicate a grand narrative of integration and patriotism within progress from a religious minority in the Empire to part of the Turkish Nation in segments entitled with, *Turkish Jews in the Public Life, Cultural Interaction, Turkish Jews in Military-Sport, Defending the Country and Lausanne-Republic of Turkey*. However, while doing this, the communal presence of the Jews suddenly disappear and individual Jewish faces appear.

Even if the moral discourse of tolerance seems depoliticized, it has actually hierarchical power differentiating of tolerating superiors from tolerated subordinates. As nature of the discourse, position of the tolerated subjects depends on the will of the tolerating rulers while keeping the gap between each other (Kaya, p.7). The ontology for Jewish presence in history narration was constituted by the discourse of tolerance graced by the Seljukian, Andalusian and the Ottoman Empires. A narrative with such an ontological ground is found to be appropriate in an Imperial political system but it does not an accurate legitimate ground for consolidation of equal citizenship under Turkish Republic which claimed to be democratic and secular (Brink-Danan, 2012, p.57). A tolerance narrative prompted by the Quincentennial Foundation has been cricitized from within the Turkish Jewish Community itself. '500-year-old Jewish guests in Turkey' or 'never ending Jewish visitorship' appeared in Turkish Jewish press and intelligentia (Barokas, 2009). In order to respond such problematic points new curator and administration of the Museum after moving to Neva Shalom preferred making the starting point of the historical narrative with 380s B.C. instead of 1492 Exile Greek philosopher Aristotles' dialogues with Anatolian Jews and some archeological Jewish evidences in ancient Anatolian settlements of *Ancyr (Ankara), Sardis (Sart), Hypaepe (Ödemiş),*

Aphrodisias (Karasu-Aydın), Corykos (Fethiye), Laodiceia (Pamukkale), Myndos (Port of Gümüşlü), Plateia (Milet), Andriahe (Antalya) in the 4. century B.C. Additionally, there is a video-screen on the upper floor in which an Askhenazi Rabbi summarizes some religious statements in Talmud regarding ancient Jewish diaspora in Anatolia in entitled panel *Jewish Life according to Talmud.* Nonetheless, these narrations are connected to the master narrative through the figure of Romanot Jews who suffered Byzantine oppression and their liberation by the early Seljukian and Ottoman conquests in Anatolia. In the last instance, the alternative narrative is absorbed by the Ottoman cosmopolitanism again.

Tolerance as constitutive ground for historiography is replaced by Integration. Rest of the exhibition narrates Jewish Integration to Turkey as well as some rare tolerance instances will appear too. In public relations depicting today's Judeo-Turkish relations, in general trend, Jewish community presents itself as a religious and cultural rather than a distinct ethnic group. Since formation of secular Kemalist republic, margionalization of Judaism and its stigmatization marking central ethno-cultural characteristics of Jews' ethnic identity resulted in a gradual loss of distinctiveness of Jewish ethnicity (Giesel, p.57).

In the rest of the exhibition in Main Hall, a full Jewish integration and patriotism into Turkish society without any distinct ethnic implications is following pillar of depoliticized politics of performing cosmopolitanism. In order to make depoliticized continuity in the History narration, Turkish Jews locates themselves in a very distinct position from ethnic minorities in Turkey such as Greeks, Armenians or Kurds, which all have political implications, Turkish Jews is exhibited directly as inseparable part of Turkish nation as a religious and cultural group rather than a distinct ethnic one. This distinct positioning from other ethnic minorities with political implications in today's Turkey are prominent in panels of "*Defending the Country*", *"Lausanne and*

the Turkish Republic", "*Recent History*" especially in sub-topics including violence and any-other installations regarding Military and depicting Jewish patriotism to Turkey.

The first crossing of the Jewish and Turkish boundaries appears in panel of the "*Turkish Jews in Public Life.*" It is that "through their words and actions, Turkish Jews have always proven their loyalty to their country and that they are an inseparable part of it".What is highlighted firstly about the Turkish Jews is their loyalty and inseparable part of the Turkish country. The Jewish integration to Turkey are concretized through Turkish Jews' contributions, achievements

> in the fields of education, culture, arts, literature, publishing and media, classical, Turkish music, medicine and law" and services in "Parliament, in the foreign service, in the government bureaucracy, in the security networks, in the manufacturing, commerce and service sectors, in the world of sports as well as performing distinguished service in the military

in the Imperial and the Republican eras. Turkish Jews signify the epitome of the process of integration into mainstream society during the 19. and 20. Centuries. Focusing on the elites and economic, intellectual and economic success of some upper class Jews, who established themselves in parts of industry, commerce, the arts and sciences, it does celebrate the acculturated Jewish elites. The details about the some figures are displayed on an electronic screen within reference of the book *Turkish Jews in Public Life* written by Naim Güleryüz. As Güleryüz states in prologue of the book, narration of Turkish Jews in Public Life is a beneficial way to combat with prejudices and anti-Semitic stereotypes like 'merchant Jew', 'banker Jew' or 'stranger Jew'. Narration of integration with successes and contributions to Turkey is depicted as mixture of inseparable colors in traditional marbling (*Ebru*) art rather than fragile pieces of mosaic (Güleryüz, 2012).

From this part of the exhibition onwards, Jews become less 'Jewish' in the sense that particularities of social, cultural and religious concern cease to take center stage in the displays. Instead, the similarity of Jews with Gentiles of the times is foregrounded, highlighting that Jews are now 'Turkish' first. What their 'Jewishness' meant to many of the entrepreneurs, scientists and artists is not explored and expression of particular relationships to their Jewish heritage is not mentioned.In other words, instead of the community, individual faces are displayed. The individual integration encouraged by Turkish state is taken over by the State, and transformed into an issue of collective gratitude (Kastoryano, p. 272). It can be counted as a double game while forming an interest group at the request of the state: Turkish Jews expresses their presence as a community to defend their collective interests and therefore they reinforce their presence as a distinct community.

As part of the grand integration process, the following panel entitled with *Cultural Interaction* raises expectations about Jewish-Turkish mutual cultural exchanges but what is exhibited is the Ottoman penetration into Jewish art. To symbolize cultural interaction, there are three main Jewish religious artefacts (*Menorah, Rimon and Chanukiash*) exhibited which all possess crescent and star referring to interaction with Turkish culture. It seems natural because "museums, deliberately forge memories in physical form to prevent the natural erosion of memory, both personal and collective." (Crane, p.9). Rather than difference or otherness, selection of objects in the main halls displays only syncretism (with an emphasis on Jewish borrowing from the Turkish majority frame.) (Brink-Danan, 2012, p.45). These syncretic artifacts became a concrete icon symbolizing not only long term cultural interaction but also long term safe Jewish presence in Turkish lands. It is important that rediscovery of these syncretic artifacts in the late 1980s in a photo documentation entitled "*Anyos Munchos i Buenos* (Good Years and Many More/ Nice İyi Yıllara) Turkey's

Sephardim 1492-1992" issued by *Beth Hatefutsoth* Museum at Tel Aviv University in Israel indicates already embodied harmony narrative in Sephardic memory of Turkey (Gürsan-Salzmann, 2003). The documentation was part of Sephardic Memory Boom in the 1990s through many exhibitions in scope of Sephardic Quincentennial commemorations across Europe and the United States as well.

Production of such material cultures and their syncretic quality cannot be explained without elaboration of changing state-society relations in the Ottoman Empire. The tolerance policy promoting and conserving distinctiveness was gradually abandoned by the Ottoman elites and it was paradoxically replaced by the Constitutional Liberalism based on equal citizenship, which was ultimate result of the debates in the European Enlightenment (Barkey, p.378). New and equal constitutional citizenship model of the Ottomans regardless ethnicity and religion were gathered around common cultural and imperial symbols such as crescent, star or *tuğra* (imperial sign of the Ottoman sultans) to offer a common Ottoman identity and patriotism (Cohen, 2014, p.4).

Not the main explanatory panel but the tiny labels to each objects are dated with the 19. Century. Philip Cohen directs attention to importance of 19. Century for production of these material cultures. Referring to these cultural products, he argues that the story of the special Ottoman-Jewish relations is a 'myth'. Through indicating these objects, he admits Turkish Jews' internalization of the Ottoman identity. He claims, however, that these are rare glimpses such as ritual objects featuring the crescent and star of the empire and stylized representations of the sultan's calligraphic Ottoman-Turkish signature, or *tuğra,* penetrated into private lives of late Ottoman Jews. (Cohen, 2014, p.4).

What Cohen's position to analyze the Jewish allegiance to the Ottoman state is not a history of sentiment but a history of a process and elite project. For him, usage of such common figures in a process he had called project in the 19. century emerged from a response to regression of the empire. Indeed, integration of these figures into Jewish ceremonial art appears as new expectations and promises of imperial citizenship because there was no such examples of this style known in pre-19. Century. Neither the historical narratives nor the material culture that Ottoman Jews left behind before 19. century offer evidence of their uninterrupted love affair with the Ottoman state (Cohen, 2014, p.4).

In addition to religious ceremony for the Ottoman martyries in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878 or the Quatercentenary celebrations in Ahrida Synagogue, the late 19. Century witnessed visual performance of these common imperial symbols as well. Chicago Exposition of 1893 was an international example for utilization of these symbols as a public theater to emphasize togetherness of Muslim and non-Muslim communities under a common Ottoman identity and patriotism. Before the 1992 celebrations, 1893 was the first example to utilize 400th anniversary of Christos Columbus's discovery of America for an Ottoman public relations theater in which the Ottoman Armenians and very mostly Ottoman Jews were employed and orchestrated. (Bali, 2013b, p.69- 74). In an erected official pavilion, a Turkish village was founded by the Company Souhami Sadullah & Co. run some six hundred Ottoman -Muslims, Jews and Armenians- staff. The remarkable point in the Ottoman Imperial displays was their 'Oriental' handicraft decorations. The Muslim, Jewish or Armenian staff in the theatrical exhibitions were marked by the common figures of sharply distinct eastern style. Such Muslim, Jewish or Armenian melted into Oriental distinctiveness to highlight the common Ottoman identity but different from rest of the World was stated by

the American President Mr. Cleveland, who remarked during his visit to the Ottoman exhibit, "one has to be Turkish to be so exact." (Cohen, 2014, p. 65). The "oriental" symbols like minarets, or crescents was marked an exact difference to be Ottoman/Turkish in image of the American visitors (Cohen, 2014). As an elite project and funding, the Chicago Exposition of 1893 shows how these exact and distinct 'Oriental' symbols in the 19. century enlarged its domain to non-Muslim communities in the Empire for visualization of a common Ottoman identity and non-Muslim Ottoman communities in patriotic demonstration.

Cohen shows examples for exhibition of these oriental style and cultural products as public relations 'theater' in Chicago Exposition of 1893 to highlight Jewish syncretism as a result of the Ottoman Jew's community project of Ottoman patriotism in the late 19. Century rather than history of sentiment within a natural evolution. Selection of the syncretic cultural products rather than the distinct ones is aimed to give communication of the master narrative message with the visitors; harmony and peace it is because as stated in the museum catalog "Jews lived in peace under the religious freedom provided by both the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. There were influenced by the prevailing traditions of which they were an incumbent part and absorbed aspects of their cultural context. This is evidenced in the adaption of Ottoman and Turkish motifs in the design and creation of Jewish liturgical objects." (Güleryüz, 2004, p.10).

Exhibition of such cultural products for showing harmony is first signs of Jewish integration to Turkey before its conversion to Jewish patriotism. Depoliticized tolerance is replaced by Jewish patriotism with exclusionary position from other minorities in Turkey to keep depoliticized position of Jews in the museum narrative. Apart from Israel and *Yad Vashem* Museum, it is very difficult to find a museum narrative integrating the Jewish presence/ minority

into the military history and Independence myths of a nation-state just how it is to the Turkish instance. Actually in Turkish extent, minorities such as Kurds, Alewites, Jews Anatolian Armenians and Greeks are almost never mentioned in the Turkish museums (Shaw, 2011). Turkish Independence War is foundation myth of the Turkish Republic and a main reference for construction of national identity in contemporary Turkey. (Kern, p.206)Panel of *the Defending the Country* once again reveals Jewish loyalty to the homeland.

> During the violent and painful days of the invasion of Anatolia, Turkish Jews in Istanbul, Bursa, the Aegean coast, Southeastern Anatolia and in all cities and towns under occupation always remained loyal to the motherland and never collaborated with the invaders.

The absolute statements such as *always* and *never* about remaining loyalty and no collaboration with invaders is recursiveness as another semiotic means making oppositional elements in the discourse . It is the dichotomizing and partitioning lingustic process that was involved in some opposition (between groups or between linguistic   varieties) recurs at other levels, either creating subcategories   on each side of a contrast or creating super-categories that include both sides but oppose them to something else (Gal and Irvine, 1995). While one super-category is loyalty to Turkey, the contrast super-category is collaboration with enemies against Turkey. A similar lingustic strategy is already used in the panel of Sabbatai Zevi before. As told in the panel,"(his followers) became known as Sabbateans and there has been no religious or social connection with Turkish Jews and no relationship exists with them."

As known, the Sabbateans are cripto Jewish figures in the anti-Semitic conspiracy theories and consolidates the image of 'leaked' and 'secret' Jewish 'treacherous' agents in the state and society. The panel creates a counter-super category with the statements absolute statements of no connection and no relation. Such a lingustic strategy in both panels leads Turkish Jews to occupy an defensive position. It is more apparerant for their presence in narration of the

Turkish Independence War. It is because minorities generally have negative images in the Independence War narration. Boundaries between different actors and groups in the Independence War myth narrated in the major public museums are sharply drawn because national myths or narratives rely on a duality of remembering/ forgetting. "Defining groups or nations always necessitates a dual process of inclusion and exclusion." (Whitmarsh 2001). The foundation myth of the Turkish Republic is narrated to assign the minorities to play subversive roles in traumatic events. Foundation of a nation-state is commonly a traumatic experience and memory because it brings a rupture with the past (Özyürek, 2007, p.11).Turkish historiography who states that Christian minorities betrayed their fatherland and therefore were punished either by deportation as in the case of the Ottoman Armenians, or by an exchange of population, as in the case of the Greeks and those who claimed to be Kurds were mistaken and were in fact Turks (Bali, 2013, p.491).

It is significant to note that visual images representing Jewish patriotism repeats regularly itself in the following panels and indeed gallery, halls. Significantly the selected photos in the family photos exhibition on the Second floor and Jewish Settlements exhibition on the Second floor are photos of the celebrating Turkish Jewish school kids in the Turkish national holiday celebrations such as the November 10 Commemoration of Atatürk Day, Republican Day of 29th October or local Jewish Youth Parades in Hatay *(Antioch)* for honor of its annexation from French Mandate Syria by Republic of Turkey in 1939 and other photos including military figures. Such a strategy of repetitions of Jewish patriotism in the Museum is iconicity as final semiotic means. "It involves a transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic practices, features, or varieties and the social images with which they are linked. Linguistic practices that index social groups or activities appear to be their iconic representations."

(Gal and Irvine, 1995). The iconicity of Turkish tolerance in first part of the Hall is followed by iconicity of Jewish patriotism in rest of the Museum.

Regarding the negative depiction of the minorities in the Independence War myth in a public museum, there is no better place to find these depictions than Anıtkabir (Atatürk's Memorial Tomb in Ankara). The Atatürk and Independence War Museum in Anıtkabir opened on the occasion of the (80th) anniversary celebrations of the "Great Offensive" (*Büyük Taarruz*) on 26 August 2002 limits the "national essence" to resisting groups against the European imperialist powers. The represented nation is a "military-nation". The top-down view that has also dominated official remembrance remains very noticeable in the exhibition. Minorities takes place in the exhibition with the objective of presenting them as "others" or internal/ external "enemies" against, which the ideals of the "Turkish nation" can be shaped. Photos of "innocent Turks", peasants, old women and children, presumably mutilated by Greeks are on display. Besides the Anatolian Greeks and Armenians are presented as the second group of 'inner enemies' who by deserting the army and through their guerilla activities, revealed themselves to be traitors (Kern, p.210-211). Anatolian Greeks and Armenians are remembered even if they are "*enemy*" but Turkey's Jews for a long time were invisible in the narration of the Turkish Independence War. Neither a positive nor a negative role, they were assigned in the national commemorations and museums.

Even though the Ottoman Jews never had separationist territorial claims during the Independence War but in contrast, appreciation and recognition of Turkish Jews' contributive efforts in the War became limited to the state elites but not penetrated into the public masses. That's why, just because they are part of the 'non-Muslim minority block' along side with Armenians and Greeks, Turkish Jews also sometimes can be included into the *Sevres Syndrome* in daily discourses. Minorities in general-scape in Turkey are perceived as the arms of

the external threats. Due to the dialectics of tension and exclusion between the majority and minorities tends to rise whenever there is a social crisis in Turkey, a clash with one of the countries with which a minority group is aligned (Greece, Armenia and Israel) occurs or international political crisis emerge (Akgönül, p.86). In addition to the public museums, "New Sevres Syndrome" is another source reproducing daily memory of the minorities as "*internal threats*" (Kern, p.208).It is very first time that a non-Muslim community in Turkey wants to be positively included in the narration of the Turkish Independence War. The museum tries to fuse the Jewish presence into the Turkish Independence War to be recognized to be part of the Turkish nation. In this extent, "Quincentennial Foundation Museum of Turkish Jews became the first and only museum celebrating the national role of a minority group" (Shaw, 2011).

