The Historical Review/La Revue Historique

Vol 9 (2012)

Seas, Islands, Humanists

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Aytek Soner Alpan

doi: 10.12681/hr.295

BUT THE MEMORY REMAINS:
HISTORY, MEMORY AND THE 1923 GRECO-TURKISH POPULATION EXCHANGE

Aytek Soner Alpan

"My memory is proglottidean, like the tapeworm,
but unlike the tapeworm it has no head, it wanders in a maze,
and any point may be the beginning or the end of its journey.
I must wait for the memories to come of their own accord,
following their own logic."[1]

Abstract: The relevance of the Greco-Turkish population exchange in 1923 to memory can be conceptualized on two imbricated levels. The collective memory of "the nation", which entails a highly selective reading of the past, can be used for manipulating or redefining collective and/or individual experiences. How the population exchange is incorporated into the carefully crafted biographies of Greece and Turkey is a question directly relevant to the mnemonic nature of history on a national level, which is called "memory from above" in this study. On the other hand, how the memory of the exchange is formed and reproduced by individuals today is becoming an increasingly important question, not only to scholars wishing to revise the history of the exchange, but also to various segments of society, particularly to those who have a direct, familial link to the population exchange. Descendants of the exchanged/expelled population have the means to process the trauma of their progenitors and to share their thoughts with the public through different means, which have the potential to challenge the established patterns of thought regarding the exchange and to constitute a popular memory, that is, "memory from below". This study aims to analyze how the population exchange and the process that led to it is "remembered" on these levels in order to comprehend the multiple meanings of an epochal event and to observe the interconnectedness of these levels, as well as the relation between memory and history.

I. *Introduction*

In *The Philosophy of History* Hegel observed that, "The term *History* unites the objective with the subjective side, and denotes quite as much the *historia rerum gestarum*, as the *res gestae* themselves; on the other hand it comprehends not less what has happened, than the narration of what

[1] Umberto Eco, "The Gorge", *The New Yorker* (7-3-2005).

The Historical Review / La Revue Historique
Department of Neohellenic Research / Institute of Historical Research
Volume IX (2012)

has happened."[2] According to Hegel, historical actions and narratives occur contemporaneously. Do they? Although Hegel's observation on the unification of the objective and subjective in history is remarkable, this article, by concentrating on a specific historical event and its place in different social actors' narratives, shows that the narrative of a historical action or event is subject to perpetual reassessment by different agents.

This study analyzes how people make sense of the past by examining it, and the relationship of history to memory, "memory from above" and "memory from below". For this analysis, I concentrate on the Greco-Turkish population exchange of 1923, which constituted a historic turning point in the processes of nation- (and state-) building both in Greece and in Turkey and directly affected more than 1.5 million people, as well as both nations collectively. As the first compulsory exchange of populations, implemented under the auspices of the League of Nations, its impact transcended the national boundaries of these two countries, and population exchange has remained on the table as a model for policymakers trying to resolve ethnic problems associated with nation-building around the world.

II. *Memory and History: A Summary*

The debris of the past is not left in the past. By being viewed through the lenses of different subjectivities, which were shaped by experiences, and by being narrated and re-narrated the past becomes history. This process is continuously molded by the present needs and goals of the narrator (an individual, a social group or an institution), that is to say, the meaning of the past is constantly negotiated and forms a contested terrain. Therefore, history is not an inherent constituent of the past, but is related to the present and even to the expected future of the narrator, a process in the making, and a capacity of discerning of what is no longer viable.[3] This approach opens new windows for us to move forward towards a complex, fluid and negotiable history in contrast to the static conventional perception, which is usually a singular narrative founded on state-centric, élite sources. Moreover, as Kerwin Lee Klein put it, the emergence of *memory* portends a reworking of *history*'s

[2] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, Rockville, MD: Wildside Press, 2010, p. 60.

[3] Daniel Fulda, "'Selective' History: Why and How 'History' Depends on Readerly Narrativization, with the Wehrmacht Exhibition as an Example", in *Narratology Beyond Literary Criticism*, ed. Jan Christoph Meister, Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005, p. 175.

boundaries.[4] Therefore, rethinking history from this point of view not only challenges empiricism as a method in historiography, but also requires going beyond the conventional boundaries of historical research through the utilization of new historical sources (testimonies, oral autobiographies, etc.). These new sources necessitate the introduction of some new themes and categories of analysis into historical research, such as memory, politics of memory, remembering/forgetting, and silence and nostalgia, all of which are directly related to the mnemonic nature and narratology of history.

Scholarship on history (and/or social sciences) and memory can be dated back to the turn of the twentieth century. It is worth mentioning Hugo von Hofmannsthal's use of "collective memory" as a category of analysis in 1902 and Freud's studies on trauma and repressed memory in this period. The publication of Maurice Halbwachs' *The Social Frameworks of History* in 1925 represented a significant step forward in our understanding of this concept as a socio-historical phenomenon, because it was written from a functionalist perspective against the psychoanalytic approach to memory.[5] Obviously, World War II and particularly the Holocaust marked a turning point for the studies of history and memory by installing oral history into the craft of historiography as one of the major tools.[6]

Starting from the 1960s, we see the foundation of audio and visual archives in which testimonies of Holocaust survivors are housed. The foundation of the Oral History Association in the United States in 1966 and of the British Oral History Society in 1973 are noteworthy. In addition to the contribution of Holocaust studies, I should also mention the rise of a new methodological approach to history that considered historical events from the perspective of "ordinary" people, that is to say "history from below". The scholarly interest in the subject of history and memory started gaining considerable momentum after the 1980s.[7] This decade witnessed the publication of thematic

[4] K. L. Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse", *Representations* 69 (2000), p. 128.

[5] Reprinted in Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, The Heritage of Sociology, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

[6] As far as "memory and history" are concerned, the leading role of Holocaust studies still continues. In 1994, shortly after shooting *Schindler's List*, Steven Spielberg founded the "Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation" to collect and archive testimonies of survivors and witnesses of the Holocaust. The Shoah Foundation houses more than 50,000 testimonies in 32 languages from 56 different countries and is the largest audio-visual archive in the world.

[7] Kokkinos underlined the fact that even in reference works, such as the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York 1967), Raymond Williams' *Keywords: A*

journals specifically on this issue, such as *Representations* (1982) and *History and Memory* (1989). I should also emphasize the role of the "French factor": the publication of the seven-volume *Les lieux de mémoire* by Pierre Nora started in 1984 and was completed in 1992. Nora's introduction to this study, "Entre mémoire et historie", is noteworthy in terms of its direct reference to the relationship between history and memory. In 1989 it was republished in English in *Representations*. In this work, Nora defined memory as a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present through an act of remembering within the sacred, unlike history, which is a prosaic representation of the past produced intellectually and secularly.[8] Another groundbreaking study, *Histoire et mémoire*, came from Jacques Le Goff in 1988 and it was translated into English in 1992. One should also mention the increasing influence of Foucault in the Anglo-American academia and his studies on counter-memory, genealogy and history. There were also some other pioneering studies on Jewish history,[9] on Germany[10] and on the United States.[11] With the research conducted in Holocaust and genocide studies and the theoretical framework provided by the New Cultural History movement in the 1980s and then by postmodernism and post-structuralism, a much greater interest in the study of history and memory emerged.[12]

Vocabulary of Culture (London 1976) and *Faire de l'histoire* (Paris 1974), edited by Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora, there is not a single reference to the concept of memory before the 1980s. See Giorgos Kokkinos, "Η δυναμική της μνήμης και της λήθης στη δημόσια σφαίρα και οι νόμοι της μνήμης στη Γαλλία" [The dynamics of memory and oblivion in the public sphere and the laws of memory in France], in *Το τραύμα και οι πολιτικές της μνήμης. Ενδεικτικές όψεις των συμβολικών πολέμων για την ιστορία και τη μνήμη* [Trauma and the politics of memory: indicative aspects of the symbolic war for history and memory], ed. Giorgos Kokkinos, Elli Lemonidou and Vlassis Agtzidis, Thessaloniki: Taxideftis, 2010, p. 33.

[8] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les lieux de memoire", *Representations* 26 (1989), pp. 8-9.

[9] Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor, Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, The Samuel and Althea Stroum Lectures in Jewish Studies, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982.

[10] Charles S. Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.

[11] Michael G. Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, New York: Knopf, [1]1991.

[12] The literature on "memory and history" has not taken a unidirectional path. There are scholars who merge these two concepts as much as they can, such as Susan Crane ("Writing the Individual Back into Collective Memory", *American Historical Review* 102 [December 1997], pp. 1372-1385), Nicholas Doumanis (*Myth and Memory in the*

Historians developed a great fascination for the subject of memory not for the sake of a bourgeois subjectivity, but for the window of opportunity that was opened by this approach to research certain marginalized groups in society such as women, minorities, refugees, migrants, gypsies, or survivors of different ethnic cleansing episodes. This led to some new methods of writing history that are built upon the necessity of combining archival materials with oral testimonies and material culture to expose the experiences of relatively silent or silenced groups and to go beyond reiterating verbatim platitudes from national master narratives. This understanding is rooted in the dialectical tension between the supposed objectivity of archival documents and the assumed subjectivity of memory, that is, that of orality and personal/familial belongings. I believe that this methodological approach opens new avenues for the studies of the population exchange and refugees.

III. "*Memory from Above*": *The Epic Faculty* par excellence

How is the Greco-Turkish population exchange remembered by the Greek and Turkish nation-states?[13] In this section, as an answer to this question, I try to show that these two nation-states followed two opposite ways of engineering the collective memories of the corresponding societies regarding the population exchange. By "engineer" I am basically referring to a common feature of Greece and Turkey, which is to embed the exchange within the epics of their respective national narratives. This surely echoes Walter Benjamin's definition of memory as the "epic faculty *par excellence*".[14] In

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Mediterranean: Remembering Fascism's Empire, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), Patrick H. Hutton (*History as an Art of Memory*, Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993) and Luisa Passerini ("Oral Memory of Fascism", in *Rethinking Italian Fascism: Capitalism, Populism and Culture*, ed. David Forgacs, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1986, pp. 185-196); those who criticize the effects of an excessive preoccupation with memory in the discipline, such as Klein ("On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse") and Allan Megill (*Historical Knowledge, Historical Error: A Contemporary Guide to Practice*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); and those whose position is that memory and history are diametrically opposite, such as Nora ("Between Memory and History").

