The treatment of Ottoman Greeks and the case of the Phocaean refugees following the 1923 'population exchange' between Greece and Turkey

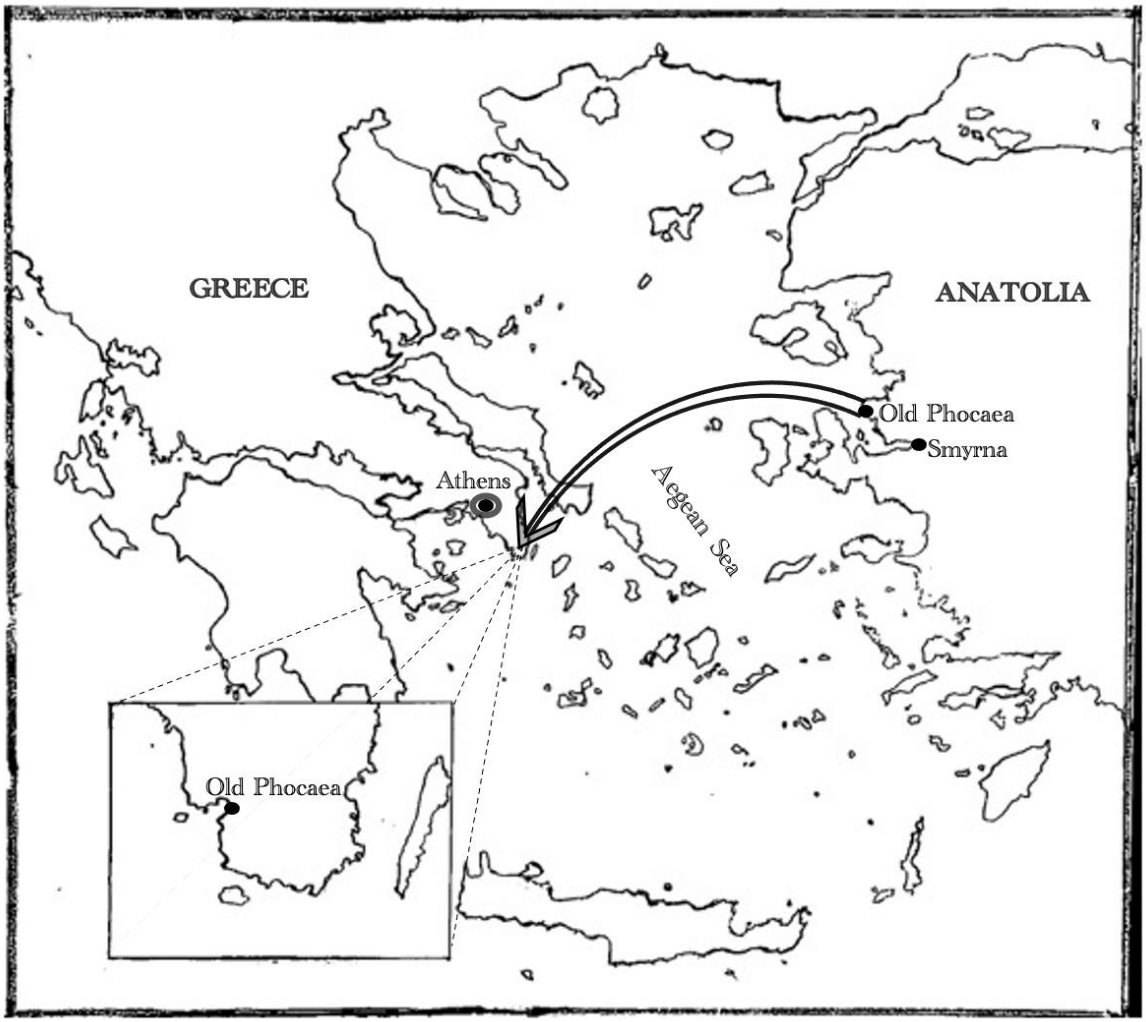

Figure 1. From Old Phocaea of ancient Ionia to Old Phocaea of Attica. Map created by author.

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Prologue

I was born next to a village by the name of Old Phocaea (*Palaia Fokaia* in Greek) that lies close to the southernmost point of the Attica Peninsula. Growing up I remember hearing tales by family and friends about the history of the village and how the contemporary settlement was originally founded by refugees who settled there following the 1922 Asia Minor Catastrophe. This was also the story of how the village got its name. The refugees named their community after their ancestral homeland – the settlement of Old Phocaea of ancient Ionia (modern-day town of *Foça*).

Following my decision to specialize in the field of Migration Studies during my postgraduate studies in History, I thought it proper and expedient to find out more about the roots of the place I grew up. This seemed to me a unique opportunity to explore and, in turn, search for answers to the many questions I had about the arrival of the Asia Minor refugees in Greece, and about the so-called 'lost homelands', as so often I would hear second- and third- generation Greeks speak of the 'Greek lands' of Anatolia that either a grandfather, grandmother or relative had originated from. Most importantly, why were the Greek-Orthodox uprooted from Anatolia? Why did the Phocaean refugees end up resettling in a desolate area and what was it that rooted them to their 'new homeland'? By seeking answers for these questions, I shall try to describe, express, and uphold that migration is one of the most serious and severe social phenomena that largely shape societies.

Thanks to these personal curiosities and experiences, and the people that contributed, namely Mr. A. S. and especially Mr. T. S. for their bibliographical recommendations and for the numerous discussions that helped me to better formulate my thoughts; my thesis supervisor for her comments and feedback regarding the scope and structure of this paper; Mr. M. Th. Tsalikidis for sharing with me his work relating to the history of *Palaia Fokaia* and the Phocaean refugees; and finally, the directors of the 'Museum of Asia Minor Culture: Makis Agkoutoglou' in Anavyssos, Mrs. M. and O. Agkoutoglou, who were so kind to show me the museum, provide me with valuable insights relating to the inhabitation of the refugees in the wider region, and most importantly, entrust me with numerous photographs and unpublished documents from their father's personal collection (himself a second-generation-refugee and founder of the museum), it is that I was able to produce the work that follows.

Introduction

> As for Greece, which was again on the verge of taking its share of the European crisis, it now had this characteristic, unique in its three-thousand-year history: — What they used to say "the Greek Diaspora" and we called it the *Genus of Greeks*, had been abolished. For the first time, all Hellenism, except for a few branches, had gathered within the borders of the Greek state. As I felt it, this phenomenon was the most important of what had bequeathed to our generation the period that begun with the wars of '12 and was now ending. It could not but mark the fate of the place with a deep scar, for many years to come, who knows, until the new migratory period of Hellenism.[1]

George Seferis (1900-1971), one of the greatest Greek poets of the twentieth century and Nobel laureate, who left Smyrna (present-day city of Izmir) in 1914, wrote the above passage in his *September '41* manuscript. His remarks as to the historical trajectory of Hellenism, strike at the core of the issue as to why the early-twentieth century marked one the darkest pages in the history of modern Greece. This present work undertakes the case study of the Greek-Orthodox of Old Phocaea in Asia Minor and explores the story of their forced migrations, in an attempt to shed light on the human aspects of this dark period that began with the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and ended with the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922). The triumph of Turkey over the Greek army in the fall of 1922, marked the failure of the Greek Campaign in Asia Minor (1919-1922), and resulted to the 'exodus' of around 1.3 million Greek-Orthodox from Anatolia, for which the term *Asia Minor Catastrophe* was adopted in Greek historiography.[2] The case of the Phocaean refugees provides valuable insights as to why the First World War was prolonged in the case of the Ottoman empire by armed struggle that was fought between the Greek army and the Turkish Nationalist Movement over the possession of Anatolia. Moreover, the process of their (re)settlement in Greece allows us to glimpse into the struggle

[1] George Seferis, *Xeirografo Sep. '41* [*Manuscript Sep. '41*] (Athens 1972) 23. Original in Greek: «Όσο για την Ελλάδα, που βρισκότανε πάλι στο σημείο να λάβει το μερτικό της από την ευρωπαϊκή κρίση, παρουσίαζε τώρα τούτο το χαρακτηριστικό, μοναδικό στην τρισχιλόχρονη Ιστορία της: - Αυτό πού είχανε συνηθίσει να λένε «η ελληνική διασπορά» και το ονομάζαμε το *Γένος των Ελλήνων,* είχε καταργηθεί. Για πρώτη φορά, ολόκληρος ο ελληνισμός, εκτός από ελάχιστα παρακλάδια, είχε συγκεντρωθεί μέσα στα σύνορα του ελλαδικού κράτους. Καθώς το αισθανόμουνα, αυτό το φαινόμενο ήταν το πιο σημαντικό που είχε κληροδοτήσει στη γενιά μας η περίοδος που είχε αρχίσει με τους πολέμους του '12 και έκλεινε τώρα. Δεν μπορούσε να μην χαράξει στη μοίρα του τόπου βαθύ σημάδι, για πολλά μελλούμενα χρόνια, ποιος ξέρει, ως την καινούργια αποδημητική περίοδο του ελληνισμού.».

[2] Centre for Asia Minor Studies, *I Exodos* [*The Exodus*] 1 (Athens 2016) kz.

of ordinary people to preserve parts of their "lost lives" after the fate of virtually all Greek-Orthodox of Anatolia is ultimately decided by the mutually agreed upon compulsory exchange of minority populations that was signed between Greece and Turkey on 30 January 1923 in Lausanne. To provide a fuller account of the developments that culminated in the 1922 Catastrophe, and comprehend for the severity of its aftermath, the present study seeks to answer the following research question: Why did the Greek-Orthodox of Old Phocaea abandon their birthplace of more than three-thousand years and settle in a barren and desolate place?

To answer this question, it is first crucial to consider the factors that led to the massacre and pillage of Old Phocaea in the spring of 1914. The relations between the Greek-Orthodox and the Turkish-Muslim populations entered an extremely critical period as a direct consequence of the outbreak of nationalist uprisings in the Ottoman Balkans, and the Ottoman empire's defeat in the ensuing Balkan Wars. The expulsion of the Greek-Orthodox population of Anatolia's Aegean littoral, represented the implementing of the Young Turks' demographic policy which aimed towards the ethnoreligious homogenisation of Anatolia (based on its Muslim-majority). As the first chapter will go on to display, Old Phocaea represented one of the most violent cases of uprooting, and it is on the basis of witnesses' accounts and documented testimonies that their 1914 persecution is reconstructed herein.

The second chapter of this paper is concerned with the alarming issue the Greek-Orthodox in Asia Minor came to represent in Greek politics and national ideology due to the ongoing hostilities that began in mid-1914, and especially in relation to their repatriation following the defeat of the Ottoman empire in the Great War. Not so much interested in Greek-Turkish relations but instead on the severe repercussions of the 1922 Catastrophe, emphasis is placed upon the 1923 'population exchange' that (as argued) Greece had no choice but to accept. Given that the fate of the repatriated Phocaeans was determined by the fate of Hellenism in Anatolia, in this section the analytical lens is broadened so as to capture the gravity of this dramatic and unprecedented event; the number of refugees the Greek state had to absorb amounted to no less than one-fifth of its population. As will be illustrated, vital to the rehabilitation and resettlement of the Asia Minor refuges in Greece was the role of the League of Nations (LoN) and the Refugee Settlement Commission (RSC), which was created by the former for exactly that purpose.

In the third and final chapter the spotlight turns exclusively on the settlement of the Phocaean refugees in Greece in an attempt to demonstrate how against all odds the majority of these people, whose only luggage was the virtue of human misery, took matters into their own hands, and in turn, managed to turn a desolate and unfamiliar coastal site near the southernmost edge of the Greek Attica region, into a vibrant community that to this present day bears the name of their ancestral homeland – the town of Old Phocaea (*Palaia Fokaia* in Greek). The year 1947 has been chosen as the endpoint in the history this paper seeks to *tell,* as it represents the year that *Palaia Fokaia* was recognized as an independent community by the Greek government.

Taken together, the three chronologically arranged chapters explore different aspects of the period from 1913 to 1947 respectively. Certain topics will be studied more extensively than others, and this choice is made on the grounds of their relevance to the case study and, in turn, their usefulness in positing the case study within the broader processes of social change and social transformation. Most of the events examined had no precedent, and most of the terms we now commonly employ to describe them, as for instance Asia Minor "refugees", "ethnic cleansing" of Anatolia, and ethnoreligious "minorities", only arose as contemporary political and social problems during and following their taking place. As such, the composition and sober reappraisal of these events necessitates the understanding of their historical context. In essence, the story of the Phocaean refugees and the multifaceted nature of their migratory flows is a case in point of what leading scholars in the field of Migration Studies, almost a century later, would describe as a process of 'mixed(-mode) migration'.[3] The concept of 'mixed-migration' more broadly reflects an attempt to 'reinscribe migration within the wider phenomenon of social change and social transformation, so that migration is not studied and theorized in isolation. It is not only affected by broad dynamics of national and international change, but it is part and parcel of that change.'[4] This is precisely the underlying aim of this paper, which will provide a *meso-level* analysis of migration.

[3] Nicholas Van Hear, 'Theories of Migration and Social Change', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36:10 (2010) 1531-1536, 1535.
[4] Russell King, 'Theories and Typologies of Migration: An Overview and a Primer', *Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations* 3:12 (2012) 1-48, 24.

Historiography and Primary Source Material

The Greek (scholarly) literature on the Asia Minor Catastrophe is understandably voluminous since this event no doubt constitutes one of the most tragic as well as popular points in modern Greek history. As the Greek scholar Antonis Liakos has aptly commented, 'the year 1922 is *per excellence* a site of memory for Greeks', composing of all those elements – loss, pain, trauma – that make it exemplary.[5] How professional Greek history framed the experience of the Asia Minor refugees of the early-1920s had a major impact on the definition of national identity and belonging. Several Greek and foreign books were published by officials and scholars who experienced these events.[6] Yet, most of these authors failed to make a sober and critical evaluation of the long-term effects of their undertakings. In addition, a rosy picture of the 1920s was (re)produced by official Greek historiography that has traditionally centered on state institutions and the conventional "success story" of cultural homogeneity.[7] In turn, the painful and profoundly unnatural experience of forced displacement was dwarfed by the propagation of the "happy ending" to refugee integration and incorporation in the local economy. Given the relentless political polarisation of Greek society throughout the better part of the twentieth-century, national history could not afford self-criticism nor the commemoration of its multicultural experiences. Only in the 1980s was there a 'social turn' in the study of the 1920s, which mirrored the wider flourishing of social history in Greece. Two pioneering works that came to challenge the grand historical narrative were George Mavrogordatos' *Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922-1936* (1983) and Renee Hirschon's *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe: The Social Life of Asia Minor Refugees in Piraeus* (1989). It is in the footsteps of these scholars that this research project undertakes the case study of the Phocaean refugees to contribute in the *making* of a *history from below* that explores the lived experiences of the Greek-Orthodox during the final decade in the history of the Ottoman empire (1913-1923) and the diversities of situations as they sought to rebuild their lives in Greece.[8] Lastly, this study deviates from

[5] Antonis Liakos (ed.), *To 1922 kai oi Prosfyges* [*The year 1922 and the Refugees*] (Athens 2011) 11.
[6] E. G. Mears, *Greece Today: The Aftermath of the Refugee Crisis* (Oxford 1929); Henry Morgenthau, *I was Sent to Athens* (New York 1929). An exception to these contemporary works is the notable work of S. P. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities: Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey* (New York 1932).
[7] G. I. Kritikos, 'Silencing inconvenient memories: refugees from Asia Minor in Greek historiography', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (2020) 4.
[8] Ibid., 2.

the classic analyses of the Asia Minor Catastrophe which predominantly focus on the Greco-Turkish War by emphasising how significant the developments that took place prior to the Great War were for the escalation of events in its aftermath.

