

Chapter Title: Close Reading Istanbul: Through the Lens of Two Almanacs by Russian-speaking Émigrés in the 1920s

Chapter Author(s): Ekaterina Aygün

Book Title: Urban Exile

Book Subtitle: Theories, Methods, Research Practices

Book Editor(s): Bureu Dogramaci, Ekaterina Aygün, Mareike Hetschold, Laura Karp Lugo, Rachel Lee, Helene Roth

Published by: Intellect. (2023)

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/jj.2458925.6>

---

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



This book is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC 4.0). To view a copy of this license, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>.



Intellect is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Urban Exile*

# 3

## Close Reading Istanbul: Through the Lens of Two Almanacs by Russian-speaking Émigrés in the 1920s

*Ekaterina Aygün*

While the etymology of the word *almanac* is unclear, one of its meanings as described in the Cambridge Dictionary is that of “a book published every year that contains facts and information about a particular subject or activity” (Anonymous 2013, n.p.). From this explanation, it is evident that ‘books’ of this type can address a wide range of topics. The peculiarity of almanacs in the Russian language is that they cannot be defined as periodicals: they were not published on a daily or monthly basis but as the material accumulated. However, they were not considered non-periodical publications either.<sup>1</sup> This chapter offers to look for ‘traces’ by exploring the nexus between Russian-speaking émigrés in Istanbul in the 1920s and urban space with the help of a specific form of Russian almanacs: non-periodic documentary miscellanies of the ‘First Wave’ of Russian emigration which were created by the émigrés themselves, thus allowing us to hear their voices.

Russian-speaking refugees<sup>2</sup> who were forced to flee from the consequences of the revolution and civil war in the former Russian Empire and settled in Istanbul in the early 1920s, published many books and newspapers in the city. All of them are useful sources for exile studies, but the almanacs *Farewell* and *Les Russes sur le Bosphore* (Russians on the Bosphorus) occupy a special place in this list, primarily because of their contents. As what could be termed ‘encyclopaedias of the life of Russian émigrés in Istanbul’ they provide detailed information about the protagonists and events of the time. Another important aspect is that both almanacs were published at turning points in the life of Russian émigrés in Istanbul: that is, in 1923, when some refugees decided to move to other countries due to changes in the rules for refugees after the formation of the Turkish Republic, and in 1928, after the rules for refugees were significantly tightened.

Both almanacs can be described as collaborative works compiled by Russian émigré journalists, writers, painters and photographers in Istanbul.<sup>3</sup> *Farewell* was published to express “the Russian public opinion of gratitude in all sincerity for the moral and material help lavished upon Russian Refugees by those of all Creeds and Nations in Constantinople” (Bournakine/Valery 1923, n.p.), whilst *Les Russes sur le Bosphore* wanted to inform readers about the achievements of Russian émigrés during their presence in the city and express “Russian gratitude to Turkey for its hospitality and Russian sympathy for the Turkish people” (Anonymous 1927, n.p.). Taking into consideration the purposes for creating such almanacs and the fact that they are neither political, military nor wholly literary texts, it appears that the principal difficulty in dealing with them lies not in hidden hazards but in the incompleteness of the information conveyed and its insufficient systematization due to the “forced haste of work”, as explained by the authors themselves (Bournakine/Valery 1923, n.p.).<sup>4</sup> In order to examine and mine locations, addresses and other important places for the exile community in Istanbul, in the following, I will implement a close reading of these almanacs, that is to say, I will engage in a thoughtful and critical analysis of both book objects. Verbs such as ‘to trace’, ‘to dive’ and ‘to dig’ most fully reveal the essence of this process, since it is always about paying attention and focusing on key details, just as if these objects (in this particular case almanacs) were put under a microscope. According to Jane Gallop, close reading is a widely applicable skill which is of value to a wide range of scholars in different disciplines: “Students trained in close reading have been known to apply it to diverse sorts of texts – newspaper articles, textbooks in other disciplines, political speeches – and thus to discover things they would not otherwise have noticed” (2007, 183). Yet, perhaps the most important issue in working with this method is the presence of an appropriate background knowledge which is often neglected<sup>5</sup>: in many cases, it is only an understanding of historical and/or cultural context that makes close reading meaningful<sup>6</sup> by allowing “to engage in an active process of connecting things in a pattern” (Wineburg 2001, 21). As Neil McCaw (quoting Julian Wolfreys in *Readings: Acts of Close Reading in Literary Theory*) rightly notes, “reading closely can still (if carried out in the right way) be a dynamic process in which texts and knowledges are thrown together, with the readers opening themselves up ‘to receiving numerous significations, a complex web of possible meanings, a skein of traces and inscriptions within the single – and singular word’” (2011, 31; Wolfreys 2000, vii). Because I myself have the appropriate background knowledge regarding the topic of this chapter, my first steps were to read the almanacs and then to re-read them, in order to dive into the texts by focusing on the topic of urban exile, noting all significant places and trying to parse as much as I could whilst not disregarding possible

