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Contested Territories and the Quest for Ethnology: People and Places in İzmir 1919–22

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The Treaty of St Stefano (16 March 1878) and the Congress of Berlin (July 1878) following the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877–78 resulted in a complete reorganization of the Balkan peninsula, with Montenegro, Serbia and Romania gaining recognition as fully independent states.[1] Such developments no doubt strengthened the attempts of Balkan national movements to claim Ottoman territories and, to succeed, they had to organize their military and prepare their paramilitary forces. At the same time, they had to persuade their citizens, the Great Powers and the people living in the territories over which they had jurisdiction of their right to incorporate them into their nation-states. In Balkan academic circles, especially in the humanities and social sciences, this task sparked an interest in the national agenda in which historians, geographers, archaeologists, ethnologists, linguists, folklorists and demographers all played their part.

Ottoman regions with highly diverse populations became the focus of a great number of studies conducted by scholars from the Balkans as well as from western European institutions.[2] The end of the Balkan wars and the annexation of former Ottoman territories into the various nation-states changed the priorities of Balkan scholars. Academics and policy makers turned their attention to the problem of incorporating, socially, culturally, politically and economically, the former Ottoman territories into their nation-state structures. In other words, erstwhile Ottoman subjects had to adapt to a new national identity.

In the case of Greece, during the 1914–22 period (that is from the end of the Balkan wars until the Greek Army's withdrawal from İzmir),[3] the annexation of the New Lands[4] generated significant challenges and dilemmas for the state administration. The following

analysis indicates that the religious, cultural and linguistic diversity of the populations living in these areas reinforced practices and attitudes that, on the one hand, were linked to the national policy of Hellenization and to the irredentism underpinning it and, on the other hand, refer to a colonial type of administration. The situation in the New Lands demanded the proper scientific study of these populations (a) to ensure their integration into the Greek state, and (b) to allow a more productive use of their resources. Part of this process involved the attempt to develop ethnological studies and the academic discipline of ethnology.

In this chapter I focus on Greek researchers' ethnographic studies in Asia Minor and on Costantin Caratheodory's founding of the School of Ethnology at the University of Smyrna in the early 1920s.[5] These projects, combined with other policies that Eleftherios Venizelos's Greek Liberal Party promoted in the first two decades of the twentieth century, demonstrate a distinctive form of political realism towards the non-Greek speaking and non-Greek Orthodox populations of the New Lands.[6] In the eyes of its promoters, the attempt to incorporate these populations into the Greek state was not based on brutal assimilation but on humanistic endeavour.[7] In this context, Hellenism was seen as a metaphor for Western modernity while any other competing identity was perceived as a premodern Oriental idiom.

On a broader theoretical level, the ethnographic studies that Greek researchers conducted in Asia Minor and the founding of the School of Ethnology at the University of Smyrna highlight the relationship between nation building and the need to develop a scientific study of otherness. It is worth noting that similar attempts to encourage the study of otherness appeared among Turkish national elites at about the same period. The establishment in Istanbul of the Türk Derneğ Society in December 1908 encouraged the study of 'history, languages, literature, ethnography and ethnology ... and the present culture of the Turks'.[8] Ziya Gökalp, the founding father of modern sociology in Turkey, also stressed the importance of systematically researching folk cultures in his systematic theory of Turkish nationalism.[9]

The establishment in 1882 of the Greek Historical and Ethnological Society influenced the study of otherness among Greek scholars, which generated discussion on the academic discipline of ethnology. In the first volume of the journal *Laographia* (Folklore) published in 1909, Nikolaos Politis, a founding father of Greek folklore studies, discussed in detail the similarities and differences between ethnology and folklore. He concluded that ethnology studies 'peoples living in a state of nature' while folklore studies focus on peoples 'sharing the

same native land and its culture'. Thus, a division was established with respect to the approach to otherness. Ethnology undertook the study of the most distant others while folklore remained focused on Greeks.[10] Greek folklorists' later writings[11] confirmed Politis's analytical distinction between a discipline studying distant otherness (ethnology) and a discipline of close similarity (folklore). This methodological distinction, as well as the close relationship between folklore studies and ethnology/ social anthropology, constitutes a common phenomenon in many European academic traditions of that era.[12] In Britain, for example, the development of the Royal Anthropological Institute was initially related to the Folklore Society and the British Association.[13] However, as Herzfeld points out,[14] the epistemological foundations of anthropological theory partly refer to the reasons that also contributed to the creation of romantic irredentist folklore studies in the nineteenth century. Both disciplines are the product of European Enlightenment and they face fundamental difficulties in defining the other (either inside or outside the nation). The starting point for recognizing otherness is often based on Eurocentric criteria and on the very premises of Western modernity.[15]

Ethnological studies in Asia Minor

Following the Balkan wars and the First World War, the Greek Army took control of the *villayet* of İzmir. The Greek government established the Smyrna High Commission to administer the region while the Greek army engaged in fighting the forces of Kemal Atatürk. Dr Ntinos Malouchos served as director of rural economy in the Smyrna High Commission. He was a well-educated supporter of Venizelos's Liberal Party and had great respect for premodern rural community institutions. Malouchos, along with the rest of the bureaucrats assigned to work for the Smyrna High Commission, came to İzmir from Athens and it was he who initially proposed the idea of conducting ethnological studies in Asia Minor to the Greek government. The research that Malouchos and his associate Kostantinos Karavidas carried out reflected an anxiety to record the national composition of the populations of Asia Minor – an anxiety that Greeks, Turks and west European politicians, diplomats and military leaders shared at that time. Mapping the national composition of the Asia Minor population was of value both to domestic policy and to the international conferences held to decide on the fate of the Ottoman Empire. In the case of Asia Minor, as Stamatopoulos observed, 'any policy of management, even in the event of Greek military victory,

had to address the problem of national and cultural coexistence'.[16] Managing this problem required access to ethnological maps and demographic censuses.[17] However, mapping the populations was by definition fruitless because at that time the rural populations had not yet fully acquired national identities.[18] Moreover, geographers and demographers had made comparable attempts to map the national composition of the population two decades earlier in the southern Balkans and their results had been used at international conventions and conferences.[19]

