DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES

THE CONSTRUCTION OF LOST HOMELANDS IN GREEK NATIONALISM: SMYRNA IN NATIONAL IMAGERY

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The present doctoral dissertation was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Cyprus. It is a product of original work of my own, unless otherwise mentioned through references, notes, or any other statements.

ATHANASIOS KOULOS

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ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Η Μικρασιατική καταστροφή του 1922 και η επακόλουθη ανταλλαγή πληθυσμών μεταξύ της Ελλάδας και της Τουρκίας σηματοδότησε το τέλος της ελληνικής παρουσίας στη Μικρά Ασία και την αποτυχία του εθνικιστικού σχεδίου της 'Μεγάλης Ιδέας'. Έκτοτε, οι 'Χαμένες Πατρίδες' αποτελούν σημείο αναφοράς της ελληνικής κουλτούρας, καθώς η καταστροφή άλλαξε συθέμελα τον χαρακτήρα του ελληνικού έθνο-κράτους.

Στο πλαίσιο της κατασκευής του ελληνικού έθνους πριν το 1922, η Μικρά Ασία προβάλλετο ως ελληνική περιοχή. Αυτή η διαδικασία εθνικοποίησης/ελληνοποίησης του χώρου είχε ως στόχο να υποστηρίξει εθνικές εδαφικές διεκδικήσεις. Στην εποχή μετά την καταστροφή, η διαδικασία αυτή συνεχίστηκε ακάθεκτη με διαφορετικό, ωστόσο, στόχο. Πλέον, η εθνικοποίηση/ελληνοποίηση του χώρου αποσκοπεί στη δημιουργία της εικόνας μιας ελληνικής Μικράς Ασίας ανά τους αιώνες, μέσω της κατασκευής των 'Χαμένων Πατρίδων'.

Η ιδέα αυτή ανακατασκευάζει σε ένα φαντασιακό επίπεδο την 'ελληνικότητα' των υποτιθέμενων 'χαμένων' περιοχών και η διαδικασία εθνικής συγκρότησης ενισχύει την εικόνα τους ως ελληνικές προγονικές πατρίδες. Ωστόσο, δεν καταφέρνει να εξηγήσει πώς γίνεται να χάσουμε κάτι το οποίο δεν ήταν θεσμικά 'δικό μας'. Καθώς το ελληνικό στοιχείο της Μικράς Ασίας ήταν μια μειονότητα στην περιοχή και οι περιοχές που καταλήφθηκαν από τον ελληνικό στρατό κατά την Μικρασιατική εκστρατεία δεν ενώθηκαν ποτέ επίσημα με την Ελλάδα, οι πεποιθήσεις για τις 'Χαμένες Πατρίδες' του έθνους είναι μάλλον προϊόντα της εθνικής φαντασίας και μυθοπλασίας.

Η διατριβή αυτή διερευνά την ιδέα των 'Χαμένων Πατρίδων' της Μικράς Ασίας, και κυρίως της Σμύρνης, ως ενός ελληνικού εθνικού μύθου. Το κεντρικό επιχείρημα είναι πως η ιδέα των 'Χαμένων Πατρίδων' έχει αναχθεί σε χαρακτηριστικό της ελληνικής εθνικής ιδεολογίας και συστατικό στοιχείο της ελληνικής εθνικής ταυτότητας, το οποίο ενισχύει το συλλογικό αίσθημα του ανήκειν. Πηγάζοντας από το συλλογικό τραύμα της ήττας του 1922, λειτουργεί ως υπενθύμιση του τί έκαναν 'αυτοί' σε 'εμάς', σκιαγραφώντας τον εθνικό εαυτό και τη μοναδικότητα της ιστορίας και της μοίρας του έθνους, ενώ ταυτόχρονα συνδέει τα μέλη του μέσω του συλλογικού πόνου για το χαμό αυτών των πατρίδων. Εκείνο που παρατηρούμε σε τέτοιες περιπτώσεις – ανταλλαγών πληθυσμών, εθνικών εκκαθαρίσεων ή και γενοκτονίας – είναι ότι τίθενται σε λειτουργία οι μηχανισμοί για την πιστοποίηση μιας εθνικής ταυτότητας και την ύστατη επιβεβαίωση μιας συλλογικής ύπαρξης.

Αυτή η διατριβή εξετάζει το ρόλο του προσφυγικού σωματείου 'Ένωσις Σμυρνέων' και του περιοδικού '*Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά'* στη διαδικασία αυτή της αναγωγής της Σμύρνης σε μύθο του ελληνικού εθνικισμού, αναλύοντας τη συνεισφορά της 'Ένωσης' στην ανακατασκευή της ελληνικότητας της Σμύρνης. Έχοντας τις βάσεις της στο μοντέλο του εθνο-συμβολισμού του Άντονι Σμίθ για την κατασκευή της πατρίδας, η διατριβή αυτή συμβάλλει σημαντικά στη μελέτη του εθνικισμού, καθώς εξετάζει την υιοθέτηση του μοντέλου αυτού όχι μόνο για τη κατασκευή της πατρίδας, αλλά και για την ανάλυση της κατασκευής της 'χαμένης' πατρίδας. Η διατριβή συμβάλλει επίσης στην κατανόηση της διάστασης του χώρου των εθνικών ταυτοτήτων, τις συνέπειες της αναγκαστικής μετακίνησης πληθυσμών στις πολιτικές της ταυτότητας και στη δημιουργία εθνικών μύθων και συμβόλων, καθώς και στη μελέτη της Μικρασιατικής καταστροφής, της ανταλλαγής πληθυσμών του 1922 και στον τρόπο που επηρέασε την ελληνική εθνική ταυτότητα. Τέτοιες περιπτώσεις εθνικών μύθων είναι σημαντικές στην προσπάθειά μας να κατανοήσουμε τις σύγχρονες εθνικές ταυτότητες καθώς και τις ρίζες των εθνικών συγκρούσεων.

ABSTRACT

The Asia Minor disaster in September 1922 and the subsequent population exchange between Greece and Turkey marked the end of Greek presence in Asia Minor and the failure of the nationalist dream of the 'Megali Idea'. Ever since, the 'Lost Homelands' have been a point of reference in Greek culture, as the disaster changed the worldview and character of the Greek nation-state.

In the context of Greek nation-building before 1922, Asia Minor had been unequivocally projected as Greek. This process of nationalization/hellenization of space was designed to back up national territorial claims. In the post-disaster era, however, it continued unabated, albeit this time around seeking to articulate an image of a Greek Asia Minor through time immemorial by building 'Lost Homelands'.

This concept reconstructs on an imaginary level the 'Greekness' of the allegedly 'lost' territories, while the nation-building process reinforces their image as ancestral Greek homelands. However, nation-building fails to give an account of how we can lose something that was never institutionally 'ours'. As the Anatolian Greeks were a minority in the region, and the areas occupied by Greek troops during the Asia Minor campaign were never officially united with the Greek state, all the miscellaneous perceptions about the 'Lost Homelands' of the nation seem to fall within the scope of national imagination and mythology.

This thesis examines the idea of the Lost Homelands of Asia Minor, and Smyrna in particular, as a Greek national myth. The main argument is that the idea of the Lost Homelands has turned into a key feature of Greek nationalist ideology and a constituent element of Greek national identity that induces sentiments of national belonging. It functions as a reminder formed out of the collective trauma of the defeat about what 'they' did to 'us', formulating an idea of the national self and of the unique history and destiny of the nation and binding its members under the common suffering for the loss of those homelands. What we see in cases like this – of population exchange, ethnic cleansing or genocide – is the operation of mechanisms for the authentication of a national identity and the ultimate verification of communal existence.

This thesis explores the role of the refugee association 'Enosis Smyrneon' (Union of Smyrniots), and its journal *Mikrasiatika Chronika* (*Asia Minor Chronicles*) in this process. Embarking from the ethno-symbolist model of Anthony Smith on the construction of homeland, this thesis contributes to the studies of nationalism, by employing this model

to analyze the construction also of the *lost* homeland. It further contributes to the studies of the spatial dimensions of national identities, the effects of forced population transfers in identity politics and the creation of national myths and symbols, as well as the Asia Minor disaster studies, the 1922 population exchange and its impact on Greek national identity. Cases like this are important in any attempt to understand modern national identities, as well as the roots of ethnic conflicts.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To my son

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INTRODUCTION

E xile is often pictured as the nursery of collective identity and the yearning for the homeland has a long history. In *Psalms*, 137, the Jews are complaining about their captivity by the rivers of Babylon, while making a promise to the land they lost:

For there they that led us captive
Required us of songs,
And they, that wasted us required
Of us mirth, saying,
Sing us one of the songs of Zion.
How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?
If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,
Let my right hand forget her cunning;
Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth,
If I remember thee not;
If I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.[1]

The twentieth century was one of the most turbulent periods in history, one that witnessed the forced relocation of populations from their historic habitats as a result of the politics of nationalism. One such event was the 1923 official exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, in the aftermath of the Greco-Turkish War of 1919-1922 and the Greek defeat. As a result, about 1.5 million Greek Orthodox Christians from Asia Minor and eastern Thrace were exchanged with five hundred thousand Muslims of Greece. The 'Asia Minor disaster' – as it is known in Greek historiography – marked the end of the centuries' long Greek presence in Asia Minor and eastern Thrace, and the failure of the nationalist dream of the 'Megali Idea'. Ever since, the Lost Homelands have been a point of reference in Greek historical culture, as the disaster changed the worldview and character of the Greek nation-state.

The Asia Minor disaster and the subsequent population exchange between Greece and Turkey is of international significance. It constituted the first internationally sponsored

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[1] Psalms 137:3-6, English Revised Version.

mandatory exchange of minority populations between two sovereign states in the modern era. For the first time in modern history the governments of two states agreed (with the blessings of the international community) to exchange populations, regardless of the involved populations' wishes. The 1923 Lausanne Convention that regulated the exchange provided for a precedent upon which similar solutions to ethnic tensions were legitimated ever since (e.g. India-Pakistan).[2] The idea of the Lost Homelands is thus examined in the framework of the after-effects of this forced population transfer and its role in modern Greek identity construction.

This thesis examines the idea of the Lost Homelands of Asia Minor, and Smyrna in particular, as a Greek national myth. The main argument is that the idea of the Lost Homelands has turned into a key feature of Greek nationalist ideology and a constituent element of Greek national identity that induces sentiments of national belonging. It functions as a reminder formed out of the collective trauma of the defeat about what 'they' did to 'us', formulating an idea of the national self and of the unique history and destiny of the nation and binding its members under the common suffering for the loss of those 'ancestral' homelands. After all, being Greek and having undergone all the institutionalized nation-building processes, one identifies with all those elements constituting a Greek; and one of those elements has been the idea of the Lost Homelands. Cases like this – of population exchange, ethnic cleansing or genocide – constitute mechanisms of authentication of a national identity and the ultimate verification of communal existence (i.e., we were persecuted because we were Greeks – thus, we exist as such).

This thesis analyzes an aspect of Greek identity that responds to a traumatic period in Greek history: the 'Asia Minor disaster'. In the context of Greek nation-building before 1922, Asia Minor had been unequivocally projected as Greek. This process of nationalization/hellenization of space was designed to back up national territorial claims through the 'Megali Idea' nationalist project. In the post-disaster era, however, this process continued unabated, albeit this time around seeking to articulate an image of a Greek Asia Minor through time immemorial by building 'Lost Homelands'. Reconstructing the 'Greekness' of the allegedly 'lost' territories on an imaginary level, the nation-building process reinforced an image and corresponding perceptions of ancestral Greek homelands.

The idea of the Lost Homelands is ideologically charged, as it was constructed retrospectively and through the 'prism' of the trauma of the defeat and the ensuing

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[2] Clark 2006.

population exchange. This process allowed for a mythic mode of perception to develop the Lost Homelands as a national myth – in the sense of constructed memory and oblivion. The memories that were (re)constructed were of the Greek life of the Lost Homelands and were oblivious to alternative realities. The myth of the Lost Homelands was essential for the incorporation and integration of the refugees into the Greek national corpus, as it provided meaning about their situation at the time. With the incorporation of the refugees into the Greek state and national body, their heritage became a national one, while their lost homelands turned to Lost Homelands of the nation. Charged with national meaning, the Lost Homelands functioned cohesively and at the same time secured a place in the ideological arena of Greek nationalism. The case of the Greek Lost Homelands is one of latent irredentism. Although no actual claims are put forward towards a re-conquest or re-settlement of Asia Minor by current Greek nationalist ideology, the very perception of those territories as Lost Homelands perpetuates their 'Greekness' in the national imagination, largely by virtue of the Greek populations who lived there until 1922.

Smyrna came to encapsulate the very essence of the Lost Homelands, due to its eventful re-capture by the Turkish army in 1922, as well as the ensuing distortion (which, as time passes, is a phenomenon naturally occurring due to memory loss of accurate details and/or death) and particularly due to the manipulation (a phenomenon occurring intentionally)[3] of memories about Smyrna. Thus, Smyrna has turned into a symbol of the Greek nation, disassociated from the geographical location of modern day Izmir. It has entered the sphere of national imagination reflecting what paradise – that is, national paradise – looked like.

The role of defeat in war in identity formation has been addressed by many scholars.[4] According to Anthony D. Smith, one of the major direct consequences of warfare on national identity formation – and re-formation – is 'the construction of myths and symbols, important for the reinforcement of a community's sense of national individuality, uniqueness and generally ethnocentrism'.[5] In the case of the Asia Minor defeat, the Lost Homelands have retained their identity-forming capacities, as there will always be historic memories of the communities associated with them, while the actual loss provides a powerful source of identification with, and belonging to, a community of suffering. From this conception of the Lost Homelands, refugee organized groups have at times put forward social and political proposals, including claims for compensation for

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[3] On identities as function of political entrepreneurship see: Laitin 1986.
[4] Schivelbusch 2003 and Wright 2010.
[5] Smith 1981: 390-391.

material loss and suffering, claims for recognition and acknowledgement of the loss and suffering, and in some cases, the 'right to the homeland'.[6] These have been the key elements in the symbolic construction of the Greek refugee community.

The process of symbolization of the Lost Homelands and of their incorporation into Greek nationalist ideology was a long one that involved numerous institutions of Greek society. This thesis sets out to explore the role of the refugee association 'Enosis Smyrneon' (Union of Smyrniots, or ES hereinafter) and its journal *Mikrasiatika Chronika* (*Asia Minor Chronicles*, or *MC* hereinafter) in this process, by analyzing their role in the conceptual reconstructions of the 'Greekness' of Smyrna. Following the ethno-symbolist model of Anthony Smith on the construction of homeland, this thesis adds another angle by employing it to analyze the construction also of the Lost Homelands on an imaginary level. Thus, the elements of continuity, famous ancestors, historical events and uses of space will be the focus of the analysis, since these provide for a practical – or in this case idealized – way of association of a population with its territory and the construction of the 'homeland' – or in this case – of the 'lost' homeland.

Nonetheless, this idea of the Lost Homelands is not particular to Greek nationalism, as there are other examples where mass displacement of an ethnic group from its homeland has given rise to similar ideas about lost homelands. The German case is illustrative;[7] the German lost homelands of the eastern Reich that now form part (about one-third) of western Poland are still the focus of politically active refugee lobbies, sometimes creating tensions with neighboring Poland. Another example is Palestine which has been the lost homeland of both Jews and Palestinian Arabs and forms the core of an on-going conflict. The case of Armenia is also important, since the idea of the Armenian lost homelands – now part of Turkey – has been systematically employed in Armenian national identity construction, imagination, and mythology.[8] According to Smith, exploring the meanings of ancestral homelands is of particular importance 'if we are to understand the foundations of modern national identities and the roots of some of the most bitter and protracted ethnic enmities and conflicts'.[9]

Literature Review

The year 1922 was a turning point in the history of the Greek nation-state. The Asia Minor

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[6] Pentzopoulos 1962; Rock and Wolff 2002.
[7] Rock and Wolff 2002; Wolff 2002.
[8] Smith 1999.
[9] Op. cit., 157.

disaster or the 'Catastrophe', as it is often referred to, along with the influx of approximately 1.5 million refugees in the Greek state brought an upheaval to the already devastated country that was emerging out of a decade of continuous wars (1912-1913: Balkan Wars; 1914-1918: WWI; 1919-1922: Asia Minor War). In the aftermath of the population exchange, 20% of the country's population where refugees, while the overstretched state infrastructure could simply not cope with the cataclysmic effects of the situation. Some of the effects of this upheaval are still visible today, in, for example, the urban design (or actually the lack of it) of suburbs in many Greek cities – the 'refugee' quarters.[10]

The consequences – social, political, economic, demographic, cultural – of this turmoil have been the subject of numerous studies ever since. Besides the fact that the disaster and its aftermath are discussed in every history publication that examines that period, by 1978 there were 2.258 publications on the disaster and the population exchange,[11] while a recent search on google scholar on 'Smyrna 1922' accounted for about 8.000 publications. Even the *National Geographic Magazine* published a story by Melville Chater in November 1925, titled '*History's Greatest Trek'*, accounting for the destruction of Smyrna in 1922 and the uprooting of the Ottoman Christian population.[12] Nevertheless, after a thorough examination of the relevant literature, one notices that none of these studies has addressed in depth the issue of the construction of the image of the Lost Homelands. This lack necessitates and endows gravitas to this study of the Lost Homelands as a Greek national myth, which aspires to contribute to the studies on the Asia Minor disaster, the mass and forced displacement of populations, the role of defeat in war and trauma in national identity formation, and specifically on the creation, articulation and consumption of national myths and symbols. What follows is a review of the major and most influential works on the 1922 defeat and the population exchange. The selection of the books and articles to be reviewed was based on their representativeness of the different viewpoints and analytical frameworks of the disaster. This review is by no means

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[10] Many refugees were settled in the outskirts of the big Greek cities and established the 'refugee quarters'; due to the sudden and unexpected influx of the refugees, no provisions had been made by the state for the proper and organized expansion of the cities, with many neighborhoods still today having no urban design. See Hirschon 1989; Mears 1929.

[11] Hatzimoisis 1981: offers a detailed bibliographical list of Greek or other language publications on the Asia Minor disaster and issues that the refugees were facing in the period 1919-1978. The first section of his work lists published books, the second various chapters/parts in books, and the third publications in journals, calendars, and encyclopedias. The publications are divided into a) studies on the Asia Minor campaign, its results, and the ventures of the Asia Minor, Eastern Thrace, and Pontic Greeks between 1919-1923, until the Lausanne Convention, and b) any type of publication that expresses the emotional aftermath of the historical events.

[12] Chater 1925; re-published in May 2007, on the 85th anniversary of the disaster as a historical album including audiovisual material.

exhaustive. Thus, Henry Morgenthau's *I was Sent to Athens* is a personal review of the situation and of the work of the Refugee Settlement Committee, while Dimitri Pentzopoulos' *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece* discussed the consequences of the population exchange for the Greek state. Pantelis Kapsis' *Χαμένες Πατρίδες* and Christos Emmanouel Angelomatis' *Χρονικόν Μεγάλης Τραγωδίας: Το Έπος της Μικρασίας* were amateur historical accounts that employed historical facts and imaginary tales to dramatically reconstruct the disaster. Marjorie Housepian's *Smyrna 1922: The Destruction of a City* was a passionate description of Smyrna's disaster from Armenian and American witnesses. Michael Llewellyn Smith's *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor 1919-1922* examined the political, social, economic and ideological background and consequences of the disaster for Greece. Paschalis Kitromilides' work has also been important as he analyzed the ideological repercussions of the disaster for Greek nationalism. Renée Hirschon's *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe* was an urban ethnography of a refugee quarter and examined the refugee identity from an anthropological perspective, while her *Crossing the Aegean* dealt with the consequences of the population exchange for both Greece and Turkey. Vangelis Kechriotis' '*From Giavour Izmir to Hellenic Smyrna: reconstruction of a lost Atlantis*' explored Smyrna as a place of memory, while Hervé Georgelin's *Smyrna: From Cosmopolitanism to Nationalisms* attempted to reconstruct the social and political life of Smyrna until 1922. Bruce Clark's *Twice a Stranger* examined the legacy of the Lausanne Convention of 1923, and finally Giles Milton's *Paradise Lost – Smyrna 1922* depicted Smyrniot life before the disaster from a Levantine perspective.

One of the first and most important and influential initiatives for the refugees was the establishment in 1930, of the 'Centre for Asia Minor Studies' in Athens. This was an institute involved in the collection and documentation of information of oral and written historical tradition, as well as the publication of scientific studies concerning Asia Minor Greeks.[13] The Centre was established by Melpo Logotheti-Merlier and her husband Octave Merlier with the aim to record and preserve the cultural heritage and history of the Asia Minor homelands through the memory of the refugees. It engaged in the following activities: the conservation, documentation and dissemination of archival material relevant to the everyday life of Greeks in Asia Minor, their expatriation and resettlement in Greece; the publication of the *Centre for Asia Minor Studies Bulletin,* a scientific journal updating and promoting Asia Minor studies; the collection and preservation of books and journals

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[13] http://en.kms.org.gr/Home.aspx

relevant to the scientific interests of the Centre; the dissemination of the archival material to scientists and researchers as a means to promoting research, as well as to second and third generation refugees interested in their place of origin; the organization of events presenting the Centre's objectives and material.[14] The Centre, through its activities in the past 85 years has established itself as a beacon on Greek Asia Minor studies and serves as the museum of memory *par excellence* of the Lost Homelands. The Centre has been effective, as John Gillis would argue, 'in concentrating time and space, in providing many people with a sense of common identity no matter how dispersed they may be'.[15]

In 1930, Henry Morgenthau, who served as a chairman of the League on Nations-appointed 'Greek Refugee Settlement Commission', published *I was Sent to Athens*. This was an account of the tragic fate that befell the Greek Orthodox of Smyrna and Asia Minor after the defeat, as well as an illustrative and first-hand documented work on the undertakings of the 'Greek Refugee Settlement Commission'.

Dimitri Pentzopoulos in his 1962, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, attempted an overview of the whole situation of the population exchange. In the first part of this work, he traced the origins of the Greek refugee problem to the 'Megali Idea' policy and the Asia Minor disaster that led to the Lausanne Convention and the population exchange between Greece and Turkey. He further accounted for the international aspect of the process of the refugee settlement, discussing the Greek refugee issue before the League of Nations, the establishment of the Refugee Settlement Commission and its organization, as well as the international loans the country obtained. On the internal aspect of this process, he outlined the numbers, origin, composition and character of the refugee group, the plans for its rural and urban settlement and the dissolution of the Refugee Settlement Commission with the fulfilment of its mission in 1930. In the second part of the book, Pentzopoulos offered an outline of the ethnological, economic, political, social and cultural impact of the refugee settlement in Greece. Concerning the ethnological impact, he discussed the consequences of the exchange on the territorial integrity and the national and linguistic homogeneity of the country. Assessing the economic impact of the refugee influx, he argued that initially the newcomers posed a serious burden and liability for the economy of the country, as the state had to undertake extensive financial obligations for their relief. Gradually though, the refugee population assumed a positive role and contributed significantly to the agricultural and industrial production and the overall economy of the country. On the political impact,

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[14] http://en.kms.org.gr/TheCentre/Profile.aspx
[15] Gillis 1996: 14.

he outlined the political alignment and orientation of the refugees towards liberalism and their support to Velizelos' party. Finally, regarding the social and cultural impact, he discussed the relations between the newcomers and the natives, the problem of symbiosis and integration of the two groups, the effects upon the evolution of the Greek language and the imprint on Greek literature. It is an important work that touched upon all the different aspects of the consequences of the population exchange.

In 1962, Pantelis Kapsis published *Χαμένες Πατρίδες* (*Chamenes Patrides – Lost Homelands*). It was the first time in the forty years since the disaster that the Lost Homelands appeared as a title of a book. This was a fervent and passionate account of the events that followed the Greek occupation of Smyrna in 1919. By employing witness accounts, historical research and ample imagination, the author dramatically narrated the events that followed the landing of the Greek troops in Smyrna in 1919, only to reach the climax with the tragic events after the capture of the city by the Turkish army and its eventual destruction. This publication is representative of a series of publications – not quite scientific nor exactly fictional – that, with detailed accounts of the most horrific war crimes and a constant repetition of national stereotypes, sought to impress upon the readers a sense of national injustice, of betrayal, of national superiority and in a sense a feeling of belonging. Through the detailed narration and elaborate descriptions, the reader colorfully reconstructs and visualizes an ideal image of the Greek Smyrna, while he partakes in the common suffering for the atrocities against his compatriots and the loss of the city. He is thus steeped in the nation as a community of suffering. In 1992, on the seventieth anniversary of the disaster, Kapsis published *1922 The Black Bible*, a collection of personal refugee testimonials that described the worst of their experiences after the retreat of the Greek army and before the exchange of populations. The purpose of the book was 'the recording, recognition, and condemnation of the genocide against the race of Ionian Greeks'.[16] It compared the Holocaust and its recognition to the 1922 events in Asia Minor, calling for their recognition as genocide and it must be seen in the context of the pressure on the Greek state to recognize the 1922 disaster as genocide, something that was eventually done in 1998.

Along the same lines, Christos Emmanouel Angelomatis published in 1963, the *Χρονικόν Μεγάλης Τραγωδίας: Το Έπος της Μικρασίας* (*Chronicle of a Great Tragedy: The Epos of Asia Minor*) – a publication that won him an award from the Athens Academy. This was a vivid account of the situation of the Greek population in Asia Minor before

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[16] Kapsis 1992: 18.

1919, the Greek occupation and the campaign to the interior and the defeat and atrocities against the Greeks, mostly from a military viewpoint. In the preface, he stated that his goal was to 'capture the pulse of the nation's soul, its vision, the magnitude of its epic struggles, the bitterness of the tragedy, the cataclysm that reached its peak with the desolation of the eternally Greek homeland of Asia Minor and its stripping from its Greek population'.[17] One of his main arguments was that the Greek army was not defeated by the Turkish one, but it rather went on a type of strike out of despair, due to the betrayal by the Christian allies and the internal civil strife in Greece.

In 1972, Marjorie Housepian published *Smyrna 1922: The Destruction of a City*. This is a vivid account of the events that took place in Smyrna in 1922. Based on diaries, letters and later recollections of mainly Armenian and American witnesses, Housepian outlined the background and historical context of the destruction of the city and painted in vivid colours the horrific events that followed the entrance of the Turkish army and the horrible fate that befell the Greek and Armenian populations. She also strongly condemned the French, British, American and Italian stance on what she called the 'tragedy of Smyrna'.[18]

In 1973, Michael Llewellyn Smith published *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor 1919-1922,* based on his doctoral thesis. The book focused on the historical and ideological background of the events that led to the 1922 Asia Minor disaster. Following an analysis of the 'Megali Idea' irredentist policy, it accounted for the situation of the Greek Orthodox populations in Anatolia and the aftermath of the First World War that led to the Greek occupation of Smyrna. It explored the political situation in Greece during the time, the diplomatic efforts to disentangle from the campaign and the military developments in Asia Minor that led to the Greek defeat and its disastrous aftermath. The study provided a valuable account of this turbulent period.

Paschalis Kitromilides is a scholar whose work touched upon the interests of this thesis – that is, to examine the social construction of the Lost Homelands in Greek national imagery and the turning of the Smyrna disaster to a myth and a symbol for the Greek nation. Kitromilides has written extensively on Greek nationalism, enlightenment and Orthodoxy, Greek irredentism and the 'Megali Idea', Cyprus, as well as the Asia Minor disaster and the population exchange. In 1982, he introduced the second volume of the *Exodus*, published by the Centre for Asia Minor Studies. This was a collection of personal testimonials of refugees from central and southern Asia Minor. Kitromilides distinguished

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[17] Angelomatis 1963: 7.
[18] Housepian 1972: 11.

the Greek Orthodox population of Asia Minor in three broad geographic units and traced their historical evolution, the development of their Greek national consciousness and their experiences during the disaster and the population exchange. The first unit was the Greek Orthodox of western, coastal Asia Minor, centered on the metropolis of Smyrna. This part of Greek Orthodox population witnessed great development during the second half of the nineteenth century, the memory of which nurtured nostalgia and myth after the disaster.[19] The tragic end of this population was vividly depicted through the testimonials published in the first volume of the *Exodus* in 1980. The second unit was the Greek Orthodox of inland and Southern Asia Minor, the communities of which, although outnumbered by the Turkish element, were of historical importance. Their experiences were recorded through the testimonials of the second volume of the *Exodus*, published in 1982, while the third geographical unit was that of Pontus in north-western Asia Minor, covered in the third volume of the *Exodus* in 2013. On the challenges of the Asia Minor studies, Kitromilides argued that a methodological issue arose out of the disproportionate dimensions of the disaster for the collective destiny of the Asia Minor Greeks, so that this experience overshadowed their entire previous history in their collective consciousness and in that of the Greek nation in general. This issue had to do with the attempt to retrospectively project the historical trajectory of the Asia Minor Greeks from the fall of Byzantium to 1922. According to Kitromilides, the collective memory of this period, as it surfaced through the oral traditions brought in Greece and incorporated into modern Greek consciousness by the Asia Minor refugees, was deflected through the trauma of the exodus and thus acquired mythologizing functions. This element challenged the scientific reconstructions of Asia Minor Greek history and the consequences of this mythologizing function of the trauma of the uprooting were obvious in the transformation of the research problems and endeavors to ideology. Some examples are the issue of historical survival and continuity of the Asia Minor Greeks through the pressures of foreign occupation, the assumptions on the phenomenon of the Turkish-speaking Greek Orthodox and the questions about the character of the collective life of the Asia Minor Greek communities. Kitromilides' conclusion on this was that the ideologically charged amateur history and traditional folk studies were not sufficient enough as methods of analysis, suggesting historical ethnography and social anthropology as more appropriate approaches.[20] He further argued that the mythologization of the Asia Minor experience and the subsequent restructuring of the Asia Minor Greek historical past were largely dictated by the need for the refugee

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[19] Kitromilides 1982: κδ'.
[20] Op. cit. λα'.

acceptance from, and incorporation to, the Greek society. The ideological deductions that came out of this need were part of the process of national completion of the modern Greek state; a process that ended on a dramatically different way than that projected by the national idea of the previous hundred years. The national completion of the modern Greek state was accomplished with it absorbing Greek populations residing outside its borders, without their historic territories. For this reason, national completion was seen by many Greeks as an exile, but exile to the homeland.[21] Thus, the refugee testimonials provided evidence on the social history of construction of the modern Greek state. The memory of the disaster and of the uprooting, as well the nostalgic longing for the peaceful past in the lost homelands were diffused through the prism of the experience, ascribing an ideological function to the lost homelands that reminds utopia.[22] This way the refugee testimonials turned to historical monuments of Asia Minor Greeks and testified to a new phase in their history: their incorporation into the Greek national corpus.

Thus, we see in Kitromilides a first attempt to explain the myth of the Lost Homelands, which was ideologically charged with national meaning that served the incorporation of the refugees and the fusion of two similar, but also quite differentiated populations into the same national body; similar, as they both thought to belong to the same nation, but different as the newcomers had gone through a different historical experience – the uprooting – and had constructed an alternative cultural identity – that of the refugee.

In 1989, Renée Hirschon published the *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe*. This urban ethnography of the refugee quarter of Kokkinia in Piraeus examined how its inhabitants had developed a separate sense of identity from that of the 'indigenous' Greeks, with whom they shared a common language, religion and culture fifty years after their arrival and settlement in Greece. The book dealt with cultural continuity and adaptation, the function of individual and collective memory, with patterns of economic and social organization and the influence of cultural values on the symbolism and use of the physical space. It explained the distinctive refugee identity on the basis of the different historical experiences of the Asia Minor Greek Orthodox, their regional and religious affiliations during the Ottoman past, their cosmopolitan heritage and the memory of their uprooting. The book also provided an account of the refugee contribution to the economy, the background of the uprooting and of the refugee political organization and orientation. In 2004, Hirschon edited another volume titled '*Crossing the Aegean*'. It was an attempt to

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[21] Op. cit. λη'.
[22] Op. cit. λη'.

offer a case study on the consequences of the 1923 population exchange between Greece and Turkey and to examine its far-reaching effects on the development of the two nations. The first part of the volume offered the background and overview of the population exchange. The second part explored the political, economic and policy aspects of the Lausanne Convention for both Greece and Turkey and the third part the social and cultural dimensions of this upheaval for both countries. Both studies were significant in the context of the wider field of forced migration and refugee studies, as they deal with one of the first official and internationally sponsored cases of compulsory 'ethnic cleansing' of modern times.

In 2004, Vangelis Kechriotis delivered a paper at a conference in St. Peter's College, Oxford, titled '*From Giavour Izmir to Hellenic Smyrna: reconstruction of a lost Atlantis*'. In this paper, Kechriotis argued that contemporary commemorations of Smyrna assume its heritage belongs to the whole nation and not only to those whose grandparents came from there. What is remembered is not Smyrna, but the 'Greek Smyrna', or 'Our Smyrna'.[23] This concept of 'Greek Smyrna' dates back to the end of the 19th century, when the literature of the time was mobilized to back up Greek territorial claims, based on numerical accounts of the dominance of the Greek element. Present-day literature though has a nostalgic overtone, as 'Greek Smyrna' is not anymore a claim in need of support by statistics. As the author argued, 'it has turned into a myth – much like the lost Atlantis – whose privileged displacement in collective memory has dissociated it from the actual geographical location'.[24] This process of symbolization was a long one, while the journal *Mikrasiatika Chronika* of the refugee association *Enosis Smyrneon*, undertook the first systematic attempt to reconstruct the culture and history of the city. The author further analyzed two texts of Christos Solomonides, an 'organic intellectual' who dedicated his activity on elaborating the traumatic experience of the 'burning Smyrna', incorporating it into the official nationalist ideology. The two texts constituted commemorations of the 'lost city' and were delivered with the occasions of the fortieth and the fiftieth anniversary of the disaster, in 1962, and 1972, respectively. Both texts strove to demonstrate the Greek character of Smyrna through several themes (arts, education, journalism, etc.). Kechriotis further offered the historical context of the period (1950s-1970s) and how this influenced the politics of commemoration and discussed the incorporation of the 'Greek Smyrna' in the official ideology in the 1950s and 1960s.

In 2005, Hervé Georgelin published *Smyrna: From Cosmopolitanism to*

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[23] Kechriotis 2004: 2.
[24] Op. cit. 3.

Nationalisms. The book examined the social and political life of Smyrna from the late 1870s to 1922 from the viewpoint of coexistence of different religions and ethnic groups and multiculturalism. It concluded that the destruction of the city falls under the general context of nationalization and the disappearance of the cosmopolitan character of eastern Mediterranean cities, like Odessa, Alexandria, Istanbul and Thessaloniki.

In 2006, Bruce Clark published *Twice a Stranger*. This was an attempt to analyze the legacy of the 1923 Lausanne Convention and its repercussions for both Greece and Turkey. He examined the population exchange and its effects on the political, economic and cultural life of the two countries and consulted newspaper archives, diplomatic records, as well as personal testimonies of survivors. One of his main arguments was that the Lausanne Convention provided for an accord, a model that was followed ever since in cases of ethnic tensions (e.g., India-Pakistan, Kosovo, Bosnia, etc.).

In 2008, Giles Milton published *Paradise Lost – Smyrna 1922*. This was based on unpublished letters and diaries of great Levantine (Western European) families that lived in Smyrna. It accounted for the cosmopolitan life in Smyrna at the beginning of the 20th century, where the Greeks dominated,[25] the Greek national aspirations and the Greek occupation of the city, the military campaign, the Greek defeat and provided a detailed daily description of what happened between September 6, and September 30, 1922, in the city. The employment of third party sources (Levantine), gave a different and more 'objective' dimension to this book about what really happened. The point however of the book, as suggested by the title, is that Smyrna became idealized and acquired the status of 'paradise' – a 'paradise' that was lost in 1922 with the Greek defeat. The book, although written by a non-Greek on third-party sources, witnessed great success in Greece because it justified the glorification of Greek Smyrna, while it assumed that Smyrna was a 'paradise' under Greek dominance that was lost with the Greek defeat. Smyrna thus turned to a lost homeland, a symbo and a myth, reminding an era of cosmopolitanism, wealth, happiness, as well as of the bitter experience of the exile from 'Paradise'.

These have been of the most important publications on Asia Minor disaster and Smyrna that reflect the various and different standpoints each approach embarks from. The works of Kitromilides and Kechriotis touch upon the analytical framework the thesis is based on and are of the few works that explore the ideological dimensions of the Lost Homelands, discussing also Smyrna as a lost paradise. Still, none explores in depth the social construction of the Lost Homelands and its symbolization in Greek nationalism that

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[25] Milton 2008: 9.

this thesis intends to do. Kitromilides sketches out the ideological dimensions of the disaster for Greek nationalism in general, acknowledging the mythologization of the Asia Minor experience as an effect of the process of the incorporation of the refugees in the Greek state. He does not however provide a deeper analysis of the process of the construction of the Lost Homelands as a national myth in the process of Greek nation building after 1922. Similarly, Kechriotis admits that Smyrna in particular has turned into a myth in Greek collective memory, recognizing the important role of the *Mikrasiatika Chronika* in this process. However, his analysis is restricted in only two commemorative articles of Solomonides published in 1962 and 1972. This thesis differs from the above, as explores the social construction of the idea of the Lost Homelands as a Greek national myth in the period 1922-1967. It does so, by focusing on the reconstructions of the Greekness of Smyrna in the first eleven volumes of the periodical *Mikrasiatika Chronika*. This way, the thesis attempts an in-depth analysis of one of the actors in the process of symbolization of the Lost Homelands, and their incorporation in the Greek official nationalist ideology.

Structure

The first chapter will provide the theoretical and methodological framework, the definitions and typology of the terms that the thesis deals with. Thus, nations, nationalism and the theoretical approaches of primordialism, modernism and ethno-symbolism are discussed, along with the concepts of nostalgia, trauma and myth. The second chapter focuses on Smyrna and outlines the three main images of the city for Greek nationalism. First, the city was a dream for Greek nationalistic aspirations; it then developed into a tragedy with the 1922 defeat and then turned into a national myth perpetuating its Greekness as the very encapsulation of the Lost Homelands. The third chapter will examine the establishment of refugee associations in Greece after 1922, and focus on 'Enosis Smyrneon' and its periodical *Mikrasiatika Chronika*, discussing its context of development, its history, its objectives and how they were expressed through the periodical publication. The chapter will further analyze the periodical's contents and changes over the period under examination and how these reflect the changes in the objectives of 'Enosis Smyrneon'. The fourth chapter will focus on, and analyze the conceptual reconstructions of 'Greekness' of Smyrna in the first 11 volumes of the *Mikrasiatika Chronika*, by examining a) the element of Greek continuity from antiquity until 1922, b) accounts of historical events that affected the Greek Orthodox populations, with an emphasis on the 1922 events,

c) memories of saintly and heroic Greek Smyrniot figures, and depictions of the lives and achievements of modern famous Smyrniots, and d) descriptions of Greek symbolic monuments and sacred sites, and of the natural features of Smyrna and its region. Finally, the last section will offer a synopsis and an overview of some aspects of Greek nationalism.

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

T his chapter explains the theoretical and methodological foundations of this thesis. Terms related to Lost Homelands are defined and utilized as a framework for the examination of the particular case of Smyrna. The chapter begins with a discussion of nationalism as an ideology and its three major theoretical approaches – primordialism, modernism and ethno-symbolism. This is followed by a discussion of the construction of national homelands in general, and the elements of nostalgia, trauma and myth that enter the nationalistic formulations that result in the imaginary reconstructions of the lost national space, and the mythologization of the Lost Homelands. The methodology of the thesis is presented and discussed in the last part of the chapter, followed by a summary.

Nationalism: Eastern and Western nations

The role of Nationalism has been crucial in the shaping of the modern world, as it has provided for the current structure of the world order and the sense of identity that we take for granted. Nationalism is a multi-level and complex phenomenon that infiltrates different levels of social organization: from political life to collective identity and political culture, international relations, religion and economics.[26] This complexity of nationalism poses theoretical and methodological challenges to researchers. Nationalism cannot be examined as a mere political ideology related to economic and geopolitical factors. It is also a cultural model since it provides a framework for the understanding of modern identities.[27] In this framework, memories, emotions, symbols, rituals, myths, as well as 'invented traditions' are of primary importance.[28] According to Homi Bhabba, a central aspect of nationalism is that it constructs narratives of a nationalist world view that are transmitted

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[26] Smith 1991; Lekkas 1996.
[27] Appadurai 1981; Bhabba 1990; Cohen 1989.
[28] Anderson 1991; Smith 1993, 1994; for the 'Invention of Tradition', see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983.

from generation to generation, ascribing a sense of 'naturalness' to the nation. Central in these narratives are the elements of common ancestry, national 'purity', national historical space and national continuity. [29]

This thesis examines nationalism as an ideology and is exploring the processes of its production; that is, the context of the development of nationalist ideas, their content, the ways they are expressed, their function, as well as their carriers. Most scholars agree that nationalism developed in Europe, in the nineteenth century and provides the most suitable criterion with which to specify the population unit that can govern itself. This population unit undertakes legitimate state control and provides the model upon which international state order is built.[30] Nationalism differs from other ideologies in its content, as well as in its total dominance in modern society, as it legitimizes modern politics. No other ideology has ever succeeded in providing argumentation to contradictory policies, conflicting social groups, or competing financial interests; no other ideology complies with both modernizing and traditional movements, is employed equally by totalitarian and democratic regimes, or is used at the same time by revolutionary, conservative, or reactionist social powers.[31]

In the literature of nationalism, one comes across various typologies of nationalism and the nation, none of which is exhaustive.[32] There is however, a bipolar typology that is widely accepted and distinguishes nationalism in two types. The first is the 'territorial' nationalism, based on the 'Western', civic-territorial model of the nation and the second is the 'ethnic' type, based on the 'Eastern', ethnic-genealogical model of the nation.[33]

Territorial nationalism developed in the West – in England, France, the Netherlands, USA, and Switzerland – and came after the formation of the modern state (or, as in the case of the USA, it coincided with it). In this type of nationalism a) ethnicity is usually less important than citizenship which is granted to all inhabitants of a territory, regardless of their ethnic background; b) regardless of the level of homogeneity of the population, it is the state that constructs national identity, through the bureaucratic incorporation of the masses; c) the development of capitalism pre-exists (or at least coincides with) the development of nationalism; and d) nationalism allows for the development of a tolerant political culture, and a strong civic society.[34]

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[29] Bhabba 1990.
[30] Kedourie 1960: 40.
[31] Op. cit.
[32] Gellner 1983.
[33] Smith 1991a: 82-83.
[34] See Mavratsas 1998: 40.

Ethnic nationalism developed in Central and South-eastern Europe during the nineteenth century and gradually spread to the rest of the world. In this type a) citizenship is directly connected to ethnicity; b) nationalism arose before the establishment of the modern state, although the state – once formed – assumes the construction of national identity; c) nationalism comes before capitalism; and d) nationalism does not allow for the development of a liberal political system and a pluralistic society.[35] Critics however argue that the distinction is not absolute and elements of both types can be found in all nationalisms.[36]

Nationalisms outside the Western world found their first expressions in the cultural field, because of the backward state of social and political development (lack of modern institutions, capitalist development, etc.). They started off as the hopes and dreams of an intelligentsia, unsupported by public opinion, since public opinion did not exist and the intelligentsia strove to create it. Instead of being a venture in policy-shaping and government, these nationalisms engaged with education and propaganda.[37] Still, all rising nationalisms outside Western Europe were influenced by the West that provided for the model of development. Nonetheless, as soon as the native educated elites began to develop their own nationalisms, they strove to disassociate themselves from the Western European 'alien' example and its liberal perspective. Having established its original impulse from contact with an older nationalism, every new nationalist movement made every effort to justify and differentiate itself by looking at its own past heritage and the praised and ancient depth and peculiarities of its traditions, and grew at odds with the universal standards and rationality of the West. Western nationalisms developed in an effort to establish a nation in the political reality of the present, without much sentimental affection for the past. On the contrary, nationalisms outside the West often created an ideal motherland out of past myths and future dreams, closely associated with the past, lacking connection with the present (and expected sometime to become a political reality). So, they took the liberty to embellish this motherland with traits that they could not achieve, but which influenced the emerging nation's aspiring self-image and sense of mission. Western nationalisms were originally connected to ideas of individual liberty and cosmopolitanism, while later nationalisms outside the West tended towards the contrary – exclusion, uniformity and monolithic interpretation of the past.

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[35] Gellner 1994a; Mouzelis 1994.
[36] Shulman 2002.
[37] Kohn 1994: 164.

As one would expect, ideas of lost national homelands did not develop in Western, territorial nations, as these arose after the formation of the state, through the bureaucratic incorporation of the population into the nation. Also, in most of these cases history and geography coexist harmoniously and merge into one identity. The so-called 'new nations' are an illustrative example, as they were constructed almost entirely on the basis of geographical traits and considered history irrelevant. An example is the development of American national identity in the 19th century that was centred on the perceived wilderness and endless frontier of American geography and an explicit desire to leave the past behind.[38] However, in the Eastern ethnic nationalisms that over-emphasized history in order to back up and legitimize political and territorial claims, ideas of Lost national Homelands frequently flourish, as there seems to be unfinished business with the past. In many Eastern nationalisms, national identity has become disengaged from place or territorial considerations, and claims to land are more of a historical rather than of geographical nature.[39] These nations are constructed on the basis of a particular sense of history that is usually in opposition to geographical considerations. In Western civic nations, the homeland is seen as a material resource defined by the boundaries of the state, while in Eastern ethnic nations, the homeland tends to be seen as an emotive, cultural entity – a geographical extension of 'the people'.[40] Greek nationalism and its idea of the Lost Homelands fall under the Eastern type. The Greek Lost Homelands of Asia Minor are considered Greek because of their history and despite their geography – that is, despite of the fact that they are populated by Turkish nationals, and because Greeks lived there for many centuries until 1922.

In order to provide a better framework for understanding the concept of the Lost Homelands, it is useful to explore the main theoretical approaches to nationalism. In general, three terms are used to classify the various theories of nationalism. The first is Primordialism – a term that describes nationality as a natural part of humanity and argues that nations have existed since time immemorial. Second, modernism maintains the modernity of nations and nationalism, while the third theoretical approach – ethno-symbolism – stresses ethnic pasts and cultures.[41]

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[38] Hooson 1994: 5.
[39] Mavratsas 2010: 149.
[40] Penrose 2002: 291.
[41] Ozkirimli 2000: 64.

Primordialism

Primordialists believe in the 'naturalness' of nations and their existence since antiquity. This approach can be further classified in three sub-categories. The first is the 'naturalist' approach, which is the most extreme, as it asserts that national identities are a 'natural' part of human beings, like speech or sight.[42] The nation to which someone belongs is predetermined and 'naturally fixed'.[43] The natural order dictates that humanity is divided into different groups with different cultural characteristics and these groups tend to exclude others. This view is endorsed by most, if not all, nationalists who claim that nations are primordial entities that 'were identifiable through their distinctive way of life, their attachment to a territorial homeland and their striving for territorial autonomy'.[44] Every nationalistic narrative encompasses a list of recurrent themes: the alleged antiquity of the nation, the theme of a golden age, the superiority of the national culture, the periods of recess and the theme of the national hero.[45] Smith further distinguishes two separable claims within the naturalist version of primordialism, introducing the term 'perennialism'. 'Perennialism' holds nations as historic entities that have developed over the centuries with their intrinsic characteristics largely unchanged, while it supports that they have existed since time immemorial.[46] Perennialists are not necessarily primordialists, as it is possible to acknowledge the antiquity of ethnic and national ties without holding that they are 'natural'.

The second primordialist approach is the sociobiological one, which is mostly found in the work of Pierre van den Berghe and which perceives the content of nationality from a biological base. Its main question is 'why are animals social, that is, why do they cooperate?'[47] The answer to this according to van de Berghe is that 'animals are social to the extent that cooperation is mutually beneficial'. He argues that biology supplies the main genetic mechanism for animal sociality – that is kin selection – in order to increase inclusive fitness. He further claims that kin selection reinforces human sociality too. In effect, both race and ethnicity are extensions of the idiom of kinship, hence 'ethnic and race sentiments are to be understood as an extended and attenuated form of kin selection'.[48] Of less importance is the fact that extended kinship is more often presumed rather than real, as it is usually real enough 'to become the basis of these powerful

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[42] Gellner 1983: 6.
[43] Smith 1995: 31.
[44] Hutchinson 1994: 3.
[45] Kedourie 1971: 210-219.
[46] Smith 1984.
[47] Van den Berghe 1978: 402.
[48] Op. cit., 403.

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sentiments we call nationalism, tribalism, racism, and ethnocentrism'.[49] The way most societies define themselves is by employing cultural criteria, as these are more salient than physical ones. Van den Berghe further identifies two additional mechanisms to explain all of human sociality – reciprocity and coercion – where 'reciprocity is cooperation for mutual benefit and with expectation of return, and it can operate between kin or between non-kin, while coercion is the use of force for one-sided benefit'.[50]

The third primordialist approach is the culturalist one and is generally associated with the works of Edward Shils and Clifford Geertz. Geertz although not endorsing the primordialist model, he explains that such a model is prevalent in peaople's perceptions. The culturalist approach focuses on the webs of meaning spun by the individuals themselves. Congruities of blood, language, religion and particular social practices are listed among the objects of ethnic attachments, as primordial and 'assumed' to be given by individuals.[51] Three main ideas are associated with this approach: first, primordial identities or attachments are 'given', underived, prior to all experience and interaction, while interaction is carried out within primordial realities. Primordial attachments are not 'sociological', but rather, 'natural', or even 'spiritual' and have no social source. Second, primordial attachments are overpowering and coercive. If an individual is a member of a group, he necessarily feels certain attachments to that group and its practises (i.e., language, culture). Third, Primordialism is essentially a question of emotion and affect.[52]

Modernism

Modernism emerged as a reaction to primordialism and its acceptance of the basic assumptions of nationalist ideology on the 'naturalness' of nations. According to Smith, it achieved its canonical formulation in the 1960s, primarily in the model of 'nation building' that views the nation as an invented, imagined and hybrid construct.[53] A variety of models and theories followed, all of which considered nations as historically formed constructs. What all of these studies share, is a belief in the modernity of nationalism and nations – that both appeared in the wake of the French Revolution and that they are products of specifically modern processes like capitalism, industrialism, the emergence of the bureaucratic state, urbanization and secularism.[54] Apart from this common denominator,

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[49] Op. cit., 404.
[50] Op. cit., 403.
[51] Ozkirimli 2000: 72.
[52] Eller and Coughlin 1993: 187.
[53] Smith 1998: 3.
[54] Smith 1995: 29.

modernists have little in common, as they point out different factors in their works on nationalism. There are three main types of modernists.