subtexts. The next step was to analyze and synthesize the information by way of drawing connections and by combining several patterns; or, in other words, by moving from the observation of particular details to an act of interpretation while also considering how the contents of these almanacs connect with other texts on the topic that I have encountered.<sup>7</sup>

*Reading ‘Russian Istanbul’ through the  
Farewell Almanac (1923)*

This part of the chapter focuses on reconstructing important exile places in Istanbul with the help of the almanac *Farewell*. Since this almanac was created and published almost immediately following the first, and perhaps most difficult, period for Russian refugees in Istanbul (1919–1921), it mostly references places of the city that helped them survive in those years in Istanbul, years of hopelessness and despair. As the city was overcrowded with refugees, its life (especially in Péra, today’s Beyoğlu) had to be organized in accordance with the needs and requirements of the newcomers. Charles King mentions around 185,000 civil war refugees from the former Russian Empire who came with Wrangel’s fleet, raising the total population by 20 per cent (2019, 97). Thus, it was imperative to provide suitable living conditions in the city so that those left without means of subsistence were not forced to die of diseases right on the streets or rob residents for a piece of bread. Nevertheless, the situation was far from perfect: pickpockets and burglars were operating, drunken soldiers fought in the streets, prostitution flourished and there were about 10,000 cocaine addicts in the city (Alexandrov 2017, 235f.; Litvine 1921). This situation, of course, discouraged residents from leaving their homes at nightfall, and when they had to, they tried to walk carefully and quickly along the streets of Péra (today’s Beyoğlu) and Galata, which was considered especially insecure (ibid.) (fig. 3.1).

Judging by the information given in the almanac, among the first to open their doors to refugees were ‘Russian’ places that already existed in Istanbul, such as the Russian embassy, the Russian consulate, Russian churches in Karaköy and the Church of St Nicholas in Harbiye. Russian consular establishments at that time were located in Narmanlı Han, “one of the most important iconic historic structure [*sic*] with its intangible dimensions in the memory of the city”, originally built to house the Russian Embassy sometime after 1831 (Sav 2018, 652–659). In close vicinity to it, on Grande Rue de Péra, you could find the new neo-Renaissance building of the Russian Embassy – the exact spot where Russian refugees gathered in the early morning hours in the 1920s: some looking



FIGURE 3.1: Illustration of Galata neighbourhood, 1920, in the *Nashi Dni* Periodical, January 1921, no. 1, p. 15 (Slavonic Library/Slovanská knihovna, Prague).

for someone, some trying to get information about the progression of the civil war in Russia, while others simply needed help (Chebyshev 1933, n.p.). At the time, the Russian Embassy was extremely multifunctional: it served as an enquiry office, a church, a shelter, a canteen and even a place where auctions were held. As for the churches in Karaköy, they were and still are located at Athos courtyards, on the upper floors of low residential buildings. Once, they served as hotels for Orthodox pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem and Athos, but in the 1920s, Russian refugees lived there. This is how writer and poet Ivan Korvatsky described it: “The monastery courtyard, where 2–3 families huddled in each room, the inevitable primus stove made noise and smelled, the beds were partitioned off with torn sheets, and a cry of a child monotonously sounded in the air” (qtd. in Sığircı 2018, 49). Another important place was the Church of St Nicholas in Harbiye, and the Russian Nikolayevskiy Hospital next to it. It was built in 1875 under the guidance of the Russian ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Nikolay Ignatyev, and offered free health assistance to Russians and Orthodox Christians in need living in Istanbul until the first years of the Turkish Republic (Ünal 2018, 235–239).

