Refugees and Citizens:
The Armenians of Cyprus

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Abstract

This article explores themes raised by Peter Loizos in his work with refugees post-1974 in Cyprus. Using examples from the experiences of Cypriot Armenians over the twentieth century, comparisons and connections are made with these themes, particularly regarding the reconstruction of narratives of meaning and belonging following disruption. Armenians have dwelt at length on the defining transformation of the 1915 Genocide but many other kinds of disruptive changes preceded and followed this most radical one, continuing into the present. Physical and economic instability of host countries, including Cyprus, has precipitated continued displacement and migration for many Armenians. This continually creates a kind of demotic cosmopolitanism that is an openness to the world based upon a diasporic people's juggling of identities, seeking a rootedness in a particular place alongside connections across time and space.

Keywords: displacement, memory, identity, homeland, demotic cosmopolitanism, refugees, citizens, Cyprus, Armenians

Peter Loizos devoted much of his academic career to an engaged consideration of the plight of refugees, in Cyprus and around the world. To Loizos, a refugee was much more than the sum of his or her troubles and his work reveals the complexity of life after the trauma of displacement as well as the many ways in which individuals absorb and transform the difficulties and opportunities faced. Through heart-rending experiences, a person not only survives but rebuilds and reconnects in varied ways.

Narratives of memory and identity inform the present, particularly in disruptive contexts of forced migration, of exiles and refugees. These narratives are themselves multi-layered and often ambiguous, nesting within each other and allowing for varied interpretations on individual and collective levels. In Appendix 2 of *The Heart Grown Bitter* Loizos examines 'Comparisons', looking at how such narratives are disturbed, reworked and woven back into the lives of refugees. These comparisons will be continued with examples of Armenian refugees in Cyprus in the early 1920s, post-genocide, and in 1963–1974. While the excerpts of micro-histories here are not meant to be representative of all members of the Armenian community of Cyprus, itself diverse from an insider's perspective, they serve to demonstrate and extend the points made by Loizos.[1]

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1   The excerpts following are taken in part from my earlier fieldwork in the 1980s as well as interviews and

The ways in which narrative associations can change and transgress boundaries over time are explored here, tracing connections to earlier periods and other places, including the influences of neighbours and of old and new colonisers. Formal institutions often demonstrate a more directed and directive narrative and identity, strategic forgetting and tactical remembering,[2] while households more generally reveal the processual nature of culture and the lack of discrete boundaries around any one group. The stories that follow here demonstrate the continual process of moving – across borders, over time, through ideas and ideals – as Armenians have made their homes in Cyprus.

The Absence of Peace: The Presence of Wars and Other Disruptions

What is the 'natural' state of human life? As Loizos points out, there is a desire to see stasis as normal and yet since Robert Nisbet, Eric Wolf and others in the late 1960s, an increasing number of social scientists have taken change and disturbance as norm. While Armenians have dwelt at length on the defining change of the Genocide (primarily 1915), it is impossible to ignore the many other kinds of changes that preceded and followed this most radical one, continuing into the present. Being a survivor, a refugee, a sojourner[3], displaced person – all these are common identities for many Armenians at one point in their lives, continuing today with Armenians from Armenia working for years in foreign lands, including Turkey.

When Astrid and Gaspar Aghajanian married in the 1940s, she was a teacher and he had become the first Armenian judge under the British Mandate in Palestine. Gaspar's family had been living in Jerusalem for centuries and were part of the *kaghakatsi* (people of the city) community there – in contrast to the relative newcomers, the refugees from World War I and earlier conflicts. Born in Albestan, Astrid was a child survivor of the Genocide, as her mother hid herself with Astrid under a pile of dead bodies until they could escape by night to a Bedouin camp.

Both Astrid and Gaspar took advantage of the changing educational opportunities available to peoples of the Middle East, some provided by colonial governments or by missionaries, others by local institutions emulating the new patterns. As soon as their two daughters were born, other

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observations over the following years to the present. Like Peter Loizos' situation, my own position during research in Cyprus was affected by having an Armenian parent (and in my case, also an Armenian Cypriot husband) thus complicating other's expectations of me as well as my own perspectives. See *Faith in History: Armenians Rebuilding Community* for further discussion of this.

2   See Pattie (2004, 2012) for discussions of how institutions framed and shaped the varied experiences of Armenian individuals and communities over the twentieth century. Migliorino (2008) provides a detailed view of this process in Lebanon and Syria.