The first group of scholars stresses economic factors in their theories to explain the rise and pervasiveness of modern nations. They argue that certain states were able to benefit from their lead on early market capitalism and a strong administration. So, initially France, Britain, Spain and Holland managed to bring Eastern Europe first, and then Central and Latin America, into a relationship of a dependent periphery that brought along the seeds of imperialism.[55] The bourgeoisie of the West succeeded in imposing a more direct economic and political imperialism on many Asian and African countries after 1800. This soon evoked resistance by the elites of these countries that took the form of mass-mobilization. These elites had to appeal to 'their' masses in order to face the political threat this uneven expansion of capitalism brought, since they wanted Western technology and capital but without the political and economic control that came along.[56] Furthermore, these core states were exploiting also peripheral communities and ethnic hinterlands within their own boundaries over the centuries, something that just increased with the growth of economic interaction generated by industrialism. The result we witness today, in movements by groups like the Scots, the Corsicans, the Basques, etc. Ernest Gellner argues that nationalism is 'primarily a political principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent'.[57] It also is a vital feature of the modern world, since in most of human history political boundaries rarely coincided with national ones. Gellner further argues that pre-modern 'agro-literate' societies had no place for nations or nationalism as their elites were separated by the masses along cultural lines and those societies could not produce an ideology to bridge this gap. On the other, modern industrialized and capitalist societies need cultural homogeneity to function and they are capable of producing this necessary ideology. The modern state is the only agency able to provide modern industry with a literate and mobile work force, through its mass, public and standardized education system.

A second school of modernists tends to stress the transformations in the nature of politics in their analysis. The work of Elie Kedourie on this is influential, as he analyzes nationalist ideology though the evolution of the history of ideas, tracing its roots in European philosophy and examines the historical conditions that allowed the evolution and

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[55] Smith, 1986: 9
[56] Nairn 1981: 338-340.
[57] Gellner 1983: 1.

dominance of this ideology.[58] Other theorists advocate that ethnicities and nations provide for convenient pools that elites can draw mass support from in their struggle for wealth, power and prestige.[59] This position views ethnicity as primarily 'instrumental'. Ethnicity combines economic and political interests with cultural 'affect', thus serving purposes other than solely cultural that its spokesmen proclaim. Hence, these ethnicities are often superior to classes as they offer stronger bases for mobilizing and coordinating mass action in support of collective policies.[60] John Breuilly, for example, uses nationalism to refer to 'political movements seeking or exercising state power and justifying such action with nationalist arguments'.[61] He argues that nationalism is, above all, about politics and control of the state and focuses his analysis on the role of nationalism in the pursuit and exercise of state power. Eric Hobsbawm also stresses the role of political transformations in his analysis of nationalism and argues that both nations and nationalism are products of 'social engineering'. Of particular importance in this process is the case of 'invented traditions', that is 'a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past'.[62] For him, nations are the most prevalent of such invented traditions, as despite their historic novelty, they establish continuity with a suitable past and are using history 'as a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion'.[63] This continuity according to Hobsbawm is largely fictitious, while invented traditions are responses to new situations in the form of reference to old ones.

A third group of modernist theories stresses the importance of cultural and social transformations in understanding nations and nationalism. In this approach, the work of Benedict Anderson is illustrative. Anderson embarks from the human need to overcome death that the old religions had attempted to address and explain, and from the novel modes of communication created through the advances of the 'print-capitalism' technology of the sixteenth century onwards. The rise of the printed word, in combination with the decline of religion, has made possible to 'imagine' communities, sovereign and limited at the same time, which can evoke a sense of immortality and with which anonymous individuals can identify. Through the printed word, these anonymous individuals seem to live in the same homogeneous, empty time and distinguishable place by belonging to an imagined community and posterity. Thus, these 'imagined communities' or nations, come

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[58] Kedourie 1960.
[59] Laitin 1986, 2007.
[60] Smith 1986: 10.
[61] Breuilly 1982: 2.
[62] Hobsbawm 1983: 1.
[63] Op. cit.: 12.

to satisfy vital economic and psychological needs in the context of modern secular capitalism.[64]

Ethno-symbolism

The term 'ethno-symbolism' is used to refer to scholars who aim to uncover the symbolic legacy of pre-modern ethnic identities for today's nations.[65] Ethno-symbolists stand sceptic to the polarization between primordialism/perennialism on the one hand and modernism on the other hand, proposing a third approach, a kind of compromise between the other two. As such, it rejects the axiom that nations may be *ex nihilo* invented, arguing that they rely on a set of pre-existing myths, memories, symbols and values, attempting thus to transcend the split between primordialism and modernism.[66]

Ethno-symbolists stress similar processes in explaining national phenomena and a common characteristic is the attention they pay to the past. They look on the formation of nations in *la longue durée*, that is, a time dimension of many centuries, arguing that the emergence of modern nations cannot be properly understood without accounting for their ethnic forebears.[67] Thus, the emergence of nations should be examined in the context of the larger phenomenon of ethnicity which shaped them.[68] Modern nations differ from earlier cultural units in degree rather than kind, and, once formed, they tend to be exceptionally durable.[69] Smith further argues that the modern nation is no *tabula rasa* as it emerges out 'of the complex social and ethnic formations of earlier epochs, and the different kinds of *ethnie* (ethnic community), which modern forces transform, but never obliterate'.[70] So, the nation, as a complex type of collective cultural unit is produced in the modern era by a fusion of recorded experiences and identities of past epochs, and a variety of ethnic formations.

Smith is the leading exponent of ethno-symbolism in the field of nationalism studies. His numerous publications focus especially on the pre-modern roots of contemporary nations, basing his approach on a critique of modernism. His main thesis is that modern nations cannot be understood without considering their pre-existing ethnic components, the lack of which is likely to undermine the process of 'nation-building'.[71]

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[64] Anderson 1983: 17-25.
[65] Smith 1998: 224.
[66] Conversi 1995: 73-4.
[67] Armstrong 1982: 4.
[68] Hutchinson 1994: 7.
[69] Smith 1986: 16.
[70] Smith 1995: 59.
[71] Smith 1986: 17.

Smith provides a definition of the 'nation' that is concordant with certain assumptions and images of nationalism. This definition is also adopted as a working definition of the 'nation' in this thesis: a nation is 'a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members'.[72] To this useful definition, I shall include Walker Connor's 'sense of belonging';[73] an irrational psychological bond which supposedly constitutes the essence of national identity and binds fellow nationals together. The thesis also adopts Smith's definition of nationalism as 'an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation'.[74]

Ethno-symbolism and the homeland

Regarding the construction of national homelands (or the process of the nationalization of space), ethno-symbolism embarks from the proposition that through the ages, every community, whether tribal, religious, local or national, has pictured a homeland in some form or another; from this perspective, ethno-symbolism regards the homeland as a trans-historical category that dates back to pre-modern attachments of people to land. Indeed, this is how emergent nationalist ideologies in late eighteenth and nineteenth-century Europe construed the 'motherland' (or 'fatherland'), when providential myths of the nation's pedigree and rootedness legitimated territorial claims.[75]

        The passage of generations linked the population of most communities to their original or adopted territory. Their everyday cycle of work and leisure, which was formed out of their continual encounter with a particular natural environment, mapped out their patterns of settlement, their modes of production and folk cultures. However, what is most important for the ethno-symbolists is 'the internalization of certain territorial features and life-styles and the contribution to an individual atmosphere and tradition in which successive generations are steeped'.[76] On the one hand, geography may set limits to certain lifestyles and encourage particular modes of production and patterns of settlement. On the other, national identity is influenced by collective perceptions of the ethnic 'meanings' of particular territories that are encoded in myths and symbols and the modes in which such territories are transformed into 'homelands' are inextricably tied to the fate of 'their'

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[72] Smith 1991a: 14.
[73] Connor 1987: 377-400. See also Geertz 1963 for the similar term of 'fellow feeling'.
[74] Smith 1991a: 73.
[75] Williams and Smith 1983: 502-3.
[76] Smith 1986: 183.

communities.[77] However, there are many instances where particular ethnic communities have moved from their area of origin to another territory. What is of particular importance though is the manipulation of memory of the original homeland in the construction of their national identity. The case of the Turkish nation is illustrative, as their distant memories of their Turanian homeland were appropriated in the quest for origins of the first Turkish nationalist intellectuals in late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Anatolia was seen as the homeland of the Turkish nation; hence the policies of the dominant Turkish nationalism to 'Turcify' it, leaving no space for any other nationality.

Smith distinguishes between historic 'mini-scapes' and 'ethnoscapes'.[78] The first are somewhat small localities that support groups of villages, the inhabitants of which gradually develop clearly recognisable networks and local cultures, like, for example, the various groups in the Carpathian valleys. The borders of these districts demarcate the outlook and culture of the group, and often become the subject of myth and tradition. 'Ethnoscapes', on the other hand, include a wider territory, present a tradition of continuity and are alleged to constitute an ethnic unity, for the reason that the terrain endowed with collective significance is felt to be integral to a particular ethnic community, which then again is seen as an intrinsic part of the 'poetic' landscape.

Yet, how do 'ethnoscapes' emerge? How is this association between terrain and community formed? Over time, the particular environment appears to provide the distinctive and indispensable locale for the events that have shaped the community. The wanderings, the exploits and battles in which 'our' people got involved, took place in a particular setting, whose features are part of those experiences and the collective memories to which they give rise. In many cases, the landscape is given a more active role than that of just a natural setting; it is felt to influence the events and play a part in the experiences and memories that moulded the community. This is the case particularly with 'ethnoscapes', where the landscape is endowed with ethnic kin significance and becomes a fundamental feature of the community's myth of origins and shared memories.

Another way in which historic mini-scapes and ethnoscapes emerge, the ethno-symbolists argue, is by witnessing the group's survival as a cultural community, as the land forms the last resting place of 'our ancestors'. Their graves testify to the antiquity and uniqueness of particular landscapes, as this land has a special meaning for the community,

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[77] On the interpretations of physical locations and settings in 'national' terms, see Williams and Smith 1983; for a discussion of the relation of territory to national identity and regionalism, see Knight 1982.
[78] Smith 1999: 150.

the same way this community has a special attachment to a specific historical landscape, commemorated in monuments and chronicles and celebrated in epic and ballad.[79] Land as an actor over historical events, as witness to ethnic survival and commemoration over the *longue durée*, and as an historically unique and poetic landscape – these are basic components of what Smith calls the process of the 'territorialization of memory'.[80] They contribute to the establishment of a close association between a community and a given landscape, so that a territory is considered to belong to a particular people and a people to a specific territory. Based on this, larger ethnoscapes emerge in which a sense of emotional continuity and kin relatedness is developed through successive generations living, working, dying and being buried in the same historic terrain.

But how is this identification between the community and its landscape realized in practice? One way is by affixing particular memories of 'our ancestors' and forebears to specific stretches of territory, especially if they are saintly or heroic. Many times, leaders and educators of the community may well trace the deeds of great men and heroes at specific sites, 'poetic' spaces, eulogised in stories and ballads transmitted down the generations, binding their descendants accordingly to a distinct landscape bestowed with ethno-historical significance.

The sense of continuity and genealogy gives then rise to a particular veneration. The 'poetic' landscape is being seen as an 'ancestral homeland' and the ethnoscape becomes a fundamental part of the character, history and destiny of the community. This is the reason why many modern states inculcate a love and veneration for particular areas and extol the natural characteristics of the territory they control. This is part of the two-fold process of the fusion of community and terrain through the identification of natural with historical sites. On the one hand natural features become historicized – they turn to actors in the reconstructions of the national past. On the other, historic sites and monuments become 'naturalized', by entering the community's imaginative fabric over the centuries, fusing with the surrounding nature and becoming one with the habitat.[81]

Furthermore, the ethno-symbolist approach considers particularly important the myths and memories generated by war as powerful differentiators and reminders of the unique culture and fate of the nation. It argues that war – especially defeat in war – strengthens ethnic self-consciousness and ethnic imagery, tends to strain cohesion even in homogeneous societies and reinforces a community's cultural framework, its sense of

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[79] Schama 1987: Chapter 1.
[80] Smith 1999: 151.
[81] For a thorough analysis of this process, see Smith 1986: 185-90.

ethnic individuality and uniqueness, and history (while on the other hand, prolonged warfare may weaken the cohesion of multinational or sharply stratified societies).[82] In the Greek case, the nation-building process after 1922 entailed the conceptual construction of the Lost Homelands that enhanced the formulation of an idea about the Greek national self.

So, the Asia Minor disaster and the subsequent exodus of the Anatolian Greeks – a turning point in the history of the Greek state and nation – provides for a rich depository of memories of collective traumatic experiences that nation-building can draw upon in order to reinforce national identity. As I argue in this thesis, the concept of the Lost Homelands has become a symbol and a reminder of this 'catastrophe' and its appropriation as such enhances Greek ethnic self-consciousness.

The Lost Homelands of Hellenism

The term 'Lost Homelands' refers to areas where Greek Orthodox populations used to live that were perceived to belong to the Greek nation, but in the process of formation and expansion of the Greek state those areas were not incorporated into it, and finally most of their Greek populations moved – willingly or not – to the Greek state. These territories include Northern Epirus, Northern Macedonia, Eastern Rumelia, Eastern Thrace and Constantinople, Asia Minor, Pontus, Cappadocia and the islands of Imvros and Tenedos. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Greek populations of these territories were included in the imagined community of the Greek nation and as a result the lands they occupied were viewed as part of the nation's ancestral homeland, while the failed attempt to unite them with the Greek state consequently turned them to Lost Homelands. This thesis will concentrate on those Lost Homelands, the Greek Orthodox populations of which fled to the Greek state after the military defeat of 1922, or were expelled according to the Lausanne Convention;[83] these are: Eastern Thrace and Constantinople, Asia Minor, Pontus, Cappadocia, and the islands of Imvros and Tenedos.

Smyrna is seen as the very encapsulation of the Lost Homelands – the symbol of this concept. If we were to employ strict ethno-symbolist terms, Smyrna would be the symbol of the national myth of the Lost Homelands. It is a myth in the sense of constructed memory and oblivion, and also in the sense that we cannot lose something that was never institutionally 'ours'; since the Asia Minor territories briefly occupied by Greece during the 1919-1922 Asia Minor campaign were never officially annexed to the Greek state, and

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[82] Smith 1981: 390.
[83] See full text of the Convention in: Greek Foreign Ministry 1923.

thus never underwent the nation building consolidation practices, while the Greek element residing there was a minority, those territories were never really Greek in the modern national and institutional sense of the term. Hence, their 'loss' is a bit problematic, as they were never really 'ours'. The Anatolian Greeks might consider them their individual homelands, but they were not an institutionalized collective homeland of the whole nation. Thus, the Lost Homelands are seen as a constructed imaginative concept, a myth. With the population exchange and the gradual incorporation of the refugees in the Greek society, the refugees underwent the institutionalized nation-building practices of the state and were integrated in the Greek national corpus. At the same time, their distinctive culture fused with the national one and the refugee particular cultural elements became integral parts of the general national culture. One of these particular elements was the refugee lost homelands, which, with the refugee fusion into the Greek institutionalized nation, turned into Lost Homelands of the nation. Concentrating on the study of symbols like Smyrna, we may realize the special significance which certain stretches of territory hold for a large proportion of the members of particular ethnic communities – in our case of the Greek ethnic community. In such cases, specific land areas end up possessing a special symbolic and mythic meaning, while some ethnoscapes are endowed with a sacred and extraordinary quality, giving rise to powerful sentiments of reverence and belonging.

The 'nationalization of space' is a process by which all nationalisms seek to transform the terrain their nations occupy to an ancestral homeland and endow it with special symbolisms and meanings.[84] This process turns the territory the nation happened to inhabit to a historic territory, a 'homeland', and a rightful possession from one's forefathers through the generations. It is exactly with the construction of a national territory that nationalism strives to implant a sense of national solidarity and consciousness and to homogenize heterogeneous and stratified populations. Hence, places like the Rütli, Thingvellir, or Valley Forge become national sites and even architecturally impressive ruins and cities like Delphi, Jerusalem, Pagan and Kyoto are filled with holy memories and charged with collective emotions that far surpass their actual significance in history.[85] This process of the nationalisation of space is usually state-controlled, as state-sponsored disciplines like geography, archaeology and folklore strive to demonstrate the nation's

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[84] This process is differentiated in the so-called New Nations (like the American one), the identity of which was constructed on geographical traits and history was considered irrelevant or inconsequential. Although geography substituted the lack of history, these new nationalisms still strove to endow their territories with symbolisms and meanings in order to bind the newly constructed nation with its habitat (i.e., the Capitol Hill, the Rockies, or the wilderness of the West and their symbolisms for the American nation).
[85] Williams and Smith 1983: 509.

spatial integrity through history and its historical integrity through space.[86] However, in many occasions it is also carried out by non-official agents who work along the state projects and sometimes continue even if the state abandons those policies. These non-governmental agents often encompass cultural associations, artists and writers (for example in our case, the association 'Anatoli' in Athens [1891-1935],[87] or the writers Karkavitsas, Psycharis, and Papadiamantis, to name but a few).[88]

The homeland which must be the object of veneration and every aspect of which must be recorded by writers and artists, is also the internationally recognised territory of a particular community and of no other. Thus, the concept of the homeland implies a nationalist vision in which specific communities 'belong' to particular territories and states by a sort of natural right and this principle of coincidence of ethnicity and territory has become a decisive criterion of defining the relationship between population and environment. From this follows the attempt to define the homeland in the broadest possible terms, by harking back to golden ages when the community supposedly ruled vast areas that are now annexed and settled by others. Another aspect of this nationalist vision of the homeland is that the historic territory of nationalist dream and theory so often exceeds in scope both the contemporary administrative area designated as the homeland, as well as the actual extent of territory occupied by a majority of the community's members, as defined by, for example, linguistic or religious affiliation. Examples of this disjunction between region, culture and historic homeland are provided in the history of Croatia, Brittany, Greece, Albania, Ulster and others.[89]

Exile of the group from the homeland tends to reinforce its bond with it and leads to an endless search for roots discovered only through displacement.[90] The case of the Jews is again illustrative, as 'the bond that attached the people of Israel to the Promised Land was drawn much tighter by the traumatic experience of losing it'.[91] There are three elements that play an important role in the formulations of this bond to the lost homeland that results to the imaginary reconstructions and the mythologization of it in group consciousness, and are further discussed in this thesis. The first is the element of nostalgia, the second is the notion of trauma and the third is the concept of myth. All together these three elements enter the conceptualizations and reconstructions of the homeland and its

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[86] For the role of Greek Folk studies in this see Kyriakidou Nestoros 1978.
[87] Katastatikon 1891.
[88] Shannan Peckham 2001: 49-60.
[89] Williams and Smith 1983: 510.
[90] Leonti 1995: 14.
[91] O'Donovan 2003.

loss, serving in a sense nationalist ideology in its process of nationalizing the space as well as binding the nation to it.

Nostalgia

As an academic term, nostalgia, emerged in the seventeenth century and is generally defined as a 'longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed'.[92] It is a sentiment of displacement and loss, as well as a romance with one's own fantasy and derives from the Greek *nostos,* meaning 'return home' and *algos,* meaning 'longing'. This thesis will approach nostalgia as a collective emotion and not as an individual condition. As such, nostalgia is a result of a new interpretation of space and time and not just an expression of local longing. Nostalgia appears to be a longing for a place, when it actually is a yearning for a different time – the time of childhood memory. Apart from retrospective, nostalgia may also be prospective, as the fantasies of the past that are determined by present needs can impact directly future realities. Nostalgia permeates the relationship between personal and collective memory, while for many displaced people nostalgia was a strategy for survival and a way to make sense of the impossibility of homecoming.[93]

Many modern ideologies (such as romantic nationalism) are based on a promise to rebuild the ideal home, tantalizing people to renounce critical thinking for emotional bonding. The danger of nostalgia is that it is likely to confuse the actual and the imaginary home, creating in extreme cases a 'phantom homeland'[94] that people sometimes are ready to die or kill for. Nostalgic politics can thus be very dangerous, while nostalgic outbreaks usually appear in historic upheavals. For example, the current rise of the far right in financial crisis-stricken Greece, and their endeavor to create a favorable image of the Metaxas' or the 1967-1974 dictatorship by employing nostalgic overtones for those 'good-old' times where there were no foreigners and the country was thriving financially is illustrative.[95]

In contrast to the universality of reason that Enlightenment brought, the focus of Romanticism shifted to the particularism of the sentiment. Thus, the nostalgic longing for home turned easily to a central theme of romantic nationalism.[96] Unsurprisingly, national awareness comes from outside the community rather than from within it, as the nostalgic

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[92] Boym 2001: 7.
[93] Boym 2001: 9.
[94] Boym 2001: 10.
[95] For the rise of the far right in Greece, see Ellinas 2010, 2013.
[96] Feldman & Richardson 1972: 229-30.

individual usually resides abroad. Patriotic longing – thanks to Herder – developed as a particular expression in many national languages, and nostalgia as a historic emotion got crystallized in the time of Romanticism along with the birth of mass culture.

From mid-nineteenth century on, nostalgia gets institutionalized in regional and national museums, urban memorials and heritage foundations. The past became 'heritage' and was no longer unknown or impenetrable. Modernization and industrialization intensified people's longing for the slower pace of the past, for tradition and social cohesion. However, this obsession with the past involved a lot more of forgetting than preserving. Thus, memorial sites, or *'lieux de mémoire'* are institutionally established when the environments of memory (*milieu de mémoire*) fade (an example may be the folklore museums).[97]

In general, there are two types of nostalgia: the restorative, and the reflective. The restorative type focuses on *nostos* (home), attempting a trans-historical reconstruction of the lost home, while the reflective type stresses *algos* (longing) and wistfully delays the homecoming.[98] Restorative nostalgia is a fundamental element of recent national and religious revivals. Reflective nostalgia doesn't follow a single scheme but seeks to reside in many places at once, imagining different time zones. This typology allows us to distinguish national memory that is based on a single version of national identity, and social memory that comprises of group experiences that influence but do not define individual memory. The two types of nostalgia may overlap in their reference frames, but differ in their narratives and identity plots. They may use the same symbols and memory triggers, but tell different stories.

Important in our understanding of restorative nostalgia is Eric Hobsbawm's distinction between habits of the past and the restoration of the past – between old 'customs' and nineteenth century 'invented' traditions.[99] 'Invented tradition' does not mean a creation from nothing, but it builds on a sense of loss of community and cohesion, offering a reassuring communal 'script' for individual longing. New traditions are patterned out of peasant customs and conventions, but are characterized by stronger symbolic formalizations and ritualizations. A paradox here lies in the sense that as modernization picks up, the more conservative and unbending new traditions tend to be. Another paradox is that the more emphasis is given to continuity with the historical past

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[97] Nora 1989: 7-24.
[98] Boym 2001: 13.
[99] Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983: 2.

and on traditional values, the more selectively the past is presented. The novelty of invented tradition is that it is being 'able to dress up as antiquity'.[100]

The industrialization and secularization of society in the nineteenth century generated a void of spiritual and social meaning. Benedict Anderson argued that this brought a need for a secular transformation of 'fatality into continuity, contingency into meaning'.[101] The idea of the nation as an 'imagined community' and method of belonging surfaced to serve exactly this need. This transformation can also be manipulated politically through newly created practices of national commemoration that aim to re-establish social cohesion.

Nostalgia as a collective emotion has been essential in the construction of the Greek Lost Homelands. Since 1922, Smyrna and Asia Minor have been a prohibited zone for the Greeks, a site of desire physically unapproachable and for this reason a place on which fantasies can be projected.[102] The nostalgic longing for the lost place and the yearning for the lost time have facilitated the transformation of the Lost Homelands into an Eden – a lost national Eden – in collective imagination, where everything was more beautiful, more fertile, and more important and everybody (that belonged to the nation) was wealthier, more innocent and happier. The Lost Homelands turned to an escape dream-world that could be imagined as wished – a semi-real, semi-imaginary place that, because of its remoteness and because of the changes the landscape underwent with the deportation of the Greeks, nobody could (or wanted) to challenge the validity of these descriptions. Thus, nostalgic overtones were let lose to imprint a rosy hue onto the imaginary collective depictions of the Lost Homelands of the nation.

Trauma

The notion of trauma applies mostly to extraordinary experiences in individuals' personal lives.[103] It involves an element of shock in the sense that an ongoing activity has been interrupted by an adverse happening, a horrendous event that stands as a rupture in time. This notion of trauma can be applied collectively to the experience of a group of people. In this case, conditions of trauma usually grow out of an assault on the fabric of social life as it is widely known and understood. Something of great magnitude has happened that social

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[100] Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983: 5.
[101] Anderson 1991: 11.
[102] Mackridge 2004: 235.
[103] Trauma is examined in this thesis from a sociological and not a psychological approach as I am interested in the social dimensions of collective trauma.

life loses its predictability, chaos prevails and questions are framed about the linkage of historical circumstances with personal lives.

The difference between national and personal trauma is that the former is shared collectively with others and often has a cohesive effect, as groups gather to reflect on the tragedy. Traumatic events have significant effects on social organization. This thesis is concerned with the symbolic representations of social suffering, as an attempt to produce meaning. The construction of collective trauma is based on individual experiences of suffering and pain, but the kind of suffering is defined by the threat to the collective rather than the individual identity. Traumas become collective if they are perceived as threats to social order and have enduring effects in collective consciousness.

Under conditions of a national trauma, the boundaries between order and chaos, good and evil, the sacred and the profane, life and death become blurred and personal lives are suspended, while ordinary time seems to freeze. The integrity of social order is challenged, shared values are threatened and the normality of everyday life is disrupted. Past traumas become embedded in collective memories and provide future reference points to the social heritage.[104]

Individual reactions to traumatic events include repression and denial. When these psychological defenses are overcome, pain is brought into consciousness and people are able to mourn, attaining a level of relief. This is however different with groups, as instead of repression and denial, group reaction to trauma is a matter of framing and symbolic construction, of creating a narrative and moving along.[105] Coding the trauma and creating a narrative about it construct a 'we', a collective identity that may experience and confront the situation. Transforming individual suffering into national trauma is cultural work that requires rituals, marches, speeches, meetings, plays and storytelling in general. This produces signifying processes and spirals of symbolic meanings that are mediated by institutional structures.[106]

Traumatic events – as well as triumphant ones – constitute 'mythomotors' of national identities, representing liminal experiences and ultimate horizons for the self-constitution of a collective subject, the same way birth and death delineate the existential horizon of the individual person.[107] By referring to the fact of birth, and the prospect of death, the individual may construct an encompassing identity beyond ever-changing experience. Along the same lines, interwoven relations between individuals are

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[104] Neal 1998: 6-7.
[105] Eyerman, Alexander and Butler Breese 2011: xiii.
[106] Op. cit.: xiii.
[107] Giesen 2000: 229.

transcended and fused into a collective identity, by accounting for the past as a collective trauma, or triumph. Traumas recall a moment of violent intrusion or a collapse of meaning that the collective consciousness was unable to comprehend or to grasp its full importance when it occurred. After a period of latency, they can be remembered, worked through and spoken out. Similarly, triumphs are moments of effervescence and exhilaration. The event recalled as triumphant may have not been experienced as such at the time it occurred; however, collective memory exalts it and imagines it retrospectively as a moment of paramount intensity. This initial lack of significance has to be overcome with ritual reenactments of the event in annual celebrations and through narration and mythologization.[108] Both traumas and triumphs as collective conceptualizations refer mostly to acts of violence that tore apart and reconstructed the social bond, while collective identities are never exclusively triumphant or traumatic – they are always both.

National traumas do not merely reflect actual events or individual suffering, as they are symbolic representations that reconstruct and imagine such events in a somewhat independent way. This is the work of intellectuals – that is, novelists, poets, directors, journalists, politicians, academics – who create cultural scripts that address the trauma. The highlight here is not on the epistemological status of truth claims but on the institution through which claims to reality are made. The difference between factual and fictional statements is not a *punctum Archimedis* from a sociological viewpoint. While the spiral of meaning is not rational, it is intentional and is spun by individual and group carriers. Traumatic meaning is produced by people, in circumstances they did not create and which they do not fully understand. The truth of these narratives derives from the power of their enactment and not their descriptive accuracy, and they are performed 'in the theaters of everyday collective life'.[109]

National traumas generally, have a cohesive impact and provide a self-definition framework for the nation. They symbolically reconstruct the nations as communities of suffering, reinforcing thus an idea of the national self. In this sense, often national traumas, like defeats in war, persecutions, ethnic cleansing, deportations and even genocide practices, have a tremendous unifying power, sometimes more than national victories and triumphs. Whenever blood has been spilled and individual lives have been lost in the name of the nation, the idea of the nation itself emerges clearer and stronger to its people. Group suffering in the name of the nation constitutes an authentication mechanism of communal existence and verifies the right to exist as such a collectivity. National traumas further bind

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[108] Op. cit. 229.
[109] Op. cit.: xxvii.

the nation to its historic homeland in two ways: first, by strengthening the idea of the nation itself – the nation that has a particular homeland; and second, by locating the traumatic experiences to the particular setting, the specific territory where they occurred. The landscape that provided the setting for the events that shaped the national community becomes an intrinsic element of this experience. The 'nationalization' of the traumatic experience package includes the territory where this occurred, which is gradually felt to belong to the group.

The Asia Minor disaster, with the burning of Smyrna and the population exchange has been one of the most traumatic events for the Greek nation. Its appropriation by Greek nationalist ideology has been important in the construction of the Lost Homelands, since it built upon the loss; the loss of the war, the loss of the social fabric, the loss of community, the loss of lives, and, most importantly, the loss of the homeland. The traumatic experience evolved around the expulsion and the loss of Smyrna and the Asia Minor homelands for the Greek nation, as they provided for the setting for the trauma. This is clear also from how this is referred to – as the 'Asia Minor disaster' or 'the disaster of Smyrna', locating the 'disaster' into a specific place, a locus of traumatic energy, instead of being just the '1922 war'. This way, this particular trauma provides nationalist ideology with valuable material – of collective memories, histories, and myths – upon which to draw for the imaginative construction of the Lost Homelands.

Myth

Myth is an idea whose conceptual content is difficult to specify.[110] The discourse of the Enlightenment had brought a separation between myth and science. This separation has been questioned by the emergence of a new epistemology, indicated by concepts like 'construction' and 'postmodernity' – which have challenged professional historiography and have placed history under new perspectives.[111]

The linguistic or rhetoric approach to myth argues that there is no reality which can be conceptualised and analysed beyond the limits that language sets upon reality's meaning. This has brought the insight that there is a connection between historiography and myth through the form of narration – the way that the story is told. Myths are real in the sense, and to the extent, that people believe in them. From this point of view, they cannot be detached and distinguished from reality and truth; they rather form this reality

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[110] Myth can be analyzed from different disciplines, like psychology, arts, literature. This thesis however focuses on the social dimensions of myth.
[111] White 2000: 49.

and truth through language. Thus, reality and truth are not absolute but rather contested and contextual. Myth is not just the object of historiography – it is also its product in the form of constructed memory and oblivion. However, history is – like the present – in a permanent state of transformation. In the framework of a history that is constantly written and rewritten from an ever-changing present viewpoint, constructed memories are continuously subject to critical examination and reconsideration. History does not simply exist – 'it is permanently invented in order to give meaning to the present – and to the future – through the past'.[112] So, in the sense of constructed memory and oblivion, myth is set free from its negative undertones and becomes a constituent element of social cohesion and politics (by providing meaning).

Most of the methodologies employed for the study of myth – psychoanalytical, symbolist, sociological, structuralist, Marxist etc. – approach myth from a functionalist perspective and try to establish its uses in pragmatic terms. Historians are also interested in the study of myths, since it is historical writing that mainly promotes them. Interest in those underlying myths in historical narratives points to the constructivism and textualism of history and indicates the distance between the 'historical' and the 'real' past. In this context, I will adopt the view that history and myth are not opposed to each other, but rather constitute 'complementary modes of grasping a common reality'[113]. The study of myths is an alternative approach in studying the past and may be seen as a reaction to the modern world view based on Science and Reason – considering that there is no absolute truth and the interpretations of the past are made from a present-day viewpoint; hence, it is impossible to see the past 'as it really was'. Separating history from myth weakens both, 'for it is myth that protects and saves fundamental features of a given community's cultural *ego*'.[114]

Hayden White argues that 'whereas scientific time and space are conceived to be homogeneous and continuous, mythic time and space are mosaicked or fractated and their units are incommensurable among themselves, both quantitatively and qualitatively'.[115] Therefore, it is not the principle of 'causality' but of 'propriety' that governs the life-world of myth. Myths employ stories about specific events and actions as manifesting the consequences of violations of the rule of propriety. They explicate the kinds of situations which we might characterise as a need for a reconstruction of society, by indicating the violations of this rule. Therefore, mythic modes of conceptualising programmes of social

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[112] Strath 2000: 26.
[113] Domańska 2000: 250.
[114] Op. cit. 253.
[115] White 2000: 51.

reconstruction seem to be an appropriate alternative to historical and scientific techniques of analysing situations of social crisis. Additionally, White proposes that 'human beings […] are inclined to have recourse to mythic modes of thought and expression whenever they have been subjected to processes, either natural or social, that both destroy the material infrastructure of their communities and exceed the power of science to grasp or even to register their moral significance'. Thus, mythic discourse erupts and flows into the semantic space made vacant by the failure of science to recognise the moral significance of human suffering.[116]

National myths are narrative stories that simplify, dramatize and selectively narrate the story of a nation's past and its place in the world. They encompass all the various events, traditions, personalities, artefacts and social practices that distinguish the nation and define its relation to the past, present and future. These myths might be constructed by intentional action or through the particular resonance of literature and art. Myths serve to flatten the complexity, the nuance and the contradictions of human history, by presenting a simplistic and often uni-vocal story. Here we should notice the role of history and of the social sciences in constructing images of a dramatic and inspiring past, using scientific methods to systematize and substantiate metaphors of collective life, thus legitimating national myths in the name of science. Anthony Giddens has argued that this is because the social sciences are inevitably interwoven with the notional nexuses of their time and their society. The critical ability of the social sciences is therefore unavoidably not extended in the 'deepest', 'natural' and 'obvious' spheres of the societies they are developed in.[117]

This thesis employs myth as a concept that demonstrates the crystallisation of notions about national time through narratives that accurately express the dramatic symbolism with which nationalism endows the past. This concept is examined in the greater framework of the sociological undertaking to grasp the social power of myths.[118] Of importance here is not the truth of myths – their epistemological dimension – but rather why and how do they become accepted – because they exactly express the feelings and needs of those who accept them. I assume that a myth is an amalgam of memories, knowledge and fantasy that are arranged in a way so that they produce meaning for present concerns and future objectives. It therefore tells us more about the society that it is produced and articulated in, than for the past that it reconstructs.[119]

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[116] Op. cit. 52.
[117] Giddens 1976: 146.
[118] For the concept of myth in this context see: Malinowski 1960, Gellner 1987: vii-viii.
[119] Cohen 1976: 99, Lekkas 2001: 95-96.

A mythic mode of perception has been employed in the construction of the Greek Lost Homelands. The Lost Homelands are thus examined in this thesis as a Greek national myth, in the sense of constructed memory and oblivion – memories of an exclusively Greek past in Smyrna and Asia Minor and an appropriation of those territories as Greek by virtue of a long-established Greek presence there until 1922. This myth provided for a symbolic framework of cohesion for the refugee group and for its incorporation in the Greek society. Its perpetuation in Greek nationalist ideology further provides for a narrative, an inspiring and dramatic story that distinguishes the Greek nation from others and also binding its members under an institutionalized sense of belonging into a community of destiny. This mythic mode of perception of the 1922 traumatic events, along with the nostalgic longing for the lost past life in that idealized homeland have been crucial for the construction of the Lost Homelands.

Methodology

This thesis is a study in historical sociology and the field of nationalism. It embarks from the tradition of interpretive sociology that studies society concentrating on the meanings people associate to their social world. Interpretive sociology strives to demonstrate that reality is constructed by people themselves, rather than seeing an objective reality 'out there' and relies primarily on qualitative data. After all, if one adopts the Weberian perspective, sociology is a science that deals with the interpretive understanding of social action and in this manner with a causal explanation of its course and action. Action is considered insofar as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to his behaviour and is seen as 'social' to the extent that its subjective meaning is taking into account the behaviour of others.[120]

Sociology strives to frame ideal types and generalized uniformities of empirical processes. Of importance in the formulation of sociological concepts is the sociological contribution to the explanation of important social phenomena. Sociological analysis offers concepts that are used in order to produce meaning. It is generally admitted that this aim can be realized in a high degree in the case of concepts and generalizations that analyze rational processes. Sociological investigation however attempts to include in its scope a series of irrational phenomena – like prophetic, mythic, and affectual modes of action – that are articulated as theoretical concepts and produce meaning. In any case –

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[120] Roth & Wittich 1978: 4.

rational or irrational – sociological analysis both distances itself from reality and at the same time helps us to understand it.[121]

Sociology also explores the unintended consequences of action. In some cases, actual action is undertaken in a state of inarticulate half-consciousness or actual unconsciousness of its subjective meaning. The actor is probably 'aware' of it in some vague sense, rather than 'knowing' what he is doing, or being explicitly self-conscious about it.[122] The subjective meaning of action – rational or irrational – is brought clearly into the actor's consciousness only occasionally and when this is undertaken uniformly by large numbers of actors. Every sociological investigation, when analyzing empirical facts must take this into account, since the ideal type of meaningful action where the meaning is fully obvious and intentional to the conscious actor is a rare case. This is true with the case investigated in this thesis, since Enosis Smyrneon and the *Mikrasiatika Chronika* through their reconstructions of the 'Greekness' of Smyrna contributed unconsciously to the conceptual construction of the myth of the Lost Homelands. This may have not self-consciously been their goal; however their elaborate reconstructions of the Greek past of Smyrna enhanced the image of the city as an ancestral Greek homeland, while its destruction and loss sealed it as a symbolic locus of national energy.

This thesis is essentially a study of nationalism. Nationalism is a unique ideological phenomenon whose basic terms are considered more or less self-implied or natural. That is why its critical examination is challenging, as it has shaped modern socio-political reality and most importantly it has imposed its world view on the way we perceive reality. Any critical examination of nationalism is a reflective examination of ourselves, our society, and our way of thinking.[123] To be able to do that, one needs to distance himself from the phenomenon and a suitable approach for this is the one of historical sociology.

Historical sociology strives to explore how ideas are produced and structured into systems, what are the characteristics and limits for internal changes and adaptations of these systems, what social needs the ideas address and shape, by whom and how they are established, and under what conditions they are effective.[124] Employing this approach, we will be able to follow the construction of the nationalist ideology's main axioms and set some distance from them as self-implied, natural, super-historical, and absolute concepts. In other words, we will be able to break this 'self-implied' code and decipher this 'natural'

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[121] Op. cit. 20.
[122] Op. cit. 21.
[123] Lekkas 1996: 15.
[124] Op. cit. 46.

language.[125] The idea of the Lost Homelands can be analyzed from the perspective of historical sociology. It has been established as an axiom of modern Greek nationalist ideology and as such the thesis attempts to explore how it was constructed, what social needs it addresses, how it was established and how it became effective.

This thesis adopts the ethno-symbolist theoretical approach of nationalism. The latter is more appropriate for this case, since it directs more attention to ideational, non-material elements in the emergence of nations – symbols, myths and shared memories and experiences – than other theoretical approaches, as, for example, modernism that emphasises 'modern' factors in the emergence of nations like industrialisation and print capitalism. In particular, the ethno-symbolist approach provides an analytical framework for the construction of national homelands and argues that war – and especially defeat in war – strengthens ethnic self-consciousness and ethnic imagery. As the object of this study is a symbolic imaginative concept – the Lost Homelands – that was formed after a major national defeat – the defeat of 1922 – the ethno-symbolist approach appears as the most appropriate point of departure. However, my case also differs from those examined by ethno-symbolism, since I am examining the construction of *lost* national homelands. This means that the concept of Lost Homelands is an exclusively abstract construct, since Smyrna and Asia Minor are lost for the state and the nation and there is no actual space to become nationalized. Nevertheless, the loss cannot prevent the imaginative conceptualizations of Smyrna and Asia Minor as Lost national Homelands; what is of particular importance here is not the territory or the fact of the defeat *per se*, but the myths, symbols and memories about them and their deployment in the construction of concepts like the Lost Homelands, which in turn strengthen ethnic individuality and self-consciousness. After all, being Greek and having undergone the institutionalised nation-building processes after 1922, one identifies himself with all those elements constituting a 'Greek'; and one of these elements has been the concept of the Lost Homelands. Of importance here is the institutionalization of memory of the disaster that has been crucial for the construction and articulation of the Lost Homelands and their incorporation into modern Greek nationalist ideology.

Although this is not a structuralist study, structuralism is employed as a methodological tool for understanding the content of the myth of the Greek Lost Homelands. The myth is seen as a semantic system, a unit structured from different parts. This is based on the assumption that all human products are means of communication, and

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[125] Breuilly 1985: 67.

thus can be studied the same way as the linguistic pattern,[126] according to the structuralist demarcation between language [langue] and speech [parole]; in this case, between the myth and its historical manifestations. The objective here is to enter the general structure of this myth in order to discover the rules that determine the relations between its constitutive parts and set up the meanings that are produced from these correlations. This means that the myth will be studied as a structured system – but not as autonomous from the subjects that create and sustain it.[127]

The concept of the Lost Homelands was not a project of a single agency of Greek society, but it rather developed through the cataclysmic effects the Asia Minor disaster brought upon. Literature, the press, refugee associations, cultural productions (e.g., songs, documentaries, etc.), publications and especially refugee testimonies and oral stories were crucial in the formation and articulation of the concept. This thesis will focus on the role of the refugee association 'Enosis Smyrneon' and its journal *Mikrasiatika Chronika* in the construction of the Lost Homelands. 'Enosis Smyrneon' has been chosen because it is a Smyrniot refugee association, while its *Mikrasiatika Chronika* journal is one of the most consistently produced Asia Minor refugee publications. From 1958 onwards, 'Enosis Smyrneon' has also been publishing a monthly bulletin titled '*Mikrasiatiki Echo*' (*Asia Minor Echo*) with news of refugee interest. This study selected the *Mikrasiatika Chronika* for analysis over the *Mikrasiatiki Echo*, as the first was a journal the publication which was launched in the period the idea of the Lost Homelands was being conceptualized and contributed significantly in this process.

Indeed, ever since the Asia Minor disaster and the ensuing population exchange, hundreds of refugee associations were established in the Greek state throughout the years. These were small regional associations of uprooted people from a specific place, or of a resettlement area in Greece, and yet, these associations did not organize themselves collectively until 1986, when the Greek Federation of Refugee Associations was established in Athens. Of these, from 1922 onwards, many ceased to exist altogether, while others changed their names, changed their foundation charters and objectives, dissolved and re-formed later on, merged or formed regional federations either of a resettlement area (e.g., of Attica), or of a particular lost area (e.g., associations from Pontus). In order to acquire legal association status by the state, a refugee association had to submit its foundation charter with the Court of First Instance (Πρωτοδικείο) of the capital city of the province where it was located. The Greek state was divided into 51 provinces – or *Nomoi* –

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[126] Gouldner 1976: 55.
[127] For a discussion of this view of structuralism see: Lekkas, 2001: 161-163.

and thus there are 51 Courts of First Instance of the 51 capital cities where the foundation charters were recorded. A systematic study and recording of all the Greek refugee associations is therefore very challenging (an attempt was made in the framework of this thesis), because of their geographic dispersal all over Greece, their different historical pathways and the inconsistency of the state archives where these should have been recorded (especially of the period 1922-1950). The state of the Courts' archives of the different cities varies. Some were lost during the German occupation, others were destroyed during the civil war, while others were lost in natural disasters (earthquakes, fires, floods), or due to neglect. Thus, 'Enosis Smyrneon', was selected as the focus of the thesis' analysis since the thesis is about Smyrna and a Smyrniot refugee association would be the most appropriate. The ES has also been one of the most enduring (established in 1936, and functioning uninterrupted ever since), organized and significantly active refugee associations. After all, Smyrna was the capital of Ionia – and the symbol of the disaster – while the Smyrniots were commonly considered to be of higher social status than other refugees (from inland Asia Minor villages for example). With their office situated in the prestigious 'aristocratic' neighborhood of Kolonaki in Athens, 'Enosis Smyrneon' maintained a leading role in refugee affairs for decades. This thesis analyzes its foundation charters and minutes from important meetings, examines its activities and offers an account of the background of its founders. Another important refugee association considered for examination in the thesis was the 'Estia Neas Smyrnis'. Nevertheless, ES was selected to be examined over Estia, as the former is an association encompassing all Smyrniots, while the later focuses on the suburb of Nea Smyrni in Athens.

Refugee organizational networks have produced numerous publications in post-1922 Greece, the number of which is almost impossible to estimate (at this point, however, with technological advancement in digital archiving and publishing, more will eventually become available). These have included journals and newspapers, bulletins, printed materials from commemorative events, anniversaries or social gatherings, photographs, personal memoirs and testimonies, historical, social, folklore, economic and linguistic studies, chronicles, anthologies, poems and novels produced by amateur historians, writers and poets, researchers, academics and journalists. Some of them were published systematically for some time; others were published *ad hoc* and/or independently, while some were expressly created for commemoration purposes. Apart from the news sections of some of these newspapers and bulletins, most of the refugee publications form a seemingly endless historical narrative of human suffering and loss during and after the expulsion, emphasizing nostalgic emotional ties to the Lost Homelands in an attempt to

preserve the memories associated with them and to thereby contribute to the conceptual reconstruction of the Greekness of those territories, formulating the essence of the Lost national Homelands. First published in 1938, *Mikrasiatika Chonika* has been one of the most influential refugee publications, thus the focus of this thesis on its role in the construction and articulation of the Lost Homelands.

There are currently 24 *Mikrasiatika Chronika* volumes (from 1938 to 2011). As an analysis of all would exceed the limits of this thesis, the thesis analyzes 87 articles from the first 13 volumes of the journal, published from 1938 to 1967. 1967 was set as a limit to the study, as in this year a military dictatorship was established in the country that marked a shift in the production of Greek nationalism. This shift unavoidably affected the *MC*, along with every aspect of cultural life and for this reason the author decided to exclude it from the scope of this thesis.

The selection of articles was based on their reference to Smyrna either in the articles' title or content. These articles inform readers on various themes: geography, topography, historical events, eminent Smyrniots, cultural, scientific and economic activities, ecclesiastical, communal and social organizations, etc. These articles aim to reconstruct – on an imaginary level – every aspect of Greek life in Smyrna in order to impart the memory of this aspect of the Greek civilization of the East and its appropriation as the Lost Homeland, to refugees, their progeny and the Greek nation as a whole. This can be said to be useful both to contemporary readers and for posterity, for it can be certain that these will be used by future generations who have an interest in the meaning of the nation. The article material was collected at the library of the Center for Asia Minor Studies in Athens. The *Mikrasiatika Chronika* journal can be found in many libraries (including the journal library of the University of Cyprus). The study also analyzes 51 minutes of ES meetings of the period 1936-1940, as well as the original foundation charter of 1936 of the ES and two amended ones of 1938 and 1959. The minutes constitute unpublished material and were examined at the office of the ES in Athens, where access to the author was granted. The foundation charters were also made available to the author by ES. This study employs content analysis, with the focus on examining words, sentences, images, symbols and themes that promote the imaginative construction of the Lost Homelands. In particular, the thesis is exploring a) words that can lead to themes through their repetition, or through their context and usage (e.g., refugee, exodus), b) linguistic devices, such as metaphors, analogies, proverbs, or idioms, since they have the ability to bring richness, imagery and empathetic understanding to words (e.g., paradise lost), and c) non-verbal cues, in order to

grasp the tone and emotive feeling behind the words or to illustrate that which words do not express (e.g., symbols, etc.).

By reconstructing the 'Greekness' of Smyrna the *Mikrasiatika Chronika* has attempted in practice to re-establish and emphasize the bond of the Smyrniot community with its lost city that was broken with the 1922 exodus. This bond has been enhanced with the cultivation of an authentically Greek image of the city and the reconstruction of every aspect of its former Greek life. Inaccessible and distant – both in geographical and historical terms – the city has entered the sphere of memory and has been idealized and romanticized, while the subjective memories that surfaced portrayed it as a purely Greek ancestral homeland. This process of symbolic transference elevated Smyrna to a place of emotional rootedness for the Greeks and the memories, histories and myths about it were effective in binding an overwhelming majority of the population to the nation.

Significant to this study too is the broader time period from 1922 to 1967 that encompasses the 1930 Ankara Convention and the 1962 fortieth anniversary of the disaster. The Ankara Convention of Friendship, Neutrality and Arbitration signed in 1930 between Greece and Turkey, provided for a resolution of bilateral disputes over the population exchange, primarily by agreeing on the 'clearing' of the properties of the exchanged populations. What was 'left behind' was officially and irreversibly sealed to that respective state and no further claims could be made. This came as a watershed for the Asia Minor refugees, many of whom had still hoped to return, as it brought upon them the stark realization of the sealing of their fate, the irreversibility of the population exchange and the definite and 'official' loss of the homelands that were beyond the Aegean Sea and Evros River. During this period, other significant events occurred – the Greek-Italian war, the Axis occupation, the civil war – that had often overshadowed official rhetoric and public awareness. However, the idea of Lost Homelands was also being conceptualized in this period and reached the zenith of its expression in the fortieth anniversary of the disaster in 1962, through various publications (such as Kosmas Politis' '*Stou Hatzifragou*')[128], ceremonies and special commemoration services, and social events in almost all refugee quarters and settlements, all over the country.[129] Furthermore, these years allowed for a period of latency during which the trauma of the disaster was being processed, re-formed and worked through cognitively, physically and emotionally. It is exactly this period of internal transformations and quests for modes of expression that this thesis focuses upon.