Considering that “Istanbul’s ‘Russian’ moment”,<sup>8</sup> or, in other words, the arrival of Russian refugees in Istanbul, happened at a time when the city was occupied by Allied forces after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War (1918–1923), all kinds of assistance was also provided by non-local communities in Istanbul. All of the Istanbul Red Cross branches and hospitals played, without any doubt, a vital role in this regard. According to the almanac, if not 70 per cent, then at least 50 per cent of the Russian refugee masses “breathed” owing to the help of the American Red Cross, which was headed by Admiral Bristol: “This is where the Russian refugee goes first of all with all his needs and sorrows. Whether there is a need for financial support for departure, the only dress has come to complete disrepair, someone needs urgent medical assistance, or simply cannot find any job” (Bournakine/Valery 1923, XVII–XXI). Among the hospitals mentioned in the almanac is the American Hospital established in 1920, Jeanne D’Arc Hospital, known among the Russian refugees as the “asylum for motherhood” (*ibid.*, XXII), the Bulgarian hospital in Şişli, where they not only recovered but also could “feel refreshment of mind and body” (*ibid.*, XXXIX), and the Jewish Or-Ahayim hospital in Balat, which provided medical care to Jews and non-Jews who asked for help. No less important were free meal sites. One of these canteens was opened at Sirkeci Railway Station, “in the train yard under ship’s awnings”, by Madame Bristol, wife of Admiral Bristol (*ibid.*, XI). This place was very convenient because here many refugees embarked from ships and were distributed to camps. Another canteen, for 600–700 people, was opened at the school of Sainte Pulchérie by the French Ladies’ Committee, whose representatives were mainly spouses of the leaders of non-local communities (*ibid.*, XIX). Concerning housing, some 7000 Russian refugees were lucky enough to obtain residence through the Russian Embassy, but far more lived in wooden barracks and tents (Near East Foundation 2016, n.p.). The Russian overnight shelter in Dolmabahçe was quite famous, although the almanac also mentions barracks for refugees in the headquarters of Near East Relief, Miss Cox’s rest house for convalescents in Büyükkada, and private houses, villas and hotels that were transformed into shelters in Burgazada by the Italian colony. There was also a YWCA place for young Russian girls in Péra (Beyoğlu) that served not only as a hostel but also as a place where girls were able to learn crafts which could provide them with a livelihood, for example hat-making (Bournakine/Valery 1923, XLII–XLIII). Additionally, several schools were opened, among them a free Russian school financed by American sailors, and a Russian school in Büyükdere which was maintained by representatives of the British colony. American ‘spiritual institutions’, as Russian refugees called them, also operated throughout the city. The most famous ones were the Christian Science Relief Committee and The

Russian Lighthouse (known as Mayak). The Christian Science Relief Committee was located on Siraselvi Street, at a small house with an inscription that read “Christian Science”. Here, refugees were provided not only with moral support but also very often with pecuniary assistance: “Russian refugees familiar with the humiliating treatment they received in Constantinople and of being always looked down upon, have always found here an exceptional kindheartedness and lively interest” (Bournakine/Valery 1923, XXIV). Mayak deserves special attention because it hosted a YMCA center, where refugees from the (former) Russian Empire were served food in the dining room, were gifted clothes and where they could arrange visits to the dispensary and employment bureau. The authors of the almanac also mention splendid concerts by Russian-speaking artists and good parties, lectures and discussions, scholarly conferences led by Russian-speaking priests, cinema shows, Christmas and Easter celebrations for poor children, as well as many other activities which took place at Mayak (ibid., XXIII–XXIV). From the point of view of architectural history research, it is very important to understand that all these places, including hospitals, canteens, shelters and many others, were located at either already existing buildings or functionally transformed available buildings (Ar 2019, 101–122). As Bilge Ar rightly points out, despite an enormous need for new spaces to serve Allied forces as well as refugees, ‘the city’ failed in providing new housing (ibid., 101).