[13] The historiography of the population exchange is not one of the concerns of this study. For a comprehensive analysis of the population exchange, see Onur Yıldırım, "The 1923 Population Exchange: Refugees and National Historiographies in Greece and Turkey", *East European Quarterly* 40, 1 (2006), pp. 45-70, and *id.*, "Ladas, Pentzopoulos ve Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi. Bir Üst-Anlatının Anlatısı", *Toplum ve Bilim* 119 (2010), pp. 184-205.

[14] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, New York: Harcourt, 1968, p. 97.

the case of the population exchange, the "collective memory" upon which the master narrative of each nation-state was built constitutes the epic story *par excellence*. Furthermore, following Benjamin's argument, it can be noted that memory, in this case the collective memory of the population exchange, functions not only to remember but also to forget selectively or to "fail" to recall, or even to "disremember". This feature of memory is directly related to the concept of nostalgia, which helps us to conceptualize the different paths of the nationalist narratives in two countries.

Nostalgia is a concept that is simply about accuracy of remembering and nothing but a selective perception of the past,[15] resulting in a critical engagement with history.[16] It emerges out of a consciousness of the chasm between the past and the present and a consciousness that something has "shattered" and is likely to be lost. The tumultuous process that led to the Greco-Turkish population exchange can be defined as a "rupture"[17] in time and place in the "national cosmologies"[18] of Greece and Turkey and left not only the refugees but also the countries on different sides of the chasm. On one side of the chasm, in Greece, the national identity was produced and reproduced in a "communal myth"[19] by reference to a phantom trauma caused by this rupture. On the other hand, a long-lasting silence portrays Turkey's public sphere, since the Turkish nation-state preferred not to incorporate the period prior to the rupture into its national narrative.[20] As seen here, both in Greece and Turkey, nationalism has set the limits of what I will call the permissible past.[21] Considering this and the basic meaning of

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[15] Janelle L. Wilson, "Nuances of Nostalgia: An Essay on the Relationship among Memory, Nostalgia, and Identity", in *Sociology of Memory: Papers from the Spectrum*, ed. Noel Packard, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009, p. 103.

[16] Steven Ostovich, "Epilogue: Dangerous Memories", in *The Work of Memory: New Directions in the Study of German Society and Culture*, ed. Alon Confino and Peter Fritzsche, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002, p. 204.

[17] Aslı Iğsız, "Repertoires of Rupture: Recollecting the 1923 Greek-Turkish Compulsory Religious Minority Exchange", Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 2006.

[18] L. H. Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995, p. 244.

[19] For the concept of "communal myth", see Doumanis, *Myth and Memory in the Mediterranean*, and Wendy Ugolini, "Memory, War and the Italians in Edinburgh: The Role of Communal Myth", *National Identities* 8 (2006), pp. 421-436.

[20] For a discussion on continuity and discontinuity in Turkish historiography, see Aytek Soner Alpan, "Modern Türkiye Tarihyazımında Süreklilik-Kopuş", *Bilim ve Gelecek* 73 (2010), pp. 21-47.

[21] There are many similar concepts or explanations to the one that I offer here. For instance, while commenting on the history and historiography of modern Turkey, Herkül

nostalgia as a referent of an intense longing for the homeland,[22] one can claim that in Greece the official discourse followed a nostalgic path by attributing a biblical meaning (the Exodus) to the "uprooting" of Asia Minor Hellenism; whereas marginalizing the historical significance of the exchange through a marked, if not complete, disavowal resulted in the anti-nostalgic approach that characterized the official discourse in Turkey.[23] It is more interesting to observe that both these nostalgic and anti-nostalgic paths have been used for the strategic manipulation of the present by the Turkish and Greek nation-states to create the permissible past of each respective nation.[24]

In order to put this framework into practice, I would like to examine different examples of the official discourse in Greece and Turkey. For Greece, I can talk about two main dynamics that became the decisive factors in the origination of a state lexicon regarding refugees: their consciousness of loss and their impact on Greek politics. First of all, the Asia Minor Catastrophe signified the end of the idea of a greater Greece (the Megali Idea); this ideological code had been over-determining Greek political life for almost a century. Its disappearance caused a nation-wide trauma that opened up a chasm between now and then, past and present, while fostering a transcendent sense of belonging. For the late-comers,[25] on the other hand, this general suffering was compounded with the experience of (forced) migration and refugeehood. Therefore, the conceptualization of refugeehood was of direct relevance to the place of origin, the Catastrophe and the ideology of loss. But

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Milas [Iraklis Millas] underlined the fact that the permissible past of a nation is a selective reading of history and added: "[b]ut there is another history of the peoples that is not written, that is not transferred to the new generations by the medium of texts and when many years pass, sometime in the future that vanishes and 'does not live'"; *Εικόνες Ελλήνων και Τούρκων. Σχολικά βιβλία, ιστοριογραφία, λογοτεχνία και εθνικά στερεότυπα* [Images of Greeks and Turks: textbooks, historiography, literature and national stereotypes], Athens: Alexandria, 2005, p. 33. [All translations from Greek and Turkish are my own.]

[22] Etymologically, the word nostalgia comes from the Greek words *νόστ(ος) - άλγ(ος) - ία*; *nostos* = homecoming and *algos* = pain, grief, distress.

[23] Here I follow Rebecca Bryant's argument regarding the different trajectories of official historiographies in Cyprus: "Writing the Catastrophe: Nostalgia and its Histories in Cyprus", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 26, 2 (2008), p. 401.

[24] Further, it can be argued that the official historical narratives of these two nation-states resemble more collective memory than history. Although I believe that it is not possible to make a clear-cut separation between these two, here I refer to the set of oppositions that was developed by James Wertsch to distinguish between these two concepts (see table 1 below); James V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 44.

[25] Particularly those who did not arrive in Greece through the means of élite mobility.

what did they lose? What did they not retain anymore? According to Doulis, the Asia Minor Catastrophe cannot be considered as the loss of an empire in contrast to cases of disintegrating colonial empires,[26] since "Anatolia was not an 'empire' but a *reminder* of the empire they lost centuries ago and a perpetual promise that their national greatness would once again be restored."[27] On the other hand, for the refugees, the loss was more concrete and more substantial: "'My home! My home!' my deceased mother-in-law was saying, while looking desperately all around the walls of her house. 'How can I abandon and go?! [...] My labor, my efforts… My soul… My God! Why did you do that?'"[28]

In Greece, the consciousness of a loss, referring back to Ostovich's description of nostalgia, molded the definition of refugeehood and nation as well as citizenship, which, in time, developed into an ideology, the ideology of lost homelands [ιδεολογία των "χαμένων πατρίδων"], as Antonis Liakos called it.[29] He maintained that the bundle of ideas, feelings and post-memories became an ideology only with "metapolitefsi" [μεταπολίτευση][30] and the first decade of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), when the need emerged for an ethno-popular ideology that could restore a sense of social order after the long years of dictatorial rule.[31] Although it is not

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[26] T. Doulis, *Disaster and Fiction: Modern Greek Fiction and the Impact of the Asia Minor Disaster of 1922*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977, p. 4.

[27] *Ibid.* [my emphasis].

[28] Serafim Rizos, "Καππαδοκία. Περιφέρεια Σινασός" [Cappadocia: District of Sinasos], *Νέα Εστία* 92, 1091 (1973) [special issue: memory of Asia Minor], p. 195.

[29] See Antonis Liakos, "Ιδεολογία των 'χαμένων πατρίδων'" [Ideology of "lost homelands"], *Το Βήμα* (13-9-1998), and *id.*, "Εισαγωγή" [Introduction], in *Το 1922 και οι πρόσφυγες. Μια νέα ματιά* [1922 and the refugees: a new look], ed. Antonis Liakos, Athens: Nefeli, 2011, pp. 11-23. One should also mention Kitromilides' "ideology of refugeehood": "Ideological use of this experience, which arose from the Catastrophe and was the consequence of the tragedy, of the defeat and the frustration of national expectations, gave rise to treatments that functioned therapeutically, like another way out for the catharsis of the sufferings that the generation covered in blood had experienced." Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "Η ιδεολογία του προσφυγισμού" [The ideology of refugeehood], in *Η Μικρασιατική Καταστροφή* [The Asia Minor Catastrophe], ed. Christina Koulouri, Athens: Ta Nea, 2010, pp. 167-169.

[30] Liakos, "Ιδεολογία των 'χαμένων πατρίδων'", and *id.*, "Εισαγωγή", p. 12. In Greek historiography, the term "metapolitefsi" refers to the transitional period from the fall of the junta of the colonels in 1974 to the legislative elections in the same year. The term can be translated as "regime change".

[31] There is a growing body of literature on the criticism of the lost homelands ideology in Greece. Haris Exertzoglou's recent study considers the socio-cultural history of the

going to be investigated here in detail, there is a positive correlation between institutionalization of this discourse, that is to say becoming an ideology, and the proliferation of refugee organizations, which defined themselves in reference to the Asia Minor Catastrophe, in the 1980s.[32] Although the formation of this ideology came relatively late, the compilation of the lexicon started almost as early as the population exchange itself. A well-known example can demonstrate this: Charles P. Howland, the head of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, in the 1926 report to the Council of the League of Nations referred to the event as "the Exodus",[33] a term that reflected the perception of events and that helped determine the course of memory construction. I will return to this term in the next section.[34]

The Asia Minor refugees entered into an already polarized political environment, marked by the deep schism between Venizelists and royalists, and the refugees had to choose a side.[35] Soon after their arrival, refugees realized their political power: they constituted one fourth of the population

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Rum in the late Ottoman Empire by focusing on topics such as gender, women, social hierarchy and poverty, which have been overshadowed so far by the discourse of lost homelands; Haris Exertzoglou, *Οι "χαμένες πατρίδες" πέρα από τη νοσταλγία. Μια κοινωνική-πολιτισμική ιστορία των Ρωμιών της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας (μέσα 19ου - αρχές 20ού αιώνα)* ["Lost homelands" beyond nostalgia: a socio-cultural history of the *Rum* of the Ottoman Empire (mid-nineteenth – early twentieth centuries)], ed. Antonis Liakos and Efi Gazi, Athens: Nefeli, 2011.