3   Armenians over the twentieth century and still today are often initially sojourners rather than migrants in that their intention is to reside away from home temporarily, hoping to return. Currently many Armenians from the Republic of Armenia reside in Istanbul as sojourners, people who do not intend to stay but in this case, wish to find work to support their families – and then return to them.

changes emerged with the birth of the state of Israel. Gaspar lost his job and connections. Unprotected and vulnerable in their own land, they began a migration to Britain where they hoped Gaspar could pursue his law career. However, stopping en route in Cyprus, health problems intervened and they settled in Kyrenia where Gaspar found a job through his multilingual abilities. Insecurity followed them through the 1950s and the armed struggles in Cyprus for *Enosis* but they raised their daughters there and built a home that housed Gaspar's prized possession, his library.

In 1974 they were forced from that home, leaving with only a small suitcase, expecting to return within a day or so. The library and all other possessions were lost when the family was not allowed to return. Astrid and Gaspar went to England to join their daughters and once more started with nothing, creating a home, working when and as possible. The man who had once been at the top of the law profession was reduced to writing letters pleading for justice for his own lost property. He began to buy books again. She began to grow food for their table.

The disruptions that Astrid and Gaspar experienced over their lifetimes were shared around the Armenian communities of the Middle East. Armenians who came to Cyprus in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, sought stability from pogroms in their homelands. These people were temporary refugees and most did return home, only to be later killed or forced to resettle elsewhere. The 'norm' for Armenians has been far from stable and this has continued into the twenty-first century where wars in Iraq and Syria, for example, have unhinged the safety of all minorities in the region. Armenians are again considering their options, if they are afforded the time, or fleeing to the homes of family abroad.

At present, displaced Armenians have another option, that of migration to the Republic of Armenia. Only twenty years old, this new homeland has attracted a number of Armenians fleeing disaster in their home countries. While it was not the geographic homeland of their own ancestors, it has become today the symbolic homeland of Armenians around the world, even as its own native Armenians migrate or live elsewhere as sojourners for economic reasons. Parallel narratives of homeland develop. For most of the twentieth century, the home in the old country was a tangible loss, a powerful image that one could still smell and taste. This now contrasts with the emerging story of a new, independent state of Armenia capable of receiving refugees itself, one which is becoming a homeland for all Armenians, whether originally from that territory or not.[4] While the old country was spoken of as close to Paradise, the symbolic value of 'homeland' now is centred more on normalcy, protection, security and continuity. It is expected to protect language and history and provide a space for someone to continue to be Armenian. Cyprus too was regarded as a safe haven at one time but then itself became a cauldron of civil war and disruption.

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4   Sossie Kasbarian discusses criticism of a diaspora institution as it 'brackets' the diaspora and 'fortifies' Armenia (2009b, p. 87). See Pattie (2004) for examples of changing attitudes within the diaspora towards the Republic of Armenia, beginning with the mid-century 'repatriations'.

As Loizos points out, the international political context is clearly necessary to understanding the displacement and tragedies of local people and the lives of the refugees themselves make this impossible to ignore. For the Aghajanians and many other Armenians, international disputes and their local fallout, disruption and being displaced was their 'normal' over their lifetimes, though they never accepted it as such. In spite of this, Astrid was encouraged by a film they had seen where an Armenian couple had lost everything but an apple seed that they kept and planted when they began again.

Relative Deprivation: Material and Symbolic as well as Physical

While the loss of the Aghajanian's homes was a great financial loss, they more often spoke of the loss of the library and of the garden they had carefully tended. These were the symbolic heart of the home and the notion of either of them being trampled, torn, perhaps burnt was unbearable.[5] The Armenian neighbourhood along with the schools, church and businesses were lost in 1963 when Nicosia itself was divided. Neither at that time nor in 1974 were Armenians targeted as a group in danger of losing their lives. To this degree, the deprivation of those years is relatively less than that of their Greek and Turkish Cypriot neighbours. However, as Loizos points out for the Argaki villagers, the loss of certain personal objects as well as communal landmarks creates a perpetual black hole in the middle of the process of rebuilding. Some places and objects carry more meaning than others for individuals and for groups.