Meanwhile, small photographs, used by the creators of the almanac to illustrate their texts, remind us that the process of creating acceptable living conditions for refugees and transforming existing premises with regards to their needs took place on the shores of the Bosphorus. Unfortunately, the authors and sources of these images are not indicated. There are more than thirty images in the almanac: among them are pictures of the Hagia Sophia, Rumeli Fortress, Dolmabahçe Palace, the Bulgarian St. Stephen Church, Galata Mevlevi House, the Ortaköy district and other well-known ancient monuments and urban locations. It is worth noting that this selection is not surprising: Russian émigrés were quite familiar with local attractions, not only because many of them are mentioned in the *Le Russe à Constantinople* (Russian in Constantinople) guide published in 1921 but also because they regularly attended city tours arranged by Russian-speaking intellectuals in Istanbul (Anonymous 1923, 3; fig. 3.2). In *Farewell*, we can also observe a series of images that feature leitmotifs of water and ships. This is due not only to the fact that water has always played an important role in the life of Istanbul but also due to the fact that refugees arrived in the city by water and left it by water. Another indication of this is the advertisements of numerous maritime companies published in *Farewell*.

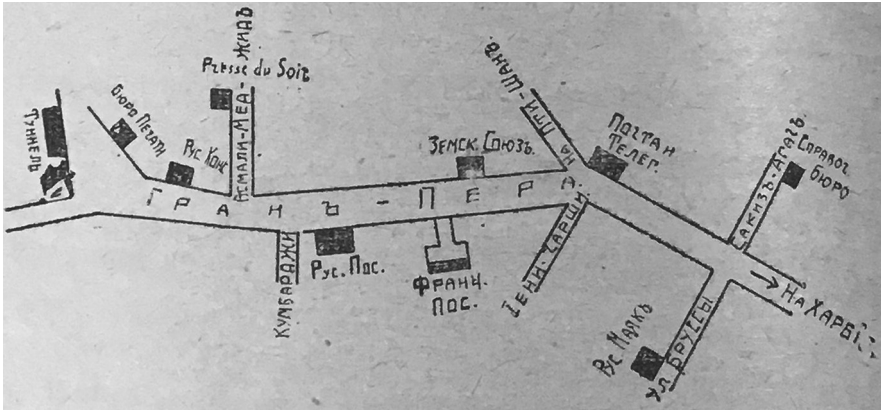


FIGURE 3.2: Grand Rue de Péra (Istiklal Avenue) and its surroundings in the Istanbul guide for Russian refugees *Russkiy v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*. Konstantinopol': Tipografiya "Pressa", 1921, p. 6, in Russian language (Slavonic Library/Slovanská knihovna, Prague).

### *Reading 'Russian Istanbul' through the Les Russes sur le Bosphore Almanac (1928)*

This part of the chapter reconstructs important exile places in Istanbul with the help of the almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore*. Published approximately five years after the Turkish Republic came into being and Ankara was transformed into the new capital, it was an almanac of a completely different type. With minor exceptions, there is no mention of occupied Istanbul and the arrangement of housing or social amenities for refugees, but there are quite a few references to Istanbul's cultural sights and entertainment venues, focusing especially on the Beyoğlu district. With the arrival of Russian immigrants, the 'entertainment program' of the city underwent serious changes: "Thanks to the asylum seekers from Russia, things suddenly picked up speed. The city was introduced to the pleasures of nightlife, sunbathing on public beaches by the sea, gracefulness of classical ballet, American-style jazz and many other innovations" (Dumont 2015, 216). It is also interesting that the almanac mentions only those locations that retained their popularity until 1927: among them hotels, cafes, cinemas, theatres and clubs. Famous deluxe hotels, like Pera Palace and Tokatlıyan, not only hosted guests of the city but also provided them with entertainment. These were the places where Russian bazaars were held, where one could listen to a concert of a Russian salon orchestra, or purchase paintings by Russian-speaking artists at one of the exhibitions (Anonymous 1921, 23; Deleon 1995, 57, 64). Another place where one



