UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
FACULTY OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN LANGUAGES

MERTON COLLEGE

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SMYRNA IN YOUR POCKET: MEMORY OF ASIA MINOR IN CONTEMPORARY GREEK CULTURE

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy in Medieval and Modern Languages

Trinity Term 2018

In loving memory of my grandmother Maria

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements 3

Short Abstract 5

Long Abstract 6

Chapter 1. Introduction

- 1.1. Memory Work 11
- 1.2. Legacies of the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) 18
  - 1.2.1. Historical Background 18
  - 1.2.2. Reworking History 25
  - 1.2.3. Reworking Culture 29
- 1.3. Memory Studies as a Methodological Framework 40
  - 1.3.1. Memory, Trauma, Transmission 42
  - 1.3.2. Visual Memory Studies and Affective Connections 48
- 1.4. Thesis Outline 52

Chapter 2. Affective Alliances in Greek History Wars

- 2.1. Between Memory and History 57
- 2.2. History as a Building Block of a Nation 59
- 2.3. Chronicle of a History War 67
- 2.4. The Multi-Vocal Public Sphere 74
- 2.5. The Social Lives of Memory 88
- 2.6. Conclusions 93

Chapter 3. Through the Mirror Maze of Soloup's Aivali

- 3.1. The Journey of Return in Comics Form 96
- 3.2. Graphic Novel as Literature? 103
- 3.3. Through the Mirror Maze of Soloup's *Aivali* 107
- 3.4. Itineraries of Memory 121
- 3.5. Conclusions 129

Chapter 4. Smyrna in Your Pocket

- 4.1. A Response to the History Textbook Controversy 131
- 4.2. Smyrna as a Portable Monument 135
- 4.3. Affect, Emotion and Historical Truth 139

4.4. Witnessing the Asia Minor Catastrophe “In and Through Time” 152

4.5. Conclusions 161

Chapter 5. The Futures of Memory Through the Frames of Precarious Present

5.1. Memory, Solidarity, Empathy 163

5.2. Media Witnessing 170

5.3. Locating Memory in Media Frames 175

5.4. Connective Memories 188

5.5. Conclusions 194

Chapter 6. Epilogue 196

Appendix of Images 202

Bibliography 218

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank Dimitris Papanikolaou for the energy, enthusiasm and care with which he supported this project from beginning to end and for his intellectual guidance, which has shaped my own approach to contemporary Greek culture in profound ways. I would also like to thank Kostas Skordyles for encouragement and guidance on the questions of memory and history throughout the duration of my project as well as comments he provided as an examiner during my Transfer of Status and Confirmation milestones. In that capacity, I am also indebted to Guido Bonsaver and Eleftheria Ioannidou for their helpful feedback. Constructive criticism of Gonda van Steen and Penelope Papailias during the viva voce examination has propelled my thinking in new ways, for which I am very grateful. At this point, I would also like to thank Kristina Svarevičiūtė, Eleni Bampasaki, Frances Restuccia and Claudia Koonz, who, each in their different ways, led me to what eventually became the beginnings of this thesis.

A special word of thanks must go to several other people who engaged with this work at various stages and contributed their fruitful insights. Antonis Nikolopoulos-Soloup, Mimi Denisi and Maria Repousi met me during my research visits in Athens and generously shared views on their work and the memory of Asia Minor. Emilie Pine, Enrique del Rey Cabero and William Drummond read and commented on draft chapters. Informal exchanges with Giorgos Tsimouris, Libby Tata Arcel, Renee Hirschon, Emilia Salvanou, Vangelis Karamanolakis, Antonis Liakos and Angela Melitopoulos helped to answer certain questions. Richard Harber edited the English of this thesis with great attention and patience, while Patrick Murphy and Anouska Wilkinson edited the English of earlier drafts. Needless to say, any errors and inaccuracies that remain are my own.

This research project would not have been possible without the generous legacy of the Oxford-Aidan Jenkins Scholarship. Grants from the Sub-Faculty of Byzantine and Modern Greek, Merton College and Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages have also greatly facilitated my research. The Greek language course scholarship by the Institute of Balkan Studies (IMXA) just before starting this thesis helped to build the necessary linguistic confidence. Support from the Onassis Foundation and Kostas and Eleni Ouranis Foundation was a crucial assistance during the final stages of my research.

The stimulating research environment I found at the Sub-Faculty of Byzantine and Modern Greek was invaluable for developing my ideas. The Modern Greek Seminar, the Graduate Seminar and a number of top class conferences, including Diversity in 20th and 21st Century Greek Popular Culture(s) and Media; Renegotiations of History in light of the 'Greek Crisis'; Greece in Crisis: Culture, Identity, Politics and ‘New Queer Greece’: Performance, Politics, Identity all provided a fruitful terrain for exchanging ideas. The TORCH-AHRC Graduate Fund grant for organizing the conference Crossings: Negotiating Borders and Boundaries in the Eastern Mediterranean offered an

invaluable learning experience and a much-cherished opportunity to bring together colleagues working on similar issues across disciplines.

Outside of Oxford, I benefited greatly from exchanges during: the symposium organised by Historical and Folklore Society in Rethymno, Annual Postgraduate Colloquium of the Society for Modern Greek Studies, In Search of Transcultural Memory in Europe Postgraduate Training School at the University of Dublin, Futures of Memory Workshop at the University of Leeds, Memory Studies Association Conference at the University of Copenhagen, Gate to the Eastern Mediterranean (GEM) seminar at the University of Birmingham, Research Seminar at the Department of Social Anthropology of Panteion University and Strategies of the Documentary Conference of the University of Vienna.

I am indebted to many dear friends who assisted me during the past four years in more than one way. Moves between homes and countries would have been much more stressful without the help of Jean, Robin and Mairi. The resources from Athens would have been much more difficult to obtain without the scans of Pavlos M. Library hours would have been much more lonely without the company of Enrique, Anna and Fiona. The hours outside of library would have been only half-well spent without Neringa, Rūta, Ana, Kostas, Rovena and Pavlos T.

I feel very lucky to have the support of Robert, whose reservoirs of encouragement and positive attitude proved to be inexhaustible even at the most difficult of times.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my parents Galina and Raimundas for their unconditional support not only at this but at every milestone. Without their fresh apple juice at the final stretches of this project it would probably still be under construction.

Smyrna in Your Pocket: Memory of Asia Minor in Contemporary Greek Culture
Kristina Gedgaudaitė, Merton College
DPhil in Medieval and Modern Languages
Trinity Term 2018

SHORT ABSTRACT

This thesis turns to a watershed in the history of modern Greece – the defeat in the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) and the population exchange that followed – in order to discuss the role that the memory of these events plays in contemporary Greek culture. By coupling methodological tools developed in the field of cultural memory studies with insights drawn from history, psychology and anthropology, three parallel 'itineraries' are followed: reparative, possessive and connective vision of the past. It is argued that although everyone operates within given social frameworks and with certain cultural, political and other tools, the meaning that one's ideas take on is ultimately determined in an encounter. Encounter serves as a critical intervention that helps to highlight both the contingency of memory and the affective alliances that it entails in present day Greece. The introduction sets the discussion in a wider context: I provide historical background of the Greco-Turkish War and outline the ways in which its memory has been reworked in history and culture from 1922 until the present day. The different mnemonic communities that have assembled around the memory of Asia Minor are discussed in Chapter 2, by drawing on the controversy over a history textbook that ensued in 2006-2007. Chapter 3 uses an example of a graphic novel in order to foreground the aesthetic and memory practices that Asia Minor sets in motion when the relay of remembrance reaches the third generation. Chapter 4 discusses the memory of the cosmopolitan Ottoman port of Smyrna on theatre stage and proposes memory as a portable toolkit for bearing witness in the future. Chapter 5 puts the latter premise to the test in the context of the refugee crisis as it unfolded in Greece in 2015. Within this interdisciplinary framework, the memory of Asia Minor emerges as reflective of present day ideologies and responsive to contemporary concerns.

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LONG ABSTRACT

This thesis turns to a watershed in the history of modern Greece – the defeat in the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) and the population exchange that followed (known as "The Asia Minor Catastrophe" in the Greek context) – in order to discuss the role that the memory of these events plays in the contemporary Greek culture. On the one hand, I describe how family memories find their way into cultural representations and provide a language as well as a form for other reminiscences. On the other, my aim is to show how those cultural representations participate in wider transformations that occur in the public sphere. Although a number of different case studies were considered at the initial stages, representations that came into being between 2014-2016 were eventually chosen as the main focus.

The originality of this thesis lies in conceptualising the subject across different media within both the public and the cultural sphere. The cultural texts themselves are not viewed in isolation but as embedded in the network of wider interrelations. Moreover, attention is given not only to the cultural products as such but also to the agents of memory, viewing the two in interaction. Discussing how specific cultural forms and assumptions of their audiences interact with each other in shaping the memory of Asia Minor enables us to see the dynamics of producing and sustaining memory in culture. Working across different media was one of the biggest challenges of this project, which required me to develop a subtle cross-disciplinary awareness and equipped me with a wide range of analytical tools.

The arguments developed in this thesis can be divided into three broad categories: 1) the role of media and popular culture in establishing some memories as "canonical"; 2) the use of the canon and the archive in order develop new ways of seeing the history of Asia Minor; 3) memory as a toolkit to address contemporary realities. My argument is that although we all operate within given social frameworks and with certain cultural, political and other tools, the meaning that our ideas will take on is ultimately determined in an encounter. Encounter, both as reception of particular

case studies and as my own personal encounter with the memory of Asia Minor, serves as a critical intervention that helps to highlight both the contingency of memory and the affective alliances that the memory of Asia Minor entails and helps to establish in present day Greece. Viewing each of the case studies as an occasion for an encounter offers a critical stance to theorize on the temporalities, relationships and opportunities that the memory of Asia Minor entails.

The introduction sets the discussion in the wider context: it provides a historical background of the Greco-Turkish War and examines the ways in which its memory has been reworked in history and culture from 1922 until the present day. By using a number of examples, I discuss how the military debacle in Asia Minor has been gradually reshaped into a more personalized and diversified cultural heritage. If in the first generation of refugees memory constituted a tool for constructing a homeland, and in the second generation the chief concern became a "mnemonic survival" of this homeland, in the third generation – where gradually Asia Minor extends to include those who are not necessarily of refugee descent – the chief concern becomes *how* to tell its history, where form is as important as its contents. The theoretical framework outlined in this part of my thesis helps to shape a critical understanding of these developments. In the chapters that follow, I employ these insights to examine the memory of Asia Minor in contemporary Greek culture.

Different mnemonic communities that have assembled around the memory of Asia Minor are discussed in Chapter 2, each with its own agenda and vision for the future of that memory. Drawing on a case study of the controversy over the history textbook for the sixth grade of Greek primary school (*dimotiko*), edited by a team of history educators led by Maria Repousi, I argue that if we are to fully grasp the dynamics through which memories circulate, we need to take into account the emotions evoked by any one memory. The debate over the history textbook occurred in 2006-2007 because it was seen as undermining the solid pillars of the national narrative and hence the national identity that rests on them. Although the arguments surrounding the controversy made reference to several pivotal moments in modern Greek history, the whole discussion eventually boiled down to one specific word – *συνωστισμός* in Greek, which can be translated as crowding in English – with reference to the Greeks assembling on the quay of Smyrna trying to escape the burning city in 1922. The reference was seen as trivialising the event, with heated arguments about the use of this word and the book more generally erupting across a wide range of media and summoning up opposition across the political spectrum. Drawing on the theorisations of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, I propose that both the opponents and the supporters of the textbook appealed to the paranoid visions of the nation's future and its history, and that both sides of the debate were employing strategies and tactics to advocate their views that essentially mirror each other. The remainder of my thesis is structured as a response to this controversy. Ten years on, the echoes of the debate are still present in public and cultural spheres, and their analysis can offer us a glimpse into the future unfolding of memory. Detailed analysis of three case studies offers three distinct scenarios, which I call the reparative, the possessive, and the connective visions of the past.

Chapter 3 foregrounds aesthetics and memory practices that Asia Minor sets in motion when the relay of remembrance reaches the third generation. By building on the concept of the generation of postmemory as developed by Marianne Hirsch (1997, 2008, 2011) and intergenerational transmission of trauma as discussed by Libby Tata Arcel (2014), the discussion focuses on the graphic novel *Αϊβαλί* [Aivali] (2014) by Soloup – a grandchild of refugees from Asia Minor. The plot of the graphic novel develops within one day, when Soloup's protagonist, who is a metarepresentation of the author himself, undertakes a boat trip between the ports of Mytilene to Ayvalık that once formed a single cultural space within the Ottoman Empire but is now divided by the border between Greece and Turkey. Within the framework of the boat trip, voices of Greek and Turkish writers intertwine with Soloup's family memories to provide an insight into the region's past and the repercussions of this past in the present. By bringing Greek and Turkish voices together, Soloup advocates a reparative memory of Asia Minor that would bridge the divisions cultivated through the national ideologies. As will be made evident from the discussion of cultural events organised in relation to *Aivali,* the graphic novel leads to many encounters with the past, and during these encounters the memory of Asia Minor travels across Greece and beyond, becomes the subject of debates, and leads to new reproductions and readings. In Marianne Hirsch's terms, the graphic novel paves the way from familial to affiliative postmemory. Yet the affiliations that the book generates – and those that it inhibits – stretch beyond authorial intensions.

Chapter 4 builds on the notion of affiliative postmemory by turning to the most prominent among the homelands of Asia Minor, that of the affluent and cosmopolitan city of Smyrna. It does so through the medium of theatre, which has so far received little critical attention for its representations of Asia Minor. I argue that Smyrna has starred in the story of the lost homelands on so many occasions that it became fixed in the Greek popular imagination as closely associated with certain cultural tropes that condense the history of Smyrna in a way a pocket guide might do, and their recurrence in literature, music, film and theatre preserves this version of Smyrna in the memory of the Greek people. Extending the term "portable monument" coined by Ann Rigney (2004), I refer to this type of Smyrna as "portable Smyrna". Portable memory, a concept developed within this thesis, is crucial for my arguments. Viewing memory as portable – across generations and among the members of the Greek society – enables me focus on what is it that gets transmitted in the process. I argue that there are certain characteristics without which it is very difficult to image Smyrna today, which also extend to the memory of other "lost homelands". As a result, any novel representation has to make use of these characteristics in order to create a credible representation.

The analysis of the play *Σμύρνη μου αγαπημένη* [My Beloved Smyrna] (2014) by Mimi Denisi shows how the theatre stage becomes a space where portable Smyrna is performed. My encounters with audience members demonstrate how it nourishes the memory of Asia Minor and reinforces the community around it. For many critics, the stagings of Greek history that Denisi is known for represent a popular form of Greek nationalism, fostering national pride, a sense of cultural exceptionalism, and a possessive vision of the past. By discussing my encounters with audience members, I challenge this assumption and suggest that *My Beloved Smyrna* provides a chance for audiences to confront different viewpoints on the history of Asia Minor emerging across generations. Ultimately, my argument in this chapter is that portable memory, such as that of Smyrna, provides a toolkit for crafting one's own place in history – past, present and future.

Chapter 5 returns to the idea that portable memory provides a toolkit for reconstituting a relationship to the past and bearing witness in the future. Using this premise as a starting point, I argue that the current refugee crisis constituted just such a moment in Greece. When in summer and early autumn of 2015 thousands of people daily arrived onto the Greek islands of the Aegean, the overwhelming response to the emergency as exhibited by the inhabitants of the Aegean islands, and especially Lesvos, was discussed in the media as that of solidarity with refugees. This outpouring of solidarity was often attributed to the fact that many of the islanders were themselves descendants of the 1922 refugees and still remembered the hardships that their ancestors suffered. In my analysis, accounts from the field as provided by some of the leading anthropologists are coupled with a discussion of widely circulated media representations that called for solidarity in order to put this premise to the test. Moreover, the memory of Asia Minor is discussed as connective memory that is put in relation to other moments of recent Greek history. Limitations in their representation by the media become apparent once they are embedded in this wider context. Bearing these limitations in mind, in the final part of this chapter I consider what might be an alternative framework.

Each of the chapters offers a distinct insight into the dynamics of memory. Taken together, they provide a comprehensive overview of what it means to remember Asia Minor in contemporary Greek culture. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first large-scale study to do so, and the contribution of this thesis lies in demonstrating how contemporary cultural texts on Asia Minor are reflective of Greek identity, culture and politics.

1

INTRODUCTION

> Oh my dear child! Who will tell of our sufferings, who will make history out of them so that everyone could read it and learn about it. Our own [sufferings] do not survive!
>
> Marianthe Karamousa in the collection *The Exodus* [Η Έξοδος]
> (Apostolopoulos et al. 1980: 191)

1.1. MEMORY WORK

This thesis turns to a watershed in the history of modern Greece – the defeat in the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) and the population exchange that followed – in order to discuss the role that the memory of these events plays in the contemporary Greek culture. Thwarting Greece's territorial ambitions and increasing its population by over a quarter within two years, the defeat had profound political and social consequences. In fact, the impact of this debacle was felt as so severe that it became known as the Asia Minor Catastrophe[1]: an emotionally loaded term that is still used today. In the present thesis, this historical moment is discussed in the context of contemporary Greek culture, showing how it intertwines with and speaks to present-day concerns. On the one hand, I describe how family memories find their way into cultural representations and provide a language as well as a form for other reminiscences. On the other, my aim is to show how those cultural representations participate in wider transformations that occur in the public sphere.

Although the analysis presented within this thesis largely focuses on the Greek context, the questions on histories of dislocation and their legacies in the present day that it addresses have a much wider resonance. The 1923 Treaty of Lausanne that separated the Muslims and Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire into Turks and Greeks and relocated them to corresponding geographies subsequently served as a model for efficiently executing other displacements. The route on which refugees from

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[1] This term is usually translated as Asia Minor Disaster in English. In this thesis, preference is given to Greco-Turkish War or Asia Minor Campaign to refer to these events. The term Asia Minor Catastrophe is preferred to Asia Minor Disaster when translating Greek sources.

Asia Minor once embarked – from coastal Turkey to Greece via the Aegean islands – today is taken by refugees from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. While each of these events has its distinct histories, bearing in mind that these histories also intersect at crucial point helps to see how the central questions that this thesis addresses – what remains of the violent legacies of war nearly a hundred years later and what role these remnants of the past play in contemporary society – continue to be equally relevant outside of the Greek context. Furthermore, the issues that the thesis poses with regards to the contemporary present – how contemporary identity politics intertwine with the questions about the past and how claims of ownership over this past inevitably come endowed with specific demands for the future – resonate strongly with other global contexts were debates about the past have shaken the public sphere. Finally, bringing the two perspectives together – legacies of the violent past and the ways they continue to shape present-day identities – drives us to question the ways in which we are also implicated in witnessing war and dislocation, which the new connective media environments have turned into a perpetual presence of distant suffering.

A number of different case studies were considered at the initial stages, but representations that came into being between 2014-2016 were eventually chosen as the main focus of this thesis. This timeframe allowed me not only to analyse strategies employed in representing memories of Asia Minor, but also to closely follow the reception of these representations within the Greek communities and beyond. Encounters with memories of Asia Minor discussed within this thesis serve as a critical intervention that helps to highlight both the contingency of memory and the affective alliances that it entails in present-day Greece. Employing this methodology, my intention is to show that the memory of Asia Minor is dynamic, innovative, reflective of present-day ideologies as well as responsive to contemporary issues. The purpose of this Introduction is to place my discussion into a wider context by charting the itinerary that the memory of Asia Minor followed between 1922 and 2014 and by outlining a theoretical framework that can help us shape critical understanding of these developments.

While the analysis presented in this thesis centres on several examples of cultural representations, all of these are discussed within the wider context in which they circulate, thus keeping the focus on *memory work* undertaken while shaping the memory of Asia Minor. What I mean by the expression “memory work” can be illustrated by the epigraph to this Introduction, where Marianthe Karamousa talks of her hardships in the aftermath of the 1922 Greek military defeat in Asia Minor. Marianthe refers to her experience in the plural, as if speaking in one voice together with all those uprooted from their homes as well as those who could not speak out because they perished before crossing the Aegean. Her account of fleeing from her hometown – the village of Bagarasi in the province of Aydin – is punctuated by many deaths of her family members and co-villagers. At these very moments of narrating death, Marianthe laments that there is nobody to turn *their own* suffering into history. Even though sharing her story with the interviewer from the Centre of Asia Minor Studies, Marianthe Karamousa feels that she is outside of history rather than a historical subject whose account gains currency at the time of transcribing it to become part of the historical record.

The interview took place on 15 June 1962. That was the year when Asia Minor associations across the country and abroad united in commemoration of the Year of Hellenism of the East [Ετος του Ελληνισμού της Ανατολής] forty years after the end of the Greco-Turkish War. It was an occasion that attracted some nation-wide as well as diaspora media coverage, with many events, cultural initiatives and book publications to mark the occasion as an important part of national history (Anastadiadis et al. 1964). We can get a sense of the attitudes to the Asia Minor campaign that were promoted forty years later from the articles in the national press: "The Asia Minor Catastrophe constitutes a vivid memory of the nation" (Asterinos 1962); "Forty years have passed from Asia Minor Catastrophe, this uppermost and shocking venture that put its bloodied stamp on our soul and the whole of the recent history" (Soteriou 1962a); "Greece will not stop mourning this national calamity and holding memorial services for the martyrs of the faith and of the homeland" (Kantiotis 1962); "This year's fortieth [anniversary] from that indescribable calamity of 1922, gave, and is still giving, an occasion for thousand – two [thousand] events [organised] by people who lived through these horrendous days of the homelands of the East" (Chatzianagnostou 1962). Quite clearly, within these articles, the Asia Minor campaign is recognized as a vivid and sorrowful memory that concerns the whole nation. It would seem that at least some of this recognition would transpire into the hearts and minds of the refugees, giving them a sense of belonging to history as well as an awareness of participating in its various ways.

Yet the testimony of Marianthe speaks against such hasty conclusions. From the testimony itself and the notes on the interview, it is difficult to tell today what exactly led Marianthe to express her concerns the way she did that afternoon on 15 June 1962. On the one hand, a number of political developments contributed to creating an environment where neither the suffering of refugees during their displacement from Asia Minor nor the hardships they encountered after moving to Greece had much recognition by the wider public. Ever since the 1930 Peace agreement signed with Turkey, the focus of international relations was on mutual peaceful coexistence rather than on the violence inflicted during the war and the losses it entailed, and this was further reinforced during the Metaxas regime and the NATO partnership of the 1950s (Sjöberg 2016: 57-58; Salvanou 2018: 207). During the 1960s, the history of refugees from Asia Minor chiefly centred on show-casing their contribution to economic, cultural and social development as well as to the modernisation of the country, in line with the values of the prevalent ideology of national-mindedness [εθνικοφροσύνη] propagated by the military junta of 1967-1974 (Salvanou 2018: 210). Yet for many refugees the hardships that they suffered simply could not be consigned to the past, as they continued to live in appalling conditions even forty years their arrival from Asia Minor, despite the major housing programmes implemented by the state and international organisations (Pentzopoulos 2002 [1962]: 225-236)[2]. On the other hand, it might have also been the case that in the 1960s the emotional wounds of the Axis Occupation and the Civil War were a more deeply felt reality than those left by the uprooting from Asia Minor. One thing is quite certain, however: Marianthe's complaint considered against the context of the 1962 commemorations shows that the public feelings expressed during commemorative events were not part of commonplace views held on the Hellenism of Asia Minor but rather projections for its future. It would take a long while and considerable memory work before the hardships suffered by refugees would be recognized in the national imaginary as *their own* hardships.

It is not until the 1980s, I would like to argue, that the voices of Marianthe and others who underwent similar fate find their place in history, and it is not a mere coincidence that the first volume of the collection *The Exodus,* where Marianthe's testimony is printed, was published in 1980. Transnationally, the decade of the 1980s

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[2] Cf. Hirschon 1989: 36-55, who describes difficult conditions of life in refugee quarters fifty years after the exchange.

marks the rise of human rights regime, increased attention to individual stories used to lay claim on these rights and the memory boom when individual stories were used to speak of collective suffering (Iğsız 2018: 25). In Greece, the decade of the 1980s also marks a turning point when, after the fall of the military junta in 1974, the society is no longer "aspiring to collective ideals", and subjective and personal perspectives gradually become valid and valuable points of reference in reconsideration of historical experience. At the same time, as argued by Leonidas Karakatsanis, 1980s is when, despite the animosity between Greece and Turkey following the severe armed conflict and Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, in both countries an impetus for pro-rapprochement initiatives gathered from within the segments of the two societies, chiefly those associated with the left (Karakatsanis 2014, esp. 35-60).

Greece's accession to the European Union in 1981, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and growing migration flows into Greece from the post-communist countries in the 1990s that turned Greece from the country of emigration to the country of immigration have further contributed to creating a more diverse society, in which values and perspectives, rather than being accepted as given, could be questioned and opened up for debate (Mackridge and Yannakakis 2004; Kitromilides 2004). A parallel turn towards reconfiguring personal stories into collective memories starting in the decade of the 1980s has been observed in Turkey (Iğsız 2018: 107-111).

The discipline of history is also radically expanded and redefined at that time, chiefly by applying methodologies of social scientists and bringing in left-wing perspectives, which had been hitherto precluded from official institutions. As a result, in the 1980s the focus of historical research shifted from political to structural analysis, and previously marginalised groups, such as women or the working class, were put on the agenda. Yet even within the frameworks proposed by these new approaches, there was not much room left for examining individual agency until the so called cultural turn drew attention to the analysis of discourses, representations and identities (Kitroeff (1989); Chatzis and Mavrogonatou (2010)). In this context, the theoretical insights of microhistory became particularly relevant. By keeping focus on one historical event or individual and trying to understand wider historical developments from this point of view, microhistory brought individual stories into the foreground. In the 1990s, these perspectives would be coupled with the emerging identity politics, and issues of memory, culture and identity came to the very foreground[3].

In 1962 Marianthe Karamousa complained of her own hardships not being part of history, but the perspectives on history that emerged in the 1990s made it possible for another woman of Asia Minor origin, called Filio Chaidemenou, to finally bring the experiences of "the ordinary people" like herself and like Marianthe into history, when she established the Museum of Asia Minor Hellenism. The words with which a contemporary visitor is welcomed to the exhibition hall of the museum draw attention to the individual voices and stories from the very first moment:

> The history of Asia Minor is not only military events and diplomacy, the actions of historical personalities. It is also the record of memories of people, families, and Asia Minor communities. In this exhibition, the silent protagonists, the ordinary people who experienced the events, have the floor. (Museum of Asia Minor Hellenism n.d.)

As one proceeds through the collection, many personal objects, donated to the museum by the families of refugees, testify of once vibrant cultural life that was violently uprooted. Where known, the trajectory of these objects is clearly indicated in the accompanying labels, such as "Men's woollen hat that belonged to the father of Eleni Polydou-Schida from Kaisarea" or "Embroidery for the wall (banda) that belonged to Martha Pigopoulou, the mother of Efanthia Souri from Sinasos" (Museum of Asia Minor Hellenism n.d.). The labels not only strip the artefacts of their anonymity but also highlight the generational links to the refugee past: while the objects once belonged to specific named individuals, they subsequently passed into the care of their offspring, also named and concrete individuals, who on their part donated the objects to the museum, thus entrusting them and the past that they are seen to hold within from private to public domain. Interestingly, through the descriptions in the labels, the descendants of refugees are not only identified as guardians of the refugee past, but also come to inhabit that past themselves, when the homelands once lost to their parents – Kaisarea, Sinasos – are recognized as homelands of the refugee descendants themselves. Such identifications are characteristic of the stance that many descendants adopt with regards to the traumatic past of their ancestors, and the implications that these attitudes carry through for how the history of Asia Minor is remembered will be extensively discussed within this thesis.

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[3] For a brief summary of developments within social history, see Exertzoglou (2013). For a broader discussion of these developments, see Scott and Keates (2001), Sewell (2005) or Eley (2005). For how these are reflected in the trajectory that the perceptions of history of Asia Minor follow, see Salvanou (2018: 84-89) and Sjöberg (2016: 54-117).

Comparing the work done by social and cultural historians, Thomas Gallant points out: “While social history brought understudied groups on to the historical stage, new cultural historians wanted to give them their own. A multi-vocal chorus of groups telling their own stories replaced the authoritative voice of the historian” (Gallant 2013: 13). These are the voices that we hear in the Museum of Asia Minor Hellenism. In fact, the museum is only one of many modes for engaging with history that proliferated since the 1990s, alongside historical novels, documentary and fiction films, and nowadays also interactive mobile phone apps. The general attitudes towards historical knowledge also changed as a result of these encounters, and the past became “a repository of alternative values and possibilities” (Liakos 2017: 145). One has to bear in mind, however, that the “multi-vocal chorus” interpreting what this past means and where it stands in history did not always sound in unison, and different opinions that it represented sometimes even led to rather fierce confrontations, such as one over a history textbook that will be explored in more detail in Chapter 2.

Yet there is also one conspicuous silence in the main exhibition hall of that Museum. Established at the time when the focus of memory work was on the recognition of individual experiences of all those uprooted from Asia Minor, it chiefly disregards the other side of the story – the experience of the Muslims uprooted from Greece and resettled in Turkey. These experiences would have to wait until 2000s to come into view, as a reverberation of the questions raised by postcolonial theory and transnational frameworks for research. As it will become evident from the case studies analysed within this thesis, today it is virtually impossible to talk about Asia Minor Campaign without taking into consideration the perspective of “the other”, but one should bear in mind that this is a result of the memory work that addresses the questions specific to our contemporary times. The photographic exhibition on contemporary refugee experience that today one finds in the foyer of the Museum of Asia Minor Hellenism is just such a response to the urgencies posed by the present.

This thesis sets out to map the contemporary context in which the memory of Asia Minor is reworked as well as to discuss ways in which it addresses the questions posed by the present. It has already been made clear that the ways we understand history should not be taken for granted: they are a product of their own time that required a considerable amount of memory work. As this Introduction will show, the experience of war and uprooting from Asia Minor held rather different meanings at different times. The memory was always there in order to establish connections to the past that made it relevant to the communities when the remembering was happening. Hence the shape that this memory took on was also tightly linked to their concerns and their ideas about what makes their past valuable. But let me trace my steps back and set the discussion that is at the core of my thesis into a wider context. In order to do so, I will first give a brief outline of the historical background of the Greco-Turkish War, and then discuss how it has been collectively reworked into a cultural memory that could be shared with others.

1.2. LEGACIES OF THE GRECO-TURKISH WAR (1919 - 1922)

1.2.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Greek state was established in 1830, after eight-year-long struggle for independence from the Ottoman Empire. At that time it constituted only a small part of present-day Greece, chiefly contained within the territory of what once was classical Greece and incorporating only a third of the Greek Orthodox inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire (Clogg: 1992: 45). Hence at least as early as 1844 Greece's national ideology included the Great Idea[4]: an irredentist aspiration for uniting all the Greek lands into a Greece of two continents and five seas, with the capital in Constantinople, effectively reconstructing the Greek state to the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire before the Fall of Constantinople in 1453[5]. The developments of the late 19th century presented favourable conditions for territorial expansion in line with the aspirations of the Great Idea, and Greece was able to double its territory without open military confrontation: in 1864 Ionian islands were handed over from Britain to Greece as a gesture of support to the new Kingdom, and in 1881 the border moved further north by adding Thessaly and Arta. The first military gains followed with the Balkan Wars 1912-13, during which Greece succeeded in expanding further northwards into the regions of Macedonia and Epirus and several Aegean islands, totaling to 70 per cent of new territories, and nearly the same increase in population, which rose from 2.8 mln to 4.8 mln (Clogg 1992: 83). Because the populations in the newly gained lands were much more ethnically and religiously diversified, the period of expansion thus inevitably had to be followed by peace and consolidation of power. Yet World War I broke out in 1914, and when Greece was promised the lands of Asia Minor for joining the cause on the side of the Allies, it was presented with new opportunities to pursue the Great Idea that were difficult to ignore.

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[4] The Great Idea as a term was first referred to in the 1844 parliamentary speech of Ioannis Kolettis, who served as Prime Minister of Greece (Clogg 1992: 48). However, the idea of taking back Constantinople is much older, and there is evidence to suggest that it was already there as early as when Franks took over Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) (Doulis 1977: 9). The naming of the new King to be Constantine in 1868 carried much of the ideological weight on regaining these lands as well (Smith 1998 [1973]: 1-3). For more on the Great Idea and the ways that it shaped the ideas of Greekness see Christopoulos and Bastias (1977: 455-484); Kremmydas (2010) and Rizas (2015).

[5] Although the Great Idea has become a dominant ideology by the beginning of the 20th century, it was by no means the only vision for the future of the Greece. Other views prevalent at that time included the ideology of Ottomanism, advocating for a multi-ethnic Ottoman state where Greeks would have an upper hand; the preservation of the multiethnic society on equal terms and the creation of the Ottoman race; or the confederation of the Balkan States (Kechriotis 2005; cf. Kitromilides 1990).

Asia Minor is the region bordered by the Aegean Sea in the West, Black Sea in the North, the Mediterranean in the South and Tigris and Euphrates rivers in the East[6]. It is one of the first areas where Ancient Greek tribes established their settlements as "colonizers, explorers and exploiters of the Ionian coast at the end of the ninth century BC" (Smith 1998 [1973]: 21). References to Asia Minor as a territory denoting Greek settlements can be traced back as early as end of second century BC, while references to the same territory as simply "Asia" would take us to Homer (Anagnostopoulou 1998: 51). As such, the region bore deeply symbolic significance for Greece. But its location at the intersection of the Mediterranean trade routes, with the cosmopolitan port of Smyrna at its centre, certainly added to the appeal of those lands. In fact, the richness of the coastal areas made it a rather appealing destination for many Greeks who emigrated there in the 19th century.

The ideology of the Great Idea and the promise of Asia Minor was not wholeheartedly embraced by everyone in Greece and often led to disputes and confrontations with those who supported the ideology behind "small but honourable Greece" [μικρά αλλ' έντιμος Ελλάς]. During World War I, these political divisions were made most evident in the question of whether Greece should enter World War I on the side of the Allies or stay neutral. The divergent politics resulted in a period of two governments – Prime Minister Venizelos in Thessaloniki and King Constantine in Athens – as well as violent confrontations between the two camps in November 1916[7], which historian Yorgos Mavrogordatos likened to civil war (Mavrogordatos 2015: 269-319). In June 1917 Greece entered into World War I on the side of the Allies, and the Allies' victory in 1918 meant that Greece gained some leverage for pursuing its territorial claims in the peace negotiations at the Paris Peace Conference.

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[6] The vast territories of Asia Minor are also normally divided in coastal and inland regions, and the geographical differences that these divisions entailed were mirrored in the socio-economic and cultural differences among their inhabitants (Anagnostopoulou 1998: 97-267; Kitromilides and Alexandris 1984).

Although the majority of Greece's claims for the realisation of the Great Idea were thwarted during the initial stages of negotiations, the crucial development was that Greece was granted permission to land in the Ottoman port of Smyrna (Smith 1998 [1973]: 79-85; Petsalis-Diomidis 1978[1963]). The Greek army, encouraged by the Allies, landed here in May 1919. As the army was approaching the government buildings, somebody fired a shot. This was perceived as an assault on the Greek military and led to large scale violence against Muslims (Katsikas 2013: 63). As a result, after ensuring their stronghold on the city, the Greek army marched further inland, justifying their move by the need to protect rural populations outside of the Smyrna area. This marked the de facto beginning of the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922).

The Treaty of Sèvres, signed in August 1920, officially recognized Greek occupation of Smyrna and ceded to Greece the lands of Thrace, the islands of Imbros and Tenedos, the islands of the Sea of Marmara and Dodecanese islands except Rhodes (Smith 1998 [1973]: 128-130). Under the terms of this treaty, the Greek army was to stay in Smyrna and its hinterland for five years after which a referendum was to take place on whether the local inhabitants wished to join Greece or to remain in the Ottoman Empire. By that time, however, the Greek army was already as far as Bursa, over 300 km (200 miles) away from Smyrna (Smith 1998 [1973]: 127). Moreover, the Treaty was never ratified by the Turkish nationalist forces in Ankara, and served only to fuel the nationalist sentiments already enflamed by the Greek landing in Smyrna in 1919. Under a leadership of Mustafa Kemal, a native of Thessaloniki and a distinguished officer of the Ottoman army, who was to become the first President of the

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[7] The violent confrontation referred to as "Ta Noemvriana" occurred on 1 December 1916. However, it is referred to as the November events, with reference to the old Julian calendar, according to which it fell on 18 November.

Turkish Republic in 1923, these resistance forces were fighting to push back the Greeks and to salvage what remained of the Ottoman Empire. In practice, then, although it was celebrated as the moment of fulfilment of the Great Idea at the time, the Treaty of Sèvres amounted to nothing more than Greece's "paper victories" (Smith 1998 [1973]: 129).

The Asia Minor Campaign ended in 1922 with the victory of the Turkish nationalist forces. On 26 August 1922 the armed forces of Mustafa Kemal launched a decisive offensive, bringing a crushing defeat of the Greek army and forcing them into retreat from Asia Minor (Clogg 1992: 95-97). On 9 September 1922, the Turkish forces entered the city of Smyrna. The most devastating image of the losses of this war in the Greek collective memory is the fire in Smyrna that started on 13 September and lasted for five days, leaving the thriving Ottoman port burned to ashes (with the exception of the Turkish quarters). Questions about who and why set fire are debated until the present-day (Kırlı 2005; Neyzi 2014), but the fatal consequences of this fire for thousands of people who were trapped by it on the Quay of Smyrna that September are indisputable: at least 30,000 of Greek and Armenian Orthodox Christians who lived in Smyrna or fled there in order to escape the massacres of war died in the flames, drowned in the sea trying to avoid the fire or were killed in the massacre taking place on the Quay[8].

When the fire ceased, a large number of refugees still remained on the shores of Smyrna. The Turkish authorities gave a deadline for all the remaining Orthodox Christians to evacuate by 30 September 1922. In the meantime, Allies' and Greek ships stood idle, fearing that their interference might provoke the now victorious Turkish forces. It was not until an American employee of the YMCA, Asa Jennings, took an initiative and organised the ships that 300,000 refugees in Smyrna and another 200,000 in surrounding areas could be saved by transferring them to Greece (Papoutsy 2008: 44-59). Those who boarded the ships were mostly women and children, as the Turkish authorities supervised the deportation to make sure that any men between ages of 18 and 45 would be detained and sent to the forced labour battalions; very few of those men survived the ordeal[9].

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[8] On the destruction of Smyrna see: Clogg (1992: 97); Apostolopoulos et al. (1980); Milton (2009); Horton (2003 [1926]); Dobkin (1972).

The Convention on the Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey stipulated under the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 was the final step in the resolution of the violent conflict. The terms of the exchange unquestionably stated: “There shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of Moslem religion established in Greek territory”[10]. With the exception of Greek Orthodox inhabitants of Istanbul who settled there before 1918 and Muslim inhabitants of Western Thrace, everyone was obligated to leave. It was not the first time that the idea of the population exchange was considered in the region, with the population exchange between Greece and Bulgaria stipulated under the Treaty of Neuilly in 1919 being a clear precedent. Yet for the first time the exchange was envisioned as compulsory, which was heavily criticised by some contemporary as well as later assessments of the treaty (Hirschon 2003b).

Estimates of numbers of people exchanged slightly vary, but in total it involved more than a million Orthodox Christians and about half a million Muslims[11]. In practice, the terms of the Treaty translated differently for different communities of Asia Minor. Kitromilides and Alexandris (1984) provide a succinct and informative evaluation of the consequences that the Treaty bore for Orthodox Christians. For the populations from Western Asia Minor, the Treaty legalised their relocation as *fait accompli* because most of them fled the war before the exchange. Thus in practice, what this meant was that if people left in haste in fear of persecution, believing that this was only temporary, they no longer had a right to go back to their homes. Those living further inland in the regions such as Cappadocia, on the other hand, did not hear of the exchange until late in 1923. Although they were subjected to the mass deportations of men to labour battalions, they did not experience the devastation of 1919-1922 war. Their exchange was therefore completed gradually and peacefully, and they had an opportunity to bid farewells and to take some of their personal belongings. Although Kitromilides and Alexandris does not discuss this, a somewhat unexpected but peaceful deportation was also the fate that befell the Muslims who were living in Greece (Koufopoulou 2003). The Orthodox Christians of Pontus, on the other hand, staged several rebellions refusing to comply with the terms of the Treaty, and when it became clear that they would not be allowed to stay in their homes, some fled to Russia and the Caucasus instead, as these regions were nearer the homes they had to leave behind, both in terms of distance as well as in terms of geography and culture.

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[9] The case of writer Ilias Venezis is often cited as a paradigmatic example of the brutality of Turkish labour battalions (or Ambele Taburu as they are also known). He was captured in his native town Aivali in September 1922 together with 3,000 other men, and was one of only 23 who survived the 14 months ordeal (Metevelis 2017: 247).

[10] Full text available in Hirschon (2003a) and Pentzopoulos (2002 [1962]).

[11] Özkırımlı and Sofos (2008: 117) cite the following sources: Hirschon (2003b: 14-15); Aktar (2003: 85-85); Campbell and Sherrard (1968: 129). It has to be noted that the exchange concerned only about 200,000 Orthodox Christians, while more than a million were uprooted as a result of war before 1922. It also has to be noted that the number of Muslims uprooted before 1923 as a result of Greek territorial expansion and the Balkan War is not normally discussed in this context. Finally, considered from the perspective of those left in Greece or Turkey, the exchange had similar effects on both countries, as the proportion of Muslims in Greece decreased from 20 per cent before the exchange to 6 per cent after, while in Turkey the non-Muslim decreased from 20 per cent before the War to 2.5 per cent after (Hirschon 2003b: 15).

Religion was chosen as a basis for the exchange because it served as a way to distinguish and administer non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire[12]. However, a careful examination of the conditions under which the exchange was executed would reveal the racialized thinking at the heart of the agreement. Discussing the legacies of the exchange in Turkey, the anthropologist Aslı Iğsız gives several examples to illustrate such logics at work. She argues that the suspicion with which Dönme crypto-Jews were viewed for their appearance as Muslims despite their different religion, the prejudice against followers of non-Sunni Islam upon their arrival to Turkey and assimilation policies carried out with regards to ethnic minorities that remained in Turkey after the exchange are all examples of racialized thinking in operation: population management via deportation, relocation, segregation or assimilation were discriminately applied depending on the group's ethnic origin (Iğsız 2018: 6-11).

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[12] Since the mid-15th century, the non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman Empire were divided into Orthodox (or Rum), Jewish, and Armenian millets. Each millet had a relative autonomy, because the responsibility of controlling communal property, settling conflicts within the community, and administration of educational and religious affairs was allocated to the highest ranking clergy of each of the millets. The millet system did not take into consideration ethnic differences. For instance, even though the administration of the Orthodox millet was always largely Greek dominated, Serb, Bulgarian, Romanian and Albanian Orthodox Christians were all part of the Rum millet. It was only during the second half of the 19th century that the word 'millet' started to acquire ethno-religious character (Özkırımlı and Sofos 2008: 43-47; Clogg 1982). This led to some confrontations between the authorities of the Greek state and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople for the influence over the Rum millet in mid-19 century (Anagnostopoulou 1998: 419-445).

At the same time, the (re-)alignment of different groups on the basis of religion presupposes homogeneity within each religious community, but in practice the incoming refugees were far from a homogenous group, with different identities based on their locality, language or social class. These differences, as has been shown by Hirschon (1989), were also inscribed in the new homelands within the boundaries of the Greek state and they persisted even fifty years after the exchange (cf. Pentzopoulos 2002 [1962]: 101-102). Where geographical similarities between old and new homelands translated into livelihoods familiar to refugees, it was easier for them to integrate into the host societies (Hirschon 2003b; Koftopoulou 2003). Elsewhere, mismatches between ways of life the refugees were accustomed to and the ones they encountered in their newly acquired homelands made it rather difficult to adapt and led to many confrontations between the locals and the refugees (Mavrogordatos 1982: 94-96; Eglezou 2009; Özkırımlı and Sofos 2008: 118). As an example, Mary Layoum cites letters to the editor of refugee newspaper *Pamprosfygiki* that complained of bread sold at higher prices for refugees and of police chasing off refugee street vendors on the excuse that the Greek neighbourhoods had to be protected (Layoum 2001: 38). The infamous pejorative nicknames referring to the refugees as "Turkish seeds" [τουρκόσποροι] or "baptised in yoghurt" [γιαουρτοβαφτισμένοι] were abundant.

Regardless of the controversies, the exchange was subsequently portrayed by both Greece and Turkey as a necessary step in modernising their respective nations and creating homogenous societies[13]. The Treaty of Lausanne subsequently provided a benchmark against which the success of resettlement of other refugees in Greece was measured as well as a prototype for resolving intercommunal violence in other parts of the world, most notably in Germany after World War II and during the partition of India in 1947 (Voutira 2003; Clark 2007: xi-xvii). At the same time, considered from a long-term perspective, the separation and loss of contact that the population exchange entailed meant: "What is lost is familiarity which carries with it the possibility of understanding and respect, and this all too often is replaced by suspicion, hostility and the inability to cooperate […] the end result might be to raise the level of conflict from one of inter-communal violence to that of inter-state hostility, which ultimately poses a threat to international stability" (Hirschon 2003b: 10-11). Looking at the consequences of the treaty from the vantage point of nearly a hundred years, on many occasions the diplomatic tensions looked rather likely to lead to a military confrontation. In this context, the populations excluded from the exchange – the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul, Imvros and Tenedos and the Muslims of Western Thrace – "became hostages to the vicissitudes in Greco-Turkish state relations" (Hirschon 2003b: 18), as each country was left with an excuse to interfere in the other's affairs (Clark 2007: 103).

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[13] Dimitri Pentzopoulos (2002 [1962]) gives a detailed account on the profound impact that the arrival of refugees bore on the Greek agriculture, economy, politics, social and cultural sphere. See also Kontogiorgi (2006) on how refugee settlement was used to hellenize contested lands of Macedonia and Thrace at the Northern borders of Greece and Mavrogordatos (1983) as well as Exertzoglou (2016) on the refugee impact on interwar Greek politics. Finally, Salvanou (2018: 55-64) argues that although the wider claim of refugee contribution to modernization of the country could be contested, they certainly prompted modernisation of the public health system.

1.2.2. REWORKING HISTORY

Although the debacle in Asia Minor was reworked and embedded into the Greek national narrative from the very first years following the defeat, this narrative was not always the same as we know it today. As discussed extensively in the recent work of the historian and a grandchild of refugees from Eastern Thrace Emilia Salvanou *Η συγκρότηση της προσφυγικής μνήμης* [Assembling of Refugee Memory] (2018), in the first years following 1922 the discussion centred on the reasons for the military defeat and those bearing responsibility for it, as well as the immediate practical problems of accommodating over a million refugees. However, when it comes to the refugee experience as such, it is only through subsequent continuous reworking of these experiences by refugee communities that they eventually became part of the Greek history. In order to make her case, Salvanou discusses the community of refugees from Eastern Thrace and the historical processes it underwent as reflected in their periodical *Thrakika*. In accordance with other established views such as Hirschon's (1989), she argues that upon arrival refugees' identities were largely based on the villages, towns and cities they came from. In Greece, these localities were projected as part of larger areas corresponding to the imagined geographies of the ancient world: Ionia, Thrace, Pontus, Cappadocia. These geographical projections fitted neatly into the established scheme of national history, arguing for the continuity between Ancient, Byzantine and Modern Greece (pp. 59-62, this volume).

The refugees from Asia Minor, as inhabitants of the Ancient homelands, could thus claim their place in modern Greek history. Archeological and ethnographic evidence was quickly produced by the intellectuals of refugee communities in order to substantiate their claims, mirroring the methodologies that were also used to define the constituents the Greek national narrative at the time. Hence the Thracian association [σύλλογος] gathered community where the experience of the Asia Minor Campaign could be shared and translated into an idiom that would fit into the national framework of reference, which in turn was also in the process of being refigured in response to the social and ideological shifts that occurred during interwar period (cf. Karachristos and Warlas 2014: 46).

Subsequently, Salvanou argues, the refugee experience was overshadowed by another chain of military conflicts that lasted for a decade: the Second World War, the Occupation, and the Civil War. This shared experience smoothed the divisions between the locals and the refugees and instead imposed a new dividing line between communists and anti-communists. Undoubtedly, some of the old rivalries were involved in the new struggle, but the concerns now were rather different. At this point, refugees from Asia Minor were acknowledged and accepted as Greek refugees, and the practices of their associations were no longer directed at supplying evidence for their Greekness. Instead, their focus shifted on setting an example of what it means to be a good Greek who is proud of his or her origins, often embracing the values of national-mindedness. In the meantime, as the first members of refugee communities who lived through the events as adults passed away, there emerged a new concern of preserving their memory. This was done by collecting and publishing testimonies in periodicals such as *Thrakika*. Finally, the recollections of refugees from Asia Minor echoed with new relevance as the experiences of refugees fleeing Istanbul pogroms of 1950s or those of Egypt in 1960s became part of the Greek national fabric along with the awareness of large diaspora communities: communist exiles in the aftermath of the Greek Civil War as well as a wave of economically driven emigration from Greece towards Western Europe, North America and Australia.

Several major agents dedicated their efforts and resources to the collection of testimonies of refugees from Asia Minor, with the Centre for Asia Minor Studies and the refugee associations themselves at the forefront of this memory work. What is now known as the Centre for Asia Minor Studies started its work in the 1930s as an initiative directed at collecting folk music. It subsequently redirected its efforts to collecting memories from the so called lost homelands of Asia Minor, Pontus and Thrace. Today the Centre's archive houses 145,000 pages of information on 1,375 settlements (Papailias 2005a: 99), mostly gathered during the 1950s and 1960s. It has published some of the testimonies in four collected volumes entitled *The Exodus*, where the epigraph to this chapter also comes from. At the same time, as already mentioned, the associations of refugees also engaged in parallel efforts of collecting refugee memories and publishing them in their periodicals (Salvanou 2018)[14].

Needless to say, the process of collection always also implies selection of what is considered valuable and collectable, which mirrors the convictions and beliefs of those engaged in the memory work. As an example of what constitutes such a selection process, Papailias (2005a) discusses the practices of collecting testimonies for the Centre of Asia Minor Studies as negotiating their way through established methodologies of the time, the most up to date technologies, and convictions of what constitutes a good informer and a good testimony. As a cumulative effect of all these factors, some memories are silenced while others are brought to the fore. For instance, topics relating to contemporary politics were consciously avoided during the interviews, focusing exclusively on the memories of the lost homelands, although the experience of the Occupation and the Civil War must have constituted a common frame of memory for both the workers of the Centre and their informants[15]. This example constitutes an instance of silencing by omission of certain experiences. Salvanou (2018: 163), on the other hand, discusses active promotion of certain identities that the young generation of Thracians were encouraged to assume through different scholarships awarded by the Thracian society. As the news about the scholarships spread around Greece, so did the projections of what it means to be a refugee from Eastern Thrace (Salvanou 2018: 163).

Furthermore, as it has been indicated already, the process of the collection of memories often also meant their translation. If the previous generation of memory workers engaged in translating lived localities to match the imaginary projections onto the lands of Ancient Greece, the testimonies collected by this generation of memory workers involved translating spoken word into a written text, which frequently meant translation from the multiple language varieties to demotic Greek in order to render the testimony understandable to nationwide audiences (Apostolopoulos 1980). It also meant that some adjustments needed to be made in order to transfer the recollections between different media: i.e. from oral to written, from song to paper, etc.

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[14] There were also several other more recent initiatives for collection of refugee testimonies, which are now housed in the archives of the Foundation of Hellenic World [Ίδρυμα Μείζονος Ελληνισμού] and Historical Archive of Refugee Hellenism [Ιστορικό Αρχείο Προσφυγικού Ελληνισμού] in Kalamaria, Thessaloniki. See Varlas (2003) for more information about the two collections.

[15] This silence was somewhat filled by the memory work of Elli Papadimitriou, who collected testimonies on the experiences of uprooting from Asia Minor as well as Axis Occupation and the Civil War (Varlas 2003: 169-170)

Nearly hundred years after the Asia Minor Campaign, its memories still occupy a prominent place in Greek history, adopting new perspectives and adapted to new circumstances. These new approaches offer us rather different perspectives, but their commonality lies in trying to broaden their framework by considering the significance of this event beyond national. First and foremost, this is done by placing Greek and Turkish views side-by-side. As with many historical events shared by European neighbours but dividing their history, the accounts of the Greco-Turkish War in Greece and Turkey are likened to "parallel monologues […] relentlessly emphasising their differences yet painfully aware of their similarities" (Özkırımlı and Sofos 2008). Multiple efforts from diverse disciplines have been directed towards forging these monologues into a dialogue, with some indicative examples in English such as the above cited *Tormented by History: Nationalisms in Greece and Turkey* (Özkırımlı and Sofos 2008), the two collected volumes *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey* (ed. Renee Hirschon 2003a) and *When Greeks and Turks Meet*: *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Relationship Since 1923* (ed. Vally Lytra 2014). Other scholars try to avoid the single-sidedness of the national frameworks by reconsidering the history of the period through the perspective of the Ottoman Empire, as happens in the historical account provided by Erik Sjöberg (2016), for example. Some other scholars consider the Greco-Turkish War within even larger context of developments in Europe at the beginning on the 20th century, as does the work of Salvanou (2018). Through these broader perspectives, the memory of Asia Minor intertwines with other concerns, other histories, other migrations, as well as subsequent historical events, within and beyond the borders of Greece.

1.2.3. REWORKING CULTURE

For Salvanou, refugee associations occupied an intermediary position between a person and the state, and thus also provided a forum where the individual and the national could be renegotiated. Somewhere in between the personal and the national, Michalis Varlas (2003) also includes literary representations of Asia Minor, as providing a bridge between the two. Chronicled mostly but not exclusively by the refugees trying to make sense of their experience and become part of the community in their newly acquired homeland, Asia Minor became a mythical *topos* in the imagination of the Greek nation, firmly anchored in the canon of Modern Greek literature (Mackridge 2003). As Angeliki Sokou has observed, "the stories that are repeated in literature play a cultural role, the stories that people want to hear again and again shape collective consciousness of the community" (Sokou 2004: 303). Thus, in some way, the literary canon on the topic of Asia Minor expresses a general consensus on how these events should be remembered.

It is well-established that literature dealing with the topic of the Greco-Turkish War can be grouped into three main categories in terms of its theme: the experience of the War (fleeing one's home or becoming part of the forced labour battalions); settling in Greece after 1922; and life in Anatolia before the War (Doulis 1977; Kaphetzake 1999; Mackridge 2003). Yet, as noted by Peter Mackridge, this consensus is marked by several absences. For example, because literary works were to a large extent set in the locations where the authors came from or settled in and because none of the writers came from easterly regions of Asia Minor such as Pontus or settled in Thessaloniki, the experiences of large numbers of people from these regions are absent from interwar literature (Mackridge 1992: 224).

The three different types of narrative did not emerge all at once but followed an order reflective of memory work in processing the experiences: first dealing with the experience of uprooting itself and only later returning to one's memories before 1922 as well as difficulties while settling in Greece and charting "the trajectory of a violently uprooted past leading inexorably to the narrative present of the refugees" (Layoum 2001: 63). The books *Ιστορία ενός αιχμαλώτου* [trans. *A Prisoner of War's Story*] (1929) by Stratis Doukas and *Το νούμερο 31328* [trans. *The Number 31328*] (1931) by Ilias Venezis are the two paradigmatic examples that refer to the experiences of war. Both are written by authors who experienced the war themselves, first published in parts in newspapers and subsequently edited into a uniform account. Both accounts use plain language, mirroring the spoken word, and tell their stories in the first person in a form of testimony. This early literature on the experiences of war in Asia Minor would later, in fact, be credited for introducing testimonial fiction in Greece, which would take another turn after the experiences of the Axis Occupation and the Civil War.

The second group of narratives – providing an account of difficulties encountered while settling in Greece – is by far the smallest. Some paradigmatic examples that can be pointed out are: *Γαλήνη* [Serenity] (1939) by Ilias Venezis, *Πρώτες ρίζες* [First Roots] (1936) by Tatiana Stavrou and *Η Παναγία η γοργόνα* [trans. *Mermaid Madonna*] (1949) by Stratis Myrivilis. Antonia Kaphetzake (1999) discusses in great detail the rather dispiriting picture of refugee lives that emerges through these novels: confrontations between the locals and the refugees, negative stereotypes and suspicion that permeates their encounters, poor living conditions, and mourning for the lost loved ones constitute refugees' everyday lives in these literary accounts. At the same time, as Kaphetzake (1999) points out, amidst all the hardships, an image of hardworking and strong willed refugees emerges: they dedicate themselves fully to building their lives anew and view all this effort as a necessary sacrifice so that subsequent generations could flourish in the newly established home. The few works discussing refugee conditions as they resettled in Greece could perhaps be taken as indicative of their reluctance to dwell on the difficulties but to overcome them for the purposes of integrating into Greek society.

Finally, the third group of works look back to Asia Minor before the years of war, providing somewhat idealised depictions of the homelands. A group of novels that were written in 1962 to mark the 40th anniversary of the Asia Minor Campaign provide some good examples that today are regarded as canonical accounts: *Το Αϊβαλί η πατρίδα μου* [Aivali My Homeland] (1962) by Photis Kontoglou, or *Στου Χατζηφράγου* [At Chatzifragou] (1962) by Kosmas Politis, *Ματωμένα Χώματα* [Bloodied Earth, trans. *Farewell Anatolia*] (1962) by Dido Soteriou. Preceding the three but also considered to be a representative example is *Αιολική γη* [trans. *Aiolian Land*] (1943) by Ilias Venezis.

This group of narratives is by far the most numerous (Stavropoulou 2014). Why would the nostalgia for the lost homelands play such a prominent role? Several critics have provided possible answers to this question. Penelope Papailias (2005a) and her discussion of the Centre of Asia Minor Studies presents us with one possibility: she interprets the founding of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies as a way of bringing back the "lost homeland" into the Greek national narrative, "as an attempt to incorporate a greater Hellenism – the failed, but now re-collected 'Great Idea' of territorial expansion – within the Greek national narrative, a 'recuperation' of the military debacle on an ideological level" (Petropoulou 1996: 416, cited in Papailias 2005a). If we regard literature as an institution, the view of Papailias gives a plausible explanation of why the accounts of Anatolia in modern Greek literature would be particularly relevant for the state ideology. Eri Stavropoulou (2014) gives us another possible reason for the prominence of the narrative of the lost homelands. She attributes this trend to the need that the refugees themselves felt to record what was lost before it sank into oblivion. The time when many of these works were written is roughly synchronous with the time when the collection of refugee testimonies reached its peak, that is, after the Civil War, at the time when first generations who lived through the events as adults passed away, thus supporting the argument of Stavropoulou. Anne-Marie Fortier and her discussion on the cultures of diaspora provides yet another possible explanation. Fortier, like Stavropoulou, highlights that the memory of what has been lost is particularly important for the uprooted. However, she explicitly links their need to remember to the need for an identity: "Memory rather than territory is the principal ground of identity formation in diasporic cultures, where territory is decentred and expanded into the multiple settings" (Fortier 2005: 184). Bearing in mind the three views cited above, we could claim that the personal interests of the writers-refugees who attempted to integrate into their new environment and the interests of the state that had to overcome the humiliation of losing the military campaign coincided in the theme of the lost homelands. The fact that the motif of life in Anatolia before the Greco-Turkish War became prominent in the literature on this topic, should be seen in this context.

