

**Paper presented at the international conference on the Exchange of
Populations between Greece and Turkey: An Assessment of the
Consequences of the Treaty of Lausanne.
17-20 September 1998 – University of Oxford
Refugee Studies Center**

**Sweet as an Almond: From Glikli to ‘Bademli’
Full Time and Part Time Citizenship
(Four Generations in Retrospect)¹**

*‘...For other sons of mine (Hekabe) whom he took
captive would fleet Achilles sell beyond the
unvintaged sea unto Samos and Imbros and
smoking Lemnos ...’*

Homer, the Iliad¹

To my son

Dr. Güliz Erginsoy*

The era that began with the Convention of the Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey, signed in Lausanne in 1923, adversely affected the islanders of Imbros (*Gökçeada* in Turkish), along with the rest of the Rum citizens of Turkey.² Because of the Exchange, the social structure and values on the Island were almost completely destroyed.³

The events that took place during the creation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 seemed remote from these islanders, who usually traded at the *Merkez* (the central village) and traveled no further than Limni or Pireus. Yet despite the distance, the islanders were caught in the middle of a geo-political tug-of-war that had all the elements of a dramatic play: threats, aggressive moves, a defense, and even paranoia, as the nations of Turkey and Greece were restructured in the aftermath of World War I.

Technically, Imbrians were never actually included in the Exchange. In spite of this, repercussions from the Exchange extended to the island and continue to affect it even today. Perhaps if the islanders had been exchanged the suffering might have been short-lived. However, not being exchanged but being subjected to various interpretations of the Exchange created a state of perpetual unrest.⁴

Some islanders began to break the law by giving, for example, false information in court about the ownership or the size of evacuated properties. Others even cheated their own kin on the share of rent or the value of sold property. And there were those who chose to leave and became refugees or aliens.⁵

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This paper endeavors to show a slice of history by following four generations of villagers, from the Republic to present. It may not yield any major generalisable conclusions about the Greek or Turkish Diaspora. What I relate in this paper originates from structured, one-to-one interviews with the villagers of Gliki other Imbrians and refugees returning to Gliki and İstanbul. During my research, I promised the people whom I interviewed that I would not use any names or specific locations. Stories of abuse, theft of land, property, and livestock have been confined to my privately held records, even though other people verified some during my 10-year association with the villagers. In gathering these stories, my aim was to gain insight into the life of the villagers and the far-reaching effects of the Exchange. This required a certain level of participation in the daily life of the village.

I might add, however, that although I chose Imbros, I could easily have picked a Turkish Muslim minority in Western Thrace or any other minority or refugee population in the world. It took ten years for many of the villagers of Gliki to trust me and become convinced of my academic intentions. Doubtless, some still have their reservations.⁶ It took me four years to make a family tree for a family in Gliki to determine the boundaries of a small piece of land with a house that they left in 1921, and to find the real owners of the house. The stones of the house were used to build the water reservoir for the village. The remains were archeological. Tracking down the owners entailed endless telephone calls to Glikians living in Thessoloniki, Alexandriapolis, and Athens. During this process, I learned a lot about real estate, but even more about the village and the villagers of Gliki and how information can be buried.⁷

The Population Exchange and the Imbrians

Together with the *Rums* of İstanbul, the indigenous *Rum* population of Imbros was excluded from the population resettlement programme.⁸ Most inhabitants of Imbros were and are still are citizens of the Turkish Republic. As such, they were not subject to the programme's legal and financial terms and conditions.⁹

Imbrians had been living on the island for 8,000 years, and in that, way they were different from the *Rums* of İstanbul.¹⁰ The Imbrians also were not of the same social strata of merchants, manufacturers, or workers. After the Greek defeat, many Imbrians did leave the boundaries of the new Republic. Nevertheless, unlike the general *Rum* population in Turkey, this was not a mass emigration. In contrast to the scope and allotted time of the official general population exchange, the Imbrian emigration took place over a very long period of time, equivalent to four generations and continuing to this day. However, those islanders forfeited their Turkish citizenship during the early days of the Republic. As a result, questions concerning their immovable possessions, a matter theoretically provided for under the Exchange Programme, remained unresolved.

Each village maintained its own unique cultural and ethnographic characteristics, including a different dialect and vocabulary. However, they were all proud to be Imbrians, regardless of whether they were conscious of their particular culture. They always had and still have an enduring sense of identity.¹¹

For nearly 8,000 years, the islanders of Imbros lived in six different villages on a chunk of land in the Aegean Sea, enjoying a daily routine of agricultural labour,

bartering, trade, and prayers.¹² They produced oil from their oil groves, wine from their vineyards, honey from their hives and wove silk harvested from mulberry trees.¹³ They herded sheep and hunted for game or fish. Elders offered almond cookies to guests seated under trellises while the young danced the *hora* in the *alonyi* until dawn.¹⁴ The islanders lived in stone houses with outside ovens and built-in windmills, and dams ran around the fields and mountains.¹⁵ The immaculately laid stones defied the frequent earthquakes, and today they serve as reminders of an existence that many would rather forget.