It is worth noting that in the late nineteenth century a number of pro-Greek scholars produced ethnological maps presenting the national composition of the population of Asia Minor. Well-known in this group were Kalfoglous, Kontoyiannis and Skalieris, who can be called armchair geographers since none of them actually conducted an extended fieldwork survey in all the areas they describe in their works.[20] They relied mainly on secondary resources, information from third parties[21] and selective research in specific geographical areas. While their writings served the needs of geography textbooks for Greek schools in the Ottoman Empire and Greece,[22] they failed to provide persuasive arguments about the national composition of Asia Minor's population to a non-Greek audience. This failure obviously affected Malouchos's and Karavidas's research methodology. Thus, instead of focusing on the big picture and relying on secondary data and information provided by others, Malouchos and Karavidas conducted fieldwork on specific regions. Their efforts resemble the work of some British anthropologists who helped the colonial administration in India produce ethnological maps and censuses.[23]

It is worth noting that both Malouchos's and Karavidas's studies were conducted at a time when the process of constructing a Turkish national identity was accelerating. Competing loyalties to Turkism, Ottomanism and Islamism were influencing different elites and different groups in Asia Minor's population. This was a widespread phenomenon and Karavidas's specific research priorities highlight his clear understanding of such dynamic processes.

Ntinos Malouchos was a close associate and, to some extent, the mentor of Kostantinos Karavidas, with whom he later cooperated in producing the short-lived (1922–24) journal *Koinotis* (Community). Malouchos encouraged Karavidas to conduct ethnographic research in western and central Asia Minor. In the autumn and winter of 1922, Malouchos undertook an ethnographic mission, as he called it, to the interior of Asia Minor and submitted a memorandum to the Greek ministry of foreign affairs entitled 'On the diversity of the Muslim

population of Asia Minor and the economic relations among the various population elements'. In this report Malouchos described 'villages with an exclusively Muslim population at a distance of ten hours travel from Ankara', which allows us to conclude that he followed the third Greek Army corps in its advance to Ankara in July–August 1921. He referred in some detail to the languages spoken, relations between races, the role of women, customs, morale, and the sense of national awareness. He identified four different populations – Circassians, Kurds, Tatars and blacks. In conclusion, he advised Karavidas: 'I believe what would greatly interest the Foreign Ministry would be an ethnological study of the non-Turkish Muslims of Asia Minor and a study of the relations between them and the Turks.'[24]

Karavidas was persuaded by Malouchos's views and, in early May 1922 submitted an application to the foreign ministry seeking assistance to travel to Asia Minor 'to study the following question: What are the economic relations with the purely Turkish population of the other Muslim communities, which either belong to heretical sects or have different customs, manners and traditions, leading to a lack of uniformity among them'. To persuade the foreign minister of the necessity of the study, Karavidas observed in his application that:

> it is likely that these small differences, properly defined and developed, will provide a broad base for the cultivation of a national awareness; it is not impossible that a special policy might be based on this by the state in Asia Minor as it seeks to weaken and fragment the strength of the Turks.[25]

A few days later, on 9 May 1922, Karavidas submitted another memorandum in support of his application entitled a 'Note on the economic relations among the Muslim communities in Asia Minor'. This four-page, handwritten document was probably the result of correspondence between Karavidas and Malouchos at an earlier date. In this document, Karavidas formulated the basic working hypotheses of the ethnographic research he wished to carry out in Asia Minor. He identified 'diversity in the manners and customs of the Muslim population', analysed relationships between Turkish landowners and other Muslims and concluded: 'the following question remains to be explored: has there been intermarriage between these villages or has each remained pure, inhabited by only one race.'[26] In further support of his request for assistance for his research in Asia Minor, he observed once again that 'this new awareness may evolve further, which would, in immediate and practical terms, divide the villages of

those forced to embrace Islam from those which were always Turkish.'[27]

This emphasis on distinguishing between the different crystallized identities of the Muslims of Asia Minor and the possibility of creating a new awareness among populations with non-Turkish roots, on the one hand mirrors a social reality, but on the other it reflects the deepest wishes of the Greek authorities at that time.[28] There is no doubt that the Muslim population of Asia Minor could be divided into different groups and categories according to descent, language, religious particularities and socio-economic conditions.[29] A number of these differences had been politicized, which explains the alliance of some Circassian chieftains with the Greek army against Kemal Atatürk.[30] Skalieris[31] based his analysis on these linguistic, cultural and socio-economic differences in an attempt to question the existence of a uniform Turkish national identity among the Muslims of Asia Minor. The research Karavidas and Malouchos proposed exploited all these arguments and suggested a pioneering methodological approach to the subject.