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[128] Politis 1962.
[129] For an account of the ceremonies in Athens see: 'Estia Neas Smyrnis', February 1963: 45-51.

Choosing to examine the ES and *MC* is indicative of my inclination not to focus on the official view of the theme and on state-sponsored projects – such as public school textbooks – and to concentrate on a social level of analysis. The primary reason for doing so is that the official stance follows the dominant ideology of every period and is 'constrained' by internal and external political, economic and social conditions, as well as by inter-state and military relations. So, if we examined the official stance of the Greek state towards the Lost Homelands, we would observe that this is regulated by the policies of each different government, as well as by the interests of the state in that period. On the contrary, the refugee associations and their publications are institutions of civil society (what today is more commonly known as nongovernmental organizations, or NGOs); they encompass elements from the wider social spectrum, while, at the same time, by being more flexible and not under state control, they may express their own perspectives towards the Lost Homelands, without being isolated from, or seeming to be against, the official state position. Besides, an association, an article or a publication may attempt to present as Greek an area or city beyond the state's *de facto* boundaries without raising suspicions over territorial claims, or even to claim as Greek certain territories which the state in fact has no official claim on. Still, the history and Greek literature school textbooks of the Greek educational system will be examined in Annex I, in the broader framework of the role of education in the construction and articulation of identity, culture and the sense of belonging.

All the same, the official position of the Greek state on the issue of the Lost Homelands could be characterized as dubious. This is in the sense of the state being magnanimously absent from the formulations and manifestations of the concept. For such a cataclysmic event for the Greek nation, the Greek state did not even have an official day – a standard commemoration day in the Greek state calendar – until 1998 (!),[130] when the Parliament of Greece recognized September 14, as the day of national remembrance of the genocide of Asia Minor Greeks. The parliament had already recognized the Pontic Greek genocide (of 1914-1923) in 1994. The reason for this stance of the Greek state could plausibly be explained by the state's intention to disassociate from its own responsibilities for the disaster. After all, it was the state's expansionist policies and its attempt to materialize its 'Megali Idea' (i.e., its nationalistic fantasies) that brought the disaster and the uprooting of more than a million people from their homelands. Stirring the ideological aspect of the issue officially would amount to admitting the mistake and assuming

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[130] N. 2645 of 9/13-10-1998 (ΦΕΚ Α~ 234)

responsibility, something that may lead to refugee claims for material loss and suffering against the state. For this reason, the Greek state restricted its role to the practical and pressing issues of providing for the survival of refugees and integrating them into Greek society. This stance was preserved throughout the years. Despite the fact that almost 20% of the population was of refugee origin and given the clientelistic orientation of the Greek state, one would expect the state to have been more responsive to the desires of the refugee voters. The state maintained an ostensibly low profile on the ideological aspect of the Lost Homelands and the sensitive undertaking of the preservation of memory of the disaster until at least 1998, with the designation of a commemoration day. Still, this is not a public holiday – the way the Armenian Remembrance Day of April 24 is – but merely a commemoration day, although, interestingly, both are designated as 'Genocide Remembrance days'.

Of greatest importance for the construction and articulation of the Lost Homelands has been the so-called 'literature of the disaster'[131]. This includes the production of literature (i.e., novels, stories, poems) that developed after 1922, and focuses on the Asia Minor disaster and its repercussions for the exchanged populations, as well as the Greek state and society. The role of this literature has been crucial for the mythologization of the Lost Homelands in Greek national imagery. This thesis however does not offer literary analyses *per se* of those works; the study analyzes the sociological dimensions of the role of literature in the construction and articulation of this concept.

Moreover, by focusing on the social level of analysis, one may grasp the significance that these territories hold for a large section of the members of the Greek national community. The idea of the Lost Homelands has acquired a special symbolic and sometimes mythic meaning and is endowed with an almost sacred and exceptional quality that then gives rise to profound sentiments of veneration and belonging. It is exactly this process of construction of Lost Homelands that this thesis intends to examine. However, what the study does not address is a psychological analysis of trauma, myth or nostalgia as it is interested in the social dimensions of these elements in the construction of the Lost Homelands.

The research questions underlying this sociological endeavour stem out of the very object of the study and set out to address and empirically examine the construction and content of the concept of Lost Homelands over time. In particular, the study addresses questions such as: what does the concept of Lost Homelands mean for Greek nationalism?

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[131] For an overview see, Korovinis 2006.

How did this come about? What was the role of refugee associations and publications in the development of this concept?

The analysis develops along four themes in which the conceptual reconstruction of 'Greekness' of Smyrna was practically attempted through the *Mikrasiatika Chronika*. My approach is inspired by the analysis of Smith, who argues that these four themes are what nation building projects develop in order to bind a population with a specific territory, and construct an 'ancestral homeland'.[132] These are: 1) the element of national continuity in time and space, 2) accounts of historical events that affected 'our' people, 3) cultivation of memories of 'our ancestors' and forebears, especially saintly and heroic, and 4) uses of space, and depictions of the landscape, sites, and symbolic monuments. These four themes as a methodological tool will be developed in chapter three.

Aspects of Greek Nationalism

Since its early formulations, Greek national identity has been characterized by its self-perceived ambivalent position at the crossroads between East and West. This ambivalence has been mirrored in both Greek cultural identity[133] and in the country's foreign policy.[134] On the one hand, Greek identity has looked to the East and the Greek Orthodox and Byzantine heritage, while, on the other, to the West that provided for nationalist inspiration and actual support for the nineteenth century young Greek state, as well as a reference point for the country's political and cultural orientation in the twentieth century.

Nonetheless, as with most Eastern nationalisms, Greek nationalism has been ambivalent towards modern Western European culture, from which it got initiated into national awareness and has seen it as alien to Greek traditions that are thought to be stronger, more important and more 'authentic' than Western influences. Although Greek nationalist narrative succeeded in establishing a continuous national past by linking ancient classical Greece to Byzantium, the internal clash between East and West still persists as a distinctive element of contemporary Greek identity.[135]

Despite the fact that the Enlightenment and its liberal values stimulated late eighteenth century Greek nationalism,[136] since the foundation of the independent Greek state, the nation was defined primarily in reference to common ancestry, language and

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[132] Smith 1986, 1998, 1999.
[133] Tsoukalas 1994.
[134] Heraclides 1995.
[135] Op. cit.
[136] Veremis 1983: 59-60; Kitromilides 1990: 25-33.

culture.[137] Throughout the nineteenth century, Greek national identity and consciousness was formed around the irredentist 'Megali Idea'. This was a political, cultural and eventually military project of integrating into an enlarged Greek state territories populated by Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians who lay beyond the state borders. This irredentist project epitomized the political expression of the ethnically, religiously and culturally-linguistically defined Greek nation.[138] The 'Megali Idea' further promoted the unification of a traditional and internally divided society, transforming it into a nation-state. So, Greece turned into the national centre, the political and cultural base for all Greek populations living in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans.[139] This central role of the Greek state was further reinforced by the concentration within its borders of the vast majority of the Greek Orthodox Christian populations of the Balkans and Asia Minor after the Balkan Wars and the Asia Minor disaster, and the abandonment of the 'Megali Idea'. What was left outside the state boundaries after 1923, were the Dodecanese islands (that were incorporated in the Greek state in 1947),[140] Cyprus, and the Greek minorities of Northern Epirus in Albania, Constantinople and of the islands Imvros and Tenedos in Turkey.

The Greek-Cypriot nationalist movement for *Enosis* of the island with Greece of the 1950s was perceived as failed with Cypriot independence in 1960, since it did not achieve its primary goal to unify Cyprus with the Greek state.[141] Since 1963, the Republic of Cyprus has been functioning as a *de facto* second Greek state, as the internationally recognized state administration was left to the hands of the Greek-Cypriots only. The existence of this second Greek state – a paradox in the modern world of nation-states since the Cypriots never believed to be a separate nation, but rather saw themselves as members of the Greek and Turkish nations respectively – did not challenge the authority and the leading role of Greece as the national centre of the whole Greek nation.[142] The Greek-Cypriot-controlled Republic of Cyprus always saw in Greece the 'motherland', the cultural and in many cases political centre of the Greek nation, to which the Greek-Cypriots believed to belong. The existence of Greek populations outside the Greek state brought a distinction between the terms *Έλληνας* (Hellen, Greek) and *Ελλαδίτης* (Greek of Greece). *Έλληνας* is anyone who believes to be a member of the Greek nation, regardless of his citizenship, while *Ελλαδίτης* is a citizen of the Greek state. Despite the fact that the Greek-

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[137] Kitromilides 1990: 30.
[138] Triandafyllidou & Veikou 2002: 193.
[139] Kitromilides 1983a.
[140] Ekdotiki Athinon 2008.
[141] Kouloumbis 1996.
[142] Kitromilides 1983a.

Cypriots see themselves as part of the Greek nation, a civic sense of Cypriotness has been developed since the foundation of the Republic of Cyprus that is directly related to the citizenship of the Greek-Cypriots and their incorporation into the institutions of the Cypriot state.[143] Nevertheless, the national symbols of the Greek-Cypriots are common with those of Greece (flag, national anthem, national commemoration days) and go side by side with the symbols of the Cypriot state, whose importance in collective consciousness lies with the civic dimension of Cypriot identity. This coexistence of Greek national symbols with Cypriot state ones is indicative of the persistence of Greek national identity on the island, despite its different political/administrative trajectory from the Greek state.

From its independence, the Greek state strove to develop modern western institutions within its realm, such as a common legal and political system, a national economy, infrastructure, a national army and a public education system. These institutions were instruments for the homogenization of the Greek nation and the establishment of a unified national culture, while at the same time they added a set of civic features to Greek national identity. Nonetheless, 'Greekness' was established on an ethno-genealogical conception of the nation.

Athens, with its privileged and undisputed relationship with the classical Greek past, became the capital of the nation state and the centre of all nation-building policies. A refashioned and beatified Athenian culture and linguistic idiom surfaced as exemplars for the entire nation and were imposed through the Athenian-controlled state institutions on the whole country, in an attempt to ostracize local dialects, allegiances and traditions that deviated from an Athenian-established national norm. The homogenization process of the nation-building was fierce and it managed to eradicate the local dialects of the different peripheries and populations and establish a strong and unified national culture. This nationalistic project had to be durable since its purpose was to homogenize quite diverse populations (i.e., Turkish-speaking Greek Orthodox Asia Minor refugees, or the Cretans and Maniats who had strong local allegiances). One may argue that the Cypriot Greek dialect is still spoken on the island, because the island never joined Greece and thus was spared from this state-led homogenization process.

An interesting element of the Greek homogenization process has been the incorporation of social class distinctions into it. A villager from the Peloponnese for example, had to drop his dialect and local lifestyle for the 'proper' Athenian Greek linguistic idiom and Athenian-endorsed modern-western lifestyle, otherwise he was

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[143] Mavratsas 1997; Attalides 1979.

characterized as a 'peasant' (this characterization had nothing to do with occupation or rural origin, but it rather was a social category; 'peasant' denoting someone uncivilized, with no manners, narrow-minded and backward-looking).[144] The same – and even worse – stigma was attached to other peripheral populations, the Greekness of whom was challenged because they did not conform to the Athenian prototype. For example, the Pontic and other Anatolian Greeks were characterized as *Τουρκόσποροι* (Turkish-seeds) because of their origin anddialects , and the northern Macedonian Greeks were called *Βούλγαροι* (Bulgarians) because of their heavy accent. This Athenian-sponsored bullying brought a reaction from the peripheral groups who claimed to be more 'Greek' than the Athenians in virtue of a supposedly closer relationship of their linguistic idiom to ancient Greek. Examples include the Pontic Greeks and the Greek-Cypriots who claimed to be 'purer' or more 'authentically' Greek than the Athenians, because of an alleged closer association of their dialects to ancient Greek. One notices here again the claims to a privileged relationship with the ancient Greek past, as an authentication mechanism of modern national identity.

Thus, Athens came to represent an archetype in Greek national imagination as to what the nation is, while the social class distinctions employed played a role in the internal migration of peripheral populations to the capital in the twentieth century. This urbanization process resulted in the paradox of Athens hosting almost half of the total population of the country.[145] By becoming 'Athenians' or *Πρωτευουσιάνοι*, the peripheral populations willingly abandoned their local dialects and traditional cultural elements, in favor of what was seen as 'proper' and more 'advanced' lifestyle. Modernization and 'progress' came at a price; this was homogenization into, and acceptance of the supremacy of, the Athenian-led national culture.

As discussed in Annex I, the institution of education has been crucial for the homogenization of the nation, the establishment of a unitary national culture and the reproduction of national identity. Apart from primary and secondary schools though, the role of public universities has been of utmost importance for nationalism. After all, it is the public universities that educate the future professionals and teachers who will then serve to educate the people all over the country and steep them in the ideology of the nation they themselves got immersed while studying at the public – or national – university. It is thus

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[144] Mavratsas 2012.
[145] World Atlas http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/europe/greece/grfacts.htm . Date of access: 10/10/15.

imperative for every nation to have its own universities that apart from educating its people, will serve to transform them into a nation.

Of great interest is the attempt of the Greek state to establish a university in Smyrna – the '*Ιωνικό Πανεπιστήμιο Σμύρνης*' (Ionian University of Smyrna) – during its brief occupation of the city in 1919-1922. The university was funded by the Greek state and Greek was intended to be the language of instruction.[146] The university motto was *Ex Oriente Lux* (Out of the Orient, Light).[147] However, the institution was never completed as the Turkish army recaptured the city in September 1922, and all Greeks fled.

This attempt of the Greek state to found a university in a city that it briefly occupied and had not yet officially annexed in its territory is indicative of the significance of Smyrna for the Greek state and nationalism, as well as of the importance of education for the nationalization of a territory and a population. Smyrna was already an intellectual centre, while its numerous Greek schools drew their teaching workforce from a pool of professionals educated mainly in Greece. The establishment of a Greek university in the city would promote the Hellenization of the area. Greek national identity would be further diffused to the Greek Orthodox Christian masses of Smyrna and its hinterland that still pledged their allegiance to the Patriarch in Constantinople and not to the Greek state. This was because although the Greek Orthodox Christians were ethnically Greek, they had not taken part to institutionalized nation-building processes of a nation-state, as they resided in a multiethnic and theocratic empire. The university would support the Greek national cause by propagating Greek nationalist ideology and ideals to the local Asia Minor population in order to homogenize them into the Greek nation.

At this point one may draw parallels to the ideological background of the establishment of the University of Cyprus. The Greek-Cypriot controlled Republic of Cyprus did not want a local university, as this would break the ties with the motherland. Universities are perceived to be 'national' and since the Greek-Cypriots did not consider themselves as a separate nation, a Cypriot university would be redundant. The reproduction of Greek national identity on the island was successfully taken upon by the motherland and its institutionalized higher education. The establishment of the University of Cyprus in 1991 could be seen as a deviation from mainstream Greek national identity reproduction and the endorsement of a stronger sense of 'Cypriotness'. The incorporation however of the newly-founded university in the network of Greek universities, and the fact that it was considered as an 'internal' Greek university by the Greek state (Πανεπιστήμιο

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[146] Georgiadou 2004: 153-154.
[147] Milton 2008.

εσωτερικού), the students of which could enter the University of Cyprus through the Greek state examination system, pointed towards a higher education *Ένωσις* (primary and secondary school *Ένωσις* is rather a fact, since the textbooks taught in Greek-Cypriot public schools come directly from the Ministry of Education of Greece). One may not help wandering however, if political union of Cyprus with Greece had been achieved, wouldn't have the Greek state founded a university on the island much earlier, as part of its institutionalized homogenization practices?

One may further think about the relevance of the Lost Homelands to Cyprus and whether the term may apply to the northern part of the island. After all, the pattern has been similar: the 'eternal enemies' of Hellenism – the Turks – attack, occupy 'our' land and expel 'us' Greeks from there. Then they settle, change the names of the landmarks and appropriate 'our' homeland as theirs. Of course, they always occupy and 'steal' the 'best' places, the most 'beautiful', the most 'fertile', the most 'developed' and 'cosmopolitan', while always the Christian allies betray 'us' because deeply they envy 'us' for having the 'best' and most 'blessed' homeland, or because 'we' are a great people coming directly from Pericles' Golden Age, and various other ethnocentric, nationalistic creeds.

In the early beginnings of this thesis, the purpose was to examine the concept of the Lost Homelands with regards to both Smyrna and Famagusta. The city of Famagusta was chosen, as it has been sealed off since 1974 and everything has been left as it was in that summer – with the exception of nature taking over, and the wear and tear of the city's infrastructure due to the lack of any maintenance. Initially, I looked for systematic publications of Famagusta refugees – something like the *MC* – but found none. I checked with the Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus, as well as with the State Central Archives, where I thought I may find something, but still there was nothing that I could work with for my thesis – something comparable to the *MC* of the Smyrniots. Next, I approached the municipality-in-exile of Famagusta, as I thought this would have been the most important and organized institution of the lost city. I was surprised though to find out that the Famagusta municipality-in-exile did not keep an archive, nor did it support any publication on the lost city. The answer to my question on why have they not yet gotten organized to a staff member of the municipality was astonishing and encapsulates the mind frame of the Famagusta and in general of the Greek-Cypriot refugees: 'we never got really settled here, nor do we keep an archive or anything, as this is temporary and all these years we have been expecting to go back anytime'.

This clearly demonstrates the fact that the situation in Cyprus is still pending. The Green Line is a ceasefire line for the Greek-Cypriots, not a boundary, and, lacking an

agreement on the Cyprus Problem, we see the paradox of the current situation being uncertain for the past 41 years. This indeterminate state nurtures Greek-Cypriot refugee hopes to return to the northern part of the island, which they do not consider as being irrevocably lost.

Similar was the mind frame of the Asia Minor refugees when they initially fled to Greece. Many refused to accept permanent settlement and thought of their situation as temporary, since they expected to go back to Asia Minor and continue their way of life. What brought them to reality was the 1930 Ankara Convention, an official international agreement between Greece and Turkey on the irreversibility of the population exchange and the clearing of the refugee properties. Only then did they fully grasp that they would never go back and what was left behind was forever lost. This stark realization came as a watershed for them and allowed for the development of the idea of the Lost Homelands. The Greek-Cypriot refugees, lacking an official agreement on the situation, do not consider northern Cyprus a lost homeland, as there is still the possibility of return. Hence, this thesis focused only on Smyrna and its mythologization in Greek nationalism.

Important to this has been the role of the Cypriot state itself. In the Greek case, social agents – like the ES – had to undertake the preservation of memory and the reconstructions of Greekness of the lost homelands, since the state was absent from this process. In the Cypriot case, the Cypriot state took upon itself the preservation of memory and the perpetuation of Greekness of northern occupied Cyprus, especially through its 'Δεν Ξεχνώ' (I do not forget) campaign. This state-sponsored narrative did not leave any room to social agents, as it fully matched and endorsed the prevalent refugee narrative on the Greekness of northern Cyprus.

Summary

This chapter has discussed the theoretical and methodological framework of this thesis. First of all, this thesis is a sociological endeavour in the study of nationalism; nationalism is explored as an ideological phenomenon, the basic terms of which are considered self-implied or natural. For this reason, its critical examination poses challenges, exactly because it has shaped uniquely the modern socio-political reality, and has imposed its conditions on our perceptions of reality. To critically analyze the phenomenon one needs to distance himself from it, and the most suitable approach to do so is the one of historical sociology that examines the production of ideas and their development into systems, their

characteristics, the social needs they create and address, the conditions under which they are effective, and by whom and how they get established.

There are two theoretical orientations of nationalism that are generally accepted: 'territorial' nationalism that is based on the 'Western', civic-territorial model of the nation and 'ethnic' nationalism that is based on the 'Eastern', ethnic-genealogical model of the nation. The rise of nationalism in the West was mostly a political occurrence and the formation of the modern state came before it. In the rest of the world nationalism arose later and at a more backward state of political and social development. Western nationalisms strove to anchor the nation in the political reality of the present, without much sentimental affection for the past while nationalists outside the West often created an ideal motherland out of past myths and future dreams, closely connected to the past, not linked to the present and expected sometime in the future to become a political reality. Unsurprisingly, perceptions of Lost national Homelands did not develop in the Western, territorial nations, as those arose after the formation of the state, through the political incorporation of the population and the homeland is seen as a material resource defined by the state boundaries. On the contrary, in the Eastern, ethnic nations that over-emphasized history the homeland tends to be seen as an emotive, cultural entity – a geographical extension of the nation, while ideas of Lost national Homelands frequently develop in accordance to their obsession with the imaginary past. Greek nationalism is of the Eastern type and the Greek Lost Homelands of Asia Minor are considered Greek because of their history, and despite their geography.

Ethno-symbolism is a theoretical approach to nations and nationalism which rejects the axiom that nations may be *ipso facto* invented, arguing that they rely on a set of pre-existing myths, memories, symbols, and values, attempting to transcend this way the split between the theoretical approaches of primordialism and instrumentalism. In explaining national phenomena ethno-symbolists stress related processes while their common characteristic is the reverence for the past. The formation of nations is examined in *la longue durée*, and they argue that the emergence of modern nations cannot be properly understood without considering their ethnic forebears.

This thesis is grounded in the ethno-symbolist model which is more appropriate for the thesis' object of study. This model directs attention to ideational, elements in the emergence of nations – symbols, myths and shared memories – than other theoretical approaches. Specifically, the ethno-symbolist approach a) offers a model for the construction of national homelands; and b) argues that war – and especially defeat in war – strengthens ethnic self-consciousness and ethnic imagery. As the object of this study is a

symbolic imaginative concept that was formed after a military defeat, the ethno-symbolist approach seems the most appropriate. If we employed strict ethno-symbolist terms, Smyrna would be the symbol of the national myth of the Lost Homelands.

For most communities land is a crucial component of their identity and the loss of spatial attachment renders this identity incomplete. After all, nationalism – whatever else it may be – always involves an assertion of, or struggle for, control of land, as a landless nation is a contradiction in terms. The creation of nations requires a special place for the nation to inhabit, a land of 'their own'. This cannot be any land, but a historic, ancestral homeland.[148] Only an ancestral homeland can generate a fervent attachment of populations to particular territories, as well as a readiness in certain circumstances, to defend those territories with their lives. Thus, 'title deeds' to particular lands become invested with emotional connotations and cultural meanings, and specific terrains are endowed with collective emotions from their inhabitants. At stake here is the idea of a historic landscape imbued with the history and culture of a group, and vice versa, a group part of whose character is felt to derive from the particular landscape they inhabit.

This thesis argues that even if the ethnic group does not inhabit what was perceived to be its ancestral homeland, this lost homeland still affects the character and identity of the group. The lost homeland, reconstructed on an imaginary level through prose and poetry, personal histories, oral traditions and cultural production retains in many instances its identity-forming attributes. Until a new source of identification can fill the gap, there will always be some longing for return to the homeland. A lost homeland is a powerful source of political mobilization and action, as an assertion of the right to it can manifest itself in policy agendas of return and re-conquest. Even if claims to the lost homelands are merely theoretical, they are important in preserving the community's identity and its distinctiveness as a collectivity. The preservation of this bond to the historic land, the land of previous generations, the land that saw the blossoming of national genius and forms the last resting place of our ancestors is the key condition for the existence of this identity.[149]

Three major elements play an important role in the formulations of this bond to the Lost Homeland that result to the imaginary reconstructions, and the mythologization of it in group consciousness: nostalgia, trauma and myth. All together these three enter the imaginative fabrications and reconstructions of the Lost Homeland, serving in a sense the nationalistic ideology in mythologizing it in group consciousness.

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[148] Smith 1999: 149.
[149] Op. cit. 151.

Methodologically, this thesis will employ content analysis to analyze 87 articles of the first thirteen volumes of the *MC*, of the period 1938-1967. The articles were selected based on their reference to Smyrna in the titles or their content. Through these articles, the *MC* attempted to reconstruct every aspect of Greek life in Smyrna, elevating it to the Lost Homeland *par excellence*. The analysis of these reconstructions follows four themes, as outlined by Smith: continuity, historical accounts, famous ancestors and uses of space. This way, through the *MC*, the ES established itself in Greek affairs. Before embarking on the analysis though it is imperative to examine the main images of Smyrna for Greek nationalism and how these evolved.

CHAPTER II

IMAGES OF SMYRNA IN GREEK NATIONALISM

Many would claim that the year 1922 is a significant turning point in the history of the Greek nation. After almost a decade of continuous military successes that temporarily fulfilled the realisation of the nationalist dream of the 'Megali Idea', the bitter end of the Asia Minor campaign signalled both the burial of this 'glorious' vision, and the definite end of three thousand years of Greek presence in Asia Minor and eastern Thrace.

As Smyrna is seen as the very encapsulation of the Lost Homelands, and the focus of this thesis, it is imperative to analyze the perceptions of the city the Greek national narrative developed through time. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to trace the three major images of the city of Smyrna for Greek nationalism: the first was a 'dream', the second a 'tragedy' and the third a 'myth'. The main argument is that in the evolution of Greek irredentism, Smyrna turned from a 'dream' to 'tragedy', and finally to a 'myth' for the Greek nation (thus acquiring the role and function that such symbols have). Smyrna developed into a 'myth-symbol complex'[150] serving as a mechanism for the reproduction of Greek memory and identity, and at the same time, a constituent element of Greek national identity. The myth of Lost Homelands emerged out of a deep psychological national 'trauma', which marked the death of the 'Megali Idea' and all hopes for the restoration of the Byzantine Empire, necessitating thus a redefinition of 'Greekness'. This thesis argues that the concept of the Lost Homelands has been a key feature of this redefinition of Greek national identity.

The role of war in identity formation has been examined by numerous scholars. Smith argues that one of the major direct consequences of warfare on national identity formation is the generation of myths and symbols, which are important for the reinforcement of the community's sense of national individuality and uniqueness and which generally contribute to the ethnocentrism of the national community.[151] In the case of the 1922 Greco-Turkish war, the defeat of the Greeks in a campaign psychologically

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[150] Smith 1986: 207.
[151] Smith 1981.

charged with the mission to restore the 'holy' Byzantine Empire, marked the definite burial of the great vision of the 'Megali Idea', and was followed by the expatriation of all the Greeks of Asia Minor. Consequently, this national disaster generated strong and enduring myths, with Smyrna – paradise lost – as the most significant.

Following an irredentist ideology of Pan-Hellenism from the foundation of the Greek state, the Greeks saw in 'recapturing' Smyrna the fulfilment of a national dream. Smyrna, with its beautiful neighborhoods, its cosmopolitan air, its wealthy and stylish way of life, its largely Greek population, and its important geographical position – at the heart of the Aegean coast of Asia Minor – symbolized the prospect of future growth and glory for the Greek nation. It was a dream that came true, as the circumstances allowed it, in 1919, with the occupation of the city and its area by the Greek army, according to the Treaty of Sèvres.[152] The mandate to occupy Smyrna was seen as a great national achievement, and as a prelude to the 'resurrection' (in Christian terms) of the city and of the entire nation. This national euphoria was expressed mainly through nationalist literature and the press of the time, as well as in political discourse, in an effort to encourage and prepare people for the upcoming military encounter with the Ottoman Empire.

After the Greek defeat by Kemalist troops in the summer of 1922, the Turkish army captured the city, committed atrocities against its population, and burned it. The Convention of Lausanne legalized the permanent expulsion of all Greek Orthodox Christians from Asia Minor and hence about 1.5 million Anatolian Greeks fled to Greece as refugees. Smyrna was now seen as 'the theatre of the last Greek tragedy in Asia Minor'. The burning of the city encapsulated and symbolized the definite and violent end of Greek presence in Smyrna and Asia Minor. The 'Megali Idea' and all hopes for the restoration of the Byzantine Empire were buried in the ashes of Smyrna and thus a national identity crisis followed the narrowing of geographical horizons. This 'tragic' image was expressed in various ways such as through the press and the vast literature that developed after the defeat and drew its subject from it, and traditional folk songs, but mostly through the thousands of testimonials of the refugees. These were stories of fear and horror that took place in the harbor of Smyrna, and instilled feelings of national sorrow and shame to both the refugees and indigenous Greeks.

A few years after the disaster, and with the passage of time healing the wounds, nostalgia became the dominant feeling of the expatriates who were reflecting on, and

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[152] Llewellyn Smith 1973: 129.

expressing, their affection for their birthplace. The lost homeland became a timeless, idyllic, and exotic East, characterized by a cosmopolitan nobility and generosity of behaviour, material wealth, open spaces and fertile soils. All this was contrasted with the temporal reality of a narrowly confined Greece, with its arid landscape and its uncouth, unfriendly and inhospitable inhabitants, where the superior education and the – now lost – wealth of the refugees no longer mattered.[153] This nostalgia for Smyrna and Asia Minor was reinforced by the deep feelings of nostalgia for tradition and the past, with which all nationalisms are associated. The general feelings of alienation and 'anomie' of modern societies, the need to overcome death by linking oneself to a 'community of history and destiny'[154] combined with the recent loss of the homeland, evoked intense feelings of nostalgia in the refugees as well as in indigenous Greeks.

Hence, Smyrna was transfigured into an idealized realm and symbolized a 'paradise lost'. It was enveloped by a mysterious aura, a nostalgic overtone that made it more appealing and its absence more acute. This image of Smyrna as a myth was expressed primarily through the songs, the poetry and the novels that developed after the catastrophe and the first rough years of the refugee influx, and these reflected the fervent feelings of nostalgia and the desire of the expatriated population to return. The myth of Smyrna was also promoted by the narratives and personal stories of the refugees, and soon became a symbol for the entire nation.

This thesis is interested in the meaning and function of this myth-symbol of Smyrna for Greek nationalism. As nation-building is a continuous process, the myth-Symbol of Smyrna contributes to Greek nation-building by providing people a sense of belonging and identity. Its function is to unify and integrate the members of the Greek nation into the same corpus and give them a sense of authenticity. It is one of those myths, which, as Smith argues 'has capacities for generating emotion in successive generations […] and possesses explosive power that often goes beyond the 'rational' uses which elites and social scientists deem appropriate'.[155]

The Dream

Greek irredentism had seen in Smyrna the prospect of future growth of the Greek nation because of the city's social and economic dynamics. It was a fervent aspiration, a dream, to

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[153] As the cultural differences between the refugees and the indigenous Greeks fall out of the scope of this thesis, for more details see Hirschon 1989: 10-14 and 30.
[154] Smith 1986: 174-208.
[155] Op. cit., p. 201.

unify Smyrna, and coastal Asia Minor with the Greek state. Expansionist goals and policies were supported by a large Greek Orthodox minority in Asia Minor that legitimated Greek claims. The dream of an enlarged Greek state that would lie on two continents (Europe and Asia), and would encompass both shores of the Aegean Sea was briefly realized in 1919-1922.

The background of Smyrna

The city of Smyrna was founded in about 1000 BC by the Aeolian Greeks, and followed the history of the Near East during the Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods. It was always a significant city, especially due to its geographical position and its harbor. In 1424 AD, it was captured by the Ottomans and became part of the Ottoman Empire.

The first few centuries of Ottoman conquest saw a dramatic reduction of Greek presence in those hitherto demographically Greek-dominated regions of Smyrna and, generally, Asia Minor.[156] However, in the eighteenth century and especially in the course of the nineteenth century, the Greek presence in Western Asia Minor was steadily reinforced by migrations from the Aegean islands and continental Greece.[157] Interestingly, this migration process was strengthened after the foundation of the independent Greek state in 1830.[158] In particular Smyrna and its region became a major centre of attraction for Greek migrants, thus developing into a city with a major Greek population in the Ottoman Empire. This is directly related to the inclusion of the citizens of the Greek Kingdom since 1855, to the Capitulations signed by the Ottoman Empire and the Christian nations.[159] According to these, citizens of the Western Christian nations enjoyed special privileges in the Ottoman territories, which included free trade and tax exemptions.[160] Greek migration to Anatolia was also due to the opening up of the region to western trade and penetration of western capital (e.g., the construction of railway tracks, etc.) that brought economic growth.[161] Thus, a paradox became apparent, whereby Greeks from the Greek state migrated to the Ottoman Empire, taking advantage of the special treatment the Capitulations provided, despite the nationalist struggle to liberate themselves from the Ottomans. This paradox further reveals a different perception of Greek national identity at

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[156] Vryonis 1971: 133, 145, 244.
[157] Sfyroeras 1963: 164-199.
[158] According to Kinglake such a migratory movement was already taking place since 1835. Kinglake 1844: 74.
[159] Ekdotiki Athinon 2008.
[160] Goldschmidt and Davidson 2010: 140.
[161] Llewellyn Smith 1973: 25.

the time – one might say, a more cosmopolitan, open, and outward-looking national identity that did not exclude migration to the Ottoman Empire from which it strove to politically break away. Of course, the migration was facilitated by the multi-ethnic outlook of the Ottoman Empire at the time, and the existence of a strong and long-established Greek ethnic population there.

The close ties of the Smyrniot and generally Anatolian Greeks with the mainland Greeks, and the preservation of common Modern Greek as their linguistic medium is explained by the island and continental Greek origin of a great part of this section of Anatolian Greek Orthodox Christians – something proudly recalled by them – as well as by the geographical orientation of their new homelands facing towards the Aegean Sea. So, one may argue that after the population decline of Greeks in Smyrna and Asia Minor brought on by the Turkish conquest in the fifteenth century, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed the re-enactment of the ancient migration pattern that had produced Ionian and Aeolian Hellenism in the Archaic and Classical periods.[162]

During the second half of the nineteenth century, this Greek population witnessed great economic and cultural progress, with Smyrna as its metropolis.[163] This progress was also due to the economic development experienced by the major sea ports of the Ottoman Empire after the Anglo-Ottoman Treaty of Commerce of 1838.[164] Hence, Smyrna, along with other major ports of the Empire, developed into a busy hub of European trade. This change created demands for more manpower and so Christians from the interior of Asia Minor and the Balkans were encouraged to migrate to port cities in order to fill the requirements of the labour force. Sociologically, this section of Anatolian Greeks was the most urban and economically modernised. Smyrna, being the economic and cultural centre of the region and having daily contact with the nearby Greek islands and mainland Greece, had turned demographically and culturally into a predominantly Greek city – something recognized by the Ottomans themselves who used to call it 'Giaur Izmir' (Infidel Smyrna). The development of the Greek communities in the region of Smyrna in the nineteenth century nurtured the political and national aspirations of the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire.[165]

Regarding the growth of the Greek populations in the Ottoman Empire there are no accurate statistics, but the numbers available are remarkable. Comparing the official Ottoman statistics of 1910 with those of the Greek Patriarchate of 1912, one notices that

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[162] Kitromilides and Alexandris 1984: 12.
[163] Panayiotopoulos 1983
[164] More about the Treaty in Kitromilides and Alexandris 1984: 13.
[165] Ramsay 1897.

they do not differ much. According to the Ottoman Official statistics of 1910, out of a population of 10.823.095 on the Asiatic part of the Ottoman Empire, 1.777.146 were Greeks and 629.002 out of them lived in Smyrna and its district.[166] According to the Greek Patriarchate statistics of 1912, out of a population of 9.695.506 on the Asiatic part of the Empire, 1.782.582 were Greeks and 622.810 of them lived in the Smyrna area.[167] Some writers argue that the number may be even higher, whereas the most conservative estimates accept that at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Greek population of Anatolia was about 1.3 million and was increasing rapidly.[168] Lacking reliable data, it is difficult to ascertain the exact expansion of the Greek population in Smyrna and Asia Minor at that time. One may argue however, that there was a large Greek minority in Smyrna and its Ionian region, often quite dense, which felt affiliated to the Greek state, which in turn shared the feelings of these 'unredeemed' Greeks and fervently promoted their union with the country.[169] After all, it was the Greek state that provided for the education of the teachers appointed to the Greek schools of Asia Minor, spreading the seeds of the Greek national ideal.[170]

Nevertheless, the numerical strength of the Greek Orthodox population in the Ottoman Empire was not the only concern of the Sultan and of the Young Turk program which was being formulated around that time. The way the Greek minority lived, behaved and felt was of equal importance. The Anatolian Greeks were organized in separate legal communities of an autonomous nature, according to the 'millet' system.[171] They carried out all of their communal functions themselves, worshipped freely and supported their churches and schools which through the centuries had preserved their 'ethnic' identity. The situation of the Anatolian Greeks was actually a consequence of the rather liberal policy followed by the Ottomans after 1453, as they did not seek to convert the subjugated peoples to Islam. A certain degree of freedom was permitted that allowed them to preserve their customs, their religious and educational institutions, and even their basic civic structure. In this way, the Christian population did not assimilate to the Muslim society, and more importantly, this tolerance of the Ottomans undoubtedly allowed the Christians to preserve their ethnic consciousness.[172] This condition of the Ottoman Greeks contrasts with the prevalent view of the modern Greek nationalist narrative that considers the period

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[166] Pentzopoulos 1962: 29.
[167] Op. cit., p. 30.
[168] Great Britain, Foreign Office 1920: 35.
[169] Pentzopoulos 1962: 31.
[170] Llewellyn Smith 1973: 24.
[171] Hirschon 1989: 10; Llewellyn Smith 1973: 28.
[172] Eddy 1931: 17-29.

of the Ottoman rule – the *Tourkokratia* – one of alien oppression, subjugation and extreme suffering of the Greeks in the hands of the Ottomans.

George Sakkas, a Greek from Asia Minor who came to Athens as a refugee after 1922, vividly described the life and sentiments of the Greeks in Turkey. He claimed that 'all alone, in their villages, the peasants could have, and had indeed, an almost complete and unhampered freedom in their Christian and national life'. And he continues emphasizing that 'the Church, the School and Commerce kept ablaze the torch of Greek Civilization and of the Megali Idea'.[173]

'Megali Idea' and the Treaty of Sèvres

In the early 1830s, the Greek kingdom was founded at the tip of the Balkan Peninsula. Ever since, the process of the nationalization of space took upon the construction of the national homeland, mainly through the promotion of monumental landscapes that helped bind together the territories liberated from Ottoman rule.[174] However, while the population of the Greek state amounted to under one million, about three times as many Greeks remained in 'unredeemed' lands under Ottoman control, and under British rule in the Ionian Islands.[175] The very term 'unredeemed' that was introduced almost with the foundation of the kingdom, had religious connotations: the people and territory in question were spiritually and physically lost, and their 'redemption' called for their incorporation and 'restoration' to the motherland/fatherland.[176] Their recovery was a sacred duty, since the territories and the ethnic kin were integral parts of the ancestral homeland. The Greeks living in those territories could achieve their true destiny only by being 'liberated' from their 'unnatural' state of alien oppression.[177]

From at least the second half of the nineteenth century, the 'Megali Idea' became and remained the nation's dominant ideology of irredentism, until 1922. This was a vision of a greater Greece, drawing its inspiration from the glory of the Byzantine Empire; a vision of territorial expansion of the Greek state in all of the Greek populated areas of the Near East, with the imperial city of Constantinople as its centre. An enlarged Greek state would encompass Crete, Macedonia, Cyprus, the Aegean islands, the coastal territory of

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[173] Pentzopoulos 1962: 34.
[174] Hastaoglou-Martinidis 1995: 99.
[175] For Greek society after 1821, both in the Greek state and among the 'unredeemed' see Ekdotiki Athinon 2000: vol. 13, 448-454.
[176] Smith 1999: 154-155.
[177] Generally on irredentism, see Horowitz 1985: chapter 6.

Asia Minor and areas along the Black Sea.[178] The boundaries of the imagined state were vague, but the coastal strip of Asia Minor centring on Smyrna, together with Constantinople, was conceived as the core of this vision.[179] The term 'Megali Idea' was first articulated by the politician Ioannis Kolettis (1774-1847) in an address before the Greek National Assembly in January 1844: [180]

> *The Greek Kingdom is not the whole of Greece, but only a part, the smallest and poorest part. A native of Greece is not only someone who lives within this Kingdom, but also one who lives in Ioannina, in Thessaly, in Serres, in Andrianople, in Constantinople, in Trebizond, in Crete, in Samos and in any land associated with Greek history or the Greek race... There are two great centres of Hellenism. Athens is the capital of the Kingdom. Constantinople is the great capital, the City, the dream and hope of all Greeks.*[181]

The Idea was not merely the sentimental product of nineteenth-century nationalists. In one of its aspects, it was older and deeply rooted in the Greeks' religious and ethnic consciousness. This aspect was the re-establishment of the Christian Byzantine Empire and the recovery of Constantinople, which had fallen in 1453, for Christendom. Ever since, the recovery of Saint Sophia and Constantinople had been handed down from generation to generation as the destiny and aspiration of the Greek Orthodox.[182] This expansionist vision was linked with the perception of Greece's territorial expansion as a Christian civilizing mission eastwards. The ancient, classical world was admired, venerated and studied, but it was dead, while the Byzantine Empire's vision was preserved – through religious practices – in the heart of the Greek Orthodox population. Therefore, 'not to the Parthenon in Athens, but to Saint Sofia in Constantinople, did [the Greek's] mingled emotions of religion and political greatness yearn with a burning zeal'.[183] This view was in contrast with another more Helleno-centric view of the Greek nation, which was centred on the ancient Greek world and overlooked the Byzantine past.[184] These two conflicting views

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[178] Llewellyn Smith 1973: 1.
[179] Augustinos 1992: 19-32.
[180] Peckham 2001: 58.
[181] The fact that Smyrna is absent from Kolettis' list of important Greek cities is associated with the fact of the mythologization of Smyrna in Greek nationalist ideology after its destruction and loss. Smyrna acquired symbolic national importance after its destruction, and because of it.
[182] Llewellyn Smith 1973: 3.
[183] Morgenthau 1929: 11.
[184] Dimaras 1982; Calotychos 2003: 48.

were related to, and represented by the two opposing ideological approaches of early Greek nationalism – the 'Ελληνορωμαϊκό δίλημμα' (Helleno-Romaic dilemma).[185] On the one hand, the term 'Hellene' was oriented towards the ancient Greek classical world, the then-recent rediscovery of which from the West further promoted it in the Greek ideological formulations. On the other hand, the term 'Romios' expressed a politico-religious affiliation related to the way the populations of the Ottoman Empire were organized and not a national one (the Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire all belonged to the Rum Millet).[186] Of importance to the perseverance of the first – the 'Hellenic' view – was the role of the European ideological, political and literary movement of Philhellenism. This was a movement of support towards Greece that was rooted mainly in European admiration towards ancient Greek classical civilization and philosophy, as well as to romanticism and political liberalism.[187] European Philhellenes espoused and fervently endorsed the 'Megali Idea', something that played a role in its dominance and the widespread belief that it could become reality.[188]

Nevertheless, the new Kingdom was formed under the influence of western European political theory, and thus in antithesis to the multinational Byzantine theocracy. New feelings had been endorsed now to the old nostalgia for Constantinople which was rooted in the religious traditions of the Greeks – a feeling for expanding frontiers, a consciousness of territory as being Greek; a conviction that the nation should coincide with the new state, and therefore the Greeks living within the Ottoman Empire must be 'redeemed' – all feelings associated with the development of the modern nationalist doctrine. In the mid-1860s, Charles Tuckerman – the US Minister to Greece[189] – asserted on the 'Megali Idea':

> *Briefly defined, the Great Idea means that the Greek mind is to regenerate the East – that is the destiny of Hellenism to Hellenize the vast stretch of territory which by natural laws the Greeks believe to be theirs, and which is chiefly inhabited by people claiming to be descended from Hellenic stock, professing the Orthodox or Greek faith, or speaking the language.*[190]

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[185] Herzfeld 1982: 94.
[186] Kitromilides 1990: 25.
[187] Papageorgiou 2004: chapter 3-XII.
[188] See for example the work on Toynbee on this in, Toynbee 1922.
[189] In 1942, the US Legation in Greece was raised to Embassy and the Minister was promoted to the rank of Ambassador. See Greece, US Department of State. Retrieved 12/10/2015.
[190] Tuckerman 1872: 120.

From its foundation, the new state was dissatisfied with the demarcation of its borders. Debates about the position and significance of national boundaries had raged until the Asia Minor Disaster of 1922. Between 1832 and 1923, the state's boundaries were redrawn five times, but every time numerous arguments were set to support alternative boundary lines. In the mid-nineteenth century, a European commentator observed that 'no European state […] has such strange, non-existent, unsettling and actually vague boundaries as Greece has with the Ottoman state'.[191] In 1828, after considering various proposals for the borders of Greece, Ioannis Capodistrias pressed for a Greece that extended from the area of Vijosë in the Adriatic Sea (today's Albania) to Thessaloniki:

> *If we are guided by history, by the ancient remains which have been*
> *saved and by the opinion of travellers and geographers, this country*
> *[Greece] ought to have its northern border begin at the mouth of the*
> *Vijosë and extend along the length of the river to its source and then*
> *across the mountains of Zagoria and Metsovo and Olympos to the*
> *Gulf of Thessaloniki.*[192]

In 1830, Adamantios Korais urged for 'renewed struggles to redeem the old boundaries of ancient Hellas'.[193] For Korais, these 'old boundaries' unreservedly included any area where the Greek language was spoken. Finally, the boundary was officially settled in 1832, along a line from Arta to Volos, including Evia and the Cyclades islands. However, in 1877, Nikolaos Saripolos – Law Professor at the University of Athens – declared that the kingdom's natural boundaries extended from Crete and Cyprus to the Black Sea and Asia Minor, with the capital at Constantinople,[194] while Antonios Miliarakis, writing about Philippidis and Konstantas's 'Γεωγραφία Νεωτερική' (Modern Geography, published in 1792) remarked that the two geographers were the first 'to trace out the genuine boundaries of Greece'.[195] As a matter of fact, the two geographers argued that the country of Greece is much larger than Europeans claim or than the ancient geographers maintained, stretching from mainland Greece through the East in the

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[191] Quoted in Skopetea 1997: 26.
[192] Op. cit., p. 22.
[193] Cited in Shannan Peckham 2001: 41.
[194] Politis 1993: 63.
[195] Miliarakis 1885: 147-148.

territories Hellenized by Alexander the Great.[196] Nevertheless, the issue of the boundary demarcation remained, only to become more pressing in the 1870s and 1880s, with the decline of the Ottoman Empire, and the spread of Pan-Slavism in the Balkans, along with the Bulgarian militant nationalism and the accelerating tension in Macedonia. If 'territorial boundaries are drawn to distinguish a collective identity from that which lies outside it',[197] differing approaches towards the position of Greece's boundaries reflected markedly different notions of Greek identity and the various criteria employed for its definition (ethnographical, geographical, political, historical and cultural).[198]

The debate about the demarcation of Greece's boundaries was very much associated with interpretations of the nation's past – ancient, medieval and modern. Independence had basically been legitimized through a conscious appeal to ancient Greek inheritance. Nonetheless, this emphasis on the Greek Classical legacy began to give ground to the Medieval Byzantine past, which was rediscovered and increasingly accepted from the middle of the nineteenth century. The person largely responsible for the re-evaluation of Byzantium was Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (1815-1891), Professor of History at the University of Athens, who articulated a tripartite vision of Greek history that extended uninterrupted from antiquity through Byzantium to the modern period. In his 'History of the Greek Nation' that was published in five volumes between 1860 and 1874, "Byzantium and Kolettis' conception of the Megali Idea [came] together as components of the political culture of 'Romantic Hellenism'".[199] So, at least from the 1880s, the disciplines of history and geography were employed for the service of the image of 'Romantic Hellenism'.

The political importance attached to geography was apparent in the production of school textbooks that stressed the 'Greekness' of what were represented as 'unredeemed' territories. The educationalist Polytimi Kouskouri remarked in 1854, that the purpose of the subject of ancient geography was to demonstrate to contemporary Greeks what a modest part of their ancestral lands they now occupied.[200] Gradually, Greek geographers sought to challenge the boundaries that marked off the kingdom from the regions of 'enslaved' Greece, hoping that their geographical accounts would promote a 'spirit of fraternity between all the Greeks, free and enslaved'.[201]

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[196] Philippidis and Konstantas [1791] 1970: 37.
[197] Sahlins 1989: 271.
[198] On this debate about Greece's boundaries and the different conceptions of Greek identity see Shannan Peckham 2001: Chapter 3.
[199] Kitromilides 1998: 28.
[200] Shannan Peckham 2001: 46.
[201] Koulouri 1991: 419.

By the late 1880s, the division between the Greek state and the unredeemed 'Greek lands' began to fade, as the Balkans were more and more visualized as a Greek peninsula that 'naturally' extended to Asia Minor. Especially the coastal areas of Asia Minor were perceived to 'belong' to Greece, not only on cultural, but also on geographical grounds. Accordingly, Antonios Antoniadis (1836-1905) argued in his Geography of Greece and Greek Lands (1888) that:

> *The Greek peninsula and neighboring Asia Minor resemble each other*
> *to such an extent in terms of their climate conditions, and used to be*
> *and still are inhabited by the same people; they are so close and have*
> *such identical beliefs and ideas that they seem to be destined almost by*
> *nature to form a single state.*[202]

The preoccupation with defining Greece's boundaries was also associated with the issue of its identity as a Western or Eastern nation. Greece was perceived to occupy a strategic frontier region – a buffer zone against the uncivilized East, that however risked of being 'contaminated' by it. Until the late 1880s, fears of 'contamination' by the East had dominated every aspect of Greek cultural life, including the perceived necessity to 'purify' the language. Another view held that Greece represented the vanguard of European Enlightenment, destined to fulfil the messianic role of spreading European civilization to the East, precisely because of its key position. Greek irredentist ambitions were partly based on a conviction of the nation's advanced level of civilization in relation to the Ottoman Empire. Its irredentist mission as a civilised force in the East was clearly expressed by Ioannis Kolettis before the Greek National Assembly in 1844:

> *By her geographical position Greece is the centre of Europe; between*
> *East and West, she has been predestined to enlighten first the West,*
> *through her own fall, and then the East, through her own*
> *resurrection.*[203]

In this biblical vision, Greece was both central and peripheral. This hybridity as part-West and part-East was presumed as the nation's distinctive characteristic, while it provided for a remarkable case where identity formation is linked to a contradictory economy of

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[202]Quoted in Koulouri 1991: 422.
[203]Quoted in Varouxakis 1995: 24.

sameness and difference, of comparison and differentiation. Greek identity was thus established upon a particularity, which was creatively endorsed as a unifying national legacy.