At the *Merkez* (the central village), there were bakeries, grocery stores, pastry shops, photographers, printer and a marketplace. Villagers would come to buy sugar and paraffin. Salt was hauled by donkey from *Aliki*, the salt lake. After the Republic was formed, the lake was nationalised under state monopoly, but the donkey continued their journey for a time, in the quiet of night.

The Family: Four Generations

When I started my research in the village of Gliki in 1989, it was clear that the population was aging, which was significant. In 1998, two more witnesses of this era died and became silent forever.

Family and the maternal lineage have a special status in *Gliki*, due to the dowry given by the bride's father. Land and possessions are also handed down through daughters.¹⁶ This was the primary basis for inheritance and the preservation of lineage. New civil laws that created a system whereby inheritance became more egalitarian among family members was instituted by the Republic and it served to completely undermine the foundation of the family in this Orthodox Greek Community. This was further exacerbated by the fact that many family members no longer physically lived in Gliki and were not made aware of the changes in the law. In addition, often what they learned was an interpretation of the law and not based on fact.

Apart from religious ceremonies, the main social interaction in *Gliki* used to be to go to one of the five coffee shops (or indeed any shop) to make company (*parea*) and chat. After the population began to dwindle, the coffee shops and the grocers began to close down, one after another. Shops owners who had not fled earlier decided to leave. The lone coffee shop, where the head of the village still keeps an office, was only recently reopened to cater to tourists and visiting emigrants in the holiday season.¹⁷

Another typical form of social intercourse takes the form of house visits, where people meet to drink coffee and talk. A conversation is accompanied by various sweets and can last for hours. This type of visit became the basis for the oral history I was gathering. One soon learns when to keep quiet or ask questions. A small group of multi-lingual assistants helped conduct these interviews, based on a format specially designed for the project.¹⁸

The fields of inquiry were designed to reveal the history of each family. Villagers were asked to recount their lives, including their childhood, education, religion, marriage, property, migration, work, and citizenship. Some were unwilling to discuss the ways in which historical events or the policy of Turkification had affected the village.

Although the family was the social unit in the village, it is important to remember that these families were highly fragmented and sometimes members lost track of the

others. Members of these families were dispersed, and no longer bound by the circumference of the village, or indeed any other established unit of place or time. Because of historical events, these families were scattered across countries and even continents.¹⁹

Nevertheless, the family unit was used as a device to relay events and gauge their consequences. The memories of the departed were reported by those who stayed behind and vice versa, so that memories intersected and overlapped. Members of the same family are now citizens of different countries; most have pursued and established new professions and careers. Often, the children cannot speak their parents' language, or two or more languages are used in conversation, in function of the generation that is addressed. Numerous are grandchildren who have never seen the land of birth of their grandparents.²⁰

Those who left their native land behind more than seventy years ago have pursued their careers abroad. The aged members of the Glike village live alone, and have often at one time or another has made friends with a villager from Anatolia, the New Muslim Turk Islanders, who can be considered refugees. The Glike villagers, the new islanders-, and both groups looted each other – form the people of Imbros, the Imbrians, *and Gökçeadalılar*²¹.

The Refugees, Their Immovable Properties and the Status of 'Etablis'

After the Turkish War of Independence was over and the Greek occupation of Anatolia and Eastern Thrace ended, both the indigenous *Rum* of Turkey and the Turks in Greece began to emigrate, forsaking their property.²² When these mass movements first began, there was no local or central government organisation empowered to deal with the immovable possessions of the *Rums*.²³ Later, under the terms of the Exchange, it was decided that Turkish immigrants from Greece who had abandoned their property were to be compensated by the allocation of property left behind by the indigenous *Rums*.²⁴ To this end, The Commission for Abandoned Property had prepared lists of *Rum* moveable and immovable possessions. Any remaining property was auctioned or, following the Right to Habitation Law, leased to army officers and government officials by the Treasury.²⁵

In 1926 and 1930, there was an effort to clarify the agreements signed between Greece and Turkey concerning the status of *Rums* (who lived in İstanbul but were citizens of Greece, and who have the special status of *etablis* mentioned in the Exchange of Populations Protocol).²⁶ Documents of this period specifically refer to the *Rums* of İstanbul, but there is almost no mention of the people living in Imbros (or, for that matter, Tenedos). This is somewhat strange, as the basis for the new status granted to *Rums* was the Lausanne Treaty itself, which enabled *Rums* to remain in Turkey under the provisions of the convention respecting conditions of residence, business, and jurisdiction, which covered the inhabitants of Imbros and Tenedos also.

