

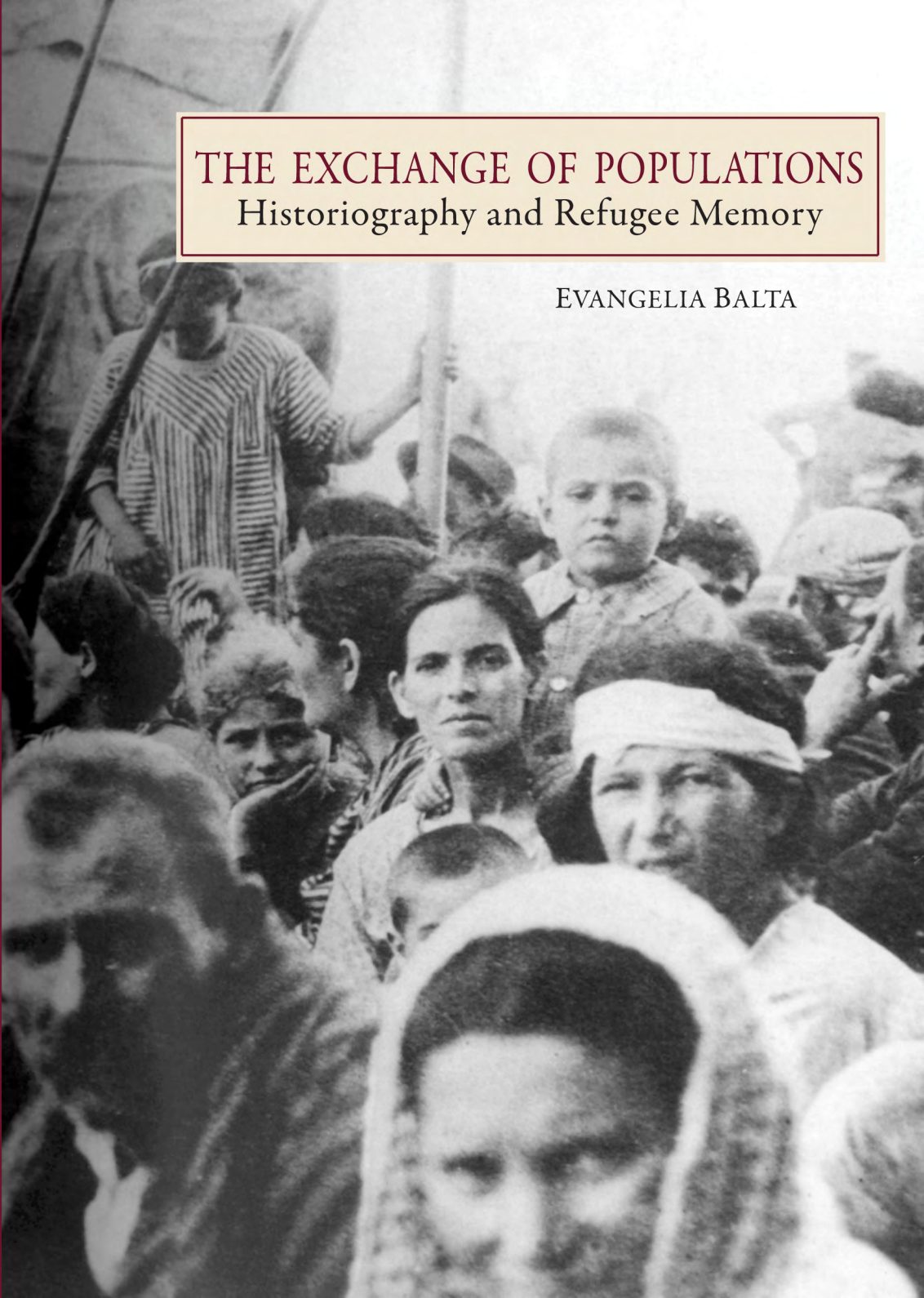
THE EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS

EVANGELIA BALTA

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Historiography and Refugee Memory

EVANGELIA BALTA





istos yayın: 17
politika historika: 5

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EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS
Historiography and Refugee Memory
εκδόσεις ιστός / istos yayın, İstanbul 2014

First Edition / Birinci Basım: April / Nisan 2014

Graphic Design: Maria Stefossi

εκδόσεις ιστός / istos yayın
Mumhane Caddesi, No: 39, Aziz Andrea Manastırı Hanı, Kat 5,
Karaköy-İstanbul
Tel: +90 212 243 41 61
www.istospoli.com e-mail: info@istospoli.com
Sertifika No: 25219

ISBN: 978-605-4640-25-6

Printing / Baskı:
Figür Grafik ve Matbaacılık San. Tic. Ltd. Şti.
Yıldırım Oğuz Göker Cad., Nilüfer Sk., 5. Gazeteciler Sitesi,
No: A 19/5 Akatlar-İstanbul
Tel: +90 212 282 77 01
Sertifika No: 14746

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ISTANBUL 2014

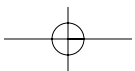
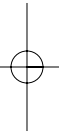
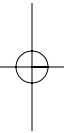


*Vatanlarını yitirme duygusuyla damgalanan
insanların yanında yetişerek,
yaşamlarını iki vatan üzerinde kuran
üçüncü nesil mübadillere ithaf olunur.*

*“Yitirilmiş vatan” deyimini
soyut bir kavram gibi değil
somut bir gerçeklik gibi yaşayan
Kavala Podohoriani Köyü’nden Prokopi’imize Papazoğlu,
Despina ile Eftimi Kiliakovo’s’a,
Eugeni ile Mimi Georgiadis’e
ve
Müfide Pekin’e, Sefer Güvenç’e,
Sami Vodina’ya, Jale Tusavul’a
ithaf olunur.*

*Αφιερωμένο
στους μουμπαντιλιδες της τρίτης γενιάς
που μεγάλωσαν με τους ανθρώπους,
τους οποίους σφράγισε η απώλεια της πατρίδας,
και οι ίδιοι έφτιαξαν τη ζωή τους βιώνοντας δυο πατρίδες.*

*Αφιερωμένο
Στη Δέσποινα και τον Ευθύμη Κοιλιακώβου,
Τόν Ευγένη και τον Μίμη Γεωργιάδη
τον Προκόπη μας, τον Παπάζογλου από την Ποδοχώριανη Καβάλας,
και
στη Müfide Pekin, τον Sefer Güvenç,
τον Sami Vodina, την Jale Tusavul
για τους οποίους οι “χαμένες πατρίδες”
δεν είναι παρά αισθήματα χειροπιαστά.*



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Author's note

These pieces, written over the last ten years, have been reprinted as they originally stood, with the exception of a few additions and corrections.

Foreword

My interest in the history of refugees and the Exchange of Populations began as heritage of lived history. I was born in Kavala in 1955 to parents descended from Asia Minor refugees. My father arrived to Greece as a swaddled newborn from Ganochora (today Gaziköy-Hoşköy) in 1922. My mother, the youngest child of a large Turkish-speaking family, was born in Kavala in 1929. I grew up with my grandparents in a refugee neighbourhood, in a refugee town with all sorts of people, Thracians from ‘Turkey’, Smyrniots, as the inhabitants of the Asia Minor coasts were collectively called, but mainly Pontians and Cappadocians. All were experiencing the loss of a fatherland that was irrevocably gone. As a child, with no knowledge of what my family’s world meant, I could not understand the feelings of bereavement for the ‘fatherland’. I tried with the little Turkish I had learnt by ear to learn about their life in the ‘fatherland’, which was not Kavala, my fatherland. I tried to understand by setting up an ear on conversations between them.

I studied history so as to become involved with my family’s past, the history of their fatherland. Following my graduation, thanks to the intervention of two professors from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Stamatis Karatzas and Michalis Sakellariou, I was employed at the Centre for Asia Minor Studies (CAMS), where both had previously worked. My contact in Athens with Oral History Archive, my acquaintance with CAMS associates, both old and new, in early 1978, determined my academic choices. Research allowed me to probe further and broaden the horizons of my field. My interests focused on linking memory with social processes and cultural aspects.

E.B.

Acknowledgements

The edition owes a great deal to a great many. First of all, to the researchers and librarians at the present-day CAMS, who yet again made my task easier. My sincere thanks go to the Board of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies for allowing me to publish photographs from its Archive. Many thanks to my translator friends, Alex Douma, Carol Haros, Danielle Morichon and Nikolaos Livanos for the care they took in re-editing my texts. Working with Maria Stefossi is, as always, a relief. Herself a great photographer, she lovingly set to work on the old photographs from the CAMS. Untiring, quick, with clever recommendations and smart solutions, she laid out the book in record time. Heartfelt thanks go to my friend Aris Tsokonas, who acted as intermediary with the 'Istos' publishing-house in Istanbul. It is customary to thank one's publishers. In my case, the gratitude I feel towards the 'Istos' team is not simply a formality.

INTRODUCTION

This small volume brings together five studies on the Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece, the tragic outcome of the Asia Minor catastrophe, and possibly the most dramatic event in modern Greek history. The studies were written during the decade 2003-2013 as a response to invitations for participation in workshops and collective volumes on this topic, and have been included in the volume under two sections.

The first section discusses the Greek view of the Population Exchange, a terrible human tragedy that marked the definitive end of the Greek irrendentist policy.

The first study (History and Greek Historiography of the Exchangeable Populations), published in 2003, constitutes an overview of the history of the Exchange up until approximately 2000, focussing on a discussion of the ideologies and stereotypes that had become part of the body of Greek historiography. The aim was to highlight through a presentation of viewpoints on the historiographic event, the compelling need to approach the fact of the Exchange on purely historical terms.

The decade that followed was to produce coherent interpretations of the post-war years in Greece following the arrival and settlement of

the Exchangeable Populations and of the role they played in the social, economic and political life of the country. Notable studies were conducted, based on archival material, hitherto untapped. New topics that emerged indicated the vast horizon still to be explored, such as some recent projects that study the mechanisms by which the refugee identity of mainly Pontian Exchangeables, still easily discernible in Northern Greece, became a tool for rallying and political demands during the years of PASOK governance.

Mainly though, what is most significant is the fact that Greek historiographic production on the Exchange was enriched by studies concerning the other players in the Exchange drama, primarily the Muslim refugees, who were forced to depart first so that the numerous Christians arriving from Anatolia could settle in Macedonia. Up to present, only a few, although very interesting, studies have been conducted on relations between the two ethno-religious communities that found themselves living side by side for a length of time in the same place during the process of expulsion from their fatherlands, just as there are still only a few, but significant, studies by Greek historians that follow the fate of Muslim refugees in the newly-founded Turkish Republic. They primarily concern the Turco-Cretan refugees who settled on the coast of Asia Minor. The last few decades have seen an increase in the number of studies that follow the life of refugees and local populations through the press, judicial and police records, and analyse the explosive situation that arose between them due to the dispute over abandoned Muslim property. Lastly there has been a rise in the number of studies that look at the political behaviour of the refugee community during the Interwar years and the Civil War.

Alongside what has been set out on the topics that enriched and widened the horizon of Greek historiography on the Exchange, the following novelty becomes apparent: a new generation of Greek historians has lately adopted the word *ἔποικος* - settler' instead of the

word 'refugee' with reference to the refugees from Asia Minor. I wonder whether this is a mechanical translation from the English language or simply that its users are being forced to conform to political correctness which 'attempts to introduce new terms that sought to leave behind discriminatory baggage attached to older ones'. Yet for whatever the reason, this new trend inevitably brings to mind the famous expression in a school textbook 'concerning crowding in the port of Smyrna' during the catastrophe of Smyrna in 1922, which aroused public sentiment. It is also pointless in the case of the use of the word 'settler' instead of 'refugee' to pass any kind of comment or to argue about the distortion of historical reality. It is a new reading by a particular group of historians with its own way of viewing things. To describe corresponding cases in Greek historiography, Giorgos Dertilis at the International Conference on Greek historiography in 2002 used the expression 'fashions change'.

The second study in the section (*La contribution du Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure à l'historiographie de la Question des Réfugiés*) focuses on the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, which from the time of its foundation in 1948 by Melpo and Octave Merlier and up to 1970, officially undertook to record refugees' memories on a nationwide scale. Work began at that time on compiling the resulting Oral History Archive, which is housed at the Centre in a handwritten textual form, with a minimal time lag from the Asia Minor Disaster and the Exchange. Refugeeism through eyewitness accounts was recorded with the Centre's researchers acting as intermediaries. Ideological conditions and the available intellect of the time determined how refugee memory was amassed and recorded, and also prioritised the recording of life in the land of Asia Minor. Today when memory constitutes a 'source' like all the others, the CAMS Archive, guardian of refugee memory, is seen as doubly valuable, as it contains information on the very nature of individual and collective memory, also including in the field of research

the way in which something is said, which is often equally as important as what is said.

*

The second section brings together three case studies on the Exchange and the settlement of refugee populations in various parts of Greece.

The first study (The Exchange of Populations. The case of Sinasos) looks at aspects of the Exodus process of the inhabitants of Greek-speaking Sinasos (today Mustafapaşa), a well-organized community, economically prosperous due to its thriving colony in Istanbul, which essentially controlled affairs in Sinasos. The financial health of those Sinasians living in Istanbul and the cooperation between collective institutions in Istanbul and Sinasos, despite whatever disagreements they may have had, helped in organizing the Exodus of its inhabitants and in taking the necessary steps to find a suitable place in Greece, an adventure that came to an end in 1925 with the foundation of the settlement of Nea Sinasos in Northern Euboea.

The text, presented as a lecture in Sinasos in 2005, discusses the fact that the village and its environs were photographed shortly before the Exodus in July 1924. Sinasos is a unique phenomenon in the annals of the Exchange, as it is the only village to have been photographed by inhabitants before they were uprooted, and this was due to the initiative of an enlightened man, Seraphim Rizos, who dedicated his entire life to the memory of lost Sinasos and to the dream of founding a new one in Greece.

Pictures of the Sinasian landscape, where inhabitants and their ancestors had lived for centuries, were taken along as personal effects that accompanied the refugee Sinasian to his new home. They provided the necessary framework, the scene that cheered them up when need and desire called to mind people and lives that no longer existed. The fatherland, totally and forever gone, would live on as an image, as a

picture in a photograph album. The photos of the rich Christian houses and the public buildings in the village attest at the same time to the comfortable life and riches that the Sinasians had left behind. And it is no coincidence that the camera focuses on whatever is *Rum*. This is the memory they choose to preserve. The text of this brief lecture at the conference *Common Cultural Heritage. Developing Local Awareness Concerning the Architectural Heritage Left from the Exchange of Populations in Turkey and Greece*, is in this volume accompanied by three texts from the unpublished manuscript 'Exchange' by Seraphim Rizos, which is preserved at the Centre for Asia Minor Studies.

The second study (The recording of the settlements of Anatolian refugees in Euboea by the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1948-1964) briefly presents aspects of the tremendous efforts made between 1948-1964 by CAMS associates to record the resettlement of Asia Minor refugees in Euboea, which after Macedonia has the second largest number of settlements and correspondingly, of refugees. Refugees in Euboea came from various parts of Anatolia, from the coasts of the Aegean Sea and the Sea of Marmara to Central Anatolia and Pontus.

Numerous CAMS researchers on successive missions to refugee settlements in Chalkida and island villages, recorded refugee memory and collected printed and oral literature from the Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians, a unique academic contribution to Turcological studies. Eugène Dalleggio's mission, as reflected in his mission report in August 1956, which I published elsewhere on another occasion, records information and insightful comments on the life of refugees on Euboean soil, and provides valuable evidence for a systematic search for Karamanlidika books that the Turkish-speaking refugees brought with them and preserved as sacred relics of their life in their Asia Minor fatherland.

The article sets out the corresponding material from CAMS files

and compares it to publications issued by third-generation Euboean refugees, which went into circulation in the early 1990s, revealing at the same time archival sources that have yet to be explored. It focuses on exploring their memories of the conditions surrounding their settlement in the villages and towns of Euboea and their new life up until the 1950's. It attempts to record both the memory of first-generation refugees, as presented to CAMS researchers 25-30 years after their arrival on Euboean soil, as well as the traumatic legacy of its subjective versions, as recorded and expressed by the third generation. The ultimate goal of the study is to highlight the necessity of reconciling historiography with 'memory'.

The third text (*L'aventure de l'installation des réfugiés échangeables en Macédoine*), a lecture given at the University of Cyprus in November 2012, is an overview of issues related to refugee placement in Macedonia, where the bulk of the Exchangeable Populations settled. It is said that Macedonia was chosen as a place of settlement for the Exchangeable Populations so as to hellenize the language and beliefs of its Slavic-speaking inhabitants, a necessary condition for protecting the northern borders of the country, yet as Elisabeth Kontogiorgi showed, this factor, although crucial, was just one of many. 'The preponderance of available land from soon-to-be-vacated Muslim properties, the emptiness of certain parts of the Macedonian countryside, and the imminent availability of expropriated monastic lands, as well as an urgent need to ensure agricultural production upon the departure of the Muslim cultivators, all figured in the decision to locate refugees in this region.'

The text, based on the findings of doctoral dissertations written over the last twenty years and a series of studies published during the same period, summarizes the diverse impacts of refugee settlement in Macedonia and its important social and political consequences up until the post-Civil War era. The urban and rural property belonging to the

316,000 Exchangeable Muslims who were forced to leave Macedonia was the cause of a major confrontation between the poverty-stricken refugees arriving from the East and the local farmers and inhabitants, mostly poor, who aspired to a larger lot after the departure of their Muslim compatriots. Claims to the scarce resources highlighted and exacerbated cultural differences. In a place like Macedonia, with many ethnic groups, religions, languages, class differences, the arrival of the Anatolian refugees created an unbridgeable gap between people called upon to live together. Language and different moral standards created on both sides racism and social alienation with political ramifications.

In recent years there has been an increase in the number of studies examining refugees' political choices during the inter-war period and later during the German and Bulgarian occupation of Macedonia. And more recently research has begun into policies concerning the reshaping of refugee memory through associations and powerful corporate organizations that now produce an established account of the past, and help to consolidate a symbolic geography of memory centred on the Panagia Soumela Monastery for the Pontians and for refugees from Central Anatolia, on the troglodyte churches of Cappadocia.

Most of the texts are accompanied by tales of *absence*, which was a reference point for first and second-generation Exchangeables and inherited by the third. They are of course also accompanied by accounts of their struggle to survive in their new homeland. Because historiography is not an attempt to make amends or to restore memory. It does not simply fill the gaps in memory but converses with it and challenges it.

Each text is followed by a series of photographs that tell in their own way the story surrounding issues broached in the lines of the text.

Comparison is inexorable. “What can be shown cannot be said”, writes Ludwig Wittgenstein (*Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, 4.1212).

With the exception of a number of photographs of Nelly’s taken in 1924-1927, immediately after the arrival of the refugees, most of the photos are the work of CAMS associates. Sauntering through districts of Athens and Piraeus, towns and villages of Greece, to collect material on the Christian settlements in Asia Minor, they fleetingly captured through their camera lenses figures and scenes from refugee life, as their mission was a different one. They had to record life on Asia Minor soil.

The photographs with the texts of the refugees’ neatly written interviews are contemporary. They belong to the 1950-60s. Unique photos, chronicling these particular years. But then again, this was their objective. To record the image of the informant refugee, the refugee quarter where he settled. Incidentally the lens also captured scenes showing CAMS researchers meeting the refugee interviewees.

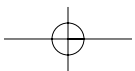
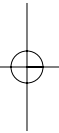
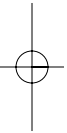
Without sophisticated frames, the CAMS associates photographed the hard life in refugee villages 30 years after their establishment, in the crucial decade that marked the end of World War II and the Civil War that followed. Ramshackle homes, people with much-mended clothes, weathered faces, work-roughened hands, barefoot children posing for photos next to their teachers. The camera snapped impromptu photos of the weary bodies. Man is gently placed in the centre, his reality and details of his daily life recorded for posterity. Women pound wheat, put food in the oven, farmers bend over their ploughs. The setting a view of the refugee quarter still being built, with the church dominating the landscape and the school inevitably to one side of it. And while just the external aspect of things is portrayed, one realises that in actual fact the eye that recorded it depicted in a mere fraction of time the substance of life, the struggle for survival and the marks left on these bodies. The photographs taken by CAMS associates corroborate the words of Henri-Cartier Bresson: “It is an illusion that photos are made with the camera...

INTRODUCTION

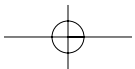
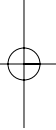
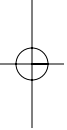
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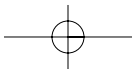
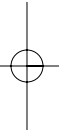
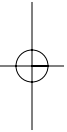
they are made with eye, heart and head". In the gallery of portraits of refugees informant, the camera captures their grim faces. Pain and sorrow prevail, expressed not necessarily just in their eyes, but also in their bearing. Joy is rare.

Alongside the photographs of refugees and the villages and quarters where they settled, some photos are included of the people who worked to set up the archive of oral tradition, to accumulate written and photographic files at the CAMS. Pioneers in the process of memorialising refugee history and the history of the Exchange. We are in their debt.



PART ONE





HISTORY AND GREEK HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE EXCHANGEABLE POPULATIONS

The Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey was, in its diversity and as a profoundly tragic human experience, the final page in the historical existence of Asia Minor Hellenism in the land where it had lived for centuries; it was at the same time the starting point of a new course in the land of displacement and settlement, with all that that entailed. Exchangeable populations were, in essence, the Greek Orthodox inhabitants of southern Asia Minor and part of Pontus, who, far from the mayhem of war and the violent aftermath of the Asia Minor Catastrophe, which created the great bulk of refugees, were forced to emigrate to Greece after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne. I make this clarification because article 3 of the treaty,

* The text is published in Turkish exactly as it was delivered orally on 7 November 2003. See “Mübadillerin Tarihi ve Yunan Tarih Yazımındaki Yeri”, Müfide Pekin (ed.) *Yeniden Kurulan Yasamlar – 1923 Türk-Yunan Zorunlu Nüfus Mübadelesi*, İstanbul, Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005, pp. 111-121. And in Greek in: *H ελληνοτουρκική Ανταλλαγή των πληθυσμών. Πτυχές μιας εθνικής σύγκρουσης* [The Greek-Turkish Exchange of Populations. Aspects of an ethnic conflict], Konstantinos Tsitselikis (ed.), Athens, Kritiki, 2006, pp. 98-110. Over the next few years Onur Yıldırım gives his own view on Greek National Historiography, see Onur Yıldırım, “The 1923 Population Exchange, Refugees and National Historiographies in Greece and Turkey”, *East European Quarterly* XL/1 (March 2006), pp. 47-56.

through the term ‘emigrant’, legitimizing the *fait accompli*, described as ‘Exchangeable’ all the physical and legal persons which were going to emigrate or had emigrated as refugees from 18 October 1912. That is, it also included in the same category refugees from Eastern Thrace in the Ottoman Empire and from Bulgarian lands.

However, the conceptual content of the term ‘Exchangeable’ is clearly different from the wider one of ‘refugee’ or of the diplomatic term ‘emigrant’ of the Treaty of Lausanne, and consequently demands negotiation in a different manner. And here I would like to take the opportunity to make a comment. There was among the Asia Minor Greeks a clear distinction in the use of the terms ‘Exchangeable’ and ‘refugee’, which was also adopted by the local population of Macedonia, a region which, as is well known, received the bulk of the refugee population of various origins. I do not know whether this distinction continues to exist today, or whether it has been erased by the ‘equality’ of simplifications. ‘Refugee’ was one who reached Greece immediately after the defeat of the Greek Army in Asia Minor and the destruction of Smyrna in September 1922. ‘Exchangeable’/ ‘*muhacir*’ (in Turkish) and ‘*madjiris*’ (in Greek) was one who was ordered to ‘emigrate’, by the letter of the Treaty of Lausanne, and whose departure was orderly, under the supervision of the International Mixed Commission, from October 1923 until 1925. I can remember Turkish-speaking Anatolians, to confine myself just to them, using the word ‘Exchangeable’ (*Ανταλλάξιμος*) – underlined – in their parlance. The use of the Greek word, which they presumably learnt during the course of their vicissitudes, instead of the Turkish word ‘*muhacir*’, attests to the fact that this concept was outside the range of their previous cultural horizon.

The distinction between the terms *Exchangeable* and *Refugee* signified immediately the geographical provenance of the Asia Minor incomer and the chronicle of refugeehood, but mainly, as one

may appreciate, each term was accompanied by a gamut of connotations and nuances which would be worthwhile for social anthropology to investigate some time, before their final traces are lost. A similar type of juxtaposition, *mutatis mutandis*, is observed in the use of the terms *göçmen* – *muhacir* in Turkey.¹

*

The subject of my paper is the presentation of the historical and historiographic event of the Exchange of Populations.² The clarification I have just given illustrates, as a kind of paradigm, the existing lacunae in research. But the aim of my paper is not to present a list of subjects that merit research, just as it is not my intention to give a descriptive overview of the course of historiography, compiling a kind of bibliographical essay.³ My interest focuses on the ideologies and the stereotypes that have become entrenched in the corpus of historiography concerning the refugees who ended up Exchangeable

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- ¹ Tolga Köker (in collaboration with Leyla Keskiner), “Lessons in Refugeehood. The experience of Forced Migrants in Turkey”, in: Renée Hirschon (ed.), *Crossing the Aegean. An appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey*, New York – Oxford 2003, pp. 193-194. On a trip to Cappadocia, in September 2003, I saw this same apposition with my own eyes, made until recently by the inhabitants of Ürgüp and Sinasos (today Mustafapaşa).
- ² Evangelia Balta – Matoula Kouroupou, “Πηγές για την ιστορία των Ανταλλαξιμων της Καππαδοκίας. Η ανάγκη συνολικής θεώρησης” [Sources for the history of the Exchangeable Populations of Cappadocia. The need for an overall appraisal], *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* [Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon] 9 (1992), pp. 15-28. Translated into Turkish: “Kappadokya’da Mübadeleye tabi Tutulanlarda İlgili Kaynaklar; Genel Bir Değerlendirme Gereksimesi”, *Kubbealti Akademi Mecmuası* (Istanbul) 1992, pp. 15-28.
- ³ G. A. Giannakopoulos, “Οι Μικρασιάτες πρόσφυγες στην Ελλάδα. Βιβλιογραφικό δοκίμιο” [The Asia Minor refugees in Greece. Bibliographical essay], *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 9 (1992), pp. 283-291. See also the chapter ‘An

and the Exchangeable population proper. Without doubt, these are, first of all, products of the ideological and emotional charge which the tragic event of refugeehood and the consequent compulsory Exchange of Populations generated and generates.