Drawing on other commemorative practices, there are three main ways that individual war dead can be represented in museums: as heroes, as victims and as martyrs sacrificed for the nation. The museum utilizes all these means to visualize Jewish patriotism to Turkey in anyway. "Heroes" play an important part in national memory, each being "a cluster of national meaning", in a sense of this meaning is addressed to particular people in pursuit of serving as figures of national bravery, sacrifice and unity. Heroes represent the qualities attributed to both those who died in war, and to the nation as a whole. Alternatively, war dead can be portrayed in traditional commemorative terms, as martyrs who sacrificed themselves for the nation. This acknowledges loss, but implies that the dead did not die in vain, and that something has nevertheless been gained: a " sense of collective loss" is transformed into "an object of devotion and passion" (Whitmarsh, 2001). Affirming these memorial ways, the panel about the Independence War presents three main Turkish Jewish heroes playing crucial roles issued by Murdeh Şireyim, who helped the "Society for the

Defence of National Rights in Kilis and the area", Nesim Navaro, who tore down the Greek flag in the Ballroom of the Splendid Palace Hotel in occupied Izmir by Greece at a banquet given in honor of General Dixon in 1919 and Sergeant Isak Levi who received the Medal of Independence after the war and then a martyrdom list containing the Turkish Jewish soldier names. In addition to its addressing to Turkish-Jewish visitors as displaying their patriotic engagement with the Independence War, it targets the same time at Gentile Turkish visitors in the first manner in order to communicate an implicit message. The message promotes tolerance to Gentile Turks because it is exhibited that Turkish Jews shared pain of the war with Muslim Turkish majority. In this regard, the panel becomes means of empathy and creating sympathy in exhibiting trauma or war as civil society's primary emotional resources, connecting citizens and fine-tuning their mutual relations (Simine, p.44). Martyrdom is not restricted to this panel; however, a sculpture "*The Soaring Flame*" (Yükselen Ateş) by Nadia Arditti dedicated to the Jewish soldiers who fell while defending their homeland is erected at the end of the inter corridor between the History Exhibition and the Judaica Hall. It is important to note that each Jewish museum has at least one purely memorial component that is intended to be a light candled or flame burned space for quiet contemplation and remembrance in memory of victims, heroes and martyrs (Sodaro, 2018, p.169). This is because, the memorials convert traumatic individual deaths into national assertions and celebrations of collective value (Whitmarsh, 2001). *The Soaring Flame* collectivizes patriotism of the Turkish Jews. Ending message of the history exhibition has a sensual unity with the very first message in the museum. "*....and seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away...and pray unto the Lord for it.*" the sculpture had located in the entrance of the Zulfiaris Museum together with these sentences before it was moved to Neve Shalom Synagogue (Güleryüz, 2004, p.7). In this regard, the patriotic implication splits into two pieces and the

2500-year-old historical presence of the Turkish Jews was squeezed between two similar messages at the entrance of the building and the end of the history exhibition in the new museum building.

After inclusion into the foundation myth of the Turkish Republic, the Independence War, becoming indispensable part of the Turkish nation is exhibited in the panel entitled *"Lausanne and the Turkish Republic"*. The panel finalizes the grand narrative of integration with this ultimate point. The panel briefly mentions the special rights recognized for the minorities and then submission of a petition signed by the Jewish Chief Rabbinate about the volunteer exemption request from these minority rights and subjection to the secularized Turkish civil code with rest of the Turkish citizens. (Güleryüz, 2016, p.27-28). The Turkish Jews posit themselves in a very distinct place from other non-Muslim communities; the Anatolian Greeks and Armenians, in terms of not only their position in the Independence War but also the legal status before the Turkish State. Repeatitive statements about the loyalty to the country, inclusion into the Independence War narrative and foregoing the special rights granted by the Lausanne Treaty for all-non Muslim minorities in Turkey indicates the hard motivation to be detach from the minority side and to locate Turkish Jews in a positive, constructive position in public memory.

It is significant to mention the only theme in which the Museum juxtaposes Turkish Jews with other minorities in the Museum. It is cuisine in the panel *Turkish-Sephardi Kitchen* at upper floor.

> Turkish Sephardi kitchen has two important characteristics. One of them is the traditional kitchen that was brought over from Spain and has continued over the centuries. The other is the kitchen that has added to this traditional Turkish, Greek and Balkan influences. Sephardi kitchen is a fusion of these two and is a Mediterranean kitchen that has the distinction of carrying traces from a multitude of cultures within itself.

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The immigrant cuisine is another tie with their previous home (Hage, p.416). In museum context, the only memorial tie with Spain is the Sephardic cuisine apart from the Sephardic language. Even though a distinct language was assumed to be an ethnic marker (Giesel, p.58) and a political taboo in Turkey until last years, a distinct local cuisine in Turkey has no political implications as long as the food is regarded as one of those consisting of diverse and rich Turkish cuisine. As Zafer Yenal argues that the term Turkish cuisine has been socially constructed since the 1980s as a retroactive and commodified product (quoted in Sagir, 2007) and its diversity is generally encouraged for touristic consumption and promotion. In that sense, selection of the theme cuisine for not only juxtaposition with Greek identity but also its performance through both serving the special Sephardic tastes in cafeteria at underground floor and presentation of multiple recipient pieces for visitors in the related panel are because of its commodification. Only juxtaposition with Greeks in theme of Cuisine shows that commodification has power of depoliticized over ethnic implications. As long as it is a commodified product even if it keeps its distinct and ethnic boundaries to Turkish Society, then it is possible to be exhibited by depoliticization power of commodification. Its further elaborations will be made about Ladino language in following parts.

After *Treaty of Lausanne*, the next panel is about Nazi terror and humanitarian efforts of Turkish diplomats. Unlike the general trend in many Jewish museums, Nazi terror and Holocaust are not benchmark but narrated as another event in which Turkey was saviors of Jews. Turkish tolerance and their saving are depicted as solution in this time against the Nazi terror after the Byzantine and Spanish oppression.

> "Turkish diplomats that were stationed in Nazi occupied countries demonstrated efforts to save many Turkish Jews living there from Nazi barbarism and prevented them from being sent to death camps."

The panel *World War II and Turkish Diplomats* is consisted of texts about four diplomatic figures; Selahattin Ülkümen (Rhodes Consulate), who was awarded with title 'the Righteous Gentile' (*Hassid Umot ha-Olam*) by Yad Vashem Institute, Namık Kemal Yonga (Deputy Consul in Paris), Behiç Erkin (Paris and Vichy Consul General) and Necdet Kent (Deputy Consul in Marseille), a table of honor with 19 diplomat names and some artefacts such as Turkish passports or identity cards and other official diplomatic documents provided by the Turkish diplomats to Turkish Jews in Nazi-occupied-Europe for their protection from the Nazi detentions. In addition to savage of Turkish Jews from Holocaust, another panel entitled *From Nazi Germany to Our Universities* is the final illustration of Turkish tolerance to European Jews who were subjected to Nazi oppression. The panel states that

> academicians, some of them Jewish, dismissed from universities in Germany and Austria, were hired in universities in Istanbul and Ankara with the encouragement of President Atatürk and thus contributed to the university reform in 1933.

The panel presents photographs of 17 academicians hired in the Turkish universities. As Bali argues, these two narratives are true but incomplete in his two examples. (Bali, 2013, p.183-184). As president of *Ouevre de Secours aux Enfants,* which was founded for providing child care, health and hygiene among Jews, Albert Einstein's request on admitting 40 other Jewish academicians and doctors in Europe to protect from the Nazi threat was rejected by Ismet İnönü who was then prime minister. The second example is that Ismet İnönü's statement as then State President in 1939 about a total rejection of oppressed Jews seeking admission. The admissions would be made for only their limited number according to match of their specialism and profession with national and administrative requirements of Turkey. To manage a massive Jewish immigration from Nazi oppression and terror, it was a world-wide implementation to restrict the Jewish admissions. Even though the

Americanized narrative of Holocaust celebrates liberator role of the United States for Jews, the United States as an immigrant country already restricted the quotes for the European Jewish admissions in the 1930s, which is very criticized against Americanized myth of Holocaust. (Lind, 2017).

The well-known slogan of the Quincentennial Foundation in 1992 celebrations "*an example to humanity*" is consolidated by these humanitarian attitudes of Turkey towards the oppressed Jews under Nazi racism, a universalized symbol for *any crime against humanity*. Humanitarian message of the 1992 celebrations emerged from the Post-Communist context is exhibited as a Turkish value against the Nazi terror. In a continuation with the Ottoman saving and tolerance against the Byzantine and Spanish oppression, Turkey stands on a humanitarian position against the Nazi racism during the 1930s and 1940s once again as a final one.

Representation of the 1930s and 1940s from the humanitarian perspective of the 1990s instead of periodical contextualization itself creates a contradiction in the narration of the domestic affairs of the same period in Turkey. It is the panel on the same wall entitled *Recent History* the significant events related to the Turkish Jewish Community during the Republican Period, which had not been displayed in former exhibition in Zülfiaris Building and it was taken part in the exhibition by new curative administration of the Museum following the move to Neve Shalom Building (C. Sert, personal communication, March 16, 2018).

The panel consists of two columns listing the events from the 1930s until present. Whereas the left column is concentrated by the violent and tragic events related to the Turkish Jews in near past of Turkey such as *Thrace Incidents of 1934, Non-Muslim Forced Mobilization of 1941, Struma Disaster of 1942 and Wealth Tax of 1942* apart from the terrorist bombing attacks, the right column is concentrated by emergence of Jewish *lieu de mémoire* in

Turkish public domain in the post-1990s. Such a juxtaposition creates a sharp contrast without any reasoning.

Under the panel, there is an explanatory electronic screen without any physical visual object, neither an artifact nor a photograph on the panel in contrast to all other panels. The screen includes some digital photos. In contrast to visualization of giant tolerance decrees of the Ottoman Sultans, it is strictly avoided explicit visualization of violence over the Jews through any official governmental documents or state of violence. Normally museums utilize *historiophoty* which means representation of history in digital visual images and film discourse in case of older times and object-poor themes such as migration (like exhibition of Jewish exiles during Roman times and Exile of 1492 in first electronic screen) but this technique leads to problem of authenticity (Simine, p.10). In our case, avoidance of explicit visualization for Recent History panel, which is object-rich times, can be explained by the technique of "erasure of the improper element" for prevention from visualizing anything in which the Turkish state behaved in a way that might be interpreted as intolerant (Brink-Danan, 2012, p. 46). In addition to the non-visualization, the text statements are also eroded from the improper elements as will be explained.

Concentration of the violent and tragic events in the 1930s and 1940s can be explained by context of the interwar period. It was shaped by radical waves of the nationalism in Europe and Turkey as well. As mentioned before, formational process of the nation-states in this period world is always tensional, painful and indeed traumatic (Özyürek, 2007, p.11). Transitional periods into national regimes, hence, are always object of inquiry for memory studies. Since their very establishments on the Imperial ruin, the established nation-states in the former Ottoman lands after the World War I as ultimate point was in

transition from diversity to unity, which was a tension between minorities and majorities in all Eastern Mediterranean. (Nielsen, p.132)

The violent and tragic events are depicted as temporal and exceptional 'hapless' events in '*haven of tranquility*' and long narration of tolerance. The event entitled *1934 Thrace Incidents* on the panel are entitled in a harder sense 'Pogrom' in the electronic screen in this time. The event was reasoned as

> ….a law numbered 2510 and titled 'Compulsory Habitation' that was designed to regulate residence in the Eastern parts of Turkey was passed on 2 June 1934 and went into effect on 14 June 1934….Some administrators who exceeded their authorities decided to subject Jews living in the Thrace region of the country to this new law……… The rabbinate had already informed Ankara of their concerns with a hand-delivered letter on 27 May 1934.

The Law of 2510 was mentioned as targeting the East part of Turkey, irrelevant with Thrace in essence but its application to Turkish Jews was reasoned into exceeding and arbitrary authority of the local administrators in Thrace and some local racist motivations by exhibition of the anti-Semitic publications in the Atilhan's Milli Inkılab magazine. However there is no any explanation about either why such a law was needed for eastern Turkey or how many Jewish residents was effected and abandoned their home in pogrom of 1934 or how government in Ankara responded to the pogrom following the letter of the rabbinate.

After the Thracian Pogrom, the Wealth Tax is exhibited as another significant violent and discriminative event as quoted in the text from the then Prime Minister Şükrü Saraçoğlu "*giving us our economic independence and getting rid of alliens that dominate the market.*"

The Wealth Tax charged in a discriminative way had serious sanctions over the tax-owners. The tax owners who would not pay the decided amount in the following 15 days would be punished with community services. Sivrihisar and

Aşkale, in high mountainous depth of Asia Minor, were two selected towns for Labor Camps where debt owners including lawyers, writers and businessmen (Canefe, p.246) were firstly gathered in concentration camps in the cities for detention and then they were transported to the labor camps through cattle wagon on railways. The Turkish Republic never ever targeted and made ethnic cleansing, extermination and genocide over minorities. Such a method was chosen deliberately for its psychological and dissuasive affect on minorities and mainly Jews to make sure their payment of charged taxes at given deadline while abusing their sense of yearning, horror and anxiety just because Nazi terror was well-known in Turkey of those years. (Akar, 2000, p.109-110). However, any words such as "*concentration, labor, camp, cattle wagon, train, death*", any other word reminding narration of the Nazi terror becoming of icons of Holocaust trauma in other Jewish museums around the world (Simine, p.80-86) were carefully avoided in the panel as erasure of improper elements again from the text.

> …..in spite of selling all their possessions 1229 people, mostly non-Muslims, could not pay the amount of tax that exceeded their assets and were sent to Aşkale between January 27 and 3 June 1943. Of these, 900 people were transferred to Eskişehir Sivrihisar on August 8 1943.

Actually such a method reflected already in the international press as its such similarities and condemned by the American press while referring to these similar sides. Mostly elders, 21 or 25 arrested workers lost their life in the camps due to super heavy winter and working conditions, poor accommodations in tents or wooden barracks and nutrition facilities. (Akar, 2000).

The following anti-minority violent event in Turkish recent history can be counted as the event called by *Istanbul Pogrom* or *Event of 6-7 September in 1955*. The accumulated international tension on island of Cyprus between Greece and Turkey was resulted in targeting Istanbullite Greek Community by

massive protestors mobs, triggered by a provocative false radio news about bombing Ataturk's house in Salonica, Greece. Although the pogrom started to target at religious, economic and private properties of the Istanbullite Greeks, the Armenian and Jewish communities became subject to brutality. Records of the American State Department asserts that 12 percent of all the looted stores, 3 percent of all the looted houses were the Jewish properties and 1 out of totally 38 synagogues in Istanbul were damaged (Güven, 2005).

In the museum seeking material memory of tolerance, peace and harmony; there are lack of visual object or 6-7 September Pogrom and presence of 'inaccurate' vocabulary, in texts. Museums, like individual minds, steadily select and discard from the limitless realm of material memory, protecting against lost. The curators perhaps regard ironically lack of memory as a less problem than loss of material memory since lost implies what is desired but missed on the other hand lack implies what is absent and unwanted in spite of its presence (Crane, p.9-10). Silence of the panel about the Istanbul Pogrom can be explained by "positioning of Turkish Jews between Christians and Muslims and their corresponding ambiguous and ambivalent relationship to Turkishness." (Neyzi, 2005). There is no preference in the exhibition to be mentioned aside with Greeks and Armenians in a massive violent event targeting Turkish Jews even if occasionally.

Absence of the 6-7 September 1955 Pogrom and sudden appearance of 1934 Pogrom and Wealth Tax of 1943 in the exhibition narrative within uncritical and softer narrations can be explained by non-contextualization of early republican period of Turkey like Jewish Museum Berlin without contextualization of rise of German anti-Semitism in prior to era of National Socialism. Concentration of these violent events in 1930s, 1940s and 1950s are not irrelevant with rise of ethno-nationalism in Turkey in nationalist context of Europe during the inter-war period. Rise of ethno-nationalism in Europe

including the German Nazism and Italian Fascism emerged from anti-liberal reactions in general. Since the late 19. Century, idea of universalist progress lost its momentum in Europe and became a mean of blaming a segment of society for reason of underdevelopment. Idea of progress emerged from inter-cultural universality converted to an effective means of ethno-nationalisms which all have no tolerance for uncertainty stemming from liberalism in their belief (Kasaba, p.33). The 1930s and the early 1940s was the era of where Turkey was in a search between ethno-nationalism and civic nationalism and creation of image a cosmopolitan Jewish collectivity was heavily curtailed by their struggle to negotiate the secular humanitarianism of Kemalism on the one hand, and ethno-religious excesses of patriotic Turkish nationalism on the other (Canefe, p.250). The time period was in which State reports and Press were defining non-Muslim minorities with their ethnically distinct cultural and lingustic differences as prevention of being organic part of Turkish nation, 'unfair' privileged economic positions as 'burden' on Turkish national economy and possibility of engaged fifth column-espinoage activities against security of Turkey.

Rather than occupying a humanitarian counter-position against Nazi racism, Turkey was indeed seeking for a prestigious recognition as a new country in Europe. Even though the new Republic was not established on the concept race in essence, diplomatic struggles against Nazi Germany during the 1930s to be counted as 'Arian' in race categorization in return of stripping some Turkish origin Jews working in Germany from Turkish citizenship was one of these ways for seeking prestige and international recognition. (Asker, 2012). Guttstadt emphasizes the gradual decrease in the number of Turkish Jewish citizens living in Nazi Germany from 753 to 263 between 1933 and 1939 and underlines major role of stripping from Turkish citizenship (Guttstadt, 2017, p.165-166). It is well known that from those people, at least 12 stripped Turkish

Jews lost their life in Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp in Nazi Germany and Turkey could remember first commemoration of their citizens after many decades in 2012 by her own diplomatic representatives (Guttsadt, 2014).