As an act of goodwill, however, the Turkish Minister of the Interior did conduct an inspection of living conditions on the mostly *Rum*-inhabited islands of Imbros and Tenedos in August 1931. There were additional diplomatic agreements in 1933 and 1938, as well as commercial pacts signed in 1933, 1934 and 1938, and Turkey and Greece

continued with the policy of friendship inaugurated by their nations' leaders, Atatürk and Venizelos.

Relations were not so smooth thereafter. In 1946, the new Greek ambassador, Pericles Skepheris, raised a number of issues relating to the rights of the *Rum* minority. In particular, an effort was made to persuade the Turkish government to allow teaching in Greek at the *Rum* schools on the islands.²⁷

On 24 March 1964, a list of *Rum* deportees was published in the Turkish Press. The Treaty of 1930 was dissolved and the *etablis Rums* became subject to Article 35 of the *Tapu* (title deed) Act, which prohibited the ownership of immovable property by foreigners.²⁸

The First Generation: Aliens and Citizens

The first generation of Islanders witnessed firsthand wars: The Balkan War, World War I (mainly the battle of the Dardanelles, or Gallipoli), and The War of Turkish Independence. Imbros was taken over by four powers, the Ottoman Empire, Greece, Britain, and Greece again, and finally with the treaty of Lausanne, Imbros became part of The Republic of Turkey. The first generation, born before the creation of the Republic, suffered most from the transition.

Some were merchants who travelled to Athens, Mytilini, Egypt, Gallipoli, and *Çanakkale* (Dardanelles) selling cheese, sheep and other goods. As children, they attended the village primary school and were able to continue their education at the middle school in *Merkez*, the central town in Imbros.²⁹ The last graduates of the village school were educated in Greek and they received their diplomas in July 1923. Turkish armed forces arrived on the island on October 23 or the same (*Documents 4-14*).

During the Turkish War of Independence, the students of the primary school were tasked with preparing supply and morale packages for the Greek soldiers fighting in Anatolia. They were also asked to write letters to the soldiers. These packages would contain a pair of wool socks, two vests, two false golden teeth (solid gold), a handkerchief, and a plaque of homemade soap.

In 1922, Rums from Anatolia came and settled in the village for a short period. They shared their stories with Glikians. In 1926, civil law introduced by the Republic had a profound effect on the island. Villagers had to change their surnames like from Angelopoulou to *Kovada* or from *Perivolari* to *Bahçevan*. On the other hand, women were allowed to take office in the municipal and village administration. As they were mostly Christian, Imbrians were not affected by the new civil dress code. Traditionally woven silk and wool garments, shoes crafted by the village shoemakers, and tailor-made dresses continued to be worn.³⁰

Village affairs were run by the Head of the village, who was the chief of the Village Committee based at the *Sinodiko*, where disputes about boundaries of properties or destruction caused by the sheep would be settled.³¹ If they were unable to settle such disputes in the village, they would go to higher court in the *Merkez*. The village primary school was owned by the Greek Orthodox Community Panagia Church in *Gliki*, in accordance with the Law on Islands, No. 1151/25.07.1929. Many first generation Glikians experienced the transition from education in Greek to Turkish.

The expropriation of village houses became a major problem for this generation, and some houses were seized more than once in 30 years. Many villagers struggled to make a living and sought work in Istanbul. Some villagers eventually were able to cope with the political and economic burdens and they stayed on the island, and others drifted away with the tide of the population exchange. Villagers who moved to Istanbul were maids, nannies, cooks or even butlers to modern muslim families, or they worked in restaurants, shoe factories, or at the shirt-makers of *Pera*³² Some became porters at the Lemon Quay in port district of *Unkapani*, barely able to make a living for themselves and their families. Some managed to sustain a level of income that enabled their sons to pursue higher education. It could take between eight and ten years before they could return to the island and reunite with their families.

