

Visual Memory and Identity: A Case Study of the Greek-Speaking Refugees from Sinasos, Anatolia

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Abstract

Within the context of the ‘visual turn’ images can no longer be considered as neutral artefacts but as social constructs, closely connected with specific ‘regimes of truth’. As an integral part of ‘visual ideologies’, they function as ‘condensation symbols’ and ‘ideological markers,’ that could either support or question dominant narratives. Furthermore, in the case of refugee populations, images from the lost home/homeland, often but not exclusively combined with a discourse about loss, may have a significant impact on the construction of the group’s ‘cultural memory’ and, ultimately, on the formation of their identities. These issues are addressed through the example of the Greek-speaking refugees from Sinasos, Anatolia, who were forced to flee their homeland in 1924 under the Lausanne Treaty for the Compulsory Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey. Before leaving, they organized a photo shoot of their hometown by two amateur photographers. Analysing the album that resulted from this endeavour, in combination with written sources and oral interviews, this article explores the socio-historical contexts of production of these images along with all their subsequent conceptualizations and uses from 1924 until the present day. As it turned out, these photos had an immense impact in shaping the collective memory of both the refugees from Sinasos and their descendants.

Keywords: photography, photo album, memory, refugees, Cappadocia

Introduction

Within the context of the ‘visual turn,’ images can no longer be considered as neutral artifacts but as social constructs closely connected with specific “regimes of truth.”¹ As an integral part

¹ Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and punish: The birth of prison*. English translation by Alan Sheridan. New York: Penguin.

of “visual ideologies”², they function as “condensation symbols” and “ideological markers”,³ that could either support or question dominant narratives. Furthermore, in the case of refugee populations, images from the lost home/homeland, often but not exclusively combined with a discourse about loss, may have a significant impact on the construction of the group’s “cultural memory”⁴ and, ultimately, on the formation of their identities.

The abovementioned issues will be addressed through the example of the Greek-speaking refugees from Sinasos, Anatolia, who were forced to flee their homeland in 1924 under the Lausanne Treaty for the Compulsory Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey. Before leaving, they organized a photo shoot of their hometown and compiled an album that contained both the photographs and various texts about Sinasos.

Accepting that “photographs expose our dual relationship with the past, both visceral and cultural,”⁵ I will try to combine these two seemingly contradictory approaches that Julia Adeney-Thomas has categorized under the terms “recognition” and “excavation,” respectively.⁶ I will explore both the socio-historical contexts of the production of these images⁷ along with all their subsequent conceptualizations and uses from 1924 to the present day. And since all these changes over time, I will treat the album as an object and study its ‘social life’ by sketching its “cultural biography.”⁸ I will thus extend my analysis “from the moment of [its] production to multiple moments of viewing, interpreting, archiving, exhibiting, and reproducing”.⁹

In addition to the album itself, all its reissues, as well as works of local and academic history referring to Sinasos, oral interviews conducted with descendants of refugees from Sinasos were also drawn upon, to achieve a more comprehensive approach to the aforementioned questions.

A concise history of the Greek orthodox community of Sinasos

Sinasos is located in central Anatolia, on a plateau of the Taurus Mountains, southwest of Caesarea.¹⁰ At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, it was a mixed settlement with approximately 700 houses, of which 600 were inhabited by Orthodox Christians and the remaining 100 by Muslims.¹¹ The Christians of Sinasos were Greek-speaking and spoke an archaic dialect with several influences from the Turkish language.¹²

² Durante, Tommaso. *A visual ideology of globalization?* (accessed: 2 February 2020); Mitchell, William John Thomas. 2005. *What do pictures want?*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

³ Durante, Tommaso. 2016. *On the global image: Globalization as a visual-ideological phenomenon*, in *Narratives of globalization: Reflections on the global condition*, edited by Lee, Julian C.H. London & New York: Rowman & Littlefield International, 51-63.

⁴ Assmann, Jan. 1992. *Das Kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. München: Beck.

⁵ Adeney-Thomas, Julia. 2009. The evidence of sight. *History and Theory* 48(4), 151-168.

⁶ Adeney-Thomas, *The evidence*, 152-155.

⁷ Burke, Peter. 2001. *Eyewitnessing: The uses of images as historical evidence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

⁸ Kopytoff, Igor. 1986. *The cultural biography of things: Commoditization as a process*, in *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*, edited by Appadurai, Arjun. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 64-91.

⁹ Harvey, Elizabeth and Maiken Umbach. 2015. Introduction: Photography and twentieth-century German history. *Central European History* 48(3), 287-299, 291.

¹⁰ Sarantidis-Archelaos, Ioannis. 1899. *I Sinasos itoi thesis, istoria, ithiki kai dianoitiki katastasis, ithi, ethima kai glossa tis en Kappadokia komopoleos Sinasou* [Sinasos i.e. location, history, moral and intellectual situation, morals, customs and language of the town of Sinasos in Cappadocia]. Athens, 7.

¹¹ Sarantidis-Archelaos, *Sinasos*, 9; Kontogiannis, Pantelis 1921. *Geografia tis Mikras Asias: Fysiki systasis tis choras, politiki geografia, fysikos ploutos* [Geography of Asia Minor: Physical composition of the country, political geography, natural wealth]. Athens: Syllogos pros Diadosin Ofelimon Vivlion, 154.

¹² Browning, Robert. 1986. *The historical background*, in *Sinasos in Cappadocia*, edited by Pimenides, Frosso. Athens: Agra Publications, 13-22, 21.

According to existing estimates, the Christian population of the settlement reached around 4.000 people at the end of the 19th century, while it subsequently decreased significantly due to increasing migration to Istanbul and other cities of the Ottoman Empire.¹³

In Sinasos, as in several other settlements in Cappadocia, the possibilities for the development of agricultural production were thought to be limited. According to traditional local historiography, the poor and rocky soil resulted in limited production, which was mainly intended for self-consumption. Viticulture remained the only hope for the development and commercialization of agricultural production. Of course, the wine produced was also mainly intended for self-consumption, and only a very small part of it was sold on the market.¹⁴ However, until the agrarian crisis of 1873-1875, at the household level, agriculture functioned alongside urban economic activities carried out by migrants in Istanbul. The people of Sinasos cultivated mainly vines, fruits, pulses, and vegetables, and less so wheat, while the income from migration supplemented the cash needed to pay taxes. During the 19th century, as their economic activities in Istanbul increased significantly, the people of Sinasos gradually abandoned the economy of self-consumption and turned even more towards migration.¹⁵