On 27 May 1922, Karavidas was granted permission to travel to İzmir as a journalist. He travelled to the interior, sending a few reports to Athenian newspapers and, basically, occupying himself with writing his study. The University of Smyrna did not escape his attention, and, in a letter to Papanastasiou on 1 July 1922, he observed: 'The university needs to rouse itself, using teachers able to turn the students' minds towards the economic, social and political issues of the Orient.'[32]

As part of his research, Karavidas conducted a census of the villages in the province of Pergamon in July 1922; these villages belonged to the *sandjak* of the *villayet* of İzmir (or Aydin).[33] This area was, of course, a safe choice in that it was close to İzmir and many Greek-speaking Orthodox Christian populations inhabited it.[34] In a letter to Malouchos dated 28 July 1922, he divided the district's populations into Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Muslims. The Muslims were subdivided into Turks, Circassians, Tachtatzides, Bosnians and Turko-Cretans. He finally produced a 63-page paper entitled 'Observations on the nature and future usefulness of the historical community organizations, and on the future policy of guidance of the Greek communities in Ionia'.[35] The paper contained a hand-drawn ethnographic map showing the Greek communities of the western and central part of Asia Minor. The structure and arguments of this paper were similar to Karavidas's work on the Slav-Macedonian rural community and the patriarchal family in the region of Monastir (Bitola), published four years later.[36]

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Karavidas's theoretical and methodological strengths, as well as gaps in his thinking, were already visible in this early work.[37] His final conclusions are of particular interest:

> the form of contemporary civilization, which is advancing ever more rapidly towards the ideals of democratic humanism, must sooner or later be imposed on the peoples of Western Asia Minor; this is what makes the presence here of the Greeks so important, and their responsibilities so much heavier towards themselves and towards the whole country, which deserves a better fate.[38]

These conclusions, of course, present 'the humanist mask which Greek nationalism was accustomed to wearing in the second half of the nineteenth century'.[39] According to its logic, the duty of Greece was to bring the lights of Western civilization to the Orient.[40]

We should note that Karavidas failed to secure a place on any of the ships that evacuated the Greeks of İzmir. He was left behind in the city, witnessed the great fire and departed on around 29–30 August 1922. He was not to write again anything concerning the populations of Asia Minor.[41]

On a broader theoretical level, Malouchos's and Karavidas's work encountered and reproduced the dilemmas that nationalist ideology imposed on premodern cultures. Nationalism demands the existence of exclusive and unique identities[42] and both the Greek and Turkish nations developed on the basis of what Anthony D. Smith called ethnic nationalisms.[43] According to this model of national ideology, cultures are nationalized and culture becomes a criterion of national identification and mobilization. In the case at hand, politicians, policy makers and state officials embracing national ideologies attempted to use sociocultural, linguistic and historical criteria to divide the local population into distinctive national groups (like Greeks and Turks). However, by using these criteria they failed to understand that, at the local level, the decision to adopt a nationality during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a political choice very often irrelevant to the sociocultural identity and linguistic practices of those who took this decision. Karavidas's research can be understood as an attempt at social engineering in which certain customs and morale (that is sociocultural, linguistic and historical characteristics) were to be used for creating a different national awareness.

The school of ethnology of the peoples of the Orient

The work of Karavidas and Malouchos was a concrete attempt to establish a scholarly discourse on the subject of otherness. In terms of planning, the most important attempt to set up the structures for a scholarly study of otherness was associated with the founding of the University of Smyrna. Its establishment in December 1920 was the idea of Costantin Caratheodory, an internationally renowned mathematician and close friend of Albert Einstein. Caratheodory, the child of a Greek Phanariot family, was well travelled and able to communicate in seven languages. He had a celebrated academic career at several major German universities, at the University of Athens and at the Athens National Technical University. In his analysis of Caratheodory's career, Pyrgiotakis made a persuasive case for presenting him as a product of the encounter between the West and the Orient.[44] Caratheodory convinced Venizelos of the importance of establishing the nation's second university in İzmir rather than Thessaloniki, and granted him full freedom and support in planning the various faculties, curricula and organization of the new institution.[45] Caratheodory and his colleagues were distinguished by their political realism. We should note that Nikolaos Politis, too, was involved in staffing the School of Ethnology. He recommended that Caratheodory hire Evgenios Somaridis, who at the time was lecturing at the University of Vienna, to teach in the new school.[46] For reasons that remain unclear, Caratheodory eventually opted for an orientalist who had also studied the social sciences, I. Kallitsounakis. Kallitsounakis, who had been teaching oriental languages at the University of Berlin, assumed responsibility for overseeing the ordering of books for the new school.

The proposal for the new university envisaged four schools – engineering, agriculture, commerce and the ethnology of peoples of the Orient. To these were added later an institute of health, a school for civil servants and a senior Muslim seminary, which was rather similar to a school for Muslim studies.[47] Caratheodory's relations with Stergiadis, the head of the Greek high commission in Smyrna, were excellent, as evidenced from his personal letters to the latter.[48]

For Caratheodory, one of the main reasons for selecting İzmir as the site for the new university was the composition of the Asia Minor population and the need 'for active participation of the minorities in public life and in the development of the country', as he put it in his memorandum to Venizelos.[49] One has to remember that İzmir was the second most important port of the Ottoman Empire, a cosmopolitan city with large numbers of Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Levantines and