In a similar way to German and Italian reactions to liberal values, rising political dissents in late 19. Century, the military defeats and economic crisis directed the imperial and republican elites in Turkey into a suspicious and reactionary attitude toward liberal reforms in the Imperial era. Their preferences were shaped in accordance with such a belief that presence of state and lands were equal to a homogeneous and unified society. Early republican elites in Turkey, their ideologs and then historians considered necessity of taking a righteous and prestigious place by Turkish nation in the Western world. Instead of liberal approaches to non-Muslims in the imperial society, the state elites' preferences were shaped between sharp sides of ancient and progress, obscurantism and revolutionism. Failure of the liberal Ottoman reforms was addressed to uncertainty stemmed from liberalism. Such anti-liberal divergencies was practically resulted in the 1914-1915 large-scale Armenian Deportations, the population exchange of 1923 and 1930 with Greece, The Resettlement Law of 2510 for citizens not from Turkish 'race', the Wealth Tax on the non-Muslim properties in 1942 targeting to dispossession of non-Muslim minorities in Turkey and capital transfer to create nationalist bourgeoisie as a long-term state project since Committee of Union and Progress during the 1910s and Istanbul Pogrom on 6-7 September 1955 (Kuyucu, 2005). In very short, the liberal individual and communal rights and freedoms were restricted and sacrificed for idea of nationalist progress (Kasaba, p.33-34).

Narration of tolerance has an absorbing capacity over 'intolerant' events in the Museum. (Brink-Danan, 2012, p. 48). However, exhibition of anti-Semitism in Turkish context is not possible in a critical position to the state while claiming a room for Turkish Jews in Turkish historiography.   All Jewish Memorial

Museums, either Americanized or Europeanized, indicate as a symbol that the liberal regime responsible for its installation of these museums and narrate the destruction by previous totalitarian regimes, either Nazism or Fascism or Communism, of violence and, through this narration, promises to be different from the previous era. Even though each context is different, the same message is shared: "this negative and violent past is behind "us" and that healing for survivors, families, the nation and all of humanity can begin, because the evils of the past have been locked up in display cases and musealized for prosperity. The door has been slammed and closed on the violent past and a new direction has been set for the future. The regime that builds a memorial museum, hence, sets itself apart from the previous, destructive regimes and sees a brighter, more liberal, democratic and peaceful future ahead."(Sodaro, 2018, p.172).

In contrast to the time period of 1930s and 1940s with rise of ethno-nationalism, the time period of the 1990s, when Jewish *Lex Lieux de mémoire* areconcentrated in these years in the panel Recent History while it was appearing in the Turkish public sphere and landscape unlike European *Judaizing terrain* with such a detachment from illiberal past and its marginalization in order to consolidate liberal values of the European Union and the United States during the late 1980s and 1990s since universal humanitarianism and cosmopolitanism are their political project. However, such an assumption cannot be valid for the Quincentennial Museum since there is no any other "evil" regime either on which the violent past would be "locked up" or which would be detached from the present because Turkish historiography deprives from such a detachment or "interruption" of the Nazi Occupation or Soviet Rule or any other marginalized era.

In this regard, narration of the Museum is reflecting an "ambivalent attitude" as Neyzi coined (Neyzi, 2005). Such an ambivalent attitude has a Durkheimian manner to explain tensional and anti-Semitic events. Durkheimian

understanding of any conflict in modern national society, either class conflict in Marxist sense or ethnic, sectarian conflicts in Weberian sense, regards conflicts as *anomie* which is assumed to be exceptional in natural evolution of society. The anomies are unexpected production of modern national societies and healed in gradual evolution. Healing potentiality of memory rather than conflicting one (Sodaro, 2018, p.169) is utilized in Durkheimian manner. Anti-Semitic events in the recent Turkish history are not based on a systematic explanation and reasoning in a critical position unlike rest of the Jewish memorial museums around the world. As a similar to such a Durkheimian understanding of *anomie,* memory of the violent anti-minority events in the Quincentennial Foundation's approach is depicted by Harry Ojalvo as mentioned before "a pure white line with few black blotches".(Bali, 2009, p.376).

The Main Hall dedicated for the historical Judeo-Turkish togetherness is finalizes with the segment about *the Quincentennial Foundation* and its permanent activities which are restoration of the *Ahrida Synagogue in 1992, a memorial forest dedicated for the Quincentennial Foundation in Istanbul in 1993 and creation of the museum in Zülfiaris Synagogue in 2002*. The context of the 1980s and 1990s in Europe and the United States was about generation of a universal cosmopolitan Jewish memory during those times contributing to political projects of a Liberal Europe and universal American hegemony. In that sense, claiming a Jewish room in Turkish history is at the same time a claim for Turkish room in this universal cosmopolitanism. As Güleryüz states that "humanitarianism demonstrated at that time, was consistent with the beneficence and goodwill traditionally displayed by the Turkish government and people towards those of different creeds, cultures and backgrounds. Indeed, Turkey could serve as a model to be emulated by any nation which finds refugees from any of the four corners of the world standing at its doors." (Güleryüz, 2016, p.55).

4.4 Gallery of Judaica

The inter-corridor is a watching balcony to the Praying Hall on the grand floor. It is aimed to make part of the visitors to a religious worship or ceremony. Such a purpose is actually a performative museum as part of the New Museology trend. Museum is performing a Jewish religious ceremony or worship to visitors in form of active attenders.

The Judaism Gallery sharply differs from the main hall in terms of the museology approach. The New Museology seeking visitors' participation into exhibition for learning within experience is replaced by the traditional one which refers to traditional exhibition of objects. In this sense, the religious atmosphere in the gallery depends on beauty and tranquility of precious and historical objects such as *Parokhet*s or *Torah Scrolls*. The artifacts themselves remain the focus of attention.

Yet is this compatible with the need to provide interpretive information for visitors unfamiliar with Jewish religious practice who come to the museum to learn about Judaism? In this case, the modern trend towards interactive technology is neglected in favor of more traditional exhibition methods in order to make sure that the artifacts themselves remain the focus of visitors' attention. Removing the religious artifacts from their original places and context is always a question in Jewish museums since exhibiting their usage and religious meaning are problematic. This is a paradox because whereas their exhibition in a museum may erode their sacred quality, it can make harder its communication of devotional purpose. Even though promotion of their spirituality is made through combination of light and aesthetic artifacts, it is actually preferred to employ an integrated approach of setting religion within context of history and social life in the museums. This is partly because Judaism is not only a set of beliefs and practices but it is also a way of life. Exhibition of Judaism, hence, is a challenge within a museum context (Burman, 2003).

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The presentation of Jewish religious life in a museum context raises certain questions such as how the continuity of religious life and its modern relevance can be exhibited. Next Hall of Ethnographic Exhibition is, hence, dedicated to integrated religious practices into daily life of the Turkish Jews.

4.5 Framing Genders in the Jewish Community

The Ethnographic Exhibition is dedicated to the Turkish Jews' life cycle from birth (*Paridura*) to death and to the afterlife belief (*Olam Aba*) in Jewish religion. The visitors are welcomed with black-and-white personal photos from the mid1850s to mid1960s of the Jewish brides and grooms in the synagogues and various historical Jewish Wedding Contracts *(Ketubbah)* on the left side; the right side displays a showcase with late Ottoman custom dressed bride and groom mannequins. The nostalgic and marriage focused entrance gives first clues about Ethnographic Exhibition where the gender roles in the Turkish Jewish community are introduced. Visitors rarely coincide with depiction of a Turkish Jewish woman until coming to Ethnographic Exhibition. The permanent exhibition Ethnographic Hall is, however, dominated by representations of Turkish Jewish Women comparing to rest of the Museum.

The Feminist approach to museum studies argues that masculinity and femininity are constructed categories which have central function to the production of meaning in museums. (Katriel, 1997) Femininity is constructed in a subordinate relation to masculinity, as the 'other' around which masculinity orders itself as the rational and dominant position. In a broader perspective, approaching museums from a feminist perspective and its application to Holocaust/Jewish Museums in particular is rare and recent. Following to the (Jewish) Memory Boom in the 1980s, remembrance and representation of women and men have become a subject of inquiry.

Firstly, it has been recognized that the whole structure of museums with abstract knowledge/organization and concrete manifestations of buildings, exhibitions and collections was built upon categories and boundaries which embodied assumptions about men and women, the masculine and the feminine. It has been later understood that these assumptions about men and women were interdependent and relational; they could not be fixed by reference to any 'real' women and men. They, however, were constructed, positional and constantly in the making. Gender representations are formed around idealized and stereotypical notions of masculinity and femininity, which are depicted as 'real'. As they are produced and presented in museums, on the one hand, the roles of women are relatively shallow, underdeveloped, passive, closed and mute and on the other, the roles of men are relatively deep, developed, active, open and articulated. 'His' existence depends on 'her' subordination (Porter, 1995).

Even though there were few analyses of gender on the Jewish/ Holocaust museums such as Yad Vashem and, the US Holocaust Museum, these studies suggest that certain patterns of gendered memory are relevant with the Holocaust and Jewish exhibitions as well. Women representation in these museums are symbol of sacrifice and martyrdom. For instance, the museum at Auschwitz depicts victimized woman at the center of the atrocity narratives, making an emotional connection to the past through images of powerless women rather than the hero one Women memory was constructed as subjects of death, atrocity and torture in the Holocaust museums. The conclusive point of the feminist approach suggests that a passive image takes a place (Jacobs, 2008). Such general feminist criticisms for Jewish/Holocaust Museums can be valid for the Quincentennial Museum as well.

The entrance of Ethnographic Hall is decorated with nostalgic marriage photos of young Turkish Jewish couples marrying in the synagogues of Istanbul. This is the first time to see pictures of Turkish Jewish woman in role of bride and

wife in public sphere as they are loyal and adopted to the modern republican regime. These family photos are idealized republican family model promoted by the new regime such as nucleus, monogamist couples based on equality between man and woman in the public sphere (Kandiyoti, p.119). Rest of the exhibition room is decorated with showcases including visual artifacts about young Turkish Jewish ladies' traditional customs dressed in parts of dowry (*Ashuar*), Bridal Dress and Puerperal Bed installation (*Kama De Parida*). In addition to showcases, the explanatory panel on the walls exhibits *Fashadura* ceremony in which a shirt designed for the unborn baby is cut in order to make his or her life a long one presents the Turkish Jewish women as bride and mother. Gendered traditions in Turkish Jewish community, either cultural or religious, for boy and girl babies and kids are also exhibited with explanatory panels and artifacts. *Vijola (*naming ceremony for the baby girls in Synagogue), The Ransom Paid for the First Born Baby Boy *(Pidyon Aben),* Stepping to Adulthood Ceremonies (*Bar-Mitzva Bat-Mitzva*), Circumcision (*Brit Milah*) are the following panels of the Turkish Jewish ladies' engagement, marriage, wedding and motherhood.

In Turkish Jews' life circle from birth to death, there seems an irrelevant panel entitled with *Jewish customs in the Ottoman Era* just before Mourning and Death panels. The panel introduces how clothing bases on the social statue, religion or professional jobs in the Ottoman society. One of the significant statements in the panel that

> [clothing] helped determine one's social level, religion and profession…..clothing of citizens emphasizing difference between Muslims and non-Muslims…..

The Ottoman costume habits and regulations were issued for differentiation rather than personal taste or fashion sense. (Levi, 2004, p.49). Such an Ottoman Jewish dress related panel is supposed to have been located in the

Historiographical Main Hall. It is, however, about the difference rather than similarity. Availability of the star-crescent marked cultural products in History Exhibition and placement of the Jewish Customs *emphasizing difference* in Ethnographic exhibition are related to what kind of Jewishness is wanted to be displayed in each Halls since on the one hand History Exhibition communicates of message peaceful harmony, togetherness and similarities in the public sphere, on the other hand, the Ethnographic Exhibition is dedicated for the message uniqueness and differences in the Turkish Jews' private life circles. The history exhibition draws "an unrecognizable Jewish image" in the Turkish public sphere and in contrast to indistinguishability of Turkish Jews from the gentile majority in the Ethnography Hall.

As we have seen, feminist museum criticisms in general argued that the gendered identities of 'man' and 'woman', masculinity and femininity in relationships of self/other; progressive/static and public/private as some gendered dualities in the museums. Underlying all of these are the associations of active/passive and male/female. In museums, 'woman' becomes the background against which 'man' acts (Porter, 1996). In the Turkish context, such a gendered frame seems to have occured due to the attempt of the Museum to prove Jewish integration into Turkish modernization. Unlike secular Iranian modernization promoted by Shah Rıza Pahlawi, Kemalist modernization did not legislate any anti-hijab or anti-religious woman dress code for secular homogeneity and unity but the image for such a unified secular society loyal to revolutionist Kemalist state was created through western dress codes for men. Western hat and ties became the uniform symbolizing loyalty to Turkish State (Kandiyoti, p.126). The woman image is served as the symbol and signifier of the difference in the male discourse. Excluded as national citizens, women are subsumed only symbolically into the national body politic. In this sense male political power in the public domain is mainly dependent on naturalized and

none too "accidental" ideology of gender difference (McClintock, 1991). That's why; general feminist criticisms to Kemalism is that integration, harmony and loyalty to state have a masculine face in Turkish public sphere. It results that a recognizable Jewish image in the Ethnographic Exhibition has to stress a feminine image since the exhibition is about internal/private domain of the Turkish Jews.

Masculine faced history narration makes Jewish men progressive whereas feminine faced private life circle from birth to death makes Jewish women static. The figure of woman figure in the museum is restricted to bridehood and motherhood in Turkish Jews' private sphere. She is depicted as part of the different and unique Jewish cultural/ religious customs and traditions. Religious and traditional Jewish images are deemed to be 'recognizably Jewish' in other Jewish Museums for instance, the Jewish Museum in Berlin. The 'recognizably Jewish' Jews share the attributes of 'foreign' and 'exotic' in contrast to 'normality' in the public sphere (Holtschneider, p.73).

Such a depiction suggests that the visitors have a mental map on which to pinpoint what is 'normal' in the masculine face of Jews in the public domain. The only reference in the Museum for 'different' and 'exotic' are feminine descriptions of 'the Jew' that characterize the object of their difference and uniqueness precisely as other or alien but not excluded from the public domain. Hegemony of the public sphere over visibility of the Jews even makes its gender masculine.

4.6 Situating the Jewish Life
At the entrance of the second floor, a group of smiling family photos welcomes the visitors. Even though photographs are often viewed as direct references to a past reality, as if seeing an image gives access to what is pictured in an unmediated way, they are not neutral, they are not a straightforward reflection

of reality. Rather, "photographs are literally 'not seen' but are perceived as visual confirmation of previously held ideas." (Holtschnaider, p.48). The smiling happy family photo installations in Holocaust Museums communicate the message of good people being murdered. Yad Vashem, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, or Berlin Jewish Museum have enormous family photograph album in their section called *"Tower of Faces"*. The common purpose is to allow the visitor to connect to living people before they encounter mass murder. This is supposed to allow visitors to connect their own humanity to that of pictured. Family photographs are understood to be a unique recourse to facilitate such a connection between visitor and historical people because of the ubiquity of family albums in most people's lives. The assumption that because "visitors know how to read their own family's albums, they would be able to decode the family images." (Holtschneider, p.58). In contrast to these museums centered concept *"lachrymose"*, the family photographs in the Quincentennial Museum serve as the visual confirmation of previously held convictions of a happy Jewish life in Turkey as 'Jewish haven of tranquility'.

In addition to the family gatherings in houses during religious or national holidays, photos from family picnics, beach vacations , dancing Jewish kids in school celebrations are also exhibited. The happy family photographs lead to collaboration of the subject, photographer and viewer on the reproduction of *myth of the ideal family."* The viewer corroborates in this staging of ideology by confirming that the image, in its arrangement and situation of subjects, meets the familial norm, the *myth of the ideal family"* (Crownshaw, 2007, p.184). The family photos are, hence, leading visitors to be communicated message of "they are one of us". The *myth of the ideal family* at the same time represents iconography of new Republican Regime such as national holiday commemorations in the schools with Turkish flags or military and school

uniformed people (Kandiyoti, p.129) to make idealized depiction of Turkish Jews' integration to the new secular Republican regime in the 1930s and 1940s.

Although the family installation creates idealization of family and empathy with these family picture in sense of "one of us", the photographs create a distance between images and visitors as well. The colorlessness of the photos and the used nostalgic furniture in the installation create inevitably nostalgic implications over the visitors. Nostalgia is categorized by Boym into reflective (*algia*) referring to painful longing and restorative (*nostos*) referring to returning home (Boym, 2009). "Restorative nostalgia attempts a "transhistorical reconstruction" of a lost place, is based on a "single plot" of collective identity and social memory, and considers the past "not as a duration but as a perfect snapshot" (Ojalvo, 2014). In this way, (restorative) nostalgia has tendency to long for a return not to the actual, but rather to an idealized past, It becomes then not the remembrance of things past, certainly not the researching of lost time, but the substitution of memory by a fictionalized, retouched past, of lived experience by wishful thinking. "It is all too often the distance between true past and what we would *like* to remember that explains the power of nostalgia in the late twentieth century." (Beller, 1996, p.37). In this regard, as long as the simulacra as a wider concept targets at perfection of 'past', it can be counted as restorative nostalgia at the same time. Hence, it is actually an antidote to failure of the national project seeking integrity and harmony. Nostalgia transforms to space where it penetrates and regarded as historical. The landscape as a main materialized factor in power struggles is a center for national imagination. This leads in a mandatory way to performing cosmopolitan memory with something bypassing violent and traumatic past of nationalization. This is to come to terms (*Vergangenheiltbewaltigung*) or do not come to terms with experience of European Jewry over one century (Beller, 1996). Through this imagination, if Holocaust or Genocide memorial museums around the world, dedicated for

commemoration of trauma, conflict and violence in the past, are installed for negation of the past as Jeffrey Olick coins the term "politics of regret" and then Jewish Museums in Germany can represent a parallel trend: politics of nostalgia. The politics of nostalgia is antidote to regret in Germany because the dose of nostalgic remembrance makes soften shame of regret. Nostalgia with its wishful memories is essentially history without guilt. "Heritage is something that suffuses us with pride rather than shame." (Sodaro, 2013, p.88). In contrast to restorative nostalgia centering *nostos,* the nostalgia embedded in the family photos is reflective nostalgia, which focuses on *algia* because restorative nostalgia highlights national past and future, but reflective nostalgia is about individual and family memory. In line with the idea of reflexive nostalgia, the family photograph creates a gap between themselves and the visitor due to the focused longing distance of the past. The happy presence of the Jews are not referred to present but over a long distance between past and present. Reflective nostalgia does not claim reconstruction of a mythical past. It is not about the signifier itself but longing distance. Whereas the restorative nostalgia targets at perfect recreation of the past at the present, reflective nostalgia are not interested in essence of the past. It deals with longing (Boym, 2009). This shifts Jewish presence in Turkey to nostalgic ontology from ontological tolerance in the Main Hall. Nostalgic ontology delimits historical and geographical locations when surrounding content is incompatible with knowing that we are and nostalgic ontology leads to alienation in the final instance (Legg, 2005). While reflective nostalgia locates 'indistinct' Jewish presence in Turkey somewhere between past and present, it at the same time creates nostalgic ontology leading isolation from the contemporary Turkish society.