Invaluable to this research were the archives of oral history of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies (CAMS) in Athens, where the documented testimonies of Phocaean refugees are stored.[9] The Phocaean refugees were interviewed in the 1950s, 60s and 70s, and - similarly to the around 5,000 Asia Minor Greek-Orthodox interviewed in total - were 'called to describe the environment, social life, ethnic relations and religious practices of their native homelands, as well as provide information about their settlement in Greece'.[10] The oral testimonies of the Phocaean refugees were utilised for their informational capacity in a complementary fashion to other primary source material such as personal documents, photographs, and objects found at the Museum of Asia Minor Culture: Makis Agkoutoglou (MAMC:MA) in Anavyssos.[11] Lastly, the general summaries and quarterly reports that the RSC submitted to the LoN and which can be found in the LoN's Official Journal, were studied in order to demonstrate the sheer magnitude of the task the RSC was up against, and the extent to which the principle and desired end result of the rehabilitation and resettlement programme was achieved by the time of the RSC's dissolution in 1930.[12]

[9] Athens Centre for Asia Minor Studies (CAMS), Archive of Oral Tradition (AOT), File I51. Palaia kai Nea Phokaia [Old and New Phocaea]; CAMS, File: Simerini Egkatastasi Prosfygon stin Attiko-Boiotia [Today's Installation of Refugees in Attica-Boeotia region].

[10] Evi Kapoli, 'Archive of oral tradition of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies: its formation and its contribution to research', *Archives ethnographiques et enjeux identitaires*, 2008. https://journals.openedition.org/ateliers/1143 (31 January 2021).

[11] Museum of Asia Minor Culture: Makis Agkoutoglou (MAMC: MA) in Anavyssos, Personal Collection of Makis Agkoutoglou (PCMA).

[12] League of Nations Official Journal (LNOJ) [online resource: HeinOnline]. Individual reports will be referenced accordingly.

PART ONE

The 'sick man' of Europe[13]

There are multiple reasons as to why the final decade in the history of the Ottoman empire (1913-1923) can be singled out as distinct, and in many cases, without precedent. Arguably most important on the measure of its causality was the advent of the western doctrine of nationalism, its spread eastwards, and consequently, the rise of 'the minority' as a contemporary political problem. In 1922, the great British historian Arnold J. Toynbee, who at the time held the seat of Greek studies at the University of London, wrote his *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey,* referring to all that happened then - wars, violence, massacres, deportations - in Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace. As Toynbee (accurately) postulates, the mass violence and tremendous uprooting that spread havoc across the region during the final decade in the history of the Ottoman empire, was not about the convulsions of the 'Eastern question', but rather about the extension in the East of the 'Western question', that is, the principles by which the nation-state was formed in western Europe.[14] By the turn of the twentieth century, 'nationalism had already begun to corrode the old dynastic or religious sentiments upon which imperial loyalties had once depended.'[15]

As this section discusses, the uprisings in the Ottoman Balkans, which led to the formation of Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia, represented a breaking point in the relations between the Ottoman empire and its non-Muslim subjects, which in the year 1914, entered an extremely critical period. In reality, the Ottoman empire had radically changed since 1908, when the Young Turk Revolution - a political reform movement led by liberal intellectuals and revolutionaries that opposed the absolutist regime of Abdul Hamid II (1842-1918) - forced the Sultan to restore the Ottoman constitution of 1876. To organize the political opposition, the Young Turks formed the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), which in the aftermath of the 1913 Ottoman coup d'état went one to create a one-party state. In turn, the leaders of the CUP, Mehmed Talat Pasha, Ismail Enver Pasha, and Ahmed Cemal Pasha, also known as

[13] Christopher de Bellaigue, 'Turkey's Hidden Past', *The New York Review.* 8 March 2001. https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2001/03/08/turkeys-hidden-past/#fnr1 (20 June 2021). As the journalist notes, the term is erroneously attributed to Tsars Nicholas I, though it was first employed by Sir. G. H. Seymour, British envoy to St. Petersburg in 1853.

[14] Arnold Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey: A Study in the Contact of Civilisations* (London 1922).

[15] Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (London and New York 1998) 43.

the Young Turk triumvirate or the 'Three Pashas', gained *de facto* rule over the Ottoman empire and were largely responsible for the empire's entry in the Great War on the side of Germany.[16] Moreover, Germany's goal of ridding off the Ottoman empire of anything that could stall its expansion or oppose its plans, found support on the CUP's policy of 'ethnic cleansing', which in the immediate aftermath of the Balkan Wars the Three Pashas came to see as a political prerequisite for the survival of the crumbling empire.[17] The loss of European provinces and naval control of the Aegean intensified the fears of the CUP about the possible landing of the Greeks on the west coast of the Asia Minor peninsula, where a solid Greek-Orthodox element was settled.[18] The Christian populations of the empire (Greeks, Armenians, and Assyrian among others) were considered co-responsible for Turkey's defeat in the Balkans or else potential internal enemies, and therefore were used as scapegoats for retaliation.[19]

From a broader historical perspective, the decision of the Three Pashas to rid themselves of 'national minorities' and make the Ottoman empire a Turkish state, was not only a reaction to the outcome of the Balkan Wars, but a counteragent to the empire's protracted decline, and particularly to the ongoing persecution of Muslims that epitomized this period of Ottoman contraction. During the long nineteenth century, the Ottoman empire suffered a series of devastating military and territorial losses, especially so to the Russian empire around the Black Sea Region due to the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878).[20] One could argue that already by the time of Sultan Abdul Hamid II's reign (1876-1909) the empire deserved the epithet 'the sick man of Europe'.[21] And this, because throughout the long nineteenth century it was forced to cede around 60 percent of its territories.[22] Most strikingly, during the Balkan Wars, the Ottoman empire lost more than 80 percent of its European provinces and nearly 70 percent of its European population to the (newly) independent

[16] Erik-Jan Zürcher, 'Young Turk Governance in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War' *Middle Eastern Studies* 55:6 (2019) 897-913, 897.
[17] Taner Akçam, *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire* (New Jersey 2013) xiii.
[18] G. S. Ploumidis, *Ta Mystiria tis Aigiidos: To Mikrasiatiko Zitima stin Elliniki Politiki (1891-1922)* [*The Mysteries of Aegea: The Asia Minor Issue in Greek Politics (1891-1922)*] (Athens 2020) 91.
[19] Ibid., 91.
[20] Erik-Jan Zürcher, 'Greek and Turkish refugees and deportees 1912-1924', *Turkology Update Leiden Project Working Papers Archive* (2003) 1-7, 1. [online resource: https://www.transanatolie.com/english/turkey/turks/ottomans/ejz18.pdf].
[21] De Bellaigue, 'Turkey's Hidden Past'.
[22] Akçam, *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity,* xiv.

nation-states of Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia.[23] Accordingly, the Three Pashas' policy of 'ethnic cleansing', represented the reversal to this long-drawn-out process, wherein the Balkan Wars acted as a turning-point. It is important to note, however, that forceful expulsions were already conducted in the wake of the Balkan Wars. Moreover, a series of bilateral agreements were signed between two or even three of the region's states for either voluntary or forced exchanges of border-populations, while 'Mixed Commissions on Population Exchange' were established to oversee these.[24] This was also when (May 1914) the first talks took place between the Greek government and Ottoman officials to exchange the Greek-Orthodox of Aydın with the Muslims of Macedonia, but due to the outbreak of the Great War, they were never put into action.[25] Notwithstanding, the Three Pashas transformed such policies into a broader operation of 'social engineering' that covered all of Anatolia and south-eastern Europe.[26]

Of immeasurable value to the subject-matter is the work of the Turkish-German historian and sociologist Taner Akçam, the first Turkish scholar to recognise and conduct research on the 1915 Armenian genocide. In his authoritative work, *The Young Turk's Crime against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire* (2012), Akçam provides an in-depth look at how after 1913 the dying Ottoman empire embraced genocide and ethnic cleansing, what he terms a '*demographic policy* aimed at the radical redistribution of Anatolia's population.'[27] The work brings to light unprecedented evidence from more than 600 top-secret Ottoman documents - which were restricted for more than a century - that demonstrate the official effort of the Three Pashas to rid the empire of its Christian subjects. As Akçam explains, 'the primary goal of this project, which can be described as an "ethnoreligious homogenisation" of Anatolia, was a conscious reshaping of the region's demographic character on the basis of its Muslim Turkish population.'[28] In the spring of 1914, the CUP put its 'population and resettlement policy' in effect, and the Greek-Orthodox settlements along the Aegean littoral of western Anatolia were the first to suffer.[29] No less than 150,000 Greek-Orthodox were persecuted and driven

[23] Ibid.
[24] Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities,* 18-20.
[25] Akçam, *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity,* 65.
[26] Ibid., xv.
[27] Ibid., xv.
[28] Ibid., 29.
[29] Ibid., 30-31.

to the Greek shores while in parallel, 115,000 Moslems left Greece with the view of taking the place of the expelled Greek-Orthodox. To this, we must add another 135,000 Muslims who ended up emigrating to Anatolia from the other Balkan countries.[30] The persecution of the Greek-Orthodox of Old Phocaea represents one of the most violent cases of uprooting, alongside that of *Pergamo* and *Magnesia*.[31] As the next sections will go on to explore, had it not been for the discovery of the documented testimony and photographs of the French archaeologist Felix Sartiaux, the drama and history of (Old) Phocaea would have remained restricted to the memories of its witnesses.

Old Phocaea of Asia Minor

To provide a fuller account of the horrific event that saw the forced displacement of the Greek-Orthodox of Old Phocaea in the spring of 1914, it is essential to first comprehend for the topographic, demographic, sociocultural and economic aspects of their ancestral homeland. Such an analysis does not only in turn help us to (re-)construct and understand the identity of the Phocaea refugees, but moreover - and this is impartial to the final chapter of this paper - to demonstrate how the Phocaean refugees projected a familiar "place" (their birthplace in Asia Minor) to an unfamiliar "space" (their 'new homeland' in Greek Attica).

As this section will go on to elucidate, Old Phocaea was a vibrant city with a strong Greek-Orthodox element attached to it. Old Phocaea is situated in the northern edge of the coast of Smyrna (44 kilometres north-east of Izmir) and around 28 kilometres east of the town of *Menemeni* (modern-day city of Menemen), to which both it was connected by road. Old Phocaea was a *kaza* (provincial district) and belonged to the *vilayet* (first-order administrative division) of Smyrna, which was also known as the *vilayet* of Aydın. Surrounded by sea, the original town (*Chora*) of Old Phocaea was built on a rocky promontory that projects and divides the bay in two, forming *Mikro Gialo* (Small Shore) and *Megalo Gialo* (Large Shore). By the turn of the twentieth century, the old town, with its tightly built stone houses and narrow passages, had expanded along the two coasts as well as deep inland.[32] The Turkish houses were located at *Mikro Gialo*, where also the *kaymakam* (governor of the provincial

[30] Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities,* 15-16. Interestingly, the author notes that 'the necessary complement of the plan was to persuade the Turkish minorities in the Balkan countries to emigrate to Turkey'.
[31] Iakovos Mixailidis, *Mikrasiatiki Katastrofi* [*Asia Minor Catastrophe*] (Athens 2018) 51.
[32] CAMS, AOT, File I51. Palaia kai Nea Phokaia. Testimony of Th. Papoutsis.

district) lived, whereas the Greek houses were located at *Megalo Gialo*. The *kaymakam* dealt with light issues, whereas the more serious ones, as for instance murder, were brought to the courts of Smyrna.[33] Furthermore, it belonged to the ecclesiastic territory (dioceses) of the Metropolis of Smyrna; the last Metropolitan of Smyrna was Chrysostomos Kalafatis (1867-1922), who was killed by a fanatical Muslim mob during the recapture of Smyrna by the Turkish army in the fall of 1922.[34] There were three churches in Old Phocaea, that of St. Irene (*Agia Irini*; the metropolis of the Phocaeans), that of the Holy Triad (*Agia Triada*), and the oldest one, St. Nicholaos (*Agios Nikolas*).

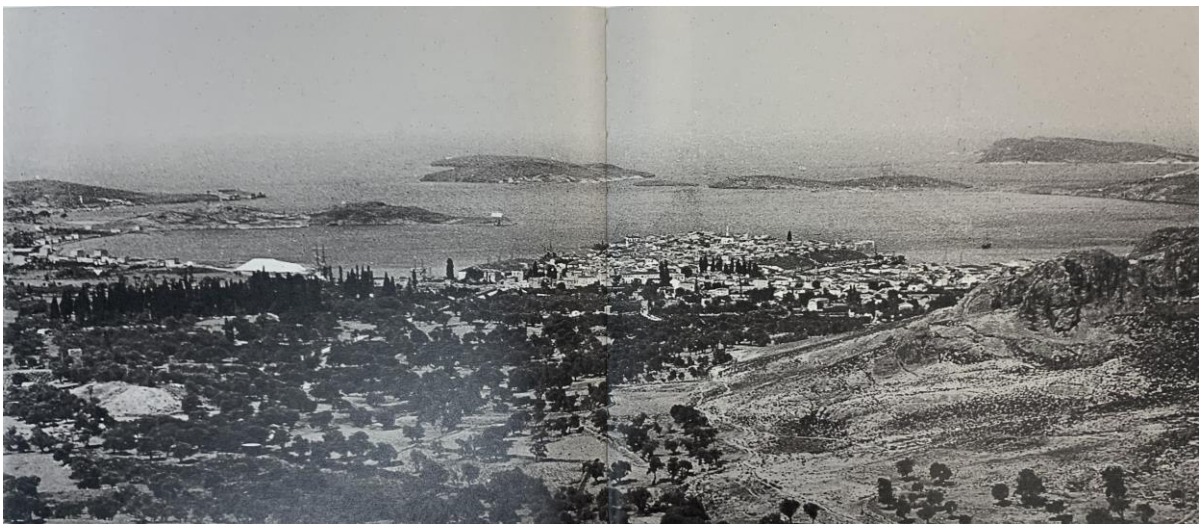

Figure 2. Panoramic view of Old Phocaea, 1913. *Photograph taken by Felix Sartiaux.*

From the official reports and the relevant demographic publications, we can deduce that the population of the city of Old Phocaea approximated 8.000 people, of which 6.000 were Orthodox-Greeks and the rest were Muslim.[35] According to the testimony of Thanasis Papoutsis from Old Phocaea, the schoolbooks wrote that the population numbered to about 9.000 people in total, the Turks were 2.000 - 3.000, there were some 20 Jewish families and four to five Armenian families (who also lived separately). Interestingly, Th.