could enjoy music performed by a Russian orchestra was the Theatre des Petits Champs, where Russian-speaking émigré artists created decorations and costumes in the early 1920s. Subsequently, the number of Russian stage designers noticeably decreased, but well-known Russian ballet dancers from time to time still gave performances in the theatre. In addition, a “dance restaurant”, where one could eat delicious food, dance and listen to chosen artists, was opened in the theatre garden in 1925, a location very well-liked by locals and guests of the city (Anonymous 1925, n.p.). In Cine Magic (Majik), visitors were presented with a musical interpretation of the cinematic plot, which “often saved plays from failure” (Anonymous 1924, 15). According to a newspaper note from 1924, some visitors came only for the sake of music performed by famous Russian-speaking musicians who had to make extra money on the side because of their desperate financial situation. The note also says that there were always long lines of cars at the entrance to Istanbul cinemas since women usually came to such events bejewelled and dressed up to the nines (ibid.). Some of the specific urban locations mentioned in the almanac make visible “how specific migrant groups create their own urban spaces to exchange information, trade goods, gather and communicate” (Wildner 2008, 212). For instance, social interactions between Russian-speaking émigrés took place at café-cabaret Rose Noire and Club Maxim, famous for their jazz bands and what was at the time called ‘gypsy’ repertoire. The Rose Noire was known to many people primarily because it advertised its programme in the form of a black cardboard giant with a red nose, wearing a top hat (fig. 3.3). Another factor that drew crowds to the cabaret was Alexander Vertinsky, who, when performing songs there, intentionally opened the windows wide, because he knew that fans would gather outside (Siğirci 2018, 107). According to some journalists of the time, everything in this cabaret was à la Vertinsky, including the programme and waitresses who were dressed in modest black clothes with hairpins on their heads and gold roses embroidered on them (Slobodskoy 1925, n.p.). Club Maxim opened in late 1921 on Taksim Square (today’s Beyoğlu): its owner was Fyodor Tomas (real name – Frederick Bruce Thomas), an African American from Mississippi with Russian citizenship.<sup>9</sup> The spacious club had a stage and a dance floor, an American bar and a terrace overlooking the Bosphorus (Siğirci 2018, 114). In addition, it was here that many locals first heard jazz and learned how to dance the Foxtrot, Shimmy and Charleston (ibid., 115). The cafe-confectionery Petrograd on the corner of Istiklal and Bursa (today’s Sadri Alışık) Streets was so popular that over time it became crowded even in its expanded two-story building. This cafe was a meeting and resting place where everything was à la russe: coffee, chocolate, cakes, pies, Easter desserts. The Russians in Istanbul compared it to the iconic Filippov café-bakeries in Moscow and St. Petersburg. It was famous not only for good service and sweet buns but also because it welcomed guests around the clock.



FIGURE 3.3: Announcement concerning Rose Noire’s opening in the Russian newspaper *Presse du Soir*, 21 August 1922, n.p. (Slavonic Library/Slovanská knihovna, Prague).

Those who were late for the last ferry, going to the Asian part of Istanbul, often whiled away the night here (Uturgauri 2013, 174). It also became the subject of numerous jokes: for example, in any other restaurant a client could be kiddingly told “This is not Petrograd to sit here all night long” (ibid.). As an addition to this panorama of the ‘Russian Beyoğlu’, the almanac mentions the Russian section of the Turkish auto club, the cars of which were parked on the corner of Grand Rue de Péra and Asmalı Mescit Street, and on the corner of Grand Rue de Péra and Ada Street. It is known that Russian-speaking drivers not only had a good sense of direction in the city and drove competently but also that they always helped fellow-countrymen by taking them to hospitals, organizing funerals or distributing tickets for charity evenings (Bournakine 1928, n.p.; fig. 3.4).

But does the almanac only refer to the Beyoğlu district? As is the case with the *Farewell* almanac, the silhouettes of the historic peninsula are visible only ‘between the lines’. If one looks, for example, at the poems of Russian émigré poets published in the almanac, one can glimpse the daily life of Istanbul with its mosques and cypresses, laurels and roses, the Golden Horn and seagulls as described by Ivan Korvatsky, or the dreamlike version of Istanbul as a city with “chiseled palaces”,



also presented in vignettes and illustrations, and on the cover made by Nikolai Saraphanoff. All this allows us to conclude that although many of the refugees lived, worked and opened their businesses in the ‘European’ Beyoğlu, in most cases they were inspired not by this slice of the city but by Istanbul’s historical peninsula, the old city with its fascinating past.