Turks.[50] Nor was it by chance that Caratheodory's choice of the university's motto was EX ORIENTE LUX. The special importance Caratheodory attached to the issue of the non-Greek populations of the 'Greece of the Five Seas'[51] can also be seen in the view he formed of the School of Ethnology, which 'must above all serve a practical purpose'. This practical purpose, which the school of ethnology and senior Muslim seminary shared, was different from a crude nationalist agenda. It served a programme of social modernization and aimed to consolide relations between Greeks and their neighbours. Caratheodory was particularly explicit in his memorandum: 'the true driving force behind the *rapprochement* of different peoples lies in a community of interests, and in the capacity of education to play the part of the catalyst in a chemical compound.'[52] The development of the University of Smyrna was oriented 'to the creation of centres of education and study suitable for developing the natural relations which Greece is called on to restore with all its neighbours'.[53]

The ethnology school curriculum initially focused on history and the ethnographic present (languages, 'customs, religion and legislation of the peoples in question'). Some courses were specified in the Caratheodory memorandum – comparative linguistics of the Semitic languages, Slavic languages, Turkish, Persian and Armenian, history of art and archaeology, and Islamic law. Additional courses were not mentioned by name, only a general description of their framework was provided. We should note that the proposed curriculum did not include any courses in Greek language or literature. It is also important to keep in mind that the term Orient (*Anatoli*) was at the time used in Greece to refer to the whole of the former Ottoman Empire, including the Balkans.[54] This explains why Slavs, Turks, Armenians and others are categorized as belonging to the Orient.

Knowledge of the current ethnographic situation of the Orient was deemed important in the curriculum because 'alongside the scientific teaching of languages, it will be necessary to organize, in particular, courses designed to give the student a vivid perception of the Slavic and Muslim worlds, not only from a historical perspective but also from the standpoint of the current situation'.[55] The final plans for the curriculum were slightly different from the initial proposal put forward by Caratheodory, with more emphasis being laid on the teaching of languages.

Courses at the University of Smyrna were scheduled to commence in September 1922, but by the end of August that year, Kemal Atatürk and his forces had gained control of the city and the Greek administration withdrew. Caratheodory made his escape from İzmir at

literally the very last moment.[56] The Greek, Levantine and Armenian neighbourhoods of the city were burnt. There was no continuity to Caratheodory's vision and the compulsory exchange of Greek and Turkish populations removed any chance of the Greeks returning to Asia Minor. Since then the university buildings have been used as a girls' college.

National politics and the quest for ethnology

The activities of Malouchos, Karavidas and Caratheodory can best be understood in the context of Venizelist liberals framing national policies on otherness during the 1910–30 period.[57] As already explained, perceptions of Hellenism and Hellenization dominated these policies. At the same time, however, through invocation of the cultural superiority of the West and its civilizing role, they also evoke broader notions of colonial power structures. As Sigalas observed, 'in the context of the conceptual notion of "Hellenism", assimilation represented the other side of the coin of expansion.'[58] The negotiation of otherness of the 'Orthodox populations of different national backgrounds' in the New Lands aimed at integrating these populations, at Hellenizing them. From the studies by Karavidas and Malouchos, and from the ethnology school's founding objectives, it is clear that any attempt to integrate the non-Orthodox populations of Asia Minor into the main body of society had first to involve distancing them from the process of Turkification that was taking place during that period.[59] What I am suggesting is that certain intellectuals involved in the Venizelist movement, like Karavidas, Malouchos and Caratheodory,[60] were persuaded that there was an unfolding process of Turkification and that it could be countered, in part, by systematic study and implementation of appropriate policies on the Greek side.[61] We shall never know to what extent such plans corresponded with reality or to what extent they were just the wishes of certain Greek intellectuals, politicians and leaders.

It is worth noticing that these views were by no means acceptable to the Greek royalists who took a much more cautious stance towards the populations of other races and towards attempts to study and understand their otherness. It is interesting that certain pro-royalist circles within the University of Athens greeted with some disdain the founding of the University of Smyrna. In a discussion held in the senate of the University of Athens on 4 June 1922, concerning recognition of foreign schools, the dean of the school of physics and mathematics, Professor N. Hatzidakis, described the University of Smyrna as 'the practical university founded in Smyrna under the

supervision of Caratheodory', classifying it with the various foreign missions active inside the Greek state.[62]

During the final months of the Smyrna high commission, when it was clear that the Greek military presence in Asia Minor was in deep trouble, the Venizelists made desperate efforts to stress the need to maintain a Greek military force in the region to avert the impending catastrophe. It is in this context that we should see the efforts of the Venizelist officers active through the Asia Minor Defence movement in Istanbul and İzmir.[63] Material available in the Karavidas archive contains no reference or information that might indicate that he was in touch with the Venizelists of the Asia Minor Defence movement.[64] At the same time, there is no evidence to indicate any involvement by Karavidas, Malouchos or Caratheodory in the discussions on the creation of an Asia Minor state – a proposal put forward by High Commissioner K. Stergiadis a few months before the final withdrawal of the Greek army. The ethnological research of Malouchos and Karavidas, conducted in the very last days of the Greek presence in İzmir, as well as the concluding lines from Karavidas's study, cited above, must of course be seen in this context as part of the general efforts of the Venizelists to preserve the Greek presence in Asia Minor. But history took a different course, and the next three decades (1930–50) saw the dominance of a narrower concept of Hellenism that gradually led to the construction of ever more others (Bulgarians and communist conspirators).[65]

In any case, the efforts to build up a scholarly study of otherness in the early 1920s contained elements of the ideology of the Greek nation-state, as well as a colonial Orientalist framework similar to the one that led to the development of anthropology among the colonial powers of that time.[66] The futility of such an endeavour had been foreseen – albeit with some partiality – by the English historian Toynbee, who observed that 'the new Greek University will be a castle built on sand, with no roots in the country where it is located'.[67] In that crumbling imperial world, the meeting of the West and the East in Asia Minor shifted from the hands of Greek nationalists to the control of Turkish nationalists.