[33] Ibid.
[34] Mixailidis, *Mikrasiatiki Katastrofi*, 73. (See end-note 149).
[35] M. Th. Tsalikidis,'Oi Fokianoi Prosfyges stin Anavysso: Synetairismos Apokatastaseos Aktimonon Kalliergiton (S.A.A.K) Palaias Fokaias' ['The Fokian refugees in Anavyssos. Rehabilitation Cooperative of Landless Farmers (S.A.A.K.) of Palea Phocaea'], in: *The Scientific Meeting of S.E. Attica* (Keratea 1997) 613-638, 615.; Haris Giakoumis (ed.), *Fokaia 1913-1920, I Martyria tou Felix Sartio* [*Phocaea 1913-1920, The Testimony of Felix Sartiaux*] (Athens 2008), 212. Sartiaux speaks of an estimated 7,007 Greek-Orthodox in Old Phocaea based on Turkish statistics of 1913.

Papoutsis notes that during the massacre of Phocaea, the Turks did not disturb the Jewish families who had shops, selling clothes and silk.[36] The Greek-Orthodox spoke Greek and the Muslims Turkish, but in places were the former and latter would often encounter each other, both languages were used. Such cases where the two linguistic worlds would merge included the salt-flats, the caffes and the '*tsarsi'* (from the Turkish word *çarşı* for marketplace), with all kinds of grocery shops, dairies, and bakeries. According to Th. Papoutsis, the Greek-Orthodox women and the villagers spoke no Turkish.[37] They were two Greek-Orthodox primary schools, one for males and one for females, each with 243 students (counted in the year 1921-1922).[38] They did not teach Turkish and those who wanted to learn could attend the Turkish school. From the testimony of Tasos Giannaris we can deduce that the Greek-school was prospering. They were building a second school for males by money sent to them from Phocaeans who had resettled to America.[39] To open a small parenthesis, just prior to the attack on Old Phocaea took place (30 May 1914), the son of a Turkish commissioner was heard saying unequivocally, '"Unjustly and futility you are building your new school. This [new school] is for us (=the Turks), this will become ours, we will take it from you in maximum 15 days. You will also see what will happen to you"'.[40] And indeed, they did not manage to finish building it because they had to flee the same day.

Given its geographical location - next to the sea, on the plain of the *Ermos* (Gediz) river, and in the near proximity of Smyrna - Old Phocaea was situated on one of the most important road networks of the time, which contributed decisively to the commercialisation of its agricultural production and the development of trade.[41] Many Greek-Orthodox and Muslims had estates with vineyards, olive trees, and especially raisins. Moreover, there were single and two-stored houses, and the ones at *Megalo Gialo* were separated from each other with gardens. Some wealthier Greeks had modern houses with marble, but most were built with stone from the neighbouring small-town of *Nea Phocaea (Yenifoça* in Turkish*;* five kilometres north-east of Old Phocaea). Even though they had queries

[36] CAMS, AOT, File I51. Palaia kai Nea Phokaia. Testimony of Th. Papoutsis.
[37] Ibid., Testimony of Nikolas Tsakalos.
[38] Ibid., Testimony of Tasos Giannaris.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Proteus Mentor (from now M.P.), *Mavron Imeronikton: frikalea tragodia tis Palaias Fokaias, Maiou 30-31, 1914* [*Black Day-Night: the horrible tragedy of Old Phocaea, May 30-31, 1914*] (Athens 1915) 36-37. Original in Greek: «Αδίκως και ανώφελως κτίζεται το Νέον Σχολείον σας. Αυτό είναι για μας (=τους Τούρκους), αυτό θα γίνει δικό μας θα σας το πάρωμε το πολύ μετά 15 ημέρας. Θα ιδήτε και σεις οι ίδιοι τι θα πάθετε».
[41] Tsalikidis,'Oi Fokianoi Prosfyges stin Anavysso', 615.

in Old Phocaea they did not utilize them, because the number one occupation of the inhabitants were the saltpans, which belonged to the Ottoman state but were in Greek hands. At least 1,000 - 1,500 people worked at the harvest of salt.[42] As the witness Giorgos Tzitziras states: 'our nature was from salt'.[43] According to witness Nikolas Tsakalos, there were fifty-two saltpans, of which the largest were on the islands of '*Nisi*' ('Island') and '*Tsam*', where you could see piles and piles of salt, extending for ten kilometres. These deserted islands were situated about 30 kilometres south of Old Phocaea direction Smyrna and the Phocaeans would reach them with their fishing boats.[44] Apparently, Old Phocaea had the largest saltpans in the world with an annual output of some 300 million *okka* which is approximately 425,000 tons of salt.[45] Also, thanks to its natural-deep harbour, Old Phocaea could accommodate big ships that docked next to the salt-depots (see Figure 2). Each depot had a capacity of around seventy-eight million *okka* (≈110,000 tons). Ships would arrive at Old Phocaea to load salt that would be transported to the Black Sea, to France and even Japan. The Greeks had fifty (wooden) fishing-boats (*kaikia* or, *caïque*) to transport the salt.[46] In addition, they would transport the salt by camels to *Menemeni* and from there by train to Smyrna.[47] Th. Papoutsis' testimony provides us with an interesting tale that is telling of their feats:

> In 1909 or 1910, I do not remember too well, a Japanese steamer of 10,000 tons capacity came to load salt for Japan. The captain was in a hurry to load quickly, to leave. - He asks the workers: In how many weeks will you load the salt? - In how many days you should speak, they answer him. - You are crazy, he tells them. Eight thousand tons of salt, when will you be able to load it [?]!.. He set a reward of 50 liras if they managed. The workers were stubborn [...] Eight hundred workers were shovelling in the warehouse, eight hundred workers were loading and unloading. In one week, they loaded 8,000 tons (6.240.000 ok.).[48]

[42] CAMS, AOT, File I51. Palaia kai Nea Phokaia. Testimony of Giorgos Tzitziras.
[43] Ibid. Original in Greek: «Η φύση μας ήταν από τ'αλάτι».
[44] Ibid., Testimony of Nikolas Tsakalos.
[45] Ibid., They would call the saltpans '*ntouzlades*' from the Turkish word *tuzba* for saltpan.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid., Testimony of Th. Papoutsis. Original in Greek: «Το 1909 ή το 1910, δε θυμάμαι και καλά, ήρθε ένα γιαπωνέζικο βαπόρι 10,000 τόνων, να φορτώσει αλάτι για την Ιαπωνία. Βιαζόταν να φορτώσει γρήγορα, να φύγει. Ρωτάει τους εργάτες: Σε πόσες εβδομάδες θα φορτώσετε το αλάτι; - Σε πόσες μέρες να λες, του απαντούνε. - Τρελολοί είστε, τους λέει. Οκτώ χιλιάδες τόνους αλάτι, πότε θα προλάβετε να το φορτώσετε!.. Τους έταξε 50 λίρες αμοιβή, αν προλάβαιναν. Τόβαλαν πείσμα οι εργάτες. Έστησαν 4 σειρές μαδέρια. Στις δύο σειρές ανέβαιναν οι φορτωμένοι, στις δύο σειρές κατέβαιναν αυτοί που ξεφόρτωναν. Οχτακόσιοι εργάτες φτυάριζαν στην αποθήκη, οχτακόσιοι εργάτες φόρτωναν και ξεφόρτωναν. Σε μία εβδομάδα φόρτωσαν 8,000 τόνους (6,240,000 οκ.)».

Though the Greeks and Turks lived apart, they had found a common ground, they did not cause trouble to each other, and so lived peacefully. According to T. Giannaris' testimony, if a Turk insulted a Greek, the latter could find justice at the courts since there were also Greek lawyers that held power.[49] Moreover, whereas trade was predominately in the hands of the Greeks, there were multiple affluent Turkish landowners who lived in Old Phocaea and would employ Greeks to work on their estates. Subsequently, most of the region's beys had sheep which Greek-shepherds would graze. Yet, given the course of wider events and their repercussions, things changed, and the relations between the Greek-Orthodox and the Turkish populations were strained beyond repair. As the witness T. Giannaris states, 'In my years we lived well, after the Hürriyet [1908] relations deteriorated. Especially after 1912 when the Greeks took Macedonia…' and he goes on to explain:

> After the constitution [1908 Young Turk Revolution] the Turkish authorities sought to conscript the Greek-Orthodox in the military. In the beginning some went, but then most fled by crossing over to the Greek island of Mytilene. You gave a lira to the Turk, and he looked away. That is, Greeks left in knowledge of the Turks. 1.000 young people left the same way for America. Those of us who stayed behind, hid in their houses because they [Turkish army] were out searching for shopkeepers and deserters.[50]

The massacre and pillage of Old Phocaea

On Wednesday, 28 May 1914, the Chief of the gendarmerie of *Menemeni*, Talat Bey (one of the Three Pashas), arrives at Old Phocaea to participate in a meeting organised by the Turkish authorities at the town's court.[51] Talat Pasha's visit signals the finalisation of the plans, and exactly the following day, the persecutions begin; people from the neighbouring villages of the *kaza* arrive at Old Phocaea, conveying the terror and panic while seeking escape and salvation at the sea.[52] On 29 May, *Nea Fokaia* is attacked, and following an emergency-meeting, the Greek-Orthodox elders decide to send a telegraph to the Metropolitan of Ephesus to notify him of the situation and ask that he sends steamboats to rescue them; the

[49] Ibid., Testimony of T. Giannaris.
[50] Ibid., Testimony of T. Giannaris. Original in Greek: «Έδινες μια λίρα στον Τούρκο κι έκανε στραβά μάτια. Δηλαδή Έλληνες μας φευγατίζανε εν γνώσιν του Τούρκου. 1000 νέοι φύγανε μ΄ αυτόν τον τρόπο για την Αμερική. Όσοι μείνανε, κρυβόντουσταν στα σπίτια γιατί γυρίζανε τσι μαγαζάδες και πιάνανε τσι λιποτάκτες».
[51] M.P., *Mavron Imeronikton*, 6.
[52] M. Th. Tsalikidis, 'O Erxomos kai i Egkatastasi ton Fokianon stin Ellada' ['The arrival and the settlement of the Phocaeans in Greece'], *H Kathilimas Anatoli* 4 (1998) 163-182, 164.

telegraph never leaves, the *müdür* (the governor) of *New Fokaia* prohibits the carrying of weapons, and no action seems cable of reverting the fate of the Greek-Orthodox that has been pre-decided by the leadership of the CUP.[53] On Friday, 30 May, comes the turn of Old Phocaea, in what evidently appears to be a natural continuation of the arrangement between the Turkish army and the district officials. Old Phocaea is attacked by a mixed group of *çetes* (Kurdish and Circassian irregular armed brigands), Turkish officers dressed as villagers, and other Turks who have joined in from the neighbouring villages.[54] Throughout Friday and until the evening of the following day, the scenes of the two abysmal acts of the drama unfold simultaneously: the bitter *exodus* of the Greek-Orthodox population, and the shameful pillage of Old Phocaea. The extent as well as the intensity of the persecutions in the *kaza* of Old Phocaea is unprecedented; an estimated number of 5,200 Greek-Orthodox settlements were either damaged or entirely destroyed.[55] By Saturday morning (31 May) the Greek part of Old Phocaea is literally brought to the ground. Next, the freighter of Aristeidis G. Koufopantelis named '*Karasouli*' - sent by the Greek government to rescue refugees along Anatolia's Aegean littoral - departs with around 3.800 Phocaeans for Thessalonica, while a second Greek ship that was anchored outside the harbour to load salt, departs with another 2.000 Phocaean refugees for Piraeus.[56] On Saturday afternoon, a generous Frenchman from Smyrna, Mr. Geffrey, sends two steamboats to transport the remainder of the Greek-Orthodox of Old Phocaea to Mytilene (island of Lesbos).[57] The number of people killed according to a list of names compiled in the immediate aftermath of the incident, amounted to 84 Greek-Orthodox, of which seven-teen were women and seven children, while those injured were even more.[58]

For almost a century after the taking place of the massacre of Old Phocaea, the only information known about the incident was based on the memories of witnesses that were most extensively recorded and published in the 1919 *Mavri Vivlos: Diogmon kai*

[53] Ibid.
[54] Giakoumis (ed.), *Fokaia 1913-1920, I Martyria tou Felix Sartio*, 181; MAMC: MA, PCMA, Testimony of Petros Pasalidis. According to P. Pasalidis, what they feared the most was not the Turks (their fellow citizens in Enehil) but the çetes (irregular armed brigands; looters), who usually entered Christian villages, stole, kidnapped, and often killed and humiliated women. It was the fear and terror of the countryside. These guerillas were divided into two categories, the Kurds, and the Circassians (a nomadic and mixed Turkish-Kurdish tribe).
[55] Tsalikidis, 'O Erxomos kai i Egkatastasi ton Fokianon stin Ellada', 164. See footnote 13.
[56] M.P., *Mavron Imeronikton*, 36-37.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Giakoumis (ed.), *Fokaia 1913-1920, I Martyria tou Felix Sartio*, 216.