It is ironic that today in *Gliki*, the remaining fifteen villagers (five women from three different generations) are mostly the members of this group. They are all spinsters or widows, and they are the only permanent residents of the village, with the exception of six members of the forth, third and second generations and the ‘New Turks’.³³

Members of this generation, especially the ones who were born around the time of the creation of the Republic, have a multitude of citizenship arrangements and residence permits. For example, two sisters, both born in *Gliki* and both living in Greece, have completely different statuses. One is a foreigner with a residence permit granted by the Aliens’ Department, the other is a Greek citizen with an identity card from the 13th Police Headquarters in Athens. Both are legally represented by another *Gliki* villager born in 1912, who retains his Turkish citizenship as well as having an Aliens’ Residence Permit given by the Attiki Aliens’ Police Department in Athens, Greece. He and his wife enjoy part-time citizenship in both countries, spending summers in *Gliki* and at his new house in *Varkiza* near Athens, and winters in his flat in *Kalitheia*, Athens. This is an amazing outlay of effort and energy for a couple in their eighties, who together suffer from diabetes, Parkinson’s Disease and osteoporosis.³⁴

As for the sisters, the one who lost her citizenship is unable to claim property rights in Turkey. Should any part of their jointly-inherited immovables be sold by their legal proxy, the Greek-citizen sister must depend on her Turkish-citizen sister to obtain her share of the proceeds.³⁵

The members of this generation who emigrated to Greece created a replica of their lifestyles in *Gliki*, with their own coffee shops and neighboring apartments mainly in the districts of *Kalitheia*, *Nea Smyrni* for the winter and *Varkiza*, *Vağonisi* in the summer, where they are either tenants or owners in Athens. The children, the second generation, are today businessman, lawyers, engineers, doctors, bankers, teachers, tailors, hairdressers, and workers in İstanbul, Athens, Thessaloniki, Alexandriapolis or other cities in the world. A sizeable population of first- and second-generation Imbrians emigrated to Holland, Switzerland, the United States, Australia and New Zealand. There is also evidence of Imbrians living in Egypt, The Democratic Republic of Congo, and The Republic of South Africa.

The Passage between Two Generations: Bombarded by Events

In 1945, a new governor (*Vali*), a new head district officer (*Kaymakam*) and a new Education Officer (*Maarif Müdürü*) were appointed to the island. This set the scene for a

new set of events. In 1952, Article 14, an educational clause of 1151/1927 Act, banning autonomous education for minorities, was abolished. Encouraged by this, the villagers rebuilt their dilapidated schoolhouse and a *Rum* citizen was appointed as headmaster. Twelve years later, the same Article was repealed and the school closed forever.

The same period saw the introduction of the 'Wealth Tax', one of the clearest examples of the political opposition to non-Muslim minorities. This tax resulted in two islanders being taken into custody and sent to the Çanakkale. In 1954, 45 families from the Black Sea region were resettled in Imbros. Only one of those families is still in the island today.³⁶ This family can be considered part of the first Turkish immigrant group that arrived on the island. The new immigrants settled in the provincial centre named *Çınarlı-Dereköy*, then left the island because of the difficult conditions there. Also, in the newly established villages of *Şahinkaya*, *Yeni Bademli*, *Uğurlu*, most of the villagers dream of selling their newly acquired land for a good price and emigrating to İstanbul.

The Second Generation: The In - Betweens

Second generation *Rums* often emigrated to far-flung places. One Glikian left Imbros in 1921 to study in Egypt, where he stayed until 1946. He then moved to the Congo, raised a family, two children, and finally moved to Athens in 1978. His mother never saw again. Other *Rums* refused to return to the island and found homes in İstanbul, built careers, and preferred to forget about their fatherland in Imbros. When contacted by foreigners interested in buying their house in Imbros, without a second thought some sold as neither they nor their children were interested in going back. The sale of immovables was sporadic. People would return after they left only to sell their house. The ones who stayed in İstanbul were able to control their immovable properties better than those who left Turkey and emigrated abroad.

Some of the foreigners, not only the Greeks but also the Italian citizens, began to have difficulties. One of them married a *Gliki* girl and settled in *Merkez*. The story goes that in 1942, he was banned from leaving *Merkez*, even to visit *Gliki*. He was arrested during a clandestine visit and imprisoned. Because of these circumstances, the couple decided to move to İstanbul.

Second generation children started their education in the villages. The patriarch Barholomeos, the present Archbishop of İstanbul and New Rome, told me he would recite patriotic Turkish poems from the school balcony at *Zeytinliköy* (*Agaios Theodoros*) on Independence day (anniversary of the creation of the Turkish Republic on October 29, 1923). The poem recounted the Turkish defense of The Dardanelles 'which was impossible to capture'.³⁷) Many later went to *Kendriko*³⁸ in the *Merkez*, then to İstanbul, then as far as the United States and Australia. In 1964, the schools were also Turkified and Greek was abolished.

Some second-generation villagers were shot following disputes over property land and rights. Very few of these crimes were ever solved.