Literature participated in the process of consolidating the memory of Asia Minor in more than one way, providing what Ann Rigney calls "a meeting point where various other forms of remembrance are picked up and reworked" (Rigney, 2008: 85). The three novels published in 1962 that I mentioned earlier are a particularly good example of this process. As I pointed out at the beginning of this Introduction, the 40th anniversary from the defeat in Asia Minor for the first time united refugee communities in Greece and beyond in commemorating the occasion. As such, it provided one of the necessary steps for consolidating the memory of Asia Minor as a national memory. This can be exemplified by the already mentioned novels *Aivali, My Homeland* and *At Chatziphragou*. Although in rather different ways, both of these works mark the nostalgia for the lands that more and more frequently would be collectively referred to as the lost homelands, consolidating them as such in the national imaginary. At the same time, the novels also served as an opening for reflecting on more recent historical events that were otherwise silenced and censored from the public discourse of the time. For example, the novel *Farewell Anatolia* tells the story of Asia Minor from the perspective of the Greek left: the narrative of captivity now also reflects on the ways the lives of people get intertwined with the interests of the great powers, establishing parallels with the political situation in the aftermath of the Greek Civil War[16]. In this context, the fact that narrative of the previously mentioned *At Chatziphragou* focuses on the working class neighbourhood also resonates with new meanings, reflective of the author's left-wing convictions. Finally, here one should add a fourth novel published to mark the anniversary that today forms part of the Asia Minor literary cannon – *Λωξάντρα* [Loxandra] (1962) by Maria Iordanidou. This novel broadens the geographies of the lost homelands by including Istanbul into the narrative, as it was indeed lost to many after the 1955 pogroms against the Greek minority. Furthermore, set in Istanbul before World War I, Iordanidou's novel can also be considered as a gesture towards expanding the timeframe within which Asia Minor Campaign should be considered by framing it in the context of "the long World War". Thus literature on Asia Minor can certainly be considered as a bridge providing multiple paths for negotiating an individual experience, personal convictions, and national ideologies. At the same time, it is also responsive to the urgencies of the moment when particular work is published. Overall, literature on Asia Minor written by the interwar generation is hugely influential on how we remember the events until the present-day, and this is the very question that will be taken up and further explored in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

At the same time, a look at the literature on Asia Minor in a *longue durée* can provide a great insight into the process of how with each new edition of celebrated works the experiences of refugees were adapted to the ideology of the new nation. For the purposes of this introduction, I will discuss just one example, namely, *The Number 31328*[17]. As I have already mentioned, in the years immediately following the events, witness accounts in the form of fiction were published in local newspapers: the novel *The Number 31328,* for instance, was first published as a series of extracts in the newspaper *Kambana* in Lesvos in 1924. The purpose of this account was to tell about a specific individual experience, as the initial title reveals: *The Number 31328: What was experienced by the man with the above number when he was captured as a prisoner during war.* In a way, these accounts served as a counterpoint to the memory endorsed by national ideologies that promoted narratives focusing on the political and economic consequences of military debacle rather than its impact on the lives of individual people. Over the years, this account as well as many others have been revised in a number of ways to fit into the national and transnational frameworks. As pointed out by Layoum: "From within the post-1922 fiasco of the 'great idea' and on the very terrain of that fiasco, the popular and literary culture of the Asia Minor refugees began to formulate a redefinition of a refugee as national – that is Greek – subject" (Layoum 2001: 25). This way, for example, the scenes that accounted for the casualties inflicted by the Greek army were removed from the novel of Venezis, leaving the national conscience unblemished. At the same time, the book came to speak of collective rather than individual suffering: the 1952 edition was the first one to be dedicated to the common sufferings of all nations and the chapters now began with verses from the Psalms of David, drawing parallels between the expulsion of Greeks from Asia Minor and the biblical exodus of the Jews. It is not a coincidence that all this happened in 1952, at the time when the whole of Europe was taking the first steps towards coming to terms with the violent legacy of World War II, and the Holocaust of the European Jews was soon to become a universal idiom to express the suffering of people in war-torn regions across the world. The process of appropriation that occurred in national literature is somewhat similar to the appropriation happening among members of the refugee communities as the children of Smyrniots, Constantinopolites, or Ayvaliotes – topical identities that persisted among refugees even when they moved to the refugee neighbourhoods of

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[16] The analysis of the events in Asia Minor from the perspective of the Greek left is further elaborated in a critical essay of Dido Soteriou *The Asia Minor Catastrophe and the strategy of imperialism in the Eastern Mediterranean* [Η μικρασιατική καταστροφή και η στρατιγική του ιμπεριαλισμού στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο, 1975] (cf. Psyroukis 1964). Note that this essay was published more than 10 years after the novel and immediately after the fall of the Greek junta, thus supporting the view that literature provided a platform to negotiate certain views that could not be expressed so freely in other forms.

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[17] For a brief overview of revisions in this and several other canonical texts, I refer interested readers to Kastrinaki (1999).

Greece – became the representatives of Asia Minor Hellenism.

Although literature on Asia Minor occupies a significant place in consolidating refugee experience into a widely shared cultural memory, it is certainly not the only medium participating in this process. Representations from other cultural spheres, especially music, film, and television, also made a significant contribution to enriching the reservoirs of memories and consolidating those memories into recognizable narratives[18]. When it comes to music, the refugees themselves used songs to express their distinct identity and to recount their memories, both in their oral accounts (Tsimouris 1999) and in music records (Pappas 1999). Tracing its origins to Ottoman cafe music in several distinct centres across the Empire (Pennanen 2004), the music of Asia Minor was known to the Greek audiences already from the mid-19th century, largely through cafe-amans and performances of Karagiozis (Kamouzis 2011: 154). However, when the refugees brought their music upon arrival to their newly established homelands, it underwent significant changes as a result of encounters with local music varieties and developments in the music industry. To give just one example of this complex process: the bouzouki, an instrument without which it is difficult to imagine what is considered music from Asia Minor today, was actually virtually unknown in Asia Minor. It was introduced as late as 1930s into the sounds of John Chalkias' *Μινόρε του τεκέ* [Minore of tekke], first in a recording made in the USA. Recordings travelled across the Atlantic and the instrument was subsequently adopted as a new fashion in Greece (Athanasakis 2018). Music underwent other changes in the 1930s because of censorship under the Metaxas dictatorship, aimed at purging Greek culture of any features that were perceived as "Turkish" and other influences viewed as indecent.

"Ottoman café music", but also its diverse genealogies, is known today to Greek audiences because of an interest that seems to have started in the late 1960s, possibly as a reaction against the Junta's nationalistic cultural policies, and has continued uninterrupted as a "revival" well into the 1970s an the 1980s (Kounadis 2003), and at the same time it became political link between the Left in both Greece and Turkey, providing affective grammar for articulating discourses that contributed to fostering the Greek-Turkish friendship (Karakatsanis 2014: 53-55). Blurring the previous distinctions and having absorbed influences from other popular music styles in Greece, the music of Asia Minor today stands as a sub-category of the rebetiko genre, often understating the fact that "shaping of the one rebetiko tradition has been the product of long and intense negotiations, both within and outside that particular field of music" (Papanikolaou 2007: 64)[19]. At the same time, strong identification of rebetiko music with Asia Minor leads to a neglect of other musical traditions, such as the classical compositions of Manolis Kalomoiris and Yiannis Konstantinidis or light popular song [ελαφρό τραγούδι] of Michalis Sougioul (Kamouzis 2011: 156; cf. Papanikolaou 2007, who also discusses the influence of composer Theodorakis on this process).

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[18] In his overview of the cultural production in relation to the Greco-Turkish War, Dimitris Kamouzis (2011: 153-154) also provides some information about visual arts where experiences of refugees from Asia Minor were represented, such as in the works of Photis Kontoglou, Giorgos Sikeliotis, and Vasos Kapantaes. Michalis Varlas (2003: 169-170) discusses the collection of testimonies by Elli Papadimitriou, whose work has first become known through the theatre play *Ανατολή* [The East] (1952). Theatre and visual arts, however, were far less widespread than representations from literature, music, and film.

The record album *Μικρά Ασία* [Asia Minor] (Alexiou and Dalaras 1972) can be taken as an indicative example of the rebetiko revival in the 1970s and its reworked affiliation with Asia Minor. The music for the record was composed by Apostolos Kaldaras and the lyrics by Pythagoras Papastamatiou, both sons of refugees. The songs were sung by Giorgos Dalaras, who, although not of refugee background grew up in the Piraeus area, raised by musician parents involved in the rebetiko scene, and Haris Alexiou, whose mother was a refugee and for whom this disc marked the beginning of a successful career. Produced to mark the 50th anniversary of the Asia Minor Campaign, it sold 50,000 copies within a few months of its appearance, becoming the first golden disc in the history of the Greek records (Kaldaras 2003). The disc was preceded by another album picking up the same thematics: *Άγιος Φεβρουάριος* [Holy February] (Mytropanos and Salpea 1971), with lyrics by Manos Eleftheriou written after some years of research on postcards and letters from Smyrna before 1922. The music was composed by Dimos Moutsis and the songs sung by Dimitris Mitropanos and Petri Salpea. However, this record was not nearly as popular until sales rocketed a year later, after one of the songs from the album was wrongly associated with the crime that occurred in one of the Athens nightclubs in February 1973 (Baka 2003)[20].

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[19] On the genealogical and at times "mythological" reworking of rebetiko's link to Asia Minor, and the ways the renowned composers Mikis Theodorakis and Manos Hatjidakis participated in this process, see Papanikolaou (2007: 62-90).

[20] I would like to thank Dora Stella for providing me with these references.

The popular film *Ρεμπέτικο* [Rebetiko] (1983) served further to popularize rebetiko musical style as the music of Asia Minor. The film tells the story of a singer Marika (loosely inspired by the life and work of Marika Ninou), who was born in Smyrna in 1917 and died in Athens in 1952, and through this life story the film reveals both the realities of the time and the history of rebetiko music, when it "took refuge" in the port of Piraeus, brought there by refugees from Asia Minor. The documentary images from the Catastrophe of Smyrna split the narrative into "before" and "after" 1922, thus implying that the untamed sorrow that the film's narrative revolves around is, somehow, related to the trauma of the violent uprooting. Two years after its distribution in Greek cinemas, the film was turned into a mini-series and broadcasted by the national television (Koliodemos 2001: 393). It was remediated again as a theatrical musical in 1991, a novel in 2000, and a set of six CDs called *Ρεμπέτικο (Απόψε στου Θωμά)* [Rebetiko (Tonight at Thoma's)] at the end of 2001 (Gauntlett 2001: 140). The case studies discussed in Chapter 2 and in Chapter 3 make use of music and musical tropes and thus the reader will get a sense of the ways rebetiko music permeates and interacts with the diverse fields of contemporary Greek culture.

Film also significantly contributed to the shaping of popular images of Asia Minor as we know them today, both as documentary and fiction film. Kamouzis (2011) discusses the documentary images of the newsreels [*Επίκαιρα*] and two films *Η Τραγωδία του Αιγαίου* [The Tragedy of the Aegean] (Maros 1961) and *Μαγική πόλις* [Magic City] (Koundouros 1954) as the first images of the Asia Minor Campaign and subsequent refugee settlement in Greece that circulated in the public sphere and shaped collective memories (cf. Lambrinos 2005). He further points to the images of the 1960s melodramas, such as *Η Οδύσσεια ενός ξεριζωμένου* [The Odyssey of One Uprooted] (Kontelis 1969), where the focus shifts from the depiction of historical reality to the expression of feeling. The plot of these melodramas was mainly concerned with going back to Asia Minor and looking for the lost loved ones, and thus resonated strongly with large audiences, for whom the Asia Minor Campaign and its aftermath constituted their lived experience. When TV sets became a more accessible household item, the expression of feeling also found its ways onto the small screens, especially through TV series. With the exception of *Το μινόρε της αυγής* [The *minore* of the dawn] (Mesthenaios 1983) that traced the life and work of legendary rebetiko singers, the other tv series were adaptations of famous novels: *Ο Χριστός ξανασταυρώνεται* [Christ Recrucified] (Georgiadis and Lychnaras 1975) based on the novel by Nikos Kazanzakis; *Γαλήνη* [Serenity] (Lychnaras 1976) based on the novel by Ilias Venezis; *Λωξάντρα* [Loxandra] (Gregoriou 1980) based on the novel by Maria Iordanidou; *Αστροφεγγιά* [Starlight] (Chronopoulos 1980) based on the book by Ioannis Panagiotopoulos; and more recently *Τα παιδιά της Νιόβης* [The Children of Niobe] (Koutsomytis 2004) based on the novel by Tasos Athanasiadis; *Οι Μάγισσες της Σμύρνης* [The Witches of Smyrna] (Koutsomytis 2005) based on the novel by Mara Meimaridi and *Ματωμένα χώματα* [Bloodied Earth] (Koutsomytis 2008) based on the novel by Dido Soteriou.

In contrast to these representations stands the film of Nikos Koundouros *1922* (1978), which Kamouzis refers to as the first realistic reenactment of the atrocities suffered in Asia Minor. Just like the tv series, the film is based on the novel – *The Number 31328* – thus providing us with yet another example of literary representation remediated in a different form. However, the gruesome images the film projects contrast sharply with the more lighthearted representations in TV series. One has to point out that the film was banned by the Greek government of the time and thus did not reach large audiences, at least in the first three years from its release (Koliodemos 2001: 475). Nearly thirty years from its creation, however, it would be brought back into the public memory, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

In the previous section, we have discussed how developments of 1980s and 1990s led to multiple reworkings of the history of Asia Minor by broadening the analytical frameworks beyond the national one. The same processes are also mirrored in the cultural sphere. Eri Stavropoulou (2014), for instance, points out how from the 1990s onwards the themes in relation to Asia Minor explored in Greek literature diversify to include topics other than the usual triptych of fleeing and persecution of 1922, difficulties of integration in Greece and remembrance of life before 1922. One of the most prominent themes explored in this new literature is co-habitation of Greek and Turk (which often presupposes a romantic relationship between the two, forbidden by religious and social customs). Other works adopt a broader diachronic point of view, and embed the Asia Minor campaign within a wider framework of Greek history. The third viewpoint that is explored in this literature is the perspective of the other: in these works Turkish characters become protagonists on a par with Greek characters. Finally, what Stavropoulou (2014) sees as particularly characteristic of this new literature is that the binaries of the previous works between locals and refugees, poverty and wealth, good and evil, Greeks and Turks, etc. become a locus of convergence for an expression of communality rather than difference. The same observations also hold for representations in other media, as will emerge throughout the discussion in my thesis.

The transmission of memory across different media, an issue that emerges from this Introduction, becomes especially prominent in contemporary representations of Asia Minor analysed in this thesis, where I will discuss not only how representations travel from one medium to another, but also how the resources of multiple media are employed in the creation of any one representation. Bolter and Grusin (1999) have expensively discussed the contradictory logics of immediacy and hypermediacy that are in operation as memory travels across media – what they call remediation. They discuss how different publics engage with media, which on the one hand erases itself as they seek the immediacy of experience and on the other hand proliferates through multiple forms and practices of mediation, which become especially prevalent since the emergence of the so-called new media in the 1990s. Richard Grusin has since developed his work by adding another concept – that of premediation – to talk about the ways in which media provide templates for how to experience future events. In the Greek context, the issues of memory and mediation have been extensively discussed in the work of Mitsos Bilalis (2015), who examines new narrative mechanisms of the Greek personal homepages that emerged in the 1990s, in order to show the ways they have reshaped linear understanding of historical time. Mediation, remediation, intra-medial transmission of memory will be taken up and discussed further in each of the chapters of this thesis: in relation to the public sphere in chapters 2 and 5, and in relation to the cultural sphere in chapters 3 and 4. Moreover, Chapter 5 will consider to what extend the response to the current refugee crisis in Greece can be considered as an instance of premediation.

What is important to emphasize here is that rather than viewed as parallel efforts in different fields, all of the remediations of certain images and stories across different media should be considered as having a cumulative effect, akin to what William Stroebel (2014) calls the "locus of mediations". What Stroebel points to is that within the distances that each of the mediations affords "whether material, temporal, social, or other-wise – lie a host of agencies that revise, reshape, and reposition the original experience" (2014: 278). What is also important to emphasize, is that taken together these remediations popularise the representations of Asia Minor among a large number of people, and thus keep them in circulation for the next generations of Greeks and others to pick up and rework, and they navigate these contemporary hybrid-media landscapes both as media archeologists and micro-archivists, to borrow the metaphor of Martin Pogačar (2017). Thus, following Grusin, I would like to argue that "media function on the one hand to discipline, control, contain, manage, or govern human affectivity and affiliated things "from above", at the same time as they work to enable particular forms of human action, particular collective expressions or formations of human affect 'from below'" (79). However, while Grusin aims to direct analytical attention from what media represent to what media does, in this thesis I discuss both of these dynamics in interaction to reveal the role that cultural products play in assembling together communities of memory.

Summing up, the trajectory of historical and cultural reworkings of the memory of Asia Minor that we have traced so far produces distinct perspectives that sometimes complement and reinforce each other, and at other times they diverge. The first public remediations of Asia Minor, both in history and in culture, addressed the military defeat and its consequences, albeit in rather different ways. While historical approaches put emphasis on the political and social consequences of the debacle, literature provided a platform for reworking personal experiences. These mediations were followed by the efforts directed towards building a refugee identity as a type of Greek national identity, both through historical and cultural representations, until the time when the experience of the Asia Minor Campaign and its aftermath became a watershed moment in the Greek national narrative. In this context, cultural remediations of Asia Minor seemed to be more open, in that at times they indeed served to reinforce collectively shared views, but at other times they functioned as an area for alternative forms of remembrance. For example, at the time of invasive censorship in the 1950s and 1960s, accounts of Asia Minor provided an idiom to reflect on the aftermath of the Greek Civil War. Since the 1960s, other media also became more and more frequently employed in remediations of cultural memory, most notably documentary and fiction film and music. This would gradually lead to intra- as well as multi-media representations that consolidate certain cultural tropes as representative of Asia Minor as a template of premediation. Finally, since the 1990s onwards historical and cultural remediations aim at broadening our understanding of the Greco-Turkish War by considering it both diachronically and transnationally and in contexts other than what by that time became a commonly accepted national frame of reference, as the discussions of what it means to remember the past shift between virtual and tangible realities.

Having outlined the trajectory that cultural production followed from 1922 until the present day, I would now like to give a brief overview of the field of memory studies and some of its concepts, which provide a theoretical basis and methodological tools for the discussion that follows.

1.3. MEMORY STUDIES AS A METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The 20th century is often characterised as the age of “memory boom” (Blight 2009; Huyssen 2000; Winter 2001). Aleida Assmann (2006) proposes several reasons for such a rise of interest in memory, namely: the breakdown of grand-narratives that had provided uncontested views on history and the resurgence of frozen memories, concealed by previous ideologies; the rise of postcolonialism and the desire of postcolonial subjects to reclaim their past; the trauma of the Holocaust and the two World Wars that had to be worked through; the decline of the generation of witnesses to those cultural traumas and the desire to preserve their memories; and finally the rise of digital technologies that enabled almost anyone to archive the events of their lives as these unfold. Memory became a keyword for addressing a wide variety of issues in many different disciplines across the humanities and social sciences (Erll 2011c). And although memory studies is often considered to be a fruitful terrain for interdisciplinary research, in practice it more often manifests itself as a multidisciplinary rather than interdisciplinary field, with scholars from different disciplinary backgrounds probing the same material, asking very similar questions, and yet addressing them with the tools and concepts developed within their own disciplines.

In Greece, memory studies as a methodological framework traces its genealogy to the works of Melpo Merlier and Alki Kyriakidou-Nestoros (van Boeschoten et al. 2008: 24). However, until recently it has been mostly employed to discuss the memory of the Greek Civil War, within the disciplines of oral history and anthropology. The collective volume that gives a good overview of the state of field is *Μνήμες και λήθη του ελληνικού εμφύλιου πολέμου* [Memories and Forgetting of the Greek Civil War] (van Boeschoten et al. 2008). It consists of the proceedings of the conference that took place in Korisso in 2006, with contributions on methodology and memory practices that range from place memories, memory in political and educational sphere, and cultural representations in literature and cinema.

In recent years, however, the methodology of memory studies has expanded its reach and it has increasingly been used to discuss historical events beyond the Greek Civil War, chiefly approaching the past as sites of memory. Some indicative examples are as follows: *Μνημεία της λήθης: Ίχνη του Β΄ παγκοσμίου πολέμου στην Ελλάδα και στην Ευρώπη* [Monuments of Forgetting: Traces of World War II in Greece and in Europe] (2014) by Anna Maria Droumbouki; Πολιτικές για τον έλεγχο του εθνικού παρελθόντος από το καθεστώς της 21ης Απριλίου: ιστορικές επέτειοι και μνημεία της Επταετίας [Politics of the regime of the 21st of April to control the national past: historical celebrations and monuments] by Eleni Kouki (2016); Ανάδυση νέων μνημονικών τόπων στο διαδίκτυο [The emergence of new sites of memory on the internet] by Despina Valatsou (2014); or a collective volume Η μνήμη αφηγείται την πόλη [Memory narrates the city] van Boeschoten et al. (2016).

Finally, the conference organised by a group of historians connected to the periodical *Historein* in 2001 served as another important impetus for studying diverse uses of the past. Ever since that conference, the narratives of the past as well as material or immaterial objects through which this past gains meanings and the ways it is used in society, have become increasingly embedded into the research agendas of historians as an examination of historical culture (Bilalis 2015: 11). The research of historical culture became especially prevalent in Greece since the so-called "history wars", ensuing in the public sphere in the early 2000s, which prompted historians to redefine their role vis-a-vis the prominence that history gained in the public sphere beyond the confines of their discipline. Where one should draw a distinction between cultural memory and historical culture is not quite clear cut, as can be evidenced, for example, by an article "Historical Culture: A Concept Revisited" (Grever and Adriaansen 2017), published in the *Palgrave Handbook of Research in Historical Culture and Education*. While the authors of this article situate themselves as different from cultural memory studies scholars, they nevertheless indiscriminately borrow concepts from cultural memory theorists to advance their arguments in the article. For example, at one point they state that: "Although the narrative analysis of historical representations has been popular for decades, a more recent trend focuses on the performance of *memory*" (my emphasis), only to recast it as “participatory historical culture” several lines later (Grever and Adriaansen 2017: 79)[21].

The present thesis is indebted to and in dialogue with many of the scholars who position themselves in the research of historical culture. Most evidently, as will be discussed in Chapter 2, one of the history wars that caused turmoil among the historians also provides a starting point for this thesis. Where it diverges is the methodological tools and goals of an enquiry into the past. While the aim of research conceptualized as an enquiry into historical culture is to offer new insights into popular history making and to incorporate them as an integral part of historiography and history education, cultural memory keeps the focus on culture and the processes that cultural products set in motion in society. Historical narratives analysed in this thesis thus function primarily as a space of encounter between different visions of the past and the close-reading of specific cultural texts serves as a primary methodology. However, the textual analysis goes beyond an examination of representations and aims to capture the movement of these texts as what Astrid Erll called a “travelling memory”, charting its itinerary as “the incessant wandering of carriers, media, contents, forms, and practices” (Erll 2011c: 11). In order to chart such an itinerary, this thesis brings several distinct disciplines into a dialogue: the insights of historians, psychologists, anthropologists, as well as cultural critics are brought together to probe contemporary cultural representations that span a diverse range of media.

1.3.1. MEMORY, TRAUMA, TRANSMISSION

In the most mundane sense of the word, the term memory refers to an individual’s ability to recall certain events in the past. Once embedded in language, however, memories transcend the boundaries of individual consciousness and become part of the social discourse, where they can be shared, exchanged or challenged (Assmann 2010:

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[21] One has to add here that memory studies in and of itself is also quite a “polylogue” discipline, gaining different meanings in different national contexts. While in the US, for example, memory studies usually means looking into popular culture, in Britain the development of cultural memory studies is tightly linked to the legacies of the Birmingham cultural studies school and in Germany memory studies definition is tightly linked to anthropology and media history, as conceptualized by Jan and Aleida Assmann (Erll 2011c: 5).

36)[22]. By talking about our memories with other people, we share our experiences and shape each other's views on those experiences. Ann Rigney succinctly summarises: "the memories which individuals have of events in which they themselves participated become mediated by other people's memories of the same events as these are expressed, and thus stabilized, in different fora" (Rigney 2004: 336). An observation by Gedi and Elam could substantiate this view further: "Society thus functions as a location – a framework – where concrete individuals are capable of transforming their obscure images into clear concepts" (Gedi and Elam 1996: 38).

Maurice Halbwachs (1992 [1925]) was one of the first theorists to ask the question of what the process of sharing memories really entails, developing the notion of collective memory. While some of Halbwachs' ideas conceived in the 1920s might look outdated for the modern reader and his theorization has been often criticised for not leaving enough room for individual agency, Halbwachs' conception of memory as a relational process as well as discussion of social frames of memory are fundamental assumptions for the approaches used and developed within this thesis[23]. In accordance with the theoretical assumptions of Halbwachs, society has certain expectations of what a narrative of a particular event should include, and it is ultimately the memories that fit into the social frameworks of that society that prevail, while those that do not sink into oblivion. When a limited amount of stories and images become perceived as representative of the experience of an entire group of people, memory turns into a highly homogenising concept. At the same time, such a memory can easily transcend the boundaries of the group where it originated and turn into a signifier that is available for wider public use. As will be elaborated in the thesis outline, my work documents exactly those moves between the individual and the collective as well as the ways the collective is reclaimed and refashioned by individuals.

Jan and Aleida Assmann develop a theory of memory that conceptualises different forms of collective remembering. Jan Assmann (1998), for example, describes communicative memory as an extension of personal memory. As we share our personal memories with others, some of those memories might be retained by those we share them with and passed to other individuals. Hence, just like personal memory, communicative memory is embodied. Family bonds or generational affinities are examples of this communicative memory, which normally stretches for about 80-100 years, that is three (but sometimes up to five) generations. Thus we *identify* with our family or our generation because of the memories that we have in common.

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[22] See Assmann (2010), Gedi and Elam (1996), Klein (2000), Radstone (2005) for a discussion of the problematics that an extension from personal to collective memory entails and possible ways to resolve it.

[23] For recent reevaluation of the contribution that Halbwachs makes to contemporary memory studies see Gensburger (2016).

Cultural memory, on the other hand, is viewed as disembodied and impersonal. When some of the communicative memories become part of the historical accounts or museum displays, they transcend generational boundaries and become part of a larger narrative. Memories that shape the national narrative are an example of cultural memories. These memories have to be learned in order to be remembered. Thus, in a sense Ann Rigney is right to call cultural memories "a matter of *vicarious* recollection" (Rigney 2005:15); yet we can see cultural memories at work on a daily basis: "institutions and larger social groups, such as nations, states, the church, or a firm do not "have" a memory; they "make" one for themselves with the aid of memorial signs such as symbols, texts, images, rites, ceremonies, places, and monuments. Together with such a memory, these groups and institutions "construct" an identity" (A. Assmann 2006: 216). Two points are reinforced here: firstly, just like personal memory plays an important role in constructing a personal identity, so does cultural memory help to establish and maintain a collective identity; and secondly, while personal memory is embodied, cultural memory is necessarily a mediated one: if communicative memories mostly rely on oral transmission, cultural memories depend on external signs to render their meaning.

In practice, the distinction between the collective and the cultural memory is not always clear cut, and it is even more complicated since the "connective turn" and the rise of the digital memory culture (Hoskins 2011, 2017). As succinctly summarised by Hoskins and O'Loughlin: since the rise of the digital memory culture – what they refer to as the third memory boom – "the multiple texts, performances and exhibits that constitute the memorial inhabit a kind of node, posing a cluster of 'connections' and 'transfers' – in Rigney's (2005: 25) terms – and mediations of memory between and beyond communities, times, and places" (Hoskins and O'Loughlin 2010: 118). The digital significantly complicates the dynamics of the public sphere and the contours of the collective memory once outlined by Halbwachs can now also quite easily shift in unforeseeable ways, governed by opaque algorithms as much as they are by human connections. This process is somewhat akin to what Sampson (2012) refers to as "virality", drawing the parallels between the biological and social mechanisms. The clusters of connections transformed by the digital will come into focus in Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 of this thesis, capturing cross-fertilization between online and offline spheres nearly ten years apart – in 2006 and 2015 – thus also reflective of developments in the ways digital media shape our patterns of action.

One of the central questions that surfaces with regard to memory dissemination and transmission is what happens when ordinary social frames and generational links are disrupted by traumatic events. Trauma theory, especially in relation to Holocaust studies, has been widely employed in trying to answer this question. In a nutshell, the cultural trauma theory views trauma as an event beyond representation. At the time of traumatic event, the experiencing subjects lack any frames of reference for the interpretation of this experience and they are therefore deprived of witnessing to their own experience. This way, trauma enters the experiencing subject as an unmediated occurrence that is inaccessible to him or her. It is later bound to recur in the form of symptoms or nightmares, repeatedly haunting the experiencing subject. At the same time, this constant repetition and recurrence of trauma is somewhat a call to "work through" (to employ Freudian terminology) the traumatic events. In the words of van Alphen: "the problem which causes trauma is not the nature of the event by itself, or any intrinsic limitation of representation per se, but the split between the living of an event and the availability of forms of representation through which the event can be experienced" (van Alphen 2006). The work of Cathy Caruth (1996) sets a paradigm on interpreting traumatic events as those that exceed representation; while the work of Laub and Felman (1992) is dedicated to showing how language, and testimony in particular, are employed by subjects in their attempts to "work through" their traumatic experiences. The discussion of traumatic experience in terms of the crisis of representation risks relativising the actual pain of the victims of trauma, conflating the distinction between the victim and the perpetrator, and universalising the concept of trauma. Nevertheless, the conceptualisation of trauma as a crisis of representation and its analysis through language has undoubtedly advanced our understanding of traumatic events, and the proposed frameworks have been widely employed beyond the memory of the Holocaust.

Due to the limits imposed by the scope of this introduction, I am not able to engage into this broad discussion in more detail, but I would like to emphasize just one point which is particularly relevant for what follows next: if the one who experienced the traumatic events is unable to attend to them at the time of the event's original occurrence and is reduced to merely a passive container of unmediated experience, the responsibility of witnessing is passed onto those who listen. In fact, as more and more time from the devastating historical events of the 20th century elapses, the theoretical approaches to these events broaden their frameworks to consider what impact they have on the next generations. Marita Sturken (1997), for example, talks of the ways memory and history of Vietnam War Veterans and AIDS epidemic are tangled in the US popular culture. For Sturken, cultural memory is produced through objects – such films, memorials and bodies that are at the centre of her discussion – which she calls technologies of memory. Sturken draws attention not only to cultural objects themselves but also the acts of their consumption, when the meaning pertaining to these objects is produced. The crucial element in Sturken's conceptualization is that cultural memory is not there to recall events as they really were but as the site of desire and fantasy to know how the events happened. As such, cultural memory in Sturken's account emerges primarily as an "arena of resistance to dominant forms of national culture", even though its power to establish that culture is also acknowledged.

In a similar vein, the work of Alison Landsberg (2004) explores how American mass culture makes certain individual memories widely available for public consumption. She calls them prosthetic memories and argues that certain experiential sites, such as cinema or museum, provide a space for individuals to immerse themselves into larger history and take on "a more personal, deeply felt memory of a past event through which he or she did not live" (Landsberg 2004: 2). This type of memory does not lead to identification but rather encourages to both establish connection to the event and recognize the alterity of the other: "prosthetic memories do not erase differences or construct common origins" (Landsberg 2004: 8). Having said that, the same experiential site might lead different individuals to develop different prosthetic memories as each brings the archive of their own experience to the encounter with the past. Through her work, Landsberg argues for a deeply transformative political potential held by prosthetic memories. And yet the central premise of the book that today "cultural memories no longer have exclusive owners; they do not "naturally" belong to anyone" (Landsberg

2004: 18) risks relativizing the historical experience and flattens the distinctions between witnesses and media spectators in problematic ways.

For this reason, while certainly in dialogue with the above approaches, the methodological framework chosen for this thesis resonates most strongly with that of Marianne Hirsch. In her discussion about the descendants of the Holocaust survivors, Hirsch (1997) coined the term "postmemory", which she developed in her later work (Hirsch 2008; 2012). Postmemory refers to the memories of those who have not directly experienced the traumatic events but have been surrounded and influenced by their memories to such an extent that they identify with those memories as their own. Just like Landsberg's "prothetic memory", postmemory is by definition a vicarious remembering, a mediated experience facilitated by the stories, images, and behaviors among which they [the generation of postmemory] grew up" (Hirsch 2008: 106). In contrast to Landsberg's approach, however, Hirsch draws a distinction between two types of postmemory – familial and affiliative – to differentiate between vertical transmission of memories that occurs within a family and horizontal transmission within generations or other groupings, thus maintaining the link between memory and those to whom it belongs.

While clearly differentiated, familial and affiliative postmemory are also intrinsically linked. One one hand, "*Familial* structures of mediation and representation facilitate the *affiliative* acts of the postgeneration. The idiom of family can become an accessible lingua franca easing identification and projection across distance and difference", leading to "the pervasiveness of family pictures and family narratives as artistic media in the aftermath of trauma" (Hirsch 2008: 115, emphasis as in the original). At the same time, publicly available images often help bridge the gaps in the fragmented "emanations" (Hoffman 2005: 9) received by the generation of postmemory and make a representation available for what they could previously only imagine. Thus in the framework of postmemory, "it is thanks to the outside world – the world of addressees, or the world of public culture and the films, books, narratives that circulate in that culture – that the unexperienced return of the event can belatedly be ''worked through'' (van Alphen 2006: 486). Postmemorial work "strives to *reactivate* and *reembody* more distant social/national and archival/cultural memorial structures by reinvesting them with resonant individual and familial forms of mediation and aesthetic expression" (Hirsch 2008: 111, emphasis as in the original). What emerges through the work of Marianne Hirsch is a distinct form of memory aesthetics through which those who come after the traumatic events try to make sense of them for themselves and for others. This idea will be picked up and reworked in relation to the memory of Asia Minor in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Where the discussion of this thesis diverges from the approaches of Sturken, Lansberg and Hirsch is in establishing the starting point of the theorization not in the transformative potential of memory for the future but in the clash of visions and ownership claims of what such a future should hold. The heated debate over history textbook for the sixth grade of primary school that ensued in the public sphere between 2006-2007, analysed in detail in Chapter 2, is a clear reminder how easily memory can become a tool for mobilization in the populist discourses of rising nationalism at the same time as it provides a conceptual framework for unlocking its reparative potential. As will become apparent from the ensuing discussion, the controversial "crowding" discussed in Chapter 2 is what ties all the cultural encounters discussed in this thesis together as a poignant reminder of the stakes invoked in a search for a reparative alternative.

1.3.2. VISUAL MEMORY AND AFFECTIVE CONNECTIONS

In his monograph on the Holocaust and Colonialism in French and francophone fiction and film, Max Silverman (2013) develops a concept of "palimpsestic memory", showcasing how the works that he analyses capture the productive interaction of different traces of time, superimposed on one another, and thus also spacializing the relationship between time and memory. Visual metaphors have often been employed to discuss the workings of memory in spacialized terms. Beyond metaphor, visual images, and especially photographs, have been singled out as particularly pertinent for sustaining memory in culture. In the originally unfinished work *The Arcades Project*, for example, Walter Benjamin referred to image as "dialectics at a standstill" due to its ability to bring past and present together in a flash of light (Benjamin 1999, cited in Silverman 2013: 26). Following this lead, there has been much theorization on how photographs capture a particular moment, and they stillness allows the viewers to linger on this specific moment in a way they cannot do while watching moving images (Hoskins 2004; Morris-Suzuki 2005; Samuel 1994; Sturken 1997). In the context of postmemory, publicly available images have been credited for helping to fill in the gaps in the family story and fostering imaginary projections (Hirsch 2012). As will become apparent from the discussion of my case studies, great attention is dedicated to discussing the examples of visual culture. Despite of the important role that images play in producing and sustaining memory in culture, they have not been subject to much critical attention in relation to the memory of Asia Minor, where the central focus of critical analysis has been kept on narrative – whether in a form of a literary account or oral testimony. It is my hope that the analysis of visual material in this thesis will provide an impetus for such discussions.

The importance of visual images for the postmemory of Asia Minor can be easily demonstrated. For example, Maria Iliou, documentary film director who inherited the narratives of "the lost homeland" from her father and stepfather, explains the motivations behind her documentary *Smyrna: The Destruction of the Cosmopolitan City, 1900-1922* in the following way:

> My father was from Smyrna so I grew up in a home where Smyrna was coexisting with everyday life in Athens […] there were all those narrations about how they were living […] I had the narrations but I didn't have the images, the images were destroyed in a fire, so I was really curious to see how people were living on this Quay, how was everyday life, and lots of times as a child I was closing my eyes and dreaming of how it would be if I were for a moment on the Quay.
>
> (Ilioú 2013)

The story goes on to say that one day while conducting archival research for the previous documentary *The Journey - The Greek American Dream* (Ilioú 2007), Maria Iliou accidentally encountered some of those images of everyday life in Smyrna and this sparked a desire to embark on a search for more, which eventually led her to the archives across the globe and the production of Smyrna documentary. Thus in a way, what the Smyrna documentary offers its viewers is a journey of return to Smyrna assembled through visual material from personal and institutional archives across the world. While not explicitly stated, the same desire to envision Asia Minor seems to be the driving force behind the project of comics artist Soloup, discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Photographs can indeed function as objects that lend shape to histories and personal stories, but they are equally capable of freezing the memory as a stock image that not only becomes common reference point in particular histories, but also blurs the boundary between the real and the imaginary[24]. The image of the burning Smyrna in September 1922 is no doubt the most prevalent among the images of the Asia Minor Campaign; it firmly stands as the symbol of the great losses endured in the aftermath of the military debacle. Several examples of the ways in which this image haunts memories of later generations can be found in the work of Libby Tata Arcel, a qualified psychologist and an academic who has extensive work experience with refugees in the former Yugoslavia and in Denmark. Tata Arcel is also a daughter of a refugee from Asia Minor, and in her book *Με το διωγμό στην ψυχή* [With Persecution in the Soul] (2014), which forms a backbone of the theoretical understanding within this thesis, she uses her knowledge and expertise as a psychologist to discuss how the memory of the Asia Minor Campaign has been passed on in her family within three generations, at the same time as she draws parallels with developments in Greek society as a whole and brings in relevant examples from other historical contexts. At several moments, Tata Arcel's interlocutors refer to Smyrna. For instance, her sister Sofia makes the following reference when she talks about the songs of Smyrna:

> From the songs, "Smyrna is burning, mother" [Η Σμύρνη μάνα καίγεται] moves me a lot. I cry as I am telling this [she is crying], as if Smyrna was my homeland. I passed by Smyrna when we visited twenty one cities with the "Community of Lesvos" [cultural association], and I thought of it as my village. Maybe because we have heard a lot about women from Smyrna, about their good housekeeping… good spouses, good mothers, good neighbours. Maybe because of that.
>
> (Tata Arcel 2014: 337)

Although Sofia knows that Smyrna is not her hometown, cultural projections with which this city has been associated make her adopt it as such, and bring tears to her eyes when recollecting the tragic fate of this city and those who perished on its Quay in September 1922. Interestingly, Smyrna is also adopted as a village, despite being a city with over four million inhabitants today, thus signalling further the imaginary projections within which it is adopted as a local homeland.

Another relevant example of how the image of the burning Smyrna shaped the memories of later generations comes from the account of Nastia, the daughter of Libby

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[24] For a brief overview on memory as stock image see the discussion of "flash-bulb memory" in Hoskins and O'Loughlin (2010: 105-106).

Tata Arcel, who gives the following account of how she got to know of the refugee experience of her grandmother:

> I think it was from you [Libby Tata Arcel] that I have heard the story of grandmother […] Maybe she also told me her story, but I don't remember. I have heard the story again when Christina [cousin] and me visited Tsandarli […] I have heard that the grandmother, her mother and her siblings fled in a small boat and saw their village burn from afar. And they knew that their father was left behind and that he burnt alive – as they learnt later
> (Tata Arcel 2014: 413).

The multiple retellings of grandmother's story, and at the same time the indeterminacy of how exactly it got transmitted, permeate the account. The factual details of the account are accurate: Nastia's great-grandfather remained in his hometown while the rest of the family fled on the boat, and their hometown Tsandarli was set on fire by the irregular soldiers. However, what is particularly interesting in this account is that the fleeing family did not see Tsandarli burn as they were leaving their village, and they learnt of the event only several days later (we, as readers, know this from the account of Asia Minor refugee Tasitsa, the mother of Tata Arcel, presented earlier in the book). While Tata Arcel does not make this connection, I would be inclined to think that the image of the burning Tsandarli observed from the small boat slipped in the memories of Nastia because of the prevalence of the image of the burning Smyrna as a template for the memory of Asia Minor.

The image of Smyrna as that which shapes how we remember Asia Minor today will be dealt with more extensively in Chapter 4, but here I would like to draw attention to another important issue that emerges through this discussion – the affective relations that the memory of Asia Minor is fostering. All of the interlocutors mentioned in this section strive to establish a connection to the memory of Asia Minor that has been handled to them through the accounts of their family members first and foremost an affective connection. Following the lead of Richard Grusin (2010), I would thus like to propose affect theory as an alternative to trauma theory, when dealing with the legacies of the violent historical events. Throughout this thesis, affect is what offers a way to reconceptualize the host of agencies and actions that emerge in relation to historical knowledge. As I will argue more extensively in Chapter 2, directing our attention to affect moves us away from binary logics of operating within or against hegemonic power structures, and opens alternative ways of conceptualizing the role that the memory of Asia Minor assumes within the Greek culture. Affective connections discussed in this thesis mobilize people to act in outrage or in solidarity, facilitate the transfer of memory from familial to public domain and provide templates for future actions. At the same time, they also offer us new ways of understanding how power structures work through affect modulation while also guiding us “off the beaten track” to establish alternative structures of feeling (Massumi 2003, quoted in Grusin 2010: 79:80).

1.4. THESIS OUTLINE

Memory of the so-called lost homelands has been recently reconsidered through the framework of memory studies by several authors. Already in the pioneering work on refugee communities that lived in Kokkinia in 1970s, the anthropologist Renee Hirschon described memory as the most valuable property of refugees (1989: 15), and emphasised how in their accounts memory acts as a frame of reference to interpret subsequent experiences and provides a template to define their identity (1989: 15-35; esp. 17). Nearly a hundred years after the events, the distance necessary to discuss the intergenerational transmission of these memories seems to have been acquired, and the already mentioned works of Libby Tata Arcel *With Persecution in the Soul* (2014) and Emilia Salvanou *Assembling of Refugee Memory* (2018) are the trailblazers in this regard. Interestingly, written by a daughter and a granddaughter of refugees respectively, at the same time as being scholarly works both of them are also framed as personal quests of someone who grew up in a close proximity to the traumatic experience. Thus in a way they not only argue for the intergenerational transmission of trauma and discuss the multiple ways in which memories are transmitted and made meaningful for subsequent generations but in themselves constitute an example of this process. Finally, one should also mention *The Making of Greek Genocide: Contested Memories of the Ottoman Greek Catastrophe* (2017) by Erik Sjöberg and *Greeks Without Greece: Homelands, Belonging, and Memory amongst the Expatriated Greeks of Turkey* (2018) by Huw Halstead, as works that discuss memory of displacement in relation to Pontus as well as Imvros and Istanbul respectively.

The interest in memory is not restricted to the scholarly community and extends to wider society. The civil initiative *Ομάδες Προφορικής Ιστορίας* (Ο. Π. Ι) [Oral

History Groups (O. P. I)], where groups of local volunteers who collect interviews in their neighbourhoods: "Constitute an example of how the people, in times of crisis, devise not only new ways of meeting their needs but also new forms of organisation"[25]. Through the work of these groups one can see how the concerns of the present, histories of particular localities and the ways these histories manifest in themselves the lives of certain individuals intertwine (cf. Vervenioti 2014). For example, during a meeting I had with the members of the group of Nea Ioania, they told me how in their work memories of industrialisation and refugee narratives intertwine, since it was once an industrial neighbourhood inhabited by refugees from Asia Minor.

All of these developments point to a dynamic and interdisciplinary landscape of memory studies as it is currently emerging in Greece and the present study hopes to contribute to this discussion through the analysis of the ways in which memories of Asia Minor are used as a resource to address present day concerns. Such a nationally focused approach might at first seem somewhat short-sighted in the academic context where significant efforts for at least the last two decades have been dedicated to stepping out of the national frameworks and advocating for a multidirectional, transnational, transcultural and unbound approaches to memory in culture (Rothberg 2009; De Cesari and Rigney 2014; Erll 2011c; Bond et al. 2017). Yet as I was conducting my research I got to witness that the transnational approaches were not as wholeheartedly embraced on the ground, which led me to believe that there is still much to be gained in understanding how the dynamics once outlined by Sturken – the ways in which culture simultaneously establishes, questions, and refigures the "national symbolic" – still resonate with continuing relevance in contemporary contexts.

The arguments developed in this thesis can be divided into three broad categories: 1) the role of media and popular culture in establishing some memories as "canonical"; 2) the use of the canon and the archive in order develop new ways of seeing the history of Asia Minor; 3) memory as a toolkit to address contemporary realities. In my analysis, I focus on both the content of specific cultural forms and the ways these cultural forms are encountered by their publics. Viewing each of the case studies as an occasion for an encounter offers a critical stance to theorize on the temporalities, relationships and opportunities that the memory of Asia Minor entails in present-day Greece. These insights are further enriched by my own personal encounters with the memory of Asia Minor during my research project. My argument is that although we all operate within given social frameworks and with certain cultural, political and other tools, the meaning that our ideas take on is ultimately determined in an encounter. As a result, encounters with cultural memory show how the futures of that memory emerge from established views and openings to difference.

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[25] For more information about the project see Oral History Groups O. P. I. (undated).

The cases studies that I chose were deliberately selected from a wide array of popular representations that capture large audiences. In Chapter 2, I start the discussion with the major debate on memory of Asia Minor in the Greek public sphere to showcase the stakes that this memory still holds nearly a hundred years later. Different mnemonic communities that the memory of Asia Minor has assembled together are examined, each with its own agenda and vision for the future of that memory. Drawing on a case study of the controversy over the history textbook for the sixth grade of Greek primary school (*dimotiko*) edited by a team of history educators led by Maria Repousi, I argue that if we are to fully grasp the dynamics through which memories circulate, we need to take into account the emotions evoked by any one memory.

The debate over the history textbook occurred in 2006-2007 because the textbook was seen as undermining the solid pillars of the national narrative and hence the national identity that rests on them. Although the arguments surrounding the controversy made reference to several pivotal moments in modern Greek history, the whole discussion eventually boiled down to one specific word – *συνωστισμός* in Greek, which can be translated as crowding in English – with reference to the Greeks assembling on the quay of Smyrna trying to escape the burning city in 1922. The reference was seen as trivialising the event, with heated arguments about the use of this word and the book more generally erupting across a wide range of media and summoning up opposition across the political spectrum. Drawing on the theorisations of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, I propose that both the opponents and the supporters of the textbook appealed to the paranoid visions of the future of the nation and its history, and that both sides of the debate were employing strategies and tactics to advocate their views that essentially mirror each other. The remainder of my thesis is structured as a response to this controversy. Ten years on, the echoes of the debate are still present in public and cultural spheres, and their analysis can offer us a glimpse into the future unfolding of memory. Detailed analysis of three case studies offers three distinct scenarios, which I call the reparative, the possessive, and the connective visions of the past.

Many of the participants in this debate over the textbook were descendants of refugees from Asia Minor, who felt that the memory of their ancestors was disrespected. I therefore go back to the family memory with my next case study presented in Chapter 3 and discuss the ways in which family memory is reworked and brought to larger audiences. In its essence, Chapter 3 foregrounds aesthetics and memory practices that Asia Minor sets in motion when the relay of remembrance reaches the third generation. By building on the concept of the generation of postmemory as developed by Hirsch and intergenerational transmission of trauma as discussed by Tata Arcel, the discussion focuses on the graphic novel *Αϊβαλί* [Aivali] (2014) by Soloup – a grandchild of refugees from Asia Minor. The plot of the graphic novel develops within one day, when Soloup's protagonist, who is a metarepresentation of the author himself, undertakes a boat trip between the ports of Mytilene to Ayvalık that once formed a single cultural space within the Ottoman Empire but is now divided by the border between Greece and Turkey. Within the framework of the boat trip, voices of Greek and Turkish writers intertwine with Soloup's family memories to provide an insight into the region's past and the repercussions of this past in the present. By bringing Greek and Turkish voices together, Soloup advocates a reparative memory of Asia Minor that would bridge the divisions cultivated through the national ideologies. As will be made evident from the discussion of cultural events organised in relation to *Aivali,* the graphic novel leads to many encounters with the past, and during these encounters the memory of Asia Minor travels across Greece and beyond, becomes the subject of debates, and leads to new reproductions and readings. In Marianne Hirsch's terms, the graphic novel paves the way from familial to affiliative postmemory. Yet the affiliations that the book generates – and those that it inhibits – stretch beyond authorial intensions.

Chapter 4 builds on the notion of affiliative postmemory by turning to the most prominent among the homelands of Asia Minor, that of the affluent and cosmopolitan city of Smyrna. It does so through the medium of theatre, which has so far received little critical attention for its representations of Asia Minor. I argue that Smyrna has starred in the story of the lost homelands on so many occasions that it became fixed in the Greek popular imagination as closely associated with certain cultural tropes that condense the history of Smyrna in a way a pocket guide might do, and their recurrence in literature, music, film and theatre preserves this version of Smyrna in the memory of the Greek people. Extending the term "portable monument" coined by Ann Rigney (2004), I refer to this type of Smyrna as "portable Smyrna". The analysis of the play *Σμύρνη μου αγαπημένη* [My Beloved Smyrna] (2014) by Mimi Denisi shows how the theatre stage becomes a space where such a Smyrna is performed. For many critics, the stagings of Greek history that Denisi is known for represent a popular form of Greek nationalism, fostering national pride, a sense of cultural exceptionalism, and a possessive vision of the past. By discussing my encounters with audience members, I challenge this assumption and suggest that *My Beloved Smyrna* provides a chance for audiences to confront different viewpoints on the history of Asia Minor emerging across generations. Ultimately, my argument in this chapter is that portable memory, such as that of Smyrna, provides a toolkit for crafting one's own place in history – past, present and future.

Chapter 5 returns to the idea that portable memory provides a toolkit for reconstituting a relationship to the past and bearing witness in the future. Using this premise as a starting point, I argue that the current refugee crisis constituted just such a moment in Greece. When in summer and early autumn of 2015 thousands of people daily arrived onto the Greek islands of the Aegean, the overwhelming response to the emergency as exhibited by the inhabitants of the Aegean islands, and especially Lesvos, was discussed in the media as that of solidarity with refugees. This outpouring of solidarity was often attributed to the fact that many of the islanders were themselves descendants of the 1922 refugees and still remembered the hardships that their ancestors suffered. In my analysis, accounts from the field as provided by some of the leading anthropologists are coupled with a discussion of widely circulated media representations that called for solidarity in order to put this premise to the test. Moreover, the memory of Asia Minor is discussed as a connective memory that is put in relation to other moments of recent Greek history. Limitations in their representation by the media become apparent once they are embedded in a wider context. Bearing these limitations in mind, the final part of this chapter I consider what might be an alternative framework.

2

AFFECTIVE ALLIANCES IN GREEK HISTORY WARS

2.1 BETWEEN MEMORY AND HISTORY

During the period of my research project, memories of Asia Minor often struck me in the most unexpected ways. One such instance occurred as I went on my weekly shopping errands in the local market, and stopped for a chat with some Greek vendors. “What are you doing in Oxford?” they asked. Happy to hear about my research topic, they told me that they were of Pontic heritage. “Have you ever been there?” I asked. “No, neither in Pontus nor in Smyrna. But we will go when we take back Constantinople. Will we ever take it back, what do you think?”. This question proves an important point: the territorial ambitions for a Greece of two continents and five seas had to be given up after the defeat in 1922, but they still survive in the Greek popular imagination. The dream of taking back Constantinople, which was at the crux of the Great Idea, often comes back: sometimes as anecdotal evidence, other times as a serious matter. Anyone who decides to learn the Greek language becomes quickly aware of this dynamic, not least because up to this day Greeks refer to the city which was once the capital of the Byzantine Empire and is now the capital of Turkey as Constantinople, or simply the City. At the same time, the ease with which the vendor evoked Pontus and Smyrna side by side in his reply proves another important point: as we have seen in the Introduction, the people who lived in different regions of Asia Minor, as well as their fates after the events of 1922, differed significantly, but today their histories often merge into one within “the ideology of the lost homelands” (Liakos 1998).

Having chosen to reply to the question of the vendors with a smile rather than engaging in a discussion, I wished them a nice day and made my way home. Then I heard them call me back, so I returned to their stall. “Kristina”, they asked me, “do you write your work in Greek or English?”. Disappointed to hear my reply, one of them added: “If it were in Greek, I would be very interested in reading it”. During the three years I spent working on my project, I have yet to find a Greek who is not interested in the topic of Asia Minor. Just the mention of the place would often suffice for many to introduce a family story of their own. Sometimes these stories would be rather brief: "My grandparent was from Asia Minor," and this would be as much as my new acquaintances would know. Other times, they would provide a rather detailed account of their relatives' lives in Greece or in Asia Minor. People I met and talked to about my project, in academia and beyond, would often understand "studying the memory of Asia Minor" in rather different ways, and their advice on how they thought I should proceed with my research would point in very different directions. But I have never come across someone who would dismiss the idea of researching the memory of the Asia Minor Campaign and its aftermath altogether: it is a topic that up to this day attracts high public interest.

As I was preparing the first draft of this chapter in April 2016, I got to exchange views on my project in a rather unexpected place – the border control of Athens International Airport. When I greeted the border officer and answered in Greek his questions about where I was going, he was rather pleasantly surprised by my linguistic skills, and asked me if I lived in Greece. "No, but I have been learning the language for many years, and now I am conducting a research project on the memory of Asia Minor", I answered. "I think you will do a good job", he replied, still somewhat astonished by our encounter. Then, after a brief pause, he continued: "Because there is a lot of different sorts of information on the subject now. But one thing that is certain about Asia Minor is that it was not a crowding". Having used the word *συνωστισμός* for crowding, the officer referred pointedly to the controversy surrounding the history textbook for primary school that mobilised the entire nation between 2006-2007. Little did he know, that I was coming back from a research visit, during which I spent two weeks reading newspaper articles on this debate, and trying to disentangle all the events that happened at the time. And here I was, at the Athens International Airport, witnessing that even though ten years had passed after the incident, it still lived on in people's memory and was able to stir emotions in an instant.

This chapter will give a detailed analysis of the controversy over the history textbook for the sixth graders of Greek primary school published in 2006 and then withdrawn after huge public pressure and a long debate the following year. I will use this example in order to set out the grounds for issues that will follow through the whole of this thesis, exposing the links between history and memory, their interconnectedness with issues of identity and power, and the role that affect and emotion play in consolidating those links. I will begin with a short but necessary discussion about the role that history assumed in the process of nation-building and the ways that the commonly held assumptions about Greek national history were challenged by the developments of the 20th century. I will then discuss the main arguments and participants in the debates over the textbook, as well as the role that cultural texts assumed in these arguments. What I hope will emerge through this discussion is different ways in which affect and emotions facilitate fostering affiliative bonds to the memory of Asia Minor.

2.2 HISTORY AS A BUILDING BLOCK OF A NATION

Chris Lorenz gives many examples to show how nation and history are intrinsically linked (Tilmans et al. 2010). He argues that "[n]ations emerge as the subjects of History just as History emerges as the ground, the mode of being, of the nation" (Lorenz 2010: 72). Lorenz discusses national characteristics that arise as a result of this link, such as: a claim to uniqueness, common origins, and harmonious unity; defining oneself in opposition to others; establishing continuity; personification/engendering; and portraying oneself as being on the right side (often achieved through nationalisation of Christianity). Because of the ways national history is linked to the conceptions of identity, Aleida Assmann (2006) calls it a political memory. According to Assmann, "[h]istory turns into memory when it is transformed into forms of shared knowledge and collective identification and participation. In such cases, 'history in general' is reconfigured into a particular and emotionally charged version of 'our history', absorbing it as part of a collective identity" (Assmann 2006: 216). Political memory is much more homogenous than individual or social memory, serving as "both a mirror and a lamp – a model of and a model for society" (Schwartz (1996), cited in Olick and Robbins 1998: 124). It is grounded in symbols, texts, monuments and rituals, and has to be learned and acquired in order for one to be able to identify with a specific group.

In the case of Greece, instituting a history that summoned its people into a nation is largely attributed to the work of the 19th century Greek historians, and especially Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, whose voluminous *History of the Greek*

Nation argued for the continuity of Greece from antiquity to Byzantium until modern times (Kitromilides 2004). This work emerged primarily as a reaction to the racial theories of Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, who disputed that modern Greeks were heirs of the Ancient Greek civilization in his writings, arguing instead that they were descended from Balkan Slavs. First published in 1830, the same year when the modern Greek state was established, the ideas of Fallmerayer were seen as a direct threat to the nation that based its claims for independence on its links with the ancient past. The vision of Greece that emerged through the history of Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos managed to convincingly rebut those arguments by establishing links between the ancient past and the present via the traditions of Greek language and Greek Orthodox religion.

As argued by Vangelis Karamanolakis, the historical vision proposed by Paparrigopoulos radically redefined the purpose of history: from a discipline that had previously focused on world history and the history of institutions in order to raise free and knowledgeable citizens, it was transformed into a discipline with a focus on national history in order to educate citizens that would possess a national consciousness and relevant historical knowledge to support its validity (Karamanolakis 2006: 120-121). It is not widely known that Paparrigopoulos first published his ideas in 1853, in a small volume that was envisioned as a school textbook (Athanasiadis 2015). At that point, however, his work was rejected because it diverged from the established educational norm more than the educational establishment was willing to accept. It was only seven years later, when Paparrigopoulos started to develop his ideas in greater length (to be completed in the *History of the Greek Nation* in 1877) that his point of view gained some ground in Greek society: first embraced by the reading public, and only later validated by academic institutions (Athanasiadis 2015).

Within the tripartite scheme of Paparrigopoulos, the Greek Orthodox religion is discussed as a link of the Greek people to the Byzantine tradition. By preserving Greek language in its liturgy, the Greek Orthodox Church emerges as an institution that significantly contributed to the continuity and the “survival” of the Greek nation under Ottoman rule. As I have discussed in the Introduction, religion was the main identity marker and principle of organisation of everyday life in the Ottoman Empire, with the Patriarchate of Constantinople assuming the responsibility of controlling communal property, settling conflicts within the community, and administering educational and religious affairs. Because of the relative autonomy of the Orthodox Church to organise the lives of the Orthodox subjects in the Ottoman Empire, the Church indeed could be viewed as what helped to maintain a distinct Greek identity.

In the now independent state, the autocephalous Orthodox Church of Greece occupies a position of significant authority as part of the state mechanism under the supervision of the Ministry of Education and Religion (Ozkirimli and Sofos 2008; Veremis 2006 [1998]). This authority is also historically grounded by portraying the Greek Orthodox Church as a defendant of national interests at crucial times for the nation. For example, there is the well-known narrative that the Church taught Christian children letters in secret schools at the risk of persecution by the Ottoman authorities. Despite there being no historical evidence to prove the validity of this claim, this story became a commonplace reference within the Greek educational system (Politis 2000: 25-39). Most significantly, the Church is portrayed as an active contributor to the Greek War of Independence. Its significant role is highlighted each year on 25 March, when the 1821 call of the Greek Orthodox Church to join the Greek struggle in Aghia Lavra is celebrated. Despite there being evidence that these events did not unfold as portrayed in national narratives and that in fact the higher ranks of the clergy did not support the struggle for fear of losing their influence within the Ottoman Empire, this event is commemorated as one of the most important national holidays.

History teaching in Greek schools remains a mechanism to cultivate national consciousness and to shape national identity in much the same way as envisioned by Paparrigopoulos. The Greek constitution explicitly states that “education constitutes a fundamental mission of the State, and the aim of education is moral, spiritual, professional and physical education of the Greeks as well as development of religious and national consciousness and their transformation into free and responsible citizens” (Article 16 paragraph 2). The tripartite scheme of Greek history established by Paparrigopoulos is replicated in the Greek educational system within each study cycle. At primary school, for instance, each year is dedicated to studying one period of Greek history: ancient, Byzantine and modern, and then this material is repeated again at secondary and high school levels. Thus by the time pupils complete their education they go through the most important events in Greek history within the framework of the tripartite scheme three times. Moreover, the content of the textbooks is strictly monitored: there is only one textbook per year per subject and each published textbook has to adhere to detailed guidelines of the Study Programmes that specify how the material should be subdivided into lessons and what the exact content of each lesson should be. When a new textbook is prepared, adherence to these guidelines is ensured by a team of experts appointed by the Pedagogical Institute.

The role of school textbooks in cultivating the national consciousness has been widely discussed (Avdela 2000; Fragkoudaki and Dragona 1997; Millas 2002). As an extensive research project on Greek textbooks led by Fragoudaki and Dragona has shown, the national consciousness that is promoted through education is permeated by admiration for the past, ambivalence towards the present and fear of the future (Fragoudaki and Dragona 1997; especially Avdela 1997: 63). The admiration for the past is mainly cultivated through the narrative of modern-day Greeks as heirs of the Ancients, and this ancestral link also connects Greeks to Western European cultures. The continuity of stable and unchanging national identity from ancient times to the present that emerges through this narrative is ensured via a constant struggle for survival and an ability to resist threats posed by external enemies throughout history. On the one hand, portraying the national self in the role of a victim of external circumstances provides a mechanism for validation of failures. On the other, victimhood acquires positive connotations by relating it to heroism (Dragona 1997: 107). At the same time, national identity that is grounded in resistance to change as one of its main characteristics leads the bearers of this identity to fear changes and creates a need to be in constant vigilance lest there appears another attempt to undermine the nation. These attitudes can be easily internalised, because the key function of the history textbook in the Greek classroom is to provide a narrative that should be memorized by pupils, who are then required to "tell the lesson" to their teachers.

As I have already discussed in the Introduction, the end of the 20th century is marked by many political and cultural transformations, both in Greece and globally: the fall of the Greek military junta in 1974; Greece's accession to the European Union in 1981; the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989; and the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1991 and increased migration from the Balkans into Greece as a result – all contributed to creating a more diverse Greek society. Thus what one can witness from the 1990s onwards is how, on the one hand, approaches to national history are pluralised, problematized and opened for debate. On the other hand, creating such openings also gave rise to a possibility for change that could be perceived as threatening the stability of the national identity. As a result, in the 1990s one also witnesses how an increasing number of people rose in defence of their national history that they perceived as threatened.

Let me briefly provide several examples that illustrate how the last decade of the 20th century marks the point of both shifting away from the views that endorse national visions of history, as well as from those that seek its institutionalization. One example of framing the national history anew can be considered the 1989 burning of the surveillance files kept by security forces, with some dating from as early as the 1930s. On 29 August 1989, marking the 40th anniversary of the battle of Grammos, nearly 17 million files were burned in bonfires all across Greece. This decision was adopted by the coalition government between the right-wing New Democracy and communist KKE, as part of the reconciliation politics dealing with the agonizing legacy of the Greek Civil War. The decision to burn the files was not universally endorsed, with thousands seeking court orders to postpone the burning in order to reclaim their files. Some might have wanted their files as evidence for claiming compensation; for others the act of burning the files represented a "burning of history" itself and concealment of the truth. Yet, as Siani-Davies and Katsikas point out, inasmuch as the coalition government represented the two opposing sides of the Civil War, "it did mark a public healing of old scars" even if serving specific political ends, i.e., unifying forces of the left and the right to attack their main opponent Andreas Papandreou of centre left PASOK (Siani-Davies and Katsikas 2009: 571). Vangelis Karamanolakis (2014, 2017), on the other hand, argues that the willingness for reconciliation was motivated by certain fears permeating society at the time: fears of confrontations that might arise once the files were opened, as well as fears that the same files could be used again. The consensus between the left and the right and the proposed new beginning thus emerge at the intersection of self-serving political interests and shared wider anxieties.

