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FORCED MIGRATION, REPATRIATION, EXODUS.
THE CASE OF GANOS-CHORA AND MYRIOPHYTO-PERISTASIS
ORTHODOX COMMUNITIES IN EASTERN THRACE*

The phenomenon of forced migration of populations and the refugee problem in the Balkans are directly connected with the rise of nationalism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Conflicting nationalisms in the region effected decisively the lives and fortunes of the national "minorities" which, after the wars, found themselves enclosed within the various newly-formed national states.

The object of this paper is a survey of the factors leading to the population changes in the Greek communities of the rural dioceses (ecclesiastical provinces) of Ganos-Chora and Myriophyto-Peristasis in Eastern Thrace, largely resulting from the forced migration and the repatriation of their inhabitants between 1913-1923. This period was the harbinger of their compulsory migration in accordance with terms of the Convention for the exchange of populations signed at Lausanne (30.1.1923) and which, for the first time, brought to the fore the concept of the exchange of populations as a means of solving the differences between states with common borders which lay claim to ethnologically mixed regions¹.

* The following essay is based on a paper presented at the Symposium "Aspects of the Asia Minor Question. Historical Approach and Implications", held at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Department of Modern and Contemporary History and Folklore, on the 16th-17th October 1992. It draws upon unpublished archival material from both the General State Archives and the A. A. Pallis Archive. The Greek text is to be included in the Proceedings of the Symposium.

1. For the negotiations between Greece and Turkey in 1914, regarding a likely exchange of populations, see Yannis G. Mourellos, "The 1914 Persecutions and the First Attempt at an Exchange of Minorities between Greece and Turkey", *Balkan Studies*, vol. 26, Thessaloniki 1985, 389-413. The exchange of populations between Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire, in accordance with the Convention signed by the two governments in Adrianople (2/15 November 1913), in effect confirmed a de facto situation which resulted from the wars and affected the minority populations settled within a twenty kilometre-wide zone along the borders between the two states. Dimitris K. Svolopoulos, *Η Θράκη υπό την Ελληνικήν*

The communities under examination here were established in the region of the Holy Mount (Tekfur Dağ) of the Gallipoli peninsular, along the Propontis coast. Administratively they belonged to the two sub-governorships (*kaza*): "Myriophyto" and "Peristasis" and ecclesiastically, to the two church provinces: "Ganos-Chora" and "Myriophyto-Peristasis", which up till 1919, came under the jurisdiction of the Gallipoli *sancak*² of the *vilâyet* of Adrianople³. The two divisions, the governmental and the clerical, did not coincide. In the archives of the Sees, however, their boundaries are quite distinct—a fact which allow us to define them with precision, thus avoiding the confusion which often accompanies this issue. The villages and the towns under the sub-governorships can be found in the tables in the Appendix. The church provinces were made up as follows: 1) Ganos-Chora: Chora, Ganos, Avdimion, Milio, Leptochorion (İnceköy), Kastampolis, Kerassia, Neochorion, Sendoukion, Palamoution, Eirenochorion. 2) Myriophyto-Peristasis: Myriophyto, Platanos, Kalamitsion, Peristasis, Herakleitsa, Sterna, Loupida, Yeniköy, Limniski (Gölcük), Kalodendro (Yağac). Ethnically, the majority group within these two sub-governorships was Greek⁴. In 1912, according to the Greek Bureau of Foreign Information, the composition of the population in the two *kazas* was as follows⁵:

Αιοβήσαν (Thrace under Greek Administration), Constantinople 1922, 111-113. St. P. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey*, New York 1932, 18-20; Dimitris Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its impact upon Greece*, Paris-The Hague 1962, 54-55.

2. The sub-governorship of Myriophyto came under the *sancak* of Rhaidestos after 1919. The sub-governorship of Peristasis remained under the *sancak* of Gallipoli. See Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους (ΓΑΚ), Αρχείον Μητροπολίτου Ελευθερουπόλεως Σωφρονίου: Κ85, Φ Κ85γ, «Στατιστικά Μυριοφύτου» (General State Archives, henceforward ΓΑΚ, Archive of the Metropolite of Eleftheroupolis Sophronios Κ85, F. Κ85γ, «Statistics of Myriophyto»); and Παράρτημα ΦΕΚ, τεύχ. 2, αρ. φύλ. 4 (Appendix of the Government Gazette, issue, 2, 4), Adrianople 18.9.1921.

3. ΓΑΚ, Κ85γ, "Statistics of Myriophyto: academic year 1919/20. Administrative division".

4. Figures concerning the Greek population within the two dioceses at the end of the 19th century in Stathis Psaltis, *Η Θράκη και η δύναμις του εν αυτή Ελληνικού στοιχείου* (Thrace and the Power therein of the Greek component), Athens 1919, 150-165. The author draws upon statistics from different sources and, therefore, the numbers are not very consistent. Furthermore, the rounded figures clearly indicate that this source is not wholly reliable.

5. *Statistics of the Population of Thrace and Asia Minor, prepared by the Greek Bureau of Foreign Information*, London 1912.

	<i>Myriophyto</i>	<i>Peristasis</i>
Turks	2.935 (19,60%)	1.569 (7,55%)
Greeks	12.046 (80,40%)	19.206 (92,45%)
Total	14.981	20.775

The Greek population, both urban and rural, was the most dynamic and productive element of the local population and made its presence felt in all sectors of the social and economic life of the area⁶. Its blooming economic status at the beginning of the twentieth century is reflected in the substantial number of educational, cultural and religious institutions which the communities maintained⁷. The diocese of Myriophyto-Peristasis in 1911 had 22 churches, 19 priests and 11 primary schools at which 988 pupils were enrolled⁸. In 1912 there were, between the two dioceses, 39 Greek schools which employed 58 teachers and had a pupil population of 4.206 school-boys and girls⁹.

The Problem with Statistics

The credibility of sources making reference to statistical data pertaining

6. For the economic status and activities of the Greek population in these two dioceses see Aggelos Germides, «Τα Γανόχωρα της Ανατολικής Θράκης. Πόνημα Ιστορικό, Γεωγραφικό και Λαογραφικό», *Θρακικά* (Ganochora of Eastern Thrace. Historical, Geographic and Folklore Essay. Thrakika), vol. 46, 1972-73, 188 - 239. Also M. Maravelakis - A. Vacalopoulos, *Οι Προσφυγικές εγκαταστάσεις στην περιοχή Θεσσαλονίκης* (Refugee Settlements in Thessaloniki district), Thessaloniki 1993 (reprint): 138-141 (İnceköy), 200-203 (Gölcük), 203-206 (Palamoution), 206-207 (Yağac), 449-454 (Avthimion), 463-468 (Kerassia) and 471-477 (Peristasis).

