

Meropi Anastassiadou

# Istanbul 1914-1922

The Greeks of the City among Shortage,  
Hope and Collapse

Vienna University Press





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Maria A. Stassinopoulou,  
Angelika Hudler, Anna Ransmayr  
and Konstantinos Sampanis

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Meropi Anastassiadou

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The Greeks of the City  
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With a Response  
by Claudia Römer

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## Preface of the series editors

Readers of the Gunnar Hering Lectures series will have already noticed that we are now an editorial team. I would like to thank my colleagues Angelika Hudler, Anna Ransmayr and Konstantinos Sampanis who have entered this collaboration with enthusiasm, offering fresh ideas and securing a swift progress of the volumes.

It is with great pleasure that we introduce after the interruption of the series during the pandemic the fourth volume of the Gunnar Hering Lectures. We thank the author, Meropi Anastassiadou, for staying with us patiently and working and reworking her thorough and precise close reading of an imperial capital in the throes of the Great War and its aftermath and introducing parts of the underlying source materials for this book. We are also grateful to Claudia Römer who offered to include her commentary, originally presented in 2019 in response to the wonderful lecture that had been presented by Meropi Anastassiadou. During the long process of working on this manuscript we were supported by Stephen Cashmore and Lida Dodou in editing and proofreading. Once more we would like to express our appreciation to the Faculty of Historical and Cultural Studies of the University of Vienna and to Oliver Kätsch at Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht for their constant commitment to our series. A final and special thank you from the team is due to our colleague Konstantinos Sampanis, who saw the manuscript through to publication.

Maria A. Stassinopoulou, Angelika Hudler,  
Anna Ransmayr, Konstantinos Sampanis



## Preface

Focusing on the period 1914–1922, this essay seeks the answer to two general questions.

- How do, or how can, lower classes react in circumstances of acute and prolonged crisis?
- In a similar context, what precisely is the socio-economic – but also politico-ideological and cultural – gap between ordinary people and their elites?

Istanbul Greeks, and in particular the Greeks of Pera, will serve as an example through which some answers can be sketched out.

## Introduction

Because of its geographical dispersion across the entire Ottoman territory, the *millet-i rum*<sup>1</sup> is characterized by a diversity of local cultures. Some research has already been conducted on Ottoman regions inhabited by Greeks toward the end of the Empire.<sup>2</sup> However, drawing global observations is still a delicate exercise. An overview seems illusory even for Istanbul, a city of 900,000 inhabitants in 1914 – of whom 205,000 were

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<sup>1</sup> This is the term used in Ottoman Turkish for “Greek orthodox nation”. It refers to a confessional identity and applies to Christian orthodox populations observing the Byzantine rite all over the Empire.

<sup>2</sup> Among others, see in particular Anagnostopoulou 1998; Gondicas & Issawi, 1999; Clogg, 2004; Kechriotis, 2005; Smyrnelis, 2005; Ozil, 2013; Balta & Ölmez, 2014; Kolovos, 2018.

recorded as Orthodox Greeks.<sup>3</sup> In the period under study, these 205,000 people were scattered through more than a hundred parishes<sup>4</sup> – and as many archive collections!

The community of Pera (or Beyoğlu or Stavrodromi) is located in the heart of the city. It includes three parishes (Panagia, Agia-Triada and Agios Konstantinos) and more than 35,000 members!<sup>5</sup> It is the largest – among the Greek parishes and communities – throughout the Greater Istanbul area. In the same space, big fortunes, great wealth and ordinary people of different social strata coexist side by side.

For this research, the archives of the Pera community<sup>6</sup> as well as certain series from the Patriarchate's collections have constituted the main primary sources consulted.<sup>7</sup> This material reveals three main thematic axes, which form the three parts of this study.

First, this documentary framework allows us to revisit the question of loyalty of non-Muslims to the Ottoman State during wartime. What was the Greeks' attitude? Traitors or persecuted victims, as usually presented by national historiographies on both sides of the Aegean? The archives and a ground-level approach offer a quite nuanced picture.

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<sup>3</sup> Karpat, 1985, 170–171.

<sup>4</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, the Archbishopric of Constantinople included 42 parishes. To those should be added several dozen depending on the neighbouring dioceses of Derkos, Chalcedon and Princes' Islands. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, there are still 37 active parishes throughout the Greater Istanbul area (*İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi*).

<sup>5</sup> On the Greek Orthodox community of Pera, see Anastassiadou, 2012.

<sup>6</sup> On the term of “community”, see Anastassiadou, 2012, 5–6.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix.

Second, community collapse and demographic dislocations can be examined, as outlined in this material.

A third part of this study will focus on the integration, whether forced or voluntary, of the Greeks in the Turkish nation in the making.

### **A community loyal to the Ottoman State?**

In the mid-nineteenth century, during the Reforms (*Tanzimat*) period,<sup>8</sup> the Ottoman State set up what historiography calls the “millet system”.<sup>9</sup> By *millet*, we refer to nations in a mainly (but not exclusively) religious sense of the term and more specifically non-Muslim communities of the Empire recognized as such. From the *Tanzimat* period onwards, these communities benefited from a regulatory framework within which they almost had “carte blanche”, though under constant oversight of the Porte. This relative freedom of action helped to build a cliché of autonomous communities, evolving out of the control of the State. Actually, this image fits well with that of the previous period (15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries), when the rule was *ad hoc* arrangements between the Ottoman power and Christian or Jewish communities. But this perception is obsolete and inaccurate for the *Tanzimat* era, which embarked on a centralisation process, deemed necessary for the recovering of “Europe’s sick man”.

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<sup>8</sup> A lot of research has been carried out on the *Tanzimat* period. Among works providing global overviews, see in particular: Shaw & Shaw, 1985; Quataert, 2000; Reinkowski, 2005.

<sup>9</sup> The *millet* system produced a rich scientific debate. See among others: Braude & Lewis, 1982; Ursinus, 1989; Ursinus, 1990; Stamatopoulos, 2006; Braude, 2014.

In other words, the *millet*s were certainly given a framework within which a freedom of action was possible. However, this framework was almost the same for everyone, although each community sketched out its own fundamental charters, established with the agreement of the authorities and constantly monitored by them. The actions of the Patriarchate and the parishes could not but be in tune with the central government.<sup>10</sup> In this respect, it should be reminded that communities and parishes communicated with the Ottoman administration through the Patriarchate; direct contact was very exceptional. Many of the documents from the Phanar archives emanate from the State. The patriarchal authority is responsible for transmitting orders; when doing so it also recommends, almost systematically, prompt implementation. On the whole, communities comply with the instructions. When they do not wish to obey, they turn a deaf ear to the Porte's demands and adopt strategies of delay.