This traumatic human experience as well as the ‘unrepeatable achievement’ of the Modern Greek State – as G. Th. Mavrogordatos characterizes the rehabilitation and assimilation of the refugees of the Asia Minor Catastrophe⁴ – contributed to a particular inertia in deliberation on the mythopoeic function of the issue. This resulted in the transmuting of problems and questions of research into ideological constructs. We should not forget, moreover, that at least until the late 1970s, the Exchange of Populations as the finale of Asia Minor Hellenism created strong ideological viewpoints in the overall historiographic approach to it, and it is this which fed the myths of the ‘lost homelands’, predominant ideology in the years which followed.⁵ The incomers’ memory became the ‘decisive link for them to reconstruct their life, the means of a cultural survival without

account of historiography on the Asia Minor refugees’ in the doctoral dissertation by G. Kritikos, *Greek Orthodox Refugees: Integration and the Making of a New Greek National Community (1923-1930)*, unpublished PhD thesis of the European University Institute, Florence March 2001, vol. I, pp. 8-15.

- ⁴ G. Th. Mavrogordatos, “Το ανεπανάληπτο επίτευγμα” [The unparalleled achievement], *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 9 (1992), pp. 9-12.
- ⁵ Alongside the classic and now outmoded ideological construct of the ‘lost homelands’, the slogan of the ‘unforgettable homelands’ appears to be currently in vogue, which beyond any sentimental and nostalgic disposition for the place of origin also denotes the political use of the historical past. I believe that as historians we are duty bound to locate the historical discourse wherever and in whatever form it appears, to analyse it and to seek out its social function in each conjuncture. In this particular case, the choice of the adjective ‘unforgettable’ instead of the until recently predominant ‘lost’ attaches a different ideological stigma to the Asia Minor homeland, charging it with an ethnic/national message.

which their identity would have disappeared.⁶ The mapping of the refugee memory was undertaken by the Centre for Asia Minor Studies (CAMS).⁷

There was, of course, no lack of efforts on the part of refugee associations and societies too, to collect information and documentation, and to write, as well as to organize events of commemorative character. From the 1940s to the 1970s, the CAMS was the sole body involved with documentation and census research in Greece, the sole body bold enough to collect oral history, in order to reconstruct the picture of the Greek communities of Asia Minor. In this venture it was, needless to say, reined in by the ideological horizon of folklore studies, which was defined by the documentation of historical continuity and national identity. Today, when research is now on the track of the past incorporated in the present and is interested in the involvement of the subject in the object of narration, the material amassed by the CAMS is unique.⁸ Also unique in this perspective are the works written by first-generation

⁶ Renée Hirschon-Philippaki, “Μνήμη και ταυτότητα. Οι Μικρασιάτες πρόσφυγες της Κοκκινιάς” [Memory and Identity. The Asia Minor refugees of Kokkinia], in: E. Papataxiarchis – Th. Paradellis (eds), *Ανθρωπολογία και παρελθόν. Συμβολές στην κοινωνική ιστορία της νεότερης Ελλάδας* [Anthropology and Past. Contributions to the Social History of Modern Greece], Athens 1993, p. 331. See also her study, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe – The Social Life of Asia Minor Refugees in Piraeus*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989.

⁷ G. Giannakopoulos, “The Reconstruction of a Destroyed Picture: The Oral History Archive of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies”, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 8/2 (1993), pp. 201-217. Ioanna Petropoulou, “Κέντρο Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών: μια επέτειος” [Centre for Asia Minor Studies: an anniversary], *Ta Historika* 23 (1995), pp. 461-465.

⁸ Evangelia Balta – Efsthymios Papataxiarchis, “Dealing with Cultural Difference: ‘Asia Minor Refugee and Muslim Minority Folklore Studies in Greece’”, *VI. Milletlerarası Türk Halk Kültürü Kongresi. Son Elli Yılda Türkiye Dışındaki Türk*

refugees, essential deposition of their personal testimony. Of interest is the change in attitude and approach to these texts. The ideological and emotional charge, characteristic of refugee testimonies, and which until very recently marginalized it from the mainstream academic historiography – in its claims to scientific seriousness and objectivity – is today the criterion of its selection and inclusion in the objects for analysis. Since the 1990s there has been increasing interest in issues concerning the articulation of the personal and collective memory, the use of the past in the present and the function of *loci memoriae* in society.

The themes that the sector of historiography dealing with the refugee question examines are numerous and many of them lend themselves to collaboration between social anthropology and history.⁹ Nonetheless, on the narrow horizon created by the main corpus of historiographic references which a contemporary historian uses, we can easily ascertain that unproven schemes based on plausible implications, without the utilization of existing documented material, have dominated and continue to exist. I shall cite two examples:

First, it is a sacred cow of Greek historiography – which has been adopted by other historiographies too – that the arrival of the refugees exerted an indisputably positive influence on the national economy, mainly in the industrial sector, which in the view of earlier researchers took off after 1922.¹⁰ However, the position and the role of the refugees-

Halk Kültürü Çalışmaları Seksiyon Bildirileri, Ankara 2002, pp. 38-52. Reprinted in: Evangelia Balta, *Ottoman Studies and Archives in Greece*, Analecta Isisiana, The Isis Press, Istanbul 2003, pp. 43-71.

⁹ Characteristic example of the joint approach to the Asia Minor refugee question by social anthropologists and historians is the volume *Crossing the Aegean. An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey* (ed.) Renée Hirschon, New York – Oxford 2003.

¹⁰ A.I. Aigdis, *H Ελλάς χωρίς τους πρόσφυγας. Ιστορική, δημοσιονομική, οικονομική και*

Exchanged incomers in the Greek economy of the interwar years have not yet been studied thoroughly. Very few studies of economic history deal with the refugees' participation in the secondary sector. And yet they repeat the position that 'their contribution was indisputable'.¹¹

This *a priori* fixed position contributed to the consideration of any advocate of the opposite view as an insolent iconoclast, as K. Kostis observes. He is the first to comment on the way in which historiography has approached this issue, by underlining that the economic history of the interwar period as a research field must examine stereotypes on the availability of cheap labour, which supposedly facilitated the industrial development of 'backward' Greece, or views on the sudden widening of the market, which created favourable conditions for setting up processing units. Strictly critical, he characterizes these stereotypes as simplistic beautifications of a reality which functioned on the basis of different criteria from those utilized by the supporters of hard and fast views.¹² The issue is one of social and political compulsion, which has very little to do with the developmental spirit. By the same token, the rural reform, whether this is considered a political or a social endeavour, was a

κοινωνική μελέτη του προσφυγικού ζητήματος [Greece Without the Refugees. Historical, Fiscal, Economic and Social Study of the Refugee Question], Athens 1934.

- ¹¹ See e.g. M. Riginos, *Παραγωγικές δομές και εργατικά ημερομίσθια στην Ελλάδα, 1909-1936. Βιομηχανία-Βιοτεχνία* [Productive Structures and Labour Wages in Greece, 1909-1936. Industry-Craft Industry], Research and Cultural Foundation of the Commercial Bank of Greece, Athens 1989, p. 144.
- ¹² K. Kostis, "Η ιδεολογία της οικονομικής ανάπτυξης. Οι πρόσφυγες στον Μεσοπόλεμο" [The ideology of economic development. The refugees in the interwar period], *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 9 (1992), pp. 33-46. On this subject see also Margarita Dritsa, *Πρόσφυγες και εκβιομηχάνιση* [Refugees and industrialization], in: Th. Veremis – G. Goulimis (eds), *Ελευθέριος Βενιζέλος. Κοινωνία – Οικονομία – Πολιτική στην εποχή του* [Eleftherios Venizelos. Society – Economy – Politics in his time], Athens, Gnosi publications 1989, pp. 27-70.

direct consequence of the arrival of the Exchanged incomers, in the sense that processes which had already been set in motion were accelerated and radicalized by removing the obligation of paying compensation to the owners. But it is difficult for rural reform to be linked to the economic development of the country, and indeed when there were no explosive changes in the magnitudes of Greek agriculture during the interwar years. All the information pertaining to settlement in rural regions bears witness to the Exchanged incomers' plight, the conditions of crisis and despair on finding themselves transplanted into an environment that was alien, just as the way of life that was to be imposed on them was alien.¹³ Consequently, study of the adaptation processes of the refugee population, more precisely of the various Asia Minor refugees, in connection with the mechanisms of the economy, remains a desideratum.¹⁴

The same critical stance towards the ideological construct of the refugees' contribution to the economic development of Greece is also indicated by the ascertainment of G. Mavrogordatos, who characterizes

¹³ For these issues see Elisabeth Kontogiorgi, *Population Exchange in Greek Macedonia-Rural Settlement of Refugees 1923-1930*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2006. For her book, Kontogiorgi studied issues relating to the manner in which refugees settled in Macedonia and the demographic, social, economic and political consequences of this. Rural settlement took place mainly in Macedonia because this was easy from a practical aspect, since the abandonment of the immoveable property of the Muslims facilitated the solution to the refugee problem and smoothed out social unrest, undesirable for the domestic political and social equilibria as well as for the global ones. Furthermore, the settlement of the refugees in Macedonia served to create a national family in the Northern provinces of Greece.

¹⁴ A parallel stereotype of historiography is attributing the public deficits to support given to refugees, because, as Kostas Kostis remarks, it ignores the simple fact of the lack of will to exercise a strict and balanced taxation policy. He also points out that we should not discount the fact that the observations on the burdens on the budget, due

the absence, with the Exchange, of catalytic effects on the agricultural and industrial development of Greece as “the price of the refugees’ assimilation in the Greek economic and social structure. This assimilation was achieved thanks to the rapid transformation of the overwhelming majority of them into counter-productive bourgeois of the towns and the villages, exactly as the indigenes were”.¹⁵

So, the absence from Ch. Hadjiiosif’s monograph on Greek industry of the parameter ‘refugee’, a contemporary social phenomenon of the period he examines, is no oversight; the reason is simple: it is not linked to the causes or the immediate consequences of the subject of his research.¹⁶ Even so, as has already been said, “the formation of the economic history of the interwar period as a research subject, presupposes also a judgement on the issue of the relationship between refugees and economic development in Greece”.¹⁷ As second

to the rehabilitation of the refugees, come from ascertainments made by the fiscal authorities and that no investigation was ever made of the size of sums apportioned for subsidizing the refugees, as well as the channels through which these sums were disbursed. See K. Kostis and also Margarita Dritsa, “Εθνική Τράπεζα και πρόσφυγες” [National Bank and refugees], *Τα Ιστορικά* 4 (Dec. 1985), pp. 313-326. See also Mark Mazower, “The Refugees, the Economic Crisis and the Collapse of Venizelist Hegemony 1929-1932”, *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 9 (1992), pp. 119-134.

¹⁵ “Only the more extensive proletarianization, he reveals, ‘a more permanent marginalization of the refugees could have some positive economic effects, but at prohibitive social, political and national cost. The rationalization that prevailed was certainly superior to the economic”. See G. Th. Mavrogordatos, “Το ανεπανόληπτο επίτευγμα”, p. 12. The same conclusions are reached by A. Liakos, *Εργασία και πολιτική στην Ελλάδα του Μεσοπολέμου. Το Διεθνές Γραφείο Εργασίας και η ανάδυση των κοινωνικών δεσμών* [Labour and Politics in Greece in the Interwar Years. The International Labour Bureau and the emergence of social institutions], Athens, Research and Cultural Foundation of the Commercial Bank of Greece, 1993, pp. 53-54.

¹⁶ Ch. Hadjiiosif, *Η γηραιά σελήνη. Η βιομηχανία στην ελληνική οικονομία, 1830-1940* [The Old Moon. Industry in the Greek Economy, 1830-1940], Athens, Themelio, 1993, p. 15. See also A. Liakos, pp. 62-63.

¹⁷ K. Kostis, p. 32.

example, I cite the still persistent view that the wretched refugee groups were, by definition, bearers and disseminators of revolutionary ideas in Greek society. And yet, the influence of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) and the Left on the refugee populations was not so self-evident. “It has its own historicity which the developments inside the communist party and the fomentations taking place in the same period in the refugee element itself defined”,¹⁸ with the gradual transposition from the Venizelos faction to other political formations.¹⁹ The rise in the electoral strength of KKE in the refugee neighbourhoods of Athens and in provincial towns whose population included a large number of refugees (e.g. Kavala), the 1929 strikes by tobacco workers, a significant proportion of whom were of refugee origin, the participation from 1931 onwards of Asia Minor refugees in the politburo of KKE, do not necessarily type-set the view that the refugees aligned with the Left. The events and their consequences are more complex.

The rapid transformation of the great mass of the refugees into small property owners led some scholars to maintain that the ordinances of the League of Nations, which sought at all costs to avoid radicalization of the refugee populations, held sway. Studies in recent decades have shown that the large section of refugees settled in urban centres was included in the mechanisms of the petty-

¹⁸ Kostas Katsapis, “Η πολιτική συμπεριφορά των προσφύγων στην Ελλάδα του Μεσοπολέμου” [The political behaviour of refugees in Greece in the interwar years], in: *Πέρα από την καταστροφή. Μικρασιάτες πρόσφυγες στην Ελλάδα του Μεσοπολέμου* [Beyond the Catastrophe. Asia Minor Refugees in Greece in the Interwar Years], Foundation of the Hellenic World, Athens 2003, p. 140. See also the chapter ‘Communism and refugees in Greece’, in the doctoral dissertation of G. Kritikos, vol. II, p. 262ff.

¹⁹ Spyros Karavas, *Evolutions du comportement electoral dans l'agglomeration d'Athènes (1926-1964)*, unpublished PhD thesis, Université Lumière, Lyon II, Lyon 1989.

business economy, in which paternalistic relations prevailed, with the resultant slowing down and undermining of the creation of a working class with proletariat consciousness, as is encountered in industrialized countries.²⁰ It was considered, moreover, that the rationalism of national integration and homogenization was a common claim of the political leaderships in Greece, isolating the Left which in 1924 proposed the founding of an independent state in the region of Macedonia, where the main bulk of refugees had recently been settled.²¹

With the collapse of the socialist multinational formations after 1992 and the resultant outbreak of aggressive and repellant nationalism in the Balkans, the homogenization of the population of Northern Greece, which had been achieved by the settlement of Exchanged populations, returned to the political proscenium. Once again the positive side of the Exchange had been vindicated, through the *post hoc* festive confirmation of the political choices made in the period 1923-1930, since the systematic settlement of refugees had secured the border regions of Macedonia and Thrace from multiple threats during the critical decade 1940-1950.

The period of the Exchange of Populations and settlement of the Asia Minor populations had been conceded yet again to political science, which evaluates by the result. But the results and the consequences do not necessarily always coincide with what had been foreseen or intended. An approach to the subjects of the Exchange is pending, by which I do not mean a study of the persons but a study of their course towards modern Greece. Missing from the corpus of Greek historiography are studies on the incorporation of the refugee

²⁰ A. Liakos, p. 88.

²¹ G. Th. Mavrogordatos, *Stillborn Republic. Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece 1922-1936*, Berkeley 1983, p. 219.

populations into the Greek reality. For example, the settling of the Pontic and the Cappadocian Exchanged populations triggered antagonism, hostility and frequently conflicts between the local population and the newcomers, over claims to the abandoned Muslim properties in Macedonia. These claims had long-term consequences for the local societies and to a great extent determined their political choices. Disgruntled Slavophone populations preferred to align with the policy of Communist Party of Greece (KKE), which supported the creation of an independent Macedonian State and, later, during the Civil War (1946-1949), aligned with the National Liberation Front (EAM). The majority of the farmers among the Exchanged incomers yoked themselves to the chariot of the Greek State, which they saw as a guarantee of protection and support.²² As far as Northern Greece is concerned, study of the settlement of the Exchanged populations linked with the events of the Occupation and the Civil War is needed, and it is extremely interesting to examine this perspective.²³ In Greek historiography there is the overriding view that in politics the rural refugee population, the main bulk of which had settled in Macedonia, sided with the Right, and the corresponding poor urban population with the Left.

The Exchange of Populations is inscribed positively in the Greek collective memory. To this contributed the fact that in its management there was and is a political interest mediated by academic language. In my

²² Th. Veremis, "Political continuations and realignments in the Greek State", in: Renée Hirschon (ed.), *Crossing the Aegean. An appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey*, New York – Oxford 2003, pp. 53-62.

²³ Since the late 1980s anthropological studies have been appearing on the refugee populations settled in Macedonia and their relations with the local element. I shall cite two examples, G. Drettas's study of a village in the area of Aridaia, in which the local Bulgarophone inhabitants characterized the incomers from Gümüşhane as vampires, refusing, even 60 years on, to bury their dead in a common cemetery

view, an approach to this period on purely historical terms is yet to be added to our national narrative and a cogent interpretation of the period between the arrival of the Asia Minor refugees and postwar contemporary Greece is pending. The common acceptance that with their arrival they transformed Greek culture and redefined identities is not enough. I close this brief paper with the words of Eric Hobsbawn, which I find uncannily appropriate to this case. Hobsbawn writes in his autobiography²⁴:

Political pressures on history, by old and new states and regimes, identity groups, and forces long concealed under the frozen ice-cap of the Cold War, are greater than ever before in my lifetime, and modern media society has given the past unprecedented prominence and marketing potential. More history than ever is today being revised or invented by people who do not want the real past, but only a past that suits their purpose. Today is the great age of historical mythology. The defense of history by its professionals is today more urgent in politics than ever. We are needed.

or to marry refugees. See G. Drettas, 'Questions de vampirisme', *Études Rurales* 97/98 (1985), pp. 201-218. See also the study by Anastasia Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870-1990*, The University of Chicago Press, 1997; in the only chapter referring to the settlement of Asia Minor refugees, in her published PhD thesis, she describes briefly the consequences of the relations of property ownership which had developed from the Late Ottoman period, with the influx of Thracian and Pontian refugees into the region of Langada, and how the land distribution programme of 1928-1929 threatened to destroy the power base of the local elite, see chapter 5 'Crossing the moving frontier. Group formation and social closure in the era of refugee settlement, 1922-1940'. Karakasidou focuses her interest exclusively on the identity of the local Slavophone society in the village of Guevzna/Assiros and its embroilment in the Macedonian Question.

²⁴ E. Hobsbawn, *Interesting Times. A Twentieth-Century Life*, London, The Penguin Press, Abacus, 2002.



1. Arrival of refugees in Piraeus (1924).



2. Refugees outside the Old Palace in Athens (1924).



3. Refugees on a ship's deck on the way to Greece (1924).



4. Refugees in the land of Attica (1924).





5. Distribution of food to refugee children by the American Near East Relief (Athens 1925-1927).



6-7. Palia Kokkinia. The shanties at Aghia Sotira (1924-1927).



8. Palia Kokkinia. The shanties at Aghia Sotira (1924-1927).

LA CONTRIBUTION DU CENTRE D'ÉTUDES D'ASIE MINEURE À L'HISTORIOGRAPHIE DE LA QUESTION DES RÉFUGIÉS

Répondant à l'invitation de participer aux travaux de l'atelier « Des archives et des ethnologues », je vais donc traiter ici du rôle des archives de l'histoire dite « orale » du Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure dans la tradition historiographique touchant à la Question des réfugiés. « Orale » entre guillemets, car c'est par le canal de multiples médiations que ces archives, qui constituent l'essentiel de la mémoire des réfugiés d'Asie Mineure, ont été enregistrées. Mais nous reviendrons sur ce sujet. Dans cette communication, je voudrais aborder la question des réfugiés ainsi que son contexte sous un aspect historique et historiographique, en insistant sur les paramètres idéologiques et politiques de l'époque : en effet, leur influence fut déterminante sur le mode d'approche du sujet par l'historiographie traditionnelle d'une part et le Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure de l'autre, qui était alors une institution d'avant-garde, voire hérétique.

* Cet article sur le titre « Constitution et usages du fonds ethnographique des réfugiés grecs d'Anatolie: questions d'histoire et d'historiographie. La contribution du Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure à l'historiographie de la Question des Réfugiés » a été publié dans *Ateliers*, n°32 (2008), *L'ethnologue aux prises avec les archives*, [mis en ligne le 21 août 2008], voir <http://ateliers.revues.org/1402>. Dans la présente édition de l'article ont été effectuées des additions et corrections qui n'apportent aucune différence sensible à la première écriture.

En premier lieu, je voudrais préciser qu'en Grèce, on entend toujours et exclusivement par le mot « réfugiés » (*prosfyges*) le million deux cent mille Grecs d'Asie Mineure et de Thrace qui arrivèrent sur le territoire helladique en deux vagues successives : en 1922 tout d'abord, après la défaite de l'armée grecque en Asie Mineure, puis entre 1923 et 1925, dans le cadre de l'Échange des Populations. Le texte du Traité de Lausanne, quant à lui, qualifie ces populations d'« émigrants ». Les autres réfugiés d'origine grecque arrivés dans le Centre National sont, eux, désignés par leur lieu d'origine : on les appelle Constantinopolitains, Imvriotes (originaires de l'île d'Imbros), Grecs Chypriotes, « Rossopontii » (originaires des rivages russes de la Mer Noire), etc. C'est ainsi que ce qualificatif de « réfugiés » demeure associé à la Catastrophe d'Asie Mineure et à l'Échange des Populations, qui ont définitivement sonné le glas de la politique irrédentiste et expansionniste de l'État grec moderne connue sous le nom de « Grande Idée ». De ce point de vue, les réfugiés sont, dans la rhétorique de l'historiographie grecque qui se développa alors, le symbole du martyr résultant d'un échec national : ils sont les héros et les victimes de la destruction et du déracinement. En même temps, ils sont le symbole-même de ces précurseurs qui ont travaillé à la formation de la Grèce moderne, à laquelle on considère que leur installation et leur intégration a très largement contribué. Les idéologies et les stéréotypes présents dans le *corpus* historiographique ont d'abord été produits par la charge émotionnelle que crée, aujourd'hui comme alors, l'événement tragique de la défaite suivie de l'Exode; ensuite, celui du difficile processus d'apaisement des tiraillements que causa l'intégration des réfugiés dans la société grecque.

D'autres paramètres sont cependant aussi intervenus. Ainsi l'intérêt politique, véhiculé par la langue académique, qui a toujours pesé sur la gestion de la question des réfugiés. De même, on ne peut ignorer le fait que la littérature historiographique ait, dès le départ, été

produite par des gens personnellement mêlés aux différents aspects de cette question et par suite étroitement liés au pouvoir et à l'État grec, ce qui a contribué à présenter l'arrivée en Grèce des réfugiés sous un angle positif. En effet, à mon sens, la question des réfugiés constitue l'un des cas les plus caractéristiques de métamorphose en lieux communs idéologiques des problèmes et des questions posés par une enquête, et elle permet de bien en suivre le processus. Dès lors, il n'est guère pertinent de commenter au-delà de ce bref examen, les aspects historiographiques : l'attitude de ceux qui ont produit des ouvrages et documents historiographiques en Grèce et en Turquie a été discutée de manière exhaustive dans les études réunies dans le volume *L'Échange de populations gréco-turc. Aspects d'un conflit national* (*Η ελληνοτουρκική Ανταλλαγή των πληθυσμών. Πτυχές μιας εθνικής σύγκρουσης* [L'Échange de populations gréco-turc. Aspects d'un conflit national], Konstantinos Tsitselikis (éd.), Athènes, Kritiki, 2006).

Ce qu'il importe aujourd'hui de souligner, c'est le trait principal de l'historiographie nationale relative à la question des réfugiés, qui est l'absence d'un réel examen de leur passé, et par conséquent le silence qui recouvre toutes les particularités ethniques, sociales, culturelles et linguistiques qui étaient les leurs : en d'autres termes, le mutisme sur leur identité propre. L'historiographie nationale s'est scrupuleusement alignée sur la politique de l'État grec, qui considérait la population réfugiée comme un ensemble uniforme et qui l'a intégrée en tant que tel aux populations nées sur le territoire national, choisissant d'ignorer leurs particularités sociales et culturelles. Ce n'est pas un hasard si une majorité d'historiens et d'hommes politiques a toujours produit comme contrepartie à la Catastrophe l'homogénéisation réussie de la population de l'État grec. Très récemment, des études, surtout celles d'anthropologie sociale, cette science de l'alté-

rité culturelle, ont démontré les aspects multiples de l'identité des réfugiés et ont retracé, à l'aide d'exemples, le rôle joué par l'idéologie nationaliste grecque dans la disparition de l'identité particulière que représentaient les réfugiés dans l'espace d'accueil.

Cette absence d'intérêt pour le passé des réfugiés est contrebalancée par l'initiative pionnière de Melpo et Octave Merlier, fondateurs de ce qui deviendra le Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure qui, immédiatement après la Catastrophe, se tourne vers l'étude de la culture « populaire » des réfugiés. La question de savoir en quels termes cette approche a été réussie constitue un immense sujet de discussion : nous en reparlerons. En tout cas, notons que l'époque exigeait avant tout le retour aux « racines ». L'initiative des Merlier s'intègre donc dans le même horizon idéologique que celui d'Angéliki Chatzimichali, une représentante de la grande bourgeoisie athénienne qui s'est efforcée de promouvoir la culture populaire. Si l'ethnographie s'est, dès le départ, trouvée dans la position paradoxale d'étudier les formes humbles d'une civilisation, de même, le Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure s'est penché sur les humbles réfugiés de la Catastrophe d'Asie Mineure. Durant l'entre-deux-guerres, la « culture populaire », « l'art populaire » sont promus en Grèce en tant que preuves de la vitalité de la « race » grecque. Ils sont « nationalisés » au service d'une idéologie, celle de la « grécité ». Par conséquent, le Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure a été lui aussi gagné par la teneur idéologique de l'ethnographie d'alors, à savoir par la volonté d'apporter des preuves de la continuité historique et de l'identité nationale. Un exemple très caractéristique en est fourni par la manière dont, considérant le travail réalisé en Cappadoce en 1950, Melpo Merlier écrit : « Nous avons réussi à rendre à la Cappadoce son caractère grec ».

Des années 1940 aux années 1970, le Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure fut en Grèce le seul vecteur de la recherche fondée sur la col-

lecte de documents et leur inventaire à oser enregistrer l'histoire orale des communautés grecques d'Asie Mineure. Le but du Centre était alors l'enregistrement et la sauvegarde des matériaux et documents retraçant l'histoire et la civilisation des communautés grecques d'Asie Mineure, à travers la mémoire des réfugiés arrivés en Grèce. Cette initiative fut prise et réalisée hors du cadre des communautés académiques institutionnelles de Grèce. Elle bénéficiait cependant de la protection de l'État français, puisque Octave Merlier fut pendant des années directeur de l'Institut Français d'Athènes.

