

ASIA MINOR HELLENISM

HEYDAY • CATASTROPHE • DISPLACEMENT • REBIRTH



BENAKI MUSEUM • CENTRE FOR ASIA MINOR STUDIES

CATALOGUE TEAM

EDITOR

EVITA ARAPOGLOU

TEXT EDITING (GREEK) DOCUMENTATION OF SOURCES

GEORGIA M. PANSELINA

TEXT EDITING (ENGLISH)

ALEXANDRA PEL

COORDINATION OF MATERIAL

IOANNA MORAITI

Benaki Museum

OLYMPIA EXARCHOU

Centre for Asia Minor Studies

TRANSLATION

GEOFFREY COX

DESPINA CHRISTODOULOU

CALLIOPE CAROUSSIS, DIMITRIS KAMOZIS,
GEORGE LEMOS, NATASHA LEMOS, LYDIA PAPAGEORGIOU,
XENIA POLITOU, MARA VERYKOKOU

PHOTOGRAPHY OF EXHIBITS

LEONIDAS KOURGIANTAKIS, IOANNA MORAITI,
VASILIS TSONIS

DESIGN

THYMIOS PRESVYTIS

LAYOUT

DIMITRA TRIANTAFYLLOU, DAPHNE KONTOMINA

STUDIO ASSISTANT

MAGDALENE DOSOPOULOU

IMAGE PROCESSING - PRODUCTION

THODORIS ANAGNOSTOPOULOS

PRINTING

ECOTYPIA

BINDING

MANTIS I. & SONS SA

ISBN (Benaki Museum): 978-960-476-309-2

ISBN (Centre for Asia Minor Studies): 978-960-9586-06-1

© Catalogue: Benaki Museum and the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 2022

© Texts: the authors

© Photography: the photographers

© Exhibits: the foundations / the institutions / the collectors / the artists

No text or illustration or any other part of this publication may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical or other means now known or hereinafter invented or in any information storage or retrieval system without permission in writing by the publishers.

Front cover: Vassos Kapandais (1924-1990), *Asia Minor*, 1973, bronze

ASIA MINOR HELLENISM

HEYDAY ♦ CATASTROPHE ♦ DISPLACEMENT ♦ REBIRTH

The Benaki Museum and the Centre for Asia Minor Studies
warmly thank the major donors

Eleni Karkazi Pournara

in memory of her mother, Anastasia D. Pournara, from Smyrna

Despina I. Kotsiopoulou

*in memory of her parents,
Konstantinos and Pipina Barbopoulou, from Asia Minor*

A. G. LEVENTIS Foundation

A. C. LASKARIDIS Charitable Foundation

AEGEAS AMKE Cultural and Public Benefit Works

Raycap

and the major sponsor

THE NATIONAL BANK OF GREECE

for the realisation of the exhibition and the accompanying publications

Under the patronage of H.E. the President of the Hellenic Republic
Ms. Katerina Sakellariopoulou

ASIA MINOR HELLENISM

HEYDAY ♦ CATASTROPHE ♦ DISPLACEMENT ♦ REBIRTH

Edited by
Evita Arapoglou



BENAKI MUSEUM



CENTRE FOR ASIA MINOR STUDIES
Founders: Melpo & Octave Merlier - 1930

ACADEMIC TEAM

PASCHALIS M. KITROMILIDES (P.M.K.)

GEORGE MANGINIS

CENTRE FOR ASIA MINOR STUDIES

STAVROS ANESTIDIS (S.Th.A.)

DIMITRIS KAMOZIS (D.K.)

BARBARA PSYCHOULA-KONTOGIANNI (B.P.-K.)

Musical Folklore Archives

MARKOS PH. DRAGOUMIS (M.Ph.D.)

THANASSIS MORAITIS

KATERINA GEORGIADOU (K.N.G.)

BENAKI MUSEUM

MARIA DIMITRIADOU (M.D.)

MINA MORAITOU (M.M.)

CONSTANTINOS PAPACHRISTOU (C.P.)

XENIA POLITOU (X.P.)

TASSOS SAKELLAROPOULOS (T.S.)

ALIKI TSIRGIALOU (A.T.)

MARA VERYKOKOU (M.V.)

ZETTA ANTONOPOULOU

POLINA KOSMADAKI

MARY VERGOS

SPECIAL ADVISORS

KALLIOPI AMYGDALOU (K.A.)

NIKOS ANDRIOTIS (N.A.)

ANNA BALLIAN (A.A.B.)

ANDREAS BALTAS (A.B.)

CATHERINE BOURA (C.B.)

VALIA GIALIA (V.G.)

KRYSTALLI GLYNIADAKI (K.G.)

AFRODITI KAMARA (A.K.)

MARIA KATSANAKI

THODORIS KONTARAS (Th.K.)

ELISABETH KONTOGIORGI (E.K.)

NATASHA LEMOS (N.L.)

VIOLETTA MAGKAKI

ALEXANDROS MAKRIS (A.E.M.)

DORA MANGANA

OLGA MENTZAFΟΥ (O.M.)

ALEXANDRA MOURGOU (A.L.M.)

IRENE ORATI

GEORGIA M. PANSELINA (G.M.P.)

KYRIAKI PAPATHANASOPOULOU (K.P.)

IOANNA PETROPOULOU (I.P.)

ASSOCIATES

MARIA MOSHOU

MARIA OIKONOMOPOULOU

CONTENTS

FOREWORDS

- 9 KATERINA SAKELLAROPOULOU, President of the Hellenic Republic
10 IRINI GEROULANOU, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Benaki Museum
11 GEORGE A. DAVID, Chairman of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies

12 LIST OF LENDERS

- 14 INTRODUCTION
EVITA ARAPOGLOU
18 Acknowledgments



- 23 PASCHALIS M. KITROMILIDES, *Asia Minor: Idea and History*

- 32 **Ionia and the Western Coastline**
68 **Cappadocia and the Southern Provinces**
92 **Pontos**
112 **Kütahya**
113 **Çanakkale**
114 **Bithynia and the Sea of Marmara**
120 **Constantinople**
128 **Eastern Thrace**



- 137 MICHAEL LLEWELLYN-SMITH,
Greece in Asia Minor from Great War to Catastrophe: An Overview

- 150 The Young Turk Revolution – Greek Deputies in the Ottoman Parliament • First Persecutions • World War I and Schism • At Versailles • The Treaty of Sèvres • Allied Occupation of Constantinople • The Landing of the Greek Army at Smyrna • Greek Governance in Smyrna • The National Bank of Greece • The University of Smyrna • Greek Governance in Thrace
170 **The Asia Minor Campaign**
From May 1919 to the Autumn of 1920 • From November 1920 to July 1921 • Souvenirs from Kütahya • July-August 1921 • Artists of the Campaign • The End of the Campaign • The Fallen
196 **Catastrophe**
204 **Exodus**



- 211 TASSOS SAKELLAROPOULOS AND MARIA DIMITRIADOU,
The Refugees in Greece, 1922-1930: Difficulty, Potential, Prospects

- 220 The Arrival of the Refugees • State Welfare • Western Aid • The Population Exchange Convention and the Treaty of Lausanne • Prisoners and Asia Minor Hostages of 1922 • The Compensation of the Refugees • The Refugee Settlement Commission • Employment of Agrarian Refugees • Refugee Housing • Infrastructure Works • Urban Settlement • Urban Planning and Refugee Housing in Athens and Piraeus • The Refugee House and Neighbourhood Life • Two Colleges Transferred to Greece • Refugee Associations • The ‘Sorrow of the Refugees’ by Nelly’s • Data on the Refugees from the 1928 Census • The Occupations of the Refugees in the Cities • Embroidery Workshops • The Contribution of the People of Asia Minor to Ceramic Production • Asia Minor Potters • Carpet-weaving and Textile Workshops in the Urban Centres • Asia Minor Entrepreneurs • Sports • Arts and Letters • Aspects of the Refugee World in Rebetiko Music • Asia Minor Memory
304 **The Centre for Asia Minor Studies and the Musical Folklore Archives**

311 SOURCES OF ACCOMPANYING TEXTS

321 LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

368 EXHIBITION TEAM

This impressive exhibition of the Benaki Museum and the Centre for Asia Minor Studies invites us on a journey through the centuries-long history of Asia Minor Hellenism – a journey which conveys the echo of the ‘voice of the place’, as it is heard in the novel *Land of Aeolia* by Elias Venezis, a ‘secret voice which becomes the most invisible and the surest bond between the generations of forebears and those which are to come, a sound which will remain when the memory of the people has been lost’. This is a journey which will belabour the memory, so that it does not forget the things that have been lost or undervalue the things which were gained through an agonising catastrophe which was transformed into the making of an epic – the epic of the incorporation of the refugee population and its resettlement in the bosom of the Greek state.

This world of the East, so fascinating and multidimensional, with its important civilisation created by the Greeks of Asia Minor, not only in the large coastal cities, but also in the hinterland, may have been lost by violence, swept away by the madness of the historical moment, but it transferred to the shores across the sea social approaches and mores of coexistence, cultural features and everyday practices which, however much they initially alienated and repelled the indigenous population, very rapidly were turned into a ‘godsend’ for Greece, as the well-known American diplomat Henry Morgenthau, president of the Refugee Settlement Commission, told the League of Nations in 1924. The countryside was revitalised, crops were restructured, and agricultural production increased. Industry was boosted by the arrival of a new workforce and by the activities of people with a keen entrepreneurial spirit, education, training and a progressive mentality. The position of women was improved by their dynamic entry into the economy. A new wind blew through the country’s intelligentsia, renewing both style and ethos. Artistic creation was enriched and broadened. Musical expression gained in vitality and diversity. And all this thanks to the boldness, energy, industry and openness to new ideas which characterised the majority of the refugees, as the social anthropologist John Campbell pointed out.

We do not forget the people who were lost, the lives uprooted, the ancestral homes abandoned, the blood that was shed, the psychological trauma, the inconsolable pain. We do not hasten past the self-deception, the ideations, the dissensions which led to the catastrophe. Yet we view with admiration the fruits of the transplanting of the vigorous tree of Asia Minor Hellenism into the soil of Greece. The great ‘relocation’ brought about that major psychological and intellectual mutation which drastically altered the directions and orientations of Greek society. Today, one hundred years later, let us reflect again critically upon this crucial turning-point in our history without shaking off its emotional charge, but also without underestimating it as a power for enrichment.

Katerina Sakellariopoulou
President of the Hellenic Republic

It was eight years after the Asia Minor Catastrophe and the collapse of the Great Idea that Antonis Benakis founded the Benaki Museum. He handed over an ‘ark’ of art and history to a Greece which was very deeply wounded and dazed in a way without precedent. Far removed from imputations of blame, from self-deceptions and dead-ends, Benakis, an art-lover and versed in history himself, created a pioneering foundation, a proposal for an educational museum, the central feature of whose dialogue and whose aim would be the cultural renewal of modern Hellenism. This, I believe, was his most important contribution – among many others, mainly of a philanthropic and administrative character – to efforts to bring together indigenous and refugee Greeks, to give them a sense of their shared roots, roots flourishing and capable of supporting them in the difficult new reality which they were experiencing. However many situations have changed in the, often rocky, course of its almost hundred-year history, this has always been and continues to be the mission and the inestimable contribution of the Benaki Museum, even in today’s society, which is again faced, as it has been multiple times before, with the major issue of its cohesion and future.

The *Asia Minor Hellenism: Heyday – Catastrophe – Displacement – Rebirth* exhibition is the illustrious outcome of the collaboration, over a number of years, between the Benaki Museum and the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, which has had and continues to have a definitive role in the recording of the history of the Greeks of Asia Minor and in the preservation of its memory. On behalf of the Board of Trustees of the Benaki Museum, I would like to express the warmest thanks particularly to the Chairman of the Board of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, George A. David, its Director, Paschalis M. Kitromilides, and all the members of the Centre’s academic team for their collaboration and such a substantive contribution. I would also like to thank wholeheartedly, on behalf of everyone, the team – or, rather, the many teams – of the Benaki Museum, who, headed by the Academic Director, George Manginis, undertook, so soon after such a magnificent and demanding undertaking as the *1821 Before and After* exhibition, to highlight the Benaki Museum, its value, its role and its remarkable capabilities once again.

I would also like to express the gratitude of all of us to the sponsors of the exhibition; without their support and great generosity, the exhibition could not have been held. Adults and children would not have had the opportunity to assimilate all that it has to teach them.

In conclusion, again on behalf of all of the members of the Board of the Benaki Museum, I would like to thank and congratulate Evita Arapoglou, who has been a loyal companion and bold ally of the Museum for many years now, for the idea and the curation of the exhibition and, of course, for the imposing and enthralling result.

Irini Geroulanou

*Chairman of the
Board of Trustees of the Benaki Museum*

The centenary of the Asia Minor Catastrophe of 1922 deserves more than a sombre tribute to one of the most traumatic moments of our collective history. It presents us with the opportunity to consider the power of memory in the aftermath of uprooting and disaster, and to honour the ordinary people who took it upon themselves to become guardians of lost homelands by painstakingly preserving salvaged documents and objects, remnants of material culture and musical and cultural traditions. All that constituted the only lingering ties binding the survivors to a world that was no more.

For the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, the present exhibition thus provides the impetus for a symbolic return to our roots. It is an opportunity to look back at the work undertaken originally by its founders, Melpo and Octave Merlier, and later by all those who followed in their footsteps; the work of archivists and scholars who have laboured tirelessly, since 1930, to systematically record oral history and to preserve, study, document and publish the stories of Asia Minor populations, from cosmopolitan Smyrna to Pontos and the depths of Anatolia. To honour this work, we are making the archives that have long been the field of academic and scholarly study available to a broader public. Through its participation in this monumental exhibition, the Centre is thus symbolically sharing this wealth of knowledge. By presenting these stories, we are returning them to the grass roots from where they emerged, paying our own homage to the memory of the people whose legacies and traditions provided the cornerstone for the Centre's work.