Community real estate provides a significant example. Until 1912, the communities had no legal personality. Most of their real estate had been acquired by means of nominees. Property was registered in the name of a handful of parishioners – and more specifically their wives! These generally wealthy people were above all suspicion (for themselves and their heirs) of abuse of power or trust. The practice of “fictitious owners” was

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<sup>10</sup> This is because since the fall of Constantinople, the Patriarchate used to be, within the Ottoman Empire, a part of the State's structure. The Patriarch was recognized by the Sultan as the physical person representing the *millet-i rum* and for this reason its natural leader. About this issue, see Konortas, 1998.

very common, well known to the authorities and accepted because of the legal vacuum.<sup>11</sup>

When the law of February 16, 1328<sup>12</sup> (1913, on real estate property)<sup>13</sup> put an end to this situation and the communities were invited to do what was necessary to clarify things, Istanbul Greeks (and even more so those of Pera) remained inactive. Unable to evaluate the consequences of this measure, they preferred to wait. By the spring of 1914, they received several reminders. Through a long and detailed letter of May 18, 1916, signed by the grand vicar of the Patriarchate<sup>14</sup> and sent to the community of Pera alone, we deduce that the case was still not settled.

In other words, the parish archives outline a formal respect for the authority of the State, a superficial allegiance that turns into caution and can even generate, at times of crisis, mistrust. They also clearly show the already mentioned strategy of delay, which had been several times implemented since the mid-nineteenth century, in various circumstances.<sup>15</sup>

Military and fiscal obligations provide probably the most compelling clues for determining loyalty to the

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<sup>11</sup> Anastasiadou, 2016, 283–299.

<sup>12</sup> Rumi Calendar.

<sup>13</sup> An English translation of this law is available in R. C. Tale, *The Ottoman Land Laws*, Jerusalem, 1927, 165.

<sup>14</sup> *Γράμματα Οικονομικού Πατριαρχείου*, 1914–1922, 053, the Grand Vicar Kallinikos, May 18, 1916.

<sup>15</sup> For example, contrary to the directives of the ministry of Public Instruction (*Maarif Nezareti*), Greeks have refrained for many decades from introducing Turkish courses in their community schools, claiming that they were unable to pay a salary for the teacher of the Turkish language.

State. The Pera archives especially highlight the question of the army.

Since 1909, non-Muslims were subject to conscription in the same way as Muslims. The *bedel-i askeriye* (αντισηκωμα in Greek), which allowed them to replace their military obligation from the Reforms onwards, was supposed to have been abolished. But in reality the Young Turks revoked only a part of this privilege. From 1909, it was no longer possible to substitute one person for another (*bedel-i şahsi*). This had been a very usual practice in previous times, when military service was determined by drawing and lasted nearly twenty years!<sup>16</sup> However, the exemption for a sum of money (*bedel-i nakdî*) remained available even after 1909.<sup>17</sup> At the beginning of the war, it amounted to 50 liras. The Ottoman army needed men. The exemption that Istanbul's inhabitants used to enjoy was similarly terminated.

But how could they give weapons to Christians and Jews, suspected more than ever of complicity with the enemies of the “fatherland”? And how would one not flee military obligation when one is a non-Muslim and carries a multi-secular lack of confidence in the dominant element? Many deserted. How many? It is hard to say; there was great disorder in those troubled times.<sup>18</sup> The

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<sup>16</sup> For a general overview on the military obligations of non-Muslim subjects from 1835 to 1919, see Gülsoy, 2000.

<sup>17</sup> Beşikçi, 2012, 96. Referring (p. 143) to a law of 1915 on the *bedel-i nakdî* (*bedel-i nakdî kanunu*, 21 şubat 1330/6 mars 1915), Beşikçi notes that exemption from military service was accessible to all non-Muslims, while only certain categories of Muslims, in particular those considered as “unfit for military service”, were allowed to pay for exemption.

<sup>18</sup> Approximately 500,000 according to Beşikçi (2012), who relies on the evaluations of the publicist Ahmed Emin [Yalman], 1930, 261–262.

deserters were not only infidels; Muslims were also trying to escape the slaughter.<sup>19</sup>

Those who could find neither the 50 liras required to avoid the army nor the courage to hide were conscripted. Collective memory and representations as well as Greek historiography especially emphasize the presence of Christians and Jews in labour battalions (*amele taburlari*).<sup>20</sup> These disarmed soldiers were considered even more harmless as they would face, during their service, particularly harsh living conditions that caused malnutrition, cholera, typhus, and exhaustion.

Not all non-Muslims were assigned to secondary tasks. There were also those who joined operational regiments on various fronts and had to face the same difficulties as Muslim soldiers (shortage of ammunition; weapons in poor condition). Although quite limited, the participation of Greek medical doctors (active and reservists) within the Ottoman army is well attested for the years 1914–1918.<sup>21</sup>

However, it is not easy to evaluate the extent of these categories of non-Muslim Ottoman subjects (deserters, active soldiers or those recruited in the labour battal-

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<sup>19</sup> This is what Beşikçi, 2012, clearly demonstrates in his book. On the phenomenon of desertion during World War I, see also Zürcher, 1996.

<sup>20</sup> In modern Greek literature, the most prominent and well-known works are those of Stratis Doukas (*Ιστορία ενός αιχμαλώτου*, Story of a prisoner, first published in 1929, English edition *A prisoner of war's story*, 1999) and Dido Sotiriou (*Ματωμένα χώματα*, Bloody Earth, first published in 1962, English edition *Farewell Anatolia*, 1996). On the labour battalions from a Turkish perspective, see: Özdemir, 1994; Mutlu, 2007.

<sup>21</sup> Özdemir, 2008, 178, 180, 181.

ions). Statistics related to this period have been the subject of violent controversy in historiography and politics.

In Pera too, it is impossible to know how many young Greeks were mobilized, how many deserted, how many paid to be exempted. The parish archives contain only a few letters requesting help with the payment of the *bedel-i nakdî*. Their signatories were all community employees. Cantors, guardians, teachers: they asked for a loan, promising to repay through deductions from their salary:

“[...]...for four months, I am tormented and harassed by the police, summoned by the army office ... not having the necessary means to pay for the military fee... guardian of an extended family with my old mother...[...]”<sup>22</sup>

The answer to such requests varies depending on the case. When no loan was granted and individuals had to join the army, their family received half of their salary.<sup>23</sup> This was a strong gesture, which clearly underlined that the community was there to watch over its members.