To visualize daily Jewish life in Turkey, the family photo section exhibits family photos from specific Jewish families. Privatization of memory is a valid argument for the Museum through photo donors and Hall names as happened

in all Jewish and Holocaust Museums around the World. Yad Vashem Childrens' Memorial in Jerusalem, for instance, gives a prominent visualization to Holocaust victims whose relatives made significant donation and support to the museum as donors' expectations in perfectly understandable way (Cole, p.127-128). In addition to the Hall and galleries named with Yıldız-Ishak Baler and Hayati Kamhi passed away whose father is Jan Kamhi, chairman of the Foundation. Donors of the photo album consists of various sources such as the Foundation-Museum archive, previous curator and Foundation member Mr. Güleryüz's personal collection, Benoziyo and Yanni Families, Jak Kohen's family, Benbasat Family, Asseo Family which all are member or part of the establishment process of the Foundation (Quincentennial Foundation[11], 2012, p.5-6). Many of those names are either members of the Quincentennial Foundation or the donors. The museum is always open to any photograph, object or financial donations from all public. However, gradual conversion of these names of the Foundation into public faces, in name of all the Turkish Jewish community during the 1990s in scope of Quincentennial Commemorations (Bali, 2009, p.572-573), is consolidated by work of dual memory for general community and private families through hegemony of the Quincentennial Foundation over the Jewish memory in Turkey.

The installation *Jewish Religious Holidays and Holly Days* is about how these merry families perform Judaism in their daily life. The installation consists of 9 panels with explanatory texts, photographs and related artifacts. These are *Shabbat* (the weekly holy day: Saturday), *Rosh Hashanah* (The New Year), *Yom Kippur* (Day of Atonement), *Sukkot* (Holiday of Tabernacles), *Hannukah* (The Holiday of Lights), *Pessach* (*Passover*), *Shavuot* (Giving of the Ten Commandments) and *Purim.* It is important to exhibit these days in a Jewish

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[11]For detailed information about member and administrative list of the Foundation, please have a look at *Quincentennial Foundation: A retrospection*: 2012, Istanbul

Museum especially for Jewish visitors since Judaism is accepted as *theology of memory*. The holy days are a way to convert past to the present and to imply solidarity with ancestors. These holly days narrating a past from Abraham's prophecy, Exodus from Egypt to Kingdom of ancient Israel and Judah becomes a technical means to remember and re-image, in minds of celebrators, the major events in ancient Jewish history, which have deep impact on shaping Jewish identity (Connerton, p.73). However, the installation is more than memorial function of *theology of memory.* Its juxtaposition with happy family albums consolidates message of happy Jews in Turkey. Whereas panel explanations are about Judaic origin and religious explanations, the photos used are depicting warm family gatherings and meetings as majority in closed places of houses and synagogues. Such depictions of family gatherings and meetings in Jewish holidays highlights borders of narrated tolerance and harmony in main Hall as exhibiting how Jews perform Judaism in their daily life in Turkey.

In contrast to the daily family photo installations, majority of the photos in the religious holidays exhibition were taken in the private spheres of the Jewish families/ community: either houses and sometimes synagogues but not the public domain. Exhibition of spending religious holidays in private family spheres can be regarded as an acceptable social norm not only in Turkey but also around the world. However the exhibition actually highlights the balance between Turkish tolerance and religious Jewish nomination in Turkey since the only Jewish holiday in exhibition which seems to be celebrated outside is *Sukkot,* which is commemoration of ancient Jewish refugees living in temporal arbors in Sinai Desert following to the Exodus from Egypt by leadership of Moses. Historical and traditional essence of the Holiday necessitates its celebration outside in open-air with erection of temporal Sukkot arbors. The Sukkot as mentioned in the panel text is *Hag Aasit* (the Harvest Holiday) because the holiday is coincided with the *Autumn Session and some fruits,*

graps and olives ripen during the time of Sukkot. The holiday is even celebrated parking lots, rooftops, lawns and public spaces in Israel and with agricultural significance in the United States. (Jewish Virtual Library, n.d.). In contrast to nature of the boliday to be celebrated in open-air as implicitly mentioned in the panel text, even if it is not mentioned in the panel; the Museum exhibits a photo taken in 2014 from Beth Yaakov Synagogue in Kuzguncuk/ Istanbul, a securitized Jewish space but not a county-side or open-air space (Gabay, Şalom, 2014). In this regard, the *Sukkot* panel implicitly shows a general insistence of the Turkish Jews to perform their religious self-nomination in securitized Jewish spaces rather than public space. For Turkish Jews, performing Judaism in public sphere includes a kind of self-nomination. In a resemble way, wearing ritual head coverings (*Kippa*), or wearing of Judaica (six-pointed stars of David or other symbols) is not a common practice. Any jerveys from Turkish Jewish sport clubs do not have recognizable Jewish marks such as Hebrew script, or other Jewish symbols. (Brink-Danan, 2011).

Apart from self-nomination, the same installation reflects Jewish self-definition in Turkish language as well. Referring to word *Jewish* in the bilingual texts on the exhibition, in contrast to rest of the Museum, the Turkish word *Musevi* instead of *Yahudi* dominantly emerged in this installation whereas the term *Yahudi* is also sometimes used interchangeably. The frequency of the word *Musevi* in the Exhibition of Religious Holly Days seems a consolidating implication of a differentiation of *Musevi* and *Yahudi* distinction of ethnicity and religiosity between each other. It is a banal distinct sense in daily Turkish that whereas *Musevi* implies religion, *Yahudi* indicates an ethnicity. Both terms are actually Quranic origin. *Yahudi* is derived from *Yahud* and *Musevi* is evolved from Musa, Arabic name of Prophet Moses, and the word literally means Moses' followers.

There is no a real consensus on difference between the Turkish words, *Musevi* and *Yahudi* even in the Turkish Jewish community. A member of the Quincentennial Foundation, Denis Ojalvo admits a common confusion in Jewish community about how to define *Musevi* and *Yahudi,* while indicating a conference entitled "*Relations with Wider Turkish Society*" gathered in Neve Shalom Cultural Center on 19 January 2000. Ojalvo categorizes these words referring to the Jewish holidays and holly days. He makes being *Musevi* conditional on celebrating Evamir Ashere, Brit-Mila, Bar-Mitzva, Nisuin, Rosh Asana, Kippur, Shabbat, Kiddush, Kadish. At the same time, he thinks binding celebration of Pessah, Hannukah, Purim, Jerusalem, Shibat and Hibat Tziyon to be *Yahudi*. His definition of Musevi and Yahudi on the basis of classifying Jewish Holidays and holly days with respect to the religious and historical importance seems his agreement with the common public opinion (Ojalvo, Şalom, 2012). On the other hand, president of the Turkish Jewish community Silvyo Ovadya disagrees with such a differentiation. He however underlines that Post-1980 Turkish Jewish generation has a tendency to prefer *Yahudi* instead of *Musevi.* Even the single living Jewish press in Turkey, Shalom uses the word *Yahudi* but not *Musevi* (T24, 2009). Such a tendency is explained by a post-modern linguistic revolution over these words. The term *Musevi* is always presented a polite correspondence for the word *Yahudi*. *Yahudi* may include and remind anti-Semitic cursing and derogatory usage such as 'Korkak Yahudi' (Coward Jew), 'Pis Yahudi' (Dirty Jew) or 'Pinti Yahudi' (Miser Jew). In this regard, permanent usage of *Musevi* "polite" alternative for *Yahudi* consolidates these derogatory implications over the word *Yahudi* as well (Aviv, 2017). Allavi stated that the word *Yahudi* is gradually replacing *Musevi* in the Museum panels. Even if we want to change Turkish name of the Museum, *Türk Musevileri Müzesi,* it is not so easy because the foundation was once established on the name of *Türk Musevileri"* (C. Sert, personal communication, March 16, 2018). It is obvious that younger generation of the

Foundation and Community tends to prefer *Yahudi* rather than *Musevi* to deconstruct the derogatory connotations of *Yahudi*.

Apart from self-definition in Turkish language, the Museum has made another attitude change towards exhibition of Sephardic language *Ladino*. In contrast to the permanent panel about Ladino which underlines it as endangered language which is totally silent about why Ladino is today endangered language. There is a temporary presentation of a video screen about Oral History of Ladino Language in Turkey. The documentary entitled *Las Ultimos Palavras* (The Last Words) was made by Rita Enter and New Ideas Production as part of the *Sivil Düşün EU Program*. (Şalom, 2015). There are interviews with Turkish Sephardic Jews about Ladino expressions in their daily Turkish and memories on spoken Ladino by their family elders in their childhood times. Ladino is today almost a dead language by several reasons of assimilative process of Turkification over non-Muslim minorities in early Republican Period, exemption request of the Jewish community from minority rights guaranteed by Treaty of Lausanne and its non-preference in Jewish schools as educational language. Turkish Sephardic "Jews progressed from a mostly non-Turkish speaking community to a mostly non-Ladino speaking community between 1920s and 1970s." (Sarhon, 2011). Even though a different language was assumed to be a distinct ethnic marker against common Turkish identity by the new Turkish State in most of the Republican era, at present Ladino turned to a historic-cultural reference and heritage of Sephardic community and a symbol of identity (Giesel, p.58). Production of such a video with middle aged Jewish volunteers and its very newly presentation in the Museum imply rise of consciousness of new young Turkish Sephardic generation about Ladino since the 1980s and 1990s (Sarhon, 2011). It has no real lingustic function in today's Turkey. That's why, rise of Ladino awareness makes it an 'exotic' object of cultural inquiry and interest for academic research at universities. In other

words, Ladino is one of the cultural references for Sephardic Turkish Jews about their ancient ancestor roots. In such a new implication, post-1990s conditions made Ladino as another cosmopolitan commodification for touristic consumption with its traditional values for Sephardic cultural practices of cuisine and music as many Sephardic concerts in Ladino were performed in scope of European Day of Jewish Culture or Galata Festival as the Museum promoted (Güleryüz, 2004, p.70-71). In age of neoliberalism, "governmentality of social groups are their culturalization and thus depoliticization" (Kaya, p.14). Distortion of nation-states in general over erosion of cosmopolitan Sephardic Community (Rodrigue, 2004) led to a total depoliticization. Attitude of Quincentennial Museum of Turkish Jews affirms this depoliticization led by neo-liberal governmentality. For today, as long as it is commodified like Sephardic Cuisine, it does not violate depoliticized position of the Museum and the Foundation. The Museum today serves special tastes of Sephardic cuisine in Ladino names, sells Sephardic Ladino songs in ground floor and distribute Sephardic recipes of foods in named Ladino (Güleryüz, 2016, p.52). As long as the language is commodified in touristic market, it is depoliticized and not a distinct ethnic marker as it was so in the 1920s and 1930s for the Campaign *Citizens, speak Turkish!*.

4.7 Exhibiting Spatial Memory of the Turkish Jews

In the second same floor, half of the hall is reserved for the exhibition entitled *Jewish Settlements* divided in three segments important neighborhoods of Istanbul, historically Jewish populated Turkish cities and other Jewish communities in Turkey: Askhenazis, Romanots and Karay Jews. There is an electronic screen about historical Jewish heritage and settlements in Anatolia for visitors. The panels are entitled *Hasköy, Balat, the Northeastern Shore of Marmara Sea, Northwest Shore of Marmara, Marmara Islands, Anatolian Coast of Bosphorus*, *The European Side of the Bosphorus, Şişli and Galata-*

Beyoğlu for Istanbul with multi-districts, and other Turkish cities of *Adana, Bursa, Antakya, Çanakkale, Ankara, Edirne and İzmir.* The exhibition panels diversifies the Jewish communities in Turkey from *Romanot Jews* in the Byzantine Constantinople and Anatolia to *Askhinaz Jews* and *Karay Jews.*

The number of Turkish Jews is estimated to be between 18000 and 20000 at present. According to unofficial sources, there are 3 families left in Edirne, 2000 people in Izmir, several families in Ankara and the rest of the community is living in Istanbul. In contrast, in the middle of the 19. century there were 150000 Ottoman Jews living in the Empire. In the early Republican period, "about 81000 of which 47000 lived in Istanbul out of total population 373000 in the city." (Kastoryano, p.255). Despite such a radical decline, the visualization of Jewish heritage has tremendously increased in public sphere similar to the process in Europeanized Jewish memory.

Similar to Europeanization of Jewish and Holocaust memory, the exhibition seeks to exhibit visualized historical Jewish heritage in Turkey and local Jewish populations. That visualization in Istanbul is related to the gentrification process in the city. Unlike the physical construction of Jewish sites as the principal "means of conveying a sense of palpable Jewish absence in post-Holocaust Europe" (Gruber, p.162-163), visualization of Jewish heritage in Turkey stresses similarity rather than difference and peace rather than conflict as *lieu de mémoire* (Ojalvo and Akpınar, 2017). *Restorative nostalgia*, which forms cosmopolitan memory in the landscape, communicates message of *lieu de harmonie*. In other words,*Lieu de mémoire*is *Lieu de harmonie* in the city.The appearance of non-Muslim heritage and their old habitants as part of the *lieu de harmonie* in recent years of mainly Istanbul and other Turkish cities are concrete product of how gentrification emerged in Turkey and how it accommodates its multi-ethnic past in its landscape memory while bypassing

trauma and violence. The appeared cosmopolitan landscape would bring with itself image of nostalgic neighbors as old residents.

Why gentrification in Istanbul was needed is hidden in its economic transformation in the recent years. Following gradual depopulated cosmopolis Istanbul with 'volunteer' abandonment or compulsory deportations of non-Muslim habitants, especially led by Wealth Tax of 1942, Istanbul Pogrom of 1955 and Deportation of Istanbullite Greeks in 1964, the cosmopolitan neighborhoods sold at under-reasonable prices were fulfilled by massive Anatolian labor migration waves seeking for cheaper rent and accommodations in the city. The cosmopolitan historical neighborhoods resided by the working class surrounded by city expansion became city center in the 1970s. Emergence of middle and upper middle classes, intellectuals and most importantly restoration demands by local governments motivated by neo-liberal tourism trends forced low-income workers and immigrants to leave because of their marginalization in rehabilitated areas (Ergun, 2004). The rehabilitation of the landscape was subject to gentrification according to new class demands and touristic purposes. This is political economy of gentrification. Residents and inhabitants are replacing. Tension, conflict and sometimes violent processes dispossession of non-Muslim communities and then workers in historical neighborhoods have not been popularly questioned because gentrification masks these (ethnic or class) tensions and converts the landscape into *lieu de harmonie* which exhibited in the Museum as well. Even the memory of well-known violence in the past becomes distorted in gentrification process. For instance, despite its explicit violent and horror past, *Scheunenviertel* (literally "Barn Quarter) in Berlin, known as the historical Jewish and other multi-ethnic communal neighborhood of the city, was subjected to gentrification process in the 1990s by the local government. The gentrified sites do not reflect the real anti-Semitic conditions of the 1930s and early 1940s. Since the 1990s, the

quarter has been gentrified to cosmopolitan center with Jewish Kosher cafes, touristic stores, 'aestheticized' Holocaust memorials during the gentrification process for touristic consumption. For instance; the area between *the Missing House,* referring to presence of absence, a building gap in the apartment blocks occurred by a destruction by allied air-raids, belonging to deported Jews and *Jewish High School* on Große Hambuger Strasse which was used by the Nazis as a main detention center for about 50000 Berliner Jews before their deportation to the concentration camps is nowadays used for touristic bars and cafes with some memorial *Stolpersteine* (stumbling cobblestones) dedicated for the victims. In addition, the memorial *Der Verlassene Raum* (The Deserted Room) dedicated for suddenly disappeared Jewish neighbors or stumbling cobblestones for *Kristallnacht* victims became memorials for the communicative message 'presence of absence'. Even if the terror and violent past of the quarter is mediated for tourism, the image of the quarter today became detached from its historical location and was transferred to cosmopolitan center of Berlin to highlight its diversity in the past and Jewish identity became exoticized for tourism (Saß, p. 204-208). In short, violent past are reproduced for touristic consumption in gentrified landscape and it distorts violent reality even if such an explicit violent past is used for touristic attention at the same time.

Such rehabilitation and gentrification processes in global city centers including Istanbul is conversion of historical neighborhoods according to their areas of interest, habits and demands for setting and keeping a life style at a certain standard owned by new middle classes replacing the workers since the 1970s. Application of gentrification methods depends on the different housing policies of the countries. (Ergun, 2004). These can be listed as "heritage displays, designcity, city spectacle, culture incorporated and sociality Amplified are corollary of gentrification." (Soysal, p.303-308). From these, sociality

amplified and heritage displays functioned to remember as well as to commodify a multi-ethnic past. Whereas sociality amplied refers to public festivals and music concerts including Sephardic concerts in Ladino for instance, heritage displays me ans conversion of past into a production for consumption. Past becomes commodification in the urban sphere. Not only cafes, restaurants, or significant historical buildings but landscape general was transformed into commodified production for touristic consumption.

