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Immigrants in Smyrna – Refugees in Greece: Subsequent Transformations of Identity among Kytherian Migrants

We think that our paper legitimises in a way Antonis Liakos's suggestion that all our studies have an autobiographical character. As a matter of fact our paper denotes also the transformation of two historians of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries to contemporary historians. For both of us, Vienna – either as a centre for social history and historical anthropology, or as place of study, scientific inquiry and exchange – has played a significant role in our personal and scientific evolution.

During the last years we both had the opportunity to work on problems concerning migration and refugees' memory at the "Foundation of the Hellenic World" (FHW), a private cultural foundation in Athens. There are two large scale projects, the "Encyclopedia of Asia Minor Hellenism" and the "Refugees' Genealogy and Testimonies Project", which act as the departure point of our intellectual travel into the world of the migration of Aegean Greeks to Asia Minor and the reverse movements of refugees after the defeat of the Greeks in the War of 1919–1922. Yannis Karachristos has written several papers on migration and on various Greek Orthodox communities. Among them, one deals with the different migratory movements of the Orthodox population of Asia Minor.¹ In the FHW genealogy department we have collected – and we still collect – genealogies of refugees' families, who, in many cases, initially originated from the present Greek State.² We

¹ IOANNIS KARACHRISTOS, Theoretische Überlegungen zur Wahrnehmung der Migration. Am Beispiel von Migrationen griechisch-orthodoxer Bevölkerungsgruppen Kleinasiens, in *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik. Beiträge zum Symposium Vierzig Jahre Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien im Gedanken an Herbert Hunger (Wien, 4.–7. Dezember 2002)*, [Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia XXIV], Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vienna, 2004, p. 231–240.

² See: <http://genealogy.ime.gr>.

have also interviewed over 100 refugees, who talked about their reminiscences of their ancestors and family history.³ The participation in this project indicates that a lot of people still share a “refugee identity” which is expressed by the technically false terminus “first, second, third refugees’ generation”.⁴

In the course of the twentieth century, we experienced an amalgamation of the Greek population and the rise of new social and local identities, such as the Macedonian identity of Pontian, Greek and Slavic-Macedonian elements, or as the new urban identities in Attica and Thessaloniki.⁵ On the other hand, personal biodromes indicate a more complicated process of construction and reconstruction of identities, which very rarely comes to word or is depicted in the large-scale images of grand history.

In the words of Dominic La Capra, “identity does involve modes of being with others that range from the actual to the imagined, virtual, sought-after, normatively affirmed, or utopian”.⁶ In our case, memory plays a significant role in the expression and the awareness of personal identity. Memory can be examined from different aspects and in different contexts, but we think that communicative memory fits our case best, because it is closer to biography and individual experience, and because it uses more interaction, personal contacts and performative processes than media, propaganda and mass communication. It is created in the context of small memory communities (called here mnemonic communities), and affects a maximum of three to four generations.⁷

³ On the genealogical evolution of this genre of Asia Minor Refugees’ Testimonies see, MICHAEL WARLAS, Από τη δικαστική κατάθεση στην τηλεοπτική συνέντευξη. Τεχνολογία ‘μαρτυριών’ μικρασιατών προσφύγων, in the proceedings of the conference “*Claiming History. Aspects of Contemporary Historical Culture*” held in Athens on November 30–December 2, 2001, in the CD-ROM accompanying the journal *Historein* 4 (2003–2004), Athens 2004.

⁴ See, MICHAEL WARLAS, Η διαμόρφωση της προσφυγικής μνήμης, in GIORGOS TZEDOPOULOS (ED.), *Πέρα από την Καταστροφή*. Athens (IME), 2003, pp. 148–150.

⁵ On Greek Macedonian identities see PETER MACKRIDGE AND ELENI YANNAKAKIS (EDS.), *Ourselves and others: the development of a Greek Macedonian cultural identity since 1912*, Oxford (Berg), 1997.

⁶ DOMINIC LA CAPRA, *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory*. Ithaca and London, 2004, p. 37.

⁷ On memory in general, see ALEIDA ASSMANN, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*. München (Verlag C. H. Beck), 2003. On social memory as a special aspect of collective memory, see HARALD WELZER (HRSG.), *Das soziale Gedächtnis. Geschichte, Erinnerung, Tradierung*. Hamburg, 2001. On communicative memory see JAN ASSMAN, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München (Verlag C.H.Beck), 1999, p. 48–56.