But the longer the war lasted, the more this generosity showed its limits. In fact, the amount initially allocated

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<sup>22</sup> *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρων και Προσωπικού*, 1914–1923, no. 64, Th., right cantor at the church of Agios Konstantinos, July 17, 1915. Several other cases can be found in the same file. See for example: a request of a teacher to the director of the Zografeion school (May 3, 1915); the sacristan of Holy Trinity’s church to the Central Board (May 9, 1915); Vassilios O., chief cantor of the church of Panagia to the church’s committee (May 23, 1915).

<sup>23</sup> This is what happened, for example, with the concierge Varsamis, who left to the army in October 1915. Assuming that he would be back soon, the church committee continued to give half of his salary to his family. However, Varsamis’ military service seems to have dragged on and the committee stopped the payment to the family: see *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρων και Προσωπικού*, 1914–1923, no 65, March 22, 1916.

was paid only for a few months.<sup>24</sup> This was just the beginning of the cracks in the community building. The exhaustion of the community structure, which a few years ago seemed unshakeable, characterizes the whole period.

In short, it is difficult to assert or deny the loyalty of the Greeks to the Ottoman State. Many of them deserted or sought exemption, but they also massively contributed to the war. At least, the leaders of the *millet-i rum* showed, on several occasions, support for the Ottoman homeland. For example, the directive of the Patriarchate by which the clergy of Istanbul parishes is invited to recommend to the Christians willingly to give “their optional contribution, in order to relieve the Imperial Government and the men under arms”.<sup>25</sup>

All in all, the available sources clearly indicate that at a minimum Greek elites displayed an image of loyalty to the Ottoman State. In this respect, the patriarchate of Germanos V (especially with his resignation on October 12, 1918) is significant. When he acceded to the throne of Constantinople, Germanos, the last patriarch invested by a sultan’s *berat*, was already 73 years old. Age and illness are probably enough to explain his attitude of com-

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<sup>24</sup> For five consecutive years, Nikolaos A. worked as a teacher at the school of Agios Konstantinos. For one year after the expiry of his contract, while he was in the army, the board of Zografeion continued to pay half of his salary to his family. He is still enlisted, but in the meantime the salary was cut off: *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρων και Προσωπικού*, 1914–1923, no. 66, December 10, 1916.

<sup>25</sup> *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου*, 053, 1914–1922, the Grand Vicar Kallinikos, September 12, 1914. These donations, known as *iâne-i bar-biye*, were supposed to be optional contributions to the war effort. However, sometimes they were imposed on the population. Beşikçi, 2012, 127–128, indicates that for the Yezidi Kurds they functioned exactly as the *bedel-i nakdi*.

pliance to the Young-Turk regime, compliance which seems to have caused his fall. The circumstances of his hasty departure are worth recalling. It was during the Mass of October 5, 1918, organized in the memory of the victims of the war. The patriarchal church of Saint George was full, the courtyard too. Nothing foreshadowed the storm that would follow, when a woman's voice shouted "Down!" A few seconds were enough for the crowd to demand the Patriarch's resignation. The war was over, the Empire defeated, down, like Germanos who resigned seven days later. By their cries in the church, ordinary people meant to show that loyalty was now irrelevant.<sup>26</sup>

### **Community collapse and demographic dislocation**

To better understand the collapse of the community structure during the war, a reminder of the situation before 1914 is necessary. It has already been noted that the Greek Orthodox community of Pera/Beyoğlu was one of the largest (35,000 people at the beginning of the twentieth century) and wealthiest in the province of Istanbul. It was also one of the most diversified from a socio-economic point of view. It was, in essence, a city within the City. It included three churches (the Presentation of the Holy Virgin of Pera, Gr. Εισοδίων της Θεοτόκου, commonly called *Panagia*; Holy Trinity, Gr. Αγία Τριάδα; Saint-Constantine, Gr. Άγιος Κωνσταντίνος), a cemetery (Transfiguration of Saviour, Şişli, Gr. Μεταμορφώσεως του Σωτήρος, Σισλι), a dozen

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<sup>26</sup> Stavridis, 1977, 429, 437.

community primary schools, three vast school buildings (Zappeion, Gr. Ζάππειον, Turk. Zappyon; Zografeion, Gr. Ζωγράφειον, Turk. Zografyon; Central School for Girls, Gr. Κεντρικόν Παρθενγωγείον, Tr. Özel Merkez Rum Kız Lisesi), erected thanks to the generosity of bankers whose names they generally bear. And plenty of people: double Sunday masses, a large clergy and an extensive teaching staff. Nearly 100 people were employed in various community structures. This demographic vitality was mainly due to successive waves of economic immigrants who had settled since the mid-nineteenth century in this district close to the European embassies, at the heart of modern Istanbul. The administrative bodies, which were set up under the *millet system* in the early 1860s, functioned in Pera in an exemplary manner. The ruling layer belonged not only to the finest of finance and commerce but also to the letters and arts of the Ottoman Mediterranean. It was composed of great fortunes (Zarifis, Zografos, Evgenidis, Iliaskos and many others) and also contained intellectual profiles (medical doctors and teachers in particular). The synergy between them has allowed the development of a successful social policy. Living in Pera from 1870 to 1914 meant having access, more than elsewhere, to a powerful charitable device.<sup>27</sup>

With the beginning of the war, a number of these wealthy families left or prepared to leave Istanbul. Many of them already had links elsewhere, in Greece or in Europe. To this exodus of upper stratum of the local bourgeoisie<sup>28</sup> was added the disorganization of the economy

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<sup>27</sup> On the social life in Pera during the long nineteenth century, see Anastasiadou, 2012.

<sup>28</sup> Greek orthodox elites had the same attitude in (similar) circumstances of acute crisis. Many left for Italy and Europe at the fall of Constan-

because of the war. Trade with the Entente countries (France, Great Britain and Russia) was nearly interrupted or, at most, went on through indirect and complicated itineraries. The Capitulations had been unilaterally abolished by the Ottoman State at the very beginning of the war. Non-Muslim tradespeople and businessmen did not benefit any more from foreign protection. With the closure of the Straits and the Russian border, the geography of the trade routes had to be redirected accordingly. International exchanges were redirected towards the Central Powers. Inside the Empire, the most notable fact was the rise of Turkish companies, which generated a progressive marginalization of non-Muslim business (*milli iktisat*).<sup>29</sup>

In such a context, a large part of the community's regular resources (namely the donations/contributions of the parishioners) were running out. In practice, there were still rents from real estate and income from financial investments, even if such revenues tended also to vanish.