[32] For the proliferation of refugee organizations and the increase in their activities and public visibility, see Michel Bruneau and Kyriakos Papoulidis, *Η μνήμη του προσφυγικού ελληνισμού. Τα ανεγερθέντα μνημεία στην Ελλάδα, 1936-2004* [The memory of refugee Hellenism: monuments erected in Greece, 1936-2004], Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis, 2004.

[33] Greek Refugee Settlement Commission of the League of Nations, *Η εγκατάσταση των προσφύγων στην Ελλάδα* [The settlement of refugees in Greece], Geneva: League of Nations, 1997 [1926], p. 9.

[34] For this discussion, see also Penelope Papailias, *Genres of Recollection: Archival Poetics and Modern Greece*, Anthropology, History, and the Critical Imagination, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, pp. 248-249, and Georgios Tenekidis, "Πρόλογος" [Foreword], in *Η Έξοδος* [The Exodus], ed. P. D. Apostolopoulos and G. Mourelos, Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1980, Vol. 1, pp. 27-28.

[35] The refugee influx from Asia Minor to Greece started before the Asia Minor Catastrophe. However, the percentage of these early refugees within the larger refugee community was smaller in comparison to that of those who arrived in Greece just before, during or after the Catastrophe (in or after 1922). According to fieldwork conducted in Athens in 1973, 82% of the participants of refugee origin arrived in Greece in or after 1922; E. Sandis, *Refugees and Economic Migrants in Greater Athens*, Athens: National Centre of Social Research, 1973, p. 83.

and hence were too big a sector of society to be ignored by any of the political parties. All of the five governments that came to power between 1924 and 1928 had measures pertaining to refugee settlement and integration as critical elements of their political agenda.[36] It was the despair of refugees and the realization by both refugees and the political parties of the importance of the refugee vote that made the refugee factor "an uncontestable fact of the political life of Greece"[37] one way or another and thus both refugees and the problems that ensued from the influx of so many people became a dominating factor in political discourse. In 1924 some Venizelist deputies in the parliament were defining the refugee problem as a "gigantic social problem" [μέγα πρόβλημα κοινωνικόν], or as "our most important social problem" [το σπουδαιότερο κοινωνικό μας πρόβλημα], or, by refusing the previous descriptions of the issue, which perceived it as a "national issue", "the most national of (all) issues" [το εθνικώτερον των ζητημάτων].[38] Anti-Venizelists developed a strictly anti-refugee discourse, while Venizelos and the Venizelists enjoyed the loyalty of refugees until the signing of the Ankara Agreement between Greece and Turkey in 1930.[39]

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[36] Stathis Pelagidis, "Προσφυγικά προβλήματα του Βορειοελλαδικού και λοιπού χώρου στο Ελληνικό Κοινοβούλιο (1924-1928)" [Refugee problems of northern Greek and surrounding areas in the Greek parliament (1924-1928)], *Μακεδονικά* 26 (1988), p. 65. For a comprehensive analysis of political preferences and behaviors of the refugees, see George T. Mavrogordatos, *Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922-1936*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, pp. 182-225; and for the importance of the refugee vote in Athens in the interwar period, see Spiros Karavas, "Η προσφυγική ψήφος στο πολεοδομικό συγκρότημα της Αθήνας την περίοδο του Μεσοπολέμου" [The refugee vote in the urban agglomeration of Athens in the interwar period] *Δέλτιο ΚΜΣ* 9 (1992), pp. 135-156.

[37] Cited by D. Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact upon Greece*, The Hague: Mouton, 1962, p. 168, from *Προσφυγικός Κόσμος* [Refugee world] (17-3-1928).

[38] Areti Tounta-Fergadi, *Το προσφυγικό δάνειο* [The refugee loan], Thessaloniki: Paratiritis, 1986, pp. 23-24.

[39] The Ankara Agreement is said to be another turning point in the history of Modern Greece. See Ephigeneia Anastasiadou, "Ο Βενιζέλος και το Ελληνοτουρκικό Σύμφωνο Φιλίας του 1930" [Venizelos and the Greco-Turkish Agreement of Friendship of 1930], in *Μελετήματα γύρω από τον Βενιζέλο και την εποχή του* [Studies on Venizelos and his era], ed. Thanos Veremis and Odysseas Dimitrakopoulos, Athens: Philippotis, 1980, pp. 309-426, and Evanthis Hatzivassiliou and Aristovoulos Manesis, *Ο Ελευθέριος Βενιζέλος, η Ελληνοτουρκική προσέγγιση και το πρόβλημα της ασφάλειας στα Βαλκάνια, 1928-1931* [Eleftherios Venizelos, the Greco-Turkish rapprochement and the security problem in the Balkans, 1928-1931], Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1999.

On the other hand, the nascent Turkish state was quite determined to sweep the population exchange underneath the rug, and this required silencing the refugees of the population exchange and orchestrating collective silence about this event. This may be best observed from the attitude of the Turkish state towards the process of the refugee adaptation. The government never hid its discomfort with the refugees' demands and activities. The activities of some refugee organizations annoyed the government so intensely that they were not only closed and banned, but on 6 November 1924 Recep Bey (Peker), the Minister of Internal Affairs and the surrogate Minister of Exchange, delivered a speech in parliament saying that the population exchange was already over, and that the "schismatic" actions of the refugee organizations, which reminded him of the pre-war dissension between the Muslim and non-Muslim elements of the empire, would not be tolerated due to the bitter memories of the nation.[40] This symbolic speech has threefold implications. (1) Considering the fact that refugees were only demanding their rights as citizens and as exchangees, the government viewed a discourse based on a distinct refugee identity as schismatic. (2) The minister's reference to the population exchange as an event of the past while the transportation of refugees was still in progress signifies that the emerging nation-state in Turkey was ready to forget it. (3) In order to forget the exchange and to restrict competing efforts that tried to have a voice in representing the exchange and the refugees, the method that the Turkish state adopted was to suppress it with an imposed silence and to relegate it to the realm of "history". Obviously, here history refers to the narrative of national independence.

This can best be seen in Mustafa Kemal's *Nutuk* [Speech], which was delivered between 15 and 20 October 1927 on the occasion of the second congress of the Republican People's Party.[41] In his *Nutuk*, Mustafa Kemal referred to the population exchange a few times; and he described a "plot" in parliament in 1924, which a group of deputies allegedly organized against the government and particularly Mustafa Kemal himself, and how these deputies were abusing this special subject and the problems about the

[40] From the minutes of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, Devre: II, İçtima Senesi: 2, Cilt: 10, 1 Teşrin-i Sani 1340 – 4 Kanun-ı Evvel 1340, Ankara 1975, pp. 85-86.

[41] This speech is not a straightforward narrative of the events between 1919 and 1927. With an obvious functionalist approach to the history, the orator aimed to "enable history to investigate [the] revolution" (cited from Mustafa Kemal by Taha Parla, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültürün Resmi Kaynaklari*, Istanbul: Iletisim, [1]1991, p. 21) and to draw the basic lines of official historiography. For a comprehensive textual analysis of Kemal's *Nutuk*, see Parla's book (*ibid.*).

refugee resettlement to provoke other deputies and draw support against Mustafa Kemal.[42] Clearly, Mustafa Kemal spoke of the population exchange only as the background to his personal power struggle. Only in 1931 did he commemorate the migrants [*muhacirler*] from the Balkans by calling them "national memories of the lost homelands", which is the only appearance of the element of lost homelands in the Turkish state's discourse in the context of the refugees and migrants, which was built upon the idealization of the *Misak-ı Milli* [national pact] formalized with the Lausanne Agreement.[43]

Another way of locating the place of the population exchange in official discourses is to examine school textbooks, because they are, as Gellner put it, one of the major instruments of nationalism, helping to "incorporate the great majority of the population in one education-mediated, citizenship-conferring culture",[44] because "[i]n our contemporary life, […] [t]he language which counts comes later, with school textbooks".[45] The importance of textbooks lies also in their being sources for the reproduction and consumption of public memory in order to redefine the "national self" in reference to the other(s) and through selective recollection of the past in accordance with the present.[46] Therefore, textbooks are authoritative documents that reproduce

[42] For the significance of this dispute in the parliament, see Erik Jan Zürcher, *Political Opposition in the Early Turkish Republic: The Progressive Republican Party, 1924-1925*, Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1991, and for its impact upon the refugees of the exchange, see Aytek Soner Alpan, "'Silence is not Golden': Refugees and Policies of Resettlement in Early Turkish Republic", presented at *ASN 2010*, New York 2010.

[43] I should note that although it is very usual to come across this maxim while reading on the population exchange or refugees in Turkish, I could not trace its genuine source. According to the citations, the maxim is supposed to have been uttered on 17 January 1931. In Kocatürk's *Bibliographical Ataturk Diary* there is no record of an event on this specific date where Mustafa Kemal could have pronounced it. The most important newspapers of the period do not report it either; Utkan Kocatürk, *Doğumundan Ölümüne Kadar Kaynakçalı Atatürk Günlüğü*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1999.

[44] Ernest Gellner, "Nationalism", *Theory and Society* 10, 6 (1981), p. 770.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 757.

[46] Efi Avdela, "The Teaching of History in Greece", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 18 (2000), p. 248; *id.*, "Η συγκρότηση της εθνικής ταυτότητας στο ελληνικό σχολείο. 'Εμείς' και οι 'αλλοι'" [The formation of Greek identity in Greek school: "us" and the "others"], in *"Τι είν' η πατρίδα μας;". Εθνοκεντρισμός στην εκπαίδευση* [What's our homeland?: ethnocentrism in education], ed. Anna Frangudaki and Thaleia Dragona, Athens: Alexandria, 2003, p. 34.

official discourse[47] through selective memory, thus situating them squarely in the middle of the politics of memory.

In Greece, I was surprised to discover that before the 1980s, the Asia Minor Catastrophe, the population exchange and the ensuing problems that Greece faced were very briefly included in school textbooks, though such an "absence" seems logical when one considers the discussion above about the ideology of lost homelands.[48] Although neither the historical significance of the sources nor the rationale of preference regarding the sources used in the book is explained to the students and the nationalistic subtext is obvious,[49] the population exchange and the process that led to it is explained in detail with references and excerpts from primary sources in *Θέματα Νεότερης και Σύγχρονης Ιστορίας από τις πηγές* [Issues of modern and contemporary history from the sources].[50] The section titled "Towards the Adjustment of the Matters in the Near East: The Lausanne Conference" starts with the picture of a Greek school on the Dardanelles from the early twentieth century.[51] In this section, the population exchange is listed as one of the three

[47] Koulouri claimed that schoolbooks reflect the prevalent ideology, but not necessarily the official one; Christina Koulouri (ed.), *Clio in the Balkans: The Politics of History Education*, Thessaloniki: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, 2002, p. 33. This is a disputable argument, especially in this case. Both Greece and Turkey have very centralized, state-led processes of textbook publication. For a similar emphasis, see Yannis Hamilakis, "'Learn History!': Antiquity, National Narrative and History in Greek Educational Textbooks", in *The Usable Past: Greek Metahistories, Greek Studies*, ed. Keith S. Brown and Yannis Hamilakis, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003, pp. 58-59.