Il est important de suivre l'évolution de cette tentative, dans la mesure où elle révèle la formation progressive du profil du Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure. Tout d'abord, il faut noter que l'entreprise du Centre avait eu pour prémices des cas isolés de lettrés locaux qui, à la fin du XIX^e siècle, s'étaient attachés à prouver le caractère grec de cet espace sensible qu'était la Cappadoce. Mais elle avait surtout pour modèle l'entreprise plus méthodique du Syllogue Philologique Grec de Constantinople (Société littéraire). Cette association, dont le mot d'ordre était « Nous avons besoin de témoignages vivants et issus du pays même », recueillait des éléments de culture populaire (us et coutumes, chansons et traditions, matériel linguistique, etc.) comme autant de preuves de la continuité et autant d'arguments permettant de réfuter les théories formulées par certains observateurs étrangers qui proclamaient que les Grecs modernes de Cappadoce n'entretenaient aucune affinité avec le reste des Grecs. D'autre part, ces « monuments vivants » et éléments de « culture populaire » provenant des îlots hellénophones de Cappadoce enrichissaient l'arsenal d'arguments avancés sur le territoire grec contre les théories de Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer sur la continuité ou non de la « race » grecque. L'entreprise du Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure a donc le même point de départ, elle relève de la même tradition romantique de l'historiographie. Cette démarche, telle qu'elle a été conduite pendant

quarante ans, était greffée à une revendication : celle de reconstituer sur un autre plan, celui de la culture, un trésor correspondant à celui qui avait été perdu du point de vue territorial. En fin de compte, il s'agissait donc d'une autre expression de la Grande Idée.

L'histoire du Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure débute en 1924 avec l'enregistrement sonore de chansons de réfugiés, lorsque Melpo Merlier abandonne l'enregistrement des chansons du territoire helladique qu'elle avait entrepris avec Hubert Pernot, directeur du Musée de la Parole. Elle commence donc avec le produit anonyme et collectif de la création populaire orale, qui concentre l'expression d'une entière vie sociale. Les chansons l'amènent à l'ethnographie, lorsqu'est reconnue la nécessité, qui s'impose dès le départ, de les encadrer d'un indispensable matériel authentique : informations sur les lieux et circonstances de leur composition et interprétation, sur leurs interprètes, etc. En effet, pour bien étudier la partie, il faut la mettre en relation avec le tout. Ce cheminement transparait aussi dans les appellations successives de cette fondation de recherches. En 1930 sont créées les Archives Ethnologiques Musicales qui, en tant que fondation scientifique, se proposaient d'enregistrer et de collecter les chansons et la musique des réfugiés d'Asie Mineure et de Thrace. Avec le temps, l'introduction de principes laographiques ébauche une organisation des enregistrements musicaux. C'est ainsi que sont fondées en 1933 les Archives d'Ethnologie d'Asie Mineure, qui vont devenir un département des Archives d'Ethnologie Musicale. La vocation de ce département, rebaptisé en 1949 Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure, est désormais la sauvegarde de la « tradition orale » des réfugiés. Tel est le terme utilisé par Melpo Merlier et le Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure jusqu'aux années 1980. L'utilisation de l'expression « histoire orale » concernant le matériel recueilli par le Centre s'est imposée ultérieurement, lorsque les études anthropologiques ont fait leur apparition en Grèce. Par delà son travail de col-

lecte, le Centre édite dans les années cinquante une série d'ouvrages présentant surtout le matériel linguistique de la Cappadoce. Ces entreprises attirent la fine fleur de la communauté scientifique hellénique ainsi que des spécialistes étrangers.

Le Centre a collaboré avec tous les scientifiques de renom de cette époque qui consacraient des travaux à l'Asie Mineure, comme par exemple Richard M. Dawkins, Pertev Naili Boratav, Samuel Baud Bovy, etc., ainsi que des savants turcs. Le couple Merlier, assisté de collaborateurs qu'il avait lui-même formés – car la formation spécialisée requise n'existait alors pas en Grèce – et de volontaires bénévoles et enthousiastes, se plongea durant quarante années dans une expédition « de collecte primaire » d'un matériel de tradition orale qui compte 150 000 pages manuscrites, classées selon des critères géographiques. La recherche menée par le Centre a permis de repérer 2163 habitats (villes, villages, hameaux) composés de Grecs, à savoir des « Romii / Rums » orthodoxes, répartis sur toute l'étendue de l'Asie Mineure. Seuls 1375 de ces lieux dont provenaient des réfugiés ont pu être soumis à la recherche car, pour les autres, surtout ceux des bords de la Mer Noire, nul informateur n'a été trouvé parmi ceux arrivés en Grèce: en effet, après l'Échange des populations, une grande partie d'entre eux s'était réfugiée dans la région du Caucase et du sud de la Russie. La création de ces archives d'histoire orale repose ainsi sur les interviews de plus de 5000 réfugiés, sur la rédaction de leurs *curriculum vitae* et sur la consignation de la chronique des collaborateurs du Centre lorsqu'ils se rendaient sur les lieux de rencontre avec les informateurs. À présent, tous ces documents constituent de manière intrinsèque de véritables fonds d'archives, indépendamment des champs de recherche qu'ils recouvrent. Les chiffres indiqués exposent en partie le titanesque travail de recensement entrepris, qui doit aussi être estimé en tenant compte des conditions dans lequel il a été réalisé. Et jusqu' à aujourd'hui, les archives

d'histoire orale du Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure sont toujours les plus volumineuses de Grèce (en effet, il existe également des archives d'histoire orale au Centre de Recherches d'Ethnographie Hellénique de l'Académie d'Athènes, au département d'Ethnologie de l'Université d'Athènes, etc.). Or, cette œuvre a été conçue et réalisée par des particuliers, alors que l'État grec et son intelligentsia n'osaient l'entreprendre.

Nous avons vu comment le Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure s'était placé, lors du premier stade de son développement, sous le signe de l'ethnologie, puis avait reproduit le modèle de Nicolas Politis, fondateur des études laographiques en Grèce. Il a également suivi les sentiers de la laographie pour son orientation idéologique et sa méthode de collecte des informations. Ceci apparaît très clairement à travers le matériel même, recueilli conformément à un questionnaire précis : il est essentiellement constitué de réponses aux questions orientées posées par les collaborateurs du Centre et à elles seules. La parole des réfugiés se trouve ainsi enfermée dans le cadre dicté par la méthodologie laographique et ses priorités idéologiques.

Tout d'abord, le même questionnaire a été utilisé pour les réfugiés de toutes les régions, littoral d'Asie Mineure, Cappadoce, régions de la Mer Noire, alors qu'elles sont totalement différentes du point de vue de l'histoire et de la tradition culturelle. Cette utilisation du même questionnaire pour tous les réfugiés nivelle d'emblée leurs caractéristiques culturelles et prête le flanc à diverses hypothèses et interprétations quant à la manière dont le Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure concevait le monde des réfugiés et la multi-culturalité qu'il représentait dans cette conjoncture historique et politique particulière. Il devient dès lors évident que son approche de ce monde ne diffère finalement pas de celle de l'idéologie dominante.

Ensuite, la collecte du matériel d'histoire orale, strictement limitée aux normes d'un tel questionnaire, a en réalité conduit, hor-

mis quelques flagrantes exceptions, à manipuler les réfugiés-informateurs pour qu'ils révèlent des éléments concernant leur espace de vie avant leur installation en Grèce. Lorsque Melpo Merlier présente ces méthodes de collecte, elle parle sans s'en rendre compte de la manière dont les informateurs étaient manipulés. À propos de Farassa, elle écrit : « [...] la quête des ruines chrétiennes. Les habitants de Farassa ne nous en avaient rien dit. Pourtant, ayant lu l'admirable ouvrage du Père de Jerphanion sur les églises de Cappadoce creusées dans le tuf [...], j'ai voulu me mettre en quête, à Farassa et dans cette région, non de telles églises qui ne semblent pas avoir existé, mais de ruines chrétiennes. Au début, nous nous sommes heurtés à de grandes difficultés, mais peu à peu, nos informateurs se sont souvenus d'éléments chrétiens du passé, si bien que, pour les localiser, j'ai voulu qu'on établisse la carte du domaine de la communauté de Farassa ».

Les deux constatations que nous venons de faire sur la manière dont était collecté le matériel du Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure nous conduisent à la conclusion que, finalement, peu importait de retranscrire les particularités culturelles de l'habitat d'Asie Mineure à travers la parole de ceux qui y avaient vécu. Ce qui intéressait bien davantage, c'était l'inventaire et la réhabilitation de l'espace et du paysage grecs d'Asie Mineure, d'où l'attention extrême apportée à la micro-topographie de l'habitat, à tel point que Melpo Merlier elle-même considère comme absolument raisonnable que certains se demandent si cela fait vraiment partie de la laographie. Son obsession des relevés topographiques tient de la cérémonie funèbre à la mémoire d'un pays irrémédiablement perdu. L'empreinte du pays d'Asie Mineure est reportée de façon intemporelle et idéalisée. C'est l'occasion par exemple de signaler que le réseau des habitats grecs est organisé sur la base de la division des provinces romaines. Encore une fois, il s'agit une connaissance de la patrie très ethnocentrique.

Si l'on examine le questionnaire et, à travers lui, l'utilisation et le traitement des sujets touchant à la culture populaire, on en arrive à penser que le premier souci était de repérer et de mettre en valeur des éléments partagés avec l'hellénisme helladique, indispensables à l'intégration des réfugiés dans l'espace idéologique hellénique. Là était d'ailleurs toute la question et, de ce point de vue, le matériel du Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure constitue un champ de recherches idéal pour l'étude de la formation des mythes, de l'usage des symboles et des lieux communs idéologiques, de la transformation de la mémoire sous la pression d'expériences traumatisantes.

Car, comme on le sait, les sociétés se réfugient dans les mythes pour survivre aux expériences traumatiques et la mémoire humaine n'enregistre pas le passé de façon mécanique, mais le reconstitue sous l'influence du présent et de la société. Aussi les témoignages oraux expriment-ils une conscience de l'histoire directement influencée par la conception de l'histoire et l'idéologie dominantes du moment. D'autre part, ils peuvent être l'instrument permettant de comprendre les raisons qui imposent l'adoption ou le rejet de stéréotypes et de schématisations, et non pas leur considération critique.

Ce sont principalement des individus cultivés et non-réfugiés appartenant à la seconde et à la troisième génération qui ont fait usage de ce matériel d'histoire orale comme source primaire pour écrire l'histoire de leurs origines, ainsi que des chercheurs étudiant certaines pratiques déterminées de la vie quotidienne. Sur ce point s'ouvre un autre vaste champ de discussions quant à l'usage du matériel de l'histoire orale comme source historique. Que le Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure n'ait pas exploité ce matériel ne s'explique pas seulement par le fait que les données scientifiques et les sollicitations historiographiques de l'époque de collecte du matériel étaient différentes. Elle résultait également de la nature de la source, dépréciée d'emblée par la conscience suspicieuse des historiens, en l'absence

de document « écrit officiel ». Nous y ajouterons une autre raison, [qui est selon nous la principale pour le moment du moins (on enlève cette partie de la phrase alors ?): le manque de familiarité de « nos » historiens d'alors avec les méthodes et les outils de recherche de l'histoire orale.

Mais auprès de l'œuvre de recensement du Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure existe la parole des réfugiés eux-mêmes. Lorsque les problèmes immédiats de survie commencèrent à se résorber, après 1930, certains qui savaient peu ou prou lire et écrire prirent la plume, en général pour la première fois, et décidèrent de coucher sur le papier tout ce dont ils se souvenaient de leur vie dans leurs contrées de l'Asie Mineure et de la Thrace. Ils publièrent leurs souvenirs, ceux de leur famille et de leurs compatriotes, d'abord dans les journaux de réfugiés qui, entre temps, avaient eux aussi commencé à circuler. Plus tard, ceux qui en avaient les moyens financiers ou qui trouvaient des commanditaires publièrent aussi leurs textes sous forme de livres. La liste de tels ouvrages est importante et constitue aussi, du point de vue du nombre, l'essentiel du *corpus* des éditions relatives à l'Asie Mineure ou à la Thrace.

Les chapitres consacrés à la culture populaire du lieu d'origine des auteurs sont peut-être les plus authentiques parmi ces études, si on les compare à ceux qui racontent leur histoire. Cette entreprise, sans aucun doute émouvante, découlait évidemment de motivations purement et essentiellement affectives, qui en déterminaient aussi le résultat. Dans ces études ainsi caractérisées par la charge émotive et la nostalgie des « patries perdues » ou des « inoubliables patries », les réfugiés parlent certes du passé mais se tournent aussi vers l'avenir, définissant ainsi leur propre orientation idéologique, qui n'est autre que l'adaptation au seul monde existant, celui de leur vie actuelle. Les analyser dans leur ensemble serait exceptionnellement intéressant, car cela montrerait probablement de possibles différenciations dans

leur attitude au fil du temps, les schémas interprétatifs du passé dépendant du moment de l'observation.

Lorsque, après 1930, sont fondées diverses associations de réfugiés d'Asie Mineure, des rives de la Mer Noire et de la Thrace orientale, on commence à éditer des albums soit à l'occasion de commémorations soit de façon régulière, ainsi que des publications périodiques effectuées par des associations et des corporations de réfugiés sur des sujets historiques et surtout la culture populaire de leurs terres d'origine, en insistant sur le culte religieux et chrétien de la région. Parallèlement à leur action sociale plus générale dans le cadre de la solidarité et du resserrement des liens entre membres originaires d'un même lieu, ces associations avaient aussi pour but la sauvegarde de l'histoire et des traditions des « patries perdues », comme l'écrivent souvent leurs textes fondateurs et leurs statuts.

Aujourd'hui, des descendants de réfugiés à la recherche de matériel destiné à la rédaction d'études sur le lieu natal de leurs ancêtres ainsi que des membres de corporations qui composent des calendriers anniversaires ou organisent des fêtes ont recours au Centre d'Asie Mineure afin de puiser dans les dossiers des Archives de la tradition orale et les Archives photographiques et musicales. Dans ce sens, le Centre a été amené à la fonction de dépositaire de la mémoire collective des communautés d'Asie Mineure.

En outre, depuis un certain nombre d'années, les Archives de la tradition orale réunies par Melpo Merlier et ses collaborateurs au cours d'environ trente-cinq ans sont de plus en plus sollicitées pour des études historiques qui suivent les méthodes de l'anthropologie, fondées sur la constatation de l'altérité présente dans notre relation avec le passé. Les conditions qui étaient celles d'alors, les méthodes développées en vue de la collecte du témoignage des réfugiés par le Centre constituent des éléments cruciaux pour la compréhension de l'évolution idéologique des études sur l'Asie Mineure d'une part, mais

aussi pour la mesure de la distance qui séparait dans la réalité les réfugiés de l'approche du Centre. En fait, les Archives de la tradition orale fournissent le fil d'Ariane des études sur l'Asie Mineure en Grèce et en viennent à jouer un double rôle : au-delà de toute observation culturelle -laographique, historique, anthropologique- elles véhiculent aussi les formes internes d'interprétation et d'étiologie de ce matériel, en d'autres termes elles deviennent le champ d'observation de ses observateurs eux-mêmes.

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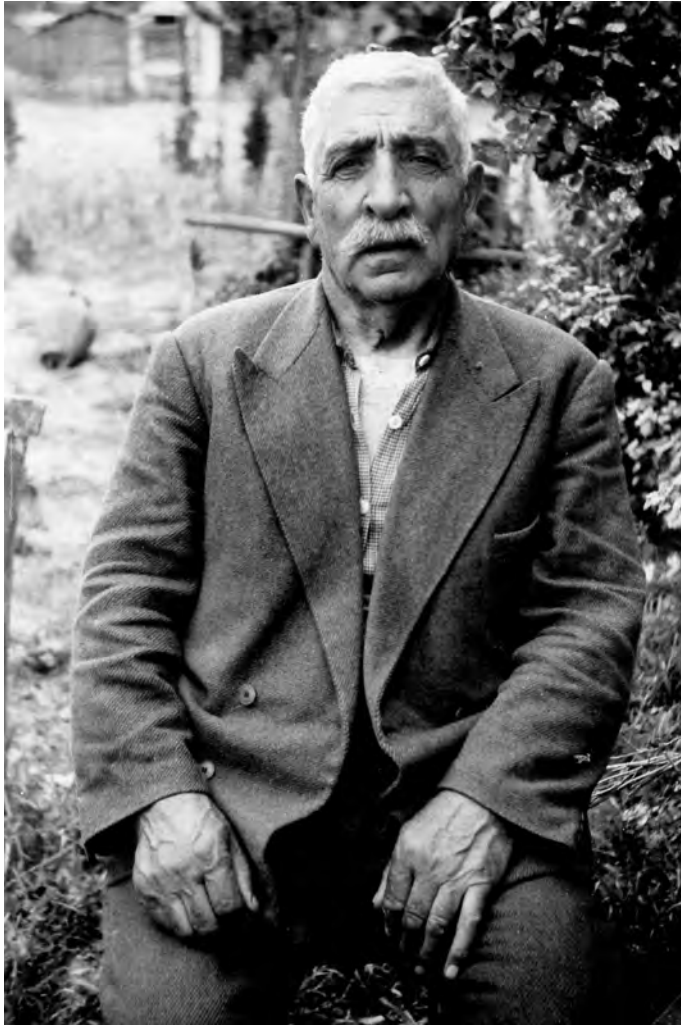
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11. Turkish-speaking refugees collaborators of CAMS (from right, Emmanuel Tsalikoglou, Georgios Mavrochalyvidis and Christos Tourgoutis) with Thanasis Kostakis (first left). Eugène Dalleggio appears in the centre (1956).



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19. Prodrimos Koutsopoulos from Dila
(Chalkiades-Farsala, October 1958).



20. Savvas Karatzoglou from Tsouhour (Kappadokiko-Karditsa, October 1958).



21. Paraskevas Ignatidis with his wife from Andaval (Nea Olynthos-Chalkidiki, May 1959).



22. Anastasios Paschalidis from Tsouhour (Kappadokiko-Karditsa, October 1958).



23. Theodoros Koupelis from Andaval (Zografou-Moudania, May 1959).



24 - 25. Efthalia Antoniadou from Nevşehir (Athens, Sept. 1958). Quite often, one of the windows of the refugee home was turned into a show case for the small shop selling the basic alimentary, haberdashery, and cigarettes to the people living in the refugee settlement.



26. The informant Vasilis Erbisidis with his wife from Asfari (Plati, April 1956).



27. Antonios Navrotzoglou from Tsat (Nea Bafra, June 1960).



28. Theodoros Giannakidis from Floita (Nea Flogita in Chalkidiki, May 1959).



29. N. Papadopoulos, teacher from Bor, headmaster of the Primary School in Kato Toumba Thessaloniki (March 1952). On the wall can be seen the symbol of the far-right organization *The National Union of Greece* (EEE), founded by refugees from Thessaloniki and responsible for the burning of the Jewish quarter Campbell in 1931 and for attacks on trade-unionist refugees in 1932.



30. Aglaia Loukopoulou with Ermolaos Andreadis in the yard of a refugee house in Moschato (Athens, Sept. 1953).



31. Dimitris Phosteris from Aravan of Cappadocia (Feb. 1955).



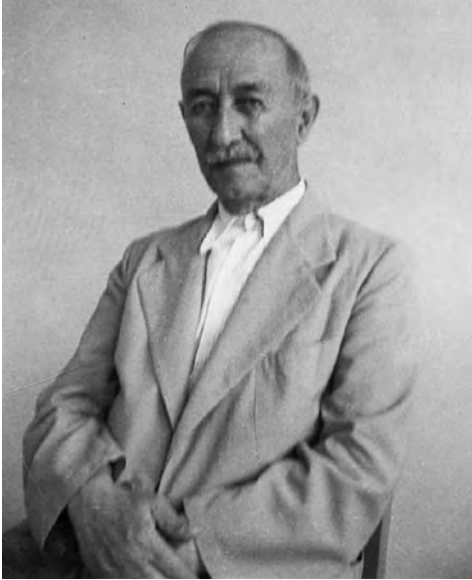
32. Maria Asvesti (right) and Katerina Kapelle (left) the secretaries of CAMS, the persones who typed all the pages of the Oral History of the CAMS (Feb. 1955).



33. Christos Samouilidis with Ermolaos Andreadis in Thessaloniki (May 1959).



34. The informant Vasiliki Tsourouktsoglou from Farasa, with Aglaia Loukopoupou at Moschato in Athens (Nov. 1953).



35. Georgios Askitopoulos (May 1954).



36. The cartographer Stavros Oikonomou with Aglaia Loukopoulou (July 1954).



37. Thanasis Kostakis amidst informants from the village of Dila in Nevşehir, in Chalkiades Farsala (Easter 1955).



38. Refugee women from Andaval (Zografou-Moudania, May 1959).



39. Refugees from Dila (Chalkiades-Farsala, Easter 1955).



40. Ermolaos Andreadis returning to Giannitsa from a tour of the surrounding refugee villages (April 1956).



41. E. Andreadis with Anastasios Prodromidis from Kiska (April 1956).



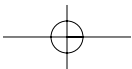
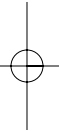
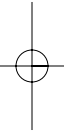
42. E. Andreadis in the cafe in Plati with informants from Farasa (April 1956).



43. Anastasia Zournatzi from Karsanti and E. Andreadis (Plati of Eastern Imathia, April 1956).

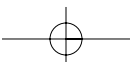
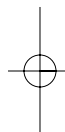
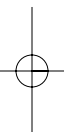


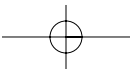
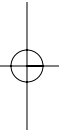
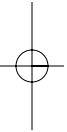
44. Ioannis Misailoglou from Karacören with E. Andreadis (Neokaisareia-Ioannina, July 1960).





PART TWO





THE EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS

The case of Sinasos

Σήμερα εμού και αύριον ετέρου
κι ουδέποτε τινός¹

The convention on the Exchange of Greek and Turkish populations, which was signed in Lausanne on 3 July 1923, constituted the *faits accomplis* of the Greek-Turkish War of 1919-1922 and finalized the upheavals that had taken place in stages in Asia Minor, with the Balkan Wars and the outbreak of the First World War. The departure of the Christian population of Cappadocia and Pontus set its seal on the end of Hellenism in the land of Anatolia.

Sinasos is a unique case of a Rum Orthodox community in Anatolia that organized its repatriation methodically and sought beforehand a

* Published in: *Common Cultural Heritage. Developing Local Awareness Concerning the Architectural Heritage Left from the Exchange of Populations in Turkey and Greece*, Istanbul, The Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants (LMV), 2005, pp. 35-38. This version apart from some additions includes an appendix with texts by Seraphim Rizos, that were published in the supplement *Επτά Ημέρες* (Seven Days) in the newspaper *Kathimerini* on 27 May 2001.

¹ “Today mine, and tomorrow someone else’s and never no one’s”. Maxim which still adorns the doorway to the Rizos house in Sinasos (today Mustafapaşa).

place in which to settle in Greece, mobilizing its emigrant compatriots for assistance and support. Four committees were set up for the Exchange, foremost among which was the committee in Istanbul:²

a) The Constantinople committee was made up of members of the economically flourishing community of Sinasian caviar-merchants in Pera and of the affluent Sinasian ship-chandlers (*'boyadjis'*) in Galata. As the central committee, it had undertaken to co-ordinate the transport of the inhabitants of Sinasos to Piraeus.

b) The Sinasos committee inventoried, selected, packed and made provision for safe dispatch to Greece of whatever it was possible to salvage from community and personal property. It also oversaw the arduous journey over land and sea, as far as Piraeus, so that the refugees were not deprived of food or care. Recorded in a codex of the Christian community of Sinasos, which is now kept in the General State Archive, are the minutes of 13 sessions of the village Council of Elders, concerning decisions for dealing with, as they put it, the 'harsh repatriation'. These sessions were held between 20 June and 4 September 1924.³

c) The Piraeus-Athens committee undertook the most formidable and difficult task of receiving the refugees from Sinasos, looking after them, finding a suitable place to set up Nea Sinasos and rehabilitating the Sinasians. Preserved in the Archive of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies

² The names of the members of the four committees are recorded in the album *H Σινασός, το διαμάντι της Ανατολής* [Sinasos. Diamond of the East], Athens 1924, p. 54.

³ Summaries of the minutes are given in the catalogue by Matoula Kouroupou – Evangelia Balta, *Ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες της Καππαδοκίας. Περιφέρεια Προκοπίου. Πηγές στα Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους και στο Κέντρο Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* [Greek Orthodox Communities of Cappadocia. I. District of Prokopi/Ürgüp. Sources in the General State Archives and the Centre for Asia Minor Studies], Athens, Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 2001, pp. 125-126.

is part of the voluminous correspondence between this committee and the committee in the village. The Piraeus-Athens committee gave rise to the association 'I Nea Sinasos' (New Sinasos), which is active to this day.

d) The America committee, which with generous sums of money assisted the resettlement and rehabilitation of the refugees, and continued to bolster them economically after their settlement in Greece.

The primary aim of these committees was to find a place of settlement in Greece. Paramythia and Philiates were rejected, on the grounds that there were *Arvanites* (Albanians) thereabouts and the incomers would be in danger of bandit raids, there were no roads and they were far away from the main harbours and commercial centres of Greece and Turkey, the area was plagued by malaria, and so on. Other places were suggested, in Chalkidiki, West Thrace and Crete, but in the end the proposal that they settle at Parga in Epirus was accepted. However, 'Nea Sinasos' was finally founded in northern Euboea, in the Vistritsa çiftlik, in the district of Xirochori, Istiaia, while a large number of Sinasians were to settle in Piraeus, Athens and other towns in Greece. Money was collected from Sinasians domiciled in America and in Istanbul, for the transport of the poor people in the village and the dispatch of the community and ecclesiastical property to Greece. An inventory was made of the immovable properties, photographs of the village were taken, the funds of all associations were liquidated. Last but not least, the transportation of the population and the moveable properties was arranged. The transportation of the Exchangeable Populations began in late August and was completed on 2 October 1924. The last telegram sent by the Exchange Committee to the Delegation in Istanbul reads: 'Today, 2 October 1924, we finally leave our fatherland'. Persons involved 'in situ' with preparing the journey were

the brothers Rizos and Seraphim, sons of Nikolaos Rizos, author of *'Kappadokika'* in 1856.⁴

Seraphim Rizos (I note in parenthesis that his house is the one whose front door is flanked by two lions), a schoolteacher in Sinasos, deposited in the CAMS an enormous body of material, both in volume and in its wealth of information, as well as photographs of his homeland. His manuscript entitled 'Exchange', as well as the testimonies of other Sinasian refugees-informants about the exodus, which are kept in the oral tradition archive of the CAMS, describe the events.⁵ Their repetitiveness confirms these, composing with documentary material the historical nexus of the Exchange of Populations. Because of the emotive charge of these testimonies, they also constitute evidence of the psychological climate surrounding the refugees' departure from their homelands and their arrival in Greece. This climate could not be captured by any official document, which is why my first thought, on accepting the invitation to attend this conference, was to deal with what has been recorded about the Exchange by the selective mechanism of the Sinasian refugees' memory. For, as Eric Hobsbawm writes,

The methodology of oral history is not simply important for checking the reliability of the tapes of old ladies' and gentlemen's reminiscences. One significant aspect of grassroots history is what ordinary people remember of big events as distinct from

⁴ Nikolaos Rizos, *Καππαδοκικά, ήτοι Δοκίμιον ιστορικής περιγραφής της αρχαίας Καππαδοκίας και ιδίως των επαρχιών Καισαρείας και Ικονίου* [Cappadocian Varia, that is an Essay containing a Historical Description of Ancient Cappadocia and Especially of the Provinces of Kaisareia and Ikonion], Constantinople 1856.

