THE BALKAN *MUHACİR*S OF AKKÖY:

MEMORY AND IDENTITY IN A WESTERN ANATOLIAN VILLAGE

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ABSTRACT

The Balkan *Muhacir*s of Akköy: Memory and Identity in a Western Anatolian Village

The end of the Ottoman rule in the Balkans and the establishment of new nation states was not only a political change, but it affected the lives of individuals. Millions of people had to leave their birthplaces and migrate and settle in socially, culturally and politically different places than their own.

The intend of this study is to search how the memories and identities of the Balkan migrants – or as they are referred in vernacular, the *muhacir*s – were shaped in relation to their migration experiences in a western Anatolian village – Akköy.

This thesis is written as an oral history study and the life stories of the *muhacir*s of Akköy were used as primary sources. These provided enough data to analyze how the *muhacir*s percieved their homeland, migration experience and settlement. The narratives also helped to understand the relationship between different groups of *muhacir*s in Akköy and their relationship with the 'native' populations in the surrounding villages and with the Turkish Republic and Turkishness in general.

Conclusions are drawn that the migration experience which is today still effective in the lives of *muhacir*s created complex and multiple identities. This determined the way they composed and told their stories of life. In terms of adapting and assimilating themselves to Akköy and in general to Turkey, conflicting identities even today prevail among *muhacir*s and it cannot be suggested that they are in complete compliance with the hegemonic social, cultural and political order.

ÖZET

Akköy'deki Balkan Muhacirleri: Bir Batı Anadolu Köyünde Hafıza ve Kimlik

Balkanlarda Osmanlı egemenliğinin sona ermesi ve yeni ulus devletlerin kurulması sadece siyasal bir değişim değildi. Bu olay aynı zamanda bireylerin hayatlarını etkiledi. Milyonlarca insan doğdukları yerleri terk etmek ve kendi yaşadıkları yerlerden sosyal, kültürel ve siyasal olarak farklı olan yerlere göç ederek yerleşmek zorunda kaldı.

Bu çalışmanın amacı bir Batı Anadolu köyünde, Akköy'de, göç deneyimleri ile ilintili olarak Balkan göçmenlerinin veya gündelik dilde adlandırıldıkları şekliyle muhacirlerin hafızalarının ve kimliklerinin nasıl şekillendiğini araştırmaktır.

Bu tez bir sözlü tarih çalışması olarak yazıldı ve Akköy'deki muhacirlerin hayat hikayeleri birincil kaynaklar olarak kullanıldı. Bunlar, muhacirlerin memleketlerini, göç deneyimlerini ve iskanlarını nasıl algıladıklarını incelemek için yeterli veri sağladı. Ayrıca bu anlatılar Akköy'deki değişik muhacir grupları arasındaki ilişkiyi ve muhacirlerin çevre köylerdeki 'yerli' nüfusla ve genel anlamda Türklük ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ile kurdukları ilişkiyi anlamaya da yardımcı oldu.

Çıkan sonuçlara göre muhacirlerin hayatlarında bugün dahi etkili olmaya devam eden göç deneyimleri karmaşık ve çoğul kimlikler üretmiştir. Bu durum muhacirlerin hayat hikayelerini ne şekilde düzenleyerek anlatıklarını da belirlemektedir. Akköy'e ve genel anlamda Türkiye'ye uyum sağlama açısından bakıldığında muhacirler arasında bugün bile çelişkili kimliklere rastlamak mümkündür ve muhacirlerin egemen sosyal, kültürel ve siyasal düzen ile tam bir uyum içerisinde oldukları söylenemez.

To my beloved grandfather...

Osman Say (1908-2006)

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CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In European history the second half of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century are marked by massive migrations. In his analysis of the ethnic conflict in Turkey, Erik J. Zürcher states that the period of 1850-1950 can be called the century of "demographical engineering" in Europe. He argues that the policies and events witnessed in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire and the formative years of the Turkish Republic demonstrate a similar tendency.[1] Millions of Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire left their birthplaces and homes and were exiled, deported, subjected to forced resettlement, repressed and massacred in this period.

Nationalist policies both in the Empire and the newly founded nation states of the Balkans and the Middle East promoted the idea of the homogenization of their populations. While religion was the determining factor for demographic engineering at first, ethnic origin and language gained more importance towards the turn of the 20th century. For instance in the Ottoman Empire this shift can be traced in the policies of the Committe of Union and Progress (hereafter CUP) which came to power in the 1900s. With many Muslim but non-Turkish members participating at

[1] Zürcher, Erik Jan (ed.), *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete: Türkiye'de Etnik Çatışma*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005, p.9.

the outset, CUP embraced the official state ideology – Ottomanism; however, Turkish nationalists gradually gained the upper hand in CUP, due to certain factors like the loss of European lands after the Balkan Wars and rising ethnic nationalism in the Balkans.[2] On this issue, Faroqhi and Adanır argue that the response of the Ottoman ruling group to ethnic nationalism was basically a kind of imperial nationalism where the abandonment of pluralist positions was concomitant with the ascendancy of ethnic exclusiveness.[3] This does not mean that religion lost its importance in the 20th century or that ethnic origin and language never were the reasons for migration in the 19th century. On the contrary, there are lots of cases where these three factors were intertwined.

Turkish historiography of the Republican era remained uninterested in the migrations from the Balkans for a long time. There were priorities and much had to be done firstly to construct a historical background for the new nation. It was only after such priorities were satisfied and some thirty years passed after these migrations that conventional historiography developed an interest in the issue in the 1960s. These works were not interested in the migration experience or in its social and cultural effects, but in general statistics and descriptions. The *muhacir*s[4] who actually experienced migration and were still affected by it socially, culturally and politically,

[2] CUP and the period of its government is perhaps one of the most extensively studied subjects in Ottoman history. For more information about CUP and its social and political policies see Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908*, Oxford University Press 2001; Mardin, Şerif, *Continuity And Change in The Ideas of Young Turks*, İstanbul: Robert College, 1969; Parla, Taha, *The Social And Political Thought Of Ziya Gökalp, 1876-1924*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985; Kayalı, Hasan, *Arabs and Young Turks : Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918*, Berkeley: University of California Press, c1997; Kansu, Aykut, *Politics in Post-Revolutionary Turkey, 1908-1913* Boston: Brill, 2000.

[3] Faroqhi, S. & Adanır, F., (eds.), *The Ottomans and The Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002. p.40.

[4] *Muhacir* literally means emigrant or refugee. In vernacular language it refers to the Muslims who have migrated from the Balkans. Hereafter I will use the term in its vernacular meaning and to refer to all kinds of migrants from the Balkans without differentiating between their characteristics of origin, religion or ethnicity.

had to wait for another thirty years until local and oral history studies started to be published on the issue in the 1990s.[5]

This thesis aims to examine the historical construction of the *muhacir* identity in Akköy/Didim, located on the southwestern coast of Aydın, a province in western Anatolia. Akköy, being an old Rum[6] settlement, received migrations from different localities in the Balkans and was repopulated by *muhacir*s. I was born in Akköy while my parents were working there as teachers, but I did not grow up there. My desire to be personally acquainted with the village and the *muhacir*s, combined with the lack of adequate written sources on the migrations to this particular locality, led me towards an oral history project. By listening to the life stories of *muhacir*s and collecting oral narratives I tried to understand how the *muhacir*s in Akköy percieved their own and other *muhacir*s' migration experiences and how they constructed an identity from these historical experiences in a particular locality.

In order to better understand the meanings behind the narratives of the *muhacir*s, a short history of the migrations in and around Anatolia during the late Ottoman and early Republican era is presented in the first chapter. The intensive population movements in these periods created a demographic heritage that still

[5] One can cite: Nedim İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri (1877-90)*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları No:73, 1994; İlhan Tekeli, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Günümüze Nüfusun Zorunlu Yer Değiştirmesi ve İskân Sorunu", *Toplum ve Bilim*, V. 50, İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 1990; Selahattin Önder, "Meclis-i Vükela Mazbatalarında Türk-Bulgar Mübadelesi", *Anadolu Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Eskişehir: 1991, V.3, N.1, pp.207-225; Altuğ Yılmaz, "Balkanlar'dan Anayurda Yapılan Göçler", *Belleten*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1991, V. 55, pp.109-120; Baskın Oran, "Religious and National Identity Among the Balkan Muslims: A Comparative Study on Greece, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Kosovo", paper presented to the conference jointly organized by CERI of Paris and Political Science Faculty of Ankara on *"Turkish Areas in the New Regional and International Configuration"*, Ankara, 2-3 November 1992 and Filiz Doğanay, "Türkiye'ye Göçmen Olarak Gelenlerin Yerleşimi," article presented in *İkinci Ulusal Sosyoloji Kongresi (Second National Sociology Congress)*, Ankara: November 1996; Nedim İpek, "Göçmen Köylerine Dair", *Tarih ve Toplum*, V. 156., İstanbul: June 1996, pp.15-21.

[6] The literal translation of "Greek" or "Greek Orthodox" into Turkish can either be "*Yunanlı*" or "*Rum*." The Greek Orthodox population in the Ottoman Empire was referred to as the "*Rum Milleti*" and today the term "*Rum*" still has the same meaning in the vernacular. Moreover, "*Rum*" has a more neutral usage in the vernacular compared to the usage of the term "*Yunan*" which has a pejorative meaning. Hereafter the term "*Rum*" will be used to refer to the Orthodox Greeks of Asia Minor.

influences our social life today. These movements occurred at different times and places, in different ways and for different reasons. Hence my focus was on exploring the historical context in which we can explain different kinds of migration experiences that are the products of similar, but not identical, nationalist policies. Although this thesis is based on an oral history project, I also used written sources about the population movements and the local history of the Akköy/Söke region. These various sources represent different historiographical approaches and hence they have to be evaluated critically. The second part of chapter two was reserved for such a historiographical review of the sources that were used in writing this thesis.

Chapter two ends with a summary of the key features of the methodology used in this thesis. In this final part of the chapter, certain aspects of oral history methodology and the interviewing process that will help to deconstruct the narratives of the *muhacir*s on the general and local events of the past is discussed. The review of oral history works on the relationship between migration and memory helps to determine the main frame of this thesis.

Following the general historical context in which migrations from the Balkans occurred, a focus on the locality was needed since the narratives of the *muhacir*s did not occur in a vacuum, but in place and in relation to a place. Within this place, the personal and subjective memories of the *muhacir*s constructed a historical narrative which was slightly different than that of conventional historiography in terms of periodization, events, actors and their significance. This difference occurred either through the narration of already known periodizations and actors in a local sense or through the introduction of completely new periodizations and actors that were known locally. That is why the third chapter is reserved for the local history of Akköy.

The fourth chapter concentrates on what the narratives of the *muhacir*s tell us about the meanings of the events and how these meanings refer to the migration experience and identity. Alistair Thomson in his discussion about migrant memories asserts certain general but critical questions related to the identity formations of the migrants.[7] These questions are helpful in understanding the different dynamics of migration experiences in different localities, because it is probable that we will confront different answers to every single question. Thus in this part, the narratives of the *muhacir*s about the reasons for their migration, the migration process, their life in the homeland, their feelings and self-images during and after migration, their relationship with other *muhacir*s and surrounding native populations, and their relationship with politics and Turkishness are critically examined in order to find answers to questions such as "Are the migration stories an expression of an experience which never ends?", "Do the *muhacir*s compose and tell us safe and comfortable stories of their lives which iron out tensions or dissonance and assert positive and consistent identities?", "Do their migration stories, due to the split from their families or lack of family support, become success stories or meta-narratives of personal transformation?", "Do they tell us how they were forced by the host society to adapt and to assimilate into the hegemonic cultural and social atmosphere of the migration location?"

[7] Thomson, A., "Experience Never Ends. Migrant Memories, Unsettled Identities, and Historical Change", *International Oral History Conference (11th: 2000: İstanbul, Turkey)*, International Oral History Association in collaboration with the Department of History at Boğaziçi University, İstanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2000, v.3, pp.1081-1087.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY: REVIEW OF SOURCES ON MIGRATION AND THE USE OF ORAL HISTORY

A Short History of the Population Movements in and Around Anatolia

In the Balkans and Anatolia, the demographic heritage of the Ottoman Empire is still an important aspect of our social life today. Many of the social and cultural problems occuring in the region –the horrible events in Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina being one of the latest– are a consequence of the demographic changes which occurred throughout the history of the Empire.

The Ottomans followed a certain settlement policy when they conquered the Balkans. The exile (*sürgün*) method both helped to keep the nomadic population under control, and to secure the mountain passages and military routes that were of utmost importance for the Empire. By the 16th century there were already substantial settlements but towards the end of the century population movements from Anatolia to the Balkans had ended. One of the most important consequences of these massive migrations was the Islamization of the Balkans. It was not only the new settlers who constituted the Muslim population, but there were also occasionaly massive conversions to Islam.[8]

[8] For more information on the settlement policy of the Ottomans in the Balkans see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Methodu Olarak Sürgünler",

The turning point for the reversal of this "internal" migration was the Vienna siege of 1683. The retreat of the Ottoman army from the Central European lands was accompanied by a simultaneous retreat of the Muslim population. Unlike the migrations that were in the form of *sürgün* in the classical period of the Ottoman Empire, these were migrations resulting from military turmoils and religious and ethnic conflicts betweeen states and communities. On the other hand, the migration from the outside to the Ottoman lands started in the late eighteenth century, its most important reason being the Russian advance in Southeast Europe, Crimea and the Caucasus. Zürcher states that, 'demographical engineering' was done on religous grounds as opposed to ethnicity in this period.[9]

The first cross-country migration movement of Muslims in the Ottoman Empire was that of the Crimeans and Tatars. Beginning in 1771 with the Russian attacks, the exodus of the Crimean Tatars continued until the October Revolution and the proclamation of the Soviet Union. On the whole, more than one-and-a-half million Tatars migrated from the Crimea. Similarly, the Russian advancement in the Caucasus began in 1796. The conquest of northern Iran in the 1820s and Circassia in the 1850s by the Russian Empire triggered the massive migration of the Muslims there as well. The Muslim refugees coming from the Caucasus were ethnically Turkish, Avar, Chechen or Circassian. The numbers for the Caucasian refugees vary in different sources, but it seems that between 1859-1918 more than one-and-a-half million Caucasian Muslims migrated to the Balkans, to Anatolia and the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası V. 11 (1949-50), pp. 524-569; V. 13 (1951-52), pp.56-78; V. 15 (1953-54), pp.209-237; Kemal Karpat, *Balkanlarda Osmanlı Mirası ve Ulusçuluk*, İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi, April 2004; S. Faroqhi & F. Adanır (eds.), *The Ottomans and The Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002 and K. Saybaşılı & G:G: Özdoğan (eds.), *Balkans: A Mirror of the New International Order*, İstanbul: Eren yayıncılık, 1995, pp.153-159.

[9] Zürcher, Erik Jan, "Giriş: Demografi Mühendisliği ve Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu" in *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete: Türkiye'de Etnik Çatışma*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005. p.9.

On the other side of the Black Sea, the Ottomans lost control over the most developed and rich principalities in the Balkans with the Berlin Treaty signed after the Ottoman-Russian Wars of 1877-78 (known in Turkish as *93 Harbi*). Undoubtedly this accelerated the fall of the Empire, but more importantly the war created the *Muhaceret of 93*[10] which is still alive in the memories of the Balkan and Caucasian Muslims. This was the largest population movement in the 19th century Ottoman world took place in a very short period. *93 Harbi* is a turning point for three reasons. First of all, the Muslim population, gradually increasing since the 13th century, for the first time evidently became a minority in the Balkans. It was mentioned before that the Muslim population, except for certain areas, never became the majority in the Balkans. However, after the Treaty, according to a combination of the 1880 census of the Bulgarian Principality and the 1884 census of Eastern Rumelia, the Muslim-Turkish minority represented 26.91% (nearly 800,000 people) of the total population.[11] Secondly, after the Berlin Treaty, a kind of nationalism based on both linguistic and religious identities became the impulsive force for demographic engineering.[12] Finally, the ethnic and demographic composition of the Ottoman Empire changed considerably due to massive population movements in and around Anatolia.

At the dawn of the 20th century as a result of two Balkan Wars, the First World War and Turkish-Greek Wars the population exchange between the states took tremendous dimensions. Except for the Second World War no such migration occurred in Europe during this century. More than three-and-a-half million people

[10] Migration caused by the 1877-78 Otooman-Russian Wars.
[11] Direction Generale de la Statistique, *Annuaire Statistique du Royaume de Bulgarie, Quatrieme Annee* 1912, Imprimerie De L'Etat, Sophia, 1915, pp.42-43, in Turan, Ömer, *The Turkish Minority in Bulgaria, 1878-1908*, Ankara : Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998, p.101.
[12] Zürcher, E.J (ed.), *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Türkiye'de Etnik Çatışma*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2005, p.5.

were affected by these population movements. A stream of 1,200,000 Orthodox Greek refugees poured into Greece from Asia Minor, half a million Muslims came to Anatolia from the Balkans, more than a million Armenians died or were exiled from eastern Anatolia, and 250,000 Bulgarian refugees left Western Thrace after 1919.[13] Despite these intense population exchanges, none of the Balkan countries managed to achieve the ideal 19th and 20th century European nation-state population composition: ethnic and religious homogeneity.

On the Ottoman side, during the first quarter of the 20th century, CUP was the driving force behind the flourishing of nationalist ideas. In the six years following the proclamation of the Second Constitution in 1908, Libya and the European lands beyond Edirne, that is to say one third of all Ottoman lands were lost due to the Tripoli (against Italy) and the Balkan Wars (against the united forces of Serbia-Bulgaria-Greece-Montenegro). This affected the policies of CUP: they turned towards Anatolia and launched a project of nation-building within the multiethnic Ottoman Empire. This specific policy aimed to construct a national core in the empire by replacing local non-Muslim populations with Muslims, no matter what their ethnic origin. Despite the fact that the basis of identity was Islam and not Turkishness, the settlement of Muslim immigrants in the regions from where the

[13] Internal population movements within states, due to war conditions and political and military concerns, are not included in these numbers. The discussion about ethnic cleansing and demographic engineering during the fall of the Ottoman Empire cannot be restricted to the policies of Union and Progress towards the non-Muslim subjects, but should include non-Turkish Muslim elements such as Arab, Kurd, Laz, Circassian, Georgian, Roma as well. The numbers for different population groups that are mentioned above were rounded based on various sources. See Fikret Adanır, "Bulgaristan, Yunanistan ve Türkiye Üçgeninde Ulus İnşası ve Nüfus Değişimi," in Erik Jan Zürcher (ed.), *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Türkiye'de Etnik Çatışma*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005, pp.19-27; Mihri Belli, *Türkiye – Yunanistan Nüfus Mübadelesi: Ekonomik Açıdan Bir Bakış*, İstanbul, Belge Yayınları, 2004, p.24; Kemal Arı, *Büyük Mübadele: Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç (1923-1925)*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003, p.177; and Renée Hirschon, "Lozan Sözleşmesi'nin Sonuçları: Genel Bir Bakış", in Renée Hirschon (ed.), *Ege'yi Geçerken: 1923 Türk-Yunan Zorunlu Nüfus Mübadelesi*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005, pp.18-20 among others.

non-Muslims were deported came to be a significant dimension of the Turkification policy.

Most of the migrants from Greece are the so called *mübadil*s who were subjected to forced migration on the basis of the population exchange agreement between Turkey and Greece in 1924. Population exchange was nothing new; it often came to the agenda of states starting from the last quarter of the 19th century. Kemal Karpat, who is an Ottomanist and specialist in the history of Southeastern Europe, points that in 1859 during the migration of the Muslims from the Crimea and the Caucasus there seems to be a population exchange agreement between the Ottoman and Romanov Empires, although not an official one.[14] Besides these premature efforts, the first serious attempt came in 1914 when the Rum villages and farms on the Aegean coast and the Muslim ones in Thrace and Macedonia were targetted by the Ottoman and Greek authorities and militias respectively. The idea was the Greek prime-minister Venizelos's, but he suggested such a plan in order to recover the properties of already dislocated populations, on the condition that it would be voluntary. The negotiations in 1914 were cut off by the outbreak of First World War and the agreement did not come into effect.[15] In fact, the deportations in this period were legitimized by the agreement reached after the war of 1919-1922. Moreover, the Lausanne 1924 agreement differed from the previous agreements since it stipulated that the migration should be compulsory. Another important characteristic of this agreement was that it showed that the criteria for the homogenization of the 'national' population were still determined by religion instead of language or ethnicity. The forced migration of Turkish speaking *Karamanlı*s of Cappadocia and

[14] Karpat, K., *Osmanlı Nüfusu 1830-1914: Demografik ve Sosyal Özellikleri*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, April 2003, p.110.
[15] See Mourelos, Yannis, "The 1914 Persecutions and The First Attempt at an Exchange of Minorities Between Greece and Turkey", *Balkan Studies*, Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1985, V.26, N.2.

the Pomaks and Romas of Macedonia are the best examples for this implementation. About one and a half million Rums and half a million Muslims were moved on both sides.[16]

The migration of the Muslim-Turkish population from Bulgaria to Anatolia constantly continued and reached to substantial numbers in certain periods after 1878 when Bulgaria became an autonomous principality. There is a substantial decrease in the Muslim population in Bulgaria in the years following the War of 93.[17] The proportion of the Muslim-Turkish population to the total population halved between 1880 and 1910. In the period between 1910-1926, the Muslim-Turkish population in Bulgaria increased and was relatively in a better position. In the period between 1925 and 1940, migration reached its peak in 1927 and in 1935. The 1927 surge resulted from increasing frustration. The Muslim-Turkish population was resentful of the discriminatory taxation policies, economic explotation, poverty, and violence perpetrated by the small proto-fascist organizations and a further change of place names. The wave of migration in 1935 occurred largely because of the political changes of 1934 which brought to power the Military League. This fostered one of the largest mass migrations from Bulgaria and nearly a hundred thousand *muhacir*s migrated to Turkey between 1935-1940. Another important exodus of the Muslim-Turkish population from Bulgaria occurred between 1950-51. The Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) took power in 1944 and thought that the assimilation of the

[16] See Hirschon, Renée, "Ege Bölgesi'ndeki 'Ayrışan Halklar'", *Ege'yi Geçerken: 1923 Türk-Yunan Zorunlu Nüfus Mübadelesi*, Hirschon, R. (ed.), İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, March 2005, pp.3-17.

[17] See Appendix A in p.147. The population of Muslim and Turkish communities with respect to the total Bulgarian population from 1880 until 2001 according to Bulgarian and Turkish sources is given as an appendix. The data in the appendix was taken from the following sources: Dayıoğlu, A., *Toplama Kampından Meclise: Bulgaristan'da Türk ve Müslüman Azınlığı*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2005, pp.43-45. For the statistics about religion see http://www.nsi.bg/Census/StrReligion.htm. For the numbers about the Turkish population in the respective years see Danailof, G. Th., *Bulgaristan Nüfus İstatistiklerine Ait Tetkikler*, İbrahim (trans. No surname), Ankara: Başvekâlet Matbaası, 1937; Eminov, Ali, *Turkish And Other Muslim Minorities In Bulgaria*, London: Hurst, c1997; and Şimşir, B.N., "Bulgaristan Türkleri", *Türk* Kültürü, No.263, March 1985, p.139.

minorities could be achieved through education and ethnic and religous identities would wither away in time in favor of class identity.[18] However, BCP faced resistance to its assimilation efforts and wanted to get rid of the Muslim-Turkish minority. The Muslim-Turkish exodus of 1950-51 brought more than 150,000 people to Turkey. After the foundation of the Republic in 1923 until 1960 the number of Muslim-Turkish *muhacir*s from Bulgaria reached nearly 750,000. After 1960, migration continued until today, but there were two periods in which these migrations became massive: in 1968 with the "Agreement of Close Relative Migration" which sort of finalized the unfinished 1950-51 exodus and in 1989 with the decision of Zhivkov, who had previously adopted the policy of renaming by force and harsh assimilation, to open the borders between the two countries. While nearly 130,000 people made use of the 1968 agreement, more than 300,000 *muhacir*s crossed the border in 1989.

On the other hand, the migration from Yugoslavia started after the Serbian uprising of 1804 and the Ottoman-Russian Wars of the 1820s. Bosnian Muslims were the most compact Muslim population in the region. Between 1878 and 1918, they lived under the sovereignty of the Habsburg Empire. After Bosnia-Herzegovina was annexed to the Habsburg Empire in 1908, some Bosnian Muslims wanted to migrate and petitioned to *Meclis-i Vükelâ*. This application was rejected because there were 400,000 Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina and their migration would cause lots of trouble for both the government and the masses. The flight of the Bosnian Muslims continued after the Balkan Wars. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia[19] was formed in 1918 and ruled until the Nazi occupation of 1941. Following the Agrarian

[18] See Dayıoğlu, Ali, *Toplama Kampından Meclise: Bulgaristan'da Türk ve Müslüman Azınlığı*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2005.
[19] The initial name of the new kingdom was 'Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' and it was renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in January 6, 1929.

Reforms of 1918-19, the government confiscated numerous lands owned by Bosnian Muslims. The new state authority conducted a population census for the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1921 and in 1931. These censuses show that while the Orthodox population almost doubled in ten years, the number of Muslims decreased by more than ten percent. Between the years 1923-1933, it is estimated that nearly a hundred thousand Bosnian Muslims migrated to Turkey from Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavian government prohibited Muslim migration from Bosnia between the years 1939-1950. The official permission for migration came in 1953, and between the years 1950-1958 another hundred thousand *muhacir*s came to Turkey from Yugoslavia. From the foundation of the Turkish Republic until 1960, a total of nearly 270,000 *muhacir*s came to Turkey from Yugoslavia.[20] These migrations continued until the 1990s, but dwindled by the years. After the Bosnian War and the horrible ethnic cleansing activities thousands of Bosnian Muslims fled again to Turkey.

Critical Review of the Written Sources

The population movements of both Muslims and non-Muslims in and around Anatolia has been and is still an important field of study for scholars and researchers in the twentieth century. Some of these sources in the form of books, articles and dissertations are used in this thesis and therefore they need to be analyzed historiographically.

The issue of migration did not come to the agenda of academic works and historical research immediately after the foundation of the Republic in 1923. *Türkiye'den ve Türkiye'ye Göçler (1923-1961)* (1962) by Cevat Geray is one of the earliest studies in the Republican era about the Balkan migrants in Turkey. The

[20] Geray, C., *Türkiye'den ve Türkiye'ye Göçler (1923-1961)*, Ankara: Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Maliye Enstitüsü, January 1962, p.12.

author tries to precisely estimate the number of the Balkan migrants since 1923 and analyzes the effects of the migration from an economic perspetive. The work of Geray is important since there were few official or academic studies about these migrations in the 1960s. Although his work provides important statistical data about the migrants, he lacks the necessary historical, social and cultural insight. Ahmet Cevat Eren, on the other hand, is the one who for the first time summarized the migrations from the Balkans and Caucasia to the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. In his book *Türkiye'de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri: Tanzimat Devri, İlk Kurulan Göçmen Komisyonu, Çıkarılan Tüzükler* (1966), he primarily gives information about the first refugee commission in the Ottoman Empire established during the *Tanzimat* period using the documents in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives. This work is one of the first studies which tackles the issue from a historical perspective, but has considered the work of history writing to be the mere dechiphering of documents. It was also written from a nationalist perspective, arguing that the Turks were the first who faced the problem of migration and were the first to be expelled from the Balkans and Caucasia. Besides Eren and Geray, Bilal Şimşir is another important representative of the conventional historians who started writing on the topic in the 1960s. He has written various books and articles which are usually the derivative of his two important works: *Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri I* (1968) and *Bulgaristan Türkleri (1878-1985)* (1986). Unlike Eren and Geray, Şimşir is the first author who discusses the issue of migration beyond general statistics. Especially his work on the Turkish minority in Bulgaria is extensive and he tries to narrate the social, cultural, political, economic, educational and religious characteristics of the Muslim population. However, he talks about the harsh assimilation policies of nation building as if it were only happening in Bulgaria. Moreover, he writes about a very

long period in macro perspective. This approach prevents us from learning more about the individuals themselves, but tells us much about high politics.

The only scholarly exception in the 1960s that deviates from conventional historiography is a sociological research by Oğuz Arı, *Bulgaristan'lı Göçmenlerin İntibakı, 1950-51'de Bursa'ya İstanbul'da İskan Edilenlerin İntibakı İle İlgili Sosyolojik Araştırma* (Ankara, 1960). The author focuses on the effects of the migration from Bulgaria on the *muhacir*s in a certain locality. Although he does not get into deep theoretical analysis and approaches the issue only from a sociological perspective, his work is a pioneer of micro level multi-disciplinary historical work on the social, cultural and economic effects of forced migration. Another exception not of the 1960s, but of the 1980s was Pars Tuğlacı, an Armenian historian and linguist whose main interests were language and the Armenian history in Anatolia. His encylopedic work *Bulgaristan ve Türk Bulgar İlişkileri* (İstanbul: 1981) is an important reference book on the history of Bulgarian-Turkish relations from the Ottoman to the Republican era. His work is not exactly a deviation from conventional historiography, but is certainly an exception which emphasized the common life and cultural characteristics of Turks and Bulgarians and made use of sources other than Turkish.

After these pioneering works, the issues of migration from the Balkans and Population Exchange started to appeal to scholars and independent researchers in the 1990s. İlhan Tekeli, who was a city planner and the founder of the History Foundation in 1993, was among these people. His article "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Günümüze Nüfusun Zorunlu Yer Değiştirmesi ve İskân Sorunu" (*Toplum ve Bilim*, V. 50, 1990) focused on the particular settlement and housing problems faced after forced migrations. This represented the beginning of micro

level and local studies about these migrations and opened the way for the study of particular cases within the whole history of migration from the Balkans. A similar study was conducted by another city planner Filiz Doğanay for the State Planning Agency "Türkiye'ye Göçmen Olarak Gelenlerin Yerleşimi" (*Second National Sociology Congress*, 1996). This shows that the 1990s witnessed not only the opening up of new perspectives and inquiry areas in the history of migrations, but also the introduction of multi-disciplinary approaches.

The above mentioned developments in the discipline of history coincide with the social, political and cultural changes in Turkey which have occurred in the last fifteen years. The rising interest in identity politics and individual and local experiences since the 1980s together with the opening up of debate on certain taboos of Ottoman and Republican era history such as the Kurdish and Armenian issues have encouraged independent scholarly works in the social sciences. This situation has undoubtedly created discomfort on the part of certain groups and aroused the need for defense. That is why the interest in the social, economic and cultural history of the Ottoman Empire rather than in political history has been effective not only among independent scholars, but also among so-to-speak 'official historians.' By 'official historians' I refer to those scholars and researchers who can be included within nationalist historiography. Their works usually appear at the Turkish Historical Society which was founded under the patronage of Atatürk in 1930. Taking the passion for primary sources a little too far, these historians use archival documents extensively while writing history. Hence their works usually discuss issues of high politics and are trapped in the 'supreme Turkish nation' discourse.

Among these works the first one was Yılmaz Altuğ's article "Balkanlar'dan Anayurda Yapılan Göçler" which appeared in 1991 in the *Belleten*. The article is a

summary of the agreements between the Balkan states and Turkey on population exchanges and migrations. Ahmet Halaçoğlu's *Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri (1912-1913)* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1995) is an effort to prove how the Turks (in fact Muslims) were expelled from the Balkans due to the desire of creating homogenous nation-states. However, he does not take into account similar policies in Anatolia. Ömer Turan's *The Turkish Minority in Bulgaria, 1878-1908* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998) provides us with similar information. He worked in the archives in Turkey, Europe and the USA and his work is only a presentation of these documents. These works reproduce the nationalist conventional historiography of the 1960s which settles for general statistical data and does not provide sufficient theoretical background or in-depth historical analysis.

The late 1990s witnessed two different developments in the relevant historiography. First of all, the numerous universities in Anatolia encouraged local historical studies about the cities and regions they were established in. This perspective encouraged works on migration from the Balkans on a provincial basis. Nedim İpek's works (*Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri 1877-1890*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1994; "Göçmen Köylerine Dair," *Tarih ve Toplum*, V. 156, June 1996; and *Mübadele ve Samsun*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000) contain specific information about the impact of migrations within the Samsun region. Approximately at the same time in İzmir, Kemal Arı, Engin Berber and Sabri Yetkin published their works which followed a similar approach. Kemal Arı's work *Büyük Mübadele: Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç (1923-1925)* (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003) is one of the most extensive studies about the forced migration of Muslims from Greece. He conducts a detailed analysis of the process of migration and resettlement policies. Engin Berber's *Sancılı Yıllar (1918-1922): Mütareke ve Yunan İşgali*

Döneminde İzmir Sancağı (Ayraç Yayınları, 1997) and *Yeni Onbinlerin Gölgesinde Bir Sancak: İzmir (30 Ekim 1918 – 15 Mayıs 1919)* (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999) examine the changes and events in the province of Aydın during the Greek occupation. These Aegean historians, together with Sabri Yetkin, who worked on banditry in the region, saw the need for social, cultural and economic historical studies of the Ottoman era from a local perspective and concentrated on the issues of migration, the war of 1922 and various uprisings in and around İzmir. These are important contributions to the social and cultural history of the region, but it should also be noted that these authors do not completely deviate from conventional historiography and hence a critical reading of these sources is necessary.

Secondly, the new millenium witnessed the birth of post-nationalist history writing. Such works bear the influence of figures such as Kemal Karpat who started to criticise the conventional historiography in Turkey long ago. In his works on Southeastern Europe, nationalism and the Ottoman heritage[21], Karpat examined the similarities between Balkan nationalisms and their consequent policies of forced migration in order to homogenize their populations. As a supporter of the idea that there is no interruption between the Republican era and Ottoman eras, he went back to Abdülhamid II as the "founder of a nation" and the spread of nationalist ideas. As one of the representatives of post-nationalist history writing, Fuat Dündar argued in his book *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası (1913-1918)* (İletişim Yayınları, 2002) that Young Turks aimed at creating an ethnically homogeneous homeland in Anatolia, which would later become the foundation of the modern Turkish nation-state. Moreover, he pointed to the fact that the settlement and forced migration policies of the Committe of Union and Progress (hereafter CUP) were not

[21] *The Turks of Bulgaria: the History, Culture and Political Fate of a Minority*, Isis Press, 1990; *Osmanlı Nüfusu 1830-1914: Demografik ve Sosyal Özellikleri*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003; and *Balkanlarda Osmanlı Mirası ve Ulusçuluk*, İmge Kitabevi, 2004

restricted to the deportation of non-Muslims, but included Muslims of different ethnic origins as well. Such works were also published about more specific cases such as the history of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. Ali Dayıoğlu for instance, is a political scientist whose main interest is minority rights. His book *Toplama Kampından Meclise: Bulgaristan'da Türk ve Müslüman Azınlığı* (İletişim, 2005) is a detailed summary of the history of the Turkish and Muslim minority in Bulgaria from 1878 to 2005. There are numerous books that have been published on the Turkish minority in Bulgaria since 1878, but what makes Dayıoğlu's work different is that for the first time a Turkish (actually Cypriot) scholar tried to provide a theoretical and historical analysis of the issue rather than sticking to the "Captive Turks" discourse.

This post-nationalist historiography was also backed Ottomanists all over the world. In fact, due to the changes in the political and social spheres and after all the conflicts that took place in southeastern Europe at the end of the 20th century, historians, particulary the Ottomanists, are today adressing a re-evaluation and re-examination of Ottoman history and trying to challenge the negative interpretations that were mainly the result of nationalist and modernist discourses. *The Ottomans and The Balkans: A Discussion Of Historiography*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi and Fikret Adanır and dealing particularly with the history of southeastern Europe, is an example of this attitude. This approach also turns into a discussion of historiography concerning the nation states and regional official history writings which emerged in the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The sources used in this thesis, written by Erik Zürcher, Ali Eminov and Yannis Mourelos, and the proceedings of the latest conferences on the Population Exchange are also similar.

Zürcher, for instance, adopts a comparative perspective on the issues of nation building and forced migration.[22] He tries to show how the settlement and migration policies worked out in the process of nation building in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic and while doing that he points to the similar trends in Europe between the years 1850-1950 which he calls "the century of demographical engineering".

Anthropologist Ali Eminov who was born in Bulgaria and immigrated to the US, tries to deconstruct the Bulgarian government's claims of 1985 that there were "no Turks in Bulgaria" in his book *Turkish And Other Muslim Minorities In Bulgaria* (Hurst, c1997). This work is notable, first of all, for its scholarly approach to sensitive and controversial issues which have been subject to falsification, distortion and exaggeration. Secondly, he provides an insightful analysis of sources from Turkish, Bulgarian, European, and North American publications. Finally, while the primary focus is on Turkish Muslims, considerable attention is paid to Gypsies and Pomaks (Bulgarian Muslims).

The effects of the Population Exchange were assymetrical in Turkey and Greece. Greece faced a population of refugees that amounted to one third of its local population and hence the impact of the migration was much more intense. This has led to the development of a considerable literature on the issue since the 1930s.

The 1920s and 1930s was a period of defeat and the arrival of Asia Minor Rums, referred to by the natives as *Mikrasiates* (Asia Minor people), who needed to be incorporated into the Greek society, was a prominent issue. Since the populations from Asia Minor were culturally heterogeneous and socially diversified, specific

[22] See Zürcher, E.J. (ed.), *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete: Türkiye'de Etnik Çatışma*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005 and "Greek and Turkish Refugees and Deportees 1912-1924", [E-article], *Turkology Update Leiden Project Working Papers Archive*, Department of Turkish Studies, Universiteit Leiden, January 2003. http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/tcimo/tulp/Research/ejz18.htm.

policies were applied to different refugee groups and the refugee identity socially, politically and culturally did not develop in an identical fashion everywhere in Greece.[23] In literature, it was the generation of the 1930s (Theotokas, Seferis, Venezis, Elytis etc.) who wrote on these issues in an innovative way. Despite such works, in the 1960s the discourse on 'lost homelands' interestingly developed again, as in the pre-Catastrophe period. This new interest on the 'lost homelands,' combined with folklore, ethnography and quasi-historical and philological research brought back the discourse on the Hellenic character of Asia Minor. The reasons for this situation can be traced to the political situation in Greece after the Second World War and the international cold-war atmosphere when the conservative camp rose victorious over communists.

Although a conservative literature on the issue developed in the 1950s and 1960s in Greece, there were exceptions as well. The *Center for Asia Minor Studies* (Hereafter C.A.M.S, Κέντρο Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών) founded in 1930 by Octave and Melpo Merlier launched the first systematic project of collecting the oral and written narratives of refugees. C.A.M.S. published historical and folkloric articles and books beginning from the late 1930s which reached to a broader public. C.A.M.S. has a unique position for its contribution to the relevant literature in Greece and in the Balkans. Although the Center enjoyed a particular freedom since it was a private institution and was protected for years by the French government, it has been recently argued that through the Center's research, 'Greek Asia Minor' was incorporated into the national canon and was transformed into a category of the national imagination.[24]

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[23] Pentzopoulos, Dimitri, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and Its Impact Upon Greece*, London: Hurst & Co., c2002, Pp.125-140.

[24] Papailias, Penelope, *Genres of Recollection: Archival Poetics and Modern Greece*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp.78-80 and pp.118-119.

Finally, the new understanding in the social sciences in the late 1980s brought forth new historical works that were consistent in terms of theoretical and methodological rigor, comparative scope and historical depth. The article "The 1914 Persecutions and The First Attempt at an Exchange of Minorities Between Greece and Turkey" (*Balkan Studies*, 1985, V.26, N.2.) by Yannis Mourelos, still remains an important contribution to the discussion since it reveals that the 1923 agreement was neither unique nor the first attempt at forced migration. The author argues that in the desire of homogenizing their populations, the nation states of the Balkans had the idea of forced migration in their agenda since the late nineteenth century. Another article "Ethnic Survival, Nationalism and Forced Migration. The Historical Demography of the Greek Community in Asia Minor at the close of the Ottoman Era" (Athens: Vol. V, 1984-1985) that appeared in the journal of Center for Asia Minor Studies by P. M. Kitromilides and A. Alexandris (a historian and a diplomat) reflects an unmistakable commitment to interdisciplinary methods and comparative historiography. The authors try to deconstruct the naive view that before the advent of nationalism different religous communities coexisted in full harmony. A final example within this new historiographical approach is Sia Anagnostopoulou's book *Μικρά Ασία 19os αι-1919 Οι Ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες. Από το Μιλλέτ των Ρωμιών στο Ελληνικό Έθνος*, (Asia Minor, The Greek-Orthodox Communities. From Rum Millet to the Greek Nation) which was published in 1998. Anagnostopoulou aspires to cover the social, demographical and cultural aspects of the whole region, an endeavor similar to that of Georgios Soteriadis' work which was an ethnological study of the Balkans and Asia Minor (1918). However unlike Soteriadis, Anagnostopoulou's intention was not to prove the superiority of Rums in Asia Minor which was neccessary in 1920s, in the course of the ongoing wars and agreements.

Besides these sources in English and Greek, as a result of the rising academic interest in migration and Population Exchange in Turkey several books written by Greek authors were translated into Turkish. Among them *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni: 1922 Emperyalist Yunan Politikası ve Anadolu Felaketi* (Belge Yayınları, 2003) by Georgios Nakracas and *Göç: Rumlar'ın Anadolu'dan Mecburi Ayrılışı (1919-1923)* (İletişim, 2003) by the Center for Asia Minor Studies provide valuable and comparative information about the Söke region.

Finally, the proceedings of two conferences on the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey that appeared in Turkish in 2005 from *İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları* are examples of the new historiographical attitude. The first of these books is *Ege'yi Geçerken: 1923 Türk-Yunan Zorunlu Nüfus Mübadelesi*[25] edited by Renée Hirschon, and the second is *Yeniden Kurulan Yaşamlar: 80. Yılında Türk-Yunan Zorunlu Nüfus Mübadelesi*[26] edited by Müfide Pekin. Both conferences and books discuss the consequences of the population exchange between Greece and Turkey with its various socail characteristics on both sides of the Aegean. Although it is hard to construct an "impartial historiography" or a "common historical narrative" around this issue for the Greeks and Turks who have different interpretations and memories of this event, these studies try to enhance the bilateral discussion of the issue.

While writing the local history of a village which was affected by the War of 1922 and the Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece and a setting which has now become a place for migrants, the secondary literature on these general

[25] The book is the proceedings of the conference held between 17-20 September 1998 in Wadham College, Oxford, for the 75th anniversary of the population exchange with the title "The Compulsory Exchange of Populations Between Greece and Turkey: An Assessment of the Consequences of the 1923 Lausanne Convention."

[26] The book is the proceedings of the conference held between 7-8 November 2003 in Istanbul, for the 80th anniversary of the population exchange with the title "Population Exchange Reconsidered: The Compulsory Exchange of Populations Between Greece and Turkey (80th Anniversary)."

events was helpful in understanding the larger picture. However, macro level events may usually be experienced in different forms and shapes at the micro level, due to geographic, historical and cultural factors. That is why, for narrating the local history of Akköy, not only the above mentioned, but also various local sources were used. All of these books which were published either in Aydın or İzmir, two important provinces of the region, were written by prominent local officials or professionals. Those written by Turkish authors in the first fifty years of the Turkish Republic (1923-1973) were: Gökbel, A. & Şölen, H., *Aydın İli Tarihi: Eski Zamanlardan Yunan İşgaline Kadar, Cilt 1* (Ahmed İhsan Basımevi, 1936); Gün, İsmail & Özdemir, Ahmet, *Söke Tarihi ve Coğrafyası 1* (CHP Basımevi, 1943); Ressamoğlu, E.L., *Coğrafi-Tarihi-İktisadi-Ticari-Zirai Ve Sınai Çehresiyle Aydın İli* (İhsan Gümüşayak Matbaası, 1952); Gökbel, A., *Milli Mücadelede Aydın*, (Coşkun Matbaası, 1964); Ergenekon, C., Özsoy, T. and Avcı, İ. (et all), *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Aydın: 1973 İl Yıllığı* (Aydın Valiliği, 1973). Asaf Gökbel was among the leaders of the National Forces of the 1920s in Aydın, İsmail Gün and Hikmet Özdemir were teachers from Söke, Lütfi Ressamoğlu was a local businessman who aimed at introducing local traders to other businessmen in order to contribute to the development of the region, Cevat Ergenekon and others were governors and directors of the various offices in the province. Thus, these books, especially those written in earlier periods, are the works of local bureaucrats and businessmen who wanted to contibute to conventional historiography. Although they provide valuable information on the local history of the region they must be evaluated critically. Mustafa Turan's book *Yunan Mezalimi: İzmir, Aydın, Manisa, Denizli (1919-1923)* (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1999) which was published much later than these works is much more nationalistic and narrates only the "cruelty of Greeks." It provides

documents from military archives that are not accessible for many researchers, but they should be evaluated critically as well.

Other sources about the region written by Turkish authors are the works some scholars and local researchers have written in the last twenty years. Nükhet Sirman's anthropological dissertation *Peasants and Family Farms: The Position of Households in Cotton Production in a Village of Western Turkey* (University of London, March 1988) is a monograph of Tuzburgazı in the Menderes plain. Although the focus of the dissertation is on analytical and statistical information, it also offers valuable social, cultural and economic analyses of a locality in its historical context. The local history studies that have started to be recently published by amateur researchers of the region lack in-depth analysis and theoretical framework, but they provide valuable and otherwise inaccessible historical narratives about the region. İsmail Dalgıç's *Söke: Tarihi, Coğrafyası, Ekonomisi* (Söke: Cumhuriyet Ofset, August 2003) and Şavgu Aydın's *Yoran Köyü'nden Turizm Kentine: Didim 2004* (Ankara: Yıldızlar Ofset, 2004) are in fact collections of the writers' own experiences and the oral narratives of the local population.

Since the Söke Region and Akköy in particular were places where many Rums lived, it was necessary to make use of the sources about the region written by Greek authors. The works produced before or during the Greek occupation in Asia Minor are mostly written to prove the Hellenic character of Asia Minor. *Greece Before the Conference* (London: Methuen, c1919) by D. Kalopothakes and *An Ethnological Map Illustrating Hellenism in the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor* (London: E. Stanford, 1918) by Georgios Soteriadis are two examples. They provide demographic data about every single city in Asia Minor. Although the numbers

might have been exaggerated because of the above mentioned purpose, they are useful for making comparisons with the Ottoman and Turkish sources.

Historical Fact versus Historical Meaning: Use of Oral History

Migration is a critical issue of our times, and a major interdisciplinary field of research in the social sciences. International and regional population movements are at the heart of changing social and cultural identities. In Western discourse, population movements are regarded as a threat to stability and as a challenge to established lifestyles, but in much of Africa and Asia, movement is the established pattern. It is also central to issues of identity and citizenship.

The issue of migration is a subject covered extensively in the twentieth century, in scholarly works in history, sociology, anthropology, demography, psychology, political studies, economics and cultural studies. However there might be a point that still remains to be covered: the individual experiences of the migrants. Individual experiences are central to the understanding of the effects of migration and this is a subject that has started to be studied only recently. In this sense, oral history is a valuable field of study. "Anyone interested in immigration—historians, sociologists, folklorists, and political scientists—will be interested in the perspectives of the immigrants themselves. These oral histories take us into the minds of the immigrants, showing us how they felt about themselves and about their experiences," says John Bodnar in the introduction of *Voices from Ellis Island*.[27] These individual experiences and the life stories of the migrants are valuable not because they tell us what happened in the past, but because they show us the ways in which the past

[27] For the oral history project see, *Voices From Ellis Island: An Oral History of American Immigration*, 185 microfiche with printed guide, UPA Publications or http://www.lexisnexis.com/academic/2upa/Ai/VoicesEllis Island.asp. Downloaded on March 2006.

echoes in their lives today. The link between past and present gives us an understanding of "local knowledge" that is overshadowed by the discourses of "high politics."

Life histories are useful for an in-depth understanding of individual migration experiences. Although these narratives are not unbiased, oral histories are indispensable to social historians.[28] They allow us to understand issues heretofore invisible to historians, such as how people confront hard times, how people create their own lives, and how people convey their past to others.[29] They should be viewed and interpreted as texts of memory. The movement of populations in the twentieth century under the form of both voluntary migration within one's region, country, or beyond, and involuntary migration (due to wars, ethnic cleansing, international treaties between countries and human trafficking) was an important generator of these kinds of memories. Moreover, issues such as time and contemporary circumstances have allowed people to add new meaning to their migration experience. Thus, the use of oral history in deciphering and deconstructing these memories and in placing them in a historical context is beneficial. Before talking about the use of oral history in migration studies, it would be helpful to highlight some important aspects of oral history as a field of study.

Key Features of Oral History

There is no single definition of oral history. In the Merriam-Webster's Dictionary, it is defined as "tape-recorded historical information obtained in interviews concerning

[28] See Ronald J. Grele, "Movement Without Aim: Methodological and Theoretical Problems in Oral History," in Grele, ed., *Envelopes of Sound*, Chicago: Precedent Publishing, 1985, pp. 127-154.
[29] See Michael Gordon, "Seeing and Fleeing Ourselves: Local Oral Histories of Communities and Institutions, *Oral History Review* , v.17(1), Spring 1989, pp. 117-128.

personal experiences and recollections and the study of such information."[30] Charles Morissey searched for the origin of the term *oral history* and traced it to a New York citizen of the 19th century.[31] These definitions of oral history are explanatory with regard to its emergence as a method and its content, but insufficient in defining its specificity. The definition of oral history by Alessandro Portelli as "what the source [narrator] and historian [interviewer] do *together* at the moment of their encounter in the interview,"[32] fills that gap. Portelli calls attention to the dialogic character of oral history and introduces the historian in the scene: "The expression *oral history* therefore contains ambivalence … it refers both to what the historians *hear* (the oral sources) and to what the historians *say* or *write*."[33]

Since its inception as a craft in the post-war period, oral history changed its focus several times in order to accomodate itself to new criticisms and concerns over its usefulness and effectiveness, changing from a "fact-finding" to a "history-shaping" process. David Dunaway and Willa Baum cite four generations of oral historians.[34] The first generation, pioneered by such historians as Allan Nevins and Louis Starr, considered oral history as a method of reaching more information about the past. The second generation emerged after the establishment of basic archives around the mid-1960s and shifted the focus of oral history from important historical figures to "non-literate and the historically disenfranchised."[35] The third generation was in many ways a reaction to "new technologies such as computerized research

[30] Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary Available online at http://www.m-w.com/dictionary/oral%20history.
[31] Morissey, Charles, "Why Call It Oral History? Searching for Early Usage of a Generic Term", *Oral History Review*, 1980, 20-48, p.35.
[32] Portelli, Alessandro, "Oral History As Genre", *Narrative and Genre*, Chamberlain, M. & Thompson, P. (eds.), London & NY: Routledge, 1998, pp.23-45.
[33] Portelli, ibid., p.23.
[34] Dunaway, D. & Baum, W., *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology,* London: Altamira Press, 1996, p.8.
[35] Ibid., p.8.

aids and personal computers [making] professional oral history collections more capital intensive."[36] The fourth generation, a new generation as described by Dunaway and Baum, marks the shift in the purpose of oral history. Not only do these historians employ the most useful technology, but they also place a different significance on oral history's usefulness as historical inquiry. According to this generation (such as Ronald Grele, Paul Thompson and Alessandro Portelli), "oral interviews – and their construction – *themselves* represent history: compiled within a historical frame negotiated by the interviewer and the narrator, within contemporary trends, within certain definable conventions of language and cultural interaction."[37]

In fact these generations followed different approaches that have been effective in the development of oral history as a field of study. Michael Frisch was the one who named these already existing tendencies in the field: "anti history", "more history" and "how history".[38] According to him, the "more history" approach "provides a source of new information about otherwise inaccessible experience." This implies that oral history reveals the aspects of the past not available through more conventional documentary sources, and thus brings new perspectives to historical narratives. This approach characterizes the first generation, but cannot be limited to only them. The opposite and more radical approach –'anti-history'- "assumes that conventional historical frameworks are not only inadequate, but more fundamentally obstructive of deeper understanding." Thus, the use of oral history talking about the past with those who participated in it, even created it, is a means of bypassing the control of academic scholarship, and enables one to 'touch the "real"

[36] Ibid., p.8.
[37] Ibid., p.9.
[38] Frisch talks about 'anti-history' and 'more history', however he did not use the term 'how history'. This is an implicit term that can be derived from his discussions regarding the first two approaches. Frisch, Michael, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*, N.Y., Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990.

history by communicating with it directly'.[39] This approach which characterizes mostly the second and third generations problematizes conventional history writing which is related to power. It is important to note however, that this power struggle is endless: after the 1960s unrecorded voices of Afro-Americans, workers, civil servants, migrants, ethnic and religious minorities and "herstory" of women started to be heard; however in the new millennium it is the homosexuals, nonunion workers and other ignored groups in the society who demand their turn.

Frisch argues that the main value of oral history is neither in the 'more history' nor the 'anti-history' approaches since they both lack critical evaluation of the oral sources. The 'more history' orientation usually leads to 'simply mirroring conventional history by chronicling community leaders, events, and contributions', on the other side academic humanists who took the lead in the 'anti-history' approach "withhold the critical contributions they might make out of a desire to avoid imposing interpretation on people's experience."[40] At this point, although Frisch does not mention but only implies it, the problem becomes how to write a history out of the oral sources at hand. The 'how history' approach in fact not only problematizes oral history, but historiography in general. As it was the case in Portelli's definition, the historian becomes the focus of this approach. The principle of reflexivity gains paramount importance and "continuous questioning" can be a guideline for the oral historian. Thus, it has to be mentioned that neither of these approaches are sufficient alone. A critical stand would be a mixture of the 'anti-history' and 'how history' approaches. An oral historian should deconstruct power oriented conventional history, but also question his/her own historical construction.

[39] Frisch, M., 1990, ibid., pp.186-187.
[40] Frisch, ibid., p.187.

Then what does oral history tell us about? How does it help us in drawing the picture of a historical setting? In his book, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, Alessandro Portelli provides a very good analysis of why his informants repeatedly made factual errors or even related events that had never happened regarding the death of an Italian steel worker, Luigi Trastulli. The most evident mistake was about his date of death: most of the informants said that it was 1953, instead of the actual date which was 1949. It could be argued that these were the kind of mistakes that aging memories are prone to, but Portelli saw the errors of oral histories as a central part of their meaning and their narrative strategy. He argues that "the importance of oral testimony may lie not in its adherence to fact, but rather in its departure from it, as imagination, symbolism, and desire emerge."[41] One of the strongest statements he made in the same article is that, "oral history tells us less about *events* than about their *meaning*." This statement does not imply that oral history reveals no information about factual events. It provides us also with what Frisch called 'more history': unheard new details about known events and additional information about ordinary people's lives. The uniqueness of the oral sources is that they give the historian a very precious element which no other kind of resource can give: the 'speaker's *subjectivity*.' 'What informants believe is indeed a historical *fact* (that is, the fact that they believe it), as much as what really happened.'[42]

Oral history should not be seen as an activity of fact finding, but as an event of interpretation. Interpretation is giving a meaning to the narrative we have collected.[43] The process of interpretation makes oral history more of an *approach*

[41] Portelli, A., "What Makes Oral History Different," in *The Oral History Reader*, Perks, R. & Thomson, A. (eds.), New York: Routledge, 1998, p.68.
[42] Ibid., p.50.
[43] Thompson, P., *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, (Second Edition), 1988, pp.242-244.

that questions oral narratives about the past without judging them than a *method* to put down voice into writing.[44]

In a life history interview the narrator squeezes his/her life story into a few hours of talk and consciously or unconsciously selects what and how to narrate. In the end, the interview is a narrated story of the past told at the present and thus, it is an activity shaped by the moment in which it is told and by the narrated history itself. The narrative at hand is an expression of identity, consciousness and culture since it depends on the way the narrator uses language, and his/her cultural assumptions and ideological preferences. Then, in order to interpret the narrative, Portelli suggests that we as historians should ask this question to ourselves: "Who tells what, to whom and under which conditions?"[45]

In the oral history interview, the process of remembering does not exist in a vacuum; it develops during the course of the dialogue between the interviewer and narrator within the context of their relationship.[46] There is an increasing recognition that an understanding of the relationship between the interviewer and the narrator is important in any analysis of the oral history interview and of the stories that are told or not told.[47] Equally, there is a growing debate around the issues of authority--how interviewers work with their narrators, and who directs the process--with many

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[44] Öztürkmen, Arzu, "Sözlü Tarih: yeni Bir Disiplinin Cazibesi," *Toplum ve Bilim*, İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, v.91, Winter 2001-2002, pp.115-121.
[45] Portelli, A., ibid., 1998, p.56.
[46] See Portelli, 1991; Lesley Forrest and Judy Giles, "Feminist Ethics And Issues In The Production And Use Of Life History Research" in *Women's Lives Into Print: The Theory, Practice And Writing Of Feminist Auto/Biography*, Pauline Polkey (ed.), New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999; Daphne Patai, "U.S. Academics and Third World Women: Is Ethical Research Possible?" in Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (eds.), *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, London: Routledge, 1991; and Valerie Yow, "Ethics and Interpersonal Relationships in Oral History Research," *Oral History Review*, 22:1, 1995, pp.51-66.
[47] See Ronald J. Grele, *Envelopes of Sound: The Art of Oral History*, Chicago: Precedent Publishing, 1985; Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (eds.), *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, London: Routledge, 1991; and Alessandro Portelli, 1991.

people advocating a more collaborative approach.[48] When we say that oral history enables us to hear the voices of ordinary people and socially neglected groups we should be careful. Portelli mentions that an activist's narrative of a protest will be different from the police records or press coverage and interviewing activists will balance the inequality regarding the publicity of the narratives of the two sides. He says,

> Oral sources are a necessary (not a sufficient) condition for a history of the nonhegemonic classes; they are less necessary (though by no means useless) for the history of ruling classes, who have had control over writing and leave behind a much more abundant written record.
>
> Nevertheless, the control of historical discourse remains firmly in the hands of the historian. It is the historian who selects the people who will be interviwed; who contributes to the shaping of the testimony by asking the questions and reacting to the answers; and who gives the testimony its final published shape and context (if only in terms of montage and transcription). Even accepting that the working class speaks through oral history, it is clear that the class does not speak in the abstract, but speaks *to* the historian, *with* the historian and, inasmuch as the material is published; *through* the historain.[49]

Migration And Memory

Migration or – as more commonly to be referred to in the content of this thesis – population exchange, is loaded with traumatic events. The trauma becomes more severe if these population movements occur in the form of forced migration – as it was usually the case in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. The migration experience is both marked with this trauma and the long years of adaptation, cultural assimilation and identity formation that follows it. Since we hear the life stories of the migrants today, their narratives are loaded not only with the migration experience itself, but also with the meanings attributed to it. Oral historian Alistair Thomson suggests that, "if the migration experience includes both the events of migration and

[48] Michael Frisch discusses this issue at length, but especially feminist writers elaborated on this issue extensively. Among others see, Deborah Cameron, *Working With Spoken Discourse*, London ; Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2001.; Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*, Albany, SUNY Press, 1990.
[49] Portelli, 1998, ibid., p.56.

their meanings for the migrant, and if these events and meanings change over time, then we might well say that migration is an experience which never ends."[50]

The issues of memory and identity are the most important features in the analysis of migrant narratives. It was mentioned before that memory is subject to change and distortion. The same applies for identity as well. The identity of migrants is a field open to conflict and negotiation, in which some features are outlined, whilst others come to be forgotten, but without disappearing.[51]

These changes in memory and identity in time may result in different rememberings of the migration experience. Perhaps the most difficult memories and unresolved stories are those of the migrants, because these are filled by tensions, contradictions, conflicting feelings and changing life experiences and ideologies. Thus, when these people compose[52] a life story, their memories are often "in a state of flux."[53] While trying to understand why he had heard so many different and sometimes conflicting stories about the death of Luigi Trastulli, Portelli concluded that by changing the facts about the event the narrators were trying to make it less emotional, but more comprehensible, for themselves. The same process is valid for the migration experience: people try to make sense of a dramatic personal and geographical disjuncture. Thus, migrants constantly develop life stories to articulate, explain and even justify their migrations encapsulated in a brief but potent

[50] Thomson, A., "Experience Never Ends. Migrant Memories, Unsettled Identities, and Historical Change", *International Oral History Conference (11th: 2000: İstanbul, Turkey)*, International Oral History Association in collaboration with the Department of History at Boğaziçi University, İstanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2000, v.3, pp.1081-1087.
[51] Ferreira, Marieta de Moraes & Dantas, Camila, "Immigration and Memory," *International Oral History Conference (11th: 2000: İstanbul, Turkey)*, International Oral History Association in collaboration with the Department of History at Boğaziçi University, İstanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2000, v.1, pp.321-329.
[52] "Composure" is the term used by the Popular Memory Group to describe the process of memory making. See Popular Memory Group, "Popular Memory: Theory, Politics, Method" in Perks, Robert and Thomson, Alistair, *The Oral History Reader*, London and New York: Routledge, 1998, pp.75-86.
[53] Thomson, A., 2000, ibid., p.1084.

concluding comment. As a result, in most cases migrants seek to compose a safe and comfortable story of their life, which irons out tensions or dissonance and asserts a positive and consistent identity."[54]

The general tendency to compose a safe and comfortable life story may appear in different forms in the migrant narratives and besides the migration experience the subsequent life experience may be subject to conditions of imaginary peace and concord. Michael John's work is a good example of this situation.[55] He conducted interviews with the so-called Jewish 'Allied Displaced Persons' (DP's) who even after their liberation had to live again in US-protected camps. Although it is known from the written sources that in Austria the years 1945-50 were characterized by many conflicts and confrontations among the various groups of the contemporary inhabitants, when interviewed, in many cases the former DP's did not recall those conflicts in a similar way. John explains this "partial amnesia" as a result of overlapping memories. All interviewees had gone through life-threatening situations during the Second World War and compared to these, US-protected camps were really the better choice. To them the sufferings during the war was the actual thing to narrate, not the almost forgotten anti-Semitism of the post-war years.

"A similar element in the minds of migrants is a romanticized idea of home.… Although not idyllic and often dangerous, home was literally a point of origin – where they began, and where important structures of morality and behavior took root," says political scientist and sociologist Roger Guy in his study of Southern

[54] Thomson, A., "Anzac Memories: Putting Popular Memory Theory into Practise in Australia" in Perks, Robert and Thomson, Alistair, *The Oral History Reader*, London and New York: Routledge, 1998, pp.300-310.

[55] John, Michael, "Post-War Conflicts in Austria (1945-50): Remembering the Relations between Displaced Persons and Indigenous Population" in *International Oral History Conference (11th: 2000: İstanbul, Turkey)*, International Oral History Association in collaboration with the Department of History at Boğaziçi University, İstanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2000, v.2, pp.550-553.

white immigrants in Chicago after WW2.[56] If so, how is this image saved in the memories of the migrants? In an interview on September 11, 1999 in Washington, Alessandro Portelli talks about his work in Kentucky and the practice of oral history and summarizes this situation:

> (…) one thing about Italian Americans is that they remember Italy as they left it or as their grandparents left it. I mean this has to do with all immigration. If you go to Ellis Island, you have this image of the "old" country as it was when they left and then you look out and see New York. I mean you see where you come from. They should also have an image of the old country as it is now. (...) the image that they left is frozen in time.[57]

We can say that no matter how they migrated, which difficulties they went through, to what degree they adapted and assimilated themselves to the new location and what they accomplished socially, economically and culturally in their later lives, the idea and image of home survives in the migrants' narratives. This image usually remains as it was.

There is also a different kind of image that usually appears in the life stories of migrants. Some incidents that occurred before or during the migration or at the time of arrival are kept as a lively photograph in their memories. Thomson calls this 'iconic memory'.[58] An evocative incident which made an initial and deep impact upon the narrator is 'hooked' into the memory as a significant story.[59] In time, these kinds of photographs which are the results of the dramatic and sudden changes between the old and the new world came to represent significant aspects of the migrant experience.

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[56] Guy, Roger, "Down Home: Perception and Reality among Southern White Migrants in Post World War II Chicago", *The Oral History Review*, Winter 1997, v.24, n.2, p.35.
[57] Brinson, Betsy, "Crossing Cultures: An Interview with Alessandro Portelli," *The Oral History Review*, Winter-Spring 2001, v.28, n.1, p.87.
[58] Thomson, A., "Experience Never Ends...", ibid., p.1081-1087.
[59] Thomson, A., ibid., p.1082.

Frequently, migrant stories are indeed a narrative of family history – especially if the narrator was a teenager or child during migration. Teenagers and children who were not the decision makers but the main subjects of the migration process usually tried to understand what was happening all around them. As a result when they narrate their migration experience they need to give explanatory information about their families, their motives for migration, how their parents got prepared for it and what they did during the whole process. By contrast, for some people the migration story is self-revelation and personal transformation. Those who were split from their families or lacked family support had to make their own way in the world and their migration story usually becomes a success story or, as Thomson calls it, a larger story or 'meta-narrative' of personal transformation.[60]

A final comment should be made about the effects of the migration experience on the identities of the migrants and hence on their life stories. The need for recognition by the host society forces migrants to adapt and to assimilate themselves into the hegemonic cultural and social atmosphere of the migration location. In her ethnographic research comparing migrants of Turkish origin from Crete and Bulgaria, Belkıs Kümbetoğlu finds that orientation to 'patrie', 'flag', 'religion' and 'language' becomes essential for those newcomers to be recognised and accepted by the Sunni Muslim Turkish locals.[61] Concerning the Balkan migrants in Turkey, religion is the strongest element for "proving" their similarity with the local population and being recognized by them.

[60] Thomson, A., ibid., p.1086.
[61] Kümbetoğlu, B., "Farklılığın Algılanmasında Kültürel Filitreler," *Toplumbilim* (Special Edition on Music and Cultural Identity), İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 2001, pp.12:9-18.

Methodology and Fieldwork in Akköy

The interviews for this study were conducted in three short periods between 2004-2006: 15-21 July 2004, 3-19 August 2005 and 5-8 April 2006. The period in 2004 was actually a preliminary visit to the field and my aim was to understand the cultural and social dynamics of the village and to determine the people to be interviewed. Only two people were interviewed in this period. After I had done a reading on the related history and geography of the village and prepared my question list I made my second visit to Akköy.

The fieldwork in 2005 was the most extensive one and I interviewed 14 people including an informant whom I had interviewed the previous year. This group of people can be called the first generation of the *muhacir*s that I interviewed. Ten of them were born in the places their families migrated from and the others were born in Turkey just after migration. The interviews in this period enabled me to understand how the *muhacir*s referred to their homeland or birthplace, how they constructed their identity, how they related to other *muhacir*s and the indigenous population and how they reflected the earlier periods of the history of Akköy. On the other hand, the fieldwork in this period was insufficient in three aspects: *muhacir*s from different locations were not represented in equal ratios, the number of female informants was considerably less than that of male informants and the second or third generation of *muhacir*s were not involved in the fieldwork.

The third visit in the spring of 2006 aimed at eliminating these insufficiencies and finalizing the fieldwork. Nine people were interviewed in this period. Akköy is a meeting place for *muhacir*s coming from very different localities in the Balkans. Today in the village there are four different migrant groups. All of the migrants can

be called *muhacir*s, but the *muhacir*s in Akköy use different words to distinguish between different migrant groups which will be discussed in detail in the last chapter. Here only the names of these groups will be mentioned: the Turkish *muhacir*s coming from north east Bulgaria and Romania are called *maacır*[62] which is actually the local pronounciation of the word '*muhacir*'; the Turkish *muhacir*s coming from Doksat/Doksato of Drama are called *mübadil* which is the Turkish equivalent of 'exchangee/refugee'; Pomaks of Greece/Bulgaria are named *Pomak* after their ethnicity and similarly Bosnian Muslims are called *Bosniak* (in Turkish *Boşnak*) referring to their ethnicity.

Today the most populous group in the village is the *maacır*s of Bulgaria and they are followed by *mübadil*s from Doksat. This numerical superiority affected my second visit as well and most of the interviews in 2005 were conducted with people from these two groups. Pomaks and Bosniaks who are today less populous in Akköy, reveal different migration and settlement stories. Moreover, neither did all the *maacır*s come from Bulgaria, nor all the *mübadil*s from Doksat. In this third visit out of nine people, three were Pomak, one was Bosniak, one was a *maacır* from Romania and one was a *mübadil* from Kos. This third visit enabled my work to represent different groups in a more balanced way and to include at least one informant from every migratory location. The second insufficiency was related to the gender issue. In these kinds of oral or local history works, as historians we should be careful about the representation of female and male informants. When determining whom to interview we may be frequently directed towards male informants. When I

[62] '*Maacır*' is the local pronounciation of the word '*muhacir*.' However the word is frequently used to describe Turkish migrants from north east Bulgaria who came to Akköy between 1936-38 enmasse. I made use of the difference in pronounciation while writing the thesis, the same word in different pronounciations refers to different groups. Hereafter, *muhacir* will refer to all of the migrants in Akköy and *maacır* to Turkish migrants from Bulgaria. This issue is related with the identity and relationship of *muhacirs* which I will be dealing with in the last chapter.

first visited Akköy and asked people (both male and female) about possible informants, I always got the names of men. This phenomenon itself indicates something about the gender roles in the village and needs to be analyzed. However, I could not give up and say "this is the case, then I will talk with men." In spite of my insistence on talking with women, out of 14 informants in 2005, only five of them were women. In order to increase that number I was more careful in 2006 and except for some men that I had to talk to (because of the reasons I mentioned above regarding the representation of different migrant groups) I chose informants among women. Finally, in this third period I talked with three people who were the second generation of the *muhacir*s. In this thesis I will focus on the experiences of the first generation, but by including the second generation I tried to observe how the migration experience was transferred and to trace the continuity of the migration experience and identity in the following generations.

Positioning Myself

I was both an insider and an outsider to the village. My parents are originally from Isparta, but as elementary school teachers they worked in various villages and the town center of Aydın for more than twenty years. I was born in Akköy during their service in the village between 1975-1981. When my mother gave birth to me in 1979 my father attended a boycott organized by the Teachers' Union. He was investigated for that and my parents were exiled to another village in Aydın. We moved from the village early in 1981, hence I did not grow up there.

However our relationship with the village continued uninterrupted due to my parents' strong friendships with their colleagues and with some villagers from Akköy. This was due to my parents way of interacting with the villagers because my mother had strong friendships with the women of the village and my father joined in the everyday practices like fishing and farming. That is why, even after twenty five years my parents had a good reputation in Akköy which proved to be very helpful to me in my relationship with the villagers and informants. Moreover, as a family our relationship with the village was never interrupted since we spent our holidays in my uncle's and later in our own house in the nearby town of Didim. I listened to a lot of stories about my parents' and my brothers' lives in Akköy and I was continuously hearing names from Akköy, but I barely knew about them. Except for my caretaker Şenol Olgun's family and our neighbor Hüseyin Gündüz in Didim, I did not know anyone from the village prior to this research. In order to go to Didim you have to pass through Akköy and every time I took this route I was both filled with excitement and anxiety. I was excited to see the small, single flat, white house by the main road that I was born in, but at the same time I was anxious about the history of these Rum houses and the people living in them who were "foreign" to me.

This thesis united my interest in the history of the Balkans and the reciprocal migration of the people living in the Balkans and the Aegean with my interest in the history of my birthplace. As I explored the history of the village and interviewed more I became aware of the distance between myself and the inhabitants of Akköy. Thus, the fieldwork also became an effort to fill that gap and to locate myself within my birthplace. When I started the fieldwork I was an outsider. My introductions started like this: "I am from Akköy, but you may not recognize me. My parents, Neriman and Mehmet Say, were teachers here." My parents' names always helped

me to start a close dialogue with people and turned me into an acquaintance in their eyes instead of a foreigner. After the first visit and the interview I was greeted as "*bizim oğlan geldi*" (our son came) or introduced to other neighbors as "*bak bu oğlan Akköylü, tanıdın mı?*" (look, this boy is from Akköy, do you recognize him?). At the end of the fieldwork I was seen more as an insider or *Akköylü*, than as a foreigner.