[48] For the change of the textbook vocabulary in Greece regarding the Asia Minor "Catastrophe" and the relevance of textbooks to memory, see Christina Koulouri, "'Καταστροφή', 'εκστρατεία' και 'πόλεμος' στο σχολείο", ["Catastrophe", "expedition" and "war" at school], *Το Βήμα της Κυριακής* (1-9-2002), p. A38.

[49] The goal of this study is not to discuss the question of ethnocentrism in schoolbooks. Therefore, instead of a detailed textual analysis, I mention an example *en passant* to illustrate the issue. The caption of a photograph of Afyonkarahisar reads, "Thousands of brave men perished there in the bloody battles of the war" (*Θέματα Νεότερης και Σύγχρονης Ιστορίας από τις πηγές* [Issues of modern and contemporary history from the sources], Athens 1984, p. 218), although in the photograph there is not a single element representing these battles. As all national narratives do, here a place is redefined solely in reference to martyrdom.

[50] *Θέματα Νεότερης και Σύγχρονης Ιστορίας από τις πηγές*, Athens 1984, reissued 1985. Although the content of these two editions changed considerably, the part on the Asia Minor Disaster and the population exchange remained the same.

[51] Apart from the portraits of historical figures, a significant proportion of the photographs used in these books show some archeological ruins in Asia Minor or schools. For the usage

major consequences of the Lausanne Conference[52] as leading to the "formal recognition of a new harsh practice for the fate of the peoples: the population exchange". The results of the population exchange are also discussed in the following pages, where the platitudes are reiterated. In short, the following is recounted:

> With the arrival of refugees:
>
> 1. The density of the Greek population in different regions of the country was increased.
> 2. The economic and intellectual life in the country improved thanks to the labor and creativity of the Greeks of Asia Minor.
> 3. Simultaneously an acute problem, refugeehood, which kept Greek society busy for decades, came into existence.
> 4. Hellenism was diminished. […][53]

The discussion of the theme ends with a picture of refugees in the square of Chios. The caption says: "The first stop of the escape from some '*lost homeland*'. Nobody knows where the second stop will be and where they will take root again [ξαναρίζωμα]."[54]

Another book that was used in the 1980s is *Ιστορία Νεότερη και Σύγχρονη. Ελληνική, Ευρωπαϊκή και Παγκόσμια* [Modern and contemporary history: Greek, European and world].[55] The tenth chapter of the book is titled "Greece in the Twentieth Century: National Campaign, Crises and Searches (1910-1983)" and it deals with the Asia Minor Disaster and the "refugee problem" in detail. It discusses the flight of Asia Minor Greeks and then characterizes the population exchange as "the uprooting [ξεριζωμός] of 3000-year-old Asia Minor Hellenism",[56] and it states that "for the uprooting of Hellenism from Asia Minor, the biblical word 'Exodus' was aptly used."[57] In *Θέματα Ιστορίας* [Issues of history], used in the early 1990s, there is Alexis Alexandris' chapter titled "Greco-Turkish Relations". It deals with the population exchange

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of archeological images in Greek textbooks, see Hamilakis, "'Learn History!'". For a general discussion, see D. Tyack, "Monuments between Covers", *American Behavioral Scientist* 42, 6 (1999), pp. 922-932.

[52] *Θέματα Νεότερης και Σύγχρονης Ιστορίας από τις πηγές*, p. 381.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 382.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 383 (my emphasis).

[55] V. Kremmydas, *Ιστορία Νεότερη και Σύγχρονη. Ελληνική, Ευρωπαϊκή και Παγκόσμια*, Athens 1987.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 351.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 349.

and its aftermath as an extension of the Asia Minor Disaster, as well as an episode in Greek diplomatic history, as the title of the chapter makes clear. Consequently, the refugee issue in Greece was a sub-subject that was treated under the title of "Greco-Turkish Relations, 1923-1945".[58] According to the author, the comparison of the number of Constantinopolitan Greeks in 1918 and 1922 and the number of Muslims in Western Thrace, that is to say the main groups excluded from the population exchange, would reveal the "success" of the Turkish delegation, in the retrospective character of the exchange, to the Lausanne Conference, which made nearly 100,000 Greeks living in Constantinople the subjects of the exchange. The content of this book, however, was modified in 1999, and this is the version that was in use in high schools until recently. In the new textbook (*Θέματα Νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας* [Issues of Modern Greek history]), the third chapter, written by Nikolaos Andriotis, is completely devoted to the refugee problem in Greece from the Greek Revolution of 1821 until 1930.[59] Although the chapter covers more than a hundred years, almost half of the chapter deals with the arrival of refugees from 1922 onwards, their resettlement, the problem of their compensation for abandoned properties and finally their integration. So even now, the narrative in contemporary textbooks follows closely the linear, predictable and revivalist metanarrative endorsed by the state.

Before closing this discussion, a final observation can be made regarding the textbooks used in Greece and how they treat the exchange. The most popular and most visible historical source that is cited repeatedly is the collection entitled *Η Έξοδος* [The Exodus]; these volumes are basically a collection of testimonies of Asia Minor refugees culled from the archive of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies.[60] Although the Centre for Asia Minor Studies is not state-sponsored, its long and sustained efforts at collecting oral

[58] A. Alexandris, "Ελληνοτουρκικές σχέσεις, 1923-1945", *Θέματα Ιστορίας* [Issues of history], Athens 1991, p. 173.

[59] Nikolaos Andriotis, "Το προσφυγικό ζήτημα στην Ελλάδα (1821-1930)" [The refugee question in Greece (1821-1930)], *Θέματα Νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας* [Issues of Modern Greek history], Athens 2007, pp. 116-171. The chapter starts with a photograph of Loukas Doukas' sculpture *Refugees*, which displays how desperate the women and children refugees were. In the introduction to the chapter, it is recounted that, "For those refugee transfers, the historical sources are very limited, because historiography and travelers of the period were basically occupied with political and strategic events of the Struggle.", p. 118.

[60] P. D. Apostolopoulos and G. Mourelos (eds), *Η Έξοδος* [The Exodus], 2 vols, Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1980-1982.

histories and testimonies from Asia Minor refugees starting from the 1930s produced a massive collection of archival materials that are housed at the Centre. These materials, and not the activities of the Centre *per se*, became the main vehicle for the institutionalization of scattered personal memories in the form of an ideology that then turned into an integral part of the official discourse in Greece, defining officially the nation's collective memory.[61]

As far as the Turkish side is concerned, I will start with the textbook *Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları* [Outlines of Turkish history, hereafter *OTH*], published in 1931 and used until 1941.[62] The Greco-Turkish population exchange is mentioned twice in *OTH*.[63] In the first, the exchange is just defined in the context of the Lausanne Agreement:

> Except for the Istanbul *Rum* and the Western Thracian Turks, the *Rum* in Turkey and the Turks in Greece would be *exchanged*. Thus, the Greeks who fled from Anatolia and Thrace together with the Greek army would not be able to return, and the Turks in Greece would be sent [to Turkey]. Those Greeks and Turks who were exchanged were strictly prohibited from returning to their former properties.[64]

It is worth mentioning that the next section in the book, called "The Turkish Miracle", argues at length that the nascent republic managed to resist the occupation of the imperialist powers and to rise up from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire despite the widespread human, economic, material and environmental challenges they faced. According to the book, there were two factors that made this process miraculous and that had not been properly explained before: "the Turkish Nation and Mustafa Kemal".[65] In this book the population exchange is also referred to in the section on the revitalization of trade in Turkey after the establishment of Turkey. According to *OTH*, the commercial capacity of the country declined considerably due to the burden of the war and the population exchange.[66] The population exchange resulted in the loss of the *Rum*-Orthodox population, which was the most

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[61] It should also be underlined that the archival material housed at the Centre for Asia Minor Studies is also utilized in revisionist studies, for it contains counter-memories of co-existence that challenge the dominant discourse.

[62] This four-volume series was reprinted by a Kemalist publishing house with the title *Kemalist Eğitimin Tarih Dersleri*, Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2001. In this study, I used this edition.

[63] *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, pp. 127 and 300.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 300-301.

active segment of society in trade after the state in the Ottoman Empire. They were not only supported by European capital and industry, but also enjoyed tax privileges that put them in a more advantageous position than that of "Turks, the owner of the country". Similar to the first part, the expulsion of the Greeks, who were blocking the "Turk's springs of talent" [*Türkün yetenek pınarları*],[67] is presented as a positive step – in the last instance – towards Turkification of the economic sphere. Accordingly, the book deals with the Lausanne Agreement and its content, and it emphasizes the positive impact of the population exchange. What happened to the refugees or how the exchange took place are the questions that are not covered in the book. The same bias persists in works published in the following decades. The *İnkılap Tarihi* [History of revolution] written by a notable Turkish historian, Enver Behnan Şapolyo, in 1961 mentions the exchange only in the context of the Lausanne Agreement and provides just a basic definition of the population exchange.[68] *İnkılap Tarihine Giriş* [Introduction to the history of revolution, hereafter *IHR*), a textbook written for freshmen college students,[69] explores the subject relatively in more detail than the other textbooks discussed so far. *IHR*, as did the previous textbooks, investigates the issue of the population exchange within the context of the Lausanne Agreement. The chapter in which the exchange is discussed is titled "An Examination of the Lausanne Agreement in Terms of its Content".[70] After summarizing the articles of the convention concerning the exchange, Abadan claimed that the historical importance of the Lausanne Agreement lies in the fact that the idea of a *compulsory* population exchange was a new legal institution to resolve conflicts. Hence, the idea of a compulsory exchange of populations changed the terms of international law. Abadan wrote that Fridtjof Nansen, who formulated this solution in light of his regional investigations, was the one who put the idea on the table. Yet both parties seemed to be hesitant and they were pushed to sign the convention. According to Abadan, both states

[67] While writing on ethnocentrism in Greek history textbooks, Nikos Ahlis observed that Greeks are portrayed as "full of virtue and talent", whereas Bulgarians or Turks are obstacles in the path of the full-fledged realization of those characteristics; Nikos Ahlis, *Οι γειτονικοί μας λαοί. Βούλγαροι και Τούρκοι στα σχολικά βιβλία ιστορίας γυμνασίου και λυκείου* [Our neighboring peoples: Bulgarians and Turks in textbooks of middle and high schools], Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis, 1983, pp. 53-54.