In 1916, a notable change affected the *millet* system.<sup>30</sup> In the Ottoman administrative vocabulary, the word *millet* was replaced by *cemaat* (literally, religious community).<sup>31</sup> Around the same time, the reorganization of family

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tinople (1453). They also chose to leave, mostly to Russia (Odessa), when the Greek War of Independence in the Morea created an extremely dangerous situation for Istanbul Greeks.

<sup>29</sup> The phenomenon known as *milli iktisat* (national economy) is thoroughly described in Toprak, 1995a, 1995b.

<sup>30</sup> Alexandris, 1992, 36. What is deleted is the national collective representation of different ethnic and religious communities, in other words the "millet"...

<sup>31</sup> From now on, the term *cemaat* refers clearly to the religious community; the Greeks are not recognized any more as a distinct nation.

law by a decree of October 25, 1917 stripped the Patriarchate of its authority over relevant issues until the Occupation of Istanbul by the Allies (October 30, 1918).<sup>32</sup> The Patriarchate was now reduced to its strictly religious role. The wind was turning, but the messages were not yet fully understood. The parish bodies continued to function as before, but as they were now deprived of any kind of recognition, their sole interlocutor was the Phanar.

In everyday life, poverty was becoming increasingly visible. At Agia Triada (Holy Trinity) church, in March 1915, it was an urgent task to distribute alms during Lent, because “poverty is at its peak” (*ἡ πτωχεία ευρίσκεται εις το κατακόρυφόν της*) and “its victims besiege the church crying and lamenting” (*τα θύματά της... κλαίοντα και οδυρόμενα*).<sup>33</sup> Community authorities stepped up the process of identifying the “real poor, those who have an absolute need for support” (*ομολογουμένως πτωχών και εχόντων απόλυτον ανάγκην στηρίζεως*).<sup>34</sup> At first, the community seemed to resist. One year after the beginning of the conflict, its main landmarks (churches and schools), continued to play their roles. Repeated calls to order, good conduct or decency during masses outlined a society still governed by norms.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Yurtseven, 2003.

<sup>33</sup> *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρον και Προσωπικού*, 1914–1923, no 65, Holy Trinity’s Committee to the Central Board and approval of the Central Board sent to the church’s committee, 17 March 1915.

<sup>34</sup> *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου*, 053, 1914–1922, the Grand Vicar Kallinikos asks for the list of these “admittedly poor” from the *muhtar* of every parish, circular letter of January 22, 1916.

<sup>35</sup> *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρον και Προσωπικού*, 1914–1923, no. 65, the Central Board to the Committee of the Holy Trinity church, June 12, 1915;

During 1916, living conditions seriously deteriorated. Community leaders looked helpless. They continued, however, to assume the management of communal affairs.

Since December 1915, it had been forbidden to light stoves in the classrooms when the temperature was above ten degrees Celsius. Quarrels between teachers and guardians, due to divergent readings – to within a degree (nine or ten!) – of the thermometer show the strong tension suffered by individuals who experience long-lasting deprivation of basic commodities.<sup>36</sup>

Poverty reached larger and larger segments of the population. In a short time, life became very expensive; the material environment greatly changed. During the school year 1916–1917 many parents refrained from sending their children to school because they did not have enough to dress them properly. For others, on the contrary, schooling was a way to have at least one hot meal a day – when the school was still able to offer it. In the letters that parishioners address to the community to ask for help, words and expressions such as “abasement” (εξευτελισμός) or “collapse of dignity” (κατάπτωσις της αξιοπρεπείας) are omnipresent.<sup>37</sup> In the spring of 1916, Agios Konstantinos neighborhood committees were describing an extremely “urgent” situation, underlining that the year before “the woes of Christians” (τα δεινά

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*idem*, the Central Board to the Committee of the church of Panagia, June 24, 1915.

<sup>36</sup> *Αιτήσεις, ενθέσεις, αλληλογραφία σχολών*, no. 195, 1912–1916, Efterpi Mihailidou, director of the 3rd Astiki Scholi to the Central Board, March 15, 1916.

<sup>37</sup> *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρον και Προσωπικού*, 1914–1923, no. 64, Vasilios O., chief cantor, to the Central Board, December 14, 1916.

των χριστιανών) had been much less and that the state of the poor was “horrible” (φρικαλέα των πενήτων κατάστασις) and the increase in their numbers “spectacular” (καταπληκτική αυτών αύξησις).<sup>38</sup>

The longer the war went on, the more the prosperous community of Pera was losing its vigour. Its leaders appealed to the wealthiest among the parishioners to help their coreligionists through optional subscriptions.<sup>39</sup> But rich people were almost invisible. Were they there? Or already gone? Example: on April 22, 1916, Efthalia Adam, Zappeion’s director, informed the president of the Optional Subscriptions committee that among the teachers at her school no one had agreed to support the subscriptions system. People preferred to offer (or not!) their donation during Sunday mass.<sup>40</sup>

Impoverishment was accompanied by considerable demographic dislocation, which also contributed to weakening community resistance. Before the beginning of the war and until 1923, the authorities of Pera had to face incessant flows of refugees. The Balkan wars and the reorganization of the map of the European provinces of the Empire were already creating waves of migrants in the direction of the capital. The Greeks of nearby Thrace were deported from the end of 1913.<sup>41</sup> According to the

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<sup>38</sup> *Αλληλογραφία Αγίου Κωνσταντίνου*, 1914–1934, no. 66, the Committee of the church of Agios Konstantinos to the Central Board, April 7, 1916.

<sup>39</sup> *Αλληλογραφία Κεντρικής Εφορείας*, 1914–1924: the Central Board to the Trays Committee [Επιτροπή άρσεως των δίσκων] appeals to the most fortunate among parishioners to help through optional contributions in these difficult circumstances, March 21, 1916.

<sup>40</sup> *Αιτήσεις, Εκθέσεις, Αλληλογραφία Σχολών*, no. 195, April 22, 1916.