Thus, the cultivation of their estates was gradually almost abandoned by the Christians, who usually entrusted agricultural work to the Muslim inhabitants. Those Christians who continued to be involved in agricultural work were mainly engaged in viticulture. But again, the percentage was low and mainly concerned women and some men who had remained in the settlement.¹⁶ The population of Sinasos was also engaged in domestic animal husbandry, which was oriented towards meeting the nutritional needs of each family. But then again, during the 19th century, the shepherds were Muslims.¹⁷

The local market was situated in the centre of the settlement, in the Mesochori district, and towards the end of the 19th century it numbered around 30 shops, all oriented towards serving local needs.¹⁸

However, the greatest part of the active male population migrated to Istanbul for at least a certain period of their lives.¹⁹ Their settlement in Istanbul was already witnessed during the reign of Sultan Mohammed II the Conqueror, but a great increase of this migratory flow began at the end of the 18th century and continued throughout the 19th century. After settling in the capital of the Empire, most of them engaged in the production of linseed oil and sesame oil there, while some became grocers and fishmongers. The latter salted the fish that had not been sold and made them available on the market later. In addition to salted fish, they also traded caviar, roe, and other related products, which were in high demand, especially during

¹³ Stamatopoulos, Kostas. *Everyday life in Sinasos, Cappadocia*, in *Sinasos in Cappadocia*, edited by Pimenides, Frosso. Athens: Agra Publications, 39-91, 40; Browning, *Historical background*, 21; Kontogiannis, *Geografia*, 153; Farasopoulos, Symeon. 1895. *Ta Sylata: Meleti tou nomou Ikoniou ypo geografikin, filologikin kai ethnologikin epopsin* [*Sylata: Study of the prefecture of Konya from a geographical, philological, and ethnological point of view*]. Athens: Typografeion Deligianni kai Adelfon Kalergi, 96; Hatziosif, Christos. 2005. *Sinasos: Istoria enos topou choris istoria* [*Sinasos: History of a place without history*]. Heraklion: Crete University Press, 249.

¹⁴ Sarantidis-Archelaos, *Sinasos*, 7.

¹⁵ Hatziosif, *Sinasos*, 249-250.

¹⁶ Asvesti, Maria. 1980. *Epangelmatikes ascholies ton Ellinon tis Kappadokias* [*Professional occupations of the Greeks of Cappadocia*]. Athens: Epikairota, 151.

¹⁷ Hatziosif, *Sinasos*, 250.

¹⁸ Sarantidis-Archelaos, *Sinasos*, 34-35; Farasopoulos, *Ta Sylata*, 96-98; Asvesti, *Epangelmatikes ascholies*, 152.

¹⁹ Hatziosif, *Sinasos*, 325.

fasting periods. Due to the nature of their profession, they settled in Galata and other coastal areas of the city. Towards the end of the 18th century, they managed to take control of most of the related shops, a development that resulted in them taking control of one of the capital's guilds, that of the caviar makers.²⁰ As long as the restrictions favoring guilds were in place, migrants from Sinasos practiced this profession. After the loosening of these restrictions, as the profession of caviar makers was no longer so profitable, several of them became active mainly in the trade of colonial goods and cloth; others operated grocers and paint shops, while some engaged in the supply of provisions to ships and other economic activities.²¹

In Istanbul, they formed a relatively closed group. Disputes between them were resolved by a community delegation, while they, in turn, significantly influenced the management of the community affairs of Sinasos.²² After all, they never severed their ties with their place of origin since their families continued to live there, and they would return once they retired from active duty.²³ And, of course, many of them made relatively large investments to build luxury homes, which drastically changed the character of the settlement.

Fraternities, associations, and committees with charitable and educational purposes related to Sinasos were founded in Istanbul. Immigrants made individual donations, but they also strengthened through organized efforts, schools, and institutions operating in their birthplace.²⁴

The settlement was definitively abandoned by its Greek Orthodox inhabitants in 1924. After their arrival in the Greek state, many refugees from Sinasos settled in the suburbs of Piraeus and in Euboea, where they founded *Nea Sinasos* (New Sinasos).²⁵

The Making of the Sinasos Photo Album: Socio-Historical Context

The initiative for the photo shoot belonged to Seraphim Rizos, a prominent local scholar, owner of carpet factories, a schoolteacher in Sinasos from 1914-1924, grandson of the old head of the community of the same name, and in general, a person concerned with socialist and progressive ideas. In addition, as head of the Progressive Youth of Sinasos he led the opposition to the conservative Community Committee (*demogerontia*) controlled by the Istanbul émigrés.²⁶ His idea was accepted by the community officials, who came up with a sum to cover the financial costs. The final product, an album containing both the photographs and various texts about Sinasos, was published in Athens, and taken over by the Piraeus-based refugee association *I Nea Sinasos* (The New Sinasos).²⁷

The initiative of Seraphim Rizos, as well as the decision of the Community Committee to photograph the settlement, shows the gradual acceptance of modern practice, photography,

²⁰ Sarantidis-Archelaos, *Sinasos*, 32; Hatziosif, *Sinasos*, 262.

²¹ Hatziosif, *Sinasos*, 267, 297.

²² Hatziosif, *Sinasos*, 153.

²³ Sarantidis-Archelaos, *Sinasos*, 34.

²⁴ Makropoulos, Ilias. 1948. *Ypo tin skia ton proggonon: Istorika simeiomata tis kappadokikis poleos Sinasou kai tis en auti oikogeneias Makropoulou ex oikogeneiakkon pigon syllegenta kai katartisthenta ypo Iliia Mokropoulou, charin de ton idion apogonon ekdothenta* [Under the shadow of the ancestors: Historical notes about the Cappadocian city of Sinasos and the Makropoulos family, collected from family sources and compiled by Ilias Makropoulos for the sake of their descendants]. Istanbul: Self-publishing, 11.

²⁵ Sofroniadis, Sofronis. 1958. *I Sinasos tis Kappadokias kai ta dimotika tis tragoudia* [Sinassos in Cappadocia and its folk songs]. Athens: Pechlivanidis, 5.

²⁶ Hatziosif, *Sinasos*, 419-421; Petropoulou, Ioanna. 2007. *Enas egkyklopaidistis stin Othomaniki Autokratoria* [An encyclopaedist in the Ottoman Empire], in Rizos, Serapheim. *I Sinasos*, edited by Anestidis, Stavros and Mirka Tzeveleki-Kondaki. Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, vol. 1, 13-22, 17-19.