On contrast to distortion of explicit violent past in war landscape, the question of how violence and tension disappears from civil landscape is explained by neutralization power of landscape. Halbwachs argues that landscape implies stability despite conflicts even in near past. "Neighborhoods and houses have fixed positions in people's mind. As long as streets and houses are not changed, it is unable to rise of consciousness about any change in the city even if there was a conflict on these streets." (Halbwachs, p.131-132). Nicola King and Don Mitchell explain this neutralization by dominant ideology producing dominant memory and ignoring alternatives in multilayered past of the landscape. Beyond a neutralized and stabilized power of landscape over memory, Don Mitchell argues that one dominant ideology embedded in the landscape shapes dominant memory over alternatives (quoted in Mills, p.51). The dominant memory in gentrified landscape for multi-ethnic past in Istanbul is restorative nostalgia in Jewish heritage display as part of gentrification process led by the local government. While Restorative nostalgia in Istanbul is emphasizing cosmopolitan memory of the city landscape, it does not question why the city becomes decosmos throughout the last century and indeed makes tensions and conflicts in the past disappeared.

Depending on visualization of multi-ethnic past in landscape, necessity of how to be remembered multi-ethnic population living on this landscape of Istanbul while bypassing tension and violence is resemble to process in Germany.

Referring Europeanization of Holocaust with revival of Jewish heritage (*Judaizing terrain*), Especially Federal German memory of Jews utilizes a nostalgic and local point of view to manage collective guilt. 50th Anniversary of *Kristallnacht* in 1988 created a common thesis that anti-Semitism is an outsider phenomena but not from local population. Remembrance of the persecuted and murdered Jews in Holocaust as local figures and indeed 'neighbors' in publications entitled with *Sie waren unsere Nachbarn* (They were our neighbors) and *Sie lebten unter uns* (They lived among us) and *Plötzlich waren sie alle weg* (Suddenly they were all gone) has been a major phenomena in Federal Republic of Germany since the 1980s (Purin, p.139-156). Imagination of Nazism as an outsider phenomena and remembering lost Jews as ' our neighbors' became means to overcome with trauma and violence in past. Nostalgia can be regarded as a spectral agency after traumatic processes such as genocide, slavery or colonisation in irrecoverable conditions and a new political agency of traumatic collective memories to comprehend loss (Legg, 2004). Politics of nostalgia is utilized as remedy for politics of regret in Germany (Sodaro, 2013). New generation of Jewish museums such as The Jewish Museum of Franconia in Fürth, located in an early 18. Century house of a court Jew, Jewish Museum in Vienna in *Palais Eskeles* owned by noble Jewish family , Jewish Museum in Rashi House in German speaking countries depict Jews as neighbors and local people (Purin, p.130-156). Their installation in old Jewish houses and neighborhoods as *spatial politics* contributes to communication of message nostalgic neighbors, which is actually politics of nostalgia as antidote to regret and shame in Germany.

How the antidote power of nostalgic neighbor remembrance of Jews and other multi-ethnic past in both countries is utilized and shaped according to how national memories in both countries approached to disappearance of their minorities and Jews. Whereas the *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (Coming to

terms in the past) is management of collective guilty in Germany, *Administered Collective Amnesia* is other strategy in Turkey for their disappearance. In this regard, 50th Anniversary of *Kristalnacht* led to remembrance of Jews as nostalgic neighbors to manage collective regret and shame but Turkish remembrance of Jewish-Armenian and Greeks in way of 'nostalgic neighbors' was shaped in *Turkish Collective Amnesia* to legitimize their 'indistinct' existence and historical ties with Istanbul while bypassing trauma and violence in the past. Such a new memory form has accordance with displaying cosmopolitan heritage in the landscape. While visualization of Jewish and other multi-ethnic heritage in landscape of Istanbul during the late 1980s and 1990s as *lieu de harmonie*, memory of their habitants are shaped in very similar way. In a nostalgic manner, Istanbullite minorities, either Jews or Greeks or Armenians, were imagined in the 1990s as cosmopolitan neighbors (Mills, p. 39-40). 'A warm neighborhood' in TV soft-operas like *Perihan Abla* in the late 1980s or *Ekmek Teknesi* in the 2000s were, for instance, depicted in a historical Ottoman landscape in Istanbul, *Kuzguncuk*. Its gentrification consists of wooden Ottoman houses, Ottoman mosques, Armenian-Greek churches and Jewish synagogues provided a 'historical landscape' to accommodate nostalgic memory and ontology of the Istanbullite minorities as part of the warm neighborhood relations. Although gentrified landscapes of the historical neighborhoods are assumed to be historical and authentic, it is not a constant past branch penetrating into our present. The landscapes are subjected to permanent reproduction and change. Two interwind factors keep this change process flowing: The neighborhood narration as a scape of authenticity and intimacy and narration of harmony based on ethnic diversity. These two narratives signify a cosmopolitan Ottoman past and reproduces it. However such a nostalgic memory became cloudy and foggy over the question of why these gentrified neighborhoods once a time lost their non-Muslim residents (Mills, p.116). The message communicated by the 'historical landscape' as *lieu*

de mémoire is indeed l*ieu de harmonie.* As long as three worship buildings are standing side as concrete indicator of such harmony, it crystallizes an ever-present harmony of three communities in people's mind.

Such a remembrance of non-Muslims firstly appears in a visual image dedicated for restoration of *Edirne Synagogue* in electronic screen in panel *Recent History* in Main Hall, first floor. A street poster by Mayor of Edirne Recep Şener: *Kadim Komşularımız Evinize Hoşgeldiniz* (Our old Neighbors Welcome to Your Home!). Whereas the statement is affirmative for Jewish presence in Edirne, it does not question of what happened to them referring to old, and the grounds for being welcomed again to their home. 'The cosmopolitan landscape' as *lieu de harmonie*, restorative nostalgia and nostalgic remembrance of neighbors as remedy of violent-traumatic past are what the Exhibition *Jewish Settlements* is displaying.

The Jewish communities are accommodated into today's neighborhoods with discourse of inter-faith harmony. The panel entitled with "the European Side of Bosphorus" states that

> With the Mecidiye Mosque, Ayios Fokas Greek Church, Surp Astadzadzin Armenian Church and Etz Ahayim Synagogue, all within 500 diameter era, Ortaköy is a district symbol of the inter-faith harmony in the Ottoman era as well as the modern Turkey.

Coexistence of three worship place (Turkish mosques, Greek/ Armenian churches and Jewish synoague) is iconized for tolerance in not only Turkey but also in Greece for religious harmony and tolerance as mentioned below. However, such a symbolic landscape of three temples and inter-faith harmony signifies its emergence from the Ottoman conquests with rising Ottoman mosques among Byzantine churches and Romanot synagogues in post-1453 era. Emerging togetherness of three worship places as an signifier for the harmony from the seven-century-long-Ottoman era in the city is repeatedly

emphasized in both catalogs of the museums in Zülfiaris and Neve Shalom (Güleryüz, 2004, p.v) ,(Güleryüz, 2016, p.55) while stating

> Istanbul has been the capital of two major empires: East Roman and Ottoman. Istanbul is also where mosques, synagogues and churches stand side-by-side in continuous use for more than five hundred and fifty years…..

However, such a coexistence in the landscape already emerged, earlier than the narration, from the Byzantine Empire. In addition to the Romanot synagogues, there were three different Arab mosques and a Muslim quarter in the city as a result of the signed treaties by the Byzantine Emperors in 718 with Arab Khalif Malaka, in 1290 with Saladdin Ayyubi and in 1390 with the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid I (Palazzo, p.56-66). The already available coexistence of these three temples in landscape of Istanbul since the Byzantine times was restricted to only the Ottomans and for memory of religious harmony and tolerance in the Ottomans and modern Turkey through cosmopolitan gentrification process (Mills, p.127-143) and its restorative nostalgia bypassing tensions in the past. The exhibition, hence, does not question where these Greek, Armenian or Jewish communities of these temples has gone. The answer of this question is given in not the Quincentennial Museum but in Athens. Related to utilizing symbolic implications of such togetherness of churches, mosques and synagogues as *lieu de harmonie* in Quincentennial Museum of Turkish Jews in Istanbul, such a depiction is also used in Center for Asia Minor Studies[12] in Athens as a Greek *lieux de memory* dedicated for the Anatolian Greek Refugees by Population Exchange as part of *Treaty of Lausanne* in 1923. Even though the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) is remembered as a total catastrophe and trauma in main-stream social memory in Greece as conceptualized *Mikrasiatiki Katastrofi* (The Asia Minor Catastrophe) with its ultimate destructive

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[12] The private center was established in 1930 in order to record memories of the Anatolian Greeks and to preserve culture and history of the Anatolian Greek diaspora.

consequence; *Great Fire of Smyrna* (Izmir) on September 13-17 1922, the center focuses on the Greek communities in regions of Cappadocia and Pontus in Anatolia, where 'authentic' rural Anatolian Greeks and Turks shared a symbiotic culture[13] to remind Pluralist Hellenism and harmony of the Turkish and Greek communities in Anatolia before rising modern capitalist nationalism, rather than Smyrna as a commercial harbor city and its hinterland; the West Anatolia symbolizing industrial capitalist modernity of the Hellenic nationalism. Whereas the exhibition of the Center entitled with *The Last Hellenism of Asia Minor* is covered by the photo displaying togetherness of a Turkish Muslim mosque and an Orthodox Greek Church in Anatolia to symbolize such a harmony in pre-modern era, The modern Hellenist nationalism is exhibited as the reason behind collapse of the harmony and it was questioned and criticized through exhibition of the *Great Fire of Smyrna* in September 1922 (Papailias, 2006). Compared to approach of *Center for Asia Minor Studies* in Athens, the museum of Turkish Jews reflects a common attitude in Turkey towards utilization of landscape memory. Whereas togetherness of Church, Mosque and Synagogue in the landscape became a signifier for coexistence of three communities in Istanbul in the landscape memory of Istanbul, the memory prevails such a historical fact of church-mosque-synagogue coexistence in the Byzantine Constantinople and what happened to Greek, Armenian and dwindling Jewish communities in the 20. century is not questioned. What the museum exhibits is a fetishized signifier memory without its real signified situation.

Ontological ground of tolerance to explain Jewish presence in Turkey is repeated in many panels such as those depicting Romanots who suffered Byzantine oppression, Jews of Edirne restricted by Byzantines for daily and

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[13] The Christian Karamanlis Community speaking and writing Turkish in Greek characters is exhibited as common product of this symbiotic togetherness.

religious affairs, Jews of Bursa liberated by early Ottomans Romanot Jews expelled from Byzantine Constantinople and their liberation by the Ottoman conquest of 1453 appears throughout the exhibition. Natural disasters such as massive city fires and plague in history, massive migrations to abroad following the political and economic instabilities after World War I and finally upward mobilization in Istanbul for recent history are showed as causes for Jewish abandonment of the neighbors. For today, it is as a sociological fact that massive Jewish geographic mobility within Istanbul led to the dissolution of local communities. Indeed, local communities of Istanbul formed a single city community in the Republican era (Kastoryano, p.257). That's why, nowadays there are no specific areas where the Istanbullite Jews are concentrated (Güleryüz, 2016, p.20). Even though the Jewish Settlements exhibition utilizes this sociological fact to explain why historical Jewish neighborhoods are abandoned by today's Jews especially for some neighborhoods of Balat, Paşabahçe and Beykoz, the exhibition has contradictions at the same time to legitimize Jewish abandonment of the historical neighborhoods of Istanbul while their presence is constituted within tolerance in the panels.

The landscape memory constitutes a harmony while forgetting violence and conflict. Such a contradiction more explicitly appears in panel of Askhenazi Jews . The panel narrates Askhenazi history as history of exile from England, France, Germany, Hungary and East Europe during the 14 and 15. centuries. The Askhenazi Refugees migrated to the Ottomans following a letter of invitation issued by Chief Rabbi of Edirne, Isaac Sarfati in 1454. The panel states that *"Those…found peace and tranquility in the Ottoman lands."*. It, however, is silent about why the Askhenazi Jews abandoned the lands where they had finally peace and tranquility from which they had deprived in Europe while stating

> ….in 1925…approximately ten thousand Askhenazi Jews lived in Istanbul. Nowadays, this number is under one thousand." As a result of the population decline "From the three synagogues that belonged to Askhenazi community in Istanbul until recently, only the Yüksek Kaldırım Synagogue is open to worship currently and the Or Hadaş and Tofre Begadim Synagagues have been closed.

The master narrative of the museum, tolerance, has an absorbing capacity to prevent exhibiting what happened to Jewish heritage in the landscape and dwindling Jewish communities in these neighborhoods (Brink-Danan, 2012, p. 46). It is because, when appearance of Askhenazi Jewish community was once built the ontological ground of tolerance constituted by discourse *harbor of tranquility* again for Askhenazi settlement in Turkey, its disappearance from the landscape was again is supposed to be on same ontological background, which is Turkey is not a harbor of tranquility anymore. The ontological ground of tolerance depoliticizes history and reduces existences of groups in tolerant attitudes. The same contradiction is also valid for Hasköy panel while stating

> after liberation of Istanbul, some of the Jews….moved to Hasköy and Jews who were brought over from Safed were also settled there. Some of the Sephardi that arrived from Spain and Portugal after 1492 and those arrived from Rhodes in 1599 also settled in this district

as same repetition of the Ottoman tolerance for Jewish presence. The panel is, however, silent about why the Jewish community abandoned in the modern era of the city with the statement of the

> in the 1950s the wooden mansions of Jewish Aristocracy no longer existed in Hasköy and the Jewish life entered a period of deep silence………as a result of dwindling community and resources, the only remaining synagogue in the 1960s was the Maalem Synagogue.

Not only the neighborhoods of Istanbul but also majority of the panels about the Anatolian cities end with flights that have no cause.

40 families and many rabbis lived in the region until the middle of the 18th century. In the 1880s, 266 Jews were living in Antakya [The Biblical Antioch]. The Jewish population of Antakya in 2015 is 19.

As mentioned before, closing of the synagogues are linked to the "dwindling communities and resources" referring to the panel speech. Instead of repeating "dwindling local community", the panel on Çanakkale states about the closure of the local synagogues and it is expected from the visitor to set reverse causal linkage.

There were 3 synagogues in Çanakkale: Hadaş (New), Yaşan (Old) and Halio. The only synagogue that has survived to this date is the 200-years old Yaşan Synagogue that is currently known as Mekor Hayim.

In addition to these causes, the violent past in recent history, Thrace Incidents and Wealth Tax are mentioned together and only once in the panel of Edirne. Mentioning the Thrace Incidents in the panel Edirne as a Thracian city is understandable but not enough all other cities in Thrace including Jews of Çanakkale were subjected to the Pogrom and Wealth Tax was unfairly charged to Turkish Jews living in all Turkey but not only Edirne. As a result of Thrace Pogrom of 1934, 7000 Thracian Jews were dislocated from Thrace and resettled in different parts of the country and Wealth Tax of 1942 led, close to 30.000 Jewish, 20.000 Orthodox Christian citizens of Turkey to fleet the country. (Kuyucu, 2005).

…After the establishment of the Republic, many Jewish families opted to settle in Istanbul [from Edirne] this brought the population to 6098 in 1927. After the Thrace Incidents in 1934, the 1935 census revealed the number to be 4071. 1945 census that took place after the Wealth Tax Assessment, showed the Jewish population to be 2441 and the 1960 census revealed it had dropped to 435. The Rabbinate records at the beginning of 1980 showed the number of Jews living in Edirne was just 63 and today only one person remains.

It is actually erasure of the violence discourse for the Jewish abandonment again (Gal and Irvine, 1995). Instead of several repetitions of Thrace Pogrom for all Thracian city and Wealth Tax for all other panels and absence of Istanbul Pogrom on 6-7 September 1955, their juxtaposition in panel of Edirne erodes violence for the abondanments under iconized tolerance in the exhibition.

Especially traditional quarters such as Balat, Hasköy, and Kuzguncuk have nothing left but a synagogue to attest to a Jewish presence and to serve as a referent for the "community of origin." (Kastoryano, p.257). The historical synagogues in this community of origin became the memorial centers where Turkish Jews are performing their cosmopolitanism regardless their religiosity (Brink-Danan, 2010, p.283). Following disappearance of local Jewish communities in the city, cosmopolitan Jewish *lieu de mémoire* are appeared following their abandonment. While dwindling Jewish communities of Turkey, Jewish heritage display happened in process of historical refurbishing of the city began in the early 1980s with the conversion of some historical palaces into cafes with winter gardens, and continued with the excavation of the city's Greek-Jewish past and offering them for public and touristic consumption. (Soysal, p.303-308). The whole process, neoliberal gentrification, behind the Jewish heritage displaymakes visual and consumable the Jewish memory in landscape. However, As *Judaizing Terrain* happens in Europe, Jewish heritage display emerges from depopulated Jewish context (Gruber, p.8) as well in Turkey. Its visualization with extreme Jewish signs to remember their lost in Europe converts itself to *lieu de harmonie* in Turkey. Jewish heritage display cases in the panels such as *Grand Synagogue of Edirne* where there is only one Turkish Jew is living according to the panel text, Balat *Ahrida* Synagogue, *Dario Mareno* Street in İzmir are visualized heritages in the landscape while these are Jewish depopulated cities for today just like Europe. Restorative nostalgia, juxtaposition of perfect snapshot of past with present, does not

question what happened in the inter-period between present and past, leading to disappearance once a time from the landscape. Such a bypass via *Restorative nostalgia* makes possible exhibition of Jewish heritage in Turkey as *lieu de harmonie*. As Pierre Nora states again, history attaches itself to events, memory attaches itself to sites (Nora, 1989, p.22). Regardless a memorial trace of a violent event on site, it is simply forgotten at all unlike exhibited damage sites in praying Hall of the Neve Shalom Synagogue from the terrorist attacks. The communicated message of exhibiting violence is disturbing peace and harmony is a foreign element from abroad as foreign element to Turkey.