A Passage between Two Generations

After the events in Cyprus in 1964, the government invoked Article 30 of the 1964 Declaration, and dissolved the status of *etablis*. With the annulment of the 1930

agreement, Turkey began to expel all Greek citizens, requiring them to leave the country between March 16 and September 16 of 1964.

After the Cyprus crisis, the Turkish government also passed two laws whereby the assets of Greek citizens were frozen and the sale of immovable property owned by Greek citizens was banned. It is not a coincidence that investment and land speculation began on the island after these developments. Moreover, most of the arable land on the island was appropriated by the State by way of nationalization. Emigration overseas also increased tremendously.³⁹

The Third Generation: Memories from The Past

The children of the second generation witnessed a worsening state of affairs that frequently culminated in dramatic events. In 1987, squatters from Eastern Anatolia were invited by relatives in a neighboring village and they illegally occupied seventy of Glikı's vacant houses. They then looted and destroyed property, loaded lorries with furniture, and broke locks and doors. Villagers petitioned the Head District Officer of *Gökçeada*. The houses were evacuated by the Turkish authorities that same year.⁴⁰

Due to expropriation of the villagers' land by the State and the establishment of a military presence at the foot of the hill on which Glikı was situated, vineyards and olive groves became scarce. In addition, because the population was aging and was unable to maintain the crops, they grew wild. Many families continued to emigrate to Istanbul for work or so that their children could be educated in *Rum* minority schools. These children, now adults, are ignorant of the customs, ethnographical texture and culture of their own village. For them the reality of *Glikı* became the shadows or mirages of a reality, it is blurred. As one Glikians in her forties, who came back for *Panaiya*, told me 'It is a strange feeling to come back. It is not fear, but just a strange feeling'.⁴¹

The Forth Generation: Lost in Glikı?

The children of Glikı used to have their feet measured by one of the three cobblers in the village. They would usually have two new pairs of shoes a year; one at Easter and one in summer if their father was a merchant. The first generation, when they were young, played *Tin Proti Lea*, or hide and seek. They would go to the village fountain and make cologne by mixing various flower petals in bottles with water. Daniel Banos used to know all the songs and poems and he would perform the shadow theatre, *Karagöz*, in front of a white sheet, back lit by candles. On a child's name day, relatives, friends and neighbors would come and eat the *helva*.⁴²

The youngest and only representative of the Imbros, *Glikı* fourth generation is a baby girl from an unknown father born in July 1998 in *Gökçeada*, who is the sister of a boy born on 28 May 1995 in Athens, also from an unknown father. They both actually preclude any classification. They live with their mother, a single parent, and their maternal grandmother. The mother leads a peculiar existence and is absent for days and months, often without letting anyone know where she is. She has been hospitalized several times, diagnosed as schizophrenic by *Bakırköy* State Mental Hospital and *Balıkh* Rum Hospital in Istanbul. The old people of the village treat her as an outcast and the grandmother is usually alone with a limited budget to take care of the baby girl and a

small boy. She goes to neighboring villages to get milk. She has a habit of locking her grandchildren inside the house instead of taking them along.

After the two children, the youngest people in Gliki are two Muslim Turkish brothers, aged sixteen, and eighteen, who are sons of a former inmate of the island's prison, who stayed after his release. One of these children now runs the only coffee shop, which was reopened with the help of the villagers after being shut for many years. The other child helps villagers with their daily labours for tips and works in a shop. They occupy a deserted house with the permission of the owner's proxy in the village.

The school building in Gliki, which closed in 1964, belongs to the Provincial Private Administration (*İlçe Özel İdaresi*). In 1995, the Ministry of Education issued a report that it should be kept as a school. However, in recent years there have been many attempts to lease out the old schoolhouse for touristic and cultural purposes for a period of ten years. A group of New Bademli (the Turkish name for Gliki) villagers petitioned the Ministry of Culture to turn the school, which shares a garden with the village church, into a museum. In December 1997, the Ministry participated in an auction and leased the building for ten years. Negotiations with the Ministry of Finance and *İlçe Özel İdaresi* (Provincial Private Administration) continue in an effort to establish a protocol agreement for a museum. However, most *Glikians* refuse to accept that the schoolhouse's ownership belongs to the present authorities.

Epilogue: Tides of Refugees and Citizens

Or

Torn Between the Status of a Citizen and a Refugee

The experience of the era from the Lausanne Treaty up until today shows that the line between being a minority citizen and a refugee is blurred in Imbros. The Rum minority in Imbros enjoyed certain rights during periods of mutually friendly relations between Greece and Turkey. However, the same minority group can also become refugees overnight.