Marturion tou En Tourkia Ellinismou (1914-1918) (*Black Bible: Persecution and Testimonies of Hellenism in Turkey (1914-1918)*) by the Ecumenical Patriarchy of Constantinople.[59] To this, we must also add the staggering work of another Phocaean that witnessed this tragic event, and who a year later (1915) described it in a special edition titled, *Mavro Imeronukto: Frikalea tragodia tis Palaias Fokaias, Maios 30-31 1914* (*Black Day-Night: Horrible tragedy of Old Phocaea, May 30-31 1914*), published in Athens under the pseudonym '*Mentoros tou Proteus*' ('Mentor of Proteus'; from now M.P.).[60] The accidental discovery in 2005 of the photographs and soon thereafter the documented testimony of the French archaeologist and engineer Felix Sartiaux (1876-1944), came to consolidate, once and for all, the history and the tragedy of Old Phocaea.[61] The photographs of Felix Sartiaux are unique given that the archaeologist, the two members of his team, and the French inspector of the Ottoman debt Robert Dandria and his wife, were the only foreigners present when the massacre of Old Phocaea took place.[62] Sartiaux was the first to conduct organised archaeological excavations in ancient Phocaea of Asia Minor in 1913 and 1914, and when the persecution of Old Phocaea broke out, countless Greek-Orthodox Phocaeans found refuge near him, under the protection of the French flag, which he raised with the help of his compatriots in four houses, thus managing to save no less than 1.000 people.[63]

Sartiaux's photographs and documented testimony are invaluable in recounting the sequence of events prior and during the persecution. Sartiaux goes into great detail in explaining how the attack of Old Phocaea was simply the result of the implementation of a much broader, systematic and well thought out plan, that was orchestrated by the CUP leadership and applied in the Izmir region by Governor-general of the vilayet of Smyrna Mustafa Rahmi Arslan Bey (1874-1947) with the help of local authorities and representatives of the CUP.[64] As Sartiaux notes himself, the attackers, and among them the Turkish villagers, were armed to the teeth with Martini rifles and short-barrelled artillery (gras) muskets that only the local authorities could have provided them with.[65] Moreover, no

[59] Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, *Mavri Biblos: Diogmon kai Martyrion tou En Tourkia Ellinismou (1914-1918)* [*Black Bible: Persecution and Testimonies of Hellenism in Turkey (1914-1918)*] (Constantinople 1919) 159-180.
[60] M.P., *Mavron Imeronikton*. (See footnote 40)
[61] Giakoumis (ed.), *Fokaia 1913-1920, I Martyria tou Felix Sartio*, 16.
[62] M.P., *Mavron Imeronikton*, 20-21.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Giakoumis (ed.), *Fokaia 1913-1920, I Martyria tou Felix Sartio*, 179.
[65] Ibid., 126.

protection measures were taken by the authorities to prevent looting or murder, and so, the Greek-Orthodox population was left completely helpless. The colleague of Sartiaux, Mr. Charles Manciet, who was swept away by the human river when the news arrived that the attackers were approaching, wrote in his testimony that he witnessed the most disgraceful acts ever imaginable.[66] When the attackers poured into the streets, houses were destroyed and burned, young and old were tortured and slaughtered, girls were abducted and raped, and in the general atmosphere of chaos, screams of terror, the sound of gunshots and the pounding of axes on doors, the Greek-Orthodox ran with their clothes ripped and their faces bloodied to the sea.[67] There was such panic that another Phocaean women drowned in front of the eyes of Sartiaux and his compatriots, at a point on the shore where the water did not exceed 60 centimetres.

Figure 3. A group of çetes parade with their loot and in the background the Greek-Orthodox are gathered in front of Sartiaux's house protected by the French flag waving to vessels to come to their rescue. *Photograph taken by Felix Sartiaux.*

A large number of Greek-Orthodox were prepared to abandon Old Phocaea already three days before the massacre took place, after they were informed of the attack at

[66] Ibid., 185-189; C. Manciet's documented testimony also provides the basis of evidence used by the Consul General of Smyrna in his George Horton, *The Blight of Asia: On the Systematic Extermination of Christian Populations in Asia* (Indianapolis 1926).
[67] Giakoumis (ed.), *Fokaia 1913-1920, I Martyria tou Felix Sartio*, 202; M.P., *Mavron Imeronikton*, 33-36. M.P. gives a detailed list of atrocities committed that were narrated to him.

Aliağa (north of Phocaea) on 27 May 1914, but the Turkish authorities twice prevented their departure while threatening to imprison the owner of any vessel that dared to leave.[68] It is also because the district officials suspected the departure of the Greek-Orthodox, according to M.P., that they called the meeting on the 28 May attended by Talat Pasha, so as to finalise the plan for New Phocaea and Old Phocaea the soonest possible.[69] We may ask here: why would the authorities prevent the departure of the Greek-Orthodox when the CUP's demographic policy aimed at precisely that? To answer this question, we must consider that the CUP did not only want to "clean out" the western coast of Anatolia of the Greek-Orthodox, but thereafter, to redistribute the properties and profits among the perpetrators, the remaining Muslims, and the Muslims who would be resettled there from the Balkan region.[70] As such, in line with the second act to the plan, the loot had to stay behind. And indeed, the CUP had already compiled a remarkably extensive statistical profiling of Anatolia's ethnoreligious communities, whereby everything ranging from moveable and immovable property, social status, and personal wealth, was recorded in a top-secret manner.[71] According to Sartiaux's estimates, the price of the houses looted in the *kaza* of Phocaea amounted to nine million francs, the value of animals close to 850,000 francs, and to this must be also added the significant amount of private property (some of the wealthier owners possessing 10.000-20.000 Turkish liras) that were stored in the houses.[72]

Lastly, one point that deserves further clarification concerns the perpetrators as well as those whose orders they followed. An important personality involved in the planning of the CUP's ethnic cleansing operations, was Dr. Mehmed Nazim Bey (1870-1926) of the CUP Central Committee, and directly linked to the 'cleaning' of Anatolia's Aegean littoral, the figure of Eşref Kuşçubaşı (1883-1964).[73] Both were key members of the Special Organisation (SO) unit - Teşkîlât-ı Mahsûsa - which was created by Enver Pasha.[74] As Akçam states, the CUP demographic policy was 'enacted through dual-track mechanism of parallel official and unofficial tracks', and it was the SO unit that was largely responsible for the

[68] M.P., *Mavron Imeronikton*, 5.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Akçam, *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity,* 69.
[71] Ibid., 34.; M.P., *Mavron Imeronikton*, 28-29. M.P. describes that a CUP commission also arrived at Phocaea to record and evaluate the worth of Greek-Orthodox land-properties, households, numbers of room, gardens, or even water-pumps.
[72] Giakoumis (ed.), *Fokaia 1913-1920, I Martyria tou Felix Sartio*, 216.
[73] Akçam, *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity,* 68-69, 95.
[74] Ibid., xiv.

latter.[75] The SO carried out 'the covert, extralegal but state-sponsored acts of terror that were committed under the protective umbrella provided by the official state policies' of population exchange agreements with Greece and the other Balkan states.[76] When Greek-Orthodox settlements were attacked, the CUP could claim that it had no connection to them, and instead point the finger at the *çetes*, who were known to spread terror in the countryside. Whether it was the *çetes,* the Turkish villagers, or the SO that were responsible for the massacre and pillage of Phocaea - arguably it was a combination of all three - the fact remains that the city was emptied of its Greek-Orthodox population within a day. As Sartiaux noted shortly after the last Greek-Orthodox departed from Old Phocaea:

> The city is now deserted. Apart from my two servants and their family, and some unfortunate people who got lost or looted behind the rocks, apart from a few helpless people who had to be left behind for a moment, there is no longer a single Greek Ottoman citizen in Phocaea. Three thousand years of history have just closed. The teams left their field. The Turks of Phocaea (about 1,500) are cursed in the small district where they lived exclusively until then and no echo reaches from there. The roads are stained with blood, stained by the remnants of the disaster. Smoke is still rising from the burned houses, along with a few flames.[77]

[75] Ibid., 30-31.
[76] Ibid., 30.
[77] Giakoumis (ed.), *Fokaia 1913-1920, I Martyria tou Felix Sartio*, 232. Original in French: «La ville est maintenant déserte. À part mes deux serviteurs et leur famille, et quelques malheureux égarés ou terrés derrière les rochers, à part quelques impotents qui ont dû être momentanément abandonnés, il n'existe plus un seul Grec sujet ottoman à Phocée. Trois mille ans d'histoire viennent de se clore. Les bandes ont évacué le terrain de leur exploits ; les Turcs de Phocée (quinze cents environ) sont parqués dans le petit quartier qu'ils se sont réservé jusqu'ici et d'où aucun écho ne nous arrive. Les rues sont teintes de sang, maculées par les débris du saccage. La fumée monte encore, avec quelques flammes, des maisons incendiées».

PART TWO

Ionian vision and nightmare[78]

The first experience of persecution and uprooting (that of 1914) proved temporary, and after spending a few years in Greece, most of the Asia Minor refugees returned to their homelands following the defeat of the Ottoman empire in the Great War, which provided the conditions for their repatriation.[79] The repatriation was officially authorized by the Greek government in October 1919, and committees were set up to facilitate the steady return of the refugees.[80] A repatriation committee was also set-up at Old Phocaea that conducted the transport and resettlement of the Greek-Orthodox from the wider administrative-region and assisted the refugees in overcoming various obstacles. Not only was the condition of many houses no longer hospitable, but even more pressing, Muslims from Serbia, the islands of the Aegean, Macedonia, Epirus, and Crete were already resettled there following the 'clean out' of the western coast of Anatolia.[81] Consequently, around 5.000 Greek-Orthodox Phocaeans decided not to return. It is important to note that the first Muslim refugees were already settled in Phocaea from 17 June 1914, meaning just over two weeks following the attack on Old Phocaea. Yet most of them, numbering to 11,000 refugees from the wider region of Phocaea, were repatriated by the beginning of 1921, and quickly managed to restore the continuity of their presence.[82] In the period 1919-1920, Felix Sartiaux returned to Old Phocaea together with the Phocaean refugees and photographed all the moments of joy and sorrow of the place. It was thereafter that he published texts and photos from what he had experienced and seen as a witness of the massacre of the Greek Orthodox of Old Phocaea and the pillage of their ancestral homeland. Notwithstanding, what the Phocaeans could have never imagined was that no more than a few years following their voluntary repatriation, the same tragedy to that of 1914 would befall them, and once again but this time for good they would be forced to abandon their birthplace.

[78] The name of the title is inspired by the classic work of M. L. Smith, *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor 1919-1922.* Translated to Greek by Kasagli L. (Athens 2009).
[79] Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities,* 16. According to the author, around 100,000 of the 1914 Greek-Orthodox refugees returned to Asia Minor.
[80] Tsalikidis, 'O Erxomos kai i Egkatastasi ton Fokianon stin Ellada', 166.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid., 167.

The defeat of the Ottoman empire in the Great War, and the ensuing negotiations between the western Allies to draft an agreement that would cede large parts of its territories to France, the United Kingdom, Italy, and Greece, did not only provide the conditions for the repatriation of the 1914 Greek-Orthodox refugees, but in the eyes of the Greek statesman and prominent leader Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos (1863-1936), a unique opportunity to *emancipate* Hellenism in Anatolia. In May 1919, the Greek army landed in Smyrna and occupied the city, thereby claiming the territorial gains that were promised to Venizelos by the western Allies for joining the War on their side, particularly British Prime Minister David Lloyd George (1863-1945). When the Treaty of Sevres was signed between the Allied Powers and the Ottoman empire on 20 August 1920, and the partitioning of the Ottoman empire was initiated, Venizelos was hailed by his supporters for his diplomacy that allowed the creation of the Greece of "two continents and five seas". This was the closest the Greek nation would ever come in the materialisation of the "Great Idea" (*Megali Idea*); the elemental irredentist concept in Greek foreign policy that had sought to revive the Byzantine empire since the very beginning of the modern Greek nation-state. Yet, whereas Greek nationalism was a given and the hopes of the Greek-Orthodox in Anatolia were running high, the worst was yet to come. What the western Allies had largely underestimated, if not entirely ignored, was the rise of the Turkish National Movement with the gifted military-leader Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938) at its spearhead. The cortex of the Ottoman state had broken, but its nucleus, the Turkish element, lived and grew.[83] The character of "new Turkey" was announced at the Congress of Sivas (in central-eastern Turkey), which took place a month following the landing of the Greek army in Smyrna (4-11 September 1919), and elected Mustafa Kemal as its leader.[84] As such, the First World War was prolonged in the case of the Ottoman empire by armed struggle that was fought for three years between the Greek army and the Turkish Nationalist Movement. In turn, the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) was a nationalist war, the purpose of which on the one side (the Greek) was national integration, while on the other (the Turkish) the establishment of the modern Turkish state; and it is on the intersection between these two mutually exclusive nationalist objectives that the Greek-Orthodox of Anatolia found themselves in.

[83] Pavlos Karolidis, *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous: Apo ton A' Pagkosmio Polemo Mexri to 1930* [*History of the Greek nation: From the First World War to 1930*] (Athens 1932), 210.
[84] Ibid.

It is important to mention that the territorial expansion of Greece came at the cost of splitting the Greek nation with the disreputable "national schism"; the fundamental dispute between Venizelos and the King Constantine I of Greece (1868-1923), which revolved around the question as to whether Greece should enter the Great War on the side of the Allies. The clashes between Venizelos, who wanted Greece to side with the Allies, and King Constantine, who opted for neutrality so as not to agitate his brother-in-law the Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany (1859-1941), caused political dissension in Greece, whereby the society was divided into two fundamentally opposed camps: on one hand the supporters of Venizelos (Venizelists) and on the other hand the conservatives who supported the King (royalists, or anti-Venizelists). Whereas the conservatives could be described as reluctant and suspicious, Venizelos was arguably a visionary who was attempting to connect the most beneficial but also the most radical solutions, and that necessitated risks.[85] He argued that the Greek politicians should not be tricked into thinking that Greece should remain neutral because the Ottoman empire was already waging undeclared war against them.[86] This was a valid argument, since in reality, the persecutions of the Greek Orthodox which began in the immediate aftermath of the Balkan Wars never stopped; they just witnessed phases of ups and downs and some periods of relative recession.[87] In late-1914 the persecutions did stop due to pressure from Germany (not wanting the Ottoman empire to jeopardize Greece's neutrality), but instead the Greek-Orthodox males of military age were deported to the interior of Anatolia as part of the military measures to clean up the coastal areas from the enemy. Most of the Greek-Orthodox male population was forced into conscription and sent to labour battalions, the infamous *amele taburları*, in the provinces of the interior (Konya, Sivas, Ankara, Mersin, and Erzurum).[88] In his autobiographical novel *Number 31328*, the major Greek novelist Elias Venezis (1904-1973) testifies how out of the 3.000 'conscripts' of his 'labour brigade', only 23 survived.[89] The Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople estimates that 755,794 were displaced from Thrace and Asia Minor during the period from the Balkan Wars to the end of the First World War.[90]

[85] Smith, *Ionian Vision*, 95; Karolidis, *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous,* 58-59.
[86] Karolidis, *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous,* 58-59.
[87] Mixailidis, *Mikrasiatiki Katastrofi,* 50.
[88] Liakos (ed.), *To 1922 kai oi Prosfyges*, 86.
[89] Elias Venezis, *To Noumero 31328* [*Number 31328*] (Athens 1924).
[90] Mixailidis, *Mikrasiatiki Katastrofi,* 50-53.