[68] Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *İnkılap Tarihi*, Ankara: İstiklal Matbaası, 1961, p. 89.

[69] Yavuz Abadan, *İnkılap Tarihine Giriş*, Ankara: Ajans Türk Matbaası, 1962. I chose this textbook, for it deals with the population exchange at length, relatively.

[70] *Ibid*., pp. 80-81.

managed to take the necessary measures to heal the wounds and reduce the suffering of the refugees. His conclusion is particularly noteworthy. For him, the agreement between the two states and their cooperation resulted in the peaceful resolution of a centuries' long struggle.[71] Another textbook that was widely used in Turkish high schools in the 1980s and 1990s anachronistically refers to the population exchange as "another important conflict resolved at the Lausanne Conference".[72] Although the textbooks of the 2000s are said to be better, in terms of a critical approach there seems to be no significant difference at all.[73] In short, the Turkish history textbooks that I examined deal with the population exchange superficially and only in the context of the Lausanne Agreement. The ensuing developments after the population exchange are completely neglected, if not distorted, as are the experiences of the refugees.

The final point that I want to cover in this section is how the two states conceptualize the population exchange (and the process that led to it) today. In Greece, the nostalgic path continues to prevail and seems to reach its "logical" end. The process that led to the exchange is *de jure* identified as genocide. In 1994, the Hellenic Parliament unanimously voted for the proclamation of 19 May as the "Commemoration Day for the Genocide of Greeks of Asia Minor Pontos" [Ημέρα μνήμης για τη γενοκτονία των Ελλήνων στο Μικρασιατικό Πόντο].[74] In 1998, with law no. 2645, the Hellenic Republic

[71] *Ibid*., p. 81. Here Abadan obviously reiterated the lore around the population exchange, which shows it as a sanitized process that even solved the age-old issues of Greco-Turkish relations. This is obviously not true, for the exchange itself became the major problematic theme between these two countries after the war.

[72] Hamza Eroğlu, *Türk İnkılap Tarihi*, Ankara: Milli Eğitim Matbaası, 1982, p. 201.

[73] In one of the supplementary materials prepared for the high schools by the Turkish Ministry of National Education, there is a shameful mistake. According to the book, the population exchange took place after the Ankara Agreement in 1930: "Türk-Yunan ilişkilerini tehlikeli bir duruma getiren bu uyuşmazlık 10 Haziran 1930'da yapılan anlaşma ile giderilmiştir. Böylece nüfus mübadelesi (değiş-tokuş) gerçekleşmiştir"; see Alim Öztürk, *T .C. İnkılap Tarihi ve Atatürkçülük*, Ankara: T. C. Milli Egitim Bakanligi, 2007, p. 74.

[74] Bruneau and Papoulidis, *Η μνήμη του προσφυγικού ελληνισμού*, p. 47. For the recognition of the "Pontic Genocide" and its relevance to collective memory, see Haris Exertzoglou, "Μνήμη και γενοκτονία. Η αναγνώριση της 'Γενοκτονίας του Ποντιακού και Μικρασιατικού Ελληνισμού' από το Ελληνικό Κοινοβούλιο" [Memory and genocide: the recognition of the "Genocide of Pontic and Asia Minor Hellenism" by the Greek Parliament], paper presented at the Historein Conference, Athens 2001. The choice of day is obviously symbolic. Mustafa Kemal landed at Samsun as an Ottoman officer on 19

officially designated 14 September as the "National Commemoration Day of the Genocide of the Asia Minor Greeks by the Turkish State" [Η ημέρα εθνικής μνήμης της γενοκτονίας των Ελλήνων της Μικράς Ασίας από το Τουρκικό Κράτος], referring to the "occupation of Smyrna by the Turkish armed forces" in 1922. On the other hand, the Turkish state's approach is still rooted in purposeful neglect. There are, however, some exceptional cases that took place recently. On 11 October 2008 Vecdi Gönül, then the Minister of National Defense, referred to the population exchange as an important step in the nation-building process and asked, "If the *Rum* had remained on the Aegean coasts, could there be the same nation-state?" On 17 August 2009 a former minister of foreign affairs and a professor of constitutional law, Mümtaz Soysal, wrote in his column in a prominent newspaper, *Cumhuriyet*, that the population exchange had solved many of Turkey's past problems and that in the future this solution could be applied to the Kurds living in the south-eastern regions of Turkey and the Turkomans living in the northern part of Iraq.[75]

In short, through surveying some of the many ways of crafting and defining collective memory, I have tried to show that the two nation-states employed different methods to deal with the personal memories and the "relics" of the population exchange. Both states, however, instilled the representation of the population exchange, and hence its collective memory, in a "state-approved civic truth"[76] in order to (re-)produce national identity and loyalty.[77]

IV. *"Memory from Below": Identity and Ritualized Nostalgia*

While doing research on the population exchange, I was faced with a striking example that clearly shows the relationship between identity and memory. I sent an email to one of the oldest and most active refugee organizations functioning in Athens, namely the Σύλλογος Αλατσατιανών [Association of Alatsatians], in order to arrange an interview with them on the history of the association, the experiences of "the refugees of the population exchange"

May 1919, and retrospectively this date is regarded as the beginning of the Turkish War of Independence in the official historiography and as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's birthday. Every year an annual Turkish national holiday, the Day of Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth and Sports, is officially celebrated on 19 May.

[75] Mümtaz Sosyal, "Kesin Çözüm", *Cumhuriyet* (17-8-2009), p. 2.

[76] Tyack, "Monuments between Covers", p. 922.

[77] For a complete analysis of this realm, one needs to consider state ceremonies as mnemonic rites, monuments and commemorative speeches in more details.

and their recent activities. The General Secretary of the Association, Giannis Aspromouggos, responded to my email as follows:

> The Greeks of the administrative unit of Smyrna, which includes our progenitors' homeland, Alatsata (Alacati), are not a part of the population exchange under the Lausanne Agreement, which was signed in 1923. They are a part of the Greek civilians violently expelled in September 1922, which since you historically study the subject of "the exchange", I believe, you will learn.
>
> Thus we do not have any data on the population exchange in order to have an interview with you. […]

I tried to explain that the term population exchange was not used to express a personal opinion and not to disparage the suffering of the people that experienced the cataclysm, but, due to the fact that the Convention concerning the exchange was retrospective, it did affect those who left their countries willingly or unwillingly after 1912. He did not respond to my subsequent emails. This strong reaction shows that his personal and the association's institutional identity is built upon the memory of expulsion as opposed to exchange, a sanitized and semantically neutral term, which masks the experiences of the refugees and their descendants' suffering due to this rupture, or rather, their "phantom pain" due to the "amputation of a hand that they never had".[78] In other words, the Catastrophe and the expulsion informed not only the biographies and psyches of the first generation but the following generations as well, though, of course, not in the same way. This experience accurately captures the perception of the historical process by the descendants of the refugees; Tenekidis brought this issue forward in his preface to *Η Έξοδος*, in which he said that this title was chosen on purpose in order not to leave the reader with an impression that what happened in Asia Minor was a cold, diplomatic process.[79]

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[78] E. van Alphen, "Second-generation Testimony, Transmission of Trauma, and Post Memory", *Poetics Today* 27, 2 (2006), p. 478. In 2012, the bimonthly publication of the Union of Smyrniots [Ενωση Σμυρναίων], *Μικρασιατική Ηχώ* [Asia Minor Echo], published a note next to its banner saying "1919-1922 – 90 χρόνια χωρίς Σμύρνη" [1922-2012 – 90 years without Smyrna] (see fig. 1). The same union organized a literary contest for children and youth in reference to the Asia Minor Catastrophe with the title "1922-2012: 90 Years of Memory".

[79] Tenekidis, "Πρόλογος", pp. 27-28.

Fig. 1. The banner of the Union of Smyrniots' publication, *Μικρασιατική Ηχώ* [Asia Minor Echo] (January-February 2012).

While a distinct refugee identity and discourse was forming, the emphasis on expulsion became the marker of this identity and an integral part of the "refugee ideology". How did this happen? After the Catastrophe, the refugees' integration into the existing sociopolitical order took time, and the Greek state's initiative alone was not enough to help this process in relative and absolute terms in the face of the problems created by the huge influx of refugees. As shown in the previous section, the refugees' internalization of the host society's beliefs, relating to issues such as their integration into the master narrative that was taught in schools, was belated. In this atmosphere, the refugees proactively took steps to integrate themselves into mainstream society by organizing associations, commissions and centers (for example, the Commission of Pontic Studies [1927] and the Union of Smyrniots [1936]), and by publishing newspapers (*Εφημερίς των Προσφύγων* [Newspaper of refugees; 1923], *Παμπροσφυγική* [Pan-refugee; 1924], *Προσφυγική Φωνή* [Refugee voice; 1924], *Προσφυγικός Κόσμος* [Refugee world; 1927]) and periodicals *Θρακικά* [Thracian; 1928], *Αρχείον Πόντου* [Archives of Pontos; 1928], *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* [Asia Minor chronicles; 1936], *Μικρασιατική Εστία* [Hearth of Asia Minor; 1946], *Ποντιακή Εστία* [Hearth of Pontos; 1950]).[80] Even though refugees did not found it, I should also mention the

[80] For refugee publications, see Vlassis Vlassidis, "Η προσφυγική αποκατάσταση στη Μακεδονία. Οι απόψεις του Ελληνικού Τύπου" [The refugee resettlement in Macedonia: the views of the Greek press], in *Οι πρόσφυγες στη Μακεδονία* [The refugees in Macedonia], ed. Ioannis Koliopoulos and Iakovos Michailidis, Athens: Militos, 2009, pp. 151-155. There are hundreds of smaller refugee organizations and many more publications. In addition to these, the refugees founded sports clubs as well, such as Panionios (1922), AEK (1924) and PAOK (1926). Although PAOK (continuation of the Constantinopolitan team Hermes) and AEK are of Constantinopolitan origin, they became a means of socialization

foundation of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in 1930, which for many, as I discussed above, became the focal point for Asia Minor studies in Greece.[81] These organizations played the role of "mediators of memory", as Liakos and Salvanou noted: "Local historians, clergymen, migrants themselves, learned people and other members of the middle class coming from the erstwhile Ottoman Empire took over the writing of history through the semi-public medium of local journals."[82] The activities of these societies[83] and their publications served as a means of imagination of a refugee community and of remembering Asia Minor (see fig. 2).