The rights of minority citizens in any part of the world should be respected today, without any question. However, it is disturbing to note that starting with the Lausanne Treaty and up until today, the minority rights of those in neighboring nationalistic states are respected only in periods when relations are friendly. Minority citizens can become refugees overnight or feel like refugees, either because of government policy or as an accumulated and learned response. The importance of shared and reconstituted memories for any uprooted group is that they can be used as a means for cultural survival. The memories can be transformed into a sense of belonging and identity for displaced individuals.⁴³ Symbolically the empty houses, coffee shops and the school building become the material expression of the Imbrians transcending the boundaries of a nation-Turkey. The immovable properties became a political issue, tied up with the identity of the islanders in Turkey and abroad. The status of being displaced is most clearly seen in the problems surrounding the immovable properties.

The major waves of Rum exodus from Imbros and from İstanbul coincide with periods of strained relations between Turkey and Greece, which resulted in prolonged pressure on both societal and psychological levels.⁴⁴ Such pressure is against the tenets of the Exchange, as set forth by the Turkish and Greek Governments. The peaceful periods

were reflected in the behavior of the Imbrians on societal, cultural, and economic levels over the four generations.⁴⁵

In early August of 1923, the final decision for the transfer of power was made public. Panic stricken and alarmed, Imbrians filled the port for evacuation. 'Potential undesirables' fled before the arrival of Turkish forces on the island. Those that ventured to return found their property and land confiscated under the Turkish Abandoned Property Act. It is difficult to reconcile these events with the Declaration of Amnesty signed at Lausanne.

Then the tide changed. The *Mahalli İdareler Kanunu* (Local Government Act) was passed on 26 June 1927, creating a local administration for the islands of Imbros and Tenedos. A superficial reading of the law suggests that the Turkish government did in fact make a serious effort to fulfill obligations under Article 14 of the Education Act (also 1927), which allowed local inhabitants to establish part-time minority language and religious instruction, albeit at their own expense and by a teacher licensed by the Government. Moreover, prior to 1930, the *Rum* minorities was confined to the limits of their residence (e.g., Imbros and Tenedos) and were not allowed to visit any other province of Turkey without special permission. This contravened Article 38, Paragraph 3 of the Lausanne Treaty, which gives *Rums* the right to circulate freely, which the Turkish Government has recognised. In 1950, Imbros acquired the status of *Kaza* (province) enabling judicial affairs to be settled locally. Article 14 of the 1927 Education Act was replaced by the Law.5713 allowing a special Greek educational curriculum for *Rum* minority schools. *Gliki* villagers rebuilt their demolished school around this time, encouraged by rapprochement of the two NATO allies.

Then the tide changed again. In, 1955 *Rum* shops in Istanbul were ransacked by a mob. This culminated in the events of 1964, described earlier. Similar tensions were felt during the Cyprus crisis in 1974.

The last turning of the tide was in 1988, when the Government freed previously frozen *Rum* assets. The point here is that the tides of change quite rapidly altered the status of the Imbrians on a social, economical, political, and psychological level. Sometimes the new status was official, but even when it was not the insecurity of their existence weighed upon them. Citizen or refugee? Both or neither? This dilemma is the ultimate displacement. I see *Gliki* like a loaf of bread, shredded into crumbs by different hands over the past 75 years. Despite all this, it is astonishing to see how the people of *Gliki* managed to adapt – even to the most disturbing and traumatic tides.

A Short Story

A mother and her two daughters, born in 1956 and 1958, left behind her husband and came to work in Istanbul in 1964. The husband owned a shop in *Gliki* and had arable land. Two years after his family left, the father joined them in Istanbul. In the meantime, his wife had been looking for a job while the girls finished primary school. Later, the older one attended middle school for a year. At the middle school, *Zapio*, the mother worked in the *trapezario*, setting the tables and heating the dishes and cleaning. The family stayed in Istanbul for six years and then migrated to Australia.

Upon the death of my grandfather, a *Glikian* adopted my mother; he was *Nunos* of my mother.⁴⁶ He used to tell us *niota, enigmata* (fairy tales and stories) by the fireplace. My mother

used to cook *trahana* and force us to drink raw eggs scrambled with sugar.⁴⁷ My sister used to hate it. Sweets were abundant and in variety during the Christian Orthodox feasts; *Hristoženno* or Easter. There was always spoon desert.⁴⁸ Rose petals, sour cherries, and grapes, small tomatoes were cooked as sweets. Wine and salami were made during winter. *Liğda* from pork was used as bread spread with a sprinkle of sugar for the kids arriving hungry after school.

Yesterday I went to my house to have a look. There were four rooms, a *sala*, and downstairs a *kuzina*. When we were in Istanbul we used to come during the summer and stay in the living room because it had a beautiful view.