Sossi Bedikian, former teacher and headmistress at the Melkonian Education Institute, wrote a regular column in the Armenian language *Paros* newspaper about events and people from the past. In March 1999 she described the old church on Victoria Street[6] and the customs of the holy days during the 1940s. Concentrating on Easter week, her rich description indicates how these customs would have stimulated a combination of the senses and, most importantly, have included the performance of ritual, beginning with the special preparation of Lenten and Easter foods and the preparation of palm branches at home. The incense and candles of the 'Night of Tears' on Maundy Thursday lasted until late at night and should have been attended having fasted. The floral decoration of Jesus' tomb, eating lentils with vinegar on Good Friday, playing a game with painted eggs and other activities all were part of the common domain – that is, everyone participated. By 1999, she concluded that what used to bind Armenian Cypriots together is part of the past, as one consequence of the Turkish invasion.[7] Although a number of rituals and customs

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5   The Aghajanians, like other Armenian families, also said they were bereft at losing their photographs. Yiannis Papadakis mentions photographs as significant and symbolic losses among Cypriots Greeks and Turks (e.g. 2005, p. 100).

6   Surp Astvadztsadzin was built in Venetian times and given to the Armenians in Cyprus by the Ottoman government in the sixteenth century. Following the loss of that church, Armenians held their services in a Greek church until the new church on Armenia Street was built. It is called by the same name.

7   Easter rituals and customs around the Armenian world have diminished, both in number and in the people in any

of Easter week continue to the present, her point is that the post-1963 dispersion both within Nicosia and away from Cyprus meant that the Armenian community was never again as wholly and tightly bound together in participation as one body. The common space that had delineated and promoted this was gone.

The schools and church were indeed rebuilt after some time but the buildings left behind were not only well-loved, they were the centrepieces of the community, places where people gathered on a daily and weekly basis, informally as well as for ritual life-cycle events. The space itself represented a physical presence and social interaction, the glue of the community. When the Troubles began in Nicosia, the shared courtyard between church and schools was where people gathered, then staying in the buildings to wait until they were persuaded to go to the southern side of the new demarcation. Elsie Utidjian's family was one of the *deghatsi,* the 'native' Armenian families who could trace their roots in Cyprus back several centuries. Their home, like those of many Armenians, was just up the street from the church. She had recently graduated from the English School and was working as a secretary at the British Council. During the crisis she was asked to take charge of the phone in the church office, passing messages from people in the crowded courtyard to those now on the 'Greek side' of Nicosia, helping to coordinate the movement of a whole community.

Elsie remembers that her phone messages were not only between Armenians but, due to her own connections through several years of British Council work; her calls were also with officials on both the Turkish and Greek sides. She was in touch with the office of Vice President Kuçuk for information about when it was safe to allow people to go through the surrounding streets to visit relatives or pick up something from their home. Kuçuk's office would also call her to warn them when no one should leave the compound or enter from outside. Some Armenians living farther away from the centre were able to stay in their homes during that initial period. As Loizos notes, in such a crisis, it is the elderly who are often most reluctant to leave, though they may be seen as the most vulnerable. In this case too, a number of older people tried to stay on much longer than the others, until finally persuaded by family members that they must join them. Elsie had to relay messages between the families and their elder relatives, remaining in their own homes.

Elsie's own home, along with others around the church and school, was caught in the cross-fire between Greek and Turkish Cypriots and thus unsafe. After December nights in a bare classroom without heat, Elsie decided to go to her home and take some blankets. She used the back door, thinking that if people saw her taking things away, they would assume that they were giving up and moving. As she did this, she also began taking their photo albums out – one each day – leaving them with an Armenian neighbour who had remained, her own home being a short distance up the street that ran by their back door. Later Elsie wondered, as she still does today, why

community taking part. For Armenians in Cyprus, this change came dramatically rather than slowly as it did elsewhere.

she felt that these photos were the most important things to save – there were many other possibilities. But she methodically delivered them and some months later, when the neighbour was also moved to the southern neighbourhoods of Nicosia where Elsie and other Armenians had settled, the photographs were reunited with their thrilled owners. It turned out to be the only thing that remained from their past life as their house was stripped of everything, soon after they left it. 'Not even a wastebasket remained' they discovered when they returned to take things, accompanied by British soldiers. The photographs then took on added importance. So many people had lost this precious piece of personal history.[8] While it did not put bread on the table, the photographs were irreplaceable and a tangible link with what had been lost.