4.8 Concluding Remarks

The museum builds ground for the Jews in Turkey with tolerance (humanitarianism as natural spirit of the Turkish nation), integration-patriotism and nostalgic presence.

Spatial politics of the museum, the Galata Tower, presents the picture of Ottoman cosmopolitanism and tolerance. The Main Hall tells Jewish authenticity in Turkey in narrative with the structure of three main themes: the Turkish tolerance, the Jewish integration and patriotism. Similar to the exhibition strategy in the USHMM, the Seljukian and Ottoman Turks prioritizes the humanitarian saviorsfollowing the Byzantine and Roman oppression and exiles. The Spanish Golden Age myth, which is utilized by the Spanish Quincentennial commemorations for the convivencia (coexistence) between Jews, Muslims and Christians as the medieval model for the European Union, is exhibited as the Islamic tolerance that ended with the Spanish Exile and the main reason of the rapid Jewish integration to the Ottoman lands as continuity of the coexistence between Jews and Muslims.

In addition to tolerance, Jewish integration to and patriotism in Turkey is also iconized. Jewish integration is portrayed by their occupational achievements

and successes in the public life. Leaving aside Yad Vashem and Israel in general, the museum in Turkey is exceptional where the Jews are patriotically depicted as hero and martyrs in the late Ottoman wars and the Turkish Independence War. As patriotic role in the wars,this is also exceptional for a non-muslim minority in Turkey because of the common perception of 'traitor' minorities in the collective memory. Turkish Museum uses a similar exhibition strategy to the Jewish Museum Berlin to deal with representation of tensions. Similar to the absence of the contextualization and exhibition of the German anti-Semitism at local and national levels prior to the Holocaust, the exhibition in the Main Hall shifts from the Lausanne Treaty-minority rights and the savior Turkish diplomats in the World War II to the Recent History panel including the Thrace Pogrom of 1934, the Wealth Tax of 1942 and others without narrating or contextualizing presence of the anti-Semitism at local and national levels. The instances of violence and hostility to the Jews in Turkey are, hence, isolated from rest of the exhibition similar to the 'isolation' of the Nazi terror and Holocaust from German history in the Jewish Museum Berlin.

The commodification of the Ladino music and cuisine passivizes the distinct ethnic markers of the community and makes the Jewish community a cultural minority rather than an ethnic one. The 'exotic' presentation of the Jewish culture in the private sphere becomes at the same time feminized in the Anthropological Exhibition because of the Jewish integration to the public sphere in the Main Hall. Masculine Turkish public sphere leads to the exclusionof woman representations. Comparing these two halls highlights gendered dualities. Whereas Jewish man is depicted as public, harmonial, progressive and self, Jewish woman is represented as private, distinct, static and 'exotic' other.

Accordingly, as comparison of the Family Photo Installation and the Jewish Holiday Exhibition highlights that Jewish self-nomination is practiced in the

Jewish private and secured spaces rather than the public one. The reflective nostalgia in the happy family photo installation and restorative nostalgia in the gentrified Istanbul landscape in the exhibition of Jewish settlements constitute a nostalgic presence for the Jewish presence in today's Turkey. The exhibition of Jewish Settlements reflect the gentrified landscape including restorative nostalgia and the museum utilizes both the cosmopolitan memory built in the landscape during the 1990s and the nostalgic neighbor myth in the popular culture for the visualization of the cosmopolitan neighborhoods. To underline patriotism and loyalty to the country, displaying Jewish heritage is visualized as *lieu de harmonie* unlikedistinctive *Judaizing Terrain* in Europe.

In this regard, the panel utilizes already built memories to deal with the dwindling community in its exhibition. Whereas the Jewish holiday exhibition indicates securitization and invisibility of the Jewish self-nominations in the public sphere, the nostalgia, *lieux de harmonie* and image of nostalgic neighbors, do not question why the Jewish community is radically shrinking but instead creates a content of Jewish presence between past and present.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The Turkish State and the Quincentennial Foundation of the Turkish Jews cooperated in the quincentennial celebrations of the 1492 Exile. First and single minority museum of Turkey as an exceptional institution has another exception, which is against the lanchymose concept in the Holocaust and Jewish museums around the world but has a felicity and happy narrative and these two exceptions have relation to each other in the Turkish context. Thanks to the cooperation, the construction of a memory during the Quincentennial celebrations and the museum is the multidirectional memory coined by Michael Rothberg (2009) to describe the memorial modification between bottom-up and top-down and between critical counter-discourse and political affirmation. Instead of the establishment of a state museum, its create by a private foundation would seem more credible and persuasive for the audiences. It is possible to claim that the depoliticized dominant narrative in the museum provides advantages for both sides, the Turkish state and the Jewish community but also creates dilemma.

The general *les lieux de memoire* (realms of memory) created in the form of restoration and Jewish heritage displayed in the city landscapes as in the example of *Ahrida* Synagogue and in particular of the Quincentennial Foundation Museum of Turkish Jews draw boundaries for Turkish Jews to take place in the public domain: Ottoman cosmopolitanism and Jewish patriotism to Turkey.Even though the terms patriotism and cosmopolitanism seem contradictory, there is currently the concepts of "Cosmopolitan Patriotism" or "Patriotic Cosmopolitanism" referring to acceptance of the citizen's

responsibility to nurture their culture and the politics of their home country(Appiah, 1997).

The Holocaust has been transformed from the national memories of the Israel and the West Germany to the cosmopolitan memories of the United States and the European Union has became a memory imperative for the human and minority rights in the age of globalization. In terms of the state-narrative relations, the museum narrative is very close to the Americanized myth of the Holocaust. The universal Jewish icon for human rights and recognition of diversity as occurred in both the Americanized and Europeanized Holocaust(s) was accordingly employed by the Turkish State for its own Jewish memory as a with political purposes, namely to defend itself against international criticisms about human and minority rights violations andthe Kurdish Question. The Turkish State was seeking for a room in liberal cosmopolitan universal order founded by the European Union and the United States of America. The liberal cosmopolitan ideological values of the 1990s indeed shaped the narration of memory of the Turkish Jews. The Quincentennial Foundation Museum of the Turkish Jews narrate Expulsion of 1492 as a Medieval humanitarian crisis, the Seljukids, Ottomans and Turkey as savior states, Turkish lands as, safe haven for Jews and offers at the end the remedy of tolerance as 'natural spirit of the Turkish nation' to any kind of intolerant and anti-Semitic event in history. These tendencies actually have significant similarities and were partially inspiredby the Americanized Jewish and Holocaust memories. The cosmopolitan Jewish image in the museum accordingly depicts Turkey as another savior country as a heaven of tranquility and this happened possible through global recognition of the 1492 Expulsion as another tragedy against today's humanitarian values in the Sephardic Memory Boom in 1992. It is reached such a conclusion that American Sepharad's own cosmopolitan Ottoman imagination was especially significant and useful for executing this

project because it provided a cooperative ground between Turkey and the American Sepharads.

Similar to American liberalism in the American Holocaust, Turkey created her own apolitical cosmopolitan narrative. Ottoman cosmopolitanism leads to affect of depoliticization like the American universal liberalism in her own cosmopolitanism. As Kaya asserts, "revitalization of the discourse tolerance and Ottoman cosmopolitanism in contemporary Turkey contributes to the depoliticization of the social." (Kaya, p.14). Since just like the Ottoman Empire, as long as the groups recognized with tolerance pay their dues to the Turkish state and accept their subaltern and secondary position, they will be tolerated. Such a depoliticizating power of tolerance of Ottoman cosmopolitanism bears resemblance to the depoliticization of American liberalism. Regarding the absorbance of tolerance, American liberalism hides sources of subordination, marginalization and inequality through rights-legal equality reductionism (Brown, 2008 p. 17-18). With its claim of universal cosmopolitanism in the Americanized Holocaust, the liberalism dichotomizes politics into universal goodness and universal evilness. Similarly, Turkey uses Ottoman tolerance as a historical frame of memory for cosmopolitanism as cultural depoliticization. In other words, Ottoman cosmopolitanism becomes an authentic formulation for diversity. With tolerance depicted within humanitarian spirit of Turkish nation as '*an example to humanity*' to "a world still disturbed by racism, xenophobia and religious fanaticism, the museum intends to show, how people of different roots and faiths have lived together for centuries" (Güleryüz, 2004, v). Such memory formulation is a politically appropriate response to the international criticisms regarding human and minority right violations.

This depoliticized collective memory has some consequences for the Turkish Jewish community too. Turkey's neither Greek nor Armenian minorities to

have been invited to perform Ottoman cosmopolitanism by the state even though Ottoman cosmopolitan memory provides rare rooms for all of these minorities in some parts of its own depoliticized tolerance narrative in the early Ottoman era. When cosmopolitan Ottoman era replaces itself to a national one, Turkish Jews has another universal position to keep its depoliticized presence, which is Jewish patriotism. The public face of the Turkish Jewish community did not take a critical position and kept its apolitical standing even in the 1990s when other community criticisms questioned Kemalist legacy (Bali, 2009, p. 573). The official attitude of the Jews have been to avoid antagonistic politics with state to secure their presence because of their politically insignificant presence (Bali, 2013). Accordingly, their cultural politics of the Jews since the 1990s has been based on depoliticization and avoidance of antagonism. In other words, politics of presence is performed by Jews in the public sphere as cultural citizens and parties to cosmopolitanism (Brink-Danan, 2010). As the museum passivizes the distinct ethnic markers of the community, the museum functions to Jewish politics of presence in the public domain with its commodification in extent of the cultural citizenship.

Why the museum prefers a depoliticized memory can be explained by the stereotypical anti-Semitic Jewish image in the conspiracy theories in Turkey, produced generally by the right-wing political thought. Its power of politically dichotomization of Jews versus Turks/ Muslims have possibly forced the Foundation and the museum to create an alternative depoliticized image. Accordingly, Jews are not secretly 'infiltrate' to the state and society but are invited and admitted by the Ottoman tolerance. They are not 'treacherous' to the homeland. On the contrary, they are so patriotic that the museum avoids juxtaposition of Jews with Christian minorities are strictly avoided and exhibits to military contributions into the late Ottoman wars and the Turkish Independence War. Jews are not 'unfairly wealth' such as bankers or

merchantsor 'immoral' and 'materialist' but held various professions just like the Gentile Turks and serviced to their country as part of their integration. Jews are not an ethnically closed, distinct or 'racial' community but rather a cultural community with passivized 'exotic' cultural components which are stripped of their political implications. Turkish Jewish memory has harmonial attitude towards non-Jewish majority in Turkey, even though Europeanization of Holocaust Memory and *Judaizing Terrain,* have distinctive attitude.Such a depoliticization enforces, at the same time, avoidance of problematization of Jewish decline in Turkey while visibility of the Turkish Jews is noticeably increasing.

As Pierre Nora concludes, the cosmopolitan age of memory in the-neo liberal era atomizes and fetishizes signifiers rather than the signified itself in neo-liberal era while privileging memory over historical facts. This is true for the Jewish memory in Turkey as well. While Jewish presence in Turkey as the signified is dramatically declining, the signifiers of their memory are fetishized. Jewish memory in Turkey has become an icon for 'example to humanity' and an 'exotic' product for touristic consumption. It does not reflect the historical reality of anti-Semitism in Turkey and the current problems of the shrinking community. This is, at the same time, related to nature of anti-Semitic conspiracy theory and depoliticized representation of the museum. The museum aims to combat against antisemitism while representing alternative depoliticized counterparts of the stereotypical anti-Semitic images. Zizek, however, suggests that conspiracy theory abuses the gap between antisemitic Jewish image and reality of the Jewish community. It boosts skepticism and anxiety against the Jews because the conspiracy theory operates in this gap for its consolidation (Zizek, 1996). In this regard, the museum as a strategy to combat against antisemitism could be necessary but is not sufficient. What I mean is not to increase the volume of 'moderated' critical representation in the

museum for confrontation with history but strategy in general. In consistence with the depoliticization and avoidance of antagonism, the orthodox attitude of the Quincentennial Foundation is that there is no antisemitism in Turkey but merely anti-Semitics. Accordingly, the museum targets individual visitors to educate about the Turkish Jews. However, a right-wing organization, Osmanlı Ocakları, made demonstration in front of the Neve Shalom Synagogue and the museum in July 2017 to protest temporal decision of the Israeli government to close the Masjid-i Aqsa in Jerusalem, however, and this indicates that anti-Semitism in Turkey is also prompted by current anti-Zionism. This reality exceeds the capacity of the museum and the foundation but addresses the responsibility and civil society in general.

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A. TURKISH SUMMARY/ TÜRKÇE ÖZET

KAMUSALLIK, HAFIZA VE SİYASET: BEŞYÜZÜNCÜ YIL VAKFI TÜRK MUSEVİLERİ MÜZESİ

Bu çalışma Türk kamusal alanının ilk ve tek azınlık müzesi olan Beşyüzüncü Yıl Vakfı Türk Musevileri Müzesi'ni analiz etmiştir. Analizin temel amacı Yahudi cemaatinin 1990lardan bu yana 'varoluş siyaseti'ne geçişiyle birlikte müzeyi kamusal alanda yer edinebilmenin sınırlarını gösteren bir kurum olarak ele alarak müzeye bu yönüyle ışık tutmaktır.

Çalışmanın önemi şu şekilde özetlenebilir. Öncelikle, Türkiye'de azınlık ve Yahudi kimliğie karşı negatif genel bir tutum süregelirken, Yahudilerin kendilerini kamusal alanda olumlu ve hoşnut bir temsil siyaseti gütmesi araştırma için önemli bir başlangıç noktasıdır. Bunun yanında, Türk Yahudi Müzesi üzerine detaylı bir çalışmanın yapılmadığı görülmüştür. Müze binası 2015 yılında Neve Şalom Sinagogu'na, sergisindeki bazı önemli yeniliklerle taşınmıştır. Ulaşılabilen mevcut iki çalışma müzeyi, binasını ve sergisini başlı başına bir araştırma objesi olarak ele almadığı değerlendirilmiştir. Buradan hareketle bu tez Yahudi toplumunun kamusal alanda varlığının temsilini anlamayı hedeflemekte ve bu hedefi daha önce detaylı olarak keşfedilmemiş bir konuyu, müzeyi Türk kamusal alanında Yahudi varlığının sınırlarının belirlediği ve temsil ettiği varsayımından hareketle müze anlatısını narotolojik bir yaklaşımla incelemektedir.

Türk Musevi Müzesini .çalışmak öncelikle küresel ölçekte Holokost-Yahudi müze anlatıları, arkasındaki bellek politikaları ve 1992'deki Beşyüzüncü Yıl

anma etkinliklerini yapılacak analizin temel bir bağlamsal çerçevesi olarak çizmeyi gerektirmektedir. İkinci olarak, Türk Yahudileri'nin kendilerini ifade etmeye çalıştığı bağlam olarak Türkiye'deki resmi bellek politikası ve antisemitik basmakalıpları sunma gereği bulunmaktadır. Bu amaçla metin içerisinde şu sorulara cevap aranmıştır. Tarihi bir trajedi olan Holokost anlatısı ve Yahudi temsili politik bir mit olarak dünyada nasıl farklılaşmıştır? Holokost ve Yahudi temsili nasıl kozmopolit ve evrensel bir ikon haline gelmiştir? 1492 Sefarad Sürgünü Holokost ekseninde 1990larda nasıl bir diğer insanlık trajedisi olarak ortaya çıkmıştır? Türk Musevi Müzesi'ndeki karşıt olumlu temsilleri anlamak açısından Türkiye'deki basmakalıp antisemitik Yahudi imajını nasıl çerçevelendirebiliriz? Türkiye azınlıklarına karşı yönettiği hafıza kaybı ve unutma siyasetine rağmen neden Beşyüzüncü Yıl kutlamalarını destekledi ve organize etti? Ele alınan kozmopolit ve evrensel Yahudi imgesi müze anlatısıyla nasıl ilişkilendirilebilir? Müze Yahudilik kimliğini ve cinsiyetlerini farklı mekanlar ve sınırlar içerisinde nasıl üretmektedir? Müze sosyolojik bir gerçek olan Türk Yahudi toplumunun azalması ve küçülmesi gerçeğ gibi kendi anlatısıyla ters düşen konuları nasıl ortaya koymaktadır? Temsil ve anlatı bakımından müze Yahudi cemaatinin varlık politikasına ve Türk devletine nasıl bir olumlu işleve sahiptir? Müze antisemitizmle mücadelede yeterli bir işleve sahip midir?

Bu tez dört bölümden oluşmaktadır. Tezin amacı ve yapısı giriş bölümünde tanımlanmıştır. İkinci bölüm Holokost anlatısının kronolojik olarak ulusal belleklerden kozmopolit belleklere nasıl evrildiği ve oluşan farklılaşmaları ele alarak Holokost anlatısının küresel ayaklarını ortaya koymuş, üçüncü bölüm Holokost anısının evrenselleştirdiği Yahudi imgesi bakımından, 1992 beşyüzüncü yıl anmalarını dünya ve en son detaylı olarak Türkiye ölçeğinde incelemiştir. Dördüncü bölüm, beşyüzüncü yıl etkinliklerinin ürünü olan Türk

Musevileri Müzesi'ni anlatı ve mekan açıdan incelemiş ve tespitlerini ortaya koymuştur. Beşinci ve son bölüm sonuç bölümüdür.