### *Conclusion*

Even though at first glance both almanacs have almost nothing in common with illustrated city guides, on closer examination it becomes clear that they do reveal parts of Istanbul’s urban texture at the time. Because they were published five years apart, the almanacs allow us to look at 1920s city life from two angles: one encompasses the arrangement of housing and social amenities for refugees in the occupied city between 1919 and 1923, and the other illuminates the city’s cultural life, its public spaces teeming with social interactions between displaced persons and others until at least 1928. These two angles quite tellingly show that Russian-speaking refugees succeeded in taking their place on the Istanbul ‘stage’, even though they arrived empty-handed and with no idea of how to survive in this “nobody’s”<sup>10</sup> city. At the same time, their engagement with the city highlights and mediates the considerable changes that Istanbul underwent, transitioning from a city in crisis (an occupied capital with a constant, overwhelming influx of refugees) to a free city that, even though it lost its function as the country’s capital, remained its cultural centre. The details provided by the almanacs’ designs are a major asset since they enable us to see the city through the eyes of the creative stratum of émigrés from the Russian Empire and to understand, at least in some ways, how the local cultural contexts influenced their perception of Istanbul.

Throughout this chapter, I have hoped to stress the importance of close reading the almanacs conceived during the ‘First Wave’ of the Russian emigration, while also highlighting the importance of urban exile as a topic. I set out to show this method, while also taking into account an in-depth knowledge of historical and/or cultural contexts, is a useful tool for the study of urban exile. This is particularly important in the case of Istanbul, since many other sources such as émigré letters, diaries and photographs were lost in the process of moving from one city to another or are held in private archives, often unavailable to researchers. A close reading of these almanacs gives fruitful results because they were created by the émigrés themselves and can be defined as inherently collective works, folding together writers, journalists, photographers and painters based in emigration hubs such as Istanbul, Shanghai, Berlin, Paris and others.<sup>11</sup> References to local addresses, advertisements for various establishments, prose and poetry devoted to an exile

place, as well as images and other details published in these almanacs, offer the opportunity to examine Russian-speaking émigrés' engagement with cities. One should not disregard, of course, possible drawbacks such as intentional omissions of certain places due to political or other reasons, the fact that the city is rendered from an ultimately subjective perspective, or, as was the case with the two almanacs I examined, the incompleteness of the information and its insufficient systematization due to the hurry with which they were produced. The authors did not have enough time to create thorough and well-corrected editions, since the Allied forces to whom (among others) their gratitude was addressed were about to leave Turkey in 1923, and in 1927 many of the émigrés, including some of the authors of the two almanacs, had to literally pack up and wait for the moment of departure. Ready to sail towards more hopeful shores, and a home where their existence would be more stable in legal terms, they still wanted to leave their trace behind, in the form of a memento speaking of a tremendous sense of creative mission – so, they left us *Farewell* and *Les Russes sur le Bosphore* which, despite their shortcomings, remain valuable sources on the subject.

## NOTES

1. On almanacs in Russian and their different forms throughout history, see Balashova 2011.
2. It is important to note that not all refugees were Russian, but all of them came from the Russian Empire.
3. The Almanac *Farewell* is a collaborative work of Russian-speaking (A. Bournakine, B. Ratiomoff and others) and local journalists and writers in Istanbul (Pierre Le Goff, Gilberto Primi, Grati Bey and others). Needless to say, designers also made contributions to the almanac, but, unfortunately, their names are not indicated. As for *Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, its elegant cover was created by Nikolai Saraphanoff, headpieces were made by V. Lyubomirsky, and portraits for biographies, groups, interiors and views were provided by the painter and photographer Jules Kanzler. Furthermore, photographs of some of the artworks were taken by Russian-speaking émigré painters in Istanbul (Boris Eguize, Nikolai Peroff, Nikolai Saraphanoff, Dimitri Ismailovitch, V.P.-T ch.) and the architect I.W. Pitlenko: that is to say they photographed their own works as well as works of their colleagues.
4. The *Farewell* almanac, for instance, was written in three languages at once (Russian, French and English), but not all the texts in French and English are translations of the ones in Russian – they differ in content and complement each other. For the same reason, this almanac is composed of three parts: the first one in Russian “Na Proshchanie”, the second one in French “Nos Adieux”, and the third one in English “Farewell”. As the parts have identical enumeration, some of the almanac’s page numbers are used two and sometimes even three times. In addition, an insufficient systematization and the absence of some artists’ full names in both almanacs lead to the fact that in studies on Russian-speaking émigrés in

Istanbul artists who were not members of the Union of Russian Painters in Constantinople have been wrongly indicated as such. For the same reasons, Vasily Ivanov was named as the chairman of the Union, while in fact, it was Vladimir/Wladimir Ivanoff.