Communicative memory focuses on narration and representation and gives us the chance to objectify identity through narratives instead of considering identity as an essential analytical category in historical inquiry. Identity issues can be expressed through questions that reveal how people transform their identities, how they are able to adopt new identities, and how much new or alternating identities confront older or institutionalised ones.

Voluntary migration and forced migration put identity issues into a new context. Shared trauma leads people to idealize the place they once lived in, and very often to adopt a hard and inelastic version of local or ethnic identity, even if these same people seem to react very differently in other aspects of their personal and social lives.⁸ The trauma minimizes the gap between different generations, which experience through narratives and memory rituals imaginary impressions of their lost homeland. Even then, what we see as crystallized identities are actually crystallized representations of identities in the context of the specific collective memory of the community.⁹

Historical events and processes affect memory and identity rather indirectly, changing the mnemonic community, its limits, its structure and the position of its members. In the case of Kytherian migrants in Asia Minor we can notice a double shift, before and after 1922. Before 1922 the movement to Smyrna put the migrants in the context of Kytherian Diaspora out of the island, in Greece or over the world. After 1922 the Smyrniot-Kytherians became refugees, a social and political group different from other Kytherian migrants. New generations grew up with a distant echo of their origin, but very seldom did they visit the island or did they settle in their supposed villages. The symbols of their mnemonic communities and their social or cultural networks turn around Smyrna and its bourgeois tradition or myth. Local identity became a matter of choice, of culture, of social orientation and scope.

Objects or concepts with specific symbolic value may connect people to one or the other place and group. Family or birth house, matrimonial positions, signs of family continuity like name giving, the family feasts and the cult of ancestors or community saints, letters, documents and photographs encourage people to invest in one or another identity. The material base of the family, the inheritance or the opportunity to acquire new property, like

⁸ PETER LOIZOS, *The Heart Grown Bitter: A Chronicle of Cypriot War Refugees*. Cambridge (Cambridge University Press), 1981.

⁹ See W. BOHLEBER, Trauma, Trauer und Geschichte, in: LIEBSCH, B., RÜSEN, J. (ED.), *Trauer und Geschichte*. Köln, 2001, pp.131–145, the citation on p.144.

the refugees' houses, possibilities to obtain new resources or wealth played a major role in the formation of new local identities.

The wide spread in family and community history "crisis hypothesis" would find here a wide spectrum of alternative uses. Biographies and life stories show us the importance of the particular and the dynamics of micro-structures. Kinship, economic and emotional ties would be recreated over and over again in the troubled times of the interwar, war and post-war periods, with differentiating effects on the experience of specific age groups, professional groups and social milieus. Reproduction, marriage patterns and familial or personal strategies can shed light on what larger history and statistics consider unquestionable or dark.

The generational approach involves again the issue of timing for adopting or transforming a local / social identity, and the issue of the importance of turning points within the family cycle and the *personal life course*.¹⁰ Even the interest in, or the significance of, knowledge of one's local origin can be seen rather as the apparatus of one or the other generation to gain self-consciousness and to achieve a position in his Lebenswelt.¹¹

Although we are trained as historians, we shall try to examine how all these different aspects influence the present situation. How they interact with the narrated identities as well as with the countable or experienced evaluated "realities". How personal history interacts with structural processes, historical events and the culture of being with the others.

¹⁰ On the family cycle and the life course approach, see REINHARD SIEDER AND MICHAEL MITTERAUER, The reconstruction of the family life course. Theoretical problems and empirical results, in R. WALL, J. ROBIN AND P. LASLETT (EDS.), *Family Forms in Historic Europe*. Cambridge, 1983, pp. 309–345, TAMARA K. HAREVEN (ED.), *Transitions. The Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective*. New York–London e.a., 1978, especially, TAMARA K. HAREVEN, Introduction: The Historical Study of the Life Course, pp. 1–16; JANET Z.GIELE AND GLEN H. ELDER, *Methods of Life Course Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA, 1998; TAMARA K. HAREVEN, Recent Research on the History of the Family, in MICHAEL DRAKE (ED.), *Time, Family and Community. Perspectives on Family and Community History*. Oxford, 1994, pp. 13–43 and BRIAN ELLIOTT, Biography, Family History and the Analysis of Social Change, *ibid.*, pp. 44–63; JEAN CUISENER (ED.), *The Family Life Cycle in European Societies*. Paris, 1977; TAMARA HAREVEN, Cycles, Courses and Cohorts: Reflections on Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Historical Study of the Family Development, in: *Journal of Social History* 12.1 (1978), pp. 97–109.

