



The Transfer of Spatial Memory with Collective Practices Among the Generations of Lausanne Exchangees in Bursa

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to reveal how exchangees construct their public spaces for collective practices in a built environment that is abandoned and analyse these places along with collective practices retrospectively through changing daily life practices. Exchangees migrated from Greece to Turkey because of the population exchange decision which was taken in the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. Due to the fact that the exchangee's identity and culture are visible through collective practices in public spaces, eight collective practices, which are weddings, hidrellez, religious celebrations, official holiday celebrations, seeing-soldiers-off, seasonal preparations, funeral ceremonies, and public announcements of bad news are selected. These places, where collective practices are performed, are the subject of the research. The first-generation exchangees, for their collective practices, besides building spaces of their own, also settled in places that were left by the Greeks. The study focuses on these public spaces. The sample group of this study is the exchangees in Bursa, Görükle village who migrated from Greece. The methods of the study are analysing archive materials in the form of text, photo and maps and memory interviews conducted with the second and third generation exchangees who still use these public places. As a result of the study, it was revealed that the exchangees restructured the collective practice places in order to establish a sense of belonging and reinterpreting their culture and identity in the new settlement. The study concluded that the places of collective practices, spatial memory, the identity of the exchangee and the public spaces left by the Greeks have been transferred by spatial memory. This study reveals the influence of spatial memory, the relevance of belonging, reinterpreting of exchangees' culture and identity over the restructuring of the physical environment and the transfer of these between generations.

Keywords:

Collective memory, Identity of exchangees, Population exchange, Public places of collective practices, Spatial memory

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INTRODUCTION

In this century, described by Said (Said, 2020) as the age of refugees, migration, memory studies have diversified over time. Halbwachs's "Collective Memory" (Halbwachs, 2017) discusses the social containment of social (collective) memory. Studies on the effects of culture on social memory resemble culture to a lens/filter (Cuc et al., 2006; Hirst & Echterhoff, 2008; Hirst & Manier, 2008; Öymen Gür, 1996, 2000; Rapoport, 1969, 1977, 1980a, 1980b). In Nora's "Memory Places" (Nora, 2006), the impact of culture on the individual experience of space is discussed. Post-memory is a traumatic experience resulting because of war and migration, which remain in the next generations (Hirsch, 1996, 2008, 2014; Sarlo, 2012). Today, the fourth wave in memory studies has pushed the field to go beyond the anthropocentric and to think ecologically, often in such a way as to decenter (Olick et al., 2023).

Memory studies in individual and collective memory emerged in architectural literature in recent years. These studies are focused on abandoned places, places of migration routes, and settled places after the migration (Göregenli & Karakus, 2014; Sezginalp Özçetin & Rottmann, 2022; Türkoğlu & Akdemir, 2022).

One of the forced migrations that has a place in memory studies is the population exchange. On January 30, 1923, after the 'Agreement and Protocol for the Exchange of Turkish and Greek People' between Greece and Turkey was enacted at the Lausanne Peace Conference, mandatory exchanges between Turkey and Greece were effectuated (Aktar, 2005; Arı, 2000; Mavromatis, 2005). Because of the population exchange, 500.000 Muslim Turks migrated from Greece to Turkey and 1.200.000 Orthodox Greeks migrated from Anatolia to Greece. Emigrants were referred to as 'exchangee' in Anatolia. The exchangees tried to be settled in areas similar to the living and working conditions in the areas they came from, and agricultural labourers settled in areas where they could perform their jobs (Arı, 2000; Yıldırım, 2006). Studies have been carried out discussing the social and cultural effects (Hirchon, 2005; Kolektif, 2015; Pekin, 2005) and places of the exchange (Gökaçtı, 2005; Pekin, 2013; Tevfik, 2014). Cengizkan's (2004, 2005) and Hirschon's (2000) studies have important contributions to population exchange in the field of architecture. There is also significant amount of research on population exchange in architecture focusing on the places which are left by Greeks (Altinoluk, 2021; Başar & Acar Ata, 2019; İnce Güney, 2016; Özyayın et al., 2018; Özbek Eren et al., 2010; Yıldız & Şahin Güçhan, 2020).

Despite numerous publications about migration, there is still a lot to discover in terms of architectural facet of the population exchange. The exchangees were able to continue their own culture, customs, traditions, and habits in the new places they settled (Goularas Bayındır, 2012). This paper contributes to the memory and migration literature by introducing the concept of 'cross-generational spatial memory' discussed from a generational perspective. The concept of inherited exchangee identity

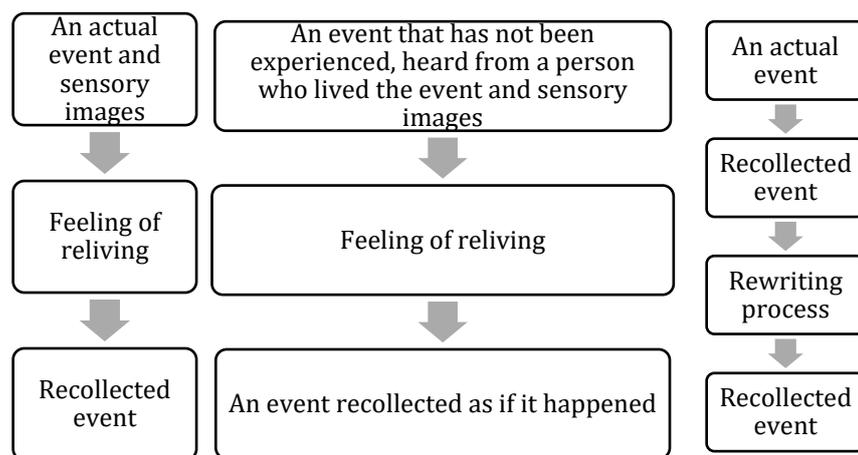
(post-memory) represents the transfer of the identity phenomenon to a new generation via inheritance and places.

In this study, research was conducted on the intergenerational spatial memory of the exchangees who settled in Görükle Village, Bursa. Görükle was a Greek Village known as Kouvaklia before the population exchange and it was abandoned. The exchangees settled in the village that was empty in terms of population. However spatially, residences were remaining despite some of the Greek public spaces were demolished. Therefore, this study focused on the change of public spaces. Exchangees preserved their culture in the new place. In time, exchangees changed the spaces and built new places. The study searched the effect of places on the intergenerational transmission of exchangees' culture. Spaces of collective practices, which are weddings, hidrellez, religious celebrations, official holiday celebrations, seeing-soldiers-off, seasonal preparations, funeral ceremonies, and public announcements of bad news, are the focus of the study. In this study, the exchangees' ability to continue their culture, and to transfer culture to the next generations has been read through places.

PLACES of MEMORY and PLACE ATTACHMENT

Memory is a reminder and descriptor of identity. The most distinctive attribute of long-term memory is persistence over time. Persistence is the capacity to reactivate, or reconstruct the original, or a similar representation by the process of retrieval (Dudai, 2002). The mind is able to recollect an event from what is told, and the person is able to recollect an event personally and essentially experienced (Figure 1. **Hata! Başvuru kaynağı bulunamadı.**). The feeling of reliving an event during recollecting is one of the characteristics that determines autobiographical memory (Gülgöz, 2018).

Figure 1. Types of Recollecting Events Experienced/ Not Experienced in Autobiographical Memory [visualized from the theories of (Dudai, 2002; Gülgöz, 2018)]



The considerations that memory is not only a property belonging to an individual, but determined socially, have produced the concept of collective memory. Recollecting is realized through places and objects. Places, an important tool of memory, gain more importance when it

comes to undesirable and forcefully experienced events. Collective memory is formed through recollections of individual memories (Halbwachs, 2017).