74. K. S. Batıbey, *Bati Trakya Türk Devleti (1918-1920)* (Istanbul, 1979) especially pp. 130–1.

75. E. Dimokratia, Y. Exoterikon, E. Ypiresia, T. N. Symvaseon (eds), *Πράξεις που υπογράφηκαν στη Λωζάννη στις 30 Ιανουαρίου και 24 Ιουνίου 1923* (Athens, 1992), p. 95.

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2. Studies conducted in the geographical region of Macedonia are typical of this process. At least ten 'ethnological' maps on the distribution of populations in Macedonia were produced in the period 1876–79. (See S. Karavas, 'Οι εθνογραφικές περιπέτειες του "ελληνισμού" (1876–1878) Α', *Τα Ιστορικά*, vol. 36, 2002, pp. 23–74; S. Karavas, 'Οι εθνογραφικές περιπέτειες του "ελληνισμού" (1876–78) Β', *Τα Ιστορικά*, 38 (2003) pp. 49–112; and H. R. Wilkinson, *Maps and politics: a review of the ethnographic cartography of Macedonia* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1951). Numerous geographers and demographers, such as D. M. Brancoff (*La Macédoine et sa population Chretiènne*, Paris, 1905) and A. Pallis (Στατιστική μελέτη περί φυλετικών μεταναστεύσεων Μακεδονίας και Θράκης κατά την περίοδο 1912–1924, Athens, 1925) published surveys and censuses of the populations of the region. For a detailed analysis, see I. Michailidis, 'The war of statistics: traditional recipes for the preparation of the Macedonian salad', *East European Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 1, 1998, pp. 9–21.

3. With the exception of specific titles, such as 'University of Smyrna', used by the Greek authorities, toponyms are mentioned in the usual form in the English language.

4. The term 'New Lands' (*Nees Chores*) is a native one, used to refer to the former Ottoman regions (Macedonia, Thrace, Epirus and the villayet of İzmir) annexed by the Greek administration according to the Treaties of Neuilly (1919) and Sèvres (1920).

5. My analysis is based on secondary sources as well as on archival material deposited in the Gennadius Library and the Historical Archive of the University of Athens.

6. K. Tsitselikis and D. Chrystopoulos, 'Από το πολυπολιτισμικό "μέγα όνειρον του Ελληνισμού" των αρχών του 20ου αιώνα στην "πολυπολιτισμική πραγματικότητα" των αρχών του 21ου αιώνα', in D. Christopoulos (ed.) *Το ανομολόγητο ζήτημα των μειονοτήτων* (Athens, 2008), pp. 33–67. See, for example, the various administrative regulations concerning the non-Greek Orthodox religious authorities, the education of the Muslims of Thrace and the Slav speakers of Greek Macedonia. See

I. Michailidis, 'Μειονοτικές ευαισθησίες και εκπαιδευτικά προβλήματα: η περίπτωση του Abecedar', in K. Tsitselikis (ed.) *Γλώσσες, αλφάβητα και εθνική ιδεολογία στην Ελλάδα και τα Βαλκάνια* (Athens, 1999). It is worth noting that, according to Tsitselikis and Chrystopoulos, 'Από το πολυπολιτισμικό', this political realism was first introduced by E. Venizelos in the context of the autonomous administration of Crete.

7. N. Sigalas, '"Ελληνισμός" και εξελληνισμός: ο σχηματισμός της νεοελληνικής έννοιας ελληνισμός', *Τα Ιστορικά* , vol. 34, 2001, p. 48.

8. See discussion on the Türk Derneğ Society in B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1968) pp. 323–45.

9. T. Parla, *The social and political thought of Ziya Gokalp* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1985). See A. Kartari, 'Ideologie in der türkischen Ethnologie und Folkloristik', Ethnologia Balkanica, vol. 2, 1998, pp. 57–68 for a detailed analysis of the relationship between nationalism and social science in Turkey.

10. For a detailed discussion on Greek folklore studies, see M. Herzfeld, *Ours once more: folklore, ideology and the making of modern Greece* (New York, Pella, 1986); A. Kyriakidou-Nestoros, *Η θεωρία της ελληνικής λαογραφίας* (Athens, 1978); D. Loukatos, *Λαογραφία – Εθνογραφία* (Ioannina, 1968); G. A. Megas, 'Λαογραφία, Εθνογραφία, Εθνολογία', *Πρακτικά Συνεδρίων του έτους 1966 της Ελληνικής Ανθρωπολογικής Εταιρίας*, 1967, pp. 22–7; M. Meraklis, 'Οι θεωρητικές κατευθύνσεις της λαογραφίας', *Λαογραφία ΚΖ*, 1971, pp. 2–23; and V. Nitsiakos, *Προσανατολισμοί. Μια κριτική εισαγωγή στη Λαογραφία* (Athens, 2008).