¹¹ JÜRGEN HABERMAS, *Theorie des Kommunikativen Handelns*. Frankfurt a.M., 1981, Bd. II, p. 173ff.

Why Kythera?

From one point of view there exists a set of issues, common among different local or social groups of the Orthodox and refugees population of Asia Minor, which concern local identity and special ties with relatives, compatriots and the homeland. We may wonder how the inhabitants of the eastern Aegean islands received the refugees who originated from their islands, like the refugees from Meli, Kato Panayia or Dikeli who have been finally settled in Attica or the western Peloponnese.¹² We may wonder how the refugees decided to adopt their more recent identity of Meliotis, Vourliotis or Smyrniotis instead of the former one of Chiotis, Naxiotis or Veriotis.¹³ The “Catastrophe” seems to crystallize identities which had remained for decades before 1922 in ambiguity. From another point of view the thousands of Smyrniotis had never managed to create populous and coherent refugees’ associations, such as the associations organized by refugees originating from much smaller settlements, for example from Sinasos.¹⁴

The case of Smyrniotis–Kytherians is fascinating regarding both points that have been mentioned above. First, they have lost or neglected their former Kytherian identity in favour of the later Smyrniotis one, and second, as Smyrniotis they disappeared from the public sphere, hidden behind the imagined global identity of western Asia Minor refugees.

Kytherians represented the most numerous and distinct group among the Greek Orthodox of Smyrna with a long tradition of corporate organization. Besides traditional religious practices, the members of Kytherian communities of the Smyrna district participated also in modern practices and rituals, such as elections trips or excursions to the island and the sponsorship of educational institutions of their towns.¹⁵

Kythera has seen a long tradition of migration to Aegean urban centres or to overseas destinations, and migration during the last two centuries is a

¹² NIKOS ANDRIOTIS, «*Το Μικρό Ταξίδι*»: *Η άφιξη και εγκατάσταση των μικρασιατών προσφύγων στις Οινούσες*. Αθήνα, 1998.

¹³ Georgios Katramopoulos, who was a prominent figure of the Union of Smyrniotis in Athens (Ενωση Σμυρναίων) and very well known for his autobiographical books, although in his first book refers to his Macedonian origin from Veroia never questions his Smyrniotis identity, see GIORGOS TH. KATRAMOPOULOS, *Πώς να σε ξεχάσω Σμύρνη αγαπημένη*. Αθήνα, 1994, pp. 11–12.

¹⁴ MICHAEL WARLAS, Η διαμόρφωση της προσφυγικής μνήμης, in GIORGOS TZEDOPOULOS (ED.), *Πέρα από την Καταστροφή: Μικρασιάτες Πρόσφυγες στην Ελλάδα του Μεσοπολέμου*. Athens, 2003, p. 161ff.

¹⁵ For all the above mentioned issues that concern the migration of Kytherians to Asia Minor see next chapter.

stable factor of the island's economic and social life. Nowadays, the Kytherian identity is shared not only by the residents of the island or the internal migrants to Attica, but also by second and third generation immigrants in Australia and North America. An impressive website operated by Australian Kytherian organizations illustrates these identity concerns.¹⁶

In recent years, Kythera has been the focus of many scientific conferences and studies with special interest in issues of migration and local identity.¹⁷ Last but not least, every summer many tourists visit the local historical and municipal archives in order to search their genealogy and family history.

The linear history

Until 1922, Kytherians used to migrate to Asia Minor, and especially to Smyrna. The first information that is known to us about the presence of Kytherian immigrants in Smyrna dates to 1776. Gheorghios Zervos wrote his testimony just before leaving the island of Kythera on his way to Smyrna, where he would meet his relatives and compatriots and seek work with their help.¹⁸ The Kytherians continued to migrate to Asia Minor throughout the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century, and especially during its second half, the above-mentioned migratory movement

¹⁶ Visit „Kythera-Family.net for the world wide Kytherian Community“, <http://www.kythera-family.net/>, viewed on 26th April 2005.