⁵ His manuscripts were published in Seraphim N. Rizos, *Η Σινασός [Sinassos]*, 2 vols, (eds) Stavros Anestidis & Mirka Tzeveleki-Kondaki, Introduction: Ioanna Petropoulou, Athens 2007.

what their betters think they should remember, or what historians can establish as having happened; and insofar as they turn memory into myth, how such myths are formed.⁶

My intention was to deal with Sinasians' recollections, as recorded in the CAMS, of the news of the Compulsory Exchange and their reaction to it, their contact with the Muslim refugees who arrived from Greece, the behaviour and the farewell of their Turkish fellow villagers, the collecting up of the heirlooms of communal life in Anatolia. Many issues and a difficult choice. I chose to cite some relevant excerpts as an appendix and to focus my paper on a particular issue of the Exchange, dictated too by the subject of the conference, which is dedicated to protecting the cultural heritage of the Exchangeable Populations.⁷

So, I shall speak to you about the photographing of Sinasos, which took place in July 1924, an event which typifies the uniqueness of the behaviour of this Cappadocian community during that period. In the midst of committees involved with finding a new place of settlement, with collecting and inventorying community and public property, it was also decided to make a photographic record of the village. Parallel to the solicitude for material goods, it was decided to record the intangible image of Sinasos, in order to carry it away and to keep it safe together with the other heirlooms in the new homeland. Recorded in photographs are the landscape and the land, to be preserved in memory.

⁶ Eric Hobsbawm, *On History*, London, Weindenfeld & Nicolson, pp. 206-207.

⁷ I publish in the Appendix relevant excerpts from the unpublished manuscript by Seraphim Rizos, *Η Ανταλλαγή* [The Exchange], Nea Sinasos 1957 (CAMS Archive, no 427).

The 'literatus' Seraphim Rizos, inspirer and protagonist in the photographing of Sinasos, writes:

One of the issues which was bothering me continuously, but I could not say so, was the photographing of our village. We had no plans or thoughts about photographing it. We were so weighed down by everyday concerns and our money was so tight that any proposal of mine for such a luxury was bound to be rejected. I thought about speaking privately to my late brother and president of the Committee, Rizos. I explained to him the seriousness of photographing the village and he accepted my views, but on the recommendation that I be frugal, and said he would undertake to persuade the others to agree to the allocation of a sum for this project. And indeed the sum of 20 Turkish sovereigns was made available. I knew that two from Kastro (Ürgüp), the Pantazidis cousins, Anastasis, son of Yosif, and Isaak, son of Ilias, sons of the good and virtuous Pantazidis brothers, merchants and bankers in Kastro, had a camera. I got hold of them and made an agreement that during a specific time interval, from 1 July to the end of the month, in 1924, they would go to various parts of the village and would photograph everything I pointed out to them, for which they would be paid 20 sovereigns, as well as photographing other houses, for which they would be paid by the interested parties.

I had in mind to photograph:

1. Our five neighbourhoods: Gavra, Yeni Mahalle, Kipos, Kapalos, Loula.
2. Our two churches: those of Saints Constantine and Helen, and of the Taxiarchs.
3. The churches of St Nicholas, St John the Baptist, St Barbara, Holy Cross and St George. The church at Jalela and St Demetrios at Jalela.
4. The schools with the teachers and the pupils.
5. The *Systema* (building of the Council of Elders).

6. The houses of Nikolakis Rizos, Hadji Polykarpos, Hadji Thanas Teperoglou, Anastasios Angelidis the school teacher and the buildings which had some history of vernacular architectural value or some memory of our happy days, such as the kiosk of Maimunoglou or the kiosk of Makroglou.

7. Two plates portraying the female costume and the male.

8. Two plates, one showing the female and one the male dance.

9. The fountains, the *Kazino*, the bazaar.

10. The Marasoglou bridge, the Fengarina Han and whatever else was beautiful to my eyes and in my mind, in the hope that I would have another instalment of 20 sovereigns. But I did not manage this.

Toz duman içinde ferman okunmaz (= a firman cannot be read amidst dust and upheaval) our Elders told me. To all these were added the two churches at Kastro: St Basil and Hosios Ioannis, the Christian neighbourhoods in Kastro, at the wish of friends of the Pantazis' family, without us paying. In one month we photographed whatever we could, sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, as at Gorgoli and Jalela. We were afraid to go to the Holy Cross, Tsarmatsa, Davlamas, because of the deserters, who were numerous at that time. I kept all these photographic plates and *en route* to Greece, via Constantinople, at my meeting with our 'Constantinople Delegation' I handed them over to it, with the recommendation and request that they use them to publish a brochure about Sinasos as soon as possible. The Delegation enthusiastically agreed to my proposal and the late physician, Ioannis Archelaos, offered to take care of this, at my fervent behest that it be written in vernacular Greek (demotic) and they promised that it would be. And so I left for Greece, where I was swept along by the tide of refugeehood.

One day, at Podarades (Nea Ionia), in the carpet factory, a heavy parcel arrived for me by post. It was the album of the diamond of the East, of our dear village, the only memento of the long, silent, unknown history of Asia Minor Hellenism of the far-reaches, with the conquerors of our Gournas inside our rock-cut houses.

This is what Seraphim Rizos notes in 1957, in his unpublished manuscript entitled ‘The Exchange’⁸. The adoption by the Council of Elders of the idea proposed by the enlightened Seraphim Rizos, who was aware of the significance of the issue, confirms the Sinasians’ consciousness of the urban physiognomy of their land. Without doubt Sinasos was the only example of urban space in the heart of Cappadocia, the land of the troglodytes. This urban landscape was shaped mainly after the second half of the nineteenth century, with the money and the zeal of Sinasian emigrants domiciled in Istanbul. In the early 1840s over 400 males, of 12 years old and over, representing 20%-25% of the total population of the settlement, were working in Istanbul. This is a high percentage even by comparison with other Christian Orthodox villages with large-scale emigration, as historian Christos Hadjiiosif points out.⁹

The Sinasians’ consciousness of their land, product of an ‘urbanized’ rural society, was the outcome of the influence exerted by the educational system, which was introduced and financially supported by emigration. It was an example of the high cultural level which the long service of the expatriates in the Greek milieu of Constantinople had conveyed and cultivated in the land of their fathers.

Sinasos belongs to the class of Cappadocian communities, such as Gelveri (present day Güzelyurt), Nevşehir, which were urbanized

⁸ From the unpublished manuscript by Seraphim Rizos, *The Exchange*, Nea Sinasos 1957, in the CAMS Archive, no. 427.

⁹ Christos Hadjiiosif is a descendant of the Hadjiiosif family and his grandfather, Christos, was one of the last members of the Council of Elders in Sinasos. The family mansion still stands in the Kapalos neighbourhood. He wrote an excellent study on the history of his fatherland. See Christos Hadjiiosif, *Συνασός. Η ιστορία ενός τόπου χωρίς ιστορία* [Sinasos. The history of a place without history], Herakleion of Crete, University Press of Crete, 2005.

and Hellenized because their emigrants in the major urban centres channelled their economic surplus into education, and in so doing became agents of the dissemination of Greek national education. Thus, it is not fortuitous that Grecophone Sinasos was given the sobriquet 'Athens of the East', just as it is not fortuitous that the camera lens in the photographs taken in 1924 focused on whatever is Greek. Not one Muslim building is photographed, not even the elegant medrese. The landscape of Sinasos is limited to the Greek neighbourhoods. The choice declares the ideological orientation of Sinasian society, its confinement within the mantle cast around it by the protective policy of the expatriates.

Alongside the photographs of the mansions, churches and schools, of the countryside around the village, moments of daily life are immortalized, such as spinning wool, carrying water from the fountain, photographs of excursions and entertainments, of persons in Sinasian society. All indicate the concern to record the setting of a life in Asia Minor that was ending irrevocably, to be transferred together with the refugees to the new, unknown life that awaited them in Greece. And all show the material culture of a society which believed that wealth, social status and property should be conspicuously displayed. Consequently, the movement, the disorder, the drama of the Exchange remain outside the camera lens. It gives no hint of what was to come.

I wonder how these photographs functioned when the one hundred copies of the album circulated, immediately after the settlement of the Sinasian refugees in Greece.¹⁰ Were these the proof

¹⁰ As Rizos notes, the photography was not confined only to Sinasos. In the copy of the Sinasos album in the CAMS, one of the one hundred copies that circulated in 1924, alongside the 82 photographs of Sinasos are 8 photographs of Prokopi (Ürgüp), 3 of Jalela (Cemil) and 13 of wall-paintings from churches in Göreme:

for the Greeks of Greece of what they heard suspiciously from the mouth of the refugees, ‘in our homeland we had ...’? Were they a refuge and subconscious escapism from the harsh reality of Greece, of the tents and the shacks in the refugee settlement of Nea Sinasos? Christos Hadjiiosif¹¹ in the book *Sinasos* that was released in 2005 expresses the opinion that the publication of the album compensated for the loss of the Homeland, a psychological buttress for the expatriated Sinasians facing the difficulties of their new life. And he goes even further claiming that “the glorification of the lost homeland served affluent families who were involved in community affairs of Sinasos, of whom the majority had remained in Istanbul under the *établi* regime. The album was a collective visiting-card which introduced them to Greek society. As such it was handed over to Alexandros Papanastasiou and Eleftherios Venizelos in 1928, when they aspired to support the refugee settlement of Nea Sinasos”.

essentially it is an endeavour to depict the Christian region neighbouring on Sinasos. The photographs of Sinasos from this old album were included, along with others donated by members of the association ‘Nea Sinasos’, in the publication *Sinasos. Images and Narratives*, (ed.) Evangelia Balta, translation Alexandra Doumas, Istanbul, Birzamanlar Yayıncılık, 2009.

¹¹ Christos Hadjiiosif, pp. 397-398.

APPENDIX

Exchange of Populations

The Turks in our area showed no joy in our Exchange. Even the most fanatical Turks, like Zehir Ali (= poison Ali) in our neighbourhood, whose real name was Hadji Ali, son of a renegade Christian, did not express openly that he was pleased about our Exchange.

Everyone, Christian and above all Muslim, had dealings with our village. Some sold their agricultural produce, others wood and charcoal, others worked in our fields and on building sites. They were economically dependent on us. Furthermore, they learnt that their fellow Muslims in Greece were not dependable and to their liking. They were total strangers to them, in their customs and mores, in their manners and in their wealth ... poor, paupers.

My friend Hadji Efendi said to me: 'Don't think, Seraphim Efendi, that we're pleased about this Exchange. If we could, we'd shout "Stop, Let them stay in their homeland". But who would dare speak! You made a great mistake in not following Papa Eftim. Perhaps they wouldn't have bothered you. Where will we find, from now on, ... people like you. I don't imagine that we'll be able to live with those who are coming ...'

Apart from a few fanatics and other carpet-baggers, opportunists, our Turkish compatriots did not condone the Exchange of Populations, the '*Mübadele*'. But the more profound reasons why the Muslim people did not want us to leave were, in my view, these:

Our same everyday needs of life, the same sorrows and the same joys, our common sun and sky, our common mother earth, had slowly but surely, imperceptibly, brought us closer to one another. Our Turkish compatriots were so used to us that they no longer regarded us as foreigners, incomers, even though they were wont to call us, as matter of course, '*gâvur*' (infidel). And the Greek saw in the face of the Turkish villager a quiet and honest, and at the same time pitiable, neighbour, despite his religious and ethnic opposition. We saw his poverty, his ignorance, the tortures of his military service, his joyless life, the total lack of medical care, with only the prayers

of the hodja and of the Christians' priest when he fell ill, without anyone to turn round and look at him, to help him, except his neighbour the Greek, who lent him money and very often gave it to him, and would take a doctor to his house and medicines and food.

When famine began to bedevil our village during the war, in 1916-1917, the schoolboard decided to set up a 'soup kitchen' for the poor children in our school and the indigents in the village. Fifty of our Turks' impoverished children ate in our soup kitchen. We didn't think it Christian to leave the neighbours' starving children out of the soup kitchen. The emotion of the Turks in our village was indescribable. Our gesture was proclaimed among the Turkish people. When, later, I went to Nigde to ask for state aid for our soup kitchen from the *Maarif Müdürlüğü* (Directorate of Education), the inspector not only gave 2,000 okkas of wheat but also promised me he would help, as much as he possibly could, and he said to me these very words: 'I thank you very much, Seraphim Efendi. We shall not forget your gesture. You deserve every assistance and praise.'

Immoveable and Moveable Property

Before we left Sinasos we put in order our affairs concerning the registration of our immoveable property. A special commission recorded the documents brought by each householder in order to verify his property ownership and filled in the green papers, 'the clearance declarations', which had been sent by the *Douxième sous-commission*, whose headquarters were in Nigde. This registration procedure lasted until August 1924. In the last year, the state did not allow us to harvest our fruits and grapes.

Almost no house left behind moveable property. Whatever we did not want or could not transport to Greece, we sold to the Turks in our village or the nearby villages and in the main to the Turks in Kastro (Ürgüp) and Nevşehir. The furniture from Sinasos was highly sought after, as were the cooking vessels, wooden storage cupboards, tables, chests and copperware. During the war, Sinasos exchanged many such chattels for grain in the surrounding Turkish villages. But precious possessions, carpets, kilims, jewellery, we kept. Here in Greece, we sold them. We exchanged clothes

for grain with the Turkish women, as well as decorative gold coins. Our large ‘*ambars*’ in which we stored flour and our small ones in which we stored pulses were dismantled and sold or given away as planks to the Turkish neighbours, as mementoes. An order was given also to the priests, the church commissioners, the vergers, each to gather up the damaged icons in his church and either to burn them in the fireplace of the bathhouse or to bury them in the ground or to set fire to them in the courtyards of the churches.

For centuries we had toiled there in the ‘*Gourna*’ (= hollow), to transform it from barren rock into a fair valley filled with fruit trees and vines, churches wherever you stand and wherever you look, and as Aunt Martha put it, ‘we gave youth and we got back old age, and all was scattered to North and South’.

Those who became Turks

‘Don’t blame him who became a Turk,’ is what our people said about those who converted to Islam. In saying so, they wanted to stress what terribly difficult positions these people found themselves in, to take the decision to change their religion. The first to become a Turk in our time was Turkodespoina, daughter of Spyros Lazos. Her paternal home was in Yeni Mahalle, on the ‘Mescid’ side street along which the Turks of Galasia passed on the way to their fields. Sait Efendi, who had two sons, lived there. The elder boy had seen Despoina and liked her, and asked for her hand. So Despoina became “Turkodespoina”. The second girl to become a Turk and wear a yashmak was Osia, daughter of Sakara-Tektasah. She married the younger son of Sait Efendi. The third was Zinovia, daughter of Yuvas from Ürgüp. These conversions took place after the Revolution of the Young Turks and before the First World War. Another five girls became Turks in the years that followed. The reason why our girls changed faith was that they were poor and had no dowry to bring to the husbands. No one gave a poor girl a second glance. Furthermore, our men were in short supply in the village, because most of them were marrying in Istanbul. The very poor

girls were fated to heed the sweet words of the wooing Turk, who not only did not demand a dowry but also gave 'parents' right' (a form of bride-price) to the girl's parents. For our girls in Sinasos, as well as in all the Christian villages, marriage was a social issue and went beyond the confines of religion and the nation. Our Exchange Commission had no interest in those who had become Turks. But they kept them under surveillance, afraid that they might manage to attract other girls, because of the current situation. The International Exchange Commission at Niğde did show an interest in those who had become Turks, but after our official statement to the kadı that they had converted to Islam long before and had married Turks, they were left free to decide whether to stay or to leave. Of those who had become Turks only Zinovia, daughter of Yuvas, went quietly to Mersin and when she reached Greece she was rebaptised a Christian at Elefsina.

One Turk who had free access to the poor Christian homes in Sinasos was a young man from Nevşehir, who was called Sabri Baklaçoğlu. He used to come as a boy during the First World War, at the time of the famine, and bought various pieces of furniture. When the time came for him to do his military service, his wealthy father smuggled him to Sinasos and hid him in the house of Topalgerina. Sabri, either out of gratitude or of love, promised to marry her daughter Vasiliki. When word of marriage reached his father, he sent his son to Istanbul. After the Exchange of Populations, Sabri left secretly for Greece and was baptized a Christian in Elefsina. He became 'Nikolas'. He came to Nea Sinasos and married Vasiliki, and they had six children. He died of malaria in 1938. We learnt later that Nikolas' father died of grief.







48. Celebrations and dances to mark the founding of the village of Nea Sinasos (1925).

45-47. Nea Sinasos under construction in Euboea (1924).



49-50. The church of Saint Nicholas in Nea Sinasos (1952).



51. View of the village of Nea Sinasos (1952).



52. Olive harvesting (1953).



53. The village's threshing machine (1955).

THE RECORDING OF THE SETTLEMENTS
OF ANATOLIAN REFUGEES IN EUBOEA
BY THE CENTRE FOR ASIA MINOR STUDIES
(1948-1964)*

*In memory of Christos Manousaridis***

After the Greek defeat in Asia Minor and the Exchange of Populations, a large part of the refugee population settled on Euboea, since this island met certain requirements. First of all, there were large landholdings belonging to private citizens and monasteries, which could be expropriated and distributed to the refugees. Furthermore, it was very similar in both its natural environment and its natural resources to the Asia Minor coasts on the other side of the Propontis, the islands of Marmara and the shores of Aydin from which many refugees had come. It is by no means fortuitous that the majority of the Artakians (Artaki, present day Erdek) chose Euboea as the place to create Nea Artaki, the

* The article is published in Greek in: *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* [Archive of Euboean Studies] 38 (2008-2009), pp. 175-214.

** Christos Manousouridis was born in 1936 into a refugee family which had settled at Agios Georgios, Istiaia, after the Exchange of Populations. He proudly declared himself a Pontian from Yozgat and frequently referred to the difficult times his family had gone through when, uprooted from their homelands, they sought refuge and a livelihood in Euboea. He always wanted to organize a conference on

Lampsakians (Lampsakos, present day Lapseki, Çanakkale) to found Nea Lampsakos, the Pyrgians (Pyrgos, present day Kemerburgaz) from the straits of the Black Sea, Neos Pyrgos near Oreoi, the Moursalians (Neo Moursali), while inhabitants of Makri (present day Fethiye) settled on both sides of the Euboean Gulf, in Euboea and in Attica. Euboea became the new homeland too of Greek-speaking and Turkish-speaking Cappadocians and Pontians, who felt safer and more at home there than in other regions of Greece, far away from urban centres and main roads. This island, close to the capital and to other urban centres, also offered the possibility of employment for non-agricultural populations, since there were jobs in the mines and in the small industrial units operating there. According to data cited by Émile Kolodny, the arrival of the refugees in the years 1920-1928 brought about a demographic increase of the order of 16%, which remained stable (15%) until 1940. He calculates that some 14,000 persons settled in Euboea and the North Sporades.¹

The Asia Minor refugees congregated in Chalkida and its environs, in central and northern Euboea, in the areas of Limni and Istiaia. Only a few went to Kymi, Karystos and Aliveri. The refugee settlements covered the central and northwest parts of the island, where there were large estates, such as those of Kriezotis at Triada, Voudouris at Vatontas,

the history of the settlements created after the Asia Minor Catastrophe and the Exchange of Populations. The one-day colloquium held on 8 December 1996 at Nea Artaki, under the auspices of the Society for Euboean Studies and the 'Kyzikos' Women's Association of Nea Artaki, owed much to his efforts. The proceedings of this meeting were never published. The following text was presented there in preliminary form. It is dedicated to the memory of Christos Manousaridis, as a humble token of homage to a dear friend, the worthy master of the typographer's art, who died in 2008.

¹ Émile Y. Kolodny, *La population des îles de la Grèce. Essai de géographie insulaire en Méditerranée orientale*, vol. I, Aix-en-Provence 1974, p. 225.

Noel Baker at Ahmet Agha. According to estimates made by municipal employees in the decade 1950-1960, one third of the refugees remained in Chalkida and accounted for one quarter of the town's population. The other one third created the settlements of Nea Artaki, Nea Lampsakos or made their home in the existing settlements of Psachna, Vatheia (Amarynthos) and Politika. The majority of the refugees originated from the Propontis and the Asia Minor littoral. With the Exchange, Prokopians settled at Ahmet Agha, which was renamed Neo Prokopi, Sinasians built Nea Sinasos. The rest of the Cappadocians, together with Pontians from the Yozgat region and Kars, were dispersed to Limni, Rovies, north of Mount Kandili, Farakla near Kirinthos and Istiaia. Several settled in Aidipsos, around which two new villages were established, Neos Pyrgos and Neo Moursali, today named Taxiarchis. The majority of refugees who arrived after the Exchange were Turkish-speaking and Pontians. In documents compiled during the Ioannis Metaxas dictatorship (1936) local civil servants mention that in the surrounding area all the farmers *spoke corrupted Greek* (in other words Pontian) and Turkish.²

As far as I know, no historical studies have been carried out on the settlement of Asia Minor refugees on Euboea. One rare study is that by Ulrike Fischer, who conducted research on the topography and the economy of 13 refugee settlements on the island.³ S. Salamone, who processed information given by refugees from the Sea of Marmara, follows in his book their course from the islands of the Propontis to Euboea.⁴ There are references to the settlement of refugees in history

² CAMS, files 13, 38.

³ Ulrike Fischer, "Die Ansiedlung der kleinasiatischen griechischen Flüchtlinge auf Euboa", in : *Beitrag zur Landeskunde von Griechenland*, (ed.) H. Riedl, Geographisches Institut, Salzburg, 1976, vol. 6, pp. 441-452.

⁴ Stephen D. Salamone, *In the Shadow of the Holy Mountain: the Genesis of a Rural*

books covering recent times.⁵

Since 1990, several books have been published with testimonies of refugees settled on Euboea, which also include chapters on the circumstances of their settlement, which will be discussed below. Articles with valuable historical evidence have also appeared in the local Press. On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Exodus from Asia Minor, a series of articles by Eleftherios Ioannidis was published in instalments in the newspaper *Πανευβοϊκό Βήμα* [Paneuvoiko Vima], between January and July 1998, with rare photographs and archival documents from school and church registers in the communities, mainly the Propontis, as well as important information and photographs from the refugee neighbourhoods of prewar Chalkida.⁶ One such article presents the chronicle of the Proasteians' departure from their homeland, their brief stay on Thasos, which did not satisfy them as a place of permanent residence, their transfer to Thessaloniki, where they were placed in

Greek Community and its Refugee Heritage, Boulder, East European Monographs, 1987. See also Peter Loizos, "Ottoman Half-lives: Long-term Perspectives on Particular Forced Migrations", *Journal of Refugee Studies* 12 no. 3 (1999), pp. 237-263.

- ⁵ See for example Antonis Pavlou, *Σελίδες από τη νεότερη ιστορία της Χαλκίδας (1833-1944)* [Pages from the Recent History of Chalkida (1833-1944)], Chalkis, Municipality of Chalkis, 1974, pp. 78-84 and idem, "Η Εύβοια στο έργο του W. Miller *Greece* (1928)" [Euboea in W. Miller's book *Greece* (1928)], *Γέφυρα* [Gephyra] 4-5 (Jan.-Feb. 1996), pp. 54-57.
- ⁶ These articles were brought to my attention by Charalambos Farados, who also ensured that they reached me. I take this opportunity to warmly thank him for his efforts. The articles were collected together and published as a book, see Eleftherios Ioannidis, *Μικρασιάτες πρόσφυγες στην Εύβοια. Αφιέρωμα του 'Πανευβοϊκού Βήματος' στις αλησμόνητες πατρίδες του Ελληνισμού* [Asia Minor Refugees in Euboea. Homage of the 'Paneuvoiko Vima' to the unforgotten homelands of Hellenism], Introduction Giorgis Exarhos, Chalkis, 'Paneuvoiko Vima' Press, 2001. Ch. Farados also provided me with the articles by Antonis Pavlou in *Καθημερινή Εύβοια* [Kathimerini Evoia], see nos. 284, 358, 363).

quarantine in the Customs House, their quest for land in Chalkidiki, the settlement of some in Ammouliani and Asvestochori near Thessaloniki, and finally, the transportation of the bulk of the Proasteians aboard the ship *Smyrna* to Chalkida (30 October 1922), where they were housed temporarily for months in the metropolis church of St Demetrios.⁷

Some municipalities to which refugee settlements belong or which were created by refugee installations have posted on their websites texts pertaining to the advent and the settlement of the refugees in 1922 and 1924. We hope the other municipalities will follow suit, since the settlement of the Asia Minor refugees is an important page in the recent history of Euboea.

In this article I present material from the Archive of Oral Tradition of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies (henceforth CAMS, which I crosscheck against published material, while concurrently presenting material I have come across in other archival units. Between 1948 and 1964, Melpo Merlier's collaborators gathered testimonies of refugees relating to their birthplace in Asia Minor, the refugee experience and their settlement in Greece. The CAMS research focused primarily on the Asia Minor peninsula and only secondarily was interested in the conditions of settlement in Greece. This is evident even in the way in which the material is archived. The oral history material collected was filed on the basis of Asia Minor toponyms.⁸

Much later, the archival unit “Σημερινή Εγκατάσταση” [Settlement Today] was created, in which information was entered on the refugees’

⁷ *Πανευβοϊκό Βήμα* (8-15 Oct. 1998).

⁸ Ioanna Petropoulou, “Κέντρο Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών: μια επέτειος” [Le Centre d’Etudes de l’Asie Mineure: un anniversaire], *Τα Ιστορικά* 23 (Dec. 1995), pp. 461-

places of settlement, the new settlements they created and their experience of the realities of Greek society. Information on the settlement of refugees on Euboea was drawn from CAMS files [Settlement Today] nos. 11, 13, 27, 38.⁹

I do not know how many informants from Euboea were interviewed by the CAMS collaborators. Certainly they were numerous and certainly the information they provided was crosschecked in many ways. The names of some informants were known already from the publication of their testimony in the volumes of *Exodus*, published by the CAMS, such as Michail Mimikos¹⁰ from Artaki and Kyriakos Koukoulithras from Lampsakos.¹¹ And of course, also well-known is the name of the Sinasian Seraphim Rizos, resident of Nea Sinasos, who submitted to the CAMS 42 manuscripts written between 1952 and 1966, information on his home town of Sinasos in Cappadocia.¹² The CAMS also published his

465. See also Evangelia Balta, “Le fonds ethnographique des réfugiés grecs d’Anatolie: questions d’histoire et d’historiographie”, *Les échelles de la mémoire en Méditerranée (XIXe-XXIe siècle)*, sous la direction de Maryline Crivello, coordonné par Karine-Larissa Basset, Dimitri Nicolaïdis et Ourania Polycandrioti, Actes Sud, série: ‘Études Méditerranéennes’ – Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l’Homme, 2010, pp. 169-179.