The so-called "earthquake diplomacy" is another example of willingness to start history anew. In 1999, as earthquakes successively hit Turkey and then Greece, the two countries were able to overcome the animosity propagated by national stereotypes and assist each other in coping with the consequences of the natural disaster. Leonidas Karakatsanis has argued that the groundwork for the outburst of solidarity we have seen in 1999 was in fact laid during 1996 Imia/Kadarak crisis, when, despite political and diplomatic tensions, different actors, discourses and practices were brought together to counter the discourses of rising nationalism (Karakatsanis 2014: 175-194). However, the 1999 earthquakes constituted a major media event that humanized Turk for their audiences, and the repercussions of this act became evident on both personal and political level shortly afterwards. On a political level, the earthquake was followed by an agreement on co-operation between Greece and Turkey, signed in 2000 by the Foreign Minister of Turkey, Ismail Cem, and the Foreign Minister of Greece, Georgios Papandreou, who came to Ankara on what was the first official state visit to Turkey since 1962. Among multiple agreements on tourism, investment, security, and environment, there was also an agreement to review educational materials in order to portray the periods of shared history without prejudice. The efforts at reconciliation were soon to manifest themselves on a personal level. Myrivili, for instance, points out that while in 1998 the number of people who crossed from Mytilene to Ayvalık was 5,115 (1,736 Greek nationals), by 2002 the number increased by 455 per cent and reached 18,185 (9,637 Greek nationals). Most of these visits might seem to be rather superficial trips for commercial or touristic purposes, but the increased everyday encounters between the two peoples also managed to break down some of the barriers and stereotypes. Contemporaneously, a number of "bottom-up" initiatives aimed at reconciliation of the two peoples contributed to this purpose (Myrivili 2009: 348). Once the "Turkish-Greek friendship" manifest in the earthquake solidarity initiatives became a popular label, however, it also lost some of its radical political potential (Karakatsanis 2014: 203)

However, alongside the initiatives directed at starting history anew in order to seek reconciliation and heal old scars, there were also those that persevered at defending history's integrity. The Macedonia name dispute of 1991-1995 saw the multi-vocal chorus of people who rose in defence of their history emerge on an unprecedented scale. As discussed in the Introduction, the region of Macedonia had been at the intersection of multiple interests since the 19th century, which since at least the Greek Civil War translated as a threat looming over territorial integrity for large segments of Greek population. The establishment of the Republic of Macedonia in the aftermath of the disintegration of Yugoslavia led to the resurgence of these fears in 1991. More specifically, the fact that the newly established republic adopted the star of Vergina[26] as its national symbol and explicitly stated in its constitution the aim to protect national Macedonian minorities of other countries was seen as laying a claim on Greek Macedonian territories. National rallies in major Greek cities attracted over a million people in defence of the national interests, and polemical disputes on what was the right way to interpret the history of the region soon erupted in the public sphere (Sjöberg 2011). The stakes involved in defending history were seen as so high that anyone who was thought to undermine the importance of the cause was viewed as a national traitor, as happened to the anthropologist Anastasia Karakasidou, for example, who received death threats for her work in the region (Sjöberg 2011: 233-255). When the government reopened negotiations over the name issue in 2018, it became clear that the passions with which the Macedonia name dispute is viewed had not diminished since the 1990s. The rallies in Thessaloniki and Athens mobilized over a million people who, just as over 20 years earlier, insisted that "Macedonia is Greek".

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[26] The star of Vergina is a symbol adopted for Greek Macedonia in the 1970s, after the archeological discovery of what was thought to be the grave of King Phillip, the father of Alexander. The star decorated the urn found in that grave. (Liakos 2004: 352).

The eagerness with which large segments of the population got involved in the debate over the name Macedonia is commonly attributed to the nationalism in the Balkans that has been on the rise since the 1990s. The extreme-right party Golden Dawn, which gained prominence with the Macedonia name dispute and was established as a political party in 1993, could be cited as the most extreme example of this case. It should be emphasised, however, that nationalism manifested itself in more than one form and extended beyond the right-wing. On the other side of the political spectrum, the communist party KKE was also quick to defend its national credentials during the Macedonia name dispute, when it was accused of collaborating with the Skopje government. Within this context, segments of the communist left would develop a form of nationalism as an anti-imperialist critique of Western hegemony, which would soon become known as "the new order" (a term which would soon be picked up by those on the extreme right).

In the meantime, the Pontic Greek associations used the platform provided by the Macedonia name dispute as a national issue to pursue their own agenda for the recognition of the Pontic genocide. The 9 May as Memorial of Pontic Greek Genocide was approved by the Greek Parliament in 1994 and the 14 September as the National Remembrance Day of the Genocide against the Greeks of Asia Minor was approved in 1998. Sjöberg discusses how memory politics behind the struggle for recognition of these casualties as genocide negotiated demands posed by national remembrance and transnational memory (Sjöberg 2016, especially pp. 73-80). He points out that although the laws recognizing these days were passed by the Greek Parliament in the 1990s without much opposition, when the presidential degree to implement the law in relation to the genocide against the Greeks of Asia Minor was passed in 2001, this act was called into question. Sjöberg discusses the presidential decree as closely intertwined with international memory politics, for it was signed within twelve days after the French Parliament adopted its "memory law", which brought the recognition of the Armenian genocide into the fore.

The presidential decree was highly criticised, especially by the Greek left, who saw it as an expression of extreme nationalism and accused the government of distorting history. They claimed that since Greeks who lived through 1922 never referred to the events as genocide, such a reference is misleading. They also interpreted it as an attempt to reinforce the authority of the Church within the Greek state politics, because the 14 September, the day proposed for commemoration, coincided with celebration of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Finally, by positioning Greece as a victim of Turkish nationalism, the memorial day was seen as exculpating the Greek nationalist aspirations for the atrocities and suffering they caused in Asia Minor. But before the debate could escalate any further, within 12 days of the signing of the presidential decree, this decree was revoked. For the critics of the new memorial day, this represented "a triumph of civil society against state-sponsored revisionism" (Sjöberg 2016: 90).

Before long, the issue of state-sponsored revisionism reemerged again in 2000, in the so-called identity card debate, yet this time it bore slightly different overtones. In compliance with the EU regulations on personal data protection and non-discrimination, the Greek government adopted a decision to remove religious affiliation from Greek identity cards. This quickly raised an alarm with the Greek Orthodox Church, who viewed such a decision as an attempt to undermine the traditional role of religion as an integral part of Greek national identity, and to replace it with secular Western European values. Under the leadership of the Archbishop of Athens and the Whole of Greece Christodoulos, the Church organised large rallies in Athens and Thessaloniki and collected over three million signatures in support of their position, asking to organise a referendum on the issue (Tsatsanis 2011: 21). However, the government refused to consider a referendum and proceeded with its decision. The case was referred to the European Court of Human Rights by three Greek theology professors, where it was also rejected.

The controversy received extensive media coverage, overshadowing many other major issues such as Greece's entry into the eurozone and Cyprus's entry into the European Union (Karagiannis 2009: 136). A comparison of the mainstream media coverage with the data gathered in opinion polls revealed a deep cleavage between the views of opinion leaders, who were overwhelmingly negative towards the issue, and the general public, with nearly 70 per cent of those surveyed being in favour of including religion on ID cards (Molokotos-Liederman 2003, 2007). These voices would stay disregarded on this occasion, but it was not long before they came forth again and demanded to be heard, this time over a threat posed by a history textbook.

2.3. CHRONICLE OF A HISTORY WAR

When the centre right party New Democracy secured a narrow victory in the parliamentary election of September 2007 and formed the government for the second term, one of its first decisions concerned a history textbook. By that point, the outcries about the threat that this textbook posed to national integrity had been heard in public debates for over a year, and the decision was anxiously awaited. Without much haste, nine days following the election, the newly appointed Minister of Education Evripidis Stylianidis announced at the press conference: "Due to serious reservations about the suitability of the contents of the history book for the sixth grade of primary school, it was decided to withdraw the book and temporarily replace it with the book that was taught in previous years". The news was met with a great celebration: "We shouted 'Yes, we won!'. Truly, we felt a great joy", remembered primary school teacher Dimitris Nastios. "In my opinion, the book was not withdrawn from circulation by the Ministry […] it was withdrawn by the Greek people", explained Andreas Stalidis, who had initiated a petition to withdraw the textbook in December of the previous year[27]. Among those celebrating, there was also the extreme right party Greek Orthodox Rally (LAOS), some of the most vocal critics of the controversial textbook. Having obtained 10 seats in the election, they made history that September as the first ever extreme right party to enter the Greek parliament, and their victory was largely credited to the aggressive stance they adopted against the textbook. The textbook was also cited as the reason why the now former Minister of Education Marietta Yannakou, who firmly supported its publication, lost her seat even though her party New Democracy managed to secure their victory. Why would a textbook become an issue of national significance in Greek politics, and who were "the Greek people" to denounce it so fiercely?

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[27] These opinions were expressed on a television Skai TV on 3 August 2007 (Skai TV 2007b).

In 2003, following a major educational reform, the Pedagogical Institute of Greece announced a competition for replacing earlier school textbooks, among them history textbooks. The team of history educators led by Associate Professor of History at the University of Thessaloniki Maria Repousi submitted their candidature and a required sample of work for writing a textbook for the sixth grade of primary school (*dimotiko*), and won the competition by a wide margin, collecting 11 per cent more points than any other history textbook for any grade, and coming second overall (Tsivas, n.d.). The new textbook would replace the earlier one written in 1989, and updated in 1997[28]. The team asserted that their own research and experience in the educational sector had shown the impasse that was reached by the previous model of learning process, and offered "to renegotiate the way history is taught in Greek schools both at the level of its content and of the methods" (Repousi 2011). The proposed innovations included: shifting the focus from memorization of texts to analysis of sources; organising each lesson around a key research question; bringing in perspectives from social history, especially the history of women; and including contentious topics of recent history, such as the Greek Civil War (Repousi 2006a).

The process of writing the textbook was divided into three stages, with the selected team required to submit part of the prepared materials for evaluation by a team of experts assigned by the Pedagogical Institute. At that point, some disagreements emerged between the members of the writing team and those of the evaluation team. The principle grounds for disagreement were: the narrative presented in the textbook – it was viewed as rather short and written in a language that was too academic; the contents of the textbook – because marginal events that were not even part of the educational programme were discussed at the expense of clearly explaining the significance of key events in Greek history; and its methodology – the emphasis on sources rather than text was seen as inappropriate for the age of the pupils, while the diversity of sources was seen as potentially preventing them from arriving at desired generalizations (Pedagogical Institute 2004). These points would subsequently echo through many of the later accusations against the textbook, recasted as posing a threat to Greek national consciousness.

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[28] The textbook by Dionysios Aktypes, Aristeides Belalides, Maria Kaila, Theodoros Katsoulakos, Yiannis Papgregoriou and Kostas Choreanthes written in 1989, and updated by Theodoros Katsoulakos, Anastasia Kyrkine and Maria Stamopoulou in 1997 (Akytpes et al. 1997 [1989]) .

As discussed by Athanasiadis (2015: 48-49), some disagreements were to be expected, as it was the first "textbook of two governments": commissioned under the centre-left PASOK and executed under the centre-right New Democracy. In previous years, a change in government was always followed by reversals in policies, meaning that the project would have had to start anew. But Minister of Education Marietta Yannakou opted for the politics of continuity, partly because the funding to renew the textbooks came from EU funds and thus the project had to be strictly executed within a given timeframe, and partly because the ideological distinctions between the two main parties, PASOK and New Democracy, had been steadily diminishing since the 1990s, and this way the alternative perspectives on history proposed by the new textbook did not seem as contradictory to the policies of the new government as they might have been in previous years. Thus the disagreements that emerged at the writing stage were eventually resolved: Repousi's team agreed to implement some of the suggested changes as long as they did not compromise the "philosophy behind the book" and finalised their work in September 2005[29]. In spring of that year, the book started to be presented to teachers across the country. Although the seminars designated for presenting the textbook were later described by the team of the history educators as too brief and too few, the initial feedback that the team received was seen as generally positive (Tsivas, n.d.).

In May 2006 the contents of the book received a first wave of hostile public criticism. On 21 May 2006, Dimitris Nastios, a primary school teacher who took part in the teaching seminar on the new book, and subsequently printed the book from the website of the Pedagogical Institute, raised an alarm on the internet platform Antivaro (trans. counterweight) viewing the "new order books of primary school" as "dangerous and ahistorical" (Nastios 2006). The platform Antivaro is an online periodical launched in 2001 by a Greek expatriate, Andreas Stalidis, who created the website as "a counterweight to major mass media, providing alternative information and convenient ground for action". Having tested this ground while voicing the opposition to the Annan Plan for Cyprus, in 2006 Antivaro would become the principal platform for mobilising the protest voices against the history textbook.

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[29] Repousi, Maria, Chara Andreadou, Aristeides Poutachides, and Armodios Tsivas. 2008. *Στα νεότερα και σύγχρονα χρόνια: Ιστορία για τη ΣΤ΄ Δημοτικού*. Athens: Vivliorama.

After the first negative reactions, the discontent over the book mounted little by little in the public sphere. The textbook was introduced into schools in September 2006, but already by June of that year all those who would become the principal protestors expressed their reservations about the new book: schoolteachers, university professors, Archbishop Christodoulos, and descendants of refugees from Asia Minor[30]. On 1 December 2006 the team of Antivaro launched a petition against the textbook (Antivaro 2006). The principal reasons for concern all related to the content of the book as "concealing historical truth". The textbook was accused of idealising the Ottoman Empire; undermining the role of the Church during the Greek War of Independence; portraying the War itself as a distant, remote and insignificant event, and silencing the genocide of the Christian populations in the Ottoman Empire. The team of Maria Repousi was accused of violating the law by not adhering to the guidance of the educational programme while compiling the textbook. The petition was forwarded to government officials, parliament members, members of the Pedagogical Institute, and Greek and Cypriot members of the European Parliament, asking the relevant authorities to withdraw the book from circulation because "Greeks have a right to their Truth"[31].

Within nine days from the petition of Antivaro, the number of signatures reached 1000, and the number would grow exponentially to a total of 11,650 signatures in support of the cause at the end of the campaign in September 2007[32]. The petition significantly helped to raise awareness about the textbook and the controversy widened its public reach: the textbook was brought up during parliamentary questions (four times between December 2006 – January 2007) and obtained some media coverage. The article in the weekly column of the radical left periodical *Ios tis Kyriaki*s (2007) that was published on 18 February 2007 is indicative of the magnitude of passions that erupted among both the defenders and the opponents of the book in the media. The team of *Ios* were among those who supported the textbook, but in their article they also cited some of the textbook's critics as examples of extreme nationalism. The more moderate among the critics cited in this article viewed the ideology behind the textbook as "one of the most dangerous positions that undermines pure scientific knowledge", and blamed Repousi's team for imposing the "logics of national decay and dissolution"; "cultivating a complex of 'humanism'" and promoting "alternative globalisation". Some of the more alarmed critics raged in fury towards Repousi and her team: "they are not only ahistorical, they are traitors, they are worms", and with this view in mind, they proposed straight away to "Hang them!". Although the aggressive tone of the media bullying cited in these articles is hard to match, the team of *Ios*, somewhat ironically, also resorts to an aggressive tone in order to present their views. By using the vocabulary associated with the legacies of the Greek military junta, they present the opponents of the textbook as "self-appointed nationalists [εθνικόφρονες] of old and new cut [who] undertake to clear the schoolbooks from what they perceive as inconvenience for their national and religious beliefs [εθνικά και θρησκευτικά πιστεύω τους]".

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[30] As will be shortly discussed, in June 2006 this discontent chiefly concerned Pontic Greek associations, but it would soon include other associations of refugees from Asia Minor.

[31] Here I would like to remind the reader of the lament heard in the Introduction to this thesis, when in the 1962 interview with the researcher of the Asia Minor Centre, the refugee woman Marianthe Karamousa saw the refugees' sufferings as being left outside of history. In 2006, it seemed that the protestors, many of whom were refugees, perceived themselves as not only part of history, but also as having a right to history that would represent "their Truth" (capital as in the original).

In March 2007, the textbook controversy literally became an issue of national significance. Under mounting political pressure, Minister of Education Marietta Yannakou, who hitherto had voiced her support for the book on multiple occasions, asked the highest-ranking research establishment of the country, the Academy of Athens, to review the contents of the textbook. The Academy organised "three lengthy plenary sessions" to evaluate the textbook and concluded that the book "does not contribute to enhancing the national memory and Greek self-consciousness", citing Article 16 of the Constitution (Academy of Athens 2007). They proposed over eighty corrections to mend the inaccuracies of the textbook's contents. Following this announcement, Yannakou stated that the book would reach schools after the corrections proposed by the Academy of Athens had been implemented. In the meantime, Maria Repousi maintained a firm position that "the central axis of the book would not change", while an enraged public insisted that no changes could remedy the anti-nationalist sentiments of the textbook (Antivaro 2007).

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[32] The petition and statistics regarding signatures can be found here: http://palio.antibaro.gr/upografes.php. Although 11,650 signatures within 10 months might look like a rather small number from the present-day perspective, I would note that the campaign took place in 2006-2007, when internet petitions were not a widespread practice. As an example, in contrast to the contemporary swift dissemination technologies via email or social networks, the team of *Antivaro* encouraged teachers to sign their petition by sending a fax to different schools across the country.

In March 2007, while awaiting the decision by the Academy of Athens, the press coverage reached its peak, with at least eight articles published daily (Athanasiadis 2015: 51). In addition, the textbook controversy was now also broadcast on television, with daily coverage in the news programmes and "discussion windows" of all the major television channels (Liakos 2008). According to the journalist of the national paper *Ta Nea* Popi Diamantakou, on the television screen "history" seemed to be replaced by "hysteria" for the sake of attracting more viewers (Diamantakou 2007). In her analysis of one such debate, Diamantakou pointed out that the celebrity of television presenters looked much more attractive to the viewers than the composure of historians who spoke out in defence of the book. The appeal to the objectivity of history upheld by those historians faded away when encountered with the rage of the opponents. This would be the conclusion that the scholarly analysis of Antonis Liakos (2008) would also arrive at when discussing why the historians lost the battle over the history textbook.

In the meantime, the outrage signalled in the first articles on the controversy continued to resound across the public sphere, and the polarities that now emerged between the supporters of the "book with no national patriotic outbursts" and their opponents, who viewed it as the "genocide of memory", led to confrontations that resembled "'The Civil War' by reading history" (E Kathimerini 2007). The supporters of the textbook accused the opposite camp of being a group of housewives and radicals who had not even read the book (Koulouri 2007b) and who were subjected to a collective psychosis (Liakos 2007). The opponents of the book voiced personal attacks on their adversaries: they called on the Prime Minister to withdraw the "stubborn" Education Minister, Marietta Yannakou, together with the "anti-Greek" textbook (Paron 2007), and insulted Maria Repousi as "obsessed, hostile, completely out of touch with reality and provocative” (Anastasiadis 2007). The more newspaper articles on the debate I read, the more evident these emotionally charged polarities became.

Although the battle largely ensued in media outlets and the virtual sphere, public spaces were also filled with its echoes. On 17 May 2007 the platform Antivaro organised an information event in the Journalists’ Union of Athens Daily Newspapers (ΕΣΗΕΑ), where the numbers of “ordinary people” by far outnumbered the number of journalists. In the region of Macedonia, where the feelings of fear over national integrity ignited by the Macedonia name dispute and the obligations bestowed by refugee descent frequently intersected, the initiative was taken up by the Society for Macedonian Studies. The Society, “determined to defend through their practice the History, the Nation and the Constitution of Greeks”, organised a symposium on the public uses of history, “International and National History: Deconstruction of History and Nation”, held on 29 April 2007 (Society for Macedonian Studies n.d., 2007). Maria Repousi convened an international conference on the public uses of history at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki on 19-21 September 2007. Everyday encounters, academic and press conferences and public debates contained, in the space where they unfolded, not only crowds of people but also their feelings, as evident from the description of a debate in Kerkyra that Athanasiadis refers to in his introduction: “The spacious auditorium of the city’s Chamber of Commerce turned out to be too small to fit the crowds, but even more so their passions” (Athanasiadis 2015: 11).

In the lead-up to the parliamentary election of September 2007, the history textbook controversy permeated discussions across all the political spectrum and became a major campaign issue, eventually, as we have already seen, swaying the results in favour of the textbook’s opponents.

2.4. THE MULTI-VOCAL PUBLIC SPHERE

In the arguments of the opponents' camp, we find many mentions of memory. Most often, they either accused Repousi of overwriting their collective memory, or referred to their personal memories as a source for the validation of their arguments. As with regards to the collective memory, a quote from Milan Kundera's *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* (1983 [1979]) is quite revealing. Kundera was first invoked in the aforementioned article by the schoolteacher Dimitris Natsios and his quote was subsequently embedded in the petition of Antivaro that asked for the withdrawal of the book (Antivaro 2006). From there, it was copied and used in other articles by Repousi's opponents. In this quote, "erasing one's memory" is equated with "liquidating a people":

> 'The first step in liquidating a people,' said Hübl, 'is to erase its memory. Destroy its books, its culture, its history. Then have somebody write new books, manufacture a new culture, invent a new history. Before long the nation will begin to forget what it is and what it was. The world around it will forget even faster'[33].
>
> (Kundera 1983 [1979]: 159)

In relation to this quote, the history textbook prepared by the team of Maria Repousi was discussed as having been written so that the nation would be taught how to forget its own history. Collective memory, in this case, was called upon in order to counter the imposed oblivion. In his analysis of the history textbook controversy, Liakos names this strategy "memory as resistance", and draws its genealogy from the post-war years, when the right-wing authoritarian state suppressed the memory of resistance to the German Occupation that originated from the communist left (Liakos 2008). As an imperative to remember, the appeal re-emerged again in the context of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974. In this context, the works of Milan Kundera on resistance to the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968 were often adopted as an affiliative postmemory by the Greeks. Significantly, during the history textbook controversy the imperative to remember was no longer associated specifically with left or right ideology, but was used as a general strategy of resistance against oblivion imposed "from above".

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[33] Translated from Czech by Michael Henry Heim, as it appears in Kundera (1983 [1979])

When Maria Repousi and her team were accused of obliterating the national memory and as a result threatening the national identity, they replied to this criticism by stating that quite contrary to the accusations by their opponents, the textbook aimed to shed light on the aspects of history that were forgotten by and absent from the Greek national history. Forgetting, rather than the foe of the national history, was seen as at the very centre of its construction, and the team of Maria Repousi spoke out against it through their work (cf. Koulouri 2007a). Such a reference immediately brings to mind the quote on forgetting from Renan's prominent talk "What is a Nation?":

> The act of forgetting – I might almost say historical error – plays a significant role in the creation of a nation, and therefore advances in the field of history are often a threat to the nation. Historical investigation, in fact, often brings to light those cases of violence which occur at the origin of all political formations, even if their consequences were most beneficent.
> (Renan 1996[1882], cited in Assmann 2008: 59)

Aleida Assmann discusses this quote to conclude that historians can play a dual role: they can either support the political power by becoming "architects of national memory" or challenge it by becoming "critics of its constructions". This distinction was at the core of the confrontation: while the historians who supported the book spoke from a position as critics of national history, their opponents envisioned the role of the historian as its architect. Such a confrontation brought questions on the construction of the national history to the forefront: What should be remembered and what should be forgotten in national histories? Who has the right to determine the outcomes of this process? What national identities should be projected into the future of the Greek nation? Those were the underlying questions in many disputes that ensued, and while many historians took the opportunity to reflect on these issues, their thoughts were either dismissed or perceived as confrontational by their opponents.

Although the arguments against the textbook concerned Greek history as a whole, one word eventually came to stand for what this history war represented and how it continues to be remembered to the present-day. As we have already seen in the airport incident discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the word *συνωστισμός* in Greek, which can be translated as "crowding" in English, was what the history textbook controversy eventually was remembered for. In the textbook, this word appeared as a verb with reference to the Great Fire of Smyrna and the expulsion of Greeks from Asia Minor in 1922:

> On 27 August 1922 the Turkish army enters Smyrna. Thousands of Greeks crowd the port, trying to get onto the boats and leave for Greece.
>
> (Repousi et al. 2007: 100)

What followed this sentence was testimonies on how the Greek army entered the city and what the everyday life of the Greeks in Asia Minor consisted of, before moving to a discussion of the convention of Lausanne in a swift fashion. Hence I think that the trouble was not so much what the word *συνωστίζονται* referring to refugees on the Quay of Smyrna in 1922 stood for, but what it was thought, by many, to obscure – pain, death, and the suffering of thousands of people who never made it onto the boats. The opponents of the textbook, accustomed to the lengthy narratives of the previous textbooks, felt that all of these experiences were excluded from history in this textbook through such an abrupt reference to the events.

When I interviewed Maria Repousi in the spring of 2017, she told me that while preparing the textbook, her team wanted to make references to both the casualties suffered by the Greeks of Asia Minor and the atrocities committed by the Greek army. However, they were not allowed to do that, and hence chose to avoid insisting on either. As a result, the more emotionally charged words such as "massacre" [σφαγή] or "persecution" [διωγμός], which are some of the most commonly used words to refer to these events in the national narrative, were replaced by the more neutrally perceived verb "crowded"[34]. Although the motives behind such a decision might have been well-intended, with this change of tone, the historians were attempting to rewrite what had become the most iconic image of the Greek casualties in Asia Minor. The fire of Smyrna is part of the personal histories of many Greek people, who hold it as a second-hand account narrated by their parents or grandparents who came as refugees from Asia Minor. At a time when the people who witnessed these events first-hand have passed away, and their memory becomes more and more vicarious as the familial ties loosen, the anxiety over that memory mobilised many descendants of refugees from Asia Minor to defend that memory.

In some cases, the descendants likened the sloppy phrasing of the textbook to

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[34] Interestingly, this same word is used in the *Concise History of Greece* by Richard Clogg (1992: 98), which however, remained unnoticed when it was translated into Greek. This proves once again that what was at stake here, and what caused all the turmoil, was the future of memory that the textbook was seen to threaten.

Holocaust denial (of which, incidentally, the textbook was also accused). The psychologist of refugee descent Libby Tata Arcel notes the following in her analysis of the incident:

> No one can set aside THE symbol of the Catastrophe and expect to be tolerated [capitals as in the original]. For example, an equivalent description of the transfer of Jews to the concentration camps would be a phrase like the following: “Thousands of Jews crowd the railway stations trying to get into the trains and leave for the camps”. The Greeks fled to be saved, while the Jews went to die. What is missing from the historical record is the coercion and the tragedy of social violence. The state's attempt to avoid stereotypes got associated with the misguided ignorance of intergenerational pain, thus disrupting the further development of a balanced pedagogical material.
>
> (Tata Arcel 2014: 91)

More often, the team of history educators under the leadership of Maria Repousi were accused by the descendants of refugees of representing Turkish interests. The first among the descendants of Greeks from Asia Minor to voice their accusations were the Pontians. In July 2006, before the debate over the textbook swept widely across the public sphere, 541 Pontic Greek associations signed the petition during the 6th International Congress of Pontic Greeks asking to examine the book and bring it in line with the collective memory of Pontic Greeks and the whole of the Greek nation because the textbook distorted history and served Turkish nationalism (Athanasiadis 2015: 66). The same line of thought was soon embraced by other associations of Greeks from Asia Minor. As an example, in the letter of the Union of Smyrniots to the Minister of Education, dated 6 November 2006, the controversial textbook is blamed for “reproducing the Turkish perspective that speaks of ‘emigration’! of Greeks” (Vezyrgiannis and Viketos 2006). In view of such controversy, the Union of Smyrniots felt that they were “obliged to strongly protest” because “Hellenism of Asia Minor is eliminated from the field of knowledge of 12-year-old children, with tragic consequences for the future of this country” (Vezyrgiannis and Viketos 2006). The last statement is particularly revealing for why the textbook caused such a turmoil: what was at stake there was not just the interpretation of the past but how this past would be handed down to the next generations, in other words – the future of memory.

The Orthodox Church of Greece also joined the accusations against the textbook, viewing it as a conspiracy of the foreign powers. Archbishop Christodoulos voiced adverse criticism on many occasions. Having gained high public visibility when he defended Greek national identity as Greek Orthodox during the 2000 identity card debate, he came forward once again during the textbook controversy: “At the altar of Greco-Turkish friendship, we are sacrificing truth”, Christodoulos stated on 23 January 2007, when addressing students of the Police Academy. “These are crimes against history”, unquestionably asserted the Archbishop, painting a rather grim vision for the future of that history as he continued: “Everyone is going to pay for these mistakes, and especially our children that will live in a community without visions and beliefs” (Newsroom Alter Ego 2007). The subtle allusion to beliefs here is quite significant: for apart from the neglect of atrocities suffered by the Greeks in Asia Minor, the controversial textbook was also seen as attempting to loosen what has been long embedded at the centre of the visions for the future of the Greek nation: the tight links between the Orthodox religion and the Greek identity.

More specifically, the textbook was blamed for undermining the role of the Church as the guardian of Greekness in the Ottoman Empire, as well as disregarding the Church’s contribution to the establishment of the modern Greek state. Several pivotal moments on which the validity of these claims was traditionally grounded were nowhere to be found in the controversial textbook. The “secret schools” education run by the Church during the Ottoman rule and the blessing of weapons in Aghia Lavra at the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence were conspicuously omitted on the grounds that they were national myths. The accounts of sacrifice committed by some of the most prominent national martyrs for their religion and their homeland were also absent. Historical approaches that diverged from the longstanding tradition of paying respect to the pivotal role of the Church at the most significant moments in Greek history thus could not be tolerated: “Our children should learn real history of Greece and not the history of historians”, asserted Archbishop Christodoulos during the National Radio Morning News programme on 29 March 2007 (Nakou and Apostolidou 2010: 124). Yet where this real history should come from was not made clear.

Accusations against the textbook deeply permeated the Greek political scene, with different political parties held accountable for the controversy. Some claimed that the moderniser Prime Minister Konstantinos Simitis and the PASOK government should bear responsibility, because they were the ruling party, when the plans for the publication of the textbook were approved in 2003. Others pointed their fingers to the Papandreou-Cem Agreement of 2001, under which Greece and Turkey agreed to collaborate on introducing new revised schoolbooks in Greece and Turkey. Yet others did not want to look that far, and simply blamed the government of the time led by Konstantinos Karamanlis of the New Democracy party, under which the book was completed and presented to the public.

In the run-up to the election, such accusations could potentially have damaging consequences, hence politicians were quick to voice their criticism of the textbook and thus dissociate themselves from those accused. Athanasiadis (2015) outlines in detail the political landscape. As one would expect, the book that was seen as undermining the Greek national identity was heavily criticised by conservative politicians: the majority of the centre right New Democracy expressed concerns about the contents of the book. They were joined in by the far right parties LAOS and Golden Dawn expressing their fierce opposition. What was more surprising, was that these protest voices were also seconded by those on the left: the overwhelming majority of the centre left PASOK and the communist left (esp. KKE) were all campaigning for having the book removed from circulation. Although raising their concerns with the textbook for rather different reasons, the parties that would not necessarily share their attitudes on other matters thus shared their rage in the textbook controversy.

The descendants of refugees, the Church, the political parties on the left and on the right, and many “ordinary people”, including the educators, whether organised via the platform *Antivaro* or acting independently, demanded the textbook to be withdrawn from circulation. What would bring such divergent points of view together? Athanasiadis discusses anti-Western sentiments shared universally by almost all members of the protesting front as a unifying common thread (Athanasiadis 2010, 2015: 89-99; cf. Liakos 2008). For the right-leaning protesters, the anti-Western sentiments manifested themselves in the fear that Greek national identity would be substituted by more globalised identities endorsed by the US or the EU. For the protesters on the left of the political spectrum, the threat of the West was mainly seen through the prism of imposition of hegemony of imperialist forces and delegitimization of revolutionary struggle. Of course even here one could draw some further differentiations, but one could discuss these efforts as mobilised collectively under a frame of fear of “the new order” (Tsatsanis 2011). While ideologies constitute abstract, complex and logical systems of beliefs, frames work as more specific devices to interpret events, and apart from relying on specific ideology, they can also merge elements of distinct ideologies in order to “extend, amplify or radically transform existing ideologies” (Tsatsanis 2011: 13-14). In the history textbook controversy, traditional distinctions between left and right were blurred by the new order frame that promoted nationalism embraced on both sides of the political spectrum as a means to resist the perceived imposition of values imported from the globalized West. They were motivated by fear that, as Fragoudaki and Dragona (1997) had shown ten years prior to the textbook controversy, is deeply embedded in the Greek educational system and the national identity that it projects.

What is absent in Athanasiadis’ discussion, however, is that one strong fear was also behind many arguments of the textbook’s supporters – the historians. Of course, the fact that this history war was recast as “the people versus the historians” is somewhat misleading, because there were also historians that voiced their opposition to the textbook[35]. There were also some historians who were critical of both positions, stating that they did not support the emotionally charged rhetoric of the demands to withdraw the book and yet they also had some reservations about the historical approach adopted by the controversial textbook. Yet there were certain historians that stood in firm defence of the textbook and voiced their support on multiple occasions, and since no other group could be easily identified as supporters of the textbook, this was how the debate was broadcast in the media and perceived by the wider public.

The historians who supported the textbook of Maria Repousi could be briefly described as left-wing intellectuals who joined and expanded the field of historical studies following the democratization of the country in 1974 and those following in their footsteps. In the climate of ideological change brought forward by the transition from dictatorship to democracy, one of the objectives on which the “new history” developed during this period concentrated its efforts was the dismantling of the ideological use of history. The concept of the ideological use of history was coined by the historian Filippos Iliou, who used it to mark a dividing line between serious scholarship on historical reality that historians should aspire to, and ideologically biased interpretations of this reality, often in service of nationalist purposes (Iliou 1976, cited in Liakos 2004: 364). Having emerged from such an opposition, the new history was rarely put in dialogue with previously prevailing more traditional right-wing historical perspectives, with an example of the collaboration on the *History of the Greek Nation* written in 1970s constituting a rare exception. More frequently, the spheres of influence were divided between left-wing historians focusing on social and cultural history, while right-wing historians continued to work on topics related to national history. This had two profound consequences that are especially relevant for this chapter. Firstly, eager to demystify ideological uses of history, the new historians disregarded the ideology behind their own approaches to history. Secondly, they left the national history, including school history textbooks, to the monopoly of right-wing perspectives.

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[35] As an example, see Lygeros and Pavlidis (2006), Margaritis (2007) and Karambelias (2007).

It was this cleavage between the scholarly research of the new historians and the traditionalist views found in school history textbooks that the team of Maria Repousi was attempting to bridge through their work. In opposition to the fears of dismantling Greek national identity expressed by Repousi's opponents, the position adopted by her team was driven by a fear of ideologically blinded history permeated by national myths. "This can't go any further…", stated the title of Repousi's article in the national daily *To Vima* in September 2006, just a few months after the first criticisms of the book appeared (Repousi 2006b). With an ellipsis at the end, her statement stood somewhat hesitantly, gaping open, perhaps filled with tiredness of fighting for her cause again and again, but also willing to give it all to that fight, not compromising on her position even by the slightest, as would become apparent several months later, when the debate intensified. Cautiously but with a glimpse of hope, Repousi called upon the teachers to come forth in defence of the textbook: "It's not possible that we condemn it [history class] to a class of memorialization of dates and events, to a class of national propaganda and national myths" (Repousi 2006b). Categorically discrediting previous approaches to history teaching as "national propaganda", while at the same time never extensively addressing the reasoning behind the "philosophy of the book" except as in opposition to the national myths that her team was eager to dismantle, Repousi ignited the negative feelings that would be reciprocated over and over by her opponents.

The ideology behind the textbook was quickly called into question by the textbook's opponents. Konstantinos Romanos, professor of Philosophy at the University of the Aegean, undermined the textbook by raising the following question: "Who can prove that the concept of social gender (the history of women) is based on an inherent identity, while the notions of 'nation' (which goes against 'globalization') and 'social class' (which goes against capitalism) are myths?" (Romanos 2006). A member of the

European Parliament at the time, Antonis Samaras[36], followed a similar line of argument, and claimed that what Repousi and her supporters did was to replace the myths that are deeply engrained in the Greek culture with their own myths, hence fabricating a "caricature of history". The title of his statement – "The Mania for Deconstructing Myths" – is indicative of the indignation with which he regarded such acts. Most strikingly, the team of Maria Repousi was accused of nothing less than murder:

> Whoever dismisses the myths of longstanding tradition without discretion or 'cleanses' the history textbooks from teaching of myths, **murders civilisations, lobotomises imagination and drives Education to sales and bankruptcy**.
>
> (bold font as in the original) (Samaras 2007)

As Sara Ahmed has pointed out, the circulation of any particular object in "affective economies" increases its affective value (Ahmed 2014 [2004]: 45). By May 2007, when Samaras' statement was published, it was evident that "national myths" had become a rather expensive currency in the history textbook controversy.

Feelings have been often discussed as central to public life by contemporary critical theorists (Ahmed 2014; Berlant 2008; Cvetkovich and Pellegrini 2003; Pantazopoulos 2002). In the discussion of the history textbook controversy, Liakos (2008) pitted the feelings of the protesting crowds against the reason of the historians. However, what I have argued in the last part of this chapter is that the expressions of intense negative feelings were motivated by fear that played a big role in arguments both for and against the book. What we were dealing with essentially was fear of dismantling the pillars of national history upon which rests the national identity, on one hand, and fear of history permeated by national myths rather than based on objective facts on the other. While it is true that the outrage of the protestors often came closer to bullying rather than reasoned arguments, and that the voices of historians who spoke in defence of the textbook were somewhat subdued in the midst of all the expressions of protest, I have provided plenty of examples throughout this chapter where fear led to outrage on behalf of both sides, filling newspaper pages, television screens, discussion auditoriums and online forums with insults: the opponents of the textbook as subjected to collective psychosis on the one hand, the supporters of the textbook as out of touch with reality and provocative, on the other.

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[36] Antonis Samaras would become the leader of the conservative party New Democracy in 2009 and the Prime Minister of Greece in 2012.

Intertwined in this binary opposition, the views of supporter and opponent camps came to mirror each other through their strategies of forming alliances in more ways than the representatives of either camp would like to acknowledge. The rhetoric of fear and outrage that permeated both of the positions fed each other in what Margaret Wetherell called "affective discourse loops": the narratives that circulated in the public sphere intensified the negative feelings, which went around and around until they became patterned into certain narrative practices, interpretive repertoires, interactions and relationships (Weatherell 2012: 7-24). Both sides were eager to unveil the hidden discursive violence of their opponents, be it national history based on myths or deconstruction of that history threatening national identity. Both viewed their opponents as blindfolded by bigger interests that they were seen to represent – be they national or international – and thus their versions of history as imposed from above, and as such departing from "truth"[37]. They both relied on mobilising their supporters through appeals to their emotions and discredited their opponents as not quite qualified to determine what the future Greek history should look like. They both sought institutional support in substantiating their claims. What I would hence like to argue is that bringing into focus the expressions of feeling visible on each side of the debate, there start to emerge parallels between the strategies and tactics employed on either side of the barricades. It is the parallel epistemologies of these negative feelings that I would like to return to and theorize the debate from this point of view.

The suspicion with which each side viewed its opponents and the outrage expressed in their insults to one another is particularly reminiscent to me of what Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (2003) called paranoid reading. Kosofsky discusses the hermeneutics of suspicion prevalent in much critical writing within which we are called upon to "always historicize". For Kosofsky, such an imperative is paranoid in that it precludes any other possibility of enquiry. Although she uses paranoid reading to discuss quite different debates, such as HIV epidemics in the US, the underlying dynamics are rather similar to the case of Repousi. For Kosofsky, paranoid reading is an interpretive practice or position whose principle objective is to unveil hidden violence in the position of their opponents through constant questioning of whether a particular piece of knowledge is true, in this way constructing symmetrical epistemologies with a focus on especially strong negative feelings. The polarities that emerged in the case of the history textbook fit neatly into these categories with rising in defence of the national identity on one hand, and dismantling national myths on the other.

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[37] A similar point has been also raised in relation to the memory of Pontic genocide (Sjöberg: 2016: 94-94).

Just like any critical position, the stance that one is called upon to adopt through paranoid reading has its advantages and disadvantages. One of the most obvious advantages is the easy categorisation and retrieval of information enabled by assigning each new piece of information to a particular position based on pre-determined characteristics. However, this comes at the cost of limiting our ways of seeing other possibilities to interpret the same information. For example, the supporters of Maria Repousi often cited history wars from other parts of the globe occurring at the same time, thus concluding that history wars are a phenomenon characteristic of the globalised contemporary world. This holds true to some extent, but at the same time there are also history wars from other periods in Greek history, with which one could draw equally valid parallels, as Athanasiadis did in his work by analysing Greek history textbooks that were withdrawn from circulation from the mid-nineteenth century until the present-day. Were we to see the history wars only as a contemporary global phenomenon, the possibility of diachronic parallels might escape from view.

Another example of how paranoid reading might limit our understanding concerns the roles of the defenders and opponents of the book. Under the practice of paranoid reading, we would categorise the former and the latter as those who embrace a historical revisionist position and those who resist it because it poses a threat to national integrity. However, as Athanasiadis' work has also shown, the roles of the defenders and opponents sometimes shifted in different history wars (Athanasiadis 2015: 98-99). As an example, Athanasiadis points to two critics of the controversial textbook for sixth graders: professor Michail Sachelariou, who was one of the two academics to compose the letter of the Academy of Athens, and honorary ambassador to Cyprus Periklis Nearchou, who was a member of the anti-dictatorial struggle group Democratic Defence (Δημοκρατική Άμυνα) in the 1960s and an advisor to the Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou of the social-democratic government in the 1980s. Both Michail Sachelariou and Periklis Nearchou expressed their strong criticism of the textbook as questioning the legitimacy of Greek continuity. Yet in 1965, when the textbook *Ιστωρία* *ρομαϊκη και μεσαιωνική* [Roman History and History of Middle Ages] (1965) by Kostas Kalokairinos was accused of neglecting Greek continuity, sublimating the portrayals of Greek eternal enemies and undermining Greek national unity, essentially exercising arguments that were later used against the textbook prepared by Repousi's team, both Michail Sachelariou and Periklis Nearchou stood on the side of the defenders of the textbook. Under the practice of paranoid reading, such shifts in ideological positions would appear problematic, if not hidden from view.

Consistent with the view of Jay Winter, performative acts, such as the expressions of outrage that we witnessed in the history textbook controversy, consequently "rehearse[d] and recharge[d] the emotion which gave the initial memory or story imbedded in its sticking power, its resistance to erase oblivion" (Winter 2010: 12). Although the aim of the historians who wrote the textbook was to create a historical narrative that would strike a balance between national glories and vices as well as avoid national prejudice, the opposition with which this history was met and the bursts of outrage that filled the Greek public sphere instead fortified the stronghold of the textbook's opponents. Consequently, the negative affects that Repousi's team tried to eliminate from their textbook came back with a vengeance in the textbook published in 2012. This becomes evident through the passage referring to what the whole of the controversy eventually boiled down to – the Bay of Smyrna in 1922:

> The Turks entered Smyrna. They set the Greek and the Armenian neighbourhoods on fire, while Metropolitan Chrysostomos surrendered to the Muslim crowds and was killed. Scenes of untold pain unfolded in the harbour, with the protagonists – refugees in their majority – that were struggling to get on the boats in order to survive. The massacres of the Christians and looting concluded the catastrophe. This was the dramatic ending to the long-standing Greek presence in the region.
>
> (Koliopoulos et al. 2012)

In this passage the overcrowding on the Quay of Smyrna becomes the scene of untold pain and struggle for survival. The neutral tone of the previous textbook is replaced with emotionally charged vocabulary. At the same time, there is something paradoxical emerging as theatrical language slips through this description (with words such as "scenes", "protagonists" and "dramatic ending"). Such language renders history into an episode from a theatre play. Some might claim that this actually encourages the readers to assume the role of the protagonists of the narrative and envision themselves in their place. For others, such language might provide the necessary distance to think of history itself as staged each time it is evoked anew by the communities which it belongs to. But caught between such negatively charged depictions, how do we avoid the slippage into paranoid readings while also addressing the feelings tied into the historical representation of Asia Minor?

As an alternative to the practice of paranoid reading, Sedgwick proposes to change our focus from whether any particular piece of knowledge is true or false to "*How*, in short, is the knowledge performative, and how best does one move among its causes and effects?" (italics as in the original, Sedgwick 2003: 124). She calls this type of practice reparative reading, and she argues that: "Because the reader has room to realise that the future may be different from the present, it is also possible for her to entertain such profoundly painful, profoundly relieving, ethically crucial possibilities that the past, in turn, could have happened differently from the way it actually did" (Sedgwick 2003: 146). As becomes apparent from this quote, reparative reading opens up new ways of engaging with a particular piece of knowledge through affect but without the readily available "box" for categorising what it might mean. These thoughts also echo in the work of Alexis Politis, who, with reference to Eric Hobsbawm, insists that if we are to avoid the pitfalls of myths in historiography, we should strive to "torment our object [of enquiry] until it answers to the crucial question of every historical pursuit, that is 'where did we start, and how did we get where we got to?'" (Politis 2000: 71).

When retracing the trajectory of the debate in his analysis of the controversy, Liakos (2008) viewed historians as ill-equipped for contributing to the discussion where emotionally charged media sensationalism proved to be a better weapon than logical arguments. If micro-historical approaches gave voice to the people, today these people no longer wait for a historian in order to voice their opinion. The cleavage between opinion leaders and the general public that we saw emerge previously in the identity card debate gaped equally wide in the history textbook controversy. The upcoming election meant that this time around these protest voices could not be so easily dismissed as they were in 2001.

Faced with the outrage of protesting publics, the historians were called to rethink their role in Greek society in quite important terms. If in contemporary society the historians no longer hold a hegemonic position over historical interpretations, what is their role in the increasingly diversified landscape of historical knowledge production? What certainly holds true, and what Liakos has also observed, is that historians could not win this history war by adopting a defensive position with regards to the validity of their authority, slipping (perhaps unwillingly) into positivist arguments or, I would like to add, adopting the tone of the emotionally charged vocabularies that was used by their opponents. The outcomes of this debate suggest a strong need for opening new pathways into a historical enquiry, where historical method and feelings towards history could productively merge, and from this position one could then ask the question of whether there is a way of redefining the Greek national identity without being a nationalist, and what alternative routes this could offer.

But what does it all mean to the memory of Asia Minor? Certainly, the fact that the whole battle eventually centred and remained in public memory as the battle over "the crowding in Smyrna" is a clear acknowledgement of the history of Asia Minor as a solid pillar of Greek national history: the place for it that Marianthe Karamousa tried to claim in 1962 can no longer be denied today. This is a ringing affirmation of what we already know: today the *lieux de memoire* of Smyrna extends as an affiliative postmemory to all the homelands of Asia Minor, but also forms an integral part of Greek identity for those who are not necessarily of refugee descent. However, these observations should not be taken as indicative that we have reached a terminus in the history of Asia Minor, but rather offer us a point of departure for multiple reworkings that are continuously taking place.

Drawing on the theorisations of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, I proposed that in the history textbook controversy both the opponents and the supporters of the textbook appealed to the paranoid visions of the nation's future and its history. In the remainder of this chapter, I will outline several possible reparative visions that engaged with this controversy. I will argue that viewing συνωστισμός as a performative assembling communities where historical memory is reworked, rather than simply reflective of certain ideological positions, can help us not only understand the memory dynamics as it assembles people into a community, but also see more clearly the distinct possible futures that each of these communities charts for any one memory.

In the Introduction to this thesis, I have discussed extensively how culture can serve as an arena for reworking national remembrance and provide openings that might be more difficult to obtain in the public sphere (pp. 29-40, this volume). These openings will be the focus of the next section, first discussing cultural works that were employed in the history textbook controversy, and then moving to the works that continued to echo those battles long after the issue had been resolved.

2.5. THE SOCIAL LIVES OF MEMORY

Connerton (1989) makes a distinction between two different types of mediations of memory, which he calls inscribing and incorporating practices. Any material mediations, such as textbooks or monuments, he regards as inscribing memory practices. Incorporated memories, on the other hand, manifest themselves through commemoration ceremonies or ritual performances. Connerton argues that it is only through bodily practices that we are able to perform the past and thus bring it to life and "re-present" it, establishing a direct relationship between the past that is represented and those who perform it. In the previous section, I have shown how a debate over an inscribing memory practice – on how history should be represented for future generations – led to different alliances that gathered in defence of their national history and the arguments that they made. In a way, the inscribed memory practice came to live through the multiple ways in which it was incorporated, be it in public spaces such as lecture theatres where the discussions regarding the textbook were held, or in front of TV and computer screens. I also argued that multiple affective alliances formed around these memory practices, but they were mainly clustered around negative affects and what Kosofsky Sedgwick has called paranoid readings. In this section, I wish to turn towards the depositories of cultural memory and discuss the role they played in the history war, as well as the afterlives that they provided this incident with, in order to consider what might constitute a more reparative reading of the history of Asia Minor.

During the history war over the textbook for sixth-graders, depositories of cultural memory were called upon by both the opponents and the defenders of the textbook. For example, on 25 March 2007, the National Day Celebration, while the supporters of the extreme right nationalist party Golden Dawn burned the textbook in front of the Greek Parliament (Liakos 2008), the newspaper *Proto Thema* distributed a DVD of Nikos Koundouros' film *1922* (1978) along with the special report on the debate surrounding the history textbook. The film is based on the novel by Ilias Venezis *The Number 31328*, yet it depicts atrocities that Greeks suffered from Turks in a much more brutal and gruesome manner than the novel does (Koliodemos 2001: 475). As discussed in the Introduction, the film was banned by the Greek government at the time of its first release, and the general view is that this was done for the sake of preserving friendly Greek and Turkish relations (Pissalidis 2008). In view of this perspective, Vangelis Calotychos claimed that the film performed self-righteous victimhood of the Greek people, defying the myths of peaceful coexistence and producing a vision of the Greek past "more rightist than the right-wing establishment could bear to support" (Calotychos 2013: 141). The fact that 30 years on from the production of the film Nikos Koundouros took an active stance against the "creepy national malignancy" that he thought Repousi's work stood for, as well as the fact that he voiced his fury in the right-wing nationalist magazine *Patria*, among others, further supports this view (Pissalidis 2011). When numerous petitions and expressions of outrage in the media did not suffice, the film came to be used as evidence for the suffering of the Greek people that Maria Repousi was seen as denying.

In August 2007, when both the controversy over the textbook and the election campaign were at its peak, Minister of Education Marietta Yannakou also resorted to the depositories of cultural memory to uphold her position. As she announced that the revised history textbook would reach schools in September, Yannakou added that together with the textbook, the pupils would also receive the novel by Dido Soteriou *Farewell Anatolia* [Ματωμένα χώματα*,* 1962]. Although written in 1962, the novel is a canonical text through which Asia Minor is remembered by Greeks even today, as can be evidenced by the popularity of the TV series based on the novel that was screened in 2008 on Alpha: the series attracted a vast audience of 857,000 spectators per week (Maniatis 2009, referred to in Calotychos 2013: 228). As Yannakou suggested in her announcement, this novel records dramatic moments of Greek experience in Asia Minor and would help the children to better understand their struggle and sacrifice (Skai TV 2007a). Contrary to the argument made by Calotychos (2013) that the novel was used "to fill in the void" (Calotychos 2013: 153) created by the decision of a newly elected government to withdraw the history textbook from circulation, Dido Soteriou's novel became incorporated into the debate over the textbook as a means to safeguard the controversial textbook. As a widely accepted narrative of the Greek struggle and sacrifice, the novel was considered appropriate to counterbalance the neutral tone that the textbook was blamed for. Despite Yannakou's hopes that such a gesture would subdue the ensuing battles, this attempt backfired. It was immediately pointed out that Repousi's team themselves had inserted an extract from the novel into the newly revised version of the textbook, when referring to the crimes committed by the Greek army during the Asia Minor Campaign. It was therefore argued that distributing Soteriou's novel would further promote anti-national views (Triga 2007). Furthermore, when the newly elected government decided to follow through the idea of distributing the novel even after the withdrawal of the textbook, the debate deepened further: the opponents of the textbook debated the left-wing leanings of the author Dido Soteriou and objected to the imposition of left-wing perspectives on the pupils (Calotychos 2013).

It has now been over a decade since the controversy over the history textbook arose, but the word *συνωστισμός* around which the discussion has eventually centred is far from forgotten. It has acquired a life of its own and continues to stir emotions in the Greek public sphere as a signifier that points to the defiance of national values, entering a number of cultural productions. As I first got to witness in 2014, today people are just as ready to stand up and defend their memory against the defiance that *συνωστισμός* came to represent as they were in 2006. I first got experience of this during the performance of the play *My Beloved Smyrna* [Σμύρνη μου αγαπημένη, 2014] by Mimi Denisi, discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4. "It was not a crowding, it was a real hell!", exclaimed the protagonist of the play Filio in the midst of the Smyrna fire, using the infamous word συνωστισμός, and at that very moment the audience burst into applause, confirming that no revisionist can encroach upon *their* history.

The reason for such a strong reaction became apparent in the long queues at the dressing rooms after the performance, where many members of the audience waited to express their appreciation. "Be patient, let's not create here another crowding", jokingly requested one audience member on the evening of 21 March 2014, when I joined in that queue after watching the performance. "Was there ever another crowding?" an elderly lady angrily replied, immediately adopting a militant position towards the issue. When it was her turn to meet Mimi Denisi, she could not hold back tears: "Thank you for what you have done for Asia Minor, you have portrayed everything so accurately". Herself a daughter of refugees from Asia Minor, the lady felt that the play did justice to her memories where *that* history textbook, unmentioned but still casting its shadow, had failed to.

I was involved in a similar "stirring of passions" over *συνωστισμός* two years ago in a cultural event to celebrate the graphic novel *Aivali,* discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. While presenting my reading of the novel, I showed a panel from the graphic novel which depicts the annual parade of schoolchildren to celebrate the Greek Day of Independence on the quay of Mytilene, the capital of the island of Lesvos. The caption in this panel read "In the port, yesterday, a crowding" (Fig. 2.1). Perhaps somewhat hastily, during my presentation I used this panel to make the point that the novel juxtaposes historical events and contemporary realities, without going into any detailed discussion about assumptions underlying the project. As soon as I finished my talk, a gentleman who, as he explained, was himself a son of refugees, asked me to explain my position regarding "the question of *συνωστισμός*", adopting the same militant position that the lady did during the theatre performance. This incident provided me with yet another example of how during the debates that ensued in 2006 and 2007, this word became so emotionally charged that even a decade later, any mention of it would immediately spark a strong reaction.

When this gentleman elaborated on his own views about Asia Minor, you could at times hear his voice tremble, and see his eyes fill with tears. His story (and the history that he presented us with) was permeated by pain. It was the pain of his parents who suffered the consequences of the Asia Minor Campaign, but it was felt and transmitted as if it were his own pain, characteristic of the generation of postmemory that Marianne Hirsch discusses (Hirsch 2008; 2012). At the same time, even if sharing it with us, the man was very possessive of this history, categorically unwilling to accept any parallels between the refugees of 1922 and 2015, which were also drawn that evening. These remarks were too brief to draw a definite conclusion, but they certainly pointed towards what Tata Arcel calls Consolidated Cultural Trauma of the Asia Minor Catastrophe, a position that insists on one's own suffering and rights to recognition while overlooking the suffering and the rights of others (Tata Arcel 2014: 95-103). This is a position that resists dialogue, imposes silences, and urges continuous mourning, passed from generation to generation; I refer to this position within my thesis as possessive vision of the past. Considered from this point of view, the position of this gentleman shows that no matter how much the recent scholarship on cultural memory would insist on transcultural and transnational memories travelling across borders, some of the descendants will remain rather sceptical about such perspectives, calling on scholars working in the discipline of memory studies to be more mindful of the views encountered in the field where cultural products circulate, if one is to avoid controversies such as raised by the textbook prepared by Maria Repousi and her team.

Cultural works, where both historical knowledge and feelings towards that history are taken into consideration, can productively enrich our historical understanding and perform reparative work. For although the panel I used in my presentation taken out of context caused some of the audience to adopt a militant position in defence of their history, within the narrative of the graphic novel it offered a reparative vision. Even if using the same word that was at the centre of the controversies a decade earlier, the author placed it in a different context – the school parade in Mytilene – and approached the situation with wit characteristic of political cartoons. Consequently, the panel offered us some critical distance to reflect on the debate. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, I find the work that the graphic novel *Aivali* performed in Greek communities reparative in many ways: placing the canonical side by side to the everyday, the Greek next to the Turk, the painful next to the hopeful, it provided alternative visions of histories that took place just as History was casting its shadow. Travelling from national museums of Greece to schools in small towns and creating spaces where the history of the Asia Minor campaign and its aftermath could be remembered and shared, the graphic novel both fostered empathy through the first person narratives that it invoked, and maintained critical distance through a number of narrative and visual techniques. The multitude of dialogues that the graphic novel opened up thus provided a platform where different visions for the future of Asia Minor could be negotiated.

The play by Andreas Flourakis entitled *I Want a Country*, first presented in the Athens Festival in 2015, offers us another possible reparative vision. The play is structured as an ongoing dialogue between an undefined number of participants over the search for a new country, and it has been considered a representative of the cultural production reflecting on the so-called “Greek crisis” of the 2010s. At one point in the dialogue, the characters discuss history:

- I propose to leave out all of the history once and for all.
- Excuse me?
- History?
- When I hear that the only thing that happened in Smyrna was a crowding, I am filled with indignation.

- Let us leave out all of the past events.
- With the coming of the new country, we get an historical opportunity to do this.
- Whatever happened is a fairytale.
- History is the cornerstone of our country.
- Are you still there?

(Flourakis 2015: 36-37)

The line from the dialogue referring to the “crowding” reflects very well the spirit of national betrayal that the word came to stand for in the popular imagination. Yet placed on equal terms and side by side with other voices in search of a new country, it gives us the necessary distance to reflect on this position instead of drawing us immediately into heated argument. Even if fleetingly, as the chorus of voices shifts to other matters and concerns, the “question of συνωστισμός” resounds next to other visions for the new country, be it without history or without taxi drivers, be it something one has to wait for or seek for themselves, be it distant and foreign or always already there. In the discussion windows of the tv programmes, the voices of Repousi’s opponents overwhelmed those of her supporters, but in the play *I Want a Country* they resound on equal terms, as the audience is invited to imagine a new country, again and again, measuring their own visions against those they see unfold on stage. Given the variety of opinions expressed by the multi-vocal chorus in the play, some of these opinions would undoubtedly fill part of the audience with indignation while others would nod in agreement. Placing them side by side in performance, each statement heard in the play thus becomes an invitation to reflect on how one decides what a country should be like, even if, or perhaps especially when, some of those statements might sound utterly ridiculous. Rather than dismissing them as blatantly invalid, as one would under the practice of paranoid reading, here they are heard on equal terms, and this is the first necessary step, I would like to argue, for asking the question posed by Kosofsky Sedgwick “how does one move best among its causes and effects?”.

2.6. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I have discussed the controversies surrounding the history textbook for the sixth grade of primary school prepared by the team of history educators under the leadership of Maria Repousi. My analysis has specifically focused on the outrage of various groups mobilised under the expression συνωστισμός – crowding – with reference to Greeks on the Quay of Smyrna during the fire of 1922. I have examined the arguments for and against the book when debates were at its peak as well as its afterlives in multiple cultural texts and the public sphere. The disputes surrounding Greek history that emerged in this chapter make it apparent that once a historical event is part of the repository of cultural memory, it is available for all and can be used to serve very different purposes. Regardless of the differences, the strategies used to uphold one's position in the history textbook controversy were very much alike: invoking legal apparatus and appealing to institutions, promulgating fear over the actions of one's opponents and appealing to the emotions of one's supporters. By drawing on the notion of paranoid reading, as developed by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, I argued that fear and outrage are parallels which cut across the positions of both defenders and opponents of the book. The team of history educators led by Maria Repousi and their supporters feared that history is overburdened with nationalist prejudice, and tried to relieve the Greek nation of this load. Yet their eagerness to unveil hidden violence was rejected by large segments of Greek society because it did not fully address the everyday affects tied into the ways they remembered these historical events. As a result, instead of breaking the national myths of Greek history, what the history textbook did was to ignite the outrage of various groups and individuals that mobilised against the textbook and in defence of their national history. Consequently, the negative affects that Repousi's team tried to eliminate from their textbook came back anew in the textbook published in 2012.

If a closer look at the strategies and tactics used in the battles over history might actually blur the picture significantly, how do we distinguish between different uses of the past and their ideologies? What I have argued is that alliances invoke and cluster around emotions. Affect has been long identified as what distinguishes memory from history, but what I have also shown through my discussion is that affects that any particular cultural memory engages are by no means uniform. References to the debate in cultural works nearly ten years after the controversy enabled us to get a glimpse into different alliances that these cultural works were calling for around the memory of the Asia Minor Campaign and that will be explored in more detail in the next chapters. Sometimes they perpetuate possessive visions of unique histories, other times they draw parallels with other historical events and promote transnational alliances. Sometimes they offer comfort and emotional justice, other times they insist on pain that cannot be healed. Sometimes they foster empathy through identification and appeal to our common humanity, yet other times they engage their publics through reflective distancing and reframing. Sometimes they are institutionally supported, other times they fleetingly unite diverse publics for a common goal. The emotions that can be invoked by any one memory connecting us to the past are great and many, and each of them envisions different, and often divergent, futures for that memory. This chapter has focused on the paranoid readings of history, clustering around negative affects, and it is the reparative alliances and the ways they make use of, and as a result reshape, the cultural memory of Asia Minor that I turn to in my next chapters.