11. Loukatos, *Λαογραφία – Εθνογραφία*, pp. 5–6.

12. D. Dracklé, I. R. Edgar and T. K. Schippers, *Educational histories of European social anthropology* (New York, Waxmann Munster, 2003); H. F. Vermeulen and A. Alvarez Roldan (eds) *Fieldwork and footnotes: studies in the history of European anthropology* (London, Routledge, 1995).

13. A. Kuper, *Anthropology and anthropologists: the modern British school* (London, Routledge, 1983).

14. M. Herzfeld, *Anthropology through the looking glass: critical ethnography in the margins of Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987).

15. Nitsiakos, *Προσανατολισμοί*, p. 39.

16. D. Stamatopoulos, 'Η Μικρασιατική Εκστρατεία και η ανθρωπογεωγραφία της καταστροφής: από την μετανάστευση στην προσφυγιά', in E. Gazi and A. Liakos (eds) *Προβλήματα της Νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας* (Athens, forthcoming).

17. This obsession with censuses is typical of all national movements. See B. Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, revised edition (London, Verso, 2006) especially chapter 10. In the case of Turkey, the debate on the size of the Greek Orthodox population was crucial until the late 1950s. See S. Vryonis, *The mechanism of catastrophe: the Turkish pogrom of September 6-7, 1955, and the destruction of the Greek community of Istanbul* (New York, 2005).

18. S. Anagnostopoulou, *Μικρά Ασία, 19ος αι.–1919: οι ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες. Από το μιλλέτ των Ρωμιών στο Ελληνικό Έθνος* (Athens, 1997); P. Kitromilides and A. Alexandris, 'Ethnic survival, nationalism and forced migration: the historical demography of the Greek community of Asia Minor at the close of the Ottoman era', *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών*, vol. 5 (1984–85) pp. 9–44.

19. For a discussion on the relationship between ethnological maps and surveys of Macedonia and international politics related to the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, see Karavas, 'Οι εθνογραφικές περιπέτειες' (nos 36 and 38); Michailidis, 'The war of statistics'; and Wilkinson, *Maps and politics.*

20. I. I. Kalfoglous, Ιστορική Γεωγραφία της Μικρασιατικής Χερσονήσου (Athens, 1899, reprinted 2007); P. M. Kontoyiannis, *Γεωγραφία της Μικράς Ασίας* (Athens, 1921, reprinted 1995); G. K. Skalieris, *Λαοί και Φυλαί της Μικράς Ασίας. Μετά Πινάκων και Χαρτών* (Athens, 1922, reprinted 1990 and 1995). Compared with the writings of Kontoyiannis and Skalieris, the work of Kalfoglous is less influenced by a nationalist agenda. Kalfoglous belongs to the tradition of nineteenth century geographers. See S. Anestidis, 'Εισαγωγή' *in Κάλφογλους Ιωάννης Η. Ιστορική Γεωγραφία της Μικρασιατικής Χερσονήσου* (Athens, 2002).

21. Such data were often provided by the Society for Greek Letters, a private association strongly influenced by the state, or the numerous Greek societies in the various Ottoman cities.

22. In 1862 the Greek Philological Society of Constantinople offered prizes for writing local geographic studies of the various Asia Minor regions. In 1881 the same society offered a prize for writing and publishing an overall geographic study of Asia Minor (Anestidis, 'Εισαγωγή', p. 15). For a detailed analysis of the relationship between geography manuals and nation-building in Greece, see C. Koulouri, *Dimensions idéologiques de l'historicité en Grèce, 1834–1914: les manuels scolaires d'histoire et de géographie* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991).

23. Kuper, *Anthropology and anthropologists.*

24. See K. Karavidas's letter to the Greek foreign minister, 16 May 1922. File 3, Archives of Kostantinos Karavidas, Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

25. See Karavidas's application to the foreign ministry, May 1922 (with no specific date). File 3, Archives of Kostantinos Karavidas, Gennadius Library, the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

26. See Karavidas' letter to the foreign ministry, 9 May 1922, entitled 'Note on the economic relations among the Muslim communities in Asia Minor'. File 3, Archives of Kostantinos Karavidas, Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

27. Ibid.

28. Anagnostopoulou, *Asia Minor 19th century to 1919*; Stamatopoulos, 'Η

Μικρασιατική Εκστρατεία'.

29. This was also the case for the Greek Orthodox Christian populations of the region.

30. Circassian chieftains were used by all parties involved in the 1920–22 conflicts in Asia Minor. The grand vizier Damat Ferid Pasha was in alliance with paramilitary groups of Circassians in 1920 while fighting the national forces of K. Atatürk (E. J. Zürcher, *Turkey: a modern history*, London, I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 1993). A number of Circassian chieftains sided with the Greek Army during its 1919–22 Asia Minor campaign. K. Tsitselikis, *Old and new Islam in Greece: from minorities to immigrant newcomers* (forthcoming) follows the fate of these groups after the 1922 defeat of the Greek Army. He explains that 'about 9000 anti-Kemalist Circassians ... sought political refuge in Greece and settled in Thessaloniki, Imathia and Thrace. They were partly expelled from Greece around 1931 during the period of the Greco-Turkish *rapprochement*. The Circassians settled in Thessaloniki and founded a Moufti office, which was officially recognized. The official bilingual seal (Greek and Turkish in Ottoman script) indicated 1923 as the year of foundation. The Circassians were in contact with other Muslim communities of Greece as shown by a letter sent in late 1935 to the Moufti of Komotini (Moufti Office of the Circacians in Thessaloniki, No 59 of 29 November 1935, Archive of the Moufti Office of Komotini)'. Pelagidis also mentions the alliance of Circassian chieftains with the Greek Army in Asia Minor. Based on documents of the Historical Archives of the Greek ministry of foreign affairs (English report of 1 March 1923, HAMFA/1923/A/5VI/IO) he estimates the number of those who settled in Greece in 1922 (E. Pelagidis, *Η αποκατάσταση των προσφύγων στη δυτική Μακεδονία 1923–1930*, Thessaloniki, 1994, p. 244).