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for refugees in Thessaloniki and Athens, respectively. On the other hand, Panionios is the continuation and namesake of the sports club founded in Smyrna in 1890.

[81] For the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, see Octave Merlier and Melpo Merlier, *O τελευταίος Ελληνισμός της Μικράς Ασίας. Έκθεση του έργου του Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών, 1930-1973. Κατάλογος* [The last Hellenism of Asia Minor: report on the work of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1930-1973. Catalog], Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1974; Giorgos Yiannakopoulos, *Προσφυγική Ελλάδα. Φωτογραφίες από το Αρχείο του Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* [Refugee Greece: photographs from the archive of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies] Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1993; Papailias, *Genres of Recollection*; Evi Kapoli, "Archive of Oral Tradition of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies: Its Formation and its Contribution to Research", *Ateliers d'anthropologie* 32 (2008) [whole issue].

[82] Antonis Liakos and Emilia Salvanou, "Citizenship, Memory and Governmentality: A Tale of Two Migrant Communities", in *Citizenship and Identities*, ed. Ann Katherine Isaacs, Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2010, p. 159.

[83] The role of associations in the rise of Greek nationalism is substantial. Between 1861 and 1922 there were around 500 associations, which is seen as a phenomenon – *συλλογομανία* [associomania] – by some scholars; see Kyriaki Mamoni, "Εισαγωγή στην ιστορία των Συλλόγων Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, 1861-1922" [Introduction to the history of the Association of Constantinople, 1861-1922], *Μνημοσύνη Ετήσιον Περιοδικόν της Εταιρείας Ιστορικών Σπουδών επί του Νεώτερου Ελληνισμού* 11 (1990), pp. 211-234; Matoula Kouroupou, "Μορφές κοινωνικής και πολιτιστικής οργάνωσης του Μικρασιατικού Ελληνισμού. Το φαινόμενο των συλλόγων" [Forms of social and cultural organization of Asia Minor: the phenomenon of clubs], *Η Λέξη* 112 (1992), pp. 922-929; Christina Koulouri, *Αθλητισμός και όψεις της αστικής κοινωνικότητας. Γυμναστικά και αθλητικά σωματεία, 1870-1922* [Sports and aspects of urban sociability: gymnastics and sports clubs, 1870-1922], Athens: General Secretary for Youth, 1997; Dimitris Kamouzis, "Από 'σωτήρας της φυλής', 'ευεργέτης των Τούρκων'. Ο Βενιζέλος και η εθνικιστική ηγετική ομάδα των Ρωμιών της Κωνσταντινούπολης, 1918-1930", [From "savior of the nation" to "benefactor of the Turks": Venizelos and the nationalist leadership of the *Rum* of Istanbul, 1918-1930] *Δελτίο ΚΜΣ* 17 (2011), pp. 151-193.

Fig. 2. The banner of the Society of South Kavala's periodical, *Μνήμη. Μνήμη Μικράς Ασίας, μνήμες Καταστροφής* [Memory: memory of Asia Minor, memories of Catastrophe] (September 2011).

Thanks to these efforts, there emerged a voluminous literature around the issues of the Asia Minor Catastrophe, the Exodus and refugeehood.[84] For instance, the first issue of the *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* starts with a preface entitled "Greek culture in Asia Minor".[85] The article's first paragraph summarizes the importance of the political changes in Asia Minor after August 1922 for the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean, particularly Greece and Turkey, and for Hellenism rooted in Asia Minor for more than 3 millennia. Then the author drew a full circle by first recounting the long history of Hellenism in Asia Minor and then returning to the 1922 Catastrophe at the end of the text. The author almost seems to recount this cyclical history in order to trap the reader within the tragedy of Asia Minor Hellenism and to prove the importance of "preserving and researching the relics of Asia Minor".[86]

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[84] Emilios Hourmouzios, "Η 'προσφυγική' λογοτεχνία" [The "refugee" literature], *Νέα Εστία* 27, 314 (1940), pp. 106-109; Nikos Milioris, "Η Μικρασιατική τραγωδία στη λογοτεχνία και στην τέχνη" [The Asia Minor tragedy in literature and art], *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 13 (1967), pp. 338-400; Doulis, *Disaster and Fiction.*

[85] Adamantios Diamantopoulos, "Ο εν Μικρά Ασία Ελληνικός πολιτισμός" [Greek culture in Asia Minor], *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 1 (1936), pp. 3-34.

[86] *Ibid*., p. 34. By investigating another refugee journal, *Μικρασιατική Εστία*, first published in 1946 bilingually, from 1936 to 1946 a change in the lexicon and the pillars of refugee memory can be observed. Stelios Papadakis, the editor of the journal, referred to a new world which needs economic reconstruction and spiritual restoration for a Greater Greece, which cannot be reduced to a narrow territorial meaning but is associated with a boundless, dynamic and humanitarian one. For this goal, the Greeks of Asia Minor origin have an advantageous social background which allows them to see the problems from a more "imperial" point of view; Stelios Papadakis, "Σκοπός της έκδοση" [Purpose of the publication], *Μικρασιατική Εστία / Micrasiatiki Estia* 1 (1946), pp. 9-12. According to Mikhail Warlas, with the political integration of refugees after a decade of upheaval

On the other hand, in Turkey, instead of a refugee identity, being an exchangee [*mübadil*] was emphasized from the start. Early attempts by exchangees to integrate themselves into the existing political, social and economic structures were in the form of associations. However, unlike the ones in Greece, these did not aim to mediate between history and refugee identity through the imagining of "lost homelands" and to implant this trope into the metanarrative of the nation-state, but instead they aimed to infiltrate the single-party system in Turkey so as to negotiate with the government for "full citizenship" and "civil rights".[87] While doing this, the exchangees put forward the fact that their existence in Turkey was due to an international agreement which granted them some rights.[88] Therefore, from the very beginning, an identity was shaped around the population exchange. This can be identified as the key difference between how this common historical experience is remembered in Greece and in Turkey.

How are these identities reproduced today? The main mechanism of the reproduction of refugee/exchangee identity for the descendants of refugees/exchangees in both countries is, what I may call, "ritualized nostalgia", that is, the periodic recurrence of a structured form of mourning in order to mark the loss and the passage of time with the recollection of the historical turning points. In Greece, the form and the content of rituals (excursions, exhibitions, movie screenings, ceremonies, creation of monuments and sites, etc.) vary, although the objective remains the same: to promote longing for a utopian place.[89] For instance, on 25 May 2011 the Asia Minor Association in Rethymnon organized a night of poetry and music to commemorate the Fall

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in Greece, refugees incorporated new turning points into their memories such as the Nazi occupation, the resistance and the Civil War; Mikhail Warlas, "'Δεύτερη γενιά προσφύγων'. Απόπειρα καθορισμού ενός ασαφούς όρου" ["Refugees of the second generation": an attempt at defining an unclear term], in *Η συμβολή των προσφύγων στην πολιτική, πολιτιστική και οικονομική ανάπτυξη της Ελλάδας* [The contribution of refugees to the political, cultural and economic development of Greece], Speech delivered at KE.MI. PO., Nea Ionia, Athens: 2011.

[87] One can rightfully claim that they could not embrace the same role as that of Greek refugee organizations, because their counterparts in Turkey did not live long enough to go beyond exchangees' primary material and civic needs.

[88] See Alpan, "'Silence is not Golden'".

[89] As far as I can observe, there are four distinct sites which have been "utopianized" through time: Constantinople (the "Fall of *the* City"), Smyrna ("Catastrophe of Smyrna"), Pontus ("genocide of Pontic Greeks") and Cappadocia ("last wave of the Exodus").

of Constantinople;[90] the event was held at the city's cultural center, located in Asia Minor Square. The poems and the talks, including the one by the Metropolitan Bishop of Rethymnon, were about the Fall of the City in 1453, whilst all of the songs were from Asia Minor, particularly from Smyrna, where most of the refugees resettled in this city came from: hence the night was dedicated to the commemoration of these two great losses – the Fall of Constantinople to the "Turks" and the end of Hellenism in Asia Minor (see figs 3-4).[91]

Figs 3-4. From the commemoration event organized by the Asia Minor Association in Rethymnon, 25 May 2011 (photo by Aytek Soner Alpan).

In Turkey, the exchangees developed their own ways of ritualizing nostalgia, such as excursions to ancestral homelands, thematic concerts

[90] In Greek historiography, there is a proclivity for considering the Asia Minor Catastrophe, particularly the fire in Smyrna, as the final step of the long-term decline of Hellenism, for which the Fall of *the* City marks the most tragic event together with the Catastrophe. This can be interpreted as a proof for Haris Exertzoglou's point regarding refugee memory. According to Exertzoglou, the tragic characteristic of refugee narratives cannot be handled separately from the historical continuity on which one basic version of Greek history is based; Haris Exertzoglou, "Η ιστορία της προσφυγικής μνήμης" [The history of refugee memory], in *Το 1922 και οι πρόσφυγες. Μια νέα ματιά*, pp. 191-202. For a similar discussion, see Mikhail Warlas, "Η διαμόρφωση της προσφυγικής μνήμη" [Formation of the refugee memory], in *Πέρα από την Καταστροφή. Μικρασιάτες πρόσφυγες στην Ελλάδα του Μεσοπολέμου* [Beyond the Catastrophe: Asia Minor refugees in Greece during the interwar period], ed. Giorgos Tzedopoulos, Athens: Foundation of the Hellenic World, 2009, pp. 148-174.