As for the almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, initially, it was a 150-page luxurious edition on enamel paper, of large format and with 300 illustrations. Judging by the fact that the libraries in the Czech Republic and Turkey possess copies of this almanac that differ from each other in appearance and content, the almanac either underwent changes during the publication process or was subsequently distributed and sold as copies of the original (which, again, differ in appearance and content). Further evidence to that is the fact that some of the private archives contain pages from *Les Russes sur le Bosphore* that are presented neither in the copy in Prague nor in the copy in Istanbul.

5. Certain 20th-century schools of literary study, such as Formalism or New Criticism, chose to ignore socio-political contexts, and focused instead purely on text-oriented approaches.
6. New historicism and cultural materialism suggested to understand literary texts historically.
7. On strategies and techniques of close reading and comprehension of informational text, see Oczkus 2014.
8. This term was used for the lecture and talks on Russian-speaking refugees in Constantinople/Istanbul which were organized by the Sakıp Sabancı Center for Turkish Studies of Columbia University (9 December 2019, [www.sakipsabancicenter.columbia.edu/events/iraida-barry-thomas-whittemore-istanbuls-russian-moment](http://www.sakipsabancicenter.columbia.edu/events/iraida-barry-thomas-whittemore-istanbuls-russian-moment). Accessed 2 February 2021; 7 December 2020, [www.sakipsabancicenter.columbia.edu/events/istanbuls-russian-moment-1919-1923](http://www.sakipsabancicenter.columbia.edu/events/istanbuls-russian-moment-1919-1923). Accessed 2 February 2021). Prior to that, and in the French context, the term was used by Katherine Foshko (2008) in her dissertation (cf. *France's Russian Moment: Russian Émigrés in Interwar Paris and French Society*).
9. On Frederick Bruce Thomas and his life story, see Alexandrov 2017.
10. Journalist Chebyshev Nikolai: "Constantinople at that time had one advantage for refugees. There were no masters in Constantinople at that time. All of us were guests, including the Turks themselves. The Allied command could be considered as a master. But it was in this position only by the right of force and capture, and therefore, morally, it also could not be recognized as a real master. As for the Turks, their moral rights to the position of the master were fiercely contested by the Greeks. The Greeks were intensely, passionately rejected by the Turks, who hated them more than the 'Allies'. Thus, the Russians, having arrived from Crimea, felt at home. I think it can be argued without exaggeration that never again during emigration, even in the hospitable Slavic countries, did the Russians feel themselves to be 'so at home' as they did in 1921 and 1922 in Constantinople" (Chebyshev 1933, n.p., my own translation).
11. The [www.emigrantica.ru/](http://www.emigrantica.ru/) website could be useful for future studies on urban exile with the help of close reading of the almanacs and other sources published by Russian émigrés all over the world.