Refugees as Bereaved Persons

In his consideration of grief and the refugee's state of mind, Loizos perceives the ways in which the reaction to wrenching loss of home and land is often similar to losing a loved one. Of course for many Cypriots in 1963 and 1974 both loved ones and homes were lost. But Loizos here focuses on the 'situations of disruptive change' (1981, p. 196). Using the work of Peter Marris, he looks at the aftermath of the destruction of attachments, 'whether to persons or patterns of meaning' (*ibid.*, p. 197) and highlights the link between what appears to be a 'conservative' effort to preserve what has been lost and a contrasting pressure to adapt to the new circumstances.

While there are cultural traditions everywhere to attend to the grief brought on by loss of life, coping with the loss of traditions themselves, land and home is far less structured. Often it is complicated by political forces wishing to forge their ambitions on the sorrow. Many individuals tend to their wounds privately, though some also turn to more public fora to work through their own grief. One such person in the Armenian community was musician Vahan Bedelian who settled in Cyprus in 1921. Bringing with him the same violin that had saved his and his family's life during the genocide years,[9] Bedelian's goal was to induct as many people of all ages as possible into various musical groups. Conductor, violinist, and teacher, he began a mixed-age choral group in 1922, less than a year after their arrival as refugees. The chorus and a band played every Sunday in the church courtyard – a 'fanfare'. I heard this from many sources but for Armenians today, this is a small shock. People who had witnessed and survived the genocide were singing, playing

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8   Yiannis Papadakis writes of the power of lost photographs – for the owners and for those who come across them in the newly vacated homes. Asking how long it must take to make someone else's home your own, he points to the discovery of photo albums and the lives they represent as one of the triggers of unease in this transition (2005, p. 99).

9   Vahan Bedelian and family were able to flee Adana ahead of the deportations and found space in Aleppo to house the family, some of them remaining in hiding throughout their stay. Bedelian supported the family by teaching the violin and playing occasional concerts. They returned to Adana around 1918–1919 and remained there until the end of the French Mandate, leaving with a number of other families who also settled in Cyprus.

instruments, making music together only a few years later, in a new country, with very little remaining of their old possessions, status and presumably, psyches intact. It was Peter Loizos who pointed out to me what then became obvious — Bedelian was creating community amongst and between a broken people. This joining together to create something external to themselves, something that could not be created alone grew quickly and became a standard part of daily life in Nicosia. The creation of the music, the re-claiming of old skills, the remembering of old tunes and composition of new ones must have at least been therapeutic and probably, in a physical sense, integral to strengthening people and building relationships.

Like the football team, *Gaydzak*, active around 1930, the choir, band and orchestra provided an opportunity for the refugees to gather, to engage in physical activity (whether sport or music) and produce something that gave pleasure to themselves and others. The wisdom of getting weary bodies and minds moving may have prodded Bedelian and others, but no one mentioned this. It was the love of the sport or the love of music that was ever present in the narrative.

The choir, band and orchestra performed regularly in the courtyard of the church and in the club across from it, the central civic space mentioned above.[10] Performing both Armenian and classical European music, these groups did not reproduce what the refugees had left behind, although many had had some western musical training, like Bedelian. Nor were these ensembles a continuation or integration of the refugees into an ongoing musical tradition among the *deghatsi* Armenians. Indeed the groups made possible a quicker integration of newcomers with the older community as both groups took part, though the refugees far outnumbered the others. Community had been lost in the homelands through the genocide and had been disrupted in Cyprus with the arrival of constant and overwhelming numbers of newcomers — unknown, poor (in outward appearance), unconnected.

The crucial aspect of Bedelian's work was to create a new set of meaningful relationships through the music-making — something which was made possible through a focus not on the people themselves, their similarities or differences in past or present, but rather on a shared desire to create something meaningful (and indeed beautiful) together. While the singing and playing of music should not be seen as a substitute for grieving, it did provide some of the comfort and attend to the need for companionship and sharing of experience that was otherwise missing.