¹⁷ ATHANASIA GLYKOFRYDI – LEONTITSI (ED.), *Α΄ Διεθνές Συνέδριο Κυθηραϊκών Μελετών, 20–24 Σεπτεμβρίου 2000. Κύθηρα: Μύθος και πραγματικότητα.*, τ.1–5, Κύθηρα (Ελεύθερο Ανοικτό Πανεπιστήμιο Δήμου Κυθήρων) 2003, Ελεύθερο Ανοικτό Πανεπιστήμιο Δήμου Κυθήρων – Εργαστήριο Κοινωνικών Επιστημών Παιδαγωγικού Τμήματος Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών, Επιστημονική έρευνα στα Κύθηρα, Επίσημη παρουσίαση των Πρακτικών του Α΄ Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κυθηραϊκών Μελετών και Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο, Κύθηρα, 19–21 Σεπτεμβρίου 2003, Κυθηραϊκός Σύνδεσμος – Χώρα Κυθήρων. Πρόγραμμα, Ελεύθερο Ανοικτό Πανεπιστήμιο Δήμου Κυθήρων – Εργαστήριο Κοινωνικών Επιστημών Παιδαγωγικού Τμήματος Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών – Εθνικό Κέντρο Ελληνικών Μελετών και Έρευνας (ΕΚΜΕ) Πανεπιστημίου La Trobe Μελβούρνης της Αυστραλίας, Διεθνές Συνέδριο Κυθηραϊκή Μετανάστευση. Ιστορική Διασπορά και Σύγχρονες Πληθυσμιακές Μετακινήσεις, Κύθηρα, 16–19 Σεπτεμβρίου 2004, Κυθηραϊκός Σύνδεσμος - Χώρα Κυθήρων. See also the *Journal Νόστος*. Περιοδική έκδοση, 1 (Αθήνα 2002). 2 (Αθήνα 2003) and as an example of a series of published sources from the Local History Archives, EMM. G. DRAKAKIS, *Ληξιαρχικά βιβλία Κυθήρων. Ενορία της Παναγίας Γλαριωτίσσης Ποταμού 1731–1856*. Αθήνα, 2003.

At this point we would like to thank Kalypso Michalakaki, who kindly helped us providing much useful information and material concerning Kythera and Kytherians' history.

¹⁸ ANASTASIOS STRATIGOS, *Η μεγάλη κυθηραϊκή παρούκία Συμόρνης 1776–1923, Κυθηραϊκή Επιθεώρησης*, 1 (1923), p. 365.

became more intense, with its greater peaks following events such as agrarian crisis and famine (1850), or war (1856). After 1897 Asia Minor and Smyrna were no longer the preferred destination for the Kytherian immigrants, who by then had found their way to America and Australia.¹⁹

Initially the Kytherian immigrants worked as sharecroppers at Turkish-owned farms in the surrounding plains according to a general pattern, which was developed by Greek Orthodox immigrants, who during the same period came from other places, such as the Peloponnese.²⁰ The most successful sharecroppers bought their land out, while others gradually entered the commercial sector. Some even managed to enter the higher levels of the Smyrna society, thus becoming bankers, architects, doctors and lawyers.²¹ After arriving at Smyrna, they made use of the advantages their either Ionian-British or Greek (after 1864) citizenship offered them, as well as of the existing networks of Kytherians, in order to obtain a better position in the local economy and society. As a result of the above-mentioned strategies, many of the newcomers started their career in Smyrna as escorts or servants in British or Greek households.²²

¹⁹ On the migration of Kytherians during the 19th century see, STRATIGOS, *ibid.* p. 373. Γ.Σ. ΤΣΑΜΒΙΡΑΣ, Η μετανάστευσις των Κυθηρίων, Newspaper: *Φωνή των Κυθήρων*, 15/7/1925, p. 4.

²⁰ For a classification on Greek migration, see ΙΟΑΝΝΙΣ ΚΑΡΑΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ, Theoretische Überlegungen zur Wahrnehmung der Migration. Am Beispiel von Migrationen griechisch-orthodoxer Bevölkerungsgruppen Kleinasien, in *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik. Beiträge zum Symposium Vierzig Jahre Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien im Gedankan an Herbert Hunger (Wien, 4.–7. Dezember 2002)*, [Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia XXIV], Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vienna, 2004, pp. 239–240. For a further documentation, see also Κ. ΜΑΜΟΝΙ, Πελοποννήσιοι στη Μ. Ασία, in: *Πρακτικά Β' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών: Πάτραι, 25–31 Μαΐου 1980* (Αθήνα 1981) pp. 209–224, Ρ. ΚΟΝΤΟΓΙΑΝΝΙΣ, *Οι Έλληνες κατά τον πρώτον επί Αικατερίνης Β' ρωσοτουρκικόν πόλεμον (1768–1774)*. Athens, 1903, pp. 378–423.