- ⁹ Ioanna Petropoulou, “Κτερίσματα προσφύγων”, in: *Ο ξεριζωμός και η άλλη Πατρίδα. Οι προσφυγοπόλεις στην Ελλάδα* [The uprooting and the other Homeland. Refugee towns in Greece], (Symposium, 11 and 12 April 1997), Athens 1999, pp. 168-169.
- ¹⁰ Certainly a forefather of the sponsor of the event “Η εγκατάσταση των προσφύγων στην Εύβοια” [The settlement of the refugees in Euboea]. See *Αρχαίον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 32 (1996-1997), p. 312.
- ¹¹ *Η Εξόδος. Τόμος Α'. Μαρτυρίες από τις επαρχίες των δυτικών παραλίων της Μικρασίας* [The Exodus. Volume I. Testimonies from the provinces of the west coasts of Asia Minor], preface: G. Tenekidis, Introduction – selection of texts – editor: Photis D. Apostolopoulos, Athens 1980, pp. 285, 256.
- ¹² The catalogue of S. Rizos’s manuscripts is published in Matoula Kouroupou & Evangelia Balta, *Ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες της Καππαδοκίας. Πηγές στα Γενικά Αρχαία*

testimony on the chronicle of the Exchange.¹³ As G. Fousaras records in the *Ευβοϊκή Βιβλιογραφία* (Euboean Bibliography), Seraphim Rizos was director and editor of two short-lived fortnightly refugee newspapers. He published *Ανατολή* [Anatoli] in Chalkida in 1930 and *Φωνή της Ιστιαίας* [Phoni tis Istiaias] in 1934.¹⁴

Included among the CAMS's refugee informants is the publisher of

του Κράτους και στο Κέντρο Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών, I: Περιφέρεια Προκοπίου [Greek Orthodox Communities of Cappadocia. Sources in the General State Archives and the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, I: District of Prokopi], Athens 2001, pp. 164-170. His manuscripts, which are answers to the questionnaire drafted by the CAMS for gathering information on the material culture in Asia Minor, were published in Seraphim N. Rizos, *Η Συνασός* [Sinastos], 2 vols, (eds) Stavros Anestidis & Mirka Tzeveleki-Kondaki, Introduction: Ioanna Petropoulou, Athens 2007.

¹³ *Η Εξοδος. Τόμος Β'. Μαρτυρίες από τις επαρχίες της κεντρικής και νότιας Μικρασίας* [The Exodus. Volume II. Testimonies from the districts of Central and Southern Asia Minor], Introduction: Paschalis M. Kitromilidis, (ed.) Yannis Mourellos, Athens 1982, pp. 292-301.

¹⁴ Georgios I. Phousaras, *Ευβοϊκή βιβλιογραφία: Βιβλία και έντυπα που μιλούν για την Εύβοια και τις Βόρειες Σποράδες - Βιβλία και έντυπα γραμμένα από Ευβοείς - Βιβλία και έντυπα τυπωμένα στον νομό Ευβοίας* [Euboean Bibliography: Books and printed matter that speak about Euboea and the North Sporades - : Books and printed matter written about Euboea - Books and printed matter printed in the Prefecture of Euboea], vol. III, Athens, Etaireia Evoikon Spoudon, 1958, no. 1673: *Η Ανατολή, Δεκαπενθήμερος προσφυγική εφημερίς* [*Anatoli*, fortnightly newspaper]. Chalkis, 2 November 1930. Year I. Supplement "Φωνής του Λαού" [Voice of the People], no. 1. 4ο, four pages. Four issues circulated up to 15.12.1930. Noted on the last page as financial director is K. Papaiakovou and as director and editor-in-chief S. Rizos. The newspaper is deposited in the Chalkis Public Library (ΔΒΧ εφ. 116^ρ). Included in the same bibliography is the other newspaper published by S. Rizos in the new homeland. This is the *Φωνή της Ιστιαίας, Εφημερίς δεκαπενθήμερος πολιτική, αγροτική, κοινωνική. Διευθυντής - Ιδιοκτήτης Σεραφεϊμ Ρίζος, Έτος Α', αρ. 1. Εν Ιστιαία, 24 Μαρτίου 1934* [Voice of Istiaia. Fortnightly political, agricultural, social newspaper. Director : Seraphim Rizos, Year I, no. 1. In Istiaia, 24 March 1934], 4ο, four pages. Eight issues circulated up to 20.2.1930. See Fousaras, no. 1910.

the fortnightly newspaper *Μικρασιατική* [Mikrasiatiki], N. Zographos¹⁵ from Palatia in Bithynia, as well as his compatriot E. Politakis, secretary of the Municipality of Chalkida in about 1960. N. Zographos compiled a list of refugee settlements in Euboea, which he submitted to the CAMS in 1962, since as president of refugee associations he had taken part in the settlement of refugees.¹⁶ He estimates that 16,000 refugees settled in Euboea, 6,000 of them in Chalkida.¹⁷

The CAMS collaborators gathered all manner of information that they could get their hands on. Wherever possible, they drew up lists of names and ages of refugees. As an example of the titanic task undertaken, I note

¹⁵ Ibidem, no. 1675: *Η Μικρασιατική. Δεκαπενθήμερος προσφυγική πολιτική, κοινωνική επιθεώρησης. Διευθυντής – Ιδιοκτήτης: Νικόλαος Γ. Ζωγράφος. Έτος Α', αρ. 1. Εν Χαλκίδι 1 Νοεμβρίου 1930* [The Asia Minor. Fortnightly refugee political, social review. Director – Owner: Nikolaos G. Zographos. Year I, no. 1, In Chalkis 1 November 1930], 4o, pp. 4-6 each issue. Phousaras's bibliography records one other newspaper, only the first issue of which circulated. This is the newspaper *Προσφυγικός Κόσμος* [Refugee World]. Director and owner: N. Vrysidis, Chalkis 9 February 1934, Year I, no. 1. 4o, four pages. The newspaper is deposited in the Chalkis Public Library (ΔΒΧ εφ. 1310^B). Athens is cited as place of publication of the newspaper *Μαρμαρινά Νέα* [News of Marmara]. Some issues are deposited in the Gennadius Library, in the Nikolaos Mavris Collection. Eleftherios Ioannidis published photographs of the pupils and teachers of Marmara and Palatia in 1904 and 1910-1911, taken from this newspaper (see, *Πανευβοϊκό Βήμα* Thursday 19 March 1998, p. 12), as well as the photograph of the Boys' School at Pashalimani, Marmara (see *Πανευβοϊκό Βήμα*, Thursday 28 May 1998, p. 12). I was unable to locate information on the newspapers *Προικοννησιακά Νέα* [Proikonnisiaka Nea] and *Προικοννησιακό Βήμα* [Proikonnisiako Vima].

¹⁶ N. Zographos was a member of the Executive Committee of the Pan-Refugee Organization for the Rights of the Exchanged and publisher of one other newspaper, *Εθνική Φωνή* [National Voice]. Kleopatra Lymperi refers frequently to the activity of N. Zographos, see Kleopatra Lymperi, *Γείτονές της Χαλκίδας* [Neighbourhoods of Chalkida], Euboean Library 3, Proodeftiki Evvia publications, n.d.

¹⁷ Report of Ermolaos Andreadis (9.6.1962).

that from the refugees from the areas of Artaki, Panormos and Marmara alone,¹⁸ the majority of whom settled in Euboea, 1,024, 1,500 and 816 pages respectively of interviews answering the CAMS collaborators' questionnaire are filed in the CAMS Oral History Archive. Some refugees deposited in the CAMS Archive narratives of their memories from their Asia Minor homeland.¹⁹

In parallel, collaborators such as Eugène Dalleggio and Ermolaos Andreadis immortalized with their camera the first settlements, portraits of refugees, views of villages that look totally different today. Consequently, the photographs collected constitute an historical source. Some photographs have appeared in CAMS publications, the unpublished ones were gathered and presented in the Greek edition of this study, as a tribute to Manousaridis, who loved photographs as much as the printers' proofs that rolled off the press.²⁰ Thanks to the efforts of the CAMS collaborators, photographs in the possession of refugees relating to their settlements were also collected. The Sinasians offered photographs of the building of the village of Nea Sinasos, which were

¹⁸ On the Orthodox Christian communities in these areas, see the published thesis by Ayşe Ozil, *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire. A Study of communal relations in Anatolia*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York, 2013.

¹⁹ In the CAMS manuscripts section there are, in addition to the manuscripts of Seraphim Rizos, also those of: S. Soultanidis, *Το Τσορούμ* [Çorum], Chalkis 1953-1963 (no. 250); N. Eleftheriadis, *Το χωριό Ωραιόκαστρον στο βιλαέτι της Τραπεζούντας, περιοχή Αργυρούπολης* [The village of Oraikastro in the vilayet of Trebizond, district of Argyroupolis], N. Sinasos, Istiaia, Euboea 1959 (no. 112) and G. Iakovidis, *Χωριόν το Πρόαστειον* [Village Proasteion] (no. 224).

²⁰ Evangelia Balta, "Η καταγραφή των μικρασιατικών συνοικισμών της Εύβοιας από το Κέντρο Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών (1948-1964)" [The recording of the Asia Minor settlements of Euboea by the Centre for Asia Minor Studies (1948-1964)], *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών* 38 (2008-2009), pp. 175-214.

displayed in the CAMS exhibition organized in 1974²¹ and are published in the album *Προσφυγική Ελλάδα* [Refugee Greece].²² Another invaluable source of information is the report of the mission of Eugène Dalleggio, who in August 1956 visited the refugee settlements in Euboea in which Turkish-speaking Cappadocians were living, in order to collect *Karamanlidika* books. The information, his perceptive and penetrating observations, but also the literary style of his text, make it not just a historical source but an enjoyable read.²³

The information on refugee settlements in Euboea was classed in four units:

- Neighbourhoods of Chalkida.
- Settlements around Chalkida, that is, settlements built in central Euboea. “In these settlements live mostly Prokopians. Now and again there are also some other Cappadocians and lots of Pontians”, wrote Aglaia Loukopoulou in her report in April 1956.
- Settlements at Limni in northern Euboea.
- Settlements at Istiaia, also in northern Euboea.

The CAMS collaborators recorded the refugee neighbourhoods of Chalkida, noting the number of houses/families, the place of origin and the language spoken. They refer in detail to the refugees’ origin, their

²¹ *Ο τελευταίος Ελληνισμός της Μικράς Ασίας, Εκθεση του Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών (1930-1973), Κατάλογος* [The Last Hellenism of Asia Minor, Exhibition of the Centre of Asia Minor Studies (1930-1973), Catalogue], Athens 1974.

²² Georgios Giannakopoulos, *Προσφυγική Ελλάδα, Φωτογραφίες από το αρχείο του Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* [Refugee Greece, Photographs from the Archive of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies], Athens, Centre of Asia Minor Studies, 1992.

²³ Eugène Dalleggio’s report on Euboea, together with other reports by research missions to Constantinople and Ankara, is included in *Reliques de l’Empire Ottoman. Eugène Dallerggio à la recherche de publications karamanlies*, Textes recueillis, commentés et édités par Evangelia Balta, Les Cahiers du Bosphore LXII, Istanbul, Les éditions Isis, 2011, pp. 27-74.

trades and professions. In the six neighbourhoods of Chalkida there were refugees from various parts of Asia Minor: Ikonion, Smyrna, Aydin, Ephesos, Caesaria, Phokaia, Kyzikos, Moschonisia, Dardanelles, Marmara Adası, Prokopi/Ürgüp. Those originating from coastal areas and islands were involved mainly with fishing. The rest practised various trades. A small carpet factory was also set up in Chalkida. The geographical location of the refugee neighbourhoods was determined by the town's streets: for example, the Neapolis neighbourhood begins from the end of Avanton Street, as recorded in the relevant file in the CAMS. Noted are the buses the CAMS collaborators took in order to reach these then far-away refugee neighbourhoods, which are today incorporated in the urban tissue of Chalkida. Recorded too are the coffee shops where the refugees congregated in order to facilitate the CAMS collaborators in their search for informants, in order to collect and to crosscheck information.

I. Refugee Neighbourhoods of Chalkida²⁴

1. **Agios Stephanos.** Inhabited by refugees from Langada in Kyzikos and Prokopi in Cappadocia. No numbers are recorded in the Oral Tradition files. CAMS collaborator Ermolaos Andreadis mentions in a note in 1962 that this neighbourhood is reached by taking the Lampsakos bus. In the newspaper *Εβριπος* (Evrivos) of Chalkida, there is information on the wretched conditions of the refugees who were forced to settle in this area.²⁵ In the early 1950s, social welfare offered

²⁴ The material was collected by Ermolaos Andreadis (8.6.1962 and 12.2.1965). Informants: Savvas Gougoulis (village of Langada), Evstratios Politakis (village of Palatia).

²⁵ Lymperi, pp. 99-100.

each family the sum of 20,000 drachmas in order to build houses. The refugees were involved with fishing and many were employed in the small factories established in this quarter.²⁶ In 1928 the refugee association of dockworkers “Agios Stephanos” was founded in the homonymous neighbourhood. This was the first attempt to include the refugees in the local workplace on a collective basis.

2. **Othomaniko Nekrotapheio** (Ottoman Cemetery) or **Tourkika Mnimata** (Turkish Graves), at the very end of Arethousis Street. In 1962, according to the testimony of Savvas Gougoulis from the village of Langada and E. Politakis from Palatia, there were 30 families from Proasteion, 6-7 families from Proikonnisos (present day Marmara Adasi)²⁷ and 30 families from Prokopi in this neighbourhood. In the interview with these two men, they mentioned that in the main street there was the coffee shop run by Mantzouris from Proasteion, with the note that he had a very old father who was obviously a potential informant on his native village of Proasteion on the Sea of Marmara. On the same street there was also the coffee shop of Moyses Eirinidis from Prokopi, which was frequented by Prokopian refugees. The reason for this note is obvious too: this was a venue where CAMS collaborations could find Prokopians, in order to collect and crosscheck information about Prokopi. Kleopatra Lymperi, in the chapter she devotes to the Tourkika Mnimata neighbourhood, mentions its Prokopian inhabitants

²⁶ Lymperi, pp. 107-123.

²⁷ Manouil I. Gedeon, *Προικόννησος: Εκκλησιαστική παροικία - ναοί και μοναί - μητροπολίται και επίσκοποι* [Proikonnisos: Ecclesiastical community – churches and monasteries – metropolitans and bishops], Constantinople 1895 and Apostolos K. Domvros, *Η Προικόννησος, ανάμεσα στην Άσπρη και στη Μαύρη Θάλασσα* [Proikonnisos, between the Aegean and the Black Sea], Athens, A.A. Livanis publications, 1997.

and records data collected on their life in Ürgüp in Cappadocia.²⁸

3. **Vouliagmeni** or **Alonaki**, near Tourkika Mnimata (far end of Arethousis Street), where there were refugees from Prokopi, Marmara and Proasteion.

4. **Agios Ioannis I** (near the cemetery. Reached by taking the bus to Agia Eleousa). In this neighbourhood there were 10 refugee houses, which provided shelter for some 60 families from Prokopi, Kars and Ardahan in the province of Caucasus, near the border with Georgia (DRG). There were about 40 families of these Pontians.²⁹

5. **Neapolis** (end of Avanton Street). Inhabited by refugees from Smyrna, Marmara, Çeşme, Langada in Kyzikos (Kapıdağı), Aretsou (Rhysion in Constantinople),³⁰ Renköy in the Dardanelles, Kydonies, Prokonnisos (Marmara), Prokopi. According to a report (1 July 1948) deposited in the CAMS, there were 80 refugee houses in Neapolis, in which 250 refugee families were accommodated. The neighbourhood was built in 1925, under the supervision of Periklis Leontaridis and Periklis Kalfopoulos. Lymperi records the associations founded by the refugees, in order to promote their interests, and also presents images of the social and cultural life they developed in their new home. In 1927 the first refugee football team, “Propontis”, was formed in Neapolis. A few months later, the refugees in Agios Ioannis founded the local AEK (Αθλητική Ένωση Κωνσταντινουπολιτών [Constantinopolitan Athletic Union]).

²⁸ Lymperi, pp. 73-94, 89-94.

²⁹ Exceptionally eloquent is Kleopatra Lymperi's text on this settlement, pp. 46-72.

³⁰ For Aretsou, see the excellent book by G.A. Oikonomidis, *Ρύσιο, Αρετσού, Darica* [Rhysion, Aretsou, Darica], Thessaloniki, University Studio Press, 2009. The study refers also to the settlement of refugees from Aretsou in Kalamaria and Thermi, Thessaloniki.

6. **Agios Ioannis II.**³¹ There were 24 families of Prokopians here, living in 12 houses.

7. **Karababa** or **Kanithos**. Fifty refugee families from Langada in Kyzikos and Proasteion in Marmara, and one family from Prokopi had been settled in 25 houses. Lymperi gives the names of some refugee families and information on their trades and employment.³²

8. **Kanapitsa**. Forty-four families from Langada in Kyzikos and Proasteion in Marmara had been settled in 11 houses. On leaving Asia Minor, the Langadians settled in 1922 at Kanapitsa, bringing with them all the registers of the community, the codex and the sacred treasures of the church in the *homeland*. Photographs of the shacks put up to house the Langadian refugees were published in an article by Eleftherios M. Ioannidis,³³ who records his memories of the grocer in Kanapitsa, the refugee Diamantis Paspараidis. Kleopatra Lymperis devotes several pages in her book to Kanapitsa, together with numerous photographs of refugee families that settled there in 1923, and recounts their stories.

9. In the locality **Tapsi**, at the Alatsata bus stop, as CAMS collaborator Ermolaos Andreadis specifies, 2 km from Chalkida, there were 30 families from Alatsata. This place was reached by taking the Agia Eleousa bus.

10. **Nea Toumba**. The only one of the CAMS collaborators to mention this refugee neighbourhood of Chalkida is Aglaia Loukopoulou (25.6.1946). She does not specify its location but merely notes that beyond the settlement of Nea Toumba lay that of the

³¹ It is not clarified why two settlements called Agios Ioannis, distinguished as I and II, are recorded. Presumably they are separate neighbourhoods of the same name.

³² Lymperi, p. 134 ff.

³³ *Πανευβοϊκό Βήμα* (5 Feb. 1998), p. 12.

Langadians. The Toumba settlement is recorded in Lymperi's book.³⁴ Loukopoulou records the numbers of refugee families according to their place of origin:

23	families from	Ürgüp
7	»	Tbilisi, Caucasus
2	»	Batum
6	»	Şile in Constantinople
4	»	Marmara
4	»	Inebolu
1	»	Artaki (Erdek)
1	»	Phokaia (Foça)
4	»	Pontus ³⁵
2	»	Smyrna
3	»	Langada
2	»	Proasteion in Marmara

CAMS collaborator Ermolaos Andreadis compiled a table (9.6.1962) with the numbers of refugees originating from the villages in the ecclesiastical district of Kyzikos, who had settled in Chalkida. The data were given by Nikolaos Zographos from Palatia. Below his list is the note "Old men from these villages are habitués (regulars) in the coffee shop 'Hellas' on the waterfront of Chalkida".

³⁴ Lymperi, p. 5.

³⁵ Julia Souli (5.6.1959) had located refugees from Sarantar of Argyrupolis.

Langada	(pr. Ballipinar)	200 families	District of	Panormos
Rhoda	(» Narlı)	35 »	»	Artaki
Diavati	(» Çayağzı)	15 »	»	Panormos
Kastelli	(» Kestanelik)	20 »	»	»
Peramo	(» Karşıyaka)	10 »	»	»
Artaki	(» Erdek)	15 »	»	Artaki
Kato Neochori	(» Asağı Yapıcı)	8 »	»	»
Gonia	(» Ocaklar)	6 »	»	»
Vathy	(» Turan)	8 »	»	»
Katatopos	(» Ormanlı)	6 »	»	»
Panormos	(» Bandırma)	5 »	»	Panormos

Thanks to the publication of archival material from the register of the Council of Elders of Proasteion, which continued to function in Chalkida during the early years of the settlement of refugees, we know the names of 112 Proasteian families that opted to stay in Chalkida.³⁶ Lastly, Kleopatra Lymperi gives valuable information on the refugee neighbourhoods of Chalkida, drawn from the Euboean Press of the period, her personal memories and the reminiscences of refugees. Her book is outstanding for its eloquent style and, primarily, for her sense of responsibility in her undertaking.

II. Central Euboea

1. **Makrymalli** in Psachna. The journalist N. Zographos records that of the 60 families in the village, 30 were made up of refugees originating from Prokopi (20 families) and Yozgat. They were farmers, both Greek-speaking and Turkish-speaking. The Pontian refugees originated from

³⁶ See E. Ioannidis' article in *Πανευβοϊκό Βήμα* (5 Nov. 1998), pp. 10, 18.

the town of Mesudiye in Şebinkarahisar and from the neighbouring villages. One family from Fatsa and one family from Ordu had also settled in Makrymalli. The refugees were settled on estates of the Monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin (*Koimeses tes Theotokou*) at Makrymalli.

2. **Nea Artaki.**³⁷ Refugees from Artaki on the southwest shores of Kyzikos Peninsula (Kapıdağı Peninsula) settled at Vatos, which in 1933 was renamed Nea Artaki.³⁸ Fishermen, tradesmen, gardeners, according to Ermolaos Andreadis's report, Artakian refugees had also settled in Kavala, Thessaloniki, Athens and Aigion. Refugees from Katatopos in Kyzikos also settled at Nea Artaki.³⁹

According to Émile Kolodny, the demographic and economic growth of Nea Artaki was due largely to its proximity to Chalkida, where, due to the town's industrialization during the 1950s, the men and women of Nea Artaki found employment.⁴⁰ The arrival of 700 families from Thessaloniki transformed the small village of tenant-farmers located on the Voudouris estate into the community of Nea Artaki, with a population of 2,116, of which 1,950 persons were refugees, according to the data of the 1928 Census. A large percentage of the villagers were involved with fishing. They created a small fleet, with which they ventured as far as the fishing grounds of Thasos and Samothrace, while others were employed in other jobs in Chalkida. The community began

³⁷ Material on the settlement of Nea Artaki was collected by CAMS collaborators: I. Makris (3.1.57), Ermolaos Andreadis (20.3.1964 and 22.1.1965), Aglaia Loukopoulou (Apr. 1956). Informants: Costas Hadjiconstantinou, Dimitrios Maoutsidis (village of Michaniona).

³⁸ Exclusively refugees from Artaki, according to Aglaia Loukopoulou (Apr. 1956) and Ermolaos Andreadis (20.3.1964).

³⁹ From N. Zographos's testimony to Ermolaos Andreadis (9.6.1961).

⁴⁰ Kolodny, pp. 226-227.

to prosper when the refugee Mimikos family opened a poultry-rearing unit in 1959.

Fevronia Argyropoulou-Diakoumi chronicled the Artakians' settlement in Vatos, after their spell in quarantine at Karaburnu in Thessaloniki, their transportation to Chalkida on the ship *Propontis*, the choice of the place of settlement, the difficult first three years of living in tents and shacks, which were frequently washed away by the rains, scattering the refugees' meager household chattels.⁴¹ Particularly interesting are the pages devoted to the early years of settlement, when the Artakian refugees were building their settlement near the Voudouris family çiftlik. In the archive of the Voudouris family, now kept in the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive (ELIA) in Athens, there are no documents on the expropriation of the estate in 1922 and refugee settlement.⁴² In the ensuing years, the refugees built their church of the Twelve Apostles, and a primary school, which however, as Argyropoulou-Diakoumi notes, was not to compare with the "imposing aspect of that Ionic building which housed the Boys' School of the homeland, with fifteen huge marble steps and twelve spacious classrooms". A photograph of the majestic school buildings in old Artaki was published by Eleftherios Ioannidis.⁴³

⁴¹ Fevronia Argyropoulou-Diakoumi, *Η Αρτάκη στο πέρασμα των αιώνων* [Artaki over the centuries], Chalkida, Stratigos Damianos publications, 1993.

⁴² The archive of the Voudouris or Bountouris family, Hydrarians who became landowners and mine-owners in Euboea, covers about one century, from the years before the War of Independence until the early 20th century. It was donated by Aikaterini N. Voudouri to the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive (ELIA) and classified by Christina Varda, *Αρχείο οικογένειας Μπουντούρη/Βουδούρη. Ευρετήριο* [Archive of the Bountouris/Voudouris family. Index], (ed.) Christina Varda, Athens, ELIA, 1995.

⁴³ *Πανευβοϊκό Βήμα* (9 July 1998), p. 12.

3. **Nea Lampsakos.** Refugees from Lampsakos on the straits of the Dardanelles came and built Nea Lampsakos on the straits of the Evripos. The new village housed a population from various villages of the sanjak of Biga.⁴⁴ They were predominantly farmers, but also tradesmen, all of them Greek-speaking. In his book, Sarantis G. Sarantis devotes one chapter to Nea Lampsakos, which he entitles “The New Homeland”. He narrates how the refugees were transported by ship from Gelibolu (Kallipolis) to Piraeus and then to Chalkida, where they were housed temporarily in schools, warehouses and shanties, together with other refugees who arrived from Asia Minor. The author speaks of the choice of the locality Kopana, near the Varatasis *çiftlik*, where they established the new settlement in 1924/1925, the allocation of the houses built in 1926, the distribution of tracts of agricultural land to those who were farmers, and the employment of those who were not in the ‘Chalkis Cement Plant’ and the ‘Ellenit’ factory. The village paid in blood for the wages of those who worked in the latter plant, which produced asbestos-cement sheets, for the population was decimated by asbestosis and cancer. The same chapter also includes information on the building of the church of St Tryphon, patron saint of Lampsakos in Asia Minor, in which the sacred treasures that had been rescued were placed.⁴⁵ S. Sarantis follows the transformation of the first refugee settlement into a dynamic town where “most of the refugee houses built when it was settled have been renovated and lovely one-storey or two-storey residences have been built on the site of many. The sheds on the public land opposite, which then served directly the professional needs of the

⁴⁴ Refugees from Biga settled in Edessa and Komotini.

⁴⁵ Sarantis G. Sarantis, *Η πατρίδα μου η Λάμψακος. Μνήμες που δεν χάνονται* [Lampsakos, my homeland. Memories that never fade] (ed.) G. Koridis, Athens, Iolkos, 1987.

refugees, have been replaced today by regular central shops”.

4. **Ano Vatheia**. According to Takis Chalvatzis (22.4.1958) about 40 families from Proasteion in Marmara settled here.⁴⁶ They were fishermen and viticulturalists.