The People

During the whole fieldwork I interviewed 24 people.[63] 14 of these interviewees were born before their families migrated to Turkey. Except for two of them (Mehmet Ali Günel from Kos/Greece and Fikriye [Meracı] Çam from Romania) who came to Turkey when they were one year old, the other 12 people had first hand narratives concerning their lives in their birthplace, their migration to Turkey and settling in Akköy. These narratives were helpful especially in understanding the daily life in their places of origin in the Balkans, as well as in providing detailed descriptions of their voyage and related feelings during migration. They allow us to compare Akköy and the places they come from and more importantly to have an idea about the identity formation of *muhacir*s in Akköy.

Akköy was a deserted place after the forced migration of local Rums, thus it had to be repopulated by the Balkan *muhacir*s. According to the state repopulation and settlement policies, Akköy and the surrounding old Rum settlements (Didim, Doğanbey, and Güllübahçe) received *muhacir*s during every mass movement to Turkey from the Balkans in the Republican era. These were officially recorded and

[63] List of the interviewees including some personal and genealogical information is added as an appendix. See Appendix B on pp.148-149.

planned migrations. There were also *muhacir*s illegally crossing the border and settling in Akköy since they had relatives in the village. Due to these phenomena the places of origin of the *muhacir*s and their migration (or arrival) dates vary considerably. According to the origins of their family, two of the informants were from former Yugoslavia, one from the Bihaç (Bihać)[64] district and one from Muğuşça (?) village. Ten of them were from Bulgaria: four of these people were from the villages of Hasköy (Haskovo) and Paşmaklı (Smolyan) provinces in southern Bulgaria and the rest of them were from the villages of Şumnu (Shumen), Eski Cuma (Targovishte) and Varna (Varna) provinces in north eastern Bulgaria. Eleven of them were from Greece: five from the Doksat (Doxato) district in Drama (Drama), one from the Piravuşta (?) district in Kavala (Kavala) and two from Gümülcine (Komotini). The other three informants only knew the regions in Greece that their families came from, but could not give the exact name of their village or district. These three people said that their families came from Drama (Drama), Selanik (Thessaloniki) and İstanköy (Kos) respectively. I interviewed only one woman from Romania who did not know neither the exact name of her village, district or province or the region she came from. It is probable that she came from Deli Orman (Teleorman) province in southern Romania where a considerable Muslim population used to live.[65]

The flow of migrants to Akköy occurred mainly between 1924 and 1950. Families of the eight informants who were from Drama, Kavala and *Selanik* (Thessaloniki) came in 1924 with the population exchange between Turkey and

[64] The place names that are in italic are written as the *muhacirs* in Akköy referred them. I also gave the present names of these places in their respective countries in brackets. However, I could not find the present names of some locations and left them with a question mark in brackets.
[65] My estimation of her place of origin is also based on her narrative about her parents who crossed the border with the permission of officials to meet their relatives who resided on the other shore of the Danube in Bulgaria.

Greece. The families of the three Pomaks that I have talked to came in 1926 by their own efforts from Bulgaria. In 1928 Bosniaks arrived in Akköy from Yugoslavia and I have talked two of these people. The only person in Akköy whose family came from *İstanköy* (Kos) also migrated around 1928 (he does not know the exact year) first to *Sarıkemer* (a village near Akköy) and then within a few years Akköy. I have talked with seven informants whose families came from north eastern Bulgaria during the mass migration of Muslims between the years 1935-1937. Two interviewees were among those who migrated to Turkey from Bulgaria illegally and they came to Akköy in 1939 and 1941. Finally, I talked with only one woman whose family was settled in Akköy during the second mass migration of Muslims from Bulgaria between the years 1950 and 1951.

When confronted with a local population which is composed of *muhacir*s from very different locations in the Balkans it is natural that these people also have different ethnic and religious origins. While two of the informants who came from Yugoslavia were Bosniak, seven of them who came from the Kavala and Gümülcine (Komotini) districts of Greece and the provinces of southern Bulgaria said they were Pomak and the others (*mübadil*s from Drama and *maacır*s from north eastern Bulgaria) defined themselves as Turks. The Bosniaks and Pomaks spoke their own language when they came to Akköy. While the elderly people still know and use these languages, Bosnian or Pomak language (a dialect of Bulgarian) was barely taught or transmitted to the new generations. The second and third generations usually understand, but cannot speak these languages. On the other side, the families of the Drama *mübadil*s spoke Greek in their daily life in Greece, but adopted Turkish after migration. Thus even the first generation of the *mübadil*s that I have interviewed in Akköy do not know Greek, but remember only a few words. The

mother tongue of the *maacır*s from north eastern Bulgaria is Turkish, but they were also speaking Bulgarian before they migrated. Among these *maacır*s, the ones that have attended elementary schools in Bulgaria can still recall the language. These *maacır*s immediately adopted Turkish after migration.

The issue of religion is interesting. All of the *muhacir*s except for Pomaks are Sunni Muslims. The Pomaks in Akköy who came from the Rhodopes, the border area between Greece and Bulgaria, are in fact *Bektaşi* (Bektashi). However, among seven people who defined themselves as Pomak, only one of them said that he was *Alevi* (Alevite). I will discuss this issue in the last chapter. Now, I will finally comment on the question list for the interviews.

Comments on the Question List

Before starting the interviews I prepared a very general question list[66] using the well known sources about oral history.[67] These books usually provide a very long list of questions about every aspect of a person's life. I tried to shorten it according to my research interests. The questions were open ended and on various topics such as personal background, childhood, family relations and daily life, school experience, food, marriage, children, community life, social classes, religion and politics. In this first list I tried not to restrict the questions to the migration experience and the local history of Akköy. In order to refrain from dictating my research interest and sacrificing unrelated but nicely narrated humane stories, I preferred to listen to the life stories of the migrants in detail. Thus, when I started interviewing I first

[66] The initial question list is presented as an appendix. See Appendix C in pp.150-152.
[67] See Thompson, Paul, *The Voice of Past*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, pp.296-306; and Kyvig, D. E. & Marty, M. A., *Yanıbaşımızdaki Tarih*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000, pp.13-27.

explained my purpose in this research and asked them to tell their life stories. Unless they stopped narrating I did not ask the questions I had prepared, because most of the questions were already answered by them before I asked. The first question list was not followed successively; according to the informants' life stories some of the questions were asked before, some later. Of course the answers of the interviewees made some questions unnecessary and those questions were omitted. Moreover, some questions were spontaneously asked during the interview in order to understand migrants' life stories and to pin down the details.

After I conducted a few interviews I needed to revise the first question list I had prepared. There were several reasons for this. The first was a technical problem; if I continued listening and asking every detail in these migrants' lives I would need at least three to four hours of long interviews or two sessions. This was not possible since I had a limited time to conduct a certain number of interviews. Secondly, I noticed that the questions were not really as open-ended and non-guided as I had supposed when I first prepared the question list. For instance the question "Were there only Muslims in your village?" was a dictated question which informants usually answered either in the affirmative or in the negative. I revised or totally omitted such questions in the second list. Finally and more importantly, as I learned more about the migration experiences and local history of the village I thought it would be better to concentrate on certain topics and to ask questions about them to every interviewee. For instance the migration experiences were considerably varied in terms of place of origin in the Balkans and the date and manner of migration. Thus, I realized that I needed to understand every phase of migration to Akköy and to analyze it in detail. As a result I increased the number of questions about this topic. The same case holds for topics such as religion, politics and social

circumstances in Akköy after migration. I knew that there were Alevis in Akköy, but I did not know that it was still sort of a taboo for people. In terms of politics, I knew that there were clashes between right-wing and left-wing in the 1970s, but I had not expected that the issues about right and left, the government of Adnan Menderes and *coup d'états* to surface in almost every single interview. Finally, the lack of road facilities and the floods of Menderes River were also among the frequently narrated issues which I needed to concentrate on.

There were also topics which I could not have known and thus prepared questions about in advance. These issues surfaced during my first interviews. Some of the important ones were the service of Osman Kozan (the first director of *Nahiye* after the foundation of the Republic), the destruction of Rum houses and the church and the Second World War period and related events. Osman Kozan appeared in the narratives as a very important figure of the village. He represented Republican values and was remembered as a hero in Akköy. The narratives were very helpful in analyzing the identity formation of the *muhacir*s and their relationship with the state which I will explain in the last chapter. This analysis can also be backed by the narratives about the destruction of Rum houses and the church. On the other hand, the period of the Second World War which was quite eventful for the village, shows us how oral history can enrich our historical knowledge and provide information that is lacking in written sources. As I came across such new issues during the interviews, I included questions in order to get every informant's experiences about them.

CHAPTER 3

THE LOCAL HISTORY OF AKKÖY

Place is so much with us, and we with it, that it is taken for granted and deemed not worthy of separate treatment. Nevertheless, "to be at all -to exist in any way- is to be somewhere, and to be somewhere is to be in some kind of place".[68] The prominent anthropologist Geertz starts his article on local knowledge with an emphasis on locality, because he thinks that the knowledge obtained through the examination of a certain society cannot be divisible from its instruments and its encasements and hence has to be a local knowledge.[69] In her essay "Local knowledge, Local History: Geertz and Beyond", Aletta Biersack deals with some of these criticisms: Geertz thought that the deciphering of meaning rather than the inference of casual laws of explanation should be the central task of cultural anthropology and many historians adopted this approach in the study of cultural history. However, in recent years, some of the problems associated with Geertz's approach have been discussed and criticized. Biersack argues that, Geertz own preference between culture and history, the act and the creation of the act, the text and the process of textualizing on behalf of the former cuts the symbolic free from its "hard surface", liberates it from the

[68] Casey, Edwrad, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History*, Berkeley: University of California Press, c1997, p.ix.
[69] Geertz, Clifford, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*, New York: Basic Books, c1983, pp.167-234.

historical and institutional settings in which it is found, and handicaps his own efforts to prove the contrary.[70]

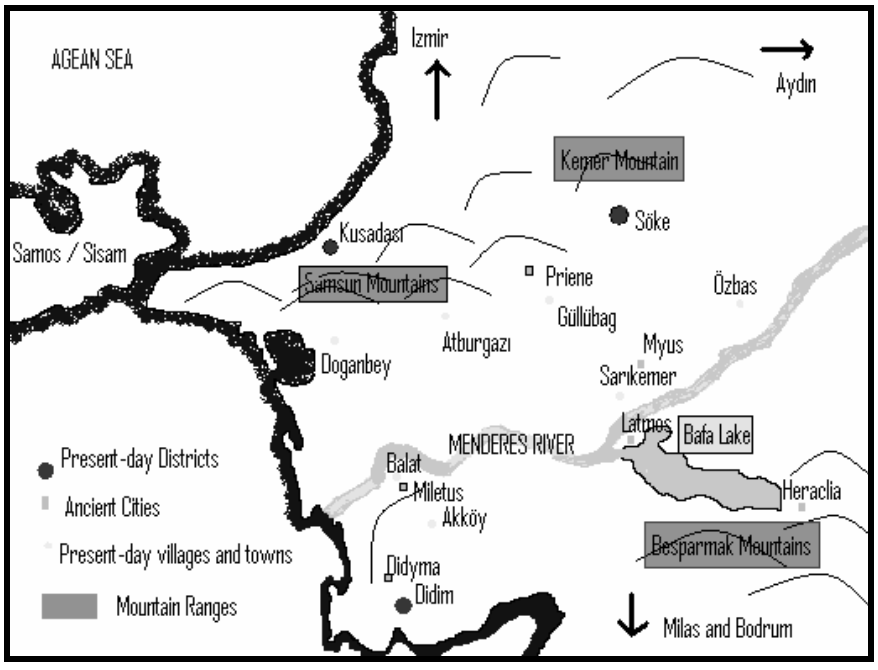
When we deal with local knowledge and try to understand the locality through that knowledge, we need to attend to the historical context in which such knowledge operates. Another important approach to local history was provided by Marshall Sahlins' "islands-of-history." According to Sahlins, culture is historically reproduced in practical action.[71] "The world-system" theory proposes that the hinterland societies are open to radical changes externally imposed by the Western capitalist system in order to preserve the means of reproduction of capital. At this point, Sahlins argues that these societies actually work on some autonomous cultural-logic. When faced with such an imposition, these people make use of the European wealth for their means of reproduction and creatively transform their own cultural order. The relationship between the 'region' and the 'globe' can be best concieved in dialectical terms, with respect to how each mediates the reproduction and transformation of the other.[72] At this point, we need to employ ethnographies rather than culture-as-text and to define both the 'region' and the 'globe' for Akköy in order to understand local knowledge in its historical context.

The Söke Region

It would be better to start with the history of Söke while talking about Akköy. Although today the village is officially within the administration of the Didim[73] district, through the Ottoman times to the Republican era Akköy was always linked

[70] Biersack, A., "Local Knowledge, Local History: Geertz and Beyond," in *The New Cultural History*, Lynn Hunt (ed.), California: University of California Press, 1989, pp.72-96.
[71] Sahlins, M., *Islands of History*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987, pp.154-156.
[72] Sahlins, ibid., p.viii.
[73] This resort town famous for the *Temple of Apollon* was a municipality of Söke until 1998 under the name of *Yenihisar* (*Didyma* of antiquity, *Yeronda* or *Yoran* to the Rums), later it was separated administratively from Söke and became a district of Aydın under the name Didim.

socially, economically and historically to Söke which was a *sancak* of the province of Aydın. Söke is a district located in the southwestern part of the province of Aydın. The town is located between important centers for trade, administration and tourism in the Aegean Region. İzmir, the important port city in the north, Aydın, the provincial capital in the east and the resort town of Kuşadası in the west are linked to Milas and to the resort towns of Didim and Bodrum in the south by the road going through Söke. It lies to the northeast of a large deltaic flood plain created by the Menderes River. The town is located at the intersection of the north end of the Samsun (*Mycale*) ranges and foothills of the Aydın Mountains[74] which rise in altitude further east. The Balat plain irrigated by the Menderes River constitutes the southwestern part of the town and to the southeast the area is bordered by the Bafa Lake (the bay of *Latmos* of antiquity)[75] and the Beşparmak Mountains, the westernmost fringes of the Taurus ranges.



[74] Aydın Mountains go further east as far as the province of Aydın. The local extension of these mountains in Söke is called "Kemer", "Durmuş" or "Gümüş" Mountain in different sources and among people.

[75] When the bay was filled by the alluvial deposits brought by the Menderes it turned into a lake. Today the lake still has a water canal through which it is linked to the River.

The geography of Western Anatolia shows a similar pattern starting from the northeast Kaz (Ida) Mountains in Balıkesir to the southeast Beşparmak Mountains in Muğla. The mountain ranges oriented in an east-west direction are separated by plains which are formed by the alluvial deposits of Gediz (*Hermus*), *Küçük* Menderes (*Caystre*) and *Büyük* Menderes (*Meander*, hereafter referred to as Menderes).

The Menderes plain, an alluvial delta valley, lies between Samsun and Aydın Mountains to the north and Beşparmak Mountains to the south. There are marshes and small ponds in the plain which can be observed even along both sides of the asphalt road from Söke to Milas. These are the results of countless diversions that the course of the Menderes River underwent over the centuries. The river has been filling up its delta so that the ruins of *Miletos*[76] and Priene[77], the well-known coastal cities of Ionia, are well inland since the second century A.D. Moreover, the only hills in the whole plain where the villages of Özbaşı and Batmaz are grounded today are the *Lade Islands* of the *Latmos Gulf* of antiquity, again filled by the deposits of the river. Until 1970, when the main drainage canal was built and linked to the river, the Menderes flooded its banks every year, preventing proper crop rotation.

There are no clear sources regarding the period and the circumstances of the foundation of Söke. Most of the Turkish authors writing in the Republican era base their accounts on Evliya Çelebi and European travelers believe that it was founded by Turkish migrants rather earlier. The initial name of Söke is mentioned as *Akçaşehir* in these sources and they note that there is no trace of Byzantine or of

[76] Miletos is near Balat which takes its name from the Byzantine dwelling *Palatia* near the ruins. The date of foundation for Miletos is unknown, but authors agree that the city existed before Ionians and its history dates back to Lelegs who called the city and its surrounding *Lélègeis*. However it was the Carians who named the city "Miletos the Crete city".

[77] Priene is on the hills of Güllübahçe. The date of foundation is also unknown, but it is supposed that Priene was founded almost at the same period as Miletos. This time not by Lelegs, but by their neighbour, the Carians

other previous periods.[78] Texier gives a precise date for the conquest of Priene by the Turks: 1230. However, he does not mention Söke and whether there was an already existing town at that time or if it was founded later.[79]

Akçaşehir was initially a marketplace. Neighboring villages came here to sell their goods on certain days. By time some houses and shops built up of sun-dried brick started to emerge around the market place. Soon it took the form of a town and became an important center for the Aydınoğulları Principality. Already around 1478, Akçaşehir was a market village where 48 taxpayers lived, a population which, fifty years later, rose to 68 taxpayers.[80] At the end of the sixteenth century, Akçaşehir was the name of a *kaza* which included Ayasuluğ (Selçuk) to the north. By the middle of the seventeenth century Söke was an established market town and Evliya Çelebi talked of Söke not 'Akçaşehir.'[81] During Çelebi's visit in 1670, Söke was the capital of the *sancak* of Sığla and the pasha of Sığla (the so-called *mütesellim*) had his residence there. İzmir, Karaburun, Urla, Çeşme, Sığacık, Seferihisar, Germencik and Balat districts were within the civil organization of the sancak of Sığla at that time.[82] Söke continued to be the capital of Sığla until 1867 when it was bound to the *Vilayet* of Aydın as a district according to the law of provinces published that year.[83] European travelers, who visited the area in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Chandler in 1765, Texier in 1842), reported that the coastal area near Miletos was

[78] Gökbel and Şölen 1936, p.246.
[79] Texier, C., *Küçük Asya: Coğrafyası, Tarihi ve Arkeolojisi*, Ankara: Enformasyon ve Dokümantasyon Hizmetleri Vakfı, 2002, v.2, p.211.
[80] In Nükhet Sirman, *Peasants and Family Farms: The Position of Households in Cotton Production in a Village of Western Turkey*, unpublished PhD thesis submitted to Department of Anthropology, University of London, March 1988, p.47. Information is taken from *Tapu Tahrir Defterleri* (Land Registry Records).
[81] It is often assumed that Akçaşehir is the Ottoman name for the Söke town center and certainly by the nineteenth century the two names were used synonymously. The change in place names is an important issue to analyze for the understanding of the history of a locality, however the sources are few and what they explain about the names 'Akçaşehir' and 'Söke' are based on assumptions or mere rumors.
[82] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, Reşad Ekrem Koçu (ed.), İstanbul: Semih Lütfi Kitabevi, c.1940, pp.148-9.
[83] Ressamoğlu 1952, p.150.

deserted. By contrast, *Seukié* is described by Texier as a big town where an agha, the commander of the district, resided. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Söke was a large town of more than 6,000 inhabitants, with three factories, 880 shops, 3 baths, 17 *han*s and 5872 houses.[84]

Besides these written sources which actually give us information in bits and pieces oral accounts and traveler accounts are important to understand the history of the region. Helen Lawrence was a British Levantine who was born in Söke in 1877. Her son interviewed her before she died in 1963 and published it in the family genealogical web site which was on line for a period during 2002-3. Her narrative is important because it is about an earlier generation of 'Levantine life' in pre-1922 Asia Minor, and there are many illuminating sides such as life in the 'sticks' of Söke:

> I am now 84, in good health and have normal hearing and eyesight. ... My parents were British: William Bucknor Lewis and Leila (Williamson). They had eleven children four boys and seven girls. The fourth child, I was born in 1877. My father was the only son of the Rev. William B. Lewis, who was the British chaplain of Smyrna for five years, from 1843-1848. Grandfather and Grandmother Lewis had come to Smyrna as missionaries to the Jews in 1832. ... My father's business in Sokia was managing a large concern that bought wild liquorice root from the peasants and extracted the juice and made it into paste. The extract is used in processing tobacco.[85]

The liquorice [*meyankökü*] concern was McAndrews and Forbes whose Söke factory was opened in 1860 and operated for about hundred years well into the 1950s.[86] John Uri Lloyd, who had visited the Menderes and Gediz valleys in 1906 observed the liquorice industry, explained how it was collected and processed, and provided photographs of the Turkish villagers. He gives the following information about the history of the liquorice industry in Söke and the Turkish villagers involved in it:

> Immense amounts of the drug are exported from Smyrna and large quantities of licorice extract (paste) are made in both Smyrna and Sokia. ... Over half a century ago [around the 1850s], a traveler recently returned from Turkey, in a lecture before a London audience,

[84] From Aydın Salnamesi 1315 [1900] in Gökbel and Şölen 1935. ibid, p.247.
[85] The abridged version of this interview is available at http://www.levantine.plus.com/index.htm. Downloaded on 25 February 2006.
[86] Dalgıç, İsmail, *Söke: Tarihi, Coğrafyası, Ekonomisi*, Söke: Cumhuriyet Ofset, August 2003, Second Edition, pp.125-126.

> referred to the enormous growth of licorice in the valleys of the Meander and Hermus in Asia Minor. This came to the attention of the MacAndrews, a Scotch firm of ship owners whose steamers were engaged in carrying licorice, licorice paste, oranges, etc., from Spain. MacAndrews sent a man named Clark (whose wife still lived near Smyrna in 1906) to investigate. He found a native (Graeco-Italian) pasteworks operating at Cutzarlee [Koçarlı]. Mr. Clark gave a most favorable report to his employers, who started a factory at Sokia, across the Meander valley from Cutzarlee. The root was so abundant and labor so cheap that it cost but one-tenth the price the Spaniards and Italians paid in their countries. Consequently, the profits were enormous, and from this beginning, which has made great fortunes for the investors, the licorice industry of Turkey has developed.[87]

Hellen Lawrence also describes her life in Söke and she gives detailed information about the social life of a Levantine family in a small Asia Minor town. As the only British family in Söke, they seem to have an isolated private life: their large house was surrounded by high walls and every domestic facility, usually done by Rum servants, took place in it. Her parents did not want them to mix with native children and they had their training at home. She describes all these in detail in her narrative:

> Life in Sokia was very different from life in an American village. We were the only English family there. Half the villagers were Turkish and the rest Greeks; they both had their own schools. We had a governess to teach us. The boys were sent to school in England when they were old enough. Naturally, we had no playmates, but our family life was a very happy one. When I was about four, I spoke only Greek as our servants and nursemaids were Greek. (...) Kate Kelly ... was with us for many years. We had to behave, and she taught us how to sew, knit, and crochet. Also, we had lessons in reading and writing with her. She had full charge of us and we had our meals in the nursery with her.
> We lived in a large two storey house. There were four big chimneys, as the rooms all had fireplaces. (...) Our manservant's name was Yani, the cook was Marigo and the housemaid was named Stasia. Once in two weeks the washerwoman, Katerina, came to wash the clothes. (...) The servants helped wash the clothes. There were two wooden troughs on a stone platform and the boiler next to that. The wash took two days to do (...)

Her father's relations with the local population of Söke was also interesting. As an educated religious man working for an American company, he seemed to be the doctor, dentist and lawyer for the local population.

> Father was very kind to the natives and gave them quinine for malaria; he had a set of forceps and he would pull out their bad teeth. He also gave them lotion drops for their sore eyes and he was their lawyer and counselor, as well. They used to say that he would give "the shirt off his back" to help them. He died in 1903, after an operation for stones in the bladder.

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[87] Lloyd, John Uri, "Licorice," *The Eclectic Medical Journal*, Cincinnati, Ohio, December 1929. (edited by James Duvall, M. A. reprinted from The Eclectic Medical Journal, Kentucky: Big Bone University Press, 2002.) Square brackets are added by me. See Appendix G on page 251 for the photos of the Turkish villagers in Menderes and Gediz plains taken by Jıhn Uri Lloyd in 1906.

She also mentions about the visits of European travelers to the ancient ruins in the Menderes plain:

> Sokia was now at the end of the railway, a branch line of the Aidin railway, from Smyrna. Many times people who were going to see the ancient ruins of the towns of Pyrene and Myletus had to come to Sokia. They had to stay overnight and hire horses to ride to the ruins. So our home was open to them. I remember when Sanky and Moody, the great evangelists, went to visit the ruins at Pyrene. They stayed with us and we had a service and two of our youngest sisters were christened by them.

Akköy, Balat, and Yoran in Traveler Accounts

The part of the Menderes valley around Söke is the home for important ruins of ancient cities and temples like Priene, Miletos, Didyma and Myus. This situation brought many Western travellers in the Ottoman times to the region. That is why, the traveller accounts are important sources for the local history of the region. The British antiquary Richard Chandler (1738-1810) is one of these travellers who provided place names in the region during his visit and gave detailed descriptions of his daily life encounters while wandering around. During his travels to Asia Minor and Greece between 1764 and 1766, he visited the historical sites in Ionia. He made his way from *Aiasaluck* (Ayasuluğ-Selçuk) and *Neapolis-Scala Nova* (Kuşadası) to *Suki* (Söke).[88] Coming down from the *Mycale* (Samsun) mountains[89] he describes Söke as "a Turkish village by a plain" where they stayed in "a mean caravansera, with mud walls."[90] Since the plain where the main road between Söke and Bodrum lies today was a marsh then, they traveled along by the foots of Mycale mountain on the edge of the plain. He mentions that they reached *Kelibesh* (Gelebeç-Güllübahçe)

[88] I gave the place names Chandler used in his book in italics. The editors who republished Chandler's work in 1971 mention that they did not change the spelling of place-names unless these were obviously incorrect in modern usage. Chandler, R., *Travels in Asia Minor, 1764-1765*, London: British Museum, 1971, p.ix.

[89] The same route is today an asphalt road between Kuşadası and Söke which takes fifteen minutes by car

[90] Chandler, ibid., p.96.

in two hours where they examined the ruins of Priene. Today you can travel from Söke to Güllübahçe by local minibuses in fifteen minutes using the secondary asphalt road. Then they ferried over *Mænder-Mendres* and reached Miletos which was called *Palat* or *Palatia* (Balat). He mentions that there were "some low flat-roofed cottages, inhabited by a very few Turkish families, the present citizens of Miletus."[91] While Chandler and his crew were employed on the theater of Miletos, the agha of Söke, son-in-law of *Elez-Oglu*, returning from hawking, crossed the plain and came towards them with his escorts. Since the agha was tired he slept a while and then accepted Chandler. He describes their meeting as follows:

> The Armenian, who interpreted for us, offered him our firhman; but he said, it was sufficient that he knew our country; that the English and Turks were brethren. He (...) expressed regret that he was unable to entertain us so well as he wished, and promised us a letter of recommendation to the agha of *Melasso* (Milas).[92]

Early in the morning they set out for *Ura* or *Urada* (Yoran or Yeronda-Yenihisar/Didim) to find the ruins of *Branchiadæ* (Didyma) famous for the temple dedicated to *Apollo Didymæus*. After they left Miletos they took the way to Akköy:

> In half an hour the plain ended, and we came to the foothills of mount Latmus; and soon after to *a poor village of Greeks named Auctui* [Akköy], where we stayed an hour to procure fowls, eggs, and other provisions, to be carried with us.[93]

There were "a few straggling huts" in *Ura* (Yoran). In the evening at *Ura* they sat around a fire and they were accompanied by the "Turks of *Ura*, about fourteen in number, some with long beards, sitting cross-legged, [which] helped to complete the grotesque circle."

The accounts of Chandler are interesting in some aspects. First of all, the place names he provides us with, such as Ayasuluğ (Selçuk), Scala Nova (Kuşadası), *Suki* (Söke), *Kelibesh*/*Giaur Kelibesh* (Gelebeç-Güllübahçe), *Cahnglee*/*Giaur*

[91] Chandler, ibid., p.99.
[92] Chandler, ibid., p.100.
[93] Italics are mine. Chandler, ibid., p.101.

Changlee (Çamlı-Güzelçamlı), *Osebashá* (Özbaşı), *Palat* (Balat), *Auctui* (Akköy), *Ura* (Yoran-Didim), *Ghauzocleu* (Kazıklı), *Iasus* (Iasos-Kıyıkışlacık), *Mylasa* (Milas) and others, are still the main centers of this region today. These settlements and the network between them lives today with small alterations, some of them developing while some other are losing importance. Chandler shows us that this network dates back at least 250 years. Secondly, although his observations are full of orientalist expressions, a point that we should be aware of while examining travel accounts by Europeans, he gives us clues about the daily life of that period. The route of Kuşadası-Söke-Balat-Akköy which was the main route for providing some necessities was a hard journey due to the lack of proper roads and the Menderes River that stood as a natural barrier (it was only in the 1960s that proper passages could be built).[94] Besides the technical hardships, there was a security problem. Guides were a means to solve the problem, but not sufficient. In this sense, acquaintance was a crucial factor (in Chandler's case, offered by the agha of Söke in the form of sending his word to the agha of Milas) in finding shelter and receiving protection even in very short distances of voyage in the region. This was valid until recently for the villagers traveling for the first time to towns and cities. In the interviews that I conducted in Akköy, the narratives of visits to Milas, Söke, Bodrum, Aydın and İzmir (big centers in the region) usually included finding a relative there or "conveying the regards" (*selam götürmek*) of their fathers or village notables to a merchant or officer in the town. Finally, the description of Akköy by Chandler as a Greek village is worth discussing. This is important, because it is

[94] According to a news item on 23 November 1956, available online at http://www.byegm.gov.tr/YAYINLARI_MIZ/AyinTarihi/1956/kasim1956.htm, the Söke-Balat road was to be completed. A 120 meters long bridge over the Menderes river was finished and opened to traffic with a ceremony. *"Balat - Söke yolunun vilâyetçe ikmaline çalışılmaktadır. Yol güzergâhında Menderes nehri üzerinde 120 metre uzunluğundaki köprü de, vilâyetin çalışması neticesinde bitirilmiş ve bugün merasimle trafiğe açılmıştır."*

known and also told by everyone living in Akköy that it was an old village where only Rums resided. “From where did those Rums come to Akköy” was a frequently raised question by the villagers I interviewed. The Rum presence in Akköy and the region was very important, but unfortunately the sources about the region dealt with the issue only within the context of the 1922 War and the clashes between the Rums and Turks. It would be an important contribution if I could extend this oral history project to the former inhabitants of Akköy, that is the Rums who migrated to Greece, but unfortunately it is not within the scope of this thesis. However, the recent social history works about the Aegean Region and especially İzmir during the Ottoman period provide valuable information regarding the Rum population in general.

History of the Miletos Excavation[95]

The travellers were coming to these regions to see the ancient ruins which survived in relatively good condition. These ancient sites are important places in the daily life of Akköy and surrounding places today. Long before tourism developed, these places played a significant role in the daily life of people in the region when the excavations started in the late nineteenth century. Especially the Miletos excavation was important for Akköy since the excavation house was built a hundred years ago on the northern hill of the village.

The first archaeologist to conduct an excavation at the site of the famous ancient city of Miletos was the Frenchman Olivier Rayet in 1873. Then, about twenty years later, in 1891 the German engineer and discoverer of the Pergamum Altar, Carl Humann came to Miletos for a first assessment of the site. All in all he stayed five

[95] I am grateful to Ioannis Panteleon from Ruhr-Universität in Bochum for his friendly help in writing this section. I met him during my visit to the excavation house in Akköy. He showed me the original excavation diaries in handwriting and translated those parts about Akköy from German.

days in Miletos and Didyma and outlined a systematic approach for excavating these sites. In the following years he tried to convince his superiors in Berlin at the *Kaiserliche Museen* to finance excavations at these places. His attempts were not successful and he excavated in *Magnesia* (1891-1893) instead. In 1895 he began an excavation in Priene, but died early in the following year. Theodor Wiegand was at that time the assistant of Carl Humann in Priene and became the head of the excavation as well as the director of the *Kaiserliche Museen*, first in İzmir, later in Istanbul.

In 1898, the final year of the excavations in Priene, initial work in Miletos began too. Little is known about the works of this year, but definitely they dug trenches between the ruins in an attempt to drain the waters of the Menderes River. Also, the foreman Athanasios Apergis, an educated Rum from İzmir, supervised the construction of the excavation house in Akköy. Regrettably little is known about this Athanasios, but he had been working for C. Humann for many years already and was trusted both by Humann and Wiegand with the most responsible tasks.

The excavation of Miletos started officially on 26 September 1899 at the site of the city gate, which is called the sacred gate today. The Turkish village Balat was situated amongst the ruins and the Germans had to acquire some fields for their excavations. From the beginning they employed both Rums from Akköy and Turks from Balat as workers. In general it seems that both ethnic groups worked alongside each other well and without too many problems, which was mostly due to the fact, that Wiegand had very good and experienced Rum and Turkish foremen.

The Germans had planned to finish the excavation in Miletos by 1906 and to move on to Didyma, but the discovery of the ancient cemetery (Necropolis) and of substantial archaic remains on Kalabaktepe made it necessary to continue the work in

Miletos. The excavation at this place ended in 1914 with World War I. During the war, the house in Akköy was used by soldiers, but apparently the house suffered only small damage. In the time between the wars and before the death of Th. Wiegand in 1936, German archaeologists and architects returned twice to Miletos, but explicitly not for excavations, but only for conducting the necessary measurements and similar scientific works. Then, in 1938, Carl Weickert, the new head of the excavation returned for one campaign to Miletos, but World War II delayed his plans until 1955, when he was finally able to continue his efforts. When they returned in 1955, the house was destroyed due to the earthquake. The new house was built in 1958 by A. Mallwitz partially using the foundations of the old house as substructure. It was in these years that the taxes became too big a burden for the German Archaeological Institute and they decided to give the house and the land in Akköy as a gift to the Turkish government. The government in return granted the German archaeologists the right to use the house as long as they conducted excavations in Miletos. From 1955 until today German archaeologists worked continually in Miletos. The heads of the excavation were Carl Weickert, Gerhart Kleiner, Wolfgang Müller-Wiener and Volkmar von Graeve, in turn. After World War II they created the position of a permanent assistant in Miletos, who had to guard the house and to take care of visitors during the whole year. Subsequently the German assistant at the site was replaced by a Turkish *bekçi*, nowadays Ahmet Devrim.

From the beginning of the excavations all of the German archaeologists like Theodor Wiegand, Carl Weickert, Gerhart Kleiner, Wolfgang Müller-Wiener and Volkmar von Graeve who undertook excavation kept diaries on a daily basis. Some of the records about Akköy and the Muslim and Rum population in the diaries of 1899-1914 are as follows:

> The celebration days of both Muslims and Christians were recognized and on those days usually only the other group worked.
>
> On 17 March 1904, a Rum worker, Kostis Frangios fell ill and was treated in Akköy.
>
> On 6 April 1904, there is a note of a fight between two men from Balat (*Tscherkessen* – probably Çerkes) and a couple of drunk Rum workers in a coffee house in Balat: Periklis Melissianos was stabbed with a knife in his thigh by a man called Ali, who was taken as prisoner to Sokia afterwards, while Periklis was transported to Akköy for medical treatment.
>
> At the site of the ancient Delphinion, the sanctuary of Apollon, there was an Ottoman cemetery and the Turkish workers were reluctant to work there. So they dispatched them to another location and worked only with Rums at this site.
>
> On 27 November 1912, there was a gunfight in Akköy between Rums and *Saptichs* (probably the *Zaptiye*s at the gendarmerie station). According to the diary the fight had happened during day time when the workers were still working in the ruins. However, the worker Grigorios Lukas was arrested the following day on the accusation of having fired a shot during the night. The official also tried to arrest the carpenter Luka while passing by the excavation site on his way back to Söke, but this was prevented. Three days later, on Saturday 30th, a military medician and another official appeared at the excavation house for further inquiries and with the intention to arrest more people. The Germans presented a list of workers, who were working in the ruins at the time of the event and the accusations against the carpenter were dropped. Also the Germans insisted on the freeing of Grigorios Lukas. The archaeologists informed the German consul in İzmir about the event. Later, the diary reports that G. Lukas was released a day after the other arrested people were released. All of them had been subject to maltreatment during their arrestment.[96]

The bits and pieces of information in the excavation diaries is interesting in some aspects. First of all we learn that the Rums of Akköy and the Turks of Balat worked side by side in the excavation in Miletos, while their beliefs were respected (the cases of religious festivals and work at cemetery). Secondly, unlike the *muhacir*s in the village today, the Rums of Akköy were employed in the excavation and Germans made use of their skills. The final thing to note is the difference between the treatment by the government officials and security forces of the criminal instances between the two groups in different periods. In 1904, the incident seems to be handled by only a judicial process. However, in 1912 the incident happened while the Ottomans and Greeks were at war. Moreover, it coincided with the declaration of the Sisam Rum population of their annexation to the Hellenic Kingdom (30

[96] From the Miletos Excavation Diaries 1899-1914, kept by Theodor Wiegand (1864-1936) who was the head of the Miletos excavation between 1899-1911 and Foreign Director in Istanbul for the *Kaiserliche Museen* in Berlin. The excavation diaries are at the moment kept in the excavation house in Akköy. The electronic archive of the Miletos excavation is being prepared as a project by Biering & Brinkmann Verlag, Dyabola Databases which will be online soon.

November 1912). Sisam is only a few miles away from Kuşadası and the Rums in Akköy had close connections with the island through the Kovela harbor. It is possible that they were aware of the conditions in Sisam and even supported the decision made there. Even if this was true, the reaction of the local government in Söke was discriminatory and harsh so that the Rums of Akköy faced false accusations, attempts at collective arrests and maltreatment.

Asia Minor Rums And Origins Of Akköy

Greek authors writing on Asia Minor Hellenism in the nineteenth century emphasized that the so-called "Rum millet" was not a single entity. Due to social and economic factors the Rum population in Anatolia could be divided into three geographic and demographic subgroups: Western Anatolia, Cappadocia and Pontus.[97] Kitromilides describes the main characteristics of the Western Anatolian Hellenism as follows:

> In the Western coastal regions and their natural extensions into the riverine valleys that penetrated inland, were concentrated the compact settlements of Greek-speaking populations mostly based in the towns but also spreading into villages in the countryside. Most of this population was the product of immigration from the Aegean islands and continental Greece; it spoke the common Modern Greek tongue and shared in the common Modern Greek culture. All these factors and the geographical proximity to the Greek Kingdom turned these areas and their leading urban centers like Smyrna and Kydonies (Ayvalık) into home bases of Greek nationalism. It was from here as well as from Athens that Greek nationalism was exported to the Eastern periphery, including Cyprus.[98]

A similar grouping was made by Michael Llewellyn Smith who suggested that:

> The Greek-Orthodox population in Western Anatolia was variegated, ranging from the peasant farmer working in vines, currants or olives, through a large middle class of clerks, shopkeepers and salaried men, to the educated class of doctors, teachers, lawyers and prosperous traders who were at the heart of the nationalist movements and who had more in

[97] See Speros Vryonis, Jr. *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Centuries*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971, pp.448-52 and for details see P. M. Kitromilides - A. Alexandris, "Ethnic Survival, Nationalism and Forced Migration. The Historical Demography of the Greek Community in Asia Minor at the close of the Ottoman Era", *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών (Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon)*, Athens: Vol. V, 1984-1985, pp.9-44.

[98] Kitromilides, P., "Greek Irredentism in Asia Minor and Cyprus," *Middle Eastern Studies*. 26(1), 1990, pp.3-17.

> common with their counterparts in Constantinople, Alexandria or Liverpool than with the Karamanli Christians of the far interior. It was through these men, often immigrants from the Greek Kingdom, that the Greek language and the Great Idea were propagated.[99]

As İzmir rose victorious in its contest with the other ports of the Aegean, namely Foça (Phocaea), Efes (Ephesus), Kuşadası (Scala Nova) and Balat (Miletos), by the 17th century it started to attract Rum populations from the Aegean islands and Peloponnesus. Between the years 1520 and 1535 the Rum population constituted only 0,89 % of the total population in the province of Aydın.[100] The increase of the Rum population in the region started in the 17th century. The migration accelerated especially in the 1770s due to wars[101] and the favorable circumstances the treaty of *Küçük Kaynarca* entailed for all Christian subjects of the Sultan. However, massive migrations took place after the proclamation of the *Tanzimat* reforms in 1839. The economic reason behind the migration of the peasant Rum population was the rise of agricultural exports to Western Europe and the consequent rise in the need for agricultural workers. The large farm owners, like the Karaosmanoğlu family, mediated these migrations. Anagnostopoulou quotes from a letter of Anthimos Karakallos, bishop of Methone (an ancient city in Thessaly): "Anatolian Aghas are competing with each other to settle them in their land; building churches, houses, separate Rum villages for them; and granting tax (haraç) exemption for ten

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[99] Smith, M.L., *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor, 1919-1922*, London: Hurst & Company, c1998, pp.27-28.

[100] Anagnostopoulou, Sia, *Μικρά Ασία 19os αι-1919 Οι Ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες. Από το Μιλλέτ των Ρωμιών στο Ελληνικό Έθνος*, (Asia Minor, The Greek-Orthodox Communities. From Rum Millet to the Greek Nation), Athens: 1998, p.129.

[101] There was a Greek uprising in the Peloponnese at the instigation of Count Orlov, commander of the Russian Naval Forces of the Russian-Ottoman War. In Greece it is known as the "Orlov events" (Ορλωφικά). In 1769, during the war, a fleet commanded by count Aleksey Grigoryevich Orlov sailed from the Baltic Sea for the Mediterranean. With the assistance of Greek islanders, the Russian fleet was able to score a major victory against the Ottoman Navy in the Battle of Çeşme, but this did not help the Greek army in Morea, and the revolt was soon crushed. In 1770, the revolution (Orlofika) that had already broken out in other parts of Greece broke out in Crete too. The first revolutionary incidents took place in April 1770 when the people of Sfakia led by Daskalogiannis (Ioannis Vlachos, a rich ship-owner) revolted against the Ottoman administration. They fought until the fall of 1770. The revolt was crushed in March 1771.

years."[102] Nakracas mentions that the Rum populations of the Söke district "almost entirely spoke Greek, came from the [Aegean] islands, settled in the region as economic immigrants and were working as farmers, workers, fishermen or small-scale retailers."[103]

As I mentioned before there were different accounts about the foundation of Akköy by the Rums. One of those accounts suggested that they were brought from Peloponnesus and Crete to repopulate the malaria struck and deserted region and were settled in Akköy in 1770 by Sultan Mustafa III. On the other hand, we understand that Akköy was already an established Rum village in 1765 according to Chandler's accounts. Although 1770 may not be the exact date of foundation, it is still possible that a Rum population was transferred or willingly migrated to Akköy due to the wars or opportunities for a better life after the 1750s, but unfortunately I could not find any information about this.

Another important and interesting point is that all the surrounding Rum villages (*Yoran-Didim*/Geronda-Γέροντα, *Tomaça-Doğanbey*/Domatia-Δωμάτια, *Gelebeç-Güllübahçe*/Kelebesion-Κελεμπέσιον) had Greek names, but Akköy where only Rums lived had a Turkish name. The oldest source that I could check was Chandler's accounts in which he wandered around the region in 1765 and talked about Akköy as "a poor village of Greeks named *Auctui*."[104] In addition to Chandler, the Greek authors writing in the early twentieth century gave the Turkish name Akköy. Pantelis M. Kontoyannis, in his book about the detailed geography of Asia Minor gives the name of the village in Greek letters as Άκ-κιοϊ (Ak-keuy).[105] In the

[102] Anagnostopoulou, 1998, ibid., p.243.
[103] Nakracas, G., *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni: 1922 Emperyalist Yunan Politikası ve Anadolu Felaketi*, İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, February 2003, p.107.
[104] Chandler, R., *Travels in Asia Minor, 1764-1765*, London: British Museum, 1971, p.101.
[105] Kontoyannis, P.M., *Γεωγραφία της Μικρά Άσίας* (Geography of Asia Minor), Αθήνα: Σύλλογος πρός Διάδοσιν Ωφελίμων Βιβλίων, 1921, p.338.

European and Greek sources I did not came across another name of the village. However, according to the available sources, it is not possible to account for the naming of this Rum village in Turkish.

Demography of Söke and Akköy

The population of Western Anatolia and its composition was a very debatable issue in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. First of all, there was no proper census in the modern sense in that period. Thus, let alone the estimation of travelers' accounts that are debatable, even the official records are under suspicion. This was of course due to the demographic engineering efforts and the clash of Greek and Turkish nationalisms which both claimed rights over the region, but the debate was not restricted only to these parties, European states were also involved in it.

A comparison of the official Turkish statistics of 1910 with those of the Greek Patriarchate (1912) provides a good starting point:

Table 1: Turkish official statistics of 1910 and Greek Patriarchate statistics of 1912

Turkish official statistics 1910[106]

Province	Turks	Rums	Armenians	Jews	Others	Total
Aydın (İzmir)	974,225	629,002	17,247	24,361	58,076	1,702,911
Total	8,192,589	1,777,146	594,539	39,370	219,451	10,823,095

Greek Patriarchate statistics 1912

Province	Turks	Rums	Armenians	Jews	Others	Total
Aydın (İzmir)	940,843	622,810	16,419	21,781	57,676	1,659,529
Total	7,048,662	1,782,582	608,707	37,523	218,102	9,695,506

As seen above the numbers of minorities are more or less the same, but great discrepancies occur between that of Turks. However, the fact remains that the Turkish government estimated that the Greek population of Aydın province exceeded 600,000 people. Impartial observers also agree that this figure was quite accurate.

[106] Kalopothakes, D. (Polybius), *Greece Before the Conference*, London: Methuen, c1919, p.44.

Actually there is a discussion related to the above statistics. Justin McCahrty mentions that these two statistics were first published by Polybius (Kalopothakes, D.) who "invented the '1910 Turkish Census' to support a set of previously published statistics from Greek sources, generally known as the Greek Patriarchate statistics." According to McCarthy these figures were nothing more than data published by Germans in *Almanach de Gotha* in 1914. McCarthy argues that the actual figures for the Rum population in Aydın and in total according to the *1330 Nüfus-u Umumi* (1912 General Population Census) are 319,020 and 1,112,698 respectively.[107] On the other hand Alexis Alexandris in his article on the Greek census of Anatolia and Thrace between the years 1910 and 1912 clearly shows that there was actually a census carried out by "Greek consular authorities in the Ottoman Empire, in close cooperation with the Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical authorities."[108] He uses the archives of the Eccumenical Patriarchate and the historical archive of the Greek Foreign Ministry. Georgios Nakratzas uses both Soteriadis and Anagnostopoulou who give a smaller number for population figures like Alexandris.[109] The distribution of the Rum population and their ratio to the total population in the province of Aydın in 1912 according to Soteriadis, Anagnostopoulou and Alexandris is as follows:

Table 2: The total population in the province of Aydın in 1912 according to various authors

Aydın Province	According to Soteriadis	According to Anagnostopoulou	According to Alexandris[110]
Sancak of İzmir	449,044	319,679	360,792
Sancak of Manisa	83,625	58,250	50,820
Sancak of Aydın	54,633	38,900	55,101
Sancak of Denizli	7,710	3,000	4,613
Sancak of Menteşe	27,798	15,569	24,610
Total	**622,810 (37.7%)**	**435,398 (26.2%)**	**495,936 (24%)**

[107] McCarthy, Justin, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population at the End of the Empire*, New York: New York University Press,1983, pp.92-93.
[108] Alexandris, Alexis, "The Greek Census of Anatolia and Thrace (1910-1912): A Contribution to Ottoman Historical Demography", in Dimitri Gondicas and Charles Issawi (eds.), *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism*, Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1999, pp.48.
[109] In Nakracas, Georgios, 2003, ibid., p.78. The figures for Soteriadis and Anagnostopoulou in Table 2 are from Nakracas.
[110] Alexandris gives the figures based on the Greek Census 1910-1912.

In 1917 another census was conducted by the Ottoman administration in the province of Aydın and published by the Statistics Directorate of Aydın Province (*Aydın Vilayeti İstatistik Müdüriyeti*) in 1918.[111] According to the 1917 census:

Table 3: Population statistics of the province of Aydın according to the 1917 Ottoman census:

Aydın Province	Muslims	Rums	Armenians	Jews	Others
İzmir	406,068	151,091	15,215	28,600	3,146
Manisa	398,339	46,882	4,478	3,883	264
Aydın	239,530	32,738	945	4,214	194
Denizli	248,025	3,203	557	53	7
Total	**1,291,952**	**233,914**	**21,195**	**36,750**	**3,611**

The *Sancak* of Muğla is not included in this census, but this would only make minor changes to the results. The most striking differences between the official Ottoman censuses of 1910 and 1917 are in the numbers of the Rum population and "others" (Latin, Catholic, Bulgarian and Protestants. Levantines constituted a large portion of "others"). The dramatic decrease in the number of the Rum population may be seen as a defense against the claims of the Hellenic Kingdom in the region after the First World War. This census presents the region as a dominantly Muslim settlement. Besides this kind of distortion, there is also a concrete reason behind the decrease: the 1914 persecutions of the Rum population. The secretary of the ruling CUP in İzmir, Mahmut Celâl (Bayar) was instructed by Talat Pasha to 'Turkify' Western Anatolia. In his memoirs, Celâl Bayar talks about his observations about deportations. He proudly announces that "the operation was successfully carried out."[112] As a result, through the operations of irregular bands or *çete*s (the Turkish equivalent of Macedonian *komitacı*s) and with the militias of the so-called 'Special

[111] Serçe, Erkan (ed.), *İzmir ve Çevresi Nüfus İstatiği 1917*, İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1998, pp.6-7.
[112] Bayar,C., *Ben de Yazdım : Millî Mücadele'ye Gidiş*, İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, v.5, 1967, pp.1568-1582.

Organisation,' 200,000 Rums in the coastal regions were uprooted, their houses and lands seized, themselves violently forced into exile.

We can also trace the flow of migration for both Rum and Muslim populations if we have look at the population figures for the Söke district since 1891:

Table 4: Population of the Söke Disctrict Between 1891-2000

Years	Muslims	Greek-Orthodox	Armenians	Jews	Others	Total
1891[113]	14,114	8,234	-	-	-	20,569
1894[114]	15,192	10,901	88	3	-	26,184
1901[115]	15,585	11,999	70	-	470	28,124
1912[116]	12,987	25,801	59	-	-	38,847
1917[117]	21,765	15,059	139	43	16	38,046
1922[118]	14,991	8,254	59	-	-	23,304
1927[119]						24,504
1935						29,338[120]
1940						32,000
1945						34,301
1950						41,159
1955						66,080

[113] Dalgıç, İsmail, *Söke: Tarihi, Coğrafyası, Ekonomisi*, Söke: Cumhuriyet Ofset, August 2003, Second Edition, p.28. This is the sum of all the subdistrict and village populations. The whole population of the district was 22,348 of which 14,114 were Muslim and 8,234 Rum. There were 4,956 households. Dalgıç finds this census unreliable since two numbers do not match.

[114] Yearbook of Province of Aydın (*Salname-i Vilayet-i Aydın*) 1894, v.15, pp.328-329. In Dalgıç, 2003, ibid., p.29. The whole population was given, but that of the district center was not mentioned in the yearbook. Number of households rose to 5,516.

[115] Yearbook of Province of Aydın 1901, v.21, p.228. In Dalgıç, 2003, ibid., p.29. According to the yearbook there were 6,350 households, 995 shops, 18 inns, 2 baths, 2 factories, 1 government office, 1 gendarme station, 1 recruiting office, 4 mosques, 3 churches, 2 hospitals in the district. Of the 28,124 people 14,311 were male, 13,813 were female.

[116] Soteriades, Georgios. *An Ethnological Map illustrating Hellenism in the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor*, London: E. Stanford, 1918, p.9. According to him Söke had the highest ratio of Rum population among other coastal districts. Rums amounted 66.4% of the whole district population. Anagnostopoulou's data coincided with that of Soteriades. She mentions 5,400 people and 2,628 families, but does not give the exact number of Rum residents in Söke district. See Anagnostopoulou, Sia, *Μικρά Ασία 19os αι-1919 Οι Ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες. Από το Μιλλέτ των Ρωμιών στο Ελληνικό Έθνος*, (Asia Minor, The Greek-Orthodox Communities. From Rum Millet to the Greek Nation), Athens: 1998.

[117] Serçe, Erkan, 1998, ibid., pp.6-7.

[118] Gün, İ. & Özdemir, A., *Söke Tarihi ve Coğrafyası 1*, Aydın: CHP Basımevi, 1943, p.25. Gün and Özdemir say that they had found a record about Söke in the 2688th page of Şemsettin Sami's Kamusülalâm: "*Elli dört karyesi olup 23304 ahalisi vardır ki bunların 8254u Rum, 59u Ermeni, gerisi Türk. Sene 1338*" (Has 54 villages and a population of 23,304 people of which 8,254 are Greek-Orthodox, 59 are Armenian and the rest are Turkish. Year 1922). We should be careful in evaluating this source because it might be written in the context of anti-Greek propaganda during the war.

[119] The data for the years 1927-1970 are from Ergenekon, C., Özsoy, T. and Avcı, İ. (et all), *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Aydın: 1973 İl Yıllığı*, İzmir: Aydın Valiliği, 1973, p.36.

[120] For the year 1935 Gökbel and Şölen provide a population of 25,114. Gökbel, A. & Şölen, H., *Aydın İli Tarihi: Eski Zamanlardan Yunan İşgaline Kadar Cilt 1*, Aydın: Ahmed İhsan Basımevi, 1936, p.248.

1960						67,061
1965						74,738
1970						82,761
1990[121]						119,750
1997[122]						125,282
2000						137,739

The continuous rise in population until 1912 was interrupted in 1917. The Rum population by Soteriadis for 1912 might be an exaggeration; however the amount of the total population seems to be logical when the increase is calculated for ten years intervals between 1891-1901 and 1901-1912. In both intervals the increase in the amount of the total population is approximately 40%. The First World War and more importantly the 1914 deportations of the Rum population caused an important decrease in the population of the region and after five years (from 1912 to 1917) the total population remained the same.

The second period of important change in the demography of the region was undoubtedly the Turkish-Greek War of 1919-1922. The casualties caused by war and irregular bands' reciprocal activities struck the population as a whole regardless of religion or ethnicity. However, the real result of the war in terms of demography was the disappearance of Asia Minor *Rumluk* or Hellenism.

The third and final change in demography is related to the settlement of *muhacir*s. The quick recovery of population figures after 1922 and the rapid increase in the 1950s are related to this issue. In 1924 *mübadil*s from Greek Macedonia, in 1926 Pomaks from Bulgaria, in 1928 Bosniaks from Yugoslavia and in 1936 and 1950 Turkish *muhacir*s from Bulgaria migrated to Turkey. The old Rum villages in the region received a considerable amount of these *muhacir*s. There are

[121] The data for 1990 and 2000 are provided by the website of Prime Ministry Turkish Statistical Institute. http://www.die.gov.tr/nufus_sayimi/2000tablo5.xls. Downloaded in June 2006.
[122] The data for 1997 is provided by the Ministry of Finance, Department of Revunues of Aydın web page. http://www.maliye.gov.tr/defterdarliklar/aydin/ilimiz/merkez/aydinmerkez.htm. Downloaded in June 2006.

no proper statistics for these migrations. I could only find a statistic about *muhacir*s from Bulgaria between 1936-38:

Table 5: Number of *Muhacir*s from Bulgaria in Söke between the years 1936-38[123]

Year	Household	Population
1936	138	583
1937	313	1,351
1938	20	78
Total	**471**	**2,012**

Table 6: Distribution of *Muhacir*s from Bulgaria within Söke District between the years 1936-38

Settlement Location	Number of Households
Akköy	125
Yenihisar (Yoran-Didim)	109
Yeniköy (Neohori of Bağarası)	59
Doğanbey (Tomaça-Domatia)	39
Atburgazı	37
Güllübahçe (Gelebeç)	40
Argavlı	18
Söke Kemeri	13
Söke Center	28

As it can be seen almost all of the settlement locations were old Rum villages. The most intense settlements were in Akköy and Yoran where the government built '*göçmen evleri*' (migrant houses). The *muhacir* houses developed into a new quarter of Akköy which is today known as '*Aşağı Mahalle*' (Lower Quarter). These attempts by the Turkish government can be seen as efforts to repopulate the old Rum villages and to maintain the continuity of their prosperity and development. However, by only looking at the population increase in these villages in the last century we can conclude that it proved to be an unsuccessful attempt. The following table summarizes the population changes for the four old Rum villages (Akköy, Yoran, Tomaça and Gelebeç) and two Muslim settlements one of them being an old one (Balat) and the other being established after 1923 by the *Yörük*s (Yeniköy). I also added the statistics for the Söke town center for which we have a continuous data for the past hundred years:

[123] Table 5 and Table 6 are from Gün & Özdemir, 1943, ibid., p.26.

Table 7: Population of Söke District Center and Some Villages Between 1891-2000

	Söke	Akköy	Yoran (Didim)	Balat	Yeniköy (Akyeniköy)	Tomaça (Doğanbey)	Gelebeç (Güllübahçe)
1891[124]	4,545	733	1,046[125]	314	-	1,468	1,247
1901[126]	7,384	-	-	-	-	-	-
1912[127]	5,000	400	300	-	-	600	500
1927	9,290				100[128]		
1935	10,912[129]				250	856	904
1940	11,472						
1945	11,870				800		
1950	13,385[130]						
1955[131]	21,343						
1960	23,593		1,770				
1965	27,558		2,398				
1970	30,000	1,236	2,379	1,379	1,889	1,051	3,052
1975	35,407		3,295				
1980	37,413		4,067		1,800		2,846
1985	44,556		5,063		1,980	1,005	3,508
1990	50,866		11,378		2,256		4,843
1997	61,690	-	20,797	-	-	1,042	7,607
2000	62,384	1,749	25,699	1,673	2,442	1,230	8,246

The attempt at the repopulation and development of these regions was unsuccessful for all the old Rum villages. The first reason was the phenomenon of the second migration. Especially the first comers to Akköy, Macedonian *mübadil*s, Pomaks and

[124] According to the 1891 census there were 1,240 households in Söke center, 190 in Akköy, 269 in Yoran, 12 in Muslim Yoran, 72 in Balat, 369 in Tomaça and 333 in Gelebeç. Dalgıç, İsmail, *Söke: Tarihi, Coğrafyası, Ekonomisi*, Söke: Cumhuriyet Ofset, August 2003, Second Edition, p.28.

[125] The 1891 census mentions Yoran and Muslim Yoran. In the Rum village Yoran 997 people lived and in the Muslim Yoran which was actually a small quarter of nomads only 49 people lived. Dalgıç, İ., 2003, ibid., p.28.

[126] The 1901 census provides gender and religous distribution for the district center. There were 3,725 Muslims (1,818 male and 1,907 female), 3,119 Rums (1,607 male and 1,512 female), 70 Armenians (34 male and 36 female), 470 foreigners (286 male and 184 female). Dalgıç, İ., 2003, ibid., p.29.

[127] Soteriades gives the whole population for the district. He also provides the number of the Rum population in the town center and villages. The number for Söke is the number of people, however the number for villages is that of the families. Since Akköy, Yoran (Gerontas), Domatia and Gelebeç (Keles) were Rum villages where no Muslims lived the numbers provided by Soteriades can be read as the population of these villages in 1912.

[128] This is an approximate number. From the oral accounts we know that Yeniköy was a small quarter of 25 houses in 1926 and 50 houses in 1931.

[129] Gün and Özdemir mention that out of 10,912, 10,904 were Muslim, 2 were Catholic, 2 were Orthodox, 3 were Protestant and 1 was Jewish. Gün & Özdemir, 1941, ibid., p.25.

[130] According to Ressamoğlu the town center's population in the 1950 census was 13,971 and the whole population was 41,535. Ressamoğlu, E. Lütfi, *Coğrafi-Tarihi-İktisadi-Ticari-Zirai Ve Sınai Çehresiyle Aydın İli*, İzmir: İhsan Gümüşayak Matbaası, 1952, p.138.

[131] The data for the years between 1955 and 1970 are taken from Ergenekon, C., Özsoy, T. and Avcı, İ. (et all), 1973, ibid., p.36.

Bosniaks, came across a village that was completely deserted and mostly ruined. The old Rum houses were standing, but they were partially destroyed and their windows and doors were ripped out. Moreover, the floods caused by the Menderes River and the marshes created by it had been nest of malaria for years. According to the oral accounts, especially the Bosniaks could not survive and there were times when more than one funeral occurred in the same day in Akköy. Although settlement was a centrally organized process by the government where relocation or abandonment of the settlement place was strictly forbidden, deprivation and diseases caused discontent among *muhacir*s and many of them walked away in a second migration and moved to the town centers or to the places where their relatives were settled. The second reason is related to the continuity of economic and social networks which are necessary for the progress of a region. Akköy, Tomaça (Doğanbey) and Bağarası were the three subdistricts of Söke since the 1900s. Both Akköy and Tomaça had their export ports, Kovela (today Mavişehir) and Karine subsequently. The Rum small-scale retailers and peasants of these villages were exporting agricultural products (tobacco, almond, grape and wine) to Sisam (Samos), Kuşadası and İzmir. The new comer Muslim *muhacir*s were mere peasants and they could not continue this network of trade. Moreover, some of the agricultural products disappeared or lost importance since the *mübadil*s from Macedonia were only tobacco growers. Many almond trees were cut for wood and orchards died out. The expertise of the Rum population in trade and their success of establishing economic and social networks could not be continued by the new comers. "The mill did not operate by carrying water" as a Turkish proverb suggests. Akköy and Tomaça are the best examples of this situation. Akköy could hardly

double its population and Tomaça (Doğanbey) even fell behind the population of a hundred years ago.

Indeed, Yoran and Gelebeç shared the same destiny for some years, but certain developments saved them from the destiny of Akköy and Tomaça. Yoran and Gelebeç could not regain their old level of population until the 1960s. Gelebeç (Güllübahçe) became a municipality and the new subdistrict center instead of Tomaça in 1961. Also it was located on the asphalt road from Söke to Miletos unlike the old Tomaça which was at the top of a hill. Finally, being at the foothills of the ancient Priene ruins, Güllübahçe benefited from tourism to some extent. However, its growth cannot be compared with that of Yoran. Yoran was renamed after the 1955 earthquake which was sort of a turning point for it and became a municipality under the name of Yenihisar in 1967. Although Akköy remained to be the subdistrict center and the new municipality was attached to it, Yenihisar's discovery as a resort town after the 1955 earthquake opened the way for growth. In the 1950s Enver Saatçigil, governor of Aydın, expropriated the places around the beach (*Altınkum*) so that the area became the property of *İl Özel İdaresi ve Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü* (Special Provincial Administration and Directorate of Foundations). At the end of the 1950s a building cooperative was founded and sixty summer houses were built. The Foundations' establishment built in the same period was considered the first hotel in Altınkum.[132] Indeed, Yenihisar continued to be a small coastal town until the mid 1980s. In the last twenty years it became a construction site for hotels, pensions and summer house cooperatives. Finally in 1990 it was renamed Didim and separated from Söke as a new district of Aydın. From then on, the municipalities of Akbük and Akyeniköy and the villages of

[132] Aydın, Şavgu (ed.), *Yoran Köyü'nden Turizm Kentine: Didim 2004*, Ankara: Yıldızlar Ofset, 2004, p.21.

Akköy, Balat, Batıköy, Denizköy and Yalıköy officially came under the administration the Didim district.

The *muhacir*s of Akköy generally emphasize the fact that Akköy had been the Nahiye center until the 1980s and the lately developed Akyeniköy and Didim were subject to their village. This was usually expressed with regret. Being a government center usually helps a location to prosper. However, this is not enough if it is not accompanied by social and economical opportunities. Akköy was the Nahiye center for long years, but could not continue the prosperity it had enjoyed in the Ottoman era. Another example was Didim: it became a municipality in 1967, but the population boom occurred only after tourism opportunities developed in the late 1980s. Akköy lacked such economic and social opportunities since it neither had a touristic value[133], nor valuable plain lands for cotton production. Akköy was stuck in the middle of a plain and a coast.

After World War I

According to the Mondros Armistice signed between the Allied forces and the Ottoman Empire in October 1918, the province of Aydın was occupied by the Kingdom of Greece and Italy. İzmir, Aydın and Nazilli (north of the Menderes River) were occupied by the Greeks, and Kuşadası, Söke and Çine by the Italians. The occupations occurred simultaneously: in 1919, Greek forces entered İzmir on the 15th of May, Aydın on the 27th of May, and Nazilli on the 3rd of July. The Italian forces entered Kuşadası and Selçuk on the 13th of May, Güllük (Milas) on the 16th of May and Söke on the 17th of May. The Italian forces which occupied Söke consisted

[133] Tourism in Turkey was largely oriented towards the coastal areas. "Cultural heritage" only became important in the new millenium and romanticizing old villages (especially Greek villages) and village life is a new phenomenon by which these places gained touristic value.

of 200 infantry and 3 military officers.[134] Although there were attacks by the Greek forces to the villages and towns under the control of Italians[135], they did not invade Söke until the Italian forces withdrew in April 1922.[136] Moreover, the Italians were fighting back or taking precautions to prevent the Greek forces from entering the zones under their control.[137] The Greek occupation lasted only five months and the Greek troops left Söke on 5 September 1922.[138]

Asaf Gökbel who was a founding member of the National Forces in Aydın wrote that, Major Saip Bey, the commander of the first battalion of the 135th Infantry Regiment in Söke, cooperated with Cretan Cafer Efe (known as Caferaki) and formed a militia force of 150 men on 18 June 1919. He said that "the formation

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[134] Gökbel, Asaf, *Milli Mücadelede Aydın*, Aydın: Coşkun Matbaası, 1964, p.109.

[135] In the telegram sent from Çine by the vice governor of Aydın to the Ministry of Interior on 8 July 1919, he reported that the Greek forces passed the Italian border at the bridge of Menderes river and completely burned Baltaköy, Demirağası and Gölhisar villages. As a result the inhabitants of Çine were migrating towards Muğla to the south. BOA. DH. KMS. 52-3/12. *Arşiv Belgelerine Göre Balkanlar'da ve Anadolu'da Yunan Mezâlimi II: Anadolu'da Yunan Mezâlimi*, Ankara: 1996. I. Bölüm: Belgelerin Özet ve Transkripsiyonu, No: 17. Available online at http://www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/yayin/osmanli/yunan2/1b_17.htm. Downloaded on 13 March 2006. See Appendix D on page 165 and 166 for the full text of the document in Ottoman and Turkish.

[136] Infact there were short term occupations by the Greek forces on 1 May 1920 and 2 February 1921. The final occupation occurred on the same day the Italian forces left Söke, on 21 April 1922. Kocatürk, Utkan, *Atatürk ve Türk Devrimi Kronolojisi, 1918-1938*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1973, p.209.

[137] Şefik Bey, the commander of the 57th Division in Aydın, reported to the Ministry of War on 23 May 1919 that he informed the 135th Regiment Headquarter that the Italian military forces would debar the Greek occupation by force if it was necessary. The Italian captain in Söke orally informed him that forces from the Regiment would be demanded in such a case. ATASE Arş. K1. 27 Ds. 1S-107 F. 6/9-10 in Turan, Mustafa, *Yunan Mezalimi: İzmir, Aydın, Manisa, Denizli (1919-1923)*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1999, p.175.

[138] There is only one record regarding this period in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives. In the telegram sent from Söke on 12 June 1922 by some inhabitants of Söke to the prime minister Ahmed Tevfik Pasha, they reported that the Muslims faced with the sudden Greek occupation abandoned Söke and Kuşadası, leaving their property behind. Everyday, two or three of the 360 people who stayed at Söke were killed. 116 people were killed in the villages of Gümüşyeniköy and Tatar. The property and estates of the notables were confiscated by force, every kind of property of the Muslim population were stolen and all the movables were sent to İzmir by train or transported over Kuşadası by ships to Samos and Greece. They concluded that they had no hope of receiving help from Ankara and demanded Istanbul to send an investigation committee. BOA. HR. SYS. 2631/77. *Arşiv Belgelerine Göre Balkanlar'da ve Anadolu'da Yunan Mezâlimi II: Anadolu'da Yunan Mezâlimi*, Ankara: 1996. I. Bölüm: Belgelerin Özet ve Transkripsiyonu, No: 79. Available online at http://www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/yayin/osmanli/yunan2/1b_79.htm. Downloaded on 13 March 2006. See Appendix D on pages 166 and 167 for the full text of the document in Ottoman and Turkish.

of such a force was definitely needed to resist the increasing wildness and aggressive attitudes of local Rums in and around Söke."[139]

Conventional historiography on the Turkish War of Independence in the Aegean region, besides narrating the invasion of the Greek regular forces, discusses at length the activities of irregular Rum brigands and their gangs.[140] In a report prepared by the Bureau of Turkish Congress at Lausanne they described the situation as follows:

> Detachments of regulars and bands of Greek comitadjis have terrorized and given over to fire and sword these paradisial regions which the Turkish regime has left free from all incursions during five centuries. One of the rare Ottoman provinces on whose soil no fighting had been witnessed for five hundred years has just been the stage of a hideous invasion which in a few days reduced it to the likeness of the perpetual battlefields of Macedonia; they have transformed this marvelous country into a vast desert.[141]

Gökbel mentioned that the Rum brigands coming from Samos and other islands were raiding villages and tyrannizing and torturing people in the Söke region during June 1919. They were pillaging the properties of Turks and the government was unable to prevent their activities.[142]

Indeed this was not a one sided war and the counter Turkish attacks on the local Rum population was described by the Patriarchate according to the information provided by the Diocese of Aneon (Söke). Although it should be also evaluated critically like the works of conventional Turkish historiography, the Patriarchate

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[139] Gökbel, 1964, ibid., pp.227-228.
[140] I used the word 'brigand' for the equivalent of the Turkish words '*eşkiya*, *çeteci* and *efe*' who is an outlaw and leads a group of armed men. To describe this group of armed men who are under the command of the brigand, I used the term 'gang' which is referred to as '*çete* or *zeybekler*' in Turkish. In the texts quoted in relation to the activities of these people the word 'bandit' is the equivalent of brigand and the words 'band' or 'comitadjis' are the equivalent of 'gang' which I left unaltered.
[141] *Greek Atrocities in the Vilayet of Symrna (May to July 1919): Inedited Documents and Evidence of English and French Officers, First Series*, Lausanne: Permanent Bureau of the Turkish Congress at Lausanne, 1919, p.5.
[142] Gökbel, 1964, ibid., p.207.

account describes many individual victims of these attacks.[143] The Patriarchate commented that:

> This district was terrorized by a gang of Turks who even after the Armistice, carried on with their criminal work, out of hostility for the Greek inhabitants. Many Greeks were murdered and much property was robbed. The following list of murders perpetrated in the district of Sokia from the time of the conclusion of the Armistice to the end of August 1919, is a true picture of the terrorization and the destruction, which continues in this district. Further information was not received, owing to the interruption of all communication between this diocese and the Patriarchate of Constantinople.[144]

There are plenty of materials about the actions of Turkish and Greek brigands in Western Anatolia.[145] For sure, some of the Rum brigands were sort of 'imports' from the Aegean islands and Greece and the gangs formed by these brigands continued their 'profession' in Macedonia and Northern Greece. However, labeling all of the Rum brigands in the region as unemployed and 'terrorist' vagrants is misleading. The Ottoman administration had always wanted to get rid of brigandage. Whether it was Turkish or Greek did not make any difference. For instance Naşit Pasha, governor of the province of Aydın between 1883-85, accelerated his struggle against Turkish brigands while the Rum brigands were conducting their 'profession' as they pleased. However, during the rule of Kamil Pasha the Turkish brigands and their gangs were amnestied and appointed as '*kır serdarı*'[146] and were held responsible for the

[143] Just to mention some of them: On April 28th, loannis Nasos of *Yeronda* was killed by brigands near the Turkish village *Bafi*. On May 28th, Athanasios Spyroglou of *Ak-keuy*, a sergeant of the Greek army, visiting *Sokia* on leave, was killed near the Italian barracks. On July 3rd, Sotirios Kirkitzotis of *Kelembesh*, working in the sheep-pen of Xenophon Anastasiadis was killed by Turks from the village of *Oz Bashi*, about an hour away from *Kelembesh*. The place names are written as they appeared in the source. *The Black Book of the Sufferings of the Greek People in Turkey (from the Armistice to the End of 1920)*, İstanbul: Press of the Patriarchate, 1920. Available online at http://www.greece.org/projects/genocide/Blackbook.htm. Downloaded on 20 March 2006.