²¹ For an overview of the development of Greek – Orthodox population in western Asia Minor see ΣΙΑ ΑΝΑΓΝΟΣΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Μικρά Ασία, 19^{ος} αι. – 1919 Οι Ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες: Από το Μιλλέτ των Ρωμιών στο Ελληνικό Έθνος*. Athens, 1997, pp. 190–224. On the Kytherian migrants, see Δ. ΑΝΔΡΙΤΣΑΚΙΣ-ΦΟΤΙΑΔΙΣ, Ξένοι περιηγητές στα Κύθηρα, in Δ. ΑΝΔΡΙΤΣΑΚΙΣ-ΦΟΤΙΑΔΙΣ AND ΜΙΧΑΪΛ ΠΕΤΡΟΧΕΪΛΟΣ (EDS.), *Κυθηραϊκά Μελετήματα*. Athens, 1982, p. 93; ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΓΟΣ, Η μεγάλη κυθηραϊκή παροικία Σμύρνης 1776–1923, *Κυθηραϊκή Επιθεώρησις*, 1 (1923), p. 368–372 and ΠΑΝΑΓΙΟΤΙΣ ΚΑΜΙΛΑΚΙΣ, Κυθήριοι στη Σμύρνη και στη Μικρά Ασία, in Διεθνές Συνέδριο, *Κυθηραϊκή μετανάστευση: Ιστορική διασπορά και σύγχρονες πληθυσμιακές μετακινήσεις*. Κύθηρα, 16–19 Σεπτεμβρίου 2004, *Κυθηραϊκός Σύνδεσμος – Χώρα Κυθήρων*, in print.

²² On the advantages of British Protection over Ionian subjects see, GEORGE LEONTSINIS, *The island of Kythera: A Social History (1700–1863)*. Athens, 1987, pp. 281–282. See also

The city of Smyrna was by no means the only place where they settled. According to the existing information many Kytherians stayed in localities around Smyrna, such as Bournovas, Koukloutzas, Vairakli, Boutzas and Kor-delio, or in other localities on the west coast of Asia Minor, such as Ayvalik, Kasaba, Aydin, Kusantasi and Olutzak. Finally, others found their way into the interior, i.e. into the *sancak* of Sarouhan, Konya and Kayseri.²³

The Kytherian immigrants retained their local identity and group coherence despite the distance that separated them from their place of origin, as well the rising inequalities inside their sub-community, through collective action and spiritual connections with, or donations to, the homeland's communal and religious institutions. Before 1922 those who maintained their Greek citizenship did actually return to the island on election dates, in order to vote.²⁴ The Kytherians were in fact the biggest organized local group of immigrants among Smyrna's Greek Orthodox population.²⁵ The earliest information concerning their collective action dates back to 1806, when they donated a substantial sum of 500 curus to the Cathedral of Aghia Foteini, an act that enabled them to hold a mass in this church every year on the 24th of September, a very important day for their local religious practices, since it was dedicated to Panaghia Myrtidiotissa. The monastery of "Panaghia Myrtidiotissa" was and still is the island's most important religious institu-

ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ Γ. ΦΟΤΙΝΟΣ, *Αναμνήσεις και ιστορήματα από τη Σμύρνη*. Athens (Εκδόσεις «Ενώσεως Σμυρναίων» – 25), 1986, p. 19; Nikolaos Fotinos gives some illuminating examples of migrants carriers.

²³ EMM. P. KALLIGEROS, *Οι Κυθήριοι της Σμύρνης και οι χαμένες πατρίδες*, Athens (Εταιρεία Κυθηραϊκών Μελετών – αρ. 4), 1993, p.6–7, MICHAEL PETROCHEILOS, *Ιστορία της Νήσου Κυθήρων*, Athens, 1940, p. 114–115, ANASTASIOS STRATIGOS, *Η μεγάλη κυθηραϊκή παροικία Σμύρνης 1776–1923*, in: *Κυθηραϊκή Επιθεώρησης*, 1 (1923), p. 368–372, GIANNIS CHIOΤAKIS, *Το χωριό μου ο Κουκλουτζάς*, Athens, 1972, p. 36, 69. George Tsampiras estimated in 1925 the number of Kytherians who migrated and lived in Smyrna and other localities in Asia Minor before 1922 as following: «...οι εις Σμύρνην μετοικήσαντες από του 1850 και μετέπειτα ανέρχονται εις 8000 περίπου εξ ων εγκατεστημένοι εις μεν την πόλιν της Σμύρνης περί τας 2000 οι δε λοιποί εις τα πέριξ και κυρίως εις Κουκλουτζάν και Μπουρνόβαν ένθα και ήκμασαν ως καθαρώς κυθηραϊκοί συνοικισμοί». G.S. TSAMPIRAS, «Η μετανάστευσις των Κυθηρίων», *Newspaper Φωνή των Κυθήρων*, 15/7/1925, p. 4.

