

Kirkor Ceyhan, born in Zara in 1926, was the only Armenian at the school in Sebastia (Sivas) and the target of harassment by his teachers and fellow students for being an Armenian and for his Armenian name. Following the 1934 decree that prohibited Armenians from carrying Armenian surnames,⁵³ his name was changed to Ceyhan. However, he could not hide his Armenian identity and for that he was abused (Yalçın, p. 176). Kirkor talks about other Armenian families who lived as Christians, especially in the Gerger region. These Armenians were entirely acculturated, and religion was the only element marking the difference in their identity. But they too were always the subject of distrust and discrimination.

After short sojourns in Istanbul, Soviet Armenia, Istanbul again, and then Marseilles, France, Kirkor settled in Germany to spend his old age in that free country, to be able to freely say, "I am Armenian" (p. 188). But he has always longed for his birthplace, Zara. "The world is my homeland, but the homeland in me is Zara," he says (p. 186). That is where he belongs; that is where his personality was shaped and his identity was formed as a hyphenated Armenian with a heavy Turkish makeup. Out of one million Armenians in Istanbul, only 60,000 remain today, Kirkor notes. "And each one of these Armenians is the continuation of a survivor, an embodiment of the humongous pains of the past. In spite of all this, we are not fanatic nationalists. We did not raise our children to become fanatic nationalists" (p. 189).

⁵³ The Law on Surnames, No. 2525, was adopted on June 21, 1934, and specifically prohibited surname suffixes denoting a minority ethnic identity.