According to the research in the fields on sociology and anthropology, the concept of collective memory is outside the mind of the individual and is formed and structured in a social context. Information about the shared past of a society is represented in cultural products, such as texts, images, rites, traditions, myths, commemoration ceremonies, buildings, monuments, even cities (Assmann, 1995; Irwin-Zarecka, 1994; Olick, 2014; Olick & Robbins, 1998). Those who consider collective memory from the perspective of psychology note that the processing, storage and recall of this information about the social past takes place in the human mind (Crane, 1997; Cuc et al., 2006; Hirst & Manier, 2008; Mutlutürk et al., 2018). For a social memory to be formed, personal memories of an event must be transferred between individuals and distributed and disseminated within the community (Cuc et al., 2006; Olick, 2014; Werstch, 2004). For an event to become a part of social memory, it does not have to be experienced by all members of a community (Crane, 1997; Hirst & Manier, 2008; Mutlutürk et al., 2018). What makes collective memory collective is the fact that members of a group share a similar set of cultural tools, especially narrative forms, when understanding the past (Werstch & Roediger, 2008) (**Hata! Başvuru kaynağı bulunamadı..**).

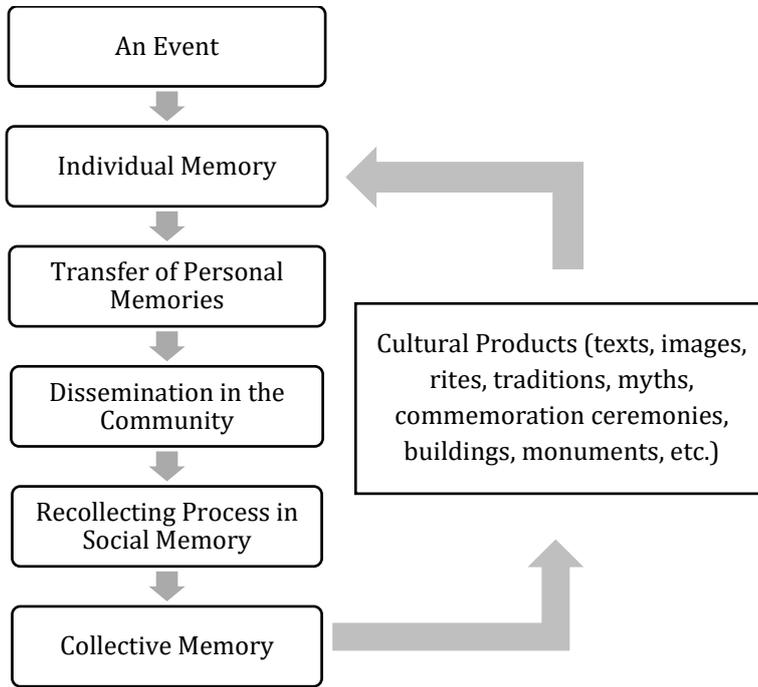


Figure 2. The Relationship Between Social Memory, Cultural Products and the Individual [visualized from the theories Hirst and Manier, (2008); Olick, (2014); Werstch, (2004); Werstch and Roediger, (2008)]

In "Places of Memory" Nora (2006) states that there are certain representations, indicators, symbols forming and strengthening the relationship between collective memory and places. The traces of the collective past form the 'memory of place' in the minds of the individuals is formed with personal, social, and historical values. The meaning given

to places is based on physical settlement, psycho-social processes with the person's characteristics depending on social and cultural factors, and intangible cultural heritage elements such as ceremonies and celebrations held in those places (Canter, 1977; Relph, 1976; Stedman, 2002; Stokols & Schumaker, 1981). This process creates social and individual place attachment by attributing meaning to a place (Case, 1996; Greider & Garkovich, 2010; Stokowski, 2002). Values, memories, environment, residences, symbols and traditions have created the attachment to place in societies. Radical changes in places divide and disrupt the relationship between memory and identity, causing a disconnection of intergenerational memory. After being forced to leave or break away from any place, it is not feasible for a society to remain stable and continue its old life by maintaining their lives (Rennick, 2003). The effects of the place disruption that lead to a break or interruption of relations with the place can be understood by examining pre-demolition, moment of demolition and post-demolition stages through individual, social and constancy-change functions (Wieland, 2001). In post-demolition stages, individuals compare their old environment with their new environment. Even in crisis situations such as disasters and migration, people begin to create their daily functions and needs in the new environment. By recreating their social and physical environment process, society is normalized.

Since events such as war and migration cause great changes in the life of the individual/society, they are transferred to the next generations with the trauma effect. 'Vicarious remembrance' is remembering the experiences of his/her ancestors, despite not having his/her own experience (Sarło, 2012). Hirsch (1996, 2008, 2014) who theorizes intergenerational trauma transmission as 'post-memory', the traumatic event does not only affect those who experience it. Even if subsequent generations do not experience the event themselves, they psychologically experience the consequences of that event. Sarło (2012) argues that, considering that it is not possible to remember an event that a person has not experienced, this remembering occurs through the transfer of memories within the family and society.

Along with migration, a breakaway from the physical environment creates problems in perceiving the environment due to post-traumatic effects. The exchangees, who leave the places where they had lived and created of a sense of belonging for centuries 'settle' in lands they had never seen before. This cause a spatial and cultural interruption. In the context of human-environment relations, forced migration requires a new adaptation process. The society enters into the normalization process with reconstruction efforts. The fact that immigrants search for places that are physically similar to their old places and settle in similar villages can be interpreted as preserving the integrity of cultural elements. Intergenerational spatial memory is a means of transferring the exchangee identity to subsequent generations. The argument of this paper is that spatial identity in the memory of the exchanged people was

transferred to the current place by post-memory and by adapting the physical environment through cultural components.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology of this paper consists of a study including analyzing the archive material which is mainly texts, photos and maps in the first stage and conducting memory interviews with second and third generation exchanges as a second stage. Photographs regarding collective practices were taken from the Archives of Görükle Exchange House, and the photographs were discussed with the exchangees who were interviewed. The researcher interpreted the archive material combining with the information gathered from interviews. Interviews were made by most important memories method and life history timeline method.

Autobiographical memory is based on the theory of recollecting memories that are not personally experienced but are recollected as if they were experienced. In this study, it has been assumed that the second and third generations can have information about the environments they have not experienced. Therefore, in order to reveal social memory, the study focused on cultural products and public places where collective practices are performed.

There are two ways to build a memory: producing and recollecting it directly. In recollecting, the person tries to reach the information in autobiographical memory based on the hint given to him (Uzer, 2018). Therefore, in order to recollect spatial data in autobiographical memory, two individually performed methods were used which are already been used in psychology. These are “Most Important Memories Method” and “Life History Timeline Method”.

In the ‘Most Important Memories Method’, participants are expected to remember a certain type of moment and share their memories in a long and detailed way. In the ‘Life History Timeline Method’, participants are asked to think of their lives as a book or novel, divide this book into eight certain positive and negative moments into specific chapters, and freely tell their life stories (Demiray, 2018; Weston et al., 2015).

In this study, Görükle from Bursa was chosen as a case study area. Exchangees chose the area where they would settle in Bursa which is the fourth city where the biggest amount of exchange of population occurred in Anatolia. First generation exchangees settled in Görükle Village because it was similar to the settlements in Greece in terms of topography and agricultural areas. Although Görükle has grown and changed in terms of settlement morphology, it is possible to read the village pattern of Görükle exchangees. The memories of exchangees were also recorded by the Görükle Exchange House. For these reasons, the study was conducted in the village of Görükle in Bursa. Görükle (Figure 4.) is one of the neighbourhoods of Nilüfer Municipality, and almost the last residential area at the western exit of Bursa, located next to the Bursa-İzmir highway. In the north of the settlement, the coastal Mudanya and Tirilye districts and the Marmara Sea; in the south, the still developing Hasanağa and

Kayapa residential settlements; in the east, the central districts of Nilüfer and Osmangazi districts; in the west, touristic residential areas such as Gölyazı and Uluabat Lake exist (Figure 3.). In 1924, two years after the Greeks left the village of Görükle (formerly Kouvaklia), first Thessaloniki and then Kavala exchangees settled. The village, which was an exchangee settlement until 1976, when Uludağ University constructed in Görükle, started to grow due to its proximity to the university, and there were significant changes in its spatial morphology in the 2000s. Currently in the settlement, there are many apartments, flats, private and state dormitories along with social, commercial, culture-art, sports and recreation spaces for university students and young people. With this rapid construction process that has occurred in recent history, new settlement areas are constructed in natural and agricultural areas. Despite the new urban developments, the old exchangees' village pattern still can be read as spatial morphology.