The coming of Eleftherios Venizelos to power, the economic and military development of the Greek state, together with the changes in the international scene at the beginning of the twentieth century, made the 'Megali Idea' realizable. The Balkan Wars (1912-1913), and the expansion of Greece's territory and population – which almost doubled – together with the decline of the Ottoman Empire, gave Greece the possibility for future growth and progress. Venizelos and the Greek state were able to fulfil the Greek political and national aspirations to a great extent, through the symbolization of reality, and at the same time the politicization of symbols. The symbolisms of the 'Megali Idea' were transferred to the political field and for the first time since the foundation of the Greek state, its national aspirations seemed to be converging with reality; the politically feasible coincided with the nationally desirable. Venizelos' policy rationalised and materialized the 'Megali Idea' at a period when the modernization of Greece dictated its expansion to Asia Minor, where the first Greek bourgeoisie had been formed and growing. Abstract elements of the national mythology (like the restoration of the Byzantine Empire, the vagueness of the Greek homelands, the indivisibility and unity of the Greek nation in time and space, and the national mission to enlighten the East)[204] became ways to incorporate the population into the modernisation process, and constituted the medium between the abstract 'national vision' and the actual policy of expansion of the Greek state.

Accordingly, the irredentist ideology legitimated and 'nationalised' the political practises of the Greek state. The Greeks of Asia Minor turned into the 'unredeemed' par excellence, and their salvation became a precondition for the implementation of the national policy and the accomplishment of the national vision. Thus, the Asia Minor Greeks and their 'liberation' or 'salvation' through their incorporation into an expanded Greek state turned into a requirement for the success of the Greek nation-state. The Greek state in the implementation of its Asia Minor policy had the support of the Greek bourgeoisie of Constantinople, Smyrna, and of the Greek European diaspora. As the national economic policy of the Young Turks after 1914, threatened the economic activities of the Greek bourgeoisie, the Greek bourgeoisie began to 'nationalize' its economic orientation towards Greece. The main reason was the coming of Venizelos to power and his economic policy which replaced state interventionism with liberalism, and

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[204] Koliopoulos & Veremis 2002: 230.

the changes in the international scene (the decline of the Ottoman Empire) which made Greece a promising local power.[205]

Furthermore, it was not just the Greek-Ottoman bourgeoisie that associated its interests with the policy of the Greek state. The persecutions and massacres of the Christian populations of Asia Minor from the Young Turks during the First World War, in their effort to 'nationalise' and 'turcify' the state, combined with the Greek expansionist policy, compelled the Greek population of Smyrna and its region to link its interests and even its survival, to the Greek state. The Greek bourgeoisie of Smyrna, threatened by the development of a Turkish bourgeoisie and by the efforts of the turcification of Ionia, became the main promoter of Greek irredentism in Asia Minor. Gradually, the whole Greek population of Ionia associated more and more its continued existence with the Greek state. The letters sent by the Greek communities of Ionia to the Paris Peace Conference on the end of World War I of 1919, demanding the union of the area with Greece, reflected a nationalism driven by the Greek state – and enthusiastically adopted by the local Greek bourgeoisie – and also the agony of survival of a population, whose existence as 'Greek' was undermined by the policy of the Young Turks: '[…] we declare […] that because there is no bond left between us and our co-citizens Turks […] our union with Greece […] as we cannot live under the Turkish rule anymore we prefer to die unless we join our Motherland Greece'.[206]

In 1915, the Entente Powers in order to convince Greece to abandon her neutrality and enter the War on their side – as its armed forces could prove of great military value by assisting Serbia and collaborating in Gallipoli – offered her in return, Northern Epirus, the Dodecanese (without Rhodes), and 'a large territorial zone on the western coast of Asia Minor'.[207] However, while the Greek Prime Minister Venizelos accepted the offer, King Constantine decided on the continuation of Greek neutrality. The clash developed into a schism which divided the country in two political camps, with Venizelos setting up an independent government in Thessaloniki, recognised by the allies and declaring war against the Central Powers, while the rest of the country, under the King, blockaded and almost occupied by Anglo-French troops, maintained its neutrality.[208] This situation ended in June 1917, with Venizelos' return to Athens and the forced abdication of King Constantine.[209] Despite the internal clash for the choice of allies, in the aftermath of World

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[205] Agriantoni 2006.
[206] Anagnostopoulou 1997: 535.
[207] Driault and Lheritier 1926: 174.
[208] Vakalopoulos 2001: 358.
[209] Pentzopoulos 1962: 35.

War I, Greece negotiated its expansion and not its existence – as the Ottoman state did. Naturally, Asia Minor with an emphasis to Smyrna and its region was the main area of the Greek claims.

The end of World War I found Greece on the side of the victors and her aspirations were favorably received. The Treaty of Sèvres that was signed on August 10, 1920,[210] represented the triumphal climax of the 'Megali Idea'. Eastern Thrace, as far as the Chatalja line and the Aegean islands were united with Greece (Art., 84). The Dodecanese was ceded to Italy (Art., 122), with the obligation to eventually transfer it to Greece. Regarding Ionia, the provisions were more complicated (Art., 65-83), for the eventual union with Greece depended on a plebiscite: the city and the territory of Smyrna remained under the sovereignty of Turkey, which, however, transferred her sovereignty rights to the Greek Government (Art., 69). Greece was responsible for the administration of the region (Art., 70) and for the organization of a local parliament in which all nationalities were to be proportionally represented (Art., 72). After five years, this parliament might, by a majority of votes, ask the Council of the League of Nations for the definitive incorporation of the zone in the Kingdom of Greece; the Council might require, as a prerequisite, a plebiscite, and in case the results were favorable to Greece, the Turkish sovereignty would cease (Art., 83). Nevertheless, as the Greeks of the region represented almost 60% of the entire population, there was very little doubt about the outcome of the referendum.[211] In the meantime, the Allies had authorized Venizelos since May 10, 1919, to occupy Smyrna in order to protect its Greek population.[212] A few days later, twenty thousand Greek soldiers landed in Smyrna amid the frantic enthusiasm of the Ionian Greeks.

Greek occupation – the 'resurrection' of the city

The landing of Greek forces in the harbor of Smyrna on May 15, 1919, allegedly brought national euphoria to the Ionian Greeks. Thousands of people had converged on the seafront from the night before to welcome its 'redeemer' – the Greek army. 'Thrilled from the great secret desire that they've been waiting for ages, the unredeemed Greeks of Ionia were whispering the arrival of the spring – of the national spring: They are coming! They are coming tomorrow!'[213] With the blue and white Greek flags waving, and the bells of all the Orthodox temples ringing, the atmosphere was that of a public holiday. As the Greek

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[210] See full text of the Treaty in Carnegie Endowment 1924.
[211] Pallis 1937: 224.
[212] Churchill 1929: 387.
[213] Hatziantoniou 1995: 37.

troops began to land, Metropolitan Chrysostomos came forward and blessed them, while the first landed soldier kneeled down and kissed the ground – all symbolisms and expressions of national ecstasy. [214]

Popular enthusiasm was encouraged by the official Greek policy and was promoted by a Greek Mission that was set up in Smyrna since the armistice, accountable to the Foreign Ministry in Athens.[215] Its objective was to win the support of all the ethnic elements of Smyrna – Greek, Armenian, Jewish, Levantine, and Turkish – through propaganda, and convince them that a Greek occupation would be better. However, it failed to win the support of other than the Greek, and perhaps the Armenian populations. The Greek Mission in Smyrna had to face apart from the open hostility of the Turkish element (that was now forming its resistance to Greek occupation), the objections of the Italian Allies, who occupied a zone on Asia Minor south of the Greek one, but had wanted the city of Smyrna for themselves.[216]

For the Greeks of Smyrna, and generally the Greek nation, the capture of the city by the Greek forces was a considerably moving occasion, the accomplishment of a dream. The 'Megali Idea' moved from the sphere of myth and dream to reality. It was seen and celebrated as the happy end of a nightmare, as the resurrection and rebirth of Smyrna and of the nation. However, the initial Turkish reaction on that very first day of the Greek occupation was a sign that the Greek plans would meet the fierce resistance of the emerging Turkish nation. As the Greek troops positioned themselves in the city, clashes began in the Turkish quarter that resulted in a pogrom against the Turkish population on the first day of Greek occupation. This left about 300 Turks dead and 100 Greeks and set the tone as to what would follow.[217]

The Tragedy

The second, 'tragic' image of Smyrna for Greek nationalism is the most emotive as it represents the traumatic event of the Greek defeat, and loss of Smyrna. The Greek campaign to the interior of Asia Minor resulted to a humiliating defeat and the evacuation of Asia Minor from the Greek troops. The local Greek element was left unprotected to the wrath of Turkish nationalists who fought for the integrity and liberation of their homeland from foreign invaders – the Greek army. Their success brought the realization and

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[214] For a more detailed description of the situation in Smyrna that day, see: Rodas 1950: 67.
[215] Llewellyn Smith 1973: 86.
[216] Llewellyn Smith 1973: 68-69.
[217] Milton 2008: 142-148.

establishment of the modern Turkish nation state, which had no room for minorities that had allied with enemy.

Smyrna in flames

After the occupation of Smyrna (May 19, 1919) and the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres (August 10, 1920), the Greeks launched a military campaign in an effort to destroy the growing Turkish nationalist forces under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, and to impose the conditions of the Treaty. Although the Sultan had signed the humiliating for the Ottoman Empire Treaty of Sèvres, Mustafa Kemal had rebelled and formed a temporary government in Ankara, not recognizing the authority of the Sultan nor the Treaty of Sèvres. Taking advantage of the divisions among the Allied powers – and especially the Italian objections to the Greek occupation of Smyrna – he managed to bolster his position diplomatically and left the Greeks with only minimal support from England.[218]

By the summer of 1921, the Greek troops had progressed too deeply in Asia Minor, and were stalled to a 400 mile sickle-shaped front starting at Kios on the Sea of Marmara and ending in the Aegean Sea, running westwards down the right bank of the Meander River.[219] In August 1922, the Turks launched their ultimate offensive breaking the Greek lines and pursued the retreating Greek troops westwards, towards Smyrna. The retreat and evacuation of the Greek army was not as terrible as the fate of the Christian population of Asia Minor. In a state of fear, people left their homes *en masse* and fled to the different ports of Anatolia, 'converging in a terrified mob on the city of Smyrna, where they hoped either to get protection or to be evacuated'.[220] It has been estimated that up to September 9, the city's population had at least doubled.[221]

The Turkish army entered Smyrna on September 9, 1922. Notwithstanding the Turkish commander's promise that 'lives and property would be respected', Smyrna was immediately given up to looting and massacre.[222] Chrysostomos, the Greek Metropolitan was one of the first to fall, as he had actively encouraged the Greek nationalist cause and had blessed, three years earlier, the Greek army of occupation; arrested by the Turkish authorities, he was abandoned to the 'legitimate' wrath of a fanatic mob and put to death in

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[218] Llewellyn Smith 1973.
[219] See map, Appendix IV.
[220] Macartney 1931: 79.
[221] Bierstadt 1924: 23.
[222] Mr. Roy Treloar in the *Daily Telegraph* of September 20, in Bierstadt 1924: 215-218.

midst of torture.[223] The following four days were given over to the raiding of the Greek and Armenian quarters of the city.

Although they were far greater in number, the Greeks were not perceived as a problem in Kemal's project to clear Turkey of all the remaining minorities. As enemies whose compatriots had been defeated at war, they could be ejected from the country and – given the cooperation of the Western powers – Greece would be obliged to accept them. However, as the Armenians had not been engaged in the war, there was no acceptable reason to evict them from their homes, no country to which they could be sent. To most Turks, it was inconceivable that the Armenians could remain in the country: 'No Armenian can be our friend after what we have done to them' Talaat Pasha had declared to Henry Morgenthau, referring to the massacres of the Armenians in 1915.[224] Thus, this became an opportunity for Kemal to get rid of the Armenians also, who suffered along with the Greeks the massacres and atrocities from the Turkish troops.

On September 13, the fourth day of Turkish occupation, fire broke out in the Armenian quarter. It was probably lit and fed – according to hundreds of personal eye-witnesses – by the Turks.[225] In a few hours, the Armenian, Greek and European quarters of the city were in flames, while the direction of the wind was incidentally such that the Turkish and Jewish quarters remained unscathed. In the four days that the fire was burning more than the 3/5 of the city turned into ashes. During the advance of the Turkish army the interior of Asia Minor was burnt and the Greek population had flocked to Smyrna and other ports in search of refuge. With Smyrna also set ablaze, the Greek population had to bid farewell to their Ionian homelands as the Kemalists had decided to clear the country of the indigenous Christian element. The motto 'Turkey for the Turks' was about to become real.

Then, Kemal issued a mandate in an attempt to restore order. All males, Greek and Armenian, between the ages of 17 and 45 were to be deported into the interior to serve in Turkish 'labor battalions' – something that simply meant a prolonged agony followed by death. Next, the rest of the refugee population was either to be evacuated by September 30 or to suffer the same fate as that of the labor contingents, regardless of age or sex.

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[223] Oeconomos 1923: 5.
[224] Housepian 1996: 117.
[225] Some suggest that the fire was lit by the Armenians in their desperation, or that it was kindled accidentally. After the destruction of Smyrna, Rev. Charles Dobson compared his notes with his fellow refugees and found general agreement on Turkish responsibility. See Dobson's evidence in: Oeconomos 1923: 1-3.

Eventually, at the plea of the Near East Relief[226] and others, this late mandate was extended to October 8, and another one was issued ordering the departure of all Christians from Anatolia within thirty days.[227]

It is almost impossible to achieve complete accuracy as to the figures involved in the Smyrna catastrophe, but, by checking one authority against another, it is estimated that approximately 100.000 persons were massacred, 280.000 were crushed together on the piers, and still another 160.000 were deported by the Turks into the interior, most of them never to be seen again.[228] Various allied agencies in cooperation with the Greek government did an extraordinary work in evacuating the refugees from Smyrna on time.

Smyrna meant more to the Turks than a mere military objective. As the population of the city, and, indeed, of the whole surrounding area was preponderantly Greek, and being the seat of three archbishoprics, Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Armenian, it was the traditional centre of Christianity in Asia Minor – a symbol; and as a symbol it was 'feared, hated, and destroyed'.[229] With a horrific appropriateness, one could argue that the fire set up in Smyrna expressed in symbolic terms the rooting out and destruction of Greek Smyrna. Hellenic Smyrna was dead; Christian Smyrna too; and in its ashes buried the 'holy' vision of 'Megali Idea'.

The Exodus

The refugees were divided into two groups: first, those who fled from the catastrophe in Asia Minor and arrived in Greece during the autumn of 1922; in a wretched condition, starving, ill, stripped of all their belongings, and nearly all of them mourning the loss of near relatives; a veritable human wreckage. These arrived in complete disorder. In the early days of the defeat, big steamers were picking up the fugitives directed to almost any harbor and as soon as a port was evacuated it was at once again congested.

The second group of refugees was comprised by Anatolian Greeks, who had to emigrate in virtue of the Convention of Lausanne (January 30, 1923)[230] providing for the exchange of the Greeks of Turkey with the Turks of Greece (Art. 1).[231] These people left their homes in the autumn of 1923, under less violent conditions, but they too posed a

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[226] This was an American charity, initially organized by Ambassador Henry Morgenthau in response to the Armenian genocide. See Morgenthau 1929: 385.
[227] Bierstadt 1924: 43.
[228] From these 160.000 only 15.000 returned to Greece later. See: Macartney 1931: 80.
[229] Bierstadt 1924: 22.
[230] See full text of the convention in: Greek Foreign Ministry 1923.
[231] Except Greeks established in Constantinople before 1918, and in the islands Imvros and Tenedos and Turks in Western Thrace (Art. 2).

burden to the devastated country. After the first waves others, and yet again others followed, and so on for a period of two years.[232] It is estimated that about 1.5 million Greeks left Turkey for Greece and 450.000 Turks left Greece for Turkey during this process.[233]

At the time of this cataclysm, Greece, a country of five million already exhausted by ten years of uninterrupted military effort (Balkan Wars, World War I, Asia Minor campaign), and by protracted internal clashes (the national Schism between Venizelos and the King for the entrance of the country in the World War I, and the split between Venizelists and anti-Venizelists), had to face the formidable problem of housing, providing for, and settling down a million and a half of Greek refugees. Churches, public buildings, schools, theaters, cinemas, and warehouses – everything was requisitioned to shelter the new arrivals, even a large number of private houses. Foreign charitable associations in cooperation with the Greek government and the numerous humanitarian organizations that rose in all the main cities of the provinces undertook a remarkable effort in relieving and housing the newcomers. The settlement and integration of the Asia Minor refugees is viewed as one of the greatest achievements of the Greek state and nation, as 'the substantial and pragmatic solidarity between co-nationals constitutes the ultimate proof of national belonging'.[234]

The Convention of Lausanne (1923) was perceived as anathema by the refugees, as it took away their right to their properties, and mostly, the hope of returning to their ancestral homes back in Asia Minor. Article 1 of the Convention made it clear that 'these persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece respectively without the authorisation of the Turkish Government or of the Greek Government respectively'.[235] This fall 'from the heaven of myth to the world of history'[236] caused deep emotional suffering and psychological problems to the uprooted populations, as they did not lose only relatives and homelands, but also the ancestral bond with their social grouping: their community, their village, their neighborhood in the city, their intimate human environment. The catastrophe meant the definite end of the organised social presence of the Greeks in Asia Minor.

However, the exchange of populations was the most rational and realistic solution to be given, as it ensured the biological and cultural survival of Greek populations that were threatened by total extermination. Moreover, it eliminated future potential for Greco-

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[232] League of Nations 1926: 3
[233] Centre for Asia Minor Studies 1980: κα´.
[234] Mavrogordatos 1992: 9.
[235] Greek Foreign Ministry 1923.
[236] Savvidis 1973: 63.

Turkish disputes over Asia Minor, and with the departure of the Turkish population from Greece, it assured national homogeneity for the Greek state.

The impact of the exchange of populations on the Greek state and society has been massive.[237] The expansion and diversification of Greek economy after the 1920s is directly attributed to the influx of these refugees, as their sheer size increased the labour force and the internal market. Specific skills were introduced and new industries were established (e.g., tobacco production, and carpet-making), while many well-known business figures came from Asia Minor (e.g., Aristotle Onassis).

The ethnological impact was quite serious too. With the coming of 1.5 million more Greeks and the expulsion of 450.000 Turks, Greece reached its highest point of national homogeneity (from 86.63% of Greeks in 1913, to 93.83% in 1928).[238] Apart from Cyprus, the Dodecanese, Northern Epirus and Constantinople, and Imvros and Tenedos which remained outside the Greek state and where Hellenism still prevailed and flourished, one may argue that after 1923 Hellenism had contracted within the borders of the Greek state. From the ethnological viewpoint, the most significant effect of the refugee settlement pattern was the Hellenization of Macedonia and Thrace, as most of the refugees were settled there, in order to enhance the homogeneity of the country.

The refugee influx also had a very significant social and cultural impact. Symbiosis was one of the major problems – the living together of two similar and yet varying social groups. The challenge that Greece had to confront was 'how to bridge the gap separating the two fraternal factions, the natives and the refugees, and mould them into one social unit'.[239] Symbiosis was promoted by the common religion, language, and ethnic identity, while the mentality of the refugees, their idiosyncrasy and their desire to return to their native soil affected it adversely. The refugees also contributed to the cultural and intellectual life of the country. Based on the Aegean island of Lesbos, the Aeolian School of literature, established by refugee writers (like Elias Venezis, Dido Soteriou, et al.), soon became Pan-Hellenic, dominated the inter-war period and left a permanent imprint on Greek letters.

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[237] As a thorough analysis of the impact of the exchange of populations on Greece falls out of the scope of this thesis, for a more detailed analysis see: Pentzopoulos 1962: 125-219.
[238] Ekdotiki Athinon 2000.
[239] Pentzopoulos 1962: 200.

The Myth

The third image of Smyrna for Greek nationalism is a mythic one. Smyrna has become disassociated from modern Izmir and is elevated to a place of memory, an idealized *topos* where fantasies can be projected. Smyrna is like the lost Eden, or the lost Atlantis. Everything there is more beautiful and bountiful and everyone is happier. This way Smyrna has come to symbolize a lost national paradise.

The death of 'Megali Idea'

The 'Megali Idea' that had determined the ideology and policies of the Greek state, and had legitimated ideologically the Asia Minor campaign, was definitely abandoned after the defeat and the exchange of populations. It did not leave but only tragic memories of the defeat of a 'glorious' army, of the burning of Greek cities and villages, of the massacre and captivity of thousands of Anatolian Greeks, and finally, the permanent uprooting of those who survived. Thus, Greece's 'Anatolian venture' came to an end, along with the idea that the modern Greek nation was somehow destined to inherit the imperial world of the Byzantines. Damianos Phrantzes, a character in the novel 'Argo' of George Theotokas, who was forced to leave Constantinople, as the author himself had done, muses about the past:

> *Just as the refugee ship began to move from Galata…Damianos felt that*
> *something in his heart was being cut finally and irrevocably…It was a*
> *deep longing…the sensation of a forcible uprooting, the rude and decisive*
> *separation from the land of one's ancestors,…the negation of all the past*
> *and all the traditions of the nation, the destruction of the Megali*
> *Idea…Rumpled up in a corner of the deck, young Damianos*
> *Phrantzes…was travelling alone and uncared for to the West, without the*
> *ideals of his ancestors,…bringing with him to free Greece, the great and*
> *incurable grief of the refugee.*[240]

The Greek revivalist and expansionist nationalist movement had not been able to rise above the political discord in the country (between 'Venizenists'/liberals and 'Royalists'), and unify them all towards a common purpose. Weakened by this internal clash, and without the support of the Great Powers, the 'Megali Idea' movement faltered

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[240] Quoted in Augoustinos 1977: 138.

before the rival ethnic and integrationist Turkish nationalist movement. The Turks had broken with the past and based their movement on the present, in terms of ethnicity and territorial unity, whereas the Greeks had looked to the historical past in formulating their nationalist ideal. Even though both movements were aggressive, the Greek one was expansionist and sought the development of a multi-ethnic state (where the Greeks would dominate), while the Turkish was exactly the opposite: contractive, ethnically unifying, and from the point of cohesiveness – stronger.

Smyrna as a symbol

After 1922, every aspect of Greek life was profoundly affected by the all-encompassing economic and social turmoil that followed the Asia Minor disaster, and the fundamental ideals and goals of the nation were re-evaluated. The new generation, having experienced the national shame of military defeat and the human misery and disillusionment of the refugees, aspired to re-appraise the basic social and political framework of the new society, and to reclassify the principal values of the Greek nation. The consolidation of the Greek nation at the tip of the Balkan Peninsula, the complete failure of the policy of 'Megali Idea', and the post-1918 international order in Europe dictated a redefinition of 'Greekness' both in relation to the ancient past, and in the context of contemporary European culture. It necessitated the creation of new, 'genuine' ideals and values based on a blending of the contemporary European cultural trends with Greek tradition.

Gradually, the nightmare of the refugee flight faded away, and the horror of the campaign was blurred. Subsequently, the identity crisis was followed by a deep nostalgia, reflecting the expatriates' affection for their place of birth. Having been obliged to emigrate, the transferred people constantly considered themselves uprooted and transplanted. Instead of adapting themselves to, and accepting the new environment, they longed to return to their birthplaces and carry on their interrupted way of life, which acquired an aura of mystery, an overtone of melancholy that turned it more appealing and made its absence and the feeling of loss more dreadful. Especially those who did not succeed in regaining their previous status – and they were a lot – their previous life in Smyrna and Asia Minor became 'an idyllic Arcadian revery in which they indulged over and over again, trying to escape from the hardships of the present unpleasant life'.[241]

Thus, gradually, Smyrna was transformed into an idealized homeland of memory; a lost Paradise where the uprooted could mentally retreat that was distinct from the physical

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[241] Pentzopoulos 1962: 206.

homeland they left behind. As I argue in Annex I, this was primarily expressed through the post-1922 Greek literature that made Smyrna the symbol of this national turmoil; a symbol to remind the end of an era of irredentism and utopic national expectations, which were rooted to the religious beliefs for the 'resurrection' of the Byzantine Empire. This symbol marked the last part of the ideological clash between Helleno-centrism (the view that derived modern Greek national identity primarily from the ancient Greek past, and centred on Athens), and the view that looked mostly to the Christian Byzantine past of the Greeks (and centred on Constantinople and its restoration to Christianity), with the prevailing of the first. Smyrna became a symbol of the rebirth of Neo-Hellenism, after a re-examination of the national values and ideals, which were perceived now to be bankrupt, as they had rested entirely on the 'Megali Idea'; a symbol to remind the Greeks of whom they were, who they are, and what is their destiny. It became a mechanism for the reproduction of national identity, based on the memory of the common suffering for the loss of relatives and social groups, but mostly the loss of 'Paradise'. Smyrna acquired in a sense the status of 'Paradise' for many, symbolizing in Christian terms the fall of Adam and Eve and the definite exile of humanity from 'Eden'. After the catastrophe and the burial of the 'Megali Idea', abandoning St. Sophia, 'the two-headed eagle, wounded and bleeding, sought shelter in the ruins of the Parthenon'.[242]

Moreover, the refugee writers played an important role in the fusion of the refugee and the indigenous Greek populations. Their rejection of the fading values (e.g. of the 'Megali Idea'), their uncertainty towards the future and the bitterness of their experiences expressed the sentiments of the whole population. Thus, they managed to become the spokesmen of the whole nation – the intellectual representatives not just of the uprooted Greeks, but of the entire new inter-war generation. As a result, they succeeded in laying the foundations of a culturally united nation by bridging the gap between the newcomers and their native Greek brothers.

Summary

This chapter has attempted to present and analyse the three main images of Smyrna for Greek nationalism. The first was that of a 'dream'. Smyrna with its predominantly Greek ethnic and cultural background, its cosmopolitanism, and its rising Greek bourgeoisie, became the dream and central claim of the nationalist ideology of the 'Megali Idea'. This Idea envisaged the expansion of the geographically constrained Greek state to all the

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[242] The two-headed eagle was the emblem of the Byzantine Empire. Kousoulas 1953: 3.

Greek-populated areas of the Near East. It was conceived as a civilising national mission eastwards, aiming to restore the former glorious Christian Byzantine Empire. The fulfilment of this dream was temporarily achieved, as the circumstances allowed for, at the end of the World War I, with the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), where Greece was given apart from eastern Thrace, the sovereignty and administration of the city of Smyrna and its region. The occupation of the city by the Greek troops in 1919 was allegedly seen and celebrated as the rebirth of Smyrna and of the whole nation, as the vision of 'Megali Idea' was becoming real. This image was expressed by the nationalist rhetoric of the politicians of the time, as well as by the literature of the time.

The Greek national enthusiasm encouraged them to undertake a military campaign in the interior of Asia Minor in an effort to defeat Kemal's growing army, and ensure their control in western Anatolia. However, weakened by internal political clashes, and without the support of the Great Powers, the Greek army was given the final strike by the Kemalist troops in August 1922, and was defeated. The Greek army evacuated Asia Minor, while thousands of refugees from the interior areas gathered in Smyrna, seeking protection or a means to debark from Asia Minor. With the capture of the city by the Turkish troops, the Greek, Armenian, and European quarters suffered from atrocities and looting, while a fire was set up in the city that burned it almost completely. This was the second image of Smyrna cultivated by Greek nationalism: the tragic scene of the hundreds of thousands of refugees gathered panicked in the harbor, hoping for salvation, while the city behind them was in flames.[243] Moreover, the Convention of Lausanne (1923) provided for the permanent exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, and about 1.5 million Greeks left Asia Minor for Greece, and 450.000 Turks left Greece for Turkey. This tragic image was presented through the post-1922 literature and poetry, the anthems and songs, and mostly through the personal testimonials and stories of the refugees.

The Asia Minor disaster, the burning of Smyrna and the eradication of the Greek communities from Anatolia signalled the death of the 'Megali Idea'. The 'glorious', 'holy' vision of the expansion of the Greek state eastwards in order to resurrect the Byzantine Empire was abandoned for good. Steadily, nostalgia dominated the feelings of the refugees, revealing their trauma of the violent cut of their bond with the ancestral homeland. Smyrna surfaced as the symbol of the catastrophe, turning to an individual and national collective 'paradise lost'. The flames that burned the city were meant to haunt the Greek national consciousness of future generations, and to always remind what 'they' did

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[243] See pictures in Appendix III.

to 'us' – to distinguish the enemy from the nation, explaining 'who we are' to ourselves and to others, thus constructing a powerful and durable national boundary.

The 'myth-symbol complex' of Smyrna, provided a symbolic framework through which to merge and integrate into the Greek nation the quite diverse refugee groups (e.g., Turkish-speaking Orthodox populations, as the exchange of populations was based on religion), and to give them a sense of belonging, identity, autonomy and authenticity. Attached with a social magnetism and psychological charge and promoted by a vast literature, oral confessions and folk expressions, the myth of Lost Homelands became a strong element of Greek national heritage – thus influencing the matrix of re-interpretation, redefinition and renewal of Greek national identity by future generations.

CHAPTER III

THE ENOSIS SMYRNEON AND THE *MIKRASIATIKA CHRONIKA*

T his chapter aims to describe the 'Enosis Smyrneon' (ES), a major refugee association that developed into an important agent in refugee affairs, particularly with its periodical publication *Mikrasiatika Chronika* (*MC*). It outlines the context of the period under examination (1936-1967), and discusses the influence asserted on the ES and the *MC* by contemporary historical events and ideological tendencies. The chapter further analyzes the foundation charter of the ES, and introduces some of its prestigious founders; it then looks on the ES' activities, and focuses on the most important – the *MC*. It sheds light on the background of the *MC* publication, and analyzes four articles of the founders, published in the first and fifth volume, with which they attempted to directly communicate their aims and views to the public.

This thesis examines the formation of the ES in relation to the transformation of Greek nationalism from the expansionist 'Megali Idea' policy to the danger 'from within', as well as the shift from a cultural to a more ethnic interpretation of the Greek nation in the 1936-1967 period. An analysis of the initial foundation charter and its first revised version confirms that the ES was influenced by contemporary ideological trends and social conditions, and thus attempted to establish bonds with the ancient Greek Ionian past, and to disassociate its position from Communism.

The *MC* turned out to be the most important undertaking of ES and aimed to preserve the traits and attributes of the Asia Minor Greek civilization. Its founders appealed to Greek national sentiment, endorsing the idea of Greek national uniformity and homogeneity with Asia Minor being an essential part of the national imagined space and the Asia Minor refugees being part of the Greek national corpus.

Historical junctures, social conditions, and political trends

The period following the Asia Minor disaster of 1922 was one of the most turbulent in modern Greek history. Although territorially expanded to Epirus, Macedonia, the Aegean

islands and Western Thrace in the years 1912-1922, the country emerged from this confrontational stage devastated and ruined. In addition, it had to confront the enormous challenge of receiving the total Greek Orthodox population of Asia Minor and eastern Thrace.

The refugee phenomenon was not altogether new to the Greek state, since from its very foundation it had provided shelter to Greek populations that lived outside its borders and faced expulsions and pogroms (like the 1914 expulsions of Asia Minor Greeks by the Young Turks). Nevertheless, the historic population exchange of 1923, between Greece and Turkey, resulted in the permanent and official relocation and concentration of the Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace Greek Orthodox population to the confined borders of the Greek state. The vast majority of this population was in need of immediate housing, food supplies, as well as occupational settling. In this huge challenge, the Greek state sought the assistance of the League of Nations, which provided valuable technical, financial and moral support. Along with the dispatch of international loans, an international organization was established in 1923 – the Refugee Settlement Commission (RSC; Επιτροπή Αποκαταστάσεως Προσφύγων) – which worked exclusively on the refugee resettlement, in cooperation with the Greek authorities.[244]

The Greek authorities promoted the settlement of the refugees mainly in the fertile lands of Macedonia and Thrace, allocating them first the abandoned properties of the exchanged Muslims. As these were not sufficient, since the Muslims who left Greece were far fewer than the Greeks who arrived, hundreds of new settlements were established, along with new roads, bridges, harbors, and all related infrastructure. The policy to settle the newcomers in Macedonia and Thrace aimed to alter the ethnological map of those areas, securing them for the Greek state against any possible challenge from its northern neighbors. The role of the 1922 refugees was considerable in all subsequent developments in Greece. Constituting about 20% of the country's total population, they asserted a strong influence to the political, economic and social life of the country over the next decades. For example, in the political sphere, the arrival of the refugees challenged the dominance of the monarchy, as most of the newcomers supported Eleftherios Venizelos, while many shifted their allegiance to the Communist Party and contributed to its increasing strength.[245] Regarding the economic consequences, the newcomers contributed significantly to the economy of the Greek state after their settlement. Many were skilled workers and entrepreneurs who engaged in international trade and business, a field that had

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[244] Vakalopoulos 2001: 383.
[245] Agriantoni 2006.

flourished in the Ottoman port cities, because of the capitulation policies of the Ottoman Empire.[246]

Another development in the post-1922 era was the end of the country's territorial expansion.[247] For the Greeks, the transition from the decade of expansion and glory of the 1910s to the one of defeat and retrenchment of the 1920s was not easy. Many felt confined within the narrow borders of a dysfunctional state, while others sought to rationalize the country's predicament and replace the abandonment of the 'Megali Idea' with a new focus on development and westernization. During the Interwar period, Greek nationalism was transformed. Along with the Asia Minor disaster, the stance of the Comintern (Communist International or Third International)[248] on the 'independence of Macedonia and Thrace', which was adopted also by the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), at least until 1934, and claims to Greek territory by its norther neighbors (Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania) provided an ominous challenge to Greek territorial integrity.[249] The new content of Greek nationalism was linked with the insecurity endowed by World War I and the Asia Minor disaster, and grew on a rejection of the Communist creed that was associated with the 'threat from the Communist North'. A sense of a 'threat from within' was also developed that targeted Greek Communists, seen as traitors because of their alignment with the Comintern stance on Macedonia and Thrace. Despite the fact that during the years of irredentism state ideology was more flexible and generous towards potential converts to Hellenism and more tolerant to ethnic minorities within its borders – Muslims, Jews, Slavs, etc. – the Interwar state strove for Greek 'authenticity' as something convened by history. As a result, ideological purity and an exclusive and privileged relationship with antiquity grew into the legitimizing elements of 'Greekness'.[250]

Smith discussed the 'cult of authenticity' that stands at the centre of the nationalist belief-system and represents the quest for the true self. It functions as the national equivalent to the religious idea of holiness, while the distinction between authentic and inauthentic is similar to that between the sacred and the profane. The term 'authentic' has various meanings, however, the basic and most simple definition is what is our own and nobody else's, something necessary and assumed, or taken for granted. Smith argues that despite the various uses of the term, for nationalists 'the authentic is the irreplaceable and

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[246] For an analysis of the consequences of the refugee influx in Greece see, Vakalopoulos 2001: 365-89, Hirschon 2003: 53-78.
[247] The Dodecanese islands were the last to get incorporated in the Greek state after WWII.
[248] Comintern (1919-1943) was an international organization that advocated world communism. See Nation 1989.
[249] Mavrogordatos 1983: 218-20; Koliopoulos & Veremis 2002: 112-117.
[250] Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002: 136.

fundamental, that which we cannot do without […] the necessity that separates 'us' from 'them', our nation from all others'.[251] Among the national marks of differentiation is a nation's name, which along with a national flag and a national anthem, signal the uniqueness and the setting apart of the nation. The authentic is necessary to separate 'us' from 'them', our nation from all others, making it and its culture distinctive and irreplaceable. Thus, in a transition period of identity redefinition and ideological upheaval, the cultivation of authenticity, along with the re-establishment of a relationship with antiquity would guide the Greeks into what was perceived to be their 'true' self, and their roots. After all, the Asia Minor disaster brought an end to the view of the Byzantine past of the Greeks as a source of their modern national identity, while the view of the ancient Greek past as a source for the 'authentic' elements of modern Greek national identity dominated.

The unstable political life of the interwar period was interrupted by a relevant stable Venizelos government from 1928 to 1932. His policy included the end of the international isolation of Greece by signing treaties of friendship with Italy (1928), and Yugoslavia (1929), as well as a *rapprochement* with Turkey in 1930.[252] Venizelos' political realism dictated the improvement of relations with Turkey, as an insistence on the 'Megali Idea' policy after the Asia Minor disaster and the exchange of population would have been rather utopian. After all, the prevailing conditions of the period shifted attention to the 'threat from the North'. Thus, he signed the Greco-Turkish treaty of 'friendship, neutrality and arbitration' at the Convention of Ankara in 1930. 1932-1935 is a period of political instability, where successive elections fail to produce a majority government, while the army interferes in the political life, often with the consent of the politicians. In 1935, monarchy was restored in the country, while in August 1936 Ioannis Metaxas took over Greek political life with a military coup and established a dictatorship.

Metaxas, influenced by theorists of the Right like Pericles Yiannopoulos and Demosthenis Danielides, relegated religion to a secondary role in his state.[253] He drew his inspiration from classical heritage which he saw as the differentiating element that set apart the Greeks from their Slav neighbors and by implication from communism. His anti-communism and anti-parliamentarianism brought him close to other fascists of the time, and he aspired to develop his own theory of the Greek nation. He thus developed the idea of the Third Greek Civilization (Τρίτος Ελληνικός Πολιτισμός), after the first of antiquity

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[251] Smith 2003: 38.
[252] Vakalopoulos 2001: 390.
[253] Sarandis 1993: 159.

and the second of Byzantium.[254] Another concept that he advanced was the idea of the Greek race as 'Chosen'.[255] This idea, although articulated before (especially during the 'Megali Idea' irredentist years when the Greek nation was perceived to have a mission to bring light to the East), indicated the shift from cultural nationalism to a more ethnic interpretation of what constituted the Greek nation.

In the irredentist years before the Asia Minor disaster, the notion of 'Greekness' was more open and flexible, while a cultural concept of unity could provide the bond to acculturate and assimilate diverse populations (like the Vlachs) in the Greek state.[256] Thus Isocrates' dictum 'we consider Greeks all those who partake in our culture'[257] was appropriate as the basis of Greek irredentism since this envisioned the establishment of a multi-ethnic state expanding on both sides of the Aegean. A cultural interpretation of the nation would serve well if the state was to successfully incorporate non-Greek populations once it expanded territorially. This cultural interpretation of the Greek nation shifted to a more ethnic one in the interwar period as a consequence of the Asia Minor disaster and the perceived Communist threat. Greek national identity was seen as exclusive, and based on criteria of pedigree and ethnic origin, whereas state ideology resorted to a narrow and distant view of history, cultivating an exclusive relationship with antiquity that became along with ideological 'purity' (meaning ideological distance from Communism) a legitimizing element of 'Greekness'.[258]

The belief in 'chosenness' that Metaxas attempted to establish, provides in general a heightened sense of collective distinctiveness and mission. Nationalists in Armenia, Poland, China, America, Russia, Ireland, and elsewhere have cultivated a belief in their people that their historic community is unique, that they possess 'irreplaceable culture values';[259] that their heritage must be preserved against inner corruption and external control, and that they have a duty to transmit their values to others (i.e. the Greek 'Megali Idea' that promoted the Greek mission to 'enlighten' the east; basically a façade of expansionism). However, the idea that 'we are a "chosen people"' should not be seen in the light of simple ethnocentrism, since many communities in traditional societies have regarded themselves as the moral centre of the universe. To be chosen is to be appointed for special purposes by – and consequently to stand in a unique relation to – the divine and thus placed under moral obligations. The privilege of election is granted only to those who

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[254] Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002: 135.
[255] Sarandis 1993: 150.
[256] Veremis 2003: 59.
[257] Paparrigopoulos 1976: 151-153; Dimaras 1978.
[258] Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002: 136.
[259] Smith 1999: 130.

are blessed, and lead their lives expressing sacred values, while the benefits are reserved for those who fulfil the required observances.[260] In the Metaxas case, the Greek nation (or 'Race' as he calls it, something that is aligned with his ethnic interpretation of the nation) was the 'Chosen' one,[261] and had grown into the primary source of belonging and distinction, given his disregard for religion. Thus, the element of religious affiliation was replaced by the 'stock', the 'race', the 'nation', which acquired at the same time the religious symbolism of the 'Chosen'. This is a typical case where nationalism makes use of religious ideas and symbols in order to unify and mobilize the population in the name of the nation that grows into the primary source of legitimacy and identity.

Metaxas' view of the state as a living organism with the mission to unify the nation was of the least appealing.[262] This view of Metaxas may be seen as part of the debate about the relationship between the state and the nation in the emergence of nation-states. On the one hand, scholars like Anthony Giddens, Charles Tilly, Rogers Brubaker, James Mayall, John Breuilly, and others emphasize the role of modern political institutions in nation-state formation, such as a unitary administration, institutional forms, and all the paraphernalia of a centralized bureaucracy that play a role in the unification and homogenization of a population. On the other hand, theorists like Anthony Smith and John Hutchinson draw attention to the symbolic and cultural dimensions of nationalism in the development of the nation-state.[263] In the case of Greece, the Greeks blamed the state for their troubles, and considered it as the defective part and negative side of their nation-state; the Greek state could not mobilize their allegiance on its own. It was the perceived threat to the nation (έθνος) and the motherland (πατρίς) that mobilized the Greeks to support Metaxas' decision and resist the Italian invasion in October 1940.

After Metaxas' denial to accept the Italian claims, Italy declared war and invaded Greece from the Albanian border. The Greek army repelled the invasion in the winter of 1940, and pinned down the enemy forces after a successful counter-attack deep inside the Albanian territory. Metaxas died in January 1941, and King George appointed Alexandros Korizis as his Prime-Minister. In April, the German forces overran Yugoslavia and invaded Greece from the north. Greek defence collapsed and what could be salvaged of the Greek

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[260] Smith 1992: 441.
[261] See Metaxas' speech in Serres in 27 October, 1936, where he spoke of the Greek Race as a 'Chosen Stock'. Quoted in Sarandis 1993: 150
[262] Petrakis 2006: 86.
[263] On this debate see, Smith 1998: 70-96.

army and government retreated to Crete. Late May, Crete also fell under a costly airborne German attack, while the King and his government-in-exile fled to Egypt.[264]

Greek resistance against the Italian army (1940-41) forced Hitler to intervene in the Balkans as he was preparing his forces to invade Russia. Contemporary war rhetoric saw the Greek campaign as a contribution to the Allied war effort, since it delayed the German eastward offensive.[265] Following the Italian and German invasion, and without even declaring war, Bulgaria too invaded and occupied Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace. Thus, the country was divided into three zones of occupation, with the Italians controlling the biggest part. The Bulgarian-occupied territories, however, suffered the most, as the Bulgarians sought to de-Hellenize those areas, in order to permanently annex them to a greater Bulgaria.[266]

During the Axis occupation (1941-44) chaos prevailed in the country, while poverty and famine struck a big part of the population. Nevertheless, resistance movements were organized almost immediately after the conquest and waged guerrilla warfare against the occupying forces that could be also seen as a rebellion against authoritarianism in general.[267] The Greek exiled government failed to realize the extent of the anti-monarchist sentiment at home, something that reinforced the influence of the EAM-ELAS (Εθνικό Απελευθερωτικό Μέτωπο/National Liberation Front – Ελληνικός Απελευθερωτικός Στρατός/Greek National Liberation Army) communist-led movement and gave rise to a pernicious conflict between royalists and anti-royalists within the ranks of the Greek army that had retreated in North Africa and the Middle East. Moreover, EAM-ELAS grew larger as the hardships and poverty under the Axis occupation drove more people to the mountains where the rebels were. EDES (Εθνικός Δημοκρατικός Ελληνικός Σύνδεσμος/National Republican Greek League) was another armed resistance movement set up by army officers that assumed action early in the summer of 1942, and was the main competitor of EAM-ELAS.[268]

In early October 1944 the Germans retreated to the north as the Russian troops advanced in the Balkans, while on October 18, the Greek exiled government returned to Athens; the country was liberated. In December, however, an armed clash between nationalists and communists polarized the political world, while it caused another deep division within Greek society. The Treaty of Varkiza on February12, 1945, provided for

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[264] Koliopoulos 1977: 263-93; Ekdotiki Athinon 2008: vol. 15, ch. 4.
[265] Woodhouse 1968: 239.
[266] Lemkin 2005: 185. See also Mazower 2001.
[267] Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002: 291.
[268] Clogg1987: chapter 6; Shrader 1999: 25-34; Mazower 2001: part IV.

the granting of amnesty and a return to peace. Nevertheless, this peace did not last long since in the elections of 1946, the abstention of KKE (Κομμουνιστικό Κόμμα Ελλάδος/Communist Party of Greece) ensured the victory to the royalist party, which carried out a plebiscite that resulted in the reinstatement of King George. Another attempt of KKE to take over power led to renewed violence that lasted for three years.[269] Finally, in August 1949, the government troops under general Papagos defeated the rebel forces.

The civil conflict that raged in Greece for four years aggravated the situation of the already devastated country. 158.000 victims in 1944-1949 were added to the 550.000 who died between 1940 and 1944, while between 50.000 and 100.000 were those who fled to neighboring countries. [270] Greek villagers and townspeople caught up in hostilities between the government army and leftist rebel forces suffered the most. Nonetheless, civil rivalry among the Greeks brought over along with trauma and devastation, foreign control, since nationalist victory over the communist forces would not have been achieved without military aid, advice, and diplomatic support from the United States of America. Greek authorities allowed the United States a role in Greek internal affairs, since they were unable to handle the situation themselves. It was the price Greece had to pay for America's support against the communist rebels, and the post-war financial and military aid for the country's reconstruction that the Marshall Plan proclaimed. [271]

American policy towards Greece was directed by security concerns. As the alienation between the US and the Soviet Union intensified and Cold War tensions heightened, Greece was increasingly considered as a bastion against communist expansion, and hence democratic ideals were set aside in favour of efficiency and modernization.[272] Field-Marshall Alexandros Papagos, commander-in-chief of the government forces in the civil war, and head of the conservative party Ελληνικός Συναγερμός (Greek Rally), favoured by the US, won the 1952 elections with 49 per cent of the vote.[273] It was the period of the country's reconstruction with American aid, while Greece officially joined the Western alliance (NATO accession in 1951) and American bases were installed in Greek territory. Papagos, although reluctant at the beginning as he wanted to maintain good relations with England, he succumbed to public opinion and Cypriot demands, and decided to pursue the unification of Cyprus with Greece (*Enosis*) regardless of the tensions

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[269] Baerentzen and Iatrides 1987; Alexander 1982: 245-252.
[270] Couloumbis, Petropoulos, Psomiades 1976: 239-62.
[271] Fatouros 1981: 254; Pelt 2006: 35-66; Clogg 1987: Chapter 7.
[272] Iatrides 1980: 60-65; Fatouros 1981: 252-253.
[273] Pelt 2006: 91-92; Vakalopoulos 2001: 447; Clogg 1987: 30-32.

it caused among NATO members.[274] Headed by Archbishop Makarios, the Cypriot demand for self-determination and unification with Greece met the resistance of Britain and of the Turkish Cypriots, and led to an armed rebellion of the Cypriot organization ΕΟΚΑ (Εθνική Οργάνωση Κυπρίων Αγωνιστών/National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) against the British rule. Britain however threatened with division of the island between Greece and Turkey, regardless of the fact that the Greek-Cypriots constituted 80 per cent of the population, while the Turkish-Cypriots 18 per cent.[275] Greek-Cypriot demands for *Enosis* invoked Turkish nationalism, and left a long-term imprint on the relations between the two communities of the island, as well as between Greece and Turkey. The Turkish pogroms against the Istanbul Greek minority in September 1955 are illustrative of the rapid deterioration of Greek-Turkish relations, which in turn undermined NATO's integrity and security policy in the Balkans and Eastern Mediterranean.[276]

The Karamanlis' government that succeeded Papagos' (1955-1963) undertook to promote self-determination for the island. After hard negotiations, the Zurich-London agreements in 1959 settled the Cyprus issue by granting the island independence, despite the Greek-Cypriot will for unification with Greece, and the Turkish-Cypriot for taksim (division). Thus, in August 1960 Cyprus was declared independent with Archbishop Makarios as its first president.[277] Furthermore, Karamanlis with his policies in this period achieved to stabilize Greek economy giving a vital push to Greek industrialization, improved Greek relations with Russia, Romania and Bulgaria, while commenced negotiations for the Greek entrance in the European Economic Community (1961).[278]

This section has discussed the historical background of the period under examination in the thesis. It is in this context that ES and its periodical *Mikrasiatika Chronika* were established and shaped unavoidably by the contemporary events and tendencies. I further examine the foundation of ES, and its guiding principles that led to the establishment and articulation of the *MC*.