George Orwell famously stated that those who control the past control the future, and those who control the present control the past – words which ring particularly true in today's paradoxical digital world, where the dissemination of information has never been broader or faster, but where our ability to discern the truth has never been more at stake. Therein perhaps lies the deeper importance of an exhibition such as this, which acknowledges the persistence of memory by going back to records, testimonials, personal and religious objects, words and images; back to the bitter truth of human experience. Preserving elements of people's lives and their histories; recording their journey from tragedy and loss to rebirth and hope; pointing to the power of memory in shaping our collective self-perception, as we look to the future; as that invaluable link which enables a nation to maintain its sense of self, in an increasingly global world.

On behalf of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, I would like to thank all those who have worked so hard to bring this demanding project to fruition: head curator Evita Arapoglou, Vice-chairman of the Centre, for her vision and unwavering commitment to what has been a monumental effort, the Centre's Director, Paschalis M. Kitromilides, for his impeccable academic outlook, and our academic and administrative staff for their dedication to the project. Warm thanks to our sponsors for their generous support of the exhibition and its accompanying publications. Particular thanks are also owed to our partners at the Benaki Museum for the faultless collaboration in bringing about this exceptional outcome: an exhibition that will touch the hearts and minds of so many and one which, through the pages of the present volume, will make its own indelible mark on those to come.

George A. David
*Chairman of the
Centre for Asia Minor Studies*

**The Benaki Museum and the Centre for Asia Minor Studies
sincerely thank all those who contributed artworks, objects,
photographs and documents from their archives and collections
for the exhibition and accompanying publication.**

HOLY METROPOLISES

Holy Metropolis of Chalcis, Holy Pilgrimage of Saint John the Russian • Holy Metropolis of Glyfada, Hellinikon, Voula, Vouliagmeni and Vari • Holy Metropolis of Nea Ionia, Philadelphia, Heraklion and Chalcedon

MUSEUMS

National Gallery – Alexandros Soutsos Museum • National Historical Museum • War Museum • Museum of Greek Folk Instruments ‘Fivos Anoyanakis’ – Centre for Ethnomusicology [ΥΠΠΟΑ] • Basil Papantoniou Foundation • Folklife and Ethnological Museum of Macedonia–Thrace • Municipality of Rhodes, Museum of Modern Greek Art • Municipal City Museum of Karditsa • Laskarideio Folklore Museum of Nea Kios, Municipality of Argos–Mycenae • Oinoussian Maritime Museum • Volos Museum of the City • Loulis Museum • OTE Group Telecommunications Museum • Imperial War Museum

STATE ARCHIVES

General State Archives [ΓΑΚ], Central Service • Construction Directorate of the Municipality of Drama • General State Archives [ΓΑΚ] Department, Rodopi • General State Archives [ΓΑΚ] Department, Messinia • Hellenic Cadastre LEPL • Prefecture of Attica – Directorate of Technical Works • General State Archives [ΓΑΚ] Department, Serres • Municipality of Pella Photographic Archive • Ministry of Health – Directorate of Technical Services

ORGANISATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS

Library of the Hellenic Parliament • ERT SA Archive • Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece • Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive of the Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece [ELIA/MIET] • Historical Archive of the National Bank of Greece • National Bank of Greece Art Collection • Alpha Bank • Piraeus Bank Group Cultural Foundation • American School of Classical Studies at Athens [and Konstantinos A. Vovolinis Papers] • The American College of Greece • Anatolia College • Lykeion ton Ellinidon • Kounadis Archive • National Research Foundation ‘Eleftherios K. Venizelos’ • Velimezis Library • A. Tassos Society of Visual Arts • Society of Friends of the People, Alexandros Papagos Archive • B. & M. Theocharakis Foundation for the Fine Arts and Music • Bodossaki Foundation • Thessaloniki History Centre • Consulate General of Greece in Istanbul, Sismanoglio Megaro • The Anonymous – Amateur Audiovisual Material Archive • George M. Foustanos Archive / Greek Shipping Miracle Online Museum • Young Men’s Christian Association [YMCA] of Thessaloniki • Armenian General Benevolent Union • Bibliothèque Nationale de France • Biblioteca Ambrosiana, De Agostini Picture Library / Scala • University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections • Bridgeman Images • Drexel University College of Medicine, Legacy Center Archives • Levantine Heritage Foundation • Göttingen State and University Library • Harvard University, Fine Arts Library, Courtesy of Special Collections • International Committee of the Red Cross Audiovisual Archives • Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division • Save the Children Fund

ORGANISATIONS AND MUSEUMS DEDICATED TO ASIA MINOR HELLENISM

Enosis Smyrnaion • Committee for Pontic Studies, Historical and Ethnographic Museum of Pontic Hellenism • Estia Neas Smyrnis • Historical Archive of Refugee Hellenism • Centre for the Study and Promotion of Asia Minor Hellenism [KE.MI.PO.] of the Nea Ionia Municipality of Attica • Museum of Merimna, the Charitable Society of Ladies from Pontos ‘Needlepointing Memory’ • Museum of Asia Minor Hellenism ‘Filio Chaidemenou’ • Asia Minor Culture Museum in Egaleo • Asia Minor Civilisation Museum, Prokopi, Evia • Museum of Greek Refugees – Asia Minor Association of Kavala • Enossi Mikrassiaton Neas Erythraeas • Euxine Association of Pontians of Naoussa – National Library

of Argyroupolis 'Kyriakidis' • Asia Minor Stegi [Shelter] of Corinth • 'Palatia Museum' of the Cultural Association of Nea Palatia · Cultural Association of Nea Vyssa 'Stephanos Karatheodoris' • Enosi Renkioton Ofrinioton Agios Georgios

COMPANIES

Cana Pharmaceutical Company SA • Ilias Kokkonis Co. (founded: Smyrna 1897) • E. I. Papadopoulos SA • Saridis of Athens • Tsaousoglou SA

ATHLETIC ASSOCIATIONS

G.S. Apollon Smyrnis • National Sports Museum 'Ioannis Fokianos' • AEK FC – Athletic Union of Constantinople • Panellinios Athletic Club • Neoi Vyronos Sports Club

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS AND ARCHIVES

I. Amaranthidis Collection • Taki Arapoglou Collection • Panagiota Asmatoglou-Daousani, née Varvarel(i)i, Collection • Heirlooms of the Family of Christodoulos Athanassoulas, son of Vyronas (1938-2015), from his children: Alinda, Christina and Vyronas Athanassoulas • Dimitris Bodikoulis Collection • Catherine Boura Collection • Maria Bourou Collection • Themis C. Capayannidis private collection • Helen Carabott, granddaughter of Iordanis Pantelis Daniilidis • Anastasios Charlas Family Archive • Achilleas Chatziconstantinou Archive • Chatziforos Kremmyda Collection • Loukas P. Christodoulou Collection • Evi Christofilopoulou Collection • Maria Deredini private collection • Christina and Andreas Dermitzakis Collection • Mairi Despotopoulou Collection • Konstantinos Dimitriadis Archive • Kaiti Dimitsantou-Kremezi Collection • Maria Doxiades private collection • Sophia Efstratoglou Family Archive • Denise Eleftheriou Collection • Konstantinos Fasoulakis Collection • Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis Archive • Aristomenis Kalyviotis Ethnomusicological Collection • Dimitris Kamouzis Family Archive • Vassos Kapandais Family • Anastasia Karafoulidou Collection • Andreas I. Karamanos Archive • Eleni Karkazi Pournara Collection • Stephanos Kasimatis Collection • Katsianou private collection • Dimitrios N. Kerameus Collection • Family Archive of Dr Konstantinos I. Kerameus from Saranta Ekklesies • Charalambos Nikolaou Kitrinakis Collection • Paschalis and Mary Kitromilides Collection • Collection of the Prousa Descendants of the Kitselis Family • Dinos Kogias Collection • Kolyvas Family Collection • Thodoris Kontaras Collection • Heirlooms of the Georgios K. Kotzamanoglou Family • Andreas Krokos Collection • Nicole Kyriakopoulou Collection • Georgios Lampsidis Collection • Lena and Alekos Vl. Levidis Collection • Alexandros Liakopoulos Collection • Anastasios Liaskos Collection • Helen Maillis Kalliga Collection • Olga Manou Collection • Armen T. Marsoobian Archive • Thanasis and Marina Martinou Collection • Dimitris Mavrides Collection • Meskouris Family Collection • Mary Michaelides Collection • Dora Minaidi Collection • Aris Misailidis Collection • Dimitris Moraitis Family Archive • Katerina Moustaki Collection • Anastasios Nikolaidis Archive and Collection • Zenia Nikolaidou Collection • Antonis Nikolopoulos (Soloúp) • Vangelitsa Nikou Family Archive • Ioannis Ntouslazis Archive • Panagioteris Family Collection • Nikolaos S. Pantelakis private collection • Yannis Papadimos Archive • A. Papadopoulou Family Archive, Rovies, Evia • Christos and Themis Papadopoulou Collection • Giorgis Papazoglou Archive • Alexandros Pappas Collection • Petsalis-Diomidis Family Archive • Constantinos S. Phostiropoulos private collection • George Poulimenos Archive • Athanasios Ristas Collection • George AS Sarafoglou Lorandos Family Collection • Heirs of Konstantinos Sarantopoulos private collection • Heirs of the Archival Material of General Nikolaos Saridakis • Victoria G. Solomonidou Collection • Soutzoglou private collection • Nikitas Stavrinnakis and Evangelia Stavrinnakis Collection • Aimilia and Damianos Styloglou Collection • Stavros Styloglou Family Collection • Aikaterini Thanopoulou from the Styloglou Family Collection • Fotini Triantafilli private collection • S. Tselekou – E. Baronis Family Archive • Roxani Tsimpiropoulou private archive • Stella Tzimetzoglou Family • Valsamakis Family Collection • Themistocles Velissarides Collection • George A. Veranis Archive • Heirlooms of Helen Verykokou and Despoina Charalambous • Nana Vlachou Collection • Heirlooms of the Family of Alexandra Vlamou, daughter of Nikolaos (1909-1997), from her grandchildren: Alinda, Christina and Vyronas Athanassoulas • Haris Yiakoumis / Kallimages, Paris

INTRODUCTION

It was autumn 2018 when the Centre for Asia Minor Studies decided to organise an exhibition to mark the anniversary which was approaching: the centenary of the Asia Minor Catastrophe. The Centre's collections and archives, particularly the archive of oral testimonies, would provide an extensive source of information and inspiration on matters on which this centenary exhibition could be based. The idea of collaborating with the Benaki Museum came immediately. The treasurable ecclesiastical heirlooms, which arrived in Greece with the exchange of populations and housed by the Museum, the innumerable documents from its historical and photographic archives, the collections of costumes and handicrafts from Asia Minor – all these important resources would be linked organically with those of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies. By the end of that year a partnership between the two foundations had been firmly established.

What would 1922 be for the exhibition? The events of that tragic year for Hellenism are known to most people. Indeed, what comes to everyone's mind as soon as they think of Asia Minor is precisely the dramatic images of the Smyrna quayside, the great fire, the narratives of those days and the testimonies of the exodus. In other words, in everyone's thinking the history of Asia Minor Hellenism is closely bound up with the year of its ending. We decided that 1922 and its events would not be the sole theme of the exhibition. They would remain its locus between 'before' and 'after'. At the same time, however, we would explore sources, known and hitherto unknown, attempting to recreate the life of the Asia Minor Greeks in the years before the great upheaval, the era of peace, of renown, of prosperity, centring on the last decades of the 19th century and the early 20th. Our thinking was to describe what changed, how everything in the lives of the Greeks of Asia Minor was disrupted, by reference to the events of the dramatic period between 1908 and 1922, by means of testimonies and historical documents. We also wished, finally, to gain a sense of the aspects of the life of the refugee population after their arrival in Greece. Our aim was to bring together in a single account as many images, places, events, people and narratives as possible from the life of the Asia Minor Greeks and from the settlement and gradual incorporation of what was now the refugee world in Greece. The blending of material from the collections and archives of the two institutions led us to the structure of the Asia Minor exhibition, to a journey to places and times: Heyday – Catastrophe – Displacement – Rebirth.

The first part of the exhibition takes us to the places from which Greeks – either as a result of the exodus or of the exchange – arrived in Greece, beginning in Ionia and the western coastline, centring upon cosmopolitan Smyrna, but also Aivali, Vourla and so many other Greek communities; the views of cities, of streets and houses, the imposing buildings, the famous schools, urban society with its European customs, commercial activity and everyday life are some of the topics on which the exhibition focusses. The journey continues to the southern provinces and to Cappadocia, with its astonishing relief landscape, with the churches perched on the rocks, the magnificent ecclesiastical heirlooms and the Karamanlid icons, the gold-embroidered costumes, the delicate handicrafts and the carpets of Pisidia. And from there we cross to the world of Pontos, with the renowned Trebizond and other cities, monasteries and churches with their rare treasures and their important educational

foundations. Further westward, by way of Kütahya and its ceramics workshops, we pass into Bithynia and the Sea of Marmara, regions with large Greek communities; we then visit Constantinople, chiefly for the symbolism of the beacon-city of Hellenism by virtue of the Patriarchate and education. The journey concludes at the great crossroads, Eastern Thrace, often 'neglected' in the descriptions of the Asia Minor chronicle.

The exhibition's second part concentrates on the events of the period between 1908 and 1922: the change of regime and the Greek deputies in the Ottoman Parliament, the first persecutions, the end of World War I and the treaties which succeeded it, the landing at Smyrna and the period of Greek administration, Greek Thrace, and, at the same time, we follow the course of the Asia Minor Campaign to its tragic conclusion. Then, images and testimonies narrate the catastrophe and the exodus. The purpose of the presentation of this period is not to evaluate, comment upon or revise it; there are numerous studies, lengthy analyses and viewpoints of historians as to these events and their significance. Our approach would be based upon the exhibits themselves, with their own specific gravity, and on the voices of those who lived through these years, accompanied by brief informative texts offering context to the visitor to the exhibition and the reader of the catalogue.

The third part covers aspects of the settlement of the expatriate Greeks of Asia Minor in Greece, together with the consequences of their presence for Greek society in all its manifestations: images from their arrival and the difficulties which they encountered, the care and support of the state, the aid, of definitive importance, from the West, the complex management of the exchange of populations, the work of the Refugee Settlement Commission, the refugees' housing and employment, the urban planning arrangements implemented by means of the new districts, the setting up of refugee associations, the role of sports, arts and letters which give expression to the soul of Asia Minor, music and the preservation of memory.