[144] *The Black Book of the Sufferings of the Greek People in Turkey (from the Armistice to the End of 1920)*, İstanbul: Press of the Patriarchate, 1920, ibid.

[145] See Yetkin, Sabri, *Ege'de Eşkıyalar*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996.

[146] The process of coming down from the mountains because of amnesty is called '*istiman ettirilmek*' or '*yüze inmek*'. When a brigand 'comes down' he does not give his arms and makes an agreement with the governors which consists of demands such as exemption from taxation for his hometown, prohibition of military forces from his region and receiving a salary for being appointed as 'kır serdarı'. This situation resembles the '*armatoles*' and '*klepth*' distinction in Northern Greece in a sense because the brigand being appointed as *kır serdarı* is, like *armatoles*, responsible for the security in his region and sometimes joins state forces in the persecution of other brigands in the mountains, especially if they are rivals.

persecution of Rum brigands. This shows that the Ottoman administration was not powerful enough to handle both Rum and Turkish bandits who chose Europeans, Consuls, and wealthy Muslims and non-Muslims as their targets. It would be wise for us as well, like the Ottoman administration, not to make clear distinctions between these brigands. If Muslims had Cretan Cafer Efe, Ali Efe of Akçayaka or Kurd Mustafa of Söke, the Rums had Nikola of Gelebeç or Ulaho (Vlach) of Vagarasi (Bağarası). If they were 'heroes' for one side, they were undoubtedly 'murderers' for the others.

The Rum Uprising of 1919 in Yoran

There are two versions of the Rum uprising of 1919 in Yoran. The first version refers to the massive revolt of surrounding Rum villages and the second one is related with the murder of Bekir Sıtkı Bey, a military officer. Asaf Gökbel was the first who wrote about this revolt and the later sources directly copied from him. In his account we cannot find anything about Bekir Sıtkı. The version that was based on Bekir Sıtkı's murder emerged in the oral accounts and in a booklet called "*Yoran Köyü'nden Turizm Kentine*" by Şavgu Aydın (2004) which seemed to be the written version of these accounts.

According to the first version, the Rums in Yoran revolted on 19 February 1919. They attacked the gendarmerie station in the village where only a few soldiers were present. In those years the coastal region from Edremit Gulf (Balıkesir) to the Güllük Harbor (Milas) was under the protection of the 56th Division. When the army was discharged according to the Mondros Armistice some of the weapons were stored in the station in Yoran. These weapons were distributed to the local Rum population by the insurgents. Then they proceeded to the Kovela (Mavişehir) port and captured the Turkish customs officer and his wife. They were brought to the

village square and tortured. The soldiers who ran away during the attack reached Akköy and informed the *Nahiye Müdürlüğü* (governor of the subdistrict). With the few soldiers and weak forces under his command *Nahiye Müdürü* could not suppress the revolt and in a very short time it spread to Akköy and other surrounding Rum villages such as Tomaça, Gelebeç and *Gavur* Çanlı (Güzelçamlı). Meanwhile some of the gendarmerie soldiers fell into ambush and were killed. As a result, a machine gun company and a detachment of hundred soldiers from the 56th and 57th Divisions in İzmir and Aydın were sent to the region. In a few days the revolt was suppressed.[147]

The second version is in fact not a revolt, but a case of petty offense. This version was narrated by Şavgu Aydın in the booklet as follows:

> Bekir Sıtkı Bey fell into ambush and was martyred while he was patrolling alone around Yoran. When his horse arrived at his unit in blood, his friends realised what had happened and a detachment chased Rum brigands (*çeteci*). After a long armed conflagration the Rum *çeteci*s were repelled. Despite every effort Bekir Sıtkı Bey's body was not found. The investigation revealed that Dimitri, the grocer of Yoran, had him killed for revenge. Dimitri fled to the Greek islands and hence was not caught. In December 1918, the Rum gangs (*çete*) coming from the islands, under the guidance of local Rums, raided the Turkish villages and transported the live stocks and small cattle they captured to the islands by boats.[148]

This incident was mentioned by some of the informants in Akköy and their narrative seems to be a mixture of these two versions. The names of Bekir Sıtkı and especially Dimitri were mentioned together with the intervention of the 56th and 57th Divisions. Whatever the truth was about the insurgency in Yoran and Akköy, we know that the local Rum population was involved in the network of nearby Aegean islands (especially Samos) and port cities like Kuşadası and İzmir, through which they might have been exposed to nationalist and irredentist ideas.

[147] In Gökbel, 1964, ibid. pp.28-29; Ergenekon, C., Özsoy, T. and Avcı, İ. (et all), 1973, p.6 and Dalgıç, İsmail, 2003, ibid. p.251.
[148] Aydın, Ş., ibid., p.10

The military archives report such contacts and activities of irregular gangs in and around Akköy and Yoran. Fethi Bey, the vice commander of the 17th Army Corps, reported to the Ministry of War on 5 March 1919 that,

> The total number of the local Rums in the Söke District who fled to the islands was 791 and until that time 622 of them returned in arms. In this amount the young Rums dispatched from the army and those who were resident in the villages were included. Those who were involved in brigandage activities with the enemy reached 1,000 people. These have mostly gathered in Akköy and Yoran."[149]

The official notice sent by the Governorship of Aydın to the headquarter of the 135th Regiment on 18 April 1919 was about the recapture of some weapons and equipment in Akköy which was appropriated by the Rum brigands.[150] On 14 June 1919 a gang formed by the Rums of Akköy, Yoran and Gelebeç raided Sarıca village in Söke. In the armed conflict between the residents of the village and the Rum gang there were no losses on either side.[151]

The records in the archives reporting brigandage activities or armed conflicts, like the ones above, show that there were clashes between the local Rum and Muslim populations. These events were further escalated by Turkish or Rum brigands imported from the Aegean islands as mentioned earlier. However, these few records do not enable us to make a generalization and to conclude that the Rums in Akköy and Yoran or other surrounding Rum villages in the Menderes plain were the fighters of the "Megali Idea" and cooperated with Rum gangs to achieve their irredentist aspirations. At this point, oral accounts once more help and remind us to be critical towards the written records. The dust and noise created by the official ideologies on

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[149] "*Umûm Söke Kazası'nın yerli Rumlarından adalara kaçanlar 791 kişi olup, şimdiye kadar 622'si silâhlı olarak dönmüşlerdir. Bu miktara ordudan terhis olunmuş genç Rumlar ile köylerde kalanlar dâhildir. Düşmanla beraber şekâvetkârâne hareket edenlerin miktarı 1000 kişiye ulaşmaktadır. Bunlar daha çok Akköy ve Yoran'da toplanmışlardır*," ATASE Arş. K1 31 Ds. (62-A) 120 F. 2. in Turan, Mustafa, *Yunan Mezalimi: İzmir, Aydın, Manisa, Denizli (1919-1923)*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1999, p.33.
[150] ATASE Arş. K1 401 ds. (2-6) 2 F. 45-1) in Mustafa Turan, 1999, ibid. p.175.
[151] ATASE Arş. KL. 401 Ds. (1-3)4 F. 173. in Mustafa Turan, 1999, ibid. p.176.

both sides (Turkish and Greek) exaggerating the clash of nations and armies blurs our vision and prevents us from hearing the voice of the people beyond high politics. The abridged version of *Exodos* –a two volume book published by theCenter for Asia Minor Studies in Athens– in Turkish included an oral testimony of a Rum woman from Akköy, Fotini Marangu-Karavela. Before narrating her flight with two little kids after the retreat of the Greek army, she mentioned that her husband had joined the Ottoman Army in 1918 and died of pneumonia during his military service.[152] These kinds of accounts help us to formulate a more balanced historical view and an alternative narrative to that of the nationalist historiography. We should understand that some local Rums were involved in irredentist activities, but there were also those who were 'loyal subjects' or ordinary peasants busy earning their lives.

Akköy: Home For *Muhacir*s

The Rums of Akköy left the village in September 1922 before the population exchange agrrement between Greece and Turkey. Thus it was a deserted place until the *mübadil*s arrived in 1924. The *mübadil*s of Akköy and Yoran were from the various villages of Drama and Kavala in Greek Macedonia. The *mübadil*s settled in Akköy were ten households from Doksat (Doxato/Δοξάτο) town. They boarded on the ship in Thessaloniki and landed off in İzmir. They were then transported to the Kovela harbour by the *Kardeş* Steamboat on 14 March 1924. A group of Pomaks (nine households) arrived in 1926. These Pomaks were coming from southeast Bulgaria (Hasköy/Haskovo) but they were actually from Ebilköy/Chloi, a border village in *Gümülcine* (Komotini). Some Pomak families continued to arrive in the 1930s. In 1928 the third group of *muhacir*s arrived in Akköy from Yugoslavia. These

[152] Küçük Asya Araştırmalar Merkezi, *Göç: Rumlar'ın Anadolu'dan Mecburi Ayrılışı (1919-1923)*, edited by Herkül Millas and translated by Damla Demirözü, İstanbul: İletişim, 2003. pp.70-72.

Bosniaks were more crowded than the *mübadil*s. However, due to the harsh conditions (hot weather, malaria, lack of basic necessities and bad housing) most of the Bosniaks died in Akköy or fled to other places. Today there are only two Bosniak households in the village. *Maacır*s[153] from Bulgaria arrived in Akköy between the years 1936-38. In 1938 a household from Dersim was settled in Akköy by the government. They were one of the many families who were exiled after the Dersim revolt. These settlements were almost made in the manner of 'a single household in every village.' After a while this Kurdish family (probably Zaza) moved to Sazlıköy[154] where other Kurdish families settled in the region were gathered. The flow of massive migrations ended in 1951 with the arrival of a second group of *maacır*s from Bulgaria.

[153] See footnote 62 for the use of the term '*maacır*.'
[154] A municipality which is located a few kilometers north of Söke on Söke-Ortaklar main road. Formerly known as *Söke Kemeri*.

CHAPTER 4

WHAT DO THE *MUHACİR*S TELL US ABOUT?

This last chapter will concentrate on what the narratives of the *muhacir*s tell us about the meanings of the events and how these meanings refer to the migration experience and identity. Are these stories an expression of "an experience which never ends"[155]; do they compose and tell us safe and comfortable stories of their lives which iron out tensions or dissonance and assert positive and consistent identities; do their migration stories, due to the split from their families or lack of family support, become success stories or "meta-narratives of personal transformation"; or do they tell us how they were forced by the host society to adapt and to assimilate into the hegemonic cultural and social atmosphere of the migration location? The narratives of the *muhacir*s[156] are full of answers to every question above which will help us to understand the migration experience and identity in Turkey better.

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[155] Thomson, A., "Experience Never Ends. Migrant Memories, Unsettled Identities, and Historical Change", *International Oral History Conference (11th: 2000: İstanbul, Turkey)*, International Oral History Association in collaboration with the Department of History at Boğaziçi University, İstanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2000, v.3, pp.1081-1087.

[156] There are two things that have to be said about the quotations from the interviews. First of all, the interviews were in Turkish and I had to translate them since this thesis is supposed to be in English. The interviews contained a large quantity of inverted expressions, slang and colloquial abbreviated phrases and it was very hard to translate them into English. Thus, the translations actually destroyed the intrinsic characteristics of the narratives. Secondly, during the process of translation I did not use my own terminology that is applied throughout the thesis, but kept to that of the informants. For instance I used the term "*Rum*" throughout the thesis to refer to Orthodox Greeks of Asia Minor. However, the informants either used '*Rum*' or '*Yunan*' to describe the same group. If they used the term '*Rum*' I used it directly in the translation, but if they used '*Yunan*', I translated it as 'Greek.'

The informants did not tell their life stories in a linear way: some started from their life in the Balkans, some from the story of their migration, some from childhood and some from the recent political developments in Turkey. After listening to the recordings or reading the transcriptions of the interviews I noticed that the narratives could be analyzed under five general themes or sub sections: migration stories; life in the old homelands; narratives about Akköy; relationship with civilization, Turkishness and the Turkish Republic, and *muhacir* identity and relationships between *muhacir*s.

The interviews usually developed around these five general themes. One can find narratives about these in all of the interviews. However, there were also some sub-themes that could be classified under these general headings. Not all of the migrants neccessarily talked about these sub-themes, but they were mentioned at least by two of the informants. In order to clarify the main ideas of these sub-themes I picked up short phrases from the narratives of the *muhacir*s which were symbolic and sort of summarized the meaning behind them and added them to the title of the sub-themes.

Although there were no linear narratives at hand, especially the first generation began telling their lives from the story of their migration. Moreover, analyzing the formation of the *muhacir* identity in the course of their migration, settlement and adaptation to the new environment in a chronological way made sense. That is why this chapter begins with the migration stories and life in the old homelands. Finally it proceeds to the settlement in Akköy and to the beginning of the relations with the surrounding villages, Turkishness and the Turkish Republic and also the relations amongst themselves. However, it should be mentioned that neither

the following five general themes nor the sub-themes are organized in a completely chronological order.

Muhacir Identity and Relationships within the *Muhacir* Communities:

"*Whereas everyone is maacır.*"

In recent years, scholars concerned with migrant and ethnic groups have concluded that notions of collective identification and membership are more complex and flexible than previously realized, and that sub-populations associated with larger racial, ethnic, religious or national categories often have very diverse ways of thinking about their identities. There are four sub-populations in Akköy: *mübadil*s from Doksat, *maacır*s[157] from northeast Bulgaria, Bosniaks and Pomaks. The different *muhacir* groups and their order of arrival in Akköy were very well known by every informant and when asked they could easily name them:

> *Selanikliler* (those from Thessaloniki) came, and following those Pomaks came. Your Şenol brother's [mistakenly said 'brother', it should be 'sister'] mothers [parents] came. Following them, after a while these Bosniaks came from Bosnia. These have come from Bosnia. When they came they neither know the language nor the religion, they all died. These died. See, [because] they neither know the language nor the religion. They all died. Some Bosniaks run away. Some run away. Those of them who did not run away stayed here, they are a few households. Many of the rest of them have already died. Pomaks could acquire a little Turkish. (...) Bosniaks left, Pomaks stayed. After the Pomaks stayed the *Bulgarya* [Bulgaria] *maacır*s came. This time [the village] was all mixed up. We do not have any other mix up here.[158]

When directly asked about the relationship between different *muhacir* groups, as it was the case about the political conflicts, they told me that everything was fine and they could get on well with each other without any discrimination:

> OS: You came to the village from İstanköy. The other people in the village have all come from the Balkans. Was there a kind of estrangement?
> MA: No, no! Look, in our village there are [those] from Bulgaria, from Greece, say there are Bosniaks, [and] *Selanikli*s. They are all brothers and sisters. They neither fight each other nor [there are] quarrel or beating. In our place here, it is impossible that [acts of disturbing] the

[157] Please see footnotes 4 and 62 for the difference in the usage of *muhacir* and *macır* words throughout the thesis.
[158] Interview with Fatma Evren. 07.04.2006.

> law and order like shooting, murdering and fighting each other occurs. Do you know how our village is; it is like a flower.[159]

> OS: There are Bosniaks, Pomaks etc. in the village, how did you get on with each other? You have already married among the *Selanikliler*?
> S.S.: Well, the Bosniaks were poor. There is not already much left; they all went back [to other places]. There are a few left. We get on with the same, there is not any discrimination. They are also Turkish, we are also Turkish. They marry among each other. We are all mixed. There is not any discrimination. Now, there is neither *Selanikli* nor Bosniak; they are all the same. Now, we even marry from Balat, and from Yeniköy. When we newly arrived here the people of Balat excluded us so much, but we are all mixed. We are all human beings my son, we are all Muslims. We are all Muslims.[160]

Hasan Ergün who was a Bosniak gave a similar response to the question and said that there was no discrimination. However, his usage of language while trying to support his arguments very clearly reveals the suppressed prejudices about different groups:

> O.S.: Now there are lots of people in the village coming from different places. How is the relationship between them?
> H.E.: the relationships are very good. There is not any discrimination. Excuse me, but there are even Alevis among us. See! But there is not any discrimination.[161]

He tried to strengthen his claim that there was no discrimination by giving an example: "there are *even* Alevis among us." He talked as if being an Alevi was a natural reason for discrimination and 'despite' the very existence of Alevis, *muhacir*s in Akköy 'managed to live' peacefully. His apology for using the word 'Alevi' was the extreme point where hidden prejudices and discrimination surfaced. In spite of the fact that different ethnic, religious or regional groups have begun to express themselves in the public sphere recently and discussions around different identities are no longer taboo, obviously prejudices and discriminatory feelings do not wither away immediately.

The perfect image narrated by Mehmet Ali Amca, Akköy like a flower, slowly faded as the interviews proceeded and inequalities between different *muhacir* groups started to be mentioned. The signs of conflict were revealed first in the

[159] Interview with Mehmet Ali Günel. 07.04.2006.
[160] Interview with Saliha Sezgin. 05.08.2005.
[161] Interview with Hasan Ergün. 07.04.2006.

naming of different *muhacir* groups. I sorted out how each of the four migrant groups was named in all of the interviews:

> Mübadils: *Doksatlı*[162], *Selanikli*, *Maacır*s from Selanik, Migrants from Selanik, *Yerli* (native).
> Turkish migrants from northeast Bulgaria: *Maacır*, *Maacır*s from Bulgaria, Turk of Bulgaria.
> Pomaks: Pomak
> Bosniaks: Bosniak

'*Maacır*' is the local pronunciation of the word '*muhacir*'. When it was used by itself, the word had one of these four contradictory meanings: 'migrant', 'Turk of Bulgaria', 'non-Pomak,' and as it can be seen in the last quotation of this section, a *mübadil* of Turkish origin can even use the term to mean 'non-Turk'. The dictionary meaning for '*maacır*' is 'migrant'. However, we can see that it was used especially to differentiate the *mübadil*s from Doksat who came in 1924 from the migrants from northeast Bulgaria who came in masses between 1936-38 and afterwards. The Pomaks and Bosniaks who were also migrants were never called *maacır*, unless the word was used to describe all of the migrants in Akköy. If the group had a different ethnicity it was named exactly with its etnonym. The naming problem arose especially among those groups who were ethnically Turkish. Fatma Evren is the daughter of a *mübadil* family and she was born in Akköy. She describes the *mübadil*s and other three groups in Akköy:

> F.E.: [My family] used to live in Doksat. We are *maacır*s of Atatürk. Now when they ask me, I say "I am a *maacır* of Atatürk." I do not know it. I do not know. It means *maacır*s of Selanik.
> (...)
> O.S.: How do they call you in the village?
> F.E.: They call us *maacır*s of Selanik.
> O.S.: You are known as *maacır*s of Selanik.
> F.E.: Yes migrants of Selanik. They are *maacır*s of Bulgarya [Bulgaria]. They are Pomaks. The Bosniaks came from Bosnia.
> O.S.: Are not the Pomaks called *maacır*?
> F.E.: No, they are not. They are called Pomak. [In fact,] they are also *maacır*s. They also came with our mothers.[163]

[162] When a place name ends wit the suffix '–lı, -li, -lu, -lü' it means someone from that location. e.g.: Doksat*lı* means someone from Doksat.
[163] Interview with Fatma Evren. 07.04.2006.

Fethiye Karadayı came from northeast Bulgaria and she described herself as only "*maacır*," meaning at the same time "Turk" or "non-Pomak":

> O.S.: Are you a Pomak?
> F.K.: *Maacır*! We are not Pomaks, we are *maacır*s; we are Turkish. We are not Pomak or something. (Silence) We came [here] very crowded. Not as many as *maacır*s came [here] after us again. Some came after us, but they were less [in number]. We came very crowded. We filled Turkey up.[164]

Saliha Sezgin is a "*maacır* from Bulgaria" and she was married to a *mübadil* from Doksat. She describes how her children called themselves:

> OS: Do you call yourself '*muhacir*' here?
> S.S.: No, but when there is someone you say, "I am a *muhacir* who came from Bulgaria." When you ask to [my] sons, they say, "My father is a *maacır* of Selanik." They do not accept Bulgaria. They [say,] "I am Selanik…
> OS: Why don't they accept it?
> S.S.: How should I know? They say their paternal origin. They say, "We are *maacır*s of Selanik." They still say "We are *muhacir*s. My mother is a *maacır* of Bulgaria, my father Selanik. We are *Selanikli*." When something happens [someone asks], they say "We are *Selanikli*."
> OS: Does it sound different to them?
> S.S.: It sounds superior to them. Is not it the same *gavur* country? Both are *gavur*, in the end.[165]

Her children's attitudes and their naming themselves "*muhacir*s from Selanik" are interesting in terms of the perception of different *muhacir* groups in Akköy. We cannot only relate this issue to the patriarchal way of lineage which is very common in Turkey. I made informal conversation with her son, Ahmet Sezgin, and he told me that he purposely called himself "*Selanikli*." He is an educated person who knows English and teaches Turkish for foreigners in Didim. He is the only person in the village whom the German archeologists in the excavation house in Akköy get in touch with and frequently visit. In fact he believes that the villagers, no matter where they came from, are ignorant, prejudiced and narrow-minded. His choice, thus, does not represent superiority for *mübadil*s over *maacır*s, but a superiority concerning their place of origin. Greece and Salonica match his idea of a civilized world much

[164] Interview with Fethiye Karadayı. 12.08.2005.
[165] Interview with Saliha Sezgin. 05.08.2005.

more than Bulgaria and Şumnu. Saliha Sezgin talked about the same issue during my visit the following year and mentioned her son's choice again in the same way she described it the previous year. However, this time she told me new things about the perception of the term "*maacır*":

> S.S.: We even did not have in mind coming to Turkey. My father said: "when we sold our house, we became *maacır*s." Now they always call us *maacır* here. I knew it [ourselves] as *Türk* (Turkish) there. It means *göçmen* (migrant), does not it? My father said "we have become *maacır*s from now on; we will come [go] to Turkey." That Ayşe here, they always call her '*Maacır* Ayşe', she gets very angry.
> OS: Why?
> SS: She says, "Am I the only *maacır* here?" There were some girls when they came here. They used to call her '*Maacır* girl! *Maacır* Ayşe! *Maacır* Ayşe!'
> OS: Are not the early comers called *maacır*?
> SS: We found them, *Selanikli* (those coming from Thessaloniki) here. We used to call them *yerli* (native). How could we know that they came from *Selanik*? We learned it later. We used to call them *yerli* (native). Now if you ask my [son] Ahmet; "Are you *Selanikli* [from Thessaloniki] or *Bulgaristan maacırı* [*maacır* of Bulgaria], he will say 'I am *Selanikli*.'" He favors his father's side [origins]. Go and ask my brother's children they say: "I am *maacır*." My [son] Ahmet also says "I am *maacır*" but he says "I came from *Selanik*. I am *Selanikli*." They do not want Bulgaria. (She laughs) In the end we are all human beings.
> OS: So, they do not call those coming from Selanik *maacır*?
> SS: They do not call them *maacır*. What do we call them now? We call them *Doksatlı* (those coming from Doksat), we call them *yerliler* (natives). They call us, my mother's side, *maacır*. I am now with *Doksatlı*. We call them *Doksatlı*, we call Pomaks *Pomak* and Bosniaks *Boşnak* (Bosniak). Our neighborhood is the *yerli* (native) neighborhood. Down the mosque it is all *maacır* neighborhoods. From the mosque to this side it is *yerli* (native) neighborhood. (She laughs). Actually everyone is *maacır*.[166]

She was first confused when her father told them that "they had become *maacır*s" and even thought it meant something non-Turk. She now knows the real meaning of the term, but she also describes how it was used in a derogatory way in Akköy to distinguish between them (migrants from Bulgaria) and 'natives' (*mübadil*s, *Selanikli*s, *Doksatlı*s).

Actually, the difference in the terminology occurred because of the need to distinguish between the first comers and late comers, it had nothing to do with ethnic origin or the place of origin. *Mübadil*s, Pomaks and Bosniaks came to Akköy in 1924, 1926 and 1928 respectively. These three groups met each other while they were trying to establish a new life and to accommodate themselves to the new

[166] Interview with Saliha Sezgin. 06.04.2006.

circumstances in their new home. Since they arrived one after another they did not think they were different from each other, on the contrary, they were experiencing the same bad conditions in a deserted village. For instance, this first group was all settled in the old and ruined Rum houses which they had to repair by their own efforts. On the other hand, the *muhacir*s from Bulgaria arrived approximately ten years after this first group and there was already an established and ongoing daily life in the village. Moreover, these late comers were crowded (125 households according to the records) and they counted more than the already settled population in the village. This was a point frequently addressed by the informants from the first group. They usually said "*ekseriyet onlara geçti*" (they have become the majority) which for example affected the local elections. Most of the *muhtar*s (headmen) were elected from among the *maacır*s of Bulgaria after 1936. Finally, the belongings that the *muhacir*s brought with them and those given by the government differed. It is usually thought that the *maacır*s could bring their belongings with ox-carts while those who came early could only bring money and some other valuable items. Infact while listening to the migration stories, I did not notice much difference between them. There were only slight differences: the *mübadil*s came in haste and in most cases did not have the chance to sell their property, the Bosniaks could not carry their belongings all the way and the Pomaks even lost their family members during their escape from Bulgaria, let alone their belongings. On the other hand, in terms of the property given by the government the biggest difference occurred in the allocation of houses. While the first group was settled in the old Rum houses, the government constructed new houses for the late comers. The other items distributed by the government (land, livestock and agricultural tools) were more or less the same for both groups.

To sum up, there were differences between the first and late comers caused by the time of arrival, the conditions of the village at the time of arrival, the size of the *muhacir* groups and the amount and type of possessions after the migration. These differences were explicitly or implicitly stated in the interviews and they undoubtedly affected the identity and relationship of the different *muhacir* groups in Akköy. Two examples show how the two groups blame each other:

> F.E.: When the *Bulgarya maacırları* (*maacır*s of Bulgaria) came here we were jammed, we were jammed in the corners, but what a jam? They, the *Bulgarya maacırları*, were greedy. They were shepherds for pigs there. When they came here and saw the prosperity of this country, ohooo! He, that *Kara Müdür* [Black Director, the nickname of Osman Kozan who was the director of *nahiye*] placed them in the most beautiful places. He distributed twenty *dönüms*[167] of land to each of them. Our [parents] were left in the middle of sandy lands. Now they earn millions, quadrillions and enjoying their life. We do not have that. Our *Selanik maacırları* (*maacır*s of Thessaloniki) were idiots. Stupid! They never thought of the future, they never thought of us. They ate from here [mouth] and it went from there [anus]. Our mothers brought money here with bags! Alas! They wasted their money and enjoyed their life. Then, *el elde, baş başta* (a Turkish proverb which means 'left with nothing').
> OS: When the *Bulgaristan maacırları* (*maacır*s of Bulgaria) came were you disturbed?
> FE: Of course. They were stuffed in a corner. Were there any places to leave your animals to pasture? No more! (...) Atatürk gave them everything here. He gave the lands in Kabayıt[168] to them. Our [parents] were left in the middle of sandy lands, they were stuck in the places they first moved to.[169]

> S.S.: We served a lot to *Selanikli* and Pomaks here. You cannot know how they oppressed us![170]

Another issue which was related to the identity of the *muhacir*s and their relations was about the reference to ethnic origin. This issue was mostly raised in the discussions about Pomaks. One would expect the same thing for Bosniaks who have a non-Turkish ethnic origin as well, but no such discussion occurred during the interviews. I believe that this has two reasons. The first one is related to the respective sizes of Pomak and Bosniak populations in Akköy. Most of the Bosniaks died or migrated to other villages and there are only two Bosniak families left in Akköy. However today, Pomaks are populous and much more visible than the

[167] A land measure of about 920 (or 1000) square meters.
[168] Kabahayıt is the name of a location on the right of the road to Didim which extends towards the sea. Today the most valuable lands are those in Kabahayıt.
[169] Interview with Fatma Evren. 07.04.2006.
[170] Interview with Saliha Sezgin. 18.08.2005.

Bosniaks. The other reason is pertinent to the place of origin. There are two different groups of *muhacir*s who came from Bulgaria: Pomaks and *maacır*s from northeast Bulgaria. Especially the second group needs to differentiate itself from the Pomaks whose ethnic origins are somewhat 'ambiguous.' The discussion between Ayşe and Saliha *Nene*s, both being *maacır*s from northeast Bulgaria, on the origins of themselves and Pomaks is a very good example of this:

> O.S.: Are you Pomak?
> A.D.: No we are not Pomak, we are Turkish! Turkish! Now, our origins, our going [migration] to those places [Bulgaria] was from this Afyon region. My fathers [parents] used to wear *don* (long sleeved underwear made of cotton). They, the old people, talked like the people in Afyon. When was that? (Asking Saliha *Nene* about the time of their migration)
> S.S.: How can I know that? It was in the Ottoman time.
> A.D.: The reason was military…
> S.S.: There is a place near Konya, whether it was Akşehir or Nevşehir?
> O.S.: Karaman.
> A.D.: (Excitedly) Yes *Kahramanlı*![171] We stayed there originating from the *Kahraman* breed. Our ancestors were from them. They used to say so.
> S.S.: I also heard it from my [son] Memed.
> A.D.: They originated from that and then multiplied there. They stayed there.
> O.S.: What is the difference between Pomaks and Turks?
> A.D.: The difference of Pomaks is something else. Their professions are different; their talk [language] is different. Turks are different. Our people do not miss *namaz* [pray].
> O.S.: Do Pomaks miss *namaz*?
> A.D.: I do not know. Actually, some of them read [the Quran] a lot as well. They are the same like us; some do [pray] some do not.
> O.S.: What was their profession? You said that it was different.
> A.D.: Same, same! Like us. Exactly like us. There were not any Pomaks in our village; we got acquainted with Pomaks here. Bosniak, Pomak.
> S.S.: I read it in the history book. They call them *Balgarin Müslüman* (Muslim of Bulgarian origin); they call them *Bulgar Türkü* (Bulgarian Turks). When the Pomaks came to this village they looked exactly like the pictures of them that I saw in the history book. They used to wear *şalvar*s (baggy trousers).
> A.D.: They were Bulgarian in origin and then… No, no! They were Turkish in origin and then [became] Bulgarian...[172]

The Pomaks, however, seem to preserve their identity by continuing to speak their own language among themselves and none of the Pomaks that I interviewed associated their ethnic origin with Turkishness. While I was interviewing Ahmet

[171] The name of the place, which is a present day province of Turkey, is 'Karaman' situated in the very central Anatolia. After the fall of the Seljuk Empire the *Karamanoğulları* Principality became the supreme power in central Anatolia. After it was captured by the Ottomans in 1468 the Turkic tribes known as *Karamanlı*s were settled in various parts of the Balkans. That is why most of the Balkan *muhacir*s mention their actual place of origin as either Konya or Karaman.
[172] Interview with Ayşe Devrim and Saliha Sezgin. 18.08.2005.

Arık he spoke with his nephew Ruhi Olgun in the Pomak language (a dialect of Bulgarian) and thereupon they commented:

> R.O.: There is *gavurluk* (infidelity) in our breed I guess! (They laugh.)
> A.A.: Even my wife cannot speak [the Pomak language]; how can we teach it to children? My grandson wants to study in Bulgaria. It can be good, he can learn the language. The brother of Ruhi, Ahmet Bor, his mother can speak the Pomak language. Except for her, nobody is left who can speak the Pomak language. (...) In our village [in Bulgaria] there were only Pomaks. Everybody was speaking in the Pomak language. My fathers [parents] knew Turkish. I did not know it [Turkish]; I learned it here.[173]

Ruhi Olgun not only acknowledged that speaking the Pomak language connoted being *gavur* or non-Turkishness, he also expressed that it was wrong to label everyone as 'Turkish':

> O.S.: There are Pomaks among those who came here in [19]36, is not it?
> R.O.: No. Those who came in 36 are Turks, Turks of Bulgaria. There is no one coming from Greece, they all came from Bulgaria.
> O.S.: Are not the Pomaks Turkish?
> R.O.: How can I know? For instance you say to a man *Yörük*; is *Yörük* Turkish or not? How will we discuss that? Gypsy! Are gypsies Turkish or are they Gypsy? (He laughs.) How can we do [distinguish] that? I mean, he should take a DNA test in order that we understand what he is. By the way, who is he that you call a Turk? Say, the Turks coming from Central Asia have slanting eyes; however the Turks here have blue eyes. How can you establish a relation between them? Even if you search the origins by a DNA test people went through a thousand years of evolution, is not it? We cannot know whether he is Pomak or Turk! (He laughs.)[174]

Infact the discussion about the identity of Pomaks should include the issue of religion because all of the nine families who arrived at Akköy in 1926 were Alevis. However, it was only Ruhi Olgun who mentioned this and none of the other informants, be it Pomak or not, talked of Pomaks as Alevis. Ruhi Olgun said:

> O.S.: Which religion do you belong to?
> R.O.: Islam!
> O.S.: Any religious sect or order?
> R.O.: Well, of course there is a community, an institution, a belief within Islam that is called Alevism. I carry that belief. Of course there are different orders within Alevism like the Bektashi order and etc. But we cannot know them, we cannot see them or we cannot belong to them. In the end, I am devoted to Islam and particularly to Alevism within Islam.
> O.S.: Does this belief come from your parents?
> R.O.: Of course! Of course!
> O.S.: Well, were all of those Pomaks who came here *Alevi*s?
> R.O.: Well, they were *Alevi*s, but most of them are in a state of denial now. They [religiously] do not go towards any direction; they stay in the middle. Nor do they deny it [being *Alevi*].
> O.S.: Do not they go to the mosque either?

[173] Interview with Ahmet Arık. 06.04.2006.
[174] Interview with Ruhi Olgun. 06.04.2006.

> R.O.: No, they stay just in the middle; they neither say something about it. Anyway let us not go into these issues. The sects, they are between the God and the *kul* (subject of God, human being). No one can say something about these issues.
> O.S.: But what you are telling is important, I mean keeping their belief as a secret. Why do they do so?
> R.O.: Why can it be, my dear? [Because of] the things between the sects, such as: "My sect is better, his sect is worse."

Although Ruhi Olgun did not hesitate to talk of himself as an Alevi (there was already a picture of Hz. Ali on the wall), he did not want to talk about the other Pomaks and their keeping their Alevi identity secret. When I asked if he could give the names of other Pomaks whom I could interview, he suggested that I talk to Ahmet Arık, on the condition that I would not ask any questions on Alevism.

In Turkey, Alevis were suppressed since they had a heterodox belief and did not worship at the mosque like the Sunnis. Especially in rural areas there is still a prejudice against them and they are accused of immorality. Infact there are many Alevi villages around Akköy[175] where they do not need to hide their beliefs, but in Akköy Alevis are a small group and have to live with the Sunni majority. The Pomaks who were already suspected due to their ethnic origin, probably hid their beliefs in order not to be subjected to a second kind of discrimination.

Although there were prejudices and discrimination between different groups in Akköy, in the end, they were all *muhacir*s and they were strangers compared to the surrounding *Yörük* villages. Ruhi Olgun mentioned his discomfort about the identification of different ethnic groups with Turkishness and the discrimination on the part of the indigenous population in the surrounding villages:

> The people of that village [Yeniköy] are native... There is another thing that I do not understand. They say, "We are Turks." Tell me, who is a Turk? Is not it? Who is not [a Turk]? You see a Bosniak, he says "I am Turk"; you see a *Yörük* there, he also says "I am Turk"; you see an Albanian, he also says, "I am Turk"; Pomak says "I am Turk"; Arab, Gypsy, even the Circassians living here, everybody tells that they are Turks. Who is the one that is not a Turk? This means at those times [when they migrated to Akköy] these

[175] Atburgazı is the nearest Alevi village to Akköy. Among the other villages in Aydın the ones that only I am personally aware of are Aşıtepe, Güneyyaka, Yılmazköy, Akçeşme, Kızılköy, Kızılcapınar, Terziler, İkizdere and Tekin.

> surrounding villages probably considered themselves as pure Turks and since we came from Greece and Bulgaria (he laughs) they maybe perceived us as either Greek or Bulgarian.[176]

During the interview with Şenol Olgun, her nephew Hasan Olgun came and after I explained that I was interviewing his aunt for an oral history project on Akköy and the *muhacir*s, he talked of *muhacir*s as if they were the defenders of the last castles of the Ottomans in the Balkans. He was addressing the local people and infact describing the *muhacir*s as soldiers sent to the front while the others were sleeping in their comfortable beds. Şenol Olgun agreed and acknowledged that the Turks, in this case the indigenous *Yörük*s, always looked down on them:

> H.O.: This is a migrant village. Today migrants are [treated] as if they are *Yunan gavuru* (Greek infidels) who came from abroad. How shall I say, as if they are not Turkish, they leave such an impression on other people. As you know, when this Ottoman Empire fell all of the Turks fled and dispersed around. Excuse me but those cowards faced with suppression immediately run away and came here. However those who were serious; those who said "our state gave these lands and entrusted them to us" [stayed there] and continued their struggle for years. While coming [migrating] here they cut the head of my grandfather's brother. Those people continued their struggle until then [they die]. Now they tell us "You are a migrant!" Tell me, where did we migrate from? Someone should explain it to us! We went [there/Bulgaria] from here; [then] those who run away left [those places]. [Those who stayed there] continued their struggle for years, they waited, and they stayed; even now there are people who continue their struggle there. People living here have to respect these things.
> Ş.O.: Your brother Hasan speaks the truth. We are of course *maacır*s. Of course, the Turks always looked down on us: "*Maacır*, *maacır*! Always [they called us] *maacır*!"[177]

Overall, the *muhacir*s coming from different localities in the Balkans and different social, cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds found themselves living side by side in Akköy and also living next to the native populations in the surrounding villages. This situation created a negotiation between the multiple identities among *muhacir*s. While the *muhacir* identity and the affiliation with the term '*maacır*' within Akköy differed according to the time of arrival and ethnicity, the *muhacir*s of Akköy sort of constituted a single *muhacir* community when they compared themselves with the surrounding native populations.

[176] Interview with Ruhi Olgun. 06.04.2006.
[177] Interview with Şenol Olgun. 07.04.2006.

Migration Stories

Reasons for Migration: "*For God's sake, I do not know exactly.*"

Among the *muhacir*s I have talked to, the oldest one was 17 when she came to Akköy. Thus, these people were not the ones who made the decision to migrate; it was decided by the government or their parents. Whoever might have taken that decision, it often occurred instantaneously.

> The wife [of the village headman] said, "I will get this girl throw away her *ferece* first." It was very crowded. While we were all by the fountain, she grasped my copper vessels and threw away my ferece from my head and said: "walk around like this." This had spread around the village at that time. My father exclaimed, "I will not stay here any longer." Then, we came here. We had a relative here. We were not able to come on our own. In order to bring us, I do not know how the procedure is, but maybe they prepare some documents... He brought us to Turkey. We would not leave there my son. (…) Even when we came here, we regretted it. You leave your homeland, your house... We had no house, no bread here... Our money was not valid here. At first, we suffered a lot here. Later, my son, we were relieved though...[178]

The above narrative belongs to Ayşe Devrim who migrated in 1950, from Çufalar (Tıkach) village in Şumnu. The narratives of the *mübadil*s from Greece, Bosniaks from Yugoslavia and the *muhacir*s who came during the mass migrations of Muslims from Bulgaria in 1926 and between the years 1936-38 were similar: the only thing that could be done before the migration began was selling their property and bringing valuable items and some of the livestock and household goods, as much as possible. However, some of the migrations were illegal, as it was in the case of Ahmet Arık who came in 1939 after Turkey and Bulgaria closed their borders upon a bilateral decision. These *muhacir*s could not sell their property and bring their goods:

> Now, the season was… Fifty days after Idırlez, like the old days. We call it Idırlez. It is on 6 May. There now, our tobaccos were sowed. Tobaccos were now being hoed. Wheat was about to be harvested. Even one of our neighbors came and said, "Your rye must have ripened, you can even harvest it." But we were leaving all our belongings and property there. We only had our souls with us. (...) You don't leave your valuable possessions at home then. The house is furnished just like this. But [you take] the valuable things you have. For example you leave your television, and to tell you, you also leave your, what-do-you-call-it,

[178] Interview with Ayşe (İnan) Devrim. 18.05.2005.

> your boilers, your pots and your crocks… You throw them out so that your neighbors get them.[179]

The reasons and the real social and political circumstances behind these sudden movements were not understood by most of the informants. When I asked about the reason for her family's migration, Cemile Şengül, who was a Pomak born in *Gümülcine* (Komotini) and migrated from *Çukurköyü/Paşmaklı* (Zabardo/Smolyan) when she was seventeen, told me that "There was turmoil. A war or something, I don't know what happened."[180] Another informant, Mehmet Ali Günel, who said he was not sure about the exact reason for their migration from Kos, associated it with the increase in the population of local Rums:

> O.S.: Why do they come?
> M.A.G: For God's sake I do not know exactly. Back in Greece, we had had some nice lands. There in that İstanköy. (...) Well, there are many who have come here from İstanköy. Of course, when it gets crowded with the Rums... Well, I mean by getting crowded that the land became scarce, Rums were getting larger in number. Sometimes, maybe they were doing something. Some bad things as well...[181]

The informants also frequently referred to Atatürk and narrated their migration as a result of his direct actions. Atatürk appears in their accounts as if he was the only decision maker and doing everything himself for the *muhacir*s such as bringing them to Turkey, sending ships for their voyage, ordering the soldiers to board "every single Turk in the Balkans", feeding them at the time of their arrival, building houses for them and distributing land, agricultural equipment and livestock. They actually could not tell the exact reason for their migration and explained it as an act of Atatürk who withdrew them from the Balkans in order to repopulate Turkey which

[179] Interview with Ahmet Arık. 06.04.2006
[180] Interview with Cemile Şengül. 05.08.2005.
[181] Interview with Mehmet Ali Günel. 07.04.2006

was deserted after the flight[182] of the '*gavur*s'[183]. For instance, while Hasan Ergün was narrating his family's migration from Yugoslavia, he said:

> H.E.: When these lands got into turmoil and when he chased the Greek, the late Atatürk took from Bosnia, took from Bulgaria and then took from Greece and brought migrants. This place was thus filled up. (...)
> O.S.: Why did they come?
> H.E.: Atatürk asked for migrants from there. He brought migrants. This means, they were being hard pressed by, what-do-you-call-it, by the Russians there. Perhaps, they came here because of this. Some of them came but some didn't.[184]

Fikriye Çam from Romania even associated her migration from Romania with the Turkish-Greek War:

> My father's family's fields had been abandoned there. Was it also because of the Greek war? Well, was Atatürk obliged to [take] them? (...) Well, perhaps, when Atatürk [chased] *gavur*s from here… My elder brother narrates: the kids, those *gavur* kids, those *gavur pali*s (kids) tortured my elder brothers. They used to torture them. They used to say improper things. Did they do this, tormented us, in order to force him to remove us, the Turks, from there?[185]

Sometimes the migrations occurred as result of bad events. In these kinds of narratives, rivalries between different groups or disturbance caused by the actions of military groups become evident. In the case of Fethiye Karadayı, her father killed a non-Muslim (probably Bulgarian) during a wedding and had to run away to Turkey, leaving his wife and children behind.[186] Another story of flight was told by Ahmet Arık, a Pomak from Bulgaria:

> We, let me explain to you like this, came here during the night as fugitives. We left all our possessions and property there. We came here to save our life. Now, just like the problem of PKK in the east now, we were likewise on the border between Greece and Bulgaria. On the one side there stood Greece, on the other Bulgaria. We felt restless there. We were forced to escape here, to Turkey.[187]

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[182] I used the eord 'flight' as translation of Turkish word '*kaçış*.' The departure of the Rum population in Western Anatolia following the retreat of the Greek army is usually described in the relevant literature as '*kaçış*.'

[183] Gavur literally means 'infidel' or 'non-Muslim.' For a discussion of the different meanings attributed to the term see the section Identification of the Term *Gavur*: *"In the end they are gavurs"* in page 109.

[184] Interview with Hasan Ergün 07.04.2006.

[185] Interview with Fikriye (Meracı) Çam. 07.04.2006.

[186] Interview with Fethiye (Korkmaz) Karadayı. 12.08.2005.

[187] Interview with Ahmet Arık. 06.04.2006.

Not all the informants were unable to tell the reasons for their migration. Salih Ayaz and his family migrated from Dereköy (Struino) of Şumnu in 1936. When asked about the reason of their migration, he said:

> Well, the Bulgarians started to torture. They started torturing. They started to swear us as "Gypsies, Gypsies". My father naturally could not bear this. Well, there was a man called *Dereköylü* İbram. My father and he, together, applied to come to Turkey.[188]

Especially the *mübadil*s from Greece were aware of the Lausanne Treaty and the population exchange agreement between Turkey and Greece. Since they experienced that process, they could tell how the agreement was actually applied:

> A.G.: (...) there used to be three Gypsies back in our village. They came from there.
> O.S.: They send them as well?
> A.G.: All of them, all. They are Turkish, they are Muslims. Religion was taken into consideration in Lausanne. All of those who were Islam [Muslim] came. The Gypsy came, the Pomak came, the Bosniak came, and the Albanian came. Those who were of Islam came all. The Gypsy came. The condition is that you have to be a member of the Islamic religion. I mean religion was taken into consideration. There was nothing called nationality. It was not taken into consideration. Religion was taken into consideration in the Lausanne Treaty. Because of this, no matter whether they were Gypsy, or Pomak, or Bosnian, or Albanian, those who were of Islam all came here. (...) At that time, the villages were mixed. A Rum village or a *gavur* one, like this. In Anatolia as well a Rum or a *gavur* village, the villages were mixed. But, being mixed these two *millet*s had difficult times while living together. When the time comes for one of the *millet*s it oppresses the other and when the other prospers it oppresses the former. They separated them in Lausanne. They said, "The Rum to this side, and the Islam to that one." Our decision was taken in Lausanne."[189]

Ahmet Gönül could see the ambiguity of the agreement and argued that the criterion of the exchange was actually religion. However, it is interesting that while he was differentiating ethnicity and religion for Muslims he was referring to Rums both as an ethnicity and a religion.

The migrations from the Balkans that were carried out by nation states in an effort to homogenize their population and to get rid of the ethnic and religious groups which were not able to be assimilated within the newly constructed hegemonic nation directly and suddenly affected the lives of the *muhacir*s. The reasoning behind these urged displacements was not entirely understood by these people. That is why,

[188] Interview with Salih Ayaz. 05.08.2005.
[189] Interview with Ahmet Gönül. 17.08.2005.

except for few people like Ahmet Gönül, they narrated these events as a result of some ambiguous turmoil, or unknown clashes between different groups, or even gave rather technical explanations such as population increase. In most cases these reasons are contradictory with the 'known' historical facts such as mutual agreements between Turkey and the Balkan states. Whether their story contradicts or complies with these 'known' historical facts, the important thing is that they try to make the migration experience meaningful for themselves.

Images and Feelings during the Voyage: *"Then they settled here."*

The process of migrating from one place to another is a hard, long, challenging one and it triggers feelings which considerably affect the memory of the *muhacir*s. The voyages were done in three ways: by boat, by train or by ox-carts. The *muhacir*s of Akköy were coming from very distant places in the Balkans and even the shortest route took weeks. It was impossible to travel non-stop. During departure they had to wait at ports and stations for passport controls, official procedures and boarding their moveable property. When they arrived, the Turkish government made them wait in order to determine their settlement place and put them under quarantine which lasted at least a week. As a result the voyages took between one and six months. One of the informants who vividly told this process was İbrahim Karadon who came from Doksat/Drama in 1924 as a *mübadil*. He first narrated the geography of Kavala and then told how his family while boarding the ship, forgot him and his nephew. After his father turned back, found them playing by the sea and took them to the steamer, he expressed his feelings as follows:

> The steamer was 100-150 meters away. We arrived there. When we came near the steamer, the water got dark there. I got very frightened. I had an uncle called Üseyin on board. He had come down the stairs waiting for us. He took me in his lap and in a, like, threatening (but compassionate) voice told us, "You naughty kids, where have you been?" He was trying to give us some courage by saying things like, "Don't be afraid." Anyway, let's not keep it long.

> The steamer, the name of the steamer was Aksu. Aksu! We came here on that. Well, I can't remember well now, but we came here to Alsancak Port after a day and a night or after two nights. [Aksu was] a big steamer. It was a passenger ship. There were at least a thousand people on board. Now, they took us down to the ground floor. I remember that. But we also went out onto the deck. We were looking at the sea. (...) I can never forget that, there was a big high place on the deck. As far as I remember, there were turbaned hodjas reading; they were reading the Holy Quran to take refuge with God saying, "Save us our Lord." That is still also in my mind. (...) Let's keep it short. We came to İzmir Alsancak Port. We got out of the steamer and took our belongings with us. (...) Now, there is also this one. When we arrived at the Alsancak Port, how many arms had they brought along by the steamer in the luggage hidden? Here, when we arrived there, there broke such an uproar celebrating our arrival. There, I got very frightened. They were getting me to drink water. I remember those things.[190]

Most of the *muhacir*s in Akköy were coming from rural places and they usually did not visit even the very surrounding districts or provinces of their regions prior to their migration. Most of them saw the sea, some crops and animals, or boarded a train or a ship for the first time. These first encounters mostly aroused fear. Ayşe Devrim boarded the train in Yenipazar (Novipazar) and she described her feelings as:

> Ayy, a long jet black thing! I wondered what it was. Where would we get on it? We got on the train and we were going now. "Ayy, it is as if we were flying. What are we doing?" we set off. Look, we were afraid of the train. There was an old woman. "Ayy my son, our belonging and the stuff! (She laughs) She says, "My son, why don't you sit down there." "Hey, my child!" says the woman. I suppose she was about 80. She was a very old woman. "Ayy, look whereabouts are we going? You are making me fly, making me fly," she repeatedly says. Oh my God, what shall I say, my son...[191]

İbrahim Karadon's feelings when he first saw the camels in Kovela (Mavişehir) harbor where they got off the ship that transported them from İzmir to Akköy is also interesting:

> The native people whom we call the *malcı*s [shepherd] had plundered around after the Greeks fled. Those men who were looking after the flocks of the Greeks had all now their own flocks. The loot had remained there. They pitched tents around the Kovale vicinity. We stood there as their neighbors for 5-6 days. I saw camels twice there. We called the camels "Small Gods". It is a huge animal. We had never seen such an animal...[192]

Saliha Sezgin's account, on the other hand, not only describes the estrangement caused by new encounters, but also her father's discontent caused by migration:

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[190] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 15.07.2004.
[191] Interview with Ayşe Devrim. 18.08.2005.
[192] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 15.07.2004.

> We started off from Urla to İzmir. We were going on an ox cart. My father saw some olive trees on the road. We were on the back of the cart together with my brother. My father tore off some olives and gave them to us. He also ate it and spitted it immediately. He said, "*Eee be*, even the plums of this place," he said, "do not taste nice. They are jet black but have no taste, they are sour. What kind of a country is this?" My father took the olives for plums.[193]

The informants usually expressed that they were pleased to arrive in Turkey, but these kinds of first encounters and impressions usually caused stress, fear and estrangement. Despite everything, they were coming from very different and distant localities and they were like fish out of the water, as the Turkish proverb goes. They had to get used to everything about Akköy and adapt themselves to the social, economic and cultural environment. This process was not an easy one:

> (...) We had a relative here. Our *Mandalı*, the late man was very close to us. I was an adolescent, a girl of 16 but wearing my *ferece*. "You will throw it away," he said. We call it *fistan* [dress], back there girls walk around with those clothes on. Ayy, I would not take it off; I was ashamed at that time. They laughed at me here. As I was going to the fountain with my *ferece* on… I was used to it. It did not seem strange to me. The youth from here, my friends, girls, they all laughed at me... "Oh my goodness, she wears that and comes down to the fountain," they said. It seemed nice to me. (...) We all came here, all of us. But they [her brothers] left afterwards. They call it Atburgazı, Yuvaca here. My elder brothers went there. (...) We, my mother etc., stayed here. I never left here. My father, anyway, lived for 10 months here and then passed away. It was also of despair.[194]

It was not only the social and cultural atmosphere that they had to adapt to, but also the physical conditions. The story of Bosniaks was very tragic in that sense. People in Akköy frequently narrated the funerals of Bosniaks which were sometimes more than one in a single day, occurring in the village soon after their arrival.

> O. S.: Did your parents talk about their life there?
> H.E.: He says their life there was good, it was in the forest. He says we had some land there. He says our country was on a meadow. After we came here, they were broken. They came here in the summer. They come towards the summer. The weather here is dirty, because of malaria. They said it was because of malaria or something, they all died.[195]

The phenomenon of 'second migration' is another hardship that *muhacir*s faced. Especially during the population exchange of 1924, the Turkish government tried to

[193] Interview with Saliha (Söylemez) Sezgin. 05.08.2005.
[194] Interview with Ayşe Devrim. 18.08.2005.
[195] Interview with Hasan Ergün. 07.04.2006.

settle the *mübadil*s in accordance with their profession in their places of origin. The Rums in Akköy were tobacco growers. Thus, the tobacco grower *mübadil*s coming from the villages of Drama were settled in the village. Although they were settled in a place where they could cultivate the same crops as they were used to in Greece, most of the *mübadil*s were dissatisfied with being in a village which was ruined after the flight of the Rums and struck by malaria because of the marshes created by the floods of the Menderes River. In spite of the strict regulations of the government that were implemented to prevent the *muhacir*s from abandoning their settlement place, they frequently tried to escape from Akköy. Fatma Evren, who was the daughter of a *mübadil* family, narrated the settlement of her family in Akköy:

> F.E.: Migration. Atatürk had made them struggle (she mistakenly said "*mücadele*" which means struggle instead of "*mübadele*" which means population exchange). He expelled the *gavur*s here to the other side and brought the Turks here. When he took the Turks here, they boarded the Turks off in Kuşadası. Of course, everything was burnt. "Alas, Atatürk landed us in Kuşadası." They resisted to that. "We will not stay here. There is no way we can stay here. Are we going to catch birds here? We will go to the tobacco lands." "Come on," says Atatürk, "If you want the tobacco lands..." this time, they boarded them off in Kovela. To Didim... They neither stayed in Didim and they came here. They settled hereabouts. Everywhere was totally empty. The houses, people were racing with each other to destroy them. One demolishes this house, the other that. It was like this...[196]

Fevzi Çam's parents who were also *mübadil*s, tried to abandon their settlement place, but were unsuccessful in doing so:

> They once fled from here, because they did not like it there. Some had gone to some place, I don't know where, they were all dispersed around. But ultimately, they all came back and settled here. When they first came here and did not like it here, they [the officials] said "There is a place called Bağarası. "We will give you some olive grove in Bağarası". They still stayed here. They wanted neither some olive groves nor something else. "We won't stay here." They got gathered and started to walk towards, say, towards the inner lands. They were stopped. "Oh! Oh! Let's turn back." (...) After that, they settled down here.[197]

Sometimes the migrants could manage to change their settlement places and usually moved to the regions where their relatives lived. Ahmet Arık's family was one of them. After they illegally passed the border in 1939 they were first settled in Kayseri,

[196] Interview with Fatma (Baybora) Evren. 07.04.2006.
[197] Interview with Fevzi Çam. 07.04.2006.

but somehow they managed to come and find their relatives who were settled in Akköy:

> A.A: We stayed there in Edirne for two years; I mean we stayed there for two months. The government left us there. (...) After staying there for two months the government took us to Kayseri. This time we stayed there as our settlement place... The government, for example, settles three households in Kayseri and 20 other in another place. It distributes us like this, I mean to every corner of Turkey. You stay there. After that, it leaves you free. It shows you a place I mean they show you a place as if you were a guest. You stay there for one year, two years or how long you can stay. They also give you some fields. It would also give you some houses but there was no income. During those times, there is no way you can work. How can you work? There is poverty on the one side. We had already come to Turkey in such deprived conditions. Did you get it? I mean you only keep yourself alive.[198]

However, second migrations usually remained as unsuccessful attempts due to strict regulations by the government. This created a situation where families, relatives and friends were separated and were unable to see each other afterwards.

> O.S: Was there anyone coming here from your village after you came? Were there any people coming here from Dereköy later?
> S.S: No there was none.
> O.S.: You, two households, came here?
> S.S.: We, two households came here. Those who came here, there are some in Konya, say, they call it Menderes, it is around İzmir, there are some people there. There are, say, mostly from our village, not Manisa but further away...
> O.S: In Balıkesir?
> S.S.: In Balıkesir. There are many from our village thereabouts. There are people in Manisa. My classmate is in Manisa, I saw her only once.[199]

The situation of being uprooted from their homeland and transported to an unknown place was a traumatic event for the *muhacir*s. Even though they were glad about coming to Turkey, the first encounters with new vehicles, crops, animals and places usually raised feelings of fear, estrangement and discontent among *muhacir*s.

Life in the Old Homelands

Life story narratives are not linear, as it was mentioned before. The informants did not compose and tell me the story of their life in a chronological order and after they narrated their migration experience they frequently turned back to their lives in their

[198] Interview with Ahmet Arık. 06.04.2006.
[199] Interview with Saliha Sezgin. 05.08.2005.

places of origin. There were instances when frozen images of 'beautiful lives' were told by the informants. However, there were also tensions or dissonance regarding their happy and beautiful life in the Balkans. These were also rich narratives in the sense that there were many clues about the relationship between different ethnic and religious groups in the Balkans.

Wars, Conflicts and Turmoil: *"We lived in fear in those times"*

Especially the families of the *muhacir*s who arrived in Akköy prior to the 1930s were affected by the turmoil caused by the Balkan Wars and the First World War. There are many narratives concerning these periods since some of the informants' fathers fought in the Ottoman Army during the Balkan Wars. The Balkan Wars especially affected the *mübadil*s from Doksat (Doksat is in Greek Macedonia) and Pomaks from the Greek-Bulgarian border (they lived first in *Gümülcine* and then moved to Hasköy district) because these areas were the places where the most intensive clashes occurred between Greece and Bulgaria. İbrahim Karadon clearly summarizes this situation and its effects on the Muslim population:

> Our land's folk are in a way *komitacı*, because they underwent many sufferings and events. They met with the Bulgarian inrush. After that, the Greek inrush… Of course those days were like that, depending on the conditions of those days. The occupations went on. Because of these, the people of our land are in a way *komitacı***.** Qualified gun users, alert, those people who had got it on the neck.[200]

He also gave an example of these sufferings. His brother witnessed a mass murder committed by the Greeks after the Bulgarian invasion. They charged Turks of betrayal:

> There is Kuruçay near our town. There twenty people were made to kneel down and their eyes were tied. Bang! Bang! A squad of soldiers executed them by shooting. All of these were Turks. My elder brother used to tell me, he said there was a Fehim Hodja. They shot him. Bang! He shook and stood again. Everybody says, he was knocked down but he alone stood still. He continues, "Another shot again." He says, "They had spent five or six bullets by the time they

[200] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 15.07.2004.

killed him." "Again," he says, "They approached him, they plugged one more bullet into his head, and thus they killed him." My elder brother was at the age of 12 then.[201]

Fatma Evren's parents were also *mübadil*s from Doksat. According to her family "became *maacır* twice." In Greece they fled to the "countryside" when the Bulgarians took control of the area. They stayed there for more than ten years and grew tobacco before "Atatürk issued the Population Exchange." She narrates her family's migration within Greece and its reasons as follows:

> FE: They fled from the Bulgarian! From the Bulgarian!
> OS: Did the Bulgarian come to the village?
> FE: The Bulgarian came down and started to slaughter people. They started to select very rich people. They selected and selected the very rich people. They then went to the stream bank, lined all of them up, and they executed all of them by shooting. They executed them by shooting. They started to torture the youth. After that they ran away. They fled away from there. They fled with the things on their back. They left everything. When the Bulgarian came down, they ran away.[202]

The *maacır*s from north east Bulgaria who migrated between the years 1936-38, usually do not recall any kind of turmoil during the Balkan Wars and the First World War. Only one of the informants said that his father joined the Bulgarian army during the Balkan Wars, but safely returned home. On the other hand, the *maacır*s from the same region who migrated in 1950-51 witnessed the Second World War:

> A. D.: (...) when I was around seven or eight, the Russian also came. Oh mercy, we experienced too many fears at that time. They took all our horses, all our chickens. We could do nothing. They said, "Don't touch their people but damage their properties." They take if they find a goose or a chicken. They kill and eat them. They find the sheep and cut them and then eat them. They took one of our horses. They only left us only with a blind horse. (...) I and my sister-in-law hid our belongings in order not to let them get these. They took away the girls over and over again but they did not take away the Turkish girls. You know the Bulgarian girls do not, say, wear head covers. Our Turkish girls, how could they discover whether they are girls or not because of their *fereces*. They used to say "böö" when women covered in *fereces* come back from the fountain. Oh! They got afraid to death. There were my sister's sister-in-laws there. Oh my God, how much afraid did the people get! The women never went out. All the time men appeared. Everybody cooked food. The soldiers came and we gave the food to our brothers and never showed ourselves to them. At that time, we experienced many fears. They came in very large numbers.
> O. S.: How long did they stay?
> A. D.: They always came and went. Some stay for a week. Perhaps they got tired or the car broke down. They ask for some bread. Oh mercy, they shit wherever they find. I don't know what kind of things they were. The Russian! Very filthy! There was our Hodja; we used to

[201] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 15.07.2004.
[202] Interview with Fatma Evren. 07.04.2006.

> call him Memet Hodja. They, the soldiers, went to make themselves up under their big tree. He cleansed himself with a piece of bread. They frequently used to get upset, "Alas, our Lord is it a sin for us." We were very afraid when that Russian came, you cannot see the sky, and there were many planes. It was just like the way many birds pass by up. It, the earth was shaking like this. Alas our Lord! It kept us awake at nights. How terrible fears we underwent then.[203]

The records in the archives reporting conflicts show that there were clashes between the local Rum and Muslim populations in Western Anatolia and the Balkans in the first quarter of the twentieth century. At this point, oral accounts reminds us to be critical of the written records which can be extremely one sided. During my interviews, Fevzi Çam told me the story of one of his acquaintances, who took part included in the murder of a Greek shepherd in their village in Greece. At first sight the event seems to originate from nationalist and religious conflict between the Greeks and Turks; however the presence of a Greek who bears witness in favor of the Muslim who actually committed the crime, shows that the situation was more complicated and makes us suspicious about such conflicts being the actual reasons behind these kinds of events:

> F.Ç.: They killed a *gavur* shepherd. The shepherd had a wheat moth. They put him into the wheat moth and stuffed it with stones. The *gavur* died there. The shepherd was a *gavur*. But the Rums learned who did this. They started to look for them. They all ran away. These were like three or four people.
> O.S.: Why did they do this?
> F.Ç.: Who would do what? Perhaps, they were all young people. As soon as, say, an opportunity came for them, they started to slaughter... They all fled to the mountains. One of them, in some way or other managed to find his way and escaped here to Turkey. They caught one of them and a *gavur* still rescued him. He ordered a coffee for the *gavur* at the coffee house. The modest man was a poor *gavur*. He saved his life in exchange for a cup of coffee. The moment they caught him, he said, "Ohh! He would not do that." He said. "I know him very well. Release him." He saved the man in exchange for a cup of coffee. One of them, escaped of course. Ultimately he said I cannot deal with this and he did not flee away, they found him. I say like this but the *gavur* catches the man. They catch him, take him away and kill him.[204]

Not all the stories were about fear, death and sorrow. Ruhi Olgun is a Pomak and his father was from Ebilköy-Chloi on the Greek-Bulgarian border. He described the

[203] Interview with Ayşe Devrim. 18.08.2005.
[204] Interview with Fevzi Çam. 07.04.2006.

rather difficult conditions during the clashes between Bulgaria and Greece around their village as a tragicomic story of his 'naughty' father:

> Furthermore when he was in his youth, from time to time my father made the two states to wage war on each other. My father's family had a big house. I mean the *gavur* army officer comes and says to my grandfather, "Give this house of yours to us. We will make it a storehouse."(…) The Greek army hired that big building as the store house. Now, that big building had a window looking at my father's family's house. But, the window was thoroughly locked. (…) At that time my father was in his youth. He was about 14-15; I mean he can do every kind of craziness. (…) Now he knows that the hinges are attached hinges as the house is their own house. My father grasps the hinges, lifts them and pulling it, he throws the lid away. (…) As the house is close to the station, there is no watchman waiting. My father breaks in, gets some ammunition from there. There are 2000-3000 bullets in a box. He opens the box, and takes it down, and fills his bag up with bullets, and again closes it. (…) After that, there were some rifles like this. (…) He also gets through the, say, lid and puts the thing back, like nothing has happened. He takes half a box of the bullets and covers the rifle with *kilim*s [rugs] in the wheat moth. (…) He goes two kilometers up out of the village, at the top of the mountain. He takes his rifle; he starts to shoot, "Bang! Bang! Bang! Bang!" He shoots! Let's say he blows 30 or 40 bullets up. After that he finishes his job, I mean stops shooting, and then he puts his rifle down back into the hollow of a tree, I mean he fastens it into a tree. He flees away from there. Oh, my mum!!! He says, "An hour later, I heard some Bulgarian soldiers from a side and some Greek soldiers from another, they started to have a clash with each other, "Bang! Bang! Bang! (He laughs) There is nothing wrong though. My father was doing all these things. When the night arrives and it gets dark, the skirmish finishes and the sounds cease. Everybody goes to their houses. After two or three days, he again goes out. Again he takes the rifle from there "Bang! Bang! Bang! (He laughs) He directs it this time to Greece and the next time to Bulgaria. He puts the rifle among the trees... As he is a child they don't say... They see him and ask "Where are you coming from?" He says, "Our cow is lost, I am looking for it" "The gun shot sounds? Who shot it off?" "Where do I know? They often shoot off at the mountain" he says. He says "There are gangs over there." But actually he is the gang himself. They see that he carries nothing and could not claim, "You shoot them off." Aha? Can a child of 12 shoot off like that?[205]

The turmoil, wars and conflicts in the homelands of the *muhacir*s were integral parts of their migration stories. They were not only taken from their land and mobilized to a new place in Turkey. Long before their migration they lived through these conflicts which were common in the Balkans. Especially those living in the border areas between Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria were more prone to these kinds of experiences. Although most of the migrations to Akköy were due to mutual agreements between Turkey and the Balkan states and these kinds of events rarely became a reason for migration, as it was in the case of some Pomak families these disturbances could trigger the desire to migrate.

[205] Interview with Ruhi Olgun. 06.04.2006.

Identification of the Term *Gavur*: *"In the end they are gavurs."*

All these bad events; wars, conflict and turmoil happened when the *muhacir*s were living under the Greek and Bulgarian states: or in other words during the time of the "*Gavur*." Thus, the term "*gavur*" frequently surfaced in the interviews; however, the meanings attributed to it differed. The informants used it extensively to describe 'other' people in various references and meanings: sometimes it referred to a single person and sometimes to a group of people; sometimes it was comprised of non-Muslims and sometimes of the members of an ethnic group; or sometimes it had a neutral and sometimes a pejorative meaning. In the last two quotations above we can see how it was used. Fevzi Çam used the word in a neutral sense and as a synonym of "Rum," referring both to ethnicity and religion, which is Greek-Orthodox. Ruhi Olgun's expression was also neutral, but he differentiated between Bulgarian and Greek *gavur* which means that he refers to non-Muslims in general by using the word but also emphasizes their ethnic origin. In another interview İbrahim Karadon told me the interesting story of his father's military service in the Balkans. While he was telling me what his father had done after he returned to Doksat, he said:

> There was turmoil in the village. A lot of people were slandered. My father was one of those people. A guy slanders my father. In the end they are *gavur*s. He said "This Şaban at a time, say, during the Bulgarian time raped my daughter." A Greek guy called Guliç said this. He was from our village.[206]

He does not use the word '*gavur*' to refer to a Greek-Orthodox person, but in a pejorative way. He implies that a '*gavur*' is one who is a calumniator and cannot be trusted. A similar example is the usage of Saliha Sezgin during their chat with Ayşe Devrim on the issue of compulsory service for women at the time of military mobilization in Bulgaria.

[206] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 15.07.2004.

> A.D.: Work! The girls all carried something with handcarts. We used to call it *seferberlik* [mobilization]. Their hands were wounded. They were collecting stones, some were digging the earth and some were shoveling.
> S.S.: See they were slave, they were slave!
> A.D.: Slaves! Also to the girls: "Let them work!" For three months.
> S.S.: What a *gavur* it is! Black *gavur*![207]

The migrants often used the term pejoratively in order to emphasize their hatred or distrust of Greeks or Bulgarians. İbrahim Karadon's codification of Greeks as 'our inveterate enemy' and his harsh reaction to a humane story told by his father is a very good example of this:

> İ.K.: My father came from captivity and the Greek rule started. (...) The Ramadan began. It was the second day of Ramadan, but my father was unaware of it. He says, "I am hungry. I will eat something. I drank soup in the morning and was going to the coffeehouse with a cigarette in my hand." The Greek sergeant says, "Come here! What day is it?" "Leftera." It means Sunday; he says 'leftera' for Sunday. The sergeant says "I know it is Sunday, but you have a special day, what it is?" My father could not understand. (He laughs) *Çatt*, a slap on the face! My father was sixty or seventy years old and I was twenty five or thirty at those times [when he told this story]. See, he praises the Greek sergeant to me. See! He says, "Look that son of a gun, he maintains my religion better than me." I said, "Father, use your mind!" He said, "Why my son? He invites me to my religion." I said, "You see, we stagnated since we could not go beyond the circle of this religion or peasantry. They progressed. Use your mind! The government consigned him to look after you. He does not want you to go beyond that circle. 'Long live my Sultan!' That is all you need to know. See they lulled us like this." Some forty years have passed since this happened, but he still could not understand it.
> O.S.: Could not that sergeant do that because he respected your father's religion?
> İ.K.: I cannot believe that. He is Greek. He is already our inveterate enemy. By no means! If you put them [Turks and Greeks] together in a pot and boil for forty days they will remain uncooked, they cannot be cooked together in a place. (He laughs.)[208]

There are numerous examples of the different usages of the term '*gavur*' in the interviews, but they are more or less the same. Infact these usages coincide one to one with the three definitions given for '*gavur*' in the dictionary of Turkish Language Institution: non-Muslim; faithless person; and merciless, brutal, cruel and stubborn.[209]

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[207] Interview with Ayşe Devrim. 18.08.2005.
[208] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 06.04.2006.
[209] Türk Dil Kurumu, İsmail Parlatır ... [et al.], *Türkçe Sözlük*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1994, v.1, p.816.