7. The rise in the number of educational institutions is related to the policy of the Greek state. Greek nationalism, from the Independence of Greece onwards, focused on the liberation of the unredeemed brethren and the annexation of areas which were left outside the borders of the national state. Education became the channel for communication between the national centre and the Orthodox Christian communities within the Ottoman Empire. The commission of teachers and books to the Orthodox Christian communities through a centralised educational system from the mid-19th century aimed at establishing links between the national centre and the "imagined communities of Hellenism". See Paschalis Kitromilides, "Imagined Communities" and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans, in *Modern Greece, Nationalism and Nationality*, edited by M. Blinkhorn and Th. Veremis, Athens 1990, 23-66; Eleni D. Belia, «Έκθεση Στυλιανού Γονάτα περί Θράκης, 1907», *Δελτίον Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας* (The Stylianos Gónatas' report on Thrace, 1907, Bulletin of the Historical and Ethnological Society), 4, 1981, 244-250.

8. ΓΑΚ, Κ 85γ, *op. cit.*

9. "Statistics of the Greek Population, Schools and Teachers of the vilâyet of Adrianople in 1912, Table XVI", in *Statistics of the Population of Thrace...*, London 1912.

to the populations of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the twentieth century has continually perturbed historians because the interested states frequently used quantitative information to support their political propaganda.

The objectivity of Greek statistical figures referring to the population of the Christian communities within the Ottoman Empire has often been doubted by historian-demographers who use figures from Ottoman sources. Because the statistics of Ottoman censuses present a different picture of the Greek population within the Ottoman provinces, reservations have been expressed about the way the Greek statistics have been compiled and their credibility has been considered questionable from a scientific point of view. It has been claimed that they have been put together by politicians, that they present a magnified Greek population and that they were used for the promotion of Greek national pursuits in the region¹⁰. Cross-referencing of sources and statistics, however, allows us to draw certain conclusions and to approach the matter in a completely new light¹¹.

According to the published Ottoman sources, the population of the two sub-governorships in question was in 1914 as follows¹²:

	<i>Myriophyto</i>	<i>Peristasis</i>
Muslims	2.730 (16,18%)	5.604 (33,73%)
Greeks	14.146 (83,82%)	11.009 (66,27%)
Total	16.876	16.613

As mentioned in the introduction to these statistics which were published

10. Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities, The Population of Ottoman Anatolia at the end of the Empire*, New York University Press 1983, 89-99 (in particular p. 90).

11. For a more comprehensive exposition of the problems ensuing from the available statistics see P. M. Kitromilides - A. Alexandris, "Ethnic Survival, Nationalism and Forced Migration", *Δελτίον Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* (Bulletin of Asia Minor Studies), vol. V, Athens 1985, 23-24. The authors relying upon the material of the Historical Archive of the Greek Minority for Foreign Affairs establish that the Greek State in co-operation with the Greek consuls in the Ottoman Empire and the Ecumenical Patriarchate carried out a systematic census of the populations of the Orthodox communities between 1910-1912. The questionnaire circulated by the Patriarchate to the Archbishops of the dioceses asked for a detailed account of the inhabitants, the schools, the churches e.t.c. The structure of this questionnaire complies with that of the tables of statistics presented in the Archive of Metropolitane Sophronios.

12. Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914, Demographic and Social Characteristics*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1985, 170, Table I.17.A: "Ottoman Population, 1914 (R 1330)". Source: Ministry of the Interior, Directorate General of the Administration of Population Registers, *Memalik-i Osmaniyyenin 1330 Senesi Nüfus İstatistikî* (Population Statistics of the Ottoman State in the Year 1914), Istanbul 1919.

by the Ottoman Ministry of the Interior, figures were drawn from the 1905/6 census to which was added the number of births and from which was subtracted the number of deaths occurring during the intervening period¹³. These statistics are, as a consequence, the result of reckonings which were, of course, based on official registers but not by taking a census of the population, the composition of which had changed in Eastern Thrace as well as in Asia Minor, due to migrations which had taken place after the Balkan Wars and as regards both the Muslim and the Greek elements.

We endeavour, further on, to present certain factors regarding the population of the two sub-governorships of Myriophyto and Peristasis, and to estimate the effects of the wars and persecutions which befell the inhabitants, drawing upon information from the statistical accounts of the Archive of the Metropolite of Eleftheroupolis, Sophronios. We trust that some light will be thrown on an aspect of the problem concerning the population of the Greek communities in this part of Eastern Thrace.

The results of the census taken by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, as regards the sub-governorships of Myriophyto and Peristasis, can be seen in Table 1. Their credibility is further reinforced by the fact that the Christian communities were obliged to make contributions to the Patriarchate in proportion to their population and it is, therefore, natural to conclude that there were no attempts made to inflate the number of inhabitants for the sake of economic policy¹⁴. For the year 1912, we only have figures for the sub-governorship of Myriophyto from an account of the Metropolite who toured the district, after a devastating earth-quake in that same year, in order to record casualties and material damage¹⁵ (see Table 3).

13. *Op. cit.*, Notes to Table I.1.7.A. McCarthy Justin, in *The Arab World, Turkey and the Balkans (1878-1914)*. *A Handbook of Historical Statistics*, Boston, Mass. 1982, draws upon the same source. He does not, however, mention anything about the way in which these statistics were compiled by the Ottoman Ministry of the Interior. He limits himself to noting that these are the most analytical and reliable published statistics referring to the Ottoman populations before the I World War, and condemns the stand of Western politicians who purposely ignored them, though they were available from 1918, but relied on other statistics more aligned with their own political pursuits; see p. 54-55.

14. Nikolaos I. Pantazopoulos, «Εκκλησία και δίκαιον εις την Χερσόνησον του Αίμου επί Τουρκοκρατίας», *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς Σχολής Νομικών και Οικονομικών Επιστημών, ΑΙΙΘ* (The Church and the Law in the Aimos Peninsula during the Tourko-kratia, Yearbook of the Department of Legal and Economic Studies, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), vol. 8, 1960-63, 685-775.

15. Metropolite Serafeim reports 704 deaths and 118 heavily injured persons as a result of the earthquake, ΓΑΚ, Κ85ε, «Καταγραφή Γανοχώρων» (Account of Ganos-Chora), 27th July, 1912.

Persecution-Forced Migration

The population distribution of these two dioceses of Eastern Thrace changes after 1913. Ideological, political and strategical reasons, in the main, but also practical reasons, caused the violent displacement of the Greek communities and brought the concept of population exchange into the diplomatic arena.

On the ideological level, the concept of exchanging populations in order to achieve ethnic purity within the Ottoman Empire was part of the Young Turks' modernization programme. Typical of this attitude is the statement of Nazım Bey (one of the representatives and theoreticians of the Young Turks Movement) to a Greek journalist in Smyrna, 1908: "We intend, and we intend at any cost whatsoever, to assimilate, under the Ottoman ideal, the ethnic components within our domain, so that one may no longer talk of majorities and minorities, of Greeks and Turks, of Armenians and Israelites, one may no longer say "we" and "you". So that Christianity, Islam or Judaism may not prevail and disunite the people, but that the ideal of one Ottoman fatherland may prevail and unite them, a fatherland whose devoted children we shall all be without exception ... and we shall elevate our (Islamic) schools to this perfection on the basis of European programmes and with the assistance of European co-ordinators, so that not only Moslems but the Greeks themselves will close up the ranks of our schools..."¹⁶.