We wished to describe this journey in time and to the places as vividly as possible by means of the exhibits serving as evidence of what is described above: works of art, icons and ecclesiastical treasures, costumes, jewellery, handicrafts, personal possessions, maps, photographs, archival material, newspapers, letters and cards form the core of the narrative of the first part of the exhibition. Next to the panorama in painting of a city, authentic costumes and household objects are mounted; next to the photographs of educational institutions, original certificates and reports or classes of graduates; important objects from cathedrals and churches opposite scenes from everyday life. The narrative of the second section is supported by historical heirlooms and documents, military uniforms, equipment and military documents and photographic and film material, as well as works of art which depict moments from this critical period of history. The themes of the third section – of the settlement and incorporation of the refugee world – are brought to life by photographs, products from the occupational activities of the refugees, works of art and publications, musical instruments and records and various documents from institutions dedicated to the study of Asia Minor Hellenism.

Each section of the exhibition, each showcase, could have been a subject of a separate exhibition. And from the very beginning we accepted that in the unravelling of the Asia Minor chronicle it would not be possible for all its aspects to be included. Undoubtedly, places about which we did not happen to discover material would be left out; undoubtedly,

parallel events which occurred in the years covered by the exhibition would be omitted; undoubtedly, we would not mention some individuals who played a significant role. Although we frequently yielded to unplanned lines of inquiry to which we were 'led astray' by new sources, we tried throughout the preparations to follow the original plan and we believe that we have succeeded in contextualising the exhibition's narrative with adequate representative documentation.

Although the collections and archives of the Benaki Museum and the Centre for Asia Minor Studies could to a large degree sustain this narrative, we wanted to include as many other museums and organisations as possible, other historical and photographic archives, municipalities and associations concerned with the Asia Minor memory. We contacted them and travelled throughout Greece, and, in spite of the difficulties created by the pandemic, the response of these institutions to the invitation to participate was moving. All of them proved to be valued supporters who willingly guided us by proposing material from their own collections.

Of special value for the exhibition are the personal possessions, the loans from private collections. When we happened to ask people we encountered if they had any connection with Asia Minor, we realised that four out of five had a – some albeit distant – family connection. Most of them stated this with pride; they were aware of this special place from which their family originated, even if they did not know very much about the region or about how exactly their relatives had arrived – whether they had come in 1922 or later with the exchange, or if they had been among those who had realised in time and left at an earlier date. Everyone, however, wished to join us in our searches and contributed family photographs, letters, amulets, icons, soldiers' diaries, certificates. Many, especially older people, were moved when they showed us family heirlooms and told us of their own precious connection with history. When we asked them to lend something for the exhibition, they may have hesitated for a moment – every object was invaluable, even the smallest carried within it deep personal value. In the end, however, they gladly loaned it to us, since in this way their ancestor – their family – would be sharing in our endeavour. And usually, immediately after, they would send us on to the next collector, the next treasure, unwinding a thread which led to endless surprises.

In this way we came to have more than 1000 exhibits and 500 photographs. Collecting together so many objects from so many different sources proved to be a remarkably difficult and complex undertaking. Many of the exhibits were already known, but very many others had remained unknown and unpublished. The symbolism of some was intense, while others were more everyday, more familiar; but for the first time they would be presented all together under one roof, united in the narrative of a long story. The next stage was a fascinating – and often overwhelming – challenge: to link the events and places with the exhibits of every description, but just as important were the testimonies of the people who had experienced them at first hand – letters, memoirs, diaries, newspaper articles, even public documents. For me, among the most moving times during the preparation was when I was 'listening' through these readings to the voices of those who had lived through that era, those who described the places, those who had taken part in the events, those who revealed their feelings. Their words, sometimes those of ordinary people, sometimes those of protagonists in political, military and ecclesiastical life, guided us by contributing a larger or smaller piece to the jigsaw which we were completing.

A multifaceted presentation of such an extent could only be realised with the substantial contribution of a large team of scholars. All the researchers of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies and most of the curators of the Benaki Museum, together with many other specialist advisors, supported the research, selection, documentation and amassing of this extensive material. Concise texts written by the academic team accompany the exhibition and the corresponding sections of the catalogue, thus explaining the context of the exhibits and their connection with the history of Asia Minor Hellenism. The catalogue was yet another challenge: how does one transfuse such a multifaceted and rich exhibition into a single book? We chose to compose an 'illustrated memento' of the chronicle, which would make it possible for us to include, apart from the explanatory texts, even more citations of testimonies.

As to myself, my relationship with Asia Minor is a personal one, through my grandmother, who came in 1922 together with my grandfather, whom I never knew. Years ago, when my sister and I wanted to honour the memory of our father, our mother urged us to do something in connection with Asia Minor, the homeland of his parents, of which he often spoke with strong emotion. It was then that I realised that my father's generation, that is, the second generation, was the one which was able to externalise what the first generation, the generation which had experienced the tragedy of the catastrophe and the uprooting, had not been able to express. The first generation is often called the generation of silence. They could not bear to relive through narratives what they had experienced and thus they kept it within themselves, in their effort to carry on. It is for this reason that the testimonies from the Centre for Asia Minor Studies are a treasurable heritage; Melpo Merlier and her associates succeeded through interviews in 'unlocking' memories of more than 5000 participants in the history of Asia Minor, coming from 1375 settlements in Ionia, Pontos, Cappadocia, Eastern Thrace and many other locations. Together with the narrations of what happened in the days of the catastrophe and the exodus and of life in their new homeland, memories of life in their places of origin were recorded.

It was the second generation – as well perhaps as the ones that followed, as time has blunted the experiences – which felt the need, deeply but unconsciously, through living with parents or grandparents, to seek out their ancestral homeland and their history. Perhaps this exhibition will provide an occasion for the forging of links with places and times, to project documentation which will inform and perhaps move all those who have something which binds them to Asia Minor. Perhaps, again, those who are much younger will recognise, through the presentation of so many aspects of the Asia Minor chronicle, how many things they have heard or read, customs, stories, names of neighbourhoods, sports teams, that all echo the history of Asia Minor Hellenism.

It is inevitable that the displacement of 1922 and the abandonment of the ancestral homes a year later with the exchange should bring to mind comparisons with situations which after so many decades are troubling the world of today. The perplexity of those who survive over what has happened, the anxiety about the unknown in the new land where they have found themselves, the gathering of strength for the next day – these are thoughts and feelings which continue to be timely. As I immersed myself in the narratives and testimonies of the period, selecting those which would accompany the exhibits and the pages of the catalogue, I read and reread an extract from the novel *Οι πρώτες ρίζες* [The first roots] of 1936 by Tatiana Stavrou, which made me reflect upon what this sheer, most profound anguish might mean: 'A fight is needed for you to burrow into this white dry earth. [...] I think of my

children. When they grow up, none of them will suspect our anguish. They will read about what happened in history as we learnt about Noah's Ark. And yet I don't know if I would find the strength to keep me standing today if these three beings weren't around me. I feel with fear and longing that we are the first roots! These, the first blossoms, will flower or will wilt depending on our own battles. If we endure, if the sun, burning like a menace over our tender lives, doesn't sear us.'

This strength for survival, of patient endurance of what is to come, of a thirst to create and for the start of a new life is what, in the end, remains as a distillation from exploring the chronicle of Asia Minor Hellenism. And it is perhaps this which brings the exhibition close to the present. My hope is that the atmosphere which we have created by means of the exhibits and the testimonies, telling the Asia Minor story in the first person, will add something to the knowledge, but also to the emotions concealed within them.

Evita Arapoglou

Acknowledgements

The warmest thanks are due to all the associates, institutions and collectors who, each in their own way, have contributed to the realisation of this exhibition and the publications which accompany it.

I would like to thank especially the Director of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, the Academician Paschalis M. Kitromilides, for his instrumental guidance and his general oversight of the academic material; the Academic Director of the Benaki Museum, George Manginis, for his experienced and unfailing support in all areas of this undertaking over the long duration of its preparation; the historian Sir Michael Llewellyn-Smith for his invaluable advice on the publication; and all the members of the academic team – the curators of the Benaki Museum and the researchers of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, as well as the specialist consultants – for their outstanding collaboration, in particular: Xenia Politou, Thodoris Kontaras, Tassos Sakellaropoulos, Maria Dimitriadou, Dimitris Kamouzis, Barbara Psychoula-Kontogianni and Nikos Andriotis for our regular lengthy meetings on the selection and articulation of the material.

Heartfelt thanks go to Ioanna Moraiti of the Benaki Museum, who brought to fruition the difficult task of coordinating the exhibition and the collecting of the exhibits, and to Olympia Exarchou for the parallel coordination on behalf of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, as well as for the supervision of the audio-visual material of the exhibition.

I am most grateful to Georgia Panselina for the complex research into and checking of documentation sources of the multitude of exhibits and for the always meticulous editing of the Greek texts; also to Alexandra Pel for her exceptional care for the texts of the English-language edition. To Geoffrey Cox and to Despina Christodoulou, as well as to Calliope Caroussis and members of the academic team, my sincere thanks for the exacting – and endless – translations for the exhibition and publications; and to George Lemos for the translation of extracts from hitherto unpublished literary texts in the English edition.

My heartfelt thanks go to Natalia Boura and Pavlos Thanopoulos for the resourceful design of the exhibition, in which they have housed together 'themes and exhibits' of places and periods in an impressive and easily intelligible way, as well as to Dora Pikioni for the aesthetics of the graphic art applications in keeping with the spirit of the exhibition.

Thymios Presvytis undertook the demanding design of the catalogue and imposed artistic unity on particularly multifarious material; Thodoris Anagnostopoulos processed hundreds of images and was responsible for the production of the publication; they and their associates have my warmest thanks.

Special thanks:

to Haralambos Alexiadis for the pioneering design and realisation of the audio-visual material, so vital in the exhibition;

to Vassilis Kyriazis and the whole team of Telmaco AE for the design and installation of the sound and light systems on the premises;

to Dora Minaidi for the loan of her moving photographs of Ionia, Pontos and Cappadocia, which frame the exhibits in the first part of the exhibition;

to Achilleas Chatziconstantinou and George Poulimenos for the loan of their anastatic drawing of the quay of Smyrna to the exhibition.

Special thanks go to: [from the Benaki Museum] Haris Siampanis, Chief Executive Officer, Nikos Trivoulidis and all in the Development Department, Vassilis Paschalis and all in the Conservation Department, Leonidas Kourgiantakis and Dessy Griva from the Photography Archives, Maria-Christina Destouni-Yannoulatou and all in the Education Department, Nicoletta Menti, Athina Isaia, Angeliki Boura, Souzana Zegkini, Maria Throuvala, Eliza Kavraki, Afroditi Gianni, Dimitris Droungas, Isabella Covas and everyone at the Museum Shop, as well as everyone in the Technical and Security Department, and [from the Centre for Asia Minor Studies] to Markos Ph. Dragoumis, Stavros Anestidis, Barbara Psychoula-Kontogianni, Dimitris Kamouzis, Olympia Exarchou, Thanassis Moraitis, Katerina Georgiadou, Maria Mougarakis, Maria Moshou, Christina Panou and Eleni Kallipoliti.

For the acceptance of requests for the loan of icons and ecclesiastical objects to the exhibition we would like to thank H.E. Metropolitan Gabriel of Nea Ionia, Philadelphia, Heraklion and Chalcedon; H.E. Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Chalcis; H.E. Metropolitan Antonios of Glyfada, Hellinikon, Voula, Vouliagmeni and Vari; and the Very Reverend Protosyncellus Fr. Epiphanius Arvanitis of the Holy Metropolis of Nea Ionia.

For their decisive contribution we thank all the Presidents, Chairmen, Members of the Boards, Directors and employees of the museums, institutions, foundations and associations.

Special thanks:

from the **National Historical Museum**, to Maria Papanastasiou, Director, and to Natassa Kastriti, Chief Curator;

from the **National Gallery – Alexandros Soutsos Museum**, to Syrago Tsiara, Director, and to Efi Agathonikou, Supervisor of the Collection Directorate;

from the **War Museum**, to Anastasios Liaskos, the President of the Board, and to Captain Nikolaos Roussos, Curator of Museum Collections, to Giannis Korodimos, Director of the Film Archive, and to Kostas Spyriounis, Art Curator;

from the **General State Archives**, to Amalia Pappa, Director, and to Anna Koulikourdi, Head of the Reading Room and Archival Research Department;

from the **Directorate of Technical Services of the Ministry of Health**, to Ilias Samaras, Head, and to Ismini Nikolinakou;

from the **Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece**, to Aspasia Louvi, Interim