<sup>41</sup> On the deportations from Thrace during the Balkan wars and WWI, historical production in Greek language is particularly rich. Unsurprisingly, it mainly highlights the Greek version of these operations and

Turkish historian Fuat Dündar, some 150,000 Orthodox Greeks from Thrace and the Aegean region were thus forced to leave their homes.<sup>42</sup> Many of those who headed to Istanbul settled in Beyoğlu, in the Agios Konstantinos neighborhood, where they found housing, because rents were very low there.<sup>43</sup>

At the approach of the summer of 1915, these Greeks from Thrace were only a pale memory of a time of relative stability. Now, Christian refugees flocked together from everywhere. Naked, starving, homeless, they needed help. All community schools were already full (ἀπασαι αι σχολαί της ημετέρας κοινότητος εισί πεπληρωμέναι προσφύγων). Nearly 750 people, 150 families – mostly women, children and old men – were hosted there.<sup>44</sup> The community provided them with food and medical care. But its “material forces” were depleting, the financial deficit was growing: the usual collection plates in churches did not pay much, while

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is often quite controversial. It is probably significant that the word used for “deportation” in Greek is διωγμός, which literally means persecution. Among many others works, see for example: *Οι Διωγμοί των Ελλήνων εν Θράκη και Μικρασία: αυθεντικά εκθέσεις και επίσημα κείμενα. Έκκλησις προς το ελληνικόν γένος και την δημοσίαν γνώμην του πεπολιτισμένου κόσμου*, εκδίδεται υπό των επιτροπών των εν Μυτιλήνη Μικρασιατών προσφύγων, εν Αθήναις, τυπ. Πανελληνιον Κράτος, 1915, 254 σ.· *Οι ανθελληνικοί διωγμοί εν Τουρκία από του 1908 μέχρι του 1921, ενόπιον της Γ' εν Αθήναις εθνοσυνελεύσεως*, εν Αθήναις, Εθνικό τυπογραφείο, 1921, 52 σ.· Κωνσταντίνος Βακαλόπουλος, *Διωγμοί και γενοκτονία του θρακικού ελληνισμού: ο πρώτος ξεριζωμός, 1908–1917*, Θεσσαλονίκη, Ηρόδοτος, 1998, 623 σ.

<sup>42</sup> Dündar, 2008, 108–109.

<sup>43</sup> *Αλληλογραφία Αγίου Κωνσταντίνου*, 1914–1934, no. 66, December 1st, 1914.

<sup>44</sup> *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου*, 053, 1914–1922, the Central Board to the Patriarch Germanos V, June 25, 1915.

expenses were still large.<sup>45</sup> In addition to the refugees, the increasing numbers of the dead were part of the demographic front on which the community was mobilized.

Death, in these war years, was everywhere. Hunger was one of its best allies – as it is shown in the series of burial permits kept in the cemeteries of the Archbishopric of Constantinople. Disease too. In 1917, an epidemic of typhus killed hundreds of people in a few months.<sup>46</sup>

Until then, the Pera community's leaders remained close to their “normality” and tried to preserve the durability of what had been achieved. In January 1916, for example, they considered that “the burials of indigent soldiers are constantly increasing” (ολονέν αυξάνουσιν αι κηδείαι των απόρων στρατιωτών).<sup>47</sup> In May of this same year, they were offended to hear that the remains of indigent soldiers sent from government hospitals had been buried in Şişli naked, in already used coffins, without any religious funerary service (χωρίς να ψάλληται νεκρώσιμος ακολουθία). Mindful of the prestige and the reputation of their community, they requested the ecclesiastical supervisor of their district to take immediate action, namely, to provide coffins and shrouds.<sup>48</sup>

This was before the scourge of 1917.

From April of this year onwards, it was impossible for community leaders to continue to drive such messages. Mortality rates were soaring. In these dramatic circum-

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<sup>45</sup> *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου*, 053, 1914–1922, the Central Board to the Patriarch Germanos V, June 25, 1915.

<sup>46</sup> About everyday life in Istanbul during the war, see Mahir Metinsoy, 2017.

<sup>47</sup> *Αλληλογραφία εκκλησίας Εισοδίων*, 1914–1923, 626, January 29, 1916.

<sup>48</sup> *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρου και Προσωπικού*, 1914–1923, no. 64, the Central Board to the Episcopal Overseer, May 10, 1916.

stances, the community of Pera requested to use a part of the nearby Agios Eleftherios cemetery of Tatavla. This was categorically refused: here too, burial space was crammed, and for the same reasons.<sup>49</sup> It was hardly possible to sit idly by as the pressure was high. Without delay, the community leaders turned towards the Patriarch Germanos V. It seemed illusory and expensive to look for another piece of land elsewhere. A part of the bordering Armenian-Catholic cemetery, much larger and underutilized, could be ceded to them. Negotiations with Armenians were unsuccessful. The only solution left was that the Patriarchate obtained from the Ottoman government the permission to bury in the Armenian zone.

Despite the devastating mortality, population pressure increased after 1918, when Istanbul was under Allied occupation.<sup>50</sup> During the years 1918–1922, the flow of Greek refugees fleeing the Greek-Turkish war in Anatolia intensified. The number of these refugees is very difficult to estimate, even approximately, in this period of great instability.<sup>51</sup> The cemeteries were totally overloaded, as they had to accommodate also the white Russians who arrived in successive waves.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> *Αλληλογραφία Κεντρικής Εφορείας*, 1914–1919, the Committee of the church Agios Eleftherios of Tatavla to the Central Board, July 22/05, 1917.

<sup>50</sup> Numerous clues in the parish archives sketch out the phenomenon, even if precise figures are lacking. See for example the letter addressed on November 1st, 1921, to the community's Central Board by the director of the 2nd Astiki Scholi for boys and in which is described a situation of saturation in the classes: *Αλληλογραφία Κεντρικής Εφορείας*, 1920–1924.

<sup>51</sup> Available indications in Davis, 1922, 203–226.

<sup>52</sup> Macar Dağlar & Macar Elçin, 2010, 56–77.

Confronted with so many difficulties, for such a long time, almost a decade, the community of Pera irrevocably lost the prestige it had before 1914. Its social work, built stone by stone since the 1850s, suffered a lot. Its disintegration deserves a separate analysis. It is, however, useful to mention at least one example: the Orphans of the Virgin. Unique in Istanbul, this association benefited from “the protection of the Central Board on which it depended directly”. It aimed to assist abandoned babies and children.<sup>53</sup>

Calls for help were addressed by this association to the community’s Central Board in June 1916.<sup>54</sup> In September 1917, the boarding school closed.<sup>55</sup> The context was darker than ever: difficulty in feeding the babies and finding nannies; no allowances available for foster families; certainty that the number of abandoned babies would increase in the following months.

In 1917–1918, the association was about to be dissolved. But its members were still struggling to find solutions to help children abandoned in church courtyards. They addressed the bishop of Chalcedon and chairman of the Committee for the homeless orphans (Επιτροπή υπέρ των αστέγων ορφανών), asking him to host in his

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<sup>53</sup> Elements of the history of this association can be found in Anastassiadou, 2001.