[91] I should note that since the beginning of 2012, numerous events have been organized to commemorate the ninetieth anniversary of the Asia Minor Catastrophe by museums, refugee organizations, etc.

and talks. The most significant of the nostalgic events in Turkey, however, is the ceremony that the Association of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants organizes annually on 30 January, the anniversary of the signing of the Exchange Convention (see fig. 5). A few first-generation exchangees, who are more than 90 years old and still healthy enough to participate, with their descendants and other second- and third-generation exchangees gather at the port of Tuzla, Istanbul, to offer carnations to the sea and to commemorate the exchange.


MÜBADELENİN 89. YILI TUZLA TAHAFFUZHANESİ'NDE ANILDI

89 YILLIK HÜZÜN

Balkan Savaşı'nın 100'üncü, mübadelenin 89'uncu yıl dönümünde savaşlar ve göç yollarında yaşamını yitirenler onlarca kişinin katılımıyla İTÜ Denizcilik Fakültesi'nin içinde yer alan Tuzla tahaffuzhanesi'nde anıldı.

Olay Gazetesi

İlk kez tahaffuzhanede

Karantinalerle karşılandı

KANDİLİNİZ mübarek olsun

OĞUN Kİ GİBİ TOPRAĞI ÖPTÜLER

GENİŞ HABERİ 4. SAYFADA

Fig. 5. Ceremony organized by the Association of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants. Two first-generation exchangees kissed the ground at the port of their arrival in Turkey. The caption reads "89 years of grief" (source: *Olay*, 1-2-2012).

Another aspect of this analysis can be an investigation of the sites of nostalgia, which are fixed places with an attributed meaning both in time and in space, and then to incorporate "a view of place as bounded, as in various ways a site of authenticity, as singular, fixed and unproblematic in its identity".[92] As a result of the resettlement policy of the Greek state, new

[92] Doreen B. Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994, p. 5.

neighborhoods and villages were built in Greece. A considerable number of these new settlements were named after the refugees' places of origin. In Athens, for instance, throughout the 1920s around the temporary refugee camps, some refugee neighborhoods, which were denominated in reference to regions in Asia Minor, developed such as Nea Smyrni, Nea Philadelphia and Nea Ionia. Therefore, the whole city was turned into a site of recollection and commemoration. In addition to this, in many cities and towns there are squares, monuments, cultural centers and local museums.[93] I have already mentioned Asia Minor Square in Rethymnon. One Cretan refugee association endeavored to erect a monument in the square, but lack of funds forced them to abandon the project (see fig. 6). The same association tried to build a museum dedicated to the history of Hellenism in Asia Minor, seeing it as a place where items, such as old bridal trousseaux, memorabilia and ephemeral records, and documents (land deeds, baptism certificates, diplomas) could be housed and displayed. There was also a recent attempt at renovating some old refugee buildings on Alexandras Avenue in Athens in order to build a Museum of Eastern Hellenism.[94]

Fig. 6. The model of the memorial that was to be erected in Asia Minor Square in Rethymnon, sculpted by Manolis Koundourakis and Haralambos Neonakis (photo by Aytek Soner Alpan).

[93] For a comprehensive analysis of the memorials constructed by the initiatives of the refugees or to commemorate the Asia Minor Catastrophe in Greece, see Bruneau and Papoulidis, *Η μνήμη του προσφυγικού ελληνισμού*.

[94] Fedonas Papatheodoros, "Το Μουσείο του Ελληνισμού της Ανατολής στα προσφυγικά της Αλεξάνδρας" [The Museum of Eastern Hellenism at the refugee settlements in Alexandras Avenue], *Το Ποντίκι* (9-6-2011).

In 2010, for the first time in Turkey a memorial of the population exchange was built in a square in Çatalca, a district of Istanbul where Greeks and Muslims used to live together (see fig. 7). In the same square an abandoned Greek tavern was renovated and transformed into a museum dedicated to the population exchange, partly sponsored by the Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants.[95]

Fig. 7. The memorial in Population Exchange Square in Çatalca, Istanbul (source: www.mubadelemuzesi.net).

Finally, on personal level, how do refugees recollect their memories? From a different point of view, most refugees' relation to the past proves Fernand Braudel, who once said, "The Mediterranean is a collection of museums of Man."[96] I will give two, somewhat extreme examples to answer this question. During fieldwork for this study, on 28 May 2011 in Rethymnon I interviewed a 68-year-old second-generation refugee. He is a tavern owner, and his shop was full of old pictures from Asia Minor. What was more interesting than the photographs were two large stones, which had no significant intrinsic value except for the fact that on one of them was written "ΓΚΙΟΥΛ ΜΠΑΞΕ -

[95] Sefer Güvenç *et al.*, *Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Mübadele Müzesi / European Capital of Culture Population Exchange Museum*, Istanbul: Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı, 2011.

[96] Cited by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2000, p. 463.

2005" [Gülbahçe] and on the other "KINIK – 2005" [Kınık]. Gülbahçe was his mother's village, and Kınık his father's. He introduced these rocks to us as his "father and mother" (see fig. 8). While not your usual historical sources, for him these rocks are tangible, living proof of his connection to a lost, ancestral homeland. His longing for his parents and their villages is so intricate that it is impossible to untangle the story from the stones. His nostalgia was deeply rooted in a place where he had never lived, and these two pieces of stone were the most concrete means at his disposal to share his parents' refugee identity with his children and grandchildren.

Fig. 8. The two stones that the interviewee brought from his parents' hometowns in Turkey in 2005 (photo by Aytek Soner Alpan).

The other extreme example is from Turkey. Ali Onay, a first-generation refugee born in Rethymnon in 1918, is known in Turkey for his museum-home in Ayvalik, where he exhibits the belongings that his family brought from Crete (see fig. 9). He has literally turned his house into a site of nostalgia. Onay gets up everyday as if he were the gatekeeper of a museum, and when there are visitors around, he is kind enough to guide them through the corridors of his house, in which are displayed the material remains of a lifestyle long past. He speaks Greek fluently and welcomes Greek guests as well as Turkish ones. As a result of his experiences and activities, he has a very well-rehearsed family history that he has told to various interviewers;[97] in every case, he reiterates almost the same history verbatim. In his interviews

[97] Maria Tsirimonaki, *Αυτοί που έφυγαν, αυτοί που ήρθαν. Από την αυτονομία ως την Ανταλλαγή* [Those who left, those who came: from the autonomy until the Exchange], Rethymnon: Mitos, 2002; Iskender Özsoy, "Cunda'da Bir Mübadele Müzesi", *Cumhuriyet* (31-8-2011), p. 9; *id.*, *İlk Vatan Yorgunları Mübadele Acısını Yaşayanlar Anlatıyor*, Istanbul: Bağlam, 2003; Iğsız, "Repertoires of Rupture".

Onay is very clear about the fact that he does not feel any sort of nostalgia and he says, "I am conscious about the fact that my homeland is here [Turkey]." Therefore, I can say that Ali Onay is a non-nostalgic guardian of a site of nostalgia – although he loves Crete and Rethymnon. Furthermore, one can claim that Onay's recollection of memory is anti-nostalgic, not in the sense that its goal is to forget, but it aims to emphasize a consciousness of origin, not to mourn or to express longing.

Cunda'da bir mübadele müzesi

İSKENDER ÖZSOY

O, doğup büyüdüğü topraklardan zorla koparılan on binlerden biri, bir sen tanık.

Girit'in Resmo (Rethimnon) / Retlymno kentinde 1918 yılında doğmuş Ali Onay.

Altı yaşındayken mübadele gerçeğiyle karşılaşmış.

24 Mayıs 1924 Cumartesi günü yeni vatanın topraklarına ayak basmalarıyla devlerle karşılaşmışlar.

Bugün Cunda'da 1870'lerde yapılmış iki katlı evde tek başına, başka çok sevdiği eşi Fatma Hanım'la onları ebedi üzere, anılarıyla yaşıyor.

Onun anılarda yaşanan hayatları Cumhuriyet değil, aksine hayata bağlılığının delili.

Anılar, evinin bir odasında tüm canlılığıyla kütüphanesini bir rafında, bir pencerenin pervazında asılı duruyor. Küçük bir müzeyi andıran oda Ali Onay'ın hayat bağı.

Girit'ten mübadele gözlerinde. Türkiye gemisiyle gelirken duyduklarını, evdeki bütün eşyaları.

Bir bilende pirinç, kavruk kara değirmende aile yadigârı bir tüfek, iki yüz yıllık elyazması Kur'an-ı Kerim, antika fildişi tabancaları andıran silahlar ve daha, tabloları ve daha niceleri.

Ali Onay

Ünlü bir kaşifin bu eskiçağ kendisine sayısız gelen her misafire gezdiriyor Ali Bey ve onları sanki ilk defa büyük bir heyecanla anlatıyor.

Hele bir sandık var ki eşyalar arasında Ali Bey onu ayrı yere koyuyor. Üzerinde 1857 tarihi olan bu sandığı babası Hasan Bey annesi Fatma Hanım'a, annesinden kim son diye bilmediği'den almış.

Peki her biri çok değerli bu eşyalarla geleceği ne olacak?

Onay, o konuda bana kararsız:

"Onları yok edemem. Benle dev'in hatıraları var. Kıymetli yaşadığım müddetçe bilmeyeceğim. Ama uzun yolculuğa çıktığım zaman çocuklara çağırarak bir eskiciyi, 'al bunları kardeşlere' diyecek."

Resmo'da Cunda'ya

Onay onları anılarla mübadeleyle ilgili olarak.

"Eski memleketim Resmo'yu çok az hatırlıyorum. Yunan ordusu Anadolu'da olduğu için ailem beni sokağa çıkarmıyordu. Anca anımsadığım evi geçebildiğim ordum. Evimiz üç katlıydı. Kökeni Aydın'ın Nazilli Sancağı'ndan gelen babam Yağlıtadelerden Hasan Bey ticaretle uğraşıyor, toptan erzak alıp satıyordu. Babamın ailesine Girit'e geldiklerinde Ayvasıl bölgesinde geniş arazi veriyorlar. Laharlıtadelerin kızı olan annem Fatma Hanım çok akıllı ve kibirli bir kadındı. Annemin anne tarafı İmamoğlu. İmamzade Mehmet Efendi soyundan geliyor. Resmo'da Rum ve Türk bir arada yaşıyordu. Rum komşularla aramız çok iyiydi. Ama köylü Rumlar tehlikeli di. Rum rağmen babam bizi düşmanlıklı yetiştirmedi. Bugün de, çocukluğumdan gelen inançla iki halkın bir araya gelmesini istiyorum."