Venizelos's politics were set as early as 1913, when an Anglo-Greek alliance was secretly formed between Venizelos and Lloyd George that would allow Greece to achieve its national goals while becoming a representative of British interests in the eastern Mediterranean in place of the collapsing Ottoman empire.[91] However, this overreliance and overobedience to Great Britain and, in general, the Great Powers on the part of Greece, was one of the main reason as to why the Greek campaign in Anatolia failed.[92] Not only was the peace treaty at Sevres signed ten months following the landing of the Greek army in Smyrna, but also, when France and Italy realized that the only way to protect their geopolitical interests was to side with Mustafa Kemal, they turned against Greece and started a mission for the reassessment of the Treaty of Sevres.[93] What played in their favour was the fact that in the 1920 national elections, Venizelos lost to the royalists and the King (who had been forced to leave Greece by the western Allies in 1917) was reinstated. In turn, the royalists found themselves trapped in a military campaign they did not support but on the other hand, they did not dare to cancel in fear of the consequences.[94] The analysis of the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) lies beyond the scope of this paper, yet the significance of this conflict cannot be ignored given that it concluded more than a decade of hostilities between Greece and the Ottoman empire. If we were to imagine the sequence of events as part of a broader timeline, then the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) represent the *prelude*, the First World War (1914-1918) the *interlude*, and finally, the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) the *sequel* to the latter.

The defeat of the Greek army in the Greco-Turkish War reached its peak with the recapture of Smyrna by Mustafa Kemal's advancing troops and the burning of the Greek and Armenian part of the city soon thereafter - the Smyrna Catastrophe (13-22 September 1922). Subsequently, the retreat of the Greek army was accommodated by hundreds of thousands of Greek-Orthodox who threw themselves on the Greek shores. The Smyrna Catastrophe, or more broadly, the Asia Minor Catastrophe, signalled the end of Hellenism's presence in Anatolia, and as such, the end of Hellenism as a cosmopolitan concept in Greek culture and nation life. Subsequently, it created the conditions for the fall of the Greek monarchy and culminated to the 'Execution of the Six' royalist-officials that were held

[91] Smith, *Ionian Vision*, 91.
[92] Mixailidis, *Mikrasiatiki Katastrofi*, 69.
[93] Smith, *Ionian Vision*, 296.
[94] Mixailidis, *Mikrasiatiki Katastrofi*, 30.

responsible for the military defeat. For Greece, this was the end of the glorious military achievements that had begun in 1912. Though Venizelos (as the British historian Michael Llewellyn Smith argued) bore the greatest responsibility for (launching) the Greek campaign, he was the one that the revolutionary government called upon to represent the Greek nation in world affairs. This, because the Greek Catastrophe occurred on somebody else's watch. With his reputation not affected by the Asia Minor debacle, Venizelos would go on to dominate the political life of Greece for much of the interwar period, and the Asia Minor refugees would provide the main repository of votes for his Liberal Party.

The 1923 'population exchange'

Around 1.2 million Greek-Orthodox from Asia Minor were forcibly made refugees and *de jure* denaturalized from their ancestral homelands following the defeat of the Greek army in the Greco-Turkish War and the compulsory exchange of (minority) populations that was signed upon between Greece and Turkey in Lausanne on 30 January 1923. The 'Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish populations' involved the transfer of Turkish nationals of Christian-Orthodox religion, and Greek nationals of Muslim religion; the Christian-Orthodox of Constantinople and the Muslims of Western Thrace were exempted from the exchange.[95] It is important to point out that the 'exchange convention' affected all those who had emigrated voluntary or were forced to emigrate since 18 October 1912; the date of Greece's declaration of war at the start of the Balkan Wars. Accordingly, the 'population exchange' did not only provide a way of containing the Asia Minor Catastrophe, but moreover, a durable arrangement (to the decade-long crisis) that would minimise the risk of further conflicts and wars. This was the first time in history that a 'compulsory population exchange' was endorsed by international law. Nowadays, the 'forcible transfer of populations' is defined as a crime against humanity by the Rome Statute (Article 7) of the International Criminal Court. But back then, these were foreign words.[96]

[95] 'Lausanne Peace Treaty VI. Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations Signed at Lausanne, January 30, 1923.' Republic of Turkey: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, https://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty-vi_-convention-concerning-the-exchange-of-greek-and-turkish-populations-signed-at-lausanne_.en.mfa (25 June 2021).
[96] Liakos (ed.), *To 1922 kai oi Prosfyges*, 17.

This traumatic and unprecedent event was natural to give rise to a variety of myths. As the Greek historian Mavrogordatos aptly notes, '[t]his is truer today than ever. As the time-distance increases, so does, it seems, the familiarity with the facts and their understanding decrease.'[97] A general myth holds or supposes that the population exchange represented the implementation of plans that had been expressed earlier.[98] In turn, the Lausanne Treaty (signed on 24 July 1923) is often carelessly equated with mass deportation or even ethnic cleansing, a misconception that stems from the fallacy of assuming that the latter is the necessary requirement and outcome of nationalism.[99] But nationalism, of course, has other choices in hand. In the case of the Greco-Turkish War, Greece had no choice but to accept the terms of the Lausanne Treaty to avoid further destruction. Though no doubt a cold-blooded solution, the 'population exchange' did not itself kill or savage people. It instead protected the lives, honour, and physical uncertainty of those who were exchanged, as well as of those who had remained behind. By the time of the signing of the 'exchange convention', close to one million Greek-Orthodox had already fled or were chased from Anatolia together with the retreating Greek army.[100] As such, Greece was the one that by the autumn of 1922 needed the exchange to protect the fleeing population. Moreover, the removal of the around 400,000 Muslim Greek-nationals would provide a substantial amount of space for the resettlement of the Asia Minor refugees, and in parallel, a means of solidifying the 'Greekness' of the 'new' vast arable lands of Thessalonica and Eastern Thrace.[101] From a certain point of view, the Lausanne Treaty transformed the Greek military defeat into a peaceful negotiation.[102] And at level, this ruthless exercise in ethnic and national (population) engineering achieved its principle aim as the two states more or less succeeded, over a generation, to absorb their new arrivals and - at least superficially - remould their consciousness into Greeks and Turks respectively. In the name of national unity, the deportees were respectively forced to give up a part of the personality, if not *persona*, what

[97] G. Th. Mavrogordatos (ed.), 'Athina: Istoria Mias Polis' [Athens: History of a City]*, LIFO Magazine* 498:3 (Athens 2016) 8. Original in Greek: «Αυτό σήμερα ισχύει περισσότερο παρά ποτέ. Όσο μεγαλώνει η χρονική απόσταση, τόσο μειώνεται, όπως φαίνεται, η εξοικείωση με τα γεγονότα και τη κατανόησή τους.»
[98] G. Th. Mavrogordatos, *Meta to 1922: I Paratasi tou Dixasmou* [*After 1922: The Extension of the Schism*] (Athens 2017) 129.
[99] Mavrogordatos (ed.), 'Athina: Istoria Mias Polis', 8.
[100] Ibid., 22.
[101] Mavrogordatos, *Meta to 1922,* 129.
[102] Ibid., 132-133, 137. As the author notes, it is important to nonetheless mention that the population exchange was still by no means bloodless, as the Greek-Orthodox were given two weeks in Smyrna, a few days' notice in others, while forced marches took place across the Black Sea (Samsun) region.

we nowadays call identity. When we speak of the 'lost homelands' of the Asia Minor refugees, we must not forget about the 'lost homelands' of the others; for instance, Kemal lost his birthplace of Thessalonica. The Turkish historian Çağlar Keyder makes another interesting point, stating that for Turkey, the important element of the exchange was not so much the Muslim that came, but the Greek-Orthodox that left. The Greek-Orthodox of western Asia Minor had the trade in their hands, they were generally the bourgeoisie of the last century of the Ottoman empire. When they were persecuted, a new bourgeoise class was formed by Turks that had more to do with Ankara and the new Turkish army of Mustafa Kemal.[103]

Arguably the most remarkable aspect of the population exchange was that it was conducted solely based on the criteria of religion. This can be mainly attributed to the fact that language no longer provided a suitable marker of nationality, and as such, religion came to play a primary role in the construction of (national) identity. Already by the turn of the twentieth century we observe shifts in the way Greek national community was defined. As Haris Exertzoglou has aptly noted, 'the established national criteria of identity had to be modified to accommodate political claims over populations who spoke no Greek at all, or in the best of cases, used Greek as a second language.'[104] Whereas the Greek-Orthodox located on the western coast of Anatolia spoke predominantly Greek - and the case of the Greek-Orthodox of Old Phocaea is a clear example - the same cannot be said about the Greek-Orthodox settlements that were situated further inland. A good case in point here is that of the so-called '*Karamanlides'* or '*Karamani*' people, the Greek-Orthodox native to the Karaman and Cappadocian region.[105] As will be discussed in the final chapter, Asia Minor refugees from various villages of Cappadocia ended up inhabiting the region of Anavyssos in Greek Attica along with the refugees from Old Phocaea. Interestingly, these peoples spoke no Greek but instead wrote in Turkish (usually religious books) using the Greek alphabet, as can be seen in Figure 4. Of course, the thorn of language was also apparent in the case of the Greek nationals of Muslim religion, especially the Macedonian or Cretan Muslims, who predominantly spoke Greek. In turn, the population exchange saw Turkophone Greek-Orthodox resettling in Greece and Grecophone Muslims leaving for Turkey. According to the 1928 Greek national population

[103] Mavrogordatos (ed.), 'Athina: Istoria Mias Polis', 111.
[104] Haris Exertzoglou, 'Shifting Boundaries: Language, Community and the "non-Greek speaking Greeks", *Historein* 1 (2000) 75-92, 70.
[105] Liakos (ed.), *To 1922 kai oi Prosfyges*, 176-177.

census, ten percent of the Asia Minor refugees were Turkophone.[106] Naturally, the choice of religion and the issue of language were harshly criticized by both sides.[107] The irony in the case of Turkey is that against the backdrop of separation between religion and state, religion was used to identify its subjects.

Figure 4. Religious book that belonged to Makis Agkoutoglou's father (written in the Turkish language using the Greek alphabet). *Museum of Asia Minor Culture: Makis Agkoutoglou.*

The responsibility for having first proposed the idea of an obligatory transfer of minorities between Greece and Turkey was vehemently denied by all the interested parties. But it appears that the agreed massive transfer of populations was in every politician's mind. A key figure in the negotiations between France, Great Britain, Italy and Greece on one hand and Turkey on the other in Lausanne, was the great Norwegian explorer Dr. Fridtjof Nansen (1861-1930), who in the final decade of his life dedicated himself to the League of Nations. A few years earlier Nansen was entrusted by the world community to handle the immense refugee problem caused by the Great war, and in 1921, he was appointed as the League of Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees. It was under his initiative that the so-called 'Nansen-passport' was invented for the stateless. From early on, Nansen came to realize that the American and British relief organizations and the International Red Cross, who -

[106] Mavrogordatos, *Meta to 1922,* 150-151.
[107] Liakos (ed.), *To 1922 kai oi Prosfyges*, 177.

immediately but without coordination - came to the aid of the Asia Minor refugees, would not be able to provide nor put into force a broader plan for resettlement and rehabilitation of the Greek-Orthodox refugees.[108] Moreover, he recognized that 'part of his job was to absorb the moral and political cost of proposals that everybody backed but nobody wanted to sponsor openly.'[109] Nansen was in frequent contact with Venizelos, and from the very beginning of their involvement in solving the Asia Minor refugee crisis, both came to understand that there was no way that the Asia Minor refugees could return to their homelands given Turkey's uncompromising attitude.[110] On 14 November 1922, one week before the start of the peace negotiations in Lausanne, 'Nansen was given the green light by the League of Nations to explore the possibility of an exchange' with the parties involved.[111] The realism that characterized both Nansen and Venizelos, and the pursuit of an orthodox management of the critical refugee issue, led them to support the compulsory exchange of populations. Perhaps most important, they were also aware that without significant (international) financial and technical support for the resettlement of refugees, the Greek state would be unable to bear the unbearable burden of integrating 1.2 million refugees, most of whom were women, children, and the elderly.[112] The fiscal problems and monetary instability caused by the prolongation of the war in Asia Minor made the situation particularly critical. As the next session will go on to discuss, the fact that Nansen and Venizelos were seeing eye to eye played a crucial role in the decision of the League of Nations to mediate in the international money markets and find the necessary resources for the rehabilitation of the refugees when the Greek government asked for its moral and technical support.

The Refugee Settlement Commission (RSC)

A great deal of confusion prevails to this day about the total number of Asia Minor refugees. Some cite the 1928 Greek national population census, while others see it as an underestimation and instead speak of 1.5 million refugees. The 1928 census counted 1.221.849 refugees and gives the most detailed picture of their distribution by country of

[108] Mavrogordatos (ed.), 'Athina: Istoria Mias Polis', 22.
[109] Bruce Clark, *Twice a Stranger: How Mass Expulsion Forged Modern Greece and Turkey* (London 2006) 44.
[110] Mavrogordatos (ed.), 'Athina: Istoria Mias Polis', 22.
[111] Zürcher, 'Greek and Turkish refugees and deportees 1912-1924', 4.
[112] Mavrogordatos (ed.), 'Athina: Istoria Mias Polis', 22.

origin.[113] Of these, 1,017,794 had come to Greece after the Asia Minor Catastrophe. According to the same census, the indigenous population was almost five million. Whether they made up one-fifth or one-fourth of the Greek population this was evidently an unprecedented in size and intensity population movement. For the temporary rehabilitation of the refugees, the Greek government made available, public spaces, requested houses, and allocated around £1.7 million from the state budget between 1922 and 1923.[114] In parallel, various social actors as well as relief organisations helped to meet the immediate needs of as many refugees as possible. Here, the immense contribution of the American Red Cross must be mentioned, which in essence took over the rehabilitation and cared after more than half a million refugees for several months (and vaccinated close to 300,000 people against cholera and typhus).[115]

The turning point in the rehabilitation of the Asia Minor refugees was the establishment of the Refugee Settlement Commission (RSC), an independent international organisation founded by the League of Nations in September 1923. Throughout the decade and up until its dissolution in 1930 - when responsibility for the refugees passed again to the Greek government - the RSC took on the task of restoring the Asia Minor refugees in Greece. In effect, the RSC was responsible for the management of the two foreign loans - totalling around nineteen million pounds sterling - obtained by Greece in 1924 and 1928 for the purpose of refugee rehabilitation and economic integration.[116] The second 'tool' that the RSC had in its disposal to proceed with the implementation of its work, were the at least 500,000 hectares of available (productive) land that the Greek public sector was obliged to turn over (also as a guarantee to the first loan).[117] The seat of the committee was in Athens and its