5. **Amarynthos (Kato Vatheia)**. The settlement of Amarynthos was created a short distance to the northeast of Ano Vatheia. In 1960, 150 families from Proasteion in Marmara were living there, along with Smyrnians and Antalians. The Proasteian Takis Chalvatzis (22.4.1958) mentioned that 40 families came from Proasteion. This information is confirmed by E. Ioannidis, who notes that 30-35 families, mainly fishermen and farmers, settled in Vatheia in late 1923 or early 1924.⁴⁷

The refugee G. Iakovidis from Proasteion advised CAMS collaborator Sophia Goraniti (3 and 17.2.1963) that, “When one goes to this village on the Aliveri bus, he should ask to get off at the Karadimas coffee shop. There he’ll learn of the persons who could give information”.

6. **Nea Psara (Eretria)**. Sixty families from Galimi in Marmara and from the village of Agia Paraskevi in the district of Smyrna had settled in 15 dwellings. I. Mangoutas refers to the settlement of the Asia Minor refugees in Eretria. They were involved with fishing. In 1925 two

⁴⁶ Obviously this is Michailos Chalvatzis, treasurer of the Council of Proasteion, which was active even after the Exodus from Asia Minor, taking care of compatriot refugees in Chalkida and making moves to find a suitable place. For the Council’s activities in the years 1922 and 1923, see Eleftherios Ioannidis’ article in the *Πανεβιοικό Βήμα* (29 Oct. 1998), p. 10, which includes the list of 143 Proasteians who submitted a claim for compensation for their abandoned moveable and immovable property in Turkey. E. Ioannidis also publishes again the list compiled by the Council of Elders and delivered to the Authorities of Chalkis, with the names and ages of the members of the families from Proasteion in Marmara, which settled in the town.

⁴⁷ *Πανεβιοικό Βήμα* (5 Nov. 1998), p. 10.

settlements were built, one on either side of the harbour. The list of 55 families which settled in Eretria was published in the *Πανευβοϊκό Βήμα*.⁴⁸

III. Northern Euboea

IIIa. Municipality of Elymnia. Refugees from the Asia Minor coast and Marmara made their home in the settlements of Limni, as they are recorded in the CAMS Oral History Archive. Ermolaos Andreadis records the following refugee settlements in his report (20.3.1964):

1. **Limni.** Refugees from Marmara. The chronicle of their settlement was the subject of Giannis Fafoutis' paper at the 4th Conference of the Local Chapter of the Society for Euboean Studies (March 1997), which was published in the *Πανευβοϊκό Βήμα*.⁴⁹ Likewise, a chapter in the memoirs of the schoolteacher from Marmara, Spyridon Nestoridis (1863-1944),⁵⁰ refers to the Kyriakideian Schools in Limni, which had been founded by and operated under the auspices of Nikolaos Kyriakidis and their schoolteachers Spyridon Nestoridis and Stylianos Papageorgiou.

Archival material relating to the settlement of refugees from Marmara in Limni is kept in the Local Archive of Limni at the General State Archives. An exhibition entitled "From the Propontis to Euboea. The settlement of the refugees from Marmara in Limni, Euboea" was organized in 2003.

2. **Retsinolakkos.** Greek-speaking refugees from Sevdiköy of

⁴⁸ *Πανευβοϊκό Βήμα* (12 Nov. 1997).

⁴⁹ *Πανευβοϊκό Βήμα* (9-23 Oct. 1997).

⁵⁰ S. Nestoridis (1863-1944), *Προκοννησιακά και εθνικά ενδυμήματα* [Prokonnesian and national mementoes], (ed.) A.S. Marmarinos, Athens-Ioannina, Dodoni, 1992, pp. 97-98.

Smyrna, who had settled initially in the village of Chronia. They were mainly farmers.⁵¹

3. **Rovies.** Greek-speaking farmers from Sevdiköy of Smyrna, who continued the tradition of viticulture in their new home. Parallel with their agricultural tasks, the refugees also worked in the papermill, as well as for the Skalistiris family at Mandoudi.⁵² U. Fischer classed the 220 families recorded in 1974 as follows, on the basis of their employment:⁵³

80 families		in papermilling
40	»	in freelance trades
30	»	in agriculture
20	»	in olive cultivation
20	»	in the Skalistiris factory at Mandoudi
30	»	in tourism

4. **Kechries.** Makrolivisian farmers (from Makri and neighbouring Livisi)⁵⁴ settled here, according to the notes made by Ermolaos Andreadis (20.3.1964), where 25 families are recorded. After the expropriation of the Angelos Tombazis estate, allotments of land were distributed in 1925. In the CAMS Archive is a document from the

⁵¹ Information given by N. Zographos to Ermolaos Andreadis (20.3.1964).

⁵² For the refugees' work in the mines, see Leda Papastefanaki, "Gender, division of labour and technology in Greece. The cases of the cotton and mining industry, 1870-1940", Paper presented at the XIV International Economic History Congress (Helsinki, Finland 21-25 August 2006), Session 14 "Technology, Gender and Division of Labour".

<http://www.helsinki.fi/iehc2006/papers1/Papastef.pdf>

⁵³ Fischer, p. 430.

⁵⁴ Makri (present day Fethiye) Livisi (present day Kayaköy).

President of the Community of Kechries, dated 28 December 1936, informing the Bureau of the 26th Agricultural District that the “refugees settled in this place are all from the town of Livisi in the district of Makri in the Prefecture of Aydin and from the Metropolitan See of Makri”.

5. **Chronia.** Prior to 1926 the area was uninhabited. Plots of agricultural land were distributed to the refugees who came here from Sevdiköy of Smyrna and from Vourla (present day Urla), and the settlement was built under the auspices of the State.⁵⁵

IIIb. Municipality of Aidipsos

1. **Varvara**, 6 km. from Aidipsos. A mixed settlement of refugees from the district of Chaldia, the region around Gümüşhane (Belen, Ardasa/Torul, Tsoluchena/Bahçelik, Şıran etc).⁵⁶ They were all farmers and spoke the Pontic dialect.

The area was owned by the Petsalis family and was expropriated for allocation to the refugees, some of whom migrated to the village of Agios Georgios. A. Stefanos notes that “In 1925 it was declared for expropriation along with other landholdings and was then distributed to the locals and to the refugees from Pontus in Asia Minor, some 40 families”.⁵⁷ The informant Efthymia Milopoulou, born in the village of Vartanton of Argyroupolis (Gümüşhane) and expelled from the village of Varaton in

⁵⁵ Fischer, p. 431.

⁵⁶ The majority of these Pontian refugees had settled at Havakli near Komotini, Kavakli near Serres, Strezova and Nea Argyroupolis near Kilkis, Athens (Kallithea) and Piraeus.

⁵⁷ Angelos E. Stefanos, *Ιστιαία, Ιστορικολαογραφική μελέτη από το 1821 και εντεύθεν των υφισταμένων συνοικισμών εν τη επαρχία* [Istiaia, Historical-folklore study from 1821 onwards of the existing settlements in the district], vol. I, Athens 1967, p. 148 and Fischer, pp. 428-429.

the district of Ardasia (15-20 km. northwest of Argyroupolis), when interviewed by Sophia Goraniti (19.2.1963) said that most of the refugees from Varato had remained in the village of Varvara near Aidipsos and that only the village schoolteacher had settled in Limni.⁵⁸

In the CAMS Archive there is a copy of the document from the Municipality of Aidipsos to the Bureau of the 26th Agricultural District (7.12.1936), indicating the origin of the refugees in the settlement of Varvara. These are the villages in the district of Ardasia.

In the Digital Library “Folklore Archive and Museum Collection of the University of Athens” we located folklore material collected in 1973 by Paraskevi Dimitriou Panagiotidi from Pontian refugees in the village.⁵⁹

2. **Aidipsos I.** Seven refugee houses accommodated 14 families from Michaniona in the district of Kyzikos.

3. **Aidipsos II.** There were four refugee houses occupied by 8 families from Agia Paraskevi of Çesme (district of Smyrna). There were no Cappadocians or Pontians.

4. **Loutra of Aidipsos I.** Nine refugee houses were built, inhabited by 26 families from Michaniona and Agia Paraskevi of Smyrna.

5. **Loutra of Aidipsos II.** There were 13 refugee houses accommodating 36 families. A. Stefos refers to decree no. 67882 of 1925 “On expropriations of private landholdings located in Aidipsos by Loutra for building a refugee fishing settlement”.

On the basis of the data he cites from official censuses, in 1928 the

⁵⁸ According to Ermolaos Andreadis’ notes (20.3.1964), some inhabitants of Varvara were refugees from the area of Smyrna.

⁵⁹ Paraskevi Panagiotidis, *Σύλλογή λαογραφικής ύλης εκ Πόντου (πρόσφυγες στο χωριό Βαρβάρα Αιδηγού Ευβοίας)* [Collection of folklore material from Pontus (refugees in the village of Varvara, Aidipsos in Euboea)], 1973.
<http://pergamos.lib.uoa.gr/dl/object/uoadl:85767>

population of Loutra was 250 persons and in 1928 had risen to 1,365.⁶⁰

IIIc. Municipality of Oreoi

1. **Kastaniotissa.** Refugee farmers from Engin built the settlement of Nea Engin on land belonging to the Petropoulos family estate, which was expropriated in 1925. According to A. Kalemi, these were Armenian-Greek refugees (*Hayburums*, that is Armenian-speaking Christians who are members of the Greek Orthodox Church).⁶¹ Nea Engin was acknowledged in 1928 and kept this name in 1930. Its inhabitants were involved with the cultivation of olive and pistachio trees.⁶²

2. **Neos Pyrgos.** The village was founded in 1924 by refugees from Pyrgos in the Black Sea (present day Kemberburgaz). Building of the settlement commenced in 1925 and, according to the notes of Ch. Samouilidis, submitted to the CAMS in September 1956, its population was 250-300 families – all gardeners. Fischer records that the 500 or so families uprooted from Pyrgos were decimated by malaria and on reaching Euboea settled on land owned by Baron Mimont.⁶³

Alexandros Kalemis wrote the history of Neos Pyrgos and published rare photographs from the old village of Pyrgos in the district of Constantinople and from the new settlement created thanks to the mediation of Sokratis Kougioumtzoglou, who led the Pyrgians from

⁶⁰ Stefos, p. 266 and Fischer, pp. 439-440.

⁶¹ Alexander Kalemis, *Περιπλανήσεις στο χώρο και στο χρόνο. Βόρεια Εύβοια* [Wanderings in space and time. Northern Euboea], vol. I, Istiaia–Oreoi–Artemisio, Athens, Kinitro 1999, pp. 192-193.

⁶² Fischer, pp. 426-428.

⁶³ Fischer, pp. 422-424.

Aidipsos to the Mimont estate⁶⁴. In 1937 the Board of the refugee organization Neos Pyrgos named one of the main roads in the newly established settlement after Vasileios D. Krimbas, Director of Rural Rehabilitation on the Refugee Settlement Committee, as a token of their gratitude for the assistance he offered them.⁶⁵

3. **Taxiarchis** (former **Neo Moursali**). This settlement, situated between Kastaniotissa and Neos Pyrgos, was created by uniting the village of Agios Ioannis, inhabited by locals, and the village of Neo Moursali, which was inhabited by refugees from Moursali who were living initially in the village of Agios. They were Greek-speaking farmers involved with tobacco-cultivation and numbered 405 persons, according to the 1928 census.⁶⁶

In a document to the 26th Agricultural District of Chalkida, in December 1936, Ioannis Kostoglou, President of the Community of Neo Moursali, wrote that “the refugees that settled in Neo Moursali originate from 40 villages in Asia Minor, the majority from the villages of Moursali and Kırkıça in the Prefecture of Aydin, the first 1 hour by train from the town of Aydin and the second 2 hours away, moreover the inhabitants of Kırkıça were Turcophone”.⁶⁷ According to information collected by the CAMS, the refugees in Neo Moursali came from:

The land on which the refugees from Moursali settled was the property of Alfred Despeau, husband of Marguerite, daughter of Albert

⁶⁴ Kalemis, *Περιπλανήσεις*, pp. 155-185.

⁶⁵ Vasileios D. Krimbas, “Το έργο της αγροτικής αποκατάστασης των προσφύγων” [The work of rural rehabilitation of refugees], *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών 13* (1999-2000), p. 266.

⁶⁶ Stefos, p. 314.

⁶⁷ CAMS, File ΣΕ 11.

Mursallı	160-165	families
Demircik (Aydın)	1-2	»
Balaçık	1	»
Kuşadası	5-10	»
Kırkıça	20-30	»
Yabey (Aydın)	5-10	»
Bağarası (Söke)	4	»
Bıyıklı	3	»
Kınık of Pergamon	3	»
Urla	3-10	»
Yalova	5-6	»
Ürgüp	1	»

Mimont, which was cultivated by the inhabitants of the old village of Agios Ioannis. The compensation paid for the estate in 1926 has been estimated at 125,000 drachmas and the area expropriated was 359 hectares, which was distributed to locals and refugees.⁶⁸ Kept in the church of the Holy Taxiarchs is the icon of the “All Great Taxiarchs”, brought by the refugees.⁶⁹ The abolished villages of Agioi Theodoroi and Agios Ioannis also belonged to the Community of Neo Moursali. U. Fischer includes in her study the topographical plan of Neo Moursali and a sketch of one building plot with refugee houses, with two families in each.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Stefos, p. 87.

⁶⁹ CAMS collaborators Aglaia Agioutanti (25.8.1962) and Eleni Gazi (Sept. 1962) recorded the testimony of Ioannis Meimaroglou, Panagiotis Kaltzis (from Dermenjik). For the arrival of the refugees from Moursali, see also Kalemis, *Περιπλανήσεις*, p. 190.

⁷⁰ Fischer, pp. 424-426 and plan 1, 2.

III d. Municipality of Istiaia

1. **Xirochori (Istiaia).** The refugee Costas Pozapalidis from the village of Boymul in the district of Yozgat told Ch. Samouilidis (21.8.1962) that: “Our villagers were divided. Half came here and to Agios Georgios, Istiaia, and the other half is in Lefkochori, Thessaloniki”. Refugees from the villages of Sungurlu in the district of Çorum in the Black Sea, also settled in Xirochori.

2. **Agios Georgios, Istiaia.** The settlement was a metochi (dependency) of the St George Elias monastery, which was expropriated in 1925 for the rehabilitation of the inhabitants of the area and of the refugees who settled there.⁷¹ According to the testimony of the refugee Dimitrios Manousaridis from the village of Boymul of Yozgat, recorded by Ch. Samouilidis (21.8.62), half the inhabitants of Agios Georgios, Istiaia, were locals and half were refugees. They were farmers and self-employed tradesmen, and they spoke the Pontic dialect.⁷² In a document from the President of the Community of Agios Georgios, D. Delkis, dated 7 December 1936, it is stated that the refugees originated from the villages of Çatma and Pyramos, which were in the district of Yozgat and belonged ecclesiastically to the Metropolitan See of Caesaria.

In 1956, Eugène Dalleggio recorded their names during his tour of refugee houses in Euboea to find *Karamanlidika* books, that is, books in Turkish printed with Greek characters. These were the years in which he and his colleague Sévérien Salaville were collecting books for the publication of the first volume of the *Karamanlidika Bibliography*.⁷³

⁷¹ Stefos, p. 78.

⁷² CAMS, file ΣΕ 13.

⁷³ Sévérien Salaville & Eugène Dalleggio, *Karamanlidika. Bibliographie analytique d'ouvrages en langue turque imprimés en caractères grecs*, I (1584-1850),

List of the refugees from Yozgat and its environs who settled in the village of Agios Georgios (2.5 km. southeast of Xirochori, Euboea)

<i>Family Name</i>	<i>Number of members</i>
Pozapalidis	8
Kirpizlidis	3
Tseniklidis	3
Savvaïdis	2
Chrysochoidis	2
Chaitos	2
Manousaridis	1
Koskeroglou	4
Moraitidis	3
Charalambidis	1
Koutachialis	1
Fondoglou	1
Total	31

E. Dalleggio comments that for the list to be considered complete, it should have the name of the head of the family and the number of individuals in it. He notes too that it should be clarified whether the 2 families from Kütahya were of Pontic origin.

3. **Nea Sinasos.** The majority of inhabitants of this village were refugees from Sinasos in Cappadocia, who had settled initially in the village of Agia Paraskevi (Vistritsa). They were farmers and self-employed tradesmen, Greek-speaking, who according to the 1928 census

Athènes 1958: II (1851-1865), Athènes 1966: III (1866-1900), Athènes 1974. Also Evangelia Balta, *Karamanlidika. Additions (1584-1900). Bibliographie Analytique*, Athènes, Centre d'Etudes d'Asie Mineure, 1987; eadem, *Karamanlidika. XXe siècle. Bibliographie Analytique*, Athènes 1987; eadem, *Karamanlidika. Nouvelles Additions et Compléments*, Athènes 1997.

numbered 241 persons.⁷⁴ Sinasos was selected after many investigations by the committees set up in Athens and Constantinople prior to the Exchange. Recorded in the community register of Sinasos, now in the General State Archive (TAK, 139, I, 31)⁷⁵ are the minutes of the Second Session of the Economic Committee, at which the committee members rejected the proposal for settlement in the area of Paramythia and Philiates for the following reasons:

a) The barren and arid terrain, b) the lack of rudimentary means of public transport, c) the great distance from the main harbours and commercial centres of Turkey and Greece, d) the marshy and unhealthy lands, e) the lack of suitable dwellings, since most were huts for peasants and shepherds, f) the proximity to the Albanian border and the danger of marauding bands, g) “the alien customs and language of the inhabitants”, most of which are Albanian-speaking.

After proposals for settlement in Parga, Crete and Chalkida, the Sinasians eventually chose northern Euboea. About 450 hectares of land were expropriated from the estate of the A. Petsalis family and given to the refugees for them to build their settlement,⁷⁶ which in the early years was subject to the Community of Istiaia and only in 1940 was named Nea Sinasos.

In January 1955 Tasoula Rizou compiled a list of the aged Pontians of Nea Sinasos, enumerated for her by the refugee Neophytos Eleftheriadis. They originated from the villages in the districts of

⁷⁴ Stefos, p. 296. Christos Chatziiosif refers to the founding of Nea Sinasos in one of the last chapters of his book (*Συνασός, Ιστορία ενός τόπου χωρίς ιστορία* [Sinasos, History of a place without history], Heraklion Crete, Crete University Press, 2005, pp. 441-444). The chapter bears the title “The search for a lost community. The utopia of rural Nea Sinasos”.

⁷⁵ Matoula Kouroupou – Evangelia Balta, p. 125.

⁷⁶ Stefos, p. 75.

Gümüshane and Trebizond.⁷⁷

1. Neophytos Eleftheriadis, 62 years old.
2. Ioannis Papadopoulos, 84 years old.
3. Parthena Papadopoulou, 83 years old (wife of I. Papadopoulos).
4. Constantinos Orkopoulos, 65 years old.
5. Polyxeni Orkopoulou, 62 years old (wife of C. Orkopoulos).
6. Constantinos Gantzidis, 62 years old.
7. Eleni Gantzidou, 60 years old (wife of C. Gantzidis).
8. Pavlos Pouchtaridis, 70 years old.
9. Sophia Taraxidou, 85 years old.
10. Charikleia Feneridou, 55 years old.
11. Moisis Kazelidis, 60 years old.
12. Kalaitzidis, 60 years old.

In 1956 Seraphim Rizos compiled a list of 878 names of refugees from Sinasos, together with their employment and their place of settlement in Greece. This list is deposited in the CAMS Archive, as manuscript no. 422. In one other manuscript, no. 427, entitled “The Exchange”, Seraphim Rizos refers to the choice of Nea Sinasos as the Sinasian refugees’ place of settlement. He and Prodromos Vaianis deposited in the CAMS Archive a series of photographs from the time of the construction of the new village, which were displayed on Panel 4 of the 1974 exhibition prepared by CAMS.⁷⁸

Several of these images were published subsequently in other CAMS publications.⁷⁹ Deposited in the CAMS Music Archive are audio-

⁷⁷ Neophytos Eleftheriadis, who was a stock-raiser in Nea Sinasos, deposited in the CAMS a manuscript entitled “Το Ωραικόκαστρο (Χάτσκαλε) της Αργυρούπολης” [Oraiokastro (Haçkale) of Argyroupolis] (Istiaia 1959), in which he has written reminiscences of his homeland.

⁷⁸ *Ο τελευταίος Ελληνισμός της Μικράς Ασίας, Έκθεση του Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών (1930-1973), Κατάλογος* [The Last Hellenism of Asia Minor, Exhibition of the Centre of Asia Minor Studies (1930-1973), Catalogue], Athens 1974, p. 58.

⁷⁹ Giannakopoulos, *Refugee Greece*.

recordings of songs by Sinasian refugees, such as the famous acritic “Εβράδυν’ παλιοβράδυν’...”, sung by Anastasia Chourmouziadi.

IIIe. Municipality of Kireos

1. **Palia Farakla, Limni.** Refugees who were farmers, both Greek-speaking and Turkish-speaking, settled here. According to testimonies collected by Ermolaos Andreadis, the majority of the Greek-speaking refugees came from Livisi and Makri (40 families). Ulrike Fischer mentions also Telmissos as the place of origin of the refugees in Farakla.⁸⁰ In the Digital Library “Folklore Archive and Museum Collection of the University of Athens”, we located material collected by Nikolaos Dimitriou in 1972 from Livisian refugees in this village.⁸¹

2. **Skylogianni (Kirinthos).** Greek-speaking farmers from Makri settled here, as recorded by Aglaia Loukoupoulou in her report (April 1956), while from the record cards filled in by Ermolaos Andreadis (20.3.1964) it emerges that refugees from Livisi also settled in the village, a total of 12 families. Fischer adds to the inhabitants of Skylogianni refugees from Muğla and Balıkesir.⁸² The refugees were allotted plots of land from the expropriated estates of the Averoff family and were involved with market gardening.

3. **Krya Vrysi.** 6 km. northeast of Kirinthos. Refugees from Makri and Livisi settled here. Its population rose from 32 persons in 1920 to 159 in 1928.

4. **Ahmet Agha (Prokopi).** The majority of the refugees who settled in the hamlet of Ahmet Agha, where there were huts of the peasants working the estate of the Englishman Noel-Baker, came from

⁸⁰ Fischer, pp. 431-432.

⁸¹ <http://pergamos.lib.uoa.gr/dl/object/uoadl:54921>

⁸² Fischer, pp. 432-434.

Ürgüp in Cappadocia, a town near Nevşehir.⁸³ This place in Euboea was recommended to the Prokopian refugees by their compatriot Isaak Isaakidis, who had been living in Athens since 1918.

The Cappadocian refugees brought with them to Greece the holy relic of St John the Russian, patron saint of Ürgüp, to whom the central church in that town was dedicated. Lazaros Eyraxiadis recalls in his book the building of the church of St John the Russian, as well as the history of the associations founded by the Prokopians in Greece.⁸⁴ The new church at Neo Prokopi in Euboea attracted and continues to attract hosts of pilgrims, who make their monetary contribution to the “Hosios John the Russian” Foundation. Indeed, the sociologist from Ürgüp, Demosthenis Daniilidis, asked that the CAMS be included among the projects sponsored by the specific Foundation.⁸⁵

Included in the volume *Exodus*, published by the CAMS, are testimonies of the refugees on the chronicle of the compulsory evacuation of Ürgüp, the march to Ulukişla, the journey by train to Mersin and the stormy voyage by sea to Piraeus.⁸⁶ Ermolaos Andreadis recorded (1 May 1955) the words of the refugee Athanasios Panagiotidis,⁸⁷ who was a schoolteacher in Ürgüp, which profession he continued to practice in Neo Prokopi:

⁸³ In the Benaki Museum, Eleftherios Venizelos Archive (File 234-71) there is a note from the Ministry of Agriculture C. Spyridis to E. Venizelos regarding the cost of purchasing Ahmet Agha, property of the Noel-Baker family.

⁸⁴ Lazaros Eyraxiadis, *Το Προκόπι η πατρίδα μου (Ιστορία και Λαογραφία)* [Prokopi my homeland (History and Folklore)], Thessaloniki 1988, pp. 357-362.

⁸⁵ *The Last Hellenism*, p. 63.

⁸⁶ *The Exodus*, vol. II, pp. 281-284.

⁸⁷ A photograph of A. Panagiotidis is published in *Προκόπι. Ürgüp. Φωτογραφίες από*

After they left the quarantine station at Agios Georgios in Piraeus, following their arrival in Greece, the Prokopians were scattered here and there. Most of them went to Chalkida, others to Skyros, Nafplion, Argos and Thessaloniki. The Procopian Isaak Isaakidis had been living in Athens since 1918. They asked his opinion on the setting up of the new village. He suggested they settle in Ahmet Agha on Euboea, near Mandoudi. This was the estate of the English lady Noel-Baker. In the little village of Ahmet Agha there were about 15 families, tenant farmers and shepherds. Isaakidis and the physician Sarantidis initiated moves to secure the expropriation of part of the estate.

From 1925 until 1927 the refugees lived in tents and shacks. The place was infected with malaria and 60 people died in the first year. The deaths continued in the following years, but in smaller numbers.

In 1927 the houses were built by the Settlement Commission and 240 families had a roof over their heads. They placed the relic in the little village church of St Constantine, which already existed. The local inhabitants, in order to ensure that the expropriations took place, which were in their interest, helped the refugees and behaved well towards them. Later, however, there were disagreements and conflicts of interest. Ahmet Agha now has 680 inhabitants. Most of the 1,200 Prokopians left for Chalkida, Athens, Piraeus and the Peloponnese. They knew nothing of agriculture and could not put down roots. They were tradesmen and professionals. So, of the 680 inhabitants of Ahmet Agha, only 200 are Prokopians and the others are locals. But those who stayed are mostly self-employed rather than farmers, although they do each have a 0.45 hectare plot of cultivable land. The place is fertile because there is abundant running water. It produces mainly beans, of good quality, cereals and vegetables.

το Αρχείο του Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών. Ürgüp, Photographs from the Archive of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, ed. Evangelia Balta, Athens, Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 2004, p. 25.

The relic of St John the Russian is housed in a handsome church of the same name, which celebrates its feast day on 27 May. On that day devotees flock to the village from all over Greece, because the saint's reputation as a miracle worker is known to Greeks everywhere. Near the church there is a guesthouse where the faithful can spend the night. There is also a hotel and a restaurant.