Farewell to the Common Life: "*It was the animals' crying that ruined us.*"

The life in the old homeland was not altogether negated or told over stories of turmoil, conflicts or fights between different groups. Humane stories referring to the common life emerged in the narratives. Sometimes these narrations went so far that they were almost describing a paradise, that is, a happy life with plenty of food and beautiful friendships. İbrahim Karadon who thought that the Turks and Greeks were inveterate enemies as quoted above, described a picture contrary to his own statement and told me about their common life:

> İ.K.: We are in Doksat district of Drama province which is my birthplace in Greece. We live sincerely with our Greek neighbors with whom we lived side by side for centuries. I may be four years old at those days. Now, there was Taşo behind our house, he was the grocer. There was his son, Vangel, who was one or two years older than us. Son of a gun, he used to beat me, we were playing with him. I used to speak *Rumca* [Greek], which of course I forgot. His sister Fanula was a mature, imposing girl whose nipples surged. They were there. Next to them there was the *İstiryani* family. They had water buffalos. I could not go there since I was afraid of the water buffalos. Opposite us there was the *Todirili* family. *Todirili*s… There was a widow woman there called *Angelo*. *Angelo*… she was divorced from her husband: a young and beautiful woman. Whenever I saw her I used to run away. I used to run away. She kisses holds and so on. My mother used to say, "Come on my girl, it is enough." She used to say "I will eat him." See, we were close to each other like that. Like kith and kin. We got on with them like that. Now I often think about this: how friendly we, two different *millet*s, were to each other while living side by side.[210]

He continued to talk about their life in Doksat and described it as a civilized life where they had every kind of opportunity and everybody respected each others way of life and beliefs:

> Our life was civilized there, Ozan! We came here and were surprised. People were wondering around with *şalvar*s [baggy trousers]. You see... (...) We had trousers there at those times. We were civilized. We lived like that there, we saw it like that. Our village was a big town. It had two pharmacies. There were two doctors. In every coffeehouse, beside tea and coffee there were drinks. Every kind of drink! My father, for instance, used to drink there. He sometimes took me and we used to go to the coffeehouse which my brother run. It was on the Drama – Kavala way. Coffeehouse was big, casino! Bigger than this coffeehouse (the one we were sitting at during the interview). There were couches like this, but they were leather. This was at that time, eighty years ago. Anatolia was so deserted. We lived a civilized life there my son. We came here from inside the civilization. Maybe I can say that we brought civilization here. It is really so.[211]

[210] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 21.07.2004.
[211] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 21.07.2004.

The *maacır*s coming from Bulgaria also had similar memories regarding life in their villages. Saliha Sezgin and Ayşe Devrim said that both Bulgarians and Muslims could freely celebrate their religious festivals:

> S.S.: Everyone celebrates his/her own festival. Nobody interferes.
> A.D.: They do not interfere. Their festival is different, ours is different.
> O.S.: Did they not give you something when you were a child for instance?
> A.D.: They often used to give red eggs. At that time my father was the barber and when he went to shave… They call it *kozanak*. Boiled wheat, I do not know how they cook it.
> S.S.: They cook very nice meal.
> A.D.: Ohh, it dissolves in your mouth like this.
> O.S.: Is it called *kozanak*?
> A.D.: It is called *kozanak*. How can I tell it? It is puffy like this. When you eat it, that holy thing dissolves in your mouth. I do not how they make it? I could never find it here. Oh my mother, what bread was that, you pick up a piece and it strings and dissolves in your mouth. I could never see that bread thereafter… They used to bring us plenty. My father went to their house to shave them. He was preparing the youth for Easter and dressed them up and put on perfume. They gave at those times.[212]

Ayşe Devrim also told me how their Bulgarian neighbors cried when they were leaving their village for Turkey:

> O.S.: How did they see you off from the village?
> A.D.: They saw us off very nice, but they cried a lot. My sister had Bulgarian neighbors. They said, "You have Turkey, Ata… You have Mustafa Kemal. He takes you, what shall we do with this Russian?"[213]

A very similar farewell story was told by Saliha Sezgin and her narrative clearly shows how hard it is for people to leave behind the memories of a whole life and migrate to a distant, unknown and unfamiliar destination:

> You put this and that into the ox-cart. What else could you put into the ox-cart? She cries at her, he cries for him, everybody cried. We would come to Turkey the next day in the morning. The whole village gathered, my son. Torches… there was no electricity at that time, so they came from my mother's village with torches in their hands. Both Bulgarians and Turks came to bid farewell to us the whole night till the morning. We were at home, everybody was crying. (...) Look my son, one cries, you cannot find it in your heart. Even if you are Turk, your house, your friends… I went [to school] like this, they have not begun the class. They said, "Look, Saliha İbrahimova is coming towards here." I waved to them. (…) There were two teachers there and two more in the Turkish school. I greeted them. You say "Bava ustra" in the morning. It means "good morning." S/he replies "Dobra ustra." (…) They said, "Oh moya memiçe, my ill-advised girl. İbrahim takes you to Turkey. Turkey is good-for-nothing. Turkey is good-for-nothing!" Look, they all loved me. They cried, my son. It deeply affected me. (...) They said, "You stay here, we can look after you. Why are you going?" and I replied to them, "Teacher, I am only twelve years old. If I were eighteen, I would not go to Turkey, I would stay. Here is my homeland, this is my land, but I cannot

[212] Interview with Ayşe Devrim. 18.08.2005.
[213] Interview with Ayşe Devrim. 18.08.2005.

> look after myself. Pırdan, I am a child. My parents are going; I am going, too." Anyway, they fondled and kissed me. I started crying. Then I went to my class and greeted. Everybody stood up and said "welcome." They said, "Today Saliha came as a guest." I was sitting next to a Bulgarian girl, she said, "Come and sit next to me." I went and sat next to her. She clanged such that we could not separate from each other. She was crying, I was crying. It is very hard, isn't it my son? I stood up and I cried. I said, "Good bye." (…) The ox cart was almost harnessed and we would set off. We were going down the stairs and my father was holding my brother's hand. My father did like this [she is patting the wall]; "My home! My home! But when Mustafa Kemal recaptures this country of the *gavur*, I will come back straight ahead. My home, my home I am not satisfied with you yet. When Mustafa Kemal recaptures this country of the *gavur*, I will come back straight ahead. God damn you *gavur*!" he was swearing to the man who bought our house. (…) I came to Turkey like this my son. I tell it to everyone. (She sings a short part of a Bulgarian song) This is the military song, the national anthem. They sang it. Our home was in the lower quarter and voices of songs were coming from the upper side. I looked and saw the students coming. (…) They put me next to the Bulgarian girl again and the students escorted us like from here to Yeniköy. Then we separated. Like we now say "Bye bye!" they used to say "Hurra!" They were cheering "Hurraa! Hurraa!" It is very hard my son.[214]

Ahmet Arık and his family illegally passed the border and left everything behind. What their neighbors said after they had gone is a very dramatic example of the effects of migration not only for the migrants, but also for those people left behind:

> AA: Then the most important thing that affected us was… What does a shepherd have in his house when he is leaving? He has dogs in his house, isn't it?
> RO: The dogs strung along with you ha?
> AA: The dogs did not string along with us. The dogs cried! And after we came here they sent us news. They said, "After you went to Turkey, your escape did not affect us, but it was the animals' crying that ruined us."[215]

Being uprooted from their birthplaces was not that easy for the *muhacir*s to handle. In the end, they had an established life there and had been living side by side with their non-Muslim neighbors for years. Thus, the narratives of the farewell to the common life were heavily loaded and full of good memories on their birthplaces.

Perception of 'Homeland': "*He could not call this place 'my homeland'.*"

A homeland is the concept of the territory to which one belongs; usually, the country in which someone was born. As a common noun, it simply connotes the country of one's origin. Territorial attachment, which is identification with a particular territory

[214] Interview with Saliha Sezgin. 05.08.2005.
[215] Interview with Ahmet Arık. 06.04.2006.

and the precision and intensity of that identification through the concept of homeland, is a very crucial factor in the lives of the *muhacir*s. The informants in Akköy display a close affinity with a homeland (*memleket*) that may often be more mythical than real, but one that has significant behavioral implications nonetheless. Those who were born in the Balkans always referred to the places that they came from as "our homeland."

> We came from the *memleket* (homeland), I mean Bulgaria… (...) We came to Edirne in [19]39.[216]

> I don't know, I hear about Romania. There are fellow villagers even here. They always ask me, "How are you *Romanyalı* (one from Romania)? How are you *köylü* (fellow villager)?" There are many [people] here from our *memleket*. They [other people] say *maacır*s from Romania.[217]

> We were six sisters and brothers. Some died in *memleket* as well. (...) My late father went to the Friday prayer in the *memleket*. (...) If they [his parents] were rich in our *memleket*, they would not come.[218]

> They said, "You stay here, we can look after you. Why are you going?" and I replied to them, "Teacher, I am only twelve years old. If I were eighteen, I would not go to Turkey, I would stay. Here is my *memleket*, this is my land, but I cannot look after myself. [219]

It is quite normal for the first generation of migrants to call the places they were born in and lived in for a while homeland, but the interesting point is that those who were born in Turkey and never lived in the Balkans also referred to their families' places of origins as their homeland:

> They [villages] are all mixed in our *memleket*. A *gavur* village next to a Turkish village.[220]

> As these two villages, Yoran and Akköy, these are *maacır* villages.... We say they are our *memleketli* (fellow countryman), say we are from Cuma, there are our fellow countrymen from Cuma there; or say *Gümülcinel*is, or *Selaniklı*s, and they look for girls to marry like this.[221]

In most cases the affinity with the homeland remained. Only two of the informants had the chance to go back to their places of origin and to see their old houses.

[216] Interview with Ahmet Arık. 06.04.2006.
[217] Interview with Fikriye Çam. 07.04.2006.
[218] Interview with Hasan Ergün. 07.04.2006.
[219] Interview with Saliha Sezgin. 05.08.2005.
[220] Interview with Ahmet Gönül. 17.08.2005.
[221] Interview with Ruhi Olgun. 06.04.2006.

However, especially the *maacır*s from Bulgaria and the Bosniaks had relatives or neighbors who did not migrate and stayed in their homeland. These people sometimes had the chance to meet or even when they did not, they sent letters to each other. If there was any kind of relationship with the homeland it remained alive in the imagination of the *muhacir*s. Ayşe Devrim never saw her village again, but she met with her relatives when they migrated to Turkey in 1989, forty years after her own migration. Through these connections she got information about her birthplace and learnt how the life in her village changed with time. She and Saliha *Nene*, wish to visit their homeland someday.

> O.S.: Well, did you ever meet your relatives there [in Bulgaria] after you came here?
> A.D.: We met. We went to them, they came to us.
> O.S.: When did you go?
> A.D.: When they came [from Bulgaria] we visited them to welcome. Then they came over here.
> O.S.: When you went there how you did find your village, had it changed?
> A.D.: No, we didn't go there, but [we visited them] here. How are we supposed to go there? We are very curious, both Saliha Nine and me, to see there once, but who knows?
> O.S.: I see. Then, what did the late comers tell you? What has changed over there?
> A.D.: Ohh, everything has changed. All of the children, they don't speak Turkish. They have all forgotten Turkish. They said, "We were obliged to learn it. We complied with them." The weddings, dress, nothing remained. We used to wear *şalvar* [baggy trousers] like this. Neither *ferece* nor *şalvar* remained.
> O.S.: Why has such a change occurred? Did they tell you?
> A.D.: What-do-you-call-it Russians came or something else? Something like *Anarşitlik* [Anarchic/Anarchism] happened. I don't know how. Ohh what did they call it?
> O.S.: You say this change happened after Communism, is it?
> A.D.: Ohh yes, look it became *komunuze* [Communism came]. Look you say it better than me. See, *kumanistlik* [communism] just started when we were to come here. It [Communism] took all the other villages. When the time came for our village we came here. *Komanistlik* [Communism] happened. They were all the same. They said, "*Gavur*, Turkish will be all the same." Every worker will be the same. Their land will be in the same place, and there won't be any exchange. Everywhere was smoothed. There wasn't anything like "my land," "your land." The government took everything.[222]

Regarding their feelings about their homeland, some of the informants expressed the regret caused by the migration. They seem to have never adapted to Akköy and Turkey as a new homeland and remain attached to the places of their origin.

> O.S.: Did your parents talk about their life in the past?

[222] Interview with Ayşe Devrim. 18.08.2005.

> R.O.: If I asked he told me. He was saying that, "we used to plant corns, it doesn't grow here." He told these kinds of things. "The sheep used to give more milk there, but it isn't the same here." Like that. He was comparing.
> O.S.: When he compared which one did he love most, there or here?
> R.O.: Well, his eyes [thoughts] were there. He always said, "Our *memleket*, our *memleket*." That is to say, he could not call this place 'my homeland.'[223]

Most of the *muhacir*s in Akköy actually grew up in Turkey; except for a few of them the first generation was under ten when they migrated. Despite this fact, not only the first generation, but also the following generations still refer to the places that they came from as 'homeland.' This image or idea can be nostalgic and frozen, but at any rate the 'homeland' preferences and definitions of the Balkan *muhacir*s of Akköy reveal much about the *muhacir* identity, which will be discussed in the following sections.

Narratives about Akköy

The Rums of Akköy: "*They left their food on the table.*"

The Rum population in the Menderes region fled to the nearby islands and then to Greece after the defeat of the Greek Army in 1922. For two years Akköy was deserted and thus ruined. The first comers were the *mübadil*s from Doksat. Although none of the *muhacir*s in Akköy had contacts with the old Rum inhabitants of the village, they told many stories about these former residents most of which they had heard from the neighboring Turkish villages, especially Balat. İbrahim Karadon was the oldest *mübadil* in Akköy that I interviewed and I heard most of the stories about the Rums in the village from him. He was interested in the foundation of the village by the Rums. He said that he believed what Muharrem Bey, a tobacco expert from Söke, once told him regarding the origins of the Rums in Akköy. According to Muharrem Bey they were the descendants of Pontic Rums. İbrahim Karadon wanted

[223] Interview with Ruhi Olgun. 06.04.2006.

to check this information by asking the Rums who came and visited Akköy recently. Sultanos, a Rum who was nineteen years old when he left Akköy, made a visit to the village in 2000 and talked with İbrahim *Amca*. However, he forgot to ask Sultanos about this issue and now he expects me to find out the truth.[224] As it was mentioned in the second chapter the village was already established in 1765 when Chandler was on his tour to the ancient city of Didyma. During these periods there were extensive migrations from the Aegean islands and Peloponnese. Some of the Rum settlements around Akköy like Domatia (Doğanbey) were established by these migrants and it is probable that Akköy has a similar history of foundation. Thus, İbrahim Amca's suggestion that Akköy was founded in the 15th century by Pontic Rums does not seem to be likely. His acceptance of such a claim can be related to his emphasis that the Muslims in the Balkans were the descendants of the *Karamanoğulları* who were conquered by the Ottomans in the very same period.

The most frequently narrated stories were about the rich Rums of Akköy. They either managed to escape with their property or were killed by the local population. İbrahim Amca told me a story of three men who became rich after they murdered one of the richest Rums of the Menderes region while he was trying to escape. This story was told by Ş.Ç. who was a friend of his father and was one of those three men.

> Well now, these guys are from Crete. They are Cretan Turks. They can speak the Rum language very well. There was Ş.Ç., this guy never got married, his whole life passed with hunting. He used to reside at Söke. There was K.İ.; one of his eyes was really blind. There is A.A. from Söke. These are rich people. They became rich later. (…) The wife of A.A. is from Akköy. During the turmoil, he abducts a Rum girl from here. Her name was İ.H. she died four years ago. She died when she was 98 or something. She is Rum, and from Akköy. Her house is still here, it was reduced to a single floor. (…) He [A.A.] abducted her, put her at the back past of his saddle, these people know the Rum language. Then, turmoil begins. She lived as his spouse for years together. (…) İstamat Çorbacı is very rich. He used to have a house here. There was one also in Yoran and this Kırıkiçi region was totally his possession. They are his, İstamat's possession. These Balat *bölme*s and Akköy *bölme*s are completely his possession. The cuts (*kesik*) made by him still remain. They call them 'İstamat cuts,' they are mentioned like that. (…) Ş.Ç. told this when he came here for hunting, he was

[224] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 15.07.2004.

> a friend of my father. He was a few years younger than my father, but they were friends. They used to go hunting together. My father was also a hunter. He used to be our guest. He used to stay for two or three days and then leave. (…) These Ş.Ç., A.A., K.İ. somehow understood it instinctively that İstamat would run away. There is Argavul at the other side of Söke, they wait in ambush there. [Ş.Ç.] told this to my father. He both cried and told this story. He said, "Şaban *Ağa* [İbrahim Karadon's father], they made me slaughter İstamat. I can never forget it." He was crying. He said, "Madness! Youthfulness! I could not think. At night time, three mules were loaded by gold… İstamat! Of course with his men, that is cohorts. We shot once and killed the men. Only İstamat remained on his horse." Of course, they know the Rum language. İstamat said, "Look, take all these, they are all gold. This is my wealth, be all yours, just give me my traveling money and let me go. Please spare my life!" He [Ş.Ç.] says, "Is it possible? It will be heard, they would take back the gold and we would be arrested." They [A.A. and K.İ.] said, "Ş.Ç. you can do this." He [Ş.Ç.] says, "I cut his head as if a goat." Ş.Ç. was crying while telling this. I never forget this Ozan! He both cried and told this to my father.
>
> My father used to ask, "Well Ş.Ç., what did you do those gold?" He says, "I did not take any gold. There were three mule loads, one for each of us. I gave my share to K.İ. Now, he looks after me." This *Çamlı* and *Davutlar* was totally K.İ.'s property. He was a rich man. (…) Now, K.İ. has neither Davutlar nor a place of a handspan. He has nothing. This means, easy come easy go. I swear to God it's like this my son. See! My father used to say that until he died. He used to say, "My son, we will not benefit from here." "Why father?" "My son, there is sigh (curse) on this land. These guys [Rums] worked hard, done lots of things. It is the sigh (curse) of that." Look, he said so. He said, "Two of our collars cannot meet. This place is sighed (cursed)." I swear to God my father always said this. And see it is as he told. Just about! We can hardly afford a living. See! Everyone reaps what s/he sows![225]

This is not only a story of a horrible murder, but there is a very rich narrative around the story regarding the Rum population in Akköy. If we begin from the end, the dissatisfaction of the *muhacir*s because of the poor conditions in Akköy and Akköy's subsequent underdevelopment was based rather superstitiously on the curse of the Rums. However, there was some truth in this comment. The Rums of Akköy were involved in agricultural trade and after they were gone these connections were altogether lost. Moreover, until the Menderes River was irrigated and opened to cotton cultivation and Didim flourished as a touristic place the whole region stagnated economically. During this process Akköy was among the least developed localities in the region, not because of the curse of the Rums, but because it was neither on the plain nor by the seaside.

Ş.Ç., the person who actually killed İstamat, frankly described this horrible event to its very detail. Firstly, such a horrible murder is an indicator of the existence

[225] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 17.08.2004.

of similar events in the region during the turmoil in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Contrary to the arguments of conventional Turkish historiography, these kinds of clashes amongst the local population occurred on mutual terms; it was not only the Rums who 'went mad' and 'murdered innocent Turks'. Secondly, the case shows us that these kinds of murders were not committed always for nationalistic purposes. It is obvious that the poor guy who was forced to 'pull the trigger', did not have such aims and had to live with the trauma caused by the event.

Finally, this story makes us think not only about those who went or came, but also about the people who were left behind. The sub-story of İ.H., wife of A.A., reminds us of a taboo in Turkey. İ.H. is a Rum girl from Akköy who was abducted by A.A. or willingly escaped from home and did not migrate to Greece. The issue of the people left behind during the deportations or forced migrations has begun to be discussed in Turkey, especially concerning the Armenian case. The stories of these people who had to keep their identities secret and to assimilate into the hegemonic culture are worth studying.[226]

The flight of the Rums which was also related to the stories above was the second most frequently narrated subject. The informants however concentrated on the people or belongings they left behind instead of talking about the ones who fled. Mehmet Ali Günel emphasized the sudden character of this migration and used one

[226] Some of the books that have been published in Turkish within the last ten years on this issue are: Yorgo Andreadis, *Tamama: Pontus'un Yitik Kızı*, İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1996; Yorgo Andreadis, *Tolika: "Bacikam Al Beni"*, İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1999; Ertuğrul Aladağ, *Maria: Göç Acısı*, İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1999; Abdullah Ayata, *Anılarda Son Ermeni Bir Hasret Öyküsü*, İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar, 2004; Fethiye Çetin, *Anneannem*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2004; Verjine Svazlian, *Ermeni Soykırımı ve Toplumsal Hafıza*, İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2005; Lerna Ekmekçioğlu and Melissa Bilal (eds.), *Bir Adalet Feryadı Osmanlı'dan Türkiye'ye Beş Ermeni Feminist Yazar 1862 – 1933*, İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2006 and Erhan Başyurt, *Ermeni Evlatlıklar Saklı Kalmış Hayatlar*, İstanbul: Karakutu Yayınları, 2006. Most of these books cover individual experiences of non-Muslim, especially Armenian, women who went through the turmoils in Anatolia in the early twentieth century.

of the most commonly heard sentences in these interviews, "they left their food on the table."

> M.A.G.: (...) The Balat village was completely Turkish at that time. When the Rums left here this village was deserted. They left their food on the table here. Even an old woman was left here. Then these houses… For instance if we leave here now… Suppose we got out of here and went. Just our dress on our back, you cannot take anything else. This [he shows the tea spoon] stays here. Then, they [Turkish villagers] come from Balat and collect everything and leave.
> O.S.: What happened to that old woman?
> M.A.G.: They killed her or something like that happened. I suppose they killed her, they killed her.[227]

In another interview, Ahmet Gönül narrated how the uprising in Yoran was suppressed based on the eye witness of a Turkish soldier, he told me how the Rums left Yoran and what happened to their livestock:

> A.G.: (...) He [a soldier who fought in the 1922 War] says, "We had a hard time evacuating *gavur*s from the village until midday. Women, children, they all gathered around the church. Some stocked bread, some brought only their children, and some stocked clothes. We had a hard time getting them out of the village. The government sent us upon them." They took whoever they could catch. They took them as captives. The rest run away. Those who could not escape were killed. There is the Priest Island close to Altınkum. All the people here took refuge in the Priest Island.
> O.S.: Did they settle there? Did they build any houses or something?
> A.G.: Which house? They stayed there for five or ten days. They took refuge there in order to escape from the bandits of the village. In short, there was a *gavur* here called İstamat. He was the agha of the village. He had gone to İzmir to the Greek commander there. He requested from that commander. He said, "Our situation is bad. They took over our villages. We have taken refuge in the islands and hid in this and there. We are exhausted. Send us a ship! Let us flee to Greece." Hereupon, he sent two ships. The Rums gathered there and [the ship] would take them to Greece, but they are all bandits. It was a British ship. He [the captain of the ship] placed a table in front of the gate of the ship. He said, "Bring your money." He would record them. "I will return it when we arrive." It was a trick. They [the Rums] understood that this was pillage, a robbery. They did not give their money. However, they [the officers] collected from some of them. Some of them let the others know about the situation. In short, the *gavur*s run away. The ship did not take any animals or crops, but only people. He says, "So many animals were gathered in the Mavişehir passage.
> O.S.: Who says this?
> A.G.: Men [People] of those times. People who have seen those times… There were *Yörük*s here. Those *Yörük*s were the shepherds of those *gavur*s. See, the ship does not take them. What will they do when it does not take them? They left their animals by their shepherds. So many animals were gathered there at that time that he says, "There were may be fifty thousand goats and maybe twenty thousand cattle. The animals piled up." These animals were leftover to the *Yörük*s here, to the shepherds. When we came here, every *Yörük* had a hundred cattle. They were all the property of those *gavur*s. What can we do? These kinds of bad things have happened.[228]

[227] Interview with Mehmet Ali Günel. 07.04.2006.
[228] Interview with Ahmet Gönül. 17.08.2005.

Actually the narratives about the Rums of Akköy are second hand narratives since the *muhacir*s in the village came after the flight of the Rums. Stories about the Rums of Akköy were narrated by the *muhacir*s as they had heard them from the surrounding native populations. Despite this fact, the narratives about the Rums of Akköy are rich due to the fact that their story is actually very similar to the *muhacir*s' own experiences. This is especially true for the *mübadil*s coming from Greece; they were the ones who talked were about the Rums of Akköy compared to the other *muhacir*s, probably because they lived together with them for a long time in Greece.

Treasure Hunting: "*We would lie if we say we did not find.*"

The 'spoils of war' in Akköy and other Rum settlements were taken by the *Yörük*s in the surrounding Muslim villages, right after the departure of the Rums. The 'spoils of war' included livestock, movables in the houses and even the frames of the doors and windows. However, there was an item that was searched for from after the arrival of the *muhacir*s until today by everybody including the Rums who got special permissions to do that: golden money. There were various stories about treasure hunting. I will just give some examples:

> O.S.: Were there many people who looked for the money they [the Rums] have left?
> F.E.: They still do. They still do, but there is not any. That money is found by coincidence. That is to say, you cannot find it by looking for it. However, many people found money.
> O.S.: Were there people who found money in the village?
> F.E.: Ooh, ooh! Of course! We would lie if we say we did not find. Some people found. Some people found. It is not by looking for, what your destiny is comes out.[229]

> A.G.: Well, there were rich people at those times, but I do not know all of them. I will tell you this: for instance there was a gang leader here, the grocer Dimitri. He was pillaging these Turkish villages and robbing. You know our *efe*s [the leader of zeibeks] he was just like them. Then there was what-you-call-it, Captain Usamadis. He was from Akbük. He resided in Akbük and he was the king of the gang. Even the children of that guy from Akbük, came here. Of course they did not tell us that they were the children of him, but we somehow learnt it. They are hunting treasure. The bandit pillaged, robbed and he gathered and gathered.
> O.S.: When did they come?

[229] Interview with Fatma Evren. 07.04.2006.

> A.G.: It has been three years. They came here. A guy from Kuşadası brought them. He brought the Rums. I know him. They were looking for their father's money. They found it. Our Turks found it. They found plenty, cauldrons of money. That much…[230]

> They issued an official certificate from Greece and conducted hunting three times here. They looked for money. They could not find. Three times… (...) Fifteen years ago again a guy from Akköy called Görgi came here. (...) He stepped up from those stairs. He said, "*Selamünaleyküm*! [Peace be with you!]" There were some people sitting around. I said "*Aleykümselam*! [Peace be upon you!]," and he came to me. "Welcome!" He said, "Thank you!" He stood next to me. He was neither so tall nor short, but middle-sized. He said, "Are you from here?" "Yes, I am from here." He said, "The hell you are! You are not, I am from here." (He laughs). Ooo, then I understood. The wise need no explanation! This means this guy is from here, he went from here. That guy was nine years older than me. Be careful! Görgi. He was also living in a village of Kavala. He sat next to me. His children came and I offered something to them. (...) We got on well quickly. He also knew Turkish. We talked about this and that. I said, "Görgi you were ambushed here?" He said, "We run away *bre*. We only took a loaf of bread. I stayed overnight in the forest and then run away by sea." "Why are you running away?" he said, "Vre you would slaughter us!" I asked, "Was there money left here?" He said, "Nothing was left." "Why?" He said, "The rich people here were greedy. They gathered beforehand. My bread was on my fork and we run away like that." I said, "There was a bakery here, two gold coins were found there." "The baker put it there and then forgot when he was running away. If the old woman had, it was left. Big money was not left here." "See, they came here to look for it?" He said, "No, my friend. They did not leave; big money was not left here." He said this to me, and he said the right thing.[231]

Treasure hunting was and is still an important phenomenon for the *muhacir*s in Akköy. After the Rums abandoned Akköy most of their property that was left behind was pillaged by the surrounding villages. The only thing that might have been left to the incoming *muhacir*s was golden money hidden somewhere in the houses. It is understandable that the *muhacir*s who migrated under unfavorable conditions looked for the treasure to guarantee their new life in Akköy after their arrival. However, the continuation of this phenomenon until today can only be explained by the creation of a myth that depicts all the Rums of Akköy as well-off tradesmen. Actually, this myth is not unique to Akköy and has to do with the narrative of conventional historiography which depicts the non-Muslims of the Ottoman Empire as a bourgeoisie.[232] This narrative creates a distorted perception among ordinary people in

[230] Interview with Ahmet Gönül. 17.08.2005.
[231] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 17.08.2004.
[232] It is a fact that, especially after the mid-nineteenth century, non-Muslims played an intermediary role between peasants and Western tradesmen and they established their own network between them. However, neither did their interests totally coincide with those of Westerners nor did they create a separate class that could be easily distinguished from the peasantry. That is why, unlike the narrative

which every single Rum becomes wealthy and every single Rum house a place for treasure hunting.

Akköy: Area of Multiple Deprivations: "*There was not even a road!*"

The search may or may not be related with the deprivations that the *muhacir*s had to face in Akköy. Until the 1950s, the lack of proper roads for transportation and sanitary services that were urgent since epidemic diseases occurred frequently, were the two important issues. Although the *muhacir*s in Akköy were severely affected by the Balat earthquake in 1955, it was seen only as a minor event compared with these bad conditions. "*Yol bile yoktu*" (There was not even a road): I heard this sentence almost from every informant and it was used as a symbol to refer to every kind of deprivation. When the Menderes River over flew, the plain used to become a sea as it was in the ancient times and transportation was maintained by rafts and boats. I am a permanent visitor and resident of the region since my childhood and I always thought the life conditions were pretty good there compared to other parts of Turkey. Thus, I must admit that my image of the region changed considerably after I listened to these stories.

Ahmet Gönül specifies the level of deprivation as "knee deep." The interesting thing in his narrative is that the reasons of deprivation were not only the lack of technology or of necessary means for a comfortable life, but also the destruction of the region by the native Muslims after the flight of the Rums:

> A.G.: We were settled here, but deprivation was knee deep. Söke is seventy kilometers away from here. No road! You need two days to go to Söke, two days for turning back and two more days if you have things to do, it makes six days. You can go and come back in a week to do something in Söke.
> O.S.: Why were you going to Söke?

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of conventional historiography, it is not possible to talk about a bourgeoisie of non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. For the same discussion in Western Anatolia see Reşat Kasaba, *Dünya, İmparatorluk ve Toplum*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005, pp.12-24 and pp.73-83.

> A.G.: To marry, for necessary things, for trials… You could not go for other things to Söke. You cannot go to Söke to walk around. Only for necessary things... We were going to Söke for these kinds of things; otherwise we could not go there. (...) Peddler comes with a chest on his shoulder and sells combs or something, halters, reels. He sells, but I do not have money. What shall I give him? If you have accumulated some money you buy, if you do not you only look. Our expenditure was like that. The most important necessity is water. There is not any fresh water in the village. Women go one or two kilometers away from the village with earthenware jugs [to carry] the water. [There were] wells of Rums outside the village which were left from the *gavur*s. Do not expect fountain or something like today. (...) We took water by the spoonful. You drop the bucket in the well and get only this (he shows his hand's hollow) amount of water from a bucket. We collected water like that. You filter it or something, it settles. I mean, we supplied our need like that. There is no mill. There were eight mills here in the time of *gavur*. They pillaged them. They pillaged them before we came here. After *gavur* run away this place was deserted for two years. They took the stone of the mill, the sail of the mill and the mast of the mill. We could not make use of these mills. They call it Gelebeç; it is forty or fifty kilometers away from here. We went there for it. We carried [the flour] from there with donkeys. We walk there. We go in one day. We mill the flour in two days. We come here in two days; it makes a week. We maintained our flour need like this. There is no market or bazaar. The need for market or bazaar was satisfied from the two shops owned by these aghas. Such a deprived place was here.[233]

As Ahmet Gönül describes how hard it was to supply water, Mehmet Ali Gönül calls attention to the sanitation problem and its various reasons:

> M.A.G.: The Rums have recently gone from here. This village was deserted. Pigs are here, jackals are here, foxes are here in the village. The pigs of the *gavur*s are wandering around here at that time. The village is deserted. Well, they [his parents] come and get into this house. They were a couple of cattle or something. When my late mother and my late father were taken to bed with illness neither cattle nor donkey was left; I mean nothing was left in our hands. (...) My late mother was taken to bed with an illness and died. [After] she died, I continued going to school. I continued to go to school, but this time the teacher did not let me in.
> O.S.: Why?
> M.A.G.: See, I become lousy! I become lousy! Those who had parents also became lousy, but we were worse. Teachers told me not to come to school. That is all![234]

Infant mortality and death at early ages was very common in Akköy when the *muhacir*s first arrived at the village. The dispensary was not enough to cope with malaria, very common due to the marshes created by the Menderes River. The river did not only generate illness, but also stood as a natural barrier to transportation. That is why being seriously ill and going to the capital of the province, Aydın, for treatment appeared to be a one-way ticket:

> H.E.: When we came here my sister, two of my little brothers and my elder brother died.
> O.S.: Did they all die of illness?
> H.E.: Illness… They were small. At that time there was no doctor or something here. There was only a malaria fighter, what-do-you-call-it a dispensary or something. He used to give quinine; he distributed to all of us. However, my elder brother had tuberculosis and he died.

[233] Interview with Ahmet Gönül. 17.08.2005.
[234] Interview with Mehmet Ali Günel. 07.04.2006.

> At that time there was no doctor here. There was no hospital or something. Besides, here one who goes to hospital in Aydın, one who became sick and went to the hospital his/her corpse remains there. Even their corpse does not come here. (...) Rasim went and remained there. A Bosniak went and remained there. I know these. One who goes to Aydın remains in Aydın, S/he is buried there.[235]

In my initial question list I had questions that were supposed to clarify the social life in the village in early times. However, it did not take me a long time to figure out that these questions were useless. Because as the informants told me, what could I expect to happen in a place where there was not even a road?

> O.S.: Well, what kind of place was here when you came? Do you remember?
> F.K.: Ohh, here was a place in ruins. There were five or six *gavur* houses here. The roads were destroyed and dirty! Then of course, when the *maacı*rs came Atatürk built these houses. He distributed houses to us.
> (...)
> O.S.: What did you use to do in your youth in Akköy? Was there anything here to entertain?
> F.K.: Ohh, where can you find a place to entertain? Who can find it?
> O.S.: Was there a *Halkodası* (People's Room) or an association? Did you use to go there?
> F.K.: There was nothing my son, there was not anything. Now, there is a library. There was nothing, there was not anything in the old days. There was not even a road! Road! I shouldered the one [her son] in Holland, tied his shoes with a string and took him to the doctor to Söke. (...) Do you think it is easy to shoulder a kid, take the dippers pack in your hand and go to Söke? At those times it is all sea, [my] legs are in the water. There is no road! I went through the ducts.[236]

The lack of transportation due to the Menderes River and the construction of the road in the 1950s was probably the most common theme in every interview. The road actually symbolized modernization and development:

> There was a mill in Akköy. There was no mill here. (...) Now, Akköy comes here. Look how Yoran prospered. This place developed when Adnan Menderes built the road. It was after the roads were built that they learnt the way to Altınkum. Even donkeys could not go to Altınkum; it was all bushes. You could not get down to Altınkum; in winters it was all crowded, it was full of pigs, hyenas, and lots of creatures. (...) Of course this Altınkum moved ahead after the road was opened. Of course, [it was] mostly because of the road. Where will they come if there was no road? Does anybody enter a place where car does not?[237]

These narratives were not only helpful in understanding the social and economic conditions of Akköy and the asymmetric development of the surrounding villages, but also in deconstructing my image of the region as always a prosperous place where life was relatively better compared to other parts of Anatolia.

[235] Interview with Hasan Ergün. 07.04.2006.
[236] Interview with Fethiye Karadayı. 12.08.2005.
[237] Interview with Fikriye Çam. 07.04.2006.

Akköy in Relation to Surrounding Villages: "*Akköy was the subdistrict.*"

Akköy was deprived in many senses, but nonetheless it was the seat of the subdistrict since the Ottoman times. The gendarmerie station and an agriculture credit cooperation, which are still present, were only found in Akköy. It was thus, the governmental center of the region. However, most of the surrounding villages which were once under the administration of Akköy are now more populous and prosperous. During the interviews with the residents of neighboring places, they only mentioned Akköy as the *Nahiye* (subdistrict) after I asked a question about the village. Akköy is no longer an important place for them unless they have a linkage with the village through a relative or a marriage. On the other hand, the issue of being a *nahiye* once was a very important point for the informants in Akköy by which they compared the present situation of the village with the other neighbors:

> F.K.: This place was a *nahiye*, but it has never managed to become a municipality. Look, Yeniköy became a municipality, this place always…. The teenagers here all run away. It was a village though. Whoever married s/he left. Of course, there are no jobs here. There is not any field of work. There is not any factory or something; what shall they do here? Whoever married s/he left. There are not many teenagers here. There are not…
> O.S.: The teenagers all run away, right?
> F.K.: They all run away to outside. There are not any here. That is why this place cannot become a municipality.[238]

Yoran was renamed after the 1955 earthquake and became a municipality under the name of Yenihisar in 1967. Yeniköy even did not exist when almost all of the *muhacir*s had arrived in Akköy, but it became a municipality in 1991. Thus, Fethiye Korkmaz emphasizes that being a government center usually helps a location to prosper. It even changes the pattern of the marriages. However, this is not enough if it is not accompanied by social and economic opportunities. Akköy was the *nahiye* for long years, but could not continue its prosperity of the Ottoman times. Fatma

[238] Interview with Fethiye Karadayı. 12.08.2005.

Evren also compares Akköy with other villages and makes a similar conclusion about the development of the village:

> O.S.: Has the village changed a lot since the old times?
> F.E.: Of course during the times of the movement [earthquake] the two store houses were all demolished. Our youth did not remain; they all left. It was different at the times of my parents, now it is different. Youth all left. What shall the youth do in the village? There is not a job or something.
> O.S.: This place used to be a *Nahiye*, though?
> F.E.: Formerly, here was a *Nahiye*. Balat, Batmaz, Yeniköy, and even Yoran were under the administration of this place. They were bound to here, but unfortunately every village prospered, ours did not. We regressed, not progressed.
> O.S.: Why was it so? What is your idea about it?
> F.E.: Our youth did not remain. No jobs! They could not earn a living; they could not do and left. What else can it be my son? They thought, "Where the bread is plenty, let us go there." They went to the places that they can fill their bags.
> O.S.: For instance, Yeniköy was founded after here. Now it became a municipality. How did it progress?
> F.E.: (She mutters to herself). It changed a lot, it progressed a lot. Yoran! There was a mill here. They were coming to the mill. They were coming to the mill and were staying overnight in our houses. Yoran, look what has Yenihisar become now?[239]

Hasan Ergün clearly pointed out the reasons for the development of Yeniköy and Didim. Yeniköy was located by the plain and after the Menderes River was irrigated their lands were turned into valuable cotton cultivation areas. Didim, on the other side, prospered through tourism opportunities with its golden beaches and the monumental Apollon Temple:

> H.E.: Formerly, the school was three years here. Then it became five years. When the fourth and fifth classes were opened, there were people coming from Yeniköy to our school. They came here and finished the fourth and fifth grades here. There were two or three houses in Yeniköy until [19]36.
> O.S.: Was it founded later?
> H.E.: After that, in [19]36 and [19]37 when the migrants came some houses were built for them. Then the *Yörük*s started to settle down coming from the mountains. Yeniköy thus grew. There was not a village in Yeniköy.
> O.S.: Here?
> H.E.: Here was *Nahiye* from the *Rum*s; it is still *bucak* (subdistrict). It is recorded as *bucak*, it is still called *bucak*. We had a Nahiye here. Balat, Didim, Batmaz, Yeniköy which came lately, Serçin, and Sarıkemer… Even Serçin and Sarıkemer was Akköy's. [Was bound to Akköy.]
> O.S.: Well then, why it did not progress? It was a *Nahiye*, but now Didim surpassed Akköy.
> H.E.: E, there is no income. But what is the thing that made Didim surpass? Sea! What is the thing that made Yeniköy surpass? Cotton growers! They have world-big lands in the plain. E, we do not have access to anywhere so that we [can] reach the plain and grow cotton or do something.
> O.S.: You say, the lands of this place are limited, right?
> H.E.: E, of course. Limited and waste! What you sow… If you saw ten tins of wheat you can get thirty tins of wheat then.[240]

[239] Interview with Fatma Evren. 07.04.2006.

The evolution of a historical *nahiye* into an ordinary village has to do with the process of nation building. During the formative years of the Republic new provinces, districts and subdistricts were created and this was not done on social and economic factors, but only in political terms. Akköy became a *nahiye* due to its economic and social importance in the Ottoman times, because it was a small scale agricultural port for the Aegean islands and the important port of İzmir. However, the incoming migrants were not able to continue this network and agricultural activity at the desired level and it lost its importance. Despite this fact, Akköy continued to be the administrative center, but basically could not catch up with the developments in the plain in terms of agriculture and by the sea in terms of tourism.

Relationship with Civilization, Turkishness and the Turkish Republic

Another aspect of the relationship between Akköy and surrounding villages is related to administrative understanding of the Turkish Republic. The Republican way of changing place names in an effort to turkify them[241] and drawing new borders for provinces, districts and subdistricts were some of the characteristics of this new understanding. Besides these kinds of reforms, there were events and symbols in the daily lives of the *muhacir*s which determined their relationship with Turkishness and the Turkish Republic. This relationship was and is still very important for the *muhacir*s since it helps to shape their identity.

As it was stated earlier the informants frequently referred to Atatürk and narrated the reason of their migration as a result of his direct actions. Atatürk was

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[240] Interview with Hasan Ergün. 07.04.2006.

[241] Around Akköy there were many other Rum villages. The names of these villages were Turkified by changing them with those that would resemble the old ones. Yoran (also Yeronda) became Yenihisar, Domatia bacame Doğanbey and Gelebeç became Güllübahçe. Being already in Turkish, Akköy remained as the name of the village.

such a symbol for them that one of the informants described herself as 'Atatürk *maacırı*' (*maacır* of Atatürk). Atatürk was everything and had done everything, not only the state of being a *muhacir*, but even the festivals belonged to him.

> There was red thing in the sea. You could see it from the shore; it was two or three meters or something. I said, "Father, why does that turn to red in the sea?" "It is Mustafa Kemal's ship," my father said so. I said, "Father, why is it red?" "There was a festival in Turkey," my father said so. It was the Republican Day; we did not know it then. It was [endowed with] all flags; that Turkish ship, you see! My father said, "There was the festival of Mustafa Kemal." "Father, it is neither the Sugar Feast nor the Feast of Sacrifice," I said so. We knew two festivals until then.[242]

According to the *muhacir*s in Akköy, what Atatürk had done for them (bringing them to Turkey; distributing land, livestock and agricultural tools; and building houses) could have never been forgotten. Thus compliance with his thoughts (Kemalism) and revolutionary reforms was very important for them. This was also a way of adapting themselves to the new social, cultural and political climate of Turkey. For instance, the narrative of İbrahim Karadon is full of examples that could be matched with the reforms of Atatürk. The interesting thing is that, he gives these examples from their daily life in Doksat and in a way tries to show that they had already adopted these 'good and civilized' manners of life before they came to Turkey. It is not surprising that the most frequently repeated words in İbrahim Karadon's narrative were "*medeni*" and "*medeniyet*," ("civilized" and "civilization" respectively). For instance, when he was talking about his father's imprisonment in Tirhala, he mentioned that the Greeks did not give oily foods to the Ottoman captives. This was because they were not fed properly and their intestines were empty. A Greek officer told them if they had given oily food probably at least half of the captives would have died. And İbrahim Karadon comments:

> "Look my brother, my child! There was civilization there even at that time. If it were here, we would say; 'Cuckolds, you cannot afford it and you say so'."[243]

[242] Interview with Saliha Sezgin. 05.08.2005.
[243] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 17.08.2004.

In another instance he talks about the Rumî (Julian) calendar and its usefulness since it is based on the sun days. He says that for long years we have used the lunar calendar which causes an eleven day loss every year and adopted the Gregorian calendar too late. However, Christians, by which he means Greeks, were using it for a long time:

> Until recently we have lived with the Rumi (Julian) calendar. Then thanks to the principles of Atatürk entirely oriented towards Europe, oriented towards the whole world, we accepted the Gregorian calendar. There are people here who still react to it. That's evident it is the birth of Christ. They say it shows that we have become like *gavur*s. Let them say. Mevlana Celalettin Rumi says this; he says, "This is a financial loss," and taking March as the first month he invents the Rumi (Julian) calendar. They started using Gregorian years six hundred years before us. That is, they started it beginning with the birth of Christ. And maybe for this reason they developed. Though they are very carefully planned people, they are still like that. On the other hand, we wasted time with lunar months, sun calendars etc."[244]

He also talks about the changing of the alphabet in 1928 and relates his father's effort to teach him the new alphabet with the civilized culture he adopted in Greece.

> In 1928 the new letters appeared. I was nine years old. My father bought a new alphabet. There was 'A' in new Turkish and beneath it 'A' in old Turkish. My father was teaching me, "This is A, this is B, these are vowels, and these are consonants." My father was literate and at the same time he was a hodja. My father was a civilized man. However, he was among those civilized hodjas. He more or less knew the Quran and could read it; he fifty fifty knew the Quran by heart. [It was because of] his curiosity and the manner he was raised in those days. But he also drank. A civilized hodja! He performed his *namaz*, fasted, but he was at he same time a person who knew civilization well. That is because of the culture there [Greece]; they were raised there like that.[245]

While he was talking about their life in Drama and making comparisons with the conditions in Turkey the issue of civilization became more dominant. When I asked how they maintained their clothes in Drama, he made a sort of a reference to the law which abolished all religious clothes:

> "My father also bought ready-made clothes for me. Our life was civilized there, Ozan! We came here and were surprised. People were wondering around in *şalvar*s [baggy trousers]. You see... (...) We had trousers there at those times. We were civilized. We lived like that there, we saw it like that."[246]

[244] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 17.08.2004.
[245] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 17.08.2004.
[246] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 17.08.2004.

Similarly, his comparison of their marriage traditions and those in Anatolia refers to the changes brought by the new civil code. He mentions that there is no polygamy in their tradition and continues:

> "There is no polygamy in us. Ohh, I should say that this is our manners there; maybe we had it while we were in Anatolia. We went there from Anatolia, but we are people who completely took refuge in the civilization there. (...) Here people marry their relatives, these are very shameful things. Both shame and sin! These cannot happen. We also adopted their culture. There are also things that they adopted from our culture. But theirs is more reasonable, more beautiful, more civilized."[247]

Finally, while he talks about his elder brother's coffeehouse in Doksat, he makes the connection between all of their 'revolutionary' customs and their migration:

> "Coffeehouse is big, casino! Bigger than this coffeehouse (the one we were sitting at during the interview). There were couches like this. But leather couches! At that time, eighty years ago! Anatolia was so deserted. We lived a civilized life there my son. We came here from inside the civilization. Maybe I can say that we brought civilization here. It is really so."[248]

All these examples have to do with how İbrahim *Amca* relates himself to Turkishness and the new social and political culture of the Turkish Republic, symbolized by the principles and reforms of Atatürk. The cultural experiences and understanding of the *muhacir*s which they acquired in their daily life in the Balkans resemble Western "civilized" and "developed" society or culture according to him, compared with the Anatolian and hence Turkish "uncivilized" and "underdeveloped" society or culture. He sees himself as belonging to that "civilized" culture although he spent only five years in that particular geography. It is interesting that he argues that the *muhacir*s are the transporters of civilization from the "West". This also has to do with *muhacir* identity. Although he and his family were migrating to the "homeland", they were still "foreigners" and they needed means with which to be accepted by the local

[247] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 17.08.2004.
[248] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 17.08.2004.

people, – and even sometimes to claim to be superior to them. That is why the issue of being civilized and coming from civilization is very dominant in his narrative.

Narratives about Osman Kozan: "*He spoils the door, builds the window!*"

Another figure, from whom important clues can be drawn about the *muhacir* identity and its relation with Turkishness and the Turkish Republic, is Osman Kozan. Osman Kozan was the head of the subdistrict in the late 1930s. He was a captain during the Independence War. He showed heroism in the war, but since he became a captain illegally[249] he had to refuse promotion and to take administrative responsibilities instead. He came to Akköy in 1935. He was an idealist Republican officer and tried to educate children and teenagers in the *Halkodası* (People's Room). He gave courses to teach French and all the teenagers in the village had to attend them. He was at the same time a painter and in 1937 he decided to build a statue of Atatürk, drew its plan and made an order to Istanbul. The statue was very symbolic, first Atatürk's bust was not straight as usual, but he looked right. It was placed such that Atatürk seemed to be watching the sea and thus the Aegean Islands which were an acute problem in international relations between Greece and Turkey in the 1940s. Secondly the marbles and the pedestal were all made of materials that were ripped out from the great church and its graveyard in Akköy. Osman Kozan was the chief architect of this project. Since he was at the same time a heroic, cultured and hardworking figure and a harsh and transforming administrator, İbrahim Karadon's opinion about him was as follows:

> "Bastard! Can a work of art disappear? Can we demolish it? I mentioned Osman Kozan yesterday, the head of the subdistrict, the one who built this statue. Osman Kozan spoils the door, builds the window. He had a constructive side, but his defeatism was more dominant.

[249] He could not finish the military school, but when the war broke out he wore the uniform of a captain, started collecting voluntary forces and commanded them in the war.

> For example he placed this statue here. (...) he brought it from there and put it in front of Atatürk's statue. Leave it there in its own place! Look lots of people came and asked about that tomb. It has gone with the wind. (...) There, in front of Atatürk's pedestal, Osman Kozan on his own, he was an artist, wrote a piece of writing: 'T.R. Turkish Republic. Oh Turkish youth! Do not forget those who worked and died for the sake of sovereignty!' He wrote this. With big capital letters! (...) He was a good artist and was talented. But see, he did not respect the past, defeatist! I did not like those behaviors of his. [He was] both a defeatist and a constructor."[250]

The way he describes Osman Kozan shelters both love and hatred. İbrahim *Amca* admires his efforts in shaping the village in a more "civilized" manner, but as an administrative officer of the Republic Osman Kozan's central and straight forward actions disturbed him. This issue is related to inclusion in the administrative units, decision making and implementation. So it is highly related with politics and power. Osman Kozan as a central figure representing authority signifies the exclusion of the *muhacir*s from politics and power. Again being a *muhacir* surfaces as the dominant feeling in this case and it shapes the relation between the individual (İbrahim *Amca*) and authority (Osman Kozan in this case).

Relation with Politics: "*You are a Populist; I am a White Horse*[251]..."

The migrants had a great admiration for Atatürk and saw themselves as the carriers of 'Western' civilization on which the principles and revolutions of Atatürk were based. This resulted in a natural inclination towards Kemalism and the Republican People's Party (hereafter RPP) in the political choices of most of the migrants:

> A Kemalism constantly lies inside us as I saw from my mother and father. You may ask why Atatürk is so something [important]? Our *maacır* people (*millet*), you know, Atatürk called and [people] applied from Bulgaria [and] Greece. But [because of] this, we are grateful and indebted to the grand Ata. Of course, there are also ungrateful people in this village who would say "Come on, so what? We would anyhow come by ourselves," and who would act against Atatürk. For instance there are those kinds of men… When they [*maacır*s] came, Atatürk, that is to say the state of that time, gave their ox carts, horse, seeds, and the houses over there, in this Lower Quarter, are *maacır* houses built by the state. (...) For instance, now the present government does not give me, let us say, even a chocolate Atatürk gives house, land, horse, ox cart, seeds, [and] bread to eat. This is [done] in that time of misery. In 1926

[250] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 17.08.2004.
[251] The amblem of the Democrat Party was a walking white horse. That is why "Kırat" (White Horse) was sort of Democrat Party's nickname.

> the state has just come out of the war. It has newly established the Republic. [However] it supports its people very well. The present administrators are trying to exploit the people; they are selling the factories established by Atatürk… With politics I meant these [kinds of issues]. Saying all these [things] mean [dealing with] politics. If I speak more frankly, they say [call me] "Anarchist" or something. I mean, I continued my political activity in a Kemalist view until today.[252]
>
> We always favor left my son. We are not [inclined] to the right [wing]. For God's sake, Atatürk brought us [so] I am Kemalist. Our family is Kemalist. Everyone may do whatever they want. Is not it right my son? Everyone loves someone.[253]
>
> OS: What is the general political view in Akköy?
> AA: The majority is People's Party. Sometime we gave to the Democrat.[254]

As Ahmet Arık mentioned there was a period when the *muhacir*s voted for the Democrat Party (hereafter DP) during the transition to the multi-party system as it was the case in almost all parts of Turkey. İbrahim Karadon told an anecdote about Kirkor and likened voting for the RPP to being devoted to a certain religion:

> My father constantly voted for the People's Party. I voted for the Democrat Party too, like Kirkor's story. I am in a way like Kirkor. Do you know who Kirkor is? [He is] an Armenian youth. They believe in Christianity. They worship the Bible. One day Kirkor decides and buys the Old Testament. He has an old mother. She said, "My son, Kirkor, what is that?" He said, "This is also God's True book, mother, the Old Testament." She said, "Mercy! Be Jesus not hear it. My son, you will upset Jesus" He says, "Well now this also a True book. Our book [Bible] also writes the Old Testament. It mentions it." She says, "No way my son! Our book is the Bible." Then Kirkor dies without learning the whole book [the Old Testament]. His mother cries, cries, [and] cries. It has been a year [and] she [still] cries. An old Turkish neighbor of her like me said, Sister, why are you crying? God loved him and took him." She said, "Ohh my neighbor I am not crying for that, for my Kirkor." "So then?" "I am crying for the great difficulties he is in there." "Why?" She said, "Kirkor did a terrible wrong when he was alive." "What did he do?" She said, "Our book is the Bible. He went and bought an Old Testament. He bought Moses' book. He died before he could learn it. We are already at odds with Mohammed. He has offended Jesus. What he does there now, I am crying for that." In [19]46 Democrat Party was established. I am progressive. In [19]47, I became a member. Not only me, all Turkey… I went to Söke and became a member. "Mr. Baki, record me to the Party [as a member]" We voted for it. We are happy. It lasted four years. There was abundance. In [19]51, I bought a *motor* [tractor] by the help of the Marshall aid; on installment basis for five years. Nice! After five years a boom of black-market [happened]. Misery all over the country... Oh my God, this was not like what I wanted it to be. They called for early elections. In [19]57, I turned back to the People's Party. In that, I was wrong like Kirkor.[255]

İbrahim Karadon said that he made a mistake by becoming a member of the DP, but not all people were upset by the policies of the DP and its descendants:

[252] Interview with Ruhi Olgun. 06.04.2006.
[253] Interview with Saliha Sezgin. 05.08.2005.
[254] Interview with Ahmet Arık. 06.04.2006.
[255] Interview with İbrahim Karadon. 17.08.2004.

> I came from the military service in [19]49. We came from the military service in [19]49, but the Democrat Party has reared up, but what a rear up was that? Ohh, ohh! The Democrat Party is challenging. Democrat Party lost the elections in [19]45, but in [19]50 they [won the elections]... In [19]25, they could win only 25 seats in the parliament. Then it grew stronger until [19]50. It influenced and enforced obedience. In [19]50, the Democrat Party reared up. We conducted an election in [19]50. We set up the election on 14 May. People's Party could only win 25 seats in the parliament. The rest of it was from the Democrat Party. They were all from our party. In the end, they were just people. They were, of course, just to us, not to those who did not come [did not vote for them]. But, they were nice to us; they strained very well to us. First they built our road. It [the Democrat Party] built our road in order that we travel to Söke. In that very first year… they repaired the roads. [Thus,] we could travel to Söke. (...) When the Democrat Party came [to power], it built our mosque, [and] maintained our water supply. In [19]55, there was an earthquake. There was a lot of damage in the village. Houses were demolished and ruined. The Democrat Party members came [here]. The members of the government came. They came for a visit of condolence. They came to wish recovery. They came and saw that here was a nice place. They looked at the sea; it was like a tear drop. They said, "This is exactly a place to live." In that very year, they built 262 houses for us. They set to work in that very year, in [19]55.[256]

The houses that were built in Yoran after the earthquake by the DP government created a political dispute between the Republicans and Democrats.

> Fi.Ç.: Then there was an earthquake. Neither was a house demolished nor did anyone die. The chimneys shaked a little. Adnan Menderes was in power at that time, he bought this place (the house that she resides in). Look he bought and he made these houses for us. He distributed [them] by drawing lots; who knows in how many years we paid for it little by little with the tobacco money? Of course, Menderes built these houses.
> Fe.Ç.: There were very stubborn [people] at that time. The supporters of RPP even did not apply for the houses just because Menderes was building them. Come on, they have been built for everyone! Then they stayed up there (in the old Hisar quarter).
> Fi.Ç.: They stayed up there in the old village, in those ruins.
> O.S.: The supporters of RPP did not apply, right?
> Fe.Ç.: Oh yes, there were many who did not apply. Some applied, but most of them did not apply; they did not want.[257]

Menderes was admired and acknowledged for his services in the region by everyone. Because the construction of roads and the water supply system were very crucial and beneficial steps for the development of the life in the region.

> O.S.: When were these roads built?
> F.E.: At the time of Adnan Menderez. At the time of Menderez… Menderez did it, God bless him! While saying, "Even the *gavur* could not bring the road to Akköy. How can water come to this Akköy? Can ever a fountain be built to this Akköy? Even the *gavur* could not do this. Kocabahçe's water; even *gavur* could not bring that water. How will you bring it?", now see both water was brought to Akköy and roads were built by Menderez.
> O.S.: Who were the people who said, "water cannot be brought, road cannot be built"?
> F.E.: Our people, our elders. "Even *gavur* could not bring water here. How will you bring it?" See it was brought; it even passed to the other side. Water is poured to everyone's mouth

[256] Interview with Ahmet Gönül. 17.08.2005.
[257] Interview with Fikriye Çam ve Fevzi Çam. 07.04.2006.

> now. Menderez did it. May God have mercy on him! May he rest in heavenly light! They made the man disappear. May he rest in heavenly lights!
> O.S.: Was this place favoring Menderes at that time?
> F.E.: Yes, yes! Now how many parties are there? I am still now a Democrat, but it has changed. That party died.
> O.S.: Were there any quarrels?
> F.E.: There were, "You are a *Halkçı* [Republican][258], I am a *Kırat* [Democrat]. Menderes' party no more exists, but there is still the People's Party.[259]

Political dispute between Republicans and Democrats is still alive today, the former changed its policies after the single party period and the latter turned over its history to the present day *Doğru Yol Partisi* (Right Way Party). The dispute between the two groups was presented by most of the informants as if they supported two football teams. There was polarization, but not violence. However, the measure for violence became the 1980 *coup d'état*.

Although I was informed by my parents that the period before the *coup d'état* of 1980 was full of political fights, armed conflicts and even bombings, very few of the informants talked about these events. When I deliberately asked if there were any kind of incidents caused by political disputes they usually answered negatively. Only Ruhi Olgun, who was sort of a marginal person in the village, told me about these conflicts:

> H.E.: Here in fact everyone was supporter of the People's Party. But they always elected the *muhtar* from the Democrat Party. But what a man he was: if he could do, he would not leave a single Halkçı, a supporter of People's Party alive. Everyone should be Democrat [according to him].
> O.S.: Who was that *muhtar*?
> H.E.: Ahmet Akar. At first, he was a teacher here. Ohh, he would finish. The supporters of People's Party voted for his party [Democrats]. They elected him the *muhtar*. Here, there was a Ramadan cannon made of water pipe, you may believe it or not, he bombarded the coffee house that the supporters of People's Party attended. See! Insomuch as that [he hated *Halkçı*s].
> O.S.: Well, were there such incidents because of politics here?
> H.E.: Needless to say that! Ohoo! Ohooo! Do you know what happened here? (…) If he understood that the governor of *nahiye*, the commander of the gendarmerie station or the teacher was a *Halkçı*, he immediately got rid of them through the channel of Democrat Party. (...) He will absolutely not be a *Halkçı*. Everyone had to be always from them. That mentality is still alive. They absolutely favor members of their parties. (...)
> O.S.: Was there beating in the gendarmerie station?

[258] Suupporter of People's Republican Party
[259] Interview with Fatma Evren. 07.04.2006.

> H.E.: Well, there was some beating in the gendarmerie station. But I wish there were more beating, but these kinds of things did not exist. I will not lie to you. Then [a guy] came, you know, in the year [19]80 there was a *coup d'état*. There was a corporal here; they used to call him İlhami. Oh my God! Oh my God! Beating people! Oh my God, beating people! (…) If it was a supporter of *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi* (Nationalist Movement Party)[260] he would run after him and when he dropped the gun he would not touch [catch/arrest] him. He would touch the others. They were all from that side. He would gather and take by minibus loads [leftists] to Söke to beat them. He stabs his hand through and through. (He shows first his hand then his palm). (…)
> O.S.: Did they take away so many people like that?
> H.E.: They took away plenty in the year [19]80. Oh my God! Oh my God! There is an old *muhtar* over there, 'Üsen Altuğ. Go and see him, he will tell you. He was the *muhtar*. He [the captain in Söke] stabbed the hoe through and through. (He again shows his hand.) 'Üsen Altuğ. He is a migrant of Bulgaria. (...) The suffering people witnessed in the year [19]80 was not seen in any of the governments before.[261]

> O.S.: Did anything ever happen to you because of politics?
> R.O.: There were little quarrels, they happened. They were sometimes verbal, sometimes there was scrimmage. Well in 80s not only scrimmage, but also some [bad] things happened. The surrounding villages, be it Yeniköy or be it Balat, they are more something, I mean rightist; they are from the right-wing. We did not let them in our village. Of course, we called them "fascists" and they called us "communists." What happened in this case was that we did not let them in our village. They were coming and we were chasing them with sticks. Upon this, they were going mad and shooting at our houses or the houses of teachers at night. Wow, they were setting the cars on fire! Who then, Kenan Evren did the revolution [*coup d'état*] and everything ended. (...) At that time, I mean before [19]80, this village, the people of this village were leftist. The origins of it [the quarrel between villages] lied in the right-left question. Those villages were rightist and only this village leftist.[262]

In terms of politics in Akköy, first of all it should be mentioned that the love of Atatürk among *muhacir*s is still alive today. The majority of the *muhacir*s vote for the RPP, the party that was founded by Atatürk. Even if they do not vote for RPP, they always express their admiration of Atatürk and his policies, but place the fault on his followers.

Secondly, although it is hard to make a clear distinction between right-wing and left-wing policies in present day Turkey, the politics in Akköy worked on a 'two party system' which at times created high tension on both sides. The interesting point which reveals information about the *muhacir* identity is that the choices of *muhacir*s were between the central right and left wing parties. These choices were ways of staying in the middle and hesitating to be marginal.

[260] Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP-Nationalist Movement Party) is an ultra nationalist party which is still in politics today.
[261] Interview with Hasan Ergün. 07.04.2006.
[262] Interview with Ruhi Olgun. 06.04.2006.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis has been to explore the *muhacir* identity and memory in the locality of Akköy in the period 1924-2006. This was an attempt to understand a macro-level event (migration from the Balkans) in the micro-level and to see how these social, cultural and political events affected the lives of *muhacir*s, and hence their identities. There was a second attempt though, a personal one. While writing this thesis, I also wanted to be acquainted with the village and *muhacir*s personally since I did not grow up in Akköy although being born there.

The life stories of *muhacir*s in Akköy were used as primary sources and they provided enough data to analyze how they perceived their homeland, the migration experience and settlement. Besides, these narratives also helped us to see not only the relationship between different groups of *muhacir*s in Akköy, but also their relationship as a whole community with the 'native' populations in the surrounding villages and with the Turkish Republic and Turkishness in general.

Local and oral history studies in Turkey accelerated in the early 1990s. This was also the period for Turkey when the issues of population exchange and migration from the Balkans entered the agenda of Turkish scholars and researchers. Beforehand these topics were discussed mainly by English, American, Greek and Bulgarian

authors.[263] The few written sources on these issues by Turkish scholars that were produced mainly in the 1960s[264] were too general in the sense that they preferred not to discuss the reasons and effects of migration, but provided only general statistics. On the other hand, the written sources about the region were numerous. However, these sources mainly concentrated on the Greek occupation and the subsequent national resistance of 1919-1922. These were mainly the products of conventional historiography. This thesis is an attempt to go beyond the general and conventional historiography based on written sources and to examine how the migration from the Balkans was seen through the eyes of ordinary people in a particular place and time: that is, the *muhacir*s of Akköy between the years 1924 and 2006.

The theme of the conversation in the first part of the previous chapter, quoted from the interview with Şenol and Hasan Olgun, was sort of a summary of the history of the *muhacir*s in Akköy and the topics discussed in this thesis: the *muhacir*s were 'the descendants of the Karamanoğulları' who were settled by the Ottomans in the Balkans for reasons of security and policies of Islamization; they lived there for hundreds of years side by side with non-Muslims, sometimes in conflict and sometimes in peace; unlike those who left the Balkans prior to the fall of the

[263] Some of these authors and their works are as follows: Georgios Soteriades, An Ethnological Map illustrating Hellenism in the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor, London: E. Stanford, 1918; G. Th. Danailof, *Bulgaristan Nüfus İstatistiklerine Ait Tetkikler*, İbrahim (trans. No surname), Ankara: Başvekâlet Matbaası, 1937; Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Centuries*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971; Marc Pinson, "Russian Policy and the Emigration of the Crimean Tatars to the Ottoman Empire, 1854-1862", *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, V.1, 1972; Alan Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*, Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, c1978; Fred de Jong, "The Muslim Minority in Western Thrace" in *Muslim Minorities in the Eighties*, Georgina Ashworth (ed.), Sunbury: Quartermaine House Ltd., 1980; Yannis Mourelos, "The 1914 Persecutions and The First Attempt at an Exchange of Minorities Between Greece and Turkey", *Balkan Studies*, Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1985, V.26, N.2. and P. M. Kitromilides and A. Alexandris, "Ethnic Survival, Nationalism and Forced Migration. The Historical Demography of the Greek Community in Asia Minor at the close of the Ottoman Era", *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών (Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon)*, Athens: Vol. V, 1984-1985, pp.9-44.

[264] See Osman Arı, *Bulgaristan'lı Göçmenlerin İntibakı, 1950-51'de Bursa'ya İstanbul'da İskan Edilenlerin İntibakı İle İlgili Sosyolojik Araştırma*, Ankara: Rekor Matbaası, 1960; Cevat Geray, *Türkiye'den ve Türkiye'ye Göçler*, Ankara: Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Maliye Enstitüsü, January 1962 and Ahmet Cevat Eren, Eren, C., *Türkiye'de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri: Tanzimat Devri, İlk Kurulan Göçmen Komisyonu, Çıkarılan Tüzükler*, İstanbul: Nurgök Matbaası, 1966.

Ottoman Empire, these *muhacir*s did not abandon their homeland until they had to or until agreements were made between governments; their migration from the homeland was not easy and in most cases they told stories of sorrow, death, suffering, fear and discontent; then they came to a deserted Rum village in ruins and tried hard to build up an existence from the beginning; after different groups of *muhacir*s gathered in Akköy there was also a power struggle among themselves which became apparent in the way that different groups are named, in economic exploitation and political choices. However in the end they acted as a single community in their relations with other surrounding villages, the Turkish Republic and non-*muhacir* Turks to resist discrimination and to successfully assimilate into the hegemonic social, cultural and political conditions of their new homeland.

The region, on the other hand, also changed and was transformed both culturally and socially. In the late nineteenth century Ottoman period the Söke region was a multi-ethnic and multi-religous locality characterised by a commercialized agricultural life. The Rum villages were more numerous than the Muslim villages since most of the *Yörük*s in the region were nomads. The first quarter of the twentieth century was a period of turmoil and conflict like it was for the Balkans. The clashes between local Rums and Muslims were further strengthened by the activities of 'imported' Greek and Muslim bands. The Greek gangs usually came from the Aegean islands and Peloponnese whereas the Muslim gangs were mostly formed by Cretan Muslims, Caferaki being the most well known. The retreat of the Greek army was accompanied by a simultaneous flight of the local Rums. Afraid of being massacred by the Muslims, the Rums left the region in great haste, 'leaving their food on the table,' and took refuge in the nearby Aegean islands. Akköy and other

Rum villages were deserted for two years until the first *mübadil*s from Drama arrived at Kovela harbor in 1924.

The second quarter of the twentieth century (namely 1924-1951) witnessed the flow of *muhacir*s from the Balkans: *mübadil*s from Greek Macedonia in 1924, Pomaks from southern Bulgaria in 1926, Bosniaks from northwestern parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1928 and *maacır*s from northeastern Bulgaria between 1936-38 and 1950-51. Except for these periods of mass migration, there were many other *muhacir*s who illegally passed the border and arrived at Akköy. This period was characterized by deprivation and the narratives of the *muhacir*s frequently revealed this situation. In the absence of the social, cultural and economic networks previously established and run by the local Rums, the *muhacir*s had to fight both the hardships caused by the effort to establish a new life and the bad conditions due to lack of proper transportation, sanitation and agricultural facilities.

The 1950s were the beginning of the rebirth. Adnan Menderes paid his debt to his fellow citizens and built the road from Söke to Akköy and Yoran. The construction of the road was followed by the discovery of Yoran (Didim) after the 1955 earthquake as a place with a potential for tourism and by the irrigation of the Menderes River which gave a boost to agriculture. The years after the 1970s were glorious for places by the plain (Yeniköy) and the sea (Didim). Akköy remained as the poor subdistrict (*Nahiye*) center and got stuck in the middle of Yeniköy and Didim.

Within such a historical context and a particular geography which has its own social, cultural, and political dynamics what the people, the *muhacir*s, think of themselves and of their story is very important. When interviewed the *muhacir*s in Akköy spared a huge part of their life story to narrating their lives in the homeland,

their migration from the Balkans and their feelings when they arrived at Akköy. More than half a decade after their migration, the event is still alive in their memories and worth narrating to a researcher from a university that they are not familiar with. The first generation of *muhacir*s talk about their life before migration in a multi-cultural environment in the Balkans, their offspring who were born and who grew up in Akköy refer to their parents' places of origin as "our homeland" and they all talk about the discrimination that prevailed only because they are *muhacir*s. In a sense, the *muhacir*s in Akköy are still migrating and they are living in "an experience which never ended."

The stories told by the informants were not exaggerations. They were not talking of a heaven while they were narrating their life in the Balkans. They had an established life where they produced for themselves and had good relations with their non-Muslim neighbors, however there were also conflicts, wars, turmoils, fights, deaths, false accusations, murders, exiles and oppression in their life stories. In most cases, they did not know the actual reason for their migration, but they certainly knew that something was wrong and frankly narrated what they thought the reason might have been. In terms of their life in the Balkans and their migration stories, they did not compose and tell us safe and comfortable stories of their lives which iron out tensions or dissonance and assert a positive and consistent identity. On the contrary, they have a paradoxical identity which is continiously reconstructed and transformed.

On the other hand, when they narrated relatively more 'recent' events such as the rule of the single party – RPP – until 1946, the social and political developments in the 1950s during the government of the Democrat Party and the political disputes between the left-wing and the right-wing in the 1970s the way that they composed and told the story of their life changed. Democrat Party, although it is labeled as a

right-wing party in general political terms, was the progressive party in 1946 elections and as it was the case in many parts of Turkey a very high majority of people voted for them in 1946 and 1950. However, in 1950s some people, those who define themselves as *Halkçı* (RPP supporters, Republicans) but voted for DP, were not comfortable with the policies of DP and its local representatives. As it can be understood from the narratives on these issues, the late 1950s was the period for the beginning of dispute between the left-wing and right-wing which would reach its climax in the 1970s. However, unlike the narratives about the life in the 'old' homelands and the migration stories, the narratives about the social and political events of the 1950s and 1970s were not told directly, but with a certain degree of cencorship and by ironing out the tensions and dissonances. For instance, although through the experiences of my parents I was personally aware of the political conflicts in the village in the 1970s which included espionage and even bombings, very few of the *muhacir*s narrated these kinds of events. Thus, most of them chose to iron out the memories of these events and composed and told a comfortable and safe story of those years.

As a result, the manner of the way the *muhacir*s compose and tell the story of their life differs. They narrate almost everything about their life in the Balkans which is a history that most of its actors disappeared from the scene. On the other hand, they tend to make their memories about more recent history more bearable and iron out the tensions and dissonances which still effects their lives.

The harsh conditions in a deprived region for years and the fight for survival made the *muhacir*s in Akköy self-confident. They passed through long and challenging voyages and finally made their way to the village. Some of them were split from their relatives and some of them lost their parents at an early age during or

just after migration. Thus, they had to make their own living. Moreover, most of the first generation of *muhacir*s could not get a proper education in Akköy where they could only learn to read and write in a three-year school with barely appearing teachers. However, they say that they are self-instructed and are now proud of having the biggest village library in Turkey. Similar success stories occur frequently in terms of economics and agriculture. They argue for instance that they 'brought civilization' to the region and introduced new and modern methods of agriculture which is also acknowledged by the *Yörük*s. At this point, their migration story, due to the split from their families or lack of family support and the necessary conditions for a better life, becomes a success story or "meta-narrative of personal transformation."