İlk bölüm giriş ve amacı ifade ederek bellek çalışmalarının gelişimde Holokost trajedisinin katkıları, iki temel bellek okulu olan Durkhaim okulu ile Frankfurt okulunun da içinde bulunduğu eleştirel okul özetlemektedir. Özetle, Durkhaim okulundan Pierre Nora çalışmanın merkezinde yer alan kozmopolit ve evrensel Yahudi imgesinin ortaya çıkmasını anlamlandıracak belleğin modern öncesi, modern ve kozmopolit dönemleri olarak tarihsel bir sınıflandırmaya gitmiş ve çalışma konuları olan müzeyi kavramsallaştıran hafıza mekanları terimini değerlendirmiştir. Eleştirel okul ve devamındaki Foucaultcu yaklaşım, belleği tamamen bir kurmaca olarak ele almış ve belleği politik mitler olarak tanımlamıştır. Bu terim Holokost anlatılarının ve Beşyüzüncü yıl anmalarının söz konusu ülkeler açısından gündeme getirilmeleri bakımından da açıklayıcı niteliğe sahiptir.

İkinci bölüm İsrail ve Batı Almanya'nın ulusal belleklerinin bir parçası olan Holokost'un Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ve Avrupa Birliği'nin kozmopolit belleklerine nasıl evrildiğini İsrail Yad Vashem, Washington D.C. Birleşik Devletler Holokost'u Anma Müzesi, Los Angeles Hoşgörü Müzesi ve Berlin Yahudi Müzesi merkezinde tartışmaktadır. İsrail bellek politikası ve Yad Vashem Müzesi Siyonist milliyetçiliğin tarihsel olarak tanımladığı aktif ve güçlü Yahudi öznesi ile Holokost'un ortaya koyduğu pasif ve zayıf Yahudi nesnesi arasında bir ikileme düşmüş, ve müzedeki Holokost anlatısını Nazi terörüne karşı mücadele eden kahraman Yahudi profili üstüne inşa etmiştir. 1967 ve 1973 Arap İsrail Savaşları Amerikan Yahudi diasporasında bir farkındalık uyandırmış, ve Holokost anısı 1980'lerdeki TV dizileri ve popüler kültür ile Amerika'da da canlanmaya ancak tam tersi bir tarihsel anlatıyla ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu anlatı Amerikan Liberalizminin merkezde yer aldığı, Nazi terörüne hedef olan pasif ve zayıf Yahudileri özgürlüğüne kavuşturan

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özgürleştirici Birleşik Devletler anlatısıdır. Los Angeles Hoşgörü Müzesi'nde de betimlendiği gibi Amerika Birleşik Devletleri tarihteki iyiler-kötüler savaşında hep iyilerden yana taraf olmuş, Nazilere karşı edindiği tarihi misyonu Afganistan ve Irak'taki askeri operasyonlarla bir tutan bir anlatı ortaya koymuştur. Kısaca Holokost'un Amerikanlaşmış mitinde, Amerikan Devleti özgürleştiren, Amerikan toprakları da Avrupa'nın aksine Yahudi diasporası için yegane mutlu ve özgür sığınak ülke olarak betimlenmiştir. Bu betimleme bizim için Türkiye'nin 1992 anmalarında inşa ettiği anlatıyı anlamak için özellikle bir referans noktasıdır. Holokostun yer aldığı ulusal belleğin bir diğer ev sahibi ülke Batı Almanya'dır. Batı Almanya ve devamındaki Avrupa Birliği Holokost anlatısı geçmişteki gerilimlerin üstesinden nasıl gelindiğini anlamak için bir diğer önemli Holokost bellek politikası ayağıdır. "Geçmişle Yüzleşme" adı verilen Alman bellek politikasının temel özelliği toplumun sembolik olarak suçluluk sorumluluğu kabulü ve bununla yüzleşmektir. Tarihsel olarak dört bölüme ayrılabilecek bu bellek politikası 1980ler'de tarihçiler arasındaki Holokost tartışması ve popüler kültürdeki gündelik tarih tartışmalarıyla Holokost olayı ilk kez geniş bir tartışmaya açılmış ve 1988'de Kristal gecenin 50. yıl dönümünü anma etkinlikleriyle nihai şeklini almıştır: Holokost kurbanlarını nostaljik yerli komşular ve Nazileri yabancı unsurlar olarak tanımlayan bu yeni dönem suçluluğun üstesinden nostaljik bir hatırlamayla gelme yolunu bulmuştur. Federal Almanya'nın bellek politikasının Avrupa Birliği bellek politikalarına dahil olduğu son döneminin ürünü olan Berlin Yahudi Müzesi nostaljiyi Alman Yahudi beşeri ve kültür mirasının ortadan kaybolmasının suçluluk yüküne karşı bir araç olarak kullanmıştır. Komünizm sonrası Avrupa Bellek Politikası Holokost trajedisini Avrupa merkezci bir şekilde anlatılmış, bir Avrupalının bir diğer Avrupalıya Avrupa toprakları üstünde Avrupa değerlerinin yokluğunda yaptığı bir soykırım suçu olarak işlenmiştir. Avrupa Birliği kaybettiği Yahudi kültürel mirasını Yokluğun Varlığı söylemiyle yok edilmişliği vurgulayacak şekilde tekrar inşa etmiş,

Avrupa Yahudiliği Avrupa kozmopolitizminin bir simgesi haline gelmiştir. Avrupa Bellek Politikasının bu apolojik tutumunun peyzajtaki yansımaları Türkiye'deki kozmopolit peyzajın oluşumunu konumlandırmak için önemli olacaktır.

Küresel Holokost anısının diğer ve son bölgesi olan Avrupa ayağının oluşumunda iki temel devrimin rol aldığı görülmüştür: 1989 siyasi devrimleri ve devamında kurulan Avrupa Birliği ve hafıza mekanlarında ortaya çıkan görsel devrim. Komünizm sonrası dönemde ortaya çıkan Yahudi hafıza patlaması ve Yahudi kültür mirasının restorasyonu Ruth Ellen tarafında boşlukları doldurma süreci olarak kavramsallaştırılmıştır. Bu süreç üç ana bağlamda incelenebilir: Kıtasal, ulusal ve yerel. Kıtasal ölçekte Yahudilik farklılıkların tanınması olarak tanımlanmış, Holokost trajedisi Avrupa Birliği ve değerleri olmadığında ödenecek bir bedel olarak anlatılmıştır. Ulusal ölçekte, Avrupa Birliği dönemi öncesindeki Nazi terörü ve Komünist istibdat dönemleri Avrupa değerlerinin yokluğunda ortaya çıkmış totaliter anti-demokratik geçmiş potasında ulusal hafızalarda eritilmiştir. Bu siyasi sürecin arkasında işleyen görsel devrim miras endüstrisi ile piyasa şartlarının hafıza mekanlarının yaratılmasında devlet tekelinin yerine geçmesini ifade etmektedir. Piyasa koşullarının yerel ölçekte dönüştürdüğü Yahudi mirası sahaları Nazi ve Sovyet dönemleri öncesinin eski güzel günlerini tekrar canlandırarak hafıza üzerinde bir simulakra etkisi yaratmış, ulusal ve yerel ölçekteki antisemitizm yok sayılarak yok edilen Yahudi kültür mirası ve nüfusu sadece ve sadece Nazi ve Sovyet dönemlerine indirgenmiştir.

Holokost Yahudi tarihi yazımında merkezi bir yer tutsa da Holokost çalışmaları daha çok Doğu Avrupa coğrafyasına odaklanmış neredeyse bir milyon insanın hayatını kaybettiği Polonya Auschwitz Kampı soykırımın sembolü haline gelmiştir. Holokost çalışmalarına yönelik genel eleştiri Yahudilerin yanında soykırıma maruz kalan Leh, Çingene, Sovyet mahkumlar ve diğer milletlerden

insanların göz ardı edildiğine yöneliktir. Bu eleştiri de haklılık payı olsa da eksik bir eleştiridir çünkü özellikle Auschwitz ve Doğu Avrupa coğrafyası Holokostu Aşkenaz soykırımı olarak da sembolleştirmiştir. Güneydoğu Avrupa'da yüz elli bin Sefarad Yahudisi de soykırıma maruz bırakılmıştır. Bugün Sefarad kurbanları da Auschwitz kampında anılmaktadır. Bu farkındalık 1992 yılında Avrupa ve Amerika genelinde Sefarad anısı ve kimliğinin canlanması ile olmuştur. 1492 Sürgünü Holokost'tan önce Avrupa Yahudiliğinin geçirmiş olduğu en büyük ve ortaçağın da en önemli insanlık trajedisi olarak tekrar hatırlanmıştır.1492 yılında Gırnata'nın düşüşü ile Kastilya ve Aragorn Krallığı'nın Kralı Ferdinand ve Kraliçe İzabella, Endülüs Müslümanları ve Sefarad Yahudilerine İspanya'da kalabilme için Katolik olma şartını koşmuş aksi takdirde sürgün edilme ya da Engizisyon mahkemesinde ölümle yargılanmak ile tehdit etmişlerdir. 50.000 ile 200.000 arası Sefarad Yahudisive daha da çok Endülüs Müslümanı İspanya'yı terk etmeyi tercih etmiştir.

Üçüncü bölüm 1992 Anma etkinlikleri işte bu sürgünün anlatısını farklı ülkelerdeki farklı Holokost anlatıları ile ilişki içerisinde ve hatta gölgesinde şekillendiğini incelemiştir. İsrail'deki Siyonist milliyetçilik, İspanya'da Avrupa Birliği Holokost anlatısı ve Amerika'da Amerikan Holokost anlatısı Sefarad anısı ve mirasının yorumlanmasını şekillendiği tespitini yapmıştır. İsrail örneği bize etnik bir kimlik uyanışının nasıl apolitik yollardan ve fakat devlete karşı eleştirel bir pozisyon da alınabildiğinin en önemli örneklerindendir. İsrail'de özel olarak 1992 anması yaşanmasa da 1980'lerden itibaren Mizrahim Yahudileri Aşkenaz Yahudilerinin merkezde olduğu Holokost anlatısı ve İsrail Devleti algısına karşı kültürel bir tepki ortaya koymuşlardır. Bu uyanış Sefarad müzikleri, şarkıları ve foklörünün piyasalaşarak yaygınlaşmasıyla mümkün olmuştur. İspanya 1992 anmasının devlet seviyesinde yapıldığı ilk ülkedir. Faşist Franco geçmişi ile hesaplaşma ve liberal demokratik Avrupa Birliği'ne

uyum sürecinde Endülüs geçmişi Müslüman, Yahudi ve Hristiyanların birlikte var olduğu bir Ortaçağ Avrupa Birliği modeli anlatısı oluşturulmuştur. İspanyol Altın Çağı olarak bazı istisnai talihsiz olaylar dışında demokratik, özgür ve refah bir İspanya tahayyülü Avrupa Birliği'nin Holokost ve Yahudi geçmişine karşı yaptığı tahayyül altında şekillendiği söylenebilir. Avrupa değerlerinden, birarada yaşama kültüründen uzaklaşmak da sürgün trajedisiyle sonuçlanmıştır. Amerikan Sefarad uyanışı ve 1992 anmaları sivil toplum seviyesinde olmuş ve yapılan etkinlikler, sergilerle Amerikan topraklarını Yahudiler için huzurlu ve güvenli bir sığınak olarak Holokost anlatısına yakın bir anlatı oluşturulmuştur. Amerikan Sefarad diasporası ve kimliğinin Türkiye ve Türk Devleti'nin gerçekleştirdiği uluslararası anma etkinlikleri açısından da önemlidir.

Türkiye bütün bu Holokost ve Yahudi anlatısında oldukça istisnai bir yer tutmaktadır. Bahsi geçen müzelere hakim olan negatif ve gözyaşlarıyla dolu tarih anlatısı Türkiye için geçersizdir. Türkiye NATO üyeliği, soğuk savaş sürecinde liberal demokratik kampta yer alması ve Müslüman nüfusu ile Yahudi varlığı ve geçmişi açısından istisnai ve dikkat çeken bir yer tutmaktadır. Türkiye bu mirasını Avrupa Birliği'ne üyelik ve Amerika ile müttefiklik ilişkileri çerçevesinde komünizm sonrası kurulan kozmopolit dünya düzeninde yer almak amacıyla araçsal siyasi bir proje olarak kullanmıştır.

Türkiye'deki 500 yıllık Sefarad geçmişi İspanya'dan sürgün edilen Sefarad Yahudi mültecilerini Osmanlı sultanı İkinci Beyazıd tarafından kabulü ve İstanbul ile çevre şehirlere yerleştirilmeleriyle başlar. Ortodoks tarih anlatısı Osmanlı'daki gayrimüslim geçmişini Şeriat temelinde geliştirilen millet sistemi ile açıklamaktadır. Cizye vergisi ödemek ve İslami üstünlüğü tanımak koşuluyla ehli kitap cemaatlere Osmanlı topraklarında yaşama ve iç işlerinde serbestlik hakkı tanınmıştır. Laik Türk ulus devletinin kurulmasıyla çeşitlilik yerini homojen bir ulusa bırakmış, Kemalist devlet ulusal tarih ve ulusal hafıza

inşasında tekel haline gelmiştir. Bu hafıza siyasetinde Osmanlı'dan kalan gayrimüslim azınlıkların varlığına karşı toplumsal amnezya oluşturulmuştur. Bunun yanında, Türk Devleti'nin hafıza siyaseti erken cumhuriyet müzelerinde de görülebileceği gibi Anadolu temelli homojen bir ulus tahayyülü ve geçmişi inşasına yöneliktir.

Azınlıklara karşı yönetilen amnezya ve hafıza mekanlarındaki Yahudi temsilinin yokluğuna rağmen, Türkiye'de yerleşik ve antisemit bir Yahudi imajından bahsetmek mümkündür. Bu imajı anlamak bize incelenecek müzenin nasıl bir karşıt ve olumlu Yahudi imajı çizmek istediğini anlamak açısından önemli bir çerçeve sunmaktadır. Yerleşik imajın üretilmesinde devletin yürüttüğü Türk milliyetçiliğinden çok ultra-milliyetçi ve İslamcı düşüncenin popülist etkisi ve etkileşimi görülmüştür.Bu popülist söylemde antisemit Yahudi imajı Türk devleti ve milletine nüfuz etmiş ve sızmış görünmez düşman imgesidir. Bu imgede Yahudiler milletin geri kalanından soyut ve ayrıcalıklı zengin ve müreffeh bir grup olarak anlatılmıştır. Küresel Yahudi camiasının Türkiye kolu olarak çalışan Yahudiler kendi gizli menfaatleri uğruna ve memleket aleyhine çalışan kapalı bir gruptur. Bu noktada Sabataycılık ve masonluk Yahudilik ile özdeş kimliklerdir. Erken cumhuriyet döneminde Yahudilere karşı görülen iki önemli olay; 1934 Trakya olayları ve 1942 Varlık vergisi devletin azınlıklarla kurduğu ilişkide Yahudiler için şüpheci ve iktisaden ayrıcalıklı varsaymının etkinliğini doğrulayan olaylardır. Ancak Kemalist milliyetçilik Türkiye Sefaradları ile özel bir sorunu yoktur. Türkiye'deki olumsuz Yahudi imajının oluşumunda 1930lar ve 1940ların ultra milliyetçi ve ırkçı söylemleri ile sonrasındaki İslamcı söylemler etkili olmuştur. Ultra milliyetçilik Yahudilerin kendisini 'ırkçılıkla' itham ederken İslamcı söylem ise Yahudileri ahlaksız olmakla, Müslüman ahlakını bozmakla, kapitalizmi ve komünizmi maddiyatçılığı yaymak için icat etmekle suçlamış ve Osmanlı'nın Filistin cephesindeki yenilgisini Kemalizm'deki Arap milliyetçiliği anlatısı

yerine Yahudi casusluğu anlatısına bağlamıştır. Yahudiler 'vatanhaini' ve içimizdeki düşmandır. Bu tarihsel anlatı, Yahudileri ve İsrail'i Kurtuluş Savaşı ve Sevr Antlaşması ile alakasız olmalarına rağmen Rumlar ve Ermeniler ile birlikte Türk toplumundaki Sevr sendromuna dahil etmiştir. Sivil toplumda görülen farklılıkların tanınmasına yönelik hareketlilik bir tarafta Kürt sorununun gündeme gelmesi diğer tarafta siyasal İslam'ın yükselişiyle birlikte Türkiye'deki resmi ulusal hafızanın sorgulanmasına sebep olmuştur. Bu sorgulamanın merkezinde Türkiye içinde ve uluslararası arenada Türkiye'ye yönelik getirilen azınlık ve insan hakları ihlalleri temelli eleştiriler ve tartışmalar yatmaktadır. Kürt sorunu ve siyasal islamın siyasal düzlemde görünür hale gelmesi, sivil toplumda ve basında ikinci cumhuriyetçiler gibi eleştirel grupların ortaya çıkması bunun yanında uluslararası arenada 12 Eylül darbesinin insani boyutu ve beraberindeki insan hakları tartışmaları Türk devletine yönelik eleştirileri arttırmıştır. Ermeni soykırım iddiaları ve Türkiye'nin Kıbrıs Barış Harekatı Amerika'da Ermeni ve Yunan lobileri tarafından yürütülen Türkiye aleyhindeki kampanyaların başlıca sebepleri olmuştur. Türkiye'nin azınlıklarıyla kurduğu tarihsel ilişkiler bu dönemde politikleşmiştir. Bunun yanında 1990'lar kozmopolitizmin neoliberal düzenin yeni yönetilebilirlik aracı olduğu yıllardır. Serbest piyasa ekonomisi ve ortak hukuki normlar çerçevesinde birleşen kozmopolit insan topluluğu ideali neoliberal düzen açısından yönetilebilirlik sağlamaktadır. Amerika ve Avrupa Birliği'nin küresel siyasi projeleri kapsamında bu kozmopolit düzenin temsili de evrensel Yahudi imgesi ve mirası ile olmuştur. İşte tam bu iç-dış eleştirilerin ve siyasi atmosferin ortasında Türk Devleti 1992 anmalarını bütün bu eleştirilere karşı koyma fırsatı olarak değerlendirmiş, Türkiye'nin uluslararası alanda bozulan imajını yenilemek için 1992 anma etkinliklerini bir uluslararası halkla ilişkiler kampanyasına dönüştürmüştür. Kampanya temelde iki tarihi olay üzerine inşa edilmiştir. 1492 sürgünüyle Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na kabul edilen Sefarad Yahudileri ve Nazi Almanyası'ndan

kaçan ve Türkiye'ye sığınan Yahudi üniversite profesörleri. Kampanyanın yürütülmesinde Türk Devleti ile Türk Yahudi cemaatince kurulan Beşyüzüncü Yıl Vakfı ve etrafında birleşen birkaç sivil toplum örgütü ve hareketi rol oynamıştır. Kampanyanın Türk kamuoyundan çok, imajının bozulmasında aktif rol oynayan Amerikan Ermeni ve Yunan lobiciliğinin merkezi olan Birleşik Devletler kamuoyu ve siyasetini hedef kitle olarak seçmesi kampanya içeriği ve 1492 anlatısının şekillenmesini etkilemiştir. 1492 anlatısı kısaca Amerikan Holokost mitiyle ilişkisi ile birlikte şu dört temel noktanın tespiti yapılmıştır. 1492 Sürgünü Holokost öncesi bir diğer büyük insani trajedidir. Osmanlı Devleti de Amerika gibi kurtarıcı rolü oynamış ve Yahudileri bu felaketten kurtarmıştır. Osmanlı ve Türkiye toprakları da Amerika gibi ve Avrupa'nın aksine bir diğer istisnai güvenli ve huzurlu Yahudi sığınağıdır. Bu da Türklerin milli bir fazileti olan hoşgörü ile mümkün olmuştur. Amerikan Holokost mitindeki özgürleştiren insan hakları savunucusu ve iyilerin dostu kötülerin düşmanı Amerika imajı hegemonik, apolitik ve itiraza kapalı bir Amerikan söyleminin temelini oluşturmuştu. Benzer şekilde 1492 trajedisinde Yahudilerin imdadına yetişen hoşgörü de depolitize bir söyleme dönüşmüş ve Türk-Yahudi birlikteliği sistematik olarak güzelleştirilmiş, tarihteki gerilimli noktalar istisna olarak kabul edilip üzerinde durulmamış, Türkiye Müslüman ve Yahudilerin bir arada tarihsel olarak huzur ve uyum içerisinde yaşadığı bir ülke olarak anlatılmıştır.