In 1956 the refugee Efthymios Sofoulis recounted the difficult living conditions in Neo Prokopi, which obliged many people to leave Ahmet Agha and seek a livelihood elsewhere. This is an interview he gave to Aglaia Loukopoulou in April 1956⁸⁸ and which I cite below:

In 1925 1,000 stremmas from the Noel-Baker estate in Ahmet Aga were expropriated and in 1926 220 refugee families, all from Prokopi, went to settle there and create their new village. I went along with them too as for the last few years, before we came to Greece, I lived in Prokopi and was considered a Prokopian⁸⁹. They even made me chairman of the committee we formed when we reached Ahmet Agha. Before settling there, we visited other parts of Euboea, but we preferred Ahmet Agha as it was a beautiful place and we hoped to expropriate more arable land from the big estate and the forest and in that way we could have a good life. Unfortunately though we were fooled, it all turned out badly. No more land was expropriated and what we got did not yield us what we expected.

⁸⁸ CAMS, file 317 PROKOPI.

⁸⁹ He originated from Incesu.

In Ahmet Agha we encountered 130 local families who were all Noel-Baker's crofters. They also took allotments near us and became men of property, instead of working on other estates. They too had houses that had been built by Noel-Baker. We refugees lived in tents. We set up a committee with me as chairman and took care of sorting out the allotments. We divided up the land and those chosen by lot received the allotments. The rest would have got one when the other land was expropriated, but that never happened. Noel-Baker's crofters got some of the first 1,000 stremmas.

About a year and a half later they built us about fifty houses and a corresponding number of families took up residence there. The rest stayed in the tents and were decimated by malaria and various epidemics. People had been reduced to utter poverty, but they loved that place. We built our church too, St. John the Russian, and moved his relics there from Chalkida.

We all thought that we would be staying there forever, but how, even we didn't know. I hadn't brought my family to Ahmet Agha. They were still in Chalkida. I didn't even get an allotment. The rest of the committee and I tried to get the expropriation we sought. We approached the Ministry through our compatriot Isaakidis, who lived in Athens, but we had no success. The Ministry deceived us with empty promises.

I myself often asked Ms Noel-Baker to give us the forest and we would pay her for it. I used to tell her to her to auction it, but I couldn't persuade her. Ah, that forest would have been our salvation. But how? People were putting a great deal of pressure on us to find a solution, and when they saw that we were getting nowhere, they decided to act alone.

All the Prokopians got together and seized the tools from Noel-Baker's workers. They piled them up in the village square and let no-one come near. They thought that in this way they would force her to hand over the forest to us.

All work in the village came to a halt. The police sergeant

with the few gendarmes he had available could not keep the refugees under control and he told the gendarmerie in Chalkida to send reinforcements. A short while later, the Prefect, the Commander of the Gendarmerie and all his forces from Chalkida and Thebes reached Ahmet Agha. They all gathered in the square and we, the committee, presented ourselves before the Authorities. When they inquired why we were doing this, I explained what the people wanted and asked them to intervene with Noel-Baker and persuade her to at least give us the forest. The place we owned was not enough for us to make a living and we would die of starvation.

So what did the Commander say then:

– Come on, lad, what do you think? Can we declare war on England? Don't you understand that this estate is not Greek but English? If they won't give us it, then we can't take it with violence.

What could I say? I reassured the refugees and begged them to go home. I realized there was nothing to be done. When the officials left, we could decide what to do.

When the Prefect left, we summoned everyone and said:

– This place here can only feed 40-50 families; if we all stay, we'll die. There is no other solution but to leave, and each of us go where he can find work, Athens, Thessaloniki, Chalkida...

I will set the example by leaving first. So I resigned from the committee and left for Chalkida. Many others left too and only 45 families stayed, those that are still there today. But they cannot make a good living. If you go you will see for yourself.

Émile Kolodny follows the rapid demographic development of Prokopi from 1928 to 1971, with the rise in population from 584 to 1,145 inhabitants. He links this spectacular increase also to the religious

tourism which brought life and wealth to the refugee village.⁹⁰ Several books about St John the Russian, the history of Prokopi and the natural wealth of the region, published by tourists-pilgrims, speak about the origin of the inhabitants of Prokopi from Anatolia and the history of the founding of the settlement.⁹¹

By way of an epilogue

Although the foregoing information is presented synoptically, it shows that the Oral History Archive of the CAMS constitutes a systematic collection which is able to document the events and the circumstances of the settlement of the Anatolian refugees, and that whenever this information is crosschecked against written sources its reliability is confirmed. Documents sent in 1936 from the refugee communities to the Bureau of the 26th Agricultural District record the same numbers, the same information on the refugees' origin, language, and so on, as the CAMS collaborators recorded in their reports. I am not, of course, claiming that study of the settlement of refugees in Euboea can rely exclusively on the archival material in the CAMS. Such an undertaking should draw material from the local Press, the archives of the Christian Orthodox communities deposited in the General Archives of the Prefecture of Euboea,⁹² the Archives of the Evaluation Committee of the Ministry of Agriculture. In these last archives, which include

⁹⁰ Kolodny, p. 226 and Fischer, pp. 434-435.

⁹¹ E.g., see Alexandros Kalemis, *Προκόπι. Η ευλογία της Καππαδοκίας στην παραδεισένια φύση της Εύβοιας* [Prokopi. The blessing of Cappadocia in the paradisaical landscape of Euboea], Chalkida, Kinitro – Euboean publications, 2008.

⁹² Entered in the electronic catalogue of the GSA for the Prefecture of Euboea, in Chalkida, are the archive of the community of Lampsakos (1891-1920) as well as photographic material, the archive of the community of Proasteion (1915-1923), as well as manuscripts, such as that of Kleanthis Drakidis, in which he relates his memories of settling in Chalkida.

statements from individuals expelled from Cappadocia under the terms of the Exchange of Populations, there are 99 statements of refugees who settled in Agios Georgios, Istiaia, claiming compensation for the property they left behind, valued at 87,294 Turkish liras. Likewise, the 621 refugees at Ahmet Agha, who originated from Ürgüp, in the file they submitted through their president V. Markopoulos, claimed compensation to the tune of 361,924 Turkish liras.⁹³

In the nine volumes published in 1928 by the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, Directorate of Debt Collection, I counted 3,583 names of refugees settled in Euboea, which are listed alphabetically.

Nos	16.961-17.060	Agios Georgios	99	families
	17.061-17.140	Agios Nikolaos –Vatheia	79	»
	17.141-17.260	Ahmet Agha	119	»
	17.261-17.320	Varvara	59	»
	17.321-17.460	Vistritsa	139	»
	17.461-17.580	Kastaniotissa	119	»
	17.581-17.620	Kechries	39	»
	17.621-17.720	Krya Vrysi	99	»
	17.721-17.800	Makrymalli	79	»
	17.801-18.930	Nea Artaki	1,129	»
	18.931-19.190	Neos Lampsakos	259	»
	19.191-19.370	Neo Moursali	179	»
	19.371-19.450	Skylogianni	79	»
	19.451-20.380	Neos Pyrgos	929	»
	20.381-20.420	Retsinolakkos	39	»
	20.421-20.460	Rovies	39	»
	20.461-20.560	Farakla	99	»
	Total		3,583	»

⁹³ Matoula Kourouppou – Evangelia Balta, “Πηγές για την ιστορία των Ανταλλαξίμων της Καππαδοκίας, Η ανάγκη συνολικής θεώρησης” [Sources on the history of the Exchanged populations of Cappadocia, The need of an overall assessment], *Δελτίον Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* [Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon] 9 (1992), p. 28.

It is certain that valuable information will emerge also from research in the family archives of the estate-owners whose lands were expropriated to be distributed to the refugees. Censuses, tables of compensation payments, community registers, registers of associations and societies, articles in the local Press; all provide data on the numbers of refugees who reached Euboea, data on their place of origin, on the cost of the land expropriations, on the first settlements, and so on. However, it is difficult, if not impossible, to investigate the relations between locals and refugees, the refugees' struggle to adapt to the new environment. Such issues demand personal recollections. Books such as the one by Kleopatra Lymperi, and mainly the Oral History Archive of the CAMS come to fill in, as best they can, the void in the statistical sources. This is why I chose to finish the study with the account provided by the refugee Maria Chronopoulou (CAMS).

You're going to paradise and we're coming to hell', they told us there would be an Exchange of Populations, and we didn't believe them. We had an old granny and she kept on asking whether we'd be leaving or not. A Turkish woman in our neighbourhood said, 'I heard good news today, you're not going to go'. But afterwards we learnt that we would be leaving and we sold our clothes. The Turks were weeping that we were leaving. They brought gendarmes and guarded us on the way from the Turks of the surrounding villages. Our Turks did not harm us. Kemal had issued a warning that they were not to harm us. The poor left free in carts, first. We left at this time of year (= late August). When we left the Turks were spreading out the grapes to make raisins. The Turks who came took over our vineyards and we gave them our things so that they would give us grapes from our own vineyards. The grapes had ripened when we left. But we had not yet harvested them.

We didn't leave all together. They left a few at a time, 20-30 carts a day. These went to Ulukışla and came back. The carters

were Turks. One night we slept at Nakou (Anakou /Eneyi, present day Kaymaklı) and one night outside Niğde, after we'd passed through Niğde. Whilst on their way to Ulukışla, they got caught in the rain and they hadn't yet pitched tents. They'd no idea what a train was. When they saw it, they said 'What's that cloud that's coming?' When they saw the sea, they said 'Is there still more sea?' They were afraid of the sea. On the road they met the Turkish refugees, and the Turks said to them 'You're going to paradise and we're coming to hell'. Because they were coming from Thessaloniki. From Ulukışla they came by train to a dark place, Gölçük. The train stopped there, and they told them not to speak because the Turks there were bad.

After that they went to Mersin. They came down into the square and went into an Armenian yarn mill, which the Turks had commandeered for the refugees. They stayed there fifteen days, some in tents, some in churches, factories and so on, and others, the rich, in houses they rented. After fifteen days, they took them to the bathhouse and gave them a good soak. From Mersin they boarded a Greek freighter, an old one, and they came ashore at Piraeus, at Ai Yorgis, where they stayed fifteen days in quarantine and ate for free. The journey from the village to Piraeus took about one month. Then they went to Andros and stayed in a yarn mill. They spent one winter on Andros. Then they went to Vistritsa, near Volos, where a new homeland had been made for them. They remained there for two months. The place was marshy and many of them died. Only a few stayed there and the others scattered.



54-55. View of Limni (Oct. 1956).



56. View of Rovies (Oct. 1956).



57. The ruins of the Turkish fort at Rovies village (Oct. 1956).



58-59. The village of Chronia (1956).



60. The church of Saint George in the village of Agios Georgios Istiaia (Oct. 1956).



61. View of the village of Agios Georgios Istiaia (Oct. 1956).



62. The church of Agios Ioannis Rossos at Neo Prokopi-Ahmet Agha (1955).



63. Chatzi-Pavlos Meletopoulos with the keys to the church of Osios Ioannis Rossos, in front of the newly-built hostel of Osios Ioannis Rossos, constructed for the pilgrims (August 1955).



64. From the local fair of Agios Ioannis Rossos (1955).



65. Wedding celebrations at Neo Prokopi (1955).



66. The teacher Ath. Panagiotidis with his daughter in the yard of their refugee house in Neo Prokopi (1955).



67. View of Neo Prokopi (1955).



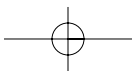
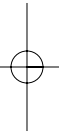
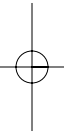
68. Refugee house in Neo Prokopi (1955).



69. The poet Homer, refugee at Makrymali, Euboea. His real name was Ioannis Haralampoglou and was born at Ürgüp in 1890.



70. Eugène Dalleggio with Efthymios Sofoulis, a refugee from Prokopi, in his house yard in Chalkida (August 1955).



L'AVENTURE DE L'INSTALLATION DES RÉFUGIÉS ÉCHANGEABLES EN MACÉDOINE

Cadre historique

L' "exode" des réfugiés grecs d'Asie Mineure, de Thrace orientale et du Pont, qui ratifia la Question d'Asie Mineure, est ordinairement examiné en corrélation avec sa contrepartie historique qui est leur installation consécutive en Grèce. La « Convention sur l'Échange » (30 janvier 1923) et le « Traité de Lausanne » (24 juillet 1923) signifièrent le passage à la Question des réfugiés. La compression de l'hellénisme micrasiate et son déplacement, désormais

* L'article reproduit le texte d'une intervention que j'ai prononcée à l'Université de Chypre le 20 novembre 2012. J'ai jugé que ce texte était le mieux à même de figurer dans le tome publié en hommage au Prof. Dr. Ali İhsan Gencer (*Prof. Dr. Ali İhsan Gencer Anısına. Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e. Sosyo-Kültürel ve Siyasi Yansımalar*, İstanbul 2014, Der-in Yayınevi). En effet, le *Mübadele Meselesi* faisait partie des thèmes dont il encourageait et défendait systématiquement l'étude à l'*İstanbul Üniversitesi*. La question des réfugiés et l'Échange des populations entre la Grèce et la Turquie constituait le sujet de nombreux *masters* et de doctorats de ses étudiants. Je me souviens avec émotion de la rencontre au cours de laquelle nous avons convenu de collaborer en organisant ensemble des colloques et des programmes de recherche. Je remercie mon amie Gülden Sarıyıldız qui m'a conviée à participer au tome qu'elle prépare avec d'autres collègues afin d'honorer la mémoire de leur maître. De tels professeurs sont rares désormais. *Nur içinde yatsın.*

définitif, vers le centre métropolitain helladique, ont été les moyens de l'entreprise appelée « reconstitution nationale » et de l'homogénéisation nationale de la Grèce du nord après le départ facultatif de la population slavophone et celle, obligatoire, des musulmans.

Le texte qui suit traite de certains aspects du processus que nous appelons en Grèce « reconstitution nationale » - « homogénéisation nationale », phase lors de laquelle jouent un rôle principal les ensembles de population demeurant sur la terre macédonnienne. Et tout d'abord, la population autochtone, hellénophone et slavophone, agriculteurs, métayers (*koligoï*) dans leur majorité, qui attendaient les expropriations dans l'espoir de s'assurer la possession d'un lot de terre. Je vais commenter tout particulièrement les relations des Grecs (*Romioï / Rums*) échangeables avec les slavophones locaux puisque, c'est un fait bien connu, l'État grec a considéré les réfugiés, et notamment ceux originaires du Pont et du Caucase, comme des noyaux d'hellénisation des habitants slavophones de la Macédoine et des gardiens des frontières du nord de la Grèce.

Au moyen de cette occupation des villages slavophones par les réfugiés, il visait à faire basculer la majorité de cet élément de population dans des régions comme, par exemple, Kilikis. De surcroît, selon les dirigeants eux-mêmes, la présence permanente des réfugiés devait contribuer à l'hellénisation de la langue et au renforcement du sentiment national des slavophones. Faits et conjoncture complexes qui vont déterminer les attitudes politiques dans les années à suivre, à savoir celles qui seront marquées par l'occupation allemande et bulgare de la Macédoine au cours de la seconde guerre mondiale, mais qui détermineront aussi dans quel camp, de l'ELAS (gauche) ou de l'EDES (droite), les réfugiés choisiront de se ranger lors de la guerre civile qui suivit immédiatement (1946-1949).

Mais un autre facteur de poids va également influencer sur l'installation des réfugiés tout comme sur la formation de leurs relations avec les natifs du lieu : il s'agit des autres Échangeables, des musulmans qui récemment encore faisaient partie des autochtones. La pomme de discorde étaient les biens qu'ils laissaient derrière eux en partant. Conformément aux articles 9-10 du traité de Lausanne, les musulmans échangeables de Grèce devraient abandonner leurs possessions urbaines et rurales et avaient le droit d'acquérir en compensation dans l'État d'accueil des biens d'égale valeur. Voilà ce que statuait le Traité, mais la lettre concernant les biens échangeables prit une autre tournure dans les faits. La signature du pacte d'amitié gréco-turc signifia la clôture définitive de la question de la compensation, en décidant l'équivalence des biens turcs et grecs.

En outre, il est impossible de ne pas examiner l'installation des Échangeables en Macédoine en même temps que l'ensemble de la question des réfugiés dans cette région telle qu'elle s'est façonnée au cours des premières années du XX^e siècle. En effet, à l'époque où arrivèrent les Échangeables, la majeure partie de la population de Macédoine n'était pas autochtone. En Macédoine orientale, par exemple, les neuf dixièmes s'étaient installés après avoir été frappés par les mêmes malheurs que les Grecs d'Asie Mineure, la date de leurs maux constituant la seule différence.

En d'autres termes, l'étude de l'installation doit prendre en compte l'hétérogénéité des réfugiés dans la mesure où s'accumulèrent en Macédoine les vagues successives d'une multitude de réfugiés dont les traditions religieuses et nationales étaient communes et qui partageaient un sort et des espérances semblables, mais que séparaient pourtant de nombreuses différences. La religion était le cadre social le plus large qui les reliait à l'idéologie nationale hellénique. Ils n'avaient pas tous le même substrat culturel, ni la même mentalité, ils parlaient divers dialectes (celui du Pont, de la Cappadoce) et certains

même une langue totalement différente, le turc. Les circonstances mêmes de leur déplacement étaient également dissemblables, ce qui a déterminé en quelque sorte les conditions de leur installation ultérieure. Par exemple, les réfugiés du littoral occidental de l'Asie Mineure, abandonnant leurs foyers après la destruction de Smyrne, victimes d'une impitoyable persécution, ne parvinrent à sauver presque rien de leurs possessions. Au contraire, l'évacuation pacifique de la Thrace orientale permit aux réfugiés d'emporter avec eux une partie de leurs biens meubles. L'Échange créa donc également des tensions et des revendications parmi les réfugiés, parfois même entre gens de même origine, le résultat étant une fiévreuse mobilité jusqu'à la stabilisation définitive des installations.

Qu'il s'agisse de la phase primaire, lors de laquelle se posa le problème de leur installation, ou bien de la phase finale, où dominait celui de leur établissement, la question des réfugiés était « la question socio-économique la plus grande qu'ait jamais rencontrée l'État depuis sa création ». L'affrontement d'un problème aussi pressant et complexe a déterminé la vie politique du pays, au milieu d'oppositions violentes et dans un contexte économique difficile. Du stade initial qui était celui de l'assistance aux besoins élémentaires effectuée sous le contrôle de l'État (1922-1924), l'action concernant la question des réfugiés passa à l'application d'un programme d'implantation plus systématique placé sous l'égide de la Commission d'Établissement des Réfugiés, organisme autonome directement rattaché au Conseil de la Société des Nations, qui prit en charge la gestion des fonds affectés au prêt accordé aux réfugiés afin de veiller à leur installation.

L'établissement agricole était la solution viable au problème des réfugiés et la plus appropriée politiquement, la bourgeoisie libérale tremblant à l'idée d'une prolétarianisation de cet élément. L'installation dans un contexte rural comprenait l'octroi d'un lot de terre et d'une

habitation, la fourniture en animaux, graines, arbres et fertilisants, outils, etc., de même que la couverture des besoins primaires de la famille jusqu'à la première récolte. Cette aide était comptée aux agriculteurs qui devaient la rembourser progressivement par versements.

L'objectif essentiel de cette politique de l'État était de faire occuper par les réfugiés les espaces ruraux et de les faire contribuer au renforcement des frontières par l'hellénisation des provinces du nord. Les guerres balkaniques (1912-1913) avaient amené l'extension territoriale du pays et l'annexion d'étendues cultivables. L'afflux d'une population à la suite de la catastrophe d'Asie Mineure et de l'Échange pouvait fonctionner dynamiquement et combler le creux démographique.

Tableau 1: *Agglomérations de réfugiés de Macédoine*

<i>Bureau d'installation</i>	<i>Homogènes*</i>		<i>Mixtes</i>	
	<i>Agglomérations</i>	<i>Familles</i>	<i>Agglomérations</i>	<i>Familles</i>
Axioupolis	17	1.923	19	2.150
Chalcidique	36	2.987	4	462
Drama	177	10.445	33	4.468
Édessa	23	2.143	49	3.806
Éordaia	16	2.977	13	2.293
Florina	20	1.981	22	1.163
Giannitsa	38	5.044	6	1.810
Kastoria	13	806	22	1.125
Kavala	102	7.342	17	2.093
Kilkis	131	9.523	8	583
Kozani	96	6.206	37	1.816
Langada	92	4.448	25	2.253
Piérie	10	1.233	15	1.738
Serrès	31	2.311	53	5.223
Sindikis	57	2.483	48	4.652
Thessalonique	61	7.011	14	2.577
Véria	14	912	57	3.014
TOTAL	934	69.775	442	41.226

Source : <http://lithoksou.net/prosfighes.html>

*La mention « homogènes » désigne les agglomérations composées uniquement de réfugiés ; « mixtes » signifie la présence parallèle de population autochtone.

Et en effet, à la date de janvier 1929, on comptait 330 810 installations et la création de 1047 agglomérations dans lesquelles, d'ailleurs, s'étaient établis non seulement des Échangeables mais aussi des réfugiés de la période allant de 1912 à 1922. Le souci de la Commission d'Établissement des Réfugiés de bâtir des habitations rencontra de nombreuses difficultés. L'application du Programme de construction de 10 000 logements en Macédoine par la compagnie allemande Sommerfeld-Dehatege fut semée de péripéties, et laissa finalement des familles entières sans abri.

La Macédoine se vide de ses habitants musulmans afin d'accueillir les réfugiés orthodoxes d'Anatolie

Ainsi que nous l'avons vu, les guerres balkaniques, la première guerre mondiale qui suivit et le Traité de Neuilly avaient bouleversé, en sus du reste, la composition démographique de la Macédoine. En 1912 et en 1914 étaient arrivés des Thraces, des Grecs de Bulgarie et du littoral de l'Asie Mineure, des Caucasiens et des Pontiques de Russie à la suite de son retrait de la guerre en 1919. L'élément musulman, en dépit des migrations inhérentes aux guerres, continua à être présent en Macédoine jusqu'au moment de l'Échange, jusqu'en 1926 en fait. Et alors que, conformément au Traité de Neuilly, la Thrace occidentale avait vu l'émigration totale de la population slavophone en direction de la Bulgarie, emportant librement avec elle l'ensemble de ses biens meubles, l'évolution des événements fut tout autre en Macédoine.

En effet, peu de slavophones quittèrent cette région ; ceux qui partirent étaient principalement des partisans de l'exarchat et du nationalisme bulgare, tandis que la plupart, environ 215 000, y demeurèrent. L'émigration était volontaire. Pour l'État grec, les slavophones ne partant pas à la faveur du Traité de Neuilly qui le leur permettait possédaient une conscience nationale hellénique ou du

moins ne remettaient pas en question l'autorité hellénique.

L'arrivée supplémentaire des Échangeables modifia la disposition scénique et compliqua la situation. Tout d'abord, elle anéantit les espoirs des autochtones qui pensaient s'approprier les biens fonciers des beys après le départ obligatoire des musulmans de Macédoine. Au-delà de cette cause fondamentale qui constituait un *a priori* aux dispositions hostiles de ces deux groupes de population, il y avait d'autres raisons de friction concernant les terres entre les Échangeables et les natifs du pays. Étant donné qu'il n'existait pas de bornage des terres, les limites étaient sujettes à des contestations. La levée d'un cadastre était projetée, mais elle tardait à se réaliser car elle heurtait les intérêts mis en jeu par l'application de la loi agraire promue par Él. Vénizélos et les Libéraux. C'est pourquoi tous les propriétaires de *çiftlik* qui possédaient des moyens politiques puissants tentaient de contourner cette loi. Des lots octroyés aux réfugiés étaient bien souvent, par exemple, des pâtures utilisées par des bergers. La répartition des terres présentait donc des difficultés, car les anciens locataires ou cultivateurs refusaient d'évacuer les meilleurs champs.

De surcroît, dans l'intervalle allant de la signature du Traité de Lausanne à son application, des terres étaient parvenues entre les mains de locaux au moyen d'actes de vente fictifs ou antidatés passés avec les musulmans. Ces actes illégaux et le fait que les autochtones ne pouvaient produire de titres de propriété furent le prétexte des frictions avec les réfugiés. Les services compétents, au début du moins, prirent fait et cause pour ces derniers et firent naître le ressentiment chez leurs adversaires, parmi lesquels se trouvaient de nombreux slavophones qui perçurent comme délibérément hostiles à leur égard les actions des autorités helléniques. Les différends à propos des terres ne faisaient d'ailleurs que renforcer bien souvent le comportement autoritaire d'employés subalternes de la Commission d'Établissement ; de la même façon, l'attitude de l'armée et de la

gendarmerie jouèrent un rôle déterminant dans les relations entre réfugiés et slavophones.

Il était donc logique que le processus d'établissement des réfugiés dans la campagne constituât une histoire mouvementée jalonnée de conflits violents, puisque souvent le sang coulait pour la possession d'un peu de terre. L'incident de Kioupioï (aujourd'hui Proti, terre natale de la famille /dynastie politique des Karamanli) qui mit aux prises en 1924 les habitants du village et les Pontiques de Néa Bafra de Serrès pour quelques mètres de champ est un cas caractéristique. Les heurts prirent rapidement un caractère partisan : les Populaires (du parti *Laiikon*) soutenaient les autochtones et les réfugiés se regroupaient autour des Libéraux, le parti de Vénizélos. En dépit des efforts de nombreux administrateurs mais aussi de la presse vénizélienne locale, qui tentait d'émouvoir la population locale en leur représentant les souffrances des réfugiés et d'atténuer les exaltations, le problème des relations entre autochtones et réfugiés demeura virulent pendant de longues années. Les rivalités pour la possession des rares sources de revenus soulignaient et attisaient les différences culturelles. Les querelles nées du partage de la terre tourmentèrent de nombreuses années la population et fomentèrent des passions durables. D'ailleurs, Kostas Kostis a soutenu que la domination des réfugiés dans les Nouvelles Terres** aggravait l'opposition entre Ancienne et Nouvelle Grèce. Le personnel des services publics des Nouvelles Terres fut recruté parmi les employés provenant de l'Ancienne Grèce, à savoir des régions qui constituaient le premier État grec, divisant ainsi la population grecque car cela créait dans son corps des catégories de maîtres et de sujets.

** On appelait Nouvelles Terres les régions annexées à l'État grec après les guerres balkaniques : l'Épire, la Macédoine, la Thrace et les îles de l'est de l'Égée. D'où la division en Ancienne et Nouvelle Grèce.

En outre, la nécessité pressante de trouver un toit et de la nourriture amenait souvent les réfugiés à des conflits quotidiens avec les locaux, particulièrement avec les slavophones et principalement dans les régions de Kilkis, de Giannitsa et dans l'est de la région de Serrès, à cause du grand nombre de réfugiés qui s'y étaient installés. En Macédoine occidentale, où vivaient la majorité des slavophones, l'installation des réfugiés était relativement limitée, mais les conflits n'étaient pas absents non plus. Pour les réfugiés, les slavophones n'étaient rien d'autre que des « Bulgares », qui devaient partir afin qu'eux-mêmes puissent s'installer dans leurs maisons et leurs champs.