The Founding Fathers of the ES

The Enosis Smyrneon was founded in Athens, on June 7, 1936, a couple of months before Metaxas' coup and the establishment of dictatorship, and fourteen years after the disaster of Smyrna. In these fourteen years, the immediate needs of the refugees had been mostly

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[274] For Papagos' Cyprus policy, see Stefanidis 1999: 260-280.
[275] Stefanidis 1999: 218; Stefanidis 2007: 98; Vakalopoulos 2001: 448.
[276] Moustakis 2005: 85; Alexandris 1983: 259-260.
[277] Mirbagheri 2010: 25; Vakalopoulos 2001: 448.
[278] Ekdotiki Athinon 2000: 200.

accommodated with the support of the state and international organizations. The wounds of the tragedy were healing and the uprooted were shifting attention to establishing associations that would preserve their history, their traditions, and their memories. It is thus explicable why the ES was established in this historical juncture and note earlier. The Smyrniots, along with the rest of the refugees, had been mostly settled, and they now needed a connection, an association that would become 'the bond of the Smyrniots, those dynamic but scattered people, that had not yet any connection between them'.[279]

In January 1936, a group of eminent Smyrniot refugees met together on the initiative of Demetrios Ioakimides, and decided to establish the ES 'as a response to the systematic neglect of the Smyrniots' by state authorities.[280] A temporary committee constituted by Michael Argyropoulos, Tasos P. Anastasiades, D. Ioakimides, M. Sklavos, Chr. Solominides, and G. Tsakyroglous undertook the drafting and ratification of the first charter. The first general ES meeting took place on June 7, 1936, and all the 104 registered members were present to elect the first board. Vasileios Zirines was the first president for the period 1936-37; then Metropolitan Iakovos of Mytilene from 1938 to 1957, while Alexandros Benakis from 1958 to 1967. Most of them were renowned and important personalities within the Smyrniot refugee community, and enjoyed a high social status because of their occupation and activities. For example, Demetrios Ioakimides who arranged for the meeting was a doctor and the first meetings took place in his office.[281] Kyros Aleksiou was a famous athlete of the athletic association 'Apollon' of Smyrna and had been distinguished in many tournaments before the disaster.[282] Elias Altinoglous was a teacher and was well-known for his leftist ideas (later a member and writer of the communist periodical *Spartakos* of the Greek Section of the 4th International, *OKDE*).[283] Michael Argyropoulos was a lawyer and a poet. A. Sulvios Papadopoulos was also a poet, while Christos Vasilakakis was an important novelist (his works included '*Πληγές και Φραγγέλιον*', '*Ο Χαρτοπαίκτης που Ονειρεύεται*', '*Ο Νικόλας*', '*Σαν Παραμύθι*'). Apostolos Orfanides was a surgeon; he had served as the director of the Smyrna military hospital and

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[279] Enosis Smyrneon 1968: 11.
[280] PSES 1936-1940: 10, (23 October 1936). The names of the ES founders were alphabetically listed in this minute. These were: Kyros Aleksiou, Elias Altinoglous, Georgios I. Anastasiades, Tasos P. Anastasiades, Anast. Argyropoulos, Michael Argyropoulos, Stelios Argyros, Petros Valtazanos, Chr. Vasilakakis, M. Vlastos, I. Georgiades, S. Gounaris, Alk. Doulgerides, Dim. Ysaris, Dim. Ioakimides, Athan. Karillos, Nathan Kechagioglou, I. Kyriazes, Dim. Lignades, Evag. Marsellos, I. Mavroudes, Fot. Michaelides, D. Mourgopoulos, Apost. Orfanides, Mich. Paleologos, Orestes Pantazides, A. Sulvios Papadopoulos, Nik. Papadimitriades, Ant. Pittakos, I. Polikardiotes, Markos Sklavos, Elefth. Skordomvekes, Chr. Solominides, Georg. Tsakyroglous, and Mich. Friligkos. See also appendix I.
[281] Enosis Smyrneon 1968: 11.
[282] See: http://www.apollonistis.com/history. Η Ιστορία του Απόλλωνα Σμύρνης. Date of access: 11/08/15.
[283] See: Http://www.okde.org. ΟΚΔΕ Σπάρτακος. Date of access: 11/08/15.

was among the founders of the Athens refugee hospital, where many refugee doctors and scientists were employed; he later also served as a minister. Christos Solominides was another distinguished Smyrniot figure. His father, Socratis, was the editor of the *Amalthia* newspaper of Smyrna, while he was a lawyer, and an author.[284]

Regulating the ES: The Foundation Charter

The examination of the minutes of the first general meeting reveals that the original foundation charter generated tensions among the board members, as to whether the ES was or should be a political association (whether it would align itself with a political party), since the relevant article of the charter was perceived as ambiguous and generated a debate, as seen from the minutes of the meeting. K. Prasas raised the issue saying that 'the relevant article should better address the issue: is the ES a political association or not?' K. E. Dourmouzis agreed that 'the charter should be revised in order to exclude any political activities in fear of personal intrigues and antagonisms'. K. L. Kyvetos argued that they 'should not exclude political means but the party involvement of the ES', K. D. Ioakimides was explicit in his view that 'the ES should not join any political party'. Moreover, K. Th. Sergakis raised concerns that the charter unconsciously introduced a 'social class distinction since it was endorsing the distinction between refugees and natives', by merely referring to 'the improvement of the refugee situation'.[285]

This internal debate must be seen in relation to the politics of refugee integration and social inclusion of the ES, as it aspired to become an association that would attract as many refugee members as possible, regardless of political orientation. The debate must be also seen in relation to the political situation in that period, when Metaxas had restrained all political activity. Moreover, as the refugees had established an association with the left, the ES strove to disassociate itself from the communism – and any political ideology – in order to be all-encompassing, and not to become a target of the regime's anti-communist policies.[286]

In 1936, the Athens court of first instance (Πρωτοδικείο Αθηνών) recognized the ES as a welfare association (κοινωφελές σωματείο), and its primary objective, as stated in the 1936 foundation charter was 'the organization of Smyrniots settled in Greece for the more effective promotion of their legal interests, and the advocacy of the general national ones; additionally, the mutual assistance of its members, and the provision for the

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[284] Estia Neas Smyrnis 1968: 11-13.
[285] PSES 1936-1940: 2-3, (7 June 1936).
[286] Mavrogordatos 1983: 211-13.

improvement of the refugee situation in general'.[287] The revised charter of 1938 included in the ES' objectives '[…] the study of history and culture of Asia Minor […]'.[288] This addition must be seen in relation to the ES' decision to study and preserve the history of Asia Minor through the establishment of the *MC*. It was also the only thing added to the aims, something noteworthy after all the discussions about the politicization or not of the ES. This probably indicated their decision and silent consent that the ES would be an all-encompassing cultural association occupying itself primarily with cultural and historical issues of their lost homeland, rather than with politics.

Membership could be granted to anyone originating from Smyrna and Ionia, or to anyone who had resided in Smyrna for a long period. It should be approved by the administrative board with a relevant majority for the Smyrniot applicants, and with an absolute majority for the non-Smyrniots.[289] The 1936 charter provided that new applicants should be proposed in writing by three existing members, while the 1938 charter banned this regulation. Members could participate in the general meetings and the discussions, and they had equal rights and duties. They had to pay fifty drachmas for their membership every three months, while the subscription fee was fifty drachmas paid once. The 1938 charter reduced the membership fee to thirty drachmas every three months, most likely in order to attract more members. Regarding suspension of membership, this should occur by a board decision 'if a member would not comply with the charter of the ES, or if its behaviour was not in accord with the principles and the objectives of the ES […]'.[290] The 1938 charter added to this '[…] or if it did not pay its membership fee for 12 consequent months', probably because there had been such incidents. The next part of the 1936 foundation charter outlined the process of the general meetings, and provided regulations for the assets, as well as the dissolution of ES. It finally specified the symbol of ES – a stamp depicting Homer and circled with 'Enosis Smyrneon' – and it allowed the ES board to establish branches in other Greek cities where Smyrniot refugees had settled, and to set up committees in order to carry out its decisions.[291] The choice of the ES emblem was symbolic: the ancient Greek poet Homer, who is famous all over the world, while Smyrna is the most dominant claimant of his origin. This way ES aspired to establish continuity with the glorious past of ancient Ionia, symbolically rooting itself there, and at the same time appropriating the intellectual past Homer represented. The charter of 1938 added the

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[287] Enosis Smyrneon 1936: 1.
[288] Enosis Smyrneon 1938: 1.
[289] Enosis Smyrneon 1936: 1.
[290] Op. cit., 2.
[291] Op. cit., 2-3.

regulation on the board election, and the duties of the president, vice-president, general secretary and the treasurer. It also provided for the board to declare someone an honorary member for his contribution to the advancement of ES, and of 'our homeland'.[292] With this, the Smyrniot refugee association made clear that it considered the Greek state to be its homeland, incorporating itself in the broader collectivity of the state's population. The dreams to return to Smyrna had faded since the Ankara Convention of 1930, while this statement confirmed that ES had accepted the new reality: Greece was now the homeland, and the Smyrniot refugees were the same as the natives of Greece; the recognition of the Greek state as their 'homeland' was an attempt to ostracize the natives-refugees distinction, while it strengthened their position against anyone that could raise an issue on their allegiance.

Thus, one could see in the ES foundation charters the ES alignment with, and influence from the contemporary political tendencies. The two prevailing and legitimizing elements of 'Greekness' in the Metaxas period were underlying in the charters, aiming to confirm the ES' allegiance to the Greek state and the regime. Its relationship with antiquity was symbolically established by its very emblem, while its ideological purity was demonstrated by its de-association from class distinction, and general 'leftist' terminology. This way the ES adopted the current trends at the beginning of its operation, in order to become accepted in Greek society of the time. Especially the relationship with antiquity would become a distinctive feature that would anchor the ES in the safety of a privileged relationship with the ancient Greek past – and thus a 'pure' and 'authentic' Greek self – against any possible challenge to their already traumatized identity.

ES in action: Activities 1936-64

Since its foundation the ES occupied itself with concerns and matters of the Smyrniot, as well as of the rest of the Asia Minor refugees. Its primary objective, as stated in the *Pepragmena* 1936-1968, was the promotion of the history of the 'unforgettable' (αλησμόνητες) homelands, and the establishment of the Asia Minor 'Idea' in younger generations.[293] This clearly demonstrated the ES dedication and commitment to preserve the memories of the Asia Minor homelands and to further transmit them down to the younger. By 1968 – when the *Pepragmena* were published – Smyrna and Asia Minor were characterized as 'unforgettable' homelands, the designation 'unforgettable' having to do

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[292] Enosis Smyrneon 1938: 2.
[293] Enosis Smyrneon 1968: 14.

with memory. This designation denoted the passion and fervent nostalgia of the uprooted towards their birthplaces, while the desire to preserve the memories by transmitting them to the younger clearly illustrated how important their birthplaces were for them. In addition, ES talked about the Asia Minor as an 'Idea'. Asia Minor had turned into a place of mind fused with recollections of past faded events, and had been de-substantiated as a real and existing place. Asia Minor had become a *topos* of memory that had to be reconstructed conceptually in order to be kept alive in people's minds; it had turned into a powerful Idea, which – like the Greek Idea, or the German Idea – had provided for a bond, a connection to a heterogeneous and dispersed uprooted population, around which they could justify their current situation, and construct their refugee identity.

In October 1958, the ES launched the publication of a monthly bulletin, the *Mikrasiatiki Echo* (Asia Minor Echo), which served as the primary means of communication between its members, with news and information on activities related with the refugee world, as well as short studies and chronicles on the history and culture of Asia Minor. The bulletin is still being published today. From 1962, it also began publishing short historical and folk studies on Asia Minor.

In 1959, the ES founded an archive of the Asia Minor Greek-Orthodox Communities. This archive gathered information on their population, communal activities, and history, and would ideally develop into an 'Atlas' of Asia Minor Hellenism until 1922.[294] The ES' library was decided to be of exclusively Asia Minor content, accumulating books, journals, newspapers, manuscripts and studies on Asia Minor or of Asia Minor-originating authors. It also established collections of old photographs, cards and paintings of persons or landscapes of Asia Minor. Additionally, prominent ES members 'driven by feelings of nostalgia for their beloved homelands', while appreciating the role and activities of the ES, made a decision from the early years of ES to dispose some personal funds in awarding prizes to studies on Asia Minor.[295]

The ES was also one of the major supporters of the decision to dedicate the year 1962 to commemorating the disaster, and to declare it 'year of Hellenism of the East'. The completion of forty years from the disaster and the exodus of the Anatolian Greeks from their 'historic homelands' was deemed to be an appropriate occasion for commemorating the victims of that 'national tragedy'.[296]

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[294] Op. cit., 21.
[295] For details on awarded prizes, see Enosis Smyrneon 1968: 22-3.
[296] For a detailed account of the commemorative events in 1962, see Enosis Smyrneon 1968: 24, and *Mikrasiatika Chronika*, vol. 11, 1964.

Moreover, in the first thirty years of its existence, the ES organized various events, lectures, and gatherings.[297] It arranged for the transportation from Smyrna of the Bank safes that were spared from the 1922 fire and belonged to Greek Smyrniots; it initiated the establishment of an association of the Evangeliki Scholi graduates, while it launched an effort to retrieve and transfer the wooden temple of the Smyrniot church of Agios Ioannis to the church of Agia Fotini in Nea Smyrni, Athens. Nevertheless, the most important and consuming project of the ES was the publication of its periodical *Mikrasiatika Chronika*.

Mikrasiatika Chronika

On December 14, 1936, the ES board members L. Kyvetos, D. Ioakimides, Ch. Solominides, A. Anastasiades, G. Anastasiades, M. Rodas, and A. Papadopoulos met to discuss the proposal of A. Anastasiades on the urgent need to publish 'a serious periodical that would safeguard from oblivion the traits and attributes that once constituted the Greek civilization of Asia Minor'. After the introduction of the vice-president D. Ioakimides who set the agenda of the meeting, Anastasiades presented his proposal and read a draft declaration on the publication of the periodical. The proposal was accepted by all, along with Rodas' suggestion on the three-monthly basis of the publication, due to 'the gravitas of the undertaking'. They moreover decided to contact the ministry of Education, and the ministry of Administration of the Capital (Υπουργείο Διοικήσεως Πρωτευούσης).[298] Anastasiades insisted that since the undertaking would be of high cost and non-profit, the person that would get in charge of it should be 'capable and willing to collect the necessary funds'.[299] As such, he appointed Metropolitan Iakovos of Mytilene, extolling his personality. His nomination of Iakovos was accepted and he took on to find out whether the Metropolitan would be interested. The next meeting took place on December 21, 1936, and 66 persons were invited. They reached the conclusion that the publication of the journal was essential, while Anastasiades confirmed that Metropolitan Iakovos was willing to assume the supervision of the publication.[300]

Metropolitan Iakovos was also a refugee originating from Moschonisi. After graduating from the Chalki theological school, he had served as archdeacon in the See of Smyrna, and as a teacher at the Omirion, and Kentrikon Parthenagogion schools of the

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[297] For a detailed account on these events, see Enosis Smyrneon 1968: 27-31.
[298] The ministry of Administration of the Capital – Υπουργείο Διοικήσεως Πρωτευούσης – was an administrative institutional unit of Attica. It was abolished in 1941. See Ekdotiki Athinon 2008.
[299] PSES 1936-1940: 11, (14 December 1936).
[300] PSES 1936-1940: 12, (21 December 1936).

city. He then became a bishop, and assistant of the Smyrna Metropolitan Vasileios. After the disaster, he settled in Mytilene where he became a Metropolitan.[301]

The meeting of December 28, 1936, appointed a temporary committee that would plan and prepare the publication of the journal. The committee was formed by A. Anastasiades, K. Misailides, I. Sykoutris, A. Chamoudopoulos, and S. Sperantzas.[302] The program was presented at the general meeting of the ES on February 7, 1937, and was voted for with a few amendments.[303] It provided for the establishment of the department of Asia Minor studies, assigned with the preparation of the *MC* publication. The following meetings appointed the 25 members of the directing committee of the department,[304] the seven members of the administrative, the four members of the editing, as well as the four members of the archive committee.[305]

In an untitled text that introduced the first volume of 1938, Metropolitan Iakovos presented the objectives of the periodical. 'This work was undertaken by men who love their nation, and their homeland (φιλογενείς and φιλοπάτριδες), who did not want to let the multilateral and manifold civilization of Asia Minor pass into oblivion nor its history to be degraded with the passage of time'.[306] He moreover referred to the 'eagerness' and 'zeal' of the collaborators, the development of the Asia Minor archive, as well as to his personal participation. He finally pleaded for the contribution of all agents that could participate in this 'venerated' project.

Another article of the editorial committee concluded the first volume, entitled 'The work of the department for Asia Minor studies'. It enthusiastically welcomed the *MC*, arguing that 'it was about time' for the publication to come, and that it came later than undertakings of refugees from Pontus and Eastern Thrace – which suffered the same fate – and even of Thessalians and Cretans, the civilization of which was 'not endangered and continues developing under the safety provided by the common homeland'. 'Unfortunately', the article continued, 'this is not the case for the Asia Minor civilization, which belongs now to history since its 1922 violent interruption. For this reason most of its

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[301] Bougatsos 2002: 16.
[302] PSES 1936-1940: 13, (28 December 1936).
[303] Op. cit., 16, (7 February 1937).
[304] Op. cit., 18, (16 February 1937). These were: Metropolitan Iakovos of Mytilene, Archimandrite Kyrillos Psilas, Archimandrite Kyrillos Zachopoulos, Archimandrite Amfilochios Argiriadis, Antonios Athinogenes, Elias Altinoglous, Anastasios Anastasiades, Adamantios Diamantopoulos, Demetrios Ioakimides, Ioannis Iliades, Fotis Kontoglous, Leonidas Polidoros Kyvetos, Nestor Laskares, Kostas Misailides, Nikolaos Mpenakes, Sulvios Andreas Papadopoulos, Alexandros Petrides, Stilpon Pittakes, Michael Rodas, Stelios Seferiades, Thrasivoulos Stavrou, Ioannis Sykoutris, Georgios Schinas, Antonios Chamoudopoulos, Platon Chatzimichales.
[305] Anonymous 1938: 484. These were: Georgios K. Yperides, honorary president, Fotis Kontoglous, Ioannis Sykoutris, Emmanouil Farlekas.
[306] Metropolitan Iakovos 1938: 1.

elements are in danger of passing away along with the last of their carriers.'[307] The article concluded that the establishment of an organization that would collect and safeguard those endangered elements on which the history of Asia Minor Hellenism will be written in the future, is endowed with 'national' significance.

The full name of the ES periodical is: '*Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά – Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν – Εκδιδόμενον υπό του τμήματος Μικρασιατικών Μελετών της Ενώσεως Σμυρναίων – Τόμος... – Αθήναι 19...*' (*Mikrasiatika Chronika – Siggramma periodikon – ekdidomenon ipo tou tmimatos Mikrasiatikon Meleton tis Enoseos Smyrneon – tomos...- Athinai 19..*). Above the denotation '*Athinai*', there is an emblem drawn by Fotis Kontoglou – a great man of Modern Greek painting and letters, who was also a refugee from Aivali. This depicts a strapping girl, *Kori*, wearing a diadem designed like an acropolis – a typical pattern of the ancient Smyrna coins, aspiring to symbolically establish again continuity with the ancient Greek past.[308] After the title and the table of contents, there is a list of illustrations in every volume, except in the fourth and the eleventh volume where there are no illustrations. In the first volume, after the illustrations there is a 'list of collaborators' of the volume, something not repeated in the following ones. From the fifth volume on, after the 'Table of Contents' there is a record of the administrative board of ES and of the editing committee of the *MC*.[309] The first three pre-war volumes were published according to plan on an annual basis (1938, 1939, 1940). The fourth one however was not published until 1948, due to the financial problems related with the Axis occupation of the country. After 1948, the *MC* publication was not consistent, and the volumes 5 to 13 had between one and four years difference (1948, 1952, 1955, 1957, 1959, 1961, 1963, 1964, 1965 and 1967). Out of these, the eleventh one was a special edition, dedicated to the 'Year of Hellenism of the East' 1962, and a 'reverence tribute to the memory of the national hero Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Smyrna, and the myriads of martyr victims of the Asia Minor disaster' (Αφιέρωμα ευλαβείας εις μνήμην του Εθνομάρτυρος Χρυσοστόμου Μητροπολίτου Σμύρνης και των μυριάδων μαρτυρικών θυμάτων της Μικρασιατικής συμφοράς).

Furthermore, the published articles followed – and still do today– the thematic units set out in the first volume.[310] These were a) ancient, medieval, and modern Asia Minor geography and topography; b) historical ventures of the Asia Minor Greek cities and populations from antiquity until the population exchange; c) ancient, epigraphic, and

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[307] Anonymous 1938: 482.
[308] See Apendix VI.
[309] For a list of the 1936-64 committees, see Bougatsos 2002: 20-1.
[310] Anonymous 1938: 486.

religious monuments of Asia Minor Hellenism; d) the lives and ventures of prominent Asia Minor Greeks; and e) literary, cultural and scientific achievements of the Asia Minor Greeks from Homer until the contemporaries. Special attention was given to articles on the modern history and civilization – that was from the Turkish Ottoman conquest until today – which fell in the following categories: '1) ecclesiastical, administrative, communal, commercial, philanthropic, and social organization, 2) economic activities, 3) education (history and foundation of schools, biographies of teachers, etc.), 4) the contribution of the Asia Minor Greeks to the spiritual development of the nation in the liberated or the unredeemed homelands, or outside the national boundaries, 5) the historic and religious ventures of the Greeks under the Ottoman rule, *Tourkokratia*, their relations with the other nationalities, and their movements during that time (refugees, colonists, immigrants, etc.), 6) the compilation and classification of the linguistic and folk reserves of the Asia Minor Greeks (popular songs, traditions, fairy-tales, unpublished customs, glossaries and toponyms, etc.), 7) the publication or use of documents, archives, memoirs, oral testimonies, and any element that could shed light on the history of ordeals and pogroms against the Asia Minor Greeks from 1908 until 1922'.[311] This categorization of the themes was seen as part of the essential target of the *MC* 'to keep the intellectual tradition of the Asia Minor Hellenism alive and productive within the nation, as well as anything fine and profound it produced in its 3000 years of existence'.[312]

One of the primary concerns of the editorial committee was to inform the refugees and 'the rest fellow-nationals' of the difficulties of the publication, and to express their optimism on the expected support from them. Thus, a call was articulated in the press, among refugee priests (in order for them to distribute to their congregation), and in the first *MC* volume, titled '*Προς τους απανταχού Μικρασιάτας και λοιπούς ομογενείς*' (To the Asia Minor refugees and the rest fellow-nationals). This was a fervent and evoking article which referred to the Greek civilization 'in its first base' – Asia Minor – and the numerous evidences of its prominence: the working grounds of its social and spiritual life (churches, schools, hospitals, buildings of social organizations, and philanthropic institutions), as sources of glory and pride 'for the whole nation', and their final destruction. However, the call argued that 'the life of nations cannot be counted in years. People like the Greeks cannot be overturned by misfortunes: they get temporarily deformed only to re-emerge more thriving'. It thus concluded that those who suffered that tragic fate have a sacred duty 'towards cohesive and indivisible Hellenism' to put together all the constituent elements of

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[311] Op. cit., 486-7.
[312] Op. cit., 487.

that civilization, 'in order to salvage it from oblivion and hand it over to the next generation for the spiritual revival of the nation'.[313] So, this way the ES appealed to all refugees and native Greeks who possessed icons, manuscripts, articles on Asia Minor, or knew of legends, songs, traditions, fairy-tales, or had any information on the history of Asia Minor Hellenism, to hand it over to the committees of the ES. The gathered material would be published in the *MC*, or would constitute the basis for studies of Asia Minor scientists. They appealed to everyone to contribute according to their means: scholars through their work, illiterate people through oral testimonies, others by granting books, manuscripts, icons, and others the necessary funds.[314] The *MC* came as the outcome of the fruitful collaboration of people offering their knowledge, and others granting their funds. As a reward, the periodical acknowledged the donors and benefactors under the appropriate index, while the names of those writing articles were published along their work.

In the fifth volume of 1952, and on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the disaster, the ES deemed it appropriate to renew its request to the refugees and generally to any Greek 'who feels he has a duty towards unified and indivisible Hellenism'.[315] With an '*Ἔκκλησις προς τους απανταχού Μικρασιάτας και τους Πανέλληνας*' (Request to the Asia Minor refugees and the Pan-Hellenes), it called on all those who possessed historical and folk information of their place of origin or of any other Asia Minor area to share it with the department for Asia Minor studies. Through this call, the ES also asked for any pictures, icons, charts, documents and letters related to Asia Minor to be sent to ES, and for donations of books and newspapers for its library. The call finally stressed that all these objects constituted part of the 'great national heritage', while the total catastrophe of Asia Minor Hellenism endowed them with extraordinary gravitas. It also reminded the audience that with the passage of time those who could give first-hand information on the life of Asia Minor Hellenism gradually pass away, and called for everyone's contribution for the success of this endeavour.[316]

These communication attempts of the ES aimed to involve as many people as possible, by appealing to Greek consciousness and national feeling in order to become more widely appreciated, and mobilize more participants. A central idea underlying the articles was of the Greek national homogeneity and unity, with Asia Minor being a constitutive part of Greek national civilization, and hence of the Greek nation: the

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[313] Op. cit., 485.
[314] Op. cit., 486.
[315] Editorial Committee 1952: IX.
[316] Op. cit., IIX.

reference to Asia Minor as 'the first base' of Greek civilization, the listing of the 'evidences of its prominence' as 'sources of pride and glory for the whole nation', and part of the 'national heritage', the 'sacred duty' of those who survived 'towards cohesive and indivisible Hellenism', the 'national significance' of the *MC*, the reference to the Thessalian, Cretan, Pontic, and Asia Minor civilization as equally significant and constitutive parts of the national one – all these promoted the idea of Greek national uniformity that stretched also in Asia Minor. This way the ES articles conceptually reconstructed the 'Greekness' of Asia Minor, something that would also bolster the traumatized 'Greekness' of the refugees themselves.

In accordance with romantic nationalism, these ES articles called for a rediscovery and reconstruction of the Asia Minor past, by 'salvaging' it from oblivion. This was a yearning desire to re-enter into a living past and make it respond to their current needs. The attempt was to re-enact the peculiar atmosphere evoked by the traumatic experience of the Asia Minor disaster that set them apart in their own memories, and justifies the life-style they had adopted in response to it. For this romantic venture, they would make use of – and hence they pleaded for – anything that would help them systematize and 'verify' metaphors of that collective life, and construct images of the Asia Minor dramatic and inspiring past.[317]

Since every community experiences moments of decline and often subjugation, the reconstructions of the past must 'explain' the trajectory of growth, decline and the rebirth. The first task is to situate and describe the community as it was in its 'pure' or 'unmixed' state – in this case, as it was in Asia Minor before the disaster. Identification with an idealized past in Asia Minor would help them to transcend an unworthy and disfigured present. This 'Golden Age' of communal splendour in which the community achieved its classical form, and which bequeathed a legacy of glorious memories and cultural achievements (schools, institutions, monuments, etc.) is what they aspired to return to, by preserving it from oblivion and transmitting it to the younger generations. The actual chronological period corresponding to this blurry Asia Minor communal past is probably the period from mid-nineteenth century until 1922, when Greek communal life in Asia Minor flourished. Furthermore, by not distinguishing between the refugee and native youth leads to the assumption that the ES considered itself as an all-encompassing, national association that aspired to transmit the memories of the Asia Minor homelands to all the younger Greeks irrespectively of origin.

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[317] Smith 1986: 182.

Central to this view of the 'Golden Age' is the idea of linear development. Communities exist in nature and obey the same natural laws of birth, growth, maturation, decline, and rebirth. The development is linear rather than cyclical, because the period of decline is perceived as 'unnatural', a matter of 'betrayal' from within, or 'subjugation' and decay from without.[318] In the case of Smyrna, the disaster was regarded both as a betrayal from the Christian allies, and as a failure of the Greek state. The proclaimed target of the *MC* to 'salvage from oblivion the elements of the Asia Minor civilization' and to hand it over to the next generations 'for the spiritual revival of the nation', may be seen as part of an evolutionist historicism. In this view, the nation is born, flourishes, and fades like other organisms, and it may be reborn in its 'natural' habitat, under the right conditions. In following chapters, I will examine these reconstructions of the communal past, which often mix genuine scholarship with fantasy, and legend with objectively recorded data in the service of this ethic of national regeneration.

Summary

This chapter has presented the refugee association Enosis Smyrneon, and its periodical *Mikrasiatika Chronika*. It briefly elaborated on the historical background of the period under examination, that is from 1936 – the year of ES foundation – until 1967, and has looked at the ES foundation charters, and the four articles by which the ES articulated the establishment of the *MC*.

Dictatorship, wars, foreign occupation and control, fratricidal conflicts, and ideological clashes and redefinitions shaped the period 1936-64. Of particular importance for the thesis however is the transformation of Greek nationalism from the expansionist 'Great Idea' policy, to the danger 'from within' and the perceived threat from the northern Communist neighbors, as well as the shift from cultural to a more ethnic interpretation of the Greek nation.

ES was founded in the year of the Metaxas' coup by outstanding well-known Smyrniots who aspired to become important agents of the refugee community, and play a role in Greek cultural affairs. As seen from the first two foundation charters, ES was influenced by the contemporary ideological trends and social conditions, establishing a strong relationship with ancient Greek Ionian past, and de-associating its official stance from Communism. It organized the Smyrniot lobby developing manifold social activities

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[318] Op. cit., 191.

around its proclaimed objectives, while primarily focused on the study of Asia Minor history and culture by establishing the *MC*.

The *MC* has been of the most important and systematic refugee publications that set out to safeguard the traits and attributes of the Asia Minor Greek civilization. Its founders appealed from the beginning to Greek national sentiment in order to establish the periodical and broaden its appeal. Their first communicative attempts, as articulated in the first and the fifth volumes, developed the idea of Greek national uniformity and homogeneity with Asia Minor constituting an essential part of the national horizon, while their *parole* was influenced by the views of romanticism on the linear evolution and naturalness of the nation. Finally, the specification of thematic units and categories aimed to cover every single aspect of the Greek life in Asia Minor, with an emphasis on the years preceding the disaster – the 'Golden Age' of Asia Minor Hellenism – when Greek nationalism had penetrated the consciousness of the Asia Minor Greek Orthodox and had shed a national light on their worldview and perspectives. The following chapter focuses on these reconstructions of 'Greekness', and in particular, on the reconstructions of 'Greekness' of the city that became synonymous with the defeat and the loss – Smyrna.

CHAPTER IV

RECONSTRUCTING THE LOST HOMELAND: THE 'GREEKNESS' OF SMYRNA

T he aim of this chapter is to examine the conceptual reconstruction of the 'Greekness' of Smyrna through the *Mikrasiatika Chronika*. This will be done by a cross-article examination, focusing a) on the theme of Greek continuity in Smyrna from antiquity until 1922, b) on accounts of historical events that affected particularly its Greek Orthodox population, c) on memories of saintly, heroic, and famous Smyrniot ancestors, as well as on depictions of the lives and achievements of modern eminent Smyrniots, and d) on descriptions of symbolic monuments and sites, and of the natural features of Ionia.

By focusing on these four themes, the *MC* has attempted to re-establish and emphasize the bond of the Smyrniot community with its lost city that was broken with the 1922 exodus. The conceptual attempts to re-establish this bond have focused on the cultivation of an authentically Greek image and the reconstruction of every aspect of life in Smyrna, when Greeks lived there. Inaccessible and distant – both in geographical and historical terms – Smyrna has entered the sphere of memory, and has been idealized and romanticized, while the imagery that surfaced portrayed it as a purely Greek ancestral homeland. Such conceptual reconstructions of its past Greek life have been brought into the fore and articulated by the *MC* in many articles. After all, this was the prime objective of the periodical as stated in the first volume: 'to collect, and safeguard from oblivion all the elements that once constituted the Asia Minor Greek civilization'.[319]

Greek continuity in Smyrna

Continuity in time and over space is something that all modern nationalisms strive to instil in order to 'prove' and 'verify' the ownership of a particular territory by an ethnic group. However, there are very few examples – if there are any at all – where a given ethnic group may actually prove direct and undisrupted continuity in a territory for a very long period in

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[319] Anonymous 1938: 485.

the flow of history. One may argue that continuity is an important element of the myth of spatial origins,[320] since space is a necessary dimension for a self-definition framework, and assumes special importance where claims to territory are being forwarded and contested. At this point, historicism furnishes nationalist ideology with 'evidence' from archaeology, linguistics, history, and anthropology – more than often selectively interpreted – in a struggle to demonstrate ownership of the territory in question. Spatial origins legitimate control over land, and assume an important role in controlling change by locating it in a distinctive area. No matter how drastic the change may be, it is always associated to a specific territory, a place that functions as a point of reference for the historical development, in a way that uprooted individuals are 'restored', if not physically at least symbolically, to 'their' homeland.[321] Once constructed, the homeland helps to define the nation, by delineating its boundaries and providing its 'home'.

Smith argues that continuity between the present and a past or pasts can be achieved in two ways. The first way is through an evolutionary sequence, which posits the gradual development of the community from rudimentary beginnings to the peak of its cultural expression in one or more ages of heroism and creativity. A decline or catastrophe usually follows from which its self-aware members strive to rescue and re-establish the community as a political nation.[322] Thus, earlier ages are related to later ones as in a series of levels, with the former setting limits to the latter. Links between them are set in the form of shared habitats, names, language codes, symbols, and in the 'layering' of their historical periods. According to Smith, the second way to achieve continuity is by advancing the idea of an identity beneath the flow of historical change. An eternal core remains underneath the developments and different historical periods of the community that provides the ground on and over which history is written.[323]

In the case studied in this thesis, I argue that there has been a combination of the two ways. The *MC* in its endeavour to establish Greek continuity in Smyrna has strove exactly to rediscover and link the layers of the city's Greek history by demonstrating that an eternal Greek core had always been there, unaffected by historical flow. The sense of continuity induces a particular veneration, where the particular landscape is revered as an 'ancestral homeland', turning into an essential part of the character, history, and destiny of the community. In cultivating this sense of Greek continuity in Smyrna, the *MC* attempted

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[320] Smith 1986: 192.
[321] Smith 1999: 64.
[322] Smith 2003: 212.
[323] Op. cit. 213.

to 'verify' that until 1922 the 'title-deeds' of the city belonged historically to the Greeks, primarily because they had lived there continuously since antiquity.

A. N. Diamantopoulos, one of the founders of ES, introduced the first *MC* volume of 1938, with an article titled '*Ο Εν Μικρά Ασία Ελληνικός Πολιτισμός*' (The Greek Civilization of Asia Minor). This was an attempt to review and evaluate the ventures of Hellenism in Asia Minor, the background of its civilizing achievements and that of its final and 'tragic' downfall.[324] In exploring the Greek civilization of Asia Minor, he attempted to reinforce the idea of Greek continuity in the area, and especially in Smyrna since antiquity. At the beginning of his article, he discussed the implications of the exodus of the Greeks from Asia Minor, where they lived 'for almost three millennia', for Greece and Turkey. He then referred to the autochthonous populations of Anatolia during the archaic period (Assyrians, Hittites), the culture of which vanished, arguing that 'the Greek race was the one connected with Asia Minor the longest, and established there a fine and excellent civilization that overshadowed all the preceding ones', and depicted the first ancient Greek tribes that settled in the region – the Achaeans, Ionians, Aeolians, and the Dorians – and their achievements, movements and wars since the eleventh century BC. An interesting point in his account was his assumption that the enslavement of the Asia Minor Greeks by the Lydians, and the Persians in the sixth century BC, did not affect their 'national' life, and further on, that the ultimate goal of the Athenian alliance against the Persians – of which the Asia Minor Greek cities were members – was the creation of a Greek 'nation'. 'Unfortunately', he concluded, 'the idea of a unified nation had grown only among a few politicians, and despite the common consciousness of racial homogeneity, localism prevailed in the national forces and led to a civil war during 431-404 BC'.[325]

At this point, and by using modern nationalist terms – 'έθνος'/'nation' and 'εθνικός'/'national'– to describe the status and affiliation of the Greeks in antiquity, Diamantopoulos adopted a perennialist reading and understanding of the Greek nation. As discussed in chapter one, perennialism holds nations as historic entities that have developed over the centuries with their intrinsic characteristics largely unchanged, while it supports that they have existed since time immemorial. Thus, Diamantopoulos argued that the Greeks actually constituted a nation since antiquity, but this was not completed with a unitary administration, because 'localism' had prevented their unity. In this part, Diamantopoulos used modern terms but out of context, since the ancient Greeks were not

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[324] Diamantopoulos 1938: 3.
[325] Op. cit. 13.

even near the modern sense of the term nation.[326] Unity in ancient Greece was more cultural than political, and one could argue that the ancient Greeks constituted an ethnic community (or ethnie, or ethnicity) but not a nation. An ethnic community is 'a named human population with shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity'.[327] A nation on the other hand is 'a named human population occupying a historic territory and sharing common myths and memories, a public culture, and common laws and customs for all members'.[328] Nations are products of modernity, intrinsically interwoven with the rise of capitalism and of the modern industrial and bureaucratic state. By using these modern terms, Diamantopoulos asserted that the Greeks had constituted a nation since antiquity, while attempting to establish their continuity in time and space as a distinctive collectivity.

Diamantopoulos argued that the roots of Greek civilization were set in Asia Minor, providing 'evidence' from archaeology and history, and that from the fifth century BC it was transmitted to Athens where it reached its peak. He discussed Christianity in Asia Minor, the Roman conquest, the Byzantine period, the crusades, the Ottoman conquest, and finally the period from the 1821 Greek revolution until the disaster of 1922. He also pointed at the foreigners' view of the Greeks as the longest established of the Asia Minor inhabitants, 'as they truly were'. He finally concluded that Asia Minor was not a Greek 'colony', as some were claiming, but a Greek land for three thousand years, 'as it was populated by Greeks, it was totally Hellenized, it lived for many centuries under the Greek-Orthodox civilization, and it constituted an essential part of the Byzantine Empire for one thousand years'.[329]

In the same volume, in an article titled '*Ο Σμύρνης Πολύκαρπος*' (Polykarpos of Smyrna), D. S. Mpalanos, accounted for the life and martyrdom of St. Polykarpos (55-156 AC) – the first bishop of Smyrna.[330] His final conclusion was that Polykarpos, following the example set by Jesus, sacrificed himself for his people, and set an excellent example for his successors 'who all set their flock above their lives, until the last Church Prelate of Smyrna'. This way Mpalanos drew a line linking the first and last Church Prelates of Smyrna, Polykarpos and Chrysostomos, based on their martyrdom as a means of establishing continuity of the Greeks in Smyrna on a religious level.

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[326] Lekkas 1996: chapter 2,
[327] Smith 1986: 32.
[328] Smith 2003: 24.
[329] Diamantopoulos 1938: 33.
[330] Mpalanos 1938: 58-62.

In the first volume of 1938, in his article '*Το Ομήρειο Παρθεναγωγείο Σμύρνης*' (The Homereion Girls' School of Smyrna), A. I. Athinogenes described the history of the '*Omirion*' school of Smyrna, arguing that Hellenism 'was established in Turkey for centuries'.[331] In the same volume, in his article '*Η Κοινωνία της Σμύρνης Προ Εβδομήκοντα Ετών*' (The Society of Smyrna Seventy Years Ago), G. K. Yperides depicted the Smyrniot society seventy years ago citing the conclusion of Michaud – a member of the French Academy, and author of 'the history of the crusades' who had travelled to Smyrna in that period – that the Smyrniots, despite their ventures, 'were the same with the inhabitants of ancient Ionia'.[332]

In the second volume of 1939, with his article '*Η Φυλετική Εξέλιξις Εν Μικρά Ασία*' (The Racial Evolution in Asia Minor),[333] I. Georgiou challenged the Turkish nationalist claims that the ancient autochthonous Asia Minor tribes – Phrygians, Lydians, Lycians, Karians, Hittites – were of Turanian origin, and thus closer to the modern Turks. Turkish nationalists insisted that those Turanic tribes were Hellenized during the Macedonian conquest and Christianized in the Roman and Byzantine period, while, they accepted the Seljuk Turks in the eleventh century AC as 'of the same race' (ομοφύλους). Georgiou argued that these claims had no historical basis, since there was no evidence of that. On the contrary, he provided 'evidence' for the proximity of these tribes to the Greek ones and their final assimilation by the 'superior' Greek civilization. For the Phrygians, he attempted to demonstrate that they were contemporaries, and 'of the same blood' (όμαιμοι) with the Greek Pelasgians, since their religious traditions were similar, while they had common names for rivers, cities and mountains (e.g., Mt. Olympus in Bithynia and Macedonia, Mt. Idi in Asia Minor and Crete, etc.). The Hittites on the other hand, according to Georgiou, were the same with the Cypriot Kitioi (Κίτιοι), who were mentioned in the book of Genesis as descendants of Javan.[334] He further accounted for the Hellenization of Asia Minor in the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, and finally its 'Islamization', and Turkification in the Ottoman period. By challenging the Turkish claims on the 'Turkishness' of Asia Minor, Georgiou emphasized its 'Greekness' since pre-historic times, while reconstructing and appropriating as 'national' the ancient Greek past of the region.

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[331] Athinogenes 1938: 138.
[332] Yperides 1938: 180.
[333] Georgiou 1939: 63-91.
[334] In the book of Genesis 10:4, the Kittim were mentioned as descendants of Javan. The ancient Cypriot city of Kition, was also known as Kittim before the arrival of Achaean Greeks. The assertions on the relevance of the Hittites with the Greeks of Kition are of the author.

In the second volume of 1939, in his article '*Σελίδες από την Πνευματική Ιστορία της Σμύρνης*' (Pages from the Literary Life of Smyrna),[335] G. Valetas accounted for the intellectual history of Smyrna, citing a speech of A. Kalligas from 1871. Kalligas was a doctor and member of the Smyrniot literature association '*Αναγνωστήριον η Σμύρνη*' (Reading Room 'Smyrna'). Kalligas addressed the Smyrniots as 'pure descendants' of those ancestors who developed poetry, philosophy and history in ancient Ionia, calling for their contribution to the development of education in contemporary Smyrna. Valetas parallelized Kalligas' fervent speech with that of Pericles about the ancient '*Ἄστυ*' (city). It was another attempt to underline the continuity of Hellenism in Smyrna since antiquity, by linking the ancient with modern Smyrniots, this time on an cultural level.

In the third volume of 1940, in his article '*Ο Κλήδονας*' (Kledonas), S. Papadopoulos described a Smyrniot custom, according to which on the eve of June 24 – the Christian Orthodox St. John's day – the Smyrniots used to set fires on the streets and squares of the city and dance around them. Papadopoulos connected this tradition with the ancient Greek ritual of '*Ὄσσα*' (Ossa – described by Homer), and argued that it was also preserved in Byzantium, citing the historians Zonaras, Aristinos, and Theodoritos.[336] He moreover insisted that this custom was associated specifically with ancient Smyrna, where there was an '*Ιερό των Κληδόνων*', citing Pausanias and Aristides, and reached the conclusion that, despite the wars, earthquakes, and various events in the city, the custom of '*Κλήδονας*' survived through its people. By describing this custom and its persistence through the ages since Homeric times, Sulvios implied the persistence and continuity of the Greeks in Smyrna, providing 'evidence' from the folk reserves of the Smyrniots.

In the same volume of 1940, with his article '*Ο Πανιώνιος Γυμναστικός Σύλλογος Σμύρνης*' (The Panionios Gymnastics association of Smyrna), N. Lorentes provided a review of the athletic association 'Panionios' in Smyrna, where it was founded in 1890. He argued that 'Panionios' aspired to revive the ancient athletic games '*Πανιώνιοι*', in which all the ancient Ionian cities participated, and for this reason it promoted the foundation of athletic unions in other Asia Minor cities (e.g., 'Sipilos' in Magnisia, 'Eolikos' in Kidonies, and 'Ionikos Asteras' in Sokia).[337] The first modern '*Πανιώνιοι*' games took place in 1896 in Smyrna, which lies close to ancient Mykale that hosted the ancient games. The organization of those games that were given the same name with the ancient ones – 'Panionii' – was another attempt to establish continuity with the ancient Ionians, by way of

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[335] Valetas 1939: 199-262.
[336] Papadopoulos 1940: 391.
[337] Lorentes 1940: 413.

're-enacting' or 'reviving' the ancient sports spirit, while in fact constructing the notion of Greek continuity in the area.

In the fourth volume of 1948, in his article '*Λαϊκά Τραγούδια και Χοροί της Σμύρνης*' (Popular Songs and Dances of Smyrna), L. Karakasis presented a collection of popular songs that he believed to be of authentic Smyrniot origin. His attempt was to 'safeguard from oblivion' the Smyrniot musical tradition which, he argued, was based on the ancient Ionian melody – the '*Ιαστί Αρμονία*' (Ionic Harmony).[338] To support this claim, he cited descriptions of the ancient melody by Athineos as *ανειμένον* (smooth and indolent), 'just like the Tabachaniotikos amanes and Tzivaeri' melodies of Smyrna. This way, the author attempted to demonstrate the Greek continuity in the city by connecting contemporary Smyrniot melodies with the ancient Ionian '*Ιαστί Αρμονία*' melody.

In the fifth volume of 1952, in his article '*Δημήτριος Μαυροφρύδης*', S. Sperantsas accounted for the life and achievements of the linguist Demetrios Mavrofrydes. Mavrofrydes originated from Kappadocia but lived most of his life in Smyrna. His most important work was the '*Δοκίμιον της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας*' (Essay on Greek Language), that dealt with the unity of Greek language from antiquity until the modern times. It was published in Smyrna in 1871, posthumously, by the printing office 'Amalthia', and was devoted to the King of Greece George I. Mavrofrydes argued that Modern Greek had been one of the many phases of the ancient Greek language, and constituted the ultimate proof that the modern Greeks were pure descendants of the ancient Hellenes.[339] Sperantzas by presenting Mavrofrydes' positions and arguments on the continuity of the Greek language – and consequently of the Greeks themselves – attempted to 'verify' Greek continuity in Smyrna, this time based on linguistic 'evidence'.

In the sixth volume of 1955, in his article '*Η Εκπαιδευτική Πολιτική της Ελλάδος εις την Εντός της Ζώνης των Σεβρών Μικρασιατική Περιοχή*' (The Educational Policy of Greece in the Asia Minor Sèvres Zone), M. Michaelides-Nouaros set out to analyze the Greek educational policy in the Asia Minor Greek-occupied area in 1919-1922. After the introduction, he cited a memorandum written by himself in 1920 when he was serving as a general inspector of education in Smyrna and was addressed to the High Commissioner of Smyrna. In this memorandum, he had developed some ideas on educational issues in Smyrna and its area, and had concluded that the people considered education to be very significant, 'because it was through education that they had preserved their nationality, their religion, and their language during the years of slavery, while they counted on

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[338] Karakasis 1948: 301.
[339] Sperantzas 1952: 48.

education to develop a new Greek civilization, equal to their ancient one'.[340] In appropriating the ancient Greek civilization in this context, the author aspired to demonstrate the continuity of the modern Ionians with the ancients. Since their new civilization would be equal to 'their' ancient one, they were pictured as the pure and only heirs and carriers of the glorious Ionian past.

In the seventh volume of 1957, in his article titled '*Ο Τελευταίος Τύπος Αστικού Σπιτιού Σμύρνης*' (The Last Type of Urban Housing in Smyrna), Filippos Falbos argued that during the last one hundred years before 1922, the city had reached the peak of its development, in its 3000 year-long history 'despite the fact that it was enslaved'.[341] With this, the author made clear that he believed the Ottoman period to be 'unnatural' to the city since he considered it 'enslavement', while taking for granted that the 3000 years of its history were of exclusive Greek presence. Nevertheless, he located the peak of its development exactly in this estranged and 'dark' period of Ottoman 'slavery', pointing to the Greek continuity of the city also during the Ottoman period. This paradox demonstrates a shift in the perceptions of the Ottoman past after the disaster. The period of '*Τουρκοκρατία*' has been projected as 'dark' and of extreme oppression by the Ottoman authorities, when in fact, it was the rather liberal policies of the Sultan and the Ottoman Empire that allowed the Greek Orthodox communities of Asia Minor to survive, sustaining their religion, language, and ethnic consciousness, while also flourishing economically in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In the eighth volume of 1959, Falbos published another article titled '*Ο Φραγκομαχαλάς της Σμύρνης και τα Φραγκοχιώτικα Βιβλία*' (The French Quarter of Smyrna and the French-Chiotan Books), where he accounted for the European quarter of Smyrna and a series of books written in Greek, with Latin characters. Introducing the article, he stated that 'it is a study on the memory of a Greek era and the history of a city, the Greek life of which was abruptly interrupted in 1922'.[342] Further on, he argued that 'Smyrna, which was wiped out in the 1922 fire, has nothing today to remind of the glorious Greek city […] it was never Turkish before 1922, but it became so only after 1922, when they managed to change its soul'. His article was an endeavour 'to re-enact and preserve that happy life […] motivated by the debt to our history of national continuity'. Here the author considered Smyrna to have been purely Greek, developing again the idea of Greek continuity throughout the centuries and up until 1922.

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[340] Michaelides-Nouaros 1955: 21.
[341] Falbos 1957: 162.
[342] Falbos 1959: 173.

In the ninth volume of 1961, K. S. Papadopoulos published '*Ειδήσεις περί της Κοινότητος και της Δημογεροντίας Σμύρνης προ της Επαναστάσεως του 1821 και η τότε κατά Τόπους Ανάπτυξις του Κοινοτισμού και η Χειραφέτησις αυτού από της Εκκλησίας*' (News on the Community and Council of Elders of Smyrna before the 1821 Revolution and the Development of the Greek Communities and their independence from the Church). In this article, Papadopoulos argued that the Asia Minor Greek communities pre-existed the Ottoman conquest, and even the Byzantine era, and they originated from the ancient Greek city-states.[343] By supporting this view on the ancient Greek origin of the administration system of the Anatolian Greek communities, the author assumed their continuity in Smyrna and its area this time on an institutional/administrative level.