The neutral and objective tone that the history textbook prepared by the team of Maria Repousi strove to achieve caused outrage, and it was removed from circulation. However, the emotionally charged vision of the new textbook that reached the Greek classrooms in 2012 fostered negative stereotypes towards the "other" in a way similar to what the previous textbooks used to do. Caught between these two visions for the future of Asia Minor, in the concluding paragraph of this chapter, I would like to invite the readers to imagine an alternative possibility. In the Introduction to the *Affect Theory Reader* (2010) we are reminded of a definition of the Neutral as conceptualised by Barthes (2002). For Barthes, neutral is synonymous with greyness, neutrality or indifference. Instead, he proposes to see the Neutral as "everything that outplays the paradigm"; it refers to "strong, unprecedented states" and is "ardent, burning activity". Gregory J. Seigworth and Melissa Gregg summarise the implications of such conception of the neutral as follows: "What should follow as critical practice, Barthes argued, is a neutrally inflected, immanent pathos or "patho-logy" that would be an "inventory of shimmers, of nuances, of states, of changes (*pathe'*)" as they gather into "affectivity, sensibility, sentiment", and come to serve as "the passion for difference" (Seigworth and Gregg 2010: 11). In a similar way, Sedgwick's proposed reparative reading as an alternative to the paranoid reading "leaves ambiguities unresolved, providing an expanded context for more affective knowing that "the past could have happened differently from the way it actually did" (Hirsch 2012: 146). What I would like to suggest in this chapter and expand on in the chapters that follow is that being equipped with "an inventory of shimmers" rather than shifting between pathological binaries, might offer alternative reparative visions of history.

3

THROUGH THE MIRROR MAZE OF SOLOUP'S AIVALI

3.1. THE JOURNEY OF RETURN IN COMICS FORM

"Trauma always has a homeland: a village, a house, a battlefield, a camp, a country" (Tata Arcel 2014: 105). With these words the psychologist Libby Tata Arcel begins to chart the significance that the journey of return to Asia Minor holds for refugees, and for their children and grandchildren. Even though she supports the view that these experiences reverberate from one generation to the next, Tata Arcel nevertheless draws a distinction between the painful and disruptive trauma of the refugees and the mediated trauma of their descendants, in line with theoretical assumptions of Marianne Hirsch about the generation of postmemory, as discussed in the Introduction to this thesis. The journey of return to the homeland of trauma provides a representative example to illustrate this difference: even though it held certain significance for members of all three generations, it came to mean rather different things to each of them. In what follows I give a brief summary of Tata Arcel's discussion, as it touches upon many arguments relevant for this chapter.

In the first generation, trauma is an open wound and the healing process is slow. Tata Arcel's mother Tasitsa, a refugee from Asia Minor, was able to return to her native town and to reconcile her past and present selves only towards the end of her life. For Tasitsa, the journey of return was the final step in working through her personal traumatic experience, and it was only after this trip that she could finally forgive her family's persecutors. The senses and the body played a very important role during her journey of return: for example, when Tasitsa returned to her childhood home, for a brief moment she was not sure if it was the right place. Then at some point she saw a well in the courtyard and by imitating the movement remembered how she used to draw water from this well. This bodily memory reassured Tasitsa that the house was her childhood home. It was through the body that the unity between then and now was established.

The second generation often accompanies parents on the journey of return, on one hand assisting them in handling the emotions that arise and on the other hand experiencing the places that their parents talked about in their stories. Tata Arcel recounts her and her sisters' participation in their mother's journey: "'Here used to be my school'; 'Here used to be the house of my grandmother, where we hid when the Tsetses [Turkish irregular army] roamed on the outskirts of the village'; 'Here used to be our church'. All the places evoked memories and created fantasies in ours" (Tata Arcel 2014: 109). Thus Tata Arcel's and her sisters' journey is also a sensual one: accompanying their mother, they walk through and look around her birthplace and attest to the materiality of the places that previously existed only in their family's stories. For the generation of postmemory, the journey of return becomes a means "to establish a bond with the ancestors through their bodily presence in the birthplace of the latter, to step in the footsteps of their specific bodies" (Tata Arcel 2014: 107).

The journey of return performed by the third generation is contextualised within a wider trend of heritage tourism, prevalent in our cosmopolitan societies. The pain in the memories of the first generation little by little is replaced for their grandchildren by curiosity about their family origins. For the grandchildren of Tasitsa, the journey of return that some of them embarked on together one summer holiday was mainly a quest for identity, a hope that by discovering something about their ancestors they could also enrich their understanding of who they were. To a great extent, this observation also applies to the journeys of the children of refugees. Yet the mechanisms of identification with the past of one's ancestors differ slightly between the two generations: while for the children of refugees the memories that they inherit are closely associated with their parents, the grandchildren tend to view them in a global context, often also drawing parallels with other similar experiences from different parts of the world.

Echoing the view of Hirsch and others, the above example illustrates that while the task of those who experienced trauma is to come to terms with and to make sense of this trauma as a personal experience, it is the task of the subsequent generations to work through the trauma and to resolve any tensions surrounding it. This way, what was once a trauma too painful to talk about turns into a family story passed onto the future generations wondering how the past of their ancestors might have shaped who they are. The sense of personal responsibility that Tata Arcel feels towards the past she inherited can be clearly seen when she worries about questions such as why on their journey of return nobody wrote down the address of Tasitsa's house so that Tasitsa's grandchildren could also find it.

The generation of postmemory never lacks questions, and it seeks audiences to whom these questions can be addressed. This reflective position lays the foundations for the social identity of this generation and drives their creative expression. This leads Tata Arcel to characterise the trauma of the descendants of refugees in the following way: "All the feelings it [the trauma] entails are dialogical. It does not necessarily encompass only grief, nostalgia or disappointment. In many cases, it reinforces the common identity of the group, emphasises fundamental values, augments emotional and aesthetic verbal representations (writing of books, poems, visual arts), and provides motivation for creative rehabilitation and reconstitution" (Tata Arcel: 32). It follows that the inherited trauma of the generation of postmemory leads them to undertake the task of preserving the memories that were passed onto them in a way that would promote dialogue and seek reconciliation. In this context, books, historical accounts and other publicly available material also serve as bridges for self-reflection, filling any gaps left by their family stories. Adopting this self-reflective position should help the descendants of refugees belatedly work through the traumatic memories.

In 2014, along with the book by Libby Tata Arcel, the complex task of working through memories of the Asia Minor Campaign was approached through what was an unprecedented form in the Greek context – a graphic novel *Aivali* (2014) by Soloup. Although this was his first graphic novel, Soloup has a long standing career as a cartoonist with wide range of publications: caricatures, comic strips as well as articles on comic art in numerous Greek newspapers, thirteen comics albums and a critical monograph *Τα ελληνικά comics* [The Greek Comics] (2012), which is based on his PhD thesis at the University of the Aegean in Mytilene.

Soloup's family history takes us back to the coasts of Asia Minor. Both of his grandmothers were from these lands and shared their memories with him: one did so through her stories, and the other through her silences. As Soloup remarks in one of his interviews: "I remember that one of my grandmothers did not really speak about those times, but her gaze was very telling. The other talked. She narrated how back then she had fallen into the sea, with corpses all around, wishing to drown. But the young body resists death so she was saved" (Ralli 2015a). In another interview, after talking about his grandmother's experience on the quay of Smyrna, Soloup comments on the stories that he heard from his grandmother in the following way: "As I was growing up, and I imagine this would happen to most people with the background from Asia Minor, these were locked inside a chest because one couldn't bear to live with them. However, there comes a day were it 'itches' away at you, as you say, to look again inside yourself. To stand, now as an adult, before something that you could not face as a child. And for me that day was my little trip to Ayvalık" (Zoes 2014). This quote clearly situates Soloup as a representative of the generation of postmemory: having grown up with the stories of his grandmother, he undertakes a journey of return to the homeland of trauma. Thus, Soloup's graphic novel *Aivali* is (or is constructed as) an autobiographical work, where the narrator examines his own personal questions. At the same time, when his graphic novel was published, Soloup's personal quest turned from private into public, making it available for others to affiliate with[38]. This chapter will be dedicated to exploring the echoes of family memory as it finds its way to the medium of the graphic novel, and the implications this has for the memory of Asia Minor in present-day Greece.

Soloup's *Aivali* tells a story of Andonis (a metarepresentation of the author)[39] who embarks on a day trip from Mytilene to Ayvalık that once formed a single cultural space within the Ottoman empire but are now divided by the border between Greece and Turkey. Within the framework of the boat trip, voices of Greek and Turkish writers are inserted as flashbacks that provide an insight into the region's past and the experience of uprooting from these lands. The ghost of one of these writers – Photis Kontoglou – accompanies Soloup throughout his journey. Nina Mickwitz (2016) discusses travelogue as a particularly typical genre of documentary comics. According to Mickwitz, the journey as a metaphor and a theoretical tool "suggest a telling, or witnessing, in which both "seeing" difference, the exotic and the strange, and "being" the other, by embodying the position of a stranger, are important ingredients" (2016: 93). This way, Mickwitz argues further, the notions of home and cultural identity can also become a subject of exploration rather than something that is accepted as a given. Although this observation certainly holds for *Aivali*, its subject matter – the Asia Minor Campaign and its aftermath – also situates this graphic novel within the wider context of comics that deal with the realities of war.

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[38] As discussed in the Introduction, Marianne Hirsch coins the term affiliative postmemory to refer to the horizontal transmission of traumatic memories with ones contemporaries, as opposed to familial postmemory that passes for generation to generation within a family.

[39] In order to avoid confusion between the author and his character, Soloup is used to refer to the author (as this is the pseudonym with which he signs his artwork), while Andonis refers to his character.

As pointed out by comics critic Hilary Chute (2016), the comics that document war have been expanding their reach as a specific cultural genre ever since the first renderings of “I Saw It” (1972) by Keiji Nakazawa, who provided an eyewitness account of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, and “Maus” (1972) by Art Spiegelman, who grappled with the story of his father, a Holocaust survivor. The urgencies expressed by these works seem to be as relevant today as they were at the time: with many more authors worldwide providing autobiographically constructed accounts of devastating historical circumstances through the medium of comics. Joe Sacco or Guy Delisle and their documentation of events in war-torn regions, Marjane Satrapi’s accounts of growing up during and after the Islamic Revolution in Iran or Jacques Tardi’s account of the World War I are just a few examples of this trend. Many of these comics also share a certain set of characteristics: multilayered narrative, black-and-white drawings; animal symbolism; (auto)biographical elements, and the use of mixed media, such as documents or photographs, became adopted as part of their visual vocabularies (Martin 2011: 172). The subject matter of Soloup’s graphic novel *Aivali* places him on a par with these authors, a genealogy that both Soloup and his reviewers acknowledge (Yannakopoulos 2014).

While comics connoisseurs might be well acquainted with these genealogies, autobiographically-based historical accounts in the form of comics is not something that the Greek general public is very familiar with. The best-known comics in Greece are arguably the multiple issues of the legendary *Classics Illustrated* [Κλασσικά Εικονογραφημένα]. These first appeared in 1950s as translations of US issues. Soloup’s own *History of the Greek Comics* (2012), which provides the most comprehensive overview of the field, can gives us a good overview. He points out that the first issue of *Classics Illustrated*, a translation of Victor Hugo’s *Les Misérables*, sold one million copies, and ever since then the average print run for an issue was 200,000-300,000 copies, with many reprints and popularity continuing to the present-day (Zoiopoulos 2000: 126, cited in Soloup 2012: 90). Such an unprecedented success led the team behind the translated *Classics Illustrated* to also obtain a licence for producing Greek-themed issues, which mainly concerned Ancient Greek mythology, Byzantine history, and the War of Independence. These comics, however, were seen as mainly serving an educational purpose and their creators dissociated themselves from comics art and preferred to consider themselves instead as illustrators (Soloup 2012: 94). This position hardly comes as a surprise because the 1950s and 1960s was a period when cheap printing technologies enabled mass-production of comics that compromised on quality in return for quantity, and this way comics gained a reputation of low-brow, low-value children's literature, in Greece often pejoratively referred to under a collective name "mickeymouse" [μικυμάους].

It was not until the late 1970s, when the fall of the Greek military dictatorship led to social and political transformation and opened a floodgate for new ideas, that the Greek comics field as we know it today started being shaped. During the years of the dictatorship and political oppression, chiefly targeting whose associated with left, many people fled Greece into exile, self-exile, or studies abroad. Soloup argues that this way those people had an opportunity to familiarise themselves with the radical comics movements (mainly in France, Belgium, and Italy), as well as the potential of the medium of comics for communicating political ideas. After the fall of the dictatorship in 1974, this knowledge and enthusiasm for the new form of expression could be brought home and so it found its way to the left-wing periodicals of the time: some exclusively dedicated to comics, others of more broader scope but running a regular comics sections, yet others adding a comics supplement to their issue once per week. The periodicals provided a platform for new and better known artists (many of whom were political cartoonists) and helped to establish regular comics readership. Periodicals also contributed to the consolidation of the field of comics in other important ways. To cite just a few examples provided by Soloup, the first comics albums were published by the publishing house of the magazine *Anti* [Αντί] in 1981 (Soloup 2012: 103), the first comics festival was organised by the team of the magazine *Babel* [Βαβέλ] in 1996 (Soloup 2012: 132), and the first regular employment and training opportunities for comics artists arose with the establishment of the comics and fantasy weekly supplement to the newspaper *Eleftherotypia* [Ελευθεροτυπία] called "9" in 2000 (Soloup 2012: 146-151).

Little by little comics also found their way from the pages of periodicals to the comics albums. Borrowing a term from the French-Belgian tradition, comics albums in the Greek context can refer to works that were previously published serially in newspaper, magazine or online formats and subsequently gathered together and reprinted in a book form; but it can also refer to stand-alone comic books, graphic novels, stapled photocopies of minicomics and so on (Soloup 2012: 179). The field consolidates in the 2000s, when many publishing houses start publishing comics systematically, comics albums find regular space in bookstores and publishing houses and bookstores dedicated exclusively to comics are established. This leads to further consolidation of comics readership and the establishment of comics as a subject of scholarly interest and debates. As a result of all these developments, the 2000s also marks the decade where comics albums flourish, with 57 per cent of all the comics albums since 1974 published during this period (Soloup 2012: 186).

The year 2008 alone saw more publications of comics albums than the entire decade of the 1980s. It is therefore hardly a surprise that the year 2008 also saw the publication of the most commercially successful comics book, usually associated with the birth of the graphic novel in Greece: *Logicomix*, a life story of the British philosopher, logician and mathematician Bertrand Russell, created by Apostlos Doxiadis, Christos Papadimitriou, Alekos Papadatos, and Annie Di Donna.[40] This graphic novel had huge success both at home and abroad: released in 24 countries across the globe and included into acclaimed Paul Gravett's *1001 Comics You Must Read Before You Die!* (2011) list, and featured as #3 on Amazon in UK, #6 on Amazon in USA, and #1 on NYT lists. In 2010, it also received the Trevizo Italy Comics Fesival Prize and the Bertrand Russel Society Book Award (Soloup 2012: 287; Logicomix, n.d.). The form of this work – a graphic novel – and its subsequent success, led to many debates in the field at the time of its publication, and redefined the priorities of comics artists (Soloup 2012: 287). Ever since the success of *Logicomix*, the label of graphic novel has been more and more frequently used to define other comics works, and the field of comics continues to expand its reach despite the difficult financial conditions brought by the so-called Greek crisis[41].

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[40] Soloup points out that the graphic novel *1453* by Orestis Manousos, published in May 2008 to commemorate the 555th anniversary of the siege of Constantinople, preceded *Logicomix* by a few months (Nikolopoulos [Soloup] 2011: 679). He also points out that *Lost Range* [Χαμένο Φάσμα, 1996] by Tasos Apostolidis and Maria Electra Zoglopiou has all the features to be considered a graphic novel, but it seems that this book appeared too early before it could be identified as such (Soloup 2012: 249).

It is in this context that the graphic novel *Aivali* appeared in 2014 and got immediate widespread recognition. In the first months after publication, numerous reviewers praised *Aivali* as a “book-jewel” (Karousis 2014) and a “hidden treasure” (Yannakopoulos 2014). Nevertheless, the form of the graphic novel caused some confusion: when discussing *Aivali*, some reviewers reverted to the more general term comics album (Nenes 2015), while others misguidedly called it a graffiti (Nikolakopoulou and Christakake 2015). I therefore propose to start our examination of *Aivali* by discussing its form as a graphic novel and the implications this has for the exploration of the memory of Asia Minor that it invites us to embark on.

3.2. GRAPHIC NOVEL AS LITERATURE?

Graphic novels have been often singled out as different from “regular comics” and closer to literary fiction. The argument for viewing graphic novels as literature would follow the logic similar to the one proposed by Johanna Drucker: “The images in graphic novels produce sustained storytelling and narration, character development, plot, motivation, and psychological activity as well as action. These characteristics distinguish them from traditional comics and justify the claim to calling them ‘novels’ that resemble literary works” (Drucker 2008: 52). The term “graphic novel” has its own history and its definition has been contested, with the focus on formal characteristics, semantic properties or production processes serving to encourage rather divergent views (García 2015). I do not have a chance to explore the debate in great detail, but what is important to stress here is that in many countries the focus on graphic novels as literature has helped the promotion of these books by using the same distribution channels as for fiction novels as well as established comics as a subject worthy of scholarly attention in many university departments. Two points specific to the Greek context are important to mention here. Firstly, as I have already mentioned, in Greece the term graphic novel has been employed as a marketing strategy since the groundbreaking success of *Logicomix*. Secondly, the great majority of comics promoted as graphic novels on the Greek market are in fact adaptations of literary works, e.g. Vikentios Kornaros's *Erotokritos,* the Cretan Renaissance dramatic poem was adapted as a graphic novel by Yorgos Gousis, Yannis Ragkos and Demosthenis Papamarkos [*Ερωτόκριτος*, 2016]; Konstantinos Christomanos's early twentieth century ethnographic novel *Wax Doll* by Yorgos Tsiamantas and Ilias Katirtziyanoglou [*Η κερένια κούκλα*, 2017]; and Emmanuel Roidis' *Pope Johanna* in two renderings by Lefteris Papathanasis and Dimitris Hantzopoulos respectively [Η Πάπισσα Ιωάννα, 2015; 2018] (Kritikos and Sampanikou 2017). Quite revealingly, however, many of these graphic novels write the author of the literary work on which they are based as the first author, thus flagging their status as adaptations.

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[41] A brief survey of the comics publishing data on biblionet.gr reveals that as of June 2018 there were at least 238 Greek comics albums published. Even though this list remains inconclusive, this number already has nearly reached previous decade’s estimates at 280 comics albums (Soloup 2012: 355). Within this number, there are nine books that call themselves graphic novels: *Who Killed Mister X?* [Ποιος σκότωσε τον κύριο Χ;, Andriopoulos and Gkiokas 2010], *Aivali* [Αϊβαλί, Soloup 2014], *Our Lady of the Swallows* [Παναγιά η Χελιδονού, Yourcenar et al. 2014], *Democracy* [Δημοκρατία, Papadatos et al. 2015], *Wax Doll* [Η κερένια κούκλα, 2017], *Gra-Grou* [Γρα-Γρου, Zafeiriadis 2017], *Erotokritos* [Ερωτόκριτος, Kornaros 2016], *Secrets of the Swamp* [Στα μυστικά του Βάλτου, Delta et al. 2018], *Pope Johanna* [Η Πάπισσα Ιωάννα, Hantzopoulos 2018]). Yet the number would be much bigger if we considered a graphic novel any multipage narrative with developed characters that provides a unitary complex story (and at the same time would exclude some of the books that use this label). What we can see is that many novels adapted to the form of comics by default tend to use the label “graphic novel”, while at the same there are also those books that seem to deliberately avoid this label and its association with fiction, such as *Terminus: Illustrated Narrative about the People of the Civil War* [Τέρμινους: Εικονογραφημένο αγήγημα για τους ανθρώπους του Εμφυλίου, Papathanasis 2016]. For a broader overview of the label of graphic novel see Kritikos and Sampanikou (2017).

At first glance, the graphic novel *Aivali* might seem to fit neatly into the category of literary adaptations. It was published by the well-established publishing house Kedros, known for its poetry and fiction. On the publisher's website, it appears under the section "Greek prose" (Kedros n.d.). It draws heavily on the literary tradition to tell its story, because it uses extracts from literary works by Photis Kontoglou, Ilias Venezis, Aghape Veneze-Molyviate and the Turkish writer Ahmet Yorulmaz. Moreover, *Aivali* quickly found its way into classrooms all across Greece, and stimulated the revisiting of works by canonical Greek writers, thus anchoring its reception as literary fiction rooted in the tradition of literature on Asia Minor.

However, Soloup himself warned against such interpretation of literary testimonies: "The four above-mentioned narratives that are included into *Aivali* do not try 'to interpret' the writers. [They do not try] 'to illustrate' these particular texts and to transform them into… comics. They constitute an attempt of recording a subjective reading experience in a form of images" (Benaki Museum 2015). If Soloup's aim was not to create a literary adaptation but rather to document his reading experience, what is the significance of embedding these literary works within a wider framework of a journey to the homeland in Asia Minor?

The first clue that could help us answer this question comes from reconsidering the roles that literature on Asia Minor has itself assumed in public discourse. As I have demonstrated in the Introduction, on the one hand, literature on Asia Minor provided a testing ground for memories and ideas that later became part of official national ideology; on the other hand, literature also sometimes emerged as a counter-history, a means to express the views and stories that would often sit uncomfortably alongside the national narrative. In his theoretical examination of Greek comics, Soloup takes the view that fictional narratives are a form of counter-history even further, as is evident from this lengthy citation of Milan Kundera in Soloup's doctoral thesis:

> The history of humanity and the history of the novel are two very different things. The former is not man's to determine, it takes over like an alien force he cannot control, whereas the history of the novel (or of painting, of music) – *comics fit here too* – is born of man's freedom, of his wholly personal creations, of his own choices. The meaning of an art's history is opposed to the meaning of history itself. Because of its personal nature, the history of an art is a revenge by man against the impersonality of the history of humanity.
>
> From Milan Kundera's *Testaments Betrayed: An Essay in Nine Parts*, cited in Nikolopoulos [Soloup] 2011: 16, and italics as inserted by him[42].

As if attesting to the validity of the claims by Kundera, all the authors whose extracts are included in the graphic novel *Aivali* narrate their memories and experiences in the first person but choose fiction rather than history as the medium for sharing them. Undoubtedly, lived experience played a prominent role in the accounts of Asia Minor, which led literary scholar Eri Stavropoulou to refer to them as "autobiographical narratives in the form of literature" (Stavropoulou 2014). As a narrative form that asserts historical authenticity and at the same time bears deep personal connection, first-person testimony in the form of literary fiction thus becomes a means for resisting the hegemony of history. The individual experience is invoked in *Aivali* to question universally accepted collectives, yet this is done not by relying on the specifics of one particular story but on multiple interconnected voices – the fictional testimonies. Fiction is thus envisioned in the graphic novel as an antidote to the "impersonality of history", which Kundera refers to.

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[42] This translation is by Linda Asher, as it appears in Kundera 1995: 15-16.

My interpretation that the graphic novel's use of literary fiction should be viewed in the context of Kundera's ideas on literature and history could be further supported by the view that Soloup expressed when he referred to the broader message of his graphic novel in one interview: "What is commented upon [in the graphic novel] is essentially the international imposition of an 'official History' which is justified in each case as necessary. Namely, a History that applauds – even with the accompaniment of 'humanitarian', crocodile tears – the diplomatic, economic and political manipulations, while packaging together simply, as victims, the human lives and the fortunes of peoples" (Nenes 2015). Finally, within the pages of *Aivali*, the opposition between history and fiction becomes apparent when one of the protagonists prefers to use the word "fairytale" rather than "history" (history and story is the same word in Greek) to refer to her experience of the Greco-Turkish War ("in turn, I also told him my own fairytale" (Soloup 2014: 210).

Bearing in mind this context, I would like to argue that literary testimonies play a tripartite role within the graphic novel. First of all, the writers and their accounts stand in for the actual memories of the first and second generation of refugees, who (just as the grandmother of Andonis) passed on these memories to their children and grandchildren in a form of stories. "I will tell you what I remember" (Soloup 2014: 70) promises the ghost of Kontoglou and the blurred photograph of Aivali becomes clear in the next panel (Fig. 3.1), as we are introduced to the traditions of the Shrove Tuesday carnival [Απόκριες].

The second role the writers' stories assume in the graphic novel is to assist Andonis in recollecting the Aivali of the past, where his personal memories cannot reach. As I have discussed at the beginning of this chapter, books, photographs, films and other publicly available material play a crucial role in the memories of the generation of postmemory, filling in the blanks left in their family stories. Soloup attests to this claim in the very first page of his graphic novel by using the quote from *Aivali, My Homeland* by Photis Kontoglou as an introduction into his own story: "The story that I am creating happened a hundred years before I was born. But it stands so vividly in my mind that it seems to me as though I had already been brought into the world, and [that] I saw with my own eyes everything I narrate; that is how well it was conveyed to me by those who raised me" (Soloup 2014: 46). Quite strikingly, this quote matches perfectly onto the definition of postmemory: both Hirsch and Tata Arcel acknowledge that the memories of the first generation of trauma survivors are so vivid that they are often adopted by their descendants. Soloup creatively acknowledges the influence that earlier generations have on shaping his own views through the use of this literary allusion.

Finally, by reinterpreting the novels that form part of the Greek literary canon through the medium of comics Soloup invests them with new meanings: the visualisation of well-known texts in a certain way serves to defamiliarize readers and maintain their attention or bring to the fore details that might have remained previously unnoticed, and this way to stir the imagination of readers in new directions. Placing extracts from four different works side by side creates a space where new parallels between those texts can emerge, while embedding them in the present-day narrative encourages one not to relegate them to the past but see the multiple ways in which they remain relevant for present-day concerns. All of these routes of interpretation bring back the memories of Asia Minor afresh to the collective imagination of the Greek people as a possible affiliative postmemory.

3.3. THROUGH THE MIRROR MAZE OF SOLOUP'S *AIVALI*

In the previous section we have established that Soloup uses literary testimonies as a way to oppose hegemonies of history. The comics form offers multiple ways in which interrelations between distinct moments in time and in history can be exposed, layered, and explored. For example, different configurations of comics panels effect readers' perception of the story, and their juxtaposition on a page draws readers' attention to the dynamics of the framing process, opening up to closer scrutiny what is framed and what stays outside of the frame as well as manipulating readers' perception of time as it unfolds in comics. Seeing the time unfold or hold still through the spacial configuration of comics provides readers with a broader space for reflection and interpretation, leading Hilary Chute to conclude that "[t]hrough its spatial syntax, comics offers opportunities to place pressure on traditional notions of chronology, linearity and causality – as well as on the idea that history can ever be a closed discourse, or a simple, progressive one" (Chute 2016: 4). As it will be further demonstrated by the examples I discuss, the comics medium provides ample opportunities for representing a self-reflective history and novel ways to think through the persistent problems of this representation.

As I have repeatedly pointed out throughout this chapter, the journey from Mytilene to Ayvalık that Andonis embarks on through the pages of the graphic novel is not just an exploration of the nation's past but a paradigmatic case of the third generation's journey of return. It is a quest for lost roots in the hope of enriching one's own identity. From the first pages of the graphic novel, the journey of Andonis is framed as a search for a place to belong to and to identify with: "I don't have a village. My grandmothers and grandfathers are from Asia Minor. From across. As a teenager, it was in Crete that I sought to find homeland, the place where soul comes back to find peace. For many years, I was searching for my homeland in its mountains. […] But it was in Mytilene that I found what we feel for a homeland, and what I was looking for" (Soloup 2014: 18-19, 24).

This narrative is embedded within the image where Andonis is standing on the pier of Mytilene looking at his and the city's reflection in the water (Fig. 3.2). The large scale of this image as a double-page spread "freezes" the depicted moment in time and invites readers to stop and think about what they see by slowing down the pace of reading. As we shall shortly see, the metaphor of reflection as a communicative strategy gives structure to the entire graphic novel: one part of the book mirrors the other through images, storylines, characters and language. Yet all of these are the mirror maze images rather than the exact reflections, in accordance with the view of Soloup that: "[Comics] are not the mirrors "in our image, after our likeness", but distorting reflections like the "magic mirrors" of amusement parks" (Nikolopoulos [Soloup] 2011: 17). What immediately strikes as we look at this image is that Andonis' head is not part of the spread, and we can see his face only as a reflection. In fact, throughout the book all but one panel depicting Andonis conceal his face: he would turn his back to us, cover his face with cap and glasses or be pushed to the side of the panel where only a small part of his body would be visible. Face is what helps one to identify a person; and the manoeuvre of concealing the face of Andonis in the pages of the graphic novel implies that his identity is somehow troubled, incomplete, not entirely determinable. Visual and verbal cues in this spread go hand in hand and enhance each other: Andonis tells us that he is looking for a place to belong to and his image reveals that he feels somewhat incomplete and hopes that having a place to belong to and to identity with would in some way fill the void[43].

Two different styles are used in the spread: the realistic depiction of the city contrasts sharply with the out of scale cartoony representation of Andonis. As argued by Scott McCloud (1994: 30), cartooning is a way of “amplification through simplification”, where a simpler drawing style in fact helps the reader to identify with the character. In the context of such projections, another quote from Soloup’s thesis on mirror images resounds with immediate relevance: “In these cases the comics are transformed in the mirrors of the real […] that try to understand and at the same time interpret the “reality”. And as with all “mirrors”, they are offered in order for us “to mirror” our own selves, among other things” (Soloup 2012: 329). Although Adonis’ journey is a personal quest, visual techniques such as cartooning help readers identify with the character and project their own feelings, ideas and memories onto the image.

The claim that the journey to Aivali represented in the graphic novel cannot be set apart from an attempt to provide answers to personal questions is further enhanced through the familial tropes in the final chapter of the book. In this chapter, the personal photographs of Andonis grandparents reproduced on pp. 360-361 (Fig. 3.3) create a sort of family album, where the anonymous woman whom we first saw emerging from the heap of pictures on p. 37 is now given a name and an identity: grandmother Maria, whose life was marked by the Asia Minor Catastrophe, just like the lives of the other three grandparents whose photographs and stories are also included into the album[44]. It is important to point out that the interlocutor to whom the stories emerging from the photo-album are intended is Mehmet, a Turk and a descendent of Muslim Cretans whom Andonis meets while walking through Ayvalık. Mehmet is also the one who takes a photograph of Andonis (Soloup 2014: 355), inserted into the graphic novel to complement the photo-album of Andonis’ grandparents. Significantly, this is the only image where we can see Andonis’ face fully revealed: even if only for a brief moment, the family stories that Andonis is about to share reflected through the gaze of the other reveal who he is. The metaphor of the mirror image also in this case weaves different moments of the narrative together.

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[43] This analysis is based on the interpretations of the same image by Yannis Koukoulas and Yannis Skarpelos (2015), although at the same time it also somewhat diverges from them in that it does not concern itself with the relations between the real and the fictional or the psychoanalytical dimensions of the individual and collective memory that the two scholars ultimately bring out with their analyses.

[44] Using family photographs as part of a graphic novel is a trend established by Spiegelman’s *Maus* and subsequently followed by many others. Photographs provide some materiality to the stories, which otherwise might resemble family mythology.

Apart from the photographs in the family album, photographs are also used for creation of backgrounds in both the Aivali of the past and the Ayvalık of the present. Two different styles are used: cartoony black-and-white representations based on the photographs of Aivali before 1922 leave space for imaginary projections and contrast sharply with more realistic and detailed photographs of contemporary Ayvalık and Mytilene, redrawn in grey tones. In discussing photographs, the significance of *Aivali* being a graphic novel rather than a novel should be emphasized. While stories about life in Asia Minor are plentiful, images are scarce. In this context, Soloup's *Aivali* envisions the pain of loss and the nostalgia for the lost homelands, creating a public archive of images, which is available for others to identify with, establishing *Aivali* as an affiliative postmemory in the same ways as archival images of the *Smyrna* documentary discussed in the introduction did.

The panels of the two pages following the photo-album reveal how Andonis got to know the life-stories of his grandparents. As it turns out, the narrator's journeys to Asia Minor started in the summer afternoons of his childhood, while listening to the life-stories of his grandmother. It is on those quiet summer afternoons that his grandmother Maria would take out a box with newspaper clippings relating how her life was spared on the quay of Smyrna in 1922 (Fig. 3.4). The grandmother entrusted her stories to Andonis like an important secret: while everyone else was asleep. This rather intimate encounter between child and grandmother on a summer afternoon that could have been idyllic is darkened by accounts of suffering that could not be fully grasped at the time and thus sound "sometimes as fairytales and other times as nightmares" to Andonis as the child (Soloup 2014: 37)[45]. As a secret keepsake, grandmother Maria's stories become part of the memory storehouse and continue to pose questions to Andonis as an adult. It is these questions, as Soloup himself admitted in an interview quoted earlier, that eventually led Andonis on a boat trip to Ayvalık. The narrator feels a sense of personal responsibility for the history that he inherited from his ancestors. In order to be safeguarded, however, this troubled inheritance first has to be worked through. The journey of return to the "homeland of trauma" that Andonis undertakes serves as an opportunity to understand what perhaps he could not fully make sense of as a child and to find answers to the questions that continue to haunt him as an adult. History, in this case, is not abstract and indeterminable, but something that shapes individual subjectivity through encounters with its repercussions in everyday life.

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[45] This sketch cannot but remind us the sketch of Maus as it appeared in one of the first renderings of the story in the magazine Funny Animals in 1972 (Fig. 3.4), thus pointing to the tradition of autobiographically based graphic novels of devastating historical circumstances that subject matter and the aesthetic strategies of the graphic novel *Aivali* make it part of.

For this reason, the archival materials are supplemented in the graphic novel by the "archive of senses". As we have already seen in the account of Tasitsa, the senses and the body play an important role in the journey of return. The senses and the body guide Andonis through his journey as well. The smell of garlic in a restaurant of Mytilene suddenly renders the place more homely as it brings to mind the meatballs that both of Andonis' grandmothers used to cook. In the meantime, the walks of Andonis through Aivali shift between the present and the past, "filled with presences of diverse absences, where what can be seen designates what is no longer there" (de Certeau 1984: 108). Tasitsa confronted "presences of diverse absences" during her visit with a firm declarative sentence "Here used to be"; she had her memories to verify each of the claims. In the case of Andonis, whose only memories are the stories that he heard as a child, encounters with haunting presences gives rise to questions "All of these happened here?" (Soloup 2014: 343). In the graphic novel *Aivali,* the past visibly haunts the present, because it is the ghost of Photis Kontoglou that accompanies Andonis on his journey through the past.

Thus it is not a coincidence that the chapter "Photis" [Φώτης] – also referred to as the "Prelude" by Soloup – paves the way to the Aivali of the past and serves to set the scene for what is about to unfold. It is based on the book *Aivali, My Homeland* by Photis Kontoglou and as such it is quite faithful to the original text: the relevant extracts are inserted verbatim into the graphic novel, except for some lengthy descriptions of the scenes which are omitted and visualised through images instead. Kontoglou is known not only as a writer, but also as a great artist, especially famous for his work on Byzantine art and iconography. Thus many appropriations of Kontoglou's sketches from *Aivali, My Homeland* as well as other of his paintings fill in the frames, and the general style of the panels throughout this chapter mimics Byzantine art and iconography.

The story that unfolds in the chapter "Photis" is a rather nationalist narrative of origins and continuity, which firmly establishes the town of Aivali as a Greek town. Benedict Anderson (2006 [1983]) and his classic study on nationalism has shown that nation is a construct based on certain cultural practices and assumptions shared by a group of people. The tropes in the chapter "Photis" provide examples of many such assumptions that can be mobilised to imagine a nation. The landscape of Aivali bears witness to the glorious mythologised past (e.g. "Northwards stands the Kaz Dag, the big mountain that is mentioned already by Homer who says that allegedly the Twelve Gods sat on the peak of this very mountain…" (Soloup 2014: 50)); the appearance of the people allows no doubt about who their ancestors were ("But also the people themselves, their gestures and the features of their faces, are the same as those of the ancients, unchanged" (Soloup 2014: 67)); the Ancient Greek spoken by the street performers dressed as twelve gods in the carnival of Shrove Tuesday attests to the wished-for continuity (Soloup 2014: 77). Although Kontoglou wrote his novel after the defeat of 1922, the nationalist gaze that renders Aivali as a Greek town in the extract adopted by Soloup serves almost as a justification for the Greek military campaign of 1919-1922 as "the redemption of the oppressed brother", a trope that was often used by state apparatus at the time to mobilise popular support. This extract hence provides a perfect example of what was discussed in the Introduction as an attempt to recuperate the Great Idea at least on an idealogical level after its failure as territorial ambition (p. 31, this volume).

Following the prelude of Kontoglou, the tragedy that came after the Greek military debacle unfolds in three voices: "Ilias" based on *The Number 31328* by Ilias Venezis, "Aghapi-Zehra" chiefly based on a short story "The Last Day of Aivali" by Aghapi Venezi-Molyviati published in the essay collection by her brother Ilias Venezis *Μικρασία, χαίρε* [Hail, Asia Minor] (1974) and "Hasanakis" based on *Savaşın Çocukları* [The Children of War] (2002) by Ahmet Yorulmaz. As I discussed in the Introduction, the works of Kontoglou and Venezis are at the very centre of the canon of Greek literature on Asia Minor. In order to open this up for alternative interpretations, the narratives of these two prominent Greek writers are placed alongside the lesser known accounts of Veneze-Moleviate and Yorulmaz. The account of Yorulmaz is especially significant in this context: his parents were resettled from Crete to Ayvalık as a consequence of the 1923 Population Exchange, and thus his work stands for the memories from “the other side” as well as for the voice of the second generation – the children of refugees.

Collectively the four parts of the graphic novel that are based on literary testimonies are referred to as a fugue, alluding to the musical form in which a common theme is repeated and reinterpreted contrapuntally in several parts. By orchestrating literary testimonies as a fugue, Soloup makes a clear reference to polyphony and the interconnectedness of the voices in his narrative. Moreover, the etymology of the word fugue (from Latin *fugere* ("to flee") and *fugare* ("to chase”)) in the context of Asia Minor turns it into the mirror-image that unsettles the distinction between a victim and a perpetrator, which, as we will shortly see, is a crucial element in the ethical message communicated by Soloup’s *Aivali*.

In one way or other, each literary testimony that Soloup includes in his graphic novel mirrors another. Different accounts at times supplement and reaffirm each other and at other times unsettle and reframe what has been previously said. For example, the literary testimony of Ilias recounts the occupation of Aivali by the Turkish nationalist forces and his captivity as a prisoner of war before marching inland to the forced labour battalions. At the same time, the testimony of Ilias responds to the prelude of the graphic novel: the celebratory ethos of the Shrove Tuesday carnival echoes somewhat uncannily when we read about young men trying to disguise themselves as women in order to escape into the boats and leave Aivali after the occupation. The testimony of Ilias is followed by that of his sister Agape, who provides an account of her desperate efforts to rescue her brother during his captivity. Thus in a way Agape’s story is a response to the story of her brother as witnessed from her own perspective. Having said that, Agape’s story in itself becomes an image reflecting upon itself when she encounters a Turkish soldier, Kemaledin. Kemaledin spares Agape’s life and decides to help the woman because of her resemblance to Kemaledin’s sister Zehra, who was murdered by Greek soldiers. At the same time, the friendship of Agape and Kemaledin mirrors the love and care with which some Christian inhabitants of Crete, Kyr Vladimiros and his wife, took care of their Muslim neighbour Hasanakis in the chapter that follows. The friendship also anticipates the romantic relationship that will develop between the Muslim Hasanakis and Christian Mario.

The last chapter of Soloup’s fugue entitled “Hasanakis” serves to counterbalance the narratives of Elias and Agape and respond to the theme of the prelude. The language employed in this chapter resembles nationalist narratives: expressions such as “mother homeland” [μητέρα πατρίδα] or “Catastrophe” in the context of Asia Minor are familiar to the Greek readers (Soloup 2014: 236, 246)[46]. The stories of family members killed and of refugees fleeing their homes in a fear of persecution were frequently told by the refugees[47]. What comes as a surprise here is that the lexicon and tropes that are so dominant in the national imaginary are employed to tell the story of the other: a Muslim Cretan uprooted from his homeland and resettled in Ayvalık after the Exchange of Populations in 1923.

In the discussion of uprooting, historical and anthropological research has pointed out a number of occasions where the national narrative does not fit easily with personal recollections, even when individuals are strong supporters of the national ideologies (Clark 2007; Neyzi 2014; Tata Arcel 2014). The reflections of Hasanakis after his relocation from Crete to Ayvalık also support this statement: “Many times I had thought: why, I wonder, while I am now in the land of my ancestors, do I remember and long for Crete, where we lived for fifteen generations?” (Soloup 2014: 235). The national ideologies might convince that living in one place for fifteen generations is not enough for that place to be called the land of one’s ancestors, but they are unable to sooth the heartache of leaving all that is dear and familiar for an unknown homeland. With great skill, Soloup employs national imagery to expose its own precarious foundations, and the voices of refugees embedded into the narrative of *Aivali* establish a homeland as a lingering question rather than a clear definition, significantly complicating the rigid boundaries that we normally associate with this term (cf. Daskala 2017). In *Aivali*, homeland is bound to memory rather than territory, as is characteristic of diasporic societies (Fortier 2005).

By the time family recollections permeated by nostalgic yearnings reach the third generation, they intertwine with fears promulgated by national ideologies. This is why the distant mountain landscape in Asia Minor is constructed as a mirror image that contains two different histories, when Andonis explains: “I would think of them as the

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[46] The nationalist lexicon here is a specific strategic manoeuvre employed by Soloup, who acknowledges in the appendix of his graphic novel that, while the texts of the Greek writers were closely followed, the Greek translation of the text by Yorulmaz has been adapted more freely.

[47] See Apostolopoulos et al. (1980); Kitromelides and Mourelos (2004, 2013)

Turkish mountains, and they immediately soared enormous, threatening, ready to swallow me. Then I would think of them as Asia Minor, as the mountains of Heraclitus and my grandfathers, and they immediately drew closer, became tamer, they turned into the Mediterranean hills, fertile pastures and welcoming coastlines" (Fig. 3.5). The structure of the narrative as a reflective mirror image is further enhanced through through the use of the stark black and white contrasts between the two depictions, consistently used in many other panels across the graphic novel. Through these parallel imaginaries, Soloup invites readers to question the logic of binary divisions that part and parcel territories, histories and people into "theirs" and "ours" and exposes their ambivalence. The individual experience is thus invoked in *Aivali* to question the universally accepted collectives, yet this is done not by relying on the specifics of one particular story but by presenting the multiple interconnected voices of refugees, their children, and grandchildren. In fact, by embedding a drawing of his daughter Eleni into the narrative (Fig. 3.6), Soloup passes the relay of remembrance onto the fourth generation.

I hope that by now it has started to emerge how multiple threads running through different narratives both shape *Aivali* into a single story and fragment it resisting any finite interpretation. As the story unfolds, each new voice that emerges in the narrative encourages rereading of the previous material. Constructing *Aivali* as a series of fragments draws readers into the narrative: their full attention and vigilance is required in order to fit all the pieces into the puzzle. Intertextuality, allusion, and quotation woven through multiple layers of narrative is a postmodern technique adopted by many contemporary graphic narratives, where, according to Hilary Chute, "the authors embrace textual collision between styles, codes, and narrative modes foregrounding and problematizing reference and transparency" (Chute 2016: 34; also see Miller 2007: 125-146).

Different fragments of the storyline in *Aivali* are weaved together with the help of the multiple recurring visual and verbal cues that help to establish a certain sense of unity and invite reflections from one story to another (a technique called braiding (*tressage*) by comics scholar Thierry Groensteen (Groensteen 2007:145-49 and 156-158; 2016)). For example, one of the recurring cues that is both verbal and visual is the already mentioned theme of parades, which reoccurs in different parts as: "parade of tragedies" (Soloup 2014: 37) when referring to Asia Minor Catastrophe; the 99th anniversary parade of the liberation from Ottomans in Mytilene (Soloup 2014: 32-33) and the Turkish national celebration in Aivali (Soloup 2014: 318-319); the parade of twelve gods on Shrove Tuesday in the Aivali of Kontoglou (Soloup 2014: 72-90); and the marching of the men of Aivali by the Turkish forces (Soloup 2014: 108-118).

Another element for braiding together different narrative strands is certain characters that reappear at different points of the book. The most obvious of such recurrences are animals present throughout the graphic novel (Fig. 3.7a-f)[48]. A lot can be said about animal metaphors. We could start from the well-known statement by Stelios Seferiadis, the father of diplomat and Nobel prize winning poet George Seferis that the Treaty of Lausanne legitimised the exchange of people as if they were cattle, alluded to at the begining of the graphic novel *Aivali* (Soloup 2014: 36). Considered in this context, animals inserted in the graphic novel act as a commentary on the grand political decisions that disregard the value of individual lives. We could also bring into the discussion the paradigmatic case of Spiegelman's *Maus*, where anthropomorphic animals and animal masks provide an effective way to expose the incongruities of socially constructed ethnic prejudice (Adams 2008: 177-186). Soloup's first album *Humanwolf* [*Ανθρωπόλυκος*, 2006 [1986]] used an anthropomorphic animal to provide social commentary through a similar mechanism, when the adventures of a wolf turned human help to expose the realities of Greek society in the 1980s. In *Aivali*, however, animals remain animals rather than morph into humans. Yet their out-of-proportion representations seem to signal that they might also assume a more allegorical meaning.

What I would like to argue is that animals in *Aivali* serve as a way to project human emotional states without overdramatising the narrative. Thus a mouse appears at a moment when Ilias fears for his life, and reappears again in the chapter of Hasanakis. A hen runs for her life through the pages in a state of extreme shock before the slaughter, just when similar fate also awaits the Orthodox Christian inhabitants of Ayvali and Muslim inhabitants of Crete. A seagull accompanies us through the journey between Mytilene and Aivali defying any divisions of national borders. But the same seagull also cries out in panic shortly before many of the 1922 victims' cries would be heard in the town of Aivali, and their echo would reverberate through visual quotation of Munch's *Scream* reproduced in the first pages of the graphic novel and quoted in many subsequent screams thereafter (Fig. 3.8). A cat that appears in the Prelude of the graphic novel, reappears again chasing a snake, and as the two animals chase each other it becomes impossible to distinguish who is chasing and who is being chased, blurring the distinction between the victim and the perpetrator and through this allusion commenting upon entangled Greek-Turkish relations. Multiple visual and verbal cues such as these help to establish unity between different narrative fragments and also invite the reader to flip between the pages and revisit the parts where the cues reappear, calling for reflection and reinterpretation of what has been narrated.

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[48] The animal metaphors I first heard discussed by Soloup during a seminar in the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in June 2018. The interpretation of their meaning is my own.

The fragmentary aesthetics of the graphic novel, when considered within the Greek context, also speak to and put *Aivali* in dialogue with a large number of cultural works in which engagement and reconstitution of the archive has been closely associated with the dynamics set in motion by the Greek crisis. These aesthetic strategies, which Dimitris Papanikolaou called "archive trouble"[49], is "the moment when aesthetics reframes historical and political understanding and alerts us to the modalities of history in the present" in order to problematize the ways how we understand and encounter the past (Papanikolaou 2017: 46). Recontextualization of cultural texts and problematizing the process of unearthing and digging in a participatory art form that constantly pushes you to question more, all of which we saw employed in *Aivali*, are set out by Papanikolaou as aesthetic strategies of the modality of archive trouble. According to Papanikolaou, such a return to the past at the time of the crisis occurs alongside "an insistence on the body politic and its presence, on kinship and tradition as they left their marks on people's bodily predispositions" (Papanikolaou 2017: 42)[50].

At least for some Greek readers, *Aivali* constituted such an archive trouble. As an example, visual artist and writer Konstantinos Hatzinikolaou speaks of one particular scene in *Aivali* that keeps tormenting him: the moment when a Greek prisoner of war is tortured by Turkish guards. For Hatzinikolaou, this moment speaks of "remorse of violence that everyone carries on their shoulders […] and that, unless it spills over somewhere (even into literature), unless it is redirected, is passed on from generation to generation and creates a loop" (Hatzinikolaou 2015). At the same time, such a framing also speaks to the intense biopolitical present where outbursts of deadly violence against immigrants, political activists, queer or anyone who is perceived as different is becoming an increasingly routine occurrence in “Greece of the crisis”.

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[49] The concept draws on Derrida's (1996) "archive fever" and Butler's (1990) "gender trouble".

[50] See also Papanikolaou (2011).

At the same time, *Aivali* takes us beyond the national context, which becomes particularly prominent in the last chapter of the graphic novel, depicting an encounter between Antonis and Mehmet, a grandson of the Muslim Cretans who came to Asia Minor with the Population Exchange (thus mirroring the family story of Andonis). As the interaction of the two men unfolds, the two opposing versions of history are brought into a dialogue with each other. Despite some differences of opinion, both men come to realise that there are quite a few things that their family stories share. This fact does not necessarily fit comfortably with the ideologies of their respective nations: “Everyone loves their homeland and the land of their grandparents. Only in us, the bastards of Lausanne, this love is more complicated”, remarks Mehmet in the Cretan dialect that he learned from his grandparents (Soloup 2014: 390). It would be too optimistic to hope that a casual encounter like that of Andonis and Mehmet could immediately lead to reconciliation, but both men take a step in this direction as they agree: “I honestly do not know what is right”, says Mehmet. “But we know what is definitely wrong. And this is the first step”, adds Andonis (Soloup 2014: 385).

As the dialogue between the two men unfolds, a number of visual and symbolically charged references place the tragic events of 1922 and 1923 in an international context. This is particularly evident in the spread collating Francisco de Goya’s etching No. 39 from the series *The Disasters of War* (1810-1820), the gate of Auschwitz, and the barbed wire around the detention camp of Guantanamo Bay (Fig. 3.9). With these three visual references in a single frame, the shriek of human suffering sounds across three centuries, thus forming “new connections between events that are neither chronological nor logical, but affective” (Rigney 2009: 15). The new connections become especially apparent if we consider that the three juxtaposed images represent three different modes of witnessing. It is Goya who is identified by Hilary Chute as the first one to present the trauma of war for the viewer in the first person narrative that also resounds so prominently in the graphic novel *Aivali*. The captions such as “I saw it” for Goya’s etchings of the Disasters of War explicitly frame them as testimonies. At the same time, his depictions of intertwined mutilated bodies defy any clear-cut distinctions between the “guilty” and the “innocent” parties (Chute 2016:

51-54), which, as we have already discussed, is also a distinction that *Aivali* unsettles throughout its “Fugue”. It is the Holocaust photographs that mark the era when images of incomprehensible horror emerged in quantity, and a few often-reproduced photographs escape their original context and become iconic representations of absolute evil to us as secondary witnesses, leaving us with the problems and the possibilities that such decontextualization entails (Hirsch 2001). In the graphic novel *Aivali*, the main characters are ordinary people who are portrayed as victims of political affairs that are beyond their control, while “the cause of the evil” is universalised and externalised. When Ilias shrinks in fear from the anonymised hand of death (Soloup 2014: 142-143), when Agape and Kemaledin blame the war for their misfortunes (Soloup 2014: 211), and when Hasanakis speaks of a nameless “them” who imposed a separation on the people of his native village (Soloup 2014: 249), there is nothing apart from the abstract politics to hold responsible for wrecking millions of lives. Finally, it is the images of the Guantanamo Bay detention camp that are intrinsically linked to the “war on terror” which has resounded in the public sphere since 2001, posing important questions on framing some lives as more valuable and grievable (Butler 2016). By including the image of Guantanamo in the spread, Soloup insists that the issues his graphic novel discusses are as relevant for the present as for the past.

Reflecting on his graphic novel in a global context, Soloup attests to the claims of Tata Arcel on the transmission of trauma: when the working-through of trauma reaches the third generation, the boundaries of its affinities are internationalised. Soloup’s *Aivali* thus positions the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) as just one instance among the many tragedies of humanity in order to speak of human dignity that must be respected at all costs: “[T]his exact element – the assertion of human dignity, mutual help, tolerance towards the differences of others even in the present times – I believe is a global question. Not only [that] between Turks and Greeks” (Papaki 2014). To position Asia Minor in a global context does not mean that this memory is withdrawn from the national narrative. In agreement with the view Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider (2006) expressed on the transnational Holocaust memory, I suggest that what happens in such circumstances is that the national becomes perceived as “a conscious choice that speaks to individual preferences for certain memories” (Levy and Sznaider 2006: 194-195). Approaching the national memory as a conscious choice, one is led to reflect on the implications behind each choice, and as a result the multiple itineraries of any one memory become more easily navigated and more difficult to impose.

Readers of the graphic novel are implicated in this process by positioning them as tertiary witnesses – witness to someone else's witnessing – through many different techniques that simultaneously foster identification and imagination (Wake 2013: 94). On the one hand, visual and verbal techniques used throughout the graphic novel aim at assisting identification with the characters by putting the reader in the characters' shoes. At the beginning of the chapter "Ilias", for instance, we see multiple close-ups of the boats in the harbour as we simultaneously read about the occupation of Aivali. Such a depiction creates an impression that we are seeing the events unfold through the perspective of the narrator who is looking at the boats in the harbour, while the train of thought running through his head narrates the events that happened during the occupation of Aivali (Soloup 2014: 100-107). On the other hand, however, a distance between the narrating character and the reader is kept. For instance, much of the narrative unfolds in framed and unframed speech boxes rather than direct speech balloons, creating an impression that we are listening to a story about what had already happened rather than witnessing the events unfold in "real time". Moreover, the distance between the narrating character and the reader is clearly demarcated by occasionally inserting parts of the image of the narrating character into the frame, which is especially apparent with the representations of Andonis on his journey. Through this artistic strategy, readers are constantly reminded that what they see is the story as seen from the narrating character's perspective, and a complete identification with that character is prevented.

The position of the tertiary witness is akin to what Chute refers to as "triangulated ethics of vision", where we are made aware of ourselves as viewers, looking and looking at others looking upon horror" (Chute 2016: 60). Such a position provides space necessary for reflection, but it also comes with a certain set of responsibilities, which are most clearly articulated in the very last words of the graphic novel, addressing current and future generations: "The hopes of the refugees died together with them. With our own hopes, Mehmet and Aise, friend Peter, Manolo, Mohamed, René, Margarita, Greg, Johan, Ho, Vladimir, Housne, Elene, what shall we do?" (Soloup 2014: 399). As we have seen in the discussion of the third generation's journey of return, this type of framing – posing certain questions rather than imposing one's own views – is a stance that is especially characteristic of the grandchildren of refugees from Asia Minor. Framed as a lingering question, the last words of the graphic novel thus invite readers to embark on their own journey in search of an answer.

3.4. ITINERARIES OF MEMORY

Through the discussion in this chapter, the graphic novel *Aivali* by Soloup emerged as the postmemorial work that could demonstrate how a third generation descendent of refugees from Asia Minor handled his troubled inheritance and the responsibilities that came with it. Attesting to the validity of the claims about the generation of postmemory made by Hirsch and Tata Arcel, Soloup uses his own family stories as well as publicly available cultural artefacts and historical documents to create an encounter between the three generations that carry the memory of uprooting as well as to establish a dialogue between "the grandchildren of Lausanne" on both sides of the Aegean. The medium of comics and various artistic techniques that Soloup employs renders this encounter as a series of fragments reflecting upon each other, this way resisting any finite interpretation, and simultaneously encouraging rereading and posing some questions about the future of the memory of Asia Minor. At the same time, the testimonial narrative form that was endorsed by the previous generation of writers and that Soloup himself also adopts in his graphic novel becomes a means to achieve what Kundera called the revenge in front of the impersonal history of humanity.

In the graphic novel *Aivali*, Soloup works through the past of his family, while at the same time rethinking the past of the nation. As is characteristic of the third generation descendants of trauma survivors, Soloup crosses the threshold of the family home and contextualises his story globally, placing it among other instances of human suffering. At the same time, by expressing his personal quest through a publicly available medium, Soloup crafts a space where the stories of the troubled past and its repercussions can be heard by others. The graphic novel *Aivali* generates a new encounter with the past so that, adapted to a new context and enriched by new meanings, the memory of Asia Minor could travel across time, become a subject for debates, and lead to further remediations and re-readings. "The fairy tales and the nightmares" of the first generation are passed on to future generations as an affiliative postmemory.

The dialogue that *Aivali* aims to encourage is characteristic of what Tata Arcel calls the Cultural Trauma of the Asia Minor Catastrophe. Many descendants of refugees from Asia Minor, like Soloup, adopt this subject position. The enthusiasm that other descendants expressed towards Soloup's project supports this claim. For example, when a promotional copy of the book got into the hands of Michalis Pagidas, he contacted Soloup to tell him that one of the characters in the graphic novel – the smuggler Stringaros – was his great-grandfather; and this is how the photographs of Panagis Pagidas-Stringaros became part of Soloup's family album in the appendix to the book (Nikolakopoulou and Christakake 2015). When the exhibition on the graphic novel *Aivali* travelled to Mytilene at the end of May 2015, Anna Veneze Kosmetatou, the daughter of Ilias Venezis, endorsed it by giving an opening talk (Soloup 2015b). These affiliative connections are just two examples out of many more cases that demonstrate a clear sense of community and common identity shared between the descendants, highlighting the ways they support each other in fulfilling their obligations in memory of their ancestors.

However, the views of the descendants on how their obligations are best fulfilled sometimes also diverge. The lawsuit initiated against Soloup and his publisher Kedros by Photis Martinos and his brother Panayotis, the grandchildren of Photis Kontoglou, is a case in point. The legal action was initiated in March 2015, when the heirs of Photis Kontoglou submitted an application for provisional measures of protection on the basis that the graphic novel "deeply offends the spiritual work of Photis Kontoglou, both the visual and the literary" (Soloup 2015a). While the work of Soloup aims to re-contextualise the traditional narratives, the heirs of Kontoglou seemed to oppose any representation of their ancestor that would take his work out of the established and well known context of the master of Byzantine iconography and Greek literature. As pointed out by Photis Martinos himself, the key issue is simply this: "Would Kontoglou like to be the work of comics?" (Demokidis et al. 2015). Or, to put it differently, is comics an appropriate medium to represent Kontoglou and his tradition?

In any event, the key question to be resolved in the courtroom was not only what is the appropriate way to remember Kontoglou, but also to whom the memory of Kontoglou belongs and who has the right to determine how his work can be used today. Soloup uses the words of Photis Martinos himself to claim that the work of Kontoglou "objectively is not 'our own', but constitutes the cultural heritage of

Greece" (*Eleftherotypia*, 29 June 2014, cited in Demokidis et al. 2015). In support of this view, as the day of the hearing drew closer, the journalists of the national daily papers *Ta Nea* (Marinou 2015) and *Kathimerini* (Harbes 2015), along with other smaller news portals, defended the graphic novel in the name of freedom of speech and artistic expression. Nevertheless, the heirs of Kontoglou considered such an exercise in freedom of speech to be an offence to the memory of their grandfather.

The news about the lawsuit against *Aivali* mobilised fans of the graphic novel. An online campaign collecting signatures in defence of the book was launched eight days before the hearing, and over a thousand signatures were collected in that timeframe (Avaaz 2015). At the same time, *mikrasiates.gr*, a platform for communication between different groups of people with refugee background, also launched a campaign encouraging the members of the network to write letters in support of the graphic novel (Mikrasiatis 2015). On the day of the trial, a letter by Anna Veneze Kosmetatou was read in the courtroom (Ralli 2015b). The hearing occurred on 12 June 2015 and the dispute was eventually settled a month later by mutual agreement out of court. It was agreed that as long as more explicit references to the exact works of Kontoglou used for the creation of the graphic novel were added, the book could continue its journey. Since this was something that was discussed and accomplished even before the hearing, *Aivali* was acquitted and readers could continue to enjoy the book (Soloup 2015d).