Director, to Voula Livani, of the Department of Collections and Archives, and to Konstantinos Fiolakis, of the Department of Art Archives and Digital Collections Management;

from the **Historical Archive of the National Bank of Greece**, to Savvas Karampelas, Collections and Exhibitions Manager;

from the **Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive of the Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece**, to Vassiliki Hatzigeorgiou, Head of the Photographic Archives;

from **Alpha Bank**, to Despoina Tsourgianni, Head of the Art Collection;

from the **Library of the Hellenic Parliament**, to Maria Kamilaki, Director;

from the **American School of Classical Studies at Athens**, to Maria Georgopoulou, Director of the Gennadius Library, to Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan, Director of the Archives, and to Leda Costaki, Research Archivist;

from the **Enosis Smyrnaion**, to Giorgos Archontakis, Chairman of the Board, and to Evgenia Vatholomaïou, General Secretary;

from the **Estia Neas Smyrnis**, to Themis Papadopoulou, Officer of Museums, to Dimitra Vlachou, Communications Officer, and to Evangelia Tsoli, Head of the Library;

from the **Historical and Ethnographic Museum of Pontic Hellenism of the Committee for Pontic Studies**, to Lena Kalpidou, Superintendent;

from the **Centre for the Study and Promotion of Asia Minor Hellenism of the Nea Ionia Municipality**, to Loukas P. Christodoulou, Chairman of the Board;

from the **Merimna Charitable Society of Ladies from Pontos**, to Anna Theofylaktou, Honorary President, to Artemis Karanika-Kouma, Honorary President, to Anatoli Dimitriadou, President, to Elsa Myridou-Stylianou, Member of the Board, and to Christos Tsarouchidis, Spokesman of the Museum;

from the **Museum of Asia Minor Hellenism ‘Filio Chaidemenou’**, to Katerina Karageorgou, Curator, and to Roula Hatzigeorgiou, Officer of the Collection;

from the **Enossi Mikrassiaton Neas Erythraeas**, to Katerina Moustaki, Chairman of the Board;

from the **Historical Archive of Refugee Hellenism of the Municipality of Kalamaria**, to the President, Ananias Tsirampidis and to the historians Eleni Ioannidou and Maria Kazantzidou;

from the **Cultural Association of Nea Palatia**, to Michalis Polychronis, President, and to Maria Rapti, Communications Officer;

from the **Euxine Association of Pontians of Naoussa**, to Haralambos Faniadis;

from the **Memory of Asia Minor Association of Kavala**, to Sophia Tsingou, President, and to Elena Zacharopoulou, Superintendent;

from the **Asia Minor Civilisation Museum, Prokopi, Evia**, to Dimitrios Tosis, Secretary of the Board;

from the **Association of Asia Minor Culture of Egaleo and Nea Kydonies**, to Giannis Koutoulas, President, and to Athina Daskalaki, Vice President;

from the **Asia Minor Stegi [Shelter] of Corinth**, to Vassiliki Efstratiadou, Chairman of the Board;

from the **Cultural Association of Nea Vyssa ‘Stephanos Karatheodoris’**, to Sarantis Sarantidis, Educator and Public Relations Officer;

from the **Laskarideio Folklore Museum of Nea Kios, Municipality of Argos–Mycenae**, to Nikos Sariyannis;

from the **Municipal City Museum of Karditsa**, to Fenia Lekka, Director;

from the **Folklife and Ethnological Museum of Macedonia–Thrace**, to Eleni Bintsi, Deputy Head of Directorate, and to Irini Botsiou, Curator;

from the **American College of Greece**, to Dimitra Papakonstantinou, Head of the Archive;

from **Anatolia College**, to Evi Tramantza, Director of the Library and Archive, and to Olga Tsantila, Communications and Public Relations Officer;

from the **Basil Papantoniou Foundation**, to Ioanna Papantoniou, President, and to Angeliki Roumelioti, Senior Curator;

from the **OTE Group Telecommunications Museum**, to Nikoletta Liakostavrou, Manager;

from the **B. & M. Theocharakis Foundation**, to Takis Mavrotas, Director of Visual Arts, and to Evangelia Efthymiadou, Exhibitions Officer;

from the **Museum of Greek Folk Instruments ‘Fivos Anoyanakis’**, to Vassiliki Polyzoi, Superintendent, and to the Curators Sophia Aidoni and Maria Kalozoumi;

from the **Lykeion ton Ellinidon**, to Eleni Tsaldari, President, to Katerina Daskalaki, Secretary of the Board, and to Hara Dendia, Director;

from the **Bodossaki Foundation**, to Hara Tasoglou, Communications Officer.

For their valuable help and the loan of material from their important archives and collections, many thanks go to Dimitris Mavrides, Panagiotis Kounadis and Leonardos Kounadis, Dinos Kogias, Dimitris Bodikoulis, George Veranis, George Foustanos and Nikos Pantelakis.

For their support, thanks to: Stathis Amanatidis, Efi Andrikopoulou, Argyro Angelopoulou, Litsa Asteriadi, Kleanthi Benetos, Panagiota and Domna Bernitsa, Tina Chanielaki, Apostolos and Maria Doxiades, Liza Feraldi, Efi Germanou, Thanasis Ghikas, Myrto Hatzaki, Ismini Kapandai, Philippos Kavounidis, Giorgos Kofidis, Eleni Kokkoni, the Panagiota and Fotis Kontoglou family, Katerina Koskina, Angela Koukleli-Neiada, Dionysis Lavdas, Maro Linardatou, Loukia Loizou Hadjigavriel, Anne McCabe, Robert McCabe, Olga Manou, Dannie Medina, Eleni Mentzafou, Maria Mersynia, Maria Migadi, Marios Misailidis, Spyros Moschonas, Nikolaos Nikolaidis, Dionysis Notarakis, Nikos Paisios, Olympia Pappa, Eleni Patroni, Giota Pavlidou, Constantinos S. Phostiroopoulos, Margarita Pournara, Ara and Antonia Siankaian, Eta Sitina, Matoula Skaltsa-Tzonou, Zoi Spilioti, Tatiana Styloglou, Sophia Valsamaki, Maro Vasileiadou, Petros Vergos, Alexandra K. Vovolini. And – always – to Lena Hatzipetrou and Teti Mihalarias.

Most importantly, I would like to express my gratitude to the Centre for Asia Minor Studies and the Benaki Museum for the honour and the trust they have shown me in according me the responsibility and curatorship of this commemorative exhibition and the publications. It has been an experience full of exciting surprises, several worries and many strong emotions.

All that has been achieved would not have been possible without the wholehearted support and boundless patience of Takis; to him, and to Alexander, Peter, Yolanda, Andonis, Marika, Eleni, even the biggest ‘thank you’ would be too little.

E.A.



Anton Schranz (1769-1839)
Landscape in Asia Minor, 1836, watercolour and sepia
Benaki Museum

Paschalis M. Kitromilides

ASIA MINOR: IDEA AND HISTORY

What is Asia Minor to us today? What does the geographical name, with its heavy and contradictory connotations and the indomitable emotional charge which goes with it, mean? Asia Minor is, in the first place, a concept and a geographical term, the ‘lesser Asia’ of the ancients, the western peninsula and extremity in which the enormous Asian continent terminates. Asia Minor as a geographical entity constitutes, in many senses, a miniature of this vast hinterland, with its fertile coastal plains on the three sides, the rivers and the valleys which open up the routes to the interior, to the deserts and the imposing mountain masses which shape the terrain, which finally in the east is enclosed by other great rivers and *par excellence* by the biblical Euphrates.

The fascination exercised by this space and by the distant mysterious hinterland beyond it and of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean always exerted an attraction on the Greeks who lived on the western shores of the Aegean. The attraction, the challenge, the various expectations which rose up from the eastern shore of the sea which they shared and which linked the two worlds explain their inextricable involvements and their relationships, the wars, the colonisation, the constant two-way movement and the deeper organic unity through the ages. These factors created the Greek world and lent it the character which ran through and set its seal upon its history for three millennia until the third decade of the 20th century.

This is the idea of Asia Minor, as the vital half of the Greek world, during the greater span of historical times. This idea has been displaced by the definitive breach of the unity of the historical space brought about by the violence of modernity, and it is precisely this idea of the older unity which we have to recover in order to be able to perceive and understand the historicity of things.

Lesser Asia, with the promises which the Greeks saw in this world, was at the very centre of the latest of the cycles of Greek mythology, that of the Trojan War and the House of Atreus. The heritage of mythology was an inexhaustible source of inspiration for tragic poetry and expresses exactly the fascination of the Greeks with Asia Minor. This was the driving force of Greek colonisation with its successive waves from which the flourishing Greek cities of western Asia Minor eventually emerged – a historical phenomenon so authoritatively studied by Michel Sakellariou.¹

It was from the cities of Ionia that the second wave of colonisation issued, in the direction of the northern shores of the peninsula – towards the Hellenic Pontos, from which a third wave gave rise to the Greek world on the northern and western coasts of the Black

1. See Michel B. Sakellariou, *La migration grecque en Ionie*, Athens: Institut Français and Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1958; reprint 2008. Also, Michel B. Sakellariou, ‘À propos des mouvements migratoires de la péninsule balkanique vers l’Anatolie et le Levant vers et après 1200 avant notre ère’, *Ariadne: The Journal of the School of Philosophy of the University of Crete* 5 (1989), pp. 33-38 (*Bulletin de l’Association Internationale d’Études du Sud-Est Européen* 19-23/1-2 [1993], pp. 7-12).

Sea. Thus, lesser Asia proved in the end to be the cradle of a greater Greek world in which the initial expression of Hellenic culture, the primordial creative expressions of Greek discourse and of the Greek spirit, the epics of Homer, lyric poetry, the beginnings of philosophical and scientific thought, what has been termed the transition from myth to reason, from Thales of Miletus to Heraclitus of Ephesus, were conceived and emerged. It was from Ionia that philosophy was transplanted to Athens with Anaxagoras of Clazomenae and from Ionia that serious religious thinking in the ancient world emanated with Xenophanes of Colophon.

The intellectual burgeoning of Ionia and Aeolis was cut short by the Persian conquest of lesser Asia, known to us from the narrative of Herodotus. However, the conquest and the uprising in which it ended furnished the Greek world with another idea of crucial importance for its self-awareness, the idea of freedom. The idea of liberty as an ideal and as a defining cause of the Greeks emerges from the narration of the revolt of the Ionians and Cypriots against the Persian occupation of their lands in Book V of the *Histories* of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, the father of history. In spite of the uprising and the price which the cities of Ionia paid for it, the Persian occupation returned without ever succeeding in deterring the Greeks of Ionia from envisioning freedom, as Xenophon notes about the Ionian cities: ‘Those wishing to be free’ sought from the Lacedaemonians, as protectors ‘of all Hellas to take action on behalf of the Greeks in Asia [...] so that they should be free’ (*Hellenica* 3.1.3).

Subjection to the Persian yoke lasted for several decades after Xenophon wrote, until it was finally thrown off by Alexander the Great in 334 BC. That Alexander’s campaign was experienced as liberation by the Greeks of Asia Minor is recorded epigrammatically in the famous inscription of the 3rd century BC from Priene: ‘Nothing is greater for the Greeks than liberty.’²

Liberation by Alexander and the creation of the kingdoms of his successors, particularly of the Kingdom of Pergamon as an illustrious cultural centre, and, later, the appearance of the other Asia Minor kingdoms in the era of the Epigonoi, the kingdoms of Pontos, of Cappadocia and of Bithynia, were developments which contributed decisively to the more complete Hellenisation of the interior of Asia Minor. The Hellenistic period and that of Roman rule which followed with the conquest of the Asia Minor kingdoms by the Romans was the age of the civilisation of the cities in the Asia Minor peninsula. This is the period whose historical character is sealed by the testimony, apart from that of Pergamon and Ephesus, of Nicomedia, Prousa, Sinope and Amisus. It was into this civilisation of the cities that Christianity was accepted in Late Antiquity, as is recorded by John the Evangelist in the Book of Revelation: ‘to Ephesus and to Smyrna and to Pergamon and to Thyatira and to Sardis and to Philadelphia and to Laodicea’.

2. See the Priene inscription, 3rd century BC, in Wolfgang Blümel, Reinhold Merkelbach and Frank Rumscheid (eds), *Die Inschriften von Priene*, Bonn: Dr Rudolf Habelt, 2014, doc. no. 23.

The Greek world of Asia Minor was the bedrock and central core of the Eastern Roman Empire from the time when the capital was transferred to New Rome in 330 and for nearly all of the subsequent millennium, the millennium of the Middle Ages. This epoch could in many senses be considered to be the *longue durée* of the great glory of Asia Minor Hellenism, a veritable saga of creation and endeavour of more general significance and importance both for the civilisation of the Middle Ages on a pan-European scale and for the enduring nature of Greek history. Yet, in order to make these assertions clearer and capable of specific interpretation, let us recall the facts.

First, as to the importance of Asia Minor for the civilisation of the Middle Ages, it suffices to recall the definitive place of the Byzantine world in the shaping of this civilisation, a place which now, albeit after great delay, is an established postulation in international historiography, due to the impressive development of Byzantine studies during the 20th century. The core of Byzantine society and civilisation was, as has already been pointed out, Asia Minor during the long centuries when the European part of the empire, the Greek peninsula and the more northerly regions were ravaged by the raids of the Goths, Avars, Huns, Slavs and other peoples who came down from the north to the warm and developed territories of the Mediterranean basin and repeatedly threatened even Constantinople itself. While the Greek peninsula remained exposed until around the time of the Emperor Basil II (976-1025) to the incursions of these nomadic peoples and to the devastation they caused, in Asia Minor the Christianised civilisation of the Greco-Roman world survived and prospered under the aegis of the Eastern Roman Empire, whose firm foundation it constituted. It was in Asia Minor that the heart of medieval Hellenism beat, as Héléne Glykatzi-Ahrweiler has aptly written.³

Asia Minor, from Bithynia and Ionia to Pontos and Cappadocia, was what chiefly constituted Byzantium from the 5th century to the 11th century. In this cradle of Byzantine civilisation, the art and literature of the Christian world flourished, as evidenced by the splendid monuments of Cappadocia in the valleys of Korama (Göreme), Peristremma and Soğanlı, the numerous medieval monuments of Pontos, recorded by Anthony Bryer,⁴ and the fine monuments in other places on the peninsula – at Nicaea, Pergamon, Myra, those that have survived various disasters. Nor would it be out of place at this point to recall the earlier observation of David Talbot Rice and Robert Byron that the origins of European painting which they traced in Byzantine art are to be found, effectively, in Asia Minor.⁵

It was in Asia Minor in the 4th century that the synthesis of the Hellenic and Christian spirit in the theological and social thought of the great Cappadocian fathers, with whom all subsequent patristic thinking in East and West engages, took place.⁶ If the enquirer seeks out the biographical details of the writers who make up the corpus of Byzantine literature, he will discover the origins or the production of the work of most of these in Asia Minor, as Alexander Kazhdan has pointed out.⁷

3. See Héléne Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, *Μικρασία, καρδιά του ελληνισμού* [Asia Minor, heart of Hellenism], Athens: Gutenberg, 2021.

4. See Anthony Bryer and David Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*, Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1985, and Anthony Bryer et al., *The Post-Byzantine Monuments of the Pontos: A Source Book*, London: Routledge, 2002.

5. See Robert Byron and David Talbot Rice, *The Birth of Western Painting: A History of Colour, Form and Iconography*, London: Routledge, 1930. An overview of Byzantine art in the monuments of Asia Minor can be found in Marcell Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor*, 3 vols, trans. Irene R. Gibbons, Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1967.