One of the most crucial points was, however, to adapt and to assimilate into the hegemonic cultural and social atmosphere of Turkey. The relationship between different *muhacir* groups in Akköy and the relationship of the *muhacir*s as a whole community with the world outside them (the surrounding villages in micro-level and the state in macro-level), were two means effective in this adaptation and assimilation. First of all, there was a discrimination on the basis of first comers and late comers among the *muhacir*s in Akköy. Although they were all *muhacir*s/*maacır*s, the term was used to refer to migrants who come from northeastern Bulgaria between the years 1936-38 and 1950-51. In this way, the *muhacir*s who came between 1924-28 (*mübadil*s, Pomaks and Bosniaks) presented themselves as natives and to a certain extent freed themselves from the pejorative meanings attributed to the word '*maacır*'. On the other hand, there was a second dimension of discrimination, this time directed towards the Pomaks and Bosniaks by the *mübadil*s and *maacır*s, on the basis of ethnic origin and religion. Both Pomaks

and Bosniaks still speak their own language amongst themselves and the Pomaks are Alevis. Among many informants who either implicitly or explicitly commented on them in pejorative terms, Fatma Evren, the daughter of a *mübadil* family, was the one who clearly revealed the reasons for such discrimination. She said for Bosniaks and Pomaks: "they do not know the language, they do not know the religion."[265] However, when the informants were directly asked about the relationship between different groups of *muhacir*s or if the political conflict between Republicans ('leftists') and Democrats ('rightists') led to serious struggles in Akköy, they usually answered in the negative. This was also a kind of ironing out their bad memories. This image of a *muhacir* village where discrimination, fight or political conflict des not exist, is an illusion, but also a perfect defense mechanism against the 'natives' in the surrounding villages and the Turkish society in general. Because they know and feel that they are and will remain as '*maacır*s', as '*gavur*s' or as those who do not belong 'here.' That is why they try to present themselves as a unified, homogenous and harmonized community, consistent with the discourse of a 'classless society' where people live in peace. This is actually a way of adapting to and assimilating into the hegemonic social, cultural and political atmosphere of Turkey.

Beside figuring out what the *muhacir*s of Akköy think about themselves and their migration experience, this thesis helped me to figure out what I think about the village and the *muhacir*s living there. Before going to Akköy for a fieldwork and writing this thesis I was an 'outsider' and did barely know about Akköy and *muhacir*s of Akköy. The only thing I knew about this place was that it was an old Rum village and was later inhabited by the *muhacir*s from the Balkans. This was a very general and one-sided image. As I got acquainted with different kinds of

[265] Interview with Fatma Evren. 07.04.2006.

*muhacir*s coming from very different places I started to notice the variety of migration experiences and the different ways of relations within the village and with the 'outside world' which constructed various and complex *muhacir* identities. This helped me a lot to deconstruct my image of *muhacir*s as single community and with a single identity. Moreover, the narratives of *muhacir*s also deconstructed my image about this particular place and the region in general. The myth of 'prosperous' Aegean and western Anatolian lands which is quite common in Turkey and which I also believed, operates differently in the 'place' of the myth. When we study a locality from a close perspective we immediately notice that history is not that linear and that history varies according to the particular circumstances and dynamics of the place.

The life stories of the *muhacir*s in Akköy and the meanings beyond the facts and events offered a valuable opportunity to understand the past events and transformations that took place on the macro-level from the perspective of a local history of a region. The memories and narratives of the *muhacir*s allow us to examine their perception of the state, Turkishness, and its civil and official local representatives. Forced migration and settlement as it was carried out both in the late Ottoman and the Republican era aimed at creating national cores and regions. The policies of homogenization and Turkification proved to be successful to a certain extent, but conflicting identities even today prevail among *muhacir*s and it cannot be suggested that they are in complete compliance with the hegemonic social, cultural and political order.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Table 8: Population of Muslim and Turkish Minority in Bulgaria Between The Years 1880-2001[266]

Census Years	Total	Muslim Population	Proportion of Muslims	Turkish Population	Proportion of Turks
1880/1884[267]	2,982,949	802,597	26.9	650,000	21.8
1887	3,154,375	676,215	21.4	602,331	19.1
1892	3,310,713	643,258	19.4	569,728	17.2
1900	3,744,283	643,300	17.1	531,240	14.2
1905	4,035,575	603,867	14.9	488,010	12.1
1910	4,337,513	602,078	13.9	465,641	10.8
1920	4,846,971	690,734	14.3	520,339	10.7
1926	5,528,741	789,296	14.4	577,552	10.5
1934	6,077,939	821,298	13.5	591,193	9.7
1946	7,029,349	938,418	13.3	675,500	9.6
1956	7,613,709	-	-	656,025	8.6
1965	8,227,866	-	-	780,928	9.5
1975	8,727,771	-	-	-	-
1985	8,948,649	-	-	-	-
1992	8,487,317	1,110,295	13.1	822,253	9.7
2001	7,928,901	966,978	12.2	746,664	9.4

Table 9: Turkish Population in Bulgaria Between the Years 1900-1956[268]

Census Years	Total	Turkish Population	Proportion of Turks
1900	3,744,283	539,656	14.4
1905	4,035,575	505,439	12.5
1910	4,337,513	504.560	11.6
1926	5,528,741	577,555	10.5
1934	6,077,939	618,268	10.2
1956	7,613,709	656,025[269]	8.6

[266] Dayıoğlu, A., *Toplama Kampından Meclise: Bulgaristan'da Türk ve Müslüman Azınlığı*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2005, pp.43-44. For the statistics about religion http://www.nsi.bg/Census/StrReligion.htm. Dayıoğlu used works of Eminov, Donkov and Danailof for the numbers about the Turkish population in the respective years. Danailof, G. Th., *Bulgaristan Nüfus İstatistiklerine Ait Tetkikler*, İbrahim (trans. No surname), Ankara: Başvekâlet Matbaası, 1937; Donkov, Kiril, "Etniceskijat sûstav na naselenieto na Bûlgarija" *Statistika*, Vol. II, No. 36, 1994; Eminov, Ali, *Turkish And Other Muslim Minorities In Bulgaria*, London: Hurst, c1997.

[267] 1880 census of Bulgarian Principality and 1884 census of Eastern Roumelia are given together.

[268] Dayıoğlu, A., 2005, ibid., p.45. The data is taken from Şimşir, B.N., "Bulgaristan Türkleri", *Türk* Kültürü, No.263, March 1985, p.139. The numbers are only slightly different from the Bulgarian sources. I have only taken the years that have different values. For the complete list of the table see Dayıoğlu, ibid., p.45.

[269] Dayıoğlu says that the Turkish sources object to the number of Turks in 1956 and argue that it is below the actual number. The reasons are the counting of 100,000 Turks within the Roma population and Pomaks (who are seen as descent Turks by these authorities) within the Bulgarian population.

APPENDIX B – LIST OF THE INFORMANTS

					Family Origin								
Name	**Birth date**	**Age**	**Age During Migration**	**Gender**	**Village**	**District**	**Province**	**Country**	**Date of Migration**	**Birthplace**	**Country of Birth**	**Ethnic Origin**	**Place of Residence**
Mehmet Ali Günel	1928	78	1	Male	Does Not Know	Does Not Know	İstanköy (Kos)	Greece	1928-29	İstanköy	Greece	Turkish	Akköy
Ayşe (İnan) Devrim	1933	73	17	Female	Çufalar (Tıkach)	Bohçalar (Kaolinovo)	Şumnu (Sumen)	Bulgaria	1950	Çufalar/Şumnu	Bulgaria	Turkish	Akköy
Fikriye Meracı Çam	1936	70	1	Female	Does Not Know	Does Not Know	Does Not Know	Romania	1937	Bilmiyor	Romania	Turkish	Didim
Saadet Nine	1923	83	14	Female	Saltıklar (Sredkovets)	Bohçalar (Kaolinovo)	Şumnu (Sumen)	Bulgaria	1937	Saltıklar/Şumnu	Bulgaria	Turkish	Akköy
Salih Ayaz	1923	83	13	Male	Dereköy (Struino)	Şumnu (Sumen)	Şumnu (Sumen)	Bulgaria	1936	Dereköy/Şumnu	Bulgaria	Turkish	Akköy
Saliha (Sezgin) Söylemez	1924	82	12	Female	Dereköy (Struino)	Şumnu (Sumen)	Şumnu (Sumen)	Bulgaria	1936	Dereköy/Şumnu	Bulgaria	Turkish	Akköy
İsa İspit	1924	82	12	Male	Avdallar (Lovets)	Eski Cuma (Turgovishte)	Eski Cuma (Turgovishte)	Bulgaria	1936	Avdallar/Eski Cuma	Bulgaria	Turkish	Akköy
Fethiye (Korkmaz) Karadayı	1929	77	6	Female	None	Pravadı (Provadiya)	Varna	Bulgaria	1935	Pravadı/Varna	Bulgaria	Turkish	Akköy
İbrahim Karadon	1919	87	5	Male	None	Doksat (Doxato)	Drama	Greece	1924	Doksat/Drama	Greece	Turkish	Akköy
Fatma (Baybora) Evren	1930	76		Female	None	Doksat (Doxato)	Drama	Greece	1924	Akköy	Turkey	Turkish	Akköy
Nusret Baybora	1934	72		Male	None	Doksat (Doxato)	Drama	Greece	1924	Akköy	Turkey	Turkish	Akköy
Hüseyin Gündüz	1935	71		Male	None	Doksat (Doxato)	Drama	Greece	1924	Akköy	Turkey	Turkish	Akköy
Sevul Baybora	1955	51		Female	None	Doksat (Doxato)	Drama	Greece	1924	Akköy	Turkey	Turkish	Akköy
Ahmet Gönül	1927	79		Male	Does Not Know	Does Not Know	Drama	Greece	1924	Yoran	Turkey	Turkish	Didim
Şenol Olgun	1948	58		Female	Does Not Know	Does Not Know	Selanik (Thessaloniki)	Greece	1924	Satılar/Koçarlı	Turkey	Turkish	Akköy

Cemile Şengül	1919	87	15	Female	Çukurköyü (Zabardo)	Çepelli (Chepelare)	Paşmaklı (Smolyan)	Greece/Bulgaria	1935-36	Çukurköyü/Gümülcine	Greece	Pomak	Akköy
Ahmet Bor	1933	73	8	Male	Arnavutköy (Gugutka)	Ortaköy (Ivaylovgrad)	Hasköy (Haskovo)	Greece/Bulgaria	1941	Arnavutköy/Hasköy	Bulgaria	Pomak	Akköy
Ahmet Arık	1929	77	10	Male	Yörükler (Gornuyörütsi)	Ortaköy (Ivaylovgrad)	Hasköy (Haskovo)	Greece/Bulgaria	1939	Gümülcine	Greece	Pomak	Akköy
Mehmet Bostancı	1930	76		Male	(H)Ebilköy (Chloi)	Gümülcine (Komotini)	Rodop (Rodopi)	Greece/Bulgaria	1926	Firuzköy/İstanbul	Turkey	Pomak	Akköy
Ruhi Olgun	1945	61		Male	(H)Ebilköy (Chloi)	Gümülcine (Komotini)	Rodop (Rodopi)	Greece/Bulgaria	1926	Akköy	Turkey	Pomak	Akköy
Hatem Kara	?	?	?	Female	Çukurköyü (Zabardo)	Çepelli (Chepelare)	Paşmaklı (Smolyan)	Greece/Bulgaria	1926	Çukurköyü/Gümülcine	Greece	Pomak	Akköy
Fevzi Çam	1930	76		Male	Kuçkar	Piravuşta (?)	Kavala	Greece	1924	Yoran	Turkey	Pomak	Didim
Hasan Ergün	1929	77		Male	Muğuşça	Does Not Know	Does Not Know	Yugoslavia	1928	Akköy	Turkey	Bosniak	Akköy
Hüseyin Bozdemir	1924	82	4	Male	None	Bihaç (Bihać)	Bihaç (Bihać)	Yugoslavia	1928	Bihaç/Bosna	Yugoslavia	Bosniak	Akköy

APPENDIX C

The initial question list prepared prior to the first field work in Akköy:

General Questions:

- What is your name? (If women "what is your family surname?")
- When were you born?
- Where were you born?
- How was your childhood?
- How long did you live in the house you were born in?
- Were there only Muslims in your village?
- How was your relationship with your neighbors there?
- Which language did you use while you were speaking with your parents?
- Could you speak Greek/ Bulgarian / Pomak language /Serbian? (according to the place the migrant came from)
- When did you come to Akköy?
- How did you migrate?
- What kind of difficulties did you experience during migration?
- What kind of a place was Akköy when you came?
- Is this house the one that you first lived in when you came here?
- Do you know what the reasons were for moving?
- What was the economic outcome of these moves?
- Are you still in touch with someone from your village in the Balkans?
- How is your relationship with the other migrants in Akköy?
- Do you remember your grandparents?

School

- What did you feel when you first started school?
- Do you remember any game that you learnt at school?
- Do you remember any poem or song that you learnt at school?
- What kind of families were the other students coming from? For instance was there a difference between the clothes of students?
- Were there any gangs or groups formed by students in your school?

Childhood

- Who did you use to play with when you were a child?
- What kind of games were there? Did male and female children play together?
- Did you have any pet?
- Did you go fishing? Did you ride a bicycle?
- Were you interested in sports?
- Were you a scout at school?
- What did you used to do at the *Halkodası*?
- Did you have an active role at the *Halkodası*?
- Have you ever been to a theater, concert or cinema?

Relationship with Parents:

- What are the names of your parents?
- With whom did you talk about your problems, your mother or your father?
- Was there anyone other than your parents with whom you felt comfortable to spent time?
- What happened when you did something your parents did not approve? (like swearing)
- Were you punished for those kinds of behaviors?
- Do you recall any instance when you were punished? What did you feel?

Daily Life (Family):

- Did you do anything special for your birthday, anything different than other days?
- Did you sing or organize entertainments at home?
- Did your parents play with you?
- Did you have books at home?
- Did you have a gramophone, radio or television at home? Do you remember when you first bought them?
- Do you remember any funeral in the family? What happened at the funeral?
- Do you remember any wedding in the family? What happened at the wedding?
- Did your parents take you shopping?
- Did you ever travel abroad? Which vehicle did you use?

- What did your parents do when they did not work?
- Did your parents attend meetings, religious gatherings or special organizations?
- Did your father spend every night at home? Was there any coffee house or tavern that your father frequently visited? When and with whom did he usually go there?
- Did your father go fishing or hunting?

Life at Home:

- How was your life at home when you were a child? Could you describe your house in your birthplace?
- How did you made use of the rooms?
- Was there anyone in your house other than your parents and siblings?
- How did your mother handle house work?
- How did she take care of children?
- How did you supply your clothing?
- Who sew or repaired your clothes?
- Did your father help your mother in house work?
- Did you help your mother?
- Did you share your bed with someone in your childhood?

Marriage

- How old were you when you got married?
- For how long did you know your spouse before you got married?
- How did you marry?
- Who decided your marriage?
- How long were you engaged?
- Did you save money for your wedding?
- Did you pay *başlık parası* (money paid by the bridegroom to the bride's family)?
- Did you live with your parents or moved to another house? Did your family help in this process?
- Could you describe your wedding?
- What did you have in your dowry? What did your spouse bring?
- Where did you live after marriage? For how long?
- How old was your spouse?

Children

- Do you have any children? How many?
- When and where were they born?
- What are their names?
- Did you give birth at home or at the hospital? Who helped you?
- How did you raise your child/ren?
- What are they doing now?
- Do you have any grandchildren? How many? What are their names?
- Do any of your grandchildren have your name?

Community – Social Classes

- Did you have relatives in the village? Were they living near? How often did you see them?
- Were the friendships established at the family level?
- Did people visit your house as guests? How often?
- Did you have guests who stayed for long at you house? Where were they coming from?
- Most people talk about the community in terms of social classes or groups. In the past, did you think that some people belonged to a certain class or group?
- Could you tell what the differences were between these classes and groups?
- Which social class, group or level did your family belong to? What kinds of people were included in this group?
- Were you ever told by your parents to behave in a certain manner to some people belonging to certain groups?
- For whom did you use titles such as "hanımefendi, beyefendi, bayan, bay, efendi, ağa"?
- How did your friends, neighbors or relatives call your mother and father?
- Who were the prominent people in the neighborhood or village?
- How was your relationship with these people? Why were they important figures?
- Did you think that there was a difference between tradesmen and farmers in your village?
- Do migrants attend different coffee houses according to their place of origin?
- How was the relationship between migrants? (How do they define each other? Marriage, neighborhood, business relations, cooperation and hatred stories)

Food:

- Is there a special cuisine of your birthplace?
- What did you usually eat?
- Did you cook or eat special food on certain days?
- Did your parents prepare jam, pickle, drink or medicine at home?
- Did you breed animals? Who took care of them?
- How often did you eat meat at home?
- Did you notice that there was more food in your father's dish?

Religion:

- What did you do on Fridays?
- Did you and your parents go to the mosque? Did you feast?
- Is there anyone in the family who went to pilgrimage?
- Is there anyone in the neighborhood or village who went to pilgrim? What did they tell about their experience?
- Did you attend Quran courses when you were a child?
- Could your parents read the Quran? Can you read it?
- Did you pray before sleep? Why did you pray?
- Were there any places (yatır, türbe) where holy people were buried? Did you use to visit these places?
- Were there any healers or hodjas in the village? Did you visit them?
- Were the marriages religious or official?

Politics:

- Were your parents involved in politics? Did you know about their political views?
- Why did they have such a political view?
- Do you remember if your parents voted in a general or local election? Do you know which party they voted for?
- Did your parents become members of a certain political party?
- Do you recall any incident related to this membership?
- Were you a member of a certain political party?
- Do you remember any coup d'état? How were you affected by that?
- Were there any problems because of political conflicts?
- Are the villagers interested in politics?

APPENDIX D: DOCUMENTS FROM THE PRIME MINISTRY OTTOMAN ARCHIVES

1. Footnote 123 Telegram sent from Çine by the vice governor of Aydın to the Ministry of Interiror on 8 July 1919, he reported that the Greek forces passed the Italian border at the bridge of Menderes river and completely burned Baltaköy, Demirağası and Gölhisar villages. As a reult the inhabitants of Çine were migrating towards Muğla to the south:

17

YUNANLILARIN, MENDERES'İN GÜNEYİNDEKİ KÖYLERİ YAKTIĞI VE ÇİNE HALKININ GÖÇ ETMEYE BAŞLADIĞI

Yunan işgâl kuvvetlerinin, İtalyanların sınır olarak kabul ettiği Menderes nehrinin güneyine top ve mitralyözlerle saldırıp, Baltaköy, Demirağası(?) ve Gölhisar köylerini tamamen yaktıkları, Çine kasabası ve buna bağlı köylerdeki Müslümanların heyecana kapılarak yapılan nasihat ve telkinlere rağmen mal ve emlâkını terk edip göç etmeye başladıkları.

16 Temmuz 1919

Telgrafnâme

Mahreci: Çine

Numara: 73

Târîh: 16 /7/ [1]335

Gâyet aceledir

Bir dakîka te'hîri câ'iz değildir

Aydın mutasarrıf vekîlinin Çine'den çekdiği
8 Temmuz sene [1]335 târîhli telgrafnâme

Dâhiliye Nezâretine

Yunan kuvve-i işgâliyyesi dün ve evvelki gün ve bugün dahî top ve mitralyözler ile ta'arruz ve İtalya işgâl-i askerîsinin hudûd tanıdığı Menderes nehri köprüsünden beri tarafa tecâvüz ve Baltaköy ve Demirağası [Emirağası], Gölhisar karyelerini tamamen ihrâk ve Çine'ye iki sâ'at mesâfeye kadar gelmişdir. Nehrin Çine'den tarafında vâki' Aydın ve Çine'ye merbût ve ahâlîsi umûmiyetle yalın ayak ve başı kabak, Muğla'ya

doğru ric‘ate başlamış ve Çine kasabasının ortasında mahşerden bir numûne olarak feryâd fîgân ve galeyân geçmiş ve geçmekde bulunmuşdur. Burada halâskâr bir ses bekleyen Aydın kasabasının on binlerce ahâlîsi bu fecâyi‘in şâhidi olan Çine kasabası ahâlîsinden heyecâna düşürerek [düşerek] İtalya devlet-i fahîmesinin Çine'deki mümessil-i askerîsinin celbetdiği kuvve-i askeriyyesine istinâden icrâ kılınan nasâyih ve telkînâta rağmen kasabanın mühim kısım ahâlîsinin mâl ve emlâklarını bırakarak hicrete başlamışdır.

BOA. DH. KMS. 52-3/12

2. Footnote 126 The telegram sent from Söke on 12 June 1922 by some inhabitants of Söke to the prime minister Ahmed Tevfik Pasha, they reported that the Muslims faced with the sudden Greek occupation left Söke and Kuşadası leaving their properties behind. Everyday, two or three were killed out of 360 people who stayed at Söke. 116 people were killed in the villages of Gümüşyeniköy and Tatar. The properties and estates of the notables were confiscated by force, every kind of properties of the Muslim population were stolen and all the movables were sent to İzmir by train or transported over Kuşadası by ships to Samos and Greece. They concluded that they had no hope of recieving help from Ankara and demanded from Istanbul to send an investigation committee:

79

SÖKE VE KUŞADASI’NDA YUNAN KATLİÂMI SEBEBİYLE MÜSLÜMAN NÜFUSUN AZALDIĞI, MÜSLÜMANLARIN MAL VE MÜLKLERİNE EL KONULDUĞU

Söke ve Kuşadası’nın ani Yunan işgaline uğraması sebebiyle Müslümanların bütün eşya ve mallarını bırakarak kaçtıkları, Söke’de kalan üç yüz altmış nüfusun da her gün ikişer üçer azaldığı, Söke yakınlarında, Gümüşyeniköyü’nde ve Tatar köyünde toplam yüz on altı kişinin şehit edildiği, eşrâfın mal ve mülküne zorla el konulup Müslüman halkın her türlü eşya ve mallarının çalındığı, bütün taşınabilir eşyaların trenle İzmir’e, Kuşadası’ndan da Sisam ve Yunanistan’a gönderildiği, kadınlara tecavüz edildiği, Müslüman halkın bölgede cereyan eden olayları araştırmak için bir tahkik heyeti talep ettiği.

12 Haziran 1922

Huzûr-ı Devletlerine

Devletlü Tevfik Paşa Hazretleri

Ma‘lûm-ı devletleridir ki, Söke ve Kuşadası'nın ânî işgâli hasebiyle ahâlî-i umûmiyye servet ve nukûd ve eşyâlarını ahzetmeden firâr etmişlerdir. Söke'de zükûr ve inâs üç yüz altmış nüfûs kalmışdır. Bunların da günden güne mikdârı azalmakda ve her gün hânelerinde ikişer ve üçer nüfûs şehîd edilmiş bulunmakdadır. Söke'ye bir sâ‘at mesâfede yirmi altı kişi, Gümüş Yeniköyü'nde on sekiz kişi ve Tatarlar karyesinde yetmiş iki kişi şehîd edilmişdir. Bütün ehl-i İslâmın emvâl ve emlâkı emvâl-i metrûke diye vaz‘-ı yed edilerek furuht ve zabtedilmekdedir. Hattâ Söke'den çıkmağa muvaffak olamayan eşrâfdan Eğinli Hacı Mustafa Efendi'nin elli bin liralık debbağhânesi ve yirmi bin liralık kereste mağazası bütün emti‘ası ile vaz‘-ı yed edilmişdir. Bilâ-istisnâ bütün Müslümanların mâlları ve eşyâ-yı beytiyyeleri huzûrlarında ahz u gasb edilmişdir. Âh u enîn içindeyiz ifnâ ve imhâ ediliyoruz. İmdâdımıza yetişin. Bâb-ı Hilâfete ilticâya karâr verdik Allah ve Resullullah aşkına hey’et-i tahkîka gönderilsün ve hiç olmazsa günden güne mikdârımız azalmakda olan ehl-i İslâmın imdâdına yetişin. Ne servet ve ne sâmân ne de mevâşî ve ne de eşyâ kalmışdır. Binlerce dönüm mezrû‘âtımıza da vaz‘-ı yed edildi. Bu kadar zulüm ve hakâret ve imhâ edileceğimizi ümîd etmiyor[d]uk. Bütün kadınların nâmusları hetkedildi. Allah ve Resullullah aşkına imdâd-ı ruhâniyyete sığınarak tahlîsimizi ilcâya(?) ricâya ictisâr etdik. İmhâ ve ifnâ ile tehdîd ediliyoruz ve edilmekdeyiz. Mütebâkî ahâlînin cân ve nâmûslarının muhâfazası matlûb ise imdâdımıza yetişerek tahlîsimize çâre-sâz olunuz. Paşa hazretlerinin merhamet-i devletlerine iltica etdik.

Yazıkdır ve günahdır. Ehl-i İslâm muttasıl imhâ ve ifnâ ediliyor. Bütün servet ü sâmân ayrıca şimendüfer ile İzmir'e vapur ile Kuşadası'ndan Yunanistan'a ve Sisam'a sevkedildi. Ankara'dan imdâd yok zaten. Ümîdimiz yok, hiç olmaz ise hilâfet-i mu‘azzama vekîli olan zat-ı devlet-penâhîleri çâre-i na-sâzımıza devâ bularak tahlîsimize muvaffak olun. Bâkî bekâ-yı devlet ve tahlîsimiz ahsâr âmâlimizdir devletlü Tevfik Paşa hazretleri.

Fî 12 Haziran sene 1338

[Söke'de düşman elinde mahsûr kalan ahâliden ba‘zı eşhâsın isim ve imzaları.]

BOA. HR. SYS. 2631/77

APPENDIX E – OLD AND NEW NAMES OF SURROUNDING PLACES

Old Name	New Name
Söke/Akçaşehir	Söke
Akköy	Akköy
Yoran/Yeronda	Yenihisar/Didim
Gelebeç/Kelembeş	Güllübahçe
Balat	Balat
Özbaşı	Özbaşı
Bağarası	Bağarası
Sarıkemer	Sarıkemer
Domatia/Domaça	Doğanbey
Yeniköy	Akyeniköy

APPENDIX F – SAMPLES OF INTERVIEWS

SAMPLE 1:

Informant: Saliha (Söylemez) Sezgin

Place of the Interview: Her own house / Akköy

Date of Interview: 05/08/2005

Birth Date: 1924

Birth Place: Dereköy/Şumnu/Bulgaristan (Strunio/Sumen/Bulgaria)

Date of Migration: 1936

OS: Önce bir ismini, soyismini söylersen…

Babamların soy ismini söyleyeyim kendi ismini mi?

OS: Kızlık soy adını da söyle şimdikini de

Kızlık soy adım benim, Saliha. Ay, bak kafam gitti, Söylemez!

OS: Söylemez?

Babamın adı İbrahim Söylemez, annemin adı Saniye Söylemez. Şimdiki soyadım Saliha Sezgin. Beş tane, altı, yedi tane çocuğum var bak. Biri de evlatlık. Onu da ben evlatlık kabul ettim, üç yaşındaydı o. Onu da okuttuk işte. Şimdi ben, Bulgar'da dünyaya geldim. Dereköy'dü. Gavur, Bulgar onu Tsroyna yaptı. Alıyor mu şimdi?

OS: Alıyor.

Haa, Bulgar onu Tsoroyna yaptı, Dereköy'dü. Sonra ordan ben altı yaşına girdim, ilerde Türkler Türk okuluna gidiyordu, okulumuz var orda, camimiz var. Bulgarın da okulu vardı, ayrı. Türkler Türk okuluna gidiyordu, Bulgarlar Bulgar okuluna gidiyor idi. Ben altı yaşına geldim, Bulgarlar bizim okulumuzu aldılar, Türk okulunu aldılar. Türk okulunda cami vardı, minare vardı, hepsi aynı. Sonra bizim okulumuzu aldı Bulgarlar, Türkler biraz karşı çıktı onlara. Bir oda bıraktılar, bize -Türklere yani- aynı Türk okulunda. Bizi Bulgar altı yaşında Türk çocuklarını topladı. Hani burda anaokulu mu ne diyorlar.

Evet. Bizi o, bize ayrılan bir oda vardı ya, o odaya bizi Türk çocuklarını topladılar. Gittik altı yaşında, Bulgarlar yedi yaşında gidiyor. Bize kalem defter yok orda, sade bize Bulgar dili öğrettiler bir sene. O bize öğrettiren öğretmen daskalo derdik biz ona. O bize Bulgar dili öğrettirdi. Her hün bize dört… İlk öğrettiğini bak söyleyeyim sana bize dedi, Türkçe biliyor o, "Çocuklar bu ne," dedi. Biz dedik "Kapı," dedik.

"Noo," dedi, "Brasa," dedi bak. "E bu ne," dedi. "Pençere," dedik biz. "Prezores," dedi. Ben Bulgarca çok biliyordum da unuttum. Napalım gayri. "E bu ne," dedi, masayı. Biz de "Masa," dedik. "Tamam," dedi. Sandalyeye iskemle diyorduk biz orda. "Bu ne?" dedi Türkçe. Biz dedik "İskemle," "No," dedi, "Saw dedi. Bak kafam duruyor. Sonra öyle şey yaptı. Bir sene bize hep dil öğretti. Anadili gibi Bulgarca öğrendik biz. Sona ertesi sene bizi birinci sınıfa godular. Oraya bir Türk kızı, buraya bir Türk kızı, buraya bir Türk oğlu oraya bir Bulgar oğlu, parçaladı bizi böyle.

OS: Haa, dağıttı sizi sonra.

He, dağıttı. Dağıttı bizi sınıfa. Kalem defterimiz. Bulgarca dil biliyonuz de mi? Bir daha başladık birinci sınıftan. Ben de Salih ilen beraber gittim okula. Sonra bize ..(anlaşılmıyor) bir şey yapıyor. Cuma günü burda da okullar şey oluyo ya…

OS: Tatil oluyor.

Tadil oluyo ya, orda da aynı Cuma günü tadil, öğleden sona biz kitaplarımızı alıyoduk, müsade ettiler bize, ... (anlaşılmıyor) parasını alıyoduk. Anamlar bize abdes aldırıyodu, yaşmak yapıyoduk, şalvarlan -aynı biz bu şalvarları giyerdik. Onların okuluna giderken burda nasıl önlük var, aynı önlüktü. Gideriz elüstü parasından başladık, ben öğrendim, Cuma günü öğleden sonra, bi de Cumartesi günü bütün gün gidiyoduk. Onlar gelmiyorlar. O bir odada. Sona bi daha, işte o sene sınıfımı geçtim haziranda. Kur'an'da da çok zekiydim. 9 yaşında hatim ettim. Hep zekiydim oğlum be. Sona dördüncü sınıfa gittik. Dördüncü sınıfa iki sene Türk okulunda okuduk. Üçüncü dördüncü *Bulgarişia* der onlar, Bulgar okuluna geçtik. Biz dördüncü sınıfa Bulgar okulunda gittik. Bak biz iki tene Türk kızı oğlum, Bulgar yoktu üstümüze. O kadar zeki kafam vardı benim. Ama be ahdettim çocuklarımı okuttum. Beni buraya geldiğimde annemle babam yollamadılar. Bir sene yeni Türkçe öğreneyim, ben şimdi Bulgarcada gaztede büyük harfler okuyom. Biri tutuyo, biri tutmuyo, o tutuyo, çıkarttırıyom onu. Sonra oğlum, dördüncü sınıfa gittik biz, İklime bak benim arkadaşım, ben istiyordum ondan fazla not alıyım, o benden böyle.

OS: Rekabet vardı aranızda…

Haa, ikimiz. Sonra bizi bir gün Bulgar öğretmenleri, geziyoz böyle bahçede. Saliha İbrahimova, İklime , ... (Bulgarca ifade) derler onlar, "Gel buraya." Girdik biz öğretmenler odasında, çocuklar oynuyor bahçede, teneffüse çıktılar. Bize dediler "Şimdi siz ne olacaksınız?" dediler. "Bu sene son." Bizi de annem babam Deliorman'da Medrese diyorlardı, Üniversite, yani molla olacaz, imam olacaz, hoca olacaz. Ben dedim "Biz oraya gideceğiz," dedim. İklime'ye sordu. O da dedi,

“İkimiz beraber.” “Hıh!” dedi, “Budala Turçinler,” dedi bize, Turçin derler onlar bize. “Löb name,” dedi. “Para yok,” dedi. Anlıyor musun, löb demek para. “Dıy dıy dıy dıy,” dedi “Türk kana se vişta,” yani “Hep birinizde bişey para yok,” dedi. Biz dediler ki, biz şimdi oturduk, “Bak,” dediler, dört öğretmendi hepsi. Cebinden böyle kağıt para çıkardılar. Böyle ora koydular. Bak dediler biz birer öğretmen olduk, gospodin derler erkeğe, kadına da uçite, “Siz biz,” dedi, pazetesi günü “Şumni’ye götürüyom,” dedi. Herhalde bilmiyodu oğlum, o zaman millet daha cahildi. Biz bir Bulgar bilirdik, bir Çingene bilirdik, bir Türk bilirdik. Dedi “Şumniye götürceğim ben sizi, yazılacaksınız, birer öğretmen olacaksınız, ”dedi Bulgar öğretmen bize. “Gidin,” dedi “Annenlere söyleyin,” daha gitmedik eve sabah oluyo bu. Şimdi bak parayı görünce, bak çocukuz di mi? Şimdi diyoruz molla mı olalım yoksa Bulgar öğretmen mi olalım, ikimiz. Bak şimdi? Bak ne çok para. Biz de molla olacak para. Bak çocukken haşılanıyo di mi oğlum?

OS: Evet.

He, sonra ben geldim, onların evi okula yakındı. Benim uzaktı. Geldim annem benim evi badana yapıyodu. Ben anneme, Bulgarca “kovay” dedim. Annem dedi ki bana “Ay dedi, pezevengin gavuru,” dedi. “Bana niye Bulgarca kovay veriy?” Ben, dedim, daskalo olacam dedim. Şumni’ye gidecem. O annem bak beni böyle ayağınan çiğnedi. Baktım böyle beni …(anlaşılmıyor) atmadı benim. “Öldüreyim mi seni şimdi?” diye, “sonra gömeyim toprağa,” diye. “Ben seni gavur mu yetiştireceğim?” diye. Ama annem beni hamur yaptı. Bir dayak attı bana, bir dayak attı. Ben yıkadım elimi yüzümü, gene okula. Sonra bir baktım, böyle İklime’nin evi okula yakın, oturmuş ağlıyo. Gittim, ağri dedim ne olmuş dedim. “Vay,” dedi, “Babam çok döğdü,” dedi. Biz de böyle iki katlı ev yaptık iki sene oldu, yeni, babam ev yaptı. Arsamız on dönümdü böyle. Orda seyrektir oğlum, böyle sık değil. Sonra beni babam gene, fabrika vardı bizim köyde, fabrikayı kiracı o zaman, motor yok kamyon yok, bişey yok arabayla. Aha böyle geldiler, yumurta gibi, her gün fabrikaya giderler Şumni’ye. Kiracı onlar da. “Beni” dedi “babam çok döğdü,” dedi. Beni anam döğdü, onu babası döğmüştü. Akşam oldu. Gittik okula. Çağırdılar gene. Bizim içimizde de var gene gavur. Dedim ne olur ben dedim, çok istiyorum ama işte dedim beni anam döğdü dedim. Demesene! O da dedi, “beni de babam döğdü” dedi “çok”. Biz Şumni’ye gitmeyeceğiz, öğretmen olmayacağız. Sonra neyse “Çıkın dışarı,” dedi. Biz çıktık. Akşam oldu. Babam geldi beni, Şumni’den kiracıya, sofraya oturduk. Anam söylemiş ona heral, sofraya oturduk, iki tane bekçi geldi bizim eve. “İbrahim

Osmanov, gel buraya," ... (bulgarca ifade) derdi onlar köy odası mı, muhtarlık mı bilemiyom şimdi. Heral muhtarlık, köy odası.

OS: Herhalde.

Muhtarlığa çağırdılar. Orda kontrol ederlerdi. Sonra babam dedi ki anama, "Bu kafirler niye çağırıyo be beni," dedi. "Ne bileyim," dedi anam. Sona anladı. Sona babam iki yudum ekmek yedi, sona babam gitti. Aldı babamı iki tana bekçi. Bir saat mi sonra, biraz geçti, babam geldi. Babam dedi ki "Ne ev isterim, ne tarla isterim, ne bir şey," dedi, "Bu kızı alacaz demişler zorla." "Alacaz," demiş gavur. "Satıyom bu evleri," dedi babam, "Gidiyom Türkiye'ye. İki sene, yeni ev yaptık, oğlum! O kadar güzel ki gör bi defa. Sonra babam dedi, "Ben," dedi, "Yarın akşam çıkıyom," dedi, "Köy odasına diyecem, ben satıyom. Kimse de gelmedi daha Türkiye'ye. Bizden sonra ...ler (anlaşılmıyor) sattı, üç gün sonra bundan. Sonra anam dedi "Neye satıyon," dedi, "Alıyolar kızı elimden." Okul bitsin tamam demişler ... (anlaşılmıyor) şunu yap. Babam ağlıyo. Ben de öyle bakıyom. Sonra anam da ağlayama başladı, sonra babam çıktı. Demiş ki "Ben Türkiye'ye gidiyom," demiş. Kalkmış, "Türkiye'ye ben Atatürk'ten, yani kovduğundan, Atatürk kovalamış işte. Onlara ne derlerdi onlara. Dejançe derler onlara, bizde muhacir diyolar ya. Onlar da şimdi Bulgaristan'a Türkiye'den gelmiş, Trakya'dan, Dejançe derler onlara, muhacir yani. Şob gavuru derdi babam ona. Kaç yetmiş dönüm tarlamız, on dönüm arsamız, iki katlı evimiz, bağımız vardı bir dönüm mü iki dönüm mü, ondan sonra bir pasaport bize beş kuruş para yok. Pasaportsuz, altı ayda pasaportumuz çıktı, Türkiye'ye geldik. Bizi bak, sattı bubam evleri işte, bir daha annemle bubam oraya gitti aleme yevmüyelik yapıyolar. Koyun sürümüz vardı, koyunlarımızı sattık, inek vardı ineği sattık. İşte öküzleri sattık. Sonra bir on beş yirmi gün kaldı gayri pasaportumuz çıkıyo. Babam gitti Razgrat'a. Beygir arabasıylan, beygirle. Manda arabasıylan geldi. Beygir arabasıylan beygirleri vermiş babam, manda arabasıynan geldi. Evet. Beygir çekemezdi arabayı. Sonra ordan, Türkiye'ye gelecez biz ordan silindik mi? Bugün biz okula gittik sabah Türkiye'ye gene biz aynı devam ettik. Sonra işte bir şey oldu. Ordan işte arabaya koyuyosun biraz öteberi. Başka ne koyacaksın arabaya? O ağlıyor ona, o ağlıyor ona, o ağlıyor ona, yarın sabah Türkiye'ye gelecez. Bütün köylü böyle toplandı, oğlum. Fener, o zaman elektrikler yok böyle, fenerlerle, annemin köyünden, ordan geldiler. Bulgarlar Türkler geliyorlar seni geçirmeye o gece sabaha kadar. Şeydeyiz böyle evde, ağlayan ağlayana, sızlayan. Sabah oldu, mandanın biri malaklamış! Bak şimdi kısır diye aldık mandaları, ama mandalarda nah böyle!

“Aaa,” dediler, sabah namazı okunuyo işte o arada. “İbrahim! İbrahim! Manda malaklamış, kes at onun boynunu,” diye. Babam o zaman dedi ki ben “Deryalara gidecem,” dedi, deryalar da Türkiye’de. Ben onu kesmem dedi babam. Manda ne yapacak, mandanın sütü? Arabanın altına bir iki ta(h)ta verdi komşuların biri bizden yine, malağı soktular, yaptılar yer. Ordan benim saçımı taradı annem. Nazım oğlan kardeşim var, kaçtı ikinci sınıftı, onnan beraber. Okudu, Allahaısmarladılar, yolladılar bizi. Ben gavur okulunda Nazim Türk okulunda daha. Ben böyle gidiyom. E, insan ağlıyo oğlum, kıyamıyo. Türk de olsan evini, yerini arkadaşlarını. Ben böyle gidiyom, daha derse girmemişler. Sabah hala. “Aha,” dediler ki “Saliha İbrahimova geliyo buraya.” El ediyom onlara. “Saliha İbrahimova geliyo,” dediler. Zil çaldı. Çocuklar içeri girdi. Ben de girdim, öğretmenler odasına girdim. İki tene öğretmen orda ikisi bu Türk okulunda. Ben onlara selam verdim. “Bava ustra,” dersin sabanan. Yani günaydın, o da derki sana “Dobra ustra.” “Oy moya memiçe” “benim kızım” demek. “Oh moya memiçe, aklı yok kızım benim. Seni İbrahim Türkiye’ye götürüyo. Türkiye yaramaz! Türkiye yaramaz!” dedi bana. Hep beni seviyorlar bak. Ağladılar oğlum. Ben çok içlendim. Ben dedim neden kalmadım burda. Bana dedi babamlar evde, “sana bir şey söylerlerse,” dedi, “katiyen kötü deme Bulgaristan,” dedi. Korkuyo. “Bize bir şey yaparlar,” dedi. Babamlar tembih etti. “Sen,” dediler, “kalsana burda biz sana bakarız. Ne gidiyon?” Ben de dedim ki onlara, “Öğretmenim,” dedim, “benim yaşım dah on iki, on sekiz olsam ben gitmem Türkiye’ye, kalırım. Ben memleketim, toprağım ama kendime bakamam.” Babamlar beni öğretti ama öyle. Bir şeyler dedi. “Bulgaristan’ı sevmiyom, Türkiye’ye gidecem desek” bizi bırakırlar mı burda, diyo babam. Korkuyo, eve gelmiyo. Pırdan be, dedim, benim yaşım ufak dedim. Annemler gidiyo ben de gidecem. Neyse sevdiler mevdiler beni, öptüler. Ben ağlamağa başladım. Onlara da dert olmuş. Sonra sınıfa girdim, selam verdim. Herkes kalktı ayağa, “Hoş geldin,” dediler. Dediler Saliha size misafir geldi dediler. Yanında bir Bulgar kızınnan oturyom ya, bana dedi “Gel yanıma otur,” dedi. Gittim yanına oturdum. Bir sarıldı bana o Bulgar kızı kopmuyo benden. Ağlıyo ben de ağlıyom. O kıza herkes bakıyo böyle. Çok zor oğlum de mi? Kalktım onun yanından, ağladım, gene “Allahaısmarladık,” dedim. Dolandım eve, bir baktım oğlan kardeşim de oturmuş, o da ağlamış. Nerdeyse araba koşulacak gayri, çıkacaz. Babam böyle, merdiveni iniyoz böyle, oğlan kardeşimin elinden tutmuş, böyle yaptı babam, “Eviiim, evim!” dedi babam. “Ama,” dedi “Mustafa Kemal aldı mı bu gavurun memleketini,” dedi, “doğru evime gelecem,” dedi babam.

Atatürk aldı ya bizi. Atatürk, biz Atatürk bilmiyoduk, Mustaf Kemal biliyoduk onu. Babam, "Evim evim sana doymadım," dedi. "Mustafa Kemal aldı mı bu Bulgarın memleketini, doğru evime gelecem. Ha bir yerine kodumum gavuru," diye sövüyo evi alana. Ordan indik, bir de baktık oğlum, iki okul var, ne kadar beni seviyolarmış. Talebeleri sıralamışlar mı! O köyümüzdeki öğretmen bana dil öğrettiydi ya hani, onların bağı vardı, şöyle bir sepet üzüm. Üzümleri toplamış, onu akşamdan hazırlamış, bağlamış. Sıralamış talebeleri, benim Türkiye'ye gelmem öyle oldu oğlum. Herkeze diyom onu. .... (Bulgarca ifade) askeriye türküsü, milli marş. Onu söylerler. Bizim evler böyle aşadaydı, böyle yukarda şarkılar geliyor ama ay bir de bir baktım talebelerlen geldiler. Neye babamlar da koştu arabayı. O orda bayılyo, o orda ağlıyo, anamın ablaları, kardeşleri, komşular. Beni koydular gene Bulgar kızının yanına, burdan Yeniköy kadar talebeler bizimlen geldiler, talebeler. Ondan sonra ayrıldık. Onlar biz şimdi güle güle diyoz ya onlar "Hurra!" Böyle "Hurraa! Hurraa!" diyolar arkamızdan. Çok zor oğlum. Yani ordan, yollandık geliyoz. Geldik Şumnı'ya. Bir gece kaldık. O evin sahibisi bir kuzu vermiş bize. Biz koyunları sattık ya, oğlan kardaşım ağlardı, onların koyunları vardı. Çocuklarla oynardık. İşte kuzuyu getirdi hediye. "Napıcaz," demiş babam, "Şumnu'da onu?" Şumnu'da ucuz sattı. Sonra yollandık geliyoruz. Tek arabayız. Ordan beş araba gidiyo ya yoldan, ordan on araba ordan iki, ordan yirmi... Kervan diyolar, oğlum, ikiyüz araba mı beş yüz araba mı böyle sıralanıyordun. Taş yoldan Varna'ya geliyoz. Biz köyden on günde geldik oğlum Varna'ya! On günde! Gece gündüz. Bizim tarafta Bulgar çok yoktu da. Sırf oraları Bulgar, onların yolları. Bulgarın yolları taştır oğlum. Onlar yuva oluyodu yollarda, sonra makina bastırıyordu. Şimdi yollarda bi yağmur yağıyo ama kervan da uzak. Şimdi yolun ortasından geliyo gavur, yolun kenarından getsene. Yolun ortasından! Ne yolun bu tarafından yürüyebiliyorsun ne de öbür tarafından. Yolun ortasından makine geliyo böyle. Yağmur da yağıyo ama, ... (anlaşılmıyor) indi mi. Güne bakan tarlaları vardı. Bir baktım, arabalar 'ka ka ka' gülüyo gavurlar orda. Yuvarlağın orda, yuvarlak derdik onlara, makina. Sonra ordan iki öküze iki öküz daha getiriyorlar böyle, dört hayvan yapıyorlar birbirine öyle. Çıktı millet ondan sonra bir de yolda. Babam yoldu, yoldu günebakan köklerini arabanın altına böyle mandaya malağını emzirdik. Anamla iki oğlan kardeşim arabanın önünde biz de onların ... "Bak oğlum arabanın arkasında." Arabanın arkasında, arkası böyle kilim örtülü. Araba böyle hatırla. Şöyle bizi sokuyodu annemle babam arabanın altına, var ya böyle duruyorduk. Kırılıyodu bu bacaklarımız. Sonra indiriyolardı bizi.

Yörüyoduk biraz. Yorulduk mu gene sokuyorlardı bizi oraya. Sonra ordan, geldik, geldik işte kervanınan. Varna'ya yaklaştık. Malak, mandanın sütü akıyo böyle, malak bağıryo arabanın altında. Manda ölecek belki. Pıravadı, Pıravadı kasabası vardı. Orası Varna'ya yakın. Babam dedi ki "Ben," dedi, "kervandan ayrılacam." Bir meydanlık böyle geniş. Arabanın arkasında böyle. Ezandan sonra, ezan filan okundu. Okunmuştur yani. "Malağı emzirelim," dedi anama. Kervan gitti biz ayrıldık. Kervan gidiyo Varna'ya, biz tek kaldık Bulgar memleketinde. Sonra bana dedi babam, Bulgarca bilmiyo. "Nasılsın? İyi misin?" öyle yani. Bulgarlar Türkçe konuşurlar, Türkler Bulgarca konuşmazlardı oğlum. Türkler biraz inat da oluyo. Bak Bulgar memleketinde Bulgar Türkçe bilir, Türkler bilmez Bulgar. Ama biz öğrendik okulda. Ordan bana dedi ki babam: "Saliha," dedi, "kızım uyuma," dedi. Mandaları böyle saldı, karşıda topladı, "dur mandaların yanında". Biri mandaları da çalar, babamı da keser, hepsi olur. Hep gavur orası. "Bak," dedi, "kızım uyuma gece bir gavur gelirse, bakalım ne yapacağız," dedi. Öyle demeye kalmadı, biz arabanın arkasındayız bizi görmüyo. Kimse bilmiyo arabanın arkasında olduğumuzu. Babamın yanına iki gavur geldi. "Sen," diyo, "nereye gidiyon?" diyo. O da, "Türkiye'ye gidiyom Gospodinim!" diyo. Biz onlara gospodin derdik. Yani patron mu demek ne demek bilmiyom gari. "E, niye gidiyon Türkiye'ye filan?" Soryuyolar babama. Babam da işte uğraşıyo söylemeye filan, ben dinliyom. Sonra biraz bir şeyle, şey yaptılar babama, sonra bir ayrıldılar. Babamın anasına dedesine bir küfürlediler yani. Söğdüler. Bir yerimiz kalmadı, ne ana kaldı ne baba, neyi varsa söğdüler babama. Napiceksin bi şey yapamıyon. Onlar defoldu gitti. Sonra, babam gari, hepimiz uyumadık hiç. Ağlıyoz. Anam diyo ki "Babanı vururlarsa," diyo "bir de mandaları alırlarsa," diyo, "kalır mıyız biz burda?" diyo. "Naparız biz şimdi?" diyo. Ordan sonra sabah namazı zamanı etraf açıldı, babam koştu arabayı. Besmele çektik okuduk. Anam zaten benim hocadır. Namaz kılardı, cenaze yıkardı anam. Yollandık, çıktık. Pıravadı'dan. Çıktık yani Pıravadı'nın içinden çıktık. O gün, bir gün kalmış Varna'ya. Hiçbir yerini bilmiyom. Varna'yı bilmiyom. Şimdi böyle çıktın ya böyle gidiyon. Şu tarafta öyle çeşmeler şar şar akar. Şu kadar bir testimiz var, bardak. Babam dedi ki bana, " Ver," dedi "Saliha'ya," dedi. İndirdi babam beni arabanın içinden, "Ha kızım," dedi, "git bunu doldur, babular", babular deriz Bulgar karılarına, "babular," dedi, "çeşmeden su alıyo, su doldur," dedi. Çünkü ben biliyom Bulgarca'yı. Gittim ben onlara Bulgarca selam verdim. "Ooo nereye gidiyonuz?" Dedim, Türkiye'ye gidiyoz dedim. Birisi dedi ki ötekine, verdiler bana sırayı, bu

kadar su alacam, “Bak, sizin arabanın yolunu kestiler,” dedi. İki tane gavur, iki Bulgar. Babamlar durmuş, babama diyo ki “Türçin,” diyo, “parayı ver,” diyo. Annem de işte orağa gitti, ordan koyunları sattık, inek minek o paralar var, başka para yok. Para vermedi ki bize gavur. Sonra ordan bana dediler, “Çabuk git,” dediler. Ben koşa koşa geldim, babam vermiş onlara parayı, daha istiyo. Babam da diyo ki “…. başı için, bak yemin ediyom!” diyo, “Yok başka!” diyo. Anama dedi, el öpüyoz ya işte bir iki para vermişler bize. Adamların karıları, adamlar veriyorlar. Babam dedi ki, “ver çocukların paralarını da vereyim,” dedi. Sonra anam koynundan çıkardı verdi. Gene babama bir iki tekme vurdu, bir iki yumruk vurdu birisi. “Haydi Türçin,” dedi, “çabuk git!” Ordan ağlayarak… Paraları da aldılar elimizden. Geldik mi oğlum Varna’ya. Varnaya’da geldik, Varna’ya da geliyorsun ama gemiye binerken Bulgar gene para alıyo senden. İnsandan para alıyo, arabandan para alıyo, mandandan para alıyo, gene para alıyo bizden. On gün Varna’da durduk. Öteki manda da malakladı mı? Bak iki tane malak. Allah tarafından bak! Babam bir odun buldu. Almış böyle, bir mandadan bir kova süt çıkıyo böyle. On kilo mu, on beş mi, yirmi mi bilmem, böyle. Ötekinden de öyle babam koyuyo onları, satıyo, getiriyo anama veriyo. Kırk lira kaldı, yani noksan. Vapır da kalkacak gari, gemi de geldi kalkacak. Yetmiyo para. Ne yapalım, babam köye.. O zaman telefon yok, telgraf mı ne varmış, telgraf çekti amcama: “Abi ben kalıyom Bulgaristan’da,” diyo, “bizi soydular, param yok.” O gece anamın eniştesi, amcam, bin altın derlerdi, yani bir milyon mu, bir milyar mı bilmiyom işte, getirdiler bize para. Gemi parasını da şey yaptık. Bir gevrek almadık on günde Varna’dan oğlum. Gavur’un çocukları yiyorlar. Biz böyle bakarız, ama arabada her şey var onlardan yerdik. Babam bizi oğlan kardeşiminen gezdirdi, para var. Bana bir elbiselik aldı. Oğlan kardeşime pantullar aldı. Amcamlar gitti Türkiye’ye, döndüler Bulgaristan’a, eniştemnen amcam. Sonra şey oldu, bak kafam gitti. Haa, sonra babam biz böyle yani denizin kıyında babam bizi böyle gezdiriyo. Şimdi para var ya bizde. Denizin içinde böyle kırmızı bir şey var. Görünüyo karşıdan, iki üç metre mi ne. Ben dedim ki baba bu ne kızarıyo denizde dedim. Ama baya, uluslararası su mu oluyomuş be oğlum,

OS: Olabilir.

Haa, uluslararası. Şimdi Türk gemisi yanaşsa Bulgar’ın oraya para alıyomuş gavur. Babam dedi ki “Mustafa Kemal’in gemisiymiş”, oğlum, o dedi. Neden kırmızı baba o dedim. Babam dedi ki “Türkiye’de bayram varmış,” dedi. Cumhuriyet bayramı varmış, biz bilmiyoruz onu. O, bütün bayrak o Türk gemisi bak. Babam dedi

“Mustafa Kemal’in bayramı varmış,” dedi. Ben dedim ki baba Ramazan Bayramı değil, Kurban Bayramı değil, iki bayram biliyoz. “Kızım,” dedi, “Mustafa Kemal’in bayramı varmış,” dedi. Sonra gayrı Cumhuriyet Bayramı bitti mi heral, vapur bi yanaştı, bir haftada mı on günde mi orasını bilmedim, bizi doldurdular gemiye. Böyle otlar, balleler var, o balleler hayvanlar. O gemi nasıl gemiymiş be oğlum. Sonra böyle sayıyolar, iki yüz hane, bak biz ne fazla gelmişik Varna’ya. İkiyüz hane! İki yüz kişi değil! Bir evde dört çocuk var, beş çocuk var, iki çocuk var, hayvanı var. Bubam geldi şimdi, anama dedi ki “Saniye,” dedi, “bizi gene tutar mı,” dedi, “gene bir piyango.” “Niye?”, dedi “Hayrola?” “İki yüz hane fazlaymışız,” dedi, “kalır mıyız şimdi bu gavurun memleketinde?” Soydular ya bizi, babam şimdi korkuyo. “Şansımız yürümez,” diyo babam. Anam da dedi ki o zaman, “Ne yapalım”, dedi, “gideriz,” dedi. Anamın eniştesi çok zengindi bir tane, “gideriz yanlarına,” dedi, “sen onların koyunlarını güdersin,” dedi babama, “ben de” dedi, “orda yemek memek yaparım.” “Nee!” dedi babam o zaman. “Sen git,” dedi anneme, “ben çocukları tutarım kollarından, mandalar yüzer,” dedi. “Çocuklarımı tutarım, bi atarım kendimi denize, gene kalmam bu kafirin memleketinde,” dedi. Babam anlatıyo bize. Atatürk ne demiş oğlum biliyo musun? Ne varsa doldurun demiş. Bırakmayım bir yek can. Temiz Türk kanı varsa onlarda, demiş, temiz müslüman kanı, bir şey olmaz demiş. Gavur kanı varsa hepsi batsınlar demiş, Atatürk. Yedi tane çocuk doğdu gemide biz gelirken. O geminin içinde şey var, doğumhanesi var, hepsi var oğlum. Gemi nasıl gemi ben de bilmiyom. Yedi tane çocuk dünyaya geldi, bir hafta suda geldik Karadeniz’den. Hiç bir şey olmadı bize. Buz gibi çıktık Urla’ya. Urla’ya çıktık bir kişi ölmeden böyle. Yedi tane çocuk böyle, Akdnizle Karadeniz mi, bir deniz var böyle, neresi bilemem sen bilirsin,

OS: Karadeniz daha dalgalıdır.

Çarpışıyor ya,

OS: Haa, Marmara denizinde çarpışılıyo evet.

Biz ...(anlaşılmıyor) deriz, arada geziyorlar böyle. Diyorlar ki din kardeşi diyorlar, ölü varsa diyolar acımayın onun ömrü buradadır atalım denize, batıyo diyolar. Batıyodu o dalgalı olan yerde. Hiç ölü olmamış. Böyle birbirimizi arıyorlar ölü var mı diye. Ordan geçtik. Urla’ya geldik oğlum. Urla’da gemi yanaşmıyo, Urla’ya. Su yufka, Urla’da da bizi bir hafta öyle indirdiler gene gemiden. Ordada bizi, iğne vurdular, her gün banyo yapıyoz. Ordan torbalardan çekiyoz. Ne çekersen kaderine biz de atıyoz işte. Kimisi Konya’ya kimisi anyaya.

OS: Siz Salih amcalarla beraber mi geldiniz?

Aynı geldik, onlar iki hane, onlar tiren ilen geldiler Urla'ya. Sonra Urla'dan da kamyonnan geldiler Akköy'e. Biz arabayla geldik. Tangur tungur, bu havada, yol yok. Bir kara müdür vardı burda. Onun kökü Bulgar'danmış Deliorman'danmış. Esmer bir adam. Bir ceket var sırtında, fanila bile yok öyle biri. Bizi bir seviyordu. Atlan dolaşırdı oralarda.

OS: İsmi neydi hatırlıyor musun?

Valla, dayım bilir belki, ismini unuttum.

OS: Nahiye müdürü müydü?

Nahiye müdürüydü. Onun mezarlıkta taşı bile var. Kıskananlar onu o zaman dediler ki yuvarlamışlar onu dediler. Bak mezarlıkta onun taşı var. Mezarlığa girdi mi ilk onun taşı. Onun adı yazar belki ama bilmiyorum şimdi. Ama severdi bizi. Benim adıma Fatma derdi.

OS: Niye?

Kimbilir niye? Heral yani askerler varya karakolda. Tencereyi kaynattırır, tencerenin dibine yapışır o süt. Yanar biraz. Onu getiriyoduk ona. O da paraylan alıyodu. Tembihlerdi beni. Dışardan şimdi askerler var ya… Kızım dedi mi, on üç yaşlarındaydım o zaman, "hadi kızım" derdi bana, "doğru eve git" derdi. Allah rahmet eylesin, nur içinde yatsın. Sonra Sarıkemer'den işte, Serçin'e geldik. Ordan kayıkla geçtik. Off, bu köye de geldik mi oğlum. Önce gelenler, biz onlara yerli derdik. Onlar da Selanik'ten, yerli yok hiç bu köyde. Boşnaklar vardı, Pomaklar vardı, onlara amelelik yaparız oğluuum! Sabah namazında gelirler kaldırırlar bizi, güneş kavuşur, çalış çalış çalış, beş kruş para verirler sana. Ne çileler çektik. O berber Selim'in evi vardı, karakolun ardında, yüksekçene. Oraya, her eve bir muhacir verirler. Burada aşağıda muhacir oturmuş, yukarıda bunlar otururmuş. Her eve dağıttılar bizi. Onlara bedevadan çalıştık biz de işte senelerce. Atatürk bize beygir verdi iki tane. Tarla verdi onar dönüm, pulluk verdi o sene. Davarımıza bizim yem verdi. Ne adammış be oğlum. Nur içinde yatsın. Şimdi yok öyle. Hepsi kese dolduruyo şimdi değil mi oğlum? Keşke Atatürk sağ olsa. 38'de öldü dimi o? Ne bileyim ben de çok kafa vardı ama kafam gitti. İşte sonra geldik işte amelelik yaptık Türkiye'de. Biraz kendimiz ektik biçtik, kurtardık hayatımızı. Çok şükür Allahıma gavurda kalmadık. Orda gavurda olanlar sonra gelmişler, ne bileyim dönmüşler geriye... Çok şükür Allahıma. Salih gitti Bulgaristan'a.

OS: Gitmiş.

Bana diyo. Ben de merak ediyom da. Bir diyo akraba o kadar diyo. Hiç diyo Türkçe birini bulamadım konuşayım diye diyo. Bulgarca da konuşamıyo hepsi, diyo, Rusça konuşuyorlar diyo. Kominstlik oldu ya. Bir Çingen tanımış Salih'i yalnız. "Naber be Salih?" demiş. "Sen misin be Salih" demiş ona. Çingen şöförü tanıdı diyo beni. Salih öyle söyledi.

OS: Siz ordayken Çingeneler var mıydı köyde?

Vardı ya! Onlar da bizim gibi hocaya gidiyorlardı. Türk hoacasına gidiyorlardı, Bulgarca da okuyolardı. Onlar da Türk hocasına gidiyolardı. Öyle bir mahalle Çingene vardı. Onları Türkiye almadı galiba. Onların Kıpti mi ne yazıyo… Onların nüfüsları Türk yazmaz. Bizim Muhammed yazar, onların yazmaz. Onların Kıpti yazıyodu galiba. Onlar, Çingenler çok zenginlemiş orda. Demek Bulgar'a dönmüş onlar, nasıl olsa Çingene. Salih diyo Çingen muhtar, Çingen bilmem ne, hepsi Çingene. Kaç katlı evler yapmışlar diyo Salih. Her yer onların. Yaşasınlar. Biz de yaşıyoz Türkiye'de. Ne yapalım oğlum dünya böyle işte. Geldik işte Türkiye'ye çok şükür Allahıma.

OS: Siz ordayken nasıl geçinirdiniz Çingenelerle, Bulgarlarla?

Çingeneler sana bana iş yapar. Onların tarlaları yoktur. Ona buna işe giderler. Aynı burda da nasıl değil mi? Çok iyi geçiniyoduk be oğlum. Hiç kavga mavga yoktu, köyümüzün Bulgarı… Ama sona sona bu Türkiye'den gelenler filan. Köylümüznen hiç birşeyimiz yoktu. Bizi, bak onu da söyle yaz, altı gün bizim Bulgar komşumuz, arabada yok ya yer, altı gün altı gece, Nazif'i, beni, Murat'ı arabaya koydu, gece gündüz bizimlen geldi. Bulgar nasıl ağlıyor. "İbrahim Aga siz gidiyonuz. Sizin Türkiye'niz var ama biz nere gideceğiz? Rus geliyo!" diyodu. O Bulgar da öyle diyodu. Bak adı da Nekko'ydu. Bizim komşumuzdu oğlum. Hiç kavga etmezdik. Güzel güzel geçiniyorduk. Anamlar şimdi mesela... En küçük kız kardeşim bir yaşında, bir buçuk yaşında kız kardeşim vardı. Öğretmen oldu, öldü. Onun da kocası yok. O Bulgar komşumuz, onun büyük torunu vardı, benim Naziflen yaşıt. Her öğlende o bizi çağrıyodu, her öğlen bizi besliyodu. "Siz" diyodu "Türkiye'ye gideceksiniz benim çocuklarım". Bizi sever, her öğlende bizi besliyodu. Bakıyodu bize akşam da gidiyoduk evimize. Ölmüş babamlar gitti ya. Bir defa bulmuş onları sade babam. İkinciye gittiğinde, "ölmüşler" derdi. İyi geçiniyoduk oğlum, hiçbirşeyimiz yoktu. Ama Türk oğluynan Bulgar kavga etti mesela. Türkler döver onları. Onlar, korkaktır onlar çok. Onlar çok korkaktır. Valla bir kere yol verdim ona, ne yapar onlar. Onlar çok tabansızdır. Onlar öyledir. Türkler çok cesurdur. Türk

gençleri, foter kafalarında, kuşaklar bellerinde, Bulgar sokulur mu onların aynına. Ama sonra tabi, hepsi boşmuş onların. İşte o kadar oğlum daha ne söyleyeyim sana.

OS: Orda nasıl geçiniyordunuz peki, tarlalarınıza ne ekiyodunuz?

Buğday ekiyoduk, arpa ekiyoduk, misir ekiyoduk, nohut ekiyoduk, fasülye ekiyoduk, her şeylerini ekiyoduk kendimize. E, zerzavatta böyle, aynı böyle bahçe bahçe, satın alıyoduk onları. Bağımız vardı, üzümlerimiz vardı. Ya, üzümler böyle. Şeftali ağaçlarımız vardı, dokuz ağaç ceviz vardı. Erik, eriğin hesabını bilmezdik, bahçe büyüüük. Ceviz ağacı çoktu. Ceviz dolduruyoduk çuvallara, üzümleri gene napıyoduk biliyo musun? Gene orası güzel oluyo orda üzümler, tavanları annemler sıvıyodu tavanları bile. Yapraklan böyle suvarlar. Bağ yapraklarını koparırlar böyle, tavana böyle koyarız onları, üste üzüm salkımı koyarsın. Sonra onları satmak yok ki. Kime satacan herkeste var di mi? Böyle dallan keserlerdi üzümleri, o şimdi ağaçlar var ya tavanlarda, o ağaçlarda böyle böyle çiviler vardır herkesin. O çivilere o asmaları asarsın. Salkımları da yere koyarsın. ... (anlaşılmıyor) filan yok bu gibi. Pekmez kaynatırsın, üzüm turşusu katnatırsın. Bir tek elden alırsın, şekerdi öyle şeylerdi. Çay yok o zaman. Sonra o kar yağdı mı, azcık o kiremitlerden, üzümler olur çıtır çıtır sanki yeni kopmuş. Ceviz akşam oldu mu. Kabak çok olur orda. O misir tarlalarında arabaylan kabakları getirirsin. Bir de kesersin her akşam hayvanlara. Kuzunun önüne bir attın mı onları… Kabak şimdi şeker koyuyosun. Orda bal gibiydi o kabaklar. Böyle bir bereketliydi ki gavurun memleketi. Sattığımız bir şey yok oğlum be. Kiraz! Hepsi bu. Para yok zaten, nerde para, babam şöyle ..len (anlaşılmıyor) getiriyordu bize kapışırdık. Para yoktu orda.

OS: Peki, hep beraber, ailecek mi çalışırdınız? Mesela annen çalışır mıydı sizle? Annen de çalışır mıydı sizle?

Oho oh! Annem de çalışıyo, babam da çalışıyo hepsi çalışıyo. Herkes kendi evine.

OS: Dışardan işçi tutuyo muydunuz?

Tutuyoduk ya. İşçi tutmuyoduk da şimdi, bugün senin orağın var mı, orak biçilecek. Beş altı hane mi deyim ne deyim, bugün senin. İki gün mü gidek üç gü mü deyim, bügün seninkini biçerler.

OS: İmece usulü.

Hee, önce ona giderler, sonra ona giderler. Öyle parayla yok.

OS: Yövmiyeyle yok?

Yok, yok. Öyle yapılırdı. Misir çapasına beş altı kişi senin misirini çapalar, yarın bana çapalar, öbür gün onu çapalar. Öyle yaparlardı.

OS: Peki biraz o zaman anne-babandan bahseder misin? Baban nasıl biriydi?

Babam çok iyi bir insandı, kötü diyebilir miyim işte. İyi bir insandı babam işte. Nur içinde yatsın. Bizi Türk toprağına getirdi. Babam bak öleceği zaman bile bana dedi… Gelmişlerdi babamı ziyarete de… "Ben" dedi, "benim bu Saliha'nın yüzünden geldim Türkiye'ye" dedi. "Çok şükür" dedi, "çok hayırlı evlatmış bu" dedi. "Onun yüzünden geldim ya, evler yaptım" dedi, "yeni evler yaptım. Aklıma bile gelmiyordu" dedi "bu". Beni almaya kalkınca hemen babam geldi, bırakmadı bizi gavura. Alırdı bizi. Yüzde yüz alacam diyordu. Babamın ödü patlıyodu. "Pasaport çıkarmazsa bu gavur bize" derdi. Bak oğlum, öyle de çok kalan vardı Bulgaristan'da. Herif şindi sana diyo ki… Alıyo senin evini, imzanı attırıyo, sana pasaport çıkaracağım diye, çıkarmıyo, vakti geçiyo, altı ayda. Öyle bize altı ayda çıkardı. Çıkarıyo oğlum seni evinden atıyo. Kalıyosun oğlum. Yolda kalıyosun. O geliyo senin evine oturuyo. Öyleleri de var Bulgaristan'da. Neler neler? Fakirler gelemiyo çocuğum. Çok zenginler de malına kıyamıyo. Orta halliler işte. Ama sonra zenginler de geldi.... Biz ne kavga gördük, ne dövüş gördük hiç bir şey görmedik. Bizden sonra çok yapmışlar onları... Biz görmedik hiç bir şey. İşte ne deyim öğretmenler geçirdi bizi Akköy'den Yeniköy'e kadar.

OS: Sizi takiben sizin köyden buraya gelen oldu mu? Dereköy'den daha sonra buraya gelen oldu mu?

Yok hiç olmadı.

OS: İki hane buraya geldiniz?

İki hane geldi. Türkiye'ye gelmiş, kimisi Konya'da şeyde var, Menderes diyolar, İzmir'in oralarda, orda var. Şeyde var, en çok bizim köyümüzden… Bulamayacağım şimdi… Manisa'da değil de daha ötede…

OS: Balıkesir mi?

Balıkesir'de. Oralarda var çok bizim köyümüzden. Manisa'da var. Okul arkadaşım var Manisa'da, bir defa gördüm işte.

OS: O okul arkadaşın, ilkokuldaki. Geldi mi?

Ha, o yok. O delirmiş oğlum. Delirmiş. Bir Bulgar istemiş onu, babası çok zengindi. Demişler kaçalım Türkiye'ye. Yok demiş ben ne yapacağım Türkiye'de malımı mülkümü bırakıp da, sonra ne yapacağım ben orda. Baba demiş sen kalırsan kal. Ben gideceğim. Ne mal isterim ne mülk. Sonra Bulgar istemiş mi İklime'yi. Yaa! Bubası da vermemiş. Annemle babam gitti ya Bulgaristan'a. On sene sonra mı gittiler, bilemedim işte. Gittiler gezmeğe. O zaman Türkler duruyodu orda da. Böyle koca bir

sopa elinde gezermiş yolda. Anama demiş ki "Sen demiş çakır gözlü Saliha'nın annesisin değil mi?" demiş. Ben onu okuldayken çekiyodum, buz tutar ya, buz şurasını şöyle yarmış. "Bak," demiş "benim nişanım var," demiş, "onun nişanı." O kadar. Aldı başını gitti diyo annem. Delirmiş o. Gelse diye babası. Babası, doydu mu şimdi Bulgar'a. Bilmiyom ne oldu. Delirmiş o. Beni de alacaklardı. Babam nur içinde yatsın, nur içinde yatsın. Anamın tayfası da geldi. Bursa'da bizim çok var, İnegöl'de var. Anamın ablası İnegöl tarafında, babamın tayfası, Bursa'da. Bozöyük'ünde var. Bir de Bozöyük'ünde amcamlar var, bizden sonra geldiler. Babamın ağbeyleri onlar Bozöyük'ünde. Amcam ölmüş, oğlu felç olmuş, bir şeyler işte. Sonra Küta(h)ya'da gene, babamın amcası, seferberlik varmıştı gayri öyle eskiden. 18 yaşında kaçmış Türkiye'ye babamın amcası. Babamlar onu da gasteye verdiler onları da buldular Küta(h)ya'da. Manaz olur mu be oğlum, manaz diyo babam. Manaz, manaz.

OS: O Eskişehir taraflarında şey var, Tatarlarla Manavlar var.

Ha manav, babam dedi ki…

OS: Yerlilerine manav deniyo.