Under this new order of things, which was further developed after the Balkan Wars, the bid for cultural uniformity became the most significant characteristic of Turkish nationalism. The notion of a multi-national, multi-cultural Empire was abandoned altogether by the Turkish nationalists. The new bid called for the immediate and thorough assimilation of the empire's Christian subjects or, if that were not feasible, for their forced migration or, if needs be, for their extermination¹⁷. At the same time, the unredeeming policy of the Greek state further encouraged the Young Turks' policy.

The fall of European Turkey after the Balkan Wars fuelled the adoption of a more aggressive policy towards the Christian communities of the Ottoman Empire. The Great Powers' decision to cede the Eastern Aegean islands

16. *Οι διωγμοί των Ελλήνων εν Θράκη και Μικρά Ασία, Αυθεντικά εκθέσεις και επίσημα κείμενα* (The Persecutions of the Greeks in Thrace and Asia Minor. Authentic Expositions and Official Documents), Athens 1915, 2.

17. Ahmad Feroz, *The Young Turks*, Oxford, 1969 and Ergil Doğu, "A Reassessment: the Young Turks, their politics and anti-Colonial Struggle", *Balkan Studies*, vol. 16, 2, Thessaloniki 1975.

to Greece, in February 1914, aggravated the situation. The danger of even more territorial losses, particularly in view of the islands proximity to the Western coast of Asia Minor which was inhabited by hundreds of thousands of Greeks, rendered the danger even more immediate. The deterioration of diplomatic relations between Greece and Turkey, following the Ottoman government's refusal to recognise the annexation of the islands, was quelled with the intervention of the Great Powers. Nevertheless, the repercussions of this decision were not confined to the diplomatic sphere. In the spring of 1913, the Turks began the systematic persecution of their Greek subjects in a large number of towns and villages of Eastern Thrace and Asia Minor¹⁸.

The aim of the policy was to alter the ethnological composition of the above regions and to reinforce the Ottoman component through the settlement of Muslims who could also offer defence in the eventuality of an invasion¹⁹. Immediately after the Balkan Wars, a wave of migration of Muslims, from virtually all regions of the formerly Ottoman Macedonia, took place: from the Greek (Central and Eastern), the Serbian (the *vilâyet*s of Monastir and Kossovo) and the Bulgarian (the *kazas* of Strumnitsa, Razlog and Neurokopion). This migration of Muslims, was to a point, the natural consequence of the political changes brought about by the wars, but rapidly increased due to Young Turks propaganda. A considerable number of Muslims emigrated from Macedonia in order to avoid retaliatory acts on the part of the Christians. Some, fearing that a new cycle of hostilities was imminent and others, to exclude the possibility of becoming themselves subordinate to those whom they had, until then, under their power²⁰. The Moslems of the above regions were, however, also incited to emigrate by Turkish government agents with promises of taking over the properties of Christian subjects. According to the statistics of the Turkish Migration Office, the number of Muslims who migrated to Turkey up till 1914 totalled 413.912, of whom 132.500 were settled in Eastern Thrace, in the *vilâyet* of Adrianople²¹. Under physical and

18. Margaritis Evaggelidis, *Υπόμνημα περί των δικαιωμάτων και παθημάτων των εστίων του πολιτισμού Μικράς Ασίας και Θράκης* (Memorandum on the Rights and Sufferings of the Asia Minor and Thracian Cultural Centres), Athens 1918, 77-103.

19. Yannis G. Mourellos, *op. cit.*, 389-392.

20. Historical Archives of Macedonia, General Governorship of Macedonia, F 70 (1913) and F 76 (1914), Reports by the General Governor of Macedonia.

21. Archive A. A. Pallis, FA, 42: «Σημείωμα εμφανίζον τας αυξομειώσεις ας υπέστη ο πληθυσμός της Ανατολικής Θράκης» (Note Indicating the Fluctuations to the Populations of Eastern Thrace), A. A. Pallis, Athens, 15 February 1921. From Greek lands-regions of Epirus and Macedonia - 143.189 Muslims emigrated between 1915-1920; See Yannis Mourellos, *op. cit.*, 392, n. 15.

mental pressure from the Young Turks' policy, the Greek subjects were coerced into fleeing to Greece thus making room for the Muslim refugees²².

The persecution of the Greeks in the two provinces (sub-governorships) being studied here, began in 1913 and continued until February 1915. From July 1913, as soon as Eastern Thrace had once more come under Turkish control, pillaging and acts of intimidation and violence against the Greeks began, initially in reprisal for their conduct towards the Turkish population during the Bulgarian occupation when—with the tolerance and encouragement of the Bulgarian forces whose purposes in the region it served—Greeks from the villages of İnceköy, Kastampolis, Palamouti, Sendoukion and Simitli had looted their neighbouring Turkish villages, forcing the inhabitants to take refuge with their fellows further West. The afore-mentioned villages became, as would be expected, the prime target of the nationalist policy of the Turks²³.

The pillaging, persecution and all other imaginable methods of intimidation against the Greeks continued throughout 1913 and were rendered systematic by March 1914, under the direction of the German military mission to Constantinople, led by General Liman von Sanders. Members of the Turkish committee and Turkish refugees, with the tolerance, the encouragement and often with the co-operation of official Turkish authorities committed all kinds of acts of violence in order to coerce the inhabitants of Ganos-Chora and Myriophyto-Peristasis into abandoning their villages: incarceration, degradation, murder, hindrance of agrarian work, coercive tax levies, requisitions and seizures, statute labour, blockading, compulsory recruitment into the Turkish army²⁴.

Contrary to the protestations of the High Porte to the Greek Government that the local Turkish administration had no part whatsoever in the persecution of the Greek population, as ensues from the reports made by the Metropolitess of the two dioceses to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the authorities were in fact directly involved in the events. The harbour-master of Chora, İsmail Bey, the vice-governor of Myriophyto, Cevdet Bey, the mayor of

22. According to A. A. Pallis who was General Secretary of the Refugee Committee for the Settlement of Refugees in Macedonia (1914) and later Representative of the "High Commission of Greece to the Central Committee for the Displaced Greek Populations in Constantinople" the number of Greeks expatriated from Eastern Thrace exceeded 100.000 persons, *op. cit.*

23. Aggelos Germidis, *op. cit.*, 263.

24. ΓΑΚ, Κ85ε, 3, wherein an analytical exposition by the Metropolitan of the "Sufferings [arising from] the [attempted] Extermination on the part of the Turkish Government since 1913" of the eleven towns and villages in the diocese of Ganos-Chora, undated.

Chora, Behçet and many more junior officials, applying the Young-Turks programme, contributed through their stance, to the displacement of the Greeks and the depopulation of the countryside²⁵.