The itinerary of *Aivali* as an affiliative postmemory takes us on a rather long and far-reaching journey. The enthusiasm with which it was embraced by readers is clear from its first edition of 5,000 copies selling out within seven months of publication, with two more editions printed since then (Soloup 2016). The graphic novel's critical approval can be exemplified by two Greek Comics Awards that *Aivali* received for the best comic and the best scenario. Finally, the wide range of encounters with the memory of Asia Minor that this graphic novel led to is most evident from the huge success of the exhibition in the Benaki Museum three months after the publication of the graphic novel. The exhibition *Soloúp Αϊβαλί: Ένα ταξίδι στο χρόνο* [Soloup Aivali: A Journey across Time] ran from 10 February 2015 to 17 May 2015 (originally intended for less than a month but extended twice), and it was the first time that comics appeared in a Greek public museum. Apart from introducing visitors to the graphic novel *Aivali*, the exhibition revealed the links between archival material and the graphic novel, often juxtaposing photographs with panels from *Aivali*, and familiarized visitors with comics art by showing sketches from the graphic novel at various stages in its development (Fig. 3.10). The fact that *Aivali* became part of a museum display of national significance guaranteed wider public reach and engagement, as well as giving it "national culture" credentials: the exhibition served as means to attract public attention, to generate new encounters with history and, through these, to recontextualise the memory of Asia Minor. Various activities that were organised as part of the exhibition (a theatre play on Shrove Tuesday, a public lecture on comics, an exhibition closing concert, guided tours and educational visits) played an important role in extending its reach. The success of the exhibition at the Benaki Museum led to many invitations to take the exhibition on tour all across Greece: Lesvos, Larisa, Chania, Patra, Ioannina, Museum of Asia Minor Filio Chaidemenou (Athens), Kerkyra, Association of Asia Minor in Kaisariani (Athens), Alexandropouli, Karditsa, Thessaloniki. In total, this journey of *Aivali* amounted to over 400 days of exhibitions in museums, libraries, art galleries, and other cultural spaces across Greece (Soloup 2016). Just like in the Benaki Museum, the subsequent exhibitions were accompanied by a wide range of cultural events, such as: book presentations; comics workshops; talks by writers, journalists or descendants of refugees from Asia Minor; academic symposiums; guided tours (around the exhibition as well as around the host city). In addition, nearly every exhibition or presentation was accompanied by concerts of music from Asia Minor or theatrical performances based on the graphic novel and staged by local communities, thus testifying to how the performativity of *Aivali* has been embraced by its readers.

As well as the exhibition, *Aivali* was presented and discussed by its author during numerous book presentations, school visits, and invited talks, the last of which took place on 8 December 2017 in the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, commemorating three years from the publication of the graphic novel. The reception of *Aivali* by the public followed two parallel routes. On the one hand, it reframed the national narrative of the Asia Minor Campaign in the ways discussed in this chapter, and thus it brought memory (and memorialization) afresh to the public sphere. At the same time, by replicating the tropes encountered at the very centre of national remembrance, it sometimes also became embedded in the very narratives it sought to reframe, serving as an occasion to reiterate the same canon of national remembrance such as the talk I discussed in detail in Chapter 2. In one of his blogposts (Soloup 2015c), Soloup mentions that since the publication of his book the works of Kontoglou and Venezis were on constant loan in the public library of Mytilene. In and of itself, this is undoubtedly a very favourable outcome, but it also left me wondering how many people went and looked for the *Children of War* by Ahmed Yorulmaz.

The most obvious example of how easily Soloup's *Aivali* has been embedded in the overarching national narrative was his collaboration in a documenary-musical exploration of Asia Minor heritage, *Smyrna: The Muse of Ionia* [Σμύρνη, η Μούσα της Ιωνίας]. Soloup created some drawings used in the documentary, and he also sketched live during the same team's musical performance dedicated to exploring the musical heritage of Crete and Smyrna, which took place at the prestigious Megaron Athens Concert Hall. In these performances, the cultural memory work that the graphic novel *Aivali* undertook was put into dialogue with the larger narrative of the most prominent of the lost homelands – that of Smyrna. This way, deliberately or not, *Aivali* has also been embedded into some of the mythology that surrounds the image of this city in Greek popular culture, which we come back to and explore in more detail in the next chapter.

The aesthetic strategies employed in the graphic novel *Aivali* and the numerous memory practices that the book initiated propelled the memory of Asia Minor not only across Greece but also beyond its borders. Within the first year from its publication, *Aivali* travelled in its French and Turkish translation, and also as part of specific events, notably: Komikatzen comics festival in Italy dedicated to exploring the moments of crisis in 2015; Rendez-vous du Carnet de Voyage travel sketchbooks festival in Clermont-Ferrand, France; Salon du Livre de Balkan literary festival in Paris, and an event dedicated to exploring literature of the crisis in Brussels that both occurred in 2016; two book presentations in Turkey (Istanbul and Ayvalık) also in 2016; and International Arsenal Book Festival in Ukraine in 2017. All this rendered the memory of Asia Minor as transnational in both of the senses of this term that Aleida Assmann refers to: "as course for 'transit', emphasising movement in space across national borders […] and 'translations', the cultural work of reconfiguring established national themes, references, representations, images and concepts" (Assmann 2014: 547). The diversity of contexts in which *Aivali* has been presented could show some effective ways for promoting Greek culture abroad as part of the Balkan, the Mediterranean or the Greek crisis narratives. More relevant in this context, however, is to look at the reconfigurations that took place in order to bring *Aivali* to French- and Turkish-speaking audiences, and to explore the reception of the graphic novel as a familial and affiliative postmemory beyond the borders of Greece[51].

The French translation entitled *Aivali – Une histoire entre Grèce et Turquie*[52] [Aivali – A history between Greece and Turkey] was published in September 2015 by Steinkis: a publisher that has as one of its principle aims building bridges between different peoples by promoting novels, comics, documents and critical essays that focus on representations of the other (Steinkis (n.d)). Although France is one of the biggest comics markets worldwide, the history of Asia Minor is hardly known there. As a result, reviews in the French press encouraged readers to discover what one critic succinctly summarised as "History, Mediterranean, drama, Greece and Turkey". While the Greek edition is prefaced by extensive introduction of historical context written by Bruce Clark, it is replaced in the French edition by a brief one page summary of the broader historical period in the context of the First World War and the collapse of Austro-Hungarian, Russian and the Ottoman Empires as they give way to the rising nationalisms. The somewhat better known struggles of Armenians, Palestinians and Kurds come to serve as an entry point into the story of *Aivali* in this introduction. This global picture is a particularly valuable perspective on the history of Asia Minor that has been for a long time nationalised by the two countries, Greece and Turkey. But it leaves some of the details obscured and the metaphor of the mirror image remains under-explored and only vaguely hinted at in the subtitle by positioning history *between* Greece and Turkey (as the boat trip between Mytilene and Ayvalık itself of course also does).

The following complaint is characteristic of difficulties that French readers encounter: "Despite the excellent prologue and the interesting subject, I was very disappointed by the lack of clarity of the presented stories, which greatly affected the appeal of the reading. I got lost among the characters, and especially among the places" (Apikrus 2015). Another reviewer more modestly acknowledges that although the narrative is complex, the relevance of its subject matter makes it worth re-reading: "One certainly tends to get lost in this very precise narrative that deserves to be rediscovered in order to understand present-day reality of Turkey, Syria and Kurdistan" (Truc 2015). Narrative complexity notwithstanding, the universal ethical message of the graphic novel as well as the mastery of its form were also recognized, most notably by the jury of Doctors Without Borders who awarded a *Coup de cœur* prize to *Aivali* in the travel sketchbooks festival at Clermont-Ferrand.

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[51] I first heard French and Turkish translations discussed by Soloup during a seminar in the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in June 2018. My discussion is built using the observations from this initial discussion.

The Turkish translation was published in January 2016 by the publishing house Istos that was established in 2011 by Istanbul Greeks. The target audience of this publishing house is the reading publics of Turkey and their main objective is to familiarize their readers with Greek culture and to create wider awareness of minority cultures in the Balkans and in the Middle East. The Turkish title of the book *Ayvali-Ayvalık: Dört Yazar, Üç Kuşak, İki Yaka* [Aivali-Ayvalık: Four Writers, Three Generations, Two Shores] acknowledges the graphic novel's chief communicative strategy – the mirror image – by juxtaposing Greek and Turkish names of the town and brings to the fore the fact that this is a narrative concerning three generations in its subtitle. In the Turkish context, Ayvalık is best known as a summer holiday destination, and thus the reviewers call for discovering the lesser known part of the history of the city with the help of Soloup's graphic novel.

For historical reasons, the Ottoman past, including the consequences of the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) on the lives of ordinary people who came to Turkey from the former lands of Ottoman Empire, was not extensively discussed in Turkey until in the 1990s (Karpat 2000). The graphic novel *Aivali-Ayvalık* thus becomes as a source of information that fills a gap in both personal and cultural memory. The publication of the book serves as an occasion to reflect on the historical and present-day relationships between Greece and Turkey and to advocate Soloup's call to be self-reflective about one's own history before committing to prejudice and blaming others for one's own misfortunes. Echoing the view of Soloup quoted earlier, this observation is seen as applicable not only to Greece and Turkey but also more generally (Dink 2016). In this context, some Turkish reviewers recognised the nationalistic overtones of the first part of the book – the "Prelude" based on the work of Photis Kontoglou – and advised readers in advance that this is balanced out in the final part of the book with the account of Hasanakis based on the novel by Ahmet Yorulmaz (Aydin 2016; Erten 2016). At the same time, it is acknowledged that today many people embark on the boat trip from Mytilene to Ayvalık on both sides of the Aegean, and the boat line that Andonis once took became a "tourist highway". While the hatred fostered between the two nations is referred to as a thing of the past, references to the Kurdish and Syrian geographies are made urging readers not to forget that "Ayvali-Ayvalık is not the graphic novel of the past but of the present. It's one of the contemporary mirrors of the historical pains that somehow continually repeat themselves in the geography in which we live, like a broken record"[53] (Erten 2016).

In his doctoral thesis, Soloup expresses the view that comics should be created in ways that would broaden readership rather than address a small circle of already dedicated fans. Tracing the itinerary of *Aivali* in Greece and beyond shows the many ways in which this graphic novel has been embraced by many different publics. In all three countries – Greece, France and Turkey – *Aivali* circulated when the refugee crisis in Europe was at its peak, hence its relevance for the present-day is emphasized. As a place deeply rooted in the Greek cultural geography, *Aivali* in the Greek context did not need any further explanation. In France and Turkey, however, it acquires a subtitle that places it in *a* history *between* Greece and Turkey for the former and a mirror image passed on for three generations for the latter. In Greece, reception of the graphic novel balanced between two interpretive routes: on the one hand, it provided an antidote to the national narrative in the way that the author intended, and on the other hand, it provided an occasion to reiterate the national tropes that it aimed to dismantle. In France, the lack of knowledge with regard to this historical period led to some difficulties in following the plot, but the graphic novel nevertheless won critical acclaim. While in Turkey it shed a new light on the largely forgotten period of shared history.

As well as reaching out to a large number of people, Soloup's *Aivali* provided a platform for many personal encounters. As the three-year anniversary of its publication was approaching, Soloup's comment to *Pontos News* reveals how a festive atmosphere was created around the graphic novel:

> There are really very many moving moments that I remember. The comments of the visitors to the exhibition *Aivali* at Benaki Museum, but also in the exhibitions all over Greece; the reception of the book in Lesvos; the "private" concert that the second-generation Cappadocians set up in Neokaisaria, Ioannina, where they sang in Turkish; and one Turkish resident of Aivali, on the other hand, who gave me a picture of a Greek woman that lived in his house before 1922; one Turkish man who really wanted to meet me but died, and so his friends came with his book in Turkish translation so

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[53] I would like to thank William Stroebel for helping me with the translation of this quote.

> that I would sketch [sign] it for him. The book basically brought me close to many people, and this way I made friends everywhere. In Greece as well as in Turkey, but also in other countries, where I was invited to present […] At the same time, there were quite a few parents – of refugee origin and not – who told me that this particular book in the form of comics served as a bridge for talking to their children about the past and history. And you know what, now that we talk about different age groups? There were quite a few who told me about… the arguments within the family about who is going to read *Aivali* first: the grandfather, the father, or the grandchild!
>
> (Vorylla 2017)

3.5. CONCLUSIONS

The graphic novel *Aivali* is a good example of the aesthetics and memory practices that Asia Minor sets in motion when the relay of remembrance reaches the third generation: the fragments of memory that this generation inherited from refugees find their way into a fragmentary art form, which is at the same time in dialogue with other art forms and other histories. The archive is called upon to fill in the gaps in the family story, and the labour that went into creating narrative is exposed as a means to confirm its authenticity. Times and places are layered upon one another, resulting in an overflow of meanings where they cluster. As a consequence, the connections that are established between these meanings are affective rather than linear and reader's full attention and vigilance is required in order to unravel them. Affective connections, shared among readers, turn Asia Minor from familial to affiliative postmemory that can then travel across the public sphere, where it is picked up and reworked again, adding another layer of new meanings and ensuring that Asia Minor is kept in the memory of the communities that it has assembled, be it through the shared reading experience or through family or generational bonds.

For Greek readers, the mere mention of the names Venezis or Kontoglou held a vast array of assumptions within them, and Soloup masterly exploited these assumptions in crafting his work. But as some of the public events and confrontations have shown, reconstitution of the canon performed by the graphic novel *Aivali* in the Greek context did not necessarily follow only the routes intended by the author: as a reworking of the national canon, it sometimes also led to reiteration of the same inward looking views that Soloup wanted to open up with his work. The discussion of translations highlighted the significance of how deeply embedded within the national culture are the fragments that Soloup relied on to communicate his message: once they left the national context, the fragments of Greek canonical texts assumed rather different functions and lead to different affiliations. Finally, as fragments reliant on active involvement of readers to assume meaning, sometimes they also remained too opaque to readers without historical background on Asia Minor Campaign.

One could of course argue that the aesthetics and practices discussed in this chapter are applicable more widely to contemporary cultural works beyond the memory of Asia Minor, and especially those that were associated with the context of the Greek crisis. This may indeed be true, since authors, irrespective of the questions they address, are also in dialogue with their times. Rather than ponder this relationship, however, I found it more productive to focus on how a family memory finds its way into a contemporary art form and what implications this holds for the memory of Asia Minor as a cultural memory in present-day Greece. What I have charted through my discussion is an itinerary from familial to affiliative postmemory, using the graphic novel *Aivali* as an example. In the next chapter, I invite the reader to continue on this itinerary and explore the dynamics behind the circulation of affiliative postmemory in relation to the most unforgettable of all the homelands in Asia Minor – that of Smyrna.

4

SMYRNA IN YOUR POCKET

4.1. A RESPONSE TO THE HISTORY TEXTBOOK CONTROVERSY

On 16 December 2014 the lecture hall of the Asia Minor Association of New Philadelphia and New Halkidona "Unforgettable Homelands" hosted the book presentation of Mimi Denisi's play *My Beloved Smyrna* [Σμύρνη μου αγαπημένη, 2014]. The play premiered six weeks earlier, on 30 October 2014, and continued to fill the Theatron of Athens with 1,000 spectators every night. At the start of the event, Christos Triandafyllos, president of the Association, gave a speech and awarded an honorary distinction to Denisi for her work. Among the reasons for acknowledging her work, the aesthetic qualities of the play appeared as the last (although not the least) on a long list of her merits:

> Firstly, because she dared to produce such a work. It's the first time that the topic of Asia Minor Hellenism is addressed in such a grand theatre production [υπερπαραγωγή].
>
> Secondly, because of the historical and social research that the writer has done while writing this work. Her aim is objective historical truth, true events are presented and historical and social context is portrayed absolutely faithfully.
>
> Thirdly, because of the task that is undertaken within our country's gloomy climate of the crisis, which makes Greeks draw parallels between the role of the foreigners, then and now. This way the Greek can understand what is happening to him today, and that has been the main objective of art, but also theatre, since the ancient times.
>
> Fourthly, because the work comes as a response to the claims of the supposed historians that concern "crowding", which Ms. Denisi explicitly denounces.
>
> Fifthly, for her idea to collaborate with one of the leading actors that promotes Asia Minor Hellenism, the Foundation of the Hellenic World.
>
> Sixthly, because her play constitutes a great theatrical and cultural event, which was warmly received by critics and audience.
>
> (Mikrasiatis 2014)

As I discussed in Chapter 2, *My Beloved Smyrna* makes reference to the controversial textbook at the most emotionally charged moment, the Smyrna fire, and this reference strongly resonates with the audience long after the performance is finished. Thus the play is posed as an antidote to the textbook. In contrast to what the textbook was perceived as doing, it represents “objective historical truth”. This historical truth is contextualised within the present – the gloomy climate of the crisis – where foreign powers are seen as directly accountable, in much the same way in which they were seen as accountable for distorted history in the textbook controversy.

Mimi Denisi herself has repeatedly stated in interviews that objectivity and historical truth were at the centre of her work: “We ourselves hide history under the carpet and the only way to solve these problems is to present the truth” (Mikrasiatis 2017). As noted by Libby Tata Arcel, the feeling of historical truth as somewhat concealed from the general public is characteristic of a large segment of Greek society and particularly prevalent among grandchildren of Asia Minor refugees (Tata Arcel 2014: 95). Denisi addresses this issue in her play by discussing the events through the polyphony of voices that represent different perspectives on the history of Asia Minor: apart from the Greek characters, who themselves are divided between those who support union with Greece and those who want autonomous Smyrna, there are also voices of Turkish, Armenian, and Levantine characters. Seeing events unfold from this variety of perspectives during the performance renders the representation obtained as truthful and objective representation.

As I pointed out in the Introduction and discussed in detail in Chapter 3, polyphony of voices is an aesthetic strategy central to the contemporary representations of Asia Minor. Often, the polyphonic setup provides a framework within which criticism of the national ideology is exercised, and I have discussed how this works in relation to the graphic novel *Aivali*. Mimi Denisi has also been critical of the national ideology on many occasions. For example, on the talk show Art Week on the national tv channel ERT2, she asserted: “This [Asia Minor Campaign] is a topic that somehow was left half[-answered] because Greece was also quite at fault and evidently it did not know how to address this” (Aroni 2017). *My Beloved Smyrna* is clearly intended to fill in those silences.

At the press conference for *My Beloved Smyrna* six days after the premiere, a similar critique of Greek national politics left Vlasis Kostouros, a journalist of the left-wing daily newspaper EfSyn, rather perplexed. Denisi has a considerable reputation as a glamorous star of commercial mainstream theatre, setting the stage for a bolstering of national pride on more than one occasion, including the plays *Θεοδώρα* [Theodora; 1996], *Εγώ η Λασκαρίνα* [Me, Laskarina; 1999], and *Η Πηνελόπη Δέλτα συναντάει τον Μάγκα* [Penelope Delta meets Mangas; 2013]. By criticising the government decisions during the Asia Minor Campaign, Denisi "took the floor in a somewhat unorthodox manner", asserted Kostouros after the press conference (Kostouros 2014). But even Denisi herself denounced her celebrity in several of her interviews by associating it with the past when vanity was characteristic of the whole country and implying her solidarity with Greece in the times of the current crisis (Katsounaki 2014).

Ironically, the polyphony of voices as a way to open national history to different perspectives that Denisi relies on to tell her story was also once the main objective of the controversial history textbook for which Denisi's play was later seen to provide an antidote. This begs the question of why the play succeeded while the controversial textbook failed. The play "opens the trauma of Asia Minor", reasons Denisi, "because it is a tragedy that was never addressed by the Greek state with the seriousness it deserved" (Aroni 2017). Ultimately, Denisi's objective is to take her play beyond Greece: "The work, however, will now become an international film so that everyone learns what happens in Asia Minor", Denisi points out, and then continues: "I am upset to see that educated people and actors such as Vanessa Redgrave know about the genocide of Armenians but not of our own [people] in Asia Minor" (Mikrasiatis 2017). Spelled out in this way, the arguments on the trauma and historical experience of Asia Minor are rather reminiscent of the claims for recognition of the Pontic genocide (Sjöberg 2016; pp. 65-66, this volume). It follows that setting the historical record straight in *My Beloved Smyrna* was seen as important not just in its own right but so as to do justice to the memory of descendants of Asia Minor Greeks (where the controversial textbook had failed to). If in Chapter 2 we saw many descendants talk about the obligation that they have to protect the memory of Asia Minor, Denisi speaks of this obligation as applicable to every Greek (Mikrasiatis 2017).

How is is this obligation fulfilled by *My Beloved Smyrna*? The play tells the history of Smyrna through the story of one affluent family. It is divided in two acts. The first act develops between October 1917, when Greece is fighting in World War I on the side of the Allies, and May 1919, when Greek ships approach the port of Smyrna.

During the first act in focus lies on the carefree everyday life of the family, and political developments of the time sound like distant echoes. The second acts develops between 1919 and 1922, when the mounting pressures of the Greco-Turkish War progressively interrupt conventional family routines more and more until the fatal Asia Minor Catastrophe. The totalizing vision, overt emotionality and projections of certain values that are cultivated in this performance make it into a paradigmatic case of social melodrama (Patsalidis and Nikolopoulou 2011; Brooks 1985[1976]; Mason 1993).

Over three years, *My Beloved Smyrna* was seen by more than 600,000 spectators, mainly in the Theatron of Athens, but also Megaro Hall in Thessaloniki and Strovolou municipal theatre in Cyprus. Many more invitations were sent to Denisi via the *My Beloved Smyrna* facebook page – from Crete, Kastoria, Mytilene, Chios, and all over Greece, where Asia Minor Greeks had settled – invitations that were not possible to take up due to technical requirements that such a major production required. On the same page, fans wholeheartedly expressed their appreciation – many of them went to see the play twice, some of them three or even four times – yearning to relive the history of Smyrna. Although Denisi is not of refugee descent, the affiliative postmemory of Asia Minor that she adopted and staged for her audiences spoke directly to their hearts.

My Beloved Smyrna is definitely the largest theatre production on Asia Minor ever undertaken, but it is not the only one. Let me point out a couple of indicative examples. In 1999, Anna Vagena performed *Angela Papazoglou,* a monologue based on the book *Our Troubles Here* [Τα χαΐρια μας εδώ] (1986), which recounts the memories of a rebetiko artist Angela Papazoglou as recorded by her son Georgios Papazoglou. Although a small-scale production, it filled the theatre of Metaxourgeio on every night it was performed. The play ran for two seasons until 2002, and since then it has been re-performed on a number of occasions, most recently in 2017. It toured all over Greece and also abroad, including Belgium, Serbia, Italy, Germany and Sweden. Anna Vagena has also staged a monologue on the memory of Istanbul: her play *Loxandra,* based on the book of the same title by Maria Iordanidou, premiered in Athens 2015 and ran for two seasons, including a performance in Istanbul. Finally, another small scale production that had big success in recent years is Filio Chaidemenou (Evtaxopoulos 2016), the life story of the same Filio, who established the Museum of Asia Minor Hellenism discussed in the Introduction to this thesis. This performance is based on the memories of Filio as narrated in her book *Three Centuries, One Life* [Τρεις αιώνες μια ζωή, 2005], and the acclaimed actress Despina Bebedeli plays the main character Filio. This play also started in Athens, and subsequently travelled to other Greek cities.

There are obvious common threads that run through these plays: addressing historical realities through a life story of a woman protagonist, they appeal to the emotions of spectators and awaken their own memories[54]. However, what differentiates *My Beloved Smyrna* from the other examples I give, is that while all of them are based on memoirs or literary works of Asia Minor Greeks, *My Beloved Smyrna* was written independently by Mimi Denisi, after three years of extensive research that she undertook. At the same time, it was wholeheartedly embraced as a true and accurate representation by very large audiences. I would therefore like to argue that a detailed analysis of the play can give a good insight on the main characteristics that Asia Minor holds as an affiliative postmemory in contemporary Greek society, and this is what I aim to bring into focus in the analysis that follows.

4.2. SMYRNA AS A PORTABLE MONUMENT

What I would like to propose in this chapter is that *My Beloved Smyrna* draws on a number of cultural tropes established as representative of Asia Minor and it is therefore recognized as an authentic and truthful representation of historical reality. Many of these representations draw on literary tradition, popularised by tv series well-liked by the Greek audiences. The tv series as a genre was established in 1970s and 1980s, and many used plots from novels of the generation of the 1930s. These novels were chosen because they had considerable national prestige and thus could ensure in advance wide reach and popularity[55]. The first tv series *Christ Recrucified* (Georgiadis and Lychnaras 1975) and *Serenity* (Lychnaras 1976) both focused on the struggle of refugees to adapt in their new homelands. *Loxandra* (Gregoriou 1980) consolidated many of the ideas on what the traditional life of a Greek woman in the Ottoman Empire was like, and resulted in many Greek living rooms filling with the aromas of Loxandra's kitchen. *Starlight*

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[54] In contrast to these plays is *Yak* [Γκιακ] (dir. Mavragani, 2016) by the National Theatre of Northern Greece that narrates the stories of soldiers who fought in Asia Minor Campaign. However, this work is also based on literature – the hugely successful collection of short stories by the same title written by Demosthenis Papamarkos in 2014.

[55] On how the novels of the generation of the 1930s were used to establish Greek *cinéma d' auteur* see Basea (2011).

(Chronopoulos 1980), although mainly set in Athens, reflected political events between 1917-1922 through a family story intertwined with documentary footage. *The Minore of the Dawn* (Mesthenaios 1983) tapped into the popular sentiments of rebetiko music.

The popularity of early tv series was addressed by the programme *The Best Ever Serial* [Το σήριαλ των σήριαλ, 1991-1992], where a number of tv series of the years 1970-1990 were presented. In this programme, the director of *Loxandra* Gregoris Gregoriou makes a comment that many people let Loxandra into their living rooms, where she still remains (Theologidou 1991a). In the meantime, Kostas Aristopoulos, the director of *The Teacher with Golden Eyes*, highlights the popularity of the tv series in his story of how one evening he went for a walk through Athens and could hear the sounds of his tv series coming through open windows of every household (Theologidou 1991b).

The tv series were re-screened over the years, adapted as theatre plays (*Starlight The Witches of Smyrna, Loxandra*)[56] and influenced other cultural representations by establishing certain cultural tropes, images and identity types as representative of Asia Minor. For example, *Loxandra* consolidated an idiom of Istanbul tastes and smells that would become a language of loss and nostalgia in the film *A Touch of Spice* (Boulmetis 2003). It established the image of an ideal hostess to such an extent that when the popular cooking show *I come from the City* by an Istanbul Greek, Maria Ekmekçioğlu, was screened on Mega in 2013 (attracting one million viewers), she immediately gained a nickname of the “contemporary Loxandra”. The ways stories, narratives and representations encountered in tv series and beyond shaped popular imagination will become more apparent through a number of parallels I will draw between those representations and *My Beloved Smyrna.* However, I will discuss these parallels not to revisit Mimi Denisi’s “original sources” but instead to highlight how her play participates in a wider popular culture that in profound ways shapes contemporary understanding of life in Asia Minor, the history of the Campaign and its aftermath.

Asia Minor would come back as a theme of tv series in the 2000s, with *The Children of Niobe* (Koutsomytis 2004), *The Witches of Smyrna* (Koutsomytis 2005) and *Bloodied Earth* (Koutsomytis 2008)[57]. Just like the previous tv series, they are based on popular novels and attract very large audiences. Here too the viewers were called on to imagine how it was to live during the turbulent years of the Asia Minor Campaign through a family story where everyday life, insatiable desire and picturesque setting were as important as historical accuracy. In the 2000s, a number of popular Turkish tv series also reached Greek living rooms, most notably *The Borders of Love* (İnanoğlu 2004)[58], which gave Greek audiences a chance to have a look at how the Greek-Turkish relationship is reimagined by "the other" (Papailias 2005b).

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[56] See Zoulias (2016), Fasoulis (2018); Vagena (2015).

[57] Four years before the tv series Dido Soteriou’s novel was adapted to and performed on the experimental stage of the National Theatre. See Troupakis (2004).

If one had to pinpoint the protagonist in the history of Asia Minor, it would no doubt be the city of Smyrna. Smyrna has starred in the story of the lost homelands on so many occasions that it became fixed in the Greek popular imagination as closely associated with certain signifiers: melting pot of cultures; ethos of celebration; a blend of tastes, smells, and colours; affluence of the Greek people; spells and superstitions; the sound of rebetiko; and of course the Fire of Smyrna have all come to be identified with the city to such an extent that, as I would like to argue, any representation of Smyrna today has to include at least some of these tropes in order to be recognised as an accurate and an authentic representation. At the same time, as these images come to dominate popular imagination, they leave an imprint on the representations of other lost homelands beyond Smyrna or Asia Minor.

I would like to suggest that the familiar cultural tropes invoked in each representation of cosmopolitan Smyrna condense the story of the city in a way a pocket guide might do, and their recurrence in literature, music, film and theatre upholds this version of Smyrna in Greek popular imagination. Extending the term of portable monument coined by Ann Rigney, I will refer to this type of Smyrna as "portable Smyrna" (Rigney 2004). The words of Victoria Solomonidis in the documentary *Smyrna: The Destruction of a Cosmopolitan City* (Ilioú 2012), encapsulate well what I mean when I say that Smyrna is portable:

> Smyrna is an inclusive noun. It contains all the traditions, laments, laughter, celebrations. Smyrna is all of these things and much more. You don't have to live in Greece to experience Smyrna. You can live in London or in New York and still carry it with you. You can pack it and carry it with you at all times.
>
> (Ilioú 2012)

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[58] The title was translated as *Τα σύνορα της αγάπης* in Greek, the original title is Yabancı Dalamat, meaning "foreign groom" in Turkish.

Having sold 350,000 tickets when screened in the Benaki Museum in Athens, in Thessaloniki and in other major Greek cities in 2012, the documentary itself helped to consolidate an image of just such a Smyrna. As a signifier that is no longer tied to a specific location but is instead connected to certain cultural practices, Smyrna can be easily carried within one's memory and one's body. This is what leads Denisi to claim that "Smyrna, with whatever it brings from History, potentially exists in the DNA of every Greek" (Agiannidis 2014). I do not see this connection as so deeply engrained and instead view portable Smyrna as a toolbox for making sense of history. As pointed out by the anthropologist David Sutton in a different context, "a tool is what draws its power from and extends the human body" (Sutton 2001: 131). Tools are used to make something out of something else or to finetune a particular object, and in this way, form as well as content gain importance. Portable Smyrna as a toolbox engages the body in order to craft one's own place in history. In the documentary, it is offered as "an inclusive noun" but also as "a mode of recognition" and "the challenge of having to overcome the wrong of humanity". As the generations and the places permeated by Smyrna change, so does the meaning of Smyrna. In a sense, viewing portable Smyrna as a toolbox affords certain flexibility, because one can choose which tool out of the toolbox would be most useful in which context.

The process described here is similar to "scenarios as meaning making paradigms" that Diana Taylor develops in her monograph *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (2003). For Taylor, the archive of supposedly enduring materials and the repertoire of embodied practices work in tandem in order to learn, structure and transmit social knowledge. Using scenario as a way of understanding how archive and repertoire as two modes of knowledge work together to determine the form that cultural memories would take on brings out certain important aspects of memory work. As outlined by Taylor, scenario predisposes certain cultural practices but also allows for their reversal. It makes us to think of the location where any particular piece of knowledge could be effectively transmitted but also forces us to situate ourselves in relation to it. It works through reactivation rather than duplication and thus holds a potential for productively addressing friction between plot, character and embodiment. Many of the outlined practices will come to the fore through my own analysis of *My Beloved Smyrna*. And yet I would like to maintain that viewing portable Smyrna as a toolbox helps keeping the focus on the multiplicity of scenarios that any one cultural memory holds.

4.3. AFFECT, EMOTION AND HISTORICAL TRUTH

The typical audience gathering to see a performance of *My Beloved Smyrna* is familiar with the cultural tropes that constitute portable Smyrna, and thus what they expect from the actors is to go through the motions necessary to take them to the Smyrna they already know. These expectations are akin to what Marvin Carlson called ghosting: "Unlike the reception operations of genre […], in which audience members encounter a new but distinctly different example of a type of artistic product they have encountered before, ghosting presents the identical thing they have encountered before, although now in a somewhat different context. Thus the recognition, not of similarity as in genre, but of identity becomes a part of the reception process" (Carlson 2001: 7). Each gesture, sign, and character in the performance is there to communicate the story of Smyrna so as to be recognized as identical to the Smyrna the audience brings to the theatre and considers authentic.

The selected cast brings out many associations with Asia Minor either through the roles that they previously played or their personal background and thus they contribute to the process of ghosting. Tasos Nousias plays a Turk fighting to defend his homeland as a member of the Young Turks while also being in love with his Greek master Filio (Mimi Denisi) in *My Beloved Smyrna*. Nousias is already familiar to the Greek audience as the Don Juan of Salichli and the most wanted man in Smyrna through his roles in two TV series about Asia Minor – as Tzanis Kantaroglou in *The Children of Niobe* (Koutsomytis 2004) and Spyros Serbetoglou in *The Witches of Smyrna* (Koutsomytis 2005) respectively. Christina Alexanian, who is of Armenian and Asia Minor descent, plays the role of the Armenian seamstress Takoui in *My Beloved Smyrna.* Being an Armenian in a role of an Armenian, Alexanian is moved by the experience to the point of crying at every performance. As Alexanian explained in one of her interviews, she normally finds it really difficult to cry on stage but in this role she does not even have to try: her personal recollections of the stories of her grandmother and the painful story of the Armenian people that she comes to represent brings her to tears every night (Tsakitzian 2015). Nedi Antoniadi[59] as a Greek Cypriot acting in a play on Asia Minor, brings forth the recollections of the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus. Thus even if Antoniadi's role as a Levantine of Smyrna is irrelevant for the process of ghosting, her background contributes to establishing emotive links with the play. As we will shortly see, the roles assumed by these actors contribute to fostering spectators' own emotional attachments to the play and this way establish the authenticity of the performance: through feeling, past is brought into the present where it can be lived again and felt again, and because the feelings that the performance triggers are real, so must be the history that, like a ghost of the past, appears in front of the audience.

My own journey to *My Beloved Smyrna* took place on Saturday, 21 March 2014, when I got off the metro at Kalithea and made my way to *Theatron* through an empty industrial neighbourhood[60]. The *Theatron*, where the play was being performed, is part of the cultural centre *Hellenic World* (Ελληνικός Κόσμος), a venue of the Foundation of the Hellenic World (Ίδρυμα Μείζονος Ελληνισμού) dedicated to hosting exhibitions, educational programmes and various cultural events. The Foundation was the producer of *My Beloved Smyrna* as well as a previous play by Mimi Denisi, *Penelope Delta Meets Mangas.* It is a nongovernmental organisation dedicated to "the preservation and dissemination of Hellenic history and tradition, the creation of an awareness of the universal dimension of Hellenism and the promotion of its contribution to cultural evolution" (Foundation of the Hellenic World-Official Website). Approval from an organisation with this mission validates the performance as historically and culturally important and representative of Hellenism.

Entering the theatre building, I was met by many of the ghosts of the past. In the foyer, spectators mingled amongst the artefacts on display for *Smyrna of the Greeks*, an exhibition organised in collaboration with the Union of Smyrniots (who would also award a distinction to Mimi Denisi and the Foundation of the Hellenic World in 2017). Different objects – memorabilia, garments, books, newspaper extracts, and photographs – invited the audience to remember the Smyrna of educated, cultured and affluent

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[59] Nedi Antoniadi only performed during the first season.

[60] The analysis in this section is based on my two viewings of the play on 21 March 2014 and 2 April 2015. I also draw on the text of the play for the quotations from the performance.

Greeks in the 19th and 20th century, setting the scene for the performance. Having found my seat in the auditorium, I decided to tap into the memories of Asia Minor by talking to a middle-aged man and his elderly mother that were sitting next to me. As it turned out, the man's grandmother was from Smyrna, although she died before he was born. The grandmother had shared her stories about the lost homeland with the man's mother and she in turn had told some of them to him. "So why did you come to see the play?" I asked. "My mother loves Denisi. We went to see many of her plays. And the topic, Asia Minor, appeals to the Greek people. It has many elements, a lot of drama; that is why I think we like it". This observation goes hand in hand with what Jervis (2015) called "popular sublime": a staged extreme event appeals to the audience because they can feel wonder or awe by witnessing it from the safety of their seats: an encounter with death, even if staged, brings the spectators to an awareness of their own living, and results in a kind of pleasure.

As the man continued to share his views, the generational differences in perceptions on what happened in Asia Minor emerged. "We [Greeks] also have a very specific view on history: Greeks lived peacefully there [Asia Minor], they were very good people, and then the bad Turks came and destroyed everything, and killed the people". The mother, who had been reluctant to speak until this point, raised her eyes and said: "But this was the case, wasn't it?" At which point the man replied: "I don't know. We don't really know what the Greeks did when their army came to those lands". After this remark, the mother did not engage in further discussion and stayed quiet for the rest of our conversation.

Libby Tata Arcel (2014) discusses how different generations view the history of Asia Minor, showing that the Asia Minor refugees distinguished between the good Turks, who were their friends and neighbours, and those who waged the war. In the meantime, the children of refugees were educated in the system that encouraged viewing the Turks as an enemy of Greece, while their grandchildren generally expressed an attitude "We have also caused harm", even if they have not read a single history book on the topic. The conversation with my fellow spectators – a child and a grandchild of a refugee – became a perfect example of such generational differences: while the mother saw Turks as enemies who destroyed the lives of Asia Minor Greeks, her son brought out the argument that Greeks must have played their part in the conflict too. Before the performance even started, the (re)composition of the history of Asia Minor had been set in motion through this conversation.

As we were waiting for the performance to begin, a photograph of the Quay of Smyrna glowed across the 30 m sq stage, with the title of the play written across it. *My Beloved Smyrna* lays a clear claim to the city. And yet it is claimed as “mine” and not “ours”, asking for a more personal connection and enabling each spectator to project his or her own fantasy onto the stage. At the same time, “beloved” in the title emphasises the affectionate relationship with the ghost of the past that is called upon. Desire is a time-tested strategy to drive the plot forwards, and the theme of desire is interwoven into several subplots of the play. But it is always an obstructed desire as it is either illegitimate, failed or unfulfilling and it stays this way throughout the performance in all but one case. In the case of Smyrna, desire is permeated by the nostalgic yearning for a return to the place that is no longer there. Like an address to the lost lover, *My Beloved Smyrna* invites us to recall or even to relive the love story from a different time and place.

The performance starts with the cheerful sounds of smyrneika, played live by the ensemble *Estudiantina* – invoking the references to the famous *Estudiantina* of Smyrna (also known as *Ta Politakia*), the ensemble that can be largely credited for popularising the smyrneika in Greece and abroad at the beginning of the 20th century (Kounadis 2003). Smyrneika derives its name from the city of Smyrna and it is the name given to the musical style that refugees brought with them from Asia Minor to Greece. As the music plays, the curtains open and a courtyard of a poor refugee neighbourhood emerges. Mimi Denisi, starring as Filio, is hanging some laundry on a rope when a notebook with her grandmother’s recipes falls out of one of the garments. She is extremely pleased with the find, as the notebook was one of the very few things she managed to save from the Catastrophe but it was subsequently lost in the chaos of refugeehood.

The notebook is chosen as a prompt to bring out Filio’s memories of her life in Smyrna. Sutton has extensively documented the ways in which “the experience of eating food in Greece is cultivated synesthetically and emotionally, so that eating food from home becomes a particularly marked cultural site for the reimagining of worlds displaced in space and/or time” (Sutton 2001: 102). The notebook with recipes stands in for all that shared meals encompass and reconstitutes the integrity of the world that Filio lost in the aftermath of the Asia Minor Campaign. By taking us on a journey from a refugee neighbourhood in Piraeus to the city of Smyrna before 1922, the notebook becomes what is discussed by Rebecca Schneider as an object that "engages temporality at (and as) a chiasm, where times cross, and, in crossing, in some way touch" (Schneider 2011: 37).

The notebook is brought into the performance from the cultural archive on Asia Minor: as Denisi acknowledged in the prologue to the play, one of her sources was *The Notebook of Erato. Cuisine of Smyrna 1867-1919 [Το Τετράδιο της Ερατώς. Σμυρναϊκη κουζίνα (1867-1919)*, Micheli 1993]: a rare artefact that consisted of family recipes from three generations, saved in private upper-class Smyrna family archives to be rediscovered and published by researchers 70 years later. Simultaneously, a notebook with recipes brings to the mind of the contemporary spectator more recent culinary memoirs and nostalgia cookbooks aimed at recapturing the past as much as preserving the culinary tradition (e.g. *Καππαδοκία, Ιωνία, Πόντος – Γεύσεις και παραδόσεις* (Bozi 1997), *Εδεσματολόγιον Σμύρνης* (Gregoriadou 2003), *Εδεσματολόγιον Πόντου* (Gregoriadou 2004), *Μνήμες Γεύσης* (Syrianoglou 2013)). It is the same nostalgic yearning that kept the legendary TV series *Loxandra* (1962) and the celebrated film *A Touch of Spice* (Boulmetis 2003) in the collective memory as representative of distinctive Istanbul tastes and smells. As well as performing the archive, it is these affective attachments that the reference to a recipe notebook activates during the performance.

The recipe for baklava is read out as the scene changes from the refugee neighbourhood of Piraeus to the kitchen of a beautiful manor house in Smyrna. In this recipe, the reconstruction of social world takes priority over recalling the ingredients: "Baklava is not our own sweet. It's Turkish", reads out Filio. At the same time, reading the grandmother's recipe provides an occasion for voicing her own attitude: "Oh! We cooked together with the Turks. It's quite a different thing if we ate separately" (Denisi 2014: 35-36). Baklava is one of shared foods that defy the national borders between Greece and Turkey, and as such the recipe of baklava takes us on a journey across time and place to the epoch that is presented in the blurb for the play as "harmonious coexistence with Turks and Levantines" (Theatron-Hellenic Cosmos n.d.). The mythical time of peaceful coexistence constitutes much of the fairytale of Smyrna in contemporary imagination.

During the performance, the mythical time of prosperous Smyrna before 1922 is coupled with many references to specific historical events between 1917-1922 in a form reminiscent of a chronicle. Divided into fast-paced short scenes, the play leaves audience with a rising sense of urgency similar to the one obtained in the popular history book *Paradise Lost* (2009) by Giles Milton, acknowledged as one of the sources of the play in the prologue to the print edition. At the same time, the history of Smyrna is placed within the rhythm of affective time, where family meals and routines foster the audience's attachments and mentions of seasonal foods place one in concrete time. Those temporalities are seamlessly woven together during the performance, where they also cross with the personal memories that each spectator brings along.

In the performance, attachments to history are facilitated through an idiom on which the success of many previous popular representations was based – the family story. Once a wealthy aristocrat, Filio remembers her life in Smyrna and through the joys and misfortunes of her family the audience rediscovers the past of the city. Filio's husband Dimitrakis, her son Vasilis and her father Polikarpos are all committed supporters of Venizelos and the Great Idea. But Spyros, the brother of Dimitrakis, believes that Smyrna should be autonomous and supports the King. Dimitrakis often mocks his brother's wariness with sarcastic remarks such as: "The Allied ships would stand idle in the port and watch how we are slaughtered?". Comments such as these of course sound rather uncanny to the ears of the audience who already know that they foreshadow the actual fate that awaits Smyrna.

Family gatherings performed in the play become occasions when contemporary politics are debated. For instance, during their first meeting on the name day party of Dimitris, Filio interrupts the debate three times by encouraging the family to eat or drink, ensuring that arguments do not escalate. Here is one example:

> ANGELA. Spyros of course told him: "Come on, we are neutral".
> DIMITRIS. We are not neutral, brother! We are with the homeland.
> FILIO. Tell me, how did you like the meat stew with quince?
> (Denisi 2014: 49)

The full menu is announced at the family dinners: boiled mussels [μύδια τσακιστά], meat stew with quince [κυδωνάτο], Smyrna meatballs [σουτζουκάκια], atzem pilaf [ατζέμ πιλάφ], spiced eggplant hunkar [χουνκιάρ]… While Smyrna meatballs today are a signature dish associated with the region, the other three dishes one could have encountered also in the celebrated kitchen of Loxandra. Sutton points out that one of the functions that lists of food perform in conversation is to enhance the reality effect: "the sheer joy of naming […] as a way of authenticating the veracity", while at the same time "an image is presented to the reader's eyes to be savoured" (Sutton 2001: 112). In the same way, the audience gathering to see *My Beloved Smyrna* are drawn into the play by presenting such a vivid picture of the dinner table. Both the veracity of the play and affective attachments to it are further enhanced when Mimi Denisi lowers a tray of sweets to the audience and invites them to join the family gathering by saying: "Take them, they are real".

The family home is also where spectators have their first encounters with Smyrna as they know it. When the hustle and bustle of the streets reach the living room in the second scene, we are properly introduced to Smyrna: "That's how Smyrna was. Loud and mincing and cosmopolitan" (Denisi 2014: 38). Smyrna is presented as a melting pot of cultures. Its cosmopolitanism is perceived as an essential value throughout the play. This is why, for example, when Filio describes the two persons that the characters admire – George Horton and Rahmi Bey[61] – they are defined, among other things, as cosmopolitan. Smyrna, as seen in the family manor house, is also rather affluent: French porcelain and crystal glasses are glowing on dinner tables, and the most precious pearl colliers and bracelets are put on to impress (FILIO. That's what we did then. We showed off our wealth (Denisi 2014: 44); the money was abundant in Smyrna and nobody feared for tomorrow"(Denisi 2014: 60)). Finally, through the big windows of the family's manor house, one could catch the first glimpse of the famous Quay of Smyrna, with the ships of the Allies calmly floating in the sea (Fig. 4.1).

The family home, which is at the centre of the family life, is constructed as a place that is simultaneously public and private. It is public because the areas of the house where the scenes are performed are always communal areas where we see characters interacting with each other. We are never taken to private bedrooms or study rooms of the characters. We never see them act on their own. Locations in the house where scenes are set are the kitchen, the dining hall and the living room, as well as the courtyard of their summerhouse in Kordelio. At the same time, however, the house in *My Beloved Smyrna* is also a closed space exempt from the troubles of the outside world. Politics are discussed among the members of the family, but the events they refer to do not seem to have any major effect on their lives. For example, the first act takes place during World War I, but the impact of those events on the family's life is rather trivial, as we can see from the complaint that the housekeeper Eftalia makes to Filio: "These days it's difficult for me to find vegetables, my lady. The war has made it difficult for us" (Denisi 2014: 79). Moreover, the situation of the family can be taken as representative of the whole Smyrna community, which can be best illustrated by a remark of Takoui, when she comes to visit the family in their summer house. Asked whether there is any news from Smyrna, Takoui replies: "Greece entered the war but in Smyrna it's another issue that matters: the dances at Gwindals'" (Denisi 2014: 87). Thus we can see once again how the family microcosm works as a metaphor by drawing analogy with the whole Smyrna bourgeoisie. This is also where the play contrasts with the graphic novel *Aivali*, which told its story through metonymy rather than metaphor. Although relying on many similar techniques, *My Beloved Smyrna* aims to present the whole picture, while *Aivali* provides readers with several fragments, acknowledging them as such, and it is the reader's task to piece together their own picture from these fragments.

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[61] George Horton (1859–1942) was a US consul in Smyrna during Asia Minor Campaign. He published his memories of this account of this time in the book *The Blight of Asia* (2003 [1926]). Rahmi Bey was the Ottoman governor of Smyrna between 1913-1918.

The multiethnic community of Smyrna, a trope without which today it is difficult to imagine any description of the city, is also represented within the circle of the family and their acquaintances. Angelika, the wife of Spyros, is French; Edward, the suitor of Levkothea (daughter of Filio and Dimitrakis), is English; the seamstress family friend Takoui is Armenian; and two of the servants of the family – Osman and his son Halil – are Turks. Throughout the play, the language used by the characters flags their ethnic identities as they sprinkle their speech with French, English, and Turkish phrases. In Greek, accusative forms are frequently used for the indirect object of verbs requiring genitive in standard Modern Greek (e. g. *σε λέω* instead of *σου λέω*): a syntax which became a distinct marker of Asia Minor identity in popular culture through the tv series *Loxandra*, where the phrase *σε λέω* was a signature phrase of the main character. The play does not question such representational politics and takes them for granted. This way, the different ethnicities represented together become an indication not only of an ethnic mixture, but also of ethnic assortment.

Just like language, music is used to signal distinct identities of the characters during the performance: the song *Ράμπι ράμπι* is performed by a Turkish father, and an Armenian song is performed by the seamstress Takoui. The Western influences on the lives of the Greek characters are also indicated through music, when members of Baltatzis family dance a tango during their visit to the famous Hotel Kraemer Palace. Here we can see again how the identities are compartmentalised within very clear boundaries, disregarding the fact, for example, that many Greeks also performed music in Turkish (Pennanen 2004; Pappas 1999).

Equally applicable to all ethnicities and all social strata is also another feature of Smyrna well-known to the audience and represented within the play – the *joie de vivre*. In the performance, the best example of this trait is the character of the father, Polikarpos, performed by Kostas Voutsas, an idol of Greek screens and stage for over sixty years (as the stage directions reveal, the father is supposed to represent a typical Smyrniot (Denisi 2014: 44)). In spite of his old age, the father is always in good spirits, he takes part in all the parties, loves to crack a joke, and enjoys a meze and a drink in good company. In his own words: "People should have fun until their last breath" (Denisi 2014: 51). According to Filio, the celebratory ethos was characteristic of the whole of the Smyrna community: "we knew how to bring joy to [our] life and to those around us" (Denisi 2014: 38). The prominent role celebration assumes in the lives of Smyrniots can also be observed in the relationship between Vasilis and the servant of the house, Zacharoula. The first thing that Vasilis wants to learn about the girl is "how do you have fun?" (Denisi 2014: 57), and when Vasilis and Zacharoula eventually goes together to a local taverna the boy concludes: "These days I saw what life is about" (Denisi 2014: 73). Thus in *My Beloved Smyrna* the joy of celebrations is not simply an intricate part of life but life itself (Fig. 4.2).

The joyful and lively atmosphere is facilitated in the play by the music performed live by Estudiantina. For example, in the taverna scene Babis Tsertos, one of the most prominent singers of rebetiko in Greece today, who established his career during the rebetiko revival moment in 1980s, performs three songs and the audience joins in with him (*Μπελαλής*, *Πίνω και μεθώ*, *Πού να βρω γυναίκα να σου μοιάζει*). Although the music that Denisi uses is known as smyrneika, its categorization as songs from Smyrna is problematic is several ways. Most obviously, as Risto Pekka Pennanen (2004) has shown, the Ottoman cafe idiom consisted of many distinct influences, with several centres across the Ottoman Empire, yet it became known as songs of Smyrna because of the prominent place Smyrna occupied in the Greek national discourse, thus neglecting other influences. Furthermore, as I discussed in the Introduction, this music acquired its affective value in the 1960s and 1970s during the rebetiko revival movement. However, as discussed by Nikos Ordoulidis (2013), modern arrangements of the same songs often transform the smyrneiko in multiple ways and bring it much closer to the popular songs [λαϊκό] that emerged in Greece after World War II. What follows from this discussion is that music is used in *My Beloved Smyrna* not to recreate the past as it really was but to enhance the experience of the audience at the performance and to stir their feelings because the songs that they hear are the songs that capture their imagination as the songs of Smyrna.

Today songs from Asia Minor are viewed as an inseparable part of Greek culture, and the role of music as a hallmark of national culture is particularly evident in the scene where the Greek ships approach for landing the army in Smyrna in 1919 and we hear a Byzantine Church hymn *Τη Υπερμάχω Στρατηγώ* [Te Ypermacho Stratego]. This hymn originated in seventh-century Constantinople as an expression of gratitude to the Virgin Mary after a victorious battle. In present-day Greece, it bears a significance similar to a national anthem. The significance of *Te Ypermacho Stratego* in the Greek national imaginary was confirmed once more to me when it was performed during *Loxandra* by Anna Vagena towards the very end of the play. At least on the occasion I watched it, Vagena dedicated the performance “to all the Loxandras of the world and to the City, which will always be our own City”. Here emerges the significance of memory not simply as national but also as possessive, asserting certain claims of ownership and rights. As I discussed in Chapter 2, it is this memory that many of the spectators brought with them to the performance. In this chapter, the discussion shows that such a memory is closely aligned with demands for genocide recognition, especially prevalent among Pontic Greeks.

Denisi is aware that a large part of her audience will be of Pontic descent and thus acknowledges them in the performance by including them at various stages, one of which is the moment Greek ships approach the Smyrna harbour. As the performers sing *Te Ypermacho Stratego* and wave the Greeks flags at the sight of the approaching ships, some of them shout out “Long live Greece!” and “Long live Pontus!”. As I have demonstrated in the Introduction, in the Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Constantinople, the coast of western Anatolia, Pontus and Cappadocia were rather distinct and distant areas. But in present-day Greece they blend together into an amalgam of the lost homelands and come to share many common features, as evidenced by this performance.

What I have discussed so far is how the family microcosm is constructed as representative of the history of Smyrna through many affective connections that are fostered during the performance. While a large part of my discussion has focused on the family home, the same affective connections are nourished when the characters leave the family home and spectators rediscover the well-known places that once were at the core of the life of local bourgeoisie: the famous Quay of Smyrna, the shops on Frank Street, the Opera House during the première of *Rigoletto*, the restaurant of the Kraimer Palace (Fig. 4.3). These are the places where the plot actually develops, but several other locations are also mentioned in passing: the Hunters' Club, the Sporting Club and the cinema of Smyrna, for example. Naming specific well-known locations in the play and setting part of the performance there are used to create an impression of a realistic representation: these were concrete places that existed in the real Smyrna and therefore this is how Smyrna must have been.

The projection of photographs also serves to reinforce the realistic dimension of restaged events and the scene itself often becomes a site of reenactment of a well-known photograph. For example, in the scene restaging the famous première of *Rigoletto* that took place in the Smyrna Opera House in 1917, the archival photograph of the original audience is used as a background and the actors assume the same postures on the stage that the audience at the première assumed in front of the camera lens in 1917 (Fig. 4.4). Similarly, in the scene showing Greek navy being welcomed into Smyrna in 1919, the postures that the actors assume on the stage make a clear reference to the photograph at the Sporting Club, even if this photograph is not projected onto the stage (Fig. 4.5).

Performance and archive are often discussed in oppositional terms: performance as fleeting and ephemeral, and archive as that which is fixed and lasts. But as the discussion on the use of photographs in *My Beloved Smyrna* illustrates, archive and performance can also collaborate and reinforce each other in productive ways. On the one hand, the use of photographs gives the performance the authority of historical evidence and truthful representation. On the other hand, the photographs themselves are performed through their reenactment, and thus come to live in the minds, emotions and ideological projections of the audience. In the terminology of Rebecca Schneider, this would be the moment when one time "touches" another time. History is there, in the ghostly presence of the photographs. In the meantime, history is also embodied, lived, and experienced by the actors in theatre, and as such it is transmitted to the audience. As the past moves between the archive, the body (of the actor), and another body (of the spectator) "an act of transmission, transmutation, transfer" of the past occurs (Schneider 2011: 110).

This act of transmission from the archive to the body and then another body is enabled through affect. As I have demonstrated, the play relies on a multitude of aesthetic effects and much emotionalism, as well as the use of well-known cultural references that carry affective value and stimulate the senses, through music, tastes and smells, visual effects, and other theatre technologies, which Erin Hurley refers to as "feeling technologies" (Hurley 2010: 28). The programme notes accompanying the production of *My Beloved Smyrna* explicitly acknowledge that its aim is to revitalize the memory of Asia Minor by stirring the emotions of spectators: "It is a work that enlivens historical memory, and brings out emotion, joy and nostalgia. It is based on an emotionally charged script" (Theatron-Hellenic Cosmos n.d.). Affective bonds nourished during the first act of the performance recreate what I called portable Smyrna at the beginning of this chapter: a mythologised version of the city that accrued its meanings through repetition as it was embraced and remediated over the years in the stories that circulated in society. I have shown how portable Smyrna extends beyond a memory or a story to be shared and becomes an embodied and lived memory, which is recognised as such when it is performed on the theatre stage.

Such performances of portable Smyrna create idealised representations, and the authenticity that is sought in them is "authenticity that should have been" rather than "authenticity that was" (Schneider 2011: 55). Authenticity, in this case, is not a strict term about historical representation, but a cultural palimpsest constructed within national culture. The middle-aged man I talked to before the performance confirmed this to me when after the first act of the performance he asked: "Do you think the play represented the events accurately?", adding that he thought it did. Accuracy of representation emerged as the primary criterion in assessing the performance, and it is not only applicable to *My Beloved Smyrna:* I was asked exactly the same question when

I watched *Loxandra* (Vagena 2015), *Yak* (Mavragani 2016) and *Filio Chaidemenou* (Evtaxopoulos 2016) in the later stages of my research. As I have shown through the discussion of the performance, however, the focus of the first act was on everyday life, where historical events echoed only as distant reference points. The affective projections that the play so masterfully fostered by relying on the archive of other widely acclaimed representations and evoking gestures, tastes, smells and locations that came to be associated as representative of Smyrna constituted a benchmark for assessing the accuracy of representation during the performance.

Following Sara Ahmed, Erin Hurley discusses the relationship between emotion and memory: “The more emotion that is generated in the heat of the experience, the more likely the memory is to ‘stick’. Emotion seals memory. The stronger the emotion, the more accessible the memory” (Hurley 2010: xiii). If emotion is what animates memory, then the affective bonds nourished by invoking specific emotionally charged cultural references during the performance of *My Beloved Smyrna* not only move spectators but also ensure that Asia Minor continues to live on in their memories. Bringing spectators together to experience the performance enables the building up of “a fund of shared memories” (Wiles 2014: 53) and in this way the theatre space becomes a space where bonds of attachment between spectators are cultivated. For, as Ahmed reminds us, “what moves us, what makes us feel, is also that which holds us in place […] attachment takes place through movement, through being moved by the proximity of others” (Ahmed 2014[2004]: 11).

In many ways, the projection of what constitutes history of Asia Minor is directly related to Greek national identity. This is why Denisi can say with confidence that Asia Minor is in the DNA of every Greek. In the next section, I will focus on how the play *My Beloved Smyrna* engages the interrelation between Asia Minor and Greek national identity in order to see what visions for the future of this memory it offers. For as I have already pointed out on a number of occasions, performing the past is never just about how it was, it is also about how it should be remembered in the future.

4.4. WITNESSING THE ASIA MINOR CATASTROPHE "IN AND THROUGH TIME"

During the interval after the first act I talked to a group of people in the foyer of the theatre. They had no personal Asia Minor connections but they had come all the way from the Peloponnese to see the performance. I tried to ask what their impressions were, but very quickly the conversation somehow turned into them trying to explain to me what happened in Asia Minor, in spite of the fact that I introduced myself as a PhD researcher working on the representation of Asia Minor in the Greek culture. What I found interesting about this occurrence was that it demonstrated the prominent place the events of Asia Minor Campaign occupy in the Greek national narrative: the duty to explain to an outsider what *exactly* happened in Asia Minor and to take charge of that history was embraced with great enthusiasm by my interlocutors.

The second act of the play focuses on representing the events that led to the Asia Minor Catastrophe and how they imprinted themselves on Filio's family life. Everyone in the audience was aware of the fate that inevitably awaited beloved Smyrna, and the tension in the audience was palpable before the second act started. Of course, everyone knew what they were going to see but *how* it would be staged must have held everyone's attention: "They are not going to show a lot of violence, are they?" the elderly mother sitting next to me anxiously asked her son. Anxiety, curiosity and impatience mixed with recollections of personal and national past and the occasional "Venizelos did the right thing" and "Venizelos shouldn't have done that" could be heard now and then amongst the murmurs in the theatre as the second act started. In this section I will focus on how the Asia Minor Campaign was performed in order to see how it interacts with and speaks to the national memory of these events. For as I highlighted in the beginning, Denisi saw her play as doing justice to history that was somewhat concealed in the national narrative.

As already mentioned, the Greek nationalist struggle is represented through the characters of the two brothers – Dimitris and Spyros. In the meantime, the Turkish nationalist struggle is represented by Halil, who is portrayed as educated, respectful, caring, and ready to sacrifice himself for the cause of his homeland in exactly the same way as the Greeks were at the time:

> FILIO. Now you are losing the war…
> HALIL. That's why I will go. I am not going for victory, I am going for my deserted homeland that is collapsing. We shouldn't leave it to be humiliated.
> FILIO. I don't understand you…
> HALIL. Why? You love your homeland very much.
> FILIO. Of course.
> HALIL. But you have two homelands. This one where you were born and the Great one that you dream of – Greece. We have only one: this one here.
> (Denisi 2014: 91)

The Turkish nationalist struggle is performed as parallel to the Greek nationalist struggle: each army defended the interests of their homeland. The lives of the Greek and the Turkish communities are portrayed in the play as particularly intertwined, and yet even if living side by side each of the communities feels disadvantaged in a strikingly similar way: the Greeks refer again and again to their slavery that lasted for the 400 years they were governed by Ottoman rulers; the Turks insist that they are the ones who are slaves within their own country as the economy is in the hands of the foreigners.

Halil and Vasilakis are fighting for their respective homelands. The echoes of war that reach the audience from each front through their accounts are strikingly similar. In these accounts, no blame is laid on either side but instead a dehumanising dimension of war is emphasised:

> HALIL.When the time for battle comes and you hear screams and trumpets, the savage comes out of you, and you dash without thinking. But when you calm down at night, under the stars, you say "why?". And feel ashamed for what you have done.
> (Denisi 2014: 131)

> VASILIS. I don't want to tell you. The war is not a game. When you see cut-off arms, it's awful. You don't get used to it.
> (Denisi 2014: 138)

In *My Beloved Smyrna* the Greeks and the Turks are portrayed as fighting for parallel causes, in defence of the interests of their homelands. This observation immediately brings me to where our discussion of the performance started: the middle-aged man who acknowledged that the Greeks have also played their part in the war of Asia Minor – a reflective stance towards history that Tata Arcel considers particularly characteristic of the grandchildren of refugees. But would acknowledging that the two sides were fighting in a parallel struggle suffice to call a history reflective? In her discussion on longing and nostalgia, Svetlana Boym argues that whether the other is perceived as "conspiring enemy" or "another nationalist" these are both "paranoic projections" characteristic of nationalist views. She insists that only when one stops viewing the other as "merely a representative of another culture" and "his or her human singularity and vulnerability" are acknowledged, the attitude can be characterised as reflective and ethical (Boym 2002: 337). Schneider expresses a similar perception of history when she says: "the phrase 'of course we know our pain is relative' can buckle and multiply. The problem of transgenerational memory becomes a matter of account: with whom do we affiliate? To whom do we attribute event? Who do we count among associates? Among ancestors? Who among generations? Who within history? Who without? Of course, we know, our pain is *relatives*" (Schneider 2011: 59). Opening history up to all these questions brings a reparative vision in much the same sense as discussed in Chapter 2. Does *My Beloved Smyrna* offer such a reparative vision?