Gittik babam diyo böyle şalvarlı çocuklar. Giyerler bu şalvarları diyo. Koyun sürüleri varmış. Bubamlar işte onları gastede bulmuş, nası, amcası. Babam diyo büyük evleri varmış böyle, ortaya duruyo diyo. Gece varmışlar oraya annemlen. Açmışlar kapıyı misafir gelmişler. Amcası sağmış babamın böyle diyo. Kütükleri yığmışlar ocağa diyo. "Ateş yanıyo" diyo. "Bir baktım" diyo "aynı babam" diyo. "Babama benziyo" diyo benim babam. Selam vermişler. Heral sen kimsin diye sordu mu. Böyle bakmış bakmış dede, babama demiş, kalkmağa hali yok çok yaşlanmış diyo babam "Eğil öpeyim sen İbrahamsın başkası değil." Başladı dedi dede ağlamaya. Onu da buldu babam. Babamın kardeşi amcam vardı. Babaannem ölünce, amcam en küçükleri babamın, 40 günlük kalmış. Dedem onu Şumni'ye evlatlık vermiş, dedem. Kırk günlük kalmış, o Şumnu'ya almışlar onu kasabaya. Geliyodu köye buz gibi elbiselerinen. Sonra o kadın ona memesini vermiş. Allah tarafından südü gelmiş alan kadının. Evlat yerine kabul etmişler. Sona babası gari, alan, o ölmüş. O ölünce amıcam 18 yaşına girmiş. O analık evlenmiş o kadın. Neye evlendi diye amcam bırakmış Türkiye'ye kaçıp gelmiş. Kaçmış amcam. Kadın ona ilenmiş. Dizinden yukarı evlat görmeyesin demiş bak o kadın. Amıcamın iki tene kızı, Bursa'da evlenmiş o, kızamıktan ikisi de bir günde ölmüş. Amcam da öldü şimdi. Beddua etmiş analığı ona…. Ben Türkiye'ye geldim. Salih de. Öksüz diye, Salihlen biz süt

kardeşiz. Anam emzirmiş onu da. Ben giderim onlara ara sıra. O gelmiyor. Ben giderim. Bulgar'ın toprağı çok kuvvetlidir. Atatürk bi alaymış orasını. Bak 8 milyondu Bulgar biz ordayken, dört buçuğu Türk, üç buçuğu Bulgar. Türkiyeymiş orası. Bu Osmanlı var ya oğlum, bizimkinleri şu Konya tarafından mı ne çekmiş, o tarafa almış almış Türkleri, Osmanlı dağıtmış. Bir de gerileyince, Bulgarlar'da kalmışık. Esas bizim kökümüz, Konya tarafındanmış. Ordan gitmeymiş. Akşehir mi ne. Akşehir filan var ya. Bir de bizim, Aydınoğulları mı Karamanoğulları mı?

OS: Karamanoğulları.

Karamanoğulları bizim kökümüz. Benim oğlan tarih öğretmeni. Dört yüz mü, iki yüz mü talebesi varmış benim oğlanın. Esmer ama tam Türk böyle, çok esmer. Annemin babası, esmermiş, Kara Ahmet diyolarmış. Bazı öğretmenleri de "Ula Kadir Bey sen niye esmersin, annen beyaz," diye. Ben esmerim derdi, esmer çok. Ama dört tene çocuğunu okuttu iki tane doktoru var. En küçüğü öğretmen. Hep benim torunlarım okudu oğlum. Bana çekmişler diyolar. Hı, hı, çok zekiydim be oğlum. Beni bir gün yollamadılar Türkiye'de. Yollayın beni bir gün! De mi? Ama ben gene kalmam yolda. Şimdi bu Bulgarca ya. Tutuyo bu harf, bu tutuyo, bu tutmuyo, çıkarıyom onu. Mesela otururum burada bazı Kur'an okurum. Bazı o gastelere bakarım işte, ne yapıyım. Öyle çocuğum.

OS: Nerden buluyosun o Bulgar gazetesini?

Türk gastesinden, Türk gazetelerinden. Bulgar gastesi nerde? Türk gastesi. Türk gastesinden. Öyle çıkarttırıyorum, işte Ahmet Abin alır ya gasteyi. Şimdi bir de benim yabancı oğlum var Kanadalı. Onu evlatlık yerine kabul ettim, altı senedir. O şimdi burada misafir.

OS: Nasıl Kanadalı?

Kanada'dan. Uluslararası öğretmen o. Şimdi doktora oldu. Beni anne diye seviyo bak. Kolejde öğretmen oldu ya oğlum, onlan tanıştılar, şimdi buraya geliyo Türkiye'ye. Şimdi İzmir'de onlar ikisi de.

OS: Ahmet Abi'nin arkadaşı öyle mi?

Arkadaşı ama, ben de kabul ettim onu evlat yerine. Anne diyo bana. Türk de Allah'ın kulu, o da. Öyle değil mi oğlum. Çok efendi bir genç. 47 yaşında o. Ahmet abin 43. Kartaldı Ahmet Abin de. Evlenmiyo.

OS: Seni bekliyo haa?

Gelin diyo, sana bir kır at yaptım koşarım sana onu diyo. Geçen sene niyetlendi o bir, Alaman uluslararası öğretmen, adı Stefaniydi. Akköy'e filan getirdi onu, onlar da

gittiler ama nereye bilmiyom. Memleketine gitti mi, Alamanlar demiş ki, Ahmet abin gitsin işte kilisede nikahı olacakmış. Ahmet abin dedi, "ben bu yaşa geldim kilisede nikahım mı olur? Hadi Stefani sen yoluna ben yoluma". Ondan ayrıldı öyle. Kilisede nikahı olacakmış. Olur mu hiç? Sen olur musun mesela Kilise'de nikah? Ölsen olmazsın.

OS: Yok canım niye olayım?

Olur mu mesela di mi?

OS: Başka dinden biriyle evlenebilirsin yani de…

Tabi işte alacaktı onu. Kilisede nikah deyince vaz geçti. Çok iyi bir kızdı ama. Türkçe de öğretiyo Ahmet onlara. Türkçe biliyo. "Benim" diyo "anne, Türkle evlenirsem ölecek" diyo. "Gebersin" diyo, "gebersin". "Seni alacam" diyo. Sonra işte iyi bir kızd". Ama o bulurum yine diyo. Nolacak evlenmede. Her yerde kızlar şimdi oğlanlar arıyo be oğlum evlenecek. Bir taraftan da çok oğlum, hepten de fazla açık oldu millet. Ar, numus, terbiye kalmadı. Kimisi de haddinden fazla örtündü. Ne bileyim ben oğlum, bu Türkiye de bölündü, Türkiye de. Bir bakıyom, atkı buraya kadar, o da ayıp di mi oğlum be. Benim oğlumun hanımı buraya geliyodu burada… Kocası ölünce şaşırdı, şimdi hacıya filan gitti ya Allah kabul etsin, kızı vardı. Oğlanı okutmamışlar, bizden de arayan olmadı, oğlu öyle kendi halinde. Torunu var bir tane, örtmüşler 13 yaşında kızı, örtülü. Aydın'dakinin bundan 15 gün evvel oğlunun düğünü oldu. Aydın'da düğüne gittik. Onlar da geldiler tabi. Kız örtülü. Böyle *(yazmasını başörtüsü gibi yüzüne öreterek gösteriyor)*, 12 yaşında kız. Aynı böyle. Sıcak hava yanıyo millet, "ne bu be?" dedi, "bu masumu niye böyle yapıyonuz?" dedi. "Amca ben kendim istiyom". "Kendin istiyon?" Şöyle durdum evlat. "Ah be!" dedi "Abi," dedi "çık da kes bunların hepsini" dedi. Ama Erol sağ olacak keser onları. Ah dedim be oğlum nerde abin. Amerika'ya gitti geldi, o. Amerika'da ona iğne mi vurdular ne yaptılar, o da kanser oldu oğlum, öldü gitti. Çok az yaşadı Türkiye'de 32 yaşında öldü. Ah, Ahmet dayın değil bu. Başka dayı bu.

OS: Saliha Nine, Akköy'e geldiniz, ordan devam edelim, Akköy nasıldı geldiğinde?

Ne bileyim be çocuğum, nasıl diyeyim ben sana şimdi? Salih de söyledi di mi?

OS: Ben senin ağzından öğrenmek istiyorum, o söyledi de senin söyleyeceğin de önemli.

Ne çocuğum, neydi? Ne yol vardı, ne bişey. Yunan evleri vardı yıkık mıkık. Sona, insan azdı zaten, Boşnaklar vardı.

OS: Gelince nereye yerleştiniz.

Biz şu muhtarlık var ya, bizim muhtarlıktaki, büyük, sen hatırlıyor musun o binayı?

OS: Ben buradan iki yaşında gitti. Hiçbir şey hatırlamam.

Haa… Muhtarlıkta üç katlı bir bina vardı. Ahmet'in evinin yan tarafında. Onun üçüncü katını verdiler, bize bir oda. Biz orda oturduk. Mandaları da, onların damı vardı, mandalar da orda oturdu. Herkez dağıldı işte. Biz orda oturduk. Bir sene orda oturduk, sonra Yunan evlerini yıktılar, muhacir evi yaptırdılar bize. Atatürk ev yaptırdı. Bir binalar vardı, üç kat iki kat. Geldiğimizde Selanikliler yıkmışlar, yıkmışlar onları. İnsan yok. Dey bu da Yunan evi işte. *(kendi evini gösteriyor)* Yunan evi diye bize bunu bıraktırdılar ya işte. Sonra işte muhacir evi olunca, biz camiden işte öyle o taraftayık, o evden çıktık. Ev dört duvardı. Babam dedi o eve biz girelim de, tarlamız var o eve yakın. Daha ustalar dört duvar yapıyo. Geldik oraya. Kilim milim gerdik, Çingen çadırı gibi. Orda oturduk bir buçuk ay. O ev oldu, oraya girdik sonra. Orda kaldık, tarlaya yakın diye. Orda oturduk.

OS: Oraya geldiğinizde tütüncülük mü yaptınız, ne yaptınız?

Tütüncülük. Biz bilmiyoduk tütün Bulgaristan'da. Bu Yeniköy yolunda tütün kıyılmış. Biz… Cumhuriyet Bayramı ne zaman, Kasım mı oluyoo?

OS: 29 Ekim, işte Kasım sayılır.

Ha o zaman tütün kıyımı bitmiş. Babam diyo ki, "bu günebakan…" Gündöndü derdik biz, günebakan demezdik. "Bu gündöndülerin" diyo "ne tepeleri var, ne bişeyleri" diyo. "Nasıl bunlar?" diyo. Bilmiyoduk bile biz. Burada öğrendik. Ben altı gün gittim, tütün kursuna burada. Benim üç günümü öğrendiğime tuttular. Halbuki daha o gün öğrendim. Altı günde bana üç kuruş para verdiler, üç kuruş. Günde bir kuruş. Altı günde bana, ama bizi ezdiler be oğlum. Zavallılar geliyodu buraya tütün dikmeye o insanları gece gündüz çalıştırıyorlardı.

OS: Denizli'den mi?

Denizli tarafından. Davaz mı diyolar?

OS: Hı, Davaz Davaz.

İşte ordan geliyolardı. Biz de onlarlan beraber. Sona başladık kendimiz ekmeğe bi daha.

OS: Siz buraya geldiğinizde Selaniklilere mi çalışıyodunuz?

Selaniklilere çalışıyoduk. Boşnaklar vardı, Pomaklar vardı, Selanikliler vardı. Ahmet'in babası Selanikli'dir. Bak ev için beni bu yaşta üç defa, o kütüphaneci var ya… Üç defa… Ben ne karakol bilirim ne bi şey oğlum, çocuk okuttum. Çarık giydim ayağıma ben o çocukları okuttum bak. Ama bilen mi var? Gelinler bilmez

ama sağolsun gene evlatlarım. Ağlıycam şimdi. Geldi beni karakola aldı, gittiğim yolu bilmiyom. Ahmet de şeyde mi, İzmir'de mi? Gitttim. Askere oğlum, sen git dedim, ben utanıyom dedim. "Sakın ha nene kaçmayasın!" Oğlum nereye kaçacağım dedim, neyere kaçacağım. Gittim parkın yanına vardım, Nusret var. Ahmet'in babasınnan akraba onlar. Yenge dedi, gel dedi, bir çay iç dedi. Parkta orda. Ben böyle yaptım ona, ben gelir miyim bu yaşta parka çay içicem ben? Şeye gitti mi şeye bile girmem ben öyle. Eski insan biz utanırız. Dedim, gel sen beni dedim, karakola götür. Eşlik et. Niye ağlıyon? Deminden asker geldi. Allah razı olsun Nusret'le beraber karakola gittik. "Nene hoş geldin" dediler. "Otur sandalyeye." Oturdum, böyle yapıyom *(elleriyle titrediğini gösteriyor).* "Korkma" dediler. "Biz de senin evladınız" dediler. Oğlum dedim, sonra adı bile karakol dedim. Sonra sordular bana, kimlik sordu birisi. Ne bileyim ben, kimliğim evde dedim. Bilmem ben kimlik mimlik dedim. Bana hiç bir şey sormadılar. "Hadi nene git" dediler. Kimliğimi sordular. "Niye almadın kimliğini?" Ne bileyim ben oğlum be dedim. Karakola yeni geliyom bu yaşta dedim, aynı böyle. Güldüler. Sonra geldim ben. Biraz sonra geçti. Üç gün geçti, Ahmet geldi gitti. Ahmet gene İzmir'de. Sinirime… Hastayım şimdi, evi yaptırmıyor. Bir de karakola! Mahkemeye de verdiler, biliyon mu ya? Mahkeme kağıdı geldi. Ambulanz mı ne diyolar bi dayandı kapıya. İki tane asker, ben orda yatıyom. Ruhum sıkılıyo, bu kapıyı da açtım böyle. Hani ölürsem beni görsünler, öyle moralim bozuk. Ay askerler bir girdi, "Nene nene!" Gelin oğlum dedim, beni asacak mısınız dedim, kesecek misiniz dedim. Vay böyle güldü asker. "Nene biz seni ambulanslan dedi hastaneye götürecez." İyi dedim ben de. Aynı ayağımda bu derlikler. Ne çorap aynı böyle, bununan gittim. Yalnız şurda ağladım. Ne dedim beni böyle alırsınız, ben Bulgar'dan geldim dedim, aynen böyle. Ben dedim dört tene oğlan okuttum dedim. Evimi yapmaya kalktım dedim. Beni böyle yapıyolar filan, onların bu kütüphaneci gene Ahmet abini mapusa attırmıştı 12 sene. Onların değil, bereket ev benim. Ahmet'in olsa… Onun zoru Ahmet'le. Kütüpaneci ne? Çingen o. Bize bir şey söyleme Çingene sor. Sonra ordan gittik. Birlir miyim ben asker amirlerini, oturuyorlar. Asker çıkardı yukarı. Savucuymuş o. Dedim ya girdik o savucu *(savcı)* beni, baya sıktı beni. "Sen" diyo "neye ev yaptırıyon?" "Nerde" diyo "sende para? Ahmet yaptırıyomuş evi" diyo. Ben de dedim ona o zaman, Ahmet enayi mi dedim, Ahmet'e mi kalacak o ev dedim. Ben yaptırıyom. "E, niye yaptırıyon?" Benim dedim torunlarım var dedim. Arkadaşlarınnan geliyolar, ben utanıyom dedim. Evimiz yok dedim. Geldiler mi gece otele gidiyorlar yatmağa

dedim. Ne istiyon sen benden dedim, aynen böyle. İsterseniz asın beni dedim, ben evimi yaptırıyom dedim. Baya ben korktum ama savıcıdan. O bana, ben ona çıkıştık, çıktık. Sonra bi ay mı geçti. Arası Ahmet abin geldi. Dedim Ahmet böyle böyle. Gidiyo, tam arabaya binerken muhtar… Ambulans gelmiş muhtarın yanına, "Ahmet bir dakka" demiş. Ahmet "adımımı attım" diyo, "arabaya" diyo, "araba gitti" diyo, "bi dahaki arabaya binerim dedim" diyo. Demiş, anneni demiş, mahkemeye çağırıyolar demiş. Ahmet geldi, hadi anne toplan dedi. Ambulans geldiği için buraya dedi, seni mahkemeye götürecez. Ahmet yanımda diye mi acık daha böyle cesaretlendim. Sonra girdik, selamün aleyküm, aleyküm selam. "Otur nene" dedi bana. O adam şimdi savcı denen bu tarafta değil, baktım bu adam dedim bu tarafımda bu defa. Hakim mi oluyo? Hakim oluyo de mi? O savcı değilmiş ne bileyim ben. O bana tatlı tatlı sordu böyle, ben de anlattım. Dedim, işte dört tene çocuk okuttum dedim, çocuklarım geliyo dedim, utanıyom dedim, kalktı mı yattı mı. "Anne" dedi "sit alanı". Ne bileyim ben dedim, be oğlum. Ama bana Ahmet abin orda bana yardım ediyo ama gene benim de param vardı. Neyse anlattım ben tamam. Sonra aradan bir zaman gene geçti, haydi gene bereket amir burda gene. Gene geldim amirler burda. O zaman Ahmet yoktu. Bir baktım senin gibi böyle esmer bir çocuk. 18 yaşlarında mı ne, girdi burdan. Araba orda geldi taksi, askerler de geldi. Dışardaki adam bana, o gene gasteciymiş. Ne bileyim oğlum ben? Gasteci bana bişeyler soruyo ben de söylüyom. O çocuğa da söyledim. O zaman ağladım, moralim bozuldu. Bütün çocuklar da gülüşüyo mu oğlum sanki? Oğlum dedim ben anarşist miyim, hısrsız mıyım, uğursuz muyum, bir kötü yolda mıyım dedim. Ben bu yaşta. Ne istiyolar benden filan. Ağladı. Gasteci dedi "ben İzmir'den geldim" dedi. "Nene ben gasteciyim" dedi. Sonra gittik. Neyse, gene beni çıkardı asker oraya, üçüncüye. Hakim dedi ki.. Hakim oluyo heralde. "Nene" dedi, "aynı ifaden" dedi, "hiç ifadeni.." (anlaşılmayan bölüm) Dört duvar bıraktık biz bunu yeniledik her şeyini, gene eskidi, aynı söyledim gene. O hakim bana dedi, "nene" dedi, "bak ben seni" dedi, "annem ol, nenem ol" dedi, "çok sevdim. Hiç bir şey çıkmaz, hiç korkma!" dedi. "Hiç Ahmed'e de bir şey olmaz" dedi. "Senin hiç suçun yok" dedi. Beni öyle sevindirdi. Bir gün de hop postacı geldi mi buraya. Bana dedi "nene" dedi, "Aydın Ağırceza'ya çağırıyolar mahkemeye" dedi. Ağırcezaya? Duydum mu oğlum, hasta oluyom böyle. Hasta oldum amma, bir aldım ben şeyi postacıdan. Asker geldi, "nene" dedi "Aydın'a ağır cezaya seni götürecez". O zaman askere dedim ki: oğlum beni dedim, isterseniz mapusaneye götürün, babam mezardan çıksın, dedim aynı

böyle, böyle gidemem yok hastayım dedim. Ne istiyo benden bu hökümet dedim. Gene başladım ağlamağa. Asker gitti. Sonra bir gün, şu komşunun ordan fesleğen dikecem, şöyle aldım bi saksı, sabahleyin de tansiyon hapımı içmedim… Ben felç geçirdim oğlum felç! Bak ben felçten kurtuldum. Toprak alıyom böyle, fesleğen ekecem. Arkama benim, aynı beyaz ambulans. Beyaz bir araba durdu böyle evin yanına. Ağır cezadan buraya geldiler. Sonra biri açtı arabayı, arabaya bakmiyim ben. Ne bileyim araba durdu. "Evi bulduk" dediler. Evi bulduk deyince, benim ayaklarımın suyu indi gene. Ah dedim, bunlar buldu beni. Korktum bu defa. Dedim beni bunlar mapusaneye götürecek. Ahmet de yok. Biri dedi, "bacı" dedi, "Saliha Sezgin'i biliyo musun sen?" dedi. Benim oğlum dedim. "Hah neneyi de bulduk" dediler. Şöyle kalktım ayağa ama oğlum dedim ben sizi biliyom niçin geldiğinizi. Buyrun gelin. Tabi dedim ev için geliyonuz dedim. Tansiyon hapımı da içmemiştim daha. Sarardım mı ne oldum bilmiyom? Bana dediler ki, "nene otur sen" dediler. Ben buraya oturdum. Dedim oğlum, ben tansiyon hapı içiyom, tansiyon hapımı içeyim. İki kadın var, böyle makina da var. Koydular oraya onu. Sekiz kişi. Sekiz kişiydi onlar. Doldu mu bir an bahçe? Kadın dedi ki bana, "nerde nene tansiyon hapların?" dedi. Ben, şurda büfede dedim. Heral yalan mı söyledim sandılar? Aldı benim tansiyon hapımı verdi. Su koydu çeşmeden. İçtim. Oturdum ben buraya. "Nene dediler müsade eder misiniz, yukarı çıkalım?" Çıkın oğlum dedim ben de. Oraya dedim çıkanlar çıkanlar… Sonra çıktı onlar yukarı, iniyolar aşağıya. Hem de inerken diyolar ki "hiç diyolar evde bir şey yok" diyolar. Yani eskisi alınmış yenisi konulmuş. Hiç bir yere bir zarar yok diyolar. "Neden" diyolar "böyle mahkemeye filan?" Beni bu çok sevindirdi oğlum bu, o zaman. Onu duydum ya. Sonra oturdular buraya, gene başladılar sormağa. Ben aynı söylüyom gene. Bana dedi ki nene kaç çocuğun var dedi. Ben dedim ben dört tane oğlan okuttum dedim. 12 yaşında… soruyolar ya, doğduğu kimlik mi ne onu soruyolar. Oğlum dedim, ben şimdi sizi gördüm onları unuttum dedim. Yalnız dedim, 12 yaşında 1936'da geldik dedim Türkiye'ye. 24 doğumlu mu oluyo?

OS: Evet.

Ha, o zaman aklıma gelmedi o. 24. Dedim 1936'da geldik dedim. 12 yaşındaydım dedim. O kadar. Bulgar'dan geldim ben dedim. İşte söyledim ben onlara filan. "Nene, konuş nene, bana bi daha konuş," onlarlan baya konştuk. Dedim beni Bulgar alıyodu okula filan dedim. Ben dedim dört tane oğlan okuttum dedim. "Nene nerde oğlanların?" dedi. Ben dedim biri dedim, Erol, başçavuşta. Havacı Erol Sezgin,

başçavuşta dedim. Askeri mezarlığında, dedim. Başınız sağ olsun dediler. "E, diğeri?" dediler. Dedim Mehmet Sezgin dedim, Aydın'ın ilçesinde dedim, müdür dedim. "Ula!" dedi birisi. "Sen kara müdürün annesi misin?" dedi. Annesiyim dedim. "E, diğeri?" dedi. O dedim Kırkağaç'ta İnglisçe öğretmeni, hanımı da öğretmen dedim. "E, diğeri?" dedi. O da dedim kolejde öğretmen dedim. Biri dedi ki, "nene sen cennetini bulmuşun" dedi bana. Öyle dedi. "Ne mutlu sana" dedi. Sonra o adamlardan birisi söylüyo şimdi, orda kadın yazıyo böyle. "Ben" dedi "nene" dedi… Onlarla baya konuştuk şimdi. Dediler ya, "suçu yok" ben duydum onu. "Nene" dedi, "ben" dedi, "ağır cezadan geldim" dedi. "Ağır ceza hakimiyim" dedi. "Bak senin yaşına hürmet ettim" dedi. Oğlum be dedim, duydum mu hasta oluyom. Nereye gideyim dedim. "Haklısın nene" dedi. "Hiç size birşey yok bu evden" dedi. "Evinizi yaptırın" dedi. "Sonra ordan, beş ay sonra" dedi "usulen dedi bir Aydın'a bir mahkemeye gelecen". Ben mi geleyim dedim. "İster Ahmet gelsin ister sen." Ona da gidilmedi. Sonra İzmir'den dosya geldi evi yaptırın diye. Şimdi yaptıracağız. Şimdi bu evi de neye yaptırıyo? Çocuklar meraklı şimdi *(gülüyor).* Şimdi, buna *(Ahmet abiyi kastediyor)* da vermiyolar evi. Öyle kimisi veriyo, kimisi vermiyo oğlum. Ondan böyle bu ev viran duruyo.

OS: Sen şu çocuklarını bir daha anlatsana o zaman?

Ne diyolar ki Ahmet'i mi anlatayım?

OS: Çocukları bir anlat, bakalım.

Ne anlatıyım onları be oğlum.

OS: Başta söyledin ya, şu şurda okuyo, bu burda, torunum burda diye onları kaydetmedik ya. Bir anlat da kaydedelim. Başta sohbet ederken anlattın onları.

Unuttum ki şimdi oğlum.

OS: Kaç çocucuğun var, ne zaman doğdular, isimleri ne?

Şimdi, Mehmet'in dört çocuğu var, kara müdürün dört çocuğu var.

OS: O en büyük mü?

O… En büyüğümüz Erol. Ben onu üçyaşında buldum. Onu ben okutturdum, biz okutturduk.

OS: Nerde buldun?

Burda, amcanın *(kendi kocasını kasdediyor)* ilk hanımından. Öğretmenle evlenmiş ilk Mustafa amcan, Ahmet'in babası, ayrılmışlar. Biri Erol, biri Birol. Birol'u annesi almış, Erol'u babası. Üç yaşındaydı ben geldiğimde bu eve. Okuttuk onu. Havacı başçavuş oldu. Amarika'ya gitti geldi o. İzmir'de vefat etti. 32 mi, 31-32 yaşında

öldü. İki tene çocuğu kaldı. Hanımı alıyo maaşını şimdi, yaşıyo işte. Oğlunu okutturmadı bile kadın. Kızı da evli. O şimdi huucu oldu kızı hamını da oldu. Sonra Memedi…

OS: Onun bir küçüğü Mehmed mi?

Necla vardı onun küçüğü.

OS: Kaç yaş var aralarında Erolla.

Erol'u üç yaşında bulduysam, beş yaşolsun oğlum be, anca o kadar. O da Söke'de evlendi. Dinarlı bir oğlanla. Oğlan şeydi, mühendisin altına ne diyolar oğlum, teknisiyen.

OS: Teknisyen

Hah, teknisyen. İskenderun'a tayini çıktı. İskenderun'da 22 sene 17 gün durmuşlar İskenderun'da. İki çocuklan gittiler İskenderun'a, biri Figen, biri Cüneyt. Figen ve Cüneyt İzmir'de dünyaya geldi. Onların İskenderun'da da iki çocuğu oldu. 22 sene onyedi gün durmuşlar İskenderun'da. Kocası işte onun Mardin Midyat'ta. Ne diyolar bunlar, karıştı ne diyolar onlara?

OS: Nakşibendi mi? Ne?

İşte o tarikada karıştı. Onlara karıştı. Altı sene benim çocuğumlan konuşmamış. Bak altı sene! Benim çocuğum sabretti işte. Etti etti… Burdan Söke'den, Egekent mi diyolar, giderken var ya orda. Bilemiyom şimdi. Orda dokuz ay kanser oldu. Orda kansere tutulmuş. Kanser oldu, dokuz ayda evine geldi. Evde Söke'de öldü. İskenderun'da ölmedi. Sonra işte Figen Ankara'ya evlendi. İyi bir evlilik yaptı, çok iyi bir çocukla. Onu okutturmadı babası. Babasının bozuk olduğu zamanda, liseyi Kırkağaç'taki benim oğlan ona lise diploması aldırdı. O Cüneyt'i de iki sene biz burda okutturduk. Çocuklar okusun bile istemiyo. Deli olmuştu iyice. Sonra Figen evlendi. Cüneyt de okudu üniversiteyi bitirdi, Fransızca öğretmeni oldu. Antalya mı, Antakya mı diyolar, Suriye sınırında…

OS: Antakya

Haa, Antakya'da öğretmenlik yaparken Karadeniz'den Tirebolulu bir matematik öğretmeniyle anlaşıyolar, onnan evlendiler. Beş sene evvel onun düğününe gittim ben. Yirmi dört saatte gittim. Hap içtim içtim gittim, ama ne sevindiler. Ahmet gitti, ben gittim. Teyzesi gitti. Öteki dayıları gitmedi.

OS: Onun ismi neydi , meraktan soruyorum?

Ölen kızın mı?

OS: Yok, yok, Cüneyt'in evlendiği kızın.

Dur bakayım, Birgül. Ama çok iyi hanım. İkinciye şimdi doğum yaptı. Bir kızı var Necla, annesinin adını koydu. Hep telefonnan konuşuruz. E onun küçüğü de Emin, o da…

OS: Onun kaç yaş vardı Necla'yla arasında

Cüneytin mi?

OS: Emin'in. Emin'in.

Ama Cüneyt'ten sonra Figen oldu.

OS: Emin torun mu senin? Pardon çocuğun zannettim.

Torun, torun, torun. O Cüneyt'in küçüğü o. Cüneyt'in küçüğü. İşte ne öğretmeni dedim ben ona. Unuttum işte. Kimya öğretmeni. On gün evvel burdaydı o da. O da kimya öğretmeni oldu, annesi öldüğünde, on dört yaşlarında mıydı neydi. Ne diyodu biliyor musun? "Allı Zeynebim sen de oku" derdi. "Baban evlenecek" derdi, "analık eline kalma çocuğum" derdi. "Allı Zeynebim benim" derdi. O da şimdi yeni hemşire çıktı işte Zeynep olan da hemşire. Bu sene İstanbul'da (anlaşılmıyor)... bulmuş bile. Yörükle evlendi bir Kürtle.

OS: Yörük dediğin kim?

Damadın kızı ya. Çınarlı. Gene yörük çocuğu ya. Çınarın ..den. ama çok iyi bir tayfası vardı be oğlum be. Giderdim de dünürüm, çok iyiydi bana. Damat da iyiydi, sonra bozuldu. Şimdi gelir ama, annem annem bana nasıl. Gene seviyom oğlum be. Torunlarımın babası ya. Torunlarım geliyor. Şimdi Zeynep de hemşire çıktı. Aydın'daki Memed de… Memed'in vazifesi, Mardin Midyad'a çıktı. Mardin Midyad'dan Bozdoğan'a, Bozdoğan'dan Aydın Lisesi'ne müdür olarak geldi. Aydın Lisesi'nde müdürken kazanmış da, Kıbrıs'a gitti. Beş sene Kıbrıs'ta öğretmenlik yaptı. Benim çocuklarım da çok kafa vardır ha! Maşallah senin gibi, sen de çok zekisin. Kıbrıs'ta beş sene mi durdu ne, Kıbrıs'tan geldi. Aydın Lisesi'nin tabi müdürü var ya, müdür yardımcısı yapmışlar onu. Alışmış demek müdürlük yapmağa, Efeler Lisesi'nde 17 sene müdürlük yaptı, Efeler'de. Şimdi gene Efeler'de, gen onu Aydın Lisesi'ne aldılar onu. Şimdi Aydın Lisesi'nde gene.

OS: Müdür mü?

Müdür gene, gene müdür. Kara müdür. *(beraber gülüyoruz)*

OS: O Mehmet, Necla'nın bir küçüğü mü o?

Necla'nın bir küçüğü. Mehmed'in küçüğü Nevzat. O Kırkağaç'ta matematik öğretmeniynen evlendi. Anlaşmış onlar okurken onlara da bir düğün yaptık Kırkağaç'ta. Onun da bir oğluyla bir kızı var. Oğlu Erol, amcasının adını koydu. İşte

Odtü'yü bitirdi o, şimdi doktorasını yapıyomuş. Efendi, yavaş bir oğlan. Kızı da Merve, puan tutturamamış galiba bu sene. Sınava girmiş de kusmuş, hep istifra etmiş. Tutturamamış. Halbuki çok kafalı ama. Ne olcan derdim, "ben kimyacı olacam. Ya çocuk doktoru, ya kimyacı" derdi. Allah, seneye girer.

OS: Nevzat'ın küçüğü?

Nevzat'ın küçüğü Zeynep. Onu da bir arkadaşına verdi Nevzat. Kayserili. Mühendis. Mühendiz de bir içkici çıktı mı? Şişe şişe doldurdu, ne evi var ne tarlası var, bişeyi yok. Şimdi emekli oldu işte o da. İçemiyo gari karnı böyle olmuş. Onu da Nevzat verdi ona. Çok efendi çocuk ama içki bitirdi onu. Şimdi emekli oldu. Bir ev alsınlar da ona. Okutturmadı, iki tane oğlu var, okutturmadı. Öyle bir ne onun adı be, Çağlar var, süper zekalı. Mehmet derdi ona, kafa hesabı yapar yapar hop söylerdi matematiği. Şişeylen okutturmadı oğlum onları. Çocuklar o çalışıyo, küçüğü de çalışıyo. Küçüğü askerliğini bitirdi geldi. O da çalışıyo. Küçüğünün adı, Sezgin. Bizim soy adımızı koduk.

OS: Evet

O askerdeyken, burda dünyaya geldi o Sezgin. Ahmet ona Sezgin adı koydu. Çocuklarımı severim. Çalışıyor onlar da.

OS: Zeynep'in küçüğü var mı?

Zeynep'in küçüğü yok. Mualla var Zeynep'in büyüğü, onun da çocuğu var. Onun da kızı öğretmen çıktı onun. Oğlu da polisliği barajı mı geçmiş, neyi geçmiş. O da tutturamamış galiba. Kızı Safiye Ardahan'da iki senedir öğretmenlik yapıyo. Mualla'nın kızı da Safiye. O da Ardahan'da çalışıyo. Hepsi işte okuyo. Hep okuyolar. Onlar hep okuyo işte. Okuttum onları hep ya. Ama gelinler gittim mi... Hiç gitmem oğlum senede iki defa ilaç almaya giderim. Öyle gidip de evlerinde on gün… Kırkağaç'ta kaldım bir kere 23 gün. O daha iyi davranıyo. Şimdi Kırkağaç'taki oğlan arada iki şişe çekiyo. Cumartesi günleri filan ama az. İşte "Sezgin içiyo" der. Sezgin der ona, soy adını söyler. Ben gelinden tarafıya oluyom. Gelin benden daha şey. On gün otur oğlum yanında, bir kelime konuşmaz oğlum seninle Mehmed'in hanımı. Öyle kıymeti yok oğlum. Ahmet de ondan evlenmiyo işte. Ondan evlenmiyo. Mehmed'in de iş bitti gayri. Doktor çıktı Tuğba, kızı. En büyük kızı doktor olan Ülkü. Oğlu Oğuz, mimar o. Oğuz'a da düğün yaptık 15 gün evvel. O da evlendi. Ülkü'nün kocası da Adanalı. Vehbi adı. Efendi bir oğlan, Anadolu'nun yerlisi, çok efendi. Beni buraya getirdi. Beni buraya arabayla getirdi. Arabası var. Tuğba da bu

sene bitirdi. Saliha da bitirdi. Memed rahatlandı gayri. Tek maaşalan dört tane çocuk okuttu. Tek maaşla. Allah yardım etmiş demek ki.

OS: E, peki sen bu çocukları yapmak için evlendin, nasıl evlendin? Kiminle evlendin?

Anam-babam verdi beni Mustafa amcana. Biz de ne sevişmek biliyoduk ne bişey. Anan-baban kime verirse ona gidiyoduk.

OS: Ne zaman oldu bu?

Yirmi yaşındaydım.

OS: 44'te evlendin yani.

Bilmiyom işte kaçta.

OS: Mustafa Amca nereliydi?

Selanikli, evet Selanikli. Onun kız kardeşi, benim oğlan kardeşimlen evlendi. Ben de abisiylen. Böyle. Beni verdiler, kızına trampa yaptılar böyle.

OS: Trampa mı diyosunuz siz ona? Takas yani.

Ne bileyim işte ben. Verdiler onu aldılar öyle.

OS: O gelenek mi peki? Yani yaygın mı mesela köyde öyle trampa yapan.

Yok, yok, yok. Yok başka. Bi biz öyle yaptık. Diğeri de Dürüye var ya, Dürüye. O da Mıstafa Amca'nın kız kardeşi işte. O da görümcemdi. Biri Huriye, biri Duriye. İkisi de öldü oğlum. Halil de öldü. Hepsi öldüler. Şimdi oğlan kardeşelerim de öldü, gelinler de öldü. Bi ben kaldım. Bak resimlerini göstereyim sana saklıyorum....

(İçeri fotoğrafları getirmeye gitti. Ara verdik.)

Okurdum ben çok meraklıydım okumaya. Ben Mevlüt okurum, Kur'an okurum, dokuz yaşında hatim ettim ben. Napalım be oğlum dünya böyle işte. Oof, of. *(fotoğrafa bakarak)* Anaaa! Kara kızım benim. Oğlum benim amcasının adı bu. Şişmanlamış bu şimdi. Kıtkağaç'ta olan. Bu solcu. Biz solu tutarız oğlum hep. Sağa değilizdir. Yani bu Aydın'daki sağa. Ben valla Atatürk getirdi bizi, ben Atatürkçü'yüm. Bizim sülale Atatürkçü'dür. Kim ne olursa olsun. Doğru değil mi oğlum? Herkesin bir sevdiği vardır. Yani bu hökümetteki, beni kesecekler ben bu adama oy vermem. Vermem oğlum. Ben çocuklardan duyuyom da Türkiye'yi mahfetti diyolar. Gene anlamam ben. Çok seviyolar da be oğlum bu adamı. Allah bilir ne olacak halimizi. *(fotoğraftaki torununu göstererek)* Bu da bir mühendiznen anlaşıymuş galiba. Öyle dedi ya bana.

OS: Bu Mehmet mi? *(Oğlu Mehmet'in fotoğrafını göstererek)* Sağcı olan?

Sonradan oldu oğlum o. Ne bileyim ben. Ama o şimdi öyle şeyitmiyo gari. Hükümetlen neyi, bir ara baya şeydi. Bu kattiyen dönmez bu. *(Kırkağaç'taki oğlunun resmini göstererek)* "Ben" diyo, "babam nerde" diyo, "ben de ordayım" diyo. Bu çok esmer bu. Kara oğlum benim. Kara müdür. *(Anahtarını bulamayınca gösterdim)* Anahtarı sen demesen arayacam.

OS: Burda zamanında öyle siyasi anlaşmazlıklar oluyo muydu?

Yok

OS: Bir sürü mesela ihtilal oldu, şey oldu…

Benim çocukalrım öyle şeye garışmaz. Hele Ahmet hiç. Hiç bir şeye karışmaz.

OS: Bu Kırkağaç'takinin başına bir şey geldi mi?

Hiç gelmedi. Hiç! Ben dilimi ısırayım. Ne mapus, ne bişey. Hiç kavga mavga olmadı... Cahil insanlar kavga eder şey yapar. Okumuşlar, sizler yapar mısınız? He ya, bilirsiniz bastığınız yeri, gittiğiniz yeri. Bizim köyde zaten kavga filan olmaz oğlum. Bu sene bak benim Ahmedin motorunu yaktılar bak, şurda bahçede bak. İki milyara aldı bu motoru, yaktılar onu. Zor södürdü çocuk onu.

OS: Niye yaktılar?

Ne bileyim yaktılar işte.

OS: Köyde Boşnaklar vardı, Pomaklar vardı, nasıl geçinirdiniz? Zaten sen kendin gelin gitmişsin Selaniklilere.

OS: E, Boşnaklar fakirdi. Onla zaten kalmadı ki hepsi geri gitti. Birkaç tane kaldı. Aynı geçiniyoz be, ayrım yok. Onlar da Türk, biz de Türk. Alıp veriyolar birbirine. Karıştık da. Ayrım yok hiç. Ne Selaniklisi kaldı, ne Boşnağı hepsi bir. Şimdi Balat'tan da kız alıp veriyoz gari, Yeniköy'den de alıp veriyoz. Yeni geldiğimizde Balatlılar bizi baya dışladı ama şimdi karıştık gayri. Hepimiz insanız be oğlum, hep Müslümanız. Hep Müslümanız.

OS: Peki mesela siz sonradan geldiğiniz için, yani hor görme gibi şeyler oluyo muydu?

Yook, hiç olmadı çocuğum. Yani fakirsin eziksin gidiyosun onlara işe. Hor görülür mü? Görmezler. Herkez kedi işine başlayınca kimse kimseyi hor görmez. O kütüphaneciye demeyesin Saliha Nene'yi konuşturdum diye

OS: Yok, yok.

Bak sen evladım olursun, söylersen hakkımı helal etmem sana.

OS: Yok, yok. Söylemem.

Onu istemem o Çingene'yi. O bizi...

OS: Mustafa amcayla aranız nasıldı?

Biz geçiniyoduk. İlerden dinlerdik biz. Anamlar ne derse olurdu. Şindiki gençler gibi miydik? Güzel geçiniyoduk. Ne kavga bilirdik ne bişey. Kocan ne derse onu yapardık. Şimdi gençler öyle mi? İki ayda, üç ayda ayrılıyolar.

OS: Sen bu eve mi gelin geldin?

Bu eve gelin geldim.

OS: Bir daha da çıkmadın. Kaynanan da burda mıydı sen geldiğinde?

Burdaydı. Kırk iki sene ben kaynanamnan geçindim.

OS: Nasıldı aranız?

Hep iyiydi, ben çalışyodum, o çocuklarıma bakıyodu. Ben çalışyodum, o çocuklarıma bakıyodu. Mustafa amcan iş yapmazdı yavrum. Foter şapka başında, at üstünde. Ama kaynanam çok iyiydi.

OS: Mustafa Amcanın da mı tarlası felan vardı?

Tabii, kırk dönüm onun yeri var, benim de hemen hemen kırk dönüm yerim var. Tarlan olmuş kıymeti yok ki.

OS: Mustafa Amca çalışmıyosa, o kadar tarlayı kim çeviriyodu? Siz mi çeviriyodunuz? Kardeşeleri mi vardı?

Oğlum,o çalışmazsa amele tutardı, işçi tutardı. Bedel vardı.

OS: İcara verirdi ha?

Tabi. O zaman icara pek vermiyoduk. Tütün ekiyoduk, buğday ekiyoduk, yaşayıp gidiyoduk kendimiz. Ameleye biçtiriyordu. Çalışmazdı. Hiç çalışmazdı, ama yaptırıyodu işini parayla. Ben çalışıyodum. Çalışıyodum. Bu çocukları okutmak kolay mı oğlum? Hey gidi hey! Birinden gelir mektup, "baba 200 lira yolla", birinden gelir, "baba 100 yolla". Şaşırıyodun hangine para yollayacan. Gelinler rahat etsin şimdi, sağ olsunlar. Karşıdan geldi mi görüyom, benim göğsüm kabarıyo. O yeter bana. Di mi oğlum?

OS: Evet.

Akköy'de kalıp da tütüncü olup ne olacaktı? Gene geldiler mi bana paracık verirler. 10 lira, 20 lira, beş-on guruş para verirler. Vermesini de istemem de. Napalım işte çocuğum. Dünya böyle.

OS: Bu evde nasıl yaşıyodunuz? Kaynanan nerde kalıyodu? Siz nerde kalıyodunuz?

Bu evde yaşıyoduk ya.

OS: Sizin ayrı odanız var mıydı?

Var. Bir evde yiyip içiyoduk, uyumak için başka odaya giriyoduk işte. Hep bir yer, bir yerde. Aşağıda iki oda vardı, orda oturuyoduk. Yukarıda da iki oda vardı. Bunu sonradan yaptık. Bunu tütün odası diye yaptık, kızlar evlenince kurduk onu oda yerine.

OS: Tütünü evde işliyordunuz?

Tarlada biçiyoduk. Evimiz var tarlada, büyük damımız vardı, kuyumuz vardı. Orda biçiyoduk. Hayvanlar öyle, onları çakardık anıza, akşam kırarsın tütünleri. Daha iyi yaşamak vardı o zaman. Şimdi öyle evde sıcakta yanacağıma keşke genç olayım da orada çalışayım. Buz gibi kuyunun suyunu çekersin. Zerzavat ekiyoduk. Her şeyler ekiyoduk: karpuzlar, kavunlar, üzüm hepsi vardı. Şimdi her şey para, hep para.

OS: Ne yemekleri yapardınız?

Aynı yediğimiz yemekleri, aynı. Hepsi aynı, ne yemek varsa onu yapıyoduk işte.

OS: Sizn mesela özel yemeğiniz var mıydı? Bulgarlara özel. Ne bileyim Bulgaristan'da yapılan.

Yok yok. Aynı, aynı.

OS: Hiç yok mu bir şeyler?

Bulgaristanlıların böreği çok olur. Börek çok yaparlar.

OS: Neli börek yapıyonuz?

Peynirli, kıymalı,

OS: Özel bir ismi var mıydı onların?

Pide derdik, pide. Selanikliler börek der, biz pide derdik pide. Macırlar pide derdi. Ne kadar olursa hani değişik kelimeler oluyo. Pide derdik.

OS: Burda kendinize muhacir mi diyosunuz?

Şimdi mi?

OS: Hı.

Hayır ama birisi mesela oldu mu Bulgaristan'dan gelme muhacirim dersin. Oğlanlar sordun mu "Selanik muhaciri benim babam" derler, onlar Bulgaristan'ı kabul etmiyorlar. Onlar "ben Selanik…

OS: Niye kabul etmiyorlar?

Ne bileyim ben. Baba kökünü diyo. Selanik muhaciriyiz diyolar. Gene muhaciriz diyolar. Anam Bulgaristan muhaciri diyolar, babam Selanik. Selanikliyiz diyolar. Birşey oldu mu, biz Selanikliyiz diyorlar.

OS: Onlara daha mı üstün geliyor acaba?

Üstün geliyo yaa. Aynı gavurun memleketi değil mi? O da gavur, o da gavur.

OS: Mustafa Amca ne zaman gelmiş?

İlk Atatürk zamanında.

OS: Mübadelede mi gelmiş?

Hıı.

OS: 1924'te?

İyi bilmiyom, garıştırdık. Burdan Yunanlılar şey yapmış, ordan onlar. Biz çok sonra geldik. Mustafa Amcanlar, ilk onlar gelmiş. Benim o Kırkağaç'taki gelinin kökü de orda, Selanik köklü. Onlar bizim Mıstafa Amcanlardan, ilk mübadil. Onun dedeleri gelmiş bu köye, onlar durmamış, Kırkağaç'a kaçmışlar. Onların ardından Mustafa amcanlar gelmiş. Aynı senede. Yani böyle. İlk Mustafa amcanlar gelmiş. Biz onlardan 12 sene sonra mı?

OS: Evet öyle.

İşte öyle. Bize hocamız böyle, köyde okula gidiyorduk ya. Hocamız bize "haydi der çocuklarım. Size, Osmanlı" derdi, "Osmanlı türküleri şarkıları size söylettireyim" derdi. "Osmanlıyız, pek şanlıyız", şarkılar söyletirdi. "İnönü dağları, o ..lu (anlaşılmıyor) dağlar, şehit olanların, annesi ağlar." *(hatırladığı marşı söylüyor)* Onu bak Bulgaristan'da hoca öğretti. SonraAnkaranın taşına bak, gözlerimin yaşına bak. Onu da hoca öğretti bize ama derdi, "çocuklarım" derdi, "sesinizi çok salmayın" derdi, "gavurlar duymasın" derdi bize. Onu da öyle... Şimdi bak aklımdan gitti ne söylerdi? Şimdi diyolar ya: "biz düşmanı esir aldık, şu feleğin işine bak."

OS: Çanakkale....

Hah, vurdular beni. Çanakkale'yi de söylettiriyordu. Bir tanesi gene onun aklımda kaldı. *(bir çocuk şarkısının sözlerini okuyor)* Bak, "kuru lafa kulak asma, yaş tahtaya sakın basma, dünyalık bir hayat için, doğru yoldan düzgün kaçma." Arkasını unuttum onun ben. O kelimeleri bazen okuyorum da ondan unutmuyorum ben. Ne demek bilmiyom gari. "Hadi" derdi, "çocuklar" derdi, "kuru lafı söyleyelim" derdi, başlardı. *(deminki şarkıyı sölüyor)* "Kuuru laafa, kuulak asma, yaş tahtaaya, saakın basa, diyarsıız bir hayaat için, doğruu yoldan düz git kaçmaa" yapardı böyle. Hocamız öyleydi. Daha vardı, bir iki kelime. Söylettiriyordu. Bir de "Kör olası Mithat Paşa, döktü bizi daaya taşa" onu da söylettiriyordu.

OS: O nasıldı?

Ne bileyim ben şimdi, kalmadı aklımda şimdi o. Kör Olası Mithat Paşa, döktü bizi daaya taşa... Öyle. O da vardı. Unuttum be oğlum gayrı. Senelerce evvel. Beş tane, dört tane şarkı söylettiriyordu bize. "Haydi çocuklarım" derdi, "şimdi Osmanlıca"

derdi, “kendi dilimizden size şarkı söylettireyim” derdi. “Ama” derdi, “Bulgarların yanında, dışarda söylemeyin” derdi. Söyler miyiz? Ne olsa korkuyo insan di mi? “İnönü’nün dağları, o sisli dağlar, şehit olanların anası ağlar, yaşasın Mustafa Kemal Paşa, kanım feda olsun İsmet Paşa’ya...” Ama nasıl seviniyoduk. Onları söylettiriyodu bize. Beş-altı şarkı varmış... “Osman Paşa, Osman Paşa, döktün bizi dağya, taşa.” Onun başı öyledir o türkünün. Ah seneler geçmiş be oğlum. Ne bileyim, söylettiriyosun.

OS: Ama kalmış aklında?

Kalmış, vardı. Hayal ediyom böyle. Geziyom geliyom… Şöyle yapıyoduk, böyle yapıyoduk… İşte ondan aklımda kalıyo. Oğlum 12 yaşından 83 yaşına girmişim. O akılda kalır mı?

OS: Burdayken öyle eğlenceleriniz oluyo muydu?

Yok, düğünler oluyodu işte. Gederdik, o kadar.

OS: Düğünler nasıl oluyor burda?

Aynı, şimdi aynı.

OS: Eski düğünlerde mesela öyle gelenekleriniz var mıydı?

Eski düğünler, kadınlar bir evde oynar. Erkekler bakmaz. Dare çalardık. Böyle Çingen karıları dare çalardı.

OS: Nerden gelirdi onlar?

Didim’den. Didim’de Çingene var. Sonra... Erkekler de dışarda davullarla... Şimdi dandiri, dunduri. Erkeği karısı belli değil, gavur gibiyik. Ne gelir elden ne bir şey. O zaman daha güzeldi. Güzel düğünler olurdu. Bize öyle geliyo.

OS: Evet, nasıldı o şey, nasıl kız isterler, nasıl alırlar filan, anlatsna biraz.

Ne bileyim be oğlum, ne bileyim be çocum?

OS: Niye canım sen nasıl evlendin?

E benim de düğünüm oldu işte, geldiler, aldılar.

OS: İşte düğünde neler oldu, onları anlat.

Hiç bir şey yok, gelin olduk. Geldi, beni aldı götürdü işte.

OS: Hıı.

Eskiden öyle oluyodu işte.

OS: Hiç öyle adetler yok muydu? Ne bileyim işte kapıdan ayağını basarken para verirsin, yok buğday atarken…

Biliyorsun işte aynı.

OS: Hayır canım anlat, neler yaptırılar mesela, nasıl kız istiyolar önce.

Geliyolar, istiyolar senin kızını, e mesela razı gelirse baban veriyo.

OS: Bi şey getiriyolar mı gelirken? Yanlarında bi şey getiriyolar mı?

Getirmiyolar, sonunda söz kesmeye geldiler mi getiriyolar işte bir çift çorap, bir elbiselik, sözlü oluyosun, sonra nişan oluyosun işte. Nişanda yüzük takıyolar, sona düğünün oluyo işte. Gelini alıp geliyolar. Arabayla indirdim, o zaman güve gitmiyodu gelin almaya. İnsanlar gidiyor. Kaynata, kaynana gidiyo. Oraya geldi mi damat bir daha alıyo. Şeker atıyolar böyle. Yani erkeklerlen karılar karışık oynuyo işte. Çocuklar şimdi oynuyo erkeklerle bakıyom. Müsülman denen bir şey yok. Bana çok ayıp geliyo ama, bilmem. Gençlere iyi gelir ama. Sonra gelinlik bile be çocuk, burda gelinlikler de... Ee, olsa ya kısa kollu hiç olmazsa o gelinlikler şöyle güzel güzel.

OS: Senin gelinliğin nasıldı?

Bizim gelinliklerimiz, uzun kollu yerlen bir gelinlik ama kapalı oluyodu bizim gelinliklerimiz.

OS: Beyaz mıydı?

Pembe duvak.

OS: Pembe?

Pembe duvak.

OS: Genelde kımızı filan olur. Niye pembe?

Kırmızı, pembe. İşte öyle, benim pembe. Bulgaristan'da gene bindallı diyolardı. Var ya ..(anlaşılmıyor) mı ne diyolar onlara. Böyle bindallı, gelinlik olur böyle. Orda mağazanın içinde yaparlar, bir erkek girmez orda bir erkek. Adamlar sopaylan bekler dışarda. Sıkarsan sen gir. Orda müslümanlık daha çok. Mağazanın içinde olurdu, inler böyle Türk kızları. Oynarlar...

OS: Mağazanın içi ne?

Evin altında hayvan bağlanıyo ya… Onu böyle suvarlardı, buz gibi, göçmenlerin sıvaması meşhurdur. Buz gibi suvarlardı o hayvan damlarını, yerlerine de döşerler samanı. Orda evler büyüktü, binanın içinde olurdu. Kadınların dışarda olmaz. Oğlanlarınki bahçede olurdu ayrıyeten... Bizim köyde gençler hiç oynamazdı. Bazı köylerde oynarlarmış, bizim o semtte yoktu. Çingen karıları oynardı davulların önünde. Gençler hiç oynamazdı. Erkekler başlarında bir halay kurarlar böyle, Çingen karısı orta yere gelir. Nacakları bir kakarlardı yere. Nacaklar yaman oluyor ha. Hiç bir Bulgar sokulamazdı bir daha. İşte bağırırlar, çağırırlar, içki yok ama. İçki yok. Türkler içmez. Oynatırlar Çingen karısını verirler parayı, kalkarlar giderler.

Oynamazdı gençler hiç. Erkekler oynamazdı. Selanikliler oynarmış. Bizim orda oynamazlardı. Ama, Bulgaristanda da başka yerlerde oynarlarmış. Bizim orda yoktu oynayan. Oynamıyolardı.

OS: Düğünlerde Tükçe şarkılar mı söylenirdi, yoksa karışık mı?

Türkçe.

OS: Bulgarca söylemezlerdi?

Hayır, söylemezlerdi. Hep Türkçe, hep Türkçe. Biz işte okula gidiyoz diye biz Bulgarca şarkı… Öteki okula gitmeyenler ne bilecekler Bulgarca? Biz okula gittik, biz Bulgarca söylerdik.

OS: Hangi parçalar söylenirdi, hatırlıyor musun hiç böyle? Düğünlerde söylenen.

Düğünleri bilmem oğlum. Çocuktum ne bileyim. Hiç bilmiyom. Oturuyoduk. Bakıyoduk. Zaten merak bile etmiyo ki küçükken… Türkçe Türküler hep Bulgarca. Okula gidiyordum, insan haşılanıyor bak oğlum okula. Şimdi orda kalanlar, haşılandılar, sonra Bulgar oldular gittiler. Bulgarlar hiç bir şey demezlerdi oğlum. Ne düğüne karışırlardı, bi şey ederlerdi, hiç hiç. Sonra sonra bozuldu bu Bulgar da. Ama bizden önce de çok Türkiye'ye gelen oluyodu. Bizim köyümüzden yol geçiyodu, şose, taş yol. Çok yola yakındı. Hep giderdik yol boyuna eve giderdik anama hep muhacirler geçti, hep muhacirler geçti. Edirne, Trakya, orası doldu. Biz de oraya gidecektik güya. Babam dedi "Trakya dolmuş" dedi, "biz Anadolu'nun içine gidecekmişiz" dedi. Hep Edirne'yi doldurdular, Trakya'yı. Trakya'yı Bulgarlar mı diyo, Türkler mi bilmiyom şimdi. Edirne derdi babam da.

OS: Trakya biz de diyoz şimdi.

Edirne kırı derdi babam oralara. Edirne, Edirne derdi. Şimdi burda Trakya diyolar di mi?

OS: Edirne de var.

"Valla Edirne'ye gidecez, Edirne'ye" derdi babam. Mustafa Kemal aldı mı Bulgaristan'ı, doğru evimize gidecektik ya. Ordan hemen Bulgaristan'a yakın.

OS: Yakın evet.

Babam dedi, "bizi Mustafa Kemal" dedi, "şeye getirecekmiş" dedi, "Anadolu'ya ilk vapurda biz gelecekmişiz." Haa, onu da söyleyeyim sana, vapura bindik. Bindirdiler ya bizi, iki tene sizler gibi, üniversiteyi okuyolarmış orda Bulgar'da, Türk çocukları. 18-20 yaşlarında güzel güzel de gençler. Gavura, Bulgar'a para yedirmişler, Bulgarlar'a. Onları Bulgarlar gece kaçırmışlar vapura. Türk vapuruna. Denizin içinden bir hafta evvel mi ne. Çocuklar taa dibinde durmuşlar geminin. Çocuklar ne

yediler, ne yanlarına yemeklik aldılar, ne gemide gavurun askeri de var, polisi de var. Geminin içinde, vapurun içinde. İçini dolduruyolar ya o giderken öyle yelkeni var ya geminin işte böyle orda da gene iki tarafına iki tane gavur duruyo. Asker mi polis mi neyse. Şimdi bindi, bindi, herkes bindi. O geminin, şimdi fazla gelmiş ya Türkler, geminin güvertesi doldu. O yukarsı da insan fazla ya, onu böyle çadır çektiler, yani yağmur yağdı ıslanmasınlar diye. Anamlar indi aşağıya. Beni tutmuyordu vapur öyle. Kusuyodu kimisi filan. Ben anamlara kusmuk çıkarırdım, döküyodum denize. Beni tutmadı. Sarhoş oldu anamlar. Mandaları da güverteye bağlattı babam, arkalara böyle. İki sürü de koyun sürüsü oğlum, geminin önünde böyle. Şimdi böyle ya geminin önü, orta yerde bir bölüğü var. Bir yerde bir sürü, bizim mandalar da bu taraftadır. Arkaları denize, önleri yere doğru. Böyle halkalarla bağlı. Malaklar da onların yanında. Bana dediler seni gemi tutmuyo, sen malakların yanında filan. O iki tane genç çıkıverdi oğlum. Askerler inince, merdiveni kaldırınca… Asker inince merdiveni kaldırıyolar. Kaldırırlar, merdiven kalktı mı, o iki genç nerdeymiş çıktılar bak. Gramafon gemide gördüm oğlum, hiç gramafon bilmiyodum. Biri böyle doldurmuş sigara, çalmış onları da. Diyo ki sigaram yok diyen yanıma gelsin diyo. Biri de türkü çalıyo, koyuyo Türkçe plakları. Biri plak çalıyo, birisi sigaram yok diyen… O gençler tabi talebe, üstleri başları pırıl pırıl giyinik gençler. Gemi kaldırdı mı merdiveni başladı gemi, huww huww bağırıyo böyle. Gayri hareket edecek. Türkler bi başladı mı gavura ananı avradını sövmeye. Daha gavurun dibindeyiz. Onlar da ....Türçin diyo, senin anana Türk diyo. Onlar aşadan. Gavurda silah var ama atamıyo. Böyle tutuyo silahı atamıyo. O gemi Türk toprağı sayılırmış orda. Ama ne sövüyolar gavura. Ne ana kalıyo ne gavurluğu kalıyo. Önüne gelen Türk adamları, kavga yaptılar orda.

OS: Yukardan limana ha?

Onlar aşağıdan, yukardan limandan, gavurun bindirenler var, bir de asker masker polisler. Tel örgü içnde onlar ya. Yoldan giremiyosun vapıra. Top sahası gibi daha büyük. Askeriye var, kapı var. O kapıda senin pasaporta bakıyolar, geçiriyolar. Orada gelemez ki gavur ordan. Sonra kimisinin annesi gelmiş gemiye binmiş, kızı kalıyo Bulgar'da. Kimisinin kızı geliyo, oğlu geliyo, anaları kalıyo. Aman ne ağlamaklar. Ne ağlamaklı, onlar orda ağlıyo, sen gemide ağlıyosun. Kavgalar, arar mısın böyle. Hiç unutmuyom o çocukları. "Sigaram yok diyen yanıma gelsin." Para almıyolar yalnız. Böyle ihtiyarlara veriyolar bir kaç paket, talebeler. Onlar Ankara'ya Atatürk'e hemen. "Ankara'ya" babam derdi bize, "o çocuklar Ankara'ya gitti" derdi.

Bir tene de mandaların… Mandaları kasaynan bindiriyolar, yukarı çıkarıyolar böyle. Öküzler, inekleri, böyle file var komple. Onların bacakları böyle sallanıyo. Mandalrın arasında bir öksüz varmış, bir gövde. Kimsesi yokmuş, adamın birisi sokuvermiş mandaların içine. "O öksüzü de Atatürk aldı" derdi babam. Kim bilir ne büyük memur olmuşlardır di mi? O iki oğlan aklıma geldi şimdi. Gençler de sizle gibi böyle, zayıf, zayıf çocuklar. Elbiseli, takım elbiseli. Üniversiteden kaçmışlar Türkiye'ye. Ne akıllı Türkler vardı orda. Bubam derdi "bunlar" derdi, "Deliorman tarafındanmış birisi de ....lımıymış neymiş çocukların." Babam söyledi. Okuyolarmış, Varna'da mı, Sofya'da mı nerde okuyolar bilmem. İşte o iki çocuk vardı. Benim amcam da kaçak geldi. Çook gençler kaçak geldi Türkiye'ye oğlum. Çook, ne gençler. Ne gençler. Sonra onları bir de böyle gençler, Türkiye'ye kaçıyolar. Veriyo gavura parayı. Bubamlar anlattırıyodu… Gavur bekliyomuş onları sınırda, şeyde karada sınırda. (anlaşılmıyor)...e sokuyomuş onları bir dene, oraya getirdi mi onların hepsini öldürüyolarmış. Hepsini öldürüyolarmış. Alıyo onu parasını, kesiyorlar onları orda. Tekrar gidiyo başka birilerini bulmaya. Şurda bizim bir komşu gelmişti de o anlattırıyodu, "bizi" diyo, "soktular" diyo, "bir şeyi emi, dedi" diyo gavur, "ben gideyim şimdi size bir yerden ekmek alacağım geleceğim. Bir baktık" diyo, "bir kan kokusu" diyo, "kapı varmış, hepimiz kaçtık" diyo. Kaçmışlar, dağılmışlar Bulgaristan'ın içine. "Bir ay" diyo, "ben" diyo, "ağaç yaprağı yedim" derdi o adam. Tekrar ikinciye kaçmış Türkiye'ye gene. Gavur hep kesecekmiş onları. Ne bilmiyorum. Bizim Türklerde daha merhametli. Bilmiyorum. Çok şükür Allahıma.

OS: Sen Bulgarca konuştuğuna göre, unutmadığına göre konuştun burda da di mi?

Kiminnen konuşayım oğlum.

OS: E, Pomaklar falan onlar bilmiyo mu?

Biliyo da ama onların daha Türkçe'ye kaçıyo. Ama Pomaklar Türkçe konuşuyolar burda. Bulgarca mı konuşuyolar? Onların yarı Türkçe yarı Bulgarca karışık. Daha kaba bunların dili. Yarısı şimdi kelimenin Türkçe, yarısı Pomakça, Bulgarca öyle karışık. Unuttum be oğlum. İşte "nasılsın, iyi misin, geliyom, gidiyom, ekmek, su" öyle şeyler. Seksen sene kaç sene geçmiş üstünden. Hiç konuşmayı konuşmayı. Mecburi öğreniyosun oğlum. İstiyor musun? Öğrenmeğe mecbur kalıyorsun. İki Türk kızı okulda konuşamıyoduk biz Türkçe. Hele konuş. Bulgarca konuşacan. Sanki Bulgarsın da gır da gır da, gır da gır da konuşursun. Çıktık mı, aman derdik, pezevengin gavurları derdik. Yüzüne demeye korkuyoduk. Onlar bize der, Türk

Çingenesi der "Turçin Çigani" der. Böyle kavga ettik mi, Türk Çingene der, yani Çingen yapıyolar bizi. Biz eskiden *Balgarşin* derdik. Gavur desek keserler bizi orda. Diyemezsin sen gavursun diye... Bir gavur desen insana, keserler seni. Değil mi? Ne olursa korkuyon. Bilmiyom. Oof oğlum of. Şükür Allahıma. Ananların sizin memleket neresi?

OS: Isparta.

Isparta. Dinar'a yakın de mi Isparta?

OS: Yakın.

Isparta'dan mı geçiyon, yoksa Dinar mı daha beride?

OS: Dinar'da geçip Isparta'ya gidiyosun.

Isparta'dan Konya'ya felan gidiliyo mu?

OS: Gidiliyo.

İskenderun'a gidilirked sanki Isparta'dan da geçiliyo ama nası şey.

OS: Valla burdan hiçi İskenderun'a gitmedim ama olabilir. Yani İskenderun daha ilere Isparta'dan.

Afyon'u geçiyosun, Adana'yı geçiyosun. Adana'yı geçtin mi böyle bir... *(kayıda ara verdik)*

Aydın'dan gelen ağır ceza hakimi var. Biz dedim Bulgaristan'da bıraktık dedim iki katlı ev aynen böyle, iki taraftan dedim ...ler (anlaşılmıyor) vardı dedim. Amcan da dedim, Yunanistan'dan gelmiş Selanik'ten. O da kara çadırdan gelmemiş ya dedim. O da ev bırakmış mı Yunanlılara? Böyle yaptım. Bu ev benim oğlum, benim dedim başladım ağlamağa. "Tamamsın be anacığım" dedi. "Evi sen kazandın" dedi. Bu ev benim dedim, ben onu Kıbrıs harbinde yenilettim dedim. "Tamam anneciğim be" dedi. Yaa! Kurtardım bu evi ben oğlum. Aynen öyle dedim, biz Bulgar'a bıraktım ya dedim, o da Yunan'a bırakmış dedim, bu da Türk evi dedim. İsterseniz beni atın dedim. "Yok be anneciğim" dedi. Giderken hepsi elimi öptü. Vallaha oğlum. Bana diyolar nenede çok kafa var diyolar, çok zeki bu nene diyolar.

OS: Babanlar o gittiklerinde nereye gittiler? Öyle gezmeye mi gittiler, akrabalara mı?

Akrabalar vardı ya orda. Bababım abisi vardı, anamın akrabaları vardı, komşularımız vardı. Öyle işte, o zamanlar orda çoktu daha Türk. Şimdi yok. Salih'in bir amcası mı ne, oğlu varmış. Bir de benim amcamın bir kızı varmış. Kimse kimseyi bilmiyo.

OS: Şumni'ye taşınmışlar genelde.

Evet, büyük kasabır o Şumni. Bulgaristan'ın üçüncü büyük kasabasıdır o. En büyüğü Sofya, sonra Varna, Şumni. Zaten Bulgaristan ne kadar be oğlum, küçücük. Bulgaristan'ın öte yanı Romanya. Deliorman dediğimiz Tuna'ya yakın. ..den daha aşağıya. Sofya tarafı tüm Bulgar oraları. Bu Deliorman dediğim yerde arasan bir tane Bulgar bulamazdın eskiden. Hepsi Türk hep Türk. Hep Türk. Bak bizim Dereköy, Uzunlar, Ufallar, Kayacık, Kerence hep Türk. Köseler, Muratlar, hep böyle Türk adı. Hiç bi Bulgar köyü yok. Bizim zamanımızda hep değiştiriliyodu. Anamın köyü ... *(Bulgarca ismi)* yıldız su demek. Bu kasaba demiş onu değiştirmediler. Hep köyleri bilmiyom daha kendi köyümü.. Troyna yaptılar onu, Dereköy'ü. Sonra bizden sonra Türklerin adlarını da değiştirdiler ama, bizim yoktu öyle. Adımız Türk adı. Padişahlar çekmişler milleti, çekmişler, bırakmışlar gavurlara. Nur içinde yatsın Atatürk. Gene çok bizim Türkiye büyük di mi?

OS: Hı, tabi.

Valla şu da olmasa, Kürtler olmasaydı içimizde, daha iyiydi değil mi?

OS: Bilinmez.

Kürtlerin de iyisi vardır, kötüsü vardır. Öldürüyolar yakıyolar. Bozuldu, bozuldu, Türkiye de bozuldu oğlum.

OS: Burda var mı hiç Kürt şimdi?

Biz geldiğimizde bir hane vardı. Kürt Osmanlar derlerdi.

OS: 30'larda ha?

Atatürk onları birer köye dağıtmış böyle.

OS: Sürgün mü etmiş acaba?

Bilmiyom işte onları toplu bırakmamış. Herkesi dağıtmış onları. Kesmemiş onları birden bitirsin.

OS: Ne iş yapardı o?

Bilmiyom oğlum, biz yeni geldiydik. Bubamdan duyardım bi Kürt var derdi. Kürt Osman derdi. Gitti onlar sonra. Çocuktum ne bileyim onları.

OS: Şimdi var mı? Didim'de var çünkü çok?

Orası hep Kürt oğlum, Didim'i zaptetmiş onlar. İngiliz çok Didim'de. Ahmet dayın onlara ders veriyo işte. Sen İngilisçe biliyon di mi?

OS: Biliyorum. Ben İngilizce okuyorum zaten.

Sen okuyon, Ahmet dayın yanında yabancı konuşuyo. Dabı dıbır dabır dıbır, hiç anlamazsın.

Bi, Oh my god, onu belledim.

OS: Aman tanrım demek.

Bir de rilli mi diyolar

OS: Really.

Bi de onu. Var bi tane onu unuttum işte…

OS: Teşekkür Ederim Saliha Nine. Eklemek istediğin bir şey var mı?

Yok çocum, yok.

SAMPLE 2:

Informant: İbrahim Karadon

Place of the Interview: Coffee house / Akköy

Date of Interview: 15/07/2004

Birth Date: 1919

Birth Place: Doksat/Drama/Yunanistan (Doksato/Drama/Greece)

Date of Migration: 1924

İ.K.: 23 senesinden beri, 80 senden beri bulunan bir Akköylüyüm. İsmim İbrahim Karadon. Esas doğum yerim Yunanistan'dır. Selanik ilinin, Drama ilçesine bağlı Doksat kasabasında 1919'da doğdum. Tabii araya İstiklal Mücadelesi falan girdi. Birinci Dünya Harbi'nde yenildiğimize göre kaybetmiştik artık. Osmanlı Devleti parçalanmıştı. Bilahare Atatürk'ün Anadolu'ya çıkıp İstiklal Mücadelesini hazırlamasıyle bu İstiklal savaşı da kazanıldıktan sonra, iki devlet arasında Lozan Konferansı görüşüldü, orda bi de mübadele kanunu çıkarıldı ki burdaki rum halkı Yunanistan topraklarına, ordaki Türkler de Anadolu topraklarına gelmek üzere. Buna mübadele kanunu deniyor. Biz de bundan yararlanmak üzere ki anavatana gelmek üçün müracaatta bulunduk ve 1924 senesinin Nisan ayında oradan tekrar Anadolu'ya cihet etmek üzere yola çıktık.

O.S.: Sen doğdun yerde beş yıl yaşadın yani.

İ.K.: Beş yaşındaydım.

Kavala'dan ayrılış. Liman şehrinde üç gün kalındı, vapur bekleniyor. Vapur açıkta olduğu için eşyalar kayıklarla götürülüyor. Yeğeni Hüseyinle (emsali olan) rıhtım alt tarafında oynuyorlar. Herkes gemiye binmiş, bakıyorlar kalmışlar. Babası kayıkla tekrar limana çıkıyor, rumcası iyi olduğu için etraftakilere soruyor. Birisi oynayan iki çocuk gördüğünü söylüyor. Babası onları buluyor. Babası biraz da kafayı çekmiş. Yunanlı bir genç vapura kayıkla sefer yapıyor. Babası çocukla yunanca konuşuyor.