6. See Vasileios N. Tatakis, *Η συμβολή της Καππαδοκίας στη χριστιανική σκέψη* [The contribution of Cappadocia to Christian thought], intro. Paschalis M. Kitromilides, 2nd ed., Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1989 (1st ed. 1960); Ioannis Zizioulas (Metropolitan of Pergamon), *Ελληνισμός και χριστιανισμός. Η συνάντηση των δύο κόσμων* [Hellenism and Christianity: The meeting of two worlds], Athens: Apostolic Diaconate of the Church of Greece, 2003.

7. See Alexander P. Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature, 650-850*, Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation – Institute for Byzantine Research, 1999, vol. 1, p. 398.

The defence of the Eastern Roman Empire against the Persian and Arab threat between the 7th and the 10th century was also carried out in Asia Minor. In order to defend itself, Byzantium introduced into Asia Minor the political and military organisation of the themes. The defensive effort in Asia Minor secured the frontier of the empire on the Euphrates, while in Europe in the 11th century it reached to the Danube. This was the period which Gustave Schlumberger has called the '*L'épopée byzantine*',⁸ and it was from that historical experience that emanated the perhaps earliest cycle of folk epic poetry in Europe – the acritic epics.⁹

The burgeoning of Christian Hellenism in Asia Minor was typically reflected in the ecclesiastical geography and the network of monastic foundations which covered the peninsula. With the exception of Heraclea, the senior metropolitan sees of the Patriarchate of Constantinople were all in Asia Minor: Caesarea, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Cyzicus, Nicomedia, Nicaea. The dense network of ecclesiastical provinces, metropolises and bishoprics was testimony to the demographic vigour of the Christian population of the peninsula under the Church's pastoral care. It was precisely this demographic vigour which supported the equally dense network of monastic foundations: from Cappadocia, where coenobitic monasticism made its first appearance on account of Basil the Great; to the 'holy mountains' of the peninsula, Olympus in Bithynia and Latros in Caria, which were associated with the ascetic life of many of the Church's saints; and to the monastic foundations of Pontos, which were the only centres of monastic life which continued their operation without interruption down to the 20th century. The models for coenobitic monasticism were transplanted from Asia Minor to the West in the 7th century by St Benedict, who was inspired by Basil the Great in drawing up the Rule of the Benedictine Order. The monastic foundations of Constantinople and of Asia Minor, like their counterparts in the West (though the latter on a smaller scale), became the agencies of the preservation and transmission of ancient culture through the copying of ancient texts in their scriptoria. For this function alone, which was the principal channel for the classical tradition and thus a decisive factor for the Renaissance, the debt of modern civilisation to Byzantium and its civilisation is truly inestimable.

If we turn to a review of the importance of Asia Minor from the point of view of Greek history through the centuries, we will notice the crucial function of the two-way movements of population between the two peninsulas, those of Greece and of Asia Minor, movements which over the long term of history contributed to the preservation of the Hellenic ethnic character of both regions. The first movement of demographic Hellenisation was the Greek colonisation of Asia Minor during the Early Archaic period, to which we have already referred. Movements of population similarly crucial and of special importance in the reverse direction took place in the Middle Ages, initially in the 9th century, when, on the initiative of the empire, populations from Asia Minor were

8. See Gustave Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, 3 vols, Paris: Hachette & Cie, 1896-1905.

9. See Stylianos Alexiou (ed.), *Διγενής Ακρίτης και τα άσματα του Αρμούρη και του Υιού του Ανδρονίκου* [Digenis Akritis and the songs of Armouris and of the son of Andronikos], Athens: Estia, 2010.

transferred to continental Greece as part of a policy of re-Hellenisation of the Greek peninsula, whose ethnological character had been altered because of the extensive settlement of populations speaking other languages, as a result of the raids from the north. The actions taken by Byzantium for the Hellenisation of the Greek peninsula were brilliant strategic moves on the part of the Emperors Nicephorus I in the early 9th century and, later, of Basil II in the 11th. The migration of Asia Minor populations to Thrace and to Greece further south because of the pressure of the Turkmen raids later in the 14th century contributed further, as H el ene Glykatzi-Ahrweiler noted, to the reinforcement of Hellenism in the Greek peninsula.¹⁰

It should be added at this point that the reverse movement which is observable in the 18th century and even more in the 19th century from continental Greece and the islands of the Aegean to Asia Minor determined the extensive Greek presence in the western regions of the peninsula and produced the flourishing Hellenism of modern times on the eastern side of the Aegean. The final two-way demographic movement between the two shores of the Aegean was the exodus of the Greek Orthodox population which took place with the exchange of populations of the years 1923-1925 and the corresponding exodus of the Muslim population of Greece to Turkey.

The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor constituted the most important consequence of the defeat of the Byzantine troops at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 by the Turkmen tribes which invaded Asia Minor from the east. The result of these incursions and the loss of the eastern and central regions of the peninsula by the Roman Empire was the gradual ethnological transformation which resulted in the Turkification of Asia Minor. A large portion of the population was Islamised and eventually became Turkophone, while in the more westerly regions the exodus of successive flows of refugees under pressure from the invasions, particularly in the 14th century, created demographic gaps which were filled by Muslim populations. The phenomenon of the Islamisation of Asia Minor has been studied in detail in a truly monumental work by Speros Vryonis Jr, whose contribution to our understanding of the survivals of Byzantine Hellenism in Asia Minor in modern times is inestimable indeed.¹¹

These Byzantine residues were connected chiefly with the presence in Asia Minor of the two Byzantine states which emerged after the fall of Constantinople to the Crusaders in 1204: the Empire of Nicaea and the Empire of Trebizond. These two states of medieval Hellenism ensured the protection of the Greek-speaking rural population in such regions as Bithynia and, above all, Pontos at times when the rest of the peninsula had passed under the rule of Muslim states, such as the Sultanate of Rum in central and eastern Asia Minor and the variously named emirates in the west. It was due to the presence of the two Christian empires in Asia Minor that the transition within the Christian society which had survived in the peninsula to a modern ethnic identity eventually took place. Moreover,

10. See H el ene Ahrweiler, 'L'histoire et la g eographie de la r egion de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317)', *Travaux et M emoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance* 1 (1965), pp. 1-204.

11. See Speros Vryonis, *Η παρακμ η των μεσαιωνικού ελληνισμού στη Μικρ η Ασία και η διαδικασία του εξισλαμισμού (11ος - 15ος αιώνας)* [The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamisation (11th-15th century)], trans. Katia Galatariotou, Athens: National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation, 1996. On this subject, see also Paschalis M. Kitromilides, 'Ο εξισλαμισμός της Μικρ ης Ασίας και οι ιστορικές καταβολές των ελληνοτουρκικών σχέσεων' [The Islamisation of Asia Minor and the historical origins of Greek-Turkish relations], *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 16 (1975), pp. 318-337.

within the Empire of Nicaea and in the testimony of the intellectuals who gathered there, as early as the 13th century, the first manifestations of the sense of Modern Greek cultural identity, which surfaced in the medieval Christian empire but now began to perceive itself in terms of the linguistic and intellectual bonds with Greek antiquity, became apparent.¹² It was in the old territories of the Empire of Nicaea that the last bastion of Byzantine Hellenism in western Asia Minor, the fortified city of Philadelphia, survived until 1390.¹³

Similarly, the Empire of the Grand Comnenoi in north-eastern Asia Minor, in the Pontos region, ensured the survival and continuous presence, until the 20th century, of a large Christian community, scattered over a vast area along the length of the shores of the Black Sea and into the mountain masses of the Pontic Alps and even deeper into the interior in the regions of the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates. This community of Pontic Hellenism was defined by its *sui generis* archaic form of the Greek language, which had been preserved from the time of the ancient colonisation of the region; at the dawn of the 20th century it was spoken in more than a thousand settlements, as well as by the Pontic diaspora in adjacent regions of Asia Minor. Pontos constituted a truly striking phenomenon of ethnological continuity and cohesion, factors which determined the dynamism and the achievements of the final period of the life of Pontic Hellenism in its ancient abodes.

Forgotten behind the lines of confrontation between the Byzantines, the Seljuks and the Turkmen, deep in the interior of the Asia Minor peninsula, some other Christian communities had survived, scattered in Cappadocia in particular and in fewer numbers in bordering provinces, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Galatia, Pisidia and in the south in the coastal provinces of the Mediterranean shores of Asia Minor, Lycia, Pamphylia and Cilicia. Most of these communities had adopted the Turkish language with the passage of time and with the disappearance of Greek education, but maintained their identity within the fold of the Orthodox Church. The linguistic identity of those communities which had preserved the Greek language in their local idioms is a striking linguistic phenomenon which attracted the interest of the Oxford Hellenist Richard Dawkins. In the early 20th century Dawkins toured the remote regions of the interior of Asia Minor in which the Greek language had survived and studied the local dialects.¹⁴ Greek linguistic idioms had survived until the exodus of 1923-1925 in 31 of the 81 Orthodox communities of Cappadocia, at Sille near Iconium, in Lycaonia and in the townships of Makri and Livisi in Lycia. The furthest south-eastern extremity of the network of the Greek language in Asia Minor was located at Pharasa in Cappadocia in a totally inaccessible region in the Anti-Taurus range. The ethnography and music of the communities of Cappadocia provided the epicentre of the interest of the founder of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Melpo Logotheti-Merlier, in her truly epic effort to record the oral history of Asia Minor Hellenism.¹⁵

12. See especially Apostolos E. Vakalopoulos, *Ιστορία νέου ελληνισμού* [History of modern Hellenism], vol. 1: *Αρχές και διαμόρφωσή του* [Principles and configuration], Thessaloniki: π.π., 1961, pp. 60-72, and Angeliki Laiou, 'From "Roman" to "Hellene"', *The Byzantine Fellowship Lectures 1* (1974), ed. Nomikos M. Vaporis, pp. 13-28. For the Empire of Nicaea, see in general Michael Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204-1261*, London: Oxford University Press, 1975.

13. Matoula Couroupou, 'Le siège de Philadelphie par Umur Pacha d'après le manuscrit de la Bibl. Patriarcale d'Istanbul, Panaghias 58', *Geographica Byzantina* (1981), pp. 67-77.

14. See Richard M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor: A Study of the Dialects of Silli, Cappadocia and Phárasa with Grammar, Texts, Translations and Glossary*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916.

15. See Melpo Merlier, *Présentation du Centre d'études d'Asie mineure. Communication: Déposé au Bureau du 22e Congrès des Orientalistes à Istanbul (1951)*, 2nd ed., ed. Paschalis M. Kitromilides, Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 2011. Also, Melpo Merlier, 'Ελληνικές κοινότητες στη σύγχρονη Καππαδοκία' [Greek communities in modern Cappadocia], *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών 1* (1977), pp. 29-74.

This was the Greek world which had survived in Asia Minor and had managed through all of its historical vicissitudes to reach the centuries of modernity. The new era associated with the imposition of Ottoman rule on the whole of the peninsula from the 15th century had in store notable changes to the Greek presence in Asia Minor. After the decline and fall of medieval Hellenism and the Turkification of the peninsula, on which the seal was set by the fall of Trebizond in 1461 and the dissolution of the last medieval Greek state, Asia Minor was transformed into the primary base of the majority Turkish ethnological component of the Ottoman Empire. From the 18th century onwards, however, fresh reverse movements began to bring back the Greek presence to the western regions of the peninsula. Successive waves of movements from continental Greece and, above all, from the islands of the Aegean returned the Greek element to Asia Minor and gave rise to the consolidated settlements in the regions of Mysia, Aeolis, Ionia, Lydia and Caria, which, with the communities of the interior, formed what the co-founder of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Octave Merlier, called the ‘last Hellenism of Asia Minor’.¹⁶

The ‘last Hellenism’ became the protagonist in a new flourishing period in the long history of the Greek presence on the eastern side of the Aegean. The main urban foci of this glorious period, whose peak coincided with the hopes and promises of the Ottoman reforms of the 19th century, were Smyrna, on the west coast of the peninsula, and Trebizond, on the north-eastern extremity of the Asia Minor coastline of the Black Sea. As an important Mediterranean port, commercial hub and meeting point for nationalities and cultures, Smyrna made its presence felt in history as early as the 17th century, as, among numerous other sources, the then British consul in the city, Paul Rycout, bears witness.¹⁷ The inflow of a Greek population to the Ionian metropolis took place mainly in the 18th century, including waves of refugees from the Peloponnese after the failure of the Orlov revolt in 1770, and greatly swelled in the 19th century, in fact after the achievement of Greek independence. The new Greek populations which flowed into Smyrna also included incomers from the Asia Minor hinterland, particularly Cappadocia. These movements produced the Greek Smyrna of the years of great prosperity, of cosmopolitanism and of an upsurge of national feeling in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Similarly, Trebizond, ‘the best city in the East [...] and the eye of the whole of Asia’, according to its Byzantine encomiast John Eugenikos, developed from the 17th century as a station on the Silk Road and as an ecclesiastical, intellectual and economic centre of the Pontic world and of its Asian hinterland. A truly impressive record of the history of Pontic Hellenism has been provided in the works of Chrysanthos Philippidis, Metropolitan of Trebizond,¹⁸ and later in those of the formidable researcher Odysseus Lampsidis.¹⁹

It was with these two major cities as its focal points and Constantinople as a constant point of reference that Asia Minor Hellenism burgeoned during the 19th century and the

16. See Octave Merlier (ed.), *Ο τελευταίος ελληνισμός της Μικράς Ασίας. Έκθεση του έργου του Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών (1930-1973). Κατάλογος* [The last Hellenism of Asia Minor: Exhibition of the work of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies (1930-1973): Catalogue], Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1974.

17. See Sonia Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycout at Smyrna, 1667-1678*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

18. See Chrysanthos Philippidis (Metropolitan of Trebizond), *Η Εκκλησία Τραπεζούντος* [The Church of Trebizond], Athens: Estia, 1933.

19. See indicatively Odysseus Lampsidis, ‘Ο ελληνισμός του Πόντου’ [The Hellenism of Pontos], in *Η Έξοδος* [The exodus], vol. 4: *Μαρτυρίες από τον ανατολικό παράλιο Πόντο* [Testimonies from the eastern seaboard of Pontos], ed. Paschalis M. Kitromilides, Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 2015, pp. 29-138. The complete oeuvre of Odysseus Lampsidis is cited in the *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 16 (2009), pp. 81-105 (ed. Ariadni Razi).

early 20th century. This flourishing condition is perceptible in the demographic development, in the notable increase in the population, particularly in the provinces of western Asia Minor and Pontos, in economic activity, particularly the development of commerce, and in education.