Figure 3. Görükle Settlement
(Bursa, Görükle Yerleşimi, n.d.)



Figure 4. Görükle Exchangee
Village within Görükle
Settlement (Bursa, Görükle
Yerleşimi, n.d.)

The interviews were shaped by a theoretical framework and consisted of a set of questions about the population exchange. Series of questions are asked during the research including these themes: the settlements of Greece where the ancestor lived before, the population exchange, the migration, the places of quarantine and the gathering spaces, the first settlement in Bursa, the searching stage of place to settle, how they decided to settle in Görükle, the ruined and preserved Greek public spaces when the first generation exchangees came and settled in. Memory interviews are aimed to reveal the changes that have occurred in the places of collective practices, over the course of a century, from the

first generation exchangers to the present day. In this part of the interviews, the exchangees are expected to tell their memories with blending most important memories method and life history timeline method by assigning eight collective practices. Weddings, hidrellez, religious celebrations, official holiday celebrations, seeing-soldiers-off, funeral ceremonies, public announcements of bad news and seasonal preparations (food kept for winters/traditions performed at certain times regarding economically changing production activities) were selected as collective practices. The study aimed to determine which places are referred to and which practices through the places are mentioned by the second and third generation exchangees.

Since the Thessaloniki and Kavala exchangees live together in Görükle, it was aimed to obtain information whether there is a difference in the use of places by conducting interviews with both groups (Table 1.). Memory interviews were conducted with these participants about eight collective practices. The participants are between 54 and 88 years old, all of them are second or third generation exchangees who were born in Görükle and lived there throughout their life.

Table 1. Participants in Görükle for the Study

Second Gen. Thessaloniki Exchangees		Second Gen. Kavala Exchangees		Third Gen. Thessaloniki Exchangees		Third Gen. Kavala Exchangees	
Woman	Men	Woman	Men	Woman	Man	Woman	Man
1	4	1	2	1	1	1	1

FINDINGS of the CASE STUDY

The Spatial Analysis of Kouvouklia Before the Population Exchange

After visiting Kouvouklia Village (today Görükle) in 1907-1908, Hasluck (1910) mentioned that there was a demolished Byzantine castle, there were 430 residents, and the villagers spoke Greek and maintained their traditions that they brought from Greece. The number of dwellings mentioned by Deligiannis, who taught in Kouvouklia before the exchange, is the same. The map and panorama of the region in Kouvouklia drawn by Deligiannis, provide information about the period when the Greeks lived in there (Figure 5., Figure 6.). There were a kindergarten and a primary school, a central coffeehouse (Adelfato), a bakery, a chapel, a well and a fountain known as ayazma in the Agios Georgios Church Square. Sterna Square is the second bustling square of the village after the church square (Ulutaş, 2014). Rituals and celebrations were held around the wells on holidays dedicated to saints throughout the year. On the last two days of Easter, young girls danced, and men watched from afar in the Church Square, the central square of the village (Ulutaş, 2014).

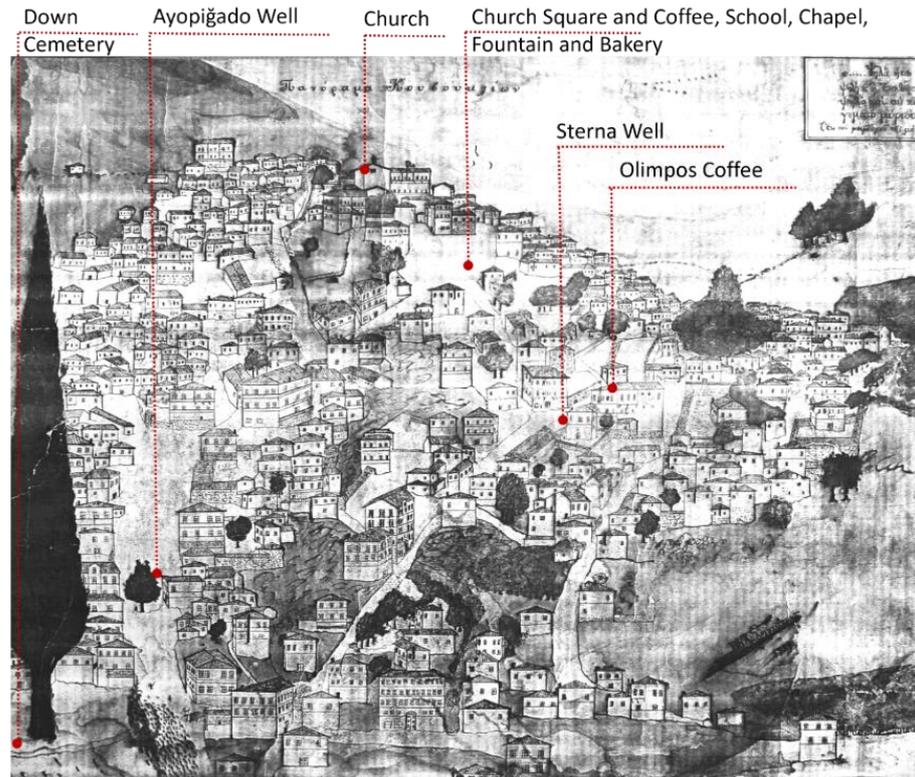


Figure 5. The Village of Kouvouklia (Görükle) before the Population Exchange in 1923 [(Drawn by the Greek Teacher, Deligiannis (*Personal archive of Vasileios Deligiannis obtained from Archives of Asia Minor Studies, Athens, n.d.*)]

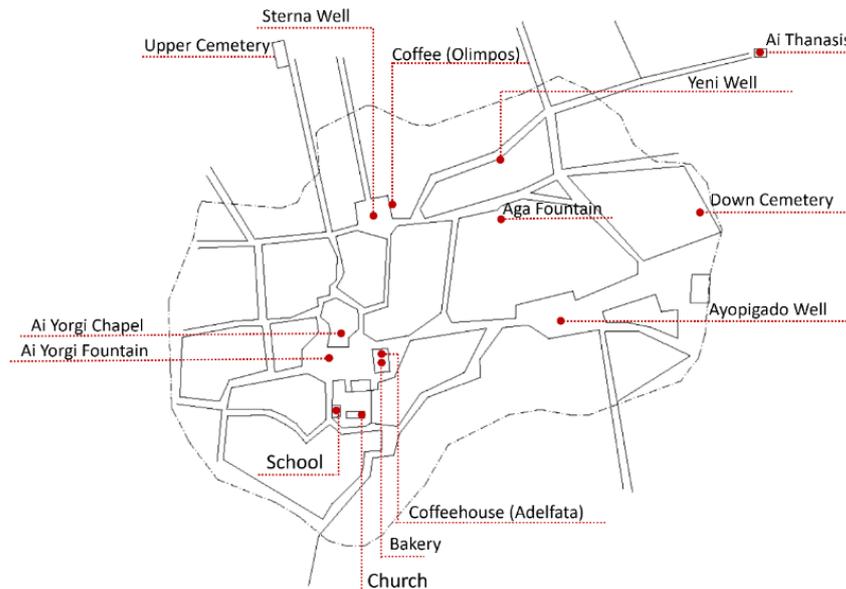


Figure 6. The Village of Kouvouklia (Görükle) before the Population Exchange in 1923 [(Drawn by the Greek Teacher, Deligiannis (*Personal archive of Vasileios Deligiannis obtained from Archives of Asia Minor Studies, Athens, n.d.*)]

The Spatial Analysis of Görükle Village After the Population Exchange

In this section, the information about the public places left by the Greeks which were not demolished until the first generation exchanges came, is presented. Also, public places where the collective practices occurred is studied. This data of this section is generated from memory interviews with second and third generations exchanges.