31. Skalieris, Λαοί και Φυλαί της Μικράς.

32. See Karavidas's letter to Papanastasiou, 1 July 1922. File 3, Archives of Kostantinos Karavidas, Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

33. Sandjaks and villayets were administrative units of the Ottoman Empire.

34. G. Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor* (Kent, Ohio, Kent State University Press, 1992).

35. K. Karavidas, Παρατηρήσεις περί της φύσεως και της μελλοντικής χρησιμότητος των ιστορικών κοινοτικών οργανισμών ως και περί της προϊούσης πολιτικής χειραγωγήσεως των επί της Ιωνίας ομογενών κοινοτήτων, unpublished ms (Athens, 1922).

36. K. Karavidas, 'Η Μακεδονοσλαβική αγροτική κοινότης και η πατριαρχική οικογένεια εις την περιφέρειαν Μοναστηρίου', *Αρχείον Οικονομικών και Κοινωνικών Επιστημών*, vol. 6, 1926, pp. 227–314.

37. For a critical analysis of Karavidas's theoretical and political contribution, see M. Komninou, 'Εισαγωγή: Η σκέψη του Καραβίδα και η

προβληματική των κοινωνικών επιστημών', in M. Komninou and E. Papataxiarchis (eds) *Κοινότητα, Κοινωνία και Ιδεολογία* (Athens, 1990); K. Kostis, 'Ο Καραβίδας και η "ανακάλυψη" των χωρικών στη μεσοπολεμική Ελλάδα', in M. Komninou and E. Papataxiarchis (eds) *Κοινότητα, Κοινωνία και Ιδεολογία* (Athens, 1990); and G. Mavrogordatos, 'Ο Καραβίδας, θεωρητικός και ιδεολόγος του μικροαστισμού', in M. Komninou and E. Papataxiarchis (eds) *Κοινότητα, Κοινωνία και Ιδεολογία* (Athens, 1990). For a review of communitarian movements in interwar Greece, see N. Mouzelis, 'Greek and Bulgarian peasants: aspects of their sociopolitical situation during the interwar period', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 18, no. 1, 1976, pp. 85–105; and S. Petmezas, 'La "commune grecque": une tentative d'histoire des fictions historiographiques', in G. Grivaud and S. Petmezas (eds) *Byzantina et Moderna* (Athens, 2007).

38. Karavidas, 'Παρατηρήσεις περί της ...', p. 36.

39. Sigalas, '"Hellenism" and hellenization', p. 48.

40. K. T. Dimaras, *Ελληνικός Ρωμαντισμός* (Athens, 1982).

41. Two months later Karavidas published an article in the journal *Koinotis* in which he was rather critical of the policies of both the Greek liberals and the royalists in the case of Asia Minor. In this article he did not make any reference to his own experiences in İzmir. See K. Karavidas, 'Η πατριωτική επανάστασις και τα κόμματα', *Κοινότης*, Α/8 (20 November 1922) pp. 3–7.

42. E. Gellner, *Nations and nationalism* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1983).

43. A. D. Smith, *The ethnic origin of nations* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1986).

44. I. Pyrgiotakis, *Εκπαίδευση και κοινωνία στην Ελλάδα* (Athens, 2001).

45. See Caratheodory's memorandum to Venizelos entitled 'Projet d'une nouvelle université en Grèce', published in K. Vovolinis, *Μέγα Ελληνικόν Βιογραφικόν Λεξικόν* (Athens, 1962).

46. M. Georgiadou, *Constantin Caratheodory: mathematics and politics in turbulent times* (Berlin, Springer-Verlag, 2004) p. 161.

47. The legal provisions establishing the University of Smyrna are included in Law 2493/1919 (Greek Government Gazette 1919, A 206, No 3) and Law 2251/14 July 1920 (Greek Government Gazette 1920, A II, p. 1347). The Greek high commission in Smyrna issued a degree in December 1920.

48. See Caratheodory's tenth letter to F. Klein dated 11 March 1921 in P. Sidera-Lytra, A. Sideras and G. Stamou, *Κωνσταντίνου Καραθεοδωρή 50 Επιστολές προς συναδέλφους του στη Γοττίγη (Göttingen)* (Thessaloniki, 2004) p. 84. Georgiadou (in *Constantin Caratheodory*, p. 151) also mentions the good relations between Caratheodory and Stergiadis.

49. The most important population categories in İzmir had their own long established educational institutions. See Anon., *η Μητρόπολη του Μικρασιατικού Ελληνισμού* (Athens, 2001); Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor*; D.l Goffman, 'İzmir: from village to colonial port city', in E.