If we go back to the descriptions of war by Vasilakis and Halil and bear in mind the issues raised by Boym and Schneider, we will notice that although both accounts acknowledge the inhumane cruelty of war, this is done in different ways. Halil is portrayed as actively engaged in war against Greeks: he feels shame for what he does, he feels as if he is carrying a savage [το άγριο] within, and expressing his feelings in this way acknowledges his own complicity in the brutalities of war. Vasilakis, on the other hand, is portrayed as a passive observer. He feels the horror but describes the scene as if he were not directly engaged in what happened (which is highly unlikely if one is a soldier): he sees the cut-off arms, but the participle structure [κομμένα] makes it unclear who has cut them off. Therefore, even if Greek and Turkish nationalist struggles are represented as parallel and the character of Halil is far too noble to fit the role of a typical villain found in the accounts of the national history, it is not the case that both sides are equally innocent. Pain is always relative, as Schneider insists, and the history in *My Beloved Smyrna* is the history of pain that is in many ways rendered as Greek.

As the Catastrophe approaches, the scenes become more and more heartbreaking. The dramatic events of the outside world – the last mass at the Church of Aghia Foteini and the martyrdom of Father Chrysostomos – intertwine with the emotional farewells at the family home. The scenes of everyday life, broken and interrupted, give the violent expulsion from Smyrna its emotional charge. Popular archives are also called upon to make these stories recognizable as authentic. In the documentary *Smyrna: The Destruction of a Cosmopolitan City*, the historian and granddaughter of refugees Eleni Bastea gives the following testimony on how her aunt Fofo fled Smyrna:

> Fofo said that the family sat down at the dining table and had tea, and then they washed the cups and the saucers, and the teapot, and I imagine the porcelain set, and hung them back in their places. And then they left. [at which point her voice breaks as she adds] And in some ways that's a more tragic image in a funny way than the truly tragic images of the exodus.
>
> (Ilioú 2012)

The scene that could only be imagined by Bastea is reenacted in *My Beloved Smyrna* when the family gathers together in the living room for their last cup of tea as a family. But snippets of the Catastrophe, such as this story, add up during the performance to provide the same totalising vision that rendered Filio's family as representative of the Smyrna society as a whole. The play portrays the destiny of each of the characters as a paradigmatic instance of the tragic fates that the Christians of Asia Minor faced in 1922. Edward comes to take away his bride-to-be Levkothea, but Levkothea choses to stay with her family and bids farewell to her lover in her wedding gown. When the family is about to leave the father announces he is going to stay in the family home, together with his loyal servant and friend Osman. In the chaos of the burning Smyrna, Eftalia gets shot and Takoui is consumed by flames. Spyros and his wife Angelika try to embark on one of the last illegal boats transporting the people to the safer shores, but they drown as the overcrowded boat sinks. Dimitris is shot dead. Vasilakis is taken as a prisoner of war, and it is only Zacharoula, Levkothea and Filio that make it onto the refugee boat sailing to Greece. In the meantime, many of the audience witnessing the tragedy on stage are sobbing in their seats.

Why does the audience cry? According to Steve Neale (1986) melodrama can stir the emotions of spectators and bring them to tears primarily because of the discrepancy between the knowledge that the characters and the spectators possess and a temporal delay between the moment when the spectators realise what the characters are heading for and the moment when the characters themselves do. As already mentioned, before the play even started the spectators knew what tragic end awaited Smyrna. At the performance, however, they were drawn into the everyday of the characters and shared their joys and concerns, aware all this time that the characters were in danger but unable to interfere into the course of events. All that the spectators could do was hear the story of the characters and see how they confronted their destiny. The spectators' emotions generated during the performance resemble the grief of the children of refugees who listened to their parents' stories, as becomes evident from the comment of Tata Arcel on how she felt when listening to her mother's experience during the Asia Minor Campaign: "I felt helpless while listening to how my mother suffered because I could not do anything to help her, because all of this happened before I was born" (Tata Arcel 2014: 41). Powerlessness and the inability to change the course of events are what stir the emotions of those who listen to the stories of others' suffering, whether these are real-life stories or fiction.

One also cannot ignore the fact that many of the spectators who come to see the play are of Asia Minor descent. Everyday family life projected on the stage thus makes it particularly easy for descendants to project the stories of their own grandparents and parents onto the same stage, turning the performance into what Julia Kristeva called the "thought specular". Kristeva (2002) proposes thought specular cinema as a way to heal past trauma: by projecting one's own fantasies onto the screen the spectator gets a chance to tap into the troubling past and restore the intimacy within oneself and with others. As I have discussed in the previous chapter, the stories recounting traumatic past are often handed down as "emanations" (Hoffmann 2003): memory fragments that do not make a coherent narrative. As a result, the silences left to those who inherit the stories can often be filled in only by the work of their imagination. Frequently, the journey of return to the "homeland of trauma" offers a way to fill in the gaps in the family story. One could therefore argue that the play *My Beloved Smyrna* mediates a journey of return for the audience. Colours, music and laughter absorb the spectators' fantasies like blotting paper and create a representation of the past which is not the past of their ancestors but which *could have been* similar to it. Not all the spectators are descendants of the Smyrna bourgeoisie, the majority of them probably not, but all would have heard the stories of happy affluent family lives and the subsequent losses, which would elicit an emotional response.

From the very beginning of the play, the spectators are addressed as interlocutors. Filio, who is describing the city of Smyrna, points out: "You will never see it this way. We will never forget it" (Denisi 2014: 38). In this way Smyrna is clearly established as a place that only exists in memories, which will come alive again through the account of Filio but with the purpose of reaching outwards – towards the spectators.

The dichotomy between “us” on the stage and “you” in the auditorium distances the latter from the staged events but at the same time, by acknowledging their presence, spectators are called upon to witness the events and to give their full participation and emotional investment into what is being staged. Wake (2013) distinguishes between two modes of witnessing that could occur during the performance: as a primary witness, when the spectator is part of the event and witnessing is a mode of *seeing*; and as a secondary witness who *listens* to someone else giving an account of the events as they happened. Judging from the address of Filio to the spectators, it looks as if they are called upon to listen as secondary witnesses. Yet I have also described in earlier sections how “the feeling technologies”, and especially music and photographs, are employed to draw the spectators into the performance as primary witnesses. The two modes of witnessing, therefore, coexist in the performance (a possibility that is also acknowledged by Wake) and they are both used to enhance their experience of what they see on stage.

The role of spectators as witnesses is the most evident in the scene I discussed in Chapter 2. When Filio shouts out in the midst of the Smyrna fire: “No, it was not a crowding, it was a real hell!”, the audience bursts into applause. Having recognised the reference to the scandal that involved the history textbook of the team led by Maria Repousi, they are ready to play their part in the performance and show that no revisionist can encroach upon the Smyrna of *their* memories. After this scene, it comes as no surprise that the quotation repeated as a motto at almost every interview Denisi gives as well as in a number of scenes during the performance is: “If you do not want to die – remember, don’t forget”.

As pointed out by Neale, the spectator/witness cannot intervene into the course of events although they may wish for things to be different and wonder “If only…”. After this observation, Neale discusses the different functions of desire in melodrama and concludes that “if melodrama is, as a genre, especially concerned with love and desire and is therefore especially marked by certain characteristics of fantasy, pleasure will come from the pleasure of fantasy itself, a pleasure which resides in the process of articulation of a wish rather than in any representation of the attainment of its object” (Neale 986: 20). The theme of desire in *My Beloved Smyrna* is developed in several parallel storylines, but ultimately, as the title of the play indicates, it is the city of Smyrna itself that is the most dearly beloved. Music, laughter, joy, spectacular scenery, familiar gestures and customs that were seen throughout the performance have all nourished the affective bond between the city and the audience. As Denisi discussed in one of her interviews, the history is staged in such a way that it not only presents facts but also poses questions to the spectators: “Why did Venizelos do the elections?”, “Why just before the Catastrophe did the Greek government pass the law that forbade any non-Greek passport holders from entering the country?”, “What was the role of the Greek governor Steriadis in this whole affair?”. These might be familiar questions, but they lead to discussion among the spectators (“The Greeks shouldn’t have gone to those lands,” “But what could have they done, those were Greek lands” are some of the comments I overheard during the performance) and they introduce the “if only” discussed by Neale: If only Venizelos did not do the elections… If only the Allies did not turn their backs to Greece… If only the Greeks were not divided by ethnic schism… perhaps Smyrna would have been spared. Hence even though the spectators know what happened in Smyrna, even though the course of history cannot be changed, the “if only” echoing through the play leaves room for hope that things *could have been* different and thus Smyrna continues to live on in the imagination of the spectators. For as long as it does live on, they will continue to bear witness to its greatness, exuberance and tragedy.

It follows that through the process of bearing witness the past is always projected onto and for the future. As is stressed by Wake: “we are spectators in the moment but witnesses in and through time” (Wake 2013: 38). Wake further argues via Peggy Phelan: “Performance employs the concept and the experience of the live event as a way to rehearse our obligations to the scenes we witness in realms usually labelled the representational or the mediated” (Phelan 1999: 10, cited in Wake 2013: 53). The role of a witness assigned to the audience thus also comes with certain obligations towards others, and, according to Marcantonio (2015), our complicity in fulfilling these obligations arises because of the affective and affiliative bonds to the situation that we witness while watching melodrama. In this context, the emotions cultivated during the performance of *My Beloved Smyrna* are important “not only ‘to get it right’ as it was but also to get it right as it *will be* in the future” (Schneider 2011: 10). Schneider uses a metaphor of a footpath to illustrate the role of historical reenactments: a footpath is both composed of traces of the past (footprints) and provides indication for the future (walk with way). The theatre play *My Beloved Smyrna* invites spectators to tread on the footpath of memory, and in doing so to ensure that one day the others can also find their way around by following in their footsteps.

The future that *My Beloved Smyrna* envisions for its audience is hopeful and celebratory. After the Catastrophe is played, we see those who survived on a boat to Greece with the sounds of *Στο 'πα και στο ξαναλέω*. Then we are again brought back to where the play started – the refugee neighbourhood in Piraeus, the moment when Filio finds her grandmother's notebook with recipes. This is the moment when, as is customary of melodrama, virtue is rewarded. A number of family members and friends were killed during the Catastrophe, but in the final scene the deus ex machina return of Vasilakis from the forced labour battalions helps to end the play on a lighter note. After all the hardships that the family endured, the last words of the play, met with enthusiastic applause, invite the celebration of refugee input to the shaping of modern Greece: "We didn't bring here the ashes of Smyrna, we brought its light so that we would build here the Great Greece, the New Greece" (Denisi 2014: 187). The message is further reinforced through the final song *Light* [Φως], written by Mimi Denisi especially for the play and performed by Sofia Mermega. The theme of the song is played in various scenes of the performance, preparing us for this moment when the actors sing in tribute to Asia Minor Hellenism. The Greek light is one of the features that has been closely associated with Greekness and national identity in the work of the prominent Generation of the 1930s. The claim that this light was brought into Greece by refugees from Asia Minor cannot but touch the hearts of the spectators of Asia Minor descent. Tears in the eyes of both spectators and actors, enthusiastic applause, and standing ovations bid farewell to the beloved Smyrna as the performance comes to an end.

But the performance does not finish here. As the curtain is brought down on the stage and the enthusiastic applause subsides, the spectators wipe their tears, collect their coats, pocket their Smyrna, now reanimated and renewed through their experience at the theatre, and take it with them. Some of them, before embarking on the journey home, come to see Denisi and thank her for the performance. As I have discussed in Chapter 2, the queue at the dressing rooms provides a space of encounter, where different visions on Asia Minor can be brought together, not least on "the question of *synostismos*". In the meantime, the dressing room of Denisi turns into a confessional, where spectators share their own stories of how their families settled in Greece after 1922, how even in the 1980s they were still called “Turkish seeds”, and how grateful they are for Denisi’s play, which represents every detail so accurately. Accuracy of representation again comes to the fore, measured against the representations that the audience brings with them.

Smyrna as a portable monument thus continues to live on in the stories, music, tastes, and world-views that once belonged to the beloved homeland but by now are “part of the DNA of every Greek”. Sometimes this portable Smyrna bears rather nationalist overtones, as can be evidenced by a remark of one elderly lady, daughter of refugees, who thanked Mimi Denisi with tears in her eyes: “At difficult moments, I remember this song I once heard on the radio: ‘Stay strong, my Greece, don’t fall ill, because God wants you to live on and so you will’”[62]. The fact that the performance brought to the memory of the lady this particular song, overheard on the radio, is a reminder how *My Beloved Smyrna* taps into and interacts with the depositories of popular culture. The song fixes the portable Smyrna as a national memory, consistent with several examples I have pointed out in my discussion of the performance, where *My Beloved Smyrna* reconstructs the events of the Asia Minor Campaign in a way that boosts the national pride. The totalising vision of the play, where family stands as a metaphor for Smyrna society, covers the historical period fully. Seamlessly woven together into a single narrative, the multiplicity of voices representing different points of view resound as an objective truth that intensifies its emotional impact when contrasted with the controversial history textbook at the most emotionally charged moment of the Smyrna fire.

But what I held onto as I left the theatre that night was the memory of my encounter with the middle-aged man and his mother, thinking of how the play had provided an occasion for their two visions of Asia Minor to meet. Admittedly that was facilitated by my own research questions about what it means to remember Asia Minor today. But I want to believe that over its three years of performance, when families and friends came together to see *My Beloved Smyrna* or when strangers crowded in the corridor leading to the dressing room of Mimi Denisi (and felt an urge to address that this, too, was not a *crowding*), there had been innumerable other occasions when divergent opinions on what Asia Minor represents had been brought together. During such encounters, previous assumptions might not always be re-aligned but at least they point towards different visions of Asia Minor that need to be taken into consideration when crafting its futures.

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[62] Lyrics from the song that was first performed in 1947, during the play *Ελλάδα μου κουράγιο*, staged by the theatre *Έξη Άσσων*. Performed by Sofia Vebo, lyrics by Michalis Souyoul and Mimis Traiforos. The original lyrics in Greek are: Κάνε κουράγιο Ελλάδα μου, να μη μας αρρωστήσεις, γιατί το θέλει ο Θεός να ζήσεις και θα ζήσεις

4.5. CONCLUSIONS

What I have focused on in this chapter was affiliative connections to Asia Minor that today stretch beyond the descendants of Asia Minor refugees and serve as a type of Greek identity in more general terms. Mimi Denisi is not of Asia Minor descent, and yet she wrote and staged a play that was recognized as an authentic representation of history. In many ways, the history staged in *My Beloved Smyrna* is identified as authentic because the spectators could "recognize in the past reality the necessary pre-history of [their] own times" (Roberts 1965: 15, quoted in Favorini 2008: 73). However, the authenticity of the play was established not only by adhering to historical facts but also by invoking affective references: cultivating the bonds of attachment through what is known today as distinctive Asia Minor music, tastes and sceneries. As my discussion has shown, the authenticity of these references is also more reflective of present-day attitudes about Asia Minor than the actual historical reality. They are constructed as cultural palimpsests and their affective value developed over time. Thus affiliative attachments to Asia Minor discussed in this chapter are in many ways also affective attachments. The performance serves as a commemorative occasion to bring different visions of Asia Minor together and strengthen these affiliative-affective attachments.

In the Introduction, I extensively discussed how the memory of life in Asia Minor and the customs of the lost homelands, shared by the members of the refugee communities, have served as grounds for constructing their identity in the newly acquired homeland. Through this process, the history of Asia Minor gradually condensed and attached to specific signifiers, which helped to make sense of the traumatic experience and shape it into a narrative that could be shared with others and passed on to the subsequent generations, both as a personal and a national memory. In this chapter I have outlined the workings of this condensed memory – which I referred to as portable Smyrna – in contemporary Greek context. By being portable, such a Smyrna can easily travel – from body to body, from generation to generation – and provide a toolkit for bearing witness at a different time and place. The ways in which the memory of Asia Minor serves as a toolkit for bearing witness at a different time and place will come into focus in the next chapter of this thesis.

5

THE FUTURES OF MEMORY THROUGH THE FRAMES OF PRECARIOUS PRESENT

5.1. MEMORY, SOLIDARITY, EMPATHY

Throughout my thesis, I have shown that the memory of Asia Minor in contemporary Greek culture extends beyond a story to be shared and, to use the words of John Gillis, "[memories are n]ot things we think about, but things we think with – implicated in our politics, social relations, and histories" (Gillis 1994, quoted in Barbie Zelizer 1998: 3). In the previous chapter I argued that the memory of Asia Minor is portable, and that it accrued its meanings through repetition each time it was embraced and remediated in the stories that circulated in society for nearly a hundred years. By analysing popular cultural tropes that Mimi Denisi relied on to communicate the history of Smyrna, I have shown how easily this portable memory can travel – from body to body, from generation to generation. I do not mean to idealise memory as a fixed constant in the narrative of violent struggles, whether within or beyond the borders of the nation. As should have been evident from my examples in this thesis, each remediation of memory remoulded it in accordance with the needs of the communities that invoked it. Such a portable memory provides a toolkit for reconstituting the relationship to the past and for bearing witness in the future.

Memory, in its various guises, and across the globe, has long served as an instrument for recalibrating the relationship between past, present and future (Olick 2010). As such, and especially in the decades since the major conflicts of the 20th century, memory also became endowed with ethical demands for preventing future injustice: one had to remember so that never again would this type of event recur (Assmann and Shortt 2011). Such reckoning with the past paved the way for "humanism without borders", to use the phrase coined by Thomas Keenan (2000), advancing movements for human rights and solidarity in ensuring the protection of these rights. As Keenan reminds us, humanism without borders is a Janus-faced phenomenon: the principle of humanitarian intervention often justifies resorting to large-scale violence, and solidarity in difficult times manifests itself in the expressions of fear and xenophobia as much as it leads to solidarity. The Holocaust, for example, is often referred to as an event that paved the way for the emergence of discourses on human rights, and it also served as a framework for addressing later genocides – such as Biafra, Rwanda or Bosnia (Zelizer 1998; Fehrenbach and Rodogno 2015). Nevertheless, this understanding did not suffice to prevent atrocities that have occurred since the Holocaust. Bearing these considerations in mind, the concluding chapter of this thesis will discuss the potential and pitfalls of memory as a framework that shapes how we deal with contemporary upheavals.

The response to the so-called refugee and migrant crisis that reached its peak in Europe in the summer of 2015 and unfolded into early 2016[63] will serve as a case study. First, a note on the distinction between refugee and migrant, two terms that were constantly brought into the discussion during 2015, is appropriate. Refugee, as defined by the much quoted Article 1 of the *United Nations Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees* (UNHCR 1951), is someone who "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country". The term migrant, on the other hand, came to denote all those who flee their countries of origin for reasons other than the fear of persecution, especially for economic reasons. I am convinced that the distinction between refugee and migrant is often much more blurred than it is apparent at first glance, but to elaborate on this would take us outside of the scope of this chapter. Following Hirschon (2016), I use the term refugee throughout this chapter to reflect the fact that the majority of those who arrived to Europe in 2015 were indeed fleeing war and persecution: according to UNHCR, 84 per cent of those arrivals came from the top 10 refugee producing countries.

Furthermore, despite being aware that the refugee crisis is not something that first emerged in Europe in 2015 and that the events in Europe reflected complex global trends, the term refugee crisis is preferred to others, such as refugee emergency, for several reasons. As noted by Anna Triandafyllidou in her concluding remarks in the special issue of the *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* (Triandafyllidou 2017, as well as Colombo (2017) in the same special issue), an emergency becomes a crisis once sufficient conditions of both politization and mediatization are met. In order to signal the politization and mediatization of the events, the term refugee crisis is also used in this chapter. At the same time, the term "crisis" signals a trend that pervades modern mass media, which increasingly portrays crisis as routine rather than exceptional, and our increasing media exposure to weekly, daily, hourly or real-time updates on different crises puts us in the state of "perpetual crisis readiness" (Frosh and Pinchevski 2009). Finally, the term crisis in the Greek context also enables one to establish interrelations with the economic recession that the country has faced since 2011 and deeply affected other spheres beyond economy. In fact, the "crisis within a crisis" term has been often used with reference to the refugee arrival in Greece.

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[63] Of course, the crisis, although it no longer dominates media reports, persists until the present-day. However, its conditions and perceptions changed fundamentally after the signing of the so-called EU-Turkey deal in March 2016. But this discussion falls outside of the scope of this thesis.

Reflecting on the refugee crisis in a thesis on the memory of Asia Minor in contemporary Greek culture might at first glance seem incongruous. I would like to insist, however, that the perceptions of the refugee crisis are tightly interlinked with memory, and thus they provide a fertile testing ground for what memories can do beyond preserving a particular historical event in public discourse. The precarious situation on the European borders in the summer of 2015 revived the memories of the years following World War II across the continent: millions of displaced persons stranded in camps wanting a safe home somewhere while statesmen talked ineffectually about open borders and more open politics. However, at the same time as such European memories helped to advocate solidarity with refugees, barbed wire fences rose across borderless Europe and the far-right politicians gained ground. In 2015, Greece found itself at the very centre of this crisis when the number of people reaching Europe via the Aegean islands bordering the Turkish coast surged day by day. The number of refugees and the extraordinary journeys undertaken by many of them attracted much media attention. In the midst of the ensuing turmoil, Greece's distinctive memory dynamics were invoked in response to this crisis.

Greece has been envisioned as a country of migration in a variety of social, historical, and cultural contexts that also became tightly intertwined with perceptions of Greek national identity (Tziovas 2009). I have already pointed out in the Introduction that the 1990s mark a shift in the perception of Greece as a country of emigration to a country of immigration. To elaborate on this issue further, Sarah Green (2017) discusses how immigrant as a legal category emerged in Greece when arrivals from former socialist states surged after the political shifts at the end of the Cold War. Before that moment, foreigners residing in Greece were perceived as temporary guests, and their presence was not legally regulated as long as they did not engage in any illicit behaviour. Although in the 1990s the legal basis was created for how to manage the newcomers to the country, most often their luke-warm reception was administered in accordance with the politics of invisibility, whether it concerned an immigrant from Pontus or Albania in 1990s (Papanikolaou 2009) or an asylum seeker from outside of Europe in 2000s (Cabot 2014). Despite the lack of concern exhibited by the state bureaucratic regimes, the presence and difference of the newcomers were marked in the public sphere. Pejorative nicknames used by locals to address different groups of refugees are one example of the negative attitudes with which they were viewed. If the 1922 refugees were called Turkish seeds, the 1990s saw the arrival of Albanians and Russo-Pontians, many of whom were in fact ethnically Greek and recognized as such by the Greek state. In the 2000s, it was the *lathrometanastes* (illegal immigrants) from outside of Europe that now posed a threat. Negative attitudes towards the "migrant other" only intensified at the time of the Greek financial crisis, when immigrants were often blamed for unemployment and social decay (Tsimouris and Moore 2017), and became a target of violent attacks by police forces as well as racist groups (Rozakou 2017).

Despite these negative attitudes, when the number of arrivals to Greece surged during the summer of 2015, the overwhelming response presented in the media was that of solidarity with refugees. Rozakou (2017) discusses solidarity as a category that emerged in 1980s and 1990s in relation to the anarchist and anti-authoritarian political movements in post-dictatorship Greece. Since the time of the Greek crisis, solidarity re-emerged as a term to designate the collective practices aimed at providing basic services that were rendered inaccessible or unaffordable through formal/state infrastructures as a result of the austerity measures that Greece had to implement. These practices involved heterogeneous, self-organised, local-level initiatives such as soup kitchens, pharmaceutical clinics or markets where people could sell or exchange their products without intermediaries (Cabot 2015; Rakopoulos 2014). Some neighbourhoods, such as Exarcheia in Athens, became hubs of solidarity activities: "no-ticket cinema screenings, collective cooking events, time banks, gifting bazaars and ‘anti-consumerist’ spaces where people could come and give, take, or give and take goods without any norms of reciprocity” (Chatzidakis 2017: 150).

The concept of solidarity quickly expanded its meaning to encompass acts in support of refugees and migrants. Rozakou discusses the hunger strike launched by approximately 300 immigrants from Maghreb in January 2011 as a turning point when solidarity came to also mean solidarity with refugees and migrants (Rozakou 2017: 190). Thus by the summer of 2015, a call for solidarity with refugees was an obvious way of mobilising public support for initiatives directed at alleviating the hardships that refugees encountered during their journey: rescue operations in the Aegean Sea performed by local fishermen; distribution of clothing, food and water in dinghies’ landing spots; games or cartoon screenings for refugee children in makeshift camps; and other actions were all part of the solidarity initiatives.

One should of course bear in mind that the discourse of solidarity has also often been adopted in other contexts and for rather different purposes. For example, in the context of the economic crisis, the government introduced additional taxes under the label “solidarity taxes” (Chatzidakis 2014: 37). Solidarity has been embraced by and interpolated into the political practices of the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn: with their own soup kitchens, food banks, blood donations and security patrols available for Greeks only that often led to outbursts of racist sentiment resulting in deadly killings (Bampilis 2017). The everyday racism embedded in the solidarity initiatives of the Golden Dawn should not be viewed as exclusive to their supporters: it also permeated the rhetoric of more moderate right-wing politics and state-supported operations aimed at “cleansing the public space” (Rozakou 2017; Kirtsoglou and Tsimouris 2018). Finally, in the context of the 2015 refugee crisis, one should also remember that the solidarity initiatives were taking place alongside the activities aimed at taking advantage of the situation, such as collection and sale of dinghy engines or providing refugees with overpriced transport services from the dinghy landing spots (Haralambous 2015).

In 2015, this rather grim picture receded from view when confronted by the outpouring of solidarity that was reported from Greece by the media. As Evthymios Papataxiarchis (2016a) shows in his report from Skala Sykamias on the island of Lesvos during 2015, the motives of different actors in the field of solidarity initiatives were of great range. To name just some examples: left-wing activists envisioning their efforts as part of wider anti-establishment politics; foreign volunteers hoping to advance their careers; local inhabitants seeing their everyday social environment radically transformed. All had different motives informing their actions, yet all of them contributed to an environment characterised as solidarity. In her discussion of solidarity, Rozakou draws our attention to the fact that in recent years people started to identify as solidarians (*allilegyos*), pointing to "the radicalisation of solidarity that took place in austerity-ridden Greece" (Rozakou 2017: 189). The term solidarians is not a mere extension of vocabulary, it also signals a shift of perceptions drawing attention to the actors behind the practices of solidarity as those who actively seek change and are willing to take responsibility for those acts and practices.

What is of interest to us in this chapter, is that at least some of these actions were considered (and presented) as an imperative propelled by memory. The solidarity with refugees expressed by the inhabitants of the Aegean islands in particular was often attributed to the fact that they were themselves descendants of 1922 refugees and still remembered the hardships that their ancestors suffered. Once again, the lives of millions of people became entangled in the wars waged by the great powers; once again, Greece in the midst of economic crisis faced a humanitarian crisis.

Elisabeth Kirtsoglou and Giorgos Tsimouris (2015) associated the solidarity expressed by the inhabitants of the Greek islands with the strategy that they called "empathy as identification". Their paper convincingly argues that European citizenship models itself in opposition to the radical alterity of the clandestine, illegal migrant. The broadcasting of stereotypes of the underdeveloped East and the fundamentalist Muslim desperately seeking refuge in "paradise-Europe" spread attitudes that the authors call neo-Orientalist. The politics of fear with which such migrations are both discursively and structurally managed (i. e. through both alarming tabloid headlines and walls rising at the borders) subsequently quieten any discontent with the politics *within* the European borders. At the concluding part of the paper, Kirtsoglou and Tsimouris contrast these dynamics with the attitudes they encountered among the inhabitants of the Aegean islands. Building on the notion of precarity, as discussed by Judith Butler (2004), they argue:

> Encounters with refugees caused to large segments of people feelings of empathy that ought not to be confused with compassion, pity, or sympathy any of which can effectively displace the recognition of social and political rights (Fassin 2005; Rozakou 2012). Empathy as identification articulated in

> manifold ways can also relate to the recognition that both the self and the other exist in similar conditions of precarity, alterity, and tantalizing ambiguity. One's subjective position – relative safety – proves to be a matter of luck rather than the effect of choices perceived as right and moves deemed to be correct. As such, the realization of our common precarity constitutes perhaps the most important demystification that can take place in contemporary times. Empathy as identification can transform precariousness into an idiom of resistance, crashing the concept of radical alterity as a foundation myth of capitalist modernity.
>
> (Kirtsoglou and Tsimouris 2015: 9-10)

Kirtsoglou and Tsimouris are not the only scholars that drew attention to shared precarity between the self and the other as it emerges in contemporary Greece. Heath Cabot (2016), for example, argued that in today's Greece one can witness "increasing precaritization of the terrain of rights as they apply to *both* citizens and refugees in Europe". In a different context, Athena Athanasiou also pointed out that shared and yet differentiated precarity can serve as a catalyst for political action and create a space for "reimagined critical intimacies" and "reactivated performative contestation" both in public spaces of contemporary Athens and in Greece's public sphere (Athanasiou 2017: 21-22).

I completely agree with Kirtsoglou and Tsimouris that empathy as identification can pave the way to resistance and social transformation in ways that were exhibited by cases such as the solidarity initiatives discussed earlier. However, I also see a number of problems that emerge when we postulate empathy as identification and the resulting realisation of our common precarity as "perhaps the most important demystification that can take place in contemporary times". Caught up in the dynamics where identification leads to empathy and empathy motivates social action, it is easy to overlook the realities that in fact put some people in much more precarious positions than others. Furthermore, as the examples I discuss will demonstrate, identification does not necessarily lead to empathy, and yet it can still offer an equally valid path to social transformation. At the same time, empathy as identification can also sometimes fail to offer recognition of social and political rights, and instead risks becoming a narcissistic projection channelling "feeling good about oneself" without any ambition for social transformation. In line with the arguments outlined in the essays of the recent volume *Empathy and its Limits* (Assmann and Detmers 2015), I would like to argue that empathy, just like sympathy, pity or compassion, rather than in contrast to them, "is politically structured, channelled, and directed, encouraged or blocked, according to any number of cultural, ideological, religious, racial, ethnic, national, geographical, and other interested [sic] factors" (Aschheim 2016: 22). The examples that I examine in this chapter will reveal some of the aspects of these intricate interrelations[64]. It is precisely the context of my discussion on memory, national and personal, that allows me to bring in a different viewpoint on this discussion.

5.2. MEDIA WITNESSING

In order to build my argument, I will discuss several visual representations that were associated with empathy and solidarity when they circulated in the Greek media in 2015-2016 as a response to the refugee crisis. These media representations are instances of what Frosh and Pinchevski (2009) called media witnessing: "witnessing performed *in*, *by*, and *through* the media. It refers simultaneously to the appearance of witnesses in media reports, the possibility of media themselves bearing witness, and the positioning of media audiences as witnesses to depicted events" (Frosh and Pinchevski 2009: 296). As such a multifaceted assemblage, media representations can be hugely influential in setting the political agenda, shaping public opinion and mobilising social action.

In the context of summer 2015, the photograph of Alan Kurdi is probably the best known instance of media witnessing, working on several levels. Moments after the photograph of the drowned boy was captured on the coast of Turkey in September 2015, it criss-crossed the digital public sphere via social media and news reports and sparked a huge number of reactions across the globe. Firstly, as a witness, Alan Kurdi represented a typical humanitarian focus – a vulnerable child in need of protection – and his death thus attested to the failure of the Western world to offer such protection. Secondly, the representation of Alan Kurdi is a photograph, and despite all the theorization on the subjectivity of photography, photographs have long served as evidence for human rights abuses in a way that no other form of journalism ever had (Linfield 2010: xv; quoted in Fahrenbach and Rodogno 2015: xx). The photograph of Alan Kurdi hence bears witness for "what has been" and advocates social justice. Thirdly, the photograph's circulation through media enabled a large number of people to become secondary witnesses to the injustice and led to many expressions of discontent and public protest: from a minute of silence observed in different parts of the world to protesters who lay on the beach in Morocco dressed in clothes similar to Alan's; from murals depicting the photograph in Germany and Brazil to the controversial photograph where artist Ai Wei Wei posed on the beach as Alan Kurdi. At the same time, the photograph constituted its viewers as digital witnesses, as can be attested by numerous discussion threads on social media platforms as well as user-generated memes invoking the image of Alan that served as a commentary on the original photograph and its message. Finally, the photograph of Alan also served as a wake up call for Western politicians: some of the EU leaders adopted a more welcoming policies as well as rhetoric[65], while Canada announced a decision to accept 25,000 refugees by the end of 2015[66]. While the ethics of aestheticising the death of a child are debatable, the impact of its mediatization on the world is evident (Papailias 2018).

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[64] As alternative examples see Berlant (2004), where potentials and pitfalls of compassion are discussed, and Chouliaraki (2018), where shock and empathy are discussed as two modes of the solidarity of pity.

At the same time, one also has to bear in mind that although some countries opened their borders in September 2015, others rushed to seal them off, thus marking deep divisions within EU politics (Krzyżanowski et al. 2017: 5). The differences emerging in the ways the refugee crisis was perceived and dealt with in Europe have been explained by Triandafyllidou (2017) as resulting from two distinct interpretive frames. The first one she calls the moralization frame: viewed through this frame refugees are seen as helpless victims fleeing war that originated in their countries, and the blame for their plight is put on irresponsible human smugglers who profit from refugees' misfortune. In this frame, the solidarity to stand united with refugees is seen as a core European value. The moralization frame is contrasted in Triandafyllidou's account with the threat frame, which places emphasis on the divisions between "us" Europeans and "them" the refugees. This frame relies on the mobilisation of the feelings of uncertainty and portrays refugees as those who drain the European countries of their resources. Those two perspectives, argues Triandafyllidou, are reconciled within the frame of rationalization: we as Europeans need to extend solidarity to refugees but we also need to be reasonable about what kind of solidarity we are capable of providing. Hence the emphasis shifts to the bureaucratic and managerial apparatus: identifying what the real problems are and proposing feasible solutions. This way we can exercise control and impose our own order on the situation: "The rule of law and public order is necessary to defend the values of liberalism that Europe cherishes, which include human rights and providing protection to those who need it", concludes Triandafyllidou (2017: 213).

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[65] Francoise Hollande and David Cameron reportedly were among the leaders who expressed their sympathy and outrage after seeing the photograph. In the meantime, Angela Merkel's famous declaration "We can do it", marking a shift towards a more welcoming stance, preceded Alan's death by a few days. However, it occurred several days after another deadly accident: the discovery of a truck on an Austrian motorway with 71 decomposing bodies (Krzyżanowski et al. 2017: 5).

[66] Canada's Citizenship and Immigration Services came into spotlight when family's aunt declared that the Alan's family asked for asylum in Canada, but after their application had been rejected they decided to cross the Mediterranean in the dinghy provided by smugglers. It was later clarified that in fact the aunt sponsored the application of her other brother, which was rejected for being incomplete, and she was just gathering the necessary money, support and paperwork to sponsor the application of Alan's family when they decided to embark on the journey across the Mediterranean. See BBC News (2015), Dennette (2015), Kestler-D'Amours (2015).

What follows in this chapter is an examination of the process of framing the refugee crisis as an instance of media witnessing when it unfolded in Greece in 2015. The process of framing is understood here in two distinct but interrelated ways (and informed by theorizations by Judith Butler 2016 [2009] and Susan Sontag 1979). On the one hand, the examples I discuss are visual representations framed by their authors: displaying the particular point of view of someone who stays behind the camera while concealing other views. Visual aesthetics of framing the refugee crisis have been discussed by others (Giannakopoulos 2016; Chouliaraki and Stolic 2017). What I want to draw particular attention to in this chapter is how visual representations appealed to memory as a way to make sense of the refugee plight. Linkages between past and present established through memory often provided a reason for someone's act of solidarity with refugees, or encouraged the public to act in solidarity, or performed both simultaneously.

The double dynamic of untangling the workings of memory as a framework by analysing photographic frames has kept me mindful of the multiple points of view that structure both memories and visual representations. Yet one unifying thread between the two has also emerged: both the recalled memories and the visual representations ultimately communicate emotional and bodily experience by evoking the viewer's own emotional and bodily memories (Hirsch 2001). As a consequence, my discussion always returns to affect as a force that generates or jeopardises interest, concern and feeling for the subject in the frame (Hariman and Lucaites 2011 [2007]). At the same time, as has been noted by Joanne Garde-Hansen, "[e]motion online is encountered when the culture we live is performed on the intersection of the personal and the global through mixed media, one that makes it hard to think compartmentally about specific technologies, audiences, and parts of the world" (Garde-Hansen 2013: 13). For this reason, the discussion in this chapter goes beyond the analysis of photography and incorporates other forms of visual representation, such as videos and cartoons. Finally, my preference for the analysis of visual representations in this chapter also takes me back to the quote by Kirtsoglou and Tsimouris. As they argue, empathy binds the two subjects through the act of recognition, and recognition of a "real refugee" has to a large extent been a visual act (Malkki 1996: 386; Cabot 2014). Thus the question that this chapter ultimately tries to answer is what subject position should one speak from in order for such an act of recognition to be an empowering rather an objectifying one and what role memory plays in this process.

The questions that I address here were to a large extent propelled by the trip I took to Lesvos in the summer 2015. At the end of my first year as a DPhil candidate, I planned a research visit to the island as a *lieu de mémoire* where many of the ideas of how we see Asia Minor today originated. Lesvos island received one of the largest populations of refugees from Asia Minor, doubling the number of its inhabitants in 1922 (Hirschon 2003b). Prominent writers, including Photis Kontoglou, Stratis Doukas and Ilias Venezis settled there after the turmoil of 1922 and wrote about their experience in ways that shaped memory of these events as well as broader literary tradition. The island is only about 6 km from the Turkish coast at its nearest point (or 4.1 miles, as the title of an Oscar dominated documentary would poignantly indicate in September 2016)[67]. Geographical proximity hence serves as a constant reminder of the history of the Asia Minor Campaign that partitioned the previously shared cultural space between Greece and Turkey. Yet when I arrived to the island on 2 September 2015, the refugee present was much more urgent than memories of the refugee past: during this period between three to five thousand refugees landed on the island's shores (Triandafyllidou 2017: 6). As a result, my trip became a quite different encounter from what I originally envisioned.

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[67] See Matziaraki (2016) on details about the documentary.

Repousi's opponents objected to the word "crowding" with reference to the events of the Asia Minor Campaign. But the crowds of people were the most striking feature of the port of Mytilene when I first arrived. Everywhere there were clusters of tents, making it difficult to navigate one's way out of the port. The hotels were full, leaving many with nowhere to stay. And crowds – at the souvlaki shops, at the travel agencies where refugees with permission to leave bought their tickets – were everywhere. The haphazard emotions after such an encounter are difficult to put into words even as I try to rethink these events from a distance.

If the news reported overwhelming solidarity with refugees, the memories of my own encounters in Lesvos echo somewhat more diverse and blurred views. "It is not easy to find a place to stay, because of all the *lathrometanastes*", I was told as I asked a local about a room to rent upon my arrival. "We feel sorry for the refugees, but why do they pee in our churches?", I overheard some women discussing the morning news – or gossip, I am not sure – in a local grocery shop one or two days later. On a bus to Skala Loutron where the Museum of Refugees from Asia Minor is located, I struck up a conversation with another passenger by drawing parallels between 1922 and 2015 in my remark that I had come to look for memories of Asia Minor and instead found refugees in the present. This elicited a somewhat hesitant reply: "I hadn't thought of it that way, but one could draw some parallels". Although the parallels that I drew caught this lady by surprise that morning, very soon the media would be drawing exactly these parallels in their reports as something self-evident. Shortly after the connections between 1922 and 2015 started to be drawn, what I also encountered was the expectation that someone working on the memory of Asia Minor today must not ignore the current refugee crisis. What was I to make of such demands? And if I were to engage in drawing such parallels, how could I do that without trivialising either of the experiences?

I held onto these encounters to reflect on how memories of the past overlay and structure present-day realities. Each time I did that, so many contradictions needed to be resolved came to light. The day I passed by Molyvos in a rented car was one of those moments. As I stopped near the Church of Panagia Refmatokratorissa, the reference point in the novel of Stratis Myrivilis (1979 [1949]), a dinghy attached to a fishing boat was approaching the coast. A Greek visitor to Lesvos quickly redirected his mobile phone from making a selfie with the church as background to making a selfie with the refugee dinghy. The laughter and joy of the people as they safely landed could be heard even at a distance. Within of about ten minutes, they would calm down and continue their journey to the "camp" although not quite sure of which direction to take. Interrupting my own journey, I stopped the car for one of these groups to take some of them to the registration centre so that they would not have to walk in the heat (a practice that was considered illegal, as I later found out). Women and children quickly filled the back of the car until there was no longer any space, and their husbands would follow on foot. My back-seat passengers were full of laughter and joy, but the exact meaning of their chatter remained not fully comprehensible to me as it resounded in an unfamiliar language. When we were ready to set off, a boy on crutches appeared in front of us. How were we to squeeze this boy into the back-row where five people were already sitting? How could we leave him behind?

5.3. LOCATING MEMORY IN MEDIA FRAMES

Daniel Knight uses the term "cultural proximity" to refer to the moments when Greek people turn to their history at a time of crisis. For Knight, cultural proximity of two distant historical events means that history is not merely a mechanism for facilitating the understanding of current events, but rather a mode of experiencing the day to day reality – history becomes lived, felt, and embodied, and as such, history strengthens affiliative bonds within the community and helps endurance of difficult times (Knight 2015). Although Knight referred in his theorisation to the economic crisis, the same argument can be extended to the refugee crisis as well. The 2015 article in the newspaper *EfSyn* offers a perfect example of how cultural proximity between 1922 and 2015 has been established by the Greek media. The article takes us to the island of Lesvos and draws the readers' attention to an encounter at one of its many *lieux de mémoire* that bear witness to the 1922 refugee past: the statue of the mother from Asia Minor on the pier of what was once a refugee neighbourhood in Mytilene, the capital of the island (Fig. 5.1). In September 2015, the journalists of *EfSyn* found the statue with newly arrived refugees all around it, drying their clothes at its feet. This is how one of the journalists describes their encounter:

> When we approached them [the refugees], they apologised for what they had done, believing that we came to tell them off, however, when we explained to them the history of the monument, a young Syrian shouted with a smile on his face "My mother, my mother…" (Pazianou 2015).

The monument thus provided a context for drawing connections between 1922 and 2015 by expanding the social framework of family to encompass transnational alliances. The pioneer of memory studies Maurice Halbwachs (1992 [1925]) saw family as the most fundamental framework of social memory. The family has often been identified as "the arena in which the particularizing and universalizing dynamics of global, cosmopolitan memory are played out" (Erll 2011a). In the context of postmemory, family is referred to as "an accessible lingua franca easing identification and projection across distance and difference" (Hirsch 2008: 115).

In Chapter 3, we discussed how family memories can structure and drive one's creative expression in relation to the graphic novel *Aivali*. We also discussed how family life can serve as a framework for historicizing Asia Minor in Chapter 4, in relation to the play *My Beloved Smyrna*. Metaphors of kinship and family have also been long used to facilitate bonds among the members of diverse communities, be those of nation states (Barthes 1993 [1957]; Anderson 2006 [1983]; Billig 1995) or groups of migrants (Cabot 2014). In this context, the social frame of family memory becomes "memory unbound" (Bond et al. 2016). It travels through news reports and internet sites, mobilising empathy in response to the adversities unfolding in the present and relating those adversities to the historical past, as should become clear from my subsequent examples.

A reference to the family in EfSyn undoes the hierarchies embedded in the relationships between the locals and the strangers, the hosts and the guests, and binds together refugees with the inhabitants of Lesvos – implicating each other in their respective histories. Interviewed by the journalists of EfSyn, a grandchild of refugees remarks:

> Today, 93 years after the Asia Minor Catastrophe, being a refugee does not constitute history, it happens again but in bigger numbers, with hundreds of thousands more victims. In some ways a historical mirror image is made: the statue stops being a monument, and the mother whom it depicts and who, of course, is already dead today, is "resurrected" through the presence of the Syrian refugees that now gather around it.
>
> (Pazianou 2015)

If in *Aivali* the metaphor of the mirror image constituted an aesthetic strategy to historicize Asia Minor, in this interview the same metaphor is used to reflect on present-day reality and historicize it for the future. The mirror image created at the statue of the refugee mother establishes a relationship between the self and the other based on identification across time, borders, and difference. In this context the need for responsible social action to address the situation is made clear.

This relationship neatly fits into the scheme of Kirtsoglou and Tsimouris (2015): identification and recognition of the shared precarity leads to empathy, which in turn prepares the ground for possible social transformation. The encounter holds a transformative potential for both the locals and the refugees. For the refugees, establishing a connection between their experiences and the local people might offer a source of consolation, strength and resistance when facing their own hardships. It also opens up ways of contributing to the society they become part of upon arrival. For the locals, a relation established with reference to their own historical past encourages the support of those who otherwise might have remained indifferent and urges them to "act in solidarity". One has to acknowledge that this type of shift in subject position is quite empowering: it transforms an individual from the powerless victim to somebody who can make a difference to the lives of others. The mutual recognition of shared precarity I describe here has manifested itself in many social initiatives across Greece. For example, refugees took part in initiatives such as protests over social security rights of Greeks or food distribution to the Greek homeless. In addition to the initiatives directed at helping refugees upon their arrival, Greek activists organised the occupation of abandoned buildings in order to provide shelters for refugees, the City Plaza hotel in Athens being the most famous of these initiatives (Hirschon 2016).

It is important to bear in mind that the experience of refugeehood and empathy as identification extended beyond the cultural proximity of 1922 and 2015. A news report on 22 April 2015 on *Alpha* is a case in point (Fig. 5.2). In the report, refugees arriving in Greece from the Syrian coastal town Al-Hamidiyah shared the story of their journey. Their ancestors had fled Crete in the aftermath of the 1897-98 Greco-Turkish War, and Al-Hamidiyah was established to resettle these displaced people. More than a hundred years later, these descendants of Cretan Muslims made the same journey in the opposite direction. The media called it a journey of return: "They come back to their homeland after more than a hundred years", the reporter states, while images of the sea rescue operations flicker in front of the eyes of TV and internet viewers. The images are fleeting and it is impossible to register much detail, but by that point sinking dinghies full of refugees had become so familiar that there is no need to dwell on this. As the news report unfolds, cultural proximity emerges between what can be considered as two distinct moments of historical past and contemporary present: “The work is repeated: uprootedness, refugeehood, again from the beginning”, concludes the Greek reporter.

However, the strategy used to bridge the distance between 1897 refugees and those of 2015 and make them culturally proximate somewhat deviates from empathy as identification. This becomes especially apparent at the moment of the very first interview with a refugee woman who had arrived to Greece from Al-Hamidiyah. When the journalist from the Alpha channel asks her about her experience, the woman, to the surprise of many, tells her story in fluent Cretan: “Yes, we all speak this way: my mother, my father, everyone”, she says in order to dispel any doubts viewers might have. The Cretan spoken by the refugee woman as a representative of the Al-Hamidiyah community radically changes the perspective of the viewers and defies what seemed to be rather clear-cut distinctions between the self and the other just a few moments ago. Viewers are encouraged to relate to the subjects in the video by recognising not just similarity, as presumed by empathy as identification, but complete identity: Greekness emerges from where one saw alterity just a few moments before. And yet in order to cast alterity as something that can be easily incorporated into Greekness for the local television viewers, any of the traits that would prevent such straightforward identity conflation are glossed over in the report.

But even when the mechanism for establishing cultural proximity is empathy as identification, rather than identity, these representations can easily become self-referential projections. Let us consider the widely shared photograph of the three grandmothers on the island of Lesvos as an example (Fig. 5.3). This photograph, taken by Lefteris Partsalis in Skala Sykamias, is probably the best-known example of the ways cultural proximity between 1922 and 2015 has been established. In the photograph there are three elderly ladies feeding a baby, while the mother, standing at a distance, is looking towards something outside of the frame. The aesthetic power of this photograph derives from the ways vulnerability and agency intertwine in this image: the three elderly ladies, who themselves could be viewed as vulnerable subjects, take up an active and welcoming stance. They take care of another vulnerable subject – the baby – and at the same time its vulnerability is contrasted with the confident, positive and relaxed stance that its mother adopts regardless of the future uncertainties that await her family.

This photograph relies on a number of well-established strategies of humanitarian photography in order to communicate its message. As noted by Georgios

Giannakopoulos (2016), the photograph employs the archetypal imagery of humanitarian photography: love and care in the grandmothers' looks represent that which is commonly attributed to the humanitarian agents. The image of Madonna and a child, which is often employed in humanitarian photography, is subverted in this photograph: "[t]he veiled mother, dressed in colourful clothes and bright sneakers, looks at ease, even unburdened" (Giannakopoulos 2016: 107). One could develop Giannakopoulos' line of thinking that the grandmothers unburden the refugee mother even further by saying that under the conditions where fulfilling a mother's obligations becomes a burden, it is the three Greek grandmothers come to her assistance (cf. Hariman and Lucaites 2011 [2007]).

This moment is captured in the photograph as "a moment of hope in the otherwise bleak reality" (Giannakopoulos 2016: 107). For the viewer, the hope expressed in the grandmothers' act established the photograph as a paradigmatic case of solidarity. It was further promoted as such by a number of politicians and celebrities. Papataxiarchis gives a good overview of the reactions that these photographs sparked in the public sphere:

> In official discourse, the 'three grannies' became 'the image of the Europe that we want', the 'good face of Europe' (Alexis Tsipras); they 'personified the enormous soul of the Greek mother' (Terence Quick); their behaviour epitomized the primary concern for the 'human being' and the 'respect to his value' (Prokopis Pavlopoulos). A new patriotism of 'solidarity' is on the way! In public discourse, the disinterested generosity of 'ordinary individuals', as it is captured in these photos, is transformed from an inalienable quality of action into an alienable substance that can be further circulated, shared in various directions with various people and used for various political, social and economic purposes.
>
> (Papataxiarchis 2016b: 4)

Praise for the grandmothers' kindness proves how quickly an image criss-crossing the digital public sphere can be picked up and embedded into ideologies with their own aims and purposes. A vernacular practice of the three grandmothers was appropriated as a model of citizenship that was meant to set an example both in Greece and beyond (cf. Hariman and Lucaites 2011 [2007]). At the same time, the photograph also functioned as a metonymic reference to the acts of solidarity of all the inhabitants of Lesvos. This is why one of the grandmothers, Aimilia Kamvyssi, was co-nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize (along with fishermen who preformed rescue operations and Hollywood actress Susan Sarandon). The photograph of the three grandmothers stood out as both a singular moment of hope and an exemplary case of Greek solidarity.

Empathy as identification functioned as a primary frame for interpreting the grandmothers' kindness: they were descendants of the 1922 refugees who were assisting the 2015 refugees in their difficult moment. When interviewed in relation to the photograph, the grandmother Maritsa Maurapidi immediately linked the events of 1922 and 2015, as she tried to explain the reasons behind the action captured in the frame: "Our mothers came as refugees from Turkey, from across [the sea], and they were still young girls. They came without clothes, without anything. This is why we feel sorry for the migrants" (Papadopoulos 2016). The "empathy as identification" is somewhat complicated by her choice of words to establish links between the past and the present. Although the grandmother identified with the refugees by making connections across time and space through likening the circumstances of the refugees she saw arriving to the Greek shores with the ordeals of her own mother, the language "refugees" [*prosfyges*] of the 1922 and "migrants" [*metanastes*] of 2015 – maintains distance between the two. As a result, the emotion that arises in such encounter is that of pity – feeling sorry for the refugees – and yet it leads to an act of kindness that mobilises support across the public sphere in Greece and abroad. At the same time, one has to mention that although the photograph constituted an exemplary case where parallels between the past and the present were cast as underlying the act in solidarity, these kinds of parallel were not universally embraced by the descendants of refugees. The gentleman whose "possessive memory" of Asia Minor I discussed in Chapter 2 is only one among many pertinent examples[68].

I believe that framing the photograph in the wider context of the so-called Greek hospitality would be more appropriate for justifying the enthusiasm that it generated. Hospitality is what the Greeks see as "an ethnic characteristic" of themselves that is "related to the historical continuity of Greece from classical antiquity through the Byzantine era to present times" (Rozakou 2012: 565). Seen in this context, the three grandmothers of Lesvos are the ideal hosts – extending their hospitality to a fragile and vulnerable infant – placed entirely into their care. Irrespective of whether or not this was the intention of the photographer, the ideology of the Greek hospitality as a quintessential trait of Greekness turns the photograph into an easily appropriated object of national pride. The small and grand gestures of praise triggered by the grandmothers' photograph are closer to what Kevin McDonald called "fluidarity" that marks a shift from "collective identity" to "public experience of self" (McDonald 2002: 109, quoted in Mortensen and Trenz 2016: 345).

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[68] The most common argument I encountered when rejecting those parallels was that the 1922 refugees were Greek, while the current refugees are foreign. This argument does not hold very firmly when one considers that the 1922 refugees bore many markers of difference that marginalised them as foreign, as discussed in the Introduction.

Once the frame of quintessential Greek hospitality and its ideology as public experience of the self become apparent, it also comes as no surprise that the photograph was quickly used for self-serving ends by the Greek government. On 4 November 2015, as the first thirty refugees were waiting to board a plane at Lesvos airport in order to be resettled in Luxembourg, the photograph became a background for the speeches of European Parliament President Martin Schulz and Greek Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras. At their meeting, the story of the three grandmothers as a paradigmatic case of solidarity was used as leverage to negotiate better conditions for the Greek bailout deal through the call of the Prime Minister to show sympathy for the Greek islanders. "At a time when the islanders are sharing their food with refugees, the government is forced to raise VAT on the islands. These conditions are unacceptable and the Greek government will not relent", insisted Tsipras (Balezdrova 2015). The photograph of three grandmothers in the background of Tsipras' speech acted as an emotionally charged reference to add extra weight to his claims. The photograph set Greece as an example of solidarity for Europe to follow, and in return Europe was asked to act in solidarity with Greece.

Tsipras appropriated the solidarity expressed by Greek people for political purposes at time when state and international mechanisms were dismally failing to provide adequate structural assistance in addressing the refugee crisis. His speech came almost exactly four months after the Greek bailout referendum (5 July 2015), when the Greek government accepted a bailout package although the majority of the Greek citizens voted against it. Four months later, the Greek Prime Minister sided himself with solidarity initiatives and adopted a firm tone against austerity as a way of distancing himself from the consequences of the referendum that he called for. Tsipras' later media appearances and statements further substantiate how the refugee crisis has been instrumentalized both on the level of international and domestic politics (Boukala and Dimitrakopoulou 2017)[69].

As it has often been pointed out, hospitality is an asymmetrical relationship in which a guest is offered care and protection with an expectation that he or she will obey the rules set out in the household of the host (Derrida 2000). Perhaps this is why the stories of the three grandmothers and their nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize were in the spotlight of media attention, while the names and the story of the refugee mother and her baby remained anonymous. Who are they and where did they come from? What did they make of the encounter with the grandmothers? Where did they go? These questions remain unanswered and the photograph of the grandmothers turns into a self-reflecting mirror projecting the Greeks' own image of Greek hospitality onto local and international audiences. The picture of the grandmothers, although at first glance seeming to project empathy as identification, actually hides the "other" from view, making room for the "self" to be magnified in a flattering way.

A caveat is needed here to avoid confusing the media representation of the grandmothers and the circulation of their image with their actual act or with the initiatives of other islanders. The image of the grandmothers of Lesvos might have been used for self-serving ends, but their act along with the initiatives of many other people provided help and support at the time when the Greek state was unable to offer adequate structural assistance. The disparity that emerges when the two – the act and its subsequent mediation and appropriation – are considered together raises important question on how to represent real everyday encounters through the media without trivializing the experience. This question will be addressed in the final part of this chapter.

Although our attention has so far been focused on the appeal to memory of refugeehood as a way to arouse empathy through media witnessing, the following example from the Northern borders of Greece will demonstrate that "empathy as differentiation" can be an equally powerful call for social action. The town of Eidomeni was barely known to anyone in Europe until it was brought to public attention by news reports about its role as a transit point on the refugee route from Greece to the Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) on the way to the favoured destinations in Western Europe. In Eidomeni, an elderly couple open their home to refugees while the majority of the doors are closed: this is how the audience is introduced to the reportage featured by the news portal *LiFo* in Greece on 10 March 2016. The reportage was originally recorded by the German media for the ARD channel's morning programme *Moma – Morgen Magazin*, but technology greatly facilitates the dissemination of stories, memories and experiences from one context to another regardless of borders.

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[69] Boukala and Dimitrakopoulou (2017) examine tweets of Alexis Tsipras and his opponent Kyriakos Mitsotakis in relation to the discussion of whether Greece should be taken out of the Schengen zone, comparing their statements with the articles in three major Greek newspapers of different political convictions.

The footage starts with the shots of the house, with refugees going about their various errands. After showing the house, the journalists talk to its owners – the elderly couple that welcomed the refugees. It is at this point that a refugee woman comes closer to the camera, gestures to the camera man, and kisses the hands of the lady, and then the man. Obviously, this scene was conditioned by the presence of the camera and the media, and it was specifically performed for them. The exact motives behind the gesture remain unstated, but one can guess that by showing deference the woman wanted to publicly express her gratitude to the couple, and simultaneously to confront the negative stories about ungrateful, violent or even terrorist refugees that featured alongside the stories of solidarity at the time. The caption of the video recognises the intentions behind the performance for the camera and points the viewers attention towards the recognition of the humble refugee: "The most moving video: Refugees kiss the hands of the couple that opens their home to them" (Newsroom 2016). In the actual video, we only see one refugee woman kiss the hands, yet her case is seen as representative of "the refugees". At the same time, her own voice and agency beyond the role that she assumes in the video remain silenced.

The caption directs the attention of the audience to the state of being a refugee, but it is the affective reaction of the hosts to this gesture that for me is more worthy of attention. "Don't do such a thing, we didn't do anything special", says the elderly man when the refugee woman kisses his hands, while his eyes fill with tears, as do the eyes of his wife as well as the refugee woman. "I have lived through many things, the German occupation and all that, but never [have I lived through] a plight such as this", the man concludes before the camera turns off. Just like the three grandmothers, the elderly couple are also portrayed as archetypal humanitarian agents – caring and empathic. Yet this occurs through recognising their difference rather than their similarity. The man appeals to memory in order to highlight that the precarity of refugees he encounters at his doorstep is worse than anything he has ever experienced, contrasting it with presumably the worst thing that he had lived through – the German occupation. In this case, and in contrast with the assumptions presupposed by empathy through identification, it is not the experience of being a refugee that makes one recognise the plight of the other in a similar situation. Instead, one searches through one's own repository of memory – and sometimes the recognition of difference rather than similarity can move one to act for social change.

The way difference structured this encounter is reminiscent of the argument that Ann Cvetkovich and Ann Pellegrini (2003) make via *Working Alliances and Politics of Difference* (1998) by Janet R. Jakobsen: "to put things in relation is not the same as comparison. Nor does it mean equation. Instead, the act of relation asks us to think 'intersectionally', to look, that is, for points of contact, even as we attend to particularity and difference" (Cvetkovich and Pellegrini 2003: 4). In cases when everyday encounters lead one to appealed to the past in order to gain a a better understanding of the present, the past invoked is not necessarily a presumably similar experience of being a refugee. Rather, everyone searches through their own repository of memory to find a frame through which a relation between their past and the refugee present can be established. The structures of memory of the Greeks who encountered refugees at their doorstep are mapped onto the structures of feeling of refugees who arrived in summer 2015, and it is in their points of contact – where the two experiences match as well as where they diverge – that a new subject position emerges. Memory is what bridges the distance across differences, but it is through affect that these relations consolidate, as tears in the eyes of the Greek hosts and Syrian refugees attest. The affective response of these people places demands on those who witness it to respond.

In previous chapters I have highlighted the links between the memories of lost homelands and the ways they influence perceptions of the past. What emerges in this chapter is how memories of Asia Minor emanating from a specific location – the island of Lesvos – are put in relation to memories in other locations in present-day Greece – Crete and Eidomeni – in order to call for solidarity. This is an important reminder that when memories are utilised to frame perceptions or motivate social action, the exact memories that are used are hugely dependent on *where* an encounter takes place, even if it is later made accessible through the media to a much more widespread audience. Each of the examples discussed is firmly rooted in a specific location, and it engages with and speaks of a particular time and place[70]. One could argue that emphasis on a specific location casts universal appeals as localized in order that they be perceived as "authentic" or "genuine". However, I would also like to insist that particularization of the message – by being mindful of the dynamics of cultural memory specific to a particular place – helps to counter the risk of silencing differences when universal appeal is sought. Nevertheless, this does not mean that a localized appeal will always give voice to everyone who speaks out, as I have discussed in my analysis of the photograph of the three grandmothers.