The population increase also had a direct impact on ecclesiastical organisation, with the foundation of many new metropolitan sees and bishoprics of the Ecumenical Patriarchate or the re-establishment of those which had lapsed in Asia Minor to meet the pastoral needs of the rising number of Christians.²⁰ Ecclesiastical reorganisation also had effects in the field of education with the educational initiatives of local church authorities, including even the creation of a seminary for the training of clergy and teachers at the Monastery of Flaviana in Cappadocia. It would be no exaggeration to say that the most tangible evidence of the development of Asia Minor Hellenism at its highest point was provided in the field of education. A precondition, of course, for the relevant initiatives was the new freedom and toleration secured for the non-Muslim minorities by the reforms in the Ottoman Empire. For its Greek Christian subjects, however, the new possibilities, strengthened significantly by the great economic achievements, also favoured by the reforms, had a strong foundation in the long-standing traditions of the Orthodox community, the *genos*.

The traditions of the *genos* during the centuries of enslavement were the Orthodox Christian faith and Greek letters. These factors determined the identity of the community, the cohesion of which was safeguarded by collective life within the Church. Education, by means of which the tradition of Greek letters was reproduced and transmitted, was the object of the constant concern of the Church. It was on this foundation that in more favourable times the Enlightenment was built, and this brought the messages of modernity into the Orthodox community's life. In the major cities of Asia Minor important educational institutions operated, which transmitted the traditions of Orthodoxy and Greek letters to the younger generations: the renowned Phrontisterion, founded in Trebizond by Sevastos Kyminitis in 1682, and the Evangelical School, which was founded in 1733 by the notables of Smyrna by upgrading an earlier school set up by Ananias, Metropolitan of the city, in 1717.

These two foundations were the principal pillars of Greek education in Asia Minor and provided the training grounds of the leadership not only of Asia Minor Hellenism, but, together with certain other seats of learning, of the whole of the enslaved nation. The further advances in education in Asia Minor were grounded on this infrastructure. The most important of these developments was the reception of the Enlightenment in the schools of Smyrna, with the foundation of the Philological Gymnasium in 1809, and at the Academy of Kydonies, an almost entirely Greek city which developed on the shores of Aeolis from the second half of the 18th century onwards as a truly flourishing cradle and testimony of the intellectual potential of Hellenism.

20. Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Religion and Politics in the Orthodox World: The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Challenges of Modernity*, preface Ioannis, Metropolitan of Pergamon, London and New York: Routledge, 2019, pp. 72-74.

Apart from education, Greek ‘paideia’ in the broader sense of intellectual culture produced many further manifestations in Asia Minor, always centring on Smyrna, in the course of the 19th century. These took place chiefly in publishing activity, with the appearance between 1832 and 1922 of 2375 publications from the Greek printing presses of Smyrna, in the world of the press with the publication of such important newspapers as *Αμάλθεια* (1838-1922) and many others and in the development of a lively intellectual life and the cultivation of literature and art.²¹ All these features could be termed a ‘belated Enlightenment’, which was not confined, of course, to Smyrna, to Kydonies, to Trebizond, but extended to many other cities and even to smaller towns throughout the peninsula.²² The network of schools, with the encouragement of the Church, as well as of the Greek state and of such cultural institutions as the Hellenic Philological Association of Constantinople and the Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters of Athens,²³ covered the whole of Asia Minor and reached as far as the most distant and isolated communities of Pontos, where hundreds of schools functioned, and of Cappadocia, where there were schools in the 81 communities of the region.

Within the outline of the multifaceted development and prosperity, both material and cultural, the national ideal as a vision of freedom was rekindled among the Greeks of Asia Minor. The vision was shaped and formed as the object of wide-ranging reflection from the Enlightenment period onwards. It was given dynamic expression by the part played by the Greeks of Asia Minor in the Greek Revolution in the 1820s, and it reached its culmination in the final decades of the 19th century and the first twenty years of the 20th century. The manifestation of national feeling on the part of the Greeks of Asia Minor vividly coloured the intellectual life of the period. For a moment, in the circumstances of the end of World War I, it appeared that the fullness of time had finally arrived with the Greek landing at Smyrna in 1919 and the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920. The visions and expectations of modernity and the long historic heritage of Hellenism on the eastern shores of the Aegean seemed at last to have found their vindication. What followed, in a literal enactment in history of Aristotle’s concept of *peripeteia*, that is, ‘a change by which the action veers round to its opposite’, was the catastrophe and unspeakable pathos of a manifold and truly devastating humanitarian tragedy.²⁴

Ultimately the cunning of history seemed to have cancelled out the illustrious course charted by three millennia of Hellenic presence in the east of the Aegean. However, the future of Asia Minor Hellenism in free Greece after the uprooting and the evidence of its cultural heritage, which now, a hundred years later, has become more generally and authoritatively known, shows that there are in the nature of things possibilities which permit after all the cunning of history to be overcome and its sardonic smile to be wiped away in the face of the indomitable resilience of human will and creativity.

21. See Ioanna Petropoulou, *Η Σμύρνη των βιβλίων. Συγγραφείς, μεταφραστές, εκδότες, τυπογράφοι, 1764-1922* [The Smyrna of the books: Writers, translators, publishers, printers, 1764-1922], foreword Paschalis M. Kitromilides, Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 2020; Christos S. Solomonidis, *Η δημοσιογραφία στη Σμύρνη (1821-1922)* [Journalism in Smyrna (1821-1922)], Athens: A. Mavridis, 1959; and *id.*, *Η παιδεία στη Σμύρνη* [Education in Smyrna], Athens: A. Mavridis, 1961.

22. See Paschalis M. Kitromilides, ‘Byzantine Twilight or Belated Enlightenment in Asia Minor’, in *Byzantine Asia Minor (6th-12th cent.)*, Athens: Institute for Byzantine Research and The Speros Basil Vryonis Center for the Study of Hellenism, 1998, pp. 433-446; republication: Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *An Orthodox Commonwealth: Symbolic Legacies and Cultural Encounters in Southeastern Europe*, London: Routledge, 2007.

23. See George A. Vasiadis, *The ‘Syllogos’ Movement of Constantinople and Ottoman Greek Education, 1861-1923*, Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 2007.

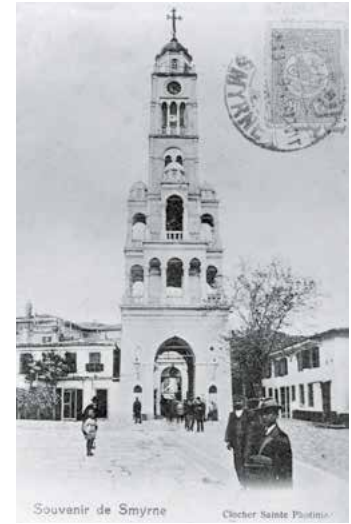
24. See Kitromilides, *Religion and Politics in the Orthodox World*, pp. 76-80, and Paschalis M. Kitromilides and Alexis Alexandris, ‘Ethnic Survival, Nationalism and Forced Migration: The Historical Demography of the Greek Community of Asia Minor at the Close of the Ottoman Era’, *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 5 (1984-1985), pp. 9-44.

THE CHURCH

Smyrna, Ephesus, Pergamon, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia and Laodicea were the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse. The Metropolitan diocese of Smyrna included eighteen churches, the most important of which was the Cathedral Church of St Photini, with its imposing belfry serving as a landmark for ships approaching the port. In the mid-15th century the seat of the Metropolis of Ephesus was transferred to Magnesia; however, in the Ephesus region the Church of St John the Theologian, the Cave of the Seven Sleepers and the Church of St John the Baptist at Şirintce have survived to the present day. At Thyatira there was a considerable Greek population originating from Kythera and a cathedral dedicated to St Nicholas. At Aivali, famed for the Academy of Kydonies, there were eleven churches and two monasteries, while Aidini, the seat of the Metropolis of Heliopolis and Theira, had five churches, with its cathedral dedicated to the Presentation of the Virgin. In the 19th century imposing churches were built throughout the Asia Minor peninsula, due to its economic development and the Ottoman reforms. Religious festivals were well-attended by the faithful, and the Ottoman authorities often also participated in them. **S.Th.A.**



Two panels from the sanctuary screen of St Photini, Smyrna, with the Virgin 'Zoodochos Pige' and the Annunciation, 17th century
Benaki Museum



The Cathedral Church of St Photini in Smyrna
Centre for Asia Minor Studies

You'd think this church was a museum of Christianity in action. A living museum, indeed. The most venerable of all, which generates so much dazzle, which immediately amazes those who enter, inspires, gives, imposes devoutness, is the great iconostasis. Tall, heavy, grand. It's as though you are suddenly presented with all the proud glory of a Byzantine scene as you enter the church.

Alexandros Moraitidis, 1922



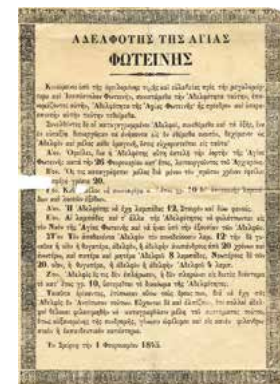
Chrysostomos, Metropolitan of Smyrna, addressing the faithful, 1911
Enosis Smyrnaion



Lottery tickets for the construction of the new Church of St Catherine, Smyrna, 1903
Enosis Smyrnaion



The Church of St Catherine, the largest in Smyrna, designed by the Smyranean architect Xenophon Latris
Enosis Smyrnaion



Constitution of the Brotherhood of St Photini, 1845
Enosis Smyrnaion



Boat-shaped ex-votos from Asia Minor, late 19th - early 20th century
Benaki Museum



Ship-shaped ex-voto from Asia Minor, late 19th - early 20th century
Benaki Museum



Boat-shaped ex-voto from Asia Minor, late 19th - early 20th century
Benaki Museum



Copper engraving plate with Christ, the Great High Priest
Enossi Mikrassiaton Neas Erythraeas

When we came to Epiphany, there are memories of how on the day itself the Great Blessing took place. We put up a platform, and the priest went up on it. We also had a special holy water font into which he put the cross. When church was over, the men took the holy water, mounted their horses and went to bless the vines, the fields, all the crops, until there was no holy water left.
Kleio Nikolintagia, Seydikoy, Ionia



Asterisks, Smyrna
Estia Neas Smyrnis



Paten from Smyrna, 19th-20th century
Benaki Museum



Gospel Book, a gift of Dorotheos, Metropolitan of Adrianople, printed in Venice (1811), cover made in Smyrna (1816)
Benaki Museum



The pastoral staff of Meletios, Metropolitan of Elaia, 1833
Benaki Museum



The pastoral staff and mitre of Chrysostomos (Hatzistavrou), Metropolitan of Ephesus
Estia Neas Smyrnis



Reliquary from Aivali for the head of St George Chiopolites, made by Pantazis Marangopoulos, 1816
Benaki Museum

We had three churches which functioned regularly, and each had its parish. The largest of all was the Dormition of the Virgin. A very wealthy church with lots of valuables, from votive offerings. It was called the Panagia Vourliotissa. On its feast day people came from all over the East. You saw them setting up tents in the precinct, and they stayed down there. It also worked miracles.
Spyros Lianos, Vourla, Ionia

CARPET-WEAVING

Although the making of carpets and kilims was basically an employment of the nomads and, generally, of the Muslim inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire, a number of Christian populations were gradually initiated into this art. The most important carpet-weaving centres were in western Asia Minor (Milas, Pergamon, Koula, Uşak, Gördes, etc.). In Cappadocia the carpets of Konya, Karaman and Caesarea were well-known.

In 1888 Polytimi Kiourtsoglou and her pupil Katina Styloglou introduced carpet-weaving to Isparta (Sparta) in Pisidia, which then developed into an important carpet-weaving centre with major exports, thanks to the industriousness of the women and the commercial acumen of the people of Isparta. The patterns were standardised by the use of graph paper, and mainly bright colours were used. In parallel with the carpet looms, *lakki*, smaller domestic looms for textiles, were employed; these, however, mainly supplied the needs of local households themselves. A.K.



Carpet-weavers from Sparta, Pisidia
ELIA/MIET

Many houses had looms. They made calico, *alatzas* fabrics, rugs. The Tsalikoglou family had two factories in which they made calico with the firm Talas Cabot.

The poor households lived from the looms. There were many employers, who provided the thread and took the calico, which we called 'beige'. Everyone worked in Moutalaski. Everyone did something, which is why there were no poor people. At Moutalaski there were shops that sold cotton. They would bring it from Adana. The surrounding Turkish villages and the Greek ones that had looms would come, buy it, turn it into yarn and then work it on the looms. Greeks, Turks and Armenians had looms and made carpets. Moutalaski had shops. They came from the surrounding villages and purchased petrol, sugar. They came from Stephana, Kermira, Tavlosun, Zincidere, Isbize, Asartzuk, Kepes, Kostere.

Michail Giavroglou, Moutalaski, Cappadocia



Kilim from Moutalaski, Cappadocia
Anastasios Nikolaidis Archive and Collection



Woollen kilim with geometric motifs, Niğde
Folklife and Ethnological Museum of Macedonia-Thrace

The spinning and dyeing of wool were done at home. They would knit socks and vests with needles. They wove woollen black fabric for jackets and trousers, as well as a kind of beige calico with cotton threads. They also made many rugs and carpets. They would sell the carpets and the calico at the bazaar. A merchant from Neapolis would come and exchange the carpets for bronze utensils. They preferred the old carpets dyed with the so-called 'kök boya' natural dyes. The Turks also had looms. Here there were businesses that used looms. They would weave at home. They did not weave either linen or silk. They also bought ready-made fabrics for clothes. In general, the old people preferred the homemade fabrics, because they were stronger. The younger ones preferred the ready-made ones.