²⁷ Hatziosif, *Sinasos*, 396-98; Balta, Evangelia 2004. *Sinasos: Eikones kai Afigiseis* [Sinassos: Images and narratives]. Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 9-16.

at least in the upper social strata of Sinasos society. Moreover, the existence of other photographs earlier than those of 1924, some of which were included in the album, strengthens this inference. After all, the photo shoot was carried out by two cousins named Anastasis and Isaak Pantazidis.²⁸ The origin of these two amateur photographers from the neighbouring settlement of Prokopi (Ürgüp) allows the assumption that at least the upper social strata of the Greek communities of Cappadocia had already become familiar with photography, most probably due to the internal migration of a significant part of their male population to Istanbul.²⁹ Furthermore, similar photographic material is known from Prokopi as well.

However, the act of photographing Sinasos shortly before the Population Exchange is a unique phenomenon, as the photographic material from other communities that have so far come to light pre-dates 1924 and is not connected to the imminent departure. This act constituted, as its initiator himself writes, a conscious act of memory:

One of the issues that constantly concerned me and could not say it aloud, was the photographing of our hometown. This photo shoot was not in our plans. We were so burdened with daily matters and our money was so limited that any suggestion of such luxuries would be rejected. I thought of speaking privately to my late brother and last president of the Community Committee. I explained to him the great importance of photographing the village and he accepted my views but advised me to be careful with the money. He would undertake the task to persuade the other members of the Committee to accept that a fund be made available for this work. So, the sum of 20 Turkish lira³⁰ was allocated for the photo shoot.³¹

Seraphim Rizos was fully aware of the power of photography and its ability to create mnemonic representations, aided, of course, by all the other relics that his compatriots intended to take with them to Greece: documents, books, religious relics, etc.³² After the photo shoot was completed, Seraphim Rizos himself entrusted the photographic plates to the Istanbul Community Committee of Sinasos, whose members, as permanent residents of Istanbul (*établis*), were exempt from the Population Exchange. The Committee proceeded to create an album in which they included all the photographs entrusted to them by Rizos, supplementing them with others that had been taken before 1924. A hundred such albums were published in Athens in 1924. They were luxurious and contained real photographs

²⁸ The close professional relations of the Pantazidis family with Sinasos begin as early as 1844. Continuing this tradition, Elias Pantazidis, from the beginning of the 20th century until 1924, was the representative in Prokopi of the merchant bankers Hatziosif and Makropoulos whose firm was based in Istanbul. Through this banking house, the immigrants from Sinasos sent remittances to their relatives who remained in the settlement. The then eighteen-year-old Isaak, son of Elias Pantazidis, was one of the two photographers, Hatziosif, *Sinasos*, 46, 169-70, 396.

²⁹ As Karl Kaser has pointed out, photography was not very common in the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire until the Balkan Wars and mainly concerned the urban strata. See, Kaser, Karl. 2013. *Andere Blicke: Religion und visuelle Kulturen auf dem Balkan und im Nahen Osten*. Wien, Köln & Weimar: Böhlau, 152-152, 170.

³⁰ According to the relevant community records, the final amount reached 52.5 Turkish lira, undoubtedly a very considerable sum especially at that particular time, Hatziosif, *Sinasos*, 396-97.

³¹ Balta, *Sinasos*, 15.

³² On the symbolic uses of relics that the Asia Minor refugees brought with them, among them also family photos, and their contribution in transforming their new settlements into familiar spaces, see Stelakou, Vasso. 2004. *Space, place and identity: Memory and religion in two Cappadocian Greek settlements*, in *Crossing the Aegean: An appraisal of the 1923 compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey*, edited by Hirschon, Renée. New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books, 179-192, 190.

printed directly from the photographic plates. At the same time, however, a few copies of the album were printed in book format.

The Album's Form and Content: The Visual Memory of Sinasos

These 100 albums consisted of thick sheets tied with a ribbon on their left side. The cover was inscribed with the words “Sinassos: The Jewel of the East” and the year 1924 when the people of Sinasos were forced to leave their homeland. A detail from a photograph of the Monastery of Saint Nicholas, which is included in the album, has been integrated on the upper left side (Figure 1). On the album's first page, in addition to the name of the settlement, which is written in a prominent position and in capital letters, to emphasize it visually, the following phrase of the metropolitan of Caesarea Kleoboulos about Sinasos is included: “Oasis in the desert, Star in the dark, Athens in Asia Minor”, which apparently refers to the fact that its inhabitants spoke Greek. This assertion is also confirmed by a similar phrase of Henri Gregoire: “Foyer de la renaissance Hellenique en Cappadocie”. The abovementioned phrases are complemented by quotations from literary works of ancient and modern Greek literature, which extol the love of one's birthplace. This page concludes by mentioning the date of departure from Sinasos, October 2, 1924, at the bottom of the page and in a diagonal position in relation to the name of the settlement. The creators of the album, making a clear reference to the Old Testament, characterize October 2, 1924, as the “Exodus date”. In other words, the title page graphically states the context within which the mnemonic representation of Sinasos took place: the fact that its Christian inhabitants spoke Greek in contrast to what was happening in several settlements of Cappadocia where they spoke Turkish, their love for their place of origin and, finally, their forced expatriation. On the next page follows an honorable mention to all contributors to the effort with their names written in a special frame.

The aim of the album creators is clearly stated in the introduction written in Istanbul on December 15, 1924, by the scholar, physician, and author of a history of Sinasos, Ioannis Sarantidis Archelaos.³³ As he characteristically mentions, only through the pages of the album will the people of Sinasos now be able to see their homeland and be comforted. But at the same time, as he notes, the album “will [now] be the only monument that will remind [them] of [their] unforgettable homeland and the accomplishments of [their] ancestors”. By looking at it, they will hear the voice of their ancestors giving them strength to cope with the difficulties they will face in their new settlements.³⁴

The subjects of the photographs show the content that Rizos and the Committee wanted the visual memory of Sinasos to have: mainly public buildings and views of the Sinasos districts and houses, complemented by photographs of important persons and scenes from everyday life.

Photography is well known for its ability to freeze the moment it depicts and preserve it for the future. Organizing more selected photos in an album, on the one hand, helps to preserve these depictions, and on the other, creates a visual narrative made up of individual moments that could be meaningful to everyone who will see the album in the future.³⁵ To construct the visual narrative that the album's creators choose to tell, the individual photos are placed in

³³ Hatziosif, *Sinasos*, 397.

³⁴ Sarantidis Archelaos, Ioannis. 1924. *I Sinassos: To diamanti tis Anatonis [Sinassos: The jewel of the East]*. Athens: Typografeio Kallitechnias, 6.