One could even claim that, although utilizing frameworks such as the family that are perceived as universal, appeals to memory *necessarily* have to originate from a specific time and place in order to affectively and effectively mobilise their audiences. The controversy surrounding the cover of *Downtown* magazine on 10 March 2016 (Fig. 5.4) is a case in point. On the cover, a group of Greek celebrities were photoshopped wearing life vests and holding lifebuoys under a headline "We are all refugees". The headline mirrors the slogan "Je suis Charlie" that emerged after the Charlie Hebdo attacks and led to many similar slogans that were subsequently used in other demonstrations and as internet hashtags to express transnational solidarity with victims of acts of violence across the globe. Examples include the Taliban attack on activist Malala Yusafzai ("We are all Malala") and the terrorist attacks in Paris in 2015 ("We are all Paris"). Some examples from the Greek context that make use of such parallels are: a slogan "Greeks were once Albanians" used to counter negative stereotypes during the peak of Albanian migration in the 1990s (Papailias 2003: 1073-1074); a collection of short stories Είμαστε όλοι μετανάστες [We are all immigrants, ed. Fais 2007], published after a literary competition; a documentary *Ήμουν κι εγώ πρόσφυγας*, [I was also a refugee, 2016, dir. Christos Vassilopoulos] screened on ERT; and the already discussed monograph of Emilia Salvanou, where the very last sentence asserts with great confidence: "Today we are all refugees" (Salvanou 2018: 220). As has been recently rather convincingly and extensively argued in relation to the legacies of the Greco-Turkish War in Turkey, such discourses of liberal humanism shift rather easily between slogans premised on brotherhood and destructive seculitarianism involving civilian causalities and dispossession, and ultimately fail to provide an effective solution (Iğsız

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[70] See Radstone (2011) on the importance of location in memory studies.

2018: 37). In the case of Greece, the solidarity slogans quickly lost their appeal once the refugee issue stopped making the headlines, and the procedures of asylum seeking in Greece to a large extent remained as stagnant as they have been for decades: premised on illegality as a default status for an asylum seeker (Cabot 2014).

How can such a universalizing identification as made by the *Downtown* magazine be legitimate, given that our realities are often markedly different from the ones we identify with? Readers were encouraged to empathise with refugees by looking at a picture which was essentially a performance of the refugee identity by several well-know celebrities. In his discussion on celebrity culture, Graeme Turner provides a three-way definition of celebrity: "Celebrity is a genre of representation and a discursive effect; it is a commodity traded by the promotions, publicity, and media industries that produce these representations and these effects; and it is a cultural formation that has a social function" (2014[2004]: 10). In this context, the mediated everyday lives of celebrities as a specific cultural genre provide their audience with the subject positions they can "adopt or adapt in their formation of social identities" (Turner 2014 [2004]: 28). As examples of certain desirable behaviour, it is common to use celebrities in humanitarian appeals. But in the photograph on the cover of *Downtown* magazine the celebrities took on a subject position of victims without being subject to the same precarious conditions that refugees faced. The safety and comfort of the subject position from which they spoke as those who identify *as* refugees was perceived as disingenuous and defied any possibility of affiliative connections.

In the classic study *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media and Politics* (1999), Luc Boltanski pointed out that when the reality of facts asserted in an opinion statement can be challenged the emotional impact of the statement is significantly lessened. The same remark could be applied to the cover of the *Downtown* magazine, where the reality of celebrities performing refugee identity did not correspond to perceptions of "being a real refugee". Botanski further points out that emotional impact of a statement is also lessened when the intentions behind that statement can be questioned (Boltanski 1999: 42). The photograph on the cover of *Downtown* magazine raised many questions with regards to the intentions of the magazine's editors. The portrayal of celebrities as refugees was seen as staging compassion for consumption rather than empathy geared towards action, and the magazine was widely criticised for doing that. Some commentators did point out that although the cover might be geared towards capturing attention and clicks, the 20-page article was actually very informative, but these were only a few among many others who opposed the cover. As is often the case in news reports, the image was seen as carrying a message that the rest of the news report was expected to expand on, and the message of this image was seen as hugely inappropriate as a response to the refugees' plight.

The examples I have discussed so far point to a number of instances when the Greek media reported on the refugee crisis by projecting symbolic identities which in various ways engaged with the past of the nation and the emotions of their audiences in order to establish affiliative alliances for acting in solidarity with refugees. I have argued that, through its use of familiar frames, such as quintessential Greek hospitality or universal family, the media projected Greek ideals to both national and international audiences. In this way, it aligned the individual agency of protagonists in news reports with the collective ideals of the nation, thus not only fostering a shared feeling of national belonging, but also facilitating the use of these images as leverage for political purposes.

All of the examples discussed made use of specific historical moments to appeal to their audiences. Thus in my discussion the memory of Asia Minor reemerged as an integral part of a wider network of historical moments in Greece's cultural depositories that can be utilised as "things we think with" in critical times. It is important to note that although these specific images and news reports circulated widely in the digital public sphere, sometimes even traversing national borders, they all originated in and spoke from concrete locations, retrieving historical moments specific to those locations in order to bridge distance across time and difference. Anchoring the experiences in a specific location with its specific histories seeping through the disrupted ordinariness of the everyday could engage audiences in a way that a generic appeal to our common humanity backed up by celebrities could not do. Each of the locations served as a place where present experiences could be mapped onto historical memories, this way creating new structures of feeling and new openings for redefining subjectivities in a manner that could be radically empowering. At the same time, we have also seen how media frames can filter the experiences in such a way that they serve merely as narcissistic projections of the self. In this respect, this chapter comes to serve as a search for strategies of representation that could hold the transformative potential encapsulated in so many of the 2015 encounters.

Throughout my discussion, I have highlighted how visual representations make use of available resources of cultural memory and engage the emotions of their viewers. In doing so, my aim was to discuss the mechanism of memory as a framework for addressing adversities in the present. With my examples, I problematised the notion of empathy and argued that we should not single out empathy as the most desired response to witnessing the suffering of others because, just like any other emotion, it comes with its own politics of representation in many guises. At the same time, I showed that other emotions, such as pity, which are often problematized in critical discourses to the point that they might seem as undesirable, can actually pave the way to positive change when placed in the right context. Having rejected the assumption that one emotional response is inherently more appropriate than others in any given situation, the remainder of this chapter shifts our attention from mediated representations to their viewers and addresses the question of what subject position one should speak from when responding to the suffering of others.

5.4. CONNECTIVE MEMORIES

The ways in which parallels have been drawn between refugees' experience in 1922 and in 2015, and the ways these parallels have been put in relation to other memories and other places and times, constitute what I view as a connective memory. The memory is connective in a sense developed by Andrew Hoskins in relation to "connective turn": it acts as a node, "a shifting mesh of connections in the present *to* and *in* and *through* different media", where "the moment of connection is the moment of memory" (Hoskins 2011: 272, emphasis is the original). It is also connective in a sense of being affiliative and therefore reliant on affective connections to create new attachments as they are transmitted by various media. In my analysis, I highlighted some of the different emotions that are entangled in this process, when the memory of Asia Minor on the island of Lesvos was put in relation with memories from other places in the context that was discussed under the umbrella term "solidarity".

As I have discussed in this chapter, the framing of connective memories is of crucial importance for whether they contribute to mobilising acts of social transformation or consolidate the already prevalent image of the self. I provided several examples, where memories of the past were called on for framing contemporary events so that affiliative connections could develop. As my discussion has shown, some of these were more successful than others in making it imperative to act in solidarity. I recognize that to fully evaluate the impact of the images I discussed a more encompassing reception analysis would be needed. However, I hope that my detailed analysis of the remediation of the most well-known of these images – that of the three grandmothers – offered a good overview of how social practice is captured in an image, how subsequent trajectories of this image are enabled through media, and how social practice accumulates new meanings as a result. With that in mind, I would like to offer some concluding considerations on the viewers of these remediated representations.

The photograph as a medium seems highly complicit in objectifying the subjects it depicts. As Susan Sontag reminds us: “To photograph people is to violate them, by seeing them as they never see themselves, by having knowledge of them that they can never have; it turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed” (Sontag 1979: 14). The camera silences what it photographs: any visual cues that seem to transmit information or affect are to a large extent a result of photographer’s framing. As such, photographs do not tell stories but are dependent on external narratives to tell a story. While video recording might seem to be more objective in this respect because it provides the opportunity for the depicted subject to actually voice their concerns, the agency of the subject can still be compromised by cuts and editorial decisions that transform the story into news.

Concern about objectifying refugees is almost as old as refugee studies itself. In 1996, when refugee studies was still a relatively new discipline, Liisa Malkki (1996) claimed that too often humanitarian agents speak for the refugees, depriving them of voice and agency, and in this way depoliticize and dehistoricize their circumstances. In 2015, the media were full of stories where refugees had names, backgrounds, and voice, seemingly being able to speak for themselves rather than having humanitarian agents to speak on their behalf, as had been customary 20 years earlier. But even the stories that were created on the initiative of refugees themselves still seemed to be more universalizing than particularizing. It was as if you already knew their story before you even heard of it: war, persecution, fleeing via the dangerous route, overcrowded dinghy in rough seas, hopes for Europe… which eventually led to stagnation in refugee camps. The public sphere was saturated with images, news bites and longer reports on these experiences. They were easily consumed on the morning commute or during evening news at the dinner table, until each new story seemed to be a reiteration of what one heard before. Yet as I have shown by analysing the examples in the previous section, once a particular moment is captured and framed, there always remains something that is complicitly missing from the frame.

My own personal encounter in the summer of 2015 springs to mind as I think about mismatches between the camera frame and the narration of someone's experiences. In early September 2015, the pier of Mytilene was filled not only with refugee tents but also with journalists reporting on the situation. The journalists framed their stories in the ways they judged best suited their audiences. Consequently there were many discrepancies. One evening, while walking along the pier, I saw a family with two children standing in front of the cameras. The mother of the family was wearing a lose dress, but you could still see that she was pregnant with another child. “Are you scared for your baby?” the journalist asked the woman. “Yes,” she answered and a pause ensued – as if there was more to say, but she remained silent. “Tell us how you feel,” the journalist encouraged the woman. “I am very scared,” she answered. Another pause ensued, as if she was trying to pull the right words out of the silence. At that point, she turned to her husband and started to say something in Arabic: she had the words but they were not in English or not for the camera. Would they remain in the news report or be cut outside of the frame? If they remained, would they be in Arabic or would they be translated for international audiences? Each of these choices would cut through the family story in its own way, and force upon it a distinct frame before transmitting it to the audience of the evening news. Can a depicted individual stand as a subject in these circumstances or must he or she always be an object of the spectator's gaze? As Butler reminds us: “[F]rames structure modes of recognition, especially during the times of war, but their limits and their contingency become subject to exposure and critical intervention as well” (Butler 2016: 24). What kind of critical engagement could help us see beyond the limits of the objectifying gaze that turns each individual story into an easily-consumed morsel? How can we, as distant consumers of visual representations, avoid contributing to the dynamics of objectification?

A distinction that Marianne Hirsch draws between a gaze and a look might put us on the right track. She argues:

> [G]aze is external to human subjects situating them authoritatively in ideology, constituting them in their subjectivity, the look is located at a

> specific point; it is local and contingent, mutual and reversible, traversed by desire and defined by lack. While the look is returned, the gaze turns the subject into a spectacle.
>
> (Hirsch 2001: 23)

What follows from this quote, is that gaze is crucial in constituting one's subjectivity but when subjected to someone else's gaze one is also constituted through a number of looks exchanged at any specific moment. The act of looking holds the potential to turn viewers from objectifying observers into active contributors who participate in shaping history.

A cartoon by Soloup constitutes a good example of how multiple gazes and looks can work together for raising moral concerns in the viewers (Fig. 5.5). Just like in the case of the graphic novel, Soloup's engagement with the refugee crisis attests to the claim of Tata Arcel (2014) that once the relaying of trauma reaches the third generation, it is often viewed in the global context – drawing affinities with atrocities in other parts of the world – and acting in solidarity with those whose rights are neglected. The graphic novel *Aivali* by Soloup and the aesthetic strategies it uses to engage the memory of Asia Minor were discussed in Chapter 3. In the context of the refugee crisis, the same aesthetic strategies were used as a subtle reminder of one's social obligations to address this crisis.

As a cartoonist, Soloup provides a commentary on current affairs, and thus he could not have ignored the arrival of refugees in Greece. As a grandchild of refugees from Asia Minor, his commentary draws affinities between the two refugee experiences. The cultural proximity between these two distinct events is established by juxtaposing a group photograph of the 1922 child refugees with a photograph from the current refugee crisis: a father carrying his two children in the midst of chaos, with a sigh of despair on his face, and a fence of barbed wire behind him. In the first photograph, the children look straight at the camera, and their look meets that of the contemporary viewers. Some of them frown, possibly from strong sunlight, others laugh, others wear a solemn expression. As the children pose for the photograph, a certain sense of stillness becomes apparent, making this photograph contrast sharply with the bottom photograph from contemporary refugee crisis. The contemporary photograph is captured in movement: rushing people cross the welded wire border fence, a father with two children among them. An expression of pain and despair on the father's face is captured, but the image is taken at an angle that prevents from exchanging looks and leaves the depicted individuals fully subjected to the gaze of the viewer. Juxtaposed, the looks and gazes captured in these two images result in a triangulation of vision in a similar way that was discussed in relation to the graphic novel *Aivali.* Here the refugee children of 1922 cast a look from the past and watch us looking at the present of 2016. This representational strategy makes us particularly aware of our own privileged position as distant spectators of the pain of others, and it is from this position that we are called upon to act in solidarity.

The speech balloons bind the two distinct historical moments together and reinforce the visual message. They read: "If the grandchildren of these children of 1922 carry the refugee trauma until 2016…/Until when will the grandchildren of these children of 2016 carry it?". These words reflect on the experience of Asia Minor not as a distant historical past of the nation nor as a story with a moral that can help us fight indifference towards present-day injustice. With these words, the memory of Asia Minor is communicated as an embodied and lived memory that was passed on from generation to generation and survives until the present-day. The same future is envisioned for the memory of the current refugee crisis. Just as in the previous examples, the family trope is employed here through the reference to the transmission of trauma. Letting the words linger in the form of a question holds the viewers' looks and gazes on the juxtaposed frames and demands the labour of crafting one's own frame in search of how best to address this question, just as the final question of the graphic novel *Aivali* did. The photos juxtapose the two historical moments and the two futures – one that had already been and one that will be – and thus appeal to the viewers' sense of responsibility as a subject that has a responsibility for the future that is yet to be.

As Maria Kyriakidou points out while discussing media witnessing: "Knowing about the pain of others implies, in cultural and social terms, complicity in their suffering and the moral obligation to act for its alleviation. Witnessing, thus, goes beyond the act of 'seeing' or 'watching'; it implies a kind of participation, albeit vicarious and fleeting, to [sic] the events presented on the screen" (Kyriakidou 2015: 217). Such a subject position is reminiscent of what Michael Rothberg (2014) calls implicated subjects: those who do not fit into the picture as victims or perpetrators, yet participate in the violence and trauma, even though indirectly. In his discussion of implicated subjects Rothberg brings his observations in dialogue with Judith Butler's, but from a somewhat different perspective from that of Kirtsoglou and Tsimouris:

> But what if our relation to others is characterized by excess in addition to loss? By a capacity to wound as well as a fundamental vulnerability? Might this starting point provide an alternative perspective on the uneven distribution of precariousness that concerns Butler and ought to concern us all? The concept of implication asks us to think how we are enmeshed in histories and actualities beyond our apparent and immediate reach, how we help produce history through impersonal participation rather than direct perpetration. It shifts attention to the other side of precariousness: to complicity and privilege.
>
> (Rothberg 2014)

The position of implicated subject calls us to react empathically to others but at the same time it makes us fully aware of their differences. As a result, the position of implicated subject diverges from "empathy as identification" proposed by Kirtsoglou and Tsimouris and is closer to what Dominic LaCapra (2001) called "empathic unsettlement". As summarised by Steven E. Aschheim: "Empathic unsettlement compels us to react empathetically to 'others' while being fully aware of their otherness, and at the same time helps us to recognize the component of trauma that prevents any structure, narrative, or relationship from reaching wholeness or closure" (Aschheim 2015: 61). Empathic unsettlement is what can keep one fully engaged and committed to respond to contemporary upheavals without necessarily imposing easily identifiable labels or glossing over difference.

Empathic unsettlement necessarily pairs the representation of injustice with making a pathway for change. From the examples I discussed, the cartoon by Soloup and the report from Eidomeni point towards empathic unsettlement, the former by raising a question about our obligations, the latter by highlighting our differences rather than pointing out similarities. An appeal to memory underlies both of these assertions. But even in cases when a cry for social action has been responded to, some obligations need openness, structures and political will to be adequately addressed. The most banal and poignant example of this I encountered in 2016 at a donations distribution centre, where volunteers had to discard large amount of donated food because it had expired before the limited number of people could sort it and give it to refugees in need. The coordinator of assistance, who worked day and night rarely taking a break, told me that things would be so much easier if only they had a van: at that time the only vehicle was his own car which was too small to take larger quantities of items. Today, when the perceptions of the refugee crisis have shifted from a state of emergency to the regular state of affairs, other structural challenges such as adequate housing, schooling and work opportunities remain urgent.

Today, we are also faced with an issue of solidarity fatigue. In February 2017, on a ferry boat from Piraeus to Chios, I met a lady from Lesvos who shared her story. She told me that together with her husband they went to help refugees every day in 2015, until the moment she got so heartbroken and tired that she stopped going. The lady worked in tourism, like so many other islanders, and in anticipation of summer she was alarmed by the news forecasts that predicted the drop in tourism by 50 per cent. “How am I going to make my livelihood?” the lady wondered. It is at moments like this that we should return to the images of hope, such as the three grandmothers and ask how, at a time of extreme fatigue, such images could be reclaimed as reminders not to give up the fight, even if they were previously instrumentalized for rather different purposes.

5.5. CONCLUSIONS

Dismantling the frames of representation in this particular chapter and critically engaging with the meanings they carry through, makes me particularly aware of my own framing – necessarily fragmented and personal, assembled through my own multiple gazes and looks: that of an academic trained in memory studies, that of a grandchild of a refugee, even though from a different time and place. Four years ago I embarked on a project about Asia Minor, but as I went along the journey, there lingered the memories of growing up between different homelands and languages, with family ties stretching across two continents. These experiences inevitably helped me to establish my own affiliative bonds to Asia Minor on the one hand and informed the questions that I posed on the other, as a result obscuring some details from view while illuminating others. As I draw this thesis to a close, I can only hope that my deliberations offer a starting point for discussing the many ways memory can provide a toolkit for addressing the challenges of the future as they reach one’s doorstep. At this point, together with Malkki, I would like to argue for “a radically ‘historicizing humanism' that insists on acknowledging not only human suffering but also narrative authority, historical agency, and political memory" (Malkki 1996: 398).

With this statement, my thesis has come a full circle: what we started with was a search for reparative reading as an antidote for an impulse to "always historicize", only to come back to the urge for "a radically historicizing humanism" in the final chapter. Is that a contradiction in ideas? I do not think so, because each of the chapters presented here relies on different methodological tools to propose different ways to historicize beyond the paranoid vision of the past that Sedgwick was once looking to overcome. History that emerged through this process was narrativized, felt, embodied, performed, and encountered in reconstitution. It provided tools for addressing the past as well as present concerns. These are the pathways that lead to the memory of Asia Minor in contemporary Greek culture.

6

EPILOGUE

Voices that speak one over the other until their stories become incomprehensible. All that we are left with is a sense of a certain hissing rhythm. Rhythm reminiscent of a loom that indiscriminately and firmly weaves different threads together into one fabric. Or a hoe tirelessly digging through rocky earth so that some leafy greens can take root. Or water gushing as one's hands thoroughly scrub white laundry bundle in order to make it even whiter. Or that soothing rhythm of train tracks as one embarks on a journey with no clear destination in sight and packs one's memories as the most precious of belongings.

Voices that speak one over the other until their stories become incomprehensible and all that we are left with is a sense of a certain hissing rhythm. A number of images that layer upon layer speak of the labour of memory. Close-ups on certain bodies – lips, ears, hands, eyes – that bear witness to the devastating history machine at the same time as they cancel out their memory: "I was a little girl, how could I remember?"; "I know it by hearsay"; "What was the name of that town? I don't remember". A series of movements that has situated us between Germany, Greece, Turkey and Austria. With each movement, memory is also reconstituted anew.

These are fragments from the experimental documentary *Passing Drama* (1999) by Angela Melitopoulos, a renowned visual artist who is herself a grandchild of refugees from the Ottoman Empire and whose family's displacement continued after they reached Greece in 1922. These fragments resist being placed in an uninterrupted narrative at the same time as they testify to an agonizing search for a form that could tell this story. To borrow a metaphor from Attilio Favorini, the moving images of this documentary speak of memory and become its quilted fabric simultaneously (Favorini: 2008: 82-83).

In 2017 this work was screened as part of the world-renowned exhibition of contemporary art, Documenta 14. This was the first time the Documenta exhibition had left its home in Kassel, Germany and, under the title *Learning from Athens*, relocated half of its activities to the Greek capital. Envisioned as a gesture of solidarity with austerity ridden Greece, which by then had also become the epicentre of the refugee crisis in Europe, the initiative was praised by some for its transformative potential, while also being fiercely criticized by others as a neo-orientalist project. Irrespective of which view one supports, it is important to point out that within the context of this exhibition, the work of Angela Melitopoulos spoke of reconstitution of the Greek past, along with many other exhibits and cultural initiatives. The urgency to return to the past was stressed in a number of recent works, and for many this tendency seemed to be directly linked to the Greek crisis. At the time of crisis, a nostalgic gaze to the past could provide a safe refuge, while a more critical gaze might find there a repository into which one can delve to find where it all went wrong. In both cases, a return to the past constitutes one of the modes of assembly.

During Documenta 14, *Passing Drama* was screened alongside another work of Melitopoulos (in collaboration with Angela Anderson and Maurizio Lazzarato), commissioned especially for the exhibition. The audio-visual installation *Crossings* (Melitopoulos et al. 2017) used fragmentary aesthetics of passing between the Lesvos refugee camp, the Skouries gold mine, the archeological site and the Kurdish refugee camp in Lavrion and the Oreokastro refugee camp in order to unearth the legacies of the past that speak to contemporary crises. As the exhibition note explained, a multiplicity of voices and perspectives was a crucial component of this exhibit: “This installation, which consists of four screens situated across from each other and a grid of 17 speakers, requires the viewer to move around – to shift their perspective – in order to see what is happening” (Anderson, n.d.).

I got to know Melitopoulos’ work and to share ideas with her during the *Strategies of the Documentary* conference, organised by the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Vienna in May 2018. This in itself constituted a “moment of recognition”. The aesthetic strategies I recognized in Melitopoulos’ work – multi-vocality, fragmentation, layering of meaning, locatedness, reconstitution – and a sense of responsibility for the past but also for the future that emanated through them was also the material of this thesis, which at that time was still work in progress. As our ideas bounced of each other during one of the conference coffee breaks, I found myself wondering if it was also the moment of recognition between two grandchildren of once forcibly displaced persons.

The aesthetic strategies of representation emerge as a major concern when discussing postmemory. In the first generation of refugees memory constituted a tool for constructing a homeland and in the second generation the chief concern became a "mnemonic survival" of this homeland. In the third generation Asia Minor gradually extends to include those who are not necessarily of refugee descent and the chief concern becomes *how* to tell its history, with form as important as content[71]. Documenting a search for a genre within which Asia Minor is remembered in contemporary Greek culture is one of the major contributions developed within this thesis. As my examples demonstrated, these strategies are as pertinent to public perceptions of present-day realities as they are to cultural representations of the past.

The arguments developed in this thesis can be divided into three broad categories: 1) the role of media and popular culture in establishing some memories as "canonical"; 2) the use of the canon and the archive in order develop new ways of seeing the history of Asia Minor; 3) memory as a toolkit to address contemporary realities. Insights and methodologies from several different disciplines were called upon in my analysis: namely, history, cultural studies, psychology and anthropology. Within this interdisciplinary framework, the memory of Asia Minor emerged as reflective of present-day ideologies and responsive to contemporary concerns (as well as a repository of past concerns and ideologies), yet the response that it elicited was by no means uniform.

By using specific case studies, my aim was to highlight the different ways culture participates in shaping historical understanding. In the Introduction, I outlined the developments that led to the emergence of the multi-vocal and multi-medial public sphere and the understanding of the self as a historical subject since the fall of the military junta in 1974. In Chapter 2, I analysed the major recent debate about the memory of Asia Minor – that of the controversy over the history textbook written by the team of history educators under the leadership of Maria Repousi, known as "the crowding in Smyrna controversy". The other chapters acted as a response to this controversy, with insights on transgenerational transmission of memory, especially as developed by Marianne Hirsch and Libby Tata Arcel, providing helpful and sound methodological background.

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[71] I would like to thank Dimitris Papanikolaou for pointing out this observation.

More specifically, I focused on three forms of memory that I called *possessive*, *reparative* and *connective* visions of the past. Possessive vision of the past held it in tight grip, emphasizing loss and the need for speaking out about injustice. Reparative vision of the past sought its reconstitution by bringing in perspectives of the other. Connective vision of the past focused on a multitude of ways the past is put in relation to the present in the mediatized public sphere and the affective attachments that it fosters. As parallel strategies and tactics discussed in this thesis demonstrated, often these different visions are a matter of emphasis rather than clear-cut distinctions. Specific frames through which the past is viewed, as well as the framing process in and of itself, came to the fore as I discussed how each vision of the past was renegotiated at the moment when it is encountered by its audiences.

Encounter, both as reception of particular case studies and as my own personal encounter with the memory of Asia Minor, served as a critical intervention that helped me to highlight the contingency of memory every time it gets determined at the moment a particular encounter takes place. The significance of encounter as a theoretical tool developed as a hunch half-way through my research, and offered me the possibility to reconsider what I had written. I revisited my material and the sites of my encounters many times, and kept revisiting them until the end of my project. Encounters take place and take time, which brought to the fore the importance of both. Most importantly, encounters served in this thesis to highlight affective connections and alliances that the memory of Asia Minor entails and helps to establish. Because encounters, among other things, also mean openness to put your own views in relation with others, even when you start with no common ground whatsoever. And I believe these to be valuable research insights that will continue to guide me in future projects.

One underlying concern that emerged throughout all of the chapters of this thesis is the question of the ownership of memory. Who does the memory belong to and who has the right to determine what the future of this memory will look like? It was most evident in Chapter 2, focusing on the controversy over the history textbook, where the question of ownership structured the ways different groups claimed the memory of Asia Minor as their own: as a national memory fostered by the state institutions; as a historical memory interpreted by historians; as a familial memory that still stirs the emotions of descendants of refugees; as a memory intertwined in the politics between left and right and the fear over memory's future blurred some of the distinctions between these. In Chapter 3, Soloup laid claim on the past as a descendant of refugees from Asia Minor and from this position exercised a critique of national ideology and opened the memory of Asia Minor to new perspectives. In Chapter 4, where I discussed the play *My Beloved Smyrna* by Mimi Denisi, the recognition of memory as identical to one's own was a key to the success of the performances. Within the context of the refugee crisis as it unfolded in Europe in 2015, the memory of Asia Minor, put in relation to other memories in Chapter 5, provided openings for building affiliative connections with other histories and communities as a type of shared ownership. This thesis does not aim to argue for the righteousness of one or another party, but rather puts emphasis on how the claims of ownership are negotiated by different stakeholders.

This brings me to another major contribution developed within this thesis: viewing memory as portable toolkit that has accrued its meaning through reconstitution and can be used to craft one's own place in history – past, present, and future. I called this a *portable* memory and discussed how it works in Chapter 4 in relation to the memory of Smyrna – undoubtedly the most prominent among the lost homelands. Building on the concept of portable monument as developed by Ann Rigney, I argued that reliance on certain cultural tropes to talk about Smyrna condenses what one understands by this noun in a way a pocket guide might do, and their recurrence in popular culture preserves this version of Smyrna in the memory of the Greek people. Crucially, these ideas in turn not only shape our understanding of the past but also provide a framework of how to address other issues at other times – as we have seen in Chapter 5.

The critical engagement undertaken in this thesis has opened a number of avenues for future research projects. First and foremost, as I built my own knowledge and understanding of what it means to remember Asia Minor in present-day Greece, it brought to the fore some of the under-explored issues that were beyond the scope of this project but are worthy of further pursuit. The first of these issues is the importance of location. Different socio-economic and ethno-cultural identities of Greek Orthodox people in Asia Minor before 1922 are extensively researched, but the same could not be said about post-1922 Greece. There are certain studies, especially in the field of anthropology, where location is part and parcel of theoretical methodology. Yet there remains not enough work to put these insights in comparative perspective. In this thesis, I theorized the 1980s as the time when individuals developed an understanding of themselves as historical subjects and provided several examples to support my case. On meeting Angela Melitopoulos, however, she told me that when she worked on her documentary *Passing Drama* in the 1990s, people did not have such an awareness of themselves, and nobody was interested in their experiences. This discussion indicated an important need to assess these insights in comparative perspective.

Emphasis on location and locatedness of memory calls attention to another important aspect. For many individuals, uprooting from Asia Minor constituted only one of many other displacements and its memory intertwined with other historical events of the 20th century. How was the memory of Asia Minor reconstituted with each subsequent displacement (or a preceding one, if we consider that many of the 1922 refugees also experienced expulsion in 1914)? What kind of tools did it provide to address the devastation of the Axis Occupation and the Civil War? How did it intertwine with labour migration to Germany or USA? Opening Asia Minor to these questions would have not been possible within the scope of this project, but this multi-directional, in Michael Rothberg's terms, research perspective could certainly bring valuable new insights.

The research undertaken within this project provided a painstaking look into the ways in which historical knowledge acquires the form that it does and how it is used by the communities that take an active part in shaping that form. For instance, the Asia Minor Catastrophe and its aftermath have been associated with the emergence of testimonial literature in Greek culture. However, this literary form was subsequently remoulded a number of times as a result of other historical experiences as well as changing perceptions of history. The graphic novel *Aivali* discussed in this thesis is one example of how the canon of testimonial literature on Asia Minor was reconstituted in contemporary Greek culture. But the insight unlocked by this example into how a cultural form that emerged at a specific historical moment was subsequently remoulded to speak to the present-day concerns could be also applied to many other contexts beyond Asia Minor. Thus it is my hope that the insights developed in this thesis would be relevant for future research projects of both those who research Asia Minor and those whose research focuses on cultural memory more generally.

APPENDIX OF IMAGES

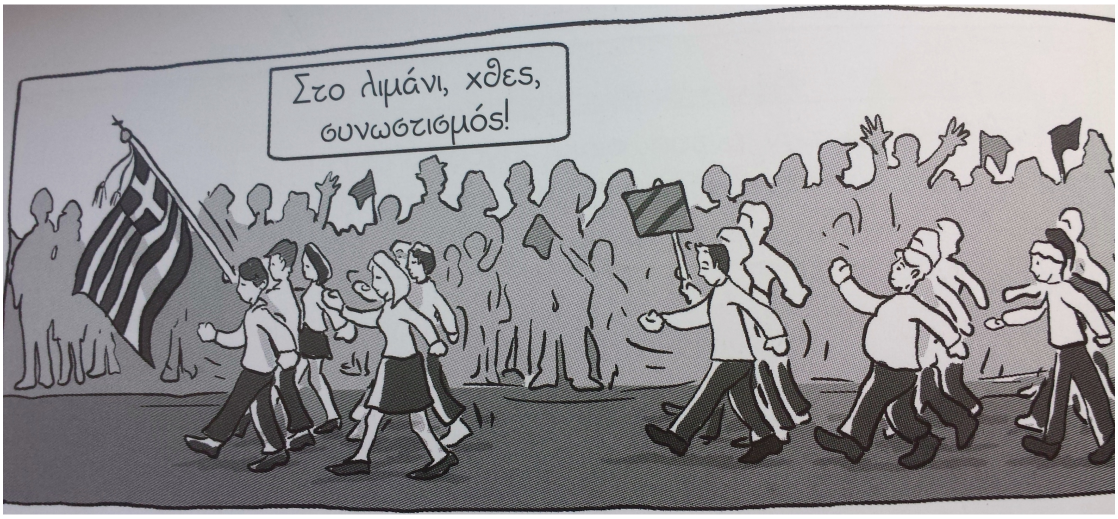
Στο λιμάνι, χθες, συνωστισμός!

Fig. 2.1. A school parade in Mytilene on a national holiday. The text-box reads: “In the port, yesterday, crowding!”, making an allusion to the history textbook controversy. (Soloup 2014: 70-71). © Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.

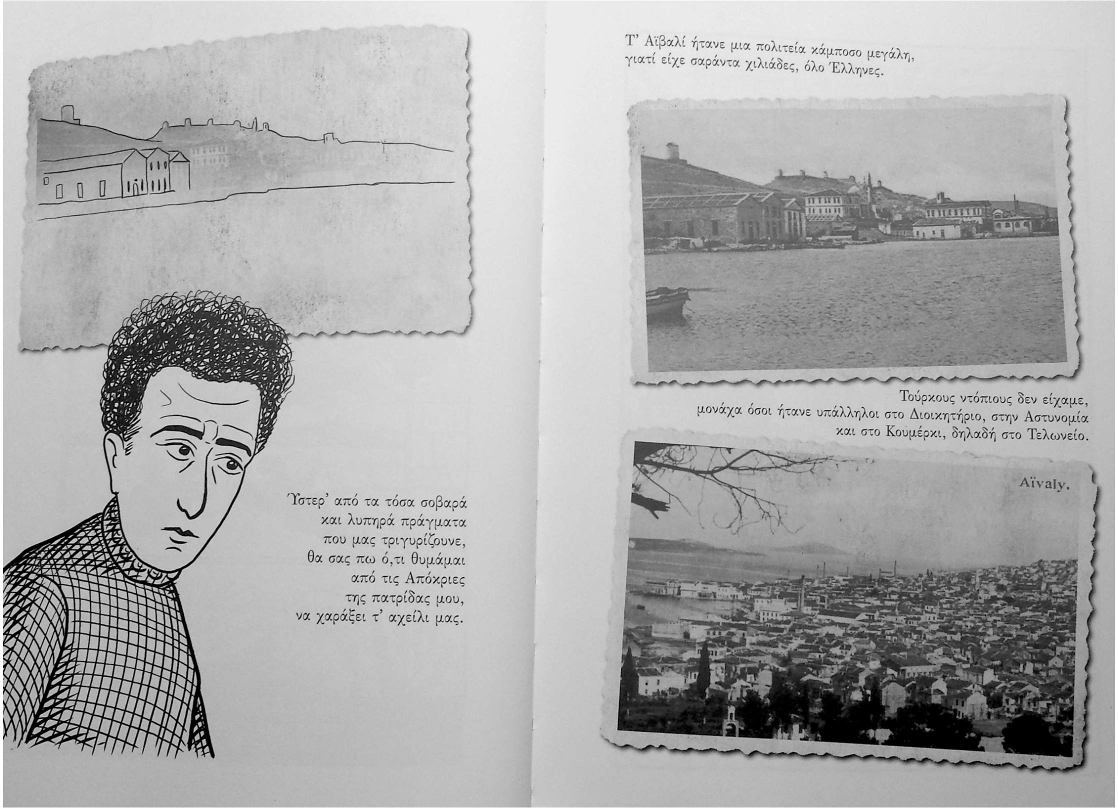
Ύστερ’ από τα τόσα σοβαρά
και λυπηρά πράγματα
που μας τριγυρίζουνε,
θα σας πω ό,τι θυμάμαι
από τις Απόκριες
της πατρίδας μου,
να χαράξει τ’ αχείλι μας.
Τ’ Αϊβαλί ήτανε μια πολιτεία κάμποσο μεγάλη,
γιατί είχε σαράντα χιλιάδες, όλο Έλληνες.
Τούρκους ντόπιους δεν είχαμε,
μονάχα όσοι ήτανε υπάλληλοι στο Διοικητήριο, στην Αστυνομία
και στο Κουμέρκι, δηλαδή στο Τελωνείο.
Aïvaly.

Fig. 3.1. “I will tell you what I remember” says the ghost of Photis Kontoglou, and with these words the blurred out picture of Aivali clears out on the next page (Soloup 2014: 70-71).
© Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.

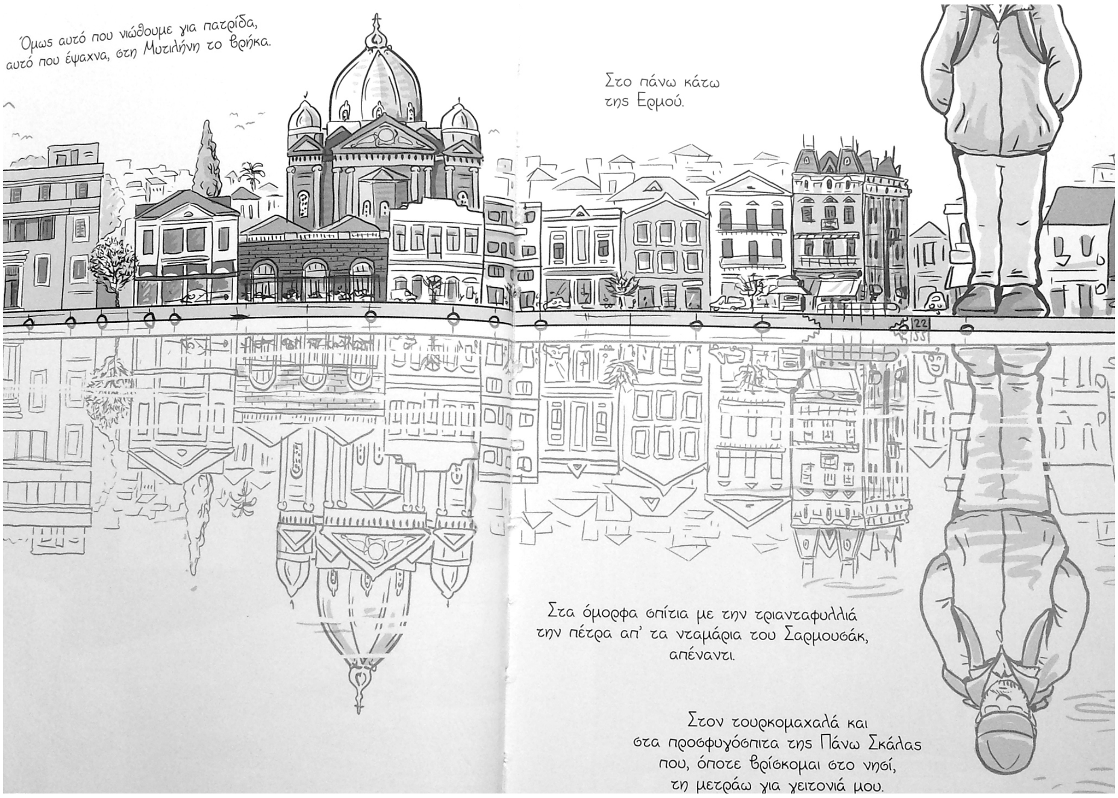
Όμως αυτό που νιώθουμε για πατρίδα,
αυτό που έψαχνα, στη Μυτιλήνη το βρήκα.
Στο πάνω κάτω
της Ερμού.
Στα όμορφα σπίτια με την τριανταφυλλιά
την πέτρα απ' τα νταμάρια του Σαρμουσάκ,
απέναντι.
Στον τουρκομαχαλά και
στα προσφυγόσπιτα της Πάνω Σκάλας
που, όποτε βρίσκομαι στο νησί,
τη μετράω για γειτονιά μου.

Fig. 3.2. Reflection of the city and the protagonist Adonis on the Quay of Mytilene (Soloup 2014: pp. 24-25). © Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.

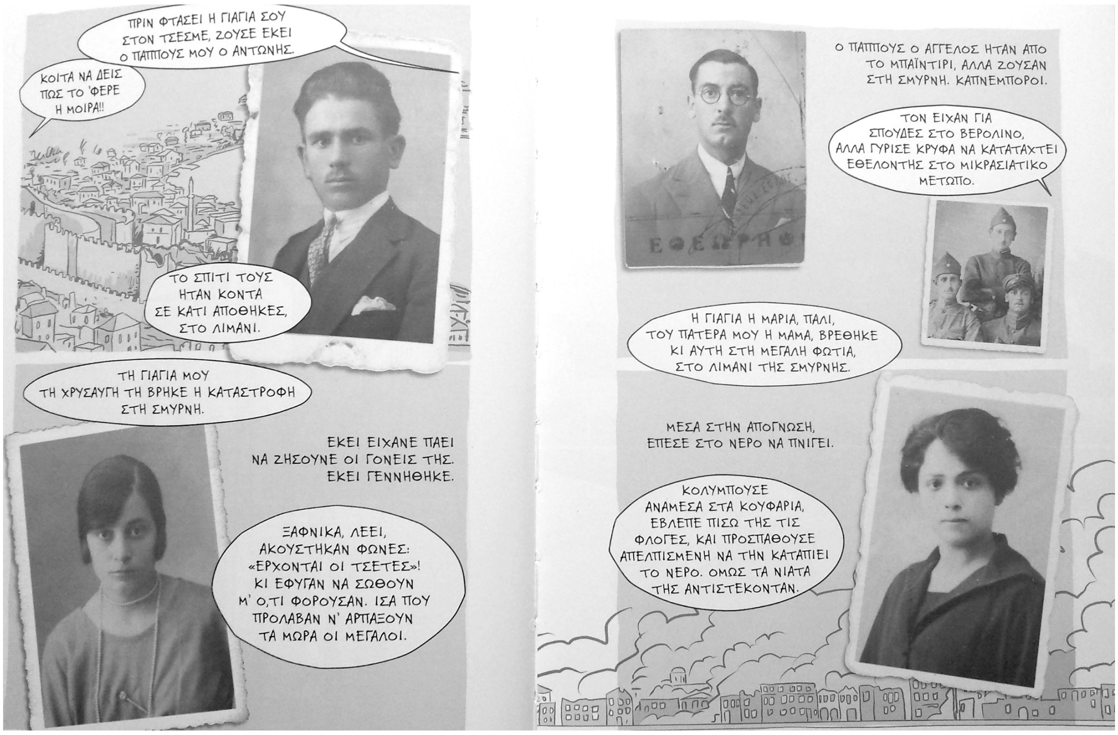
ΠΡΙΝ ΦΤΑΣΕΙ Η ΓΙΑΓΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΣΤΟΝ ΤΣΕΣΜΕ, ΖΟΥΣΕ ΕΚΕΙ Ο ΠΑΠΠΟΥΣ ΜΟΥ Ο ΑΝΤΩΝΗΣ.
ΚΟΙΤΑ ΝΑ ΔΕΙΣ ΠΩΣ ΤΟ 'ΦΕΡΕ Η ΜΟΙΡΑ!!
ΤΟ ΣΠΙΤΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΗΤΑΝ ΚΟΝΤΑ ΣΕ ΚΑΤΙ ΑΠΟΘΗΚΕΣ, ΣΤΟ ΛΙΜΑΝΙ.
ΤΗ ΓΙΑΓΙΑ ΜΟΥ ΤΗ ΧΡΥΣΑΥΓΗ ΤΗ ΒΡΗΚΕ Η ΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΟΦΗ ΣΤΗ ΣΜΥΡΝΗ.
ΕΚΕΙ ΕΙΧΑΝΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΝΑ ΖΗΣΟΥΝΕ ΟΙ ΓΟΝΕΙΣ ΤΗΣ. ΕΚΕΙ ΓΕΝΝΗΘΗΚΕ.
ΞΑΦΝΙΚΑ, ΛΕΕΙ, ΑΚΟΥΣΤΗΚΑΝ ΦΩΝΕΣ: «ΕΡΧΟΝΤΑΙ ΟΙ ΤΣΕΤΕΣ»! ΚΙ ΕΦΥΓΑΝ ΝΑ ΣΩΘΟΥΝ Μ' Ο,ΤΙ ΦΟΡΟΥΣΑΝ. ΙΣΑ ΠΟΥ ΠΡΟΛΑΒΑΝ Ν' ΑΡΠΑΞΟΥΝ ΤΑ ΜΩΡΑ ΟΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΙ.
Ο ΠΑΠΠΟΥΣ Ο ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΗΤΑΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΜΠΑΪΝΤΙΡΙ, ΑΛΛΑ ΖΟΥΣΑΝ ΣΤΗ ΣΜΥΡΝΗ. ΚΑΠΝΕΜΠΟΡΟΙ.
ΤΟΝ ΕΙΧΑΝ ΓΙΑ ΣΠΟΥΔΕΣ ΣΤΟ ΒΕΡΟΛΙΝΟ, ΑΛΛΑ ΓΥΡΙΣΕ ΚΡΥΦΑ ΝΑ ΚΑΤΑΤΑΧΤΕΙ ΕΘΕΛΟΝΤΗΣ ΣΤΟ ΜΙΚΡΑΣΙΑΤΙΚΟ ΜΕΤΩΠΟ.
Η ΓΙΑΓΙΑ Η ΜΑΡΙΑ, ΠΑΛΙ, ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΜΟΥ Η ΜΑΜΑ, ΒΡΕΘΗΚΕ ΚΙ ΑΥΤΗ ΣΤΗ ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΦΩΤΙΑ, ΣΤΟ ΛΙΜΑΝΙ ΤΗΣ ΣΜΥΡΝΗΣ.
ΜΕΣΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΠΟΓΝΩΣΗ, ΕΠΕΣΕ ΣΤΟ ΝΕΡΟ ΝΑ ΠΝΙΓΕΙ.
ΚΟΛΥΜΠΟΥΣΕ ΑΝΑΜΕΣΑ ΣΤΑ ΚΟΥΦΑΡΙΑ, ΕΒΛΕΠΕ ΠΙΣΩ ΤΗΣ ΤΙΣ ΦΛΟΓΕΣ, ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΠΑΘΟΥΣΕ ΑΠΕΛΠΙΣΜΕΝΗ ΝΑ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΠΙΕΙ ΤΟ ΝΕΡΟ. ΟΜΩΣ ΤΑ ΝΙΑΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΤΙΣΤΕΚΟΝΤΑΝ.

Fig. 3.3. A 'photo-album' of the author's grandparents, who were from Smyrna in Asia Minor. (Soloup 2014: 360-361). © Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.

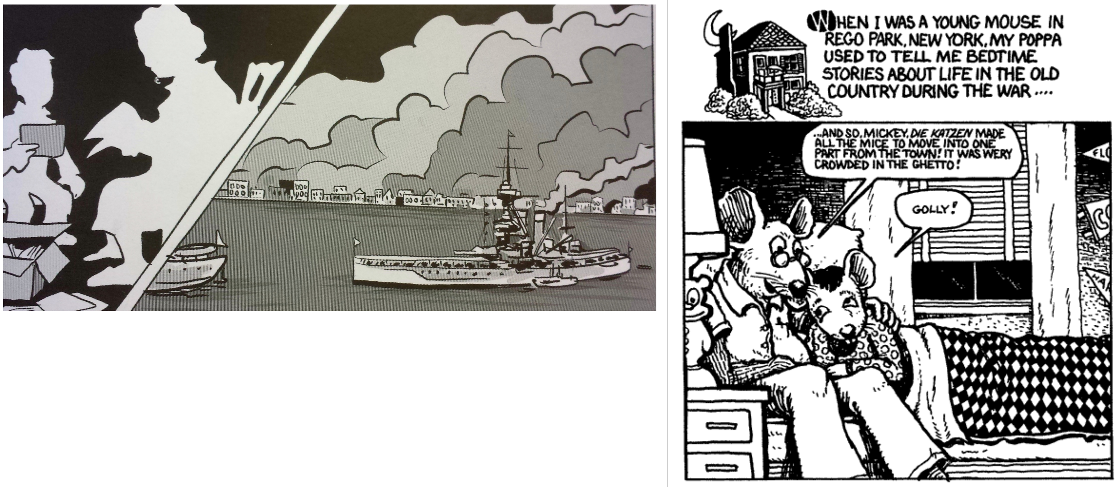
WHEN I WAS A YOUNG MOUSE IN REGO PARK, NEW YORK, MY POPPA USED TO TELL ME BEDTIME STORIES ABOUT LIFE IN THE OLD COUNTRY DURING THE WAR ....
...AND SO, MICKEY, DIE KATZEN MADE ALL THE MICE TO MOVE INTO ONE PART FROM THE TOWN! IT WAS WERY CROWDED IN THE GHETTO!
GOLLY!

Fig. 3.4. Left: Adonis and his grandmother look through the newspaper clippings narrating how she was saved on the Quay of the burning Smyrna in 1922 (Soloup 2014: 363).
© Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.
Right: Little Artie listens to his father's bedtime story, which tells of his experiences in Auschwitz during World War II. A panel from the first rendering of Spiegelman's "Maus" that appeared in comics magazine *Funny Animals* in 1972. © Art Spiegelman. Reproduced from *Disaster Drawn* (2016) by Hilary Chute, pg. 159.

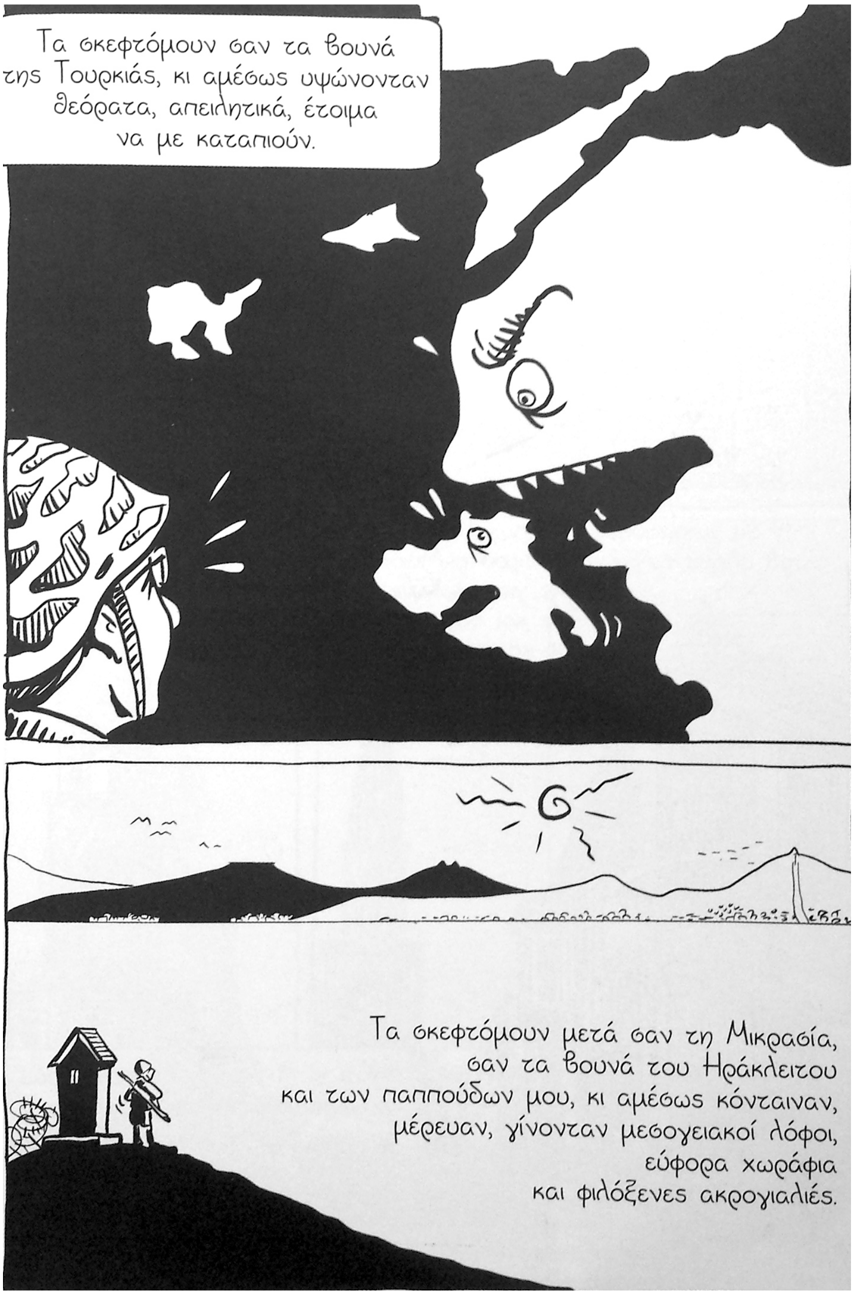
Τα σκεφτόμουν σαν τα βουνά της Τουρκιάς, κι αμέσως υψώνονταν θεόρατα, απειλητικά, έτοιμα να με καταπιούν.
Τα σκεφτόμουν μετά σαν τη Μικρασία, σαν τα βουνά του Ηράκλειτου και των παππούδων μου, κι αμέσως κόνταιναν, μέρευαν, γίνονταν μεσογειακοί λόφοι, εύφορα χωράφια και φιλόξενες ακρογιαλιές.

Fig. 3.5. Imaginary projections onto the landscape of Asia Minor as Turkish mountains ready to swallow the narrator (top) and as fertile pastures and welcoming shores of narrator's grandparents (bottom) (Soloup 2014: 39). © Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.

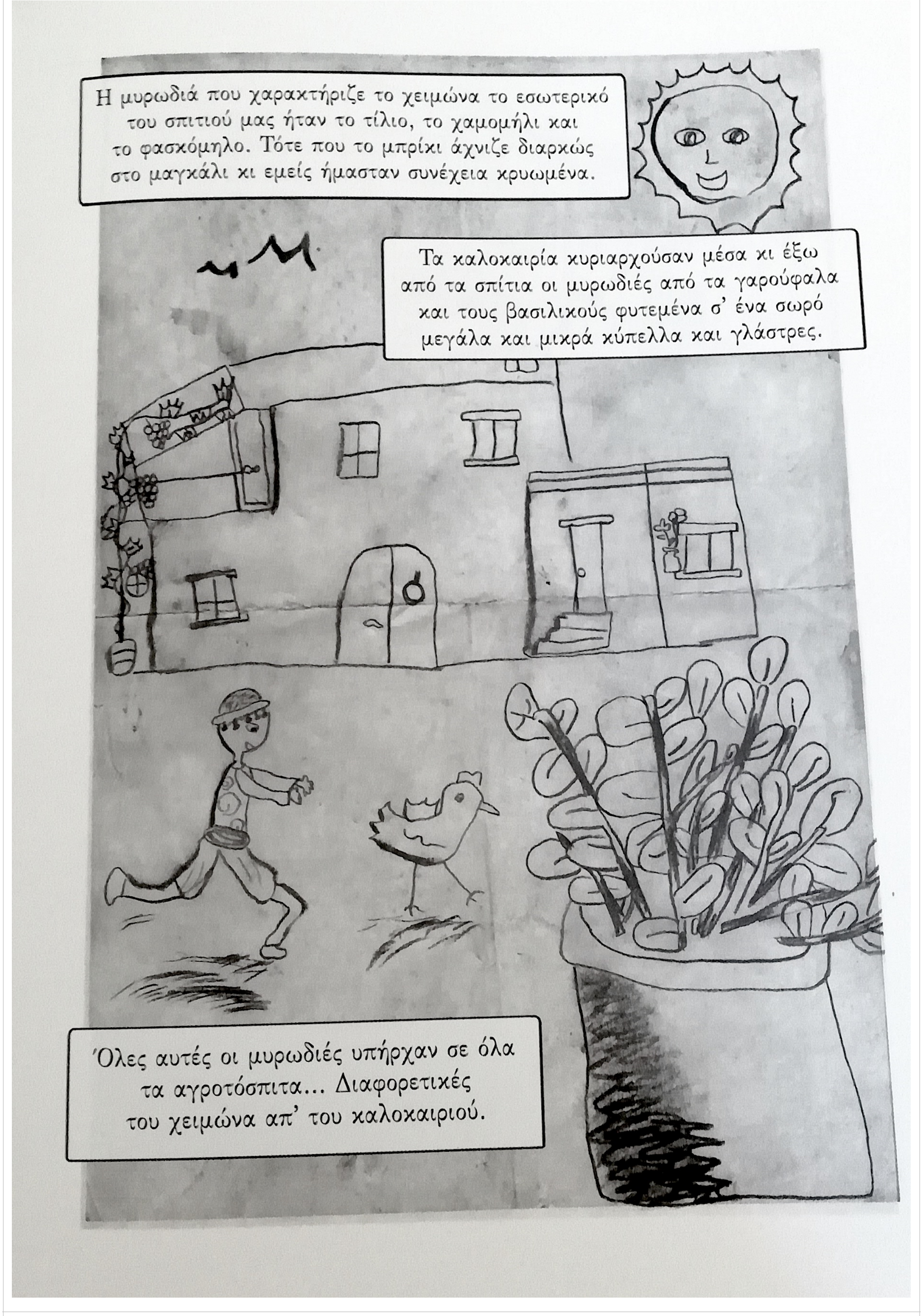
Η μυρωδιά που χαρακτήριζε το χειμώνα το εσωτερικό του σπιτιού μας ήταν το τίλιο, το χαμομήλι και το φασκόμηλο. Τότε που το μπρίκι άχνιζε διαρκώς στο μαγκάλι κι εμείς ήμασταν συνέχεια κρυωμένα.
Τα καλοκαιρία κυριαρχούσαν μέσα κι έξω από τα σπίτια οι μυρωδιές από τα γαρούφαλα και τους βασιλικούς φυτεμένα σ' ένα σωρό μεγάλα και μικρά κύπελλα και γλάστρες.
Όλες αυτές οι μυρωδιές υπήρχαν σε όλα τα αγροτόσπιτα... Διαφορετικές του χειμώνα απ' του καλοκαιριού.

Fig. 3.6. With a drawing of Soloup's daugther included into the book, a relay of remembrance reaches fourth generation (Soloup 2014: 233). © Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.

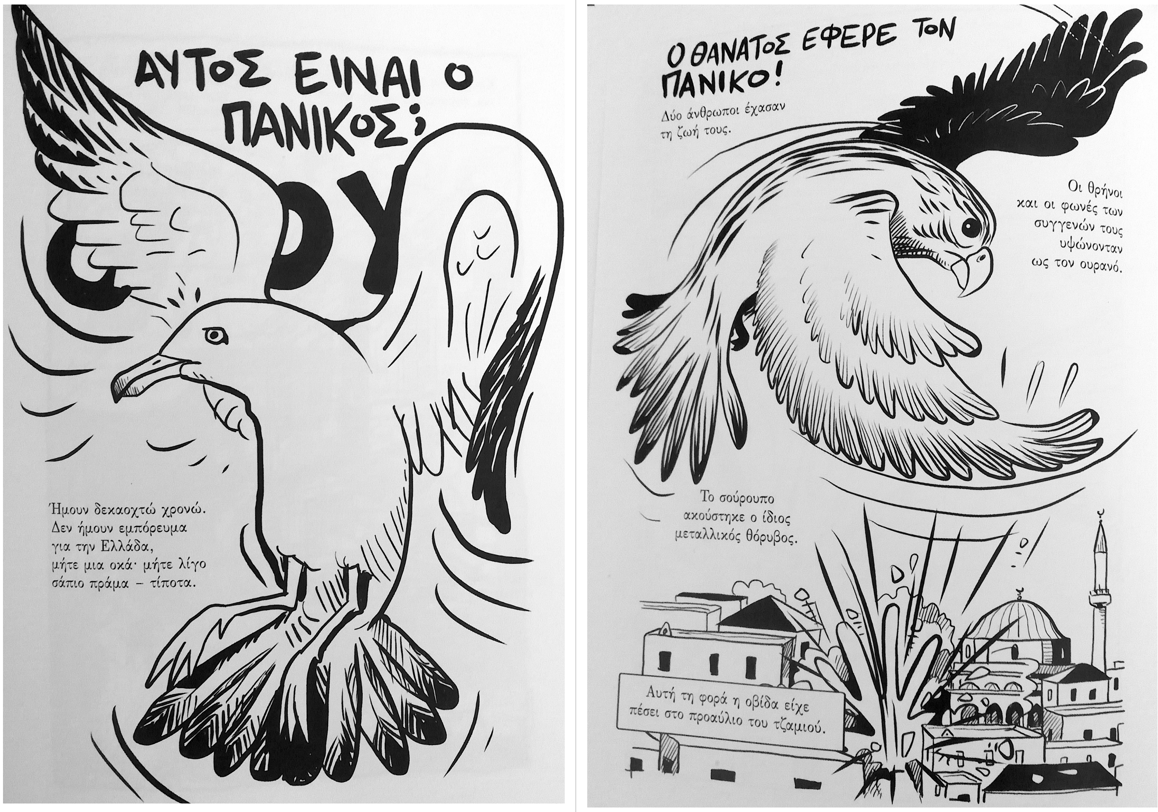
ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ Ο ΠΑΝΙΚΟΣ;
Ήμουν δεκαοχτώ χρονώ. Δεν ήμουν εμπόρευμα για την Ελλάδα, μήτε μια οκά· μήτε λίγο σάπιο πράμα – τίποτα.
Ο ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΕΦΕΡΕ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΝΙΚΟ!
Δύο άνθρωποι έχασαν τη ζωή τους.
Οι θρήνοι και οι φωνές των συγγενών τους υψώνονταν ως τον ουρανό.
Το σούρουπο ακούστηκε ο ίδιος μεταλλικός θόρυβος.
Αυτή τη φορά η οβίδα είχε πέσει στο προαύλιο του τζαμιού.

Fig. 3.7a. The seagull of Aivali turns into an eagle of Crete, they accompany the reader through the pages of the graphic novel but also cry out in the moment of panic. (Soloup 2014: 107, 254). © Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.