Loizos points to the spontaneous weeping, the recitations of things lost (1981, p. 198), the deep anxieties that accompany change, particularly when it is violent and disruptive with no clear acknowledgement of its finality. Marris observes that the process of grieving can really only take place when the loss is acknowledged as final, and then both the mourning and the eventual rebuilding begins as people begin to seek the restoration of meaning in their personal lives. For at

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10   Bedelian was also the choirmaster of the church, taught at the Melkonian Educational Institute, the Turkish Lycee, the Cyprus School of Music and the National Odeon, as well as instructing hundreds of private pupils from each ethnic community.

least a generation, Armenians hoped for a return to their lands, believing that justice must win out somehow. By 1963 and certainly 1974, they were assuring their Greek neighbours that they must accept the loss rather than waste time hoping for what would, in their experience, never happen. However, this 'wisdom' took many years to accumulate. Bedelian adopted his new land with appreciation for the security it offered him to pursue what he saw as his mission in life – spreading the love of music, for him, the 'international language'.

New Identifications

This growing identification with Cyprus as home (contrasting and in parallel with 'homeland'), took root at different rates among the refugees. The *deghatsi* saw themselves as Cypriots of long-standing, perhaps thinking in terms of family/kin, class, education, church as dominant aspects of who they were. The Eramian family provide an example of the ability to blend village life (in Deftera) with the urban multicultural life of Nicosia, being at home in both places: Speaking Greek and Turkish, as well as Armenian, English and French and with many family and business links outside of Cyprus marked them as different but no less Cypriot – or Armenian.

The refugees thought of themselves as associated with particular towns, such as Adana, Zelifke, Mersin, Gessaria, Marash – as well as family, church and for many, craft or training. Still, as the world around them changed, so too did ideas about what it meant to be Armenian – and indeed, what it meant to be a subject of Britain and then a Cypriot. As Loizos witnessed for the refugees of Argaki, while the original space is not forgotten, local identities change quickly with dislocation, neighbourhood and even village becoming part of a regional identity. In the case of the Armenians in Cyprus, the refugees' arrival in the early twentieth century was part of an international rather than local disaster and its aftermath included intellectuals, priests and political leaders working to construct a single identity for a dispersed people.[11] Armenian Cypriots learned this new identity through their schools, church, poetry, media and other informal means. While they remained most comfortable with people originally from their old towns, people who knew them as they had been pre-genocide, pre-catastrophe, they also learned consciously to identify with other Armenians less obviously connected to their particular past.

And with time the newcomers also became Cypriots. Refugees who remained in Cyprus came to love the island. Some of these, like Bedelian above, did so more quickly than others, investing themselves wholly in the new circumstances. After some years when Armenians began to have spare time and money, they ventured to the Troodos Mountains in summer and to Surp Magar Monastery in the Kyrenia Range for special occasions and picnics. One man, another refugee, went well beyond this pattern as he explored every inch of the country, doing detailed

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11 Migliorino (2008) provides an international context for this transformation while comparing local transitions in Syria and Lebanon post-World War I. Pattie (2012) discusses the multiple ways in which these directives, created by an international consensus, were performed and embodied locally.

research into his new home. Kevork Keshishian became fascinated by Cyprus itself, the land and its history, the peoples and the physical environment. While others made themselves comfortable but kept their eyes on a distant horizon, Keshishian made an early commitment to Cyprus, inspired initially by the decision of William Wier, headmaster of the American Academy in Larnaca, to let the young Keshishian off from school to accompany visitors around the archaeological and historical sites of Salamis, Famagusta, Nicosia, Larnaca areas. After graduation, and financially unable to leave for further education, Keshishian rode his bicycle around the island, sleeping in dry riverbeds and monasteries, while gathering the information that would lay the foundation for his life's work, the writing and rewriting of many editions of *Romantic Cyprus*, a detailed guidebook to the island.

While others had written about Cyprus from different angles: illustrated anecdotes, chronologies or travel writing, Keshishian's book was the first guide in the western tradition of Baedekers or Michelin. Taking note of the trend towards mixing historical interest with cultural, Keshishian took care to describe what he observed of the peoples of the island as well as popular tourist sites and many lesser-known places. Keshishian was also a man proud of his Armenian heritage, his family's town of origin (Sis) and all things Armenian. This combination of the local, the parochial along with the ability to fit into new situations and be agile enough to assimilate innovative ideas, technologies and information is common among Armenian refugees and migrants, continuing today. Ruth Mandel writes about the demotic cosmopolitanism of Turks and Kurds in Germany, contrasting with the elite model of a cosmopolitan — a lifestyle choice of the 'bourgeois urban sojourner'. In the latter model, a certain aesthetic preference is expected, as is a network or multiple networks of people who are able to travel at will and (often) consume similar high-end goods. The cosmopolitanism of refugees and immigrants is different, but no less effective in terms of what Mandel calls the acquiring of 'multiple cultural competencies' (2008, p. 50).