My grandmother had already left for Australia to join my aunts who had moved there before we did. In Australia, the aim of a young girl is to finish the 'living' find a job, marry within a couple of years, and set up a family. I was planning to do the same thing.⁴⁹ However, there was something in me. I wanted to go to the university. I was suffering. Something inside me was eating me. All my friends from *Gliki* were married. Finally, I succeeded and after nine years, I worked during the daytime and studied *loğistika* (...) Yes I have a health plan in Australia, and I continue to pay for it. Just in case. I like life in Australia, I am happy. My home is there, I belong there. I do not feel like an alien. My sister and I, we always speak in English. With my mother it is easier to speak Greek and of course with my father also. With the other older people who does not know English we speak in Greek.

The ones who went away most probably will not come back.⁵⁰ Some of the Glikians, members of any of the four generations, will keep on visiting in the summer and will attend the *Panaiya* dutifully. The ones who live in *Gliki* will move in another direction, vanish, and be gone.

¹ Homer (1995) Book XXIV, p. 349.

² In this paper the term Greek (*Rum*) is mainly used to mean those Turkish citizens whose mother tongue is Greek, whose religion is Orthodox and who are living within the boundaries of the Turkish Republic.

³ Thassos, Lemnos, Samothrace, Imbros, and Tenedos form a geographical unit known as the Thracian Sporades at the northeast Aegean Sea. They are very close to Dardanelles. Imbros is located eleven nautical miles from the mouth of the Dardanelles and comprises an area of 285,5 square meters. There are six authentic villages on the island; *Bademli* (*Gliki*), *Dereköy* (*Schoinoudion*), *Kaleköy* (*Kastro*), *Yeni Mahalle* (*Evlambiyo*), *Tepeköy* (*Ağridya*), *Zeytinliköy* (*Agaios Theodoros*). Each village used to have their own nearby beach, e.g. *Pirğos* was *Dereköy*'s; Slide 1.

⁴ Document 1.

⁵ Document 2.

⁶ Photograph 1

⁷ Slide 6.

⁸ The name Imbros was changed to *Gökçeada* by the decision given in Law 5442, Article 2, 29 July 1970.

⁹ In 1923 8,200 inhabitants, who were exempted from the exchange of populations were living in Imbros (*Gökçeada*) and Tenedos (*Bozcaada*) according to Alexandris (1980).

¹⁰ There is no definite information as to the first settlement on Imbros Island. In the 6th century BC, it was dependent on Athens and in the 5th century BC, it became part of the League of Delos. Later it passed on to the Roman and Byzantine hands. For many years, it was a Genoese and a Venetian base. In 1479, it became a part of the Ottoman Empire. In 2000 BC, the Pelasg settled first in Greece and Italy and then, while searching for a better place, they came to the islands of Limni, Imbros and Samothrace in the Aegean Sea (Archipelagos). For further details, see Ana Britannica (1988) Vol. 11. p.86, Vol. 17, p.496.

¹¹ Slide 2.

¹² Slide 3.

¹³ Slide 4.