The religious authorities did not remain idle against the phenomenon of this forceful expulsion of the Greek population. Knowing full-well the intentions of the Turkish committee, they endeavoured to take measures against the departure of the persecuted and to restrain as many as possible within the area. Thus, the Patriarchate's delegate, Archimandrite Sofronios, proposes, in a letter to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, to cancel a consignment of ships which were to transport the refugees to Greece. The pertinent part of the text reads as follows: "As grave as the suffering of the Greeks of Thrace and Asia Minor may be—for it is indeed grave—it is our duty to remain, by all means, firm in our ancestral lands and not to abandon them. Unfortunately, most of us have been seized by fear thus facilitating, through cowardly flight, the self-same fiendish schemes of the enemies of the nation. The assistance provided to these fugitives by means of a consignment of steamships, as through other means, is, therefore, not commendable. I beseech all who desire the good of the nation not to proceed to actions which facilitate this flight and thus accelerate the evacuation of the Fatherland. May the Lord be with them"²⁶.

The attempts, on the part of the Patriarchal delegate, to curb the flow of emigration and to help the Christians to resist the designs to eradicate them from their ancestral homes, proved too feeble to avert the plans of the Turkish committee. In fear of revived attacks, the inhabitants refused to return to their villages. Moreover, in most cases it was impossible to do so as their homes and properties had already been occupied by Turkish refugees. Panic-stricken and terrorised as they were, as many as could sold their properties at humiliating prices in order to pay their fares and flee as refugees to Greece. In way of example it is worth mentioning the case of Eirenochorion (Arap-

25. ΓΑΚ, K85ε: "The government officials active in the desolation of the diocese of Ganos-Chora", undated, and copies of correspondence between the Metropolitan Timotheos and the Patriarchate (May 1914) in which the situation is described most dramatically as are the psychological and physical pressures which the authorities used to coerce the Christians into emigrating. Also K85β, where, in a letter dated 12.12.1918, the Metropolitan Sofronios, in view of thwarting the likely re-appointment of Cevdet Bey, former *kaymakam* (higher local official) in Myriophyto, makes mention of his activities: "this man is the protagonist of the persecution of the villagers in Milio, Kastampolis e.t.c., the robber of the inhabitants of Myriophyto on whom he imposed all kinds of forced labour and burdens".

26. ΓΑΚ, K85δ, Γ: Letter of the Patriarchal delegate Archbishop Sophronios to Ecumenical Patriarchate, Mikron Frear, 27th May 1914.

Haci) in the province of Ganos-Chora, which consisted of forty households. On the 8th of April 1914, armed Turks from the neighbouring villages descended upon the Greek village and forced the inhabitants to abandon their houses, taking only whatever they could carry, and to seek refuge in the nearest Christian village Simitli, in the province of Herakleia. The latter village suffered a similar fate on the very next day. Many refugees from these two villages then made for the port of Kumbaou and others for Ganos where they sought refuge on board the ships anchored there. The Metropolitte of Ganos-Chora, Timotheos, tried to encourage the population and convince them to remain. The administration of Myriophyto, however, aimed at deterring the return of the refugees to their homes. Such inhabitants of Eirenochorion as did venture to return, were driven away by the Turkish refugees who had, in the meantime, occupied their houses. In spite of their promises to intervene and expel the Turkish refugees, the administration of Rhaidestos dallied and in effect encouraged the occupiers. The result was that, the remaining inhabitants of Eirenochorion who were famished after their ordeals, boarded ships in Kumbaou and fled as refugees to Thessaloniki²⁷.

The plight of the multitudes collected in the ports, the famine and the generally deplorable living conditions, eventually caused the Metropolitte to support the locals' plea to fly. "As a result of their vicissitudes, the inhabitants of Kastampolis and İnceköy can by no means be convinced to return to; I can only support their plea to depart from Ganos; in view of unbearable hunger which scourges all, without exclusion, both themselves and us; situation hopeless; panic has seized all; fate of Sendoukion unknown; Milio has been uprooted; Avthimion is preparing to flee; We are starving"²⁸.

It is essential to make a distinction between the inhabitants of this region who were forced to emigrate to Greece and another category of Thracians, in the main from the *sancak* of Adrianople, who, though fewer in number, had emigrated to Greece in 1913, immediately after the Balkan wars. They had, in effect, little other choice because their commercial activities after the Balkan Wars had been abruptly curbed by the ensuing territorial changes. Furthermore, the material and moral destruction brought about by the wars had rendered their stay precarious²⁹. In contrast, the displacement of the

27. ΓΑΚ, Κ85ε, 3, copy of "Report on the evacuated villages of the diocese of Ganos-Chora to the venerable Patriarchate on the 21st of June 1914" by the Metropolitte of Ganos-Chora Timotheos.

28. ΓΑΚ, Κ85ε, γ, copy of a telegraph sent by the Metropolitte of Ganos-Chora Timotheos to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, no. of Protocol 04522, 20th May 1914.

29. Historical Archives of Macedonia, General Governorship of Macedonia, copy of

Christian populations of Ganos-Chora and Myriophyto-Peristasis was immediate and permanent, an end-result of sociopolitical pressures due to the nationalist crisis and concerned, in most cases, the total populations of the villages displaced³⁰.

The villages evacuated during the persecution of 1914 were the following: Eirenochorion or Arap-Hacı (280 inhabitants), Neochorion (1.400 inhab.), Leptochorion or İnceköy (1.800 inhab.), Kastampolis (1.200 inhab.), Milio (1.500 inhab.), and Sendoukion (600 inhab.). In total 6.780 people. A significant number of people were also expelled from Palamoution³¹. According to another source the displaced from the diocese of Ganos-Chora in 1914 numbered 7.018 people³².

The expulsion of the Greek population of Eastern Thrace, with the exception of the towns Adrianople, Rhaidestos and a few more areas, was completed during the course of the European War. At the outbreak of the war, the Ganos-Chora region found itself within the war zone and became a supply dump for the Turkish forces. Every economic activity came to a halt and famine became widespread. Some people from the villages Loupida and Sterna, as well as from Peristasis, encouraged by the presence of the allied naval forces, made a bid for autonomy³³. This eventuality offered the occasion for a second wave of expulsion. This time in the way of forced migration within the Ottoman Empire, to the hinterland of Asia Minor. According to the reports of the Metropolit of Gallipoli, who in August of 1915 called on the refugees in Asia Minor in order to propose measures to be taken for their rescue, those exiled from Myriophyto were: 485 people from Neochorion (Yeniköy), 1.250 from Loupida (Araplı), and 475 from Limniski (Gölcük)³⁴.

"Report by the General Consul in Adrianople, Mavroudis", no. of Protocol 88, 20th April 1914.

30. Similar and even more tragic conditions arising from the persecutions forced the inhabitants of other parts of Thrace, mainly Bizye and Saranta Ecclessies, into fleeing to Greece during the period 1914-15, *ibid*.

31. ΓΑΚ, K85ε, 3.

32. Archive A. A. Pallis, F A, 42: "Note" by A. A. Pallis "presenting the fluctuations in the numbers of inhabitants of Eastern Thrace as a consequence of the persecutions and migrations during the period 1912-1920, Table B, Statistics on those expatriated during the Balkan and I World Wars".