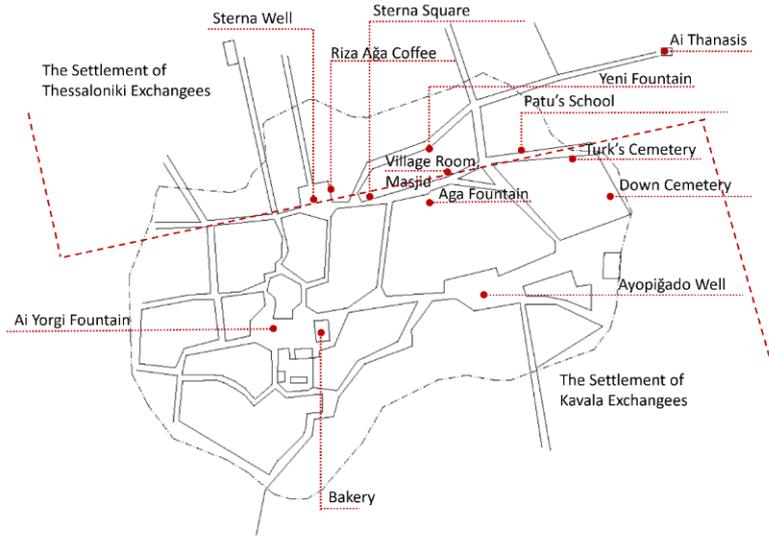


Figure 7. The Village of Görükle after the Population Exchange in 1924 [(The map was drawn by the Greek Teacher, Deligiannis (*Personal archive of Vasileios Deligiannis obtained from Archives of Asia Minor Studies, Athens, n.d.*)); the places after the population exchange were prepared by researchers according to memory interviews

In the memory interviews, the places of the Görükle Village before (Figure.8) and after the population exchange were told by exchanges. According to the memory interviews, before the exchanges came to Görükle Village, the church and school in the first square (Kilise Meydanı, Church Square), Ai Yorgi Şapeli (Chapel) and the surrounding coffeehouse (Adelfato) had been destroyed. Olympus Kahvehanesi (Coffeehouse), Sterna Kuyusu (Well) in the second square (Sterna Meydanı/Square), Aga Çeşmesi (Fountain), Yeni Çeşme (New Fountain), Ai Thanasis and Ayopigado Kuyusu (Well) were not damaged. Olympus Kahvehanesi (Coffeehouse), located in Sterna Meydanı which is the second square of the Greeks, was started to be operated by Riza Ağa — who was an exchangee— as a coffeehouse and the building is currently used as Riza Ağa Mübadil Kahvehanesi (Coffeehouse). The Church Square (Kilise Meydanı) and Ai Yorgi Çeşmesi (Fountain) were not used by exchangees, and therefore it lost its character (Figure 7., Figure 9.).

The mosque was constructed across the Sterna Meydanı (Square) in 1936. In 1937, the first elementary school (Görükle İlk Okulu) was built opposite the Turkish Cemetery at the village exit. The school used to be located side by side in the main square with the church, fountain and ayazma during the Greek period. However, at first the exchangees preferred a house outside the village and they also built the new school in this area. So, the education area was created outside the village. In their construction activities for school and mosque, it has been observed that the exchangees chosen locations and used construction techniques according to their spatial data which were came from their homeland.

In the 1940s, tobacco cooperative building was built, but today it is out of use. The Greek cemetery was not used either and an area outside the village was delineated for the cemetery. The Greek Cemetery located at the intersection of the school was transformed into Görükle Spor Sahası (Sports Field). The places of exchangee from 1924 to 1940 are seen at Figure 10.

Figure 8. The Village of Kouvouklia*, Public Places for Collective Practices before the Population Exchange on current map (prepared by researchers according to memory interviews)

*The village name was Kouvaklia before the Population Exchange.

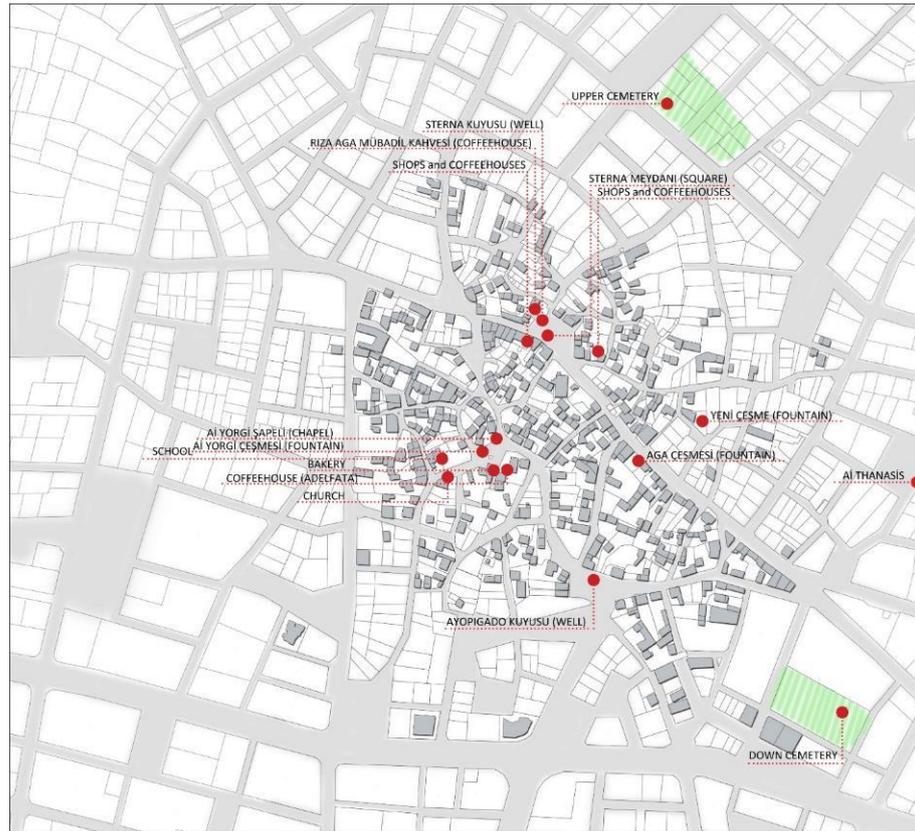
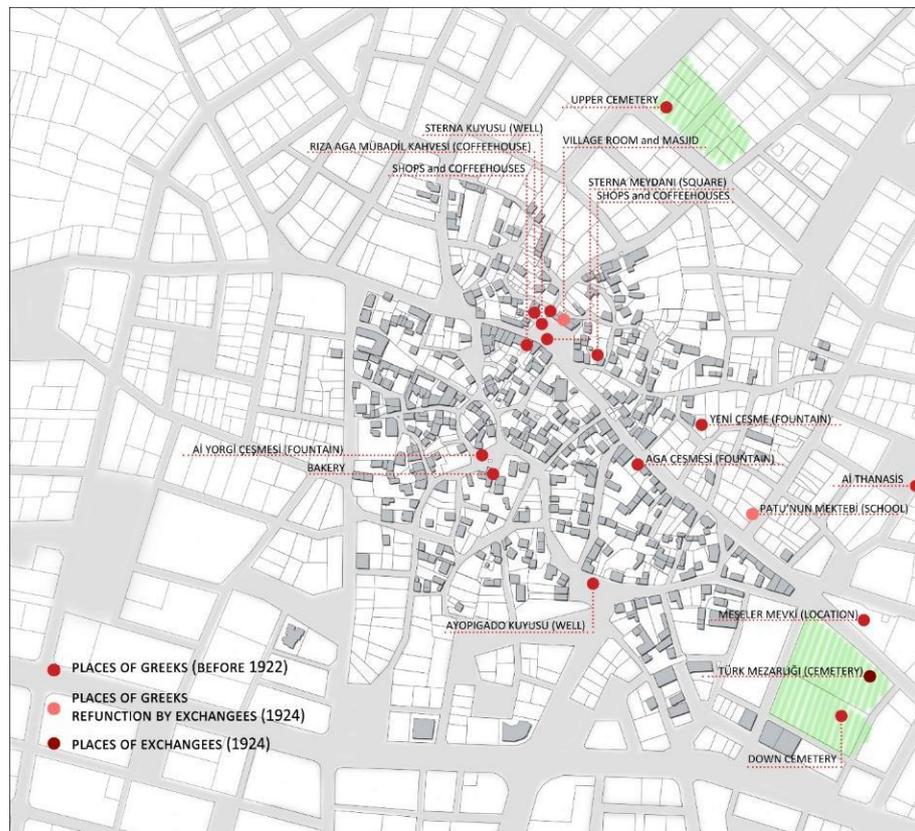