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- ¹⁴ *Alonyi*: Threshing field, *hora*: is a group dance usually made in circles and Slide 5.
- ¹⁵ *Dam* is a shelter designed more or less like a house, located in the distant areas of cultivation to stay a night or two during the heavy work seasons, such as picking up grapes and olives or during harvesting.
- ¹⁶ As an example when asked about the owner of a piece of land. It is very typical to get an answer as ‘*Oh! That olive grove used to belong to Pelegia Leondaris’ son*’.
- ¹⁷ Slide 7.
- ¹⁸ Vasiliki Kaçali was born in Imbros. Since 1990, she has been living there. She is qualified in Mental Health Counseling, having been educated at Suffolk University, USA; Nilgün Koşak Zongur has an MA in Sociology, Mimar Sinan University, she is an English Language instructor at Yeditepe University, İstanbul, Turkey, and Elif Yılmaz is a student in the MA program in Sociology, Mimar Sinan University, İstanbul, Turkey.
- ¹⁹ Slide 8.
- ²⁰ Slide 9.
- ²¹ *Gökçeadalılar* means the island people of *Gökçeada*.
- ²² For general information before the exchange of population and the preparations in Turkey, see Arı (1995) p. 6-70.
- ²³ Arı (1989)
- ²⁴ Arı (1995) p. 9.
- ²⁵ Tanin, 5 Kanunuevvel.
- ²⁶ Düstur (1953) and Soysal (1983).
- ²⁷ Alexandris, A. (1980) p. 24 and Document 4.
- ²⁸ Alexandris, A. (1983).
- ²⁹ *Kendriko* is the name given to middle school.
- ³⁰ The shoemakers used to utilize the wooden *kalapodi* to form the leather according to the size of the feet.
- ³¹ *Sinodiko* is the name of the office, which is used to run the village affairs.
- ³² *Pera* used to be distinguished neighborhood in the *Beyoğlu* district in İstanbul, famous for its shops, cafes, restaurants, hotels and nightclubs.
- ³³ The term ‘New Turks’ is used either to cover the Moslem Turkish citizens settled down in the island either upon the termination of their imprisonment, some of these people chose to stay on the island; or as a result of the government policy some villages from Anatolia are settle in the island by establishing new villages such as *Yeni Bademli* (New *Gliki*), *Şahinkaya* and *Uğurlu*.
- ³⁴ Slide 10.
- ³⁵ Slide 11.
- ³⁶ Saygı E. (1993) p. 18, and information obtained from interviews with the mother, who is a first generation migrant and her son, who is the second generation born on the island.
- ³⁷ I have presented the two journals in which my articles on *Gliki* were published consecutively in a Turkish periodical, to the Patriarch Bartholomeos of Istanbul and New Rome on 30 January 1998. One of the journal had the cover photograph by the Greek photographer Melecis of the old school building in *Agia Todori* village (*Zeytinliköy*), where the Bishop of İstanbul and New Rome, the patriarch had his primary education, the photograph reminded him about one of his memories about the school (see bibliography Erginsoy, 1997, 1998).
- ³⁸ *Kendriko* is now the Turkish Republic Orphanage for the Children under Protection.
- ³⁹ For details of expropriation, see Alexandris (1980) and Aziz (1973).
- ⁴⁰ Slide 12, 13.
- ⁴¹ *Panaiya*: Feast or festival.
- ⁴² *Helva* is a desert made with a mixture of semolina, milk, sugar and nuts.
- ⁴³ Hirschon (1989) Chp. 7: The House: Symbolic and Social Worlds, p. 134-165.
- ⁴⁴ These periods of strained relations are roughly marked by the years 1922-1929, 1955-1959, 1964-1967, 1972-75, 1994 and finally 1998.
- ⁴⁵ Such peaceful intervals can be roughly named as 1930-1940, 1947-1954, 1959-1964, 1967-1971 and finally 1988-1991.
- ⁴⁶ *Nunos*: God father
- ⁴⁷ *Trahana* is a soup made with dried wheat, milk or water or tomatoes.
- ⁴⁸ Spoon desert (*ğliko tu kutaliau*) is a spoonful of variety of fruits cooked with sugar, offered to accompany the coffee with spoons.

⁴⁹ ‘Living’: high school

⁴⁹ Slide 14.

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ALL THE BELOW DOCUMENTS, PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS ARE OPTIONAL TO BE USED AND THEIR EXCLUSION DO NOT EFFECT THE COHERENCE OF THE TEXT AND THEY CAN BE USED PARTIALLY.

DOCUMENTS (Hard copy format, if desired can be transferred to CD-ROM pc disk format)

- Document 1 Gökçeada Local Newspaper: An example of an announcement by the court, for a case of expropriation of an immovable of Mariko Dimityari (address unknown) by the State Youth and Sports General Directorate.
- Document 2 A complaint petition, only first page is given, the second page shows the signatories.
- Document 3 A page from the The Bademli Village Primary School Teacher’s log book.
- Document 4 – 14 British Foreign Office correspondence about Imbros in 1927.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS (in CD-ROM pc disk format)

- Slide 1 Imbros (map - monocolour)
- Photograph 1 A Glikli (*Bademli*) villager planting flowers (black and white) (August 1997) Photograph by Güliz Erginsoy
- Slide 2 A Panaromic view by Niko Paleopolous (illustration)
- Slide 3 Icon shelf in a 2nd Generation Glikian house (by Güliz Erginsoy)
- Slide 4 Rural life by Niko Paleopolous (illustration)
- Slide 5 A view from Glikli by Niko Paleopolous (illustration)
- Slide 6 A Glikian family tree (by Güliz Erginsoy)
- Slide 7 A 2nd generation Glikian (deceased) outside the old coffee house (by Güliz Erginsoy)
- Slide 8 A 2nd generation Glikian (by Güliz Erginsoy)
- Slide 9 A Former convict (right) with two 3rd generation Glikians (by Güliz Erginsoy)
- Slide 10 A 1st generation Glikian (male, by Güliz Erginsoy)

Slide 11	A 1 st generation Glikian (female, by Güliz Erginsoy)
Slide 12	From Erzurum, Hınız – Duman village to Glikı (by Güliz Erginsoy)
Slide 13	Born in Glikı (by Güliz Erginsoy)
Slide 14	Bademli 1998 (by Güliz Erginsoy)