³⁵ Auslander, Leora. 2015. Reading German Jewry through vernacular photography: From the Kaiserreich to the Third Reich. *Central European History* 48(3), 300-334, 302-03.

a specific order. This act also creates, to some extent, the order in which the viewers of the album are expected to look at them.³⁶ The photographs thus acquire meaning not only because of their content but also because of their position within the album.³⁷ The visual narratives of the photo albums, but also of photographic archives and sometimes even of individual photos, are often complemented by the text of the captions that accompany them,³⁸ which in the Sinasos album are particularly extensive and informative, while in some cases they also aim to activate the readers' emotions. By way of example, we mention the caption of the first photo:

Kápalos: Starting south from the beautiful Prokopi – the administrative centre of the region – after passing through our wonderful countryside, Zenki-cai, where the tall fruit and barren trees were reflected in the waters of the river, one would arrive after a most excruciating hike of 45 minutes to a small hill behind which hid like a happy child Kápalos, the beautiful entrance of our beloved village. The traveller, who had spent so many days and nights in the humble inns of the previous Turkish villages, was dazzled when he saw the first buildings of the village rising in front of him. These belonged to honourable members of our community, who were bankers and merchants such as: Mr. G. Soultanidis, Ch. and P. Hatziosif, Ch. Argyropoulos, A. Kairaktidis, P. Papazoglou, D. Hatzilazarou, Demosth. Papadopoulos, Th. Theofilidis, B. and P. Pingopoulos, B. Faslachas, A. Togantzis, Sp. Ioakeimopoulos, D. Mavridis and others who offered so many services to the Community and honour its name in Istanbul and elsewhere.³⁹

The album begins with a map of Cappadocia showing the geographical location of Sinasos, followed by a plan of the settlement drawn by Sarantos Archelaos,⁴⁰ who was also responsible for writing the captions. The first photo depicts the district of Kápalos (Figure 2). Then follow photos of important public buildings, such as the Town Hall,⁴¹ the Community Committee Office, and the Baths (Figure 3). The visual narrative continues with photographs of other districts, where once again the houses of the prominent inhabitants are highlighted (Figure 4), with photos of springs (Figure 5), views of older quarters which, among other things, remind viewers of the settlement's history (Figure 6), residences of notables, some of which also present architectural and artistic interest (Figure 7), religious buildings like churches and monasteries (Figure 8), important public constructions like the Marasoglou bridge (Figure 8),⁴² places of economic interest like the marketplace (Figure 9), schools (Figure 10 and 11), photos of community benefactors and other important personalities (Figure 12), photos of women and men performing specific housekeeping tasks – spinning, weaving, water carrying, crushing grain to make groats – or having fun (Figure 13), photos of women wearing

³⁶ Auslander, *Reading German Jewry*, 304-305.

³⁷ Keyes-Adenaïke, Carolyn. 1996. Contextualizing and decontextualizing African historical photographs. *History in Africa* 23, 429-437, 430.

³⁸ Blair, Sara. 2010. The photograph's last word: Visual culture studies now. *American Literary History* 22(3), 673-697, 674-675; Harvey and Umbach, *Introduction*, 297; De Rapper, Gilles. 2019. *Photography and remembrance: Questioning the visual legacy of Communist Albania*, in *Between apathy and nostalgia: Private and public recollections of Communism in contemporary Albania*, edited by Godole, Jonila and Idris Idrizi. Tirana: IDMC, 103-119, 107.

³⁹ Sarantidis Archelaos, *I Sinasos*, 8.

⁴⁰ Sarantos Archelaos, the son of Ioannis Sarantidis Archelaos was an educated man and a physician himself, Hatziosif, *Sinasos*, 397.

⁴¹ The actual caption reads: "Our Town Hall". Original captions accompany the photos listed at the end of the text.

⁴² This bridge was constructed thanks to the donation of Vassilis Marasoglou, an immigrant to Istanbul, originating from Sinasos. Members of the Marasoglou family who immigrated to Istanbul joined the guild of caviar makers and were among the shareholders of the respective workshops in 1872, Hatziosif, *Sinasos*, 270, 305.

traditional costumes and dancing (Figure 14 and 15) and, finally, a “family photo” of all the pupils attending the schools of Sinasos in 1924, together with their teachers (Figure 15). The caption of this photo is particularly eloquent about the goals the album was intended to serve: “Our last offspring, healthy and full of life. From them we expect the resurrection of our homeland”.⁴³

Photo captions consist of two parts: the basic photo title, which is printed in bold, followed by an explanatory text, which provides more information about the photo’s content (Figure 16). Their function, however, is not purely informative. It also aimed at creating a script that provided the user of the album with all the information he/she should recall while seeing a certain photo. Seeing the photo of Kápalos, for example, he/she would have to remember the route that one had to travel to get from Prokopi to Sinasos, the difference between Sinasos and the various Turkish villages in the area, and, finally, the luxurious houses of the prominent members of the Sinasos community that were situated in that district. However, this information was not always about happy moments in the settlement’s history. So, the photograph of the Community Committee Office should, among other things, remind the user of the enormous difficulties of the Great War since, as we read in the relevant caption, “In this building during the dark days of the war, meals were served for our unfortunate needy compatriots”.⁴⁴ In some cases, a discourse about loss is reproduced in the captions through references to the last dramatic moments of the refugees’ lives in their ‘homeland.’ Thus, the caption accompanying the photo of the bathhouse informs the reader that “this unfortunate building has lately served almost the entire village to take its last bath by burning the pews, the old holy icons and the other wooden ornaments from our churches”.⁴⁵ In this way, the photographs are enriched with multiple layers of meaning which are not immediately visible. Finally, the captions also contain words that aim to mobilize users’ emotions and strengthen their feelings of belonging to the community. The latter is achieved using possessive pronouns in the main titles of the captions: “Our City Hall, Our Community Committee Office, Our Bath”.

In addition to the captions, other extensive texts are also published in the album (Figure 17). These are not directly linked to the photographs but create parallel narratives about the Greek community of Sinasos. These texts deal with human geography, history, administration, economy, migration, religion, community organization, the founding of associations, education, beliefs and customs, language, songs, proverbs, riddles, children’s games, community benefactors, and other influential personalities.

The last pages of the album, the so-called ‘family’ pages (Figure 18), are of particular interest. In them there was space for the “compatriot buyer”⁴⁶ of the album to write his personal data, but also to place his own photos, either from Sinasos or from him and his family’s life in Greece after 1924. This possibility transformed the official mnemonic representation of Sinasos from static (a frozen image of 1924) to dynamic, with each owner of the album having the possibility of expanding cultural memory and combining it with his personal/family memory. And, of course, with this opportunity, the public-official sphere and the private one become even more intertwined. This intention was already evident from the photographs of 1924, which depict both public and private buildings. But as the creators themselves

⁴³ Sarantidis Archelaos, *I Sinasos*, 56.