33. Aggelos Germidis, *op. cit*.

34. Historical Archive of the Greek Ministry for Foreign Affairs, AYE, 1915/A/21, 1: "Analytical Table of Population, Churches, Chapels, Monasteries and Schools of evacuated areas". This table is included in copies of two reports by the Metropolit of Gallipoli, (Proussa, 8th August 1915), which were forwarded by the Greek Embassy in Constantinople (sign. Tsamados, protocol no. 4816), to the Greek Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

A total of 4.102 people had been displaced from the province of Myriophyto³⁵. 1.400 people from Loupida, 1.302 from Neochorion and 1.400 from Herakleitsa were sent, during the months of June and July of 1915, to İzmid, Bilecik and Ahzar in Asia Minor³⁶. The population changes in the sub-governorship of Myriophyto can be seen in Table 3.

Repatriation

With the signing of the Armistice, such as had been expelled into Asia Minor were allowed to be repatriated. After 1919, when Eastern Thrace came under Greek control, refugees who had fled to Macedonia began to return to their homes. The repatriation process was not, however, an easy matter. Political and economic factors determined the number and rate of return.

From the beginning of 1919, in view of the annexation of Thrace and Western Asia Minor, the Greek government tried to define their policy in terms of the repatriation of refugees settled in Greece since 1914. The most significant issues which had to be considered were, firstly, whether it would be advantageous, either politically or economically, to organize a general repatriation of refugees, and secondly, as to what policy should be adopted as regards the Muslims—refugees who, for the greater part, were from Macedonia, as has already been mentioned, who had been settled in the villages of the Greek refugees.

A significant number of refugees from Eastern Thrace had settled as farmers in the hinterland of Macedonia³⁷. With their settlement the govern-

35. AYE/1917/8/59: "Persecutions of Greeks in Asia Minor and Thrace". Archive A. A. Pallis, F A 9, "General Statistics on the Displaced Greek Population during World War by Dioceses", Central Committee for the Displaced Greek Populations in Constantinople, p. 1 and 14. These statistics were compiled by the Patriarchate on the basis of information included in reports from the various dioceses submitted to the Patriarchate. Examilion, from which 750 people were expatriated, is included in these statistics under the diocese of Herakleia. However, in other tables it comes under the sub-governorship of Peristasis.

36. *Ibid.*

37. According to figures of the General Governorship of Macedonia, the refugees from Eastern Thrace settled in Macedonia up till the year 1919 came to 77.833 individuals (19.395 families). See Archive A. A. Pallis, F A, "Repatriation Schedule of Refugees from Eastern Thrace settled in Greece", A. A. Pallis, General Financial Inspector in the Greek High Commission, Constantinople 21 May 1920. For the settlement of refugees from the two sub-governorships see *ibid*, F A: "Table of Refugees from Eastern Thrace settled in Macedonia", 20.5.1920: 80 persons from Loupida, 964 from Milio, 1.180 from Kastampolis, 556 from

ment covered the demographic void which had been created by the desolation of the countryside during the Balkan Wars and by the emigration of Muslims from Macedonia. This refugee population, mainly in frontier regions with a significant proportion of Slavophone inhabitants, and which continued to be the target of Bulgarian *commitadji* activities and propaganda, constituted the kernel of the Greek element and their removal would have been of national and strategic consequence. Equally significant were the economic factors which demanded a programmed repatriation scheme.

The Greek government had spent great sums on settling the peasant refugees as part of an overall plan to replenish the rural population in order to increase agrarian productivity. Their departure would, therefore, mean a decrease in productivity in the northern provinces, both in terms of farm products and of taxes. Furthermore, finding new homes for the thousands of Muslim refugees from Macedonia, who had settled the lands and villages of the ousted Greeks, called for, not only time, but also negotiations with the Turkish government so that their resettlement in Asia Minor would not be carried out at the expense of the Greeks already established there. Finally, the time and order of repatriation depended on whether or not the refugees could be resettled in their original homes, as there were whole villages either completely destroyed or occupied by Muslim refugees. It was, consequently, deemed preferable, firstly, to allow for the repatriation of urban refugees, who could be housed in requisitioned buildings, and only part of the peasant refugees: initially those not settled in rural areas, on the provision that the Muslims settled in their villages would, beforehand, have been removed³⁸.

In order to safeguard this repatriation plan, the region of Eastern Thrace was divided into nine sectors. The third, fourth and fifth sectors were selected for the resettlement of the populations from the two provinces of Ganos-Chora and Myriophyto-Peristasis³⁹. Name lists were drawn up, with place of

İnceköy, 76 from Sendoukion, 556 from Ganos and Chora, 236 from Myriophyto and 656 from Peristasis. Total 4.303 persons. Another source, M. Ailianos, *To érgon της ελληνικής περιθάλψεως* (The Work of Greek Relief), Press Bureau of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1921, mentions that those refugees settled in the region of Thessaloniki and the rest of Macedonia came to 62.481 individuals and were settled as follows: 32.481 in rural areas and 30.000 in urban centres, from which 20.000 in Thessaloniki.

38. Historical Archive of Macedonia, General Governorship of Macedonia, F 65. High Commission of Greece. A. A. Pallis to Adosidis, "Memorandum on the Question of Repatriation of Refugees in Greece" and Archive A. A. Pallis, F A, 15a "Repatriation Schedule for refugees from Eastern Thrace settled in Greece", *op. cit.*

39. M. Ailianos, *op. cit.*, 349-355. D. K. Svolopoulos, *op. cit.*, 53-54.

departure and destinations of those to be repatriated. A Central Refugee Committee was established in each See and undertook the orderly settlement of refugees, the collection of monies for the needy, as well as keeping statistics. These statistics included information on the following: the communities uprooted from the time of Balkan Wars onwards; their populations before expulsion; numbers of individuals expelled; numbers of survivors and place of their resettlement; number of men recruited into the Turkish army after the expulsions and the number of these who survived. They also included the extent to which the administrative authorities were involved in the forced migration of the Christians and in the commercial blockade; the amount of monies needed by each community for the resettlement of its expelled rural population; value of private and communal properties abandoned; damages; place of origin, time of resettlement and number of Muslims who were settled on lands belonging to Christian villagers; the number of refugees who returned, the number of survivors and of those desiring repatriation; the form of aid which they had received and the attitude of the Muslims towards them⁴⁰. These statistics, however, were collected on various occasions and the information now available to us presents some discrepancies and difficulties, particularly as some lists were drawn up according to dioceses whilst others according to sub-governorships. They are, nonetheless, quite accurate as can be established by comparing the numbers of an analytical list bearing the names of all the families repatriated in Neochorion, against those of a more concise list of the Central Committee⁴¹. The numbers of those uprooted who were repatriated in the two sub-governorships up till February 18th, 1920 are shown in the following table⁴².

40. ΓΑΚ, K85β, "Plan of action in each diocese concerning co-national refugees". A number of these reports with the above information regarding the two sub-governorships under examination are to be found in K85.

41. In regards to Neochorion see ΓΑΚ, K85ε, F 3. "List of persons repatriated to date" 6th May 1919. For the concise list see Archive A. A. Pallis, F A, Central Committee for the displaced Greek populations in Constantinople, "Statistical Information, Resume", p. 11.