Amerikan Holokost mitine yakın bir 1492 anlatısının oluşmasında Türk Devleti ve Türk Yahudi toplumunun Amerikan Sefarad örgütleri, Amerikan reklam ve halkla ilişkiler şirketleriyle kampanya öncesinde kurduğu işbirliğinin payı büyüktür. Geliştirilen bu işbirliği ile Amerika ve Türkiye'de devlet düzeyinde anma etkinlikleri düzenlenmiştir. Ancak yüksek protokol seviyesinde kalan bu geçici anma etkinliklerinin kalıcı hale gelmesi ve halka ulaşması için vakıf iki

kalıcı eser oluşturmayı hedeflemiştir. Tarihi Ahrida Sinagogu'nun restorasyonu ve çalışmaya konu olan müzeyi Zülfiaris Sinagogu binasında tesis etmek.

Ahrida Sinagogu restorasyonu Türk Yahudi toplumunun kamusal alanda görünür hale gelmesinin ilk kalıcı eseridir ve bu görünürlüğün sınırlarını çizmesi açısından önemli bir gösterge özelliği taşımaktadır. Bunlar vatanseverlik ve uyum mekanı olmakla özetlenebilir. Ahrida Sinagogunun geçmişi 1492'de gelen Sefarad Yahudilerince açıklanamaz. Sinagog Bizans döneminde Romanot Yahudilerince inşa edilmiştir. Ahrida Sinagogu'nu tarihi açıdan önemli kılan sinagogun ilk kez Osmanlı Yahudilerinin Osmanlı kimliğinikabullenişlerini ve vatanseverlik duygularını sergiledikleri 1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus savaşında zafer için yapılan dini ayinlere ev sahipliği yapmasıdır. Bunun yanında sinagogMüslümanlar ile olan uyum anlatısı bağlamında restorasyonu özgün Romanot ya da Sefarad sinagog karakteristiği ile değil camii vari bir dönüşüm ve yenileme geçirmiştir. Bu yönüyle restorasyonu inceleyen akademisyenlerce uyum mekanı olarak kavramsallaştırılmıştır. Ahrida Sinagogu örneği müzede sergilenen Türkiye peyzajındaki kozmopolit hafızanın ortaya çıkmasını anlamak ve daha özelde Yahudilerin kamusal alanda varoluşunun sınırlarını göstermesi açısından oldukça önemlidir.

Beş Yüzüncü Yıl Vakfı'nın devlet ile kurduğu yapıcı ilişkiler ve ortak yaratılan mutlu, huzurlu ve uyumlu tarih anlatısına gelen itirazlar iki noktada özetlenebilir. Kamusal alanda devletle antagonist ilişkiler kuran diğer azınlıklarca bu anlatı oldukça eleştirilmiştir. İkinci önemli itiraz müzenin taşınmasından sonra tekrar şekillenen sergisini anlamak açısından önemlidir. Genç kuşak Türk Yahudilerinde yaratılan sadece mutlu tarih anlatısına bazı itirazlar ortaya çıkmış, ılımlı ve eleştirel bir tutum takınılması gerektiği görüşü de dile getirilmiştir.

Müzenin anlatı ve mekansal olarak incelendiği ve tezin ana bölümü olan dördüncü bölüm sekiz alt başlıktan oluşmaktadır.İlk başlık müzenin kendi yapısı, Zülfiaris Sinagogu'ndan şimdiki binası Neve Şalom Sinagogu'na taşınma süreci, yıllık ziyaretçi sayısı gibi bir takım genel bilgileri müze müdiresi ile yapılan mülakat dahilinde vermekte, ikinci başlık müze binası ve konumu ve kamusal alanla koyduğu sınırlar itibariyle bir değerlendirme sunmaktadır. Üçüncü başlık müzenin ana galerisindeki tarih anlatısını analiz etmekte, kozmopolit ve evrensel Yahudi imajını müze ve Türkiye ile ilişkilendirmekte, Yahudi varlığının Türkiye ile kurduğu ontolojik bağları anlatının tematik noktalarını tespit ederek incelemektedir. Dördüncü başlık dini objeleri kısaca anlatarak beşinci başlığa antropolojik sergiye geçilmektedir. Antropolojik sergi ve ana galeri karşılaştırmasını içeren bu başlık müzenin Türk Yahudi topluluğu için sınırlarını çizdiği erkek ve kadın cinsiyetlerini temsil etmesi yönünle Yahudi ve Holokost müzelerindeki cinsiyet bağlamı çerçevesinde karşılaştırmış ve incelemiştir. İkinci kat gündelik hayat temsilleriyle ilgilidir. Altıncı başlıkta müzenin Yahudiliği farklı mekanlar ve sınırlar içerisinde nasıl temsil ettiğini aile fotoğrafları sergisi ve dini bayramlar sergilerini karşılaştırarak cevap aramıştır. Bunun yanında müzenin Ladino dili ve Ladino mutfağını meta halinde nasıl sergilediği ve tüketime sunduğu bu haliyle de etnik bir özellikten çok apolitik ve tüketime yönelik kültürel ürünler olarak sergilendiği tespiti yapılmıştır. Yedinci bölümde Yahudi yerleşimleri sergisinin sosyolojik bir gerçek olan Türk Yahudi cemaatinin azalması ve küçülmesi gerçeğini müzenin pozitif ve olumlu anlatısı içerisinde nasıl anlamlandırdığı ve temsil ettiği üzerinde durulacak, peyzajda ve popüler kültürde inşa edilmiş kozmopolit mitleri ve hafızayı nasıl kullandığı incelenecektir. Son alt başlık olan sonuç bölümünde elde edilen tespitler ilgili diğer Yahudi-Holokost müzeleri ile karşılaştırmalı olarak özetlenecektir.

Beşyüzüncü Yıl Vakfı Türk Musevileri Müzesi 2015 yılında Zülfiaris Sinagogu binasından Neve Şalom Sinagogu'na taşınmıştır. Yeni ve genç müze yönetimi ile de yakın tarihte yaşanan acı olayların temsili, Musevi-Yahudi kelime tercihlerinin yer değiştirmesi, ve müzede bahsedilen 500 yıllık Yahudi varlığı yerine 3000 yıllık bir anlatının tercih edilmesi gibi daha reformist ve eleştirel bir tutumun benimsendiğini söylemek mümkündür.

Müze binası mekansal politika olarak Galata Kulesi manzarasının kozmopolit Osmanlı hoşgörüsü simgesi önünde kurulmuş,girişte eski ahit Yeremya kitabından bir alıntı anlamsal olarak Türk Yahudiliğini vatanperverlikle ilişkilendirilmiştir. Müze kamusal mekandan keskin bir güvenlik sınırı ile ayrılmıştır.

Ana galeride tarihsel bir anlatı tercih edilmiş ve tarihsel akış hoşgörülü ve hoşgörüsüz tarafların Yahudiler ile kurduğu ilişkiler noktasında sağlanmıştır. Hoşgörü sahibi Selçuklu-Endülüs-Osmanlı ve Türkiye ile hoşgörü yoksunu Bizans-Endülüs-Nazi Almanyası ve antisemit Avrupa arasında bulunan Romanot, Sefarad ve Aşkenaz Yahudileri sabit tarihsel aktörler olarak belirlenmiş, hoşgörülü Türkler Yahudileri uğradıkları baskı ve zulümden tarih boyunca kurtarmışlardır. Selçuklu Türklerinin Bizans baskısından Romanot Yahudilerini kurtarmaları, 1492 Sürgünü ve Sefaradların kabul edilişi, Nazi Almanyası'ndan kaçan Aşkenaz profesörlerin Türkiye'ye kabulü, Nazilere karşı mücadele eden Türk diplomatlar gibi temel tarihi olaylar etrafında hoşgörü teması işlenmiştir. Ancak Türkler neden filosemittir ve Hristiyan Batı özellikle İspanya ve Bizans neden antisemittir sorularının cevabını tarihsel bağlamında kavramsallaştırmamış ve hoşgörü keyfi, doğal ve kendiliğinden verili bir nitelik olarak tasvir edilmiş böylece tarihsel anlatı apolitikleşmiştir. Türk hoşgörüsünün devamında Osmanlı Yahudileri zaman içerisinde ülkeye uyum sağlamış, çeşitli meslekler ve uzmanlıklarla kamusal hayatta rol oynadıkları bunun yanında askerlik hizmetleri ve Kurtuluş Savaşı'na katılımları savaş

kahramanları ve şehitleri etrafında anlatılarak hoşgörü temasının yerini modern dönemlere yaklaştıkça vatanseverlik almıştır. Serginin tarihsel anlatısında Yahudiler ile diğer azınlıklar arasına mesafe koyduğu tespit edilmiştir. Yakın tarihte yaşanan 1934 Trakya olayları, Varlık Vergisi gibi trajediler tarihsel bağlamında ele alınmamıştır. Sergideki bütün bu noktalar tarih anlatısını 1990'ların kozmopolit ve insaniyet çerçevesinde oluşan Yahudi imgesi gölgesinde müzenin insanlığa örnek sloganıyla betimlenmeye çalışılmasından kaynaklandığı tespiti yapılmıştır.

Dini objeler sergisi genel olarak objelerin estetik ve sanatsal yönlerini teşhir ettiği için Yahudi dininin cemaat hayatında kültürel olarak nasıl yer ettiği sorusu müzede Antropolojik Sergi ile cevaplanmıştır. Antropoloji sergi doğumdan ölüme; evlilik, sünnet gibi cinsiyetle ilgili gelenekleri anlatırken Yahudi kadınını da ana galeriye göre oldukça ön plana çıkarmıştır. Ana galerideki erkek egemen tarih anlatısı ile Antropoloji sergisindeki kadın egemen hayat döngüsü anlatısı karşılaştığında Yahudi erkeği profili tarih içinde ilerici, kadın profili hayat döngüsü içinde statik ve kendini tekrarlayan, erkek kamusal alanda ve dışa açık, kadın ise mahrem hayata sıkışmış, erkek aleni ve benzer kadın ise egzotik ve farklı profillere bürünmüştür. Bunun en büyük nedeni ise ana galerideki anlatının erkek egemen Türk kamusal hayatına dahil edilmeye çalışılan Yahudi toplumunun kamusal temsilinden bu sebeple kadın temsilini dışladığı tespitidir.

Müzede altıncı başlıktan itibaren ikinci kattaki sergiler ele alınmış ve Türkiye'de Yahudi hayatına dair gündelik temsiller incelenmiştir. Mutlu ve huzurlu aile hayatından kesitler sunan aile fotoğrafları sergisi gündelik Yahudi hayatını yansıtıcı nostalji ile betimlediği tespiti yapılmış bu haliyle de gündelik hayattaki Yahudi hayatını geçmiş ile bugün arasında özlenen bir noktaya yerleştirdiği görülmüştür. Bu Türkiye'de gündelik hayatta Yahudi varlığı için nostaljik bir zemin sunduğu anlaşılmıştır. Aile fotoğrafları sergisi aynı zamanda

Beş Yüzüncü Yıl Vakfı ile ilişkileri olan bazı ailelerin fotoğraflarına da yer vererek her müzede olan genel hafızanın şahsileşmesi ve özelleşmesi sonucunu da ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bütün bir Yahudi toplumunun aile hayatı bu aileler üzerinden temsil edilmiştir.

Dini bayramlar Sergisi ve aile fotoğrafları köşesinin karşılaştırılması bize aynı zamanda Türkiye'de hoşgörünün sınırlarını çizme tespiti yapma imkanı vermektedir çünkü aile fotoğrafları genellikle açık havada ve kamusal alandan kesitler sunarken dini bayramlar sergisi Yahudi toplumunun dini kutlamalarını sadece kapalı ve özel alanlarda resmetmiştir. Yapılan ikinci tespit Yahudi Bayramları sergisinin müze genelinin aksine Musevi kelimesinin çoğunlukla kullanıldığı tek sergi olduğudur. Etnik anlamda Yahudi, dini anlamda Musevi kelimelerinin kullanımını pekiştirir gibi görünen bu uygulama aslında zaman içerisinde müze genelinde bir zamanlar tercih edilmiş Musevi kelimelerinin yerini alan Yahudi ifadesinin müze içerisinde henüz yenilenmeyen sayılı panellerin sonucu olduğu söylenebilir. Bu değişim müzenin son zamanlardaki reformist tutumunun bir sonucudur.Bu reformist tutumun en son örneği olarak Ladino dilinin yok olmasına dair sözlü tarih köşesinde sunulan belgesel ve Ladino diline duyulan ilgi ve merakın temsil edilmesidir. Müze Ladino diline dair turistik müzik ve şarkı satışları da yapmakta aynı zamanda Sefarad mutfağının önemli lezzetlerini tanıtmakta ve kafeteryasında sunmaktadır. Etnik farklılıkların, ticarileşme ve metalaşma yoluyla ortaya çıkması bize İsrail örneğindeki gibi etnik farkındalığın apolitik yolla kendisine kültürel ve ticari olarak nasıl orta bir yol bulabildiğini göstermektedir.

Yedinci ve son başlık Yahudilerin Türkiye'deki mekansal hafızası üzerine tespitler içermektedir. Yahudi yerleşimleri sergisi İstanbul gibi turistik kentlerdeki neo-liberal mutenalaşma süreciyle restore edilmiş kozmopolit semtlerden kesitleri restoratif nostalji ile sunmuştur.Almanya ile karşılaştırmalarla mutelanalaşan peyzajda inşa edilen hali hazırdaki nostaljik

temsilin geçmişteki gerilimleri seyrelterek temsil ettiği ya da tamamen yok ettiği tespiti yapılmıştır. Bunun yanında popüler kültürdeki dizilerde resmedilen nostaljik gayrimüslim komşu temsilinin de restoratif nostalji bağlamında kullanıldığı görülmüştür. Çeşitli şehirler ve İstanbul semtlerindeki tarihi Yahudi-Müslüman birlikteliği için ontolojik hoşgörü zemini tekrar kurulurken söz konusu semtler ve şehirlerden Yahudi nüfusunun azalması veya kaybolmasını açıklamak için nostaljik bir zemin yaratılmıştır. Farklılığı vurgulayan Avrupa Yahudi mirasının canlandırılması sürecinin aksine Türkiye'deki restore edilen kültür mirasları uyum mekanları olarak betimlenmiştir.

Sonuç bölümünde müzedeki temel anlatının devlet ve vakıf ortaklığı ile oluşturulduğu bu hafızanın da taraflara sunduğu avantajlar ve dezavantajlar ortaya konmuştur. Kurulan hoşgörü, vatanseverlik ve nostalji Yahudiler için apolitik bir zemin yaratmıştır. Buna karşın, kurgulanan geçmiş Türkiye'ye yönelik uluslararası eleştirilere karşı evrensel bir pozisyon sağlamış, evrensel Yahudi imajının hümanist ve çoğulcu mesajını bu eleştirilere karşı kullanmıştır ki anlatının devlete bakan yönüyle Amerikancı bir Holokost anlatısına yakın olduğu sonucunu söylemek de mümkündür. Bu doğrultuda Yahudiler'in kamusal alanda kültürel bir varoluş siyaseti izlemeleri devlet ile uyumludur. Ancak müze ve vakıf antisemitizmle mücadele stratejisi Türkiye'deki antisemit düşüncenin varlığı Zizek'in belirttiği komplo teorileri ve antisemitizmin tekrar üretilmesi süreci düşünülünce yetersizdir, devlet ve sivil topluma da büyük sorumluluk düşmektedir.

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YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı/Surname   : Sert,
Adı/ Name   : Osman Cihan
Bölümü / Department: Political Science and Public Administration

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