Finally, the eleventh volume of 1964, included a commemoration speech of Christos Solomonides' titled '*Μνήμη Σμύρνης*' (Memory of Smyrna) that was delivered at the 'Parnassos' literary association on October 11, 1962, on the occasion of the forty years of the disaster. Solomonides began his speech by describing customs of the ancient Ionians, citing parts from Homer's Iliad on the Ionians, as well as the names of great Ionian men like Heraclitus, Parhasius, Apelles, Thales, Herodotus, etc.[344] This way he aspired to establish a bond between the ancient and the modern Ionians that would demonstrate Greek continuity in Smyrna since antiquity. The following section analyses how depictions of historical events are mobilized by the *MC* in order to further bind the refugees with their lost homelands.

Historical events

Another way the *MC* reconstructed the 'Greekness' of Smyrna was by depicting the historical events that affected its Greek Orthodox population. Smyrna and Ionia were felt over time to have provided the unique setting for the events that shaped the Greek Orthodox community and its collective consciousness as such. The misfortunes and exploits in which they participated took place in that particular setting, and the features of that setting became a part of those experiences and the collective memories to which they gave rise.

These historical accounts are part of what Smith terms 'ethno-history', which is defined as 'the ethnic members' memories and understanding of their communal past or

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[343] Papadopoulos 1961: 1.
[344] Solomonides 1964: 145.

pasts, rather than any objective and dispassionate analysis by professional historians'.[345] It is not history as a professional and institutionalized enquiry into those events that this section examines, but the selective, shared memories of successive generations of the members of the Smyrniot Greek Orthodox community, and the ways in which they represented and handed down the tales of their past in the *MC*. In this venture, the ES was incessantly engaged in the consolidation and transmission of the communal traditions, as well as their reinterpretation and reconstruction, while the ethnic past that was reinterpreted and reconstructed was at the same time a usable and a sacred past.[346] Usable because it represented cultural resources which may be employed for many present purposes and in different ways – for status and power, legitimation, mobilization, or as title deeds – and sacred as some of these pasts were objects of awe and reverence.[347] Examples of such usage of the past follow in this chapter.

In the first volume of 1938, in his article '*Η Σμύρνη κατά την Επανάστασιν του 1821*' (Smyrna during the 1821 Revolution), S. Seferiades accounted for the atrocities against the Greeks of Smyrna during the Greek revolution of 1821. He argued that the city and its inhabitants had suffered massacres, fires, and other acts of cruelty by way of Turkish reprisals against the Greek rebellion.[348] This way Seferiades reconstructed the 'Greekness' of Smyrna, as he created the impression that the Turks would not have gone against Smyrna if it had not been preponderantly Greek.

In the same volume, in his article '*Η Συμβολή των Μικρασιατών εις την Εθνικήν Αναγέννησιν*' (The Contribution of Asia Minor Greeks to National Rebirth), G. I. Anastasiades praised the involvement of the Smyrniots to the 1821 revolution. Based on 'evidence' from the General State Archives,[349] he accounted for the Smyrniot involvement in the 'national' resurrection. He argued that Smyrna was the centre of '*Φιλική Εταιρεία*' members from Kidonies, Samos, and Patmos, citing a letter of Alexandros Ypsilantes (a prince and deputy to the Tsar who led the '*Φιλική Εταιρεία*' from 1820), to Michael Naftis (a doctor, and prominent Smyrniot figure who was among the first Smyrniots to join the '*Φιλική Εταιρεία*'). The letter supposedly indicated that Smyrna was the centre of '*Φιλική Εταιρεία*' in the area, while the quotation actually says '[…] you have been appointed a

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[345] Op. cit. 16.
[346] Smith 2003: 169. For the distinction between professional history and ethno-history, see Smith 2003: 169-170.
[347] Op. cit. 171.
[348] Seferiades 1938: 56.
[349] The major sources he cites are: I. Filimonos, *Dokimion peri tis Ellinikis Epanastaseos*, Vol. I, and Eleftheroudakis, *Egkiklopedikon Leksikon*, Vol. XI.

member of the Smyrna board'.[350] In the first footnote of the article, in order to demonstrate that 'Smyrna was famous all over Greece', he provided a story of an icon of Holy Mary, supposedly made by a Smyrniot woman and donated to the Ayia Lavra monastery, which he claimed was the one Paleon Patron Germanos (a key figure in the Greek Revolution) lifted to signal the insurgency on March 25, 1821. This is something that we know it did not happen, as historical sources place Germanos elsewhere on that date; this has been one of the Greek national myths about the 1821 revolution. To further support his claim on the Smyrniot involvement in the revolution, Anastasiades argued that the first ship with ammunitions in support of the Mani rebels came from Smyrna, that the first and only woman in the '*Φιλική Εταιρεία*' was a Smyrniot – named Kiriaki Nafti – and that the printing machine used by the first Greek government to publish its statements was brought from Kidonies in Asia Minor. He moreover listed the names of the Smyrniot members of the '*Φιλική Εταιρεία*', and cited documents from the Greek State archives on the composition and battles of the '*Ιωνική Φάλαγγα'* (Ionian Battalion) – an army corps constituted by Asia Minor Greeks in support of the Greek revolution. Extolling the contribution of the Smyrniots in the war, Anastasiades assumed at the same time the Greekness of Smyrna, for it would not have contributed to the national 'cause' if it did not consider itself as part of the nation.[351]

In the first volume of 1938, I. Papayiannopoulos published an article titled '*To Ρεμπελιό της Σμύρνης του 1797*' (The Rebellion of Smyrna in 1797). This was based on a collection of sources from K. Oikonomos, I. Filimon, Dzevzet Pasha, Zinkeisen, N. Nifakos, a French eye witness named Tricon, an anonymous author, and from a manuscript of a verse found in Kozani, Greece, on the Smyrna uprising of 1797. According to these sources, in March 1797 a Greek with Venetian citizenship from the island of Zakynthos (the Ionian islands were under Venetian rule at the time, and their population had Venetian citizenship) murdered a Janissary, and, as the Venetian consul refused to turn him in to the Ottomans, the Janissaries attacked the Greek Orthodox population, and set fire to the Greek quarters of the city. The unrest ended a couple of days later with the intervention of the Ottoman army after European protests to the Porte. This documented account aimed to incorporate the dramatic (for the Smyrniots) event of 1797 in their collective memory of suffering, in order to emphasize and reconstruct the Greek dramatic past of their lost homeland.

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[350] Anastasiades 1938: 117.
[351] The author published another article with the same title in the 1940 volume, in which he cited the names of the Smyrniot and Asia Minor Greeks who were accorded medals of honour after the end of the revolution, which he retrieved from the State Archives.

In the second volume of 1939, in his article titled '*Τα Προνόμια και η Ελληνική Ορθόδοξη Κοινότης Σμύρνης*' (Privileges and the Greek Orthodox Community of Smyrna), L. Filippides outlined the privileges of the Greek Orthodox community of Smyrna.[352] In his delineation of the historical course of Greek Orthodox communal development in Smyrna, he described some events that he considered significant to the evolution of the community as an administrative institution. He described the invasion and sacking of Smyrna by Cardinal Caraffa – who was sent by the Pope to supposedly help the Christians – between 1472 and 1475, then the city's burning by the Venetian Pietro Mocenigo, and argued that for the next century and a half the city and its Greek population were devastated by Turkish pogroms.[353]

In the fourth volume of 1948, in his article titled '*Η Συμβολή της Σμύρνης υπέρ του Πατριαρχείου Ιεροσολύμων*' (The Contribution of Smyrna to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem), A. Athinogenes praised the contribution of the Smyrniots to the 'national rights of Hellenism'. According to him, in 1909 the Arab-speaking Orthodox Christians of Jerusalem, under the guidance of the Young Turks, were about to attempt a coup against the Greek Patriarch in order to get in charge of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and all its property. In light of this, two priests from Palestine fled to Greece in pursuit of assistance against the forthcoming upheaval. The Greek state, however, was not in a position to help them, since its relations with the Ottoman Empire and the Young Turks were already deteriorating due to the Cretan insurgencies of the time. The priests then, on their way to Constantinople stopped in Smyrna, where they pleaded for assistance to the Greek Orthodox of the city. At this point, Athinogenes accounted three more occasions where the Smyrniot Greek Orthodox had assumed action in order to 'defend the national and religious rights of the enslaved nation';[354] the first was in 1890, when the Sultan attempted to restrict the privileges of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the second in 1902, and the reason was the illegal arrest and imprisonment of the Greek Consul in Smyrna, and the third time was in 1908 when the Young Turks rejected the candidacy for the parliamentary elections of a Cappadocian originating professor of the Athens university. 'In all three crucial occasions', the author concluded, 'the numerous people of Smyrna and of the surrounding towns and villages, with their moral and material strength, imposed satisfying

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[352] These privileges were associated with the administration of the Ottoman Empire, and included: the right of the Christians to elect the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople as the leader of their Millet administration unit; the right of the Christians to organize their local administration through the institutions of Communities (Κοινότητες), and the Councils of Elders (Δημογεροντίες); the right of the Christians to a separate judicial system. All these privileges were catalytic for the preservation of the Christian faith and the ethnic consciousness of the Greek Orthodox during the Ottoman period. See Anagnostopoulou 1997.
[353] Filippides 1939: 114.
[354] Athinogenes, 1948: 22.

for the nation solutions' ('Και εις τας τρείς ταύτας κρισίμους στιγμάς ο πολυάριθμος κόσμος των εν Σμύρνη και τοις πέριξ πόλεσι και χωρίοις [...] επέβαλλε δια τε της ηθικής και της υλικής δυνάμεώς του τας εθνικώς ικανοποιητικάς λύσεις').[355] The request of the Palestinian priests was enthusiastically accepted by the dignitaries and Church Prelates of Smyrna who organized a mission and recruited 300 men, giving priority to those 'who had already served the national cause in Macedonia'.[356] The Smyrniots went to Jerusalem as pilgrims, and their presence discouraged the Arab-speaking Orthodox from attempting any move against the *status quo* of the Patriarchate (though Athinogenes does not disclose how this happened). Seven weeks later, and when the crisis was over, the Smyrniots returned home. The author considered this event of greatest importance for the Smyrniots, who assumed action on behalf of the whole nation, and even of the weak Greek state, in order to preserve what was perceived as 'national rights' in Jerusalem. Thus, the Smyrna that came to represent and act on behalf of 'the whole nation' was effectively reconstructed as 'Greek', for it would not have got involved in this case otherwise.

In the fifth volume of 1952, in his article '*Οι Σεισμοί της Σμύρνης*' (The Earthquakes of Smyrna), Ch. Solomonides recounted the recorded earthquakes that struck Smyrna in 178 AC, 1048, 1664, 1688, 1739, 1778, 1846, and 1880. These earthquakes devastated the city, destroyed some of its most renowned buildings, and claimed thousands of lives. The author, by accounting for the major buildings and the eminent persons who died in these calamities, aimed to invoke collective Smyrniot memory and stress the city's Greek character. In his conclusion, he compared the 1922 catastrophe to a 'national earthquake', which did not allow the Smyrniots to rebuild their city, 'as they always did before'.[357]

In the sixth volume of 1955, in his article '*Ο Ελληνοτουρκικός Πόλεμος του 1897 στη Σμύρνη*' (The Greco-Turkish war of 1897 in Smyrna), A. Stavritses examined the impact of the 1897 Greco-Turkish war on Smyrna. The author provided a glimpse of the atmosphere of fear in the city in the outbreak of the conflict, especially after the deportation of Greek citizens. Although no major hostilities occurred in Smyrna, Stavritses argued that the Greek defeat desolated and dispirited the Smyrniots, who 'were crying and mourning for the national disaster'.[358] However, despite the military defeat Greece secured autonomy for Crete and this was characterized as a 'victorious defeat' (νικηφόρος ήττα), generating feelings of triumph and national pride. These feelings were also expressed by

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[355] Athinogenes 1948: 22.
[356] Op. cit. 25.
[357] Solomonides 1952: 245.
[358] Stavritses 1955: 193.

the Smyrniots according to Stavritses, who 'enthusiastically celebrated the national triumph […] and forgot the previous misfortunes'. With this account the author attempted to demonstrate that the Smyrniots partook – at least emotionally – in every adventure of the Greek state, and vividly expressed their Greek national sentiments; they were thus incorporated in the Greek imagined community, while their city was reconstructed as a Greek land through partaking in the national undertakings.

In the seventh volume of 1957, Stavritses published another article, titled '*Η Καταστροφή της Σμύρνης και το Μαρτύριο του Χρυσοστόμου από Γαλλικής Σκοπιάς*' (The Smyrna Disaster and the Martyrdom of Chrysostomos from a French Viewpoint). This was a portrayal of the French view on the Smyrna disaster and the martyrdom of Metropolitan Chrysostomos. In accounting for the coverage of the event by the French press, he argued that only a couple of newspapers held a pro-Greek stance and condemned the Turkish brutality, while the rest were indifferent towards the Greek tragedy and had created the impression that the Greeks had burnt Smyrna since 'as the city was in Turkey, they thought that it was also a Turkish city that the Greeks burnt in their retreat'.[359] He further provided an account of a session of the French parliament on October 14/27, 1922, in which the issue of Smyrna was discussed. He focused on the speech of Edouard Soulier, a pastor and member of the French Assembly, who insisted that the Turks had burnt the city, providing detailed accounts of eye-witnesses. Soulier further depicted the martyrdom of Metropolitan Chrysostomos based on reports of the French consul in Smyrna and of French soldiers, and argued that the deportation of the 230,000 Christians of the city was a disaster for Christianity 'which had flourished there for 1850 years'. In presenting the view of Soulier, Stavritses attempted to provide a third-party, and thus more objective account of the 1922 events in Smyrna. His choice of the Philhellene Soulier however was indicative of his bias to recount the events from a Greek perspective in order to assume the Greek character of Smyrna.

In the eighth volume of 1959, Th. Mpenakes published an article titled '*Η Σμύρνη κατά τον Πρώτον Ευρωπαϊκόν Πόλεμον (1914-1918)*' (Smyrna during the World War I, 1914-1918). This was based on information from his father's – Alexandros Mpenakes – personal notes on the situation in Smyrna during the First World War. The author described the sporadic bombing of the city by the Allied forces during the War, the enthusiasm of its Greek population and their hopes for liberation from the Turks, as well as the Turkish retaliations against them. He finally depicted the announcement of the end of

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[359] Stavritses 1957: 350.

the war and the truce, and the Greek celebrations as they believed this would bring the end of Turkish rule – something that again initiated Turkish intimidation. In accounting for the events in Smyrna during the First World War, Mpenakes attempted to express the national sentiment of its Greek population that considered the city to be under alien oppression and perceived the war as an opportunity for liberation. He thus created the presumption that the city was predominantly Greek, successfully re-enacting on an imaginary level its Greek character.

In the ninth volume of 1961, in his article titled '*Ιστορίας Επανάληψις*' (Repetition of History), G. Anastasiades supported the view that 'nothing is new under the sun' and recounted the expulsions of Greek populations from Asia Minor and especially from Smyrna during the Greek War of Independence. Based on documents that he retrieved from the Greek State Archives, he argued that Smyrna paid a high price during the revolution, with the Turks retaliating against the Greek population, something that caused a significant refugee flow towards Greece. To support this, he cited a list with the names of 87 refugees that had fled to the city of Nafplio in August 1825, 46 out of whom were Smyrniots.[360] Anastasiades further accounted for the ventures of refugee populations from Aivali and Smyrna on the islands of Aegina, Poros, Syros, and Mykonos. Again in this article, the author attempted to demonstrate the common suffering of Greek populations as a result of the 1821 revolution. Greek Orthodox Asia Minor populations were incorporated in the Greek national community exactly because they had also paid in human suffering for the 'national cause' – that was independence. This way, those populations' homelands and particularly Smyrna were appropriated and conceptually reconstructed as Greek homelands.

Remarkably, there was no detailed account of the 1922 events in Smyrna presented in the *MC* until 1964, when a speech of Christos Solomonides that was delivered in 1962, was published. This could be explained by the fact that the disaster was such a traumatic experience, that the collective consciousness was initially unable to digest it. It thus required a period of latency before it could be remembered, worked through and spoken out. In his speech '*Mnimi Smirnis*', Solomonides passionately described two events of utmost importance for the Smyrniots: the triumphant 'liberation' of Smyrna in 1919, and its traumatic disaster in 1922. Triumphs and traumas represent liminal experiences and ultimate horizons for the self-construction of a collective subject, just as birth and death provide the ultimate horizon for an individual's existential experience.[361] By referring to a

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[360] Anastasiades 1961: 116-119.
[361] Giesen 2000: 229.

past as a collective triumph or a collective trauma, contingent relationships between individuals are transcended and forged into a collective identity – in this case, the Smyrniot refugee identity. Both trauma and triumph usually refer to a violent event that destroys and reconstructs the social bond. However, collective identity is never solely traumatic or triumphant; it is always both, but the balance may be disturbed and the levels may fluctuate.

In accounting for the 'liberation' of the city, Solomonides first described the excitement of the Greek troops who were ordered to disembark and capture Smyrna. By using poems and metaphors, he attempted to reinforce feelings of national excitement and anguish, stirring memories and myths about the 'Marbled King' and 'Alexander the Great'.[362] He further argued that the Greek ships sailed fast along the Aegean Sea because 'they were pushed by the breathing of warriors urged to step to the holy lands […] were attracted by the magnet of the sleepless desires of myriad enslaved brethren in Ionia' (τα σπρώχνει και η πνοή των πολεμιστών που βιάζονται να πατήσουν τα αγιασμένα χώματα […] τα ελκύει ο μαγνήτης των ακοίμητων πόθων μυριάδων σκλαβωμένων αδερφών της Ιωνίας).[363] With strong images and metaphors like these, Solomonides did not merely reconstruct the Greekness of Smyrna; as the audience knew what followed in 1922, these descriptions of delirium and enthusiasm also generated a feeling of tragedy. He then described the national ecstasy after the articulation of the news about the Allied mandate to Greece, to occupy Smyrna: thrilled crowds celebrating on the streets and squares of Athens, while the description of the scene where Metropolitan Chrysostomos announced the approaching of the Greek army to the dignitaries of Smyrna was overwhelming. The landing of the troops and their parade in the city amid the ecstatic Greek population was depicted in such an emphatic and celebrating way that aimed to generate feelings of euphoria and national pride among the audience and the readers:

> *Everyone is crying and asking: is it a dream or the truth? Fantasy or*
> *reality? Everyone drunk from the drink of joy [...] in the sky of destiny,*
> *magical and bright galaxies [...] Greece in Ionia [...] the immortal*
> *mother embraces the daughter of beauty: you Smyrna![364]*

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[362] Solomonides 1964: 159.
[363] Op. cit. 159.
[364] Op. cit. 164.

In order to give more emphasis to his portrayal of the 'liberation' of Smyrna, Solomonides introduced a few symbolisms: the date of its 'liberation' was May the 2nd, which was during the spring. By providing detailed depictions of the blossoming landscape (for example: 'First of May...laughter and light all around [...] the sun triumphs in the skies [...] a scent of roses is spread all over the dazzling symphony of colours [...] roses of May in the fields and in people's hearts'), the author contrasted the rebirth of the earth with that of Greek Smyrna; liberation by motherland Greece was felt to have brought a blossoming spring after a long winter of 500 years of slavery under Ottoman rule.

Following the triumphant 'liberation' of Smyrna, Solomonides outlined the advances of the Greek army deeper in Asia Minor, and the 'liberation' of further allegedly Greek cities like Kidonies, Pergamos, Efessos, and the area of Propontida, evoking sentiments of reverence and justification for the fulfilment of the old 'prophesies' and aspirations about the re-establishment of the Byzantine Empire.

Another symbolism Solomonides used was the biblical parallelism of the 'liberation' of Smyrna and Ionia with the resurrection of Jesus: 'the hearts of the Smyrniots [...] were daily celebrating the divine gift of Salvation [...] the bells of the churches [...] signalled the morning and evening prayer just like on Easter Sunday'.[365] With this, he implied that Smyrna was dead during Ottoman rule, while its 'liberation' brought it back to life; it resurrected it, just like Jesus was resurrected after His death.

In accounting for the disaster, Solominides employed vivid colours and emotionally charged linguistic devices in order to sketch out the last days of Greek Smyrna. His tone turned from highly joyful to overpoweringly dramatic. 'Suddenly, unexpectedly, the winds of triumph turn to maelstroms [...] laughter turns to cry [...] happy songs to wild laments [...] the buzz of joy to a death rattle...'.[366] Using again biblical parallelisms he described the 'Holy Week of the *Genos*'.[367] August 26, 1922, was denoted as 'the day of agony', since the last Greek troops and civil servants departed for Greece leaving Smyrna unprotected to the approaching Turkish army. Thousands of Greeks from all over Ionia had fled to the city where they hoped for protection. August 27, 1922, was defined as 'the end of the *Nation's* dreams'.[368] Metropolitan Chrysostomos officiated the last service in the Church of Ayia Fotini, 'like in a second Ayia Sofia on the eve of the *alosis*'.[369] Employing this parallelism of the last days of Smyrna with the last days of Constantinople, Solomonides reminded his

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[365] Op. cit. 165.
[366] Op. cit. 165.
[367] Op. cit. 166.
[368] Op. cit. 167.
[369] *Alosis* (Fall) is the Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453.

audience and the reader of the cataclysmic – for Hellenism and Orthodoxy – event of the '*alosis*'; an event so profoundly deployed in the construction of Greek national and religious identity, that its reference in his speech aimed to evoke national awareness.

Solomonides further depicted the martyrdom of Metropolitan Chrysostomos, who remained in Smyrna and suffered a tragic death in the hands of a 'Turkish mob'. Then he went on to describe in detail the looting and massacres that took place after the entry of the Turkish army in the Greek and Armenian quarters of the city. Describing the fire that was set – allegedly by the Turks – he argued that 'old, hard-set, strong buildings, all the 'hearths' of Asia Minor Hellenism that preserved our national traditions all these years, turn now to ashes'.[370] Once more here he stressed the Greekness of Smyrna and Asia Minor up to this 'cursed' August of 1922. Furthermore, he depicted the agony and suffering of the Greeks in the suburbs of Smyrna, and the martyrdom of the Greek priests, while accusing the Christian allied forces, the fleets of which were anchored in the harbor of Smyrna, that they did not prevent the massacre and the destruction of the city.

Accounting for the total catastrophe of Greek Smyrna, Solomonides argued that 65 quarters with 55.000 houses, 5.000 stores, and 46 Orthodox churches– all Greek – were turned to ashes in the three days the fire was burning. He estimated the human loss to roughly 50.000 in Smyrna, excluding the captives and the kidnapped, while 250.000 people were finally evacuated from the harbor of the city. He figured the total number of the uprooted Greeks to 1.500.000, and of the vanished 500.000, while 2.700 Greek Orthodox churches and 3.500 Greek schools were destroyed or turned to mosques and stables all throughout Asia Minor. Citing numerical figures, Solomonides provided for more tangible evidence of Greek life in Smyrna, which along with his imaginative descriptions created a more solid case for the Greekness of the area, irrespectively of the figures' accuracy. Closing his commemoration of Greek Smyrna, he concluded that:

> *This is how pure Hellenism of Asia Minor and Thrace was uprooted*
> *from its three thousand year old hearths [...] this is how Greek Smyrna*
> *was wiped away and ruined in the maelstrom of 1922 [...] crucified*
> *and put to death was the beloved city.*[371]

However, despite the tragic end,

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[370] Op. cit. 170.
[371] Op. cit. 177.

> *Ethereal rhapsodies arise at her remembrance [...] laments and*
> *funereal hymns echo at the memory of her biblical shores [...] and in*
> *the glimmering evening when the souls nostalgic pace the path of*
> *memory, a Davidic psalm is heard [...] "If we forget you o*
> *Jerusalem…if we forget you o Smyrna, let our right hand forget her*
> *cunning..."*.[372]

The biblical parallelisms were again clear in this last part of his speech: the crucifixion of Smyrna was equated to the crucifixion of Jesus, while the employment of the 'If we forget you Jerusalem...' taken from psalm 137 titled 'the mourning of the exiles in Babylon', associated the exodus of Anatolian Hellenism with the expulsion of the Jews from the Promised Land; and the covenant they made with the land was the same: 'if we forget you Jerusalem, if we forget you Smyrna, may we lose our right hand…'.

Famous Smyrniots

In reconstructing the 'Greekness' of Smyrna, the *MC* reached for the valued qualities of rootedness and authenticity in the heroic virtues and examples of past patriots and national geniuses. It was by assigning specific memories of 'our ancestors' and forebears, especially saintly and heroic, to Smyrna that the *MC* attempted to identify the Smyrniot community with its lost city.

Heroes are generally seen as exemplars of national virtue, as representatives of 'the people' and as the instruments of national destiny. They are also regarded as 'authentic' and as such rooted in the soil of the homeland. Their message is always pertinent; they provide models of conduct, while their exploits constitute *exempla virtutis*, worthy of emulation in each new generation. Heroes, geniuses and prophets like Moses, Leonidas, Arthur, Shakespeare, Wallace and Bruce, Saladin, Rousseau, Marat, and Garibaldi have come to embody the popular will, the virtues and interests of the nation. Whether legendary or historical, popular memory 'has elevated them above everyday politics and

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[372] Op. cit. 177. The translation is not literal, and cannot grasp the exact emotive tone of the words used in Greek: 'Υπερούσιος αίνος όμως αναδεύει στη μνήμη της. Μοιρολόγια και θρήνοι αντηχούν στο βιβλικό της ακρογιάλι, κάθε φορά που η θύμηση σιμώνει να γείρει και να ξαποστάσει. Και αργά, όταν στης εσπέρας το φέγγος, νοσταλγικές οι ψυχές κατηφορίζουν και οδεύουν τη λεωφόρο των αναμνήσεων, δαϋιτικό ανάκρουσμα ακούγεται, που συνοδεύει τη σιωπηλή πορεία τους: Εί επιλαθώμεθά, σου Ιερουσαλήμ...εί επιλαθώμεθά σου, Σμύρνη, επιλησθείη η δεξιά ημών...'

historical flow as they disclosed in some way the inner goodness of the nation and personified its virtues and hopes'.[373]

However, what has been actually significant is the fact of heroism and genius, rather than any particular heroes and geniuses. What counts is the virtues and qualities they embody and the message of hope they assert rather than this or that personage. They are treated, of course, as historical figures by the authors that examine them, but no great distinction is made between objective historical fact and legend or myth. The appeal of heroes resides in their ability to stir the imagination by presenting a panorama of nobility and by inspiring an ambition to emulate their qualities. Yet, their significance in their own land and community lies in their particular virtue and unique context, as this virtue is peculiar to a specific group and the context is relevant to a single community and its habitat. Heroes, like monuments or unique natural features, are not sought out for themselves, but because they symbolize an age of glory and heroism which provides a model for communal regeneration.[374]

A hero is important because he exemplifies a past age of communal achievement, which contemporaries aspire to emulate and for which he offers direction and inspiration. He encapsulates a milieu of splendour and challenge that may help to unite and mobilize those who claim him as an ancestor, and embodies a pure form of the allegedly 'real' qualities of the community.[375] The quality of 'nobility' of a hero is made up by 'virtues' that are quite similar everywhere; these include generosity, martial valour, self-sacrifice, temperance, loyalty and, above all, patriotism. However, closer examination reveals that the meaning of the virtues which the hero exemplifies varies according to the historical context both of the subject and of the audience to whom the moral exhortation is addressed.[376] Thus, heroes are not important just as repositories of abstract virtues, nor is history an undifferentiated quarry of morality. Heroes, like history, can be understood and appreciated only in their temporal and spatial contexts, as crystallizing and epitomizing the virtues and qualities of the particular community. Smith argues that the cult of heroes and geniuses can only be grasped in the context of nationalist mythologies of communal pasts, in which they serve as points of comparison with the present and with significant others, within the framework of an evolutionary reconstruction of ethnic history.[377] Their meaning

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[373] Smith 2003: 41.
[374] Smith 1986: 192-3.
[375] Op. cit., 196.
[376] Op. cit.199.
[377] Op. cit. 200.

and popular appeal is derived from their appropriation by 'the nation', since they symbolize and crystallize the creative power and unique virtue of their community.

Moreover, the graves of those glorious forebears bear witness to the uniqueness and antiquity of particular landscapes, which are of special importance for the members of the community. Hence, the community develops an exceptional affinity with a particular historical landscape commemorated in chronicles and monuments, and celebrated in epic and ballad. As the land forms the last resting place of those ancestors, their graves witness the group's survival as a cultural community, and help to bring a close association between the land and the community, such that the people are felt to belong to the specific territory and the territory to that particular people. Hence, heroic and prominent Smyrniot figures were important in the reconstructions of the *MC*. The *MC* located the deeds of heroes and great men in Smyrna in order to further bind their community to the distinct Smyrniot landscape which was thus further reconstructed as Greek and endowed with ethno-historical significance.

In the introduction to the first volume of 1938, that has already been discussed earlier in the chapter, A. Diamantopoulos argued that Asia Minor was the cradle of ancient Greek civilization which flourished there first, before it was transmitted to mainland Greece and Athens. In order to support this, he cited the names of great men of letters and science like Alkaios, Pittacus, Mimnermus, Callinus, Hipponax, Xenophanes, and Anacreon, who represented the elegiac and lyric poetry, Dionysius, Hecataeus, and Pherecydes from Miletus, Charon from Lampsacus, Xanthos from Lydia, and Herodotus from Halicarnassus, who represented historical writing, while Thales from Miletus was a physician, mathematician, and astronomer and the first to calculate the height of the Egyptian Pyramids, Heraclitus from Ephesus was a physician and philosopher, Xenophanes from Colophon was a physician and astronomer, and Anaximander from Miletus the first to calculate the positions of the sun, the years and hours of the equinox. In accounting for the greatness and national genius of the Asia Minor ancient Greeks, the author aspired to appropriate those ancestors as ancestors of the modern Asia Minor Greeks, and to re-affirm 'the Greek nature of that land'.[378]

In the same volume, in his article titled '*Ο Σμύρνης Πολύκαρπος*' that has already been discussed earlier in the chapter, D. S. Mpalanos discussed the life and martyrdom of the first bishop of Smyrna, though he acknowledged that not much about St. Polykarpos was historically confirmed. Polykarpos was born in Smyrna in around 55 AD by pagan

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[378] Diamantopoulos 1938: 16.

slave parents, and was freed from slavery by a woman called Kallistioni, who converted him to Christianity. During his adolescence, he associated with Apostle John in Smyrna from whom he was ordained as the first bishop of Smyrna. Mpalanos argued that Polykarpos was exceptional for his sublime morality, his devoutness, his teaching ability, and his zeal against heresies.[379] In around 155 AD, he went to Rome to discuss with the Pope about the date of the Christian Easter and, when he returned to Smyrna, he got arrested in that year's pogroms against the Christians. The Roman vice-consul – since Asia Minor was then a Roman province – tried to persuade him to renounce Christianity in order to save his life, but he refused and was sentenced to death by fire. However, the legend says that his body would not burn, and thus the Romans stubbed him to death and then threw his corps in the fire. 'This way', Mpalanos concluded, 'he became the moral teacher and father of the Christians in Asia […] an excellent martyr who set an example for his successors.'

The first *MC* volume also launched a section titled 'biographical notes', and was introduced by an article of A. Mpenakes, titled '*Οικογένεια Λάτρη*' that presented the genealogy of the Latri family of Smyrna. Mpenakes argued that 'the history of a city is mainly about accounting for and developing the public, social and private life of its people'.[380] From this perspective, he considered the collection of *memoirs* about pre-eminent Smyrniot families of great importance, especially for those families whose members 'were distinguished for their social, and national activities, since they honoured the name of the Greeks'. One notices here the attempt of the *MC* to renew the appeal of distinguished Smyrniots who have come to embody the popular will, the virtues and interests of the Smyrniot community. In this article, Mpenakes provided a genealogical tree of the Latri family, based on the personal account of Maria Mitsotaki – member of the family – to the author. The most eminent members of the family were: its patriarch Georgios Latris, a doctor who originated from Crete and came to Smyrna in the 18th century; Ikesios Latris (1799-1881), a journalist and author who fought in the Greek 1821 revolution, and later got elected as the representative of the Smyrniot community to the 1863 Greek national assembly;[381] and Pavlos Latris (1800-70), who was a merchant in Trieste, and later a director of the Evangelical School of Smyrna.

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[379] Mpalanos 1938: 59.
[380] Mpenakes 1938: 471.
[381] This was the second general national assembly of the Greeks, and took place in Athens in 1862-1864. All Greek-Orthodox communities of the Eastern Mediterranean were represented, along with the representatives of the Greek Kingdom, and their mission was to vote for the Greek Constitution of 1864. The first national assembly had taken place in 1822 in Epidaurus, declaring the independence of Greece and had ratified the

In the second volume of 1939, in his article titled '*Βασίλειος Μητροπολίτης Σμύρνης*', A. Diamantopoulos attempted to explore the role of the Church in the 'rebirth' of the Greek nation by examining the life and activities of Metropolitan Vasileios of Smyrna. Vasileios was born in 1834 in Kastoria, Macedonia, and died in 1910 in Smyrna. He studied in Constantinople and the Chalki Theological School, where he also taught. In 1860, he was appointed archdeacon in Nicaea, while in 1865 he was designated Metropolitan of Aghialos, on the Black Sea coast. In that period, the 'Bulgarian Issue' caused unrest to the Church because of the way Bulgarian nationalists promoted their independence through their ecclesiastical autonomy and separation from the Ecumenical Patriarchate. However, Diamantopoulos argued that the Bulgarians did not claim the Black Sea provinces, as their population was predominantly Greek and the Greek Church Prelates were not endangered.[382] Between 1870-71, and 1873-76, Vasileios directed the Chalki Theological School, and returned to Aghialos in 1876 until 1877, when he was moved back to Constantinople after Turkish accusations that he sympathised with the Russians during the 1877 Russian-Ottoman war. In Constantinople, he served as principal archdeacon in Pera – the wealthiest and biggest Greek parish of the city – where he became widely accepted and appreciated for his education, morality, and dignity. In 1881, he was restored to Aghialos until 1884, when he was appointed to Smyrna after the death of Metropolitan Meletios, since 'he was the only suitable candidate for such an important city'.[383] In Smyrna, Vasileios supported Greek education, associations and philanthropic institutions, and mediated between the '*Δημογεροντία*' (Council of Elders) and the '*Κεντρική Επιτροπή*' (Central Committee) – the two major and competing administrative institutions of the Greek community. He also played an important and intermediary role in the internal affairs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. He worked for 25 years, serving the ideals of the Church and of the Greek Smyrniot society, which were according to Diamantopoulos: 'the preservation and safekeeping of the integrity of Orthodoxy, the people's instruction into its truths, the reinforcement and transmission of the national culture, as a means to raise Greek national consciousness and link the present with the glorious past'.[384] With this article, Diamantopoulos incorporated Vasileios in the cast of Smyrniot spiritual and national figures of the turbulent period of the early 20th century.

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first constitution. The representatives in the first national assembly were only from the mainland, and some islands that participated actively in the 1821 uprising. See Ekdotiki Athinon 2008.
[382] Diamantopoulos 1939: 152-3.
[383] Op. cit., 162.
[384] Op. cit. 195.

In the same volume of 1939, in his article titled '*Οι Έλληνες Ιατροί της Σμύρνης*' (The Greek Doctors of Smyrna), S. Veras presented the Greek medical doctors of Smyrna since the 18ᵗʰ century. As the career of a doctor was associated with material wealth, education, and upper social status, it is understandable why so much attention was paid to doctors by the Smyrniot community. It simply meant that their community was wealthy, and important, and the doctors were viewed as its most eminent representatives. Veras cited the names and biographies of 93 Smyrniot doctors since 1748, but paid more attention to those who developed, along with their scientific, also 'social and national activities'.[385] This way he attempted to elevate them to exemplars of the Greek Smyrniot community, and models for emulation by his contemporaries. Moreover, he represented the Greek past of the city as one of prosperity, cosmopolitanism, and national distinctiveness and progress.

In the third volume of 1940, Michael Argyropoulos launched another section in the *MC,* titled '*Σκιαγραφίαι Σμυρναίων*' (Depictions of Smyrniots) that would account for eminent Smyrniots that passed away after 1922. The author argued that 'it is an obligation of the living to commemorate the names of those who pass away, in order to honour their activities and the past, and to preserve for the future the historical coherence of the old Asia Minor Greek family, which scattered away in that horrible storm…'.[386] In this initial section, he accounted for four Smyrniots: Ioannis Kontoleon, Miltiades Seizanis, Socrates Solomonides and Galenos Paleologos. Ioannis Kontoleon was born in Smyrna in 1857 and died in Athens in 1925. He was a doctor and a prominent nationalist and patriot. Miltiades Seizanis was born in Smyrna in 1848, and died in Athens in 1930. He was a poet and a journalist and directed the Smyrniot Greek newspapers *Ionia* and *Armonia*. He was distinguished as a writer for his support to the 'National Idea', Orthodoxy, and his communal and social activities. Socrates Solomonides was born in 1858 in Smyrna and died in Athens in 1932. He was an eminent journalist and co-director of the Greek Smyrniot newspaper *Amalthia*, and 'due to his achievements, a pure representative of intellectual Smyrna, and Smyrna of the National Ideology'.[387] Galenos Paleologos was born in Syros in 1856 and died in Athens in 1930. He was a lawyer, spent most of his life in Smyrna and the author argued that he was exceptional 'for his deep national feelings […] and his devotion to the ideals of the motherland'. Thus, Argyropoulos honoured these historical figures, whom he considered as exemplars of the Greek Smyrniot community,

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[385] Veras 1939: 320.
[386] Argyropoulos 1940: 266.
[387] Op. cit., 268.

while the common link between them was their high social status and their dedication to the Greek national cause.

In the fifth volume of 1952, in his article titled '*Σωκράτης Σολομωνίδης*', G. Anastasiades described the life and achievements of Socrates Solomonides. In this article, Anastasiades accounted for the educational and family background of Solomonides, his pre-war writings, his dedication and contribution to the newspaper *Amalthia*, the integrity of his character, his involvement with Greek Smyrniot communal affairs, his dedication to the national cause and his attempts to revive *Amalthia* in Athens after the disaster. The author depicted Solomonides as an exemplar of Smyrniot genius and virtue that personified the 'essential Greek Smyrniot soul'. This way he aspired to transmit the paradigm of this great Smyrniot to younger generations in order to further bind them to an imaginary Greek Smyrna.

In the same volume, in his article titled '*Δημήτριος Μαυροφρύδης*' that has been previously discussed, S. Sperantzas focused on another outstanding Smyrniot figure. Sperantzas accounted for the life and intellectual brilliance of Demetrios Mavrofrydes, an eminent linguist who originated from Cappadocia, but had studied and lived in Greece, Germany, and Smyrna. Mavrofrydes' most important work was his 'essay on the Greek language', which dealt with the issue of the unity of the Greek language since antiquity, employing modern linguistic methods. He argued that Modern Greek was one of the many phases of the ancient Greek, and the fact that it was orally transmitted down the generations 'verified our Greek descent'.[388] Sperantzas, with this article incorporated Mavrofrydes in the pantheon of Smyrniot national geniuses.

In the fifth volume of 1952, in his article titled '*Επαμεινώνδας Πολύδωρος Κυβετός*', G. Schinas accounted for the lifework of Polydoros Kyvetos. In his introduction, he argued that Kyvetos belonged 'to the elite of Greek intellectuals of Smyrna who raised the level of the unredeemed Greeks with their intellectual achievements, and, as carriers of civilization, they contributed to the general progress of humanity'.[389] The 'great' work of Kyvetos was his contribution to the final solution of the calendar problem and the chronological definition and celebration of Easter through his study of the various calendars of the Christians, Muslims, and Jews. He was born in 1842 and died in 1889 in Smyrna, where he spent most of his life. According to the author, the fact that Kyvetos lived in Smyrna was crucial for his intellectual development, since Smyrna was then an international centre where various 'races' lived and worshiped and Kyvetos had the chance

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[388] Sperantzas 1952: 48.
[389] Schinas 1952: 272.

to observe and examine their calendars through their religious practices. His proposals for a calendar reform of the Easter celebration were widely accepted by the Holy Synod of Greece, the Greek Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. His sudden death, however, did not allow for his work to get completed and published, until 1928, when the Patriarchate of Alexandria published his unfinished study. In this article, Schinas presented another Smyrniot genius, worthy of emulation and commemoration since Kyvetos substantiated once again the view of Greek Smyrna as a cradle of civilization and progress. Smyrna was again reconstructed as an international but essentially Greek metropolis, where its eminent inhabitants had the chance to advance in all levels.

In the sixth volume of 1955, in his article titled '*Η Οικογένεια Βαχατωρίδων της Σμύρνης*', N. Kararas described the genealogical tree of the Vachatoris family, one of the oldest Greek families of Smyrna, based on records of its members since 1575. In the same volume, in his article titled '*Ουρανία Δούκα*', S. Ronas depicted the life of Ourania Douka, the last director of the '*Κεντρικόν Παρθεναγωγείον*' (Central Girls' School) of Smyrna. Douka was born in 1860, in Smyrna and died in 1941, in Athens. In 1895, she was appointed director of the girls' school where she served until the disaster. In the forty three years that she directed the school, she was distinguished for her morality, her character, her abilities and dedication to Greek education. Thus, she was awarded with honorary diplomas by the Greek educational committee in 1904, by the association '*Anatoli*', and with the Golden Cross medal by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Ourania Douka was another prominent Smyrniot figure, representative of the Smyrniot image of national genius and brilliance the *MC* cultivated.

In the seventh volume of 1957, in his article '*Ο Τελευταίος Τύπος Αστικού Σπιτιού Σμύρνης*' (The Last Type of Urban Housing in Smyrna), F. Falbos extolled some of the 'last architects' of the city, naming Apostolides, Rampaonis, Vafiadis, Kourmoulis, Santamouris, Meletis, Plakourelis, and Lignades.[390] The author argued that these architects were well-educated scientists, resourceful and brilliant, and 'pure children' of the Smyrniot practical and progressive spirit. Thus, they managed to break from the old post-Byzantine, French and Ottoman type of housing, and reach the new Smyrniot, urban-European type that developed in Smyrna until 1922. The title of his article, along with the naming of the 'last architects' created the impression that no other urban house was ever built in Smyrna, and no other architect ever worked there after 1922; it is as if Smyrna stopped existing in

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[390] Falbos 1957: 161.

1922. By considering Smyrna dead after that year, the author re-affirmed its Greekness, since he deemed it alive only when the Greeks were there, and after their expulsion and the burning of the Greek quarters the city supposedly died. Moreover, by naming the 'last architects' Falbos personified the Smyrniot 'spirit', and placed them among the Smyrniot genius.

In the same 1957 volume, in his article titled '*Η Οικογένεια των Ομήρων της Σμύρνης*', N. Kararas recorded a chronicle of the Smyrniot family of Omiros [391] This was the oldest Greek family of Smyrna since the Ottoman conquest. Many of its members played important roles in the economic and social life of the Smyrniot Greek community. The author further provided a genealogical tree of the family's 81 members from 1623 until the disaster in 1922.

In the 1957 volume, in his article titled '*Ο Τελευταίος Οραματιστής της Αγιασοφιάς*' (The Last Visionary of Ayia Sofia), G. I. Anastasiades provided a personal account of his last meeting with Metropolitan Chrysostomos in Smyrna, just prior to the arrival of the Turkish army, and the Metropolitan's death. In this account, the author described Metropolitan Chrysostomos' fervent passion and obsession with the Ayia Sofia cathedral of Constantinople, and his absolute belief that it would get restored to Christianity and the Greek nation. 'Such was his passion', Anastasiades argued, 'that he [Chrysostomos] was certain that the book of the Apocalypse described the restoration of Ayia Sofia in the year 1922'.[392] He further accounted for the various versions of Chrysostomos' martyrdom and concluded by blaming the Christian Allies for the disaster of Smyrna and Chrysostomos' death, because their fleets – although anchored in the harbor of the city – did not prevent the catastrophe of Smyrniot Greeks. The presentation of Chrysostomos as a romantic dreamer who sacrificed his life for his patriotic beliefs placed him in the pantheon of Greek national heroes, as he did not abandon Smyrna with the entry of the Turkish army, but remained and suffered a tragic death, faithful to the national ideals up to his last moment. Chrysostomos' sacrifice was seen to provide a heroic example to future generations that Smyrna was Greek and worthy of dying for.

In the eighth volume of 1959, in his article titled '*Οι Τελευταίοι Απόφοιτοι της Ευαγγελικής Σχολής Σμύρνης*' (The Last Graduates of the Evangelical School of Smyrna), M. Anastasiades accounted for the last graduates of one of the most prestigious high schools of Smyrna. Based on a picture of graduates, he first provided the names of their teachers and their background, before embarking on an account of those who were not in

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[391] Kararas 1957: 173-200.
[392] Anastasiades 1957: 340.

the picture, those who had died in the disaster, and classified all the rest according to their profession: first the doctors, then the lawyers, the engineers, the chemists, the military officers, the businessmen, and finally those that held administrative posts. With this categorization, Anastasiades strove to demonstrate that the vast majority of the last graduates of the Smyrniot '*Ευαγγελική Σχολή*' became of high status professionals. This account reinforced the view of the Smyrniots as sophisticated, cosmopolitan and successful, while, by providing details on the life and achievements of eminent graduates like Aristotle Onassis, he emphasized the importance and status of the lost city. Once again, Smyrna was reconstructed as Greek, and as at the centre of intellectual, economic, and social progress. The selectivity of memory is again clear in this account, as the memories that the *MC* attempts to establish in the collective consciousness are of success, greatness, sophistication, and greatness of the Smyrniots, failing to account for those who were poor or uneducated, or for the non-Greeks of Smyrna.

In the same volume of 1959, in his article titled '*Ο Οίκος Αδελφών Ράλλη και η Σμύρνη*' (The Rallis Brothers Commercial House and Smyrna), A. Stavritses focused on the professional success of the Rallis trade company in Smyrna.[393] Although the Rallis family originated from Chios island, they managed to grow wealthy and famous in Smyrna. The author described the establishment and course of their company as an illustrative example of the chances Smyrna offered to its Greek inhabitants for prosperity and success.

In the ninth volume of 1961, in his article titled '*Η Οικογένεια των Πιττακών της Σμύρνης*', N. Kararas accounted for the Pittakos Smyrniot family, based on a handwritten genealogical tree of Antonios Pavlos Pittakos – a lawyer in Athens, and member of the family.[394] The author considered the family one of the oldest and most eminent in Smyrna, and provided details on 78 of its members' professional, communal and scientific activities since 1647.

In the tenth volume of 1963, in his article '*Ο Νεομάρτυρας Μάρκος Κυριακόπουλος που αποκεφαλίστηκε στη Σμύρνη το 1643, μια Δυτική Πηγή*' (The neo-martyr Markos Kyriakopoulos who was beheaded in Smyrna in 1643, a Western Source), M. Vitti provided an account of Markos Kyriakopoulos' martyrdom in 1643 in Smyrna, based on the testimony of Giovanni Foscaro, an Italian priest of the Catholic archdiocese of Smyrna.[395] Kyriakopoulos was a Greek originating from Crete who had converted to Islam

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[393] Stavritses 1959: 267-74.
[394] Kararas 1961: 294.
[395] Vitti 1963: 90.

in his adolescence, but later regretted and became a Christian again. Despite tempting promises by the Ottomans to keep him in their religion, he publicly renounced Islam, got arrested and put to death by the Ottoman authorities. According to the author, Kyriakopoulos' act had great significance for the Greek Orthodox population of Smyrna, as it appealed to their interwoven national and religious feelings. Vitti moreover argued that this type of 'neo-martyr' was the product of the religious and national feelings at the time, a 'marvellous' example for the 'enslaved Greeks'. The 'neo-martyr' was not distant and isolated from society, since the Greek Orthodox population actively supported him by causing disturbance and unrest in the city. Vitti was one of the few *MC* authors who did not originate from Smyrna or Asia Minor. As he stated in the introduction, he was more interested in the literary expressions of the Greeks in the seventeenth century. He opted to examine the case of Kyriakopoulos, as he considered it representative of the regenerative religious trend of the time that gave Greek letters a vital push and expression. He thus re-enacted the 'magnitude' of Kyriakopoulos' martyrdom, which came to crystallize and epitomize the qualities and virtues of the Smyrniot Greek Orthodox, binding them to the Smyrniot landscape, which was again endowed with ethno-historical and religious significance.

In the same volume of 1963, in his article titled '*Μιχαήλ Τσακύρογλους*', M. Paidouses described the life and achievements of Michael Tsakyroglous (1854-1920), a doctor who originated from Crete but his family had settled in Smyrna long before the 1821 Greek revolution. Tsakyroglous was another distinguished Smyrniot figure with a broad spectrum of social and scientific activities. The author considered him one of the most important specialists on Smyrna, and one of the initiators of the movement for the Greek letters and antiquarianism in the city after 1870.[396] He was the first to practice otolaryngology in Smyrna, organizing and directing the relevant department in the Ottoman hospital of the city (this is an instance where one of the authors referred, albeit indirectly, to the Ottomans/Turks of the city, acknowledging that it was also partly Ottoman/Turkish), while he was a member of the health committee of the Smyrna district, president of the board of the Evangelical School, a dignitary of the Greek community, an associate of the Constantinople Imperial Medical Association, of the Athens Medical Association, the French Otolaryngology Society, the Greek Literature Association of Constantinople, and the archaeological institute of Germany. He moreover was an editor of the newspaper *Armonia*, and collaborator of the newspapers *Tharros* and *Amalthia*, and the

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[396] Paidouses 1963: 202.

journals *Anatoliki Epitheorisis* and *Aktis*. Further, the author divided Tsakyroglous' publications in medical, historical-ethnographical and literature related ones. The literature publications were again divided in studies-translations and original poems, and their titles and brief summaries were provided. This article followed the trend of the *MC* to account for outstanding and prominent Smyrniot figures who personified the greatness, intellectuality, and prosperity of Smyrna, contributing to its reconstruction as unique and essentially Greek.