42. Archive A. A. Pallis, F A, *op. cit.*

Peristasis

<i>Villages</i>	<i>Greek population before 1914</i>	<i>Displaced 1914-1917</i>	<i>Repatriated 1918-1920</i>
Loupida (Araplı)	736	736	500
Herakleitsa	1.442	773	395
Neochorion	689	567	275
Yeniköy	2.000	2.000	—
Examillon	1.407	1.407	900
Total	6.274	5.483	2.070

Myriophyto

<i>Villages</i>	<i>Greek population before 1914</i>	<i>Displaced 1914-1917</i>	<i>Repatriated 1918-1920</i>
Milio	1.500	1.500	—
Kastampolis	2.000	2.000	—
Leptochorion (İnceköy)	3.000	3.000	—
Total	6.500	6.500	—

Exodus

The political developments of 1922 determined conclusively the fate of the Greek communities of Eastern Thrace. After the Asia Minor Catastrophe the allied forces decided to cede Eastern Thrace to Turkey with the Moudania Agreement on 11th October 1922. Despite its initial reaction, the Greek government was forced to accept the terms of the Moudania Agreement on 13th October 1922. The evacuation of Eastern Thrace was put into effect two days later⁴³. The Christian inhabitants of the communities being examined here, managed to flee as refugees to Greece before the departure of the Greek army⁴⁴. The Convention for the compulsory exchange of populations between

43. G. Daphnis, *Η Ελλάδα μεταξύ δύο πολέμων, 1923-1940* (Greece between the Wars, 1923-1940), vol. 1, Athens 1955, 31.

44. The inhabitants of Ganos-Chora convened on the 2nd of October 1922 and decided on fleeing before the departure of the Greek armed forces. They also appointed a committee which, in cooperation with the Metropolit of Myriophyto as well as the Greek govern-

Greece and Turkey changed drastically the demographic and ethnological map of the area and redetermined the socio-economic status of the people settled as refugees, mainly in the northern regions of the Greek state. The number of families who survived the vicissitudes and managed to settle in Greece is shown in table 4, though it must be born in mind that these figures include only those families who made applications for indemnification to the Directorate of Exchange [of Populations].

The persecution of the Greek Christian populations of Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace cannot be understood simply as a consequence of the Greek invasion of Asia Minor and the retaliation of Turkish nationalism. It was the climax of a procedure which, as we have seen, had begun much earlier and which aimed at the attainment of ethnic purity within the newly formed Turkish national state. Fluctuations in the demographic composition of the dioceses of Ganos-Chora and Myriophyto-Peristasis indicate not so much discrepancies in the available statistics but more importantly, the regulated uprooting of the Greek population from the region between 1913 and 1923.

ment deputy Achilleas Papadatos, would oversee their decisive emmigration. ΓΑΚ, «Κώδιξ Πρακτικών της κοινότητος Γάνου-Χώρας, 1913-1922» (Minute-book of the Community of Ganos-Chora, 1913-1922), vol. iv, 216. See also M. Maravelakis - A. Vacalopoulos, *op. cit.*

APPENDIX

In the tables which follow the information is presented according to administrative subdivision (kazas or sub-governorships) and not according to ecclesiastical subdivision (dioceses), the latter being different and including only the Christian communities. This preference offers the further advantage of making identification of each administrative region relatively simpler. Furthermore, in this way it is possible to compare these figures with those included in other tables which provide information on the whole population, both Christian and Muslim.

The names of towns and villages are used as they occur in the statistics and reports found in the Archive of the Metropoliite Sophronios, transliterated into latin characters. Where two or more names occur in the various sources for a particular village or town the following usage has been adhered to: first is the commonly used name—Greek in most cases, within () is the Turkish name and, within [] is the new place name given by the Greek authorities in 1921, as presented in the Appendix of the Government Gazette, vol. 2, issue 4, "Name changes of settlements within the prefectures of Adrianople, Saranta Ekklessies, Rhaidestos, Gallipoli, Evros and Rothopi".

Sources

Tables 1 and 2: ΓΑΚ, K85ε: Metropoliite of Ganos-Chora Serafeim to Ecumenical Patriarchate, protocol no. 5610, "Statistical List of the Male and Female Population of the Church Province of Ganos-Chora", 20 June 1911; and the Metropoliite of Myriophyto-Peristasis Philotheos to Ecumenical Patriarchate, protocol no. 2815, "Statistical List of the Male and Female Population of the Church Province of Myriophyto-Peristasis", 19 March 1911.

TABLE 1

*Greek Population of the "kazas" of Myriophyto and Peristasis (1911)**I. Kazas of Myriophyto*

<i>Towns and Villages</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
Myriophyto (Mürefte)	2.408	2.217	4.625
Platanos	716	680	1.396
Kalamitsion	368	390	758
Kerassia	484	478	962
Ganos	1.233	1.214	2.447
Chora	1.774	1.740	3.514
Sterna* (Tepeköy)	1.270	1.210	2.480
Avthimion or Evthimion (Outsman Dereköy)	826	861	1.687
Milio or Milaia	675	655	1.330
Kastampolis	604	513	1.117
Leptochorion (İnceköy or Yeniceköy)	776	721	1.497
Neochorion	546	575	1.121
Museli (Mursalı)	—	—	—
Filiari (Yayaköy)	—	—	—
Georgitsi (Georgits)	—	—	—
Tatarochori (Tatarlı) [Pagkalı]	—	—	—
Beyoğlu	—	—	—
Total	11.680	11.254	22.934

* Sterna is included in the kaza of Peristasis only in the statistics of 1911. From 1913 onwards is included in the kaza of Myriophyto. Villages for which information has not been included in this table were those inhabited only by Muslims.

II. *Kazas of Peristasis*

<i>Towns and Villages</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
Peristasis (Şarköy)	2.400	2.240	4.640
Loupida (Araplı)	620	630	1.250
Herakleitsa	620	630	1.250
Neochorion (Yeniköy)	255	230	485
Limniski (Gölcük)	237	237	474
Καλoδendron (Yağaç)	125	110	235
Sendoukion-(Ova-Mousetzep)	308	259	567
Eirinochorion (Arap-Hacı)	112	105	217
Palamoution-Dryinochorion	193	211	404
Pligouri (Bulgur) [Polydori]	—	—	—
Tsaggarochorion (Çengerli) [Chalkanthi]	—	—	—
Saklı (Isaaklı) [Agios Ioannis]	—	—	—
Sofuköy [Sofikon]	—	—	—
Kızilcadere [Traussoi]	—	—	—
Elpis (Kocalı)	—	—	—
Avlamani	—	—	—
Emirli	—	—	—
Ak-Sakal [Sikalıs]	—	—	—
Deliler	—	—	—
Eidemir	—	—	—
Palousoula	—	—	—
Beyköy	—	—	—
Yovaköy	—	—	—
Total	4.870	4.652	9.522

TABLE 2

*Ethnological Composition of the Kazas of Myriophyto and Peristasis, 1911**I. Kazas of Myriophyto*