D'un autre côté, pour les slavophones, les réfugiés, ces nouveaux-venus loqueteux, n'étaient rien d'autre que de la « graine de Turc », envahisseurs et pillards qui convoitaient leurs biens. Le contact des deux groupes de population contenait tous les éléments pour créer les conditions d'une opposition ardente, donnant lieu à de nombreux incidents. La commission qui se forma demanda au ministre de l'Agriculture Yiorgos Sidéris de prendre des mesures afin de protéger les demeures des slavophones ; elle réclamait par exemple que la proportion de réfugiés s'installant dans les villages slavophones et dans d'autres villages soit la même, que les employés de l'État n'exercent pas de pressions sur les slavophones, etc.

L'utilisation des réfugiés pour réduire l'enclave slavophone n'était pas toujours suivie d'effet. Ainsi, des voix s'élevaient pour exprimer des doutes sur le bien fondé de l'installation des réfugiés dans les villages slavophones, d'une part parce que nombreux étaient les Échangeables qui ignoraient eux-même le grec, ne parlant que le turc, et de l'autre car l'agressivité des Grecs du Pont et du Caucase rendait souvent malaisée l'intégration des slavophones. Des chercheurs comme I. Michailidis et A. Kallianiotis professent que l'installation en Macédoine a été déterminée par la possibilité d'y trouver de la terre et un foyer, les réfugiés se dirigeant vers des régions dont partaient les mu-

sulmans échangeables et qui se trouvaient principalement en Macédoine centrale et orientale. Leur installation avait cependant créé, dans leurs relations avec la population locale, une fracture profonde qui ne put se réduire que des décennies plus tard. Il faut d'ailleurs souligner de nouveau que l'armée et la gendarmerie jouèrent un rôle déterminant dans cette évolution négative des relations entre réfugiés et slavophones.

Un des soucis des gouvernements grecs a été également l'occupation des espaces frontaliers, principalement le long de la ligne limitrophe de la Bulgarie, par un élément hellénique dense qui découragerait d'éventuelles actions terroristes des Comitadjis. Des réfugiés, principalement des Grecs des régions montagneuses du Pont, s'y installèrent afin d'assurer la sécurité des frontières.

En Macédoine orientale, là où la seconde occupation bulgare (1916-1918) avait laissé de douloureux souvenirs, il fallait préserver les frontières septentrionales et l'accent était mis, ainsi qu'on peut le constater à la lecture de la presse locale, sur la nécessité de répartir la population réfugiée le long de cette zone sensible. Mais, en dépit des mesures d'interdiction, les réfugiés abandonnaient les lignes frontalières et se déversaient vers l'intérieur du pays, car leur survie dans ces parages était impossible sans aide de l'État. Ils avaient à affronter le spectre de la faim et les épidémies faisaient des ravages parmi eux. Il était indispensable de moderniser, ne serait-ce que de façon rudimentaire, la région de Macédoine, en réalisant des travaux d'infrastructure, afin de créer pour les réfugiés des conditions d'autarcie et d'affranchissement d'une aide continue de l'État.

C'est pourquoi l'installation sur la zone frontalière s'avéra une entreprise semée de difficultés, et cette expérience fut si dure que nombre de familles furent contraintes à un second « exode » suivant de peu le premier qui leur avait fait quitter leur patrie. La politique d'occupation des campagnes qui avait été appliquée servait majoritaire-

ment des nécessités nationales mais elle augmentait aussi – en raison du manque de coordination qui régnait – la précarité dans laquelle vivaient la plupart des réfugiés, réduisant leurs espérances, retardant leur établissement et les obligeant à se déplacer à la recherche de moyens de survie.

Ils se réfugiaient donc dans les zones urbaines, où ils vivaient dans des baraques aux limites des villes, dans des bâtiments réquisitionnés, contraints à une cohabitation indésirée, à la recherche d'un salaire journalier au beau milieu d'une crise mondiale qui, en Grèce, connut des évolutions d'autant plus dramatiques que le pays déjà pauvre devait absorber un afflux soudain de population évalué à 1 200 000 personnes. Le chômage avait atteint des sommets en raison du coût dérisoire de la main d'œuvre qui s'était accumulée dans les villes. De grands mouvements de grève, manipulés par le Parti Communiste, avaient lieu dans les agglomérations possédant des manufactures de tabac. À Thessalonique, les heurts des réfugiés avec les habitants juifs dépassèrent en violence tout autre cas analogue de conflit avec des minorités ethniques ou en général des autochtones. Le contrôle de la vie économique de Thessalonique en était le puissant enjeu. Le nationalisme agressif des réfugiés fut aussi alimenté par le réservoir sans fond de l'antisémitisme, dont l'incendie en juin 1931 du camp Campbell, quartier juif, constitua l'apogée.

En ce qui concerne l'installation des réfugiés dans les zones urbaines, les principaux problèmes qui surgirent furent: a) le logement, b) les expulsions des réfugiés d'habitations réquisitionnées ou échangeables, c) la partialité qui présidait à la répartition des biens immeubles des musulmans et d) le retard de l'établissement complet et définitif des réfugiés dans les quartiers nouvellement bâtis. Les réfugiés qui recherchèrent la protection des villes s'installèrent aux abords des agglomérations, créant des quartiers ou bien encore de véritables blocs d'habitations qui aujourd'hui encore portent le nom de *prosfy-*

gika. Petites constructions de fortune ou bâties uniformément grâce au soin de l'État (à Kavala, jusqu'à aujourd'hui, ces quartiers sont appelés « Cinq cents », « Mille » du nombre de maisons construites) constituaient des îlots distincts dans le tissu de l'aménagement urbain et social. Ils délimitaient, dans les agglomérations de Macédoine, un groupe que distinguaient la pauvreté et le besoin : les réfugiés. Et, alors que la misère emprisonnait ces gens dans les limites du quartier de réfugiés, l'immense collectivité qui se développa grâce à l'espace commun et aux mécanismes de solidarité fit que les quartiers de réfugiés, de fermés qu'ils étaient, devinrent les vecteurs d'un quotidien extraverti, ouvert, d'une culture populaire urbaine qui ne demeura pas enclose dans les quartiers *prosfygika*.

Certaines villes, comme Drama, par exemple, dont la population passa subitement de 20 000 à 60 000 habitants, avaient un besoin urgent de travaux d'infrastructures, d'adduction d'eau, d'électrification, de mesures afin de soulager la population contrainte de loger dans des bâtiments réquisitionnés, des entrepôts, des gares ou des abris de fortune. La Commission d'Établissement des Réfugiés, en ce qui concerne l'installation dans les villes, se contenta de leur fournir des logements, puisqu'elle était dans l'incapacité de leur procurer les moyens de créer à leur tour leurs propres sources de revenus. Le tableau ci-dessous montre l'augmentation de la population dans les villes de Macédoine qui accueillirent une population réfugiée, suivant les données des recensements de 1920 et 1928.

Tableau 2: *La population des villes de Macédoine*

Villes	1920	1928
Thessalonique	170 321	236 524
Kavala	22 939	49 980
Drama	15 263	29 339
Serrès	14 866	29 640
Kastoria	6 280	10 250

Source:

G. Dertilis, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* [Histoire de la nation grecque], t. II. Athènes, Hestia, ³ 2005.

Les populations échangeables

Lors du recensement de 1920 dont la Direction des Statistiques du Ministère de l'Économie Nationale communiqua en 1923 les résultats au ministère des Affaires Étrangères, la population musulmane se montait à 316 300 habitants et constituait 29% de la population totale de la Macédoine (1 090 432 âmes).

Nome	Drama	56%
	Florina	23%
	Kozani	41%
	Pella	37%
	Serrès	14%
	Thessalonique	16%

Source:

Yiannis Glavinias, *Οι μουσουλμανικοί πληθυσμοί στην Ελλάδα (1912-1923): Αντιλήψεις και πρακτικές της ελληνικής διοίκησης-σχέσεις με χριστιανούς γηγενείς και πρόσφυγες* [Les populations musulmanes en Grèce (1912-1923) : conceptions et pratiques de l'administration hellénique - relations avec les autochtones chrétiens et les réfugiés], Université Aristote de Thessalonique - Département d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, thèse de doctorat, Thessalonique 2009.

Tableau 4: *Agglomérations musulmanes (1923)*

	<i>Population</i>	<i>Agglomérations</i>
Macédoine centrale et occidentale	52%	288 homogènes
	48%	225 mixtes
Macédoine orientale	62%	250 homogènes
	38%	112 mixtes
Total		875 agglomérations

Tableau 3: *Pourcentages de la population musulmane (1920)*

La majorité des musulmans avait pour langue maternelle le turc. Cependant, parmi les musulmans échangeables se trouvaient des slavophones (Macédoine occidentale), des albanophones à Florina, puis les Vallahadès de Grévèna étaient hellénophones, et il y avait aussi bien sûr les Juifs *dönme* de Thessalonique.

Selon le Ministère de l'Agriculture, les domaines agricoles des musulmans de la Grèce du nord se montaient à 4 500 000 *dönüms*. Les biens des Échangeables devaient être établis puis évalués par la Commission Paritaire de l'Échange des Populations. Plus tard, à la suite d'une décision de la Commission, tous les biens immeubles échangeables furent remis à la disposition et sous la gestion de la Grèce et de la Turquie avant leur estimation. Les biens fonciers des musulmans étaient destinés à couvrir les besoins pressants de l'établissement des réfugiés.

Néanmoins les mêmes terres étaient revendiquées par les autochtones qui, exploitant les circonstances créées par la catastrophe d'Asie Mineure, tentèrent de s'approprier les biens des musulmans échangeables. Parallèlement, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà mentionné, des propriétés échangeables avaient été achetées dans le passé par des chrétiens du pays alors que l'interdiction de conclure des actes juridiques était en vigueur.

Il faut noter que la question des propriétés des musulmans en

Grèce au cours de la période qui va de 1912 à 1923, outre sa dimension juridique qui influença divers aspects de la politique intérieure et extérieure, avait aussi des retombées sur les relations des différentes communautés ethniques et religieuses vivant dans le nord de l'espace helladique. Les buts recherchés par la politique étrangère hellénique, les visées électorales mais aussi les relations personnelles des propriétaires musulmans avec certains partis et hommes politiques, les objectifs de la politique agricole et d'occupation du territoire de l'État, la rivalité entre les autochtones et les réfugiés pour s'emparer des terres des musulmans, et bien sûr l'effort des propriétaires musulmans de défendre leurs droits sur leurs biens, tout cela dessinait un problème extrêmement complexe dont les manifestations continuèrent à préoccuper les autorités helléniques bien des années après l'Échange des populations.

Le chaos qui suivit la défaite militaire, le changement politique et l'arrivée de centaines de milliers de réfugiés réduits à un état misérable fut un terrain favorable à l'apparition de bandes de voleurs ; un bon nombre d'entre elles était composé de réfugiés dont la cible facile étaient les musulmans. Ainsi, jusqu'à l'Échange des populations, on nota, principalement dans les campagnes, des meurtres, vols, violences et pressions de toutes sortes au détriment des musulmans, qui était le fait soit de bandes de réfugiés organisées, soit d'individus solitaires, sans exclure d'ailleurs l'inversion des rôles. En dehors de l'existence parmi les réfugiés d'éléments criminels, les mobiles de ces actes étaient en premier lieu la survie et, de façon secondaire, la satisfaction du sentiment de revanche. Quoi qu'il en soit, ces incidents ne prirent pas de trop grandes dimensions. Plus fréquents que les vols sanguinaires étaient les larcins et le chapardage de nourriture dans les maisons des musulmans et les magasins par des réfugiés que la faim poussait au désespoir.

En effet, leur survie dépendait en grande partie des possessions

meubles et immeubles des musulmans ; par conséquent, tout effort de limitation des sources se heurtait à leur réaction violente. Par exemple, ils se plaignaient du fait que les musulmans échangeables ne cultivaient pas leurs champs, coupaient les arbres fruitiers et vendaient, en dépit des décrets d'interdiction, leurs animaux et leurs biens meubles dont la moitié était destinée aux réfugiés. Les réactions de ces derniers étaient aussi causées par l'effort des grands propriétaires terriens musulmans d'acquérir une nationalité étrangère afin de demeurer en Grèce, et par la perspective envisagée d'excepter les musulmans de l'Échange, comme cela s'était produit pour les Valahadès de Macédoine occidentale.

Plus de musulmans seraient exemptés de l'Échange, plus se réduirait la portion de leurs biens répartie entre les réfugiés. Ces derniers, que tourmentaient la nécessité de survie et le spectre de la faim, trouvaient inconcevables les mesures des autorités grecques destinées à améliorer les conditions de vie des musulmans et à atténuer les réactions causées par les réquisitions. Des études d'historiens turcs publiées ces dernières années, comme par exemple celle de Tolga Köker-Leyla Keskiner, comprennent des témoignages oraux d'Échangeables turcs sur les péripéties de leur « exode » de la terre macédonienne.

La tension entre réfugiés et musulmans jusqu'à leur Échange définitif fut principalement provoquée par le fait que la charge de nourrir et loger les réfugiés grevait en majeure partie la population musulmane de Grèce. Afin de couvrir les besoins des réfugiés, les autorités helléniques décidèrent de réquisitionner la moitié de la fortune meuble et immeuble des musulmans, imposèrent des contributions obligatoires à leurs communautés, tandis que la mesure qui provoqua le plus de réactions fut celle de réduire les musulmans à habiter un quart de leurs demeures afin de reloger les réfugiés dans les trois quarts restants. Cette cohabitation forcée sous le même toit et la dépendance des deux groupes de population des mêmes

sources de subsistance conduisirent fatalement à des frictions et à des protestations qui culminaient parfois en affrontements violents.

C'est cette même douloureuse expérience qu'avaient vécue les Grecs orthodoxes de l'Anatolie Centrale lorsqu'étaient arrivées de Grèce les premières vagues de réfugiés musulmans. Aux Archives de la Traditions Orale du Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure sont conservés des textes tout à fait intéressants qui retracent ce choc culturel d'une part, et de l'autre le cauchemar de cette cohabitation avec des gens en pleine détresse qu'il fallait soigner et nourrir ; ces textes constituent des témoignages précieux sur les relations des étrangers avec les musulmans locaux. Les maux de la période 1922-1923 vécus sur la terre macédonienne contribuèrent à former chez une partie des musulmans échangeables et chez leurs descendants la conception que l'Échange des populations était un mal nécessaire, et qu'ils devaient être reconnaissants à Mustafa Kemal Atatürk de les avoir transférés en toute sécurité dans la « mère patrie ». Cependant, on rencontre dans les sources des informations qui font allusion à de bonnes relations tissées entre les deux groupes de population, tout au long de la période qui vit l'arrivée des réfugiés grecs en septembre 1922 jusqu'au départ définitif des musulmans de Grèce en décembre 1924.

Mais ces gens eux-mêmes qui arrivèrent en Grèce en tant que réfugiés échangeables, sur la base d'un traité sans précédent qui foulait aux pieds les règles du droit et de l'éthique, virent les données de leur identité personnelle et collective subir une modification radicale. La catastrophe et les circonstances de la persécution et de l'expulsion (perte des personnes chères, des biens, de la profession, de toute sorte d'éléments qui composent le lien social, perte de la patrie, des termes de l'appartenance et de la détermination de soi) contraignirent l'individu et son groupe à la nécessaire reconstitution de leur identité à laquelle ils devaient s'adapter de nouveau. Vecteurs d'une vie communautaire séculaire, dès leur arrivée, les réfugiés s'organisèrent selon

leur lieu d'origine en Associations. L'expérience cruelle de l'expatriation, l'environnement au départ étranger firent naître des tendances au regroupement qui visait à l'entraide, à la défense commune de leurs intérêts en tant que condition *sine qua non* de la survie. Cette organisation collective fonctionna aussi bien sûr comme un contrepoids aux tendances à la dispersion fatalement créées par le processus de l'installation. C'étaient des sociétés closes amenées par la nécessité à resserrer encore plus les liens qui les unissaient et à se replier encore davantage sur le schéma communautaire traditionnel qu'elles avaient rapporté de leur terre natale.

Simultanément, la façon dont ils furent considérés et traités à leur arrivée et durant leur installation, toute leur relation avec le pays et la société d'accueil, dans ce lieu qui était pour eux à la fois atavique et dépaysant, dans cette patrie qui leur était aussi bien familière qu'étrangère, le fait de vivre cette *altérité singulière* qui était d'être Grec (*Romios / Rum*) expulsé-réfugié (*prosfygas*) dans la Grèce de l'entre-deux-guerres sont des éléments qui participèrent de façon déterminante à la formation de leur nouvelle identité. L'élément qui rendait encore plus malaisées les relations était la langue, puisque la majeure partie des Populations échangeables installées en Macédoine parlait le turc ou le pontique.

La presse anti-vénizélienne traitait tous les Échangeables comme des turcophones, afin que l'opinion publique les considérât comme des individus dont la conscience nationale était amoindrie. La turcophonie fonctionna comme un stigmat social dans la mesure où son prestige très bas dans la société hellénique faisait d'elle une source de honte. Cette langue fonctionna également en tant que frontière symbolique qui définissait ses locuteurs comme membres d'un groupe distinct dans le cadre de l'État grec. Ainsi, la turcophonie et principalement les signifiés négatifs liés à elle contribuèrent à l'isolement des réfugiés et les conduisirent à un degré d'endogamie très

élevé jusque dans les années cinquante-soixante. C'étaient les années qui virent l'hellénisation de la langue de la deuxième génération des réfugiés turcophones: ce fut aussi un résultat de l'enseignement obligatoire instauré par Él. Vénizélos qui visait à l'assimilation des slavophones, des autochtones valaques de l'espace macédonien et des réfugiés turcophones.

La population réfugiée forma un groupe social distinct, celui de la *prosfygia*, et forgea une identité particulière, *prosfygiki*, en activant des mécanismes tantôt de défense, tantôt d'agression, tantôt un alliage stratégique des deux, qui correspondaient à leur effort de reconstruction identitaire dans des circonstances si particulières, et de revendication de leur place dans leur nouvelle patrie. L'identité de réfugié s'est conservée à travers les activités des associations qui se concentrent jusqu'à aujourd'hui sur la culture et la langue du passé, reconstruisant une mémoire de caractère ethnique dans le cadre national grec. L'expérience de réfugié constitue le grand chapitre social et culturel où est puisée dans une large mesure l'essence de l'identité pontique ou cappadocienne. De nos jours, des anthropologues étudient comment l'identité cappadocienne, mais surtout pontique, s'articule à des forces politiques pour se transformer en valeur politique par le biais de la stratégie des associations, qui produisent un récit public institutionnalisé du passé alors qu'au départ il ne faisait qu'exprimer la mémoire de la terre micrasiatique et de la venue des réfugiés en Grèce.

Très vite, dans des circonstances extrêmement difficiles, les Échangeables et les autres réfugiés d'Asie Mineure transformèrent ce lieu inconnu et étranger en *topos* (pays, terroir) bien à eux, grâce à l'utilisation du passé et de ses symboles qu'ils avaient emportés avec eux et qu'ils conservèrent dans leurs églises et d'autres bâtiments en relation avec leur tradition et leur histoire. C'est ainsi que fut créée une série de villages composés exclusivement de réfugiés, et leur nom fut celui, micrasiatique, du lieu d'origine de leurs habitants. Néra Karvali, Néra Malakopi,

Néa Kromni... Cependant l'installation des réfugiés était un processus douloureux qui ne se limitait pas au logement de la population.

L'installation exigeait des travaux publics, à commencer par ceux, absolument nécessaires, de drainage des sols afin d'enrayer le paludisme et la malaria qui décimaient les réfugiés. Suivit l'alimentation en eau des habitations, leur intégration dans le réseau routier et le soutien matériel aux réfugiés les premières années jusqu'à ce qu'ils acquièrent leur autonomie vivrière. Les exigences sur les Nouvelles Terres³ étaient bien plus grandes, car ces régions marquaient un retard désespéré en infrastructures par rapport au reste du pays. Au-delà de la construction de leurs propres logements, les réfugiés s'étaient eux-mêmes chargés d'améliorer leurs conditions de vie primitives dans les régions frontalières de la Bulgarie, où ils avaient été installés pour des « raisons nationales ».

Des journalistes se font l'écho de leurs vies : Mihail Rodas (1884-1948), qui faisait des tournées dans la Macédoine orientale et fit paraître un article dans *Élefthéro Vima* (La Tribune libre) du 2 décembre 1927, recense les ponts et les routes réalisés grâce au travail personnel de réfugiés. Sur les réfugiés isolés du Borovo, il écrit : « Ils passent le dernier hiver dans leurs villages. Ils ne peuvent vivre en ne communiquant que l'été. Ils cultivent et ils ne peuvent pas transporter leurs récoltes à Drama. Afin d'aider l'État, mille hommes se sont mobilisés et ont travaillé en deça du pont Papaskioï pour ouvrir la route. Ils sont déterminés à tout sacrifice matériel et personnel afin de gagner une communication au-delà du Nestos [...] Ils demandent un "moyen de communication et de transport" pour vivre et demeurer les véritables gardes des frontières. Ils attendront encore cet hiver et, lorsqu'ils seront au bout du désespoir, ils descendront l'œil noir dans les villes, et 950 familles seront à la recherche d'un nouveau sort, elles viendront rendre plus dense le malheur des villes, et allez leur parler alors de l'idée du régime civil, de la patrie et de la dé-

fense contre le communisme...». La prolétarianisation des réfugiés et leur endoctrinement par la propagande communiste/adhésion à la propagande communiste était la bête noire de la démocratie bourgeoise hellénique. ***

En conclusion, les réfugiés arrivèrent dans une Grèce socialement et politiquement démantelée. L'ensemble social, le peuple grec, ne disposait pas d'éléments d'homogénéisation et de cohésion au moment où, à l'intérieur des frontières de l'État-Nation, s'effectuait la rencontre de la population autochtone et des populations hétérochtones venues d'Asie Mineure. En outre, le grave malaise économique que laissait prévoir leur fusion définitive et irréversible plaça les deux groupes sociaux en situation d'antagonisme dans la lutte pour la survie et l'ascension sociale. En d'autres termes, l'homogénéité nationale, considérée comme une conséquence de l'Échange des populations commandé par le Traité de Lausanne et de l'installation des réfugiés dans les provinces du nord de la Grèce, n'était pas encore réalisée durant la période de l'entre-deux-guerres.

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71. Turkish refugee from Serbia (Kozani area-West Macedonia) living in Agios Konstantinos Cappadocia. Photographed by CAMS collaborators during their visit to Cappadocia in summer 1959.



72. Refugee pupils with their teacher in Plati where their fathers settled following their arrival from Farasa (May 1959).



73. The church of Evangelistria at Plati, where refugees from Farasa settled. Photograph by D. Loukopoulos (1938).



74. Refugee women from Tsouchour in the region of Farasa pound wheat at Plati Macedonia. A photograph by Dimitris Loukopoulos (1938).



75. The artesian well drill in Damiano Giannitsa (March 1952).



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97-98. Muslim houses in Kailaria that lodged Pontic refugees (Ptolemais, Kozani, May 1955).

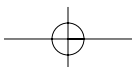
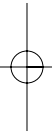
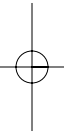


99. Refugee women from Pontus washing at the fount
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100-102. Emporio, Kozani. Slavic-speaking village that sheltered refugees from Bithynia and Pontus after the Exchange of Populations (May 1955).





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2. Refugees outside the Old Palace in Athens (Published in the catalogue *Η αττική γη υποδέχεται τους πρόσφυγες του 1922*).
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4. Refugees in the land of Attica (Nelly's, Benaki Museum's Photographic Archive). Published in the catalogue *Η αττική γη υποδέχεται τους πρόσφυγες του 1922*.
5. Distribution of food to refugee children by the American Near East Relief, Athens 1925-1927 (Nelly's, Benaki Museum's Photographic Archive). Published in the catalogue *Η αττική γη υποδέχεται τους πρόσφυγες του 1922*.
- 6-8. Palia Kokkinia. The shanties at Aghia Sotira. Photographs published in the album *Refugee Greece. Photographs from the Archive of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies*, Foreword: P.M. Kitromilides, edited by Georgios A. Giannakopoulos, Athens 1992 (hereinafter *Refugee Greece*).
9. Melpo Merlier and CAMS researchers-collaborators (1955).
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11. Turkish-speaking refugees collaborators of CAMS (from right, Emmanuel Tsalikoglou, Georgios Mavrochalyvidis and Christos

- Tourgoutis) with Thanasis Kostakis (first left). Eugène Dalleggio appears in the centre (1956). Photograph published by Ioanna Petropoulou, “Μνήμη Εμμανουήλ Τσαλικογλου (1895-1985)” [Memory of Emmanuel Tsalikoglou (1895-1985)], *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 6 (1986-1987), p. 453.
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 25. Efthalia Antoniadou in front of her small shop. Quite often, one

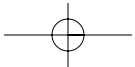
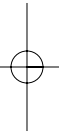
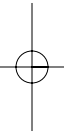
- of the windows of the refugee home was turned into a show case for the small shop selling the basic alimentary, haberdashery, and cigarettes to the people living in the refugee settlement (Sept. 1958).
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 28. Theodoros Giannakidis from Floita, living in Nea Flogita in Chalkidiki (May 1959). Photograph published in the album *Refugee Greece*.
 29. Nikolaos Papadopoulos, teacher from Bor (Poros), headmaster of the Primary School in Kato Toumba Thessaloniki (March 1952). On the wall can be seen the symbol of the far-right organization *The National Union of Greece* (EEE), founded by refugees from Thessaloniki and responsible for the burning of the Jewish quarter Campbell in 1931 and for attacks on trade-unionist refugees in 1932.
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 31. Dimitris Phosteris from Aravan of Cappadocia. Author, with Ioannis Kesisoglou, of the book *Λεξιλόγιο του Αραβανί* (Aravani Glossary), preface by N. Andriotis, Athens 1960 (Feb. 1955).
 32. Maria Asvesti (right) and Katerina Kapelle (left), the secretaries of CAMS, the personnes who typed all the pages of the Oral History of the Centre (Feb. 1955).
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- cultural history of Anatolian Christians, was also a researcher in CAMS (May 1954).
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 - 49-50. The church of Saint Nicholas in Nea Sinasos (1952). Photographs published in the album *Refugee Greece*.
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- The ruins of the Turkish fort at Rovies village (Oct. 1956). Photograph by Eugène Dalleggio.
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68. Refugee house in Neo Prokopi (1955). Photograph published in the album *Refugee Greece*.
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70. Eugène Dalleggio with Efthymios Sofoulis, a refugee from Prokopi, in his house yard in Chalkida in August 1955 (from the E. Dalleggio Archival collection at the Gennadius Library).
71. Turkish refugee from Serbia (Kozani area-West Macedonia) living in the village of Agios Konstantinos-Everek (in the region of Develi). Photographed by CAMS collaborators during their visit to Cappadocia in summer 1959.

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84. Refugee women in Nea Floita. Travelling fish-seller (Chalkidiki 1959). Photograph published in the album *Refugee Greece*.
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