<sup>54</sup> *Αλληλογραφία Κεντρικής Εφορείας*, 1914–1919, the Stavrodromi brotherhood “The Orphans of the Virgin” to the Central Board, June 15, 1916.

<sup>55</sup> *Αλληλογραφία Κεντρικής Εφορείας*, 1914–1919, the Stavrodromi brotherhood “The Orphans of the Virgin” to the Central Board, September 25, 1917.

orphanage 25 children over six years old. The answer was negative: no space!<sup>56</sup>

Marginalization of the economy, removal of the elites, uninterrupted arrivals of refugees, changes in institutional relations with the Ottoman State: the community of Pera was seriously wounded during the decade of war that ended with the emergence of a new Turkey. In 1914, 205,000 Orthodox Greeks were settled throughout Istanbul. The first official census of the Turkish State counted, in 1927, in the department of Istanbul, 91,902 Greek-speaking inhabitants.<sup>57</sup> That is to say that a demographic deficit of more than 113,000 people had been created in a period of just thirteen years. The numbers speak for themselves.

### **Towards an integration of Rum in the new Turkish nation in the making?**

The Greeks left *en masse* during the war, but also at the time of the *Megali Katastrofi* (Μεγάλη Καταστροφή, ‘Great Disaster’, summer–autumn 1922). The main reason for this exodus (that has not ceased since then) is probably the feeling that there was no place for them within the emerging, new Turkey.

In November 1914, when the Ottoman Empire entered the war and the Sultan declared the *jihād* (modern Turk. spelling *cihad*), the imperial pattern was already

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<sup>56</sup> *Αλληλογραφία Κεντρικής Εφορείας* 1914–1919, the Central Board to the bishop of Chalcedon Gregorios, February 17, 1918; *idem*, the Central Committee in favor of Indigent Rum (Κεντρική Επιτροπή υπέρ των απόρων Ρωμηών) to the Central Board, April 24/6, 1918.

<sup>57</sup> Dündar, 1999.

disintegrating. The Young-Turk regime was moving towards a political organization close to the nation-state model.<sup>58</sup> In this new framework, religious affiliations (which were the foundation of the *millet system*) were not challenged, but the non-Muslim components were supposed to be integrated into the new state – which was inspired by European state structures and especially the French model.

The integration policy aimed at the acculturation of non-Muslims and in particular Greeks. By April 1915, the teaching of Turkish became compulsory in all community schools.<sup>59</sup> From this date on, history and geography were also exclusively taught in Turkish.<sup>60</sup> Diligently, the Central Education Committee of the Patriarchate even recommended, from October 1915, the introduction of Turkish into girls' schools.<sup>61</sup> In a different register, but still in order to reach the same objective, from January 1st, 1918, civil marriage was decreed as the only form legally recognized for all the Ottoman subjects of the Empire regardless of their religion.<sup>62</sup>

The integration of non-Muslims into the new nation also required some distance from the community of origin. In order to cut the umbilical cord and demystify the community cocoon, it was necessary to destabilize the collective bodies. The exceptional circumstances of the war favoured measures taken in this direction. In

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<sup>58</sup> On the formation of the Turkish Nation-State, see Zürcher, 2014.

<sup>59</sup> *Αιτήσεις, εκθέσεις, αλληλογραφία σχολών*, no. 195, 1912–1916, no. 1058 and 1060, directives from the Direction of Instruction (*Maarif Mudürhane*), April 1st, 1915.

<sup>60</sup> See previous note, directive no. 1058.

<sup>61</sup> *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου*, 053, 1914–1922, the Grand Vicar Kallinikos, October 17, 1915.

<sup>62</sup> Alexandris, 1992, 36.

Pera, the requisitions of churches and schools (already before the beginning of the war) constituted a serious obstacle to the proper functioning of the mechanisms. When examined with some hindsight, the years 1914–1923 represented a period of deep transition. To what extent were people aware of changing times? For example, did Patriarch Germanos V, who obediently transmitted all the orders of the Young-Turk regime, grasp the seriousness of the changes under way?

It is worth noting that integration policies have not harmed religion – the central pillar of collective identities since Antiquity in this part of the world. Should we consider that the builders of the new nation were aiming at a surface integration (or allegiance)?

In this future nation-state, where the citizen link is not to be confused with Islam, the creation of a (non-canonical) orthodox church under the Turkish flag and the name “Autocephalous Turkish-Orthodox Patriarchate” (*Bağımsız Türk Ortodoks Patrikhanesi*) was sketched out as early as 1919. It was later founded, in Cappadocia in May 1922, under the authority of Pavlos Karahisaridis (1884–1968), a Turkish-speaking priest, who received the religious name of Papa-Eftim.<sup>63</sup> It remained without flock, as the Christians of Anatolia had to leave with the exchange of populations. But it continued to operate in Istanbul, contributing to the irreversible weakening of the Patriarchate.<sup>64</sup>

Forced acculturation, requisitions, and attacks on the community structures have been possible because, be-

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<sup>63</sup> Alexandris 1983, Benlisoy 2002.

<sup>64</sup> On the Turkish orthodox church, known as “Papa-Eftim’s church”, see Alexandris, 1983; Gregoriadis, 2013; Benlisoy, 2002.

tween 1914 and 1918, the Greeks were alone in facing the Ottoman power. Their usual protectors – Russians, French and British – were on the other side, identified as enemies of the Empire. Moreover, as they appear through the archives, the integration measures seemed to be if not a revenge at least an adjustment. The Young-Turk government sought to dismantle the protections granted to non-Muslims since the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774. And it is in that same spirit that Turkish leaders have been considering non-Muslim minorities until the present day.

The Armistice of Moudros on October 30, 1918, introduced a spectacular reversal. The Ottomans were officially defeated, Istanbul was under the control of the Entente. The five-year period from November 1918 to October 1923 is designated as *Armistice* (*Mütareke* in Turkish, *Ανακωχή* in Greek).

During the war, the isolation of Istanbul Greeks was a source of great suffering, as underlined in reports of the Hellenic Legation still present in the city in 1916. From the end of 1918, the horizons opened and all hopes were allowed again. Hellenic irredentism, the Great Idea which promoted a Great(er) Greece, was at its culminating point: never before had the scenario of Istanbul turning again to Constantinople been that realistic.

One of the most significant changes of the period is the positioning of the Phanar in favour of the Athens policy. This is a unique moment in the history of the Church of Constantinople. Since the Ottoman conquest, the Patriarchate had been a component of the imperial state apparatus; in March 1919, it turned its back on it

and stopped all direct communication.<sup>65</sup> Uncommonly, the Patriarchate took up the cause of Athens, thus showing, according to the Turkish collective memory, its “true face”. By playing the card of its longevity on the spot, it also tried to control all the Greco-Hellenic political space.