<i>Towns and villages</i>	<i>Greeks</i>	<i>Turks</i>
Myriophyto (Mürefte)	4.625	611
Platanos	758	—
Kalamitsion	1.396	—
Sterna	2.480	—
Ganos	2.447	—
Chora	3.514	—
Kerassia	962	—
Avthimion or Evthimion (Otsman Dereköy)	1.687	—
Milio or Milaia	1.330	134
Kastampolis	1.117	—
Leptochorion (İnceköy or Yeniceköy)	1.497	—
Neochorion	1.121	—
Museli (Mursalı)	—	294
Filiari (Yayaköy)	—	164
Georgitsi (Georgits)	—	144
Tatarochori (Tatarh) [Pagkalı]	—	116
Beyoğlu	—	216
Total	22.934	1.679
	93,0%	7,0%

II. *Kazas of Peristasis*

<i>Villages and towns</i>	<i>Greeks</i>	<i>Turks</i>
Peristasis (Şarköy)	4.640	730
Loupida (Araplı)	1.250	—
Herakleitsa	1.250	—
Neochorion (Yeniköy)	485	—
Limniski (Gölcük)	474	—
Kalodendron (Yağac)	235	—
Sandukion (Ova-Mousetzep)	567	—
Eirinochorion (Arap-Hacı)	217	—
Palamoution-Dryinochorion	404	—
Pligouri (Bulgar) [Polydori]	—	112
Tsaggarochorion (Çengerli) [Chalkanthi]	—	140
Saklı (Isaaklı) [Agios Ioannis]	—	246
Sofuköy [Sofikon]	—	36
Kızılcadere [Traussoi]	—	238
Elpis (Kocalı)	—	68
Avlamani	—	138
Emirli*		
Ak-Sakal [Sikalıs]*		
Deliler*		
Eidemir*		
Palousoula*		
Beyköy		
Yovaköy		
Total	9.522	1.708
	84,8%	15,2%

* Figures for these villages have not been included because available sources are undated and refer only to the male population. (see Table 2a).

TABLE 2a

*Male population of the kazas of Myriophyto and Peristasis**I. Kazas of Myriophyto*

<i>Towns and Villages</i>	<i>Greeks</i>	<i>Turks</i>
Myriophyto (Mürefte)	2.296	315
Platanos	720	—
Kalamitsion	337	—
Kerassia	500	—
Ganos	1.690	—
Chora	2.079	—
Avthimion or Evthimion (Ousman Dereköy)	900	—
Milio or Milaia	699	62
Kastampolis	590	108
Leptochorion (İnceköy or Yeniceköy)	774	—
Museli (Mursalı)	—	147
Filiari (Yayaköy)	—	82
Georgitsi (Georgits)	—	72
Tatarochori (Tatarlı) [Pagkalı]	—	58
Total	10.585	844

II. *Kazas of Peristasis*

<i>Towns and Villages</i>	<i>Greeks</i>	<i>Turks</i>
Peristasis (Şarköy)	2.218	297
Loupida (Araplı)	615	—
Sterna	1.173	—
Herakleitsa	741	—
Neochorion (Yeniköy)	352	—
Limniski (Gölcük)	226	—
Kalodendron (Yağac)	94	—
Sendoukion (Ova-Mousetzep)	263	—
Eirinochorion (Arap-Hacı)	107	—
Palamoution-Dryinochorion	217	—
Pligouri (Bulgur) [Polydori]	—	56
Tsaggarochorion (Çengerli) [Chalkanthi]	—	70
Isaaklı (Saklı) [Agios Ioannis]	—	123
Sofuköy [Sofikon]	—	18
Kızılcadere [Traussoi]	—	119
Elpis (Kocalı)	—	34
Avlamani	—	69
Nachies	—	153
Emirli	—	96
Ak-Sakal [Sikalis]	—	151
Deliler	—	56
Eidemir	—	109
Palousoula	—	75
Beyköy	—	99
Yovaköy	—	36
Total	6.006	1.561

Source: ΓΑΚ, K85ε, sub-file 3. This table, which is undated, was included in the archive of the Metropolit of Myriophyto and Peristasis Filotheos (1908-1917).

TABLE 3
Population changes in the kazas of Myriophyto

Towns and Villages	1911		1912		1913		1920	
	Greeks	Turks	Greeks	Turks	Greeks	Turks	Greeks	Turks
Myriophyto (Müreffe)	4.625	611	5.500	650	3.178	265	3.918	730
Platanos	1.396	—	1.400	—	1.062	—	1.277	—
Kalamitsion	758	—	750	—	457	—	620	—
Sterna	2.480	—	—	—	1.871	—	2.083	—
Garos	2.447	—	3.480	—	2.518	—	3.043	—
Chora	3.514	—	4.098	—	2.606	—	3.133	—
Kerassia	962	—	982	—	563	—	702	—
Avthimion or Evthimion (Outsman Dereköy)	1.687	—	1.840	—	1.069	—	1.400	—
Milio or Milata	1.330	134	1.470	—	193	152	235	200
Kastampolis	1.117	—	1.070	—	—	492	—	520
Leptochorio (Inceköy or Yeniceköy)	1.497	—	1.450	—	—	840	—	821
Neochorion	1.121	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mouseli (Mursalı)	—	294	—	255	—	230	—	271
Filiari (Yayaköy)	—	164	—	120	—	84	—	96
Georgitsi (Georgits)	—	144	—	180	—	101	—	119
Tatarochori (Tatarlı) [Pagkali]	—	116	—	125	—	62	—	79
Beyoğlu	—	—	—	200	—	155	—	182
Total	22.934 94,0%	1.463 6,0%	22.040 93,5%	1.530 6,5%	13.517 85,0%	2.381 15,0%	16.411 84,5%	3.018 15,5%

Source: 1911, see Table 1.

1912, K85e, «Καταγραφή Γανοχώρων» (Account of Ganochora), 27 July 1912.

1913 and 1920, K85γ, «Τοπική Καταστατική του πληθυσμού του καζά Μυριοφύτου» (Turkish Account of the population of the kaza of Myriophyto), 20 May 1920. No reference is made to what particular month in 1913 the census was taken, but we can safely conclude that it was in the later part of the year and after the expulsion of a considerable number of Greeks from the region as the figures clearly indicate.