²⁴ «Οι πονόψυχοι νέοι και οι τουρκόσπορο», *Newspaper Φωνή των Κυθήρων*, 15/7/1925, p. 2, and «Το φρόνημα των εν Σμύρνη Κυθηρίων διά την νήσον», *Newspaper Φωνή των Κυθήρων*, 31/3/1932, p. 1. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ Γ. ΦΟΤΙΝΟΣ, *Αναμνήσεις και ιστορήματα από τη Σμύρνη*, p. 41. This practice was also mentioned by his daughter, Mary, in an interview given to the authors at 18–11–2004.

²⁵ STAMATIΟΣ ΑΝΤΟΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Μικρά Ασία*. Athens, 1907, p. 116

tion and a symbol of local identity among the global Kytherian Diaspora.²⁶ In 1830 they formed a brotherhood under the name “Kytherian Brotherhood, Panaghia Myrtidiotissa” (*Κυθηραϊκή Αδελφότης, Παναγία Μυρτιδιώτισσα*), which is actually the oldest known organization of immigrants in Smyrna.²⁷ According to its statutes that were published in 1887 and in 1892, the brotherhood aimed to maintain good relations among its members, to help unemployed and poor compatriots, to make yearly contributions to the Greek Hospital (*Ελληνικό Νοσοκομείο*) and to the Evangelic School (*Ευαγγελική Σχολή*) in Smyrna in order that Kytherians have access to these institutions, and last but not least to organize necessary religious celebrations, i.e. Panaghia Myrtidiotissa on September 24th, and Saint Theodore on May 12th.²⁸ The brotherhood included members not only from Smyrna, but also from many of the above-mentioned localities where Kytherian immigrants settled.²⁹ Apart from the yearly contributions, which were just mentioned and passed through the brotherhood’s collective action, many Smyrniot-Kytherians were members of various educational and charitable institutions, which they often sponsored with substantial sums of money.³⁰

²⁶ ANASTASIOS STRATIGOS, Η μεγάλη κυθηραϊκή παροικία Σμύρνης 1776–1923, in: *Κυθηραϊκή Επιθεώρησης*, 1 (1923), p. 365–366.

²⁷ Collective action in various groups of immigrants in large cities such as Smyrna and Constantinople was, at that time at least, passing through a certain guild that was controlled by the specific group of immigrants as a result of professional specialization. Only later, during the second half of the 19th century, did they start to form associations on the basis of their common place of origin. Once again, this practice has been recorded mostly from Constantinople, rather than Smyrna. See IOANNA PETROPOULOU, Η πνευματική ζωή στην Καππαδοκία του 19^{ου} αιώνα: Μια σκιαγράφιση, in: *Καππαδοκία: Περιήγηση στη Χριστιανική Ανατολή*. Athens, 1991, p. 40ff.

²⁸ On Saint Theodore of Kythera see N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, Ο βίος του αγίου Θεοδώρου Κυθήρων, in: *Πρακτικά Τρίτου Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου*, v.I, Athens 1967, 264–291.

²⁹ For the Kytherian brotherhood see STAMATIOS ANTONOPOULOS, *Μικρά Ασία*. Athens, 1907, p. 142, MICHAEL PETROCHELOS, *Ιστορία της Νήσου Κυθήρων*. Athens, 1940, p. 114–115. KYRIAKI MAMONI, Σωματειακή οργάνωση του ελληνισμού στη Μικρά Ασία: Β’ Σύλλογοι της Ιωνίας, *Δελτίον Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος*, 28 (1985) p. 99–100, MICHAEL PETROCHELOS, *Ιστορία της Νήσου Κυθήρων*. Athens, 1940, p. 114–115, KALYPSO MICHALAKAKI, Κυθηραϊκή μετανάστευση: Δομές και λειτουργία των κυθηραϊκών συλλόγων εσωτερικού (Αττικής) Σμύρνης και Αλεξάνδρειας, in *Διεθνές Συνέδριο, Κυθηραϊκή μετανάστευση: Ιστορική διασπορά και σύγχρονες πληθυσμιακές μετακινήσεις*. Κύθηρα, 16–19 Σεπτεμβρίου 2004, *Κυθηραϊκός Σύνδεσμος – Χώρα Κυθήρων*, in print. This paper is based on her ongoing PhD thesis at the University of Athens on «Κυθηραϊκές Αδελφότητες, σύλλογοι και σωματεια Πειραιά, Αθήνας, Σμύρνης και Αλεξάνδρειας».