⁴⁴ Sarantidis Archelaos, *I Sinasos*, 10.

⁴⁵ Sarantidis Archelaos, *I Sinasos*, 10.

⁴⁶ Sarantidis Archelaos, *I Sinasos*, 78.

explicitly state on the last page of the album, the owners had even greater possibilities of intervention in the final form of their own copy. Those who purchased one of the 100 deluxe copies could untie the ribbon that held its pages together and remove any page they did not like. In the same way, they could add whatever they wanted, not only to the family pages but also to any other point they deemed necessary.⁴⁷

The two used albums that we managed to locate testify that these possibilities were indeed exploited by their owners. Both chose to place on their ‘personal pages’ a photo of their house in Sinasos. One of them is accompanied by the following handwritten caption: “House of Em. Mavridis, two-story, 520 cubits, 19 rooms. Sinasos, August 23, 1924” (Figure 19). In the other personalized album, the photo of the family home is accompanied by a photo of its owner (Figure 20). In any case, however, the selection of the specific photos shows that the choices of the album’s creators – mainly buildings and important figures of community life – influenced those of its users as well.

The Politics of Memory

Speaking about the politics of memory, it does not only matter which aspects are chosen to be photographed and therefore included in the visual narrative, but also which are consciously left out of it.⁴⁸ As has been rightly pointed out, the town’s Turkish-Muslim population is almost entirely absent,⁴⁹ apparently because this was not the aspect of Sinasos they wished to preserve in their memory. References to it are found in only two of the 82 photographs that have been included in the album. One shows a madrassa, and the other a Muslim quarter. Through their captions, however, they are also identified spatially with references to the adjacent Christian districts but also to the houses of Christian inhabitants of Sinasos that can be seen in these photos. Thus, the caption accompanying the photo of the madrassa reads:

*The beautiful Madrassa with the minaret of Islam in front of it and its large fountain below. It was located at the beginning of the Greek district of Loulas. Here one could see the houses of Mr. Dimoglou, Konstantinidis and others.*⁵⁰

Apart from the negative reference to the inns that operated in the Turkish villages of the region, no traces of Othering were found in the captions and texts of the album either. On the contrary, in a text titled “Political Situation” we read that “the Greeks were on relatively good terms with their Turkish compatriots. They reconciled their differences among themselves through an arbitration by both parties”.⁵¹ Therefore, the album was not aimed at creating negative images and stereotypes about the Turks of Sinasos, but rather at a kind of “selective forgetting that is constitutive in the formation of a new identity”⁵², that of the refugee originating from Sinasos. In other words, they chose to erase from the official visual representation of their beloved homeland that they considered not to serve their purposes.

Also absent from the photos is the slightest reference to their imminent departure. Scattered short references to it are found only in the texts of the album, e.g., the information that the

⁴⁷ Sarantidis Archelaos, *I Sinasos*, 80.

⁴⁸ De Rapper, *Photography*, 108-109.

⁴⁹ Balta, *Sinasos*, 10-11.

⁵⁰ Sarantidis Archelaos, *I Sinasos*, 48.

⁵¹ Sarantidis Archelaos, *I Sinasos*, 11.

⁵² Connerton, Paul. 2008. Seven types of forgetting. *Memory Studies* 1(1), 59-71, 62-64.

Population Exchange Office was housed in the Town Hall.⁵³ And, of course, the most meaningful and emotionally charged reference is the one in the introduction. However, the persons depicted in the photos of the album seem happy, and the scenes of everyday life are peaceful, without any tensions, neither ethnoreligious nor social. Obviously, these images of Sinasos are what they chose to keep in their memory and pass on to the next generations.

The houses and buildings, categories to which most of the photos in the album belong, could be considered 'condensation symbols' of Sinasos as a lost homeland. And since the aspects of Sinasos that the future refugees chose to keep in their memory must serve the album's purpose, the photographic representation is doubly partial: it includes neither Turks nor the impending forced migration. On the contrary, an ideal, idyllic life where everything flows harmoniously is depicted. It is also typical that any social tensions are absent from the album. After all, the relatively frequent visual references to immigration, which absorbed a significant part of the male working population and, from the end of the 19th century, entire families as well, depict images of successful immigrants, who, as is typically mentioned in the captions, "offered so much service to the Community and honour its name in Istanbul and elsewhere".⁵⁴ And, of course, we see their houses and the public buildings that were erected thanks to their donations, both indisputable witnesses to their financial success and the wealth they had managed to accumulate. After all, the creation of nostalgic mnemonic representations of lost homelands is a well-known practice among refugee groups.⁵⁵ The interesting element in the case under consideration is the contribution of photography to their creation.

The Album's Cultural Biography

From the moment of its creation, the album functioned as a commodity. As we learn from our informants, all of them descendants of refugees, it was sold by the Association at a symbolic price. But even that rather low price turned out to be too expensive for at least some of its members. Some of those who were unable to obtain a copy recall seeing the album in the possession of friendly families or at the premises of the Association. In fact, some of them, who belong to the so-called second generation of refugees,⁵⁶ got to know the album as children and teenagers at the Association's summer camps, where an emblematic figure of the old Sinasos community, Lazaros Takadopoulos,⁵⁷ read excerpts from it aloud to all the young campers and showed them the photos.

The commodity phase was particularly short, as for each copy it ended with its very first sale. It was not further exchanged but kept by the owner and his family as an heirloom. In fact, one of the first 100 copies, which, according to our informants, was kept in the offices of the Association, was converted in the 1980s into an exhibit of the Museum founded by the

⁵³ Sarantidis Archelaos, *I Sinasos*, 10.

⁵⁴ Sarantidis Archelaos, *I Sinasos*, 8.

⁵⁵ Loizos, Peter. 1981. *The heart grown bitter: A chronicle of Cypriot war refugees*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁵⁶ This term, which is used both by the Greek scholars and the refugees themselves, designates the refugees' children that were born in Greece. It is worth mentioning that the terms third, and nowadays even fourth, generation refugees also exist. This fact clearly states that the abovementioned terms are closely connected with the formation of identities.

⁵⁷ Lazaros Takadopoulos was one of the last schoolteachers in Sinasos before 1924. He was also a writer of books and theatrical plays that aimed to remind the refugees from Sinasos of life in the 'lost homeland' on the one hand and to transmit these memories to the younger members of the community who had not experienced them on the other. See, Hatziosif, *Sinasos*, 445.