Tooth for tooth, eye for eye. As early as January 1919, the Permanent Mixed National Council (PMNC), which was the central body of the *millet-i rum* before 1914,<sup>66</sup> decreed that the teaching of Turkish and Ottoman history and geography was abolished in (Greek) schools. The decision had immediate effect (January 1919), but the salaries of Turkish teachers were guaranteed until the end of the school year. From this date onwards, the signs, stamps, diploma headers, etc. were indicated only in Greek in all the schools of the Archbishopric of Constantinople and the neighboring bishoprics.<sup>67</sup>

Together with the office of the Hellenic High Commissioner, the PMNC and the Phanar tried to boost the parish and community structures. They used the same tools as the Young Turk regime: they established statistics, drew up inventories, counted the parishioners... They listed Greek real estate illegally seized by the Turks during the war. Like before, the objective was to identify all available financial and economic resources. The rules of taxation were also defined: the Pera archives contain

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<sup>65</sup> See Alexandris, 1992, 59; Macar, 2003.

<sup>66</sup> This Permanent Mixed National Council had been suspended, together with the *millet*s, by the Ottoman authorities during the war. When the Allies occupied Istanbul it was reactivated without, however, recovering its initial functions.

<sup>67</sup> *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου*, 053, 1914–1922, Dorotheos, Locum tenens of the Ecumenical Throne, January 28, 1919.

dozens of pages of minutes on these questions. But there is also a lot of impulsiveness in the attitudes of Greco-Hellenes. For example, in April 1919 the PMNC, in an atmosphere of general excitement, decided to increase teachers' salaries by 150%. This increase was even applied retroactively, to September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1918.<sup>68</sup>

This policy quickly proved inefficient. The city was not a *tabula rasa*. Refugees were more and more numerous. White Russians also entered the landscape. What had changed for ordinary people during the Armistice years? Life was still expensive, economic circuits remained disorganized. Uncertainty about the city's fate contributed to a feeling of collective anxiety. An eloquent sign of this new era came from the *Kentrikon Parthenagogeion* (Κεντρικόν Παρθεναγωγείον, Central School for Girls). When the Pera community leaders succeeded in regaining the building in December 1920, after a period of requisition, they realized that the school had, in the meantime, lost the annual grant of 225 Turkish liras the Russian imperial family used to send since its creation in the 1850s.<sup>69</sup>

In these troubled times, the “hellenophilia” displayed by the Patriarchate was accompanied by a certain caution to prevent disorders. Caution towards the Turks. In December 1919, the grand vicar of the Patriarchate recommended the greatest restraint to all Christians, the day of St. Eleftherios, the 14th of the month. Masses would be held and prayers would be recited throughout the churches in favour of Hellenic PM Eleftherios Venize-

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<sup>68</sup> *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου*, 053, 1914–1922, Nikolaos, Locum Tenens of the bishopric of Kaisareia, April 22, 1919.

<sup>69</sup> *Αλληλογραφία Κεντρικής Εφορείας*, 1920–1924, the Central School for Girls to the Central Board, December 20, 1920.

los. In these confusing circumstances, cheers or any provocative attitudes were to be avoided.<sup>70</sup> The Central Education Committee of the Patriarchate made the same appeal to all students, requesting that any “demonstration likely to create friction with their fellow Turks” be avoided.<sup>71</sup>

Caution was even more pronounced among those who were at the head of the Greek institutions – such as schools, churches, and works of charity. And it became more and more perceptible as time passed and the Hellenic defeat was gradually less improbable. In July and August 1922, the communities and parishes were summoned, by successive ultimatums, to submit the lists of the real estates of their district.<sup>72</sup> The PMNC tried to restore order, pointing out that sales of public property could not occur without its permission.<sup>73</sup> It can be inferred that on the eve of the *Megali Katastrofi*, there were, in Istanbul, parishes or individuals who disregarded the authority of the “National Centre”. People who did not wish to follow the direction indicated by Athens and the Phanar. The way these people behaved make us think that at least a number of Istanbul Greeks were not ready to adhere to the Hellenic policy, preferring to maintain the *status quo*.

In this respect, it has to be underlined that, alongside élites imbued with European culture and having strong

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<sup>70</sup> *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου*, 053, 1914–1922, the Grand Vicar Athenagoras, December 14, 1919.

<sup>71</sup> *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου*, 053, 1914–1922, from the Office of the Patriarchal Central Education Committee, December 20, 1919.

<sup>72</sup> *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου*, 053, 1914–1922, the Grand Vicar Ioakeim, bishop of Koritsa, July 28, 1922.

<sup>73</sup> *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου*, 053, 1914–1922, the Grand Vicar Ioakeim, bishop of Koritsa, August 18, 1922.

links with Athens, a significant part of the Greek community of Istanbul was made up of Turkish-speaking townfolk, focused more on Anatolia than Greece. It is certainly significant that in Pera, during the Armistice years, confessor priests were required to know Turkish to be recruited.<sup>74</sup> In the same district as well as in Galata, during the same period, it was mainly Black Sea refugees who filled the churches. Masses conducted in the Pontic dialect constituted a major scandal for the Phanar.<sup>75</sup> Were these people ready to willingly accept full Hellenization?

### Concluding remarks

How to conclude after this synoptic overview? Obviously, it is still difficult to fully answer the general questions raised at the very beginning of this essay. Since the choice was to let the sources guide the direction, to let the sources “speak”, it seems preferable to provide a careful answer to each of the three themes explored in the preceding pages.

On the question of loyalty, the archives highlight *formal* respect and surface allegiance to the Ottoman State. However, a comprehensive answer seems difficult to sketch out. In this respect, it would be useful to know whether the Muslims, on their side, were or were not loyal towards the State. Until the end of the Empire, there was no real “citizen pact” between the individuals

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<sup>74</sup> Anastasiadou, 2015.

<sup>75</sup> *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρου και Προσωπικού*, 1914–1923, no. 64, the priest Apostolos Chrysafidis to Fotios, bishop of Irinoupolis, Episcopal Overseer of Stavrodromi, May 23, 1919.

and the State. Until the end, the Ottomans remained subjects and never became citizens. In his book *The Ottoman Mobilization of Manpower in the First World War*, Mehmet Beşikçi (2012) makes clear that many Muslims deserted from the army – nearly in the same proportions as the non-Muslims.