TABLE 4

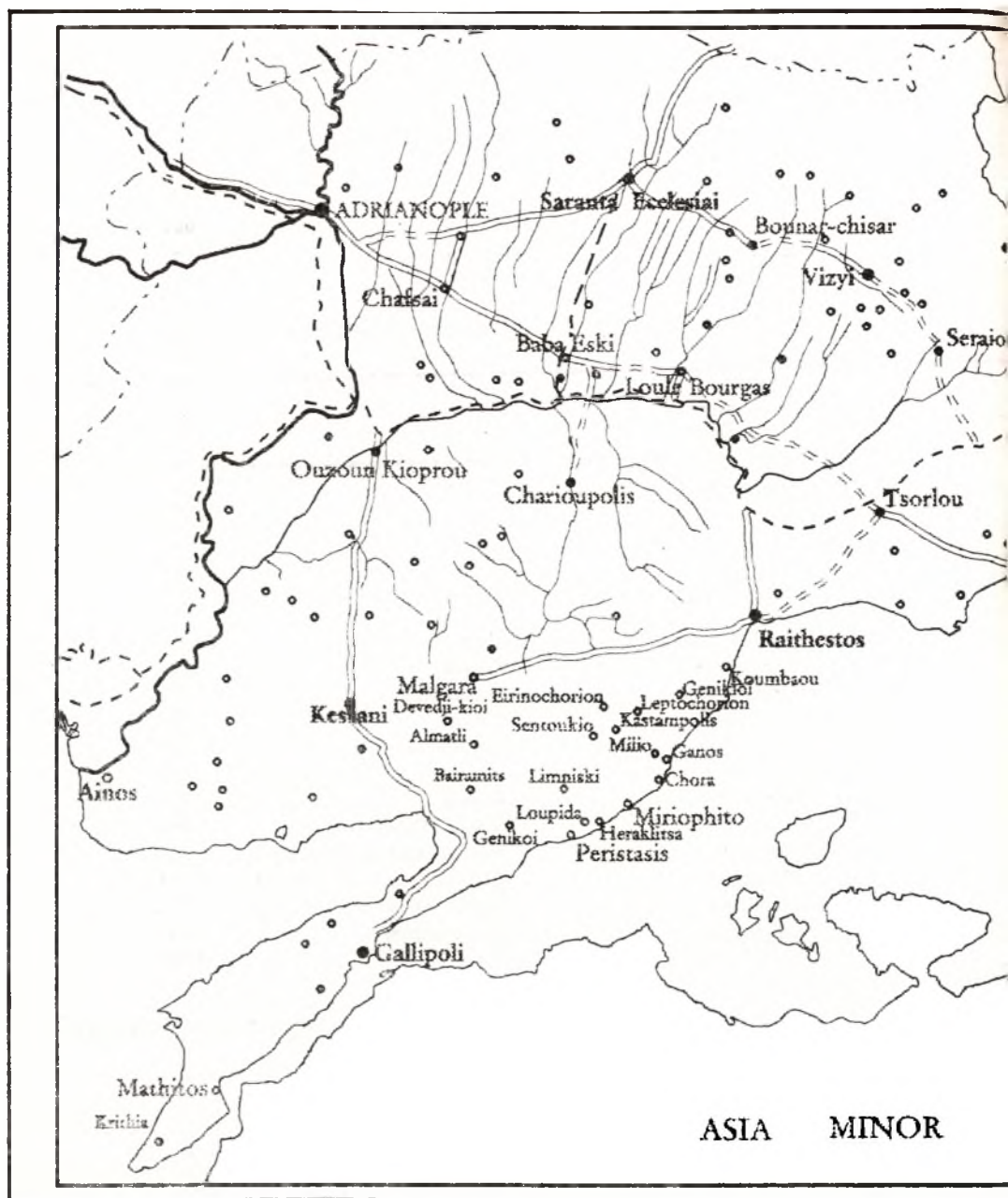
*Settlement in Greece (1926)**I. Diocese of Ganos-Chora*

<i>Place of Origin</i>	<i>Place of Settlement</i>	<i>Families</i>
Ganos	Kavala	688
Chora	Kavala	—
Avthimion	Thessaloniki	361
Milio	Thessaloniki	321
Leptochorio (İnceköy)	Langadas (Sochos)	286
Kastampolis	Thessaloniki	—
Kerassia	Chalkidiki (Polygyros)	212
Neochorion	Thessaloniki	282
Sendoukion	Drama (Aggista)	115
Palamoution	Nigrita (Saltikli-Kalokastro)	81
Eirenochorion	Ekaterini (Bromeri-Kallithea)	47
Total		2.393

II. Diocese of Myriophyto-Peristasis

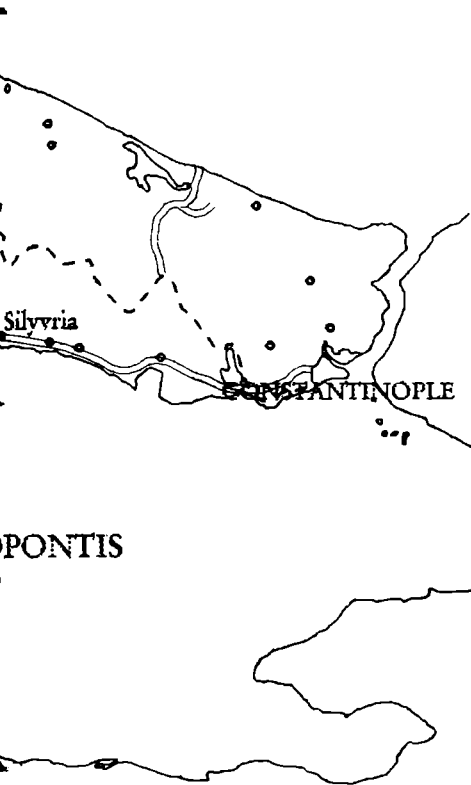
<i>Place of Origin</i>	<i>Place of Settlement</i>	<i>Families</i>
Myriophyto	Kavala	834
Peristasis	Thessaloniki	852
Platanos	Kavala	297
Kalamitsion	Kavala	168
Herakleitsa	Kavala	520
Sterna	Kavala	510
Loupida	Nestos (Foussiani)	286
Neochorion	Nestos (Karatzilar-Zarkadia)	159
Limniski	Kailaria (Tsartzilar-Filotas)	99
Examilion	Enotia (Dragoumanitsa-Apsalos)	303
Kalodendron	Nea Malgara	—
Total		4.028

Source: ΓΑΚ, Archives of the Ministry of Agriculture, Directorship of Exchange of Populations. (without file number).



MAP OF EASTERN THRACE

BLACK SEA



LEGEND

—————	Border line
- - - - -	Railway line
=====	Main roads
= = = = =	Secondary roads
●	Capital of district (Vilayet)
●	Centre of Sancak
●	Centre of Kaza
○	Villages

Source Archive A.A. Pallis, F.A.: "Map of Eastern Thrace indicating the villages the inhabitants of which were expelled to Greece during 1914 and World War I " by S. Serafeimides. (Attached to document no 3577, 19 May 1920, of the High Commission of Greece in Constantinople)

Map design and drawing by Haris Kakarouhas



1. Myriophyton (Mürefte). Church of Agioi Theodoroi, built in 1913 with funds provided by the "Patriarchal Committee for the earthquake victims". Photographer: Christos Constantinidis (29 May 1920). Source: ΓΑΚ, Κ85ε, F. 1,



2. *Myriophyton (Mürefte). The mosque. September 1921. (Carte Postale). Source: ΓΑΚ, Κ85ε, F. 1.*



3. *Kerassia. September 1921. (Carte Postale). Source: ΓΑΚ, Κ85ε, F. 1.*



4. Kalamitsion. September 1921. (*Carte Postale*). Source: ΓΑΚ, Κ85ε, F. 1.



5. Leptochorion (İnceköy). September 1921. (*Carte Postale*). Source: ΓΑΚ, Κ85ε F. 1.



6 and 7. Aspects of Ganos. September 1921. (Carte Postale). Source: ΓΑΚ, Κ85ε, F. 1.