Smyrniot space

Another way the *MC* has used to reconstruct the 'Greekness' of Smyrna was by providing detailed depictions of the landscape, the sites, and the Greek symbolic monuments of the city. Therefore, Mt. Pagos, the harbor, the climate of the region, as well as the Orthodox Churches, the markets, the cemeteries, the neighborhoods and the buildings of the Greek institutions have all been the focus of several articles.

Many groups of people have endowed the specific terrain they occupy with powerful emotional connotations and cultural meanings. It is what Smith terms historic 'ethnoscapes':

> *'an extent of land that presents a tradition of continuity and is held to constitute an ethnic unity, because the terrain invested with collective significance is felt to be integral to a particular historical community, and the community is seen as an intrinsic part of that poetic landscape'.*[397]

Ethnoscapes emerge as the terrain in consideration is felt over time to have provided the distinctive and indispensable setting for the events that shaped the character of the community. The battles and exploits, the wanderings, misdeeds and triumphs in which 'our' people participated took place in a particular landscape, and the features of that landscape have become part of those experiences and the collective memories which they create. Smith argues that in many cases the landscape was given a more active, positive role, than just that of a natural setting. [398] It was felt to influence events and contribute to the experiences that moulded the community, as for example the Alps were felt to

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[397] Smith 1999: 150.
[398] Op. cit. 151.

influence the early development and nature of the Swiss *Eidgenossenschaft* – the Swiss Confederation – and provided its members with a sense of community and of a strong common cause. The role of the Alpine landscape has been crucial in the formation of Swiss national identity, since a) it provided for a unique, and authentic image of the nation and its roots, b) the mountains were thought to have a purifying effect on humans, something that infiltrated Swiss homogenizing nationalism and its ideas on the 'purity' of the nation, and c) the Alps were a natural fortress, and 'protected' the nation from external enemies.[399]

In analyzing the fusion of community and terrain, Smith has developed a theory of the 'territorialization of memory'. This refers to a process by which 'particular places evoke a series of memories, handed down through the generations, and it summarizes a tendency to root memories of persons and events in particular places, and through these memories to create a field or zone of powerful and peculiar attachments'.[400] This is a two-fold process according to Smith, which incorporates the historicization of nature, and the naturalization of history. First, the historicization of nature covers a series of processes, by which land and its natural features – mountains, lakes, rivers, and the like – are treated as intrinsic elements of the history and development of the community. For example, Mt. Olympus in Greece and Mt. Meru in Burma, the adobe of Gods, became symbols of national creativity and genius, while River Nile, the giver of life, helps to this day define the community that lives on its banks and from its waters. Second, the naturalization of history regards history as part of nature, as an extension of the community's terrain and its natural features. This involves the provision of a natural setting for the resting places of 'our' ancestors, such that it binds the generations to the land, and the graves of these ancestors are felt to be an intrinsic part of nature. The process further involves the naturalization of historical monuments, which for later generations are treated as part of the community's natural setting and are taken for granted.[401]

Every type of building or monument can be naturalized and turned into a component of the community's environment. Stone circles in Brittany, temples in Greece and Italy, castles in Spain, have all entered the imaginative fabric of the community over the centuries by appearing to fuse with the surrounding nature and becoming one with the habitat. This is the case also with the ruins of palaces, temples, monasteries, and abbeys. They have infiltrated the consciousness of many generations of members of the community who have lived in their shadow, regardless of what modern historical accounts may make

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[399] Zimmer 2007.
[400] Smith 2003: 134.
[401] Op. cit., 136.

of them and those who built them. Some ruins, sacred or secular, are of extraordinary significance for the self-definition, and 'title-deeds' of ethnic homelands. They bear witness to and express a sense of unique identity based upon a claim to a valued terrain in virtue of age-long residence and possession.[402] The case of the Pharaonic monuments of pyramids and temples is illustrative; they point to the 'Pharaonic-Coptic' ancestry of modern Egyptians, which distinguishes them from the other Arabs, while Western interest in the *grandeur* of ancient Egypt revived and legitimized a sense of Egyptian national pride. The Egyptian sense of a millennial past, and of a great pre-Islamic civilization endowed the community with a special idea of its 'fit' with its age-long habitat along the Nile, and of the distinctive character of its setting and territorial identity.[403]

All kinds of buildings, sacred sites, and natural features can demarcate and locate a community in a landscape. They do so by recalling dramatic events, symbolic crises or turning-points in the history of the community, and by endowing them with foci of creative energy. According to Smith, this is the fourth way that a community is associated with its habitat, which is gradually turned to an ancestral homeland. The *MC* in its endeavour to preserve the memories of Smyrna, has also been engaged with the depictions and detailed accounts of the city's landmarks and natural features.

In the first volume of 1938, in his article titled '*Το Ομήρειον Παρθεναγωγείον Σμύρνης*', A. I. Athinogenes published that described the Omirion girls' school, and dealt with education in Smyrna in general. He argued that since 1880 education had flourished, due to the economic development and prosperity of the region. He considered Smyrna especially privileged because of its geographic location and its harbor, where all agricultural products of inner Asia Minor were transported on two key railways in order to get exported internationally.[404] The author argued that this gave many Greeks the opportunity to occupy themselves with commercial activities, get wealthy, and invest in their education and schools, which in turn reinforced Greek national identity and consciousness in the region.

In the same volume, S. Solomonides published a study titled '*Η Σμύρνη Προ Δύο Αιώνων*' (Smyrna two centuries ago). This was originally published in a calendar of the *Amalthia* newspaper in Smyrna in 1888, and described the main landkarks of the city. As the newspaper was not saved in 1922, the study was given to the *MC* by Socrates' son, Christos Solomonides. The author argued was that Smyrna was unlucky in its long history

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[402] Smith 1986: 187.
[403] Op. cit. 186.
[404] Athinogenes 1938: 138.

since many wars, fires, earthquakes, and other disasters altered its look and did not allow ancient monuments to survive. The ancient city was covered by 'unworthy' buildings, while its natural scenery underwent many changes especially due to the deforestation of the harbor area.[405] Further, the author described the most important landmarks, based on travellers' accounts who visited Smyrna in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He started with Tavernier's description of the external castle of Smyrna. After the Venetian victory against the Ottomans in 1656, the Empire fortified all its major harbors. Tavernier argued that the Ottomans used stones from the Greek and Jewish cemeteries of Smyrna to build the castle. After protests however by the two communities, they utilized stones from an ancient Greek amphitheatre, thus destroying it completely. Solominides then described the bay of Smyrna, which was quite different in 1678, when LeBrun visited the city. Based on a drawing of LeBrun, Solomonides accounted for the monuments that had survived until then. He started with the grave of Saint Polykarpos, which the Greeks believed was on Mt. Pagos although nothing actually verified that Saint Polykarpos was buried there. The site was later neglected according to Pockocke (1739) ever since the Turkish judge (*kadi*) charged an entrance fee to the site, in order to restrict Greek pilgrims from the area.[406] A small church devoted to Ayia Paraskevi was the Smyrniot Bishop's see in 1656 according to Thevenot. The church was destroyed by an earthquake and later demolished, while the Greeks built Ayia Fotini, which became the centre of their city. Next to the church of Ayia Paraskevi, there was a Greek cemetery in use until 1821. Solomonides further described the customs building and the two caravanserais (roadside inns, motels) built with the stones of another ancient Greek theatre that was on the south of Mt. Pagos. On the church of Ayia Fotini, Solomonides described the fires that destroyed it in its history and the efforts of the Smyrniots every time to rebuilt it. He concluded with depictions of the church of Agios Georgios, the European consulates in Smyrna, the estate of Kara-Mustafa, the Achmet Aga garden, the European avenue, the salt lakes and the promenades around the city.

In the third volume of 1940, in his article titled '*Αι Εξοχαί της Σμύρνης*', (The Countryside of Smyrna), K. X. Zannis described the Smyrniot countryside and especially the village of Bounarbasi.[407] This was a 'beautiful' village north of Smyrna, which the Smyrniots used to visit in the weekends for its natural scenery and the church of Agios Therapon. The author colourfully depicted the village landlarks and its natural scenery, as

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[405] Solomonides 1938: 160.
[406] Op. cit., 163.
[407] Zannis 1940: 407-9.

well as the excursions of the Smyrniots there for the 'fair of the pomegranates' every September.

In the seventh volume of 1957, in his article '*Ο Τελευταίος Τύπος Αστικού Σπιτιού της Σμύρνης*', that has previously been discussed, F. Falbos focused on a unique and monumental, according to him, type of house: the Smyrniot urban house as it developed in the twentieth century Smyrna.[408] The author, arguing that this type of urban house was one of the major characteristics and representative landmarks of the city, provided a thorough description of its architectural plan, the building techniques, and its decoration. He further accounted for the economic development, the growth of population and the lack of urban planning in Smyrna and generally in the Ottoman Empire as the key factors that led to the development of this type of house.

Falbos published another article in the eighth volume of 1959, titled '*Ο Φραγκομαχαλάς της Σμύρνης και τα Φραγκιοχιώτικα Βιβλία*', that has also been previously discussed in the thesis, where he described the French neighborhood of Smyrna. In his introduction, the author argued that describing buildings and monuments of cities that have been totally destroyed is very difficult, as the subject of research does not exist anymore. However, 'such a study on the memory of a Greek era and the history of a city the Greek life of which was violently interrupted is absolutely necessary'.[409] Present-day Smyrna has nothing to remind the prosperous Greek city of the early twentieth century, according to Falbos, while the 'relentless' efforts of the expatriates to re-enact and preserve, 'even in writing' that 'happy life' stemmed from a sense of duty to 'our' national continuity; 'we who were born there, feel the obligation to preserve the memory of our homeland, and believe that its true and authentic image should not be degraded, falsified, and forgotten'.[410] He further argued that buildings, whether inhabited, deserted or ruined, have an atmosphere of the life of the people who lived there and left their souls and feelings behind after they died. His effort was to reconstruct on an imaginary level those ruins in order to enter 'the lives of those people that created that civilization and wrote history'. In this article, Falbos examined another peculiar type of building – the *Verchanes* – not purely Greek nor Turkish, but essentially Smyrniot that developed in the French neighborhood of Smyrna, which was totally destroyed in the 1922 fire. He began describing the quay of Smyrna, the piers and the harbor, where French, English, Flemish, Maltese, Hungarians, Czechs, and other Europeans favoured by the Capitulations,

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[408] Falbos 1957: 160-72.
[409] Falbos 1959: 173.
[410] Op. cit. 174.

protected by international treaties and attracted by the commercial activity of the city, had begun settling in Smyrna since the 16th century, forming the famous French neighborhood or *Fragomachalas*. He further embarked on a detailed account of the history, the street plan and the architectural style of the *Fragomachalas*, arguing that by 1922 it had been 'Hellenized', with the Greeks taking over the commercial and economic life of the suburb and of the whole city in general. The author, replying on old Smyrniot newspapers and journals, as well as on other sources, provided also descriptions and the names of all the *Verchanes* (commercial warehouses), the Catholic churches of Saint Polykarpos and Santa Maria, the French College of *Sacre Coeur* and all the professional photographers of the *Fragomachalas*.

In the ninth volume of 1961, Falbos published another article titled '*Μπεζεστένια και Χάνια στη Σμύρνη*' (Mpezestenia and Chania in Smyrna), following his pattern of describing the Smyrniot monumental buildings. He traced the origins of the *Mpezestenia* (built markets) in the Roman and Byzantine *Agora* markets, and provided a detailed account of the history, naming and layout of the two most important *Mpezestenia* of Smyrna, which he considered of great significance. He further argued that their commercial and financial booming was due to the activities of the minorities in Smyrna and especially of the Greeks, who dominated most commercial sectors. After providing a list of all the different stores in the Great *Mpezesteni*, he concluded that this market was left as a sacrifice to the 1922 fire 'along with Greek Smyrna and Asia Minor Hellenism', and that this Smyrniot monument was in its last years 'less Turkish and more Greek, like everything in Smyrna'.[411] In the second part of his article he described the various kinds of *Chania* (Inns, motels) and caravanserais of Smyrna, considering them again as Byzantine remnants. He finally provided a list with the names of all 96 *Chania* in the area of Smyrna, arguing that by 1922 most of them belonged to Greeks.

In the 1963 volume, in his article titled '*Τσαρσιά και Παζάρια στη Σμύρνη*' (Tsarsia and Pazaria in Smyrna), Falbos described the *Tsarsia* and the *Pazaria* bazaars and open markets of Smyrna, tracing them back to Byzantium.[412] These were not buildings, like the *Mpezestenia*, but street markets in public spaces. The *Tsarsia* were covered markets while the *Pazaria* were open. He then accounted for all 9 *Tsarsia* and 7 *Pazaria* of Smyrna, arguing that the minorities and primarily the Greeks, dominated the first while the Turks the second. He concluded by citing poems on these markets in order to demonstrate how deeply the Smyrniots were affected by the culture of this commercial activity.

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[411] Falbos 1961: 149.
[412] Falbos 1963: 334-49.

With his articles, Falbos attempted to reconstruct in his imagination – as he stated from the beginning – the atmosphere and life of Greek Smyrna through the monumental buildings of the urban houses, the *Verchanes*, the *Mpezestenia* and *Chania*, and the sites of *Tsarsia* and *Pazaria* that came to delimit and locate the Greek Smyrniot community to that particular landscape. All these buildings and sites were considered of utmost importance for the self-definition and 'title-deeds' of Smyrna, since they bore witness to, and expressed the unique Smyrniot identity that was based upon a claim to the terrain of Ionia in virtue of the age-long residence and possession by the Greeks.

Finally, in the eleventh volume of 1964, in his article titled '*Μνήμη Σμύρνης*', that we have previously discussed, C. Solomonides commemorated the lost city, providing poetic descriptions of its most distinctive landmarks.[413] The author extolled Smyrna's natural features – the climate, the bright skies, the coasts, the harbor, Mt. Pagos, the river Melis – as well as its man-made monuments: the quay with its cafes and clubs, the castle of Mt. Pagos, the churches of Ayia Fotini, Agios Ioannis, Agios Demetrios, Ayia Ekaterini, Evangelistria, Agios Voukolos, and Agios Trifonas, the buildings of the schools, the Caravans' bridge, and finally the suburbs of Bournova, Narlikioi, Mpounarmpasi, Voutzas, Koukloutzas, Kokargiali, Kordelio, and Sevdikioi. Solomonides' vivid descriptions of Smyrna's topographies aimed to reconstruct an idealized Greek past of the city and stir up an emotional attachment evoked by the memories that were rooted and territorialized to the particular landscape of Smyrna. The imaginary and poetic reconstructions of this distant and inaccessible landscape of childhood memory further strengthened the emotional attachment to it, while the memories of the natural features and of the Greek monuments and sites cultivated the impression of an authentically Greek landscape.

In the twelfth volume of 1965, in his article titled '*Το Ελληνικόν Παιδαγωγείον Σμύρνης*', (The Greek School of Smyrna), A. M. Isigones described the foundation and evolution of a Greek private elementary school in Smyrna, founded by his grandfather. The reasons for the establishment of the school, according to the author, were national ones since the 'national and religious rights of Hellenism' dictated the education of Greek youth and its 'steeping into the ideals of the nation'.[414]

In the same volume, in his article titled '*Τα χρόνια της Αρχιερατείας Γρηγορίου Ἐ εις Σμύρνην*', (Smyrna during the years' of Gregorios E'), T. A Gritsopoulos attempted a contribution to the history of Smyrna during the eighteenth century. He urged the reader to visualize the map of the city, and to trace the landmarks that demonstrate its rich history.

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[413] Solomonides 1964: 143-78
[414] Isigones 1965.

He then accounted for the ancient remnants – the acropolis, the walls, the theater, the stadium, the aquaducts, the cemeteries, the baths, the temples – arguing that natural disasters along with the 'barbarians' destroyed most of them. He further depicted the landscape – the river Melis, mount Pagos, the harbor, the gardens, the hills, the climate, the seabreeze, the agricultural products, the rich fishing grounds – in order to sketch the 'holy ground of Smyrna'.[415] The author further accounted for the disasters that hit the city in the medieval times – fires, earthquakes, the plague – arguing that after every calamity the city managed to survive and to heal due to the progressive spirit of its inhabitants. His main point was that the Greek Orthodox church of Smyrna apart from the main administrative organization provided for the spiritual and national safeguarding of the Greek Smyrniots against the pressures from the 'barbarian Asians'.[416] With this article, Gritsopoulos attempted to reconstruct the Greekness of Smyrna, disregarding the Ottoman element as alien and 'barbaric'.

Conclusions

This chapter has focused on the reconstructions of the 'Greekness' of Smyrna in the *MC*, examining the element of continuity, accounts of historical events, memories of glorious ancestors and contemporary prominent Smyrniot figures and descriptions of monuments, sites and natural features of Ionia. It has argued that continuity in time and over space is inculcated in order to prove and verify the ownership of a particular territory by an ethnic group. Since space is a necessary dimension for a self-definition framework, continuity assumes special importance where claims to territory are being advanced. In their undertaking to establish Greek continuity in Smyrna, the *MC* worked towards rediscovering and combining the layers of the city's Greek history, and at the same time demonstrating that an eternal and authentic Greek core had always been there untouched by historical flow. This way, the *MC* set out to validate the claim that Smyrna belonged historically to the Greeks, the major reason being that they 'always' lived there.

The accounts of historical events, misfortunes and exploits in which the Greek Orthodox of Smyrna partook and the *MC* articulated, was another way to authenticate the city's Greek character. These were not institutionalized historical enquiries into those events, but rather selective shared memories of successive generations of the members of the Smyrniot Greek Orthodox community. In this effort, they were relentlessly engaged

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[415] Gritsopoulos 1965: 371.
[416] Op., cit. 377.

with the consolidation and transmission of their collective traditions, as well as their reinterpretation and reconstruction, while the ethnic past that they reinterpreted and reconstructed was both usable and sacred.

The *MC* in order to further recreate the 'Greekness' of the Smyrniot landscape and endow it with ethno-historical significance, reached for the valued qualities of rootedness and authenticity in the heroic virtues of past patriots, national geniuses, and heroes, locating their deeds in Smyrna. As exemplars of national virtue, 'authentic' representatives of 'the people' and instruments of national destiny, heroes and geniuses are rooted in the soil of the homeland. Whether legendary or historical heroes and geniuses provide models of conduct, while their deeds are worthy of emulation in each generation, and have come to embody the popular will and the virtues of the nation. National heroes are important because they exemplify a past age of communal achievement, encapsulate an atmosphere of splendour and challenge, and embody a pure form of the allegedly 'real' qualities of the community. The meaning and popular appeal of these personas is derived from their appropriation by 'the nation', since they symbolize and crystallize the creative power and unique virtue of their community. In addition, the graves of these venerated exemplars of national virtue bear witness to the uniqueness and antiquity of particular landscapes, since the land actually forms the last resting place of those ancestors. This helps to establish a close attachment between land and community, such that the people are felt to belong to a specific territory and the territory to that particular people.

The *MC* has endowed Smyrna with powerful emotional connotations and cultural meanings. It has reconstructed the city's 'essentially' Greek character by depicting the landscape, the sites and its Greek symbolic monuments. The journal has elevated Smyrna to an 'ethnoscape', since it has provided the distinctive setting for the events that shaped the character of the Greek Smyrniot community, while its features became part of the community's experiences and collective memories. The *MC* has further established the fusion of the Smyrniot community with the Smyrniot terrain through the identification of natural with historical sites. On the one hand, natural features have become historicized – e.g., the bay of Smyrna or Mt. Pagos – and, on the other, historic sites have become naturalized – e.g., the castle of Smyrna or Ayia Fotini Cathedral. Especially the second part of this process has been very important since historical sites have appeared to fuse with nature and have become over the centuries one with the community's habitat. By infiltrating the consciousness of many generations, the historic sites witness and express a unique identity, and play a crucial role for the self-definition of the Greek Smyrniot community and the 'title-deeds' of Smyrna.

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Through these reconstructions of the Greekness of Smyrna, the *MC* turn it to the Lost Homeland *par excellence*. The nationalization/Hellenization of Smyrniot space continues independently of the fact of the city's loss. Smyrna is visualized and reconstructed on an imaginary level as a purely Greek ancestral homeland, while its factual loss transforms it to an imaginary Greek Lost Homeland. The way a homeland constitutes an intrinsic part of a national identity, the same way a lost homeland can be felt to be part of such an identity. In our case, Smyrna and the Greek Lost Homelands in general become a constituent element of Greek national identity and provide a sense of belonging to the members of the Greek national community. Being steeped into Greek nationalism and having cultivated a national identity as Greek, one develops a sense of belonging to a community that has, among others, historical homelands that are now lost for the Greek nation and that Smyrna encapsulates the very essence of this loss. The following chapter will offer an overview of contemporary manifestations of exactly this element of Greek national identity.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This thesis has attempted a sociological undertaking in the study of nationalism as an ideology. The case of Greek nationalism (as an 'Eastern' or 'ethnic' nationalism) has been the case study and its idea of the Lost Homelands, in conformity with its obsession with the past – or the imaginary past – the focus of the analysis. The thesis embarked from the ethno-symbolist theoretical approach of nationalism and its focus on ideational elements in the emergence of nations, like myths, symbols and memories. This approach also provided for a model for the construction of the national homeland that fits the case of Smyrna and Asia Minor as Greek Lost Homelands.

This thesis examined the idea of the Lost Homelands of Asia Minor, and Smyrna in particular, as a Greek national myth. The main argument has been that the Lost Homelands have turned into a key element of Greek nationalist ideology and a component of Greek national identity. The function of this idea has been to bind the members of the Greek nation under the collective trauma of the loss of those 'ancestral' homelands and in essence to authenticate Greek national identity.

Pre-1922, Greek nation-building had been advocating the Greekness of Asia Minor in order to back up its expansionism and its territorial claims. In the post-disaster era, this process persisted, but this time sought to reconstruct an immemorial image of Greek Asia Minor through the concept of the Lost Homelands. This was an ideologically charged concept that allowed for a mythic mode of perception of the Lost Homelands, and the particular myth was essential for the incorporation and integration of the refugees into the Greek nation. The Greek Lost Homelands however, form a case of latent irredentism, since, even though contemporary Greek nationalist ideology does not set forth any territorial claims over Asia Minor and Smyrna, the very perception of those territories as Lost Homelands perpetuates their 'Greekness' in Greek national imagination. Smyrna has surfaced as the encapsulation of the Lost Homelands, due to the events that followed the entrance of the Turkish army in 1922, its burning, as well as due to the memory engineering about the city. Thus, Smyrna has become a symbol of the Greek nation, entering the sphere of national imagination and representing a lost national paradise.

The mythologization and symbolization of the Lost Homelands as well as their incorporation into Greek nationalist ideology was a lengthy process that involved numerous institutions of Greek society. This thesis analyzed the role of the refugee association 'Enosis Smyrneon', and its journal *Mikrasiatika Chronika* in this process. The

themes of continuity, famous ancestors, historical events and space were at the focus of the analysis, since they provided for a way of association of a population with its territory and for the construction of the 'homeland' – or in this case – of the 'lost' homeland.

'Enosis Smyrneon' was established in 1936, aligned to the contemporary ideological trends and social conditions of the period (and conforming to the Metaxas' dictatorship environment). It thus formed a close relationship with the ancient Greek Ionian past and chose not to get politically involved. 'Enosis Smyrneon' attempted to organize the Smyrniot refugee community by developing manifold social activities. However, its most important undertaking was the *Mikrasiatika Chronika*, one of the most important and systematic refugee publications that set out to safeguard the memories of Greek Asia Minor.

This thesis focused on the reconstructions of the 'Greekness' of Smyrna in the *MC* and examined the themes of continuity, accounts of historical events, memories of glorious ancestors and contemporary prominent Smyrniot figures, and descriptions of monuments, sites and natural features of Ionia. It argued that continuity in time and over space is instilled in order to prove and verify the Greek ownership of Asia Minor. In their mission to confirm Greek continuity in Smyrna, the *MC* worked towards rediscovering and combining the layers of the city's Greek history, demonstrating, at the same time, that a Greek core had always been there untouched by the flow of history. Another way to verify the city's Greek character was by accounting for historical events, misfortunes and exploits in which the Greek Orthodox Smyrniots partook and the *MC* articulated. These were shared memories of successive generations of the Greek Smyrniots, rather than professional historical inquiries. To further re-enact the 'Greekness' of the Smyrniot landscape, the *MC* touched upon the qualities of rootedness and authenticity in the virtues of past patriots, national geniuses, and heroes, locating them in Smyrna, as the graves of these exemplars of national virtue validated the uniqueness and antiquity of the Smyrniot landscape. In reconstructing an 'essentially' Greek character of Smyrna, the *MC* promoted particular depictions of the landscape, the sites and the Greek symbolic monuments of the city. While Smyrna provided for the locale of the events that shaped the Greek Smyrniot community, the features of this locale became part of the community's collective memories.

This thesis has demonstrated that through these reconstructions of the Greekness of Smyrna, the *MC* turn it to the Lost Homeland *par excellence*, arguing that the hellenization of Smyrniot space in Greek national imagery continues regardless of the fact of the city's loss. Smyrna is reconstructed on an imaginary level as a purely Greek ancestral homeland,

whereas its loss transforms it to an imaginary Greek Lost Homeland. This way, Smyrna has become a constituent element of Greek national identity, enhancing a sense of belonging to the members of the Greek national community.

This thesis has further examined the role of the Greek educational system and of the 'literature of the disaster' in the construction of the Lost Homelands. The Greek educational system underrates the importance of the Lost Homelands, as it does not even mention the term in the history subject in any grade of Greek school. The subject of literature, however, is the one that introduces the Lost Homelands through works of the 'literature of the disaster'. The argument here is that the Greek state strives to highlight only the cultural significance of the Lost Homelands and to disassociate it from any political/ideological connotations. Whether it succeeds though is a different story, since as nationalism is mainly an ideology, the symbol of the Lost Homelands does have ideological connotations.

Finally, the thesis has argued that the role of the 'literature of the exile' in the construction and articulation of the Lost Homelands has been important, since it has contributed in instilling the myth of Asia Minor in Greek consciousness. The past fifteen years have witnessed a revival of the theme in Greek literature, with novels that attempt to evoke the collective memories about Smyrna and the disaster, following a general trend of rediscovery of the Lost Homelands with manifestations of the symbol in various areas of Greek cultural life.

The theme of the Lost Homelands is pertinent to many nationalist movements and forms the core of ongoing ethnic conflicts (e.g. Israeli-Palestinian conflict). Further studies could compare the process of the construction of the Greek Lost Homelands with the Armenian, the German, the Israeli-Palestinian or any ethnic nationalism case that has developed similar processes of territorial attachment. Of interest is also the role Kosovo plays in Serbian nationalist ideology and how this influences Serbian politics. The process of the construction of the Lost Homelands could also provide the model of analysis of other Greek symbols, like for example symbols from the Macedonian legacy (i.e. the star of Vergina or the name 'Macedonia') that are challenged by the state of FYROM, or the Greek-Cypriot symbolic campaign of '*Δεν Ξεχνώ*' (I do not forget).

This thesis attempted an analysis of the construction of the idea of the Lost Homelands as a Greek national myth. It explored the role of the ES in the process of mythologization of the Lost Homelands and particularly Smyrna, arguing that the Lost Homelands are a constitutive part of modern Greek national identity. The thesis' contribution and novelty lies to the employment of the ethno-symbolist model of homeland

construction for the construction also of the Lost Homelands. It has demonstrated that through the four themes of continuity, famous ancestors, historical events and uses of space ethno-symbolists employ for the construction of national homelands, Greek nation building has constructed the Lost Homelands of the Greek nation. The thesis main interest has been to use ethno-symbolism in order to shed light and understand Greek nationalism and its spatial dimensions. In this respect, the thesis contributes in general to our understanding of the nationalization of space process, the spatial attachments of national groups to specific territories, the effects of forced population transfers in shaping modern identity politics, as well as the creation, articulation and consumption of national myths and symbols. More specifically, the thesis contributes to the Asia Minor disaster studies, the 1922 population transfer and its long term aftermath, the evolution of Greek nationalism as well as to our understanding of modern Greek national identity. The thesis also contributes to the ethno-symbolist theory, as it verifies that the theory's rationale on the construction of homeland applies also to the construction of the *lost* homeland.

History, anthropology, sociology, philology and folklore[417] studies have turned Smyrna to an 'historical drama'. As such, Smyrna became a link to bind the Greeks with their ancestors and their descendants, teaching them who they are, where they are and who they should be. It supplied a history of the nation, locating it in time and space, generating at the same time a plan for the future. Additionally, this 'historical drama' described the course of growth, decline and rebirth of the nation – its growth in pre-1922 Smyrna, its decline with the defeat and the expatriation of the Anatolian Greeks, and finally its rebirth, with the unpredictable social, cultural and mainly economic development of post-1922 Greece, which is considered to be due to the refugee influx and contribution.

The trend to term the refugee settlements in Greece as 'new' followed by the name of the city/village where they came from (e.g., New Smyrna, New Philadelphia etc.), reflected a nostalgic desire of the refugees not to forget their roots and their history. It also symbolised their 'new' way of life – of national life – their rebirth and new identity; an identity both old – derived from their Asia Minor origin – and at the same time new – as they became now Greeks of Greece, not 'unredeemed', 'Anatolians', or 'Rum/Romioi' anymore. Therefore, New Smyrna – a suburb of Athens – is there to stir up the memories of the past, glorious dream of the last Hellenic tragedy in Asia Minor and of the myth: the lost national 'paradise', always to symbolise individual and collective loss. The symbol of Smyrna is there to remind the Greeks of their historical experiences and their duties to

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[417] For an overview of the ways in which folkore studies in Greece adopted and promoted nationalist and irredentist views see, Herzfeld 1982.

those who suffered and sacrificed for the national 'dream'. It bestowed a distinctive heritage of bitterness and suffering on the Greeks that marked their national consciousness ineffaceably; a trauma that left deep scars in the 'soul' of the nation and that must be taken into consideration in any attempt to analyse Greek national identity.

LOST HOMELANDS AND GREEK NATIONAL IDENTITY: EDUCATION AND LITERATURE

T his part analyzes the construction of the Lost Homelands in contemporary institutionalized processes of formation and reformation of Greek national identity. It examines the images of Smyrna in the Greek national education system, focusing upon the subjects of history and Greek literature. It argues that even if the history textbooks disregard the Lost Homelands as a symbolic ideological construct, it infiltrates Greek education through the subject of literature.[418] The 'literature of the exile' or the 'literature of the disaster', as it is known, has undoubtedly been one of the key players in the mythologization of the Lost Homelands in Greek national imagery and the diffusion of this symbol to the whole nation. It is understandable thus that the incorporation of literary works about the disaster in the Greek educational system aims to perpetuate the memory and renew the symbol of the Lost Homelands for younger Greek generations. As the symbol gets renewed, so do the means for its articulation. So, we witness a renewal of the theme of the Lost Homelands and the disaster of Smyrna in Greek contemporary literature, with novels that base their success on the guaranteed theme of the Asia Minor disaster. These novels play 'safe', as imaginary reconstructions of the Lost Homelands of the East will always be appealing to the Greeks, exactly because they form part of their national identity. This part will not offer a literary analysis of novels about the Asia Minor disaster, as it is mostly interested in the sociological dimensions of literature and its role in the construction and diffusion of the myth of Lost Homelands.

History and Literature in the Greek School

In modern nation-states, the institution of public, centralized compulsory education has been assigned with the role of reproducing national identity, through educating the

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[418] The analysis of the history textbooks of the Greek school on the issue of the unredeemed lands/Lost Homelands throughout its history would require a separate study of its own. This chapter examines only the textbooks that are currently taught in Greek school.

population.[419] The school safeguards the formation, articulation and continuity of national identity, especially through the teaching of the nation's history, language and geography to the younger generations.[420] These three subjects establish the belief in the nation's cultural homogeneity, reproduce its sense of continuity in time and space, and ensure the existence of its language.

Ethnic self-representations and perceptions of others are influenced by various factors, and crystallize over a long period – *la longue durée*[421] – during which the ethnic group is historically formed into a nation by structuring and restructuring its history, and developing its national identity through the construction of national memory. The role of a modern national education system is crucial in the preservation of this memory. Language is one mechanism for the promotion of cultural uniformity, while the teaching of geography and history shapes and verifies the nation's collective self-representations as a distinctive cultural community, in relation to other nations. Ceremonies, symbols and national commemoration days contribute to this process, along with the teachers who carry out the dictates of the official nationalist ideology through their work.[422]

The work of Fragkoudaki and Dragona (1997) on ethnocentrism in Greek education has been important. By analyzing school textbooks and perceptions of teachers, their study finds that Greek school still reproduces the nationalist narrative of the nineteenth century with regards to the relationship between the Greek nation and antiquity. Antiquity is venerated to such a degree that it invalidates modern Greek society and culture. Their main conclusion is that Greek identity as cultivated by the national education system is fragile, contradictory and underestimated.[423] This chapter examines the Greek education system, in relation to what is taught, when, and how, about Smyrna and the Lost Homelands in general. The subjects of history and Greek literature are at the focus and, in particular, what they teach young Greeks about 'our' Smyrna.

Historical reality and truth are not absolute but rather contested and contextual, while historiography regularly produces and sustains myths in the form of constructed memory and oblivion. History is – like the present – in a permanent state of transformation. In this framework of a history that is constantly written and rewritten from an ever-changing present viewpoint, constructed memories are constantly subject to critical examination and reconsideration. History does not simply exist – 'it is permanently

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[419] Gellner 1983; Smith 1986.
[420] Fragkoudaki and Dragona 1997: 14.
[421] Armstrong 1982: 4.
[422] On commemoration see Papadakis 2003.
[423] Fragkoudaki and Dragona 1997.

invented in order to give meaning to the present – and to the future – through the past'.[424] Greek national history – as with all national histories – is often contested and at the epicentre of fierce ideological clashes. A recent one was in 2006-2007 and concerned the new history textbook of the sixth elementary grade. The new book, published in 2006 by a team led by the leftist historian Maria Repousi, met the fierce resistance and extreme reactions of teachers, the Church, right-wing politicians and MPs, refugee associations and various organizations of civil society (such as the parents' associations), on the charge that it 'de-constructed Greek history and national identity'.[425] Repousi defended the book by arguing that it strove to overcome national stereotypes about the Greek nation itself and national others. Interestingly – for this thesis – the point in the book that caused most reactions was about the Asia Minor disaster, and the mention that after the defeat of the Greek army, 'Greek refugees crowded at the harbor of Smyrna'.[426] The reactions to the use of the verb 'crowded' were dynamic and the book was finally withdrawn by the Ministry of Education in 2007. This case is an illustrative example of the power the symbol of Smyrna, and the Lost Homelands have come to possess, and their meaning for contemporary Greek national identity. The book itself and the use of the verb 'crowded' in particular, were felt to be disrespectful to the part of Greek national identity that responds to the bond with the Lost Homelands, as it challenged the constructed memories of what happened at the harbor of Smyrna. These memories are of such a tragic and dramatic situation of the Greek refugees after the entrance of the Turkish army into the city that the word 'crowded' was felt to be too diminishing and offending for this historical 'injustice'. The reactions were fierce, and their power enough to ostracize the book from Greek schools, exactly because the Lost Homelands are a constitutive part of Greek national identity and the book was felt to challenge Greek national 'feeling'. Let us now examine what history textbooks disclose about Smyrna in the Greek education system.

The theme of the Asia Minor war and disaster is taught in the history textbooks of the sixth elementary grade, the third gymnasium, and the third lyceum grades.[427] The history textbooks of the sixth elementary grade and the third gymnasium grade begin the section with an overview of the Greek populations of Asia Minor, Pontus, and Eastern Thrace before accounting for the war. They refer to these populations as 'unredeemed' and describe the flourishing of their communities in the nineteenth century, as well as the

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[424] Strath 2000: 26.
[425] See documentary http://folders.skai.gr/main/theme?locale=el&id=17
[426] Repousi 2006: 100.
[427] Modern history is taught in these grades. Other grades are taught ancient or medieval history. All books can be found online at http://ebooks.edu.gr/

persecutions against them during the twentieth century. The third lyceum grade history textbook does not teach this overview but begins the section with the end of World War I. All three textbooks discuss the end of World War I, and the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), that allowed Greece to occupy Smyrna and Ionia; they continue with the war in the interior of Asia Minor, the Greek defeat and evacuation and the Lausanne Convention and population exchange between Greece and Turkey.

In discussing the long-term presence of Greek populations in these areas, the sixth elementary and the third gymnasium grade textbooks in a sense legitimate the Greek military venture in Asia Minor, as they assume that the national interests and aspirations of the time dictated a war that would liberate those populations and incorporate them in the Greek nation-state, along with their homelands. Those homelands were depicted as Greek, mostly by virtue of the Greek populations who lived and thrived there. The textbooks stress the pre-eminence and achievements of the Asia Minor Greeks in the commercial, educational and cultural life of Asia Minor, eastern Thrace and Pontus, contributing to the idealization of those territories in Greek national imagination.

In examining the three history textbooks, one notices that the one taught in the sixth elementary grade entails a more 'dramatic' and emotionally-stirring tone, while the other two are more objective in the sense of providing a more 'distanced' and less simplistic recitation of the events. The textbook of the third lyceum grade is, in particular, the most emotionally detached account of the facts, lacking any dramatization about war calamities and the loss of those homelands. In fact, this textbook focuses primarily on the consequences of the disaster and the population exchange, attempting to impartially account for their repercussions for the Greek state and society. This detachment is obvious also from the fact that all accounts that it cites in captions are refugee testimonials and only of their difficulties upon arrival in Greece; the other two textbooks cite in captions refugee testimonials of their dramatic experiences in Asia Minor during their uprooting, so, because the captions of the highest level textbook focus only on the hardships of the newcomers in the Greek state, it seems to disregard the traumatic experiences that led to this uprooting. This is related to the fact that it is easier to shape the national imagination of, and thus instill a sense of national belonging and identity to, younger generations, so that the sixth elementary grade textbook is more 'dramatic' in its narration of the disaster than the other two. The different choice of words of the sixth elementary grade textbook and the other two with regards to how they title the military confrontation is also interesting: the textbook of the elementary school refers to the 'Asia Minor Campaign',

while the other two to the 'Asia Minor War'.[428] The difference between the terms 'campaign' and 'war' may not be significant in their content, but they have different symbolic connotations. On the one hand, the term 'campaign' sounds more adventurous and may have more simplistic and imagination-stirring connotations for the younger sixth graders, the Greek consciousness of whom the subject of history aspires to develop. On the other hand, the term 'war' has an absolute and more outright meaning, with a minimal scope for imaginative reconstructions. This term is more suitable for the high school senior Greek students, the Greek consciousness of whom has already been established.

Remarkably, there is no reference in these textbooks of the term 'Lost Homelands'. They describe the life of Greeks in Asia Minor, they cite the facts of the war, the defeat and its consequences, but they defer from explicitly stating the term 'Lost Homelands'. This is related to the role of the Greek state in the process of mythologization of the Lost Homelands (as discussed in chapter one) and confirms the argument that the state has been absent from the formulations of this ideological concept. This absence has to do firstly with the current friendly relations with Turkey that Greece strives to sustain, and secondly with the fact that the Greek state was the primary culprit in the disaster. The cultivation from the official state-led education system of the concept of the Lost Homelands might provoke Turkish hostility on the one hand, and may stir up feelings of injustice to the descendants of the refugees who may seek modern means of compensation on the other (e.g. at the European Court for Justice). However, what the subject of history magnanimously overlooks infiltrates the Greek education system through another subject – that of modern Greek literature.

The subject of Greek literature is taught across all grades of Greek school. In the sixth grades of elementary school, first and second of Gymnasium, and second and third of Lyceum the subject also includes works of the so-called 'literature of the disaster'. These are literary works of authors of refugee origin that primarily centre on the issue of the Asia Minor disaster. Sixth elementary graders are taught Dido Sotiriou's '*Οι Πρόσφυγες*' (*the Refugees*), an excerpt from her novel '*Μέσα από τις Φλόγες*' (*Through the Fire*) that tells the story of an Asia Minor Greek family and their ordeal of uprooting.[429]

First Gymnasium graders are taught Giorgos Theotokas' '*Ο Δημοτικός Κήπος του Ταξιμιού*' (*the Municipal Garden of Taxim*), an excerpt from his novel '*Λεωνής*' (*Leonis*), that is a nostalgic account of early 20th century Istanbul and its Greek character. Their

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[428] Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs, Ιστορία (ΣΤ' Δημοτικού): chapter 5. Ιστορία (Γ' Γυμνασίου): chapter 38. Ιστορία (Γ' Λυκείου): chapter 3Β. See the books online at http://ebooks.edu.gr/new/
[429] Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs, *Ανθολόγιο Λογοτεχνικών Κειμένων (ΣΤ' Δημοτικού)*, chapter Η10.

curriculum also includes Dido Sotiriou's '*Ταξιδι χωρίς Επιστροφή*' (*Voyage with no return*), an extract from her novel '*Οι Νεκροί Περιμένουν*' (*The Dead are Waiting*) that transfers the readers to the dramatic atmosphere of Smyrna a few hours before the entrance of the Turkish army, the city's destruction and the violent uprooting of its Greek population.[430]

Second Gymnasium graders' curriculum includes Diamantis Axiotis' '*Η Άννα του Κλήδονα*' (*Anna of Kledonas*), a short story that describes an Asia Minor tradition, Dido Sotiriou's '*Όταν Πρωτοκατέβηκα στη Σμύρνη*' (*When I First Went to Smyrna*), an extract from her novel '*Ματωμένα Χώματα*' (translated in English as '*Farewell Anatolia*') that, through the narration of the life of a Greek farmer in Anatolia, depicts the tragic fate that befell all Asia Minor Greeks, and Elias Venezis' '*Η Επιστροφή του Αντρέα*' (*The Return of Andreas*). This last one is an excerpt from Venezis' novel '*Γαλήνη*' (*Serenity*) that describes the misdeeds of a group of refugees who struggle to settle in the arid landscape of mainland Greece. In the novel, the uncertainty for the future coexists with nostalgia for the lost homeland and the agony for the fate of those who were left behind.[431]

The program of study of the second Lyceum grade includes three notable works, related to the idea of the Lost Homelands. The first one is Kosmas Politis' '*Στου Χατζηφράγκου*' (*At Hatzifragkos'*) and it depicts childhood memories of Smyrna. Elias Venezis' '*Το Νούμερο 31328*' (*The Number 31328*) is the second, and it describes the author's dramatic experiences and memories as a hostage in the Turkish 'labor corps' for 14 months after the disaster. Giorgos Theotokas' novel '*Αργώ*' (*Argo*) is the third, and it evolves around the lives of its refugee heroes after the disaster.[432]

Finally, students of the third lyceum grade are taught Dido Sotiriou's '*Οι Νεκροί Περιμένουν*' (*The Dead are Waiting*), a novel about those displaced from the Asia Minor disaster and the population exchange, the uprooting and the hardships of their new beginnings. The extract taught in this grade depicts the happy and carefree lives of the Greeks in Asia Minor before the war.[433]

The role of this 'literature of the exile' in the construction of the Lost Homelands has been crucial and will be discussed in the following section. The incorporation, however, of the Lost Homelands in the curriculum of the Greek education system in the

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[430] Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs, *Κείμενα Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας (Α΄Γυμνασίου)*, chapters 6.1 and 6.2.

[431] Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs, *Κείμενα Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας (Β΄Γυμνασίου)*, chapters 2.2, 6.1 and 8.4

[432] Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs, *Κείμενα Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας (Β΄Λυκείου)*, chapters 4.5, 4.11 and 4.17.

[433] Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs, *Κείμενα Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας (Γ΄Λυκείου)*, chapter B2.

subject of Greek literature and not history, is indicative of the fact that the Greek state recognizes the importance of the Lost Homelands more as a cultural element than as political/ideological. The Lost Homelands of the nation and all their literary expressions are only seen as cultural characteristics that need to be re-produced and instilled in future generations. The Lost Homelands are not mentioned in the teaching of history because the state strives to downplay the ideological significance of this concept and to establish it as a cultural feature of the Greek nation. This way, as previously discussed, the state attempts to strip the concept from any political undertones that might lead to misguided presumptions of irredentism or territorial claims on its behalf. In the discourse of the Lost Homelands, what is claimed is not the actual territory of Smyrna and Asia Minor, but rather an idealized mental construct that exists purely in memory and imagination.

Literature of the Exile

In the past few decades, the term 'literature of the exile' has been applied by scholars to works of exiled authors.[434] Most of these authors have been exiled for political reasons, and left their country for some foreign country, either banished by their government or to escape harassment, persecution, imprisonment, or execution.[435] These authors were exiled by fellow nationals and have often moved to countries where the major language spoken is not their own. They also assume that they will eventually return to their own country when conditions permit so.

This term is also applied to works written by Greek writers from Asia Minor and Constantinople, altought they do not strictly meet the criteria mentioned above.[436] These writers were expelled from their homelands as a result of political upheavals, and moved to a country whose inhabitants belonged to the same ethnic group, and spoke the same language, but with whom they may have had little or no previous contact. The Greek refugee writers are distinguished from other exiled writers by the fact that they were expelled not because of their political beliefs but because of their ethnic identity by a different ethnic group and there is no possibility for them to ever return to live back in their original homelands. Armenian, Jewish, Palestinian Arab, as well as German refugee writers fall into this category, part of the homelands of whom underwent a process of ethnic cleansing in favour of another nation (i.e. Edward Said, Saree Makdisi, Armen Melikian, et. al.).

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[434] See Boym 2001, Tucker 1991, Seidel 1986, Bender and Winer 2001.
[435] Tucker 1991.
[436] See for example Mackridge 1992, 2004 and Doulis 1977.

Still these refugee writers suffered the experience of exile as intensely as anyone who has been cut off from his homeland. This experience involved feelings of loss, pain, shock, separation, nostalgia and solitude that were expressed often directly through their literary works. Thus the expatriate writers wrote novels based on their memories of their lives before war, the traumatic process of their uprooting and the difficulties they faced in the process of settlement in the new country.

Definitions of the concept of exile suggested by literary scholars seem to apply to the case of the Greek Asia Minor refugee writers as well. For example, Michael Seidel defines the exile as 'someone who inhabits one place and remembers or projects the reality of another',[437] while Martin Tucker argues that 'an exile […] may be defined as a refugee […] who has found a place after much wandering and one who begins the equally tortuous routes of wandering through memory and yearning'.[438] The nostalgia for the past that haunts the Greek refugee writers is typical of exiled writers, while their fictional characters tend to share this sense. Exiled people take their space and time with them when they depart. As Octavio Armand wrote, 'people in exile are never completely dispossessed; like snails, they carry their homes everywhere: the languages, customs, traditions of their countries […] their homes and landscapes live within them, although they are no longer places of physical dwelling'.[439] What theorists and writers of exile literature stress is the re-creation of the lost homeland through imagination. Through their writing, exiled authors construct a new home that is no longer a geographical location, but an imaginary place, as 'for the exile, native territory is the product of heightened and sharpened memory, and imagination is, indeed, a special homecoming'.[440]

The Asia Minor Disaster in Greek Literature

Cultural production in general and literature in particular are closely associated with significant historical events, and there is admittedly substantial interplay between them. A method to trace the impact of a specific historical event on cultural life is to assess the previous cultural milieu and compare it to the new cultural reality that emerged out of the historical fact.[441] Before 1922, Greek culture was in search of a character, divided by the 'language issue' or *diglossia*, between *katharevousa* and the *demotic*. The *demotic* was the language spoken by the people, but it was seen as 'uncultivated' and 'corrupted' to be used

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[437] Seidel 1986: ix.
[438] Tucker 1991: xvi.
[439] Armand 1989: 21.
[440] Nabokov 1965: 187.
[441] Doulis 1977: 1.

in education, literature and official events; *katharevousa* was a 'scholarly' version of Greek, 'purified' by external linguistic influences and largely artificial. *Katharevousa* was adopted as the official language of the modern Greek state in 1834; it was finally abolished in 1977.[442] The 'language issue' reflected the ideological quests and diverse orientations with regards to the nation's past and identity. Pre-1922, Greek literature was assigned with the task to assert the ethnic and cultural descent of modern Greece from the ancient ancestors, and to do this in a contested language. The solution to this problem of language and identity was postponed until the realization of the dominant at the time 'Megali Idea' nationalist project that envisioned the unification of all Greek populations along with their historic territories in a single expanded state. The Asia Minor disaster and failure of the 'Megali Idea' changed irrevocably the character of modern Greek society. In 1922, the Greeks suffered a social, ideological and emotional dislocation that changed the course of their modern culture, and literature – as the mirror of culture – reflected this change. One of the most important issues the disaster prompted was the corrosion of the foundations of the Greek national ideal and the national identity crisis that followed.[443] Irrevocably marked, Greek literature sought to document this upheaval and became an instrument to measure the impact the 1922 events brought on Greek society. One may argue that the ideological impact of the disaster was only felt when literature began to reflect its aftermath.

The cultural impact of the Asia Minor disaster to Greece could be summed up as the narrowing of geographical horizons and a national identity crisis. The outlook of Greek writers was influenced primarily by the dire shrinking of a vast imagined Greek nation into the narrow borders of a small Greek state. 'Megali Idea' had cultivated an image of a Greek nation stretching as far as Pontus in the Black Sea and had held a reminder and promise for national greatness, as the Greeks' cultural mission was to 'bring light to the East'. The disaster however, and the eradication of the Asia Minor Greek Orthodox communities was a turning point for Greek literature. The national contraction necessitated a re-evaluation of Greek national values and ideas, perceived now as bankrupt since they had rested entirely on the 'Megali Idea'. Greek literature in the inter-war period expressed defeatism, but there were also those who envisioned a new beginning based on the old experiences. The main driving force behind literature at the time was the desire to redefine 'Greekness' both in relation to contemporary European culture and the ancient past.

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[442] Mpampiniotis 2011; Fragkoudaki 1987, 2001.
[443] Doulis 1977: 43.