“Geminin yanına geldiğimiz zaman su orada karardı, çok korktum. Çok korktum. Üseyin amıcam vardı orda, o da inmiş merdivenden bizi bekliyor. Beni aldı kucağına ‘Ulen keratalar nerdesiniz?’ falan filan, bir tehdit. ‘Korkma’ falan, cesaret vermeye çalışıyor.” Aksu vapuru ismi. İzmir Alsancak limanına geldi. En azından bin kişi vardı içinde. Bizi ambar katına indirdiler ama güverteye çıkıyorduk. Hatta bir ara herkes bir tarafa toplanmış, gemi yanladı. Küçük bir gemi yanlarından geçerken haber veriyor. Kaptanlar, süvariler (subay demek istiyor herhalde) gemiyi dengeliyor. Tehlike atlatılıyor. Hiç unutamadığı bir şey, Güvertenin üzerinde yüksek bir yerde sarıklı hocalar kuran okuyor. Allaha sığınmak için kurtar bizi yarabbi diye. İki abisi, iki ablası, iki kardeşi, annesi, babası, abisinin çocukları. Dedeler, nineler orada ölmüş. Alsancak’ta iniyorlar. Deniz görmemiş. Vinçleri görüyor deniz kenarında, onlarla oynarken demirden iskelenin aralıklarına ayağı kaçıyor. Zorla çıkarıyorlar. Unutmamış. Bir de Alsancak limanına yanaştıklarına ne kadar çok silah getirdiklerini fark ediyor. “Bizim oranın insanı bir nevi komitacıdır. Çünkü çok ızdıraplar geçirmişler, olaylar. Bulgar baskınını karşılamışlar. Ondan sonra, Yunan baskınını. Tabii o günler öyle, o günün icaplarına göre. İşgaller devam etmiş. O yüzden bizim oranın insanı bir nevi komitacıdır. İyi silah kullanan, uyanık, darbe yemiş insanlar.” Türkiye toprağına girdik diye sevinçten bir takırtı koptu, orada çok korktum. 5 gün içinde iskan yeri beyan edilecek oraya gidilecek. Kuşadası’na gidilecek diye haber gelir. Çoğunlukla kadınlar biz Kuşadası’na gitmeyiz, kuş tutmağa mı gidicez? İtirazlar. Daha evvel balkan harbinde gelenler var akrabalardan, kimi Ödemiş’e kimisi Akhisar’a yerleşmiş. Biz burda İzmir’de kalacağız diyen var. Parası olanlar terki iskan edip istedikleri yere gidip yerleşiyor. Söke zenginlerinden Hüseyin Özbaş, Ankara’dan irtibatlı. Yahu burası bomboş, bunlar ne iş yaparmış memleketlerinde. Tütüncü. E burası da tütüncü. Getirin bizim adama ihtiyacımız var. Ondan sonra bizim iskan yerimizi değiştiriyorlar Söke’nin Akköy’üne. Millet gitmek istemiyor, polis kırbaçla dolduruyor. Yanlarında yatak yorgan, cebinde altın. İzmir’den vapurla Kovale’ye Mavişehir’e. Eski bir rum limanı, eşyalarını indiriyorlar. Orada bir harup ağacı vardı. Halen daha onun filizleri var orada. Orada kaldık beş gün. Şimdi gitsem bulurum. Yerli halkından, yörük dediğimiz, malcılar, yunanlılar kaçtıktan sonra yağma yapmışlar. Onlara çobanlık yapan adamlar hepsi sürü sahibi olmuş. Ganimet kamış. Çadır kurmuşlar Kovale muhitine. Onlarla orada beş altı gün komşuluk yaptık. İlk defa develeri görüyor orada. “Küçük allah” diyorlar develere. İri hayvan, öyle bir hayvan da görmedikleri için. Babası Akköy’ü

dolaşıyor. Onlardan iki ay önce bir kafile gelmiş, bir kısmı kaçmış gitmiş, Selanik'ten beş-on hane kalmış. Yunanlıların kaçışından iki sene sonra gelmişler, o yüzden evler viran. Yağma edilmiş. Güzelim evlerin pencereleri, kapıları sökülmüş. "Bizim milletimiz böyle yani. Varlığı takdir edemeyiz." Babası beğenmiyor. O kadar ev olmasına rağmen yunanlılardan kalma bir kahveye taşıyor. Yaz günü. Annesi bir ev tutalım diyor. Babası burası sıcak ülke bu kahve serin. Burada kalacağız diyor.
----------ÜSTÜNE KAYIT----------

Soyadı hikayesi: Çamaşır yıkamaya gidiyorlar bir çay boyuna, bir cuma günü. Soyunmuş asker, çamaşırlarını yıkıyor. Kumandan geliyor, o zamanki tabirle kolağası diyorlar, yüzbaşıya bölük komutanına. Demiş bana bir nefer lazım. Dedemin de iç donu siyahmış, kara. Sen gel Karadonlu demiş. Bizim soyad da ordan geliyor yani. Koşarak gelmiş, işte orda ne emrettiyse. Hemşehrileri varmış orda, ha ha karadonlu, karadonlu. Terhis oluyor geliyor köye, artık karadonlu biliniyor. Bize ondan Karadonlu derler. Karadonlu Ahmet'in oğlu Şaban Karadonlu. Soyadları çıktı 34'te, lağaplar vardı lağap. Geldiler yazmaya eve. E amuca soyadları veriliyor, soyad ne alacaksın. 'Yav Ali Bey' dedi 'bize karadonlular derler.' 'Yav amuca uzun gidiyor bu karadonlular. Kısaltalım bunu Karadon yapalım.' Karadon oluyor.

Ailesi: Babası annesiyle, ikisi de dul olarak seferberlik harbinden sonra 1918'lerde evleniyor. Annesinin ilk eşi Balkan harbinde şehit oluyor, dul kalıyor. Annesinin iki çocuğu var: Selime (İbrahim Amca'dan 15-16 yaş büyük) ve Mehmet(10-11 yaş büyük). Babasının iki çocuğu var: Ahmet (22 yaş büyük, gelirken evli), Ayşe (17-18 yaş büyük). 1919 ilk çocuk İbrahim amca. Hatice oluyor bir buçuk iki yıl sonra. Fatime de Ayşe'den bir buçuk iki yaş küçük. (hatice ve fatime Akköy'de ölüyor. Mübadele sırasında kendisi beş, Hatice 3-3,5 yaşında. Hatice 6 yaşında kuyuya düşüp ölüyor. Onu da unutmuyorum. Yeğeni Hüseyin kendisiyle yaşıt, birkaç ay büyük. İbrahim amca Mart'ta büyük. O zaman Rumi mart, yani miladi Martın sonlarında. Rumi aylar marttan başlar. Rumi yıl nerden geliyor. İlkokula giderken babasının hala eski Türkçe rumi takvimi varmış. "Yakın zamana kadar biz rumi tarihlen yaşadık. Ondan sonra efendim Atatürk'ün ilkeleri sayesinde tamamen Avrupa'ya dönüş, bütün dünyaya dönüş, miladi seneyi kabul ettik." Burada halen daha tepki gösterenler var. İsa'nın doğuşudur malum. Gavurlaştığımızı farzederek söylerler. Söylesinler. Benim nüfusumda halen daha rumi tarihtir, 1335. şimdi ben

sana sordum neden? Rumi tarih nerden geliyor. Gök ayınlan şimdiki aylarımız arasında 11 gün ilerleme var. 36 senede bir sene kayıp. Bunu Mevlana Celalaettin Rumi, bu mali kayıptır diyor ve Mart'tan başlayarak rumi takvimi yapıyor. "İşte onlar bizden 600 sene evvel bunu tatbike başlamışlar miladi seneyi yani Hz. İsa'nın doğumundan itibaren esas kabul etmişler. Ve belki de kalkınmaları o yüzden. Ki onlar çok hesaplı insanlar, halen daha öyle. Biz de halen daha gök aylarında, güneş takvimlerinde falanlan filanlan vakit öldürmüşüz yani. Hz. Mevlane bunu icat ediyor, hiç şaşmıyor. Mart ayı diyor sene başıdır. Bak biz daha ilkokula gittiğimiz zaman bizim öğretmenimiz bize öğretti ayların 31 çekip çekmediğini.

1928'de yeni harfler çıktı. 9 yaşındaymış. Okul çağı geçmiş. 29'da iki katlı rumlardan kalma bir eve birkaç sıra getiriyorlar balattan. Balatta okul varmış. Bir öğretmen gönderiyorlar. 15-16 çocuk ilkokula başlıyor. Köy o zaman 20-30 hane. 20 gün içinde. Bakkal da yok, öğretmen aç. Evlerden akşamdan akşama sofra gidiyor öğretmene. Duramadı herif, topladı pılı pırtıyı çekti gitti. Gene kaldık okulsuz. Babası bir yeni alfabe almış. Üzerinde 'A' yeni Türkçe altında eski Türkçe 'A'. Babası öğretiyor, bu a bu b, bunlar sesli, bunlar sessiz harf. "Babam okur yazardı ve aynı zamanda hocaydı da. Babam medeni bir insandı yav. Medeni hocalardan ama. Aşağı yukarı Kuran'ı iyi bilen, okuyan, yarı yarıya ezber bilirdi Kuran'ı babam. Hafız değil de yarı yarıya bilirdi. İçinden gelen merak o günkü yetişme tarzı. Ama içerdi de. Medeni bir hoca. Namazını kılardı, orucunu tutardı, yalnız medeniyeti de çok iyi bilen bir insandı. O da oranın kültürüne tabi olarak, orada öyle yetişmişler."

Kilisenin yıkılışı.: Burada muazzam bir kilise vardı. 1 metre eninde duvarları vardı. Bulgaristan göçmenleri (pomaklar) geldi (1927), Boşnaklar geldi(1928), 1936'da Bulgaristan'dan Kübeli göçmenler geldi. Ondan sonra da köyün hali bozuldu. Kültür değişiklikleri falan filan. Ekseriyet onlara geçti. Muhtar onlardan çıktı. İşte o kilise binasını yıktı, oraya ev yaptı, geberdi gitti pezevenk. Bir eser yok olur mu. Yıkılır mı? "Osman Kozan'dan bahsettim dün, nahiye müdür, şu heykeli yaptıran. Osman Kozan kapıyı bozar pencere yapar. Bir yapıcılığı vardı fakat bozgunculuğu daha fazlaydı." Mesela buraya bu heykeli koydu. Önüne yarım daire, kilisedeki yuvarlak vari merdivenleri söküp Atatürk heykelinin önünü yaptırdı. Güzel. Kilisenin içinde, buranın zenginlerinden, karşıki evin sahibi Perikli diyorlar. Artık o çelengi nereden yaptırmışsa yaptırmış onun mezarı vardı Kilisenin avlusunda. Oyanrdık orada biz. Altı yedi basamak aşağıya mahzen vardı, mezarı. Saklambaç oynardık orada biz. Üstü de düzgün bir vaziyette mermerle döşeli. Çelenk de onun üzerinde duruyordu.

Onu da yerli halktan biliyorduk, Perikli'nin mezarı burası diyorlardı. Çelenk şu benim kolum kalınlığında kabartma, masa büyüklüğünde, üzeri hep papatya, kabartma hep bunlar. Yav yapılmaz bunlar yapılmaz. Bunlar hep burçlan çekiçlen çıkmış. Orta yerinde bir hurma dalı, üzerinde yaprakları hurmaları bile var. Ordan aldı geldi Atatürk'ün heykeli önüne koydu Osman Kozan. Bırak dursun orda be dalında. Bak kaç kişiler geldi soruyorlar o mezarı. Yerinde yeller esiyor. Sonra burdan karayolları geçti. Güzeldi bu heykel, çok gösterişliydi. Önünde böyle zincirlerlan gerili. İki tane de mayın bu boy. Mayınlar böyle, denizden çıkmış. Onları sağına soluna komuştu. Etrafı zincirlen çevrili. Mermer döşeli, hep bu kilisenin mermelerinden. Şeyde de, Atatürk'ün kaidesinin önünde de Osman Kozan'ın bizzat kendi eliyle, ressamdı, bir yazı yazmıştı: 'T.C. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti. Ey Türk Genci Egemenlik Uğrunda Çalışanları ve Ölenleri Unutma'. Bu yazıyı yazmıştı. Büyük iri yazılarlan. Çok ressamdı, yazı yazardı güzel. Sağında solunda top arabaları askerler resimleri yaptıydı, canlı gibi. Çok ressamdı, yetenekliydi. Fakat işte geçmişe kıymet vermeyen bozucu. Ben de onun o huylarını sevmiyordum. Hem bozucu hem yapıcı."

Osman Kozan ve Atatürk Heykeli Hikayesi: Osman Kozan 1935 sonlarında geldi ve ilk gelişinde bir hareket başlattı burada. Kendi ağzından dinlediğime göre kendisi asker kökenli, harb okulu ikinci sınıfından bir arkadaşı yüzünden kovulma. Sinirli bir adam, o yüzden askerlik yapamaz diye bunu iskat etmişler. Ondan sonra naçar kalıyor, İstanbul'da resim yaparak muaşetini (günlüğünü) temine çalışıyor. O zamanlar osmanlı çökmüş, İngilizler İstanbul'u işgal etmiş. O da o zamanlar Adapazarı'nda. Atatürk 1919'da hareket başaltınca, onun da ruhunda askerlik olduğu için hareket geçiyor. Bir yüzbaşı elbisesi bulup giyiyor ve yüzbaşı oluyor. Orada milis kuvveti topluyor. Millet zaten keşmekeş içinde. Tabii türk milleti malum harpten çıkma tecrübeli insanlar. Yaz beni yaz beni. Her gün 10 kişi 20 kişi. O gün de Adapazarı Kaymakamı Salim Özdemir Günday. SÖG aslen Dramalı. Bizim hemşehrimiz aynı zamanda. Tanıyanlar, babalarımız tanırdı ailesini. En iyi aileden gelme. Tabii kaymakamla irtibat kuruyor. Her gün gidiyor bugün 10 kişi yazıldı kaymakam bey. kaymakam not alıyor, Ankara'ya bildiriyor. Ankara'da da tabii bir milli cephe için milisler toplanıyor, orda talim terbiye. Atatürk'ün kontrolünde bir sürü paşa var. Hazırlık. Aşağı yukarı diyor 1000 kişilik bir kuvvet topladım. Bir gün oradaki yazılı milisler yola çıkarılsın Ankara'ya diye haber geliyor. Kaymakam Osman Bey emir geldi Ankara'dan. Doldurdular diyor bizi trene yallah Ankara'ya artık büyük taarruz başlayacak yani. Beni Halit Paşa koluna verdiler. Deli Halit Paşa

diye geçer. 1922, 26 Ağustos günü Büyük Taarruz başlattık diyor, cepheyi diyor yardık. Yunanlılar, diyor, kaçamağa başladı. Biz arkasından her gittiğimiz yerde tabii bir istihkam alıyoruz, bir hazırlık, gene bir hücum. Yunanlıyı def etmeye çalışıyoruz memleketten. Bir gün Halit Paşa geliyor istihkamlar arasından. Osman Kozan yara almış. Ben, diyor, yara almışım haberim yok. Kanlar üzerimde diyor. Tesadüfen bunun yanına geliyor. Diyor, kim sizin kumadanınız? Zaten diyor daldırmışım, azarladım onu diyor. Sen şimdi kumandan soruyorsun, hepisi kumandan bunların görmüyor musun? Hadi git işine. Tamam,tamam evladım. Devam aslanlarım. Netice, 9 Eylül günü son buluyor İzmir'de. Ankara'da toplanılıyor, Osman Bey gene bölük komutanı. Başarı gösteren subaylara, taltif, rütbe verilecek. İsmet paşa bile albaydı orgeneralliğe birden çünkü cephe yönetmiş. Dolayısıyle Halit Paşa diyor ki Osman Bey vardı benim ordumda bölük komutanı. Taltif yapılacaktı, en büyük taltif ona yapılmalı. Gönderiyorlar, git diyorlar şeceresini öğrenelim, ne zaman mezun oldu, nereden. "Benim yaptığım iş diyor suç, sahte yüzbaşıyım diyor. Ama vatanım için yaptım ama bunu bana kanım emretti, duramazdım. Askeri bilgim de var. E, suç olduğunu da biliyorum, cezası da var diyor. Sakladım kendimi. Geliyorlar taltif edeceksiniz. Demiş oğlum ben vatanım için bir hizmet yaptıysam kendime düşeni yaptım. Taltif maltif istemem. Ben yüzbaşıyım, yüzbaşıyım. Peki deyip gidiyorlar. Dolayısıyla bir gün mecliste Halit paşa mecliste gündeme getiriyor. O zaman Atatürk diyor ki fedakarlığın bundan daha büyüğü olamaz, ben de yapamam bunu. Velhasıl yüzbaşı kalıyor. O zaman Atatürk diyor ki bu adam çok büyük fedakar, hiç olmazsa buna bir Büyük Millet Meclisi takdirnamesi verelim. Ve onu da muska gibi taşıyor boynunda. Gösterdi, burda halk odası vardı, orda gümrük başçavuşu Selahattin Bey vardı, kooperatif müdürü, eski bilginlerden bunlar aşağı yukarı, onlarlan konuşuyordu. Ben de bunu o zamanlar 18-19 yaşlarında delikenlıyım, içerde bir resim yapmıştı bu. Bir süvari resmi yapmıştı böyük, duvara. Herşeyi, kılıcı, atı üzerinde. O resmin üzerine böyle bulutlar yapmış, çizmiş. Birkaç tanesini boyamış boyaları vardı. Beni çağırdı, İbrahim gel buraya dedi bana. İşin var mı? Yok. Gel bakalım dedi buraya, beceriklisin bu işi yaparsın. Bak dedim ben bulutlar yapmışım dedi, gördün mü? Gördüm dedim, müdür bey. Şimdi o çizilen yerlerin, bak bulut işaretlerini kimisini koyu boya kimisini açık bu şekilde yapacaksın dedi, ben de karşıdan bakacam. Kanepe vardı, o yattı öyle kanepeye bakıyo bana. (Orayı boyarken diğerlerine bu hikayeleri anlatmış. Orada dinlemiş)

Halk Odası: Hepimizi oraya toplardı. Askerden gelmiş, evlenmemişse oraya dahildi. Her gece yoklama yapılıyordu, okul gibi. Bu adam bunu yaptı bize. Ondan da birşeyler aldık biz. Niye? Gençlik mahalle aralarında sarkılıp bir yaramazlık yapmasın diye. Disiplin. Askeri talimler. Birkaç kelime Fransızca bilirim onun eseridir bende. Bakınız Fransızca öğretiyordu bize. Yav bunlar eski okulda okuyanlar bambaşkaymış yav, bambaşka. İlim sahibiymiş bunlar ilim.

Ben de ağırdan gidiyorum ki dinleyeyim. E, öyle bir gençtik biz. Merak vardı bizde. Şimdi gençlerde ben bir şey göremiyorum.
Atatürk Heykeli: 37'de dikti. 35 sonlarında geldi buraya. Söke beylerinden Hüseyin beye. Yatır diyor müdür bey, parasını ben vereceğim. Bu heykel 400 liraya yapıldı o zaman. Bronzdur bunun madeni. İstanbul'a sipariş verdi, şeklini de kendi çizdi, kendi kaleminlen. Gönderdi, böyle bir heykel istiyorum. Özel bir kalıp yapıldı buna. 400 lira çok büyük bir paraymış, bizim paramız çok kıymetliymiş o zaman. Dikti, güzel bir şey oldu. Karayolları geçti, yıktı, o güzellik bozuldu. Bu kaide kaide mi allahını seversen yahu. O ne kadar güzeldi. (Niye sağa bakıyor?) bunu bana soranlar oldu, Yalçın Ata da sordu. Bu şekil bambaşkadır. Atatürk'ün böyle bir büstü de Türkiye'de başka bir yerde yok, yalnız Akköy'de var. Osman Kozan'ın kendi fikrince sipariş edilmiş heykeldir. Bu adalar, Osmanlı devrinde bizimdi. Birinci Dünya Harbinden sonra İtalyanlara geçti. İtalyanlardan sonra şimdi de bak işte Yunanlılara geçti. İsabetli yapmış demek. Bugün de gene aynı. İşte Atatürk o adaları, bizim olduğu için gözü hep orda olduğundan dolayı o denize bakıyor, adalara bakıyor. Onun için böyle yapılmış. Osman Kozan'ın kendi fikri bu. (Kaset sonu)

----------Kesik Kısmın devamı----------

Gel demiş, gel yahu ben seni arasam bulamazdım. Orda itibar kazanıyor babam. Akşamları sofrayı hazırlıyor beraber içiyorlar keyifler güzel. Fakat millet aç. Kimsede bir şey bırakmamaışlar. Çok temiz bir komşumuz vardı, Arif Aga. 3-4 çocuk aç kalmışlar. Bir gün Şaban demiş, bu köpeklerlen iyi geçiniyorsun. Ben kendime de acımıyorum da artık, çocuklarım 2 günden beri aç be oğlum, bana 2-3 tane kemiksiz veremezler mi? Çünkü köyde ne varsa misir, buğday ambar etmişler, ondan sonra senin malını sana paraylan satıyor. Bu şekilde milletin parasını ceplerine çekmişler. Demiş Kospatin be, bir iki kadeh çektikten sonra beraber, senden bir ricam var. Demiş söyle senin için yok yok. Arif Aga 2-3 hane misir. Demiş şaban

para vardır onda. Bak Şaban diyor, bu bir fırsattır, fırsatları değerlendirmek lazım. Bak seni de diyor şansın var. Parası olana satarım, 3 külo misir bir altın. Yok demiş bunda para. Peki ona senin hatırın için 3 teneke misir verelim ona. Yalnız demiş takip et, parası olana sat. Sen de kazan ben de kazanayım. Görüyor musun devirleri. Buluyomuş müşteri, ben diyor almıyordum apara, fakir fukaracıktan zavallı. Bu şekilde bayağı misir buğday sattılar diyor. Parayı çekmek maksat. Çağırmış askeri akşam bu adama 3 teneke misir vereceksin. Gittik diyor, iki çuval diyor birine 2-3 ayar, birine iki üç ayar. Asker demiş ki şaban madem çok fakir bu adam, 3 değil 6 ayar olsun. Gece Arif Aga'nın evine. Allah razı olsun. Ben diyor bolluk içindeydim. Helvasına varıncaya ne varsa askeriyede veriyorlardı. Ben yaşadım diyor. Babası orta halli. Onların adamı olduğu için onlar ona erzak dolduruyor.

Babamın çok hikayeleri vardır, hiç unutamadığım hikayeleri. Gene seferberlik harbinde, Yunan savaşında, bunlar Arnavutluk cihetinde askermişler Esat paşa kumandasında. 3 ay kış günü yağmur kar altında, diyor, çakmak çalıyoruz. Bizan şehrinde diyor. 3 defa alıyoruz, bir emir geliyor geri çekiliyoruz. Demek içerde casuslar var. Padişahlık şeyi çökmüş zaten. Bu şekilde biz yıkıldık, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu böyle yıkıldı. Şöyle yapardım diyor elbiselerimi, çürümüş elinde kalırdı diyor. Bit o biçim diyor, yiyecek içecek diyor yok, kesiliyorum. Günlerce aç kaldığımız oluyor. Balkan savaşını yapmış, seferberliği yapmış, 7 sefer ihtiyata alınmış babam yav. Askerlik tükenmiyor. Padişahların en yanlışı bu. Üç kulvallah, bir elham bilen, başına bir sarık saran, molla diye askere alınmıyor. Yedi köyden öksüz bir kız alan askere gitmiyor. Nüfusunda kıpti yazıyorsa, çingeneler harbe alınmıyor tabii, askere yani, kıpti yazarsa askerlik yok. Ecnebiler yok. Buranın Yunanlıları neden zengin olmuş? Askerlik yapmamış, bozgunluk görmemiş, aldı yok vergi yok, devamlı bu adalara kaçakçılık altın paraylan, öyle zengin olmuşlar. Bu neden? Padişahın gevşekliğinden. Çökmüş tabii. Öyle çöktü gitti, yıkıldı. İşte o günlerde bir emir geldi diyor gece yarısı. Bizan şehrine girdik, bir emir geldi ordumuz teslim olmuştur, herkes başına çare arasın. Yürüdüm diyor, tüfeğin ucuna bağladım beyaz mendili gece diyor. Hop iki tane yunan askeri, karşı cepheden. Ben demiş, gavato merasimi, hiç olmazsa bir Türk geberteyim. Söverek. Şlak! Ateş almıyor. İkinci fişeği: Tak! Ateş almıyor. Üç defa. Tüfeği atmasıyla diyor koştu bana. Eyvah dedim diyor, boğacak beni, zaten diyor bitkiniz. Sarıldı diyor bana, bir his geldi ona. İnsan be, o da insan. Demiş sen benim kardaşımsın. Gel demiş buraya. Yerde diyor duruyo, 'Bak çakılmış fişekler bunlar'. Allah demiş korudu seni, sen

benim kardaşımsın. Bu babamın çok canlı bir hikayesiydi. Hem ağlardı bazan bunları anlatırken hem de anlatırdı, ben de dinlerdim. O yüzden çok güzel aklımda kaldı. Orada esir düştük. Aldılar diyor bizi Tirhala kasabasına. Esir kampına. Şimdi Yunanistan sınırı içinde. Kışlalarda barınıyoruz. Bize diyor, bir hafta-on gün kadar hep tirit yemekler, yağsız, un çorbası vs. gelir yetkili bir Yunan zabiti, arkadaşlar biz size şimdi yağlı yemek vermiyoruz, sizin bağırsağınız kurudur biliyoruz. Açlık çektiniz, bağırsaklarınız büzüldü, size yağlı yemek verirsek yarınız geberir. Bak o zaman daha onlarda medeniyet vardı, kardeşim oğlum. Biz de olsa, keratalar verme gücünüz yok öyle söylemek düşer. On gün sonra bir yemekler çıkıyor diyor vallahi diyor çocuklar lokanta. İki çeşit, üç çeşit, esir kampında. Bunları hem söverdi hem methederdi de babam. Ondan sonra diyor güzel. Bir gün diyor 2-3 tane geliyor diyor başçavuşlar-zabitler sigara içiyor, mesela bir kuyruk atıyor oraya, ben diyor onları topluyorum. Canım istiyor diyor tiryakiyim. Bir Yunan başçavuşu görmüş: "ela dora" demiş buraya "gel buraya" Napıyorsun sen? Demiş ben içiyom bunu istiyor canım demiş. Gebereceksin demiş, o demiş mikrop! İçme. Ama tahammül edemiyor. Çıkardı diyor cebinden bana kıyılmış bir avuç tütün. Bir defter de kağıt. Demiş bunu iç. Şimdi bu adam esir, öbürü de orda yetkili bir kumandan, başçavuş. Baktım diyor tütüne, ah demiş kumandan, yunanca biliyor tabii güzel. Vre demiş sen? Bilirim demiş, bunu demiş ben kesmeliyim. Babam da zanaatı, havan. Tütün kıyıyor yani. Bunu ben kıymalıyım da sen içesin. Bir misin? Zanaatım diyor benim. Sen bana lazımsın. Tabii işgal bölgesi. Tütünleri toplamışlar. Kocaman bir havan. Hadi demiş göreyim. Sen demiş Şaban seni Allah gönderdi. Şaban demiş, bu zıkkımı demiş içen, alışan bırakamaz. Ekmekten yemekten demiş daha ziyade bunu özler. Demiş kemerinde altıncıklar olanlar vardır. Sat, sen de kazan ben de kazanayım. Bakalım bir soralım. Kağıt da var demiş. E, arkadaşlar var diyor Türk arkadaşlar, yav tütün var satılık, satıyorlar. Kaç para? E işte, şu kadar gramı, direm var o zaman, okka, yüz diremi bir altın. Yani okkanın dörtte biri. Aman bana yüz gram getir Şaban Çavuş. Başçavuş demiş al bunlar senin bunlar benim. Bayağı diyor tavşan kellesi kadar bir çıkı yaptım, altın. Kendi buluyo onu kader. Şans bunlar.

Yoran eski ismi, Memed Efendi vardı öldü, şimdi o torunu doktor, Ahmet Aydoğan, onun dedesi, babam ikinci-üçüncü ihtiyat askeri, Memed Efendi muvazzaf, o da esir, kampta. Köyleri yakın birbirine. Onlar Piravuşta kazalı biz Drama kazalıyız. Ama yakın. Hemşehri. Arasıra gelir Şaban Ago. Şaban Ago diyor, babam 4-5 yaş büyük ondan. Ne var Memed? Yav ben kaldımdiyor, bana birkaç kuruş al sana bir altın. Al

sana bir altın. O altı ay içinde dokuz tane altın vermiş ona babam. Bunu memed efendiden dinledim ben, kendinden. Babam da anlatırdı. 9 altın borçlanmış ona. Sonra diyor biz anlaşma gereği salındık oradan. Ha o arada, diyor başçavuşun da, o başçavuşun kayınpederi o ordunun kumandanıymış: Papadopoulos. Şimdiki bu Papadopolos galiba o avattan. Kıbrıs lideri ya. General Papadopoulos, o işgal kumandanının damadıymış. Kızının adı diyor Hırşi idi. Başçavuşun karısının adı. Başçavuş bunu methediyor, yav demiş böyle bir Türk var, o kadar güzel de Yunanca biliyor. Al demiş onu bizim hizmetçimiz olsun, yav bize lazım, paşa. Getirmiş, tanıştırmış. Rumca biliyor, çok güzel Rumca bilirdi babam. Bakın çocuklar derdi bunlarda derdi aşırı özgürlük var. İnsan ayrımı yok. Yalnız yeter ki kalbine gir. Kendini inandır. Yemin ederdi babam, vallahi billahi derdi sofra hazırlanır, benim kadehim de ortaya konur, maaile diyor, karısı, paşa, güveysi, kızı; hadi Şaban bakalım. Üç ay bunların hizmetçiliğini yaptım, paşanın. Sevdiler diyor beni. Ondan sonra anlaşma gereği bunları salmışlar. Geldim diyor köye. Köy karmakarışık. Bir sürü insan iftiraya uğramış. Bunların arasında babam da var. Biri çıkıyor iftira ediyor. Ne de olsa gavur. Bu şaban demiş falan zamanda, Bulgar zamanında benim kızlarıma tecavüz etti. Guliç isminde bir Yunanlı. Aynı köylü. Cık. Babamı gece alıyorlar karakola, 18'lerde oluyor bu. Artık Yunan zamanı orası. Aldılar götürdüler diyor beni karakola. Bak Şaban şikayet var hakkında. Kaç tarihinde oldu bu demiş. Filan ayda, falan tarihte. Ben demiş o zaman esirdim. Bir dayak, rahmetli abim anlatırdı, tabii abim o zaman evli barklı insan, gittim diyor tanıyamadım. Simsiyah olmuş yüzü gözü. Hemen diyor bir keçi aldık kestik, derilere sardık babamı, öyle kurtardık. Babam güçlü adammış, çok sıhhatli, yoksa geberebilirdi, ölürdü de. Aldık geldik diyor bir hafta diyor onun tedavisiyle uğraştık, iyileşti düzeldi. Fakat tekrar gene mahkemeye. Şimdi, Tamburacaki Binbaşı, o sorguya alıyor, bir-iki-üç-beş derkene inanmış. Demiş binbaşım, yunanca da biliyor, bu bana doğrudan doğruya bir iftiradır, ben onun dediği aylarda esirdim. Tirhala kasabasında esir kampındaydım, ondan sonra beni general Papadopoulos yanına hizmetçi aldı, üç ay diyor, karısının adı bu, güveysinin adı bu. Güveysi diyor başçavuş falan, kızı diyor Hırşı. Dur bakalım diyor Şaban, sen bunları niye daha evvel anlatmadın bana. Anlattım diyor ama anlatamadım. Papadopoulos şimdi nerde biliyor musun diyor? Ne bileyim, Tırhala'da bıraktım, Tırhala uzak. Burdan izmir gibi. Papadopoulos şimdi Gürece'de.bizim kazanın, Drama'nın, üst tarafında bir köy var Gürece oraya gelmiş kararagahını kurmuş. Demiş Şaban sana inanıyorum, ben seni Papadopoulos'a

gönderecem, bir imza bana getireceksin. Yarın sabah demiş kurşuna dizileceksin, 21 kişisiniz. Kurşuna dizileceksiniz, cezanız kesinleşti.şimdi demiş bir adam verecem yanına, gideceksiniz, burdan demiş Sarıkemer gibi yahut Yenihisar gibi.ne zaman dönerseniz demiş, gece beni göreceksiniz. Hay hay demiş. Bunu ispatlayabilirsen demiş kurtuldun. Bir asker diyor katırın üstünde, ben yayan çıktık yola. Bir kamyon geliyor arkadan asker durduruyor, bu adamı al, Drama'yı geçince Görece köyünde indir bunu. Eh diyor Yunana zamanı kaçsam diyor nereye kaçayım, her yer Yunana. Geldik yol ayrımına beni indirdi. Oturdum, bakıyom diyor yol düzgün. Aşağı yukarı beş altı yüz metreden geliyor katırla, ben kalktım diyor, bana şapkasını çıkarıyo, diyor yürü. İşaret ediyor. Asker. Yunan askeri. Görece köyünün içine girerken birleştik, köye girdik. Karargaha gittik. Ordan diyor birinci nizamiyeden, ikinci nizamiyeden paşa çıkacaz. Geç demişler geçtik. Tabii Türk kısvesi belli. Başında fes belli, Türk olduğu belli. Geç demişler yukarıda paşa. Yukarı çıktım diyor emir zabiti, teğmen. Dur demiş bir tekme vurmuş babamın göğsüne, top yere. Kansız! Başçavuş içerdeymiş, kayınpederin paşanın yanında hemen çıkmış. Ooo, ne bu demiş Şaban? Başladım ağlamağa diyor ben. Zoruma gitti diyor, sevincim de var diyor. Paşa çıkmış. Ooo. Şaban, evlat hoş geldin, beş geldin. Ne bu? Demiş ben can kurtarmağa geldim paşam. Kendimi sizle ispatlayayım, ben bir iftiraya uğradım. Fakat keşke demiş, yarın kurşuna dizileceğiz biz. Yalnız ben kendimi anlatabildim sizin bir imzanız lazım o günlerde, o tarihlerde ben burda olduğuma dair. Tamam! Neden demiş sen ağlıyorsun. Tekmeyle vurdu. Ki onların ordusunda yasaktır diyor bir general olsun bir subaya tokat atmak. Yanımda diyor iki şamar vurdu. Çabuk demiş git. Onu azletti diyor. Gel bakalım oğlum dedi, anlat bakalım. Başçavuş katibi aynı zamanda, yaz demiş bir rapor, şu günden şu güne kadar benim emrimde olarak çok sadık, temiz, güvenilir bir kişidir. İmza. Ondan sonra oğlum demiş al bakayım bir daha kağat. Serbest vesika, bu adam ne isterse yapacak kimse dokanamaz, beni karşısında bulur. Oranın idari amiri yav ne demek. Al oğlum demiş, bunu götür kendini ispatla. İşte imzam. Şunu da al demiş sizin hocalar hamayil yapar, boynunda taşırsın, bunu da al boynunda taşı. Serbestsin demiş, sana biri dokunursa yalnız imzamı göster. Hadi bakalım. Gece olmuş, doğru binbaşının evine. Tembih etmiş ya hangi saatte olursa bana geleceksiniz. Karısı çıkmış lamba tutuyor elinde. Okuyor, Şaban demiş özür dilerin sana biraz eziyet yaptık ama ne yapalım ahval şeraitler bunu emrediyordu. O pezevengin de alacağı olsun, sana iftira edenin, ben ondan hesap sormasını bilirim. Adını listeden çıkarmışlar. Demiş kumandan bana bir daha

bir kağıt verdi ama, bu sende kalacak dediydi. Hah demiş Şaban benim üstümdesin. Askere demiş filan lokantayı biliyor musun, orda her kahvede içki vardır. Oraya demiş tembih et bir hafta bu adama yiyecek içecek hesap bana ait. İşte bunları yaşamış babam. Orda bu şey de var yani, bu görgü de var. Bu kültür de var onlarda. Özür dilemesini biliyorlar. Yalnız kendini tanıtacaksın.

20 kişi sabahleyin, Kuruçay var bizim kasabanın yanında diz çöktürmüşler gözleri bağlamışlar. Tak! Tak! Bir manga asker hepsini kurşuna dizmişler. Hepsi Türk. O anlatırdı bana, Fehim Hoca vardı diyor, ona Tak! Sarsılır gene durur. Hepsi yıkıldı diyor o yıkılmıyor. Bi daha kurşun gene diyor. Beş altı kurşun attılar diyor ondan sonra öldürdüler diyor. Bi daha diyor, gittiler yanlarına kafalarına birer daha kurşun sıktılar, öyle öldürdüler diyor. Abim o sırada oniki yaşında.

Babasının ikinci evliliği: Erken ölmüş eşi. Birinci cihan harbinden sonra.
Çok eşlilik var mı? Bizde çok eşlilik yok. Haa, onu da söyleyeyim bizim ordaki görgümüz, belki bu Anadolu'dayken vardı. Biz burda Anadolu'dan gitmeyiz ama orda biz tamamen o medeniyete sığınmış insanlarız. 7 kuşağa kadar bizde akraba evliliği yok. 7 kuşak. Halen daha devam ediyor bizim insanlarda. Kattiyen evlenmeyiz. İşte bunu biz 150 sene, 200 sene, 300 sene evvel benimsemiş bir kitleyiz. Daha evvelce vardı belki Anadolu'da akraba evlilikleri halen daha devam ediyor burda. Bizde katiyen, katiyen yasak. Zaten birbirine kötü gözle bakmaz. Burda insanlar akrabalarıylan evleniyor, çok ayıp şeyler. Hem ayıp hem günah. Bunlar olmaz. Bizde onların kültürünü almışız. Onlar da bizim kültürden aldıkları var. Ama onlarınki daha makul, daha güzel daha medeni.

Şimdi orasını ben atladım ben Ozan. Orada ona üç tane kurşun sıkıp da patlamayan o mermiler. O birlik bizim köye geliyor. O işgal kuvvetleri arasında o birlik bizim köye geliyor. İyi dinle burasını. İşte, babam bunu anlatırken ağlardı. Bunu anlatırken ağlardı. Çok garibine gidiyor bu. Terhis oluyor geliyor işte o olaylardan sonra köye, o asker bunu tanıyor. Şaban kardaşım. İşte bu ufak abim anlatırdı, kaç defa giderdik diyor bana depodan tenekeyle helva verirdi. O asker depocuymuş kereta, iaşe deposunun şeyiymiş orda o görevlisi. E, diyor alem açlıktan kırılırdı, bizim ev diyor dolup taşıyor, komşulara veriyorduk. Şeker, işte erzak. Fasülye ne varsa askerin erzağından. Şans. İşte bunları anlatırken babam ağlardı, garipserdi. Yaa! Bu

hikayeler hiç aklımdan çıkmaz çünkü can kulağınlan dinliyordum bunları ben, hepsi aklımda kaldı.

Karadon soyadımız şuradan geliyor. Benim dedem asker iken. Karadonlu Ahmet. Biraz da güreş tutarmış, pehlivanlık da var yani. o vakit Cuma günleri tatiller yapılıyordu. Şimdi Pazar günü ya. Bir Cuma günü ....(yanlışlıkla ön yüzde. Devamı yukarıda.)

Kaset 2: Osman Kozan Hikayesinden Devam:

Akköy'deki Rumlar nereden gelmiş?

Yunanistan'dan haber bekliyor. 4 sene önce Akköy'den gitme, baskına uğrayarak kaçan 19 yaşındayken ayrılan Sultanos soyadında biri vardı. Sultanos şöyle aklımda kaldı, "Padişah vre padişah", dedi. Ona soramadım, meraklıyım Akköy'ün kuruluşu ne zaman, kimler tarafından? Evet Rum köyü Yunanlı köyü ama hangi Yunanlılar? Onlar da biliyorsun adalardan gelme var, Moralılar var, Giritliler var. Pontos devleti vardı acaba onlar mı kurmuş. Yalnız şöyle bir şey dinlemiştim Rumelili tütün eksperi Muharrem Bey'den. Oğlum, ben bir yerde okumuştum Akköy'ün tarihini Pontoslular tarafından kurulmuş. Fatih devrinde aşağı yukarı. Ki Osmanlı İmp. Resmen ilan edilince beylikler kaldırılıyor. Aydınoğulları. Menteşoğulları. Karamanoğulları, biz onlardanız. Karamanoğulları. Ayrıca bir de merkezi Trabzon olarak Karadeniz bölgesinde bir Yunan kalıntısı küçük bir devlet varmış, Pontos devleti. Bunları dağıtıyor. Onlara diyor gidin Ege kıyıları boşluk, bolluk, orada köy kurun. Dağıtıyor ki başımıza iş açmasın diye. Bizim Karamanoğlu beyi de, Mehmet Bey de isyankar davranıyor padişaha. Ben diyor beyliğimi vermem falan. Lan diyor sen kimsin? Ben bugün Avrupa'yı Afrika'yı zaptetmiş Asya'yı zaptetmiş bir imparatorluk kurmuşum sen kimsin? Dolayısıyla bizi ordan tekme tokat Makedonya denilen topraklara, işgal ettiği topraklara sürgün gibi sevk ediyor. Bunlar yarın bizim başımıza iş çıkarır bugünkü PKK gibi. Bunları düşünmüş yani. bizi de o tarafa sevk ediyor. Tabii orada da Yunan halkı. Yunan halkıyla aşağı yukarı 300 sene komşuluk yaparak yaşamış insanlarız. İşte ben şimdi ondan duyduğum kadarıyla, mantığım da kabul ediyor, olabilir. Pontoslular dağıldıktan sonra burda bir köy kurmuş, neden? İnancım da şurdan beliriyor: Anadolu'nun her yakasına dağıtılmış. En azından vardı belki 4-5 milyon nüfus orda. Bunlar dağıtılınca Anadolu'nun her yerine sevk edilmiş. Git bugün Niğde'de var, Denizli'de var, İzmir'in yarısı Rum. Söke'nin kuruluşu gene onlar tarafından, evvela Rum mahallesi kuruluyor. Söke'nin kuruluşu. Orda bir piyan fabrikası vardı, bu ovada çok olurdu. Forbes isminde bir İngiliz. Onun Batı'ya olan kısmı Rum mahallesi, şimdi Kemal Paşa Mahallesi oldu, Rum mahallesi. İlk Söke'yi kuran onlar. Türkler de işte onun kıyığında, Söke kıyılarında çadırlarda falan yörük. Ondan sonra T.C. cumhuriyeti işte. 1940larda Söke'nin nüfusu 6 bindi, bugün 60 binin üzerinde. 6 bindi iyi biliyorum. Diyeceğim, ona soramadım. Herhalde biliyordur, dedesinden, ninesinden duymuştur. Bizim eve geldi bir aile onlar da Kavalalı. Zengin aile bunlar. Gümilcine'de lastik fabrikaları var. Kendi adı Niko'ydu. Bir de Türk çocuğu almışlar. Demişler hadi Ayhan biz Türkçe bilmeyiz, babamın köyüne götür bizi. Geldiler beni buldular, köyün yaşlısı olduğum için, ve buranın eski halini bildiğim için. Oturduk çok memnun kaldılar. İyi insanlar ben de

sevdim onları, açık konuşalım. Sordum nerde oturuyor bunlar. Kavala'da oturuyorlar. Aylık gündelik soruları vs. Burası bolluk dedi amuca. Dedim bunlar esas nereli Kavalalı. Leftere yakın mı onlara sor bakalım. Lefteros dediler biz orda oturuyoruz. Sultanos akrabaları. Sağ mı dedim. Sağ dedi 102 yaşında.....
Ben Sultanos'a soramadım. Onalara soralım. Bunların babaları Akköylü, dedeleri Akköylü. Akköy'ün kuruluşu da aşağı yukarı işte 350-400 senelik bir köy olduğuna göre. Bunlar nerden gelmiş bu köyü kurmuşlar? Sıfır bir köy burası çünkü. Türk yok burda, Rum köyü. Bunlar bir yerden geldi bu köyü kurdu. Sordu. Bilemedi. E, oğlu? Fabrikanın müdürü, yüksek tahsilli, ki bilmiyor, o tarihi okumamış. Ben mesela biliyom, e cahil adam Karaman olduğumu biliyorum. Ceddin sülalemi biliyorum. Türkmen ırkından. (Sen nerden öğrendin?) Tarihten öğrendim. Tarih yazıyor bunları, neye okumayayım, neye öğrenmeyeyim.

(Burası Rum köyü ama ismi Akköy.) Osmanlı toprağı yav o zamanlar. Onları dağıtıyor genea Osmanlı tebaasında, Türk vatandaşı yani. Hristiyan ama Türk vatandaşı. İbadetiniz serbest diyor, kilisenizi yapın tapının. .... (Sence niye Akköy demişler?) Hah, onu da işttiğime göre bir heyet geliyor. Yine Muharrem Bey'den dinledim. Yer tayin ediyorlar. Güllübahçe, Gelebeç, demişler burda bir köy olar. Domaça, bugünkü Doğanbey burda köy kurabiliriz. ... Buraya geliyorlar demişler biz de burda bir köy kuralım. Başlamış inşaat, e bunlar ne de olsa bizden daha çok medeni insanlarmış. Barınak yapmasını bilirler, çadırda oturmasını değil de. Taş evde oturacaklar. Başlamışlar. Devlet yetkilileri geliyor, ooo bakıyorlar bembeyaz bir köy inşa ediliyor. İsmini koydunuz mu? "E, koymadık siz koyun.", devlet yetkililerine. Akköy demiş burası. Sonraki köylerin isimlerini kendileri koymuşlar. ... Yoran ismi vs. ...
İ.K: Beni davet ettiler. Gitsem götürecekler. Masraf da yaptırmayacaklar. Ona sorun, o daha eski belki bilir. Nereden geldiler? Sultanostan telefon bekliyor...
O.S.: Akköy'de yaşayan diğer rumlarla ilgili bilgin var mı?
İ.K.: Buranın bozgunluğundan evvel. Buraya üç defa Yunanistan'dan resmi olarak belge çıkararak arama yaptılar. Para aradılar. Bulamadılar. Üç defa. Şimdi şunu anlatayım, sene 1939, ben aşağı yukarı 19-20 yaşlarında varım. Yetişmiş bir delikanlıyım. Akşamüzeri Söke'den bir taksi geldi. Mal müdürü, Çerkez İbraam efendi vardı Sökeli. Güzel Rumca bilir, tercüman olarak geliyor. Şu köy odasının olduğu yerde, üç katlı bina vardı. Buranın zenginlerinden Malavra, Malavra diyor muhtar buna. Tabii onlar gittikten sonra bizler geldik. O evin sahibi Berber Üseyin

derdik bizim oralı, o oturuyodu orda. Üseyin Baybora. O zamanlar gene o oturuyordu. O zaman Söke'den bir heyet geldi. Biri mal müdürüymüş, Çerkez İbram Efendi tercüman, bir yabancı Yunan milletvekiliyim diye tanıttı kendini, Malavra'nın da kendisiymiş sonradan bunu öğreniyorum ben, dikkat et. Milletvekiliyim diye tanıttı kendini. Çok güzel bir hikaye bu. Canlı yani, bunlara ben şahidim. Bunlar altı ay - bir sene evvel, tabii ahval şeraitler değişince, bir bozgunluk olacağını hissediyorlar. Zengin bunlar, kulakları delik, paraları kaçırmışlar. Bozgundan evvel, bir bozguna uğrarsak bizim paralarımızı alırlar, canımızı da alırlar hesabiyle kaçmışlar. Birçoğu. Yağmacılar dolu. İstiklal mücadelesi kaçkınları dolu, askerlik yapmayan burda vurgun vuruyo. Böyleleri de var. Yunan da var Türkler de var. Yunan çeteleri bizimkilere karşı, yani müdafa şeklinde. Ama onlar vurgun şeklinde yapıyolar. Netice itibariyle bu heyet geldi. Akşamüzeriydi, ellerinde bir kroki, evin önünde. Toplandı millet, ben de ordayım. Okuyor Yunanlı "mikro tuşpit" diyor, "küçük ev", üç katlı bina. Bunun diyor yanında küçük bir ev var mıydı? "Mikro tuşpit?" Tek tük yunanca biliyorum ben, anlıyorum. Berber Üseyin'in evinin o günkü sahibi de, sonraki sahibi yok diyor işte burda bir mutfak vardı, çıkıntı buranın bitişiği diyor. Ama diyor bunu bitşiği, mutfak odasıydı burası. Oturuyoduk biz diyor falan. Peki diyor bunun tuvaleti ayni miydi? Aynıydı diyor, yalnız diyor tahtadan, oturaklıydı. Ben onu diyor kaldırdım alaturka şekline, alışkın olmadığımız üçün. Kapısı ayni miydi diyor, aynıydı. Krokide helanın kapısı doğuyu gösteriyor, bu da aksine batıyı gösteriyor. Bak şimdi. Çok aksi. Birbirine çok aksi plan. Ruhsat çıkarmışlar resmi olarak kazı yapacaklar, masraf etmişler. Neyse diyor, şimdi bize verilen malumat, helanın kapısı içinden bir metre derinine indik mi bir tel çıkacak. Bir metre, iki metre uzunluğunda bir tel. Teli takip, telin ucuna geldik mi biraz daha kazacaz iki teneke altın burda bulacaz. Amma helanın şekli değişik. Helanın kapısı olduğuna göre diyor kazalım. Burda iki kişi yevmüyeci tuttular. Helanın kapısından başladılar kazmağa tabana indiler. Hela patladı. Onların kazdığı yere. Hadi bakalım bir gün hela temizlediler. Hatta birisi abimdi, Memed Karadon dediğim, birisi oydu. Biri de Adalı Memed derlerdi. İki Memedler temizlediler, tekrar kazıya başladılar. Ne tel çıktı, ne bi şey çıktı. Bi şey yook! Üç gün burda bu kazıyla uğraştılar. Bişey çıkmadı. Burda misafir kalıyolar, Berber Üseyin kendi şarap yapardı, içerdi de. Onlara her akşam bir tavuk kesiyor, şarap içiriyor falan. Çerkez İbram Efendi, Mal müdürü, Maarif müdürü İbram Bey vardı. O zaman maarif ilgiliydi bu işlerlen. En son, rahmetli Berber Üseyinlen, böyle samimiydik komşuyduk o zaman, bitişiktik.

Gel be mübarek, çıkarır bi tas şarap içeriz beraber, yav İbram diyor bu para burda, olmasa bu gavur gelmezdi. Berber Üseyin o evi delik deşik etti, ne temel bıraktı ne bi şey, avlusunu falan, bulamadı. Bi şey bulamadı. Yalnız dedi gavurun son günü biz dedi mal müdürünnen şöyle bir plan düşündük. Yahu demiş bunu tahrik edelim de patlasın ne varsa. İbram Efendi tabii tercüman, ona Rumca demişki beyler senden şüpheleniyor, sen para için buraya gelmedin. E, niçin geldim? Sen bak bi milletvekilisin, sen Türk'ün aleyhine casusluk yapmağa geldin, deyorlar. De demiş ona. Güzel numara de mi? Yahu beni demiş söyletmeyin demiş. Burda esasen o telin sonunda demiş bir mezar şeklinde bir insan leşi çıkacak demiş. Çünkü bu evin sahibinin demiş o gün Kırlı, Konyalı bir bedeli vardı. Bu çukuru ona kazdırdılar. Bu demiş yalnız Malavra'nın parası değil, talikatın parası. Senin var bin altının, onun var iki bin altını, onun yüz altını. İki teneke doldurdular, o adama kazdırdılar, bedele, Konyalıya, Türk bu, onu da öldürdüler, gömdüler paralan berabar. Hiç bi şey de çıkmadı. Bak gavur bu cevabu veriyor. Haaa! Gittiler. Dördüncü gün burdan bindiler arabaya gittiler. Şimdi yeni Balat beri geldi tabii 39'da, eski Balat harabelerin yanındaydı. Üç tane kave vardı orda. Bi kave burda, Bayat'ın kavesi, karşıda Özbaş'ın kavesi, efendim burda da Yusuf Dayı'nın kave vardı. Üç kave böyle sac ayağı. Balat'a varıyolar, duruyollar, su istiyolar kaveden. Kavenin dibine geçiyolar böyle. Su veriyor onlara, içiyolar. Dün de anlattım ben sana, buranın pehlivanı Arap Mustafa Ali Dayı vardı. O da kavenin önünde oturuyor. Pençerenin yanında birisi bakıyo, (cıklayarak) yav ben bu adamı tanıyom ama nerden tanıyorum, nerden tanıyorum. Çıkaramıyor. Sonra Mustafa Ali Dayı'dan ben bunu dinliyorum yıllar sonra, kim ula demiş bunlar. Demişler bunlar Akköy'de para aramışlar. Nerde? Malavra'nın evinde. Ula demiş Malavra kendiydi o! Tanıdım ama diyor iş işten geçti İbram. Gittiler diyor. Dikkat et. Haaa! Sonra biz Berber Üseyinlen, Üseyin Amcaylan şu yorumu yaptık kendi aramızda: sormuşlar, şimdi Malavra ne iş yapıyor, sağ mı? Sağ. Nerde? Atina'da oturuyor. Ne iş yapıyor. Ohooo! Zengin, otelleri var, mağazaları var, bilmem neleri var. Bi dakka. Peki ya akrabaları? Onlar naçar. Hah! Demek ki Malavra o parayı uçurmuş, orda gitmiş gene zengin olmuş, daha büyük paraylan. Türkçe de bilir pezevenk, burda kendini sakladı, bize karşı. Tercüman da tuttu. Hiç Türkçe konuşmadı. Onları konuşturuyor, onları da duyuyor, anlıyor. Oraya gitti, bulamadım, almışlar parayı. Yattı paranın üstüne. Bak bunlar oldu. Aradan yıllar geçti. 54'te bir heyet gene geldi. Şu Perikli'nin, o da zenginlerin birinin evi. Onun oğlu doktor alt tarafta evi var. Kuyunun dibindeki o eski ev. Doktorun evi o,

Perikli'nin doktorunun evi. Gene bir heyet geldi 3-4 kişi bunlar, Yunanlı. Türkçe bilen de var bilmeyen de var içlerinde. Doktorun evinde bir toprak tencere para varmış, altın. Ruhsat çıkardık. Eve gittiler kazıyolar filan. Oo, millet orda candarmalar bekliyor falan. Üseyin Bey vardı işte öldü rahmetli, Söke'nin zenginlerinden. Bu, Sakız dalyanının sahibiydi o zaman o. Kakıyo Akköy'e geliyor. Burda karakolda işleri falan var. Memet Ali Efendi'nin eviydi o. Sonraki sahibi. Tanışıyorlar. Memet Ali ne bu demiş düğün mü var burda yav? Bir kalabalık. Para arıyoruz Bey demiş. Ule demiş bu doktorun evi. Üseyin Bey burları çok iyi biliyor tabii. Yunan zamanını çok iyi biliyor. Evet demiş doktorun evi, ben oturuyom şimdi. Aramasınlar demiş o para gitti. Demek onun da bi bilgisi var. Nasıl gitti demiş Bey? O demiş doktorun evi demiş, o Yunan bozgununda demiş, bizim demiş Türk çeteleri.., Çerkezlerin eline geçti o para demiş, Çerkezler aldı o parayı. Demek bi duyusu var, bi duyumu var Üseyin Bey'in. Bunu da Mustaa Ali(?) Efendi'den rahmetliden öğrenmiştim, öyle bir lafı geçti de. Yani deycem para burda kalmamış. Sonra bir heyet geldi tekrar. Ondan sonra. Bu kütüphanenin olduğu yer. (Kaç yılında geldi?) Bi sene sonra falan, iki sene sonra geldiler. Konya'dan gitme birisi, gençti o daha, Türkçe biliyorlar. Burdan giden Rumlar Türkçe biliyorlar. Adaş ağa vardı Üseyin dayı, soruyor ona: e, Manol diyor yahu diyor işte Doksat'ın şurasında şu vardı bu vardı. Gel, dedi be amuca dedi yahu, şimdi bana sorma. Şimdi dedi sen Doksat'ı tanıyamazsın. Ben dedi orda taksicilik yapıyorum, Doksat'ta benim yazanem vardı dedi. Ben dedi Piravuşta'ya iskan oldum dedi ama Doksatlan ilgiliyim, yazanem var orda benim dedi. Drama Kavala arasında taksicilik yapıyorum, taksilerim var. Gel dedi götüreyim, kal müsafirim, gör dedi herşeyi. Ben ordaydım o gün. Kavede orutuyuz. Türkçe biliyor güzel. Onlar aradılar bu demir kapılı mağazalarda. Orda da efendim bir tulum para varmış. Bi şey bulamadılar. Kazdılar. Orayı kazdılar burayı kazdılar yok. Demek ki burda para kalmamış. Bundan 15 sene önce, gene Akköylü Görgi isminde biri geldi. Bu zamanlar. (Soyadını hatırlıyor musun?) Görgi, ismini biliyorum. Söylemişti ama unuttum. Evden çıktım ben buraya geliyorum. Burası daha yoktu bu kave. Bir büfecik vardı. Geldim oraya duvarın dibine, aynı duvar duruyo orda, vardı. Oturdum kölgeye. Bu zamanlar, böyle öğlen sonu. Bir kırmızı taksi geldi. Orda durdu. İki dene genç, bir yaşlı adam endi. Bunlar bize çok yakın insanlar. Yani benzerlik bakımından. Vallahi bak şimdi halen daha gönlümde yatıyor, Sarıkemerli sandım ben yav. Oranın halkına benziyor. Ordan çıktı merdivenlerden, Selamün aleyküm dedi. Birkaç kişi oturuyor.

Aleyküm selam falan, benim yanıma geldi. Selamün aleyküm. Aleyküm.., oş geldin. Oş bulduk dedi bana. Dikildi başıma. Pek yüksek boylu deil, alçak da deil, orta boylu. Sen dedi buralı mısın? Buralıyım. Nah! dedi sana, ben buralıyım. (gülüyor). Ooo, toparladım ben. E, arife tarif lazım deil. Demek bu adam buralı, burdan gitme. Benden dokuz yaş büyüktü o kerata. Dikkat et! Görgi. Sordum ona gelenleri tanımıyorlar. O da Kavala'nın bi köyünde oturuyomuş. Yanıma oturdu. Ne alırsınız.. İsminiz? Görgi dedi. Çocukları geldi onlara bi şeyler ikram ettim. Su, istedi. Şişe suyu. Ver oğlum bi şişe suyu. Bikaç yudum içti, nerenin bu su dedi? Kir Görgi dedim – kir, efendi demektir onlarda – Kir Görgi dedim Çine var dedim. Bilirim dedi, duyarım. Madran dağları, bu su ordan gelir Madran suyu. Yav uyanık, çok uyanık. Yok bre dedi pezevenkler, Menderes suyu dedi bu. (hihi) Vallahi böyle. Çok şakacı, espirici. Menderes suyu. Bizde var bu pezevenkler dedi. Aletler çıktı şimdi filitreli dedi, süzer dedi, suyu getirir dedi, Madran suyu. Menderes suyu dedi. (hihi) Anlaştık çok çabuk, Türkçe de biliyor. ... Şurdan burdan konuştuk. Görgi dedim, baskına uğramıştınız siz burda. Kaçtık bre dedi biraz dedi somun ekmek dedi aldık. Bir gece dedi kaldım ormanda dedi sonra denizden kaçtık. ... neden kaçıyorsun. Vre keseceksiniz bizi dedi.

NOT: Para kaldı mı? Kalmadı. Neden? Buranın zenginleri uyanık adamlar. Önceden toplamışlar. Çatalda ekmeğim takılı kaldı dedi, öyle kaçtık dedi. Fırın vardı, ordan bir iki altın çıktı. Fırıncı koydu oraya unuttu kaçarken. Koca karının birkaç varsa onlar kaldı. Büyük para kalmadı burda. E, buraya aramağa geldiler. Yok ula dedi. Bırakmadılar büyük para kalmadı. Bana o söyledi, doğrusunu söyledi. Ordudan ayrılma yüzbaşı, çıkardı kimliğini gösterdi. Ben yüzbaşıyım dedi. Kavala'nın bir köyünde oturuyorum, gel dedi bir ay müsafirim kal. Sana dedi orda hergün dedi oğlak çevirmesi, çipra balığı yediricem. Davet etti beni. Herşeyin bana ait dedi masrafların. Ben gelemem dedim, gitmedim. E, anlaşıyoz, gelip giden de oluyo. İşte Görgi en iyisini söyledi.

İstamat Çorbacıyı kesmeleri: Giritli. Girit Türklerinden Rumca gayet güzel bilirler. Şakir çavuş, avcılık yapıyor, Söke'de oturur. Kör İbram var, hakikaten gözünün biri kör. Abidin Ağa var, Söke'den, zengin. Sonradan zengin. Bunlar giritli. Abidin Ağa'nın karısı Akköylü. Bozgunluk sıralarında, bir Rum kızı kaçırıyor. Adı İkbal Hanım. 4 sene önce öldü. Evini Görgi göstermiş. Oraya gelince bu evin sahibi daha yaşıyor. Burda demiş Söke'de. Ama Söke'de rum kalmadı. Burdan gitme demiş,

bizim komşum. İsmi cabbaz. Haa, bizim Abidin Ağa. Dört sene önce geldim müsafir kaldım evinde. Rumca da biliyor bunlar. Sonra bozgunlukta abidin ağayla evleniyor. Netice, Abidin, Kör İbram, Şakir Çavuş İstamat Çorbacı'nın kaçacağını öğrenmişler. İstamat'ın Akköy'de de Yoran'da da evi varmış, Kırıkiçi olduğu gibi onunmuş. Akköky bölmeleri, Balat bölmeleri onun. Halen daha onun attırdığı kesikler duruyor. İstamat kesikleri derler, öyle anılır. (bölme dediğin ne?). Bizim mera var orda denize yakın, bölme, 1300 küsür dönüm, ova. İzmir yoluna çıkacağını öğreniyorlar. Şakir çavuş babasına anlatıyor, beraber avlanırlarmış. Köpeğin ismi Alazo, alaca demek. Rumcaya kaçar lisanları. Köpeğe yemek veririmiş İbrahim Amca. Bunlar İstamat'ı Argavul'da, Söke'nin öte yanında, pusu kuruyorlar. Babasına anlatmış bunu kendisi 14-15 yaşında bir delikanlıyken. Hem ağladı, hem anlattı. İstamat'ı ona kestirmişler, delilik, gençlik düşünemedi. Gecenin bir yarısı üç katır altın. Adamlarını öldürüyorlar. Alın altınları bana bir yol parası verin gideyim. İmkanımı var, duyulur, hapse girerler, altınlardan da olurlar. Oğlak gibi diyor kestim kafasını. Ağlıyo anlatırken. Şakir Çavuş. Hem ağladı, hem anlattı babama. Peki ne yaptın o altınları? Kendi hakkını İbram Ağa'ya vermiş. Kör İbram da ona bakmış. Kuşadası, Davutlar tarafı onunmuş. Hepsi öldü gitti. Şimdi Kör İbram'ın hiçbir şeyi yok. Vallahi böyle oğlum. Babam öyle derdi yav, ölünceye kadar. Oğlum derdi, biz burda hayır görmeyiz. Neden baba yahu? Oğlum ah var burda. Çok çalışmış herifler, çok iş yapmışlar. O ah var burda. Bak, öyle derdi. İki yakamız bir araya gelmez derdi, ahlı yer burası. Vallahi babam bunu her zaman söylerdi. Ve dediği gibi de bakın işte. Uçlu ucuna. Anca bir geçim sağlayabiliyoruz. Yaa... Herkes ektiğini biçer bu malum. Yaa...

Kestik, bitiridik. Sonra tekrar anlatmaya başlayınca, demirciyi gösterdi.
Perikli'nin evini gösterdim. Kara kiremitli kave. Kostas'ın dükkanı yazıyor mermerde.

Tekrar kesinti. Fıkra anlatıyor. Hüner üzerine.

Görüşme 2:
(Ne zaman evlendin?) 43'te (Nasıl tanıştınız nasıl oldu?) ozan ben sana kendi özel hayatımdan da bahsedebilirim di mi? Oo çok zengin hatıralarım var. Evlenmeden önce bir olay oldu onu anlatayım. 42 sonlarında askerliğini bodrumda 3 sene yapıyor.

1940 haziranında asker oldu. 39 ekiminde almanlar harp patlattı, sekiz ay sonra asker oldum. 41-42lerde almanlar her gün bir ülke işgal ediyordu. Ödümüz kopuyordu. E, bizde ramak. Harbe girdik girecez. Bizim kapılara dayandı. Hatta köprüler falan atılmış diye duyardık. Bizim alayımız 3 bin kişiydi orda olduğu gibi oraya kaldırıldı. trakya'ya sevk edildik. Hatta ben de niyet ettim gitmek de. gitmek istedim de, bizim üsteğmen arkadaş gibiydik. Takımın ben Acemi öğretmeniydim. Her teftişte 'teşekkür ederim muhabereci.' Beş defa kırkar gün izinli geldim ben buraya. Bunları anlatırsam hep roman. 42 sonlarında babası yaşlı, benden faydalanmak için tuttu geldi. Yol yok. Yollar nerde. Buradan piniyo beygire. Kazıklıya geliyor. Babası tanınan biri, seviliyor. Bodrum'a gidecem. Oo kolay her gün kayık var. Orda bir gece misafir kalıyor. Farilla'dan (gündoğdu) her gün kayık gidip geliyor. Parilya köyünden Süleyman dayı. Süngercilik yapıyorlarmış. Vurgun yemiş. Bir de türkbükü'nden Osman çavuş. Babamı üleşemiyorlar, yok senin yok benim misafirim. Durun diyor babası. Hangisi daha yakın türkbükü mü farilla mı. Farilla. O zaman ben farillaya. Süleyman dayıya gidiyor. Ona yol tarif ediyorlar. Bir bir buçuk saat sonra bodrum yoluna ordan da on beş yirmi dakika. Babası yaşlı ama çok yol yürür. Öğlen geçe bodruma varıyor. Diyor miralay nerde. Üsteğmen kızmış biraz İbrahim amcaya, yav niye bana gelmedi. Canım asker değil ki bu adam. Sivil adam geldi tepeden. Diyorlar amca çardakçı mahallesinde. Söke'den de asker arkadaşım var sünnetçi ziya efendinin oğlu ali. O da albayın postası. Babamı tanıyor. Miralayı görücem. Dur diyor haber vereyim. Babam çok askerlik yapmış cephelerde. Askerliği iyi bilen. Bir diyor selam çaktım. Demiş miralayım (kah kah kah) o da eskilerden. Miralayın ne olduğunu biliyor hoşuna gidiyor. Ben buraya geldim ama beni buraya getiren sebepler var. Demişi benim oğlum var muharebe bölüğünde İbrahim. Karı yatalak bir aydır, ah oğlumu görebilseydim. Yoo, diyor asla asla tamam baba diyor tamam izin tamamdır. Nasıl geldin. Vah vah. Yol yok. Hemen bir müzekkere yazılıyor. 40 gün izin. 10 gün gidiş geliş payı, 30 gün izin. Karadon baban gelmiş, öyle derlerdi. Ha siktir lan. Valla ben gördüm yav. Nerde çarşıda gördüm. Allah Allah bi şey mi oldum. Kışla yoktu daha ilkokulda oturuyoz. Hoş geldin baba. İzin almaya geldim. Oo ben de sevindim. Derken üsteğmen geldi. İbram gel dedi bana. Yazı işlerini de ben yaptım takımın. Yahu sana izin çıkartmış ama bana gelse daha iyi olurdu. Sivil adam. Bilmiyom dedim, yeni geldi elini öptüm. Teskere kağıdını hazırla da albay gitmeden imzalattır. İmzalattık. Şu andan itibaren izinlisin. Karakaşlar altı kave üstü otel gibi sökeden gitme orda kalırız. Terzi İbrahim Barka vardı Bodrumlu. Ona da

ben artık işte terhisimiz gelir diye, vardı da biraz paracığım, elbise diktirmiştim. Sivil elbise. Onun adı da İbrahim. Tanıştık, adaş olduk falan, tanışıyoruz. Çıktık biz çarşıya rastgeldik. Dedi adaş? Babam dedim. Ooo! Elini öptü falan. Nereye gidiyorsunuz? Dedim gidelim otelde yer falan. Ne oteli yav dedi, yürüün bakalım. Akşam namazı üzeri evimiz yok mu bizim dedi yav. Bak sen şimdi Ozan. Bırakmam dedi, vallahi bırakmam. O zaman da bi kıtlık var. Askerden tayın almak suretiyle ekmeklerini temin ediyorlar Yok, ekmek yok! Ekmek karneylen yok. Oğlum o günleri yaşadık. (Karneyle bile yok?) Karneyle bile yok. Ööle bir hatram da var onu da anlatıcam ben sana. Aldı bizi evine götürdü. Babası vs. oturduk sofra hazırlandı. Akşam yemeği yiyoruz. Bulgur pilavı. Babam ne bileyin insan ruhuna girmeyi bilen bir insandı. Yav dedi biz yunanistandan gelmeyiz. Bizim karılar bunu yapamaz. Ben size bir tenek bulgur göndereyim getirirse. Bana öyle bir yük yükledi ki. Farillaya geldik. Süleyman dayının. Çok misafirperverdi oranın halkı. Fırında incir. Harup getirdiler. Harup bilirsin? (Bilirim, keçiboynuzu.) Harup getirdiler bir çanak içinde. Yav haruplar bu kadar kalın. [iki parmağını yapıştırıp gösteriyor kalınlığını] Kırıyosun bal akıyo. Yav Süleyman dayı bu haruplar nerden yahu? Bizim burda da var ama deli harup. Sizin ordan yavrum dedi. Yav bizim orda böyle harup yok. Var! Dedi, Nasıl yok? Buranın harubunu orda yedim. Varmış nitekim. Yav Süleyman dayı bizim orda harup var ama böyle harup yok. Oğlum biz dedi süngerciyiz. Çıkarız denize dedi, ara sıra çıkarız Dipburun'a dedi. Dipburnu bilir misin? (Yok.) Şu dağın karşısı. (Haa, tamam. Anladım.) Dipburun, Karina yani. (Anladım, anladım.) Orda Yunanlı'dan kalma araziler var. Mandalinlikler, yemişlikler falanlar. O haruplar ordeymiş. Ordan çıkarız, toplarız dedi, getiririz kışın yeriz dedi. Haa! Halen daha var haruplar orda. Demek ki buranın halkı, yunan halkı çok çalışmış be oğlum. Çok çalışmış yahu. 400 sene, 300 sene evvel yaptıklarını biz halen daha yapamıyoruz. Ben buna yanarım. Sabah denize iniyorlar. Osman çavuş ve Süleyman dayı. Akşam namazı üzeri kazıklıya varıyorlar. O gece misafir. Sabah baba beygirde kendisi yayan. Oğlum gel bin. Yok. Ben askerim. Yayan yedi saatta geldik. Saplıada'da yüzmüş. Orda kuyular vardı. Yörüklerin kuyusundan su içtik. Çok yaylandır orası. İbrahim eser, ibramın izni bitti. Onu Bafa'ya kadar götür beygirle beş lira vericem. Çok büyük para. Bir teneke buğday, bavulu da var. Bafada Abdullah efendiye gideceksin. Oranın zengini. Dükkanına gidiyor. Genç bir çocuk, oğlu. Babası kazıklıya manifatura götürmüş. Bezirgan. Arkasından sert bir el vurdu. Ali çam Abdullah efendi'nin yeğeni asker arkadaşı bir sene önce terhis olmuş. Dayını

sordum. Napıcan dayımı yürü bize. Memlekette kibrit dahi yok o günlerde. Alinin varlığı var. Paket paket sigara kibrit. Yav babamın selamını ben bu adama bildirmeliyim. Ben seni buluşturucam yatma zamanı geldi. Lamba, elektrik yok. Bir merdiven yüklüğe bana bir yatak getirdi bu kadar kalın. Bir oda bize mahsus. Bir yorgan attı yatağa gelin teliylen işlenmiş. Yattım onun içinde korka korka. Bir masa bunun iki katı. Ayna kapı kadar. Onlar meğer akköyden gitmeymiş oraya. Beş tane saat var masada gömülü. Porselenmiş onlar süs. Ali sen köklü bir ailesin. Yav bunlar akköyden gelme. Akköy bozgununda. İlk defa sana açıldı o yatak. Yav kepenek versen daha iyiydi.akköy rumu ne kadar zenginmiş. Onları da gördük. Sabah çıktık kaveye bizi buluşturdu. Abdullah efendi biraz okumuş, münevver bir. Meraklıydım. Gençliğimde ne bileyim ben yav. Milasa gidecek bafadan bir şemşiye verdiler bana. Selimiye'ye geldim. Orda yağmur çok yağmış dere taşıyor. Durdum orda. Nerden geçeyim. Arkamdan bir kamyon geldi, cıvıvl cıvıl insan içi. Milasa gelin götürüyorlar. Biri geldi asker aga nerden nereye. Beni tanımış. Ben ne bileyim. Aslan dayı. Nerdensin sen? Tanıdım mı beni. Tarla komşunuzun oğlu aslan. E, sen? Ben buraya yerleştim burada kaldım. Seni biz götürelim. Büyük kader. Bunlar unutulmaz. Allah tarafından. Durun bakalım dedi aslan dayı bu benim misafirim. Nereye gitcen. Mızlı memetin hanına gitcem. Buldum oteli. Yaşlı bir adam var. Benim bavullan, teneke oraya verilmiş. Gel gel dedi. Karşıda tek katlı odalar var. İstediğin yatağa yat. Elektrik vardı milatsa. Bavulumu açyım soyunacam ıslağım. Bir baktım bit var. Bak ben bitli asker değilim evimden geliyom. Yapma yav. Otelin sahibi davazlı mızlı memet dayı geldi. Odacının da adı memet. Al gel askeri buraya. Gel dedi. Otur bakalım yazaneye mangal yanıyo. Nerden geliyon sen. Akköyden. Babamın tanımadığı adam yok. Gelirken o otelde kalmış. Şaban amcanın oğluyum. Çabuk buraya bir yatak indir burada yatacak bu asker. Çekmecede para bile vardı. Oğlum evin senin burası dedi. Sağol. Kaptıkaçtılar vardı. Benim biletimi almış 2 numara. 4 lira büyük para. Almış biletimi vermiş. Parası verildi karışma. Babamın hatırı yürüyor. Oturdum yerime. Şişman silindir şapkalı göbekli bir adam geldi. Nasıl askerlik. Kimmiş bu adam biliyor musunuz. Nahit menteşe'nin babası Halil Menteşe. Muğla milletvekili. Ölünceye kadar milletvekiliği yaptı bu adam. Oymuş. Tesadüflere bak yahu. O da, Yaşyer ovasında zeytinliği var onun, büyük bir çiftliği, oraya kadar geliyor. Milletvekili, bir numaraya oturuyor. Oraya kadar baya konuştuk şey ettik. E dedim bey amuca afedersiniz şimdi ben kendimi anlattım, Sökeliyim falan. Dedim sizi de tanıyalım. Bu güldü, ben Muğla milletvekili, Halil Menteşe

derler bana. Baba adamdı. Onlar Atatürk'ün milletvekilleriydi. Tayinlen oluyordu onlar, tayinlen. Seçimlen değil. O zamanlar. Benim dediğim 42-43 seneleri. Babası o arada Bafa'ya gitmiş Abdullah efendi hısım olmak istediğini söylemiş. Oğlunla konuştum sevdim. Kızı var yetişkin İbrahim amcaya verecek. Nasipse olur, hele askerden gelsin. Çok beğendim, ciddi konuşuyorum. Askerlik bitti geldim. Akşam yemeğinde babam bu eve bir insan lazım. Nasiplen bu işler zamanla olur. Babası durumu açıyor ne diyorsun diyor. Düşündüm. Baba dedim o iş olmaz. Neden oğlum dedi? Çok zengin. İşte, zengin olduğu üçün olmaz. E anlat bana dedi. Bak! Baba, biz Abdullah efendilen konuştuk. Beni çok beğenmiş. Abdullah efendiye benim gibi eleman lazım. Oğlu var ufak daha. Zaten beni istii belli. Alacak dedim beni çiftliğin başına kahya yapacak. Bunları düşünsene sen. Zengin adam. Benim gibi elemana ihtiyacı var onun. Çalış babam çiftlik senin, kabilinden. Öyle bir söz vardır bizde. Biz dedim fakir insanlarız. Onun kızı varlık içinde çıkıp gelecek. Anam dedim yemeği yaparken yemeğin şekline göre, miktarına göre kepçeylen koyar yağı. Bunlar dedim, anası bardaktan döker, lak lak lak böyle. Benim anamı gördüği zaman dedim o kepçeylen yağı koyuyor. Eyvah ben yandım. Bi gider dedim izinli bi daha gelmez. İstersen gel bizim durumumuz müsait burada yaşayalım, deyiverir dedim. Siz kalırsınız YALNIZ. Benim bundan sonraki görevim sizi bakmak BABA! Başladı ağlamağa. Ah be yavrum, ben bunları düşünememem yav dedi. Bravo dedi. Seni tebrik ederim. E Abdullah Efendi beni neye beğeniyor dedim, düşünsene! (Gülüyor) Ozan be, ben hakikaten, valla bak o yaşta bunları düşünebilen bir insandım yahu. Bugünkü gençlerde ben bunu göremiyorum, bu kabiliyeti. Çok güzel düşünüyomuşum. Babam ağladı. Sevincinden ağladı. Bravo be çocuğum, bak ben bunları düşünemem dedi. Olacağı bu dedim, hiç! Ben sana söylüyorum, gelecek bunu gösteriyor. Ben dedim kendime göre. Hatta dedim, daha düşük bir ailenin kızıylan evlenirsem dedim, burda size hizmet eder. O senede evlendim. O ilk aşk hep yaşadı ölünceye kadar. Çapa yapıyorlar tarlalarında. Ne kadar nişanlı. Onlar çok fukaraydı. Haziranda terhis. Ekimde nişan. Sökeye gidildi. Düğünü hemen yapacaz. Ne dersek hep razı. Abisi de bizi onlar terhis etti kırklı. Onlar bizden sonra dört sene yaptı. Abisi asker, bunlar üç kız kardeş. Dedik niakhı da yapalım. İyi. Kim biriktirecek para. Askerdeydim zaten. Biraz borç yaptık sağa sola. Filan zaman düğünü yapalım. Tamam mı tamam. Nikah da yaptım. Oğlan haber gönderiyor ben gelmeden evlendirirseniz gelmem. Ordan ters kepçe. Yengesi elçilik yapıyor. 10 gün zaman kaldı. Nikahlı karım. Vermiyorlar. Bereket versin babam paraları harcamıyor. Sökeye gittim Hamit beye. Danıştım.