Figure 9. The Village of Görükle*, Places for Collective Practices after the Population Exchange on current map (1924) (prepared by researchers according to memory interviews)

* The village name was changed to Görükle after the Population Exchange.



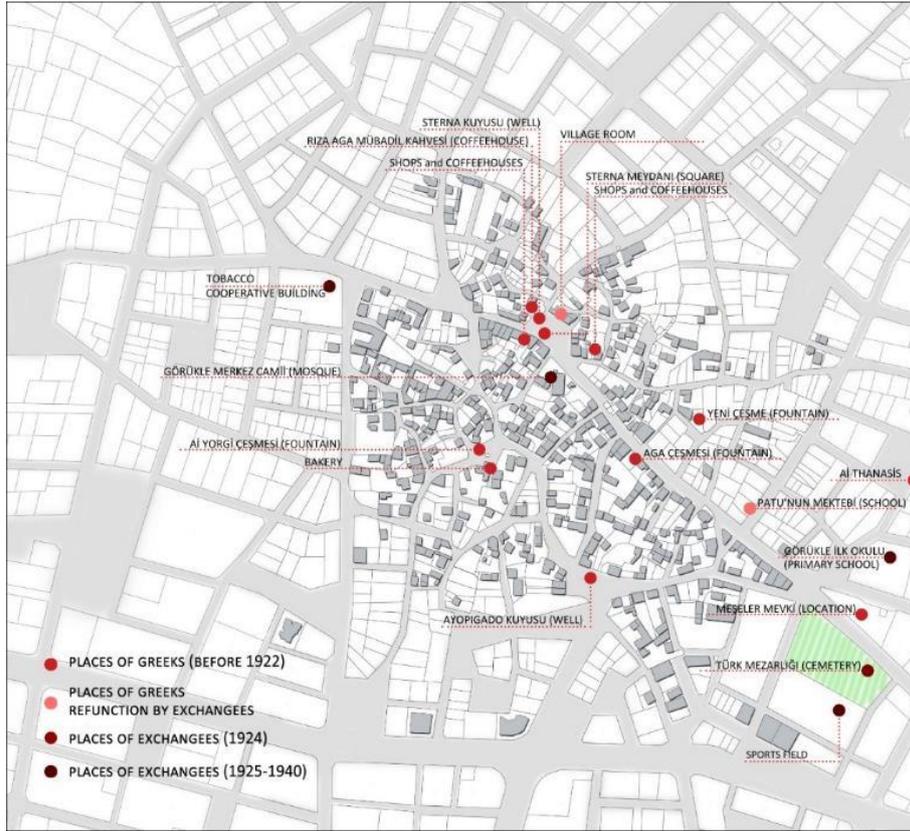


Figure 10. The Village of Görükle, Places for Collective Practices after the Population Exchange on current map (1940s) (prepared by researchers according to memory interviews)

Today, a covered marketplace is located on the site of the Görükle Spor Sahası (Sports Field). Ayopigado Kuyusu (Well) has become useless, so the well was destroyed. The place of the well was turned into a square and named as Taşpınar Mevkii (Location). Sculptures, which represented two women filling water at the well and a man looking at them, were built in this square. Yeni Çeşme (New Fountain) and Ai Thanasis Çeşmesi (Fountain) were demolished, and the Aga Çeşmesi (Fountain) was removed in 2020 being replaced with an apartment instead of the two-storey Greek residence behind the fountain. The Ai Yorgi Çeşmesi (Fountain), known as the church fountain, has survived. The two-storey Greek house used as Abdullah Aga/ Çukur Kahvehane (coffeehouse) in Sterna Meydanı (Square) was renovated by the Municipality of Nilüfer in 2016 and started to be used as the Mübadele Evi (Museum of Exchange House) (Figure 11.).

When the maps of Kouvaklia Village before the population exchange (Figure 8.) and Görükle Village after the population exchange in 1924 (Figure 9.) and 1940 (Figure 10.) are compared with the maps of today (Figure 11.), it has been observed that the square of the public spaces of the village has changed. The church square and the church fountain, still exist today. However, the square that is actively used in the village is Sterna Square. The important public spaces of the village are also clustered around the Sterna Square. Based on the old location data, exchangees delineated Sterna Square next to the coffeehouse as the village square. It has been determined that the religious concern led to this selection. The religious building, as reported by the exchangees,

would be built by the first generation exchangee, even if the church was not destroyed. By taking a Greek coffee house and the Greek square next to it as the center, the first generation exchangees built the mosque in there and reconstructed the square where life flows in the village. The necessary shops for the villagers have been located around the square.

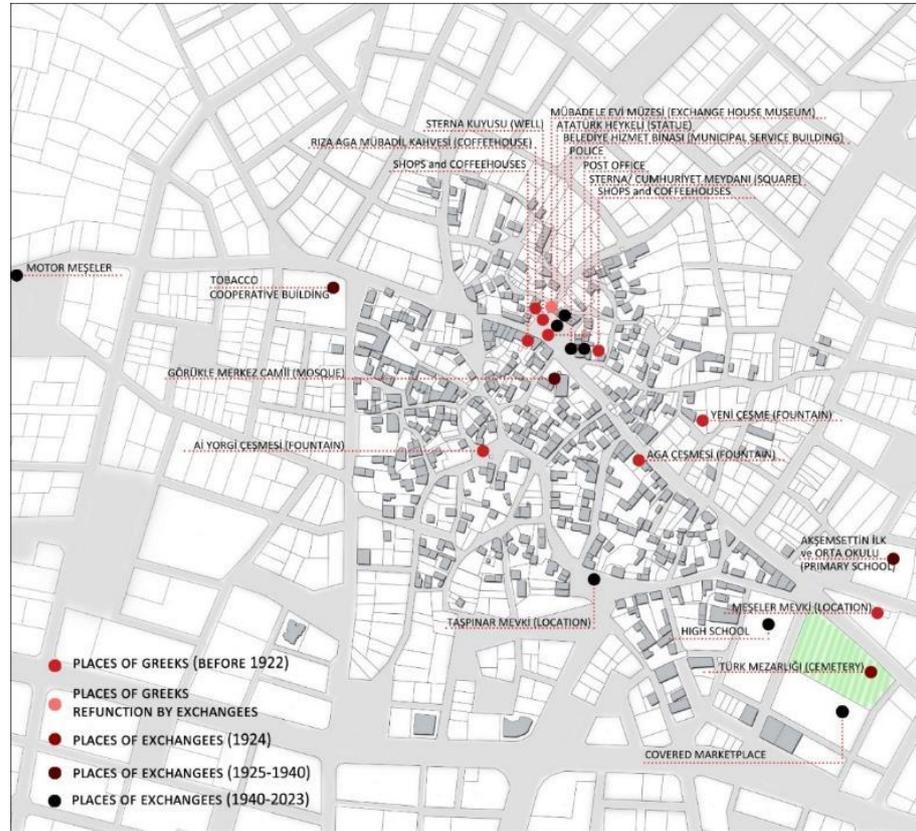


Figure 11. The Village of Görükle, Places for Collective Practices after the Population Exchange on current map (1940s) (prepared by researchers according to memory interviews)