Association. In fact, it is still on display in this museum, which operates on the premises of the Association.

The price, combined with the relatively small number of copies, meant that many members of the community were unable to obtain the coveted album. The need to satisfy the demand of its members for the album, but also the need to preserve it so that it can be handed down to the younger generations, led the governing boards of the Association to carry out two reprints of the album so far: the first probably in the late 1960s and the second in 2001, with a print run of 1,000 copies. Both were funded by members of the Sinasos community in Greece.

Since the summer of 2000, the Association has engaged in the organization of ‘pilgrimage’ trips for refugee offspring to Mustafapaşa (the present-day name of Sinasos).⁵⁸ As our informants claim, the album had a significant impact on the development of these trips, as it helped the visitors to navigate within the settlement and locate their ancestors’ homes. Thus, the photographic depiction of Sinasos (visual memory) is combined with actually viewing today’s Mustafapaşa, offering visitors a unique experience and ultimately enriching the cultural memory of Sinasos.⁵⁹ In this respect, it is worth mentioning that copies of the reprinted album are also sold in some local shops, whose owners have obtained them from the Association.

The next edition of the whole set of these photos, this time enriched with others from the Photographic Archive of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens, the Association, and other sources, took place in 2004. Now, the visual representation of Sinasos was combined with its textual representation by Seraphim Rizos, written during his time as a refugee in Nea Sinasos, Euboea, excerpts from pre-1924 local histories of Sinasos, oral narratives of refugees from Sinasos preserved in the Oral Tradition Archive at the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, and enriched by the scientific introduction by Evangelia Balta who also edited the publication.

The editor’s choice to combine the two versions of memory – visual and textual – in a multimodal text not only captures the course of the formation of the collective memory of Sinasos but also shows the contribution of photography to its formation. Photographs and written texts (cultural memory), together with the oral narratives of refugees originating from Sinasos (communicative memory)⁶⁰ and their recordings by scientific bodies, such as the Centre for Asia Minor Studies and the Hellenic Folklore Research Centre of the Academy of Athens (archival memory) ultimately shaped the collective memory of Sinasos.

Conclusion

The unique combination of photographs and text in the Sinasos’ photo album reminds us that the visual turn is not just about images and invites us to re-examine the relationship of the latter to texts.⁶¹ The character of the album is undoubtedly hybrid. Unlike what we usually categorize as a photo album, the textual part is clearly longer. In several cases, the captions

⁵⁸ Hatziosif, *Sinasos*, 415.

⁵⁹ On the manifold functions of such trips, Mesaritou, Evgenia. 2023. When pilgrimage does not heal: Memory and loss in Greek Cypriots’ pilgrimages to Apostolos Andreas. *History and Anthropology* 34(4), 625-649.

⁶⁰ Assmann, *Das Kulturelle Gedächtnis*, 48-56.

⁶¹ Mitchell, *Picture theory*; Farmer, Sarah. 2010. Going visual: Holocaust representation and historical method. *The American Historical Review* 115(1), 115-122.

are, in fact, short texts, while the album includes other lengthy texts as well, besides the introduction. Nevertheless, its users, be they the refugees from Sinasos or their descendants, call it an album. This is a choice that shows that they consider the photographs to be its main component. The same conclusion is also drawn by the fact that our informants talk more about the photographs compared to the rest of the album's components, as well as from the fact that these photographs were used in other books that were published after 1924 and refer to Sinasos. Finally, the impact that both these specific photographs and photography as a medium had and continue to have in shaping the Sinasos' collective memory leads once more to the same conclusion. We are referring here to the fact that thanks to an initiative of the Association, students at the School of Architecture at the Polytechnic of Central London made new photographs and architectural drawings of certain still remaining houses of Sinasos in 1982.⁶² Their work has been exhibited both on the premises of the Association in Piraeus and in periodic exhibitions in various parts of Greece. This also shows the importance of buildings as 'condensation symbols' of Sinasos as a lost homeland, a development to which the photographs in the album have undoubtedly contributed significantly. These exhibitions contributed manifold to the further strengthening of cultural memory as they were the occasion for the publication of a collective volume on Sinasos.⁶³ This volume, which is a joint publication of the Association *I Nea Sinaso* and the National Trust for Greece, in addition to texts, also contains the material of the exhibition, thus strengthening the visual memory of Sinasos even more.

It is quite possible that the two opposing political factions within the Sinasos community agreed to create the album, driven by different motives. The immigrants in Istanbul, who had traditionally controlled the *demogerontia*, emphasized their own role in the economic, social, and cultural development of Sinasos and Seraphim Rizos and the opposition to declare the love for their place and the importance they attached to the settlement itself. It is perhaps no coincidence that Seraphim Rizos considered immigration to be the cause of the disintegration of the Sinasos society.⁶⁴

But they certainly agreed on one issue: the need to document the image of their beloved homeland they would soon lose forever. Thus, through their initiative to create the album, they contributed not only to the formation of the visual memory of Sinasos as the lost homeland of the refugees and their descendants but to the formation of a unique mnemonic culture as well. At the same time, however, they provided the refugee association *I Nea Sinasos* with an excellent tool for achieving at least one of its goals: "preserving the memory and passing on the culture of our late ancestors to the younger ones".⁶⁵

In any case, visual memory holds a special place in the mnemonic culture of the Asia Minor refugees. However, in all other cases, it is constituted through individual and community relics – documents, photographs, books, and objects – which concern both lives in the refugees' places of origin and in their new places of settlement. In other words, these are objects with a different initial use that ended up becoming mnemonic relics. In contrast to these, the Sinasos album was deliberately created to perform this specific function. This

⁶² Pimenides, Frosso. 1986. *Photographs and drawings*, in *Sinasos in Cappadocia* edited by Pimenides, Frosso. Athens: Agra Publications, 161-163, 163.

⁶³ Pimenides, Frosso. (ed.). 1986. *Sinasos in Cappadocia*. Athens: Agra Publications.

⁶⁴ Hatziosif, Sinasos, 397-98, 419.

⁶⁵ Somateio "I Nea Sinasos". *Somateio "I Nea Sinasos"* [Association *The New Sinasos*] (accessed: 5 May 2023).

conscious choice not only enriched the visual memory of the refugees from Sinasos in a very special way but also shaped their mnemonic culture.

Images⁶⁶

Figure 1: The Sinasos Photo Album



Figure 2: Kápalos



⁶⁶ All photos are taken by the author. Images represent entire album pages from the copy held in the Association Museum *I Nea Sinasos*.