Hamit amca mesele böyle. Nikah? Nikahımız var resmen. Boşanma davası açsan boşamaz sizi. Çek git kolundan. Beklemeye vaktim yok eve derhal bir insan lazım. Çek kolundan al git dedi. Hakim boşamaz dedi. Ablam kazak örüyomuş ona. Gittim anlattım. Dedim bak birbirimizi tanıyoruz, seviyoruz. Tık yok. Dedim Selime bir gün testiyle kuyuya gel. Testiyi kırarım tutarım elinden eve. Ondan da fikir alıyorum. Bu akşamdan itibaren bizimsin. Anası geldi. Babam geldi. Fasulye yemeği<vardı. Enişte buyur etti. Tu size tu size. Babam beni diyor rezil ettiniz, o kadar masraf ettim. Anam napalım diyor. Anam ağabeymlere gidiyor anlatıyor. Abim oğlu hadi bakalım bize gidicez. Abim devreye giriyor. İyi yapmış çocuk. Üseyinlen beraber gittik. Yemek yiyorlarmış. Dedim benim beklemeye vaktim yok avukata da danıştım. Abim girdi devreye. O zmana dedi babam ben düğün yapacam. İbram ayrı odada yatacak. Koymuş kafaya düğün yapacak. 1 gün 2 gün. Naim bey vardı burada. Münevver adam Giritli. Yunan lisesini giritte bitimiş. Düğün yapacaksin dedi. İkbal ablan vardi. Düğün müğün yapmadim. Babama rest çektim ben dedim düğün müğün yapmam. Zamanı görmüyormusun yahu. Git ver paraları. 51 sene beraber yaşadık. 8 çocuğum oldu.

Çocukluk: evdeki yaşantı.

Dramadaki evi hatırlıyor musun. Beni oraya götürsünler gösteririrm. Bir katlı. Bizim iki oda bir mutfak ağabeymlerin iki oda bir mutfak. Ağabeymler, anam babam ben bir odada. Ağabeymle ablalarım ayrı odada yatıyorduk. Anamla yatıyordum ben. Rumlarla Türkler karışık oturuyor. Evin arkasında Taşo vardı bakkal oğlu vardı vangel. Oynardık. Ablası vardı Fanula, yetişmiş, iri memeli. Onların yanında iştiryaniler vardı. Mandalarından korkardım. Karşımızda todirililer vardı. Orda angelo isminde dul bir kadın vardı. Onu görünce kaçardım, mıncıklardı, kaçardım. Hepsi Rumların Türkçe bilirdi. Anam hiç Rumca bilmezdi. Ben çocukken oynarken öğrendim. Onların karıları Türkçe bilirdi.

Ev işlerini anam organize eder. o yemek işlerini yapar. Hazır da alıyordu babam bana. Bizim ordaki hayatımız medeniydi Ozan. Biz buraya geldik şaşırdık. Şalvarla geziyorlardı burada. Ya… Kısa beziklerle geziyordu burada. (…) Bizde setre pantolonlar vardı o zamanlar orda. Medeniydik. Biz öyle yaşadık orda, öyle gördük. Annesinin kıyafeti. Ferace. Bizim köyümüz büyük kasabaydı. İki eczanesi vardı. İki doktor vardı. Her kavede bi kere çay kave olmaklan beraber içki var. Envai çeşit içki var. Babam mesela o zaman içerdi orda. Beni alırdı ara sıra. Giderdik. Abim

çalıştırıyo kaveyi. Drama – Kavala yolu üzerinde, cadde üzerinde. Kave böyük, kazino! Bu kaveden böyük. Bööyle etrafında kanepeler. Meşin kanepeler ama. O zaman daha, seksen sene önce. Burada öyle bi şey yok. Anadolu çok terk edilmiş. Biz orda medeni hayat yaşadık oğlum. Medeniyetin içinden geldik biz buraya. Belki medeniyet getirdik deyebilirim. Cidden böyle. Kapaklı şişeler tak açılır. Bastırırsın kapanır. O mandal elimi kıstırdı. Onu da unutmuyorum. Babam bir şişe rakı açar orda. Çok meşhur lahana turşusu. Sirke içerisinde. Çeker kafayı. Bana da menta alırdı. Likör. Nane kokulu. Hatta bazen karnım ağrırdı. Kadın içkisidir. Menta derler. Ben burada hiç görmedim onu. (Kadınlar içiyor muydu orda?) Aa, içer. (Annen içiyor muydu mesela?) Bizim karılar içmez, Rum karılar içer. Bizim karılar aslaa! Biz orda Müslümanlığımızı, Türklüğümüzü muhafaza ettik oğlum. Onu da muhafaza ettik yani. Herkes dinince, inancına göre. İki cami vardı.

Ne yemek pişirirdi annen? Türk yemekleri belli. Milli yemeklerimiz bulgur, fasülye. Ama onlardan da aldığımız çeşitler vardı. Etli, zebze vs. iki kültürün birleşmesiyle. Zeytinyağı biraz kıttı, susam yağı, şırlan yağı. Zeytinyağı ilaç yerine geçerdi. Bizim ilacımızdı. Buraya geldik zeytinyağı bol. Yerde yerdik. Onların sofralarını da gördüm. Özel günlerde yapılıyor mu? Orda biz bolluk içindeydik biz aynı zamanda. Ucuzluktu. Bolluk içindeydik. Babam kartal cinsiydi. Karışma pişir. Kendimiz reçel. Konserve yoktu o zaman. Benim gelin şimdi yapıyor.

İlaç yaparmıydınız? Yapardık. Merhem yapardı babam. Sakız merhemi yapadı. Çıban çıktı. Balmumu, ak sakız, şeker, sabun rendesi. Tatlı merhem derdi o.koyunun iç yağından merhem.

Baban avcıydı. Benim de kırk sene avcılığım var. Kışın ördek boldu burada. Şimdi yasak edildi. Yazın tavşan avı. Taa karacabeyden köpek getirirdim. Annem bile hatırlar.

Babam ayrı yerdi. Çok etçiydi, leşçiydi. Bıktırırdı yani. Askere kadar kuş etinden başka bi şey yemiyordum. Her gün et.

Annenle babanla ilişkin. Babama karşı çok ciddiydim. Anneme karşı her şeyi açardım. Babam çok severdi belli etmezdim. Anı. 12-13 yaşlarında. Sökeden 18 liraya browning almış. Biz de birkaç arkadaş denize gittik. Nerde ibram? Yok. Babam beni de son zamanda bir tek çocuğuydum. Erkek çocuğuyum. Deniz kıyısında izlerimizi buluyor. Bizim zamanında babalarımız kız çocuğu gibi kollarlardı oğlanları. Zamanın icapları mı bilmiyorum. Erkek çocuklarına tecavüz

vardı o zamanlar. Ordan da o göreneklerin sahipleri olarak gelmişler. Bana hudut çizerdi, şurdan şuraya gitmeyeceksin. O gün bir defa dövdü hayatta beni babam. Ben geldim ev kilitli. Ağabeymlere gittim. Abim de duymuş. Benim yanında üseyini dövdü kırbaçla. Sen de birazdan göreceksin. Babam geldi, aldı beni. Merdivenin arasına soktu ayaklarımı, kırbaçlan elli defa vurdu. Disiplin ve sınır. Hiç bi şeyden mahrum etmezdi. Bana tabanca almış. Sonra beni alıştırdı. Al bakalım tabancayı. Şu kara horozu. Tak. Keser yeriz. 12-13 yaşındayken.
Tecavüz hikayesi. Bizim köyümüzde öyle bir olay olmadı. Sökede Çerkezler, Giritler vardı. Kulampara derlerdi. Kuşadası çok yaygındı. Geneleve gittiklerinde kadınlar gitmezdi bunların yanına. Kız çocuğundan daha fazla kollardı babam bizi.

Ev: enstrüman yoktu. Gramafon vardı. Meyilli değildim. Babam eski şarkılar dinlerdi. O bilirdi bazen söylerdi. Rumca şarkı söylüyor.

Kitap var mıydı evde? Babam ekseriyetle din kitapları vardı. 50 yaşından sonra içkiyi bıraktı tövbe etti. Bugünkü hocalara taş çıkartır. Babsı evde kuran okuyordu. Her Cuma akşamı. Hatim indirirdi. İlkokul açıldı burada. Abdülmüttalip bey koçarlının dede köyündendi. Hem hafız hem öğretmendi. Atatürk dinsizdi diyorlar. Allah belalarını versin. Medeni aleme doğru koşuyor, milleti sevk ediyor. 31lerden bahsediyorum. O günlerde din dersimiz vardı. Bilmeyenlere öğretmen öğretiyordu. Kiliseyi camiye çevirmiştik. Bir ramazan ben orda ezan okudum. Bunu kimse şikayet etmiyor muydu? Yazmış reforma türk milletinin dini islamdır, dili Türkçedir. Türkçe ezan ben de okudum. 50ye kadar okundu. Ezanın Türkçesini anlatıyor.
Bizim okula gittiğimiz zamanlar tatil Cuma günüydü. Perşembe öğleden sonra tatil olurdu. 36-37lere kadar devam etti. Avrupaya uyum sağlamak üzere. Ben onun aleyhimdeyim biraz. Biz çok eskiden islamiyeti kabul ettik.
1944te izmire gittim. Rahmetli ağabeymin oğlu evlenecek hazırlık yapıyorlar. Abim 150 lira verdi, 10 tane Reşat altını alacaksın yalnız aldanma. Abi ben anlamam. Soracaksın dedi. Halamın kocasında seydiköyde kalıyorum. Yarın izmire inecem hem işim var hem altın alıcam. Sen anlamasın, kolay beraber gideriz. Kemeraltı sırf Yahudi. Bi sarrafa gittik. Enişte tanıyor. Nasılsın mois dedi. Temiz 10 tane altın vereceksin. Bizde sahte yok dedi. Sahte değil temiz istiyorum dedi. İki altın istedi. Birinin kıyısına vurdu. Oğlum katksız saf altın çınnn sesi uzar. Karışım varsa çın yapar sesi kseilir. Neden şüpheleniyorsun sen benden. Yahudi değil misin?

Şakalaşıyor. Ne var yahudiysem. En çok peygamber bizden çıkıyor. Ben 25 yaşındayım. Ben çok zekiymişim. Dedim mois efendi neden sizden çok peygamber çıkıyor. Hepsi sizden. Dedi biz Allahın sevgili kullarıyız. İnanmadınız da ondan dedim. Yahudi cevap veremedi. Onla övünüyo. Neden? Bir nedenini ara. Türk kavmi de eski. Hatta sizin Yahudiler nerden gelme? Sami Türklerisiniz be siz dedim. Türk milleti en eskidir. Doğuştan inanıyor zaten. Ondan gerek görmemiş göndermeye. İslam tarihi budur.

Yarım yamalak da olsa bi şeyler öğrenmek isterim. Hacca giden oldu mu? Dedm bir ay deniz yolculuğuyla hacıya gitmişler. Çınarbeyli Hacı Şaban derlermiş. Kıbrısta bir hafta kalmışlar. Annesi anlatırmış. Deveyle yolculuk yapıyor. Beş şart.kurana harfiyen inanırım. İnsan yukardan bir delik aşağıdan bir delik görüyorum şu toplumun %90'nını. Neden ekonomik durum bozuk. Akıl fikir vermiş bunu kullanacaksın. Ben ne cahiller tanıyorum, insan. Ben öyle insanlara aşığım. Yatır türbe var mıydı? Yatıra da inancım var. Babamdan da dinlerdim. Kendini belli eden mezarlar var. Söke'de bir zahire pazarında yer. Mezar taşlarını söküyorlar, taşlar gene gelmiş. Burada bir yatır var. Babası Arnavutluk cihetinde askerken çoban türbesi. Oranın halkından dinlemiş. Çoban hiç okumamış. İbadet etmek istiyor. Bir pir peydah oluyor. Ne istiyorsun? Ekmek torbası var. Ne var torbanda. Çakım, çakmağım bi dilim ekmeğin. Bunları söyle yat kalk senin duan kabul edilir. 120 senelik hikaye. Ben inanıyom bunlara.
İmam nikahı. Yapılır. Yaptırdım. Bizde adettir. Dine karşı bir söz vermektir o.

Görüşme 2 Kaset 2:
85 yaşındayım, biraz eskiye aitim. Bugünkü yeniliğe de çok iyi heveslenen, benimseyen bir insanım. Benim yaradılışım bu.
Faiz konusu. Bundan önceki hoca bana altı ay dargın durdu. Peygambere o güne göre emir gelmiş. Bankalar. Faiz konusu. Allah her şeyi affeder ben affetmem. İslamiyet budur, insan insan insan. Şoför. Komünist büyümüş. Mandıra ustası babası. Çocuk elektrik ustası. Dayı ilk geldim dedi, sabahleyin denizlinin köylerine gidiyoz süt almaya çok erken. Komünistler bambaşka insanlarmış, höle höle boynuzları varmış. Kulak kabarttım. Eve girdin yabancı ayakkabı gördün mü geri dönüyosun, içerde başak erkek var. Söze girdim diyor. Dayı demiş kaç yaşındasın sen be. Karın ölse?

18inde kız alırım. Orda alamazsın kanun var. Neden? Senden doğacak zilliyet ihtiyar doğar. Güzel mi ozan? Çok güzel. Peygamberin karıları.

Siyasetten devam edelim. Babasının görüşü. Babası pek sisayesete vermezdi. Babası sosyalist ruhluydu. Sosyalizm yardımlaşmayı emreder. Komünizm sosyalizmin yolundan geçer diyorlar. Türkiye'nin idari sistemi nedir? Kimse bunu benim karşımda inkar edemez faşizmdir. Dünyada iki sistem vardır ben onu bilirim. Bunlar da kardeştir. Biri Komünizm biri Faşizm. (ara) Şimdi, dünyada çelişki içinde birbirine hem zıt hem yakın olan iki sistem. Biri Komünizm, biri faşizm. Komünizmde devlet patron halk köledir. Çünkü mülkiyet hakkın yok, her şey devletin. Sana iş veriyor, yemeğine göre de para veriyor, geçimini sağlıyorsun. Faşizmde, zenginlerlen, zengin zümreylen devlet bir aradadır, biri birinin himayecisidir ve fakir orta yerde kalır. Sahibi yoktur. Fakir hep fakirdir. Hiç bi yerden bekleyemez bi şey. Sistem… Komün demek toplum demek, toplu çalışma demek. Koop, o da öyle. Kooperatifçilik mesela. Şimdi bizim Türkiye'mizin durumu, bana sorarsan kendi bildiklerime göre, düşüncelerime göre de faşizmdir. Resmen diil de, gizli faşizmdir.

Okulum yok ama kültürüm yok diyemem.

Babam da yardımlaşmayı. Şimdi Kuran-ı Kerim de sosyalisttir. Bunu bilen bilir. Yardımlaşmayı emrder. Yav zekat sana icap etmiş, şart koşmuş bunu. Neden bu zekat? Kime veriliyor bu zekat? Fakir fukaraya veriliyor. Sosyalizm değil mi bu? Ta kendisi! Yardımlaşma… ben hem dini inancım itibariyle sosyalizme inanan bir insanın hem de sistem bakımından sosyalizm! Büyüklerimiz bunu sakız gibi çiğnediler komünizmin yolu sosyalizmden geçer. Şimdi Avrupa'da hep sosyalist. Sosyalizmi resmen kabul etmiş durumdalar. Biz ona hor bakıyoruz. Benimsemeliyiz. Gene gidiyoruz faşizmi destekliyoruz. Cahil milletiz. Bir sürü yalan söylüyoruz. Demirel aziz vatandaşlarım işi olmayana iş aşı olmayana aş vereceğim. Bu aptal milletlen 15 kere de gelirsin. Türkiye çok zengin. Geçenlerdeki başbakanın düğünü. Bunlar masraf. Takati yeter mi yetmez. Bal gibi faşist.

Babam devamlı halk partisine oy verirdi. Ben demokrat partiye de oy verdim. Kirkor'un hikayesi. Ben biraz da Kirkor'a benzerim. Kirkor kim bilir misin? Bir Ermeni genci. Onların inancı Hristiyan'dır. İncile taparlar. Tutmuş Kirkor almış bir Tevrat. Yaşlı bir anacığı var. Oğlum Kirkor demiş nedir o? Demiş: Bu da Allah'ın hak kitabı anne demiş yahu, Tevrat. Amman demiş İsa duymasın. İsa'yı küstürürsün oğlum! Canım bu da diyor hak kitap. Bizimkisi de yazıyor Tevrat'ı. Bahsediyor ya!

Olmaz diyor oğlum! Bizim kitabımız İncildir. Derken Kirkor bu kitabı tam öğrenmeden ölüyo. Ölmüş. Anası ağlar, ağlar, ağlar. Benim gibi yaşlı bir Türk komşusu… Bir sene geçmiş ağlar. Bacı demiş ne ağlarsın? Onu demiş Allah sevdi aldı. Ah demiş komşum ben ona ağlamıyorum, Kirkoruma. Ee? Orda çektiği azaba ağlıyorum. Neden? Ah demiş, Kirkor demiş, sağlığında büyük kabahat işledi. N'aptı yahu? Bizim demiş kitabımız İncil. Gitti demiş bir Tevrat aldı. Musa'nın kitabını aldı. Onlan demiş tam bir işey kuramadan öldü. Muhammedle demiş zaten aramız açık. İsa'yı da küstürdü, şimdi orda ne yapar? Ben ona ağlarım.

46'da demokrat parti kuruldu. İlericiyim. 47'de gittim üye oldum. Ben değil bütün Türkiye. Sökeye gittim üye oldum. Yaz beni de baki bey partiye. Oyumuzu verdik. Sevinçliyiz. Dört sene dayandı. Bolluk yaratıldı. Motor aldım 51de Marshall yardımınlan beş sene ödemeli güzel. Beş yıl sonra bir karaborsa patladı. Bi yokluk memlekette. Eyvah benim istediğim gibi değilmiş bu. Bi erken seçim aldılar. 57de döndüm halk partisine. Orda benim de günahım var Kirkor gibi.

Baskı gördün mü? demokrat partiliyim. Ahmet diye birisini muhtar vardı. Demokrat parti başkanı oldu. Benim kredimi yükseltin. Karadon sen sola kaçıyorsun. Yav ben demokrat partiliyim. Ondan sonra nefret duydum. Demek bunlar zümre partisi. Allah belanızı versin. Sola kaydığını kim biliyorum. Köy odası var orda. Aynı fikirde insanlar, hileci, namussuz. Aralarına gitmiyorum. Hiç diyor aramıza gelmiyorsun. 55te zelzele oldu hala demokrat partiliyim. En ağır zaiyatı da ben gördüm. Ahmet çadır vermiyor.

Siyasette çok acılarım var. Olmaz böyle demokrasi. Cahil millet demokrasiden ne anlar. Almanya'dan arkadaşı İshak Usta. Ordaki güzelliği burada da isteyeceksiniz. Bela bunlar. Biz terbiyesiz görgüsüz insanlarız oğlum. Demokrasiden çok uzaktayız.

Komşu kadına sarkıntılık hikayesi. Islah edilmesi.

Alman çocuğun para çalma hikayesi:

Şoför Ali Rıza her sene almanyaya gider. Abi çok soğuk Almanya. Arkadaşın evinde kaldım. Kuş cama yapışıyor, düşüyor. Yem geliyor. Belediye herkese dağıttı.

Darbeler. Kendi başında olay geçmedi. Çünkü ben deliğe taş atmadım. Ben de kendimi korumasını bildim. İki üç ay kadar dışarı çıkmadım. Çünkü kaveye geliyor, sen sen sen, kaderin artık, dolduruyor candarma. Sabahlen gelenler odunlan dövülüyor. Tabancan var mı? Yok. Kimde var? Bilmiyom. Yatır bakalım. Kimseye bir zararım olmamış. Bizim köyde jurnalci yoktu. Ben sana iftira edersem yazıkç ya

da öğrenilir hasım kazanırım. O şekilde geçiştiririm. Burada devamlı halk partisi kazanır. Demokrat partinin çöküşünden sonra. Bu defa AKP kazandı. Muhtar seçimden bir ay önce resmen AKPye girdi. Herkesin haberi var. Akköy'ün çok ihtiyacı var. Yeniköy Akköy'ü mücavir alanına almak istiyor. Onların himayesine gireyim dedim. Yeniköy burayı mahalle yapmak istiyor. Taşburun meselesi.

SAMPLE 3:

Informant: Ahmet Arık

Place of the Interview: Ruhi and Şenol Olgun's house / Akköy

Date of Interview: 06/04/2006

Birth Date: 1929

Birth Place: Yörükler/ Ortaköy/ Hasköy/ Bulgaristan (Gornuyörütsi/ Ivaylovgrad/ Haskovo/ Bulgaria)

Date of Migration: 1939

AA: Biz şimdi memleketten, Bulgaristan'dan yani.. Şimdi bütün köylerin ismini değiştirdiler. Mesela vilayeti, kazayı yani Ivaylovgrad yapmışlar.

OS: Eskiden neydi?

AA: Valla eskidekini hatırlamıyorum pek anladın mı? Sonra köyün ismini değiştirmişler. Onu Gornuyörütsi, şimdi başka bi isim takmışlar ona.

OS: Sizin köyünüze? Neydi gerçek ismi?

AA: Haa bizim köyümüze. Gornuyörütsi esas eski ismi.

OS: Kaç yılında geldiniz siz?

AA: 39'da. 39'da Edirne'ye geldik.

RO: Bizimkiler ordan 26'da geldi.

AA: Bunlar 26'da geldi. Biz sonradan geldik. Biz, sana şöyle izah edeyim gece kaçak olarak geldik ordan buraya. Bütün malımızı, mülkümüzü orda bıraktık. Canımızı kurtarmak için buraya geldik. Biz şimdi doğuda nasıl PKK sorunu var, aynı Yunanlan Bulgaristan'ın arasında hudut üzerindeydik. Bi tarafı Yunanistan bi tarafı Bulgaristan. Orda rahatsız oluyoduk. Buraya mecbur kaldık kaçmağa, Türkiye'ye

OS: Nasıl kaçtınız anlatsana. Ne yaptınız?

RO: Trenle mi? Otobos yok.

AA: Yook. Gece. Gece yayan yürümek şartıyla beş gecede Edirne'ye çıktık.

RO: Gündüz saklı kalıyo bunlar.

AA: Gündüzleri orman içersinde saklı kalıyoruz. Beş gecede Türk toprağına bastık. Sabah namazından sonra gün doğmak üzereykene Edirne topraklarına bastık.

OS: N'oldu peki? O anı anlatsana.

AA: Edirne topraklarına bastığımız zamanlar iki tane kadın yüklenmişler anladın mı keletiri, gidiyolar anladın mı tütün kırmağa. Tütün kırmağa giderkene... Adam, bizi getiren adam Türkiye'ye. Kendisi Malatyalı'ydı.

OS: Bulgaristan'dan getiren adam?

AA: Bulgaristan'dan getiren adam ama o da bizim gibi nası olmuş Bulgaristan'da kalmış anladın mı. Bizi ücretlen Türk toprağına getiriyo. Yolları biliyor, kuralları biliyor. Canını kurtarmak için, ahbap... Sen nası gelmişin bunlara misafir kalmışın aynı şekilde. O da bizi işte bak o kadınların geçtiği yerde orası Türk toprağı, burası Yunan toprağı. Oraya adımınızı attığınız an korkmayın sizi kimse ne asker elleyebilir ne kimse. Arkanıza bakmadan devam edin. Kendisi misir tarlanın içinde kaldı. O günü, gündüzleri orda kaldı Yunan toprağı olduğu için...

RO: Gece kaçtı.

AA: Hee, o gece ordan gün kavuşmadan gersi geriye. O da yayan gidecek geriye. Bulgar toprağına geçtiği an zaten bi daha serbest. Biz orda Edirne'de iki sene kaldık, şey orda iki ay kaldık. Devlet bıraktı bizi orda. Ordan...

OS: Ne yaptınız iki ay orda?

AA: Orda misafirhanede kaldık.

OS: Devlet sizi bir yere yerleştirdi yani?

AA: Yok, yerleştirme yok. Orda bir toplum yeri vardır devletin. Geliyor mesela savcısı, hakimi, her neyse geliyor soruyor diyor ki "siz ne zorunuz vardı da geldiniz buraya? Neden geldiniz?"

RO: Tabi cazusluk.

AA: Ne casusluk mudur nedir? Efendim, babamlar da diyor ki "biz canımızı kurtarmağa geldik. Memlekette çoluk çocuğu anladın mı orada rezil etmemek için Türk toprağına attık. Çalışsınlar yesinler!" Bu sebeple. Orda iki ay kaldık. İki ay kaldıktan sonra bizi Kayseri'ye götürdü. Devlet bu sefer iskan olarak orda... Üç haneyi mesela veriyor Kayseri'ye, 20 haneyi veriyor başka yere. Böyle taksim ediyor yani Türkiye'nin her bi yerlerine. Orda kalıyosun. Oradan serbest bırakıyo artık. Sana gösteriyo, yani geliyo sana aynı misafir gibi böyle burayı gösteriyolar. Orda kalıyosun bi sene iki sene, neye kalabilirsen. Sana tarla da gösteriyo, ev de

gösterecek ama gelir yok. O zamanın zamanları imkan yok çalışmak için. Nasıl çalışacaksın? Fakirlik bi taraftan. Biz gelmişiz, gelmişiz zaten böyle sipsivri. Anladın mı? Yani bi yaşam sürdürüyosun.

OS: Siz kaçak geldiğiniz için yanınıza bi şey alamadınız.

AA: Nerde? Maalesef! Biz kaçak geldiğimiz için anca canımızı getirebildik. Başka üzerinde ne varsa. Hatta ayakkabı bile... Nası tarif edeyim sana?

ŞO: Çarık mı?

AA: Çarık değil. Konya, ne diyolar onlara. Yani Konya ayakkabısı anladın mı? Lastik ayakkabısı yani daha doğrusu.

RO: Mes benzeri işte.

AA: Haa! Yani yürüdüğün zaman takırtı yapmasın yolda gelirkene. Kaçak ya.

OS: Ayakkabılarınızı bıraktınız.

AA: Ayakkabıyı da bıraktık, malımızı da bıraktık, mülkümüzü de bıraktık. Ben biraz anlatamadım. Daha çok ileri gittim ben. Yani geriye dönsem olur mu?

OS: Olur, olur. Sen nasıl istersen.

AA: Şimdi mevsim... (düşünüyor) Idırlez'den yani, Türkçesi. Idırlez'den 50 gün sona eskisi gibi yani. Idırlez deriz, 6 Mayıs'ta Idırlez. (Ruhi Olgun hesaplıyor: Haziran sonu) Ve orda tütünlerimiz ekilmiştir. Tütünler çapada. Buğdaylar biçmek üzere. Hatta komşunun biri geldi dedi ki, "sizin" dedi "çavdarınız olmuştur, biçseniz bile olur."

RO: Siz tozmağa bakıyonuz ha?

AA: Ama biz malımızı, mülkümüzü bırakıyoruz. Artık sade bir can. Koyunlar, keçiler, köpek var, sığır var. Yalınız, şunu söyleyim sana, evlerden çıkarkene akşam namazı, yani akşam karanlığında herkes evlerine nası bi çekiliyo yimek yimeğe. Herkes evine girdiği zaman, zaten sen bir hafta on beş günden beri bi hazırlık yapıyosun. Evde kıymetli eşyanı bırakmıyosun. Aynı böyle ev döşeli ama senin ne kıymetli var? Televizyonunu da bırakıyosun misal, efendim şeyini de bırakıyosun kazanını, çanağını, çömleğini. Atıyosun dışarıya konu komşu bulsun. Misirlar boy gibi oraya tarlana atıyosun. Efendim, giderkene sağa sola yerleştiriyosun. Ondan sonra bizi en fazla etkileyen, evlerden çıkarkene bir malcı adamın neyi olur? Evde köpekleri olur değil mi?

RO: Köpekler takıldı arkanıza ha?

AA: Köpekler takılmadı arkamıza. Köpekler ağladı.

ŞO: Ayy, tabi. Ağlamaz mı?

AA: Ve biz geldikten sonra buraya bize haber geldi. Yani buraya desem, oraya desem ne olur?

RO: Türkiye'ye geldikten sonra.

AA: "Türkiye'ye geldikten sonra sizin kaçtığınız bizi etkilemedi. Hayvanların ağlayışı bizi perişan etti." Hayvanlar hisli, ağlamışlar. Koyunlar da, komşular diyor... Mesela birimiz karakolun dibinde evi, birimizin burda, birimizin alt mahallede, aynı bu şekilde.

RO: Peki siz tek aile mi, bi kaç aile mi kaçtınız?

AA: Üç aile.

RO: Haa! Onlar nerde? Kimdi onlar?

AA: Birisi Emin Bor, birisi Hasan Arar. Üç hane kaçtık.

OS: Emin Bor Ahmet Bor'un babası mı?

AA: Ha, ha! Ahmet Bor'un babası. O daha çok bilir benden.

OS: Sizin aile kaç kişiydi, sizin kendi aileniz?

AA: Bizim aile beş, beş. Annem, babam, üç kardeş. En büyük kardeş. 1927 doğumlu. Nüfusta yanlış. Edirne'ye geldikleri zaman bir ekmek fazla versinler diye yaşını büyütmüşler 1929 aslında.

Ortaköy kazanın ismi. Köyün ismi Gornuyörütsi, Yörükler diyor. Köy malcı. Akköy kadar yok, Batmaz gibi bir köy aşağı yukarı. Hayat güzel o zamanın yaşamlarına göre. Mal var maşakat var. Sıkıntı da var bi taraftan. 'Irsızlık oluyo. Mallarını çalmışlar. Gece harman dövüyoruz adam gözetiyor. (Yunanlı olduğunu nasıl biliyosun?) Başka kim alacak. İçerden aldıysa bilemeyiz. Köy sade Pomak vardı. Pomakça konuşuluyodu. Babamlar biliyo Türkçe. Ben bilmiyodum burda öğrendim. Bulgar gelip gidiyo serbest. Bulgarlarla Pomaklar arasında nasıl ilişki var. Camiye engel oluyo. Camiye gitmeyin diyo. Bulgarlar geliyo. Bulgarcayı şey yapın diyor. Kötü olay hatırlamıyorum, olmadı. Orda bi sene gittim, çat pat. Bulgarca eğitim görmüş. E, Bulgarca zaten lisanın senin. Aynı mı Pomakça Bulgarca? Aynı. Daskal derlerdi öğretmene. Öğretmen dışardan geliyo, gönderiyo. Bi gün daha kötü olcek diyo herkes Türkiye'ye kaçmak istiyor, kaçıyor da. Onların aileden amıcamlar, çocukları orda kaldı. Hala ordalar. Şimdi serbest. Telefonla konuşuyorlar. Ahmet Bor'un tarafından gelen olmuş. Orda bi değişiklik yok. Buralarda zamanla herşey değişiyor. Onlar rahat yaşamış. Bizden sonra komunizm geldi oraya. Komunist Parti çok sıkmış onları. O zamanlar çok sıkıntı çekmişler. Ondan sonra gittikten sonra çok

rahat etmişler ama kıymeti yok. Kayseri'de 3 seneye yakın kalmışlar. Orda reşberlik yapmışlar. (B yüzü)

RO: Yunanlılar orda tabi hedef diyo Türkler, ondan sonra bi de İslamlaşmış Pomakları öldürüyolarmış orda. Hedef Türkler ve İslamlaşmış Pomaklar.

AA: Tarih marih okumadığımız için bilgimiz yok.

ŞO: Ahmet Aga rahmetli kayınvalidem diyo onlar öküz arabasıyla gelmişler. Altınları koymuş.

AA: Onlar serbest. Onlar malınlan mülkünlen ne taşıyabilirse. Kapılar kapanınca kalmış bizimkiler. Bütün Türkler gitcek olan serbest. Sen malına mülküne kıyamıyosun kalıyosun orda. Tak kapı kapanıyo kalıyosun. Ondan sonra etraf başlıyor bozgunluk. Düşünüyosun nasıl gitcem diye.

Adam arabasını çekmiş git serbest. Üç ayda mı gitcen beş ayda mı gitcen. Nereye istersen git, Türkiye'nin her tarafı boş.

OS: Akköy'e geldiğinizde Akköy nahiyeydi di mi? Siz ne yaptınız burda?

AA: Hep kendimiz üretiyoz. Geliyom zeytin toplamağa veriyosun bana bi kilo, iki kilo yağ. Gidiyosun buğday biçmeye al hakkını. Zeytin çırpılacağı zaman gel yap hem ihtiyacını verem.

OS: Dışardan aldığınız bir şey var mıydı?

AA: Bakkal vardı. Bakkal denmezdi eskiden dükkan denirdi.

OS: Doktor var mıydı?

AA: Hasta olduğunda Söke'ye gideceksin. Menderes'ten kayıkla geçersin. Yol yok. Valla yolu devlet yaptı. Adnan Menderes. Deprem oldu. yardım geldi. keresteler geldi, 1000 lira da para.

OS: Akköy'ü nasıl görüyorsun. Nası değişti?

AA: Eskiden bir bolluk içersine girdi millet, şimdi biraz daraldı. Tarım bağkurundan emekli. Özal zamanında bir kanun çıktı.

OS: Akköy'ün genel siyaseti nedir?

AA: Ekseriyeti Halk Partisinde. Bi ara vermiştik Demokrat'a.

OS: Niye?

AA: Valla ben pek siyaset mücadelesi yapmadığım için pek o işlere girmiyorum.

OS: Anlaşmazlık oluyo muydu?

AA: Öyle gerginlik yok. Parti yüzünden köyde çekişme yok. Ne olursan ol. Karakol vardı. nahiye vardı.

Pomakça birkaç kelime konuşuyorlar.

RO: Bizde de bi gavurluk var galiba (gülüşüyorlar) Benim hanım bile konuşamıyor. Nasıl öğreteceksin çocuklara. Torunu Bulgaristan'da okumak istiyormuş. Ruhi amcanın abisi, Ahmet Bor, onun anası biraz Pomakça konuşuyor. Başka kalmamış Pomakça bilen.

Bizim köylüler giderdi oraya kurban kesmeğe Yunanistan'a. O zaman orda birleşiyolardı Bulgaristan'dan gidenlerle şeyler, Yunanistan'dan gelenler. Hısım akrabası orda buluşurdu. Serbest bırakılıyordu. Yunan toprağında. Yani oraya toplanıyolar, kurbanlar kesiyolar, bütün köyler gidiyo Türkler oraya. Mesela Ruhi dayın orda kalmış ben burda buluşuyoz anladın mı. Orda birleşiyoruz. Bir ara serbest ediyolar. Gidip gelmek serbest yani. Kurbanını kesiyosun, hısım akrabanı görüyosun, gene dönüp geliyorsun.

O.S.: Var mıydı sizin o tarafta akrabanız?

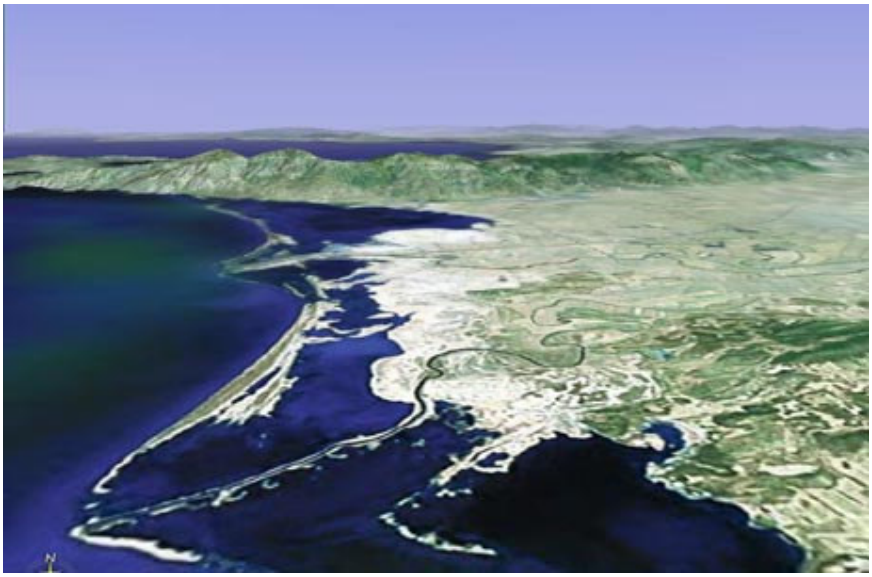
RO: Enişte m halamı Yörükler'den kaçırmış. Yeniköy, Yunanistan'dan geliyo. Halamı kaçırıyo gene götürüyo Yunanistan'a. Yunanistan'dan geliyo Bulgaristan'a, kız kaçırıp gene Yunanistan'a götürüyo.

RO: Tüfeğiniz var mıydı?

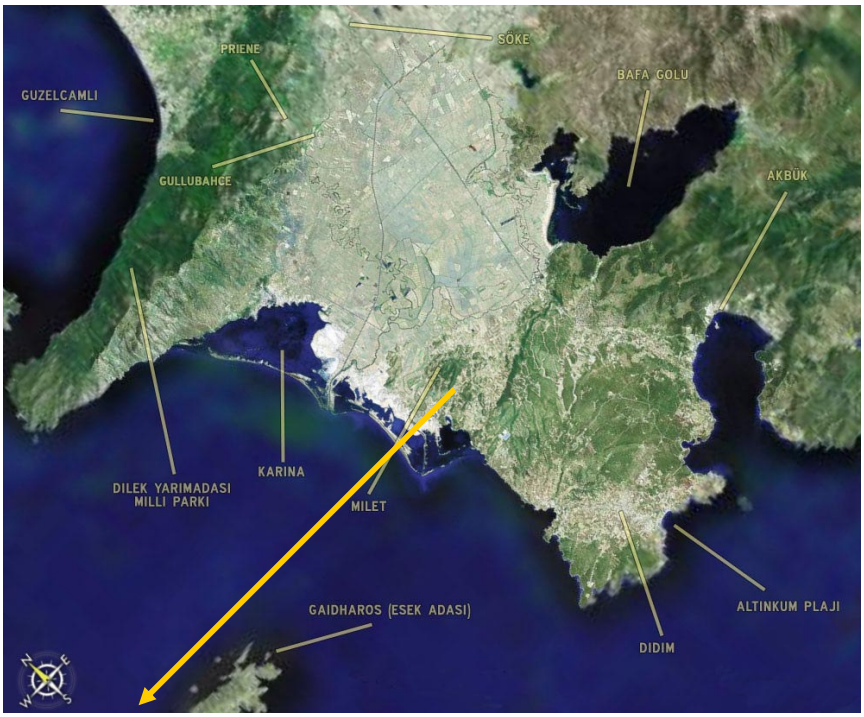
AA: Malcı adamda tüfek olmaz mı? Ama biz bi can geldik. Orda kalan hayvanları devlet aldı.

APPENDIX G

PHOTOGRAPHS AND MAPS



Map 1: *Büyük* Menderes Valley and its delta. On the background Samsun (Mycale) Mountains. (Source: http://www.didimli.com/didim/didim_harita.htm. August 2006)



Map 2: *Akköy* and the surrounding places in the estuary of Menderes River. (Source: http://www.didimli.com/didim/didim_harita.htm. August 2006)

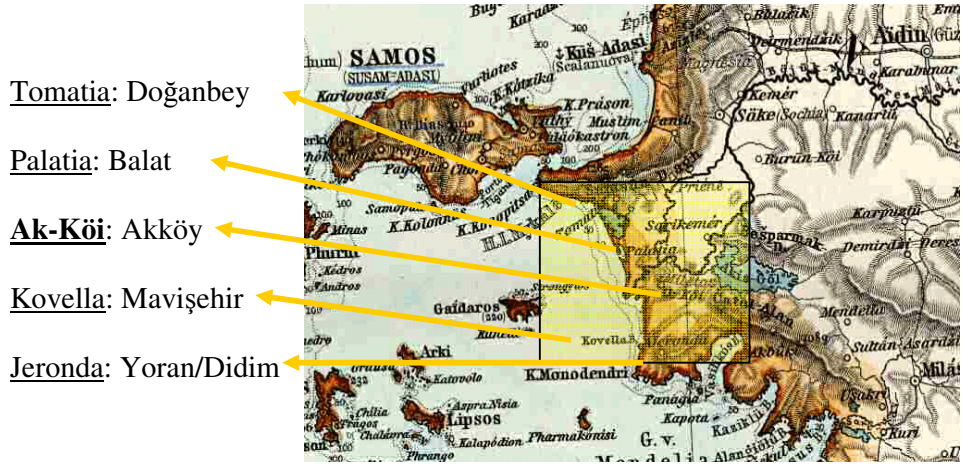
Map 3: Akköy a closer view. (Source: http://www.didimli.com/didim/didim_harita.htm. August 2006)

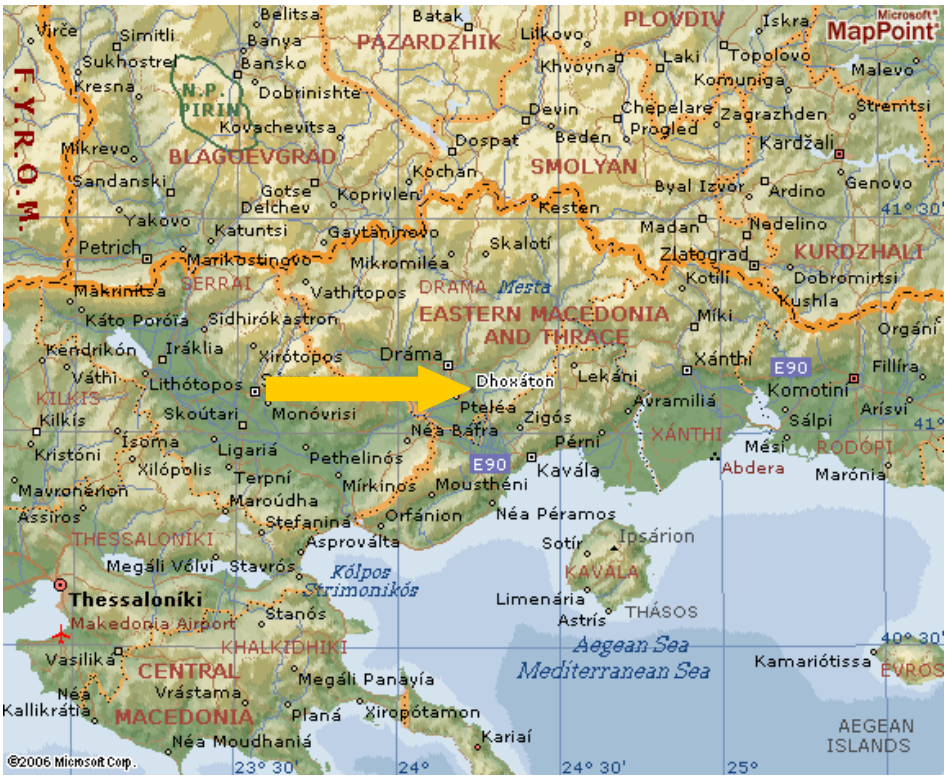
Map 4: Akköy within the wider Söke region (Source: http://encarta.msn.com August 2006)

Map 5: Balkan-Halbinsel: Übersicht. Türkei, Rumänien, Griechenland, Serbien, Montenegro, Bulgarien (Balkan Peninsula: Overview. Turkey, Rumania, Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria) Stielers Hand-Atlas, 1891, Plate No:50, Downloaded from http://www.maproom.org/maps/general/german/stieler/stieler.pl?m=0050 on March 2006.

Jeronda = Γέροντα (Geronda)/ Yoran/ Didim

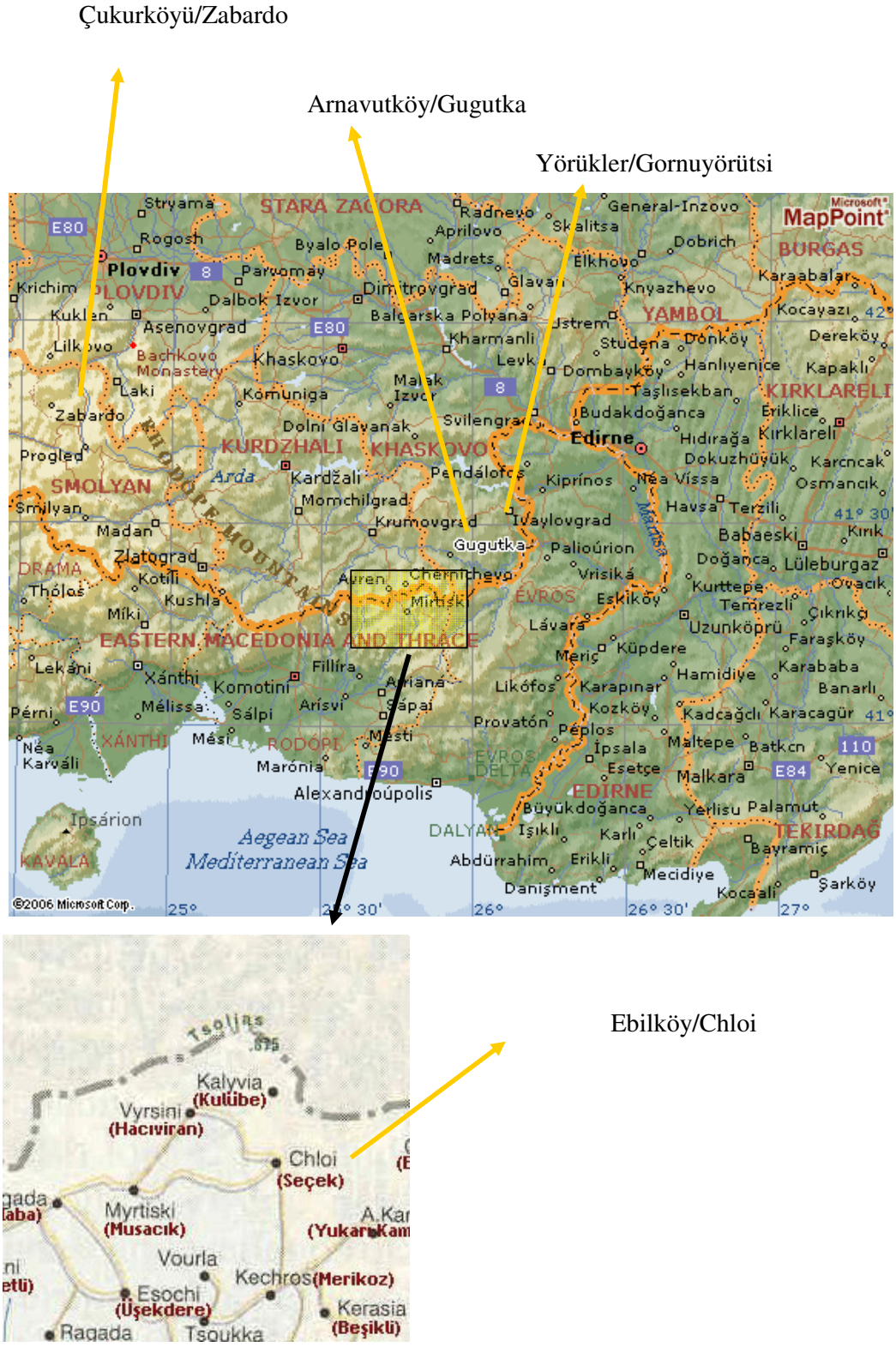
Map 6: Balkan-Halbinsel in 4 Blättern, Blatt 4 (Balkan Peninsula in 4 sheets, sheet 4) Stielers Hand-Atlas, 1891, Plate No:50, Downloaded from http://www.maproom.org/maps/general/german/stieler/stieler.pl?m=0054 on March 2006.





Map 7: The place of origin of the *mübadil*s in Akköy: Doksat (Doxato/Δοξάτο) – Drama/Greece (Source for map: http://encarta.msn.com August 2006)

Map 8: The places of origin of the Pomaks in Akköy. The Pomaks in Akköy used to live in Ebilköy/Chloi in Western Thrace just on the Greek and Bulgarian border. Due to the turmoil in the area caused by the Balkan Wars, they moved north to Bulgaria, to Çukurköyü/Zabardo village of Çepelli/Chepelare in Paşmaklı/Smolyan and Arnavutköy/Gugutka and Yörükler/Gornuyörütsi villages of Ortaköy/Ivaylovgrad in Hasköy/Haskovo. (Source for map: http://encarta.msn.com August 2006)



Map 9: The places of origin of the Bosniaks in Akköy: Bihaç/Bihać and Tuzla

Map 10: The places of origin of the *Maacır*s in Akköy in North East Bulgaria: Çufalar (Tıkach), Saltıklar (Sredkovets) and Dereköy (Struino) villages in the province of Şumnu (Sumen); Avdallar (Lovets) village in the province of Eski Cuma (Turgovishte) and finally the town of Pravadı (Provadiya) in the province of Varna. (Source for map: http://encarta.msn.com August 2006)

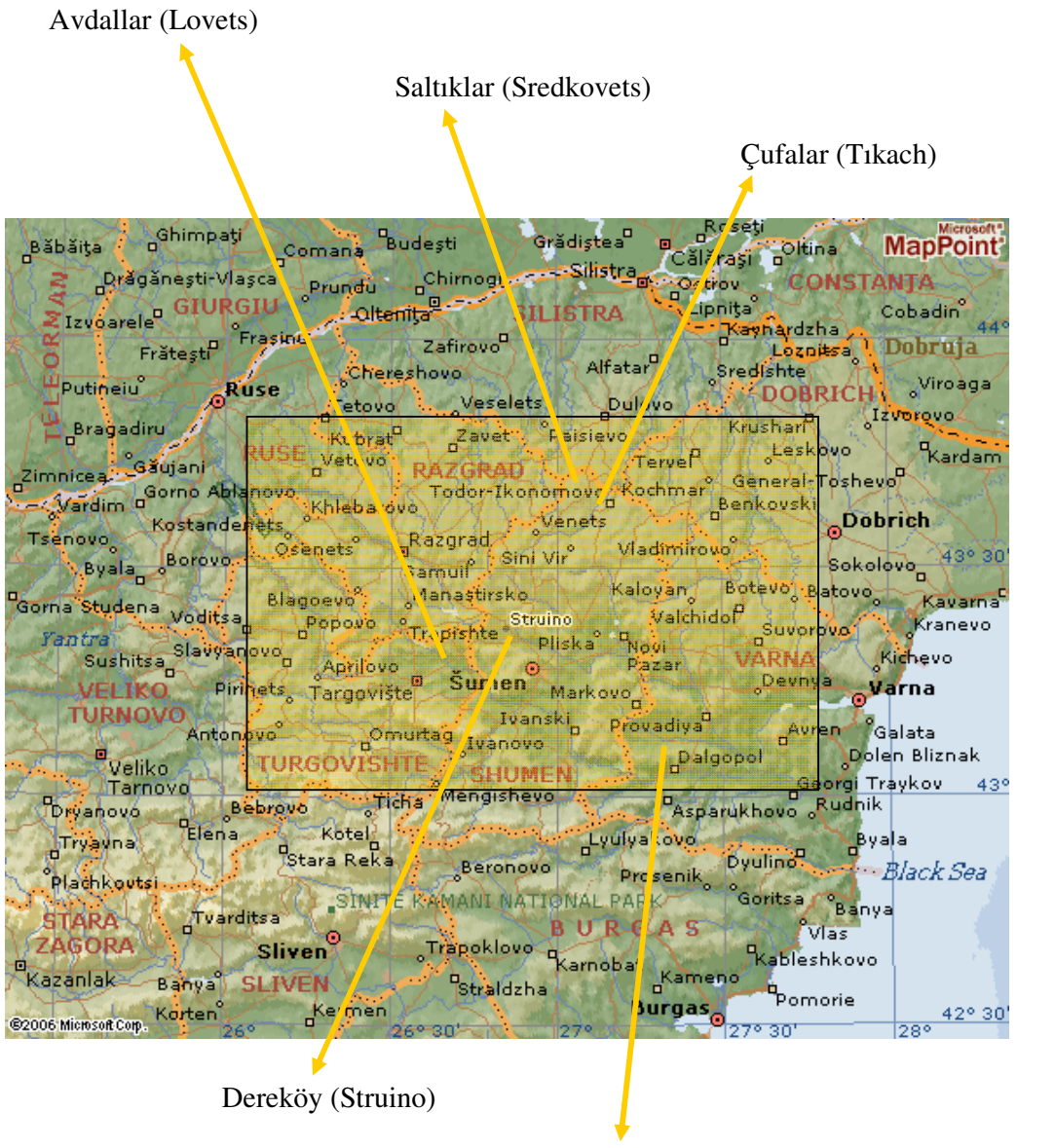


Photo 1: Early years of the Miletos excavation: Arbeiten in den Faustinathermen, 1904. Source: Web site of Miletos Excavation (Ausgrabungen in Milet) http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/milet/index2.htm. Downloaded on April 2006.

Photo 2: Early years of the Miletos excavation: Ausgrabung des Theaters, 1903. Source: Web site of Miletos Excavation (Ausgrabungen in Milet) http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/milet/index2.htm. Downloaded on April 2006.

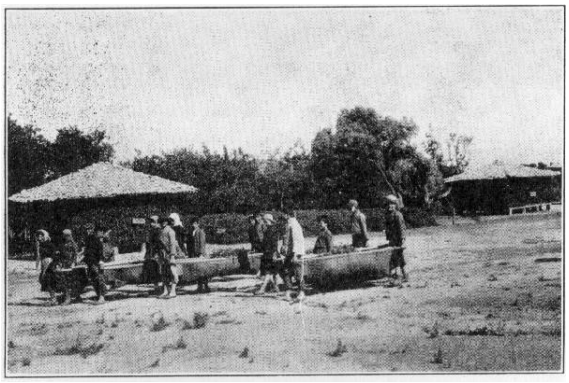
Photo 3: Miletos 20 years ago: Luftbild des Stadtzentrums, ca. 1985. Source: Web site of Miletos Excavation (Ausgrabungen in Milet) http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/milet/index2.htm. Downloaded on April 2006.

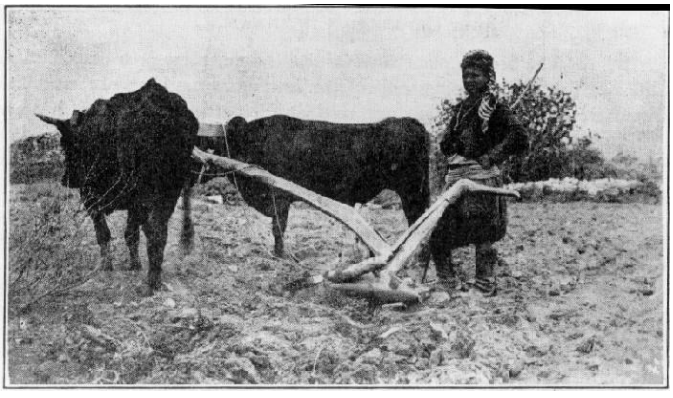
Photo 4: A worker in the Miletos excavation in the begining of 20th century. Source: Web site of Miletos Excavation (Ausgrabungen in Milet) http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/milet/index2.htm. Downloaded on April 2006.

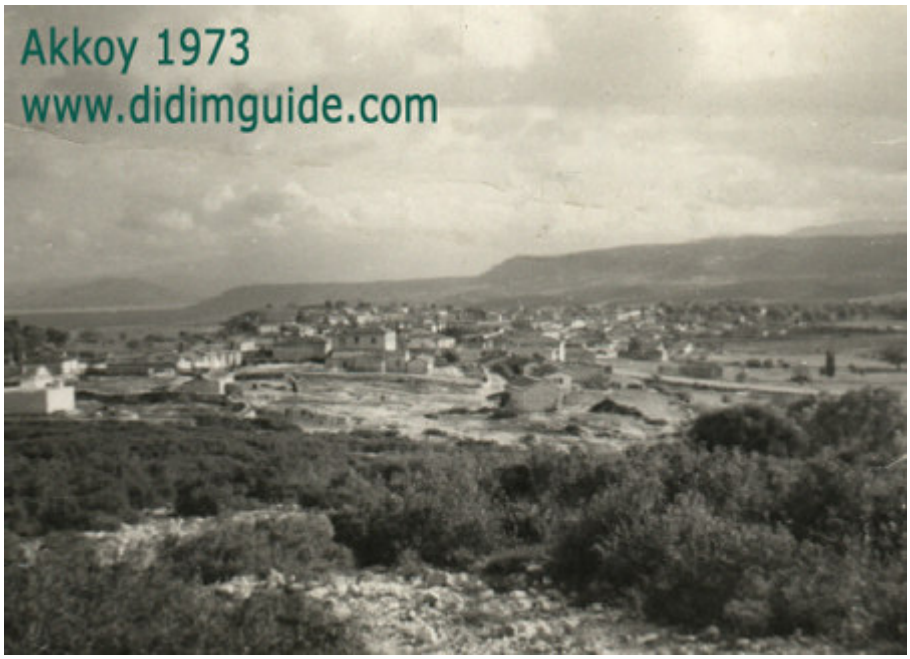
Photo 5: The Apollon Temple in Yoran/Didim. (August 2005)

Photos 6-7: The Apollon Temple prior to excavations. (The photos were taken from the pictures in the Oracle Pension owned by Ahmet Gönül and his son in August 2005)

Photos 8-12: Photos of Turkish farmers working in the liquorice industry. 1906. Source: Lloyd, John Uri, "Licorice," *The Eclectic Medical Journal*, Cincinnati, Ohio, December 1929. (edited by James Duvall, M. A. reprinted from The Eclectic Medical Journal, Kentucky: Big Bone University Press, 2002.)







Photos 13-14: General view of Akköy: The one above is dated 1973 (Source: http://www.didimguide.com/images/akkoy/akkoy1973.jpg Downloaded on June 2005). The one below was taken on August 2005.

Photo 15: View from Akköy towards Didim and the sea. (August 2005)

Photo 16: View from Akköy towards Miletos/Balat and the Menderes Delta. (August 2005)

Photo 17: Akköy village square: The road passing through the square links Didim to Milas and Söke. The coffe houses are the main elements of the square on both sides of the road. The building behind the truck is the Agriculture Credit Cooperation which used to be the People's Room in the early Republican era. (August 2005)

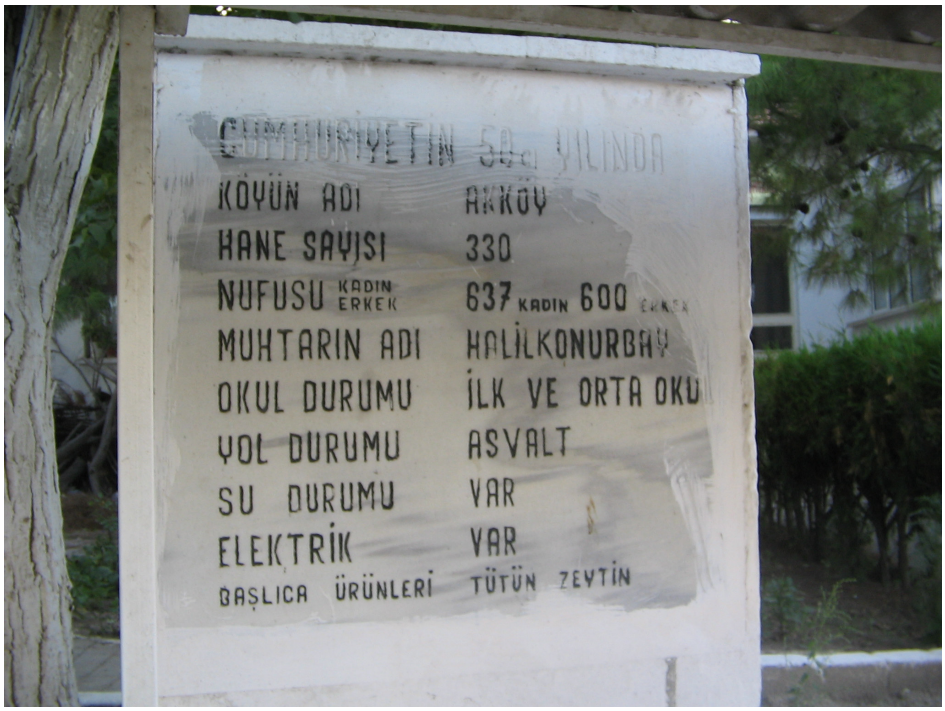


Photo 18: The monument that was erected for the 50th Anniversary of the Turkish Republic. The inscription shows the population**,** the name of the *muhtar* and the infrastructural situation of the village. (August 2005)


Photo 19-20: A view from the streets of Akköy. You can still see the remnants of paved streets with water canals in the middle built by the Rums of Akköy.

Photos 21-22: An old shop and an inscription above the door with the initials of a Rum (V.S.) and the date 1858.

Photos 23-24: Village Library. This building was used as a warehouse for clothes before 1922. The iron doors are original. The building is used today as the village library which was opened in 1999. It is the largest village library in Turkey.

Photos 25-26: Two unoccupied Rum houses. Most of the old Rum houses were double-storied. Altough they were not damaged during the 1955 Balat earthquake, *muhacir*s usually demolished the second floor. Today there are few double-storied old Rum houses in Akköy. Like the ones above, there are also many unoccupied Rum houses. There are two reasons: firstly, restoration is costly and there are lots of official procedures to get a permission for restoration since the area where the Rum houses are found is under protection. The second reason is that, the property rights of these houses are usually divided between lots of heirs.

Photo 27: İbrahim Karadon. A *Mübadil* from Doksat/Drama. He was born in 1919 in Doksat and migrated to Akköy in 1924. August 2005.

Photo 28: Saadet *Nene*. A *maacır* from Saltıklar (Sredkovets) village of Şumnu (Sumen) in northeast Bulgaria. She was born in 1923 and migrated to Akköy in 1936. August 2005.

Photo 29: Ahmet Bor. A *Pomak* from Arnavutköy (Gugutka) village of Ortaköy (Ivaylovgrad) in Hasköy (Haskovo). He was born in 1933 and migrated to Akköy in 1941. August 2005.

Photo 30: Hüseyin Bozdemir. A *Bosniak* from Bihaç (Bihać) in Bosnia. He was born in 1924 and migrated to Akköy in 1924. August 2005.

Photo 31: Salih Ayaz. A *maacır* from Dereköy (Strunio) village of Şumnu (Sumen) in northeast Bulgaria. He was born in 1923 and migrated to Akköy in 1936. August 2005.

Photo 32: Saliha (Söylemez) Sezgin. A *maacır* from Dereköy (Strunio) village of Şumnu (Sumen) in northeast Bulgaria. She was born in 1924 and migrated to Akköy in 1936. August 2005.

Photo 33: Nusret Baybora. A *mübadil* from Doksat (Doksato) of Drama in Greece. He was born in 1934 in Akköy. His family migrated to Akköy in 1924. August 2005.

Photo 34: Ahmet Gönül. A *mübadil* from Piravuşta (?) of Kavala in Greece. He was born in 1927 in Yoran (Didim). His family migrated to Yoran in 1924. August 2005.

Photo 35: İsa İspit. A *maacır* from Avdallar (Lovets) village of Eski Cuma (Tirgoviste) in northeastern Bulgaria. He was born in 1924 and migrated to Akköy in 1936. August 2005.

Photo 36: Ayşe (İnan) Devrim. A *maacır* from Çufalar (Tıkach) village of Şumnu (Sumen) in northeastern Bulgaria. She was born in 1933 and migrated to Akköy in 1950. August 2005.

Photo 37: Mehmet Ali Günel. A *mübadil* from İstanköy (Kos) island in Greece. He was born in 1928 in İstanköy and migrated to Akköy in 1929. April 2006.

Photo 38: Fethiye (Korkmaz) Karadayı: A *maacır* from the Pravadı (Provadiya) district of Varna in northeastern Bulgaria. She was born in 1929 in Parvadı and migrated to Akköy in 1935. August 2005.

Photos 39-40: Şenol Olgun. She is the daughter of a *mübadil* from Selanik (Thessaloniki). She was born in 1948 in the Satılar village of Koçarlı in Aydın. She married with a Pomak from Akköy, Ruhi Olgun, and came to Akköy in 1964. Ruhi Olgun is an Alevi and he was the only one who declared that among the Pomaks that I could talk to. The icon of the fourth caliph *Hz.* Ali and the picture of Atatürk are hung side by side on the wall of their house. The portrait in the middle is Ruhi Olgun's father.

Photos 41-42-43: İbrahim Karadon. The *muhacir*s in Akköy has been traditionally growing tobacco until recently. However, due to the development of tourism and unfavorable agricultural policies applied by succeeding governments there are only seven families who still grow tobacco in the whole village. İbrahim Karadon cannot work anymore but he grows tobacco in his son's garden for himslef. He slices the tobacco leaves, produces his own cigarettes at home and smokes heavily at the age of 87 together with his guests like me.