[113] Ibid. Of the total amount of refugees counted, 1,017,794 had come to Greece after the Asia Minor Catastrophe. In one respect, the 1928 census is an overestimation since it also counted a total of 135,581 refugee children (up to the age of six years) that were born in Greece to a refugee parent. However, the 1928 census did not take into account the countless refugee deaths in the first few years, when there was an extremely high mortality rate due to the prevailing conditions. Nor did it count those who immigrated to other countries, either directly or after a short stay in Greece.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Martin Hill, 'The League of Nations and the Work of Refugee Settlement and Financial Reconstruction in Greece, 1922-1930' *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv* 34 (1931) 265-283, 272, 281. The (realised) amount of the 1924 loan was just over £9.970.000 (with a nominal interest of seven percent) and was issued by Hambros Bank Ltd. (in England), by the National Bank of Greece, and by Speyer and Co. in the United States. The second loan (1928) - which amounted to £9.000.000 - was issued to meet the threefold requirement of completing the rehabilitation of the refugees, satisfying the needs of the budget deficits, and stabilising the currency; of the proceeds of the loan, £3.000.000 were used for the completion of the refugee settlement work.
[117] LNOJ 5:4 (1924) 585-595, 585.

administration consisted of four members: two nominated by the Greek government (and approved by the LoN), a member appointed by the LoN Council, and the chairman of the Commission who had to be a United States citizen.[118] The RSC was a structured and developed organisation, whose services significantly increased as its activities expanded. In 1924, it employed 784 people, whereas in 1929, more than 2.000.[119] The Commission was to provide the LoN with quarterly reports on their work, and it is on the basis of these 28 reports that were issued by the RSC that much of the information that follows has been drawn from.[120]

The work of the RSC can be divided between 'agricultural colonisation' and 'urban settlement'. The former was considered paramount for rehabilitation to be long-term and irreversible. Subsequently, the RSC was not a philanthropic foundation, and as such, the budget was utilised in a manner likely to give tangible results at an early date; this was also considered essential in generating public confidence. [121] In turn, even though 47 percent of the refugees were agriculturalists and 53 percent traders, shopkeepers, and industrials, the RSC spend most of its budget - an amount five times larger in comparison to what which was spent on urban settlement - on agricultural colonisation.[122] One of the main reasons that historians (then and now) tend to agree upon as to why the RSC predominately focused on agricultural settlement is the following: rural rehabilitation was chosen because there were vast areas of land in the northern "new" lands of Greece that could be used for this purpose and indeed, by 1928, around 90 percent of the total number of agriculturalist were settled in Macedonia and eastern Thrace.[123] In fact, the expropriation process that broke out in the interwar period seems to have been part of this strategic rehabilitation of the refugee populations and their conversion into small property-owners, which was accelerated by the Agricultural Law of 1924 that expropriated all the large-farmlands in Arta (northwester Greece), Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace.[124] Moreover, the settlement of refugees in northern Greece was a golden opportunity to achieve the coveted for every nation (and

[118] Liakos (ed.), *To 1922 kai oi Prosfyges*, 141. The presidents of the RSC were in order: Henry Morgenthau (from December 1923 until December 1924), Charles Howland (from February 1925 until September 1926), and Charles Eddy (from October 1926 until the dissolution of the RSC in 1930).
[119] Ibid, 141.
[120] LNOJ 9:10 (1928) 1683-1707. The referenced report (Nr. 19) provides an extensive summary of the work of the RSC during the first three years (1924-1927).
[121] LNOJ 5:4 (1924) 585-595, 586.
[122] Liakos (ed.), *To 1922 kai oi Prosfyges*, 144.
[123] Mavrogordatos, *Meta to 1922,* 160.
[124] Liakos (ed.), *To 1922 kai oi Prosfyges*, 144.

especially Balkan) state, national homogenisation.[125] And this was more or less achieved considering that in 1920 the Greeks represented 80,75 percent of the country's population, whereas by 1928, that percentage had gone up to 93,83 percent.[126]

Urban settlement proved to be a much more troublesome and long-lasting process. According to the RSC's tenth report (25 May 1926), of the total of about 1.4 million refugees present at the time, the Commission had already installed 622,865 people, but of which only 72,230 being urban.[127] Due partly to the emergency situation, the urban housing programme - the first extensive programme of public housing in Greece - was implemented with extreme improvisation that led to serious problems in the provision of welfare and the creation of large slum areas. In the case of urban settlement, rehabilitation went as far as the building of refugee settlements, most of which were attached to already existing ones. By November 1927, the time that a census of (12,986) urban refugee families was completed by the RSC, it was noted that more than 35,000 people fell under the worst of the three listed class-categories (type C), which 'indicates squalid dwellings, mere hovels, which should be demolished at the earliest possible opportunity.'[128] Furthermore, the RSC was most anxious to foster any form of industry that may be suitable for the urban refugees as the capacity of absorptions of the main two cities, Athens and Thessalonica, had exceeded all expectations. For instance, after 24 percent of the refugees settled in Athens and Piraeus, the size of the Attica region almost doubled, from 453.042 people in 1920 to 802.000 people in 1928 (and by 1940, to 1.124.109 people).[129]

Soon after the RSC began its work in Greece, it redrafted its protocol to be able to utilise its funds on a wider basis and have the authority to contribute to projects that were deemed necessary and auxiliary to the successful and lasting resettlement of the refugees. For instance, to combat the severe problem of malaria, massive clearance projects of marshlands were undertaken and the planning of eucalyptus plants (which grow rapidly in wet solid and possess 'antimiasmatic properties' which are valuable against malaria).[130] Moreover, the RSC contributed to the establishment of new schools in refugee villages, the

[125] Ibid., 145.
[126] Ibid.
[127] LNOJ 7:7 (1926) 924-927, 925.
[128] LNOJ 9:2 (1928) 229-239, 236.
[129] Mavrogordatos (ed.), 'Athina: Istoria Mias Polis', 53.
[130] LNOJ 9:10 (1928) 1699.

organisation of hygiene systems, such as water-supply drainage and sewage disposal, as well as the creation of new industries, i.e. carpet-making and silk-making factories in towns, and fisheries in coastal regions. Taken together, agricultural colonisation and urban settlement constituted a rather massive rehabilitation programme that literally transformed the face of Greece: the RSC conducted some of the first cadastral surveys in Greece, small-land holding was established as the predominant system of land tenure, Greece's agricultural production witnessed exponential growth, the Greek economy entered a new era of industrialisation and development, and numerous sub-urban communities were established in the outskirts of large cities while the modern Greek metropolises of Athens and Thessaloniki were created.

By the time of its dissolution in 1930, the RSC had established a total number of 170,000 families - 145,000 rural and 25,000 urban - which gives us, on a total expenditure of £13.400.000, about £79 per family. Moreover, the cost of maintenance amounted to about £1.700.000, or £10 per family; spread over seven years, this represented an annual charge of £1.4 per family. These were the results of the work of the RSC (as presented by the Commission in its second to last quarterly report) in terms of figures. But this calculation is of very little assistance in understanding the work of the RSC, as the first period of instalment - the 'establishment' of the families - had to be followed by a second period of maintenance and preservation. For the human and material element, '[t]he refugee had to be supported and strengthened like a convalescent, he had to acquire the conviction that he would not be abandoned, he had to be made to lose the habit of regarding himself as having been torn by the roots, he had to be accustomed by his work to struggle against the inherent difficulties of the agricultural calling.'[131] The figures say little to nothing about the true extent of the RSC's contributions, and even less so about the extent of its success, because as the Commission accurately stated, 'this work has been a means far more than an end.'[132]

The one substantial distinction that can be made here remains that between agricultural colonization and urban settlement, the former being far more successful in comparison to the latter, due in part to the effectiveness and swiftness with which agricultural colonization was conducted.[133] Up until 1930, there were more than 30,000 refugee families

[131]LNOJ 11:11 (1930) 1469-1489, 1485-1486.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Mavrogordatos, *Meta to 1922*, 160. The referenced author states that more than 80 percent of the work on agricultural resettlement was accomplished within the first four years.

living in self-made shacks (or so-called *paragkes* in Greek), and in 1952, there still remained more than 35.000 refugee families eligible for urban settlement.[134] Writing in the 1970s, Renee Hirschon noted in her study that the inhabitants of refugee-quarters, even though able to rent or buy a flat or a house, would not move elsewhere because 'if they were to take full responsibility for housing themselves they would forfeit any claims to compensation'.[135] This, she noted, was one of the 'inhibiting factors' of a persisting 'refugee consciousness', whereby second and even third generation refugees would 'continue to identify themselves as refugees because, among other things, they still feel entitled to claim financial compensation from the Greek Government.[136] This dependency on external solutions to living problems is characteristic of refugee groups, and it is interestingly to note how this attitude can become a legacy to successive generations.'[137] In the case of agricultural rehabilitation, the compensation of rural refugees was offset almost entirely by their debts.[138] But in the case of urban settlement, those entitled for compensation were to receive - under the government regulation agreed upon with the National Bank of Greece in 1926 - only a fraction of the estimated value of their property (ranging from 25 to 5 percent) as an 'advance payment', inversely proportional to its total valuation.[139] On average, each beneficiary would receive an amount equalling to about fifteen percent of their property, as estimated.[140] All this has to be correlated with the fact that when the Greco-Turkish Friendship Pact was signed in 1930 by the post-war leaders of Greece and Turkey, Venizelos and Mustafa Kemal respectively, the difference between the assets of the exchanged populations, which was expected (especially by the refugees) to be in favour of Greece, was offset.[141] In consequence, the Greco-Turkish Treaty of Friendship put an end to every thought for full and fair compensation. The agreement was depicted by the opposition as a crime against the nation and accused the Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos of not demanding in Lausanne Turkey's obligation to compensate property in Asia Minor.[142] But Venizelos was able to dismiss such accusations: as

[134] Ibid.
[135] Renee Hirschon, 'Housing and Cultural Priorities: The Asia Minor Greek Refugees of 1922' *Disasters* 2:4 9 (1979) 247-250, 249.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Mavrogordatos, *Meta to 1922*, 164.
[139] Ibid., 164-165. It must be further added that only a quarter of the amount was paid in cash, the rest in bonds.
[140] Ibid., 165.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Karolidis, *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous,* 317.

he argued, which Greek representative could have made a better deal, when Turkey was asking for 250 million British pounds for the disasters that the Greek army caused on its retreat and due to which Venizelos was forced to cede to Turkey Karaağaç (in Edirne) beyond the Evros river as compensation?[143]

On a final note, and this is one of the underlying points that will be articulated in the following and final chapter, what made urban settlement extremely problematic was the fact that most (urban) refugees were continually on the move, in some cases for several years, moving from one town to another to see with their own eyes the possibilities offered by each locality visited. As the RSC stated in 1928: "Advice from distant relatives and correspondence helped to foster these movements and maintain the population in a state of effervescence…".[144]

[143] Ibid., 317-318.

[144] LNOJ 9:10 (1928) 1705; A good example of this is the odyssey of Petros Pasalidis: CAMS, Autobiographies (246) Petros Pasalidis, *To vivlion tis Zwis Mou*, 110 pages.

PART THREE

From Old Phocaea to Old Phocaea (*Palaia Fokaia*)

The Smyrna Catastrophe, which effectively ended the Greco-Turkish War in the fall of 1922, sealed the fate of Hellenism in Anatolia and thus the fate of the Phocaeans who were forced to abandon their birthplace for good. On 28 August 1922, one day following the well-known events that epitomised the destruction of Smyrna and culminated in the martyrdom of St. Chrysostomos Kalafatis on the night of that tragic day (27 August), the Catastrophe dragged its blood-stained veil to Phocaea.[145] Like the vast majority the Asia Minor refugees, the Greek-Orthodox of Old Phocaea arrived in Greece in a dreadful and miserable condition. To quote Manolis Th. Tsalikidis, a former mayor of *Palaia Fokaia* (2007-2010) of Attica who has researched and written about the history of *Palaia Fokaia* (from Now *P. Fokaia*): 'The tragic process and unprecedented in intensity population movement of the Phocaeans, is explored and left to the limits of history and legend.'[146]

Chrysostomos of Smyrna, foreseeing the coming troubles, had sent his men and persistently asked the inhabitants of Phocaea to leave as soon as possible. Panic-stricken, most of the Greek Orthodox abandoned their homeland with vessels and fishing-boats and flooded the opposite deserted islands of *Ai Giorigis, Drepano, Partheni and Plati*.[147] According to the testimony of Nikolaos Tsakalos, those who escaped by boat to *Megalo Nisi* (the biggest of the deserted islands) or *Drepano* (*Orka Adasi* in Turkish) as it was called, were saved. But the women and children that went to the deserted island by the name of *Ai Giorgis (İncir Adası* in Turkish; the island protecting the harbour) suffered from thirst, '…They raised a white flag. The Turks came, they took the women and children and maltreated them.'[148] After about two weeks of nightmarish waiting, they were transported to Greece by vessels (that came to their rescue from Mytiline).[149] However, despite the Metropolitan's forewarnings, some chose to stay behind convinced that their Turkophone friends would offer them protection.

[145] Note that the dates here are based on the Julian calendar.
[146] Tsalikidis, 'O Erxomos kai I Ekgatastasi ton Fokaianon stin Ellada', 163. Original in Greek: «Η τραγική διαδικασία και σε ένταση χωρίς προηγούμενο της πληθυσμιακής μετακίνησης των Φωκιανών, παρακολουθείται και αφήνεται στα όρια της ιστορίας και του θρύλου».
[147] CAMS, AOT, File I51. Palaia kai Nea Phokaia. Testimony of N. Tsakalos.
[148] Ibid. Original in Greek: «Σήκωσαν άσπρη σημαία. ΄Ηρθαν οι Τούρκοι, πήραν τα γυναικόπαιδα και τα χάλασαν».
[149] Ibid.

They had already experienced the sufferings of forced migration (such as that of 1914) and so, naturally, it was difficult for them to leave their lives behind. From the testimony of witness Antonis Katzampelkos who left in 1922 for Athens and mentions that twenty relatives of his were slaughtered, we can only begin to imagine how horrific this episode undoubtedly was.[150] The shocking testimonies of those who stayed behind and survived, have been recorded and are still preserved today as monuments of martyrdom, pain, and sacrifice at the Centre for Asia Minor Studies. The number of this martyrdom is not ascertained, as some speak of 2.000 Phocaeans, some of 5.000, and others of more.[151]

Those who survived, initially settled in Mytiline (island of Lesvos), and later scattered themselves in small and large groups across all parts of Greece. The areas were Phocaean refugees settled include Mytiline, Chios island, Kassandra in Halikidi (Northern Greece), Volos (Thessaly), Euboea, Athens and Piraeus region, Peloponnese, as well as the island of Crete (especially cities of Rethymno and Chania) among multiple others.[152] In reality, it is near impossible to provide a complete and precise picture of their migration, as single families, or even single family members, ended up changing locations multiple times and only after several years would they permanently settle. However, the two largest groups of Phocaean families, settled in Kassandra (Halkidiki) and the area of Anavyssos in south-eastern Attica. What distinguishes the settlements that were founded on these two locations, is the fact that the Phocaean refugees named them after their respective ancestral homelands: *Nea Phokaia* (or, New Phocaea) at Kassandra and *Palaia Phokaia* (*P. Phokaia*) at Anavyssos. There are several notable studies that have been published on the arrival and settlement of the Phocaean refugee, each concerned with a specific destination.[153] Here, we are concerned with *P. Fokai*a of Attica, where most Phocaean refugees (from Old Phocaea) ended up settling.