The Cosmopolitan Refugee

The Cypriot Armenian community practices a variation of this cosmopolitanism, neither elitist nor, as in the case of Mandel's example, 'implicitly disvalued'. Rather the cosmopolitanism of the Armenian minority in Cyprus, both historic and contemporary, refugees and *deghatsi,* is an openness to the world that comes from a diasporic people's juggling of identities, seeking a rootedness in a place alongside connections across time and space. Despite this, as noted in Mandel's work, cosmopolitanism comes with its own anxieties, often distrusted as not fully local or genuine. Indeed Armenians in Cyprus sometimes wonder how the majority truly views them and occasional glimpses of this erupt in times of crisis.[12] As Kasbarian observes and as I discovered

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12   Kasbarian alludes to such a moment when a Cypriot Greek man's letter (from London) accused 100% of the Armenians as voting against the Annan Plan, igniting numerous protests from Cypriot Armenians and concern that this letter represented a broader band of opinion against them as a minority (2009a, pp. 179–180).

in earlier generations, the Armenian minority shares an intimate and complicated past with the Cypriot Turkish population. The more recent (now over a generation) merging with the Cypriot Greek population has taken different paths. By 1974, a large portion of Cypriot Armenians had already been refugees for eleven years, finding their own way through their losses and rebuilding. The discovery and inclusion of these fellow refugees by the Cypriot Greeks came late but is much appreciated. Previously, Armenians and Turks had been co-minorities under the British and then alongside the Greek majority post-independence.[13] In a divided Cyprus, Armenians came to realise their marginalisation as a small minority where their multilingual skills were not nearly as important as speaking educated Greek (which most lacked) and personal connections with Cypriot Greeks.

Several factors complicated this change. Armenians had been a successful minority under the British Empire during a period when the global financial market allowed a relatively small business to prosper beyond its national borders and the ability to speak English (and often French) were useful in obtaining government work. Mandel's demotic cosmopolitanism worked well in these circumstances as many Armenians were self-employed or running a business or workshop which employed others of different ethnic groups. Acquiring and passing on new skills and technologies, knowing enough of a variety of languages to converse easily, maintaining networks of family, compatriots and colleagues around the world to gather current ideas and information, all this brought advantages for a sustained period, even after the disruptions of 1963. Nevertheless, what had worked well in a smaller-scale marketplace and with a variety of neighbours and ruling classes became increasingly marginal and outdated. These changes were underway but increased in speed and scale with the radical displacement from the old neighbourhood, church and schools. A new generation became more fluent and better educated in Greek. Turkish continued to be spoken in private, often passed on to the next generation through favourite television programmes. Armenians continued to feel both Cypriot and Armenian but many noted that the flags flowing around them were mostly not Cypriot but Greek mainland flags and wondered whether the majority definition of 'Cypriot' included them as well.

For Cypriot Armenians, Cyprus is home. It is also their state and primary civic attachment. Another land may be a historic homeland – western Armenia – or a current idealised homeland (the Republic of Armenia). However, the 'place' that acts as a foundation of meaning, a homeland, can be as small as a school, rather than a country. Kasbarian writes that the Melkonian Educational Institute in Nicosia acted both as exemplar and endorser of 'cosmopolitan values' (2009b, p. 89) and as another kind of 'homeland' with its own diaspora of students who have a

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13   Leading up to the independence of Cyprus, the smaller minorities (Armenian, Maronite, Latin) were given the opportunity to choose whether to be part of the Greek or Turkish division of government, both framed as religious groups. When during earlier fieldwork I asked how this decision had been made, I was faced with incredulous reactions – how would Christians choose other than to be part of another Christian group?

primary identification with the school. Throughout its many decades, the Melkonian was home to boarders from around the world, particularly the Middle East, many of them refugees from civil unrest, war or economic deprivation. During the 1990s the student body included a minority of Cypriot-born Armenians, along with those from Greece, Bulgaria, Russia, Lebanon, Syria, Iran, Canada and the USA. This enclave within the Cypriot Armenian community served as a constant reminder of the bonds of diaspora and of their own refugee past.