Baskı dönemi

Yunan ordusunun Anadolu'da ilerlemesinin Rumları cesaretlendirmesi ve bu cesaretlenmenin sonucu Türklere baskıların artışını, bu nedenle babasının akrabalarının mübadeleden önce Türkiye'ye hareketini kaydeden Onay, Resmo günlerini anlatmaya şu sözlerle başlıyor:

"Çocukluğumdan kalan bir başka iz de Mustafa Kemal'le ilgili. Bir gece çanlar çalınıyor, silahlar atılmaya başlıyor. Rumlar sevinç içinde 'Kemal yakalandı... Mustafa Kemal yakalandı' diye bağırıyor, şenlik yapıyordu. Bunun üzerine Türkler dükkânlarını kapatıp evlerine çekildi. Herkes birbirini koluyordu. Derken gece yarısına doğru kapımız çalındı. Bekir, doktorumuz Muaço, Babam 'Ne oluyor?' diye sordu. Doktorun cevabını çok iyi hatırlıyorum. "Aldırma bu eğlencelerin yapılışına. Kemal bu gece hiç kaybı. Onun yakalanması kimseye değil. O ölmedi ebedi olarak yaşayacak. Onun için rahat olun' dedi. Girit'te yaşamak her gün biraz daha güçleşiyordu. Eski mevki ve itibarımız hazar kalmamıştı. Babam Girit'teki köylü Rumların katliam hazırlığında olduğunu söylüyordu. Türklerin katliam girişiminden Kaptan Sakaladis adındaki bir Giritli kurtarmış. Babam o kişiden hep saygıyla söz ediyordu."

Onay, Resmo'dan ayrılışlarını ve geminek ahşamını da şöyle anlatıyor:

"Türkiye'ye hareket günü geldiğinde ailece limana indik ve Türkiye gemisine bindik. Annem, babam, iki kardeş, halam, halaoğlu eşi ve kızı, yedi kişi Cunda'ya geldik. Türkiye sahillerinde ışıklar görüldüğünde herkes gemiin sahil tarafına hücum edince geni yalpaladı. Kaptanın yolcuları uyardığını hatırlıyorum. Doğrudan doğruya Cunda'ya geldik. Gemi fenerlerin önünde demirledi. Bir kayıklarla karaya çıktık. 24 Mayıs 1924 Cumartesi günü yeni vatanın topraklarına ayak bastık. Karaya çıkışımızda daha önce Midilli'den Cunda'ya gelenlerle, Girit'ten Türkiye gemisinin ilk seferi ile gelen hemşehrilerimiz devlerle karşıladı. Cunda'ya inince mübadiller, o zamanlar Paşazde Sarayı diye anılan yerde 15 gün karantinada kaldılar. Karantinadan çıktıktan sonra evlerin dağılmasına başlandı. Hükümet bir Girit'teki mal varlığımıza karşılık bin kök zeytin ağacı, beş alo dönüm de arazi verdi. Ama verdiler Girit'te bırakıklarımızın yüzde 40'ı kadardı. Cunda'daki hayata alışmak zor oldu. Karaya herkes uyum sağlayamadı. Çok zengin aile çocuklarının burada refahiyet içinde eldüzüne tanık oldum. Aradan çok uzun yıllar geçtikten sonra iki defa doğduğum topraklara gittim. Resmo'da çocukluğumu ait iz bulamadım. Bu beni çok üzdü. Doğduğum evi görmek istiyordum, onu da bulamadım. Bütün varlığımız burası..."

Onay'ın babası Hasan Bey

Fig. 9. Interview with Ali Onay (source: *Cumhuriyet*, 31-8-2011, p. 9).

Before closing this section, I should underline a final difference between these two countries in this context. These nostalgic rituals and "sites of nostalgia" where some of these rituals take place serve different, or at least divergent purposes among the refugees in Greece and the exchangees in Turkey. In Greece, where a refugee identity is mature enough to establish itself formally and to be recognized by society, these rituals and sites of rituals are used to reproduce the fragmented memory of the Catastrophe and to utopianize the ancestral homelands in Asia Minor, as well as transmitting the memory of this event and the "lost homelands" to new generations. It can be said that the hinge generation, bridging between those who in the past experienced a calamity and the members of their subsequent generations,[98] is the second generation in Greece. They inherited the means and methods of an ongoing "project" of building a refugee identity and of shaping the past memories of themselves and their children. With the third generation, existing means and methods are coupled with the means of the official discourse, which has resulted in a proliferation of representations of refugee identity in the public sphere.

Nevertheless, it is still hard to claim that there is a well-established exchangee identity in Turkey. After the suppression of the first generation's attempts to establish a distinct identity, it was only with the third generation that a discourse started to circulate in the public sphere in the second half of the 1990s.[99] Therefore, the "guardianship" of the memory of the population exchange fell upon the third generation. Why did some members of the third generation start to be interested in their ancestral origins? As a general explanation, what Patrick Hutton said when he related history to our times seems to be sufficiently convincing: "Memory is a problem in the postmodern age because of our anxieties about the implications of our loosening attachments to the collective memories that once sustained us."[100] Iğsız, who considered the revival of the population exchange in the public sphere, listed five additional factors that possibly triggered this process:[101]

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[98] Eva Hoffman, *After Such Knowledge: Memory, History, and the Legacy of the Holocaust*, New York: Public Affairs, 2004, p. xv.

[99] See Iğsız, "Repertoires of Rupture"; *id*., "Documenting the Past and Publicizing Personal Stories: Sensescapes and the 1923 Greco-Turkish Population Exchange in Contemporary Turkey", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 26, 2 (2008), pp. 451-487.

[100] Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory*, p. 71.

[101] Iğsız, "Documenting the Past", p. 472.

i. The development of information technology that makes research of familial origins relatively easier by making sources and records accessible;[102]
ii. The civil war atmosphere in Turkey in the 1990s;
iii. The brutality of competing nationalisms in Turkey and in the region;
iv. The popularization of history;
v. The Greco-Turkish rapprochement in the late 1990s.

I should also add that in Turkey a "historiographical anxiety" has been experienced since the 1990s. By the term historiographical anxiety, I refer to a situation in which history starts to write its own critical history.[103] The population exchange and the experience of forced migration has become a part of this historiographical anxiety, or the deconstruction of Kemalism.[104]

V. *Epilogue*

In this study I have investigated different forms and methods of recollection of memory. I have tried to show that the Greek and Turkish nation-states moved in opposite directions in remembering the exchange and insinuating it into their national narrative. The memory of the population exchange "from above" is determined by the immediate needs of the states and by the desire to preserve the primary goal of the nation-state: national unity. The two states use several means to shape or even manipulate the memories of historical events and to form a collective memory. As one of the integral means to the creation of shared notions of identity and an excellent source for the analysis of national imaginaries, history textbooks were scrutinized to trace the ways through which they remember and/or forget and make young people remember and/or forget. Then, I inquired into the *modus operandi* of memory formation "from below" and compared and contrasted refugee memory in Greece and exchangee memory in Turkey.

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[102] Although Iğsiz does not mention it, one of the factors that Le Goff particularly emphasized is the revolutionary impact of the computer on the recollection of memory; Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, European Perspectives, New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

[103] Nora, "Between Memory and History", p. 10.

[104] For instance, Egemen Bağış, the Minister for European Union Affairs, gave a speech at the inauguration in February 2012 of the exhibition *Twice a Stranger* in Istanbul, in which he said that the exchange is not a policy that was implemented on the bright side of history.

As Esra Özyürek claimed, memory and nostalgia have the potential to articulate with market networks and to "turn into effective engines of late capitalism" by successfully "turning commonly shared objects, concepts, and spaces into commodities".[105] Entrepreneurs are using shared history, shared mental maps of space and shared suffering to create new markets and new commercial opportunities. In the major cities of Turkey, it is easy to find restaurants that serve Greek food together with Greek music, and bookstores that have shelves filled with ever-increasing numbers of novels, memoirs, cookbooks, and local studies that cover or refer to this common past and common trauma.[106] There are tours including excursions to their lost ancestral homelands. A major feature-length film about the exchange, based on the Turkish director's exchangee heritage and his family's journey to Izmir from Crete, was released in 2011. In Greece, TV channels broadcast Turkish serials; Turkish language classes are now widely offered; travel agencies offer tour packages to Istanbul or to Izmir, to which new direct flights from Athens were introduced in 2009. In sum, the business of marketing nostalgia to the descendants of the exchanged populations is booming, and, concomitant to this development, a new phase of memory formation and the repackaging of one of the most important events in twentieth-century Greek and Turkish history is now taking shape in the twenty-first century. Lastly, as the ninetieth anniversaries of the Greco-Turkish War, the Greek defeat and the destruction of Smyrna/Izmir in 1922, and the population exchange of 1923 are being observed, the on-going process of memory construction and history-writing about these seminal events enters a new phase, and it is one that promises to be as contested and as controversial as it has been in the past.

Ph.D. Candidate, University of California, San Diego, Department of History

[105] Esra Özyürek, *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007, p. 10.

[106] Damla Demirözü recently published an article on the circulation of "refugeeism", as she called it, in Greek and Turkish public spheres in which she analyzed the exponential expansion of visibility of refugee identity in the market, or what I may call the boom of the "memory industry", as Michael S. Roth referred to it; Damla Demirözü, "Το 1922 και η προσφυγιά στην ελληνική και την τουρκική αφήγηση" [1922 and refugeehood in the Greek and Turkish narrative], *Δέλτιο ΚΜΣ* 17 (2011), pp. 122-149; Michael S. Roth, *Memory, Trauma and History: Essays on Living with the Past*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012 (Kindle edition).

Table 1.
Collective memory and history

Collective Memory	**History**
"Subjective"	*"Objective"*
• single committed perspective • reflects a particular group's social framework • unselfconscious • impatient with ambiguity about motives and the interpretation of events	• distanced from any particular perspective • reflects no particular social framework • critical, reflective • recognizes ambiguity
Focus on stable, unchanging group essence	*Focus on transformation*
Denial of "pastness" of events	*Focus on historicity*
• links the past with the present • ahistorical, anti-historical	• differentiates the past from the present • views past events as taking place "then and not now"
Commemorative voice	*Historical voice*
• museum as a temple • unquestionable heroic narratives	• museum as a forum • disagreement, change and controversy as part of ongoing historical interpretation

Source: James V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 44.