The first months following the Catastrophe found a large part of the Phocaeans to have temporarily settled in the suburb of Piraeus called Drapetsona.[154] They were set up in makeshift shackles, or at best in a rented room, what most of the Asia Minor refugees did once they arrived in Greece. During this initial period, most of them earned cheap wages

[150] Ibid., Testimony of Antonis Katzampelkos.
[151] Giorgos Fragkiadakis, *Mnimes: Nea Fokaia-Xaidari* [*Memories: New Phocaea - Chaidari*] (Xaidari 1982) 29.
[152] CAMS, File: Simerini Egkatastasi Prosfygon stin Attiko-Boiotia [Today's Installation of Refugees in Attica-Boeotia region].
[153] Fragkiadakis, *Mnimes*; Emmanuel Mylonas, *Apo tis Palaies Fokies tis Mirkas Asias sta Xania tis Kritis* [*From Phocaea of Asia Minor to Chania of Crete*] (Chania 2003).
[154] CAMS, AOT, File I51. Palaia kai Nea Phokaia. Testimony of Th. Papoutsis.

working part-time jobs at the factories of the area. Along with the miserable life in the settlement of Drapetsona, a hard struggle followed in the footsteps of the rest of the refugees who wandered alone or in groups looking for a place to lay their hopes. At the same, a 'Pan-Phocaean' association named 'Proteus' was founded which aimed at the restoration of the Phocaeans.[155] The first Asia Minor refugees to settle in the coastal region of Anavyssos (on the south-eastern part of Attica) was Xristos Karapiperis, who was hired in December 1922 as the head-craftsman at the salt flats of Anavyssos. During the period 1914-1919, X. Karapiperis had successfully worked at the saltpans of Halkidiki, and so his managers, appreciating his knowledge and expertise, invited him to work at their salt flats in Anavyssos.[156] This was the event that determined the historical course of the vast majority of the Phocaean refugees that had arrived in Athens/Piraeus, and with X. Karapiperis' own efforts, 30-40 Phocaeans from the settlement of Drapestona (all workers of the salt pans in Old Phocaea), came to Anavyssos in 1923.[157] The first night they spent in the storehouses of the salt-flats and the next day they set up fifteen tents close to the beach.[158] After two to three weeks, at which point the area was also visited and approved by a committee of *Proteus*, the first families of Phocaeans, equipped with 100 tents granted to them by the Greek Ministry of Welfare and Care (*Ypourgeio Prwneias kai Perithalpsis*), departed by boat from *Pasalimani* of Piraeus and in July 1924, saw for the first time the area of Anavyssos.[159] Thereby, the first nucleus of *P. Fokaia* was created, to which Phocaeans from Drapetsona but also other places, would gradually begin to arrive, and so in the following months, the refugee settlement would grow to 160 families.[160]

However, the immense difficulties and problems that the Phocaean refugees came up against, and which in many cases could not be overcome, led many families to return to the settlement of Drapetsona and seek a better life elsewhere. What must be understood here is that apart from the salt flats and the few people from the neighbouring villages that worked there, the area of Anavyssos was practically a vast forest full of huge beeches, birches, spruces, and pines that reached as far as the sea.[161] The testimony of Th. Papoutsis, who was

[155] Ibid.
[156] Tsalikidis, 'O Erxomos kai I Ekgatastasi ton Fokaianon stin Ellada', 169.
[157] CAMS, File: Simerini Egkatastasi Prosfygon stin Attiko-Boiotia.
[158] Tsalikidis, 'O Erxomos kai I Ekgatastasi ton Fwkaianon stin Ellada', 169.
[159] CAMS, AOT, File I51. Palaia kai Nea Phokaia. Testimony of Th. Papoutsis.
[160] Tsalikidis, 'O Erxomos kai I Ekgatastasi ton Fokaianon stin Ellada', 169.
[161] MAAC: MA, PCMA, Testimonies of P. Pasalidis; M. D. Asvestas.

one of the three elected representatives of *Proteus*, gives us a sense of how dismal the situation was during the initial period of settlement: "We remained 100 families, 14 months under tents on the beach. All this time, we suffered unimaginably. The place was swampy. Jackals and snakes came into our tents. To survive, people uprooted logs and made charcoal…".[162] In addition, the spread of diseases was rapid and according to another witness' testimony who settled in Anavyssos in 1926, in the years 1928-1930, the deaths from malaria, dengue fever, typhoid, pneumonia and other diseases were daily occurrences.[163]

Finally, another major obstacle that had to be overcome, was the hostility of the natives and the tensions with other refugee-groups that settled in Anavyssos. To begin with the other refugee-groups, the next to arrive in Anavyssos after the Phoceans were the refugees from *Aretsou* of Constantinople (modern-day town of Darıca in Turkey), who had initially settled at the port-town of Lavrion (at the southeastern part of Attica) in November 1924. The person who they elected to coordinate their resettlement, Xristos Kampanidis, was already installed there from 1922.[164] The refugees from *Aretsou* were primarily farmers who wanted to be settled agriculturally. After surveying several places, they decided to settle in Anavyssos, which was suggested to them by the Ministry of Agriculture. However, according to the testimony of X. Kampanidis, the Phocaeans, who had already been settled there by the Ministry of Agriculture to work at the salt-flats and construct a shipyard - which he terms "professional rehabilitation"- did not want by any means the *Aretsian* refugees and started fights with them.[165] The following day, the *Aretsian* refugees were forced to take down their tents and move their settlement 1 - 1.5 kilometres further inwards from the beach, where they later founded the present-day town of Anavyssos.[166] Discouraged by the wilderness, only eleven families ultimately remained. Yet, following multiple twists and turns - primarily because the *Aretsian* people did not want other refugee groups to settle among them - X. Kampanidis came across and managed to convince 88 refugee families from the Cappadocian village of Enehil (modern-day town of Niğde, Cappadocia) to settle in Anavyssos. Thereafter,

[162] CAMS, AOT, File I51. Palaia kai Nea Phokaia. Testimony of Th. Papoutsis. Original in Greek «Μείναμε 100 οικογένειες, 14 μήνες κάτω από σκηνές στην παραλία. Σ΄όλο αυτό το διάστημα, υποφέραμε τα πάνδεινα. Ο τόπος ήταν βαλτώδης. Έμπαιναν στις σκηνές μας τα τσακάλια, τα φίδια. Για να ζήσει ο κόσμος ξερίζωνε τα κούτσουρα και τα έκανε κάρβουνο…».
[163] MAAC: MA, PCMA, Testimonies of P. Pasalidis.
[164] CAMS, AOT, File I51. Palaia kai Nea Phokaia. Testimony of Xristos Kampanidis.
[165] Ibid.
[166] The Community of Anavyssos was officially recognised by the Greek government on 29 November 1929.

Anavyssos came to be inhabited by Asia Minor refugees from up to thirteen different (Cappadocian) villages.[167]

Turning now to the natives, the area of Anavyssos for which the members of 'Proteus' tried to secure the permit for their installation, belonged to the Organization of Ecclesiastical Property Management (*Organismos Diaxeirisis Ekklisiastikis Periousisa, ODEP*) and to various large landowners (known as '*Tsiflikades'* or '*tchifliks'*), who in turn, had granted its exploitation to the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages of Kalyvia and Keratea, also the only workers of the salt flats.[168] Correspondingly, the arrival of the Phocaean refugees was seen by the natives as a potential threat to the established order, so much in the labour market as much in the appropriation of land. Th. Papoutsis narrates: "Apart from the savagery of nature, we also faced the cruelty of people. The Albanian-speaking locals of the village of Kalyvia [the local 'Arvanites'] could not do with us. One night about a dozen of them got drunk, got armed and got into carts to come to Anavyssos to throw us into the sea… On their way they came across a compatriot of theirs who advised them to go back."[169] In November 1924, the Greek state expropriated parts of the *tchifliks'* properties in favour of the rehabilitation of the Asia Minor refugees.[170] Based on the Lausanne Convention, the refugees had to be compensated and rehabilitated. In doing so, the Greek State also solved the chronic problem of large properties, partially satisfying the thousands of refugees. Fearing further expropriations, the *tchifliks* in response began to sell small and large parts of the properties to various agricultural cooperatives, livestock groups and individuals. Moreover, the *tchifliks* gave and conceded estates to others who held 'posts' and fiercely defended their 'donors'.[171] According to the testimony of an inhabitant of Kalyvia, they were urged by the *tchifliks* to react violently, who would tell them that: "we tsiflikades will lose part of our tsifliki [properties], while you small owners will lose everything."[172] Interestingly however, the inhabitant from Kalyvia further notes that what they (local Arvanites) found was that the

[167] CAMS, File: Simerini Egkatastasi Prosfygon stin Attiko-Boiotia.
[168] Tsalikidis, 'O Erxomos kai I Ekgatastasi ton Fokaianon stin Ellada', 170.
[169] File I51, testimony of Papoutsis. Original: «Εκτός από την αγριάδα της φύσης αντιμετωπίσαμε και τη σκληρότητα των ανθρώπων. Οι αλβανόφωνοι ντόπιοι του χωριού Καλύβια δε μας χώνευαν. Μια βραδιά καμιά δεκαριά απ΄αυτούς μέθυσαν, οπλιστήκανε και μπήκαν σε κάρρα να έρθουν στην Ανάβυσσο να μας πετάξουν στη θάλασσα… Στο δρόμο βρέθηκε κάποιος δικός τους και τους συμβούλεψε να γυρίσουν πίσω».
[170] Tsalikidis,'Oi Fokianoi Prosfyges stin Anavysso' , 619.
[171] MAAC: MA, PCMA, 'To Idioktisiako stin Anavyssos' ['The Property-issue in Anavyssos'], 30 August 2013.
[172] MAAC: MA, PCMA, Oral Testimony of S. G. Pallis, October 1996. Original in Greek: «εμείς οι τσιφλικάδες θα χάσουμε μέρος από το τσιφλίκι μας, ενώ εσείς οι μικροϊδιοκτήτες θα τα χάσετε όλα».

refugees neither watched over them nor challenged them, "on the contrary I can say that they were made and nurtured with human values and gifts, which only evoked your respect and appreciation […] I remember very well those difficult years, how much they helped each other."[173] According to this witness, his father employed workers from the area of Anavyssos and describes how the refugees would often give up their place at work so a compatriot of theirs, whose family was hungry, could earn some money.[174] Finally, one of the first groups of people that the Phocaean refugees encountered upon their arrival in Anavyssos were the *Sarakatsani* people, with whom eventually they would also cooperate.[175] The *Sarakatsani* were traditional transhumant shepherds (nomads and breeders) native to Greece, who would descend with their sheep and goats from the mountain range of Pranitha and spend the winter at the wider Anavyssos region.[176]

As can be understood from the various aspects explored in this section as regards the arrival and initial period of settlement of the Asia Minor refugees of Old Phocaea in *P. Fokaia* of Attica, this was a process fuelled with immeasurable difficulties and struggles. As the next and final section to this paper will go on to discuss, it would take time and effort to normalise relations and put aside the unpleasant memories of the past.

Taking new roots

Even though the Phocaean refugees spent the first fourteen months under tents, with jackals and snakes surrounding them, and (some of) the locals from the neighbouring villages aspiring to get rid of them, they kept fighting for the autonomous presence and the continuity of their community. More than two decades later, their tremendous efforts were ultimately and officially recognised, when on 12 June 1947, the decision for the establishment of the Community of *Palaia Fokaia* was published in the newspaper of the Greek government. Accordingly, the refugee settlement of *P. Fokaia* was detached from the *demos* (municipality) of Kalyvia, to which up until then it had belonged administratively. Throughout the period from July 1924 (when the first Phocaean families arrived) to 1947, we can point to several key

[173] Ibid. Original in Greek: «μπορώ να πώ ότι ήταν φιταγμένοι και γαλουχημέμοι με ανθρώπινες αξίες και χαρίσματα […] θυμάμαι πολύ καλά τα δύσκολα χρόνια εκείνα, πόσο πολύ βοηθούσαν ο ένας τον άλλον».
[174] Ibid.
[175] Tsalikidis, 'O Erxomos kai I Ekgatastasi ton Fokaianon stin Ellada', 171.
[176] Ibid.

factors and events that solidified the standing of the Phocaean refugees in the area of Anavyssos and progressively transformed their refugee settlement into their own independent Community.

A crucial step towards the establishment of the Phocaeans in Attica was the founding of the 'Refugee Group of Old Phocaea' (*'Prosfygiki Omada Palaias Fokaias'*) on 18 October 1925, which initially included close to 50 members.[177] A few years later (in 1932), this first organised group of Phocaeans developed into the 'Cooperative for the Rehabilitation of Agriculturalists' (*'Syneterismos gia tin Apokatastasi Kalliergiton', SAAK*) of *Palaia Fokaia*. In effect, this was the first administrative expression of the Phocaean refugees and during this period, the Phocaean refugees managed to secure the approval of their settlement in Anavyssos. [178] Following the decision by the Ministry of Agriculture to expropriate the land-estate of 'Anavyssos' in favour of the Phocaean refugees (in November 1924), in January 1927, the Phocaeans received a total of 325 acres of land, 225 being for plots and 100 for shipyards.[179] In 1939, a second distribution of plots took place, and the Phocaeans received a total of 1.284 acres of land.[180] Each Phocaean refugee-family received about 45 acres of fields, and a land-plot of 400 square meters within that space, which inside had a house with two rooms, each approximately 50 square meters in size.[181] A family was considered the father, the mother, and the unmarried kid(s). The lot came out in the name of the father and if he did not live, then in the name of all the other members of the family.[182]

As previously discussed, the redistribution of the exploitable land-estates was met with fierce resistance by the *tchifliks*, who feared further expropriations. It is important to note that the confrontation between the refugees and the natives was not only manifested on issues over the ownership of the expropriated lands, but equally important on issues of (political) ideology.[183] The bitter effects of the *national schism* represented the main features of Greek political life throughout much of the Interwar period. The interests of the *tchifliks* aligned them with the royalist camp that did not accept the restoration as well as the political

[177] Ibid., 173. It should be noted that the referenced author utilised the Archive of the Community of Palaia Fokaia (Attica).
[178] Ibid.
[179] Tsalikidis,'Oi Fokianoi Prosfyges stin Anavysso', 619.
[180] Dalakoglou Th. D., *Anavyssos: O Topos, Oi Anthropoi, I Zoi* [*Anavyssos: The place, the People, the Life*] (Anavyssos 1996) 21.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Tsalikidis,'Oi Fokianoi Prosfyges stin Anavysso', 618.

integration of the Asia Minor refugees, whereas the (Phocaean) refugees found expression in the Venizelists camp that was promising to recompensate them.[184] According to Mavrogordatos, promises on the recompensating of property was the most effective strategy of the Venizelists to prevent the refugee population from falling prey to political manipulation.[185] The Phocaean Giannis Karapiperis, son of the head-craftsman of the salt flats X. Karapiperis, writes in his diary, that the refugees were Venizelists whereas the natives - and he particularly refers to the fierce head-official of the salt flats - royalists.[186] The political position of the Phocaeans indeed coincided with that of the inhabitants of Anavyssos, who throughout the 1920s and 30s predominantly voted for Venizelos.[187]

Furthermore, another important event in the early development of the community of *Palaia Fokaia* was the building of the church of *Agia Irini (*St. Irene*)* in 1932, dedicated to the metropolis of their birthplace in Asia Minor. In the 1950s, the Phocaeans reconstructed the church - that was initially build with the left-over wood from their refugee shacks that gradually transformed into brick-built small houses - and operate it on a more organised and regular manner.[188] The building of the church was followed by the building, in the same year, of the first school in *Palaia Fokaia* (Figure 5).