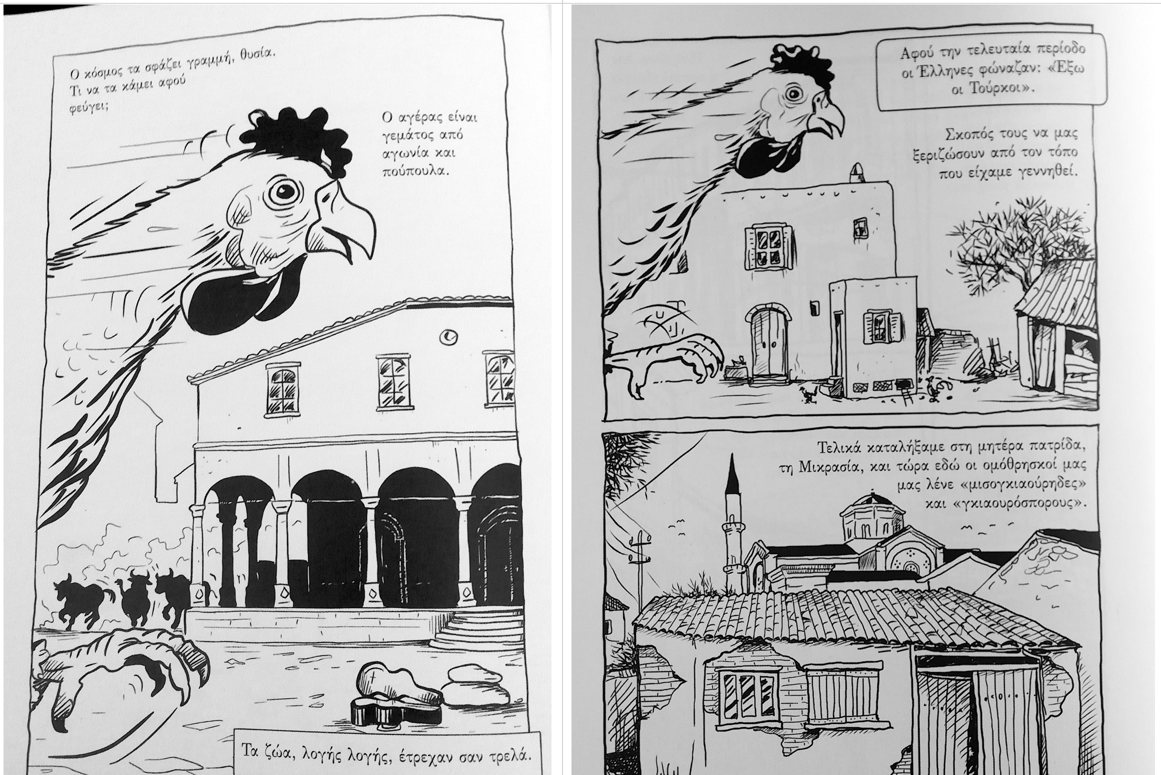
Ο κόσμος τα σφάζει γραμμή, θυσία. Τι να τα κάμει αφού φεύγει;
Ο αγέρας είναι γεμάτος από αγωνία και πούπουλα.
Τα ζώα, λογής λογής, έτρεχαν σαν τρελά.
Αφού την τελευταία περίοδο οι Έλληνες φώναζαν: «Έξω οι Τούρκοι».
Σκοπός τους να μας ξεριζώσουν από τον τόπο που είχαμε γεννηθεί.
Τελικά καταλήξαμε στη μητέρα πατρίδα, τη Μικρασία, και τώρα εδώ οι ομόθρησκοί μας μας λένε «μισογκιαούρηδες» και «γκιαουρόσπορους».

Fig. 3.7b. The chicken of Aivali from the chapter Aghape-Zechra appears when the local inhabitans run for their live and reappears again in Crete in the Chapter Hasanakis when the same fate awaits Cretan Muslims (Soloup 2014: 176, 236). © Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.

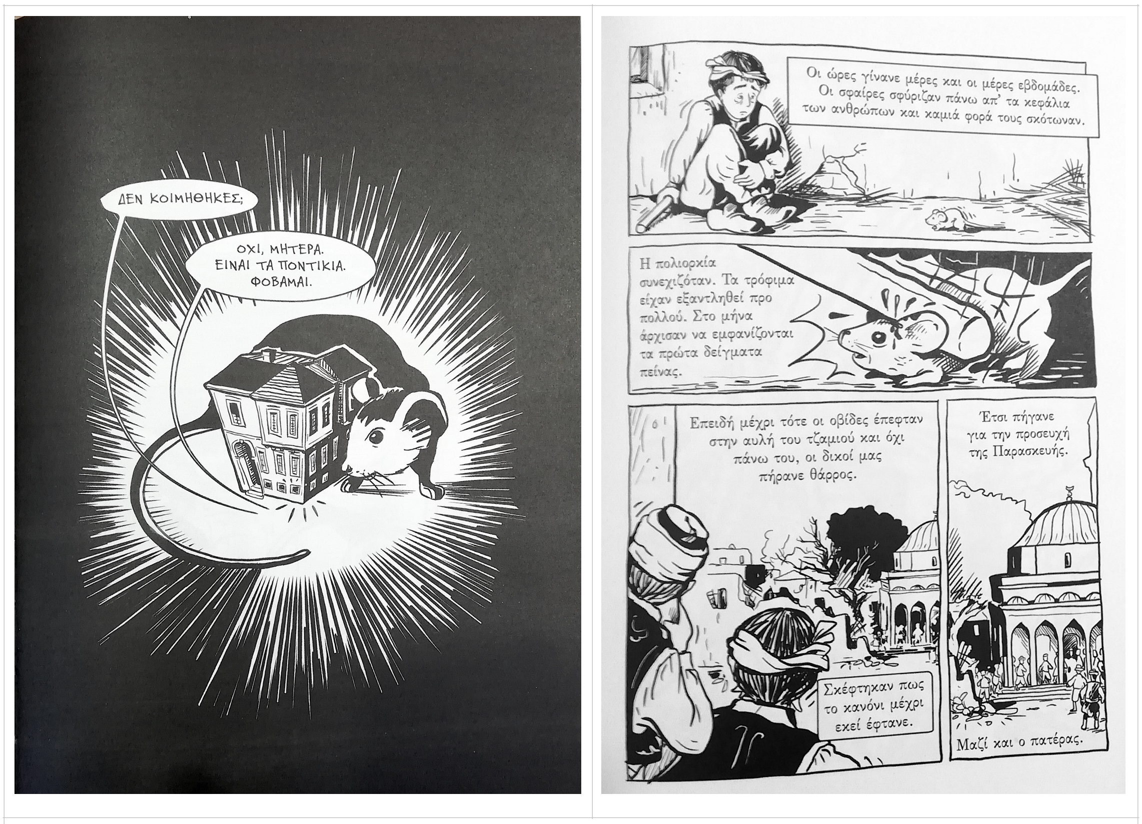
ΔΕΝ ΚΟΙΜΗΘΗΚΕΣ;
ΟΧΙ, ΜΗΤΕΡΑ. ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΑ ΠΟΝΤΙΚΙΑ. ΦΟΒΑΜΑΙ.
Οι ώρες γίνανε μέρες και οι μέρες εβδομάδες. Οι σφαίρες σφύριζαν πάνω απ' τα κεφάλια των ανθρώπων και καμιά φορά τους σκότωναν.
Η πολιορκία συνεχιζόταν. Τα τρόφιμα είχαν εξαντληθεί προ πολλού. Στο μήνα άρχισαν να εμφανίζονται τα πρώτα δείγματα πείνας.
Επειδή μέχρι τότε οι οβίδες έπεφταν στην αυλή του τζαμιού και όχι πάνω του, οι δικοί μας πήρανε θάρρος.
Σκέφτηκαν πως το κανόνι μέχρι εκεί έφτανε.
Έτσι πήγανε για την προσευχή της Παρασκευής.
Μαζί και ο πατέρας.

Fig. 3.7c. A giant mouse appears in the moment of fear in Aivali and in Crete (Soloup 2014: 127, 255). © Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.

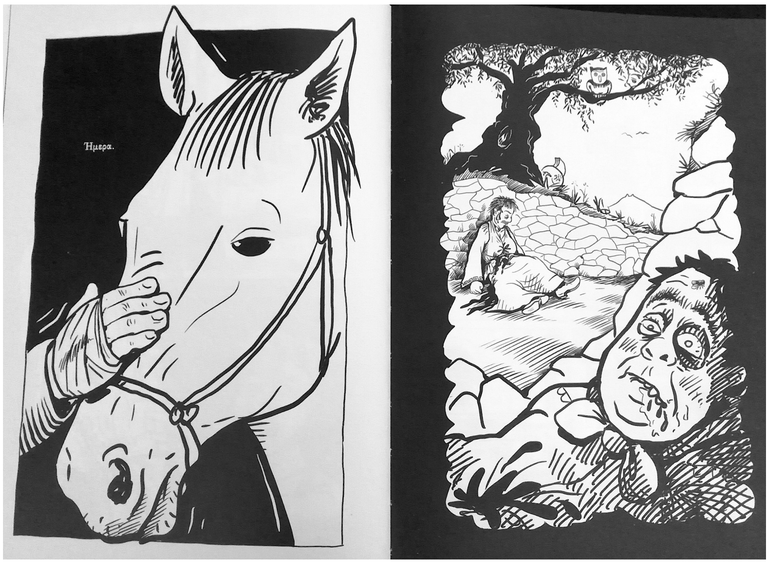

Fig. 3.7d. A double page spread juxtaposing an image of a guard caressing a horse contrasted with the story that he is telling of brutal killings of prisoners of war (Soloup 2014: 166-67).
© Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.

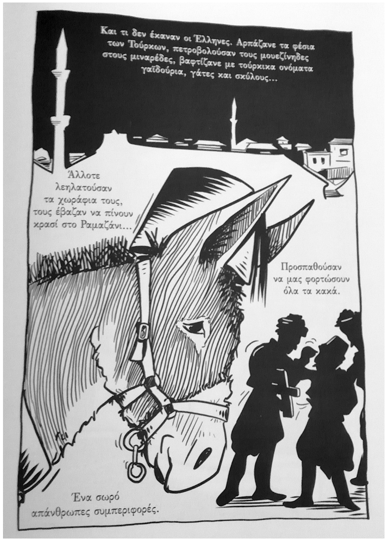
Και τι δεν έκαναν οι Έλληνες. Αρπάζανε τα φέσια των Τούρκων, πετροβολούσαν τους μουεζίνηδες στους μιναρέδες, βαφτίζανε με τούρκικα ονόματα γαϊδούρια, γάτες και σκύλους...
Άλλοτε λεηλατούσαν τα χωράφια τους, τους έβαζαν να πίνουν κρασί στο Ραμαζάνι...
Προσπαθούσαν να μας φορτώσουν όλα τα κακά.
Ένα σωρό απάνθρωπες συμπεριφορές.

Fig. 3.7e. A horse of Aivali turns into a mule in Crete (Soloup 2014: 227).
© Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.

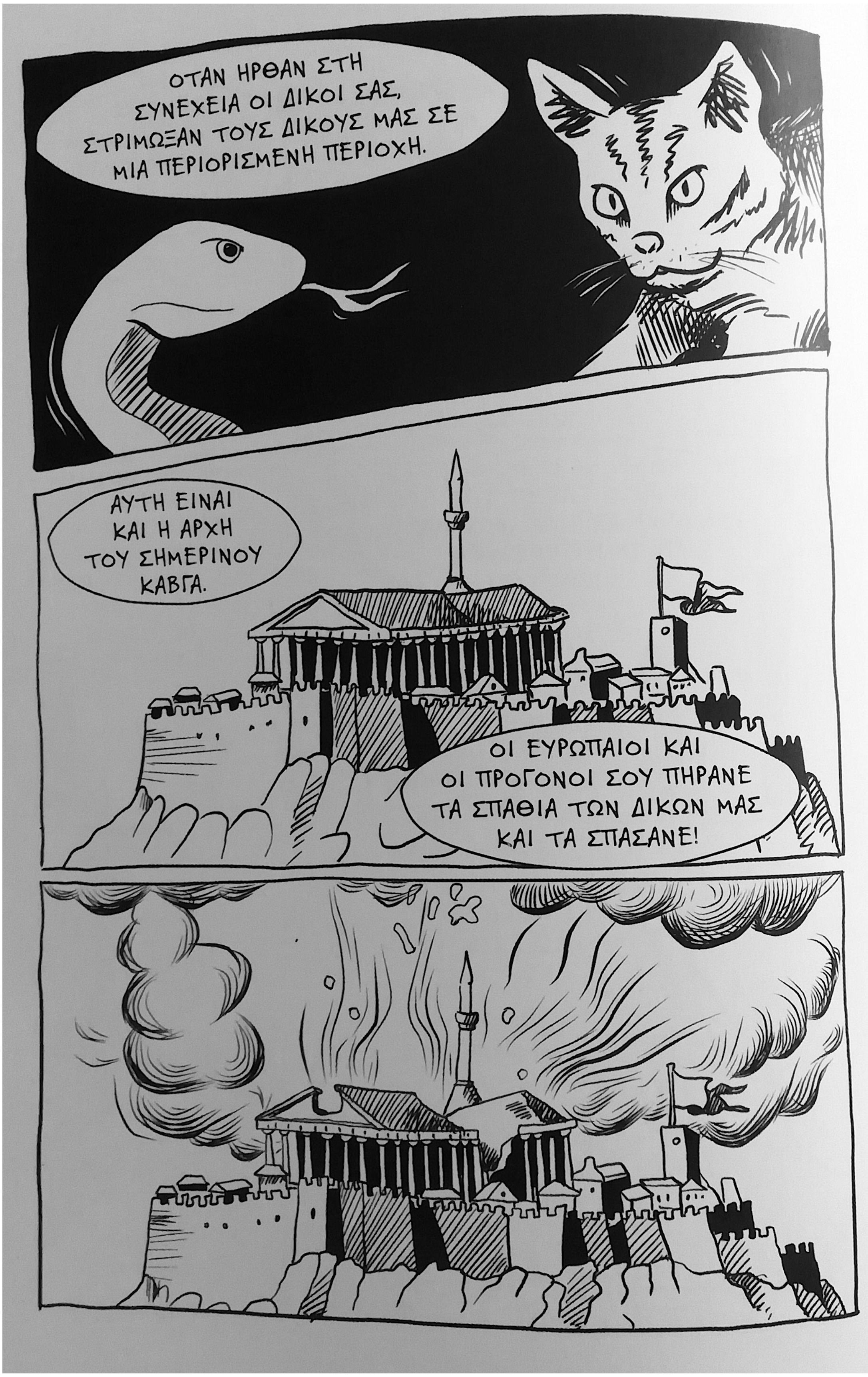
ΟΤΑΝ ΗΡΘΑΝ ΣΤΗ ΣΥΝΕΧΕΙΑ ΟΙ ΔΙΚΟΙ ΣΑΣ, ΣΤΡΙΜΩΞΑΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΟΥΣ ΜΑΣ ΣΕ ΜΙΑ ΠΕΡΙΟΡΙΣΜΕΝΗ ΠΕΡΙΟΧΗ.
ΑΥΤΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ Η ΑΡΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΣΗΜΕΡΙΝΟΥ ΚΑΒΓΑ.
ΟΙ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΙΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΠΡΟΓΟΝΟΙ ΣΟΥ ΠΗΡΑΝΕ ΤΑ ΣΠΑΘΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΚΩΝ ΜΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΣΠΑΣΑΝΕ!

Fig. 3.7f. A fight between a cat and a snake appears in several moments where the hostile feelings that Turks and Greeks project onto each other are discussed (Soloup 2014: 272). © Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.

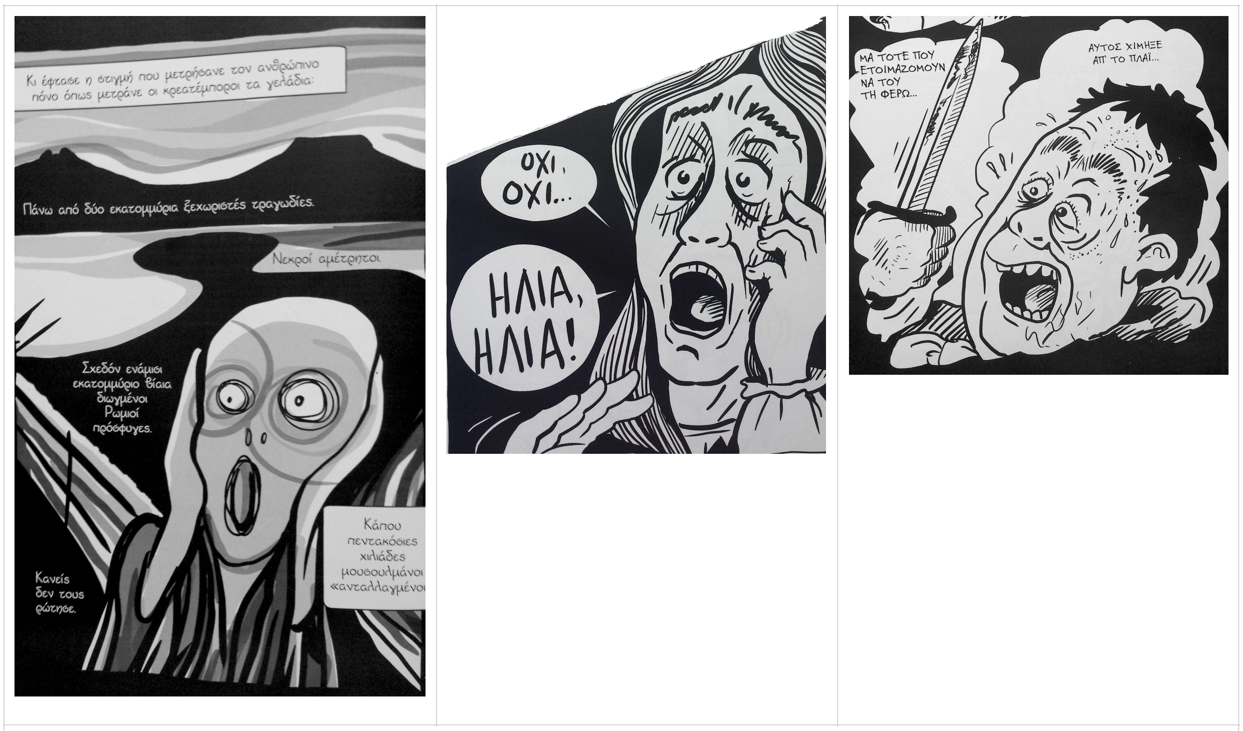
Κι έφτασε η στιγμή που μετρήσανε τον ανθρώπινο πόνο όπως μετράνε οι κρεατέμποροι τα γελάδια:
Πάνω από δύο εκατομμύρια ξεχωριστές τραγωδίες.
Νεκροί αμέτρητοι.
Σχεδόν ενάμισι εκατομμύριο βίαια διωγμένοι Ρωμιοί πρόσφυγες.
Κάπου πεντακόσιες χιλιάδες μουσουλμάνοι «ανταλλαγμένοι
Κανείς δεν τους ρώτησε.
ΟΧΙ, ΟΧΙ...
ΗΛΙΑ, ΗΛΙΑ!
ΜΑ ΤΟΤΕ ΠΟΥ ΕΤΟΙΜΑΖΟΜΟΥΝ ΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΤΗ ΦΕΡΩ...
ΑΥΤΟΣ ΧΙΜΗΞΕ ΑΠ' ΤΟ ΠΛΑΪ...

Image 3.8. Appropriation of Edvard Munch's Scream, with Aivali in the background (Soloup 2014: 39). This allusion then echoes through many subsequent storylines, as evident from two examples to the right (Soloup 2014: 223, 163). © Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.

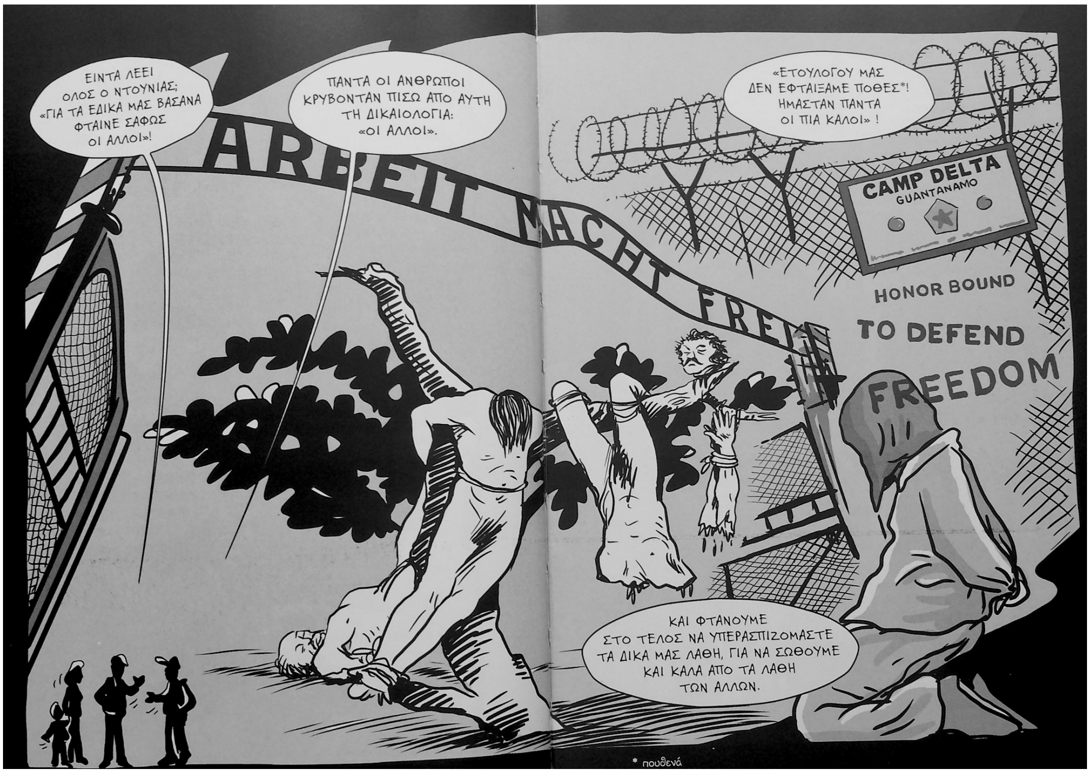
ΕΙΝΤΑ ΛΕΕΙ ΟΛΟΣ Ο ΝΤΟΥΝΙΑΣ; «ΓΙΑ ΤΑ ΕΔΙΚΑ ΜΑΣ ΒΑΣΑΝΑ ΦΤΑΙΝΕ ΣΑΦΩΣ ΟΙ ΑΛΛΟΙ»!
ΠΑΝΤΑ ΟΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ ΚΡΥΒΟΝΤΑΝ ΠΙΣΩ ΑΠΟ ΑΥΤΗ ΤΗ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ: «ΟΙ ΑΛΛΟΙ».
«ΕΤΟΥΛΟΓΟΥ ΜΑΣ ΔΕΝ ΕΦΤΑΙΞΑΜΕ ΠΟΘΕΣ*! ΗΜΑΣΤΑΝ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΟΙ ΠΙΑ ΚΑΛΟΙ» !
ARBEIT MACHT FREI
CAMP DELTA
GUANTANAMO
HONOR BOUND
TO DEFEND
FREEDOM
ΚΑΙ ΦΤΑΝΟΥΜΕ ΣΤΟ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΝΑ ΥΠΕΡΑΣΠΙΖΟΜΑΣΤΕ ΤΑ ΔΙΚΑ ΜΑΣ ΛΑΘΗ, ΓΙΑ ΝΑ ΣΩΘΟΥΜΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΑ ΛΑΘΗ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ.
* πουθενά

Image 3.9. A spread collating Francisco de Goya's etching No. 39 from the series *The Disasters of War* (1810-1820), the gate of Auschwitz, and the barbed wire around the detention camp of Guantanamo Bay. On the left hand corner a discussion between Adonis and Mehmet unfolds, bringing two opposing versions of Greek and Turkish history into dialogue and framing it in a wider global context. © Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author. © Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.

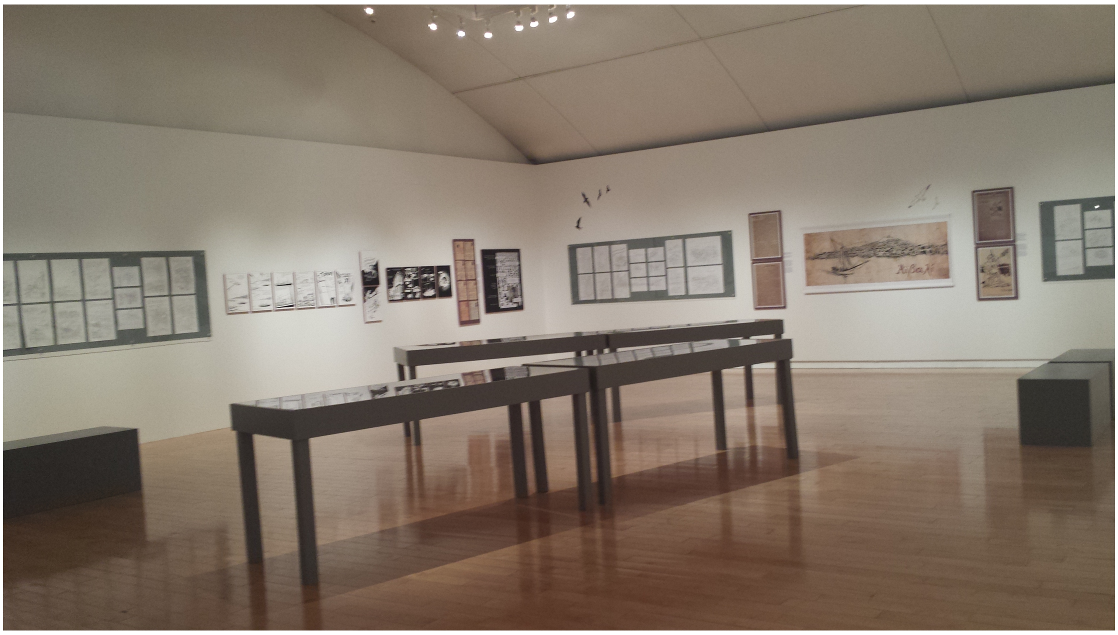

Fig. 3.10. A snapshot of the exhibition *Soloup Aivali: A Journey through Time* that took place at Benaki Museum (Pireos) between 10 February 2015 to 17 May 2015. © Kristina Gedgaudaitė (personal archive)

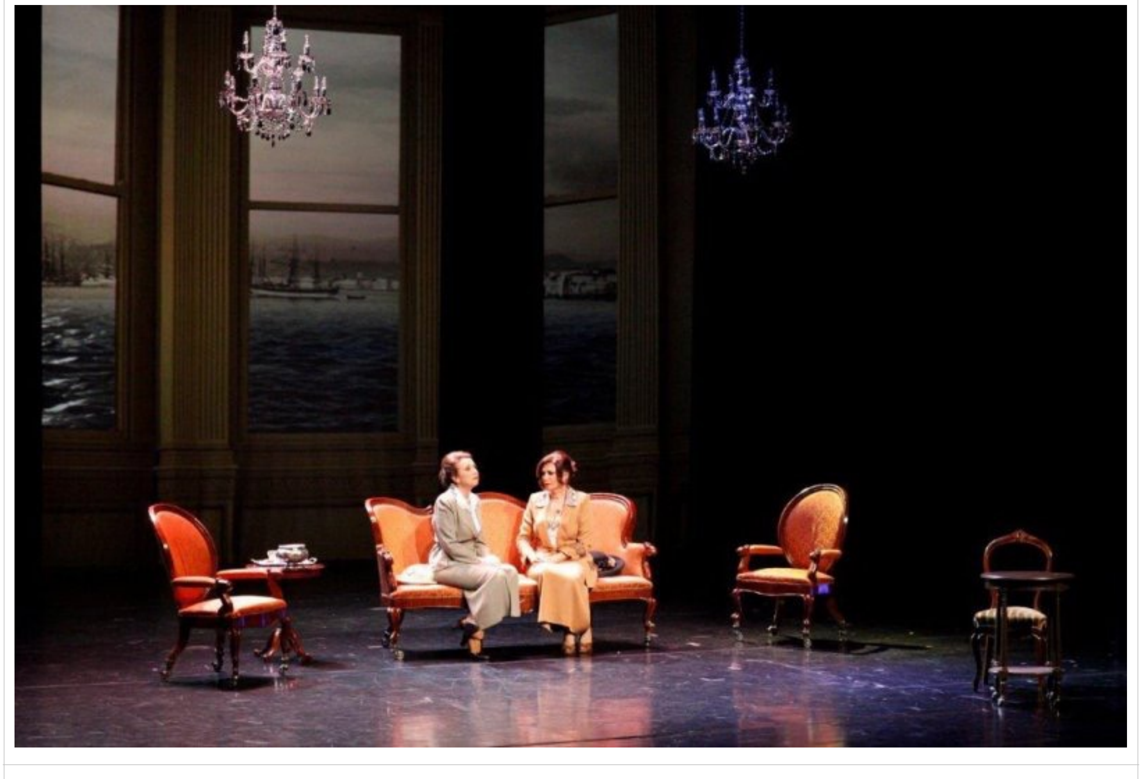

Fig. 4.1. Filio and Takoui in the family living room. The Bay of Smyrna can be seen through the windows. © Smyrni mou agapimeni. Performance promotional material.

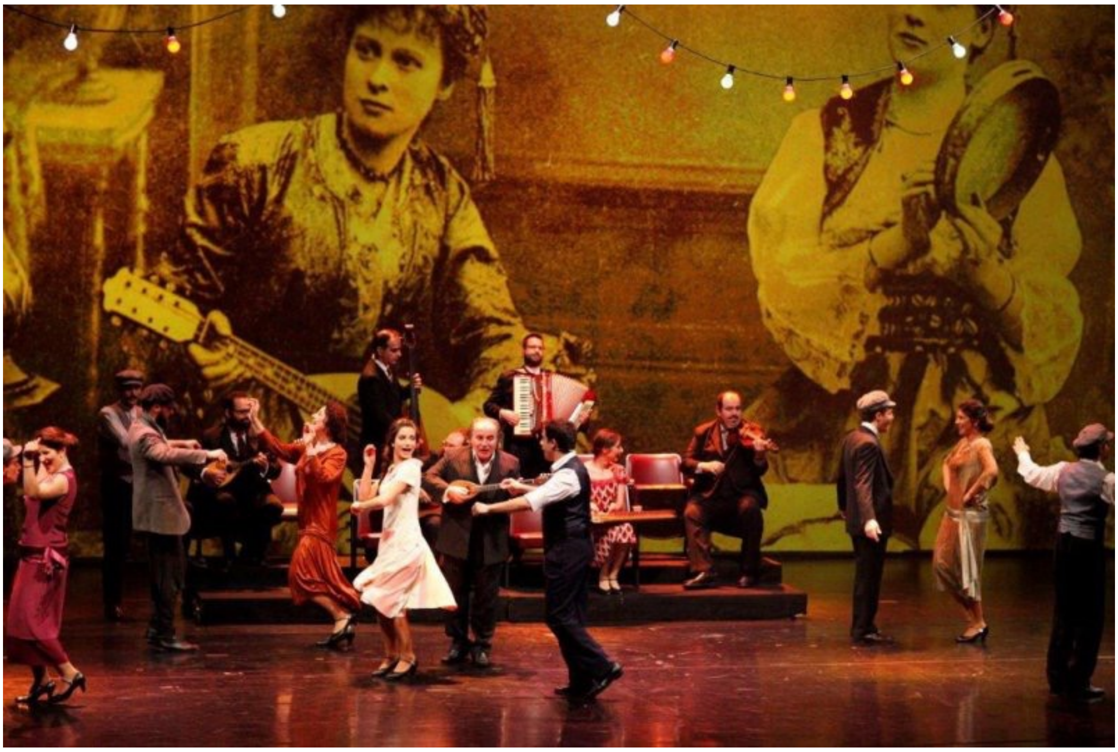

Fig. 4.2. A night out in the taverna. Zacharoula and Vasilakis dancing. © Smyrni mou agapimeni. Performance promotional material.

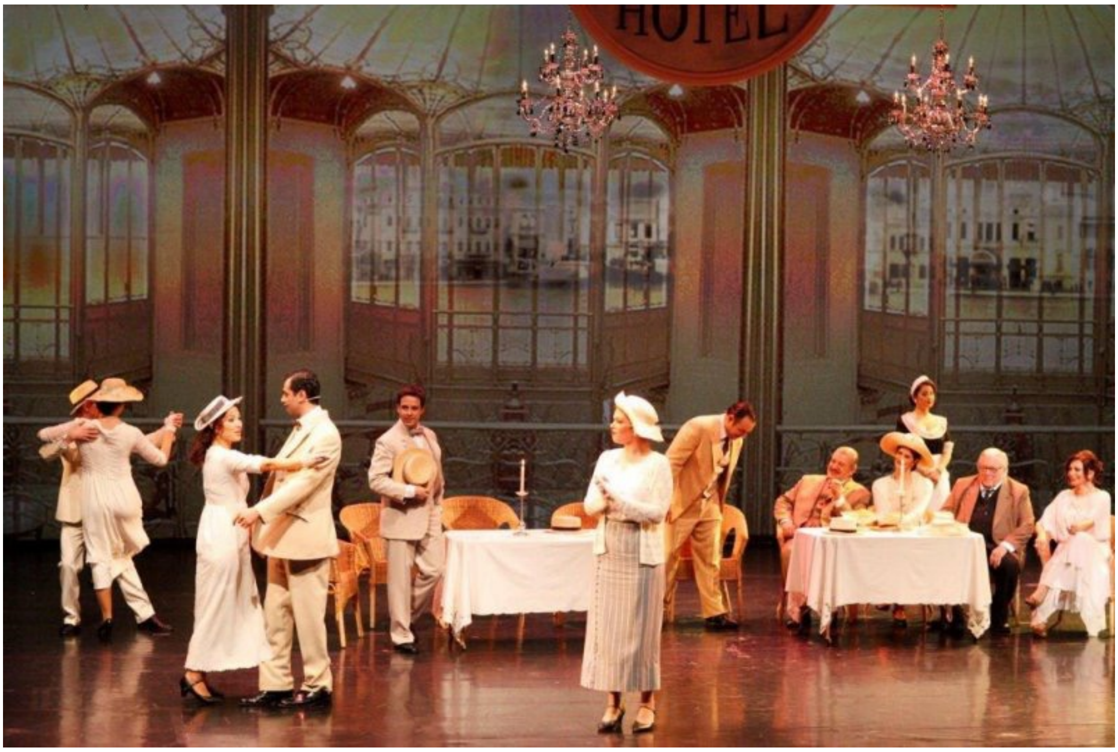

Fig. 4.3. Afternoon tea at the Kraimer Palace, one of the most famous hotels in Smyrna. © Smyrni mou agapimeni. Performance promotional material.

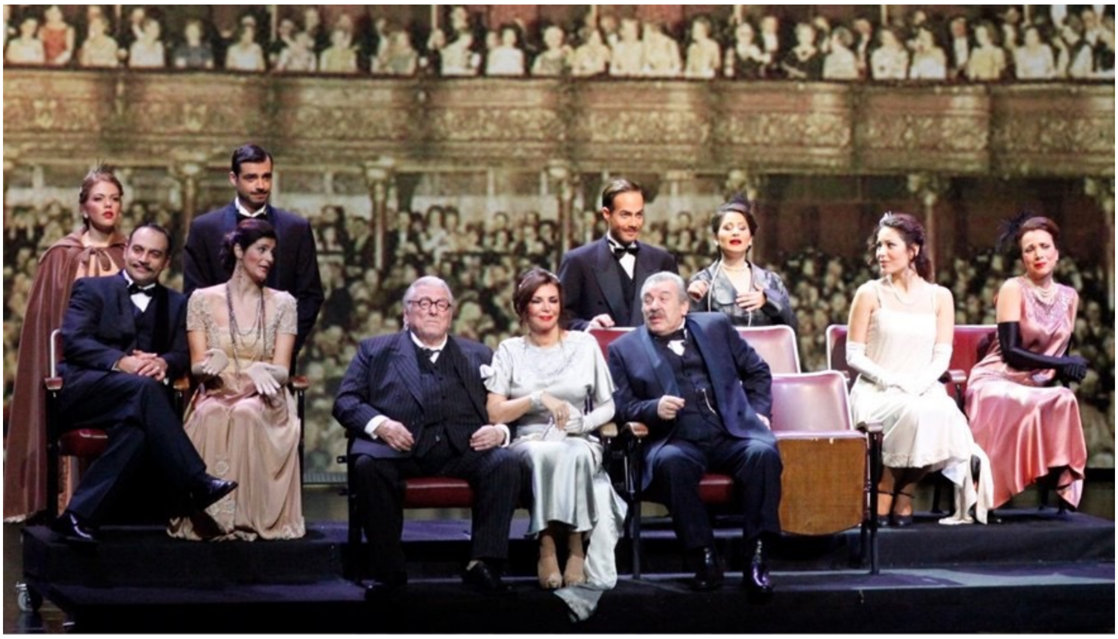

Fig. 4.4. The performance of *Rigoletto* in the Opera of Smyrna.
© Smyrni mou agapimeni. Performance promotional material.

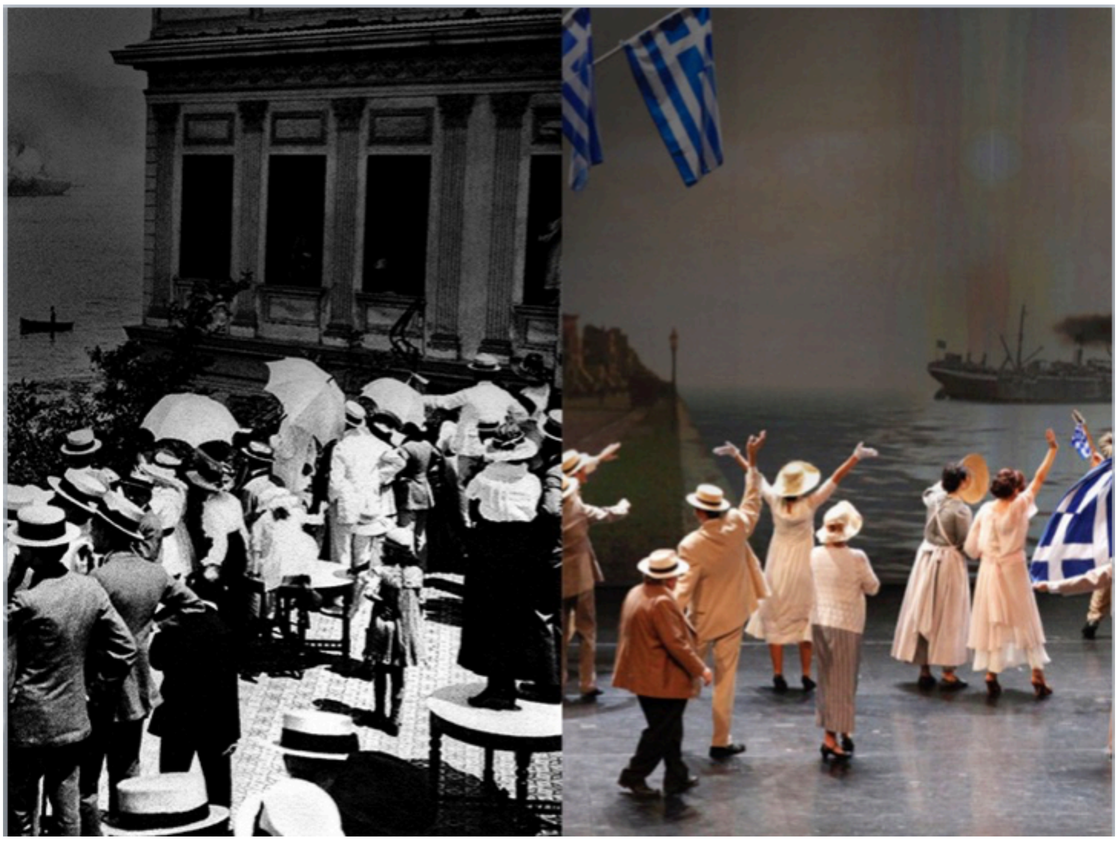

Fig. 4.5. Left: welcoming the boats to Smyrna. Sporting Club, May 1919 © Imperial War Museum. Reproduced from *Σμύρνη: Η Καταστροφή μιας κοσμοπολίτικης πόλης*, edited by Maria Iliou and Alexander Kitroeff, pg. 79.
Right: The same moment recreated in the performance *Σμυρνή μου αγαπημένη* © Smyrni mou agapimeni. Performance promotional material.

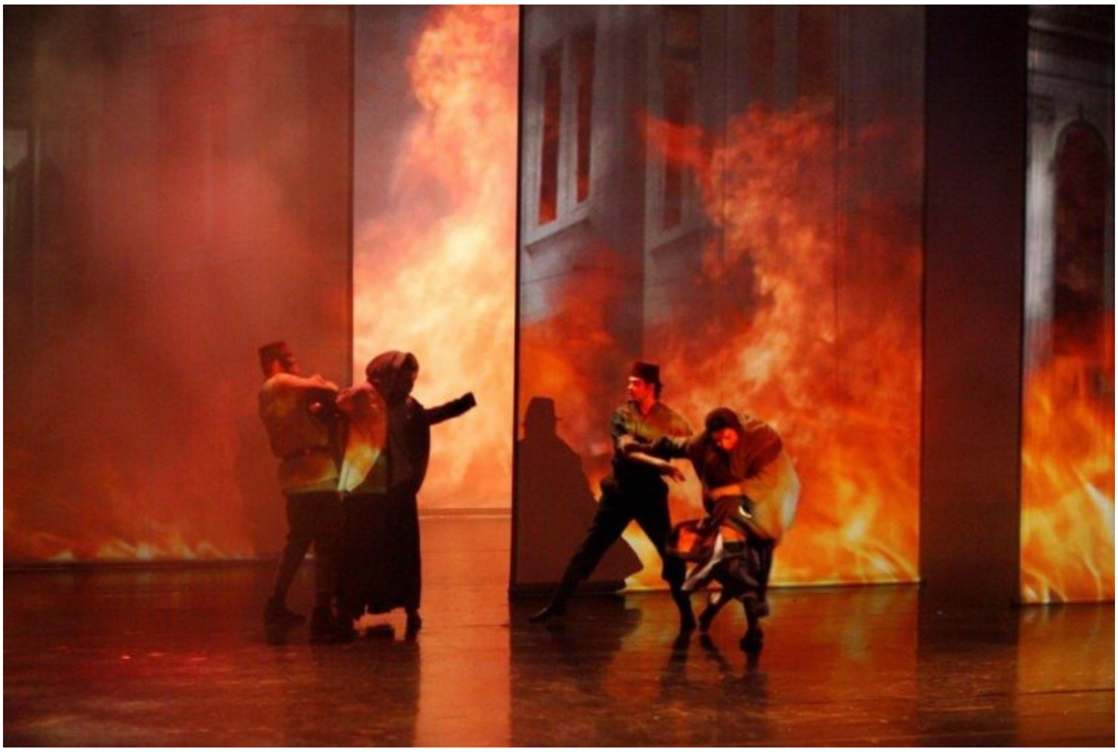

Fig. 4.6. In the chaos of the burning Smyrna. © Smyrni mou agapimeni. Performance promotional material.

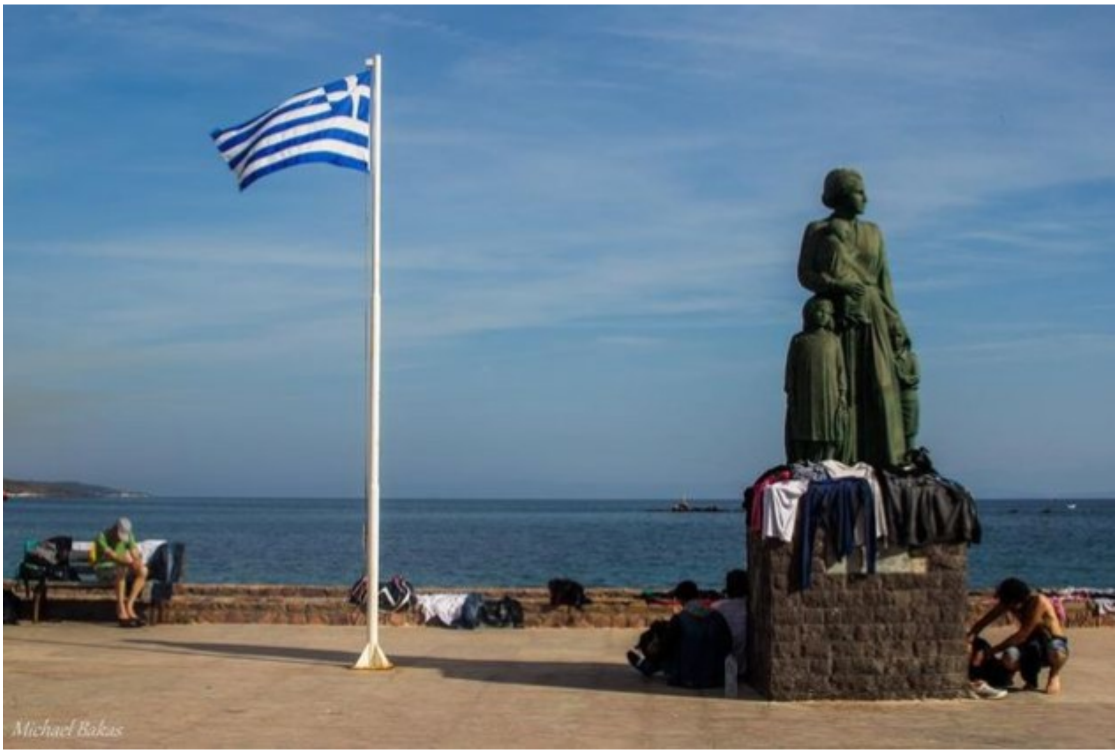

Fig. 5.1. Refugees drying their cloths at the statue of Mother from Asia Minor on the island of Lesvos. A photograph from *EfSyn* newsportal. © Michalis Bakas, EfSyn. Available on: https://www.efsyn.gr/ellada/koinonia/42623_ayti-einai-i-mana-moy Last accessed on 1 October, 2018.

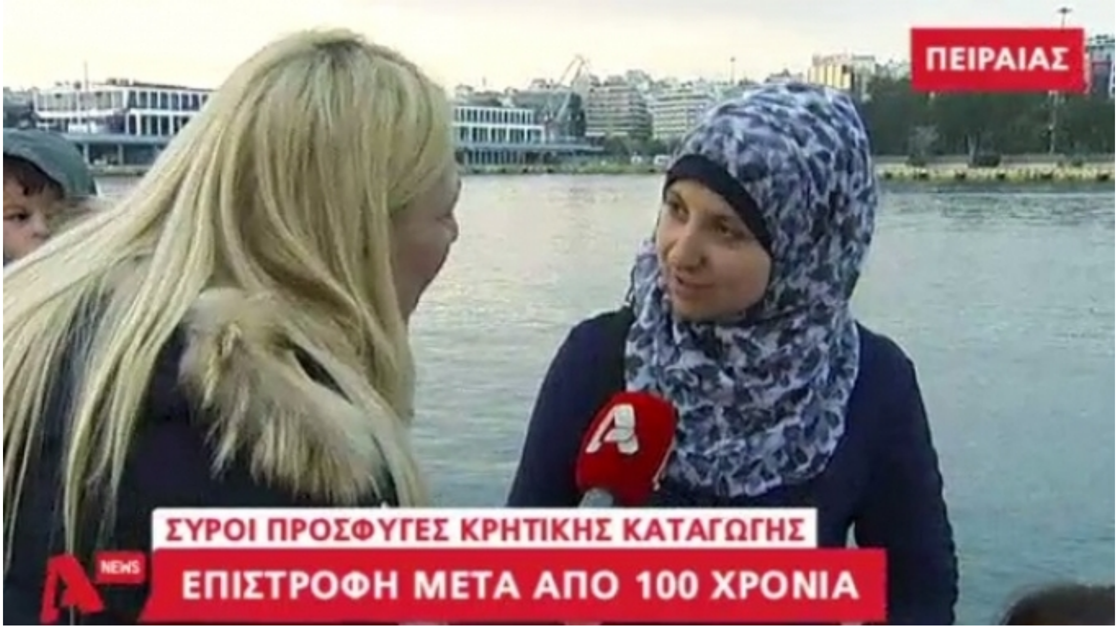
ΠΕΙΡΑΙΑΣ
ΣΥΡΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΦΥΓΕΣ ΚΡΗΤΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΓΩΓΗΣ
NEWS
ΕΠΙΣΤΡΟΦΗ ΜΕΤΑ ΑΠΟ 100 ΧΡΟΝΙΑ

Fig. 5.2. Refugees from Al-Hamidiyah arrive to Greece. The headline reads: “Syrian refugees of Cretan Heritage: Return after a Hundred Years”. A still from a news report. © Alfa. Available on http://agonaskritis.gr/σύροι-πρόσφυγες-κρητικής-καταγωγής-ε Last accessed 1 October 2018.

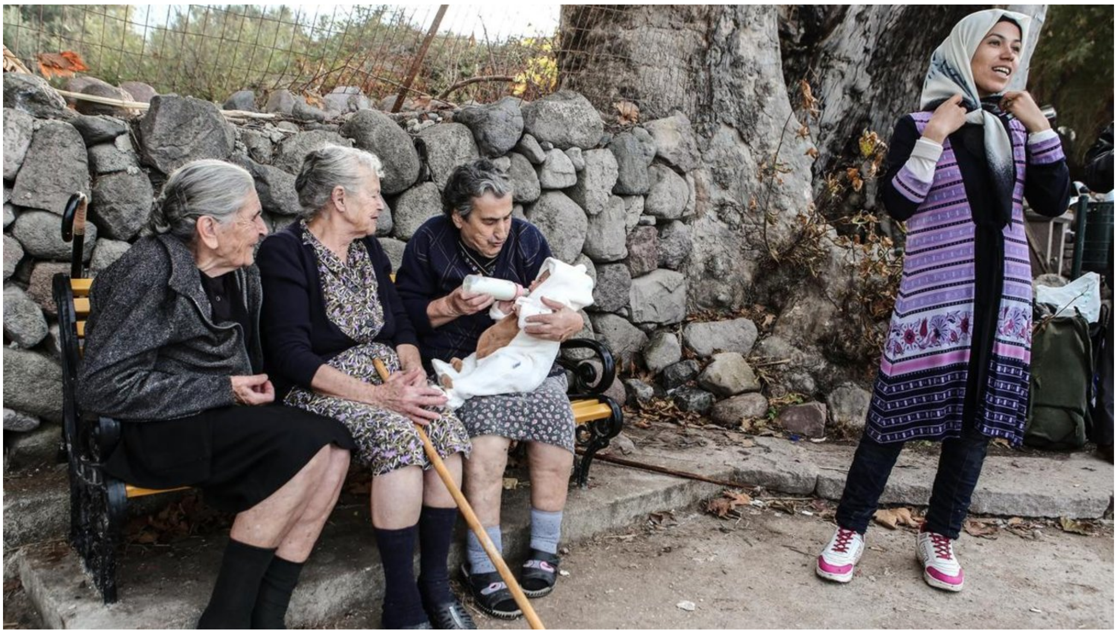

Fig. 5.3. Grandmothers taking care of a refugee infant in Skala Sykaminas, Lesvos. A photograph taken by Lefteris Partsalis, summer 2015. © Lefteris Partsalis. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.

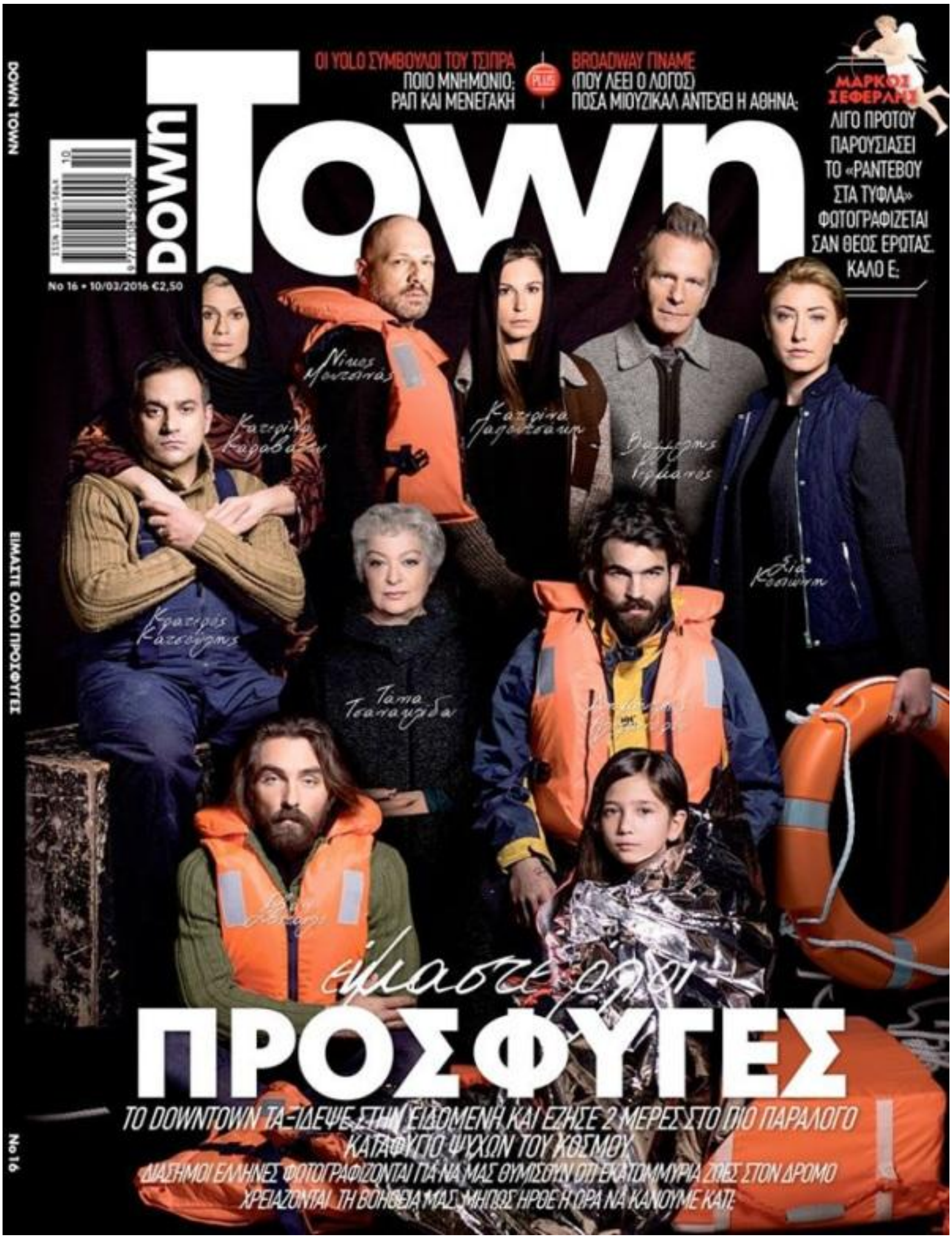
ΟΙ YOLO ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΣΙΠΡΑ
ΠΟΙΟ ΜΝΗΜΟΝΙΟ; ΡΑΠ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΕΓΑΚΗ
PLUS
BROADWAY ΓΙΝΑΜΕ
(ΠΟΥ ΛΕΕΙ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ)
ΠΟΣΑ ΜΙΟΥΖΙΚΑΛ ΑΝΤΕΧΕΙ Η ΑΘΗΝΑ;
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΣΕΦΕΡΛΗΣ
ΛΙΓΟ ΠΡΟΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑΣΕΙ ΤΟ «ΡΑΝΤΕΒΟΥ ΣΤΑ ΤΥΦΛΑ» ΦΩΤΟΓΡΑΦΙΖΕΤΑΙ ΣΑΝ ΘΕΟΣ ΕΡΩΤΑΣ. ΚΑΛΟ Ε;
DOWN Town
No 16 • 10/03/2016 €2,50
DOWN TOWN
ΕΙΜΑΣΤΕ ΟΛΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΦΥΓΕΣ
No 16
Νίκος Μουτσινάς
Κατερίνα Καραβάτου
Κατερίνα Παπουτσάκη
Σία Κοσιώνη
Κρατερός Κατσούλης
Τάνια Τσανακλίδου
είμαστε όλοι
ΠΡΟΣΦΥΓΕΣ
ΤΟ DOWNTOWN ΤΑΞΙΔΕΨΕ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΙΔΟΜΕΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΖΗΣΕ 2 ΜΕΡΕΣ ΣΤΟ ΠΙΟ ΠΑΡΑΛΟΓΟ ΚΑΤΑΦΥΓΙΟ ΨΥΧΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ
ΔΙΑΣΗΜΟΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΦΩΤΟΓΡΑΦΙΖΟΝΤΑΙ ΓΙΑ ΝΑ ΜΑΣ ΘΥΜΙΣΟΥΝ ΟΤΙ ΕΚΑΤΟΜΜΥΡΙΑ ΖΩΕΣ ΣΤΟΝ ΔΡΟΜΟ ΧΡΕΙΑΖΟΝΤΑΙ ΤΗ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ ΜΑΣ. ΜΗΠΩΣ ΗΡΘΕ Η ΩΡΑ ΝΑ ΚΑΝΟΥΜΕ ΚΑΤΙ;

Fig. 5.4. Celebrities photoshopped onto the frontcover of *Downtown* magazine. The headline reads “We are all refugees”. 10 March 2016. © Downtown Magazine Greece

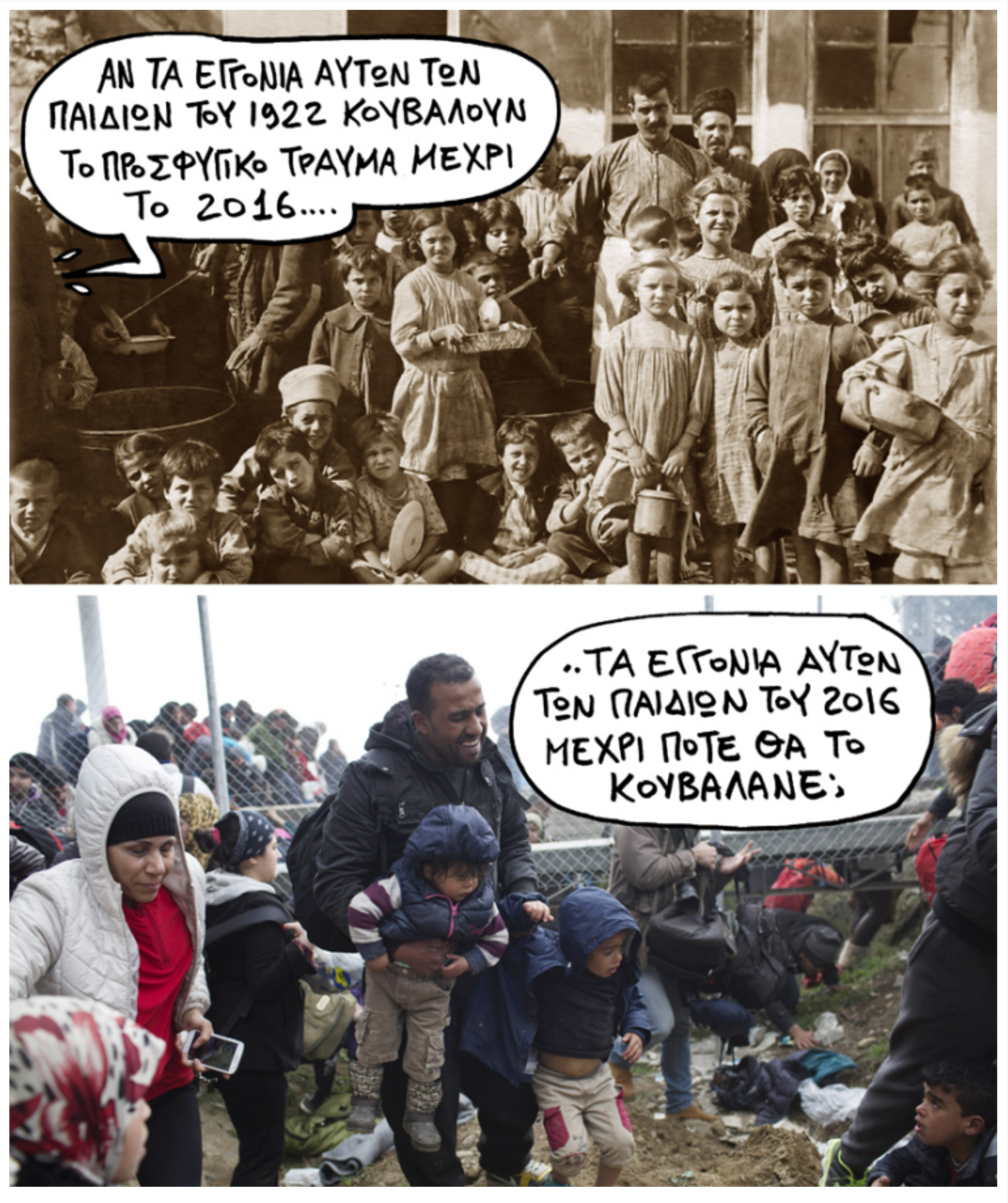
ΑΝ ΤΑ ΕΓΓΟΝΙΑ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ 1922 ΚΟΥΒΑΛΟΥΝ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΦΥΓΙΚΟ ΤΡΑΥΜΑ ΜΕΧΡΙ ΤΟ 2016....
..ΤΑ ΕΓΓΟΝΙΑ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ 2016 ΜΕΧΡΙ ΠΟΤΕ ΘΑ ΤΟ ΚΟΥΒΑΛΑΝΕ;

Fig. 5.5. Cartoon of the visual artist Soloup juxtaposing 1922 with 2015. The speech balloons read "If the grandchildren of these children of 1922 carry the refugee trauma until 2016…/Until when will the grandchildren of these children of 2016 carry it?'. © Soloup. Reproduced with kind permission of the author.

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