Christos Vafiadis, Gelveri, Cappadocia



Woolen carpet from Konya, early 20th century
Museum of Asia Minor Hellenism 'Filio Chaidemenou'



Ankara-style rug from Neapolis (Nevşehir), 1890
Centre for the Study and Promotion of Asia Minor Hellenism of the Nea Ionia Municipality



Carpet factory in Uşak, 1920-1921
Benaki Museum

In 1875 the carpet-weaving began, which flourished until the years 1895-1914. To this end, a Community organisation was established in 1895 with the name 'The Bee of Poros' under the direction of Avraam Hatzis Evgenoglou. From 1905-1908 [it was] under the direction of Nikolaos Hatzis Evgenoglou contracted by the Community. The carpet factory operated in two apartments, below the School, with 85-100 looms. The company provided the Community with 213 gold liras and a house confiscated [...] from the aforementioned director, Nikolaos Hatzis Evgenoglou.

Georgios Amphilochiadis, Bor, Cappadocia

Poros flourished as a commercial centre from 1860 to 1880. There were manual looms, on which they wove thick white cotton fabrics, used for underwear. They also wove coloured cotton fabrics (alatzas), the so-called Bor alatzas fabrics, which were exported also to other regions. They made outer garments, the so-called aneria, with the alatzas.

The Greeks were merchants and would buy tragacanth gum (kitre) and millet (azechri) from the villages and send them to Constantinople and from there to Europe. At that time tragacanth was used in European factories in the weaving process for white cotton fabrics, and yellow dye was produced from millet. Also, scarlet dye came from rose madder.

Georgios Amphilochiadis, Bor, Cappadocia



Woven cushion, typical of Sille, Konya, 1910
Centre for the Study and Promotion of Asia Minor Hellenism of the Nea Ionia Municipality

The Greeks of Sparta were of good economic standing. They had all the trade of the place in their hands. They also engaged in the crafts, they were also artisans. Their occupations, specifically, were as follows: traders of manufactured wares, imports, exports, carpet workshop owners, carpet-weavers, rose growers for rose oil, owners of rose oil distilleries, cobblers, carpenters, builders, tailors, coppersmiths and various other occupations. Few worked in agriculture.

Kosmas Manologlou, Sparta, Pisidia

Michael Llewellyn-Smith

GREECE IN ASIA MINOR FROM GREAT WAR TO CATASTROPHE: AN OVERVIEW

The Hall of Mirrors

It is 28 June 1919, a fine summer day in Paris. The great and good of Europe, the United States, even Japan, are gathering in Versailles. This is an event not to miss, the delivery to Germany of the peace treaty ending World War I between the Entente Powers and the Central Powers. The hall is crowded. There is a buzz of conversation. Some among the victors feel satisfaction. The defeated feel the bitterness of defeat. A few feel a chill foreboding of what is still to come. All feel exhaustion.

You can still see these people in the great painting by William Orpen, *The Signing of Peace in the Hall of Mirrors, Versailles, 28th June 1919* (fig.: p. 136). Look, there is President Woodrow Wilson of the United States, slow-moving, self-righteous, invested with ideas for a better future. Who is that talking to him? David Lloyd George, the mercurial British prime minister. They are probably talking about the League of Nations, Wilson's pet scheme for peace not just in our time but for all time. And of course Germany, the object of this day's event. There is Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau, the 'tiger', the oldest of the big three and the chairman of the peace conference. And look, over in the corner, who is that man with the white hair and the beard talking with one of the British team? Ah yes, it is Eleftherios Venizelos, the Greek prime minister, in the back row high up on the left. Who is this Venizelos? And how were the Greeks involved anyway?

Venizelos is a reminder that this ceremonial gathering does not mark the end of the story of peacemaking. Europe is still in travail. So is the Near East. Already, more than a month previously, Venizelos was authorised by Clemenceau, Wilson and Lloyd George to send Greek troops to Smyrna (Izmir), the first step in an occupation of western Asia Minor. But there is as yet no peace treaty with Turkey. The Ottoman armies have been defeated, and it is clear that Turkey will lose her Arab provinces. But what will happen to the Turkish heartlands of Anatolia? The peacemakers have paid attention to this question, with their mandate to Venizelos. On the face of it this looks like a great coup for Greece. But some of the military advisers in Paris think Turkey will not meekly accept the diktat. Time will tell.

FROM MAY 1919 TO THE AUTUMN OF 1920

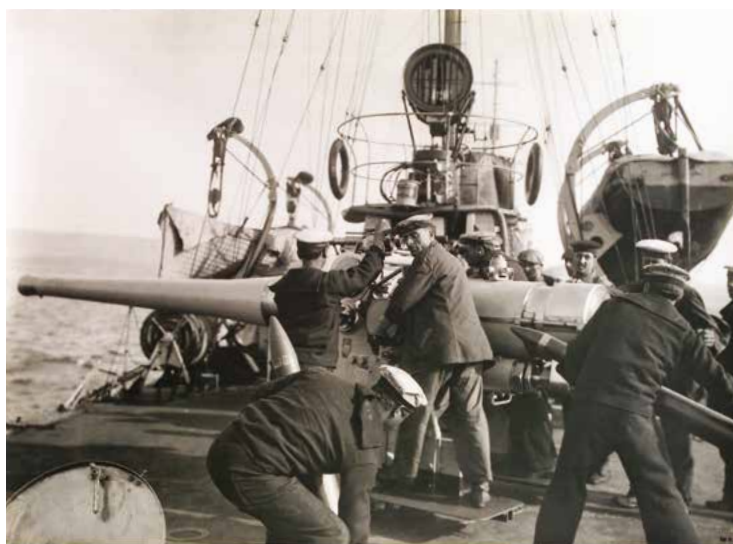
After the landing in Smyrna, sections of the 1st Division gradually occupied cities and villages around it. The Greek military presence in Asia Minor was confined to these regions for a year. The first broad-scale military operations were undertaken in 1920. In June 1920, in view of the forthcoming signing of the Treaty of Sèvres with the Ottoman Empire, permission was given by the Allied Supreme War Council for the advance of the Greek army eastward as far as Philadelphia and northward as far as the Sea of Marmara, with the Greek forces seizing Prousa, Panormos and Nicomedia, among other locations. At the same time, Eastern and Western Thrace were ceded to Greece. In August the Greek forces advanced further, reaching as far as Uşak. The summer operations of 1920 were crowned with success, with the Greek army gaining control of these regions without any particular difficulty. **A.E.M.**



Soldiers in the trenches of the Bin Tepe Range near Sardis prior to their advance, 1920
From the album of Georgios Prokopiou, *Μικρασιατική Εκστρατεία*

1.8.1920. Two hours had passed since sunrise, and I couldn't explain the postponement of the attack, I suspected in the end the weakness of our people. Suddenly, however, I hear the drone of a shell, followed by another and that by many more. At last! I took a deep breath. The first roar of the cannon electrified me, excited me. I got up at that very moment and concentrated fully. Where were the sounds coming from? How far off? Could it be peace that was being celebrated? Increasingly the bellowings of the expiring beast were stifled. The attack had undoubtedly begun and against Simav, from which direction the cannon fire could be heard. The bombardment, constantly threatening, continued until sunset.

Dimitrios Kefaloyannis, soldier



Bombardment of the fortresses of Raidestos by the navy destroyer *Ierax*
From the album of Georgios Prokopiou, *Μικρασιατική Εκστρατεία*

In the evening we sleep below the foothills of the eastern slopes of Mount Tmolos and the next day we ascend it, by a pathway, heading towards Philadelphia.

The ascent through the virgin woodlands and the abundant springs with their crystalline water from the rocks brought us relief on our laborious progress.

The next day we reached the summit of Tsaous Dağ. It was 11 June. The plains were scorching in the rays of Phoebus, whilst we were shivering with the cold as we climbed to that lofty peak, from which the enemy would not be expecting us.

Panayiotis I. Panayiotopoulos,
reserve military doctor, 1920



Soldiers fighting on the slopes of the Tmolos Range
From the album of Georgios Prokopiou, *Μικρασιατική Εκστρατεία*



The arrival of the Greek army at Cius, 25 June 1920
Centre for Asia Minor Studies



Panormos welcoming King Alexander, 1920
From the album of Georgios Prokopiou, *Μικρασιατική Εκστρατεία*



King Alexander at Panormos
From the album of Georgios Prokopiou,
Μικρασιατική Εκστρατεία



Georgios Iakovidis (1853-1932)
Alexander I of Greece, 1920, oil painting
National Historical Museum Collection



Welcoming King Alexander at Panormos
From the album of Georgios Prokopiou, *Μικρασιατική Εκστρατεία*



The High Commissioner of Greece Aristeidis Stergiadis
at the Philadelphia railway station
From the album of Georgios Prokopiou, *Μικρασιατική Εκστρατεία*

Everyone is there. The vanguard, the 'advanced posts' of the female armies of Saranta Ekklisies. The main force is waiting in the upper district of the Metropolis. [...] The motor car stops. The king salutes General K. Mazarakis and the prefect, Mr Nikolopoulos, who delivers an emotional address. This is followed by the speeches of the Mufti and the President of the Jewish Community.

Then they head to the cathedral for the doxology, which is followed by a reception at the Metropolis.

Kostas Misailidis, 1920

Tassos Sakellariopoulos and Maria Dimitriadou

THE REFUGEES IN GREECE, 1922-1930: DIFFICULTY, POTENTIAL, PROSPECTS

The catastrophe of 1922 meant the uprooting of the Greeks of the Orient and the elimination of the national ideology of irredentism. Hundreds of thousands of refugees, literally homeless and penniless, were now on the western shores of the Aegean, on the islands and on the coast of continental Greece after centuries of life in the land of Ionia, Pontos and Eastern Thrace. The positive consideration is that they were now within the borders of the Greek state, safe from the wrath and vengefulness of the Turkish army and the Turkish guerrillas. They were, however, faced with a new reality which involved their future, a reality of whose evolution they were not in control. After the three and more years that the Greek campaign lasted, its defeat brought them, with toil and torments, with unspeakable fears and anguish, with the loss of those dearest to them, to a Greece which they imagined as the land of justice, the land of brotherhood, the land of welfare, the mother homeland. The refugees believed that they would enjoy support from the structures of the state and, above all, that their Greek compatriots would welcome them with open arms, because of their identity as Greeks who had lived for centuries under Ottoman rule.

However, their expectations were dashed completely. With, fresh in their minds, the memories of the journeys of exodus to the coast, of the despair, the terror and crushing on the quay of Smyrna in flames, of the anxiety for survival, the Greek populations from the whole of the Turkish territory took the road to exile – but an unexpected exile of Greeks in Greece.

In the first ten days of October 1922 the tragic evacuation of Smyrna had been completed. The 300,000 or so residents of the city and of the regions in its hinterland had been driven out, while there was a host of displaced youths and men in the depths of Anatolia who are not included in that figure. The 180,000 of those who abandoned Smyrna left under the supervision of the US Navy and with the help of the Disaster Relief Committee which was set up by the consul general of the USA in Smyrna, George Horton, and supported by other foreign missions in the city. The refugees who were already in Greece in the autumn of 1922 numbered approximately 400,000, as to those who escaped from the port of Smyrna must be added around 100,000 Greeks who were living in the depths of Asia Minor in the aftermath of the war and who were driven out as hostile populations by the Turkish army.

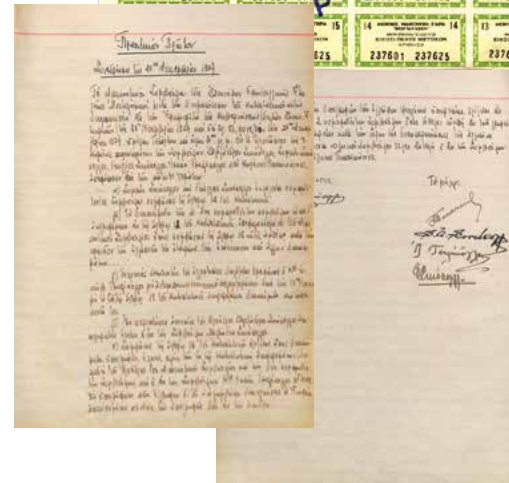
In reality, however, the great crisis had not yet broken out. On 23 September Eastern Thrace passed once again into the hands of the Turks, and the unusual triangular ‘backyard’ of Constantinople, extending approximately 35 kilometres as far as the Evros River, was emptied of its 300,000 Greeks. In the first 12 days 180,000 crossed the Evros in dreadful



Banner-flag of the Moutalaski Textile Company SA
Centre for the Study and Promotion of Asia Minor Hellenism
of the Nea Ionia Municipality



Symeon Siniosoglou
Centre for the Study and Promotion
of Asia Minor Hellenism
of the Nea Ionia Municipality



Stock certificate of the Moutalaski Textile Company SA, 1974,
and minutes of the first board meeting, 1927
PIOP Historical Archive



Gathering of workers of the Moutalaski Textile Company SA
Centre for the Study and Promotion of Asia Minor Hellenism of the Nea Ionia Municipality



Diploma of 1924
Centre for the Study and Promotion
of Asia Minor Hellenism of the Nea Ionia Municipality



Small table
of the Moutalaski Textile Company SA,
Nea Ionia, 1937
Private collection



Cover and pages of a calendar
of the Moutalaski Textile Company SA
and notes on account transactions, 1936
Historical Archive of Refugee Hellenism



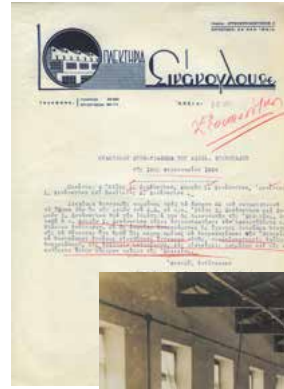
Refugee women working in a textile factory, 1920s
ELIA/MIET



Publication on the art of Asia Minor weaving, mainly of Byzantine origins
Benaki Museum



Report of the board of directors of Hellenic Wool Works SA, 1925
Loukas P. Christodoulou Collection



Minutes of the meeting of the board of directors of the Sinanoglou Textile Factory SA, 1936
Loukas P. Christodoulou Collection



Symeon Sinanoglou's hosiery factory with his workers
Centre for the Study and Promotion of Asia Minor Hellenism of the Nea Ionia Municipality



Desk calendar of the Minaidis-Photiadis Wool Company
Dora Minaidi Collection



Nea Palatia, 1955: Maria Skouti, one of the best weavers of Palatia, spinning thread on her spinning wheel
Nea Palatia Cultural Association