³⁰ ANASTASIOS STRATIGOS, Η μεγάλη κυθηραϊκή παροικία Σμύρνης 1776–1923, in: *Κυθηραϊκή Επιθεώρησης*, 1 (1923), p. 377–378.

In 1907 the brotherhood organized an excursion from Smyrna to Kythera in order to participate in the feast for Panaghia Myrtidiotissa. This event was widely publicised, and an account was published in a Kytherian Yearbook of 1909.³¹ The brotherhood was still active on 25 December 1921, when an alternation to the statutes was proclaimed in the local press.³² After the 1922 *Catastrophe* of Smyrna there is no further mention of the brotherhood. Those of them who managed to escape found refuge in Greece, but only few of them returned to Kythera. According to the official refugees' census in 1923, only 446 persons returned to Kythera,³³ when their total population in 1907 was roughly estimated in the thousands and increased in the period of the Greek Occupation 1919–1922.³⁴ Their local distribution on the island allows us to suppose that many of them returned to their villages of origin, or to the places where they had found refuge during the First World War at the time of the so-called “first persecution” (*Πρώτος Διωγμός*).³⁵ Similar refugees' movements have also been noted in other places in Greece, such as Chios, Samos, Thebes³⁶ etc.

The majority of the Kytherians that left Asia Minor settled in Piraeus and in Athens. From this point on, the information that we have been able to gather about them becomes relatively scarce. At least for the first years there is no information about any collective action from their side. They neither form any association, nor do they try to settle all together in one place, following the example of other groups of refugees. There exists also no infor-

³¹ «Η εκδρομή της Αδελφότητος εις Κύθηρα. (Εντυπώσεις παρευρεθέντος)», in DIONYSIOS S. ALBANAKIS, *Κυθηραϊκή Επετηρίς. Ετήσιον Κυθηραϊκόν Ημερολόγιον Ιστορικόν, Στατιστικόν, Θρησκευτικόν, Κοινωνικόν κτλ., Έτος Α΄ 1909*. Kythera, 1909, pp. 78–83.

³² Newspaper «Κόσμος: Πρωινή Ανεξάρτητος Εφημερίς», Nr. 1100, 25.12.1921/7.1.1922.

³³ Υπ. Υγιεινής, Πρόνοιας και Αντιλήψεως. Τμήμα Στατιστικής, Απογραφή προσφύγων ενεργηθείσα κατ' Απρίλιον 1923 ..., Athens, 1923.

³⁴ DIONYSIOS S. ALBANAKIS, Τα Κύθηρα, in: *Κυθηραϊκή Επετηρίς...Έτος Α΄ 1909*, Kythera, 1909 p. 16. ANASTASIOS STRATIGOS, Η μεγάλη κυθηραϊκή παρούκία Σμύρνης 1776–1923, in: *Κυθηραϊκή Επιθεώρησις*, 1 (1923), p. 384.

³⁵ 132 returned to Potamos, 69 to Mylopotamos, 48 to Karvounades and 51 to the city of Kythera. The difference in numbers among these and the other localities of the island where some returns have been recorded put this hypothesis beyond any reasonable doubt. See, Απογραφή προσφύγων ενεργηθείσα κατ' Απρίλιον 1923.

³⁶ NIKOS ANDRIOTIS, «Το Μικρό Ταξίδι»: Η άφιξη και εγκατάσταση των μικρασιατών προσφύγων στις Οινούσσες. Athens, 1998, pp. 19, 37; ANGELA CHATZIMICHALI, Πρόσφυγες στην πόλη της Σάμου (19^{ος} – 20^{ος} αιώνας), in: *Η πόλη της Σάμου. Φυσιογνωμία και εξέλιξη. Πρακτικά συνεδρίου*. Athens, 1998, pp. 253–271, MICHAEL WARLAS, Προσφυγικές μνήμες στο Συνοικισμό της Θήβας: Από την ιστορία του τόπου στην ιστορία των ανθρώπων, Ανακοίνωση στο Δ΄ Διεθνές Συνέδριο Βοιωτικών Μελετών, Λεβαδιά 9–12 Σεπτεμβρίου 2000 (in print).