The Analysis of Public Places Used for Collective Practices After the Population Exchange

Public places used for collective practices in Görükle (Kouvaklia) Neighborhood were discussed in the memory interviews with second and third generation exchangees. Results of the interviews will be presented focusing on eight collective practices. These are weddings, hidrellez, religious celebrations, official holiday celebrations, seeing-soldiers-off, funeral ceremonies, public announcements of bad news and seasonal preparations. The data of the information provided by the exchangees are tabulated in Table 2. The map of public places and collective practices in Görükle Neighbourhood is prepared by researchers according to memory interviews. The places' names, which are used for collective practices, are represented in bold black and near the names, the collective practices are represented with a symbol of different colors for each practice. The places' names, which are not used for collective practices are grey. As can be seen in Table 2. and Figure 12., the places for collective practices in Görükle (Kouvaklia), Atatürk Caddesi (Street), Sterna /Cumhuriyet Meydanı (Square) and Meşeler Mevkii (Location) are the places where the most practices take place.

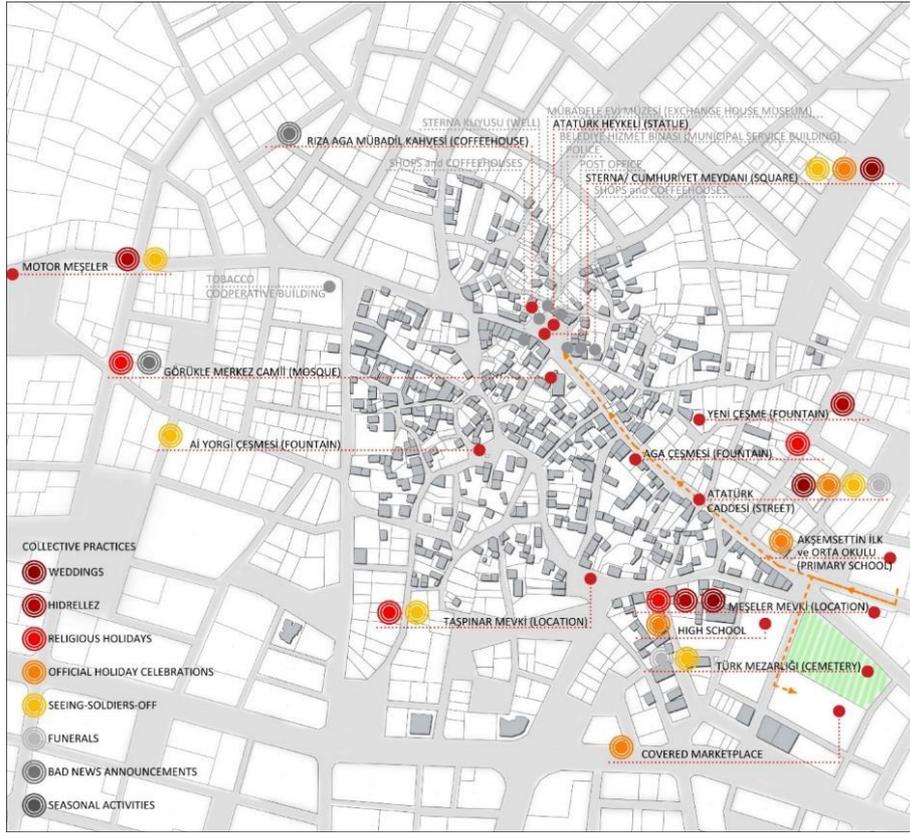


Figure 12. The map of public spaces and collective practices in Görükle Neighbourhood (prepared by the researchers according to memory interviews)

According to Table 2., Thessaloniki and Kavala exchangees pointed out the same public places for same collective practices. So, it can be concluded that exchanges coming from the two different cultures from two different cities in Greece, used the same public spaces with the same rituals in Görükle.

Before the population exchange, on the feast days, Greeks' ceremonies and celebrations were held around the wells, and young girls and boys used to gather and dance on the church square (Kılıç & Ulutaş, 2016). After the population exchange, the first generation exchangees chose wells, fountains, and Serna Meydanı (Square) where there was a well, for collective practices. It is evident from these data that the exchangees transferred their culture to the new environment.

According to the memory interviews *weddings*, which are one of the collective practices, are usually held in the gardens of the houses. Wedding owners who did not have a home garden, celebrated their weddings on Serna/Cumhuriyet Meydanı (Square) or Atatürk Caddesi (Street). "Ruba" clothes and the groom's suits were taken away on Atatürk Caddesi (Street). An exchangee explained the wedding ceremony with the following sentences:

"On Friday, 'ruba' goes from the boy's house to the girl's house. Ruba is the wedding dress of the girl who will get married. After Friday prayer, men come from the boys' house to the girls' house with a ceremony, and a meal is served in the garden of the girls' house. The groom's suit is given to the arriving youth on a tray, and the youth ceremoniously go from the girl's house to the boy's house on the same route. This route is from

Atatürk Street so that all the villagers can see it. Henna is held at the girl's house on Saturday, it is also held at the boy's house. We call it a wedding, but the wedding continues Sunday. On Sunday mornings, dowry is taken from the girl's house to the boy's house, accompanied by entertainment, previously on horse-drawn carts, later on tractors, and today by cars. The girl does not go to the groom's house, the girl's family spreads the dowry in this house. The groom shaves in the afternoon, if his house is nearby, in the square, if not, on the Atatürk Street. After the marriage ceremony with the prayers of the imam in the evening, there is entertainment until the time of the night prayer. On Monday, at the bride's house, women eat trotters and have fun. All celebrations have drums and pipes. Drummers come to the village on Friday and are hosted at the man's house or at the Rıza Aga Cafe in the village until Sunday." (B.A.)

Table 2. Görükle (Kouvaklia) Neighborhood, Places for Collective Practices' Places Mentioned by the Exchanges in the Memory Interviews

		2nd Gen. Thessaloniki Exchanges		3rd Gen. Thessaloniki Exchanges		2nd Gen. Kavala Exchanges		3rd Gen. Kavala Exchanges	
		Woman	Men	Woman	Men	Woman	Men	Woman	Man
Weddings	Home Gardens	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	Sterna/ Cumhuriyet Meydanı (Square)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	Atatürk Caddesi (Street)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	Meşeler Mevkii (Location)				•				
	Şantiye Alanı (Construction Site)	•	•	•			•	•	
	Meşeler Mevkii (Location)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
Hidrellez	Koca Çınar (Big Plane)	•	•		•	•	•		•
	Motor Meşeler (Oaks)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	Yeni Çeşme (New Fountain)	•				•			
	Görükle Merkez Camii (Mosque)		•		•		•		•
Religious Celebrations	Taşpınar Mevkii (Location)		•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	Meşeler Mevkii (Location)		•		•		•		•
	Aga Fountain				•				
	Pomegranate Trees	•							
Official Holidays	School Garden	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	Atatürk Caddesi (Street)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	Sterna/ Cumhuriyet Meydanı (Square)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	Sports Area	•	•		•	•	•	•	•

Table 2. Continued Görükle (Kouvaklia) Neighborhood, Places for Collective Practices' Places Mentioned by the Exchangees in the Memory Interviews

		2nd Gen. Thessaloniki Exchangees		3rd Gen. Thessaloniki Exchangees		2nd Gen. Kavala Exchangees		3rd Gen. Kavala Exchangees	
		Woman	Men	Woman	Men	Woman	Men	Woman	Man
Soldier Farewells	Sterna/ Cumhuriyet Meydanı (Square)	●	●		●	●	●		●
	Kilise Meydanı (Church Square)						●		●
	Taşpınar Mevkii (Location)					●	●		●
	Atatürk Caddesi (Street)	●	●			●	●		●
	Cemetery	●	●			●	●		●
	Motor Meşeler (Oaks)		●					●	●
	Şantiye Alanı (Construction Site)				●				
	Home Gardens	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
	Cemetery	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Atatürk Caddesi (Street)	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
Announcements of the bad news	Görükle Merkez Cami (Mosque)	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
	Rıza Aga Mübadil Kahvesi (Coffeeshouse)	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Seasonal Activities									

Nowadays, weddings cannot be celebrated in squares and streets. This is due to the prohibition of celebrations in squares and streets by the Municipality. This prohibition has caused the wedding, which is one of the most important means of preserving the customs and traditions of the villagers alive, to change. Participants are concerned that the wedding traditions will be lost. It is observed that the wedding traditions are desired to be celebrated today in the same way as the first generation exchangees celebrated. The wedding tradition, which passed on to the third generation of exchangees, has taken its current form with the change of wedding venues. Today, weddings are celebrated in the closed area of the municipality called the 'Şantiye Alanı' (Construction Site).