## REFERENCES

- Alexandrov, Vladimir. *Chernyi Russkiy: istoriya odnoy sud'by*. Novoye literaturnoe obozrenie, 2017.
- Anonymous. *Russkiy v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*. Konstantinopol': Tipografiya "Pressa", 1921.
- Anonymous. "Bazar kn. M.V. Baryatinskoy." *Zarnitsy*, 20 March 1921, p. 23.
- Anonymous. "Ekskursii." *Konstantinopol'skiy Kommercheskiy Kur'yer*, 18 June 1923, p. 3.
- Anonymous. "Al'gambra." *Put'*, 19 October 1924, p. 15.
- Anonymous. "Garden Petits Champs." *Vecherniaia Gazeta*, 7 December 1925, n.p.
- Anonymous. "Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore." *Radio*, 22 May 1927, n.p.
- Anonymous. "Almanac." *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. 4th ed., Cambridge University Press, 2013, [www.dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/almanac](http://www.dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/almanac). Accessed 2 Feb 2021.
- Ar, Bilge. "İşgal İstanbul'unun Kentsel Dönüşümünü Beyaz Ruslar Üzerinden Okumak." *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2019, pp. 101–122. *DergiPark*, [www.dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/904824](http://www.dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/904824). Accessed 17 May 2021.
- Balashova, Yulia. *Evolutsiya i Poetika Rossiyskogo Literaturnogo Almanaha kak Tipa Izdaniya*. Dissertation, Saint Petersburg State University, 2011.
- Bournakine, Anatoliy, editor. *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*. Imp. L. Babok & fils, 1928.
- Bournakine, Anatoliy, and Dominic Valery, editors. *Al'manah Na Proschaniye: The Farewell Almanac. L'Almanach Nos Adieux (1920–1923)*. Imp. L. Babok & fils, 1923.
- Chebyshev, Nikolai. *Blizkaya Dal': Vospominaniya*. Imp. de Navarre, 1933.
- Deleon, Jak. *The White Russians in Istanbul*. Remzi Kitabevi, 1995.
- Dumont, Paul. "Beyaz Yıllar." *Istanbul 1914–1923*, edited by Stefanos Yerasimos, İletişim, 2015, pp. 215–239.
- Foshko, Katherine. *France's Russian Moment: Russian Émigrés in Interwar Paris and French Society*. Dissertation, Yale University, 2008.
- Gallop, Jane. "The Historicization of Literary Studies and the Fate of Close Reading." *Profession*, 2007, pp. 181–186. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/25595865?seq=1](http://www.jstor.org/stable/25595865?seq=1). Accessed 11 Feb 2021.
- King, Charles. *Pera Palas'ta Geceyarısı: Modern İstanbul'un Doğuşu*. Translated by Ayşen Anadol, ALFA Tarih, 2019.
- Litvine, Nikolai. "Celles de Galata." *Nashi Dni*, 1 January 1921, pp. 13ff.
- McCaw, Neil. "Close Reading, Writing and Culture." *International Journal for the Practice and Theory of Creative Writing*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2011, pp. 25–34. *ResearchGate*, [www.researchgate.net/publication/233319599\\_Close\\_Reading\\_Writing\\_and\\_Culture](http://www.researchgate.net/publication/233319599_Close_Reading_Writing_and_Culture). Accessed 11 February 2021.
- Near East Foundation. "Constantinople, Part 2: Refugees in Peril." 14 July 2016, [neareastmuseum.com](http://neareastmuseum.com), [neareastmuseum.com/2016/07/14/constantinople-part-2/](http://neareastmuseum.com/2016/07/14/constantinople-part-2/). Accessed 20 November 2020.

- Oczkus, Lori. *Just the Facts: Close Reading and Comprehension of Informational Text*. Shell Education, 2014.
- Sav, Sedef. "The Change of Cultural Memory on an Iconic Historic Structure: Narmanlı Han." *BEYOND ALL LIMITS 2018: International Congress on Sustainability in Architecture, Planning, and Design/Proceedings Book of The Extended Abstracts*, Çankaya University Press, 2018, pp. 652–659, [www.beyondallimits.cankaya.edu.tr/](http://www.beyondallimits.cankaya.edu.tr/). Accessed 18 May 2021.
- Sığırcı, Marina. *Spasibo, Konstantinopol'! Po sledam beloemigrantov v Turtsii*. "Yevropeyskiy Dom," 2018.
- Slobodskoy, A. *Sredi Emigratsii: Moi Vospominaniya*. Izdatel'stvo "Proletariy," 1925.
- Ünal, Fatih. "Osmanlı İstanbul'unda Bir Rus Misyoner Hastanesi: Pangaltı Nikolayev Hastanesi." *Marmara Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2018, pp. 235–258. *Academia*, [www.academia.edu/37962885/Osmanli\\_Istanbulunda\\_Bir\\_Rus\\_Misyoner\\_Hastanesi\\_Pangalti\\_Nikolayev\\_Hastanesi](http://www.academia.edu/37962885/Osmanli_Istanbulunda_Bir_Rus_Misyoner_Hastanesi_Pangalti_Nikolayev_Hastanesi). Accessed 18 May 2021.
- Uturgauri, Svetlana. *Belye russkie na Bosfore 1919–1929*. Institut vostokovedeniya RAN, 2013.
- Wildner, Kathrin. "Introduction: Spaces of Everyday Life." *Public Istanbul: Spaces and Spheres of the Urban*, edited by Frank Eckardt and Kathrin Wildner, transcript, 2008, pp. 209–214.
- Wineburg, Sam. *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Critical Perspectives of the Past). Temple University Press, 2001.
- Wolfreys, Julian. *Readings: Acts of Close Reading in Literary Theory*. Edinburgh University Press, 2000.