Shares of Ellinis SA, 1936, of Niki SA, 1929, and of Esperos SA, 1937
Loukas P. Christodoulou Collection



The Peraia Textile Factory: snapshot of Moraitinis, the director, and workers, 1928
Historical Archive of Refugee Hellenism



The personnel of the textile factory of Georgios Kypraios and Theodoros Mavromatis, Kalamaria, Thessaloniki, 1940
Historical Archive of Refugee Hellenism



The Roxani Textile Factory in Thessaloniki
Roxani Tsimpiropoulou Photographic Archive

SOURCES OF ACCOMPANYING TEXTS

PART A (pp. 32-135)

- p. 32: Fotis Kontoglou, *Ο Αστρολάβος* [The astrolabe], Athens: Astir, 1975, p. 49.
- p. 33: Théophile Gautier, *Constantinople*, Paris: Lévy Frères, 1853; English trans. by Robert Howe Gould, *Constantinople of Today*, London: David Bough, 1854, p. 56.
- p. 34: Extract from a letter from the governor of the *Vilayet* of Aydin, Midhat Pasha, to the Grand Vizier, Mehmed Said Pasha, 26 September 1880; quoted in Zeki Arıkan, 'Midhat Paşa'nın Aydin Valiliği (Ağustos 1880 – Mayıs 1881)', in *Uluslararası Midhat Paşa semineri: bildiriler ve tartışmalar* (Aydin, 8-10 May 1984), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1986, pp. 127-164; also quoted in Maria-Carmen Smyrneli (ed.), *Σμύρνη, η λησμονημένη πόλη; 1830-1930: Μνήμες ενός μεγάλου μεσογειακού λιμανιού* [Smyrna, the forgotten city? 1830-1930: Memories of a great Mediterranean port], Athens: Me-taichmio, 2008, p. 162.
- p. 34: Paul Lindau, *An der Westküste Klein-Asiens eine Sommerfahrt auf dem Ägäischen Meere*, Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1900; quoted in Giorgos Poulimenos and Achilleas Chatziconstantinou, *Η προκουαία της Σμύρνης. Ανιχνεύοντας ένα σύμβολο προόδου και μεγαλείου* [The Smyrna quay: Tracing a symbol of progress and splendour], vol. 1: *Οικιστικό και κοσμικό τμήμα* [Residential and secular section], Athens: Kapon, 2018, p. 231.
- p. 35: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Athens, Oral Tradition Archive, File IQN 10: Evdokia Roumelioti, Bournova, Ionia.
- p. 35: Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages, qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes*, vol. I, Paris: Gervais Clouzier and Claude Barbin, 1676, pp. 76-77; English trans. by John Philips as *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier*, London: Printed for R. L. and M. Pytt, 1677, p. 33.
- p. 36: Alexandros Moraitidis, *Με του βορρά τα κύματα. Ταξίδια - περιγραφές - εντυπώσεις* [With the waves from the north: Journeys - descriptions - impressions], vol. 1, Athens: Ioannis N. Sideris, 1922, p. 35.
- p. 37: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Athens, Oral Tradition Archive, File IQN 31: Kleio Nikolintagia, Seydikoy, Ionia.
- p. 37: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Athens, Oral Tradition Archive, File IQN 69α: Spyros Lianos, Vourla, Ionia.
- p. 38: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Athens, Oral Tradition Archive, File KΑΠ 1: Nikolaos Kyriakopoulos, Aidini, Caria.
- p. 39: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Athens, Oral Tradition Archive, File ΑΙΟΛ 4: Elisavet Komninou, Aivali, Aeolis.
- p. 40: *Αθηναϊκά Νέα* (23 June 1933), repr. in Christos S. Solomonidis, *Η παιδεία στη Σμύρνη* [Education in Smyrna], Athens: A. Mavridis, 1961, pp. 131-132.
- p. 41: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Athens, Oral Tradition Archive, File IQN 69α: Lambros Lambrikidis, Vourla, Ionia.
- p. 41: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Athens, Oral Tradition Archive, File IQN 27: Eleni Karantoni, Bounarbasi, Ionia.
- p. 42: Fotis Kontoglou, *Έργα Α' . Το Αϊβαλί, η πατρίδα μου* [Works A': Aivali, my homeland], Athens: Astir, 1962, p. 64.
- p. 43: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Athens, Oral Tradition Archive, File IQN 69α: Spyros Lianos, Vourla, Ionia.
- p. 43: The American College of Greece Archive, *An American College for Women in Ancient Smyrna*, information leaflet, 1922.
- p. 45: From an article by Michail Argyropoulos in the newspaper *Εστία* (15 August 1931).
- p. 45: Classified advertisement from *Εμπορικό Οδηγό της Σμύρνης και των περιχώρων* [Commercial guide to Smyrna and environs], 1901; quoted in Giorgos A. Giannakopoulos, 'Ελληνικά βιβλία τυπωμένα στη Σμύρνη (1894-1922). Βιβλιογραφική συμβολή' [Greek books printed in Smyrna (1894-1922): A bibliographical contribution], *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 7 (1988-1989), p. 269.
- p. 48: Paul Lindau, *An der Westküste Klein-Asiens eine Sommerfahrt auf dem Ägäischen Meere*, Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1900. Quoted in Giorgos Poulimenos and Achilleas Chatziconstantinou, *Η προκουαία της Σμύρνης. Ανιχνεύοντας ένα σύμβολο προόδου και μεγαλείου* [The Smyrna quay: Tracing a symbol of progress and splendour], vol. 1: *Οικιστικό και κοσμικό τμήμα* [Residential and secular section], Athens: Kapon, 2018, pp. 296-297.
- p. 48: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Athens, Oral Tradition Archive, File IQN 17: Marianthi Papayiannaki, Gökağaç, Ionia.
- p. 49: Paul Lindau, *An der Westküste Klein-Asiens eine Sommerfahrt auf dem Ägäischen Meere*, Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1900; quoted in Giorgos Poulimenos and Achilleas Chatziconstantinou, *Η προκουαία της Σμύρνης. Ανιχνεύοντας ένα σύμβολο προόδου και μεγαλείου* [The Smyrna quay: Tracing a symbol of progress and splendour], vol. 1: *Οικιστικό και κοσμικό τμήμα* [Residential and secular section], Athens: Kapon, 2018, pp. 235-236.
- p. 50: Gaston Deschamps, *Sur les routes d'Asie*, Paris: Armand Colin et Cie, 1894; quoted in Maria Georgiadou, *Constantin Carathéodory: Mathematics and Politics in Turbulent Times*, Berlin: Springer, 2004, p. 144.
- p. 51: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Athens, Oral Tradition Archive, File ΑΙΟΛ 4: Elisavet Komninou, Aivali, Aeolis.
- p. 52: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Athens, Oral Tradition Archive, File IQN 1: Zoe Kapa, Smyrna, Ionia.
- p. 53: Gaston Deschamps, *Sur les routes d'Asie*, Paris: Armand Colin et Cie, 1894; quoted in Maria Georgiadou, *Constantin Carathéodory: Mathematics and Politics in Turbulent Times*, Berlin: Springer, 2004, p. 144.
- p. 54: Kosmas Politis, *Στον Χατζηφράγκου. Τα σαραντάχρονα μιας χαμένης πολιτείας* [At Hadzifrangos's: The forty-year memorial of a lost city], Athens: A. Karavias, 1963, pp. 198, 203-204, 210-212, 311.
- p. 55: Giorgis Papazoglou, 'Τα χαίρια μας εδώ: ονειράτα της άκαυτης και της καμμένης Σμύρνης'. *Αγγέλα Παπάζογλου* ['Our advantages here: Dreams from intact and burnt-down Smyrna': Angela Papazoglou], Athens: Eptalofos, 2003, pp. 58-59.
- p. 55: Sokratis I. Prokopiou, *Σεργιάνι στην παλιά Σμύρνη (Διηγηματικό στιχούργημα)* [A stroll through old Smyrna (Narrative lyric)], 2nd ed., Athens: n.p., 1949; also quoted in Aristomenis Kalyviotis, *Σμύρνη: Η μουσική ζωή, 1900-1922. Η διασκέδαση, τα μουσικά καταστήματα, οι ηχογραφήσεις των δίσκων* [Smyrna: Musical life, 1900-1922: Entertainment, music shops, recordings of albums], Athens: Music Corner and Tinella, 2002, p. 19.
- p. 55: Georgios Fakiris, 'Αποκρηά της Σμύρνης' [The Smyrna Carnival], *Εστία* newspaper (14 February 1896); also quoted in *Σαράντα χρόνια*

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PART A

IONIA AND THE WESTERN COASTLINE (pp. 32-67)

- p. 32: Ionia, July 1967, drafted by the Cartographic Service of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Maps Archive.
- p. 32: Aeolis, July 1967, drafted by the Cartographic Service of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Maps Archive.
- p. 32: Consulate General of Greece in Smyrna: resident's permit, 1884, 'Palatia Museum' of the Cultural Association of Nea Palatia.
- p. 32: Caria, July 1967, drafted by the Cartographic Service of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Maps Archive.
- p. 33: Charles Barry (1795-1860), *Smyrna from the Roadstead*, watercolour over pencil on paper, 20.4 x 93 cm, Thanasis and Marina Martinou Collection.
- p. 33: Gustave Cirilli, *Album de Smyrne. Coups d'œil – coups de crayon*, Paris: E. Dentu, 1883, Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Library.
- p. 33: Stephanos Gryllis, *View of the City of Vourla in Asia Minor*, second half of the 19th century, lithograph, 45.5 x 64 cm, private collection.
- p. 33: Konstantinos P. Kaldis, *View of Smyrna*, 1851, coloured engraving, 47 x 62 cm, Benaki Museum, 30412.

The Prestige of Smyrna (pp. 34-35)

- p. 34: Topographic map of Smyrna by Ernest Bon, 1913, Enosis Smyrnaion.
- p. 34: Souvenir postcards from Smyrna, Benaki Museum / Photographic Archives.
- p. 34: Unknown artist, *View of Smyrna*, lithograph, 24.5 x 136 cm, photograph: Stavros Psiroukis, National Gallery – Alexandros Soutsos Museum.
- p. 35: Smyrna, the waterfront, postcard (pub. by S. Sarantopoulos), Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive of the Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece (ELIA/MIET), Photographic Archive.
- p. 35: The emblematic belfry of St Photini, Smyrna, postcard (pub. by S. Sarantopoulos), Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive of the Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece (ELIA/MIET), Photographic Archive.
- p. 35: 'Smyrna: Part of the waterfront near the Customs House', postcard, Loukas P. Christodoulou Collection.
- p. 35: 'View of the waterfront, Hellenic Post Office', postcard, Loukas P. Christodoulou Collection.
- p. 35: Rue Franque, Smyrna, postcard, Loukas P. Christodoulou Collection.

The Church (pp. 36-39)

- p. 36: Two panels from the sanctuary screen of St Photini, Smyrna, with the Virgin 'Zoodochos Pige' and the Annunciation, 17th

century, 28 x 68 cm and 30 x 67 cm, Benaki Museum, 21917-21918, donated by Lola N. Petsali.

- p. 36: Smyrna, the belfry of St Photini, Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Photographic Archive.
- p. 36: Chrysostomos, Metropolitan of Smyrna, addressing the people, *Κόσμος* 72 (15 December 1911), Enosis Smyrnaion.
- p. 36: Lottery tickets for the construction of the new Church of St Catherine, Smyrna, 1903, Enosis Smyrnaion.
- p. 36: The Church of St Catherine, the largest in Smyrna, designed by the Smyranean architect Xenophon Latris, Enosis Smyrnaion.
- p. 36: Constitution of the Brotherhood of St Photini, Smyrna, 1 February 1845, Enosis Smyrnaion.
- p. 37: Boat-shaped ex-votos from Asia Minor, late 19th – early 20th century, length 11.5 cm and 14.5 cm, Benaki Museum, 34673 (TA1020) and 34672 (TA1020).
- p. 37: Ship-shaped ex-voto from Asia Minor, late 19th – early 20th century, 21 x 21.5 cm, Benaki Museum, 34053.
- p. 37: Boat-shaped ex-voto from Asia Minor, late 19th – early 20th century, 6.5 x 19.5 cm, Benaki Museum, 39150.
- p. 37: Copper engraving plate with Christ, the Great High Priest, Enossi Mikrassiaton Neas Erythraeas.
- p. 37: Asterisks (liturgical implements), Smyrna, Estia Neas Smyrnis.
- p. 37: Paten from Smyrna, 19th-20th century, diam. 22.2 cm, Benaki Museum, 34581.
- p. 37: Gospel Book from Adrianople, a gift of Dorotheos, Metropolitan of Adrianople, printed in Venice (1811), cover made in Smyrna (1816), 37 x 25.5 cm, Benaki Museum, 34146.
- p. 37: The pastoral staff of Meletios, Metropolitan of Elaia, 1833, Benaki Museum, 33766.
- p. 37: The pastoral staff and mitre of Chrysostomos (Hatzistavrou), Metropolitan of Ephesus, Estia Neas Smyrnis.
- p. 37: Reliquary for the head of St George Chiopolites, made by Pantazis Marangopoulos, Aivali, 1816, diam. 20 cm, dedicated by the soap-makers' guild, Benaki Museum, 23792, donated by Georgios Zakos.
- p. 38: Icons from Ionia: Christ, the Great High Priest, Ionia, and the Virgin Mary Enthroned with Christ, Ionia, Holy Metropolis of Nea Ionia, Philadelphia, Heraklion and Chalcedon.
- p. 38: Icon from Çeşme: St John the Baptist, Çeşme, Erythraea, 19th century, Museum of Greek Refugees – Asia Minor Association of Kavala.
- p. 38: Religious magazine of Smyrna, *Ιερός Πολύκαρπος* 53 (1912), Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Library.
- p. 38: Communion chalice cover from Smyrna, 1908; the pieces come from a cloth for an icon stand, Holy Metropolis of Glyfada, Hellenikon, Voula, Vouliagmeni and Vari, donated by the Metropolitan of Glyfada, Pavlos (Tsaousoglou, with paternal origins from Smyrna).