Figure 13. A Wedding in Sterna Meydanı (Square) in 1960s (Archive Catalogue of Photographs from Exchange House, 2021)



Figure 14. A Groom Shave at Atatürk Caddesi (Street) in 1960s (Archive Catalogue of Photographs from Exchange House, 2021)

Figure 15. A Wedding Meal in 1970s (Archive Catalogue of Photographs from Exchange House, 2021)



Figure 16. A Wedding in 1970s (Archive Catalogue of Photographs from Exchange House, 2021)

Figure 17. A Groom Shave at Atatürk Caddesi (Street) in 1960s (Archive Catalogue of Photographs from Exchange House, 2021)



Figure 18. A Wedding in 1990s (Archive Catalogue of Photographs from Exchange House, 2021)

Hidrellez is as important as weddings for exchangees. Four different places are mentioned for celebrations. Meşeler Mevkii (Location) and Koca Çınar (Big Plane) were the *hidrellez* places, but the oak tree in Meşeler Mevkii (Location) and the plane tree in Koca Çınar dried up. So, the Motor Meşeler (oaks) is used as the only celebration area today. *Hidrellez* activities organized in Motor Meşeler (oaks) are supported by the Municipality nowadays. Also, The Yeni Çeşme (New Fountain) has been a place where only young girls go to perform the custom called 'mantufar', but today this tradition is not pursued. The practice of *mantufar* was explained by the second generation female exchangee.

"When I was a young girl, we would put any item we wanted into a clay pot and leave it under the rose overnight. In the morning, we would all gather and go to Yeni Çeşme, wash our hands and faces, and take out the contents of the pot one by one, we call this *mantufar* extraction. Then we would go to Motor Oaks, playing *dümbelek* and singing songs. We used to celebrate it in Meşeler Mevki and Koca Çınar, but the trees dried up. Swings are set up on the oak tree, meals are cooked, celebrations are held. Young girls stayed there all day, and the man they love swung the girl on the swing set up on the oak tree." (F.A.)



Figure 19. Hidrellez at Koca Çınar (Big Plane) in 1950s (Archive Catalogue of Photographs from Exchange House, 2021)

Figure 20. Hidrellez at Meşeler Mevkii (Location) in 1970s (Archive Catalogue of Photographs from Exchange House, 2021)



Figure 21., Figure 22. Hidrellez at Motor Meşeler (oaks) in 2012 (Nilüfer'de Hidrellez Coşkusu, 2012)



Figure 23. Hidrellez at Motor Meşeler (oaks) in 2012 (Nilüfer'de Hidrellez Coşkusu, 2012)

Figure 24. Hidrellez at Motor Meşeler (oaks) in 2023 (Görükle'de Hidrellez Kutlaması, 2023)

Religious Celebrations for men take place in the mosque. The exchangees mentioned Taşpınar Mevkii (Location), Meşeler Mevkii (Location), Aga Çeşmesi (Fountain) and pomegranate trees location as the places for the young people to 'stroll' during the holidays. In the past, young girls and boys used to meet and flirt in these places. 'Strolling' was one of the important practices that takes place in the youth of every participant, and it is understood that it continued to survive in every period until today's communication technology.

The official holiday celebrations starting at the school continue in front of the Statue of Atatürk by walking to Sterna/Cumhuriyet Meydanı (Square) with a ceremony from Atatürk Caddesi (Street). On The Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth and Sports Day, Sterna/ Cumhuriyet Meydanı (Square) was not visited, but sports shows were held on the sports field built in the area that was the Greek cemetery before the exchange. Nowadays, celebrations are held only in schoolyards. A covered marketplace was built in the sports area. It is determined that it is important to celebrate the holidays that Atatürk bestowed to the Turkish nation and to commemorate the day of his death in Görükle. Public holidays were the only collective practices in which all villagers

took part, regardless of age and gender. The importance of the official holiday celebrations was noted by the third generation exchange as follows:

“Ataturk is the most important leader in the exchangee population in Görükle. Thanks to him, we came to Turkey. It is also important to celebrate the holidays he gave as a gift and to commemorate the day of his death. The fire of the torch lit in front of his statue on the day of his death never goes out for a day. Students keep watch 24 hours.” (A. K.)

Figure 25. Official Holiday Celebrations in Sterna/ Cumhuriyet Meydanı (Square) in 1973 (Archive Catalogue of Photographs from Exchange House, 2021)



Figure 26. Official Holiday Celebrations in Spor Sahası (Sports Field) in 1923 (Archive Catalogue of Photographs from Exchange House, 2021)

Figure 27., Figure 28. Official Holiday Celebrations at Atatürk Caddesi (Street) in 1970s (Archive Catalogue of Photographs from Exchange House, 2021)



Figure 29. Official Holiday Celebrations in Sterna/ Cumhuriyet Meydanı (Square) in 1990s (Archive Catalogue of Photographs from Exchange House, 2021)



Figure 30. Official Holiday Celebrations at Atatürk Caddesi (Street) in 1990s (Archive Catalogue of Photographs from Exchange House, 2021)

Figure 31. Seeing-soldiers-off at Atatürk Caddesi (Street) (Archive Catalogue of Photographs from Exchange House, 2021)



The cemetery at the end of Atatürk Caddesi (Street) and the street and at the exit of the village are places for *seeing-soldiers-off*. Other places where young soldiers have fun with their friends are also included in the seeing-off ceremonies of the soldier. These are the Kilise Meydanı (Church Square), Taşpınar Mevkii (Location), Motor Meşeler (Oaks) and Şantiye Alanı (The Construction Site) in recent years.

Funerals make their way through the house in Görükle and funeral prayers are performed at the cemetery. Funerals do not make their way out of mosques. *Bad news announcements* are made from Görükle Merkez Camii (mosque) and Rıza Aga Mübadil Kahvesi (coffeehouse). There are no *seasonal activities*.

According to the memory interviews, public places from Greeks and collective practices are tabulated on Table 3-4-5-6. It is observed that today, the same places are still used for these practices. Therefore, it can be said that, due to these practices, some Greek venues have been preserved. Collective practices formed around fountains and wells have been transferred from the first generation of exchangees to today's generations. Thus, the paper revealed that the exchangees built their new environment with reference to spatial memory.

Some places were built by the first and second generation exchangees for their collective practices in Görükle Neighbourhood (Tablo 7.). The places are still used for collective practices.

When comparing the data in Table 3-4-5-6. and Table 7., it is seen that the exchangees used the Greek places for their collective practices where exchangee's identity and culture are visible. The first generation exchangees had no economic opportunities for construction activities, nevertheless, they built the school and mosque for their education and religious needs. The second and third generation exchangees had economic opportunities for construction activities but, they have not built places. So, it was concluded that the public spaces left by the Greeks were sufficient for the collective practices of the exchangees.