The Asia Minor disaster follows three thematic strands in modern Greek literature: first, works that concentrate on peacetime life in Asia Minor before 1922 [for example: Theotokas' '*Λεωνής*', (*Leonis*), 1940, Venezis' '*Αιολική Γή*' (*Aeolian Earth*), 1943, Kastanakis' '*Ο Χατζή Μανουήλ*' (*Hatzi Manouel*), 1956, Politis' '*Στου Χατζηφράγκου*' (*At Hatzifragos'*), 1963, and Iordanidou's '*Λωξάντρα*' (*Loxandra*), 1963]; second, works that focus on the experience of war, captivity and/or expulsion [for example: Doukas' '*Ιστορία ενός αιχμαλώτου*' (*Story of a Captive*), 1929, Venezis' '*Το Νούμερο 31328*' (*Number 31328*), 1931, Theotokas' chapter 5 of '*Αργώ*' (*Argo*), 1933, and Sotiriou's '*Ματωμένα Χώματα*' (*Farewell Anatolia*), 1962]; and third, works that depict the economic, social and psychological difficulties of the resettlement of the refugees in Greece [for example: Stavrou's '*Οι Πρώτες Ρίζες*' (*The First Roots*), 1936, and Venezis' '*Γαλήνη*' (*Serenity*), 1939, but also a minor theme in other novels].[444]

The works in the first and third thematic strands are apt to compare the old and the new homelands implicitly or explicitly. Those that depict life in the old homeland are written – necessarily – from a spatial and temporal distance. This distance allows for an idealism to entrench in the landscape from which the authors and their characters have been expelled. So,

> '*the lost homeland becomes a timeless, idyllic and exotic East*
> *connoted by camels, tobacco smugglers, and wrestlers; it is*
> *characterized by a cosmopolitan nobility and generosity of*
> *behavior, material wealth, open spaces, and a fertile soil'*.[445]

This image comes in contrast with the reality of the confined Greek state, where the perceived superior education and lost wealth of the refugees are of no use. Works under these two thematic strands also deal with a sense of belonging that is expressed – apart from personal memories and nostalgic reveries – through collective historical memory, stretching back to various periods of Asia Minor Greek history (for example in '*Στου Χατζηφράγκου*', the characters often refer to the ancient history of Smyrna, which begins with their compatriot Homer himself).[446]

Peter Mackridge argues that Asia Minor is an 'invention', a mental 'construct' in Greek literature, and refers to it as the 'myth of Asia Minor'. By 'myth' he implies a

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[444] Mackridge 1992: 227-228.
[445] Op. cit. 229.
[446] Politis 1963: 52.

> *'set of mental images articulated through language, rhetoric*
> *and representation concerning a number of particular places,*
> *which are defined in terms both of their internal coherence,*
> *ambiguities and paradoxes and of their relations with, and*
> *oppositions to, other places'.*[447]

Since 1922, there has been a significant number of influential novels and stories about the Asia Minor disaster, and their importance lies in the fact that they are primarily responsible for instilling the myth of Asia Minor in Greek consciousness.[448]

Mackridge's idea about the 'myth of Asia Minor' as a mental construct in Greek literature resonates with, and validates this thesis' view on the Lost Homelands as a conceptual construct of Greek nationalism. As discussed earlier in the thesis, the mythologization of the Lost Homelands in Greek national imagery was not a process carried out by a single institution of Greek society, but it rather evolved in the process of coping with the ideological aftermath of the disaster and it involved most institutions of Greek society. This thesis examined the role of the ES and its journal *MC* in the social construction of the Lost Homelands in Greek nationalism, while Mackridge analyzes the role of literature in the construction and articulation of this national myth. The analysis of the myth in Greek literature that follows is based on the analysis of Mackridge.

In analyzing the myth of Asia Minor through the novels of the refugee writers, Mackridge divides the components of the myth into those that deal with the setting and those that deal with the humans. He further traces certain common patterns that enforce the mythologization of Asia Minor through the novels. The first pattern is one that sees Asia Minor as a blessed, 'Promised Land', stressing its fertility, often in contrast to the barrenness of the Greek islands and mainland. This pattern demonstrates the belief that Asia Minor was blessed by God and its inhabitants enjoyed the land's bounty. Interestingly, this view of Asia Minor as blessed was only developed after the disaster and the expulsion of the Greek population, who realized they lived in the 'Promised Land' only after they lost it. A word that recurs in the novels and summarizes the bounty of Asia Minor is *bereketi* (Turkish *bereket*) that its meaning combines abundance and fruitfulness with divine blessing. A second pattern is the cultivation of an exotic image of Asia Minor in these novels. Hence, linguistic particularities, local dress, food, music and in general the

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[447] Mackridge 2003: 235-236.
[448] Op. cit. 236.

couleur locale of Asia Minor are vividly described as they contribute to the construction of an exotic atmosphere. Ethnocentrism (i.e. hellenocentrism) is a third recurring pattern in the novels about Asia Minor. Everything seems to orbit around the lives of the Greek communities, while most Turkish or other non-Greek characters appear merely as a colorful background to life in Asia Minor. Cosmopolitanism is stressed, but only Greek characters play a leading role. A final pattern in the novels about life in Asia Minor before the war is that they give away a sense of timelessness often linked to myth, legend and fairytale, cultivating a sense of belonging and attachment to the soil. They cast out an impression of perpetual summer, wrapped up in an aura of legend and folklore and driven by childhood memories. Mackridge argues that as the narrative proceeds however, 'myth is shattered by history, and the seamless timelessness is violated and supplanted by the fragmenting and corrupting processes of time'.[449]

There are three periods of Asia Minor literature production. The first period ended with the Axis occupation of Greece and the publication of Venezis' '*Αιολική Γη*' (*Aeolian Earth*) in 1943. This novel signified the peak of the Asia Minor mythologization process as a 'place of comfort' in Greek literature. While previous novels depicted life in Asia Minor in a realistic fashion, and narrated events in a largely chronological order, '*Αιολική Γη*' presented a 'timeless world of myth that has been destroyed by history'.[450] The theme of Asia Minor was subdued for about two decades by the political situation in the country (Axis occupation, civil war, repressive right-wing government). It re-emerged in the fortieth anniversary of the disaster in 1962-1963, signaling the second period, with the publication of two major novels by refugee writers: '*Ματωμένα Χώματα*' (*Farewell Anatolia*) by Dido Sotiriou, and '*Στου Χατζηφράγκου*' (*At Hatzifragkos'*) by Kosmas Politis. The third period dates from 1974 and the fall of the military dictatorship onwards, and works were written mostly by authors who had never lived in Asia Minor and were either descendants of refugees or native mainland Greeks deeply affected by the disaster.

Of particular interest for this thesis is the literary production of the past 15 years that witnessed a revival of the theme of the Lost Homelands. Most of these recent works are not considered of the greatest literary importance, nor did they receive enthusiastic criticisms. They are novels of a more 'light' literature type, popular however to a wide public. These novels deal again with the issue of the Asia Minor disaster, and most are love stories that take place in those dramatic times, or stories of an individual or a family and their experiences during the turmoil and the uprooting. What they still do is to reconstruct

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[449] Mackridge 1986: 80.
[450] Mackridge 2003: 236.

an idealized Smyrna and Asia Minor, elaborating on an exotic, bountiful, timeless atmosphere, and an essentially Greek character. Also, they do not fail to account for the dramatic events that followed the defeat, the atrocities against the Greek Orthodox, as well as the burning of Smyrna. They base their *raison d' être* and appeal on employing the collective trauma of 1922, and evoking the national tragedy in the theater of Smyrna.

This type of novel was introduced with the novel of Mara Meimaridi, '*Οι Μάγισσες της Σμύρνης*' (*The Witches of Smyrna*), published in 2002. The book witnessed great popularity and success and was even the basis for a TV series. Through the life of the main Greek character, the book recreated an exotic, cosmopolitan – and predominantly Greek – Smyrna at the turn of the twentieth century and colorfully depicted its destruction in 1922. Many books have followed, most of them following the same motif: a timeless, idyllic life in Smyrna and Asia Minor, the war, the flames, the uprooting, the refugees. All novels correspond to the 'myth of Asia Minor' and at the same time reconstruct on a literary level the Lost Homelands of the nation.[451] The number of these novels suggests that there is a popular demand for this kind of imaginary reconstructions. As the concept of the Lost Homelands has turned to a symbol and a constituent element of modern Greek national identity, these novels persist and succeed exactly because they correspond to this part of Greek identity, addressing its need to renew this symbol. Whether of refugee origin or not, the symbol of the Lost Homelands has come to concern the entire nation, binding its members under the common suffering for the loss of those homelands. As Mackridge argues, the role of literature has been central in the imaginary construction of the lost homelands, as well as their articulation and embellishment to the consciousness of the Greek nation.

Conclusions

Notwithstanding the undeniable historical presence of Greeks in Asia Minor, the concept of the Lost Homelands is essentially a mental construct and a symbol in the arena of Greek nationalism that has come to possess enough power as to mobilize the population. This was clearly the case with the obliteration of the state-sponsored history textbook of the sixth elementary grade of Maria Repousi in 2007, as it was seen as offensive and challenging to that part of Greek identity associated with the Lost Homelands. The Greek education system, assigned with the task to reproduce Greek national identity and memory, downplays the ideological importance of the Lost Homelands, as it does not even refer to

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[451] See appendix V for a list of this type of novels. The list is indicative and by no means exhaustive.

the term in the history subject across all grades of Greek school. The Lost Homelands enter the Greek education system through the subject of literature, with works of the 'literature of the disaster'. This indicates the attempts of the Greek state to highlight the cultural significance of the Lost Homelands and to disassociate it from any political connotations. However, one cannot help but wonder if this is possible with such a powerful symbol. The Lost Homelands are a constituent element of Greek national identity and have become an indispensable part of the 'national salvation drama of collective history and destiny'.[452] As such a part, one may argue that this national symbol does have ideological connotations since nationalism is above all an ideology. With the Lost Homelands, one may not have real claims (to actual territories or to compensation rights) but he does have latent claims to those homelands. By definition, 'Lost Homelands' implies that those homelands were 'ours' before they were lost – the 'ours' corresponding to the Greek nation. This way, Asia Minor and Smyrna in particular turn into Greek ancestral homelands, while in a sense their loss perpetuates their 'Greekness'. They turn into a national symbol and their role is to inspire popular devotion – something necessary if a heterogeneous population is to be moulded into a single 'nation'.[453]

The role of the 'literature of the exile' in the construction and articulation of the Lost Homelands has been of greatest significance. Ever since 1922, there has been a large number of novels and stories about the Asia Minor disaster that have succeeded in instilling the myth of Asia Minor in Greek consciousness. The literary production of the last 15 years has witnessed a revival of the theme, with popular novels that follow a similar pattern in evoking the collective memories about Smyrna and the disaster. In doing so, they secure an audience (and numbers to sell) on the one hand, while on the other hand, they renew the symbol to younger generations. This revival of Asia Minor in literature follows a general trend of rediscovery of the Lost Homelands in the past few years, with manifestations of the symbol in various popular areas. An example is the revival of the Smyrniot cuisine in TV cooking shows, and the reappearance – with renewed popularity – of the *rembetiko* Smyrniot music scenes in Greek nightlife. Another example was the popular movie '*Politiki Kouzina*' (in English: *A touch of Spice*) in 2003, that evolves around the life of an Istanbul Greek exile. His childhood memories, the uprooting, the difficulties in adapting to the new country, an unfulfilled and 'forbidden' love are elements that dramatically blend in with nostalgia for an idealized past and the result is a reconstructed concept of the homeland, as well as a renewed feeling of the loss of it

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[452] Smith 1999: 157.
[453] Op. cit.

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Appendix I

Founders, Committee Members and Authors of ES and *MC*

Founders			
Name	**Date of Birth/Death**	**Place of Origin**	**Profession**
Elias Altinoglous	1879	Choroskioi, Asia Minor	**Physician- Mathematician**
Georgios I. Anastasiades	1874	Vatousa, Lesvos, Greece	**Journalist**
Tasos S. Anastasiades	1869	Smyrna	**Physician-Mathematician**
Anast. Argyropoulos		Smyrna	**Microbiologist**
Michael Argyropoulos	1861	Smyrna	**Poet, Lawyer**
Christos Vasilakakis		Refugee	**Author**
M. Vlastos	Died in 1971	Smyrna	**Neuro-psychiatrist**
Alk. Doulgerides	Died in 1964	Sivrisari, Asia Minor	**Surgeon**
Dim. Ioakimides	1883	Smyrna	**Doctor**
Athan. Karillos	1897	Adramitti, Asia Minor	**Army officer**
I. Kyriazes		Smyrna	**Financier**
Dim. Lignades	Died in 1954	Smyrna	**Professor of technical courses, journalist**
I. Mavroudes		Smyrna	**Lawyer**
Apost. Orfanides	1880	Smyrna	**Doctor**
Michael Paleologos		Smyrna	**Orthopaedic Paediatrician**
A. Sulvios Papadopoulos		Koukloutzas, Asia Minor	**Author, poet**
Nik. Papadimitriades		Aidini, Asia Minor	**Dermatologist**
Elefth. Skordomvekes		Smyrna	**Doctor**
Chr. Solomonides		Smyrna	**Author, Politician**
Georg. Tsakyroglous	Died in 1978	Smyrna	**Doctor**

Committee Members

Alexandros Mpenakes	Died in 1978	Smyrna	**Banker**
Michael Rodas		Native Greek	**Journalist**
I. Sykoutris	1900	Smyrna	**Literature professor**
Ant. Chamoudopoulos	1888	Smyrna	**Journalist**
Stelios Sperantzas	1888	Smyrna	**Medicine Professor, Poet**
Archimandrite Kyrillos Psillas	Died in 1949	Constantinople	**Archimandrite**
Archimandrite Kyrillos Zachopoulos	1873	Kasampas, Asia Minor	**Archimandrite**
Antonios Athinogenes	1875	Smyrna	**Lawyer, Politician**
Adamantios Diamantopoulos	1869	Aghialos, Asia Minor	**History Professor**
Ioannis Iliades		Aidini, Asia Minor	**Merchant**
Fotis Kontoglous	1875 (or 1877)	Aivali, Asia Minor	**Litterateur, Hagiographer**
Nestor Laskares	Died in 1962	Adana, Asia Minor	**Journalist**
Alexandros Petrides	Died in 1953	Nigdi, Asia Minor	**Merchant**
Stilpon Pittakes	Died in 1945	Smyrna	**Author, Literature Professor**
Stelios Seferiades	1873	Smyrna	**Law Professor**
Platon Chatzimichales	1883	Smyrna	**Merchant**
Nikolaos Mpenakes	1860	Smyrna	**Doctor**
Georgios Yperides	1859	Smyrna	**Poet, Journalist, Author, Historian**
Emmanouil Farlekas	1878	Aidini, Asia Minor	**Chief Secretary to the Archbishop, Music teacher**

Authors in the *MC*

K. I. Friligkos	1882	Originated from Kithira Greece, but lived in Smyrna	**Author, translator**
Filippos Falbos	1902	Smyrna	**Insurer, Author**
Aristotelis Stavritses	1885	Smyrna	**Author, Merchant**
Solon Veras	1887	Smyrna (originated from Cyprus)	**Doctor**
Nikos Kararas	1893	Mpournovas, Asia Minor	**Banker, Author**
Socrates Ronas	1890	Voutzas, Asia Minor	**Painter, Author**
Nikos Veis		Native Greek	**University Professor**
Ath. D. Chatzidimou	1910	Aidini, Asia Minor	**Doctor**
Leonidas Filippides	1898	Athens	**Theologian, Author**
N. Lorentes	Died in 1977	Smyrna	**Author**
Nikos Miliores	1896	Vourla, Asia Minor	**Army Officer, Author**
Nikos Veropoulos	1884	Smyrna	**Merchant**
M. Michaelides-Nouaros			**Educator**
Faidon Mpoumpoulides	1923	Volos, Greece	**University Professor**
Vas. Sfyroeras		Native	**Historian**
Dim. A. Petropoulos		Native	**Folklore Scientist**

Appendix II: List of *MC* articles examined in the thesis by category

1) **Γεωγραφία και τοπογραφία**

   a) Αι εξοχαί της Σμύρνης (Γ' 1940)   Κ. Ξ. Ζαννής
   b) Μπεζεστένια και χάνια στη Σμύρνη (Θ' 1961)   Φίλιππος Κ. Φάλμπος
   c) Ένα ταξίδι με ατμόπλοιο στη Σμύρνη (Α' 1938)   Μετάφραση
   d) Δύο κεντρικοί δρόμοι της Σμύρνης με τους κατοίκους των (ΙΓ´1967)   Αλέξ. Μπενάκης

2) **Ιστορικές τύχες ελληνικών πόλεων /πληθυσμών από αρχαιότητα-ανταλλαγή**

   a) Η Σμύρνη προ δύο αιώνων (Α' 1938)   Σωκράτης Σολομωνίδης
   b) Η κοινωνία της Σμύρνης προ 70 ετών (Α' 1938)   Γ. Κ. Υπερίδης
   c) Η ψυχή της Σμύρνης (Ε' 1952)   Αριστοτέλης Σταυρίτσης
   d) Η καταστροφή της Σμύρνης και το Μαρτύριο του
      Χρυσοστόμου από Γαλλικής πλευράς (Ζ' 1957)   Αριστοτέλης Σταυρίτσης
   e) Η Σμύρνη κατά τον Α' Ευρωπαϊκό πόλεμο (Η' 1959)   Θ. Ε. Μπενάκης
   f) Μνήμη Σμύρνης (ΙΑ' 1964)   Χ. Σ. Σολομωνίδης
   g) Οι σεισμοί της Σμύρνης (Ε' 1952)   Χ. Σ. Σολομωνίδης
   h) Μια ενδιαφέρουσα απεικόνισις της Σμύρνης (Η' 1959)   Αλ. Μπ.
   i) Ιστορίας επανάληψις (Θ' 1961)   Γ. Ι. Αναστασιάδης
   j) Το ρεμπελιό της Σμύρνης του 1797 (Α' 1938)   Ι. Παπαγιαννόπουλος
   k) Πνευματική Ιστορία της Σμύρνης (Β' 1939)   Γ. Βαλέτας
   l) Η Μικρασιατική Τραγωδία στη Λογοτεχνία και στην Τέχνη (ΙΓ' 1967)   Νίκος   Ε.
      Μηλιώρης
   m) J. O. Hanson: Recollections of Smyrna (ΙΓ' 1967)   Άλκης Αγγέλου
   n) Η Ελληνική στη Μικρασία παρουσία (ΙΓ' 1967)   Δημ. Π. Μάνος

3) **Αρχαιολογικά, επιγραφικά και θρησκειολογικά μνημεία του Μικρασιατικού Ελληνισμού**

   a) Περί δύο χριστιανικών επιγραφών εκ Σμύρνης (Θ' 1961)Γ. Α. Σταμίρης

4) **Στο βίο επιφανών Ελλήνων καταγόμενων εκ Μικράς Ασίας και οι οποίοι έδρασαν σε αυτή ή στην ελεύθερη πατρίδα**

a) Ο Σμύρνης Πολύκαρπος (Α' 1938)   Δ. Σ. Μπαλανός

b) Βασίλειος Μητροπολίτης Σμύρνης (Β' 1939)   Αδ. Διαμαντόπουλος

c) Οι Έλληνες ιατροί της Σμύρνης (Β' 1939)   Σόλων Βέρας

d) Σωκράτης Σολομωνίδης (Ε' 1952)   Γ. Ι. Αναστασιάδης

e) Η οικογένεια των Ομήρων της Σμύρνης (Ζ' 1957)   Νίκος Καραράς

f) Ο οίκος αδερφών Ράλλη και η Σμύρνη (Η' 1959)   Αριστοτέλης Σταυρίτσης

g) Η οικογένεια των Πιττακών της Σμύρνης (Θ' 1961)   Νίκος Καραράς

h) Επαμεινώνδας Πολύδωρος Κυβετός (Ε' 1952)   Γεώργιος Σχοινάς

i) Μιχαήλ Τσακύρογλους (Ι' 1963)   Μικές Παϊδούσης

j) Ο νεομάρτυς Μάρκος Κυριακόπουλος (Ι' 1963)   Mario Vitti

k) Η οικογένεια Βαχατωρίδων Σμύρνης (Στ' 1955)   Νίκος Καραράς

l) Ουρανία Δούκα (Στ' 1955)   Σωκράτης Ρωνάς

m) Δημήτριος Μαυροφρύδης (Ε' 1952)   Στέλιος Σπεράντσας

n) Οικογένεια Λάτρη (Α' 1938)   Αλ. Μπενάκης

o) Ο Μικρασιάτης ζωγράφος Ευάγγελος Ιωαννίδης (ΙΒ' 1965)   Φίλιππος Φάλμπος

5) **Στη λογοτεχνική, καλλιτεχνική και επιστημονική δράση των Μικρασιατών από Ομήρου μέχρι σήμερα**

a) Ο εν Μικρά Ασία Ελληνικός πολιτισμός (Α' 1938)   Αδ. Διαμαντόπουλος

b) Σκιαγραφίαι Σμυρναίων (Γ' 1940)   Μιχαήλ Αργυρόπουλος

c) Το μεγάλο ρεμπελιό της Σμύρνης (Δ' 1948)   Νίκος Βέης

d) Πάτμου και Σμύρνης Μικρά Χρονικά (Θ' 1961)   Παν. Κρητικός

e) Η φυλετική εξέλιξη εν Μικρά Ασία (Β' 1939)   Ι. Γεωργίου

f) Η συμβολή των Μικρασιατών στην εθνική
αναγέννηση (Γ' 1940)   Γ. Ι. Αναστασιάδης

g) Η Σμυρναίικη τυπογραφία (Δ' 1948)   Α. Δ. Χατζηδήμου

h) Η συμβολή των Μικρασιατών στην εθνική
αναγέννηση (Α' 1938)   Γ. Ι. Αναστασιάδης

6) **Στην Εκκλησιαστική, διοικητική, κοινοτική, σωματειακή, φιλανθρωπική, κοινωνική οργάνωση**

a) Τα προνόμια και η ελληνική Ορθόδοξη κοινότης
Σμύρνης (Β' 1939)   Λεωνίδας Φιλιππίδης

b) Η αγαθοεργός αδελφότης των κυριών Σμύρνης
    (Γ' 1940)   Β. Ν. Πασχάλης

c) Ο Πανιώνιος Γυμναστικός Σύλλογος Σμύρνης
    (Γ' 1940)   Ν. Λωρέντης

d) Η συμβολή της Σμύρνης υπέρ του Πατριαρχείου
    Ιεροσολύμων (Δ' 1948)   Α. Ι. Αθηνογένης

e) Η εν Σμύρνη θρησκευτική αδελφότης 'Ευσέβεια'
    (Στ' 1955)   Σ. Σπεράντσας

f) Ειδήσεις περί της κοινότητας και δημογεροντίας
    Σμύρνης (Θ' 1961)   Κ. Σ. Παπαδόπουλος

g) Οι Λαμπαδούχοι (Ε' 1952)   Νίκος Μηλιώρης

h) Τα χρόνια της αρχιερατείας Γρηγόριου Ε' εις
    Σμύρνην (ΙΒ' 1965)   Τάσος Αθ. Γριτσόπουλος

i) Ανέκδοτος επιστολή Μητροπολίτου Χρυστοστόμου
    Σμύρνης (ΙΒ' 1965)   Κ. Μαμώνη

7) Στην Οικονομική Δράση

a) Ο Κεατχανές της Σμύρνης (Ε' 1952)   Χρ. Σολομωνίδης

b) Ξερρίζωμα-Ξαναζωντάνεμα (Ι' 1963)   Νίκος Βερόπουλος

8) Εκπαίδευση, Ίδρυση Σχολείων, Ιστορία, Βιογραφία Διδασκάλων, κτλ.

a) Ευαγγελική Σχολή Σμύρνης (Α' 1938)   Α. Σ. Αναστασιάδης

b) Ομήρειον Παρθεναγωγείο Σμύρνης (Α' 1938)   Αντ. Ι. Αθηνογένης

c) Συμβολή εις τα σχολικά πράγματα Σμύρνης (Α' 1938) Νίκος Βέης

d) Επιστολαί Κούμα, Κοραή σχετικαί προς Σμύρνη
    (Β' 1939)   Νίκος Βέης

e) Το Ελληνικό Ορφανοτροφείο Σμύρνης (Γ' 1940)   Ιάκωβος Συνελής

f) Το Κεντρικό Παρθεναγωγείο Σμύρνης (Γ' 1940)   Σπ. Αναστασιάδης

g) Η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική της Ελλάδος στη ζώνη των
    Σεβρών (Στ' 1955)   Μ. Μιχαηλίδης-Νουάρος

h) Η φιλομουσία της Σμύρνης (Στ. 1955)   Γ. Α.

i) Ο φραγκομαχαλάς της Σμύρνης και τα φραγκοχιώτικα
    βιβλία (Η' 1959)   Φ. Φάλμπος

j) Οι τελευταίοι απόφοιτοι της Ευαγγελικής Σχολής
    Σμύρνης (Η' 1959)   Μ. Α. Αναστασιάδης

k) Ανέκδοτον Στιχούργημα (Η' 1959)   Φαίδων Μπουμπουλίδης

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l) Διδάσκαλοι της Σχολής Δημητσάνης (Ι' 1963)   Τάσος Αθ. Γριτσόπουλος

m) Πέντε έγγραφα περί του φιλολογικού Γυμνασίου
     Σμύρνης (Ι' 1963)   Νίκος Βέης

n) Οι διευθυνταί της Ευαγγελικής Σχολής Σμύρνης
     Παπάζογλου, Κωνσταντινίδης (Ι' 1963)   Κώστας Σ. Παπαδόπουλος

o) Το Ελληνικόν Παιδαγωγείον Σμύρνης (ΙΒ' 1965)   Αντώνιος Ισιγόνης

9) **Ιστορικές, Θρησκευτικές τύχες Ελλήνων επί Τουρκοκρατίας, σχέσεις προς σύνοικους λαούς, μετακινήσεις ελληνικών πληθυσμών**

a) Η Σμύρνη κατά την Επανάσταση του 1821 (Α' 1938)   Στέλιος Σεφεριάδης

b) Ο ελληνοτουρκικός πόλεμος του 1897 στη Σμύρνη
     (Στ. 1955)   Αρ. Σταυρίτσης

c) Μεταναστεύσεις και αποικισμοί κυκλαδιτών στη
     Σμύρνη κατά την τουρκοκρατία (Ι' 1963)   Βασ. Σφυρόερας

10) **Περισυλλογή,   κατάταξη   περιλειπόμενου   γλωσσικού,   λαογραφικού   πλούτου Μικρασιατών**

a) Λαογραφία Σμύρνης, Γητειές και Ξόρκια (Α' 1038)   Σύλβιος

b) Ο κλήδονας (Γ' 1940)   Σύλβιος

c) Λαϊκά τραγούδια και χοροί Σμύρνης (Δ' 1948)

d) Συλλογή μελοποιημένων Σμυρνέικων ασμάτων
     (Δ' 1948)

e) Αγυρτεία και γιατροσόφια στη Σμύρνη (Ε' 1952)   Σωκράτης Ρωνάς

f) Ο τελευταίος τύπος αστικού σπιτιού Σμύρνης
     (Ζ' 1957)   Φ. Φάλμπος

g) Λαϊκό μηνολόγιο Σμύρνης (Ζ' 1957)   Σωκράτης Ρωνάς

h) Τσαρσιά και παζάρια στη Σμύρνη (Ι' 1963)   Φ. Φάλμπος

i) Δημοτικά τραγούδια για τη Μικρά Ασία (Η' 1959)   Δ. Α. Πετρόπουλος

j) Μικρά συμβολή στη λογοτεχνική βιβλιογραφία
     Σμύρνης (Β' 1939)   Νίκος Βέης

11) **Δημοσίευση αρχείων, εγγράφων για την ιστορία των δεινοπαθημάτων των Ελλήνων στη Μικρά Ασία 1908-1922**

a) Τα έγγραφα των Χορτάτσηδων της Σμύρνης (Ι' 1963)   Μ. Ι. Μανούσακας

12) Ποικίλα Θέματα

a) Οι απαρχές του ελεύθερου Τεκτονισμού στο Νέο
Ελληνισμό (Θ' 1961)   'Αλκης Αγγέλου

b) Ο οραματιστής της Αγιασοφιάς (Ζ' 1957)   Γ. Ι. Αναστασιάδης

c) Συνοπτική διήγησις των σημαντικοτέρων
περιστάσεων της ζωής μου (Γ' 1940)   Δ. Πολυδωρος Κυβετός

d) Το έργο των Μικρασιατικών Χρονικών (Α' 1938)

e) Τα εν Σμύρνη ξένα ταχυδρομικά γραφεία (ΙΓ' 1967)   Σοφ. Γ. Νικολαϊδης

f) Σύμμεικτα: η Κύπρος δια την Σμύρνην. Δύο ιστορικά
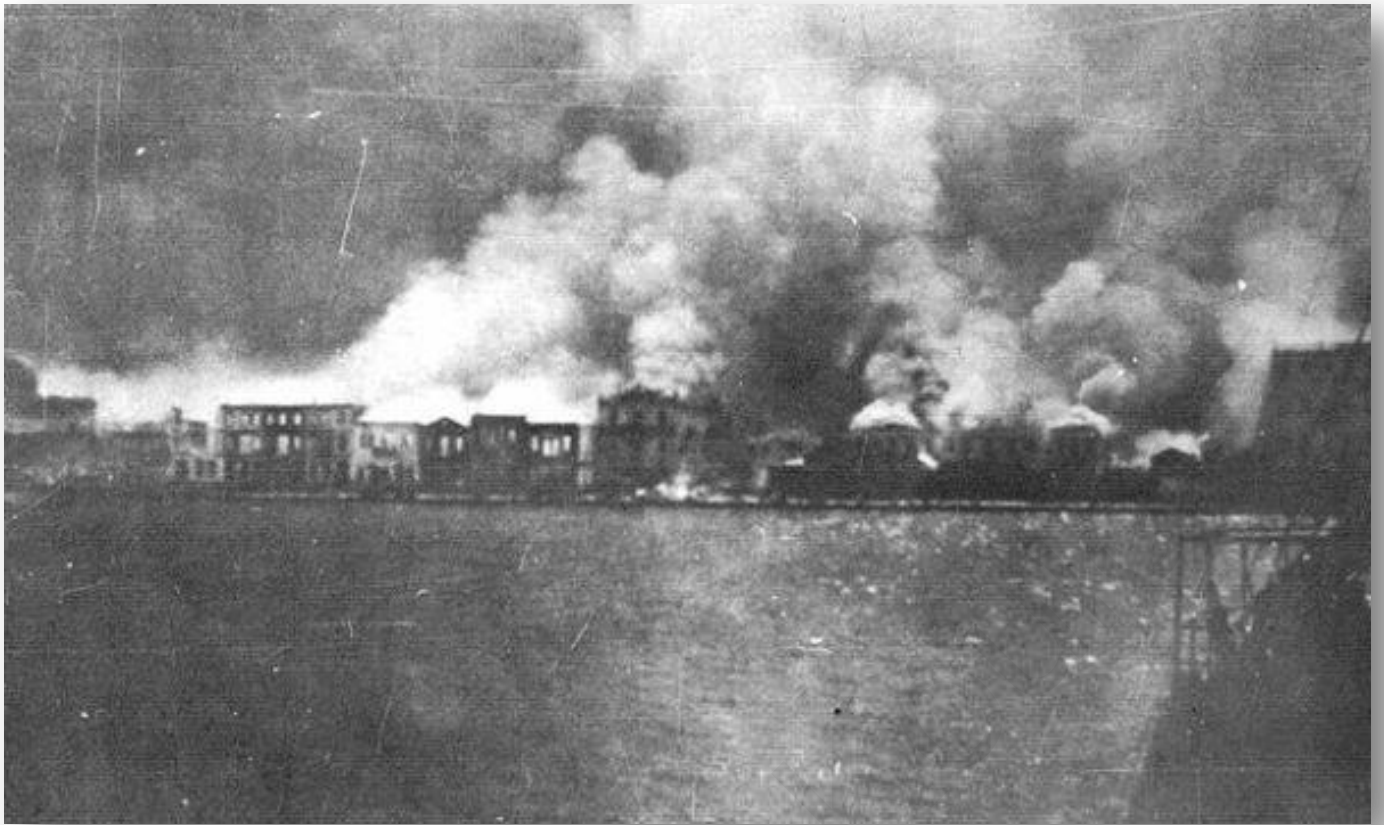έγγραφα (ΙΒ' 1965)   Χρήστος Σ. Σολομωνίδης

Appendix III: Pictures of the disaster of Smyrna[454]

SMIRNE. 13-14 Settembre 1922

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[454] Pictures taken from: *National Geographic* 2007; Milton 2008.
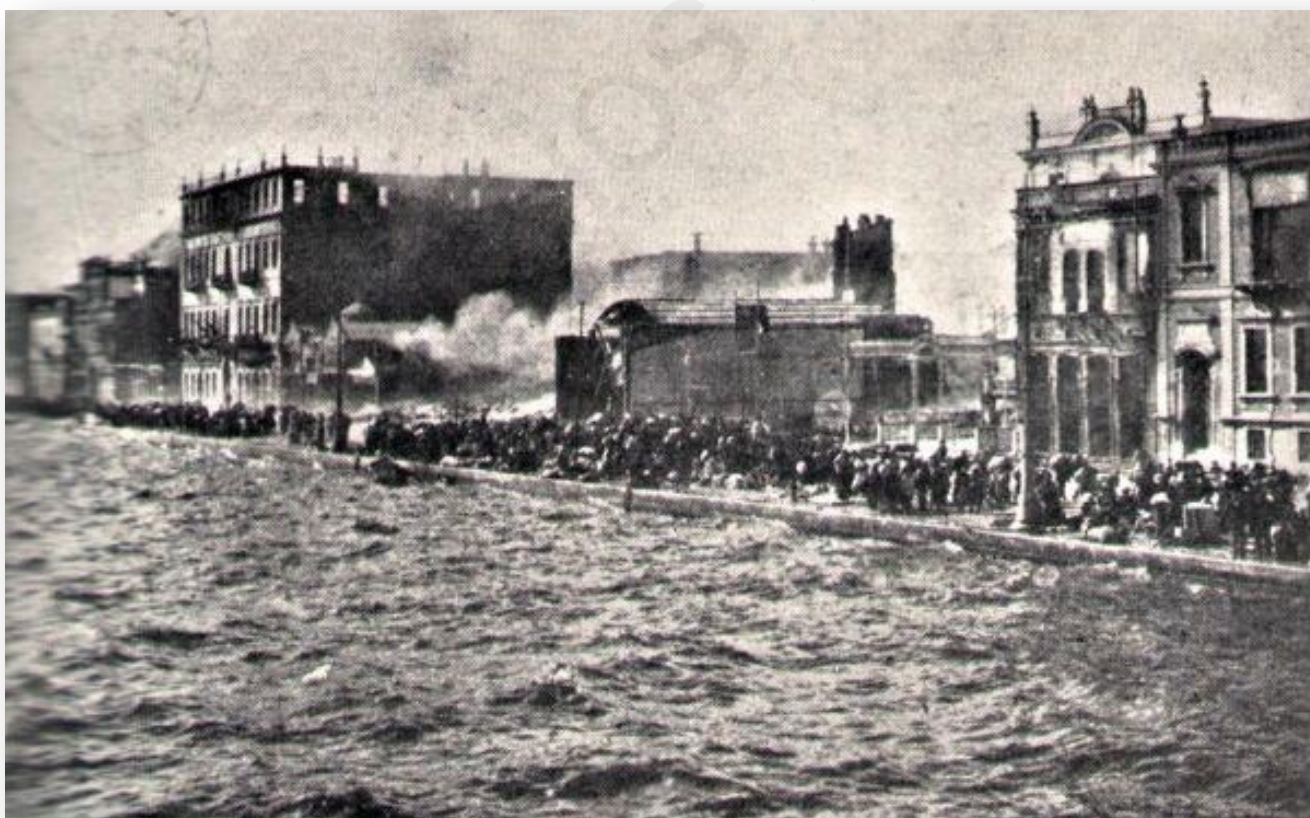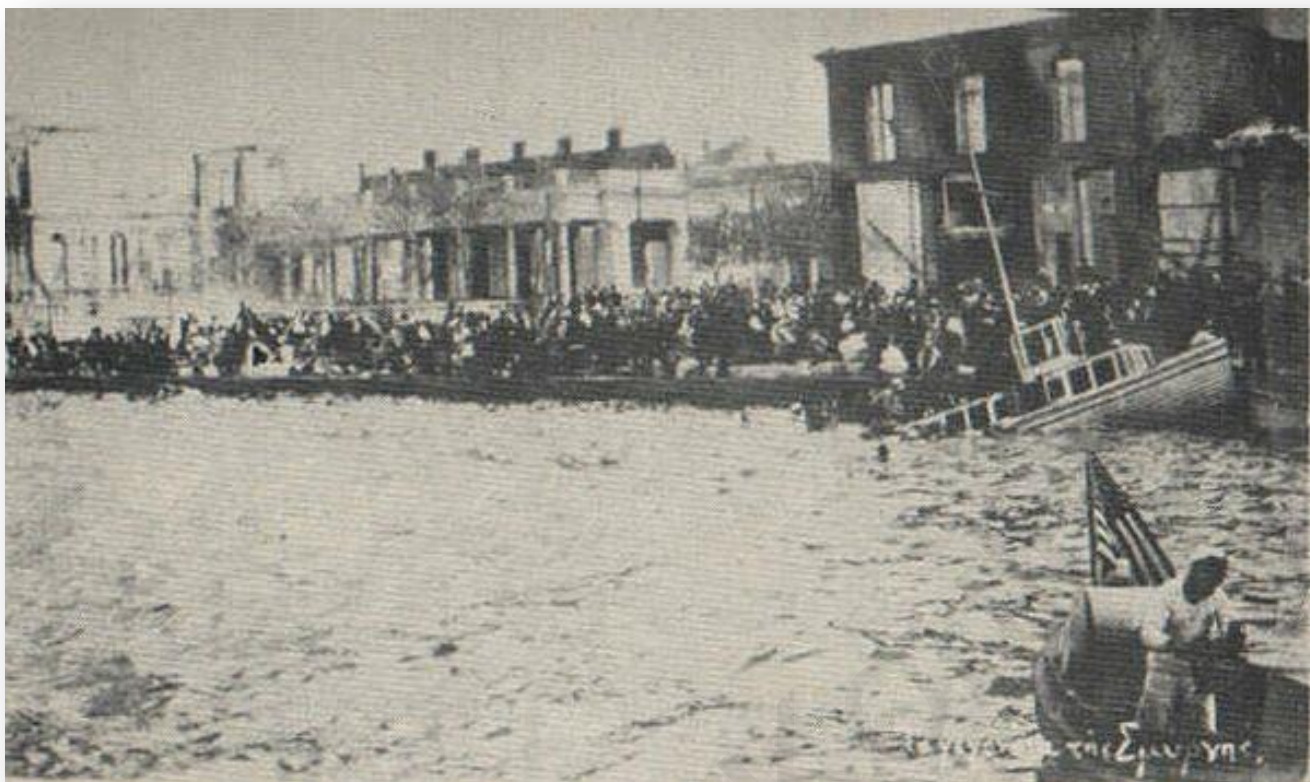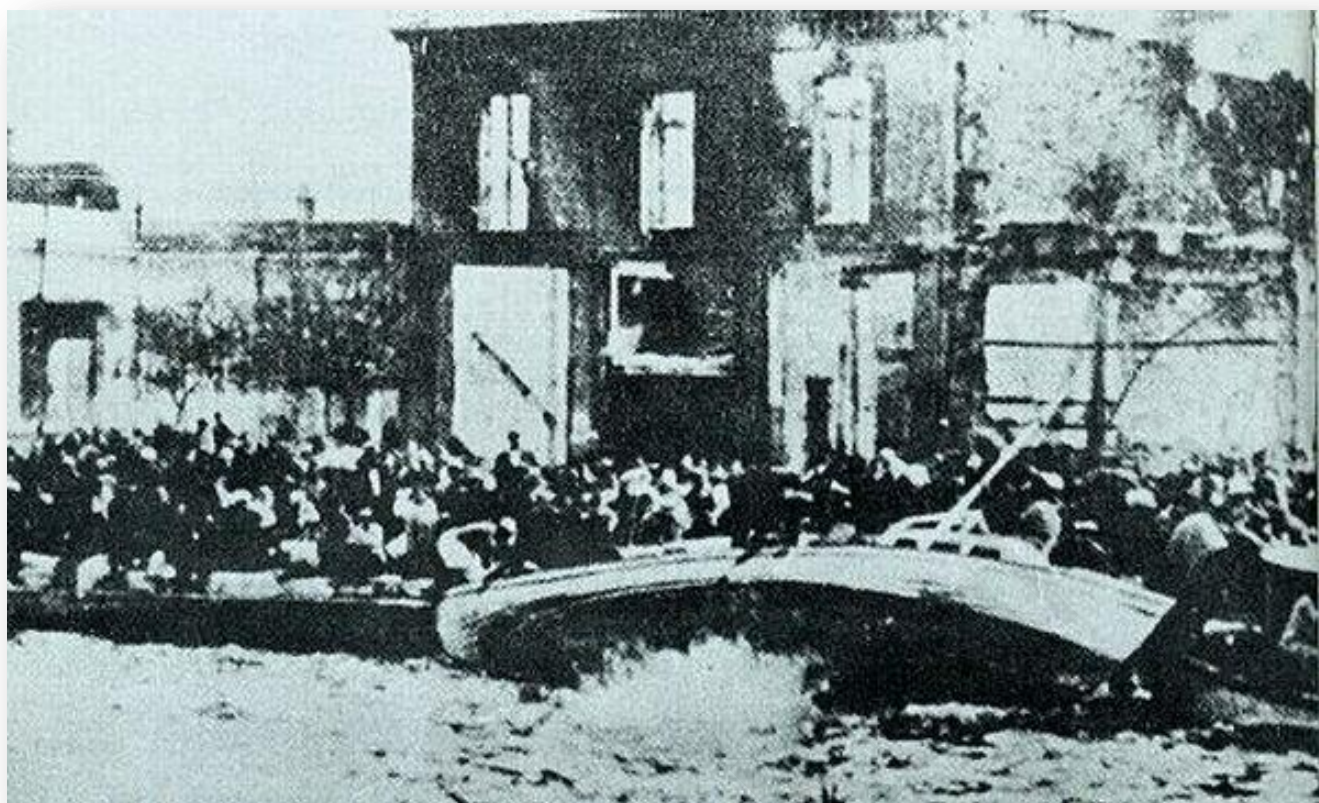
Appendix IV: Maps

The Asia Minor Campaign[455]

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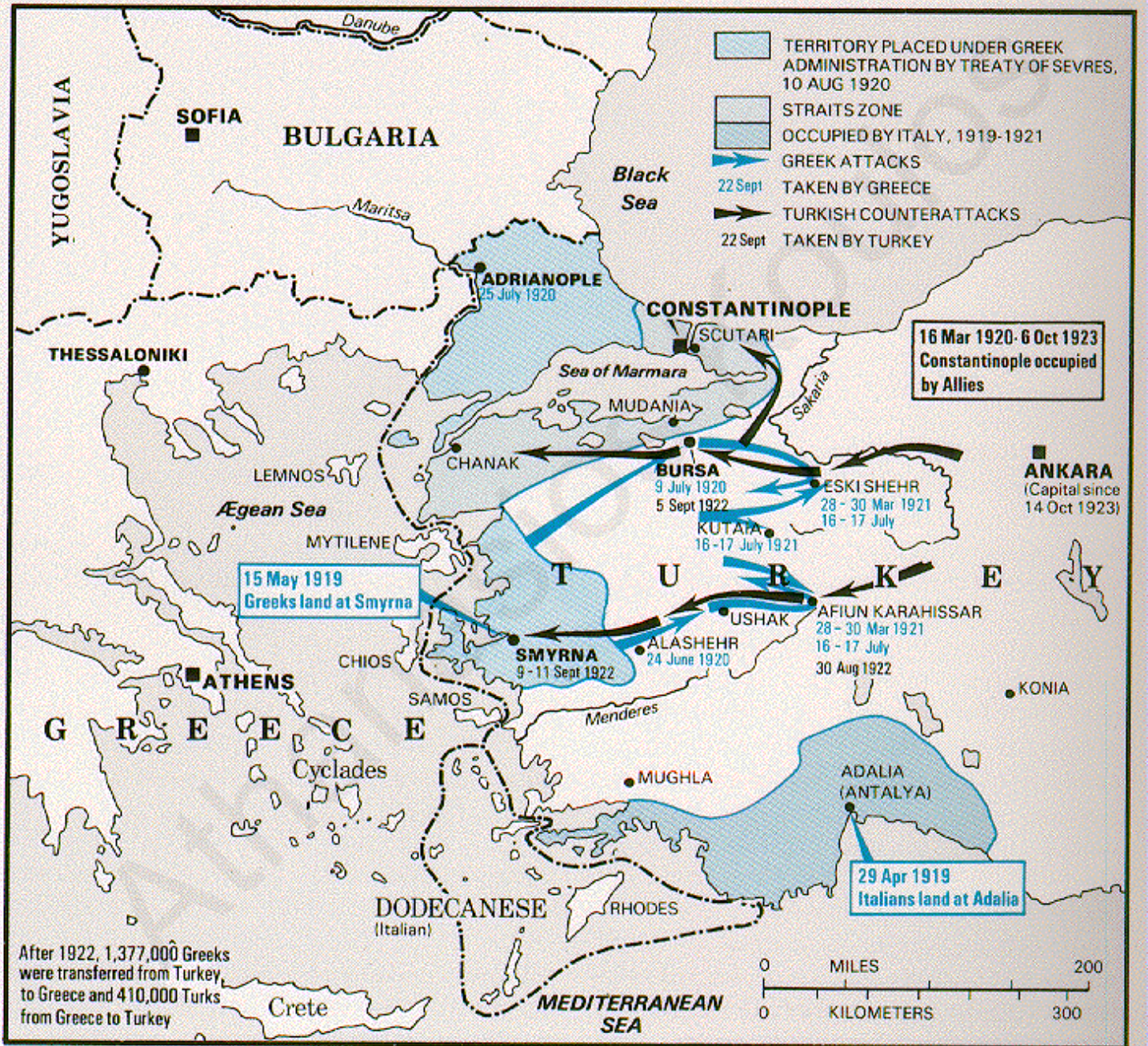
[455] Milton 2008.

'Megali Ellas'[456]
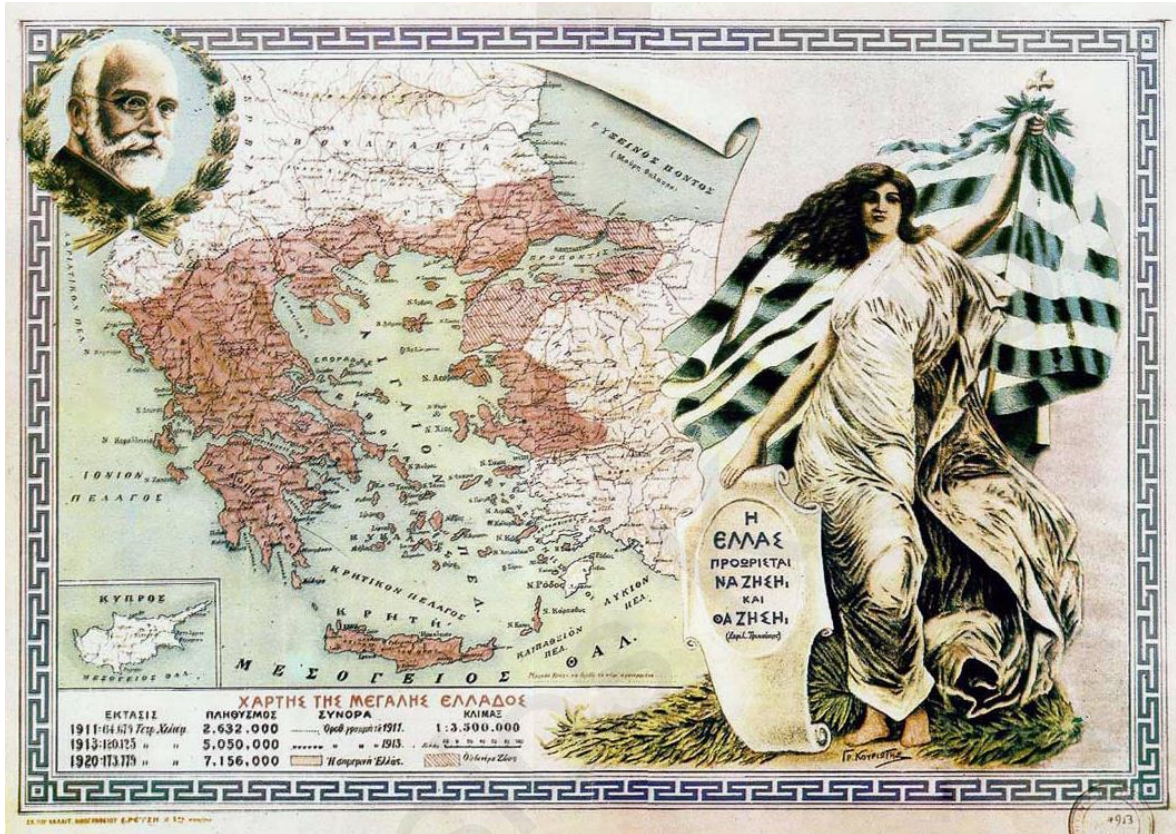
Appendix V: Recent novels on Smyrna

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ΜΙΚΡΑΣΙΑΤΙΚΑ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΑ

ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΙΚΟΝ

Ἐκδιδόμενον ὑπὸ τῦ τμήματος Μικρασια:
τικῶν Μελετῶν τῆς Ἑνώσεως Σμυρναίων.

ΤΟΜΟΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΟΣ

ΒΡΑΒΕΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

ΑΘΗΝΑΙ

1980