Figure 5. The building of the first school in Phocaea (1932). *Museum of Asia Minor Culture: Makis Agkoutoglou*

[184] Mavrogordatos, *Meta to 1922*, 215.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Tsalikidis, 'O Erxomos kai I Ekgatastasi ton Fokaianon stin Ellada', 170.
[187] Dalakoglou Th. D., 'Prosfyges stin Anavysso, O Prwtos Kairos, Oi Sxeseis me tous ntopious' ['Refugees in Anavyssos, the Initial Period, the Relations with the natives], *The Scientific Meeting of Southeast Attica Keratea.* 1997, http://www.silia.gr/t/omiliaH.htm (27 June 2021). In the elections of 1932, we have 91.82% in the Venizelists and 8.18% in the People's Party (*Laikos*). In the elections of 1933, we have 89.72% in the Venizelists and 7.48 in the *Laikos*. In the elections of 1936, we have 85.60% in the Venizelos and 14.40 in the *Laikos*.'.
[188] Tsalikidis,'Oi Fokianoi Prosfyges stin Anavysso', 621.

To provide a glimpse of what life was like for the Phocaean refugees and their children (second generation), this final part dwells into various important aspects of their daily life and their social environment.

A special chapter in the history of the Phocaean refugees - and arguably that of most of the refugees that inhabited the region - were the famous salt flats of Anavyssos. A prominent figure and director of the salt flats was the Spanish Jose Santoza, who cooperated with the Greek public sector from 1917-1926.[189] Under his supervision, and of course the cooperation of the Phocaean refugees, the salt flats of Anavyssos reached an unprecedented output of up to 90,000 tons, whereas before 1920 they would not surpass one-third that amount.[190] The salt flats of Anavyssos were no doubt the most crucial pull-factor that gravitated the Phocaean refugees to the land of Attica. In the testimonies of Phocaeans, references to the salt flats show up repeatedly. For instance, Th. Papoutsis states that the "…saltpans require suitable soil, the soil must be clayey. The soils there [Old Phocaea] were suitable for us, as they are here in Anavyssos…", or that "…They did not inject drugs like here [in Anavyssos]. The meltemi [north-westerly wind] would blow and the salt would dry-up…"[191] And based on the testimony of N. Tsakalos who also settled in Anavyssos, "We did not emigrate. We always had work with the salts […] And here the same."[192] The importance of the salt flats and all that they signified to the Phocaean refugees, is lyrically captured in the following excerpt by the (aforementioned) Greek novelist Elias Venezis, who spent much of his life in *P. Fokaia* and wrote about the arrival of refugees in the area in his novel *Galini* (*Tranquility,* 1939). Venezis writes:

> The white columns of the salt flats, a motionless and expressionless monument, played with the silence of the ethos and with the light. Nothing could be more still and expressionless than that in the dry landscape. But for these people the columns became magic at once, floating on the sea and in the mountains, beyond, in the distant homeland,

[189] MAAC: MA, PCMA, Agkoutoglou Makis 'Alikes Anavyssou' ['Salt flats Anavyssos'].
[190] Ibid.
[191] CAMS, AOT, File I51. Palaia kai Nea Phokaia. Testimony of Th. Papoutsis. Original in Greek: «η αλυκή θέλει έδαφος κατάλληλο, πρέπει το χώμα να είναι αργιλώδες. Εμάς εκεί τα χώματα ήταν κατάλληλα, όπως εδώ στην Ανάβυσσο. Με ανεμόμυλους (2-3 είχε η κάθε αλυκή) τραβούσαν το νερό από τα παραθαλάσσια πηγάδια και το διοχέτευαν σε ασμάκια, με αυλακιά, που τα περιφράζανε με πασσάλους επιτόπου, για να μη φύγει το νερό. Το νερό έμενε εκεί από τον Απρίλιο ως τον Αύγουστο. Δεν έριχναν μέσα φάρμακα όπως εδώ. Φυσούσε το μελτέμι και έπηζε το αλάτι...».
[192] Ibid., Testimony of N. Tsakalos.

where the same columns were whitening, the same as the ones here. It was a sudden resurgence of memory and heart, a distant message from the earth of Ephesus.[193]

Following in his father's footsteps, G. Karapiperis eventually became the director of the salt flats. He came to be described by the locals as the "soul" of the salt flats, and up until their permanent dissolution in late-1960s, the salt flats of Anavyssos remained among the top producers in Greece.[194]

Moreover, an important aspect that is often overlooked in the literature, is the vital role Asia Minor women refugees played in the survival of the family at a time that countless fathers, husbands, and brothers perished during the decade-long hostilities between Greece and the Ottoman empire.[195] On top of that, the diseases and miserable living conditions following their resettlement in Greece led to the death of many more. The story of the grandmother of Makis Agkoutoglou, who was born in the village Enehil in 1915, arrived with her parents and her brother in Anavyssos at the age of eleven (1926), and a year later, lost her brother and after three months her parents, is telling. When she herself died at the age of 41, the old woman by the name of Despina Topaloglou, became grandmother, mother, aunt, and godmother to her four children.[196] In many cases, the survival of the family depended on the mother, who had to take care of the children, of their refugee-quarter, and at the same time work to provide for the family. Years and years of work and later with the help of their children, they managed to open a shop, a workshop or became street vendors (called *'gyrologistes'*).

[193] Elias Venezis, *Galyni* [Tranquility] (Athens 1939) 16. Original in Greek: "Οι άσπρες κολόνες των αλυκών, ακίνητο και ανέκφραστο μνημείο, παίζαν με τη σιωπή του άθους και με το φως. Τίποτα δεν μπορούσε να είναι πιο ακίνητο και πιο ανέκφραστο από αυτό στο ξερό τοπίο. Όμως για τους ανθρώπους τούτους οι κολόνες γίνονταν μονομιάς μαγεία, πλέαν πάνω στο κύμα και στα βουνά, πέρα, κατά τη μακρινή πατρίδα, εκεί όπου ίδιες κολόνες άσπριζαν, ίδιες σαν αυτές εδώ. Ήταν ένα ξαφνικό ανασάλεμα της μνήμης και της καρδιάς, ένα μακρινό μήνυμα απ' την εφέστια γη."

[194] MAAC: MA, PCMA, Testimony of Giannis Karapiperis.

[195] Clark, *Twice a Stranger,* 46.

[196] MAAC: MA, PCMA, Maria Agkoutoglou, 'Gineka tis Mikrasias' [Asia Minor Women] 8 March 2016.

Figure 6. Phocaean women pushing a barrel of water (1934). *Museum of Asia Minor Culture: Makis Agkoutoglou*

A central aspect of the refugees' social life were celebrations and music-festivals. These public-events offered a way for them to forget and overcome their misery and pain as well as escape from their too often suffocating refugee-quarters.[197] The *panigyria* (fairs) that took place in the churches and chapels of the cities and the various villages of the *Mesogeia* (midlands) region of Attica, were "celebrations full of love for the tradition and customs of their ancestors." Moreover, many (local) artists, before reaching the top, would represent the artistic groups that performed in these festivals. Apparently, one such authentic talent that experienced great apotheosis at the festivals of the *Mesogeia* was the Phocaean in origin George Fakas (Giatzoglou), a genuine talent and self-taught dancer, who danced rock, samba, rumba, fox trot, shake and many others. It is said that the experts who knew him said that he is the Fred Astaire of Greece.[198] Another important form of entertainment were the outdoor cinema-screenings. Vehicles from the various Ministries and Prefectural Services equipped with projection cameras, would tour the municipalities and communities of the country, showing films with health-content, treatment tips, as well as images of general interest, that is, how to deal with an accident or in the event of fire, or a sudden storm, how one could act. The first cinemas in the area of Anavyssos were built in the late-1950s, the first

[197] Mavrogordatos (ed.), 'Athina: Istoria Mias Polis', 64, 104; MAAC: MA, PCMA, Makis Agkoutoglou, 'Giortes kai Panigyria stin Anavysso' ['Celebrations and Festivities in Anavyssos']. Original in Greek: «Τα πανηγύρια ήταν γιορτές γεμάτες αγάπη για την παράδοση και τα έθιμα των προγόνων μας. Πετυχημένο πανηγύρι σήμαινε τη μεγάλη ικανοποίηση των ανθρώπων που συμμετείχαν σ' αυτό. Δηλαδή των οργανωτών, των παραγόντων του πανηγυριού, καθώς επίσης των ντόπιων και των ξένων επισκεπτών».

[198] MAAC: MA, PCMA, Makis Agkoutoglou, 'Giortes kai Panigyria stin Anavysso' ['Celebrations and Festivities in Anavyssos']

being that of 'Oasis' in *P. Fokaia*.[199] Finally, Agkoutoglou writes of the so-called custom of *"Nyfopazaro"* (literally translating to 'bridal-bazaar'), whereby on Sunday afternoons and on holidays, young people would wear their best clothes, and in small and large groups, walk along the main road of Anavyssos (which following the opening of the coastal avenue of *Sounion* in the 1950s, reached *P. Fokaia*), talking, watching, and flirting.[200]

A proper way to close this chapter is to consider how from a desolate and barren place, the area of Anavyssos was transformed by the Asia Minor refugees into a land of hopes, and today, into developed centres that bring together large groups of internal migrants.[201] Today's generation is only faintly associated with the memories and images that have been portrayed herewith, while the respective communities have evolved to encompass the diverse traditions and expectations of their members. The relations of the people are no longer distinguished by the ideological and cultural confrontations between natives and refugees. Whether (nowadays) the Phocaeans find themselves in Anavyssos, in Kassandra, in Mytilene or in Crete, as Tsalikidis aptly notes, what keeps them together as a society and community is the history and memory of their birthplace: "The place coincides with the people that inhabited it and live there. Therefore, people can bring the 'place' with them, wherever they end up."[202]

Figure 7. View of Old Phocaea facing direction Anavyssos (1949). *Museum of Asia Minor Culture: Makis Agkoutoglou*

[199] MAAC: MA, PCMA, Makis Agoutoglou, 'Artos kai Theamata'.
[200] MAAC: MA, PCMA, Makis Agkoutoglou, 'Ithi kai Ethima stin Anavysso: "to Nufopazaro"'.
[201] Tsalikidis, 'O Erxomos kai I Ekgatastasi ton Fokaianon sthin Ellada', 177.
[202] Ibid., Original in Greek: «Ο τόπος που ταυτίζεται με τους ανθρώπους που τον κατοικούν και που τον ζουν καθώς ζούν σ' αυτόν. Γι' αυτό και οι άνθρωποι μπορούν να φέρουν τον «τόπο» τους μαζί τους, όπου κι αν βρεθούν».

Conclusion

The story of the Phocaea refugees, their forced migrations, and their permanent settlement in Greece, epitomised the initial and final stages of the Ottoman empire's endogenous transformation, first into a pan-Turkic state (based on its Muslim majority) and ultimately into modern Turkey. The first experience of uprooting, that of 1914, proved temporary, and in the aftermath of the First World War, the defeat of the Ottoman empire provided the conditions for their repatriation. Soon thereafter, the tragedy was repeated, and with the failure of the Greek campaign in Asia Minor, the Phocaeans had no choice but once again to throw themselves upon the Greek shores. Within a decade, the Greek-Orthodox from Old Phocaea were forced to abandon their birthplace of more than three-thousand years not once, but twice! Yet, from the time of the 1914 massacre of Old Phocaea until the time of 1922 Asia Minor Catastrophe, the actors changed, and their expectations differed, while the escalation of events only helped to make matters worse. In the immediate aftermath of the Balkan Wars and out of the ashes of military defeat, the Young Turks put into effect their policy of ethnic cleansing, and the Greek-Orthodox of Anatolia's Aegean littoral were the first to suffer. At this stage, the relations between the Greek-Orthodox and the Turkish-Muslim population were strained beyond repair while during the Great War differences were only accentuated. As such, whereas in the aftermath of the Great War the Ottoman empire was fragmented, the Greek army and the Turkish Nationalist Movement found themselves fighting a nationalist war over the possession of Asia Minor. The triumph of Turkey over the Greek army led to the fleeing of virtually all Greek-Orthodox of Anatolia, which was shortly thereafter officiated by the 1923 mutually agreed upon population exchange between Greece and Turkey. This dramatic, unexpected and unprecedented event sealed the fate of the Asia Minor refugees, who were barred from ever returning to their ancestral homelands. An immense effort took place, so much by the Greek state and especially the RSC, as much by the refugees themselves, to start a new life and restore themselves. By mobilising personal networks and connections, the Phocaean refugees were gravitated to the desolate region of Anavyssos, and despite the immeasurable obstacles that characterised the initial period of their resettlement, it was where they decided to lay their hopes. What rooted them to the land of Attica were the salt flats of Anavyssos, where they found part of their identity and so were able to preserve part of their "lost life". The story of the Phocaean refugees is part and parcel of the

history that this paper has sought to *tell*, and the *meso-analysis* provided, the means through which the case study is inscribed within the wider phenomenon of social change and social transformation. Whereas three generations ago *Palaia Fokaia* did not exist, today it represents a developed and vibrant town. This alone, manifests how migration is one of the most severe social phenomena that largely shape societies.

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