The places, which were chosen among existing public spaces for collective practices and new places that were built by first generations, are still used by second and third generation exchangees. So, the research revealed that the identity of the exchangee has been transferred to the present time by spatial memory.

Table 3. Görükle (Kouvaklia) Neighborhood, Greeks' Places for Collective Practices, which were ruined before the population exchange, mentioned by the exchangees in the memory interviews

Public Places	Collective Practices Took Place in There	Current Situation
Aziz Georgias Church	Religious Celebrations	 <p>Today, there are some houses in the place of the church.</p>
Ai Yorgi Chapel	Religious Celebrations	Today, there are some houses in the place of the chapel.
Adelfata Coffeeshouse	Announcements of Bad News	Today, there are some houses in the place of the coffeeshouse.
School		Today, there are some houses in the place of the school.

Table 4. Görükle (Kouvaklia) Neighborhood, Greeks' Places for Collective Practices, which were ruined after the population exchange, mentioned by the exchangees in the memory interviews (Photographs taken by Muharrem Vurucular for this study, 2021)

Public Places	Collective practices take/took place in there	Current Situation
Bakery		Today, there is a house in the place of the bakery.
Ai Thanasis		Today, there is a house in the place of Ai Thanasis.
Greek Cemetery	Funerals	Today, there is a closed marketplace in the place of Greek Cemetery.
Koca Çınar	Hıdrellez	There is an apartment in the place of Koca Çınar location.
Pomegranate Trees	Hıdrellez	Today, there are apartments in the place of pomegranate trees.
Ayopiğado Well	Hıdrellez, Seeing-soldiers-off	Today, there is Taşpınar Sculpture in the place of Ayopiğado Well.
Ağa Çeşmesi (Fountain)	Religious Celebrations	 <p>The photograph taken in 2019, today there is an apartment there.</p>

Table 4. Continued Görükle (Kouvaklia) Neighborhood, Greeks' Places for Collective Practices, which were ruined after the population exchange, mentioned by the exchangees in the memory interviews (*Photographs taken by Muharrem Vurucular for this study, 2021*)

Public Places	Collective practices take/took place in there	Current Situation
Meşeler Mevki (Location)	Hıdrellez	

Table 5. Görükle (Kouvaklia) Neighborhood, Greeks' Places for Collective Practices, which are continuing its function, mentioned by the exchangees in the memory interviews (*Photographs taken by Muharrem Vurucular for this study, 2021*)

Public Places	Collective practices take/took place in there	Current Situation
Church Fountain Ai Yorgi Çeşmesi (Fountain) Kilise Meydanı (Church Square)	Seeing-soldiers-off	
Sterna Square	Weddings, Official Holiday Celebrations, Seeing-soldiers-off	

Table 5. Continued Görükle (Kouvaklia) Neighborhood, Greeks' Places for Collective Practices, which are continuing its function, mentioned by the exchanges in the memory interviews (Photographs taken by Muharrem Vurucular for this study, 2021)

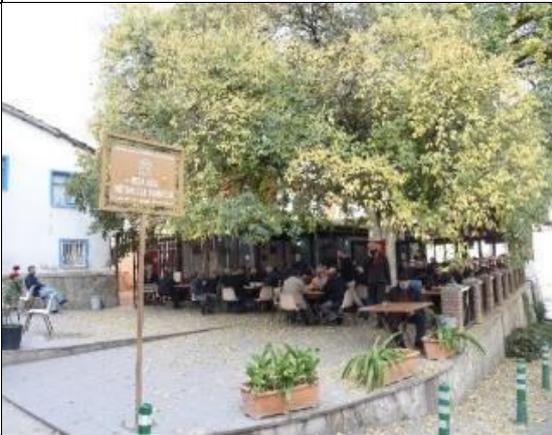
Public Places	Collective practices take/took place in there	Current Situation
Olimpos Coffeeshouse	Announcements of Bad News	
Atatürk Street	Weddings, Official Holidays, Sending off/ Welcoming Soldiers, Funerals	
Home Garden	Weddings, Funerals	

Table 6. Görükle (Kouvaklia) Neighborhood, Greeks' Places for Collective Practices, which changed its function, mentioned by the exchangees in the memory interviews (*Photographs taken by Muharrem Vurucular for this study, 2021*)

Public Places	Collective practices take/took place in there	Current Situation
Sterna Well	Weddings, Official Holiday Celebrations, Seeing-soldiers-off	

Table 7. Görükle (Kouvaklia) Neighborhood, Exchangees' Places for Collective Practices, which are built after the Population Exchange mentioned by the exchangees in the memory interviews (*Photographs taken by Muharrem Vurucular for this study, 2021*)

Public Places	Collective practices take/took place in there	Current Situation
School Garden	Official Holiday Celebrations	
Görükle Merkez Cami (Mosque)	Religious Celebrations, Announcements of Bad News	

Table 7. Continued Görükle (Kouvaklia) Neighborhood, Exchangees' Places for Collective Practices, which are built after the Population Exchange mentioned by the exchangees in the memory interviews (Photographs taken by Muharrem Vurucular for this study, 2021)

Public Places	Collective practices take/took place in there	Current Situation
Motor Meşeler	Hidrellez, Seeing-soldiers-off	
Cemetery	Seeing-soldiers-off, Funerals	
Sports Area	Official Holiday Celebrations	Today, there is the Closed Marketplace in the place of Greek Cemetery/ Sports Area.
Closed Marketplace		 In the place of Sports Area
Taşpınar Mevki (Location)	Hidrellez, Seeing-soldiers-off	 In the place of Ayopiğado Well
Şantiye Alanı (The Construction Site)	Wedding, Seeing-soldiers-off	

DISCUSSION and CONCLUSION

In the age of mass migration, people migrate from one country to another or are forced to migrate because the minimum conditions to ensure their survival cannot be provided where they live. The migrations experienced today have also been encountered in recent history with the world wars of the last century. One of the largest mass migrations experienced was the population exchange happened a century ago, after World War I, between Turkey and Greece.

The study aimed to determine how to sustain culture and identity despite forced relocation, namely population exchange. In the old Greek settlements where the exchangees settled, the existing and newly built public places where collective practices were carried out were investigated within the scope of the study. Case study was carried out in the exchangees settlement Görükle, by memory interviews with second and third generation exchangees. In this research, the transfer of the 'exchangees' identity through spatial memory between generations in a century-long process after the exchange, were examined. With collective actions, the exchangees' identity is transferred to the next generations through spatial memory. Public spaces, which are places for collective practices, continue to be protected as these practices express the exchangees' identity.

According to this research, exchangees searched for ways to preserve, transfer and adapt their collective practices, which are the expression of their own identity and culture, to the new place. The expression of collective practices took place in open public spaces. The transfer of these places and collective practices has become possible with post-spatial-memory.

The continuity of post-spatial memory is possible by preserving the spaces, which have been adopted, used and protected by a different society for a century and can be transferred to the next generations by protecting collective practices. The case study area, which is not preserved as exchangee settlement and has changed with today's conditions, weakens the intergenerational transfer of exchangees' identity and places. Görükle settlement has grown from the scale of the village of exchangee to the scale of a neighborhood where the young population lives intensively today, and examples of Greek civil architecture and public spaces such as fountains are subject to change. Exchangees' collective practices began to change with the changing population. In Görükle, it becomes difficult to transfer the collective practices and Greek/exchangee public spaces to the next generations as post-spatial-memory today.

This research pioneers studies to understand the multicultural structure of Anatolia today, where communities from different cultures settled, the use of existing spaces and the construction of new spaces. It gives clues for the post-spatial memory and migration studies which will undoubtedly be a more important topic in future as the globe is subject to increasing amount of migration related issues day by day. In future

studies, the scope of this study can be expanded with exchangee settlements in many cities of Anatolia, especially in other exchangee settlements in Bursa. This study is a guide for any society that has established itself elsewhere as result of migration that cause sudden spatial interruption and wants to preserve its identity.

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Resume

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