Figure 3: Public Buildings



Comments: "Our Town Hall" (on the left side of the page), Our Community Committee Office (on the upper right side of the page), Our Bath (on the lower right side of the page)

Figure 4: The District of Kipos



Figure 5: Springs and Fountains



Figure 6: Older Quarters



Figure 7: House Types



Figure 8: Public Buildings and Constructions



Comments: The Taxiarchon Church (on the upper left side of the photo), The Marasoglou Bridge (on the lower left side of the photo)

Figure 9: From our Churches



Comments: Church of Saints Constantine and Helen (on the right side of the page), Our Marketplace (on the lower left side of the page)

Figure 10: Our Schools



Comments: The Girls' School buildings (at the top of the page), The door and exterior of our Boys' School (at the bottom of the page)

Figure 11: The Interior of the Boys' School



Figure 12: Donors and Benefactors



Figure 13: Housework and Entertainment



Figure 14: Our Dances



Figure 15: Traditional Costumes and Children



Comments: Our women's traditional costumes (at the top of the page), Our last offspring (at the bottom of the page)

Figure 16: The Captions

<p>ΕΞΗΓΗΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΩΝ</p> <p>1) Ο Κάβαλος: Σκευότις κα- νέξ Ν^{ος} Δ^α τ' όμορφο Πρωόλοιο — τή δουκερη τού τάκου — άξοδ' περνού- σαν άπό τή θασραάκι έξοχή μας τού Ζενα-τοπί — δύνω τ' άγγέλ' καφασό- ρα και άσκαπα δένδρα καλλογυρίζον- ταν σιά κατιλά γερά τού άνατολικού μας</p>	<p>ποταμιού, — έγρανε μετά 45 λεπτιών τετραπυτάτη πεζοσοφία σέ μικρόν άνη- φοράκι, πλου άπό τό όποιο κέρνονταν οόνε χαροπό και μαγυρίλο παιδάκι ή όμορφη είσοδος τού άγαπημένου χω- ριού μας, τού Μεγονταν Κάβαλος. Θαματόκοινας ό περιγραφή, τού τόσα μερόνυχια περνούσε στή χωματοχι- ομένη χάτια τών προηγούμενων του- κοχωριών, όταν έβλεπε άπότομανά έγγά-</p>	<p>νοντια μαρσοτά του άγγελ'ς, πέτινες κ' επιβλήταις όι πρώτες άδοδομ'ε τού χωριού.</p> <p>Αίτες άθήσαν σέ άξιότιμα μέλη τής κοινότητός μας τρακίζαόν και μεγα- λεμύων άως: στούς κ. κ. Γ' Σουλ- τανίδη, Χ. και Π. Χ' Ίασίγγ, Χ. Άγρηόδοστο, Α. Καίρατιδη, Π. Πα- παζογλου, Δ. Χ' Δαζάρου, Δημόσθ. Παπαδόπουλο, Θ. Θεοφιλίδη, Β. και</p>	<p>Η. Ηγγροσίλου, Χ' Β. Φωλόχα, Α. Τογαντζή, Σπ. Ίωακείμκοπουλο, Δ. Μανφιδη και σέ τόσους άλλους τού προσέγγων τόσος έπληροίς στήρ Κο- νόμα και τιμόν τ' όμοιά τής στήρ Πόλη και άλλου.</p>
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Figure 17: The Album's Texts: Parallel Narratives

Λαγός. Ἄν οὐ κόψη τὸν δρόμο θὰ σ' ἔρ-
τη καὶ πρέπει γὰ γρη῏ς πῖσω.

Μαργάλα. Ἐθελικὸς δαίμονας ὑπερφυσικὸς
ἀναφέρεται σὰ παραμύθια.

Μοῖρα. «Τὺ γράφτηκε στὴ μοῖρα τ' δὲν
γυλιούται», τίς ραφῆς τοῦ κρανίου τίς νομί-
ζαν γράμματα τῆς μοῖρας.

Σαράπιαλς γίνας τὸν παραμυθῶν.

Σηροπηγῆ = Τσαιο—πουλίτζα, **πιτηνό.**
Ἄν ἔρτη στὴ στέγη τοῦ σπιτιοῦ καὶ κελαδηση,
εἶνε σημεῖο πῶς θὰ ἔρτη ἀπὸ τὴν ξενιτεῖα
συγγενῆς στήγος.

*Ζαφίρα φρὸ με τὸ ρουτὶ ποὶ γίωμα τὸ σακίρι
νὰ τὸ ταῖσω τὸ πολεῖ, ποὶ μ' ἔρταε χαλάρι.*

Σιφώτης. Λαίμονας τῆς ἀκαθαρσίας καὶ
ἀκαθαρσίας τὴν παραμονὴ τὸν Φώτον καίγανε
τὸν Σιφώτη στὸς δρόμους ἀνάβοντας φω-
τιές, πέθανε τὰ μασκαρμένα ξύλα καὶ θύμα-
ζαν τοὺς σταλόους καὶ διάφορα μέρη τοῦ
σπιτιοῦ, γὰ νὰ φύγη ὁ Σιφώτης.

Στοιχειό. Κάθε σπῆτι ἔχει τὸ στοιχειό του,
δὲν πρέπει νὰ τὸ τρομάξη κανεῖς γιατί φεύγει
καὶ γένεται τ' ὄγοιρι τοῦ σπιτιοῦ.

Τσιχτζιποῦ—μικροὶ δαίμονας μὲ πόδια γί-
δας. Εἶδος Σατίρου.

Χοχός—Μορμῶ. Φοβέρι τὸν μικρῶν φρ.
«Θὰ σὲ φάγη ὁ χοχὸς φῶγες».

Andante **Τρεῖς ἄρχοντες**

Τρεῖς ἄρχοντες καθοῦνταν σ' ἓνα κολὸ τραπέζι
ὁ εἰς καλοῦνταν τ' ἄσαρα του, κ' ἄλλος τὴν φρε-
σινά του
καὶ ὁ Μανροῦλης κακοῦνταν κακοῦνταν τὴν καλή του.
—Καλή μ' τὰ χίλια ἔαζιται, τὰ μῆται δὲν χιλιάδες
καὶ τὸ λιγὸ τῆς τὸ κορμὶ τὴν Πάωλον ἀγοράζει.
—Στάσω στάσω, κίρη Μανροῦλη, στίσω καὶ μὴ
βρακοῦμαι.
Καλή σ' ἔν' μπροστά σ' καλή, καὶ πῖσω σὲ γιάντι.
Ἐν ἄσω τὸν ἔρταν νὰ πῶσον τὴν Καλή του.
Πολεῖ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τ' ἄφορα εἰς; αὐτὸς μαμαραμένος
πολεῖ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα του τὰ μῆλα φροσιμένη.
Ἐποῦσαν ἔκολλησε καὶ τὰ μοῦ δὲ σῶθιαι.
—Ἄλλο τίποτα δὲν ἔχω μόνον ἔχω τὴν Καλή μου
ἄς τὸ χέρι τὴν ἔκωσε καὶ σὸ παζῶ τὴν βράδα.
Φάνην κ' ἔνας Γενίτωρας, μικρὸς Γενίτωρας