mation that they formed a distinctive interest group within broader associations of refugees, such as *Anatoli*, or *Enosi Smyrnaion*. We only know that many of them entered the so-called “*Union of Greek Citizens*” (*Ένωσις Ελλήνων Υπηκόων*),³⁷ an organization that was founded in December 1926, in order to act on behalf of refugees that had preserved their Greek citizenship.³⁸ It is obvious that Smyrniot–Kytherians participated in refugees’ associations, which were based on the common origin of their members from distinct settlements in Asia Minor, such as the Brotherhood for mutual support “*Kukluca*” (Αδελφότης αλληλοβοηθείας «Ο Κουκλουτζάς»).³⁹

Piraeus as well as Athens were places of settlement, not only for the Smyrniot–Kytherians, but also for numerous internal migrants from the island of Kythera. Through their associations they offered financial aid to their “*unlucky fellow citizens from Smyrna*”, or the “*fellow citizens from Asia Minor, that sought refuge in Piraeus and in Athens*”.⁴⁰ They even tried to incorporate them as members, but we don’t yet know if this effort was successful. According to the information deriving from the interviews that we have conducted, this effort was rather unsuccessful.

The overwhelming majority was integrated into the Greek state as refugees, rather than as former citizens or inhabitants. Some of them are even well known as Smyrniot, such as the pioneer photo reporter Meghalokononimos, and thus became members of the refugees’ or *mikrasiatikoi* associations. Many Smyrniot–Kytherians never went back to Kythera, or even visited the island, nor do they relate to their children the doctrines of their former local identity. After the events of 1922, Smyrna’s Kytherians – and in this respect they are not a unique example among the Greek Orthodox immigrants to Smyrna – transformed into Smyrniot of Kytherian origin, thus choosing to be counted together with the other refugees of the “*Asia Minor Catastrophe*”.

³⁷ «Οι Έλληνες υπήκοοι της Τουρκίας», in Newspaper *Φωνή των Κυθίων*, 30/11/1930, p. 4.

³⁸ See, Ένωσις των Ελλήνων Υπηκόων, in: *Ειδικόν Ετήσιον Προσφυγικόν Ημερολόγιον. Ειδική θερινή έκδοσις. Αθήναι. Παράρτημα της μεγάλης εκδόσεως του 1928*, pp. 134–136; for the first assembly and elections see the announcement in the newspaper Παιμπροφυγική, 13/12/1926.

³⁹ See ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ Γ. ΦΟΤΙΝΟΣ, *Αναμνήσεις και ιστορήματα από τη Σύμρνη*, p. 29.

⁴⁰ These phrases have been recorded in the proceedings of the so called “Kytherian Brotherhood of Athens and Piraeus” for the year 1922. See, *Κυθηραϊκή Επιθεώρησις*, 1 (1923), pp. 270–273.

Closing Remarks

We have begun to collect and to analyse genealogies, thanks to the FHW genealogy project. We have already examined many of them and we have also had the opportunity to compare Smyrniot-Kytherians to other refugees' samples. Genealogies are being completed and combined with written family and life histories, published or collected especially for our project.

With some of our contacts, we organize semi-structured interviews on topics common for all generations and social groups and on some personalized queries, according to their particular life story. Apart from the subjective aspects and the psychological dimensions of self-representation, the interviews have a documentary value as well. Questions concerning social networking, visiting the island, contacting relatives or participating in religious ceremonies and social events can hardly be answered out of the context of inter-personal communication. This information could be combined with "hard" data deriving from archival sources.

We combine archival information with the oral material – interviews, genealogies etc. – in order to enhance our knowledge and to estimate the statistical weight of each particular case. Through the examination of national and municipal archives we can determine whether or not they have registered themselves as "refugees", or if and how they attempted to acquire the Greek citizenship instead of claiming their former status as a Greek Subject in Smyrna. Through school archives we can trace the movement of refugees to Kythera during the interwar period and the Nazi occupation. The archives of the various associations – refugees' associations, the Union of Greek Citizens –, as well as the press, allow us to study to what extent they joined refugees' or local associations of Kytherians, political parties and other social and political institutions.⁴¹

Finally, the hermeneutic approach can help us formulate new working-hypotheses, make valuable considerations on identity-issues and avoid reductionism as well as prejudices, which are very common in conventional, localistic historiography.

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⁴¹ In this respect we follow the ground-breaking examples of TAMARA HAREVEN, *Family Time and Industrial Time: the Relationship between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community*. Cambridge, 1982, and PAUL THOMPSON, *The Edwardians: the Remaking of British Society*. Chicago, 1992².