Eldem, D. Goffman and B. Masters (eds) *The Ottoman city between East and West: Aleppo, İzmir and Istanbul* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999); H. Nahum, *Juifs de Smyrne, XIXe–Xxe siècle* (Paris, Aubier, 1997); Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, *Smyrne, la ville oubliée? Mémoires d'un grand port ottoman, 1830–1930* (Paris, Éditions Autrement, 2006); C. Solomonidis, *Η παιδεία στη Σμύρνη* (Athens, 1961). However, until that time none of these institutions provided university education, although some were famous for their high academic standards. The elite families of the Greek Orthodox community, for example, usually educated their children at the Evangelical School of İzmir. See V. Kechriotis, 'La Smyrne grecque: des communautés au panthéon de l'histoire', in M. C. Smyrnelis (ed.) *Smyrne, la ville oubliée? Mémoires d'un grand port ottoman, 1830-1930* (Paris, Éditions Autrement, 2006).

50. Goffman, 'İzmir'; Kechriotis, 'La Smyrne grecque'; Nahum, *Juifs de Smyrne*; and Smyrnelis, *Smyrne, la ville oubliée?*

51. The term *Greece of the Five Seas* was part of the irredentist Greek vocabulary of the interwar era. The Venizelists used it to describe the territories annexed orcontrolled by Greece after the Balkan wars.

52. See Caratheodory's memorandum to Venizelos entitled 'Projet d'une nouvelle université en Grèce' (in Vovolinis, *Μέγα Ελληνικόν*).

53. Ibid.

54. B. K. Gounaris, *Τα Βαλκάνια των ελλήνων: από το διαφωτισμό έως τον Α´ παγκόσμιο πόλεμο* (Thessaloniki, 2007).

55. See Caratheodory's memorandum to Venizelos in Vovolinis, *Μέγα Ελληνικόν*.

56. Caratheodory's family departed from İzmir two days before the withdrawal of the last remaining Greek forces (see Caratheodory's twelfth letter to F. Klein dated 25 December 1922, in Sidera-Lytra et al. *Κωνσταντίνου Καραθεοδωρή*, pp. 116–17). See also D. Caratheodory-Rodopoulou and D. Karastergiou-Vasvateki, *Κωνσταντίνος Καραθεοδωρή* (Athens, 2001).

57. Anagnostopoulou, *Asia Minor 19th century to 1919*; Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor*; Kitromilides and Alexandris, 'Ethnic survival'.

58. Sigalas, '"Hellenism" and hellenization', pp. 17–22; see also E. Papataxiarhis, 'La Grèce face a l'altérité', *Ethnologie française*, vol. 102, no. 2, 2005, pp. 203–12.

59. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*; Zürcher, *Turkey: a modern history*.

60. As a student at the University of Athens, Karavidas was politically engaged in the circles known as the 'student comrades' of Delmouzos; he remained in the narrow circle of Venizelos's associates until the end of the Greek Army's Asia Minor campaign, when he began to distance himself from the Venizelist movement. Malouchos seems to have followed a similar path, until his sudden death in the mid-1920s. Caratheodory worked with Venizelos on matters regarding higher education policy in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

61. Anagnostopoulou, *Asia Minor 19th century to 1919*; Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor*; and Kitromilides and Alexandris, 'Ethnic survival'.

62. Minutes of the Senate of the National and Capodistrian University of Athens, No. 26 of 4 June 1922.

63. Anagnostopoulou, *Asia Minor 19th century to 1919*; Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor.*

64. Karavidas kept detailed notes and minutes of his contacts. These notes compose a great part of the material available in his archive. Research in these notes did not identify a single reference to any contacts by him and/or Malouchos to the 'Asia Minor Defence' movement.

65. The provision for training rabbis at the theology school of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and the founding in 1924–25 of a department of Balkan languages within the philosophical school 'in order to facilitate communication with the Balkan peoples' (S. Bouzakis, Η πανεπιστημιακή εκπαίδευση στην Ελλάδα, Athens, 2006, p. 80) reflects the only corresponding attempts to introduce the study and management of otherness until the 1980s. Neither of these initiatives bore fruit, and both prompted fierce political controversy. The issue triggered stormy exchanges at the debate in parliament on the bill to establish the Aristotle University (Law 3341/1925). At the meeting of parliament on 8 July 1924 to discuss the bill 'on the founding of a university in Thessaloniki', K. Gontikas, the leader of the opposition, clashed with the prime minister and ministers I. S. Lymberopoulos and K. Spyridis on the provision envisaging the graduation of rabbis from the theological school of the Aristotle University. For a more detailed analysis of the issue see Spyros Marketos, 'Η ίδρυση του Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης: μια πολιτική επιλογή', paper presented at the conference *University and Transformation in Greece,* University of Athens, 7–8 June 2007 (Athens). For an analysis of the development of social anthropology in Greece in the 1980s as a result of a different understanding of otherness see D. Gefou-Madianou, 'Mirroring ourselves through Western texts: the limits of an indigenous anthropology', in H. Driessen (ed.) *The politics of ethnographic reading and writing* (Saarbrucken, Verlag Breitenbach, 1993); D. Gefou-Madianou, 'Disciples, discipline and reflection: anthropological encounters and trajectories', in M. Strathern (ed.) *Audit cultures* (London, Athlone Press, 2000); E. Papataxiarchis, 'Η πανεπιστημιακή αποκατάσταση της Κοινωνικής Ανθρωπολογίας στην Ελλάδα', in *Προοπτικές και Μέλλον των Κοινωνικών Επιστημών στην Ελλάδα* (Rethymno, 1999); and Papataxiarchis, 'La Grèce face a l'altérité'.

66. The influence of colonialism in the University of Smyrna is also supported by Georgiadou, *Constantin Caratheodory*, p. 165.

67. 1970, p. 177.

Chapter 11. Antakya between Empire and Nation

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