—Λάλα, λάλα, αἱ ποῦλη καὶ τ' εἶναι ἡ τιμή τῆς;
Ἄμῆματα τὰ ἔργα κ' ἀφήματα τὰ δάσκα.
Τὰ γίωμαι σὸν κόφρο του, λάλα καὶ παραμένει
γαρμὴ, τρανῆ πῖσω του γὰ νὰ δῆ τὴν Καλή του.
Ἄζ! σὰ, Ἄζ! σὰ Γενίτωρα, σὰ νὰ σὲ παραγγέλλω
μὴ τὴν φάξῃς ἐνῆρτα, μὴ τὴν τομπαῖς φροβῆται
μὴ σφῆγας τὰ δασέλια τῆς λιγῶνται καὶ διαλόνται
Ἐπὶ' ἔσαν φιλοῦνταν ὁ, ἦμος ἐρμῆσταν
ἔπὶ' ἔσαν τομπαῦνταν τ' ἄσαρα ἀρμῆσιου,ον,
ἔλα σὰ, ἔρτη κίρη, ἔλα νὰ 'φωσιθῶμαι
Πῆς μου ἐπὶ αἰ κῆρα, ἀπὸ τί γίνος εἶσαι;
Ἦταν ἡ μῆνα μ' Κλέσση κ' ὁ κῆρος μου Τσιζῆρης
ἔρχι κ' ἔναι ἀδελφὸ Λουκῆ καρβοῦρη.
Καίγες καὶ τὴν ρῶτηε καὶ βραῖν' ἡ ἀδελφὴ του!
Ἐγὼ ἄν σὲ ἐρίλωμαι πῶντα τ' ἀδελφοὶ παῶν
κ' ἐγὼ ἄν σὲ ἐτοιμησα ἄς εἶν' ἡ ἀμαρτὶ μου.

Γ Λ Ο Σ Σ Α

Στὴν Καππαδοκία πρὶν τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀλεξάν-
δρου, λέγει ὁ Σιφώτης, ἀμιλοῦνταν μὲ γλῶσ-
σα, ποὶ ἦταν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδοευρωπαϊκῆς γλώσσης
δηλαδὴ ἑνωῖε σὰν τὴν Περωικὴ, Λατινικὴ καὶ
Ἑλληνικὴ. Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ γλῶσσα ἄρχισε νὰ μι-
λέται, ἀπ' τὸν καιρὸ, ποὶ ὁ Περδίκας, ἕνας ἀπ'
τοὺς διαδόχους τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀλεξάνδρου, κω-
ρίσθη τὴν Καππαδοκία, στὴ 322 π. Χ. καὶ ἀρῶ
σκέωσε τὸν Ἀριστῶδη τὸν β'. Διάσκει τὸν Εὐ-
μένη σατράπη, ποὶ σίστησαν Ἑλληνικῆς ἀποι-
κίας, σὲ διάφορα μέρη τῆς χώρας.
Μὰ καὶ ἀρῶ καταργήθηκα ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ ἐξου-
σία, οἱ φιλέλληνες βασιλεῖς τῆς Καππαδοκίας
ὑποστήριξαν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα καὶ πολλα-

Figure 18: The Family Pages

ΟΙΚΟΓΕΝΕΙΑΚΗ ΣΕΛΙΔΑ

Η ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΗ
ΤΟΥ ΑΓΟΡΑΣΤΗ ΠΑΤΡΙΩΤΗ

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Figure 19: A Family Page: The Album of the Mavridis Family

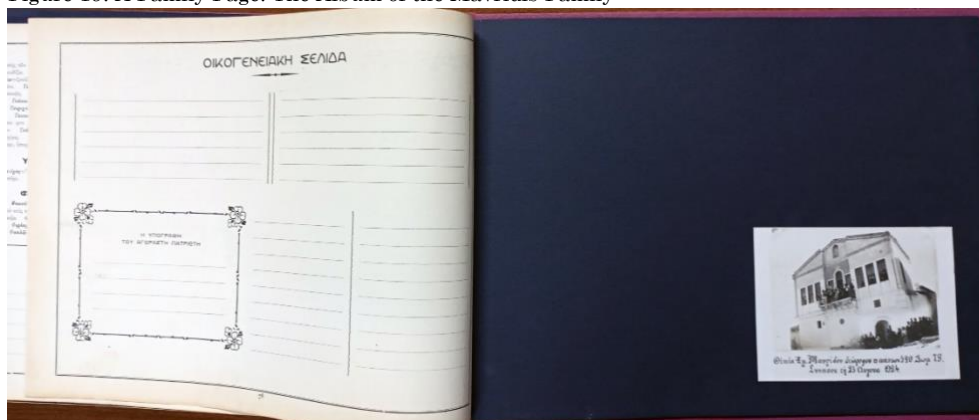
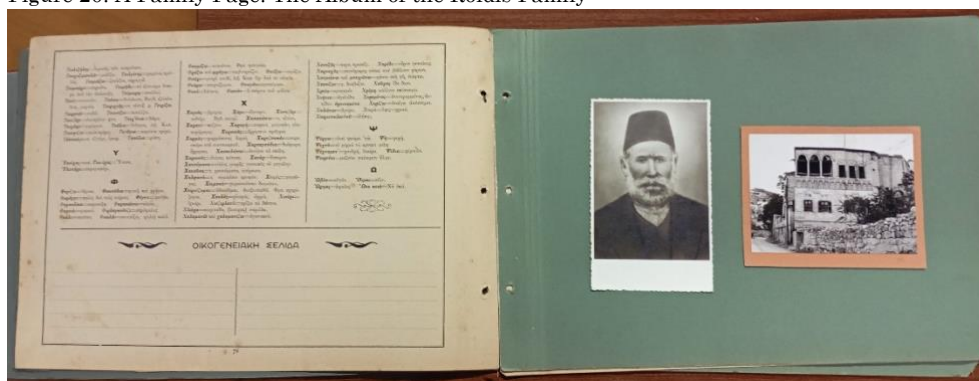


Figure 20: A Family Page: The Album of the Roidis Family



Notes on author

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