Integrations and Transformations

Loizos ends *The Heart Grown Bitter* with the experiences of two men. One settled in Cyprus, having left Asia Minor in 1922, just as the main group of Cypriot Armenians had done. Fifty years later he still dreamed of his natal village and kept in touch with others displaced and living elsewhere. His wish was to join them as the relationships remain the last remnant of place. The other man, an Argaki villager whom Loizos considered normally worldly-wise, wondered why he and his fellow Cypriots had not yet returned home as surely happened after other wars (1981, p. 187). His Armenian neighbours could have answered this question for him – and as Loizos discerned, the villager too could have answered the question after some consideration. Nonetheless attachment and hope continue. So too does a certain melancholy, about which Yael Navaro-Yashin writes movingly, brought about by living with certain objects, without others, in a particular space, not another and especially, living without one's significant Other but not being able to mourn due to the circumstances under which the loss took place.

> 'When the person who has been lost (or spared) is one who belongs to the community of the so-defined "enemy", the loss is not symbolized as a "loss", and therefore it is not grieved over. Sovereignty and the making of distinct political communities (as well as the identification of "internal enemies" or "traitors") do not allow for the ritualized mourning of persons lost to the other side of the divide or those of a different political affiliation. The feeling of loss, not cognitively registered, can therefore generate melancholia, a psychical-subjective state where the object of loss is largely unconscious to the identity of the mourner and where, therefore, the loss is irredeemable, ambivalent, and lingering' (2009, p. 16).

For the group and for the individual, the building of memory and the creation of narratives of meaningfulness, the forgetting and the remembering, are created through the senses, through shared spaces and particular moments, registered and unregistered. They are also given shape by the more formal directives of public life whether overtly political or in the guise of education or even entertainment. The private and the public are woven together, assuming different shapes at different times. As Yiannis Papadakis remarks in the case of Cyprus '... it is indeed difficult to draw a distinction between private or public or collective stories' (2006, p. 14). Throughout his work, Peter Loizos consistently turned to these issues. In 'Ottoman Half-Lives' (1999) he notes that managing memories not only involves interaction with one's own individual and collective past

but, in particular for refugees, with the receiving society, as well as with the most important Other(s). Loizos also took care to show the diversity within the group, the divisions, conflicting decisions and even differing memories.[14] The shaping and managing of collective memory by institutions and political rhetoric can be a powerful and effective route to a semblance of social continuity but for long-term adjustment to the new surroundings and situations, a particular obsession from the past or a narrow view of identity can become an obstacle to the future.

For displaced people, for refugees, for Cypriot Armenians as for the people of Argaki, the receiving society provides an environment for new growth that can be enabling or inhibiting – or more likely both. As Jonathan Boyarin points out, the integration of newcomers – or any Others – in a society is transformed by the way in which the state conceives of its claim to the shared territory. If based on primacy, on a prior claim, on earliest inhabitation, then the newcomers will always remain 'Other'. Yet, a nation might interpret its past as including everything that has happened and everyone who has lived on its territory. This, Boyarin says, sounds more inclusive but has its own hierarchy or what he calls 'hierarchal inclusion' as contrasted with 'egalitarian exclusion' (1994, p. 18). One can learn excellent Greek or Turkish, work alongside Greek and Turkish Cypriots – but if one is Armenian, one cannot be Greek or Turkish. One can be Cypriot but this is more meaningful the more it is shared as a real category. Mandel concludes her examination of the anxieties of this demotic cosmopolitanism by also questioning the framework of the host society, the structure and attitude of the state and its dominant majority, creating a space for the 'reluctant cosmopolitan'.[15]

A reluctant cosmopolitan. An anxious or sometimes melancholic citizen. One who belongs, who feels an attachment to where he or she is, to the surrounding people, to a shared history and home – but who also lives with a multitude of possibilities and connections, who has an awareness of another place or places, a deep relationship with people farther away. This is perceived as both a burden and a gift – like so many things, neither terrible nor wonderful – but both at different times. The world-openness of the reluctant cosmopolitan becomes the key to finding a new home when necessary, starting again with or without the suitcase or the single apple seed.

References

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14. This is done most explicitly in his chapter 'How Might Turkish and Greek Cypriots See Each Other More Clearly?' (1998, pp. 35–51) but is a theme running throughout his work.
15. Mandel (2008, pp. 311–325).

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