Concerning the second issue, which is what I called the “community’s collapse”, there can be no doubt, at least when examining the Pera and the Patriarchate archives, that in the period under study, parishes and communities lost a great deal of their power. Not only did they lose their institutional power but they also lost their financial and intellectual elites. In parallel, in the economic field, the Greek population of the city – like all its non-Muslim components – was gradually marginalized. The sources used for this essay show clearly this process of weakening, step by step, drop by drop. Is the word “collapse” the right one? We could also say “adjustment”. The fact is that the Greek community of Istanbul survived after 1923, but without ever again recovering its previous prestige. In fact, under the agreement on the compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, most Greeks were forced to leave. A century after these turbulent years, Istanbul Greeks, who – together with those of Imbros (officially *Gökçeada* in Turkish since 1970) and Tenedos (officially *Bozcaada* in Turkish) – had been exempted from the exchange and allowed to remain on the spot, represent a relic population.

Finally, a few words about the third issue, raising the question of whether Greeks became integrated, or not, in the new Turkish nation-state. For some Istanbul Greeks, language and religion are not automatically linked to each

other. An orthodox Greek does not necessarily speak Greek or is a member of the Greek nation. In spite of this attitude, we can consider that the Kemalist project to integrate the minorities into a secular State failed. Let us keep in mind that the Treaty of Lausanne introduced special protection for the minorities, respecting Wilson's principles, but also conserving the *status quo*. Based on this Treaty (signed in 1923), the Greeks became citizens of the Republic of Turkey. However, this citizenship was a citizenship "according to the constitution", as the Turks used to call it, in other words a formal citizenship.

Istanbul Greeks, those of the nineteenth century as those of the republican Turkey, but also those of the war period, have always been hesitant towards Hellenic irredentism. Why? Probably not only because some of them were "Turkified" but also (and probably mostly) because they remained firmly connected to their city, their mental territory and their historical memory.



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## Appendix

Documents mentioned in the preceding pages. Full text in Greek (original). Summary in English (translation).

### 12 September 1914: The Grand Vicar Kallinikos to all parish committees

Θεοφιλέστατοι αρχιερατικῶς προϊστάμενοι, οσιώτατοι ιερατικῶς προϊστάμενοι καὶ τιμῶτατοι κ. Ἐπίτροποι τῶν ενοριῶν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως

Σεπτῆ κελεύσει τῆς Ἀ. Θ. Παναγιότητος τοῦ Οικουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου κ. Γερμανοῦ τοῦ Ε' προτρεπόμεθα Ὑμᾶς ὅπως ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας τῆ προσεχεῖ Κυριακῇ συστήσητε ἵνα ἕκαστος τῶν ἡμετέρων χριστιανῶν παράσχη προθύμως εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ τούτῃν μέλλουσαν να περιέλθῃ ἐκάστην ενορίαν Ἐπιτροπῆν, τὴν προαιρετικὴν αὐτοῦ συνδρομῆν, πρὸς ανακούφισιν τῆς Αυτοκρατορικῆς Κυβερνήσεως καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὰ ὅπλα ευρισκομένων ἀνδρῶν. Εἴητε δε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐν Κυρίῳ υγιαίνοντες.

**Summary:** Next Sunday, in church, [you are invited] to recommend that each of our Christians willingly gives to the commission that will go through each parish his (or her) voluntary subscription, for the relief of the Imperial Government and the men under arms.

Source: *Γράμματα Οικουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου (Letters of the Ecumenical Patriarchate), 1914–1922, 053*

## 1 December 1914: The Committee of the Holy Church of Saints Constantine and Helene to the Central Board

Η επιτροπή της ιεράς εκκλησίας των Αγίων Κωνσταντίνου και Ελένης προς την αξιότιμον Κεντρικήν Εφορίαν της Ελληνικής ορθοδόξου Κοινότητας Σταυροδρομίου

Γνωστόν τυγχάνει ότι η συνοικία του Αγίου Κωνσταντίνου κατοικείται κατά μέγα μέρος παρά πτωχών οικογενειών εκ των οποίων πολλάί στερούμεναι και αυτού του επιουσίου προστρέχουσιν καθ' εκάστην εις την εκκλησίαν ζητούσαι παρ' αυτής βοήθειαν. Ως να μην ήρκει δε ο αριθμός των ενδεών τούτων, προσετέθησαν εσχάτως και πολλοί πρόσφυγες εκ Θράκης και τούτο επειδή μόνον εις την συνοικίαν ταύτην ευρίσκουσιν κατοικίαν αναλόγως των πόρων τους οποίους διαθέτουσιν. Ως εκ τούτου λοιπόν, ο αριθμός των προστρέχόντων εις την εκκλησίαν ηυξήθη επιστηνώς, πράγμα το οποίον καθιστά την θέσιν ημών πολύ δύσκολον και λεπτήν, διότι ούτε να τους παρέχωμεν βοήθειαν δυνάμεθα αλλ' ούτε και να αποπέμψωμεν αυτούς άνευ της ελαχίστης ανακουφίσεως δυνάμεθα. Βλέποντες δε ότι το κακόν ολονέν αυξάνει και δή κατά την εποχήν ταύτην του χειμώνος, καθήκον εθεωρήσαμεν να εκθέσωμεν υμίν την κατάστασιν ταύτην και παρακαλέσωμεν υμάς όπως ληφθή πρόνοια δια τας ταλαιπώρους ταύτας υπάρξεις, υποδεικνύοντες ημίν το μέσον δια του οποίου η Εκκλησία θα δυνηθή να επέλθη αρωγός προς αυτάς.

**Summary:** It is well known that the neighborhood of Agios Konstantinos is mostly inhabited by poor families, many of whom are deprived even of their daily bread and turn to the church every day asking for help. As if the number of these indigents was not already high, many refugees from Thrace have also been added lately, and this is because this is the only neighborhood where

they find a lodging they can afford. Consequently, the number of people attending the church significantly increased. This makes our position very difficult and delicate, because we can neither help them nor send them away without providing minimal relief. As we observed that the situation worsened, especially during the winter, we felt it our duty to inform you of this situation and beg you to take care of these suffering creatures, by showing us the way through which the Church will be able to assist them.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Αγίου Κωνσταντίνου (Correspondence of Saint Constantine church), 1914–1934*, no 66

### **17 March 1915: The committee of Holy Trinity church to the Central Board**

Προς την Σεβαστήν Κεντρικήν Εφορίαν της κοινότητας Σταυροδρομίου

Περί διανομής ελεών εις πτωχούς

Αξιότιμοι Κύριοι,

Φρονούντες ότι και εφέτος είναι επάναγκες όπως διανεμηθώσιν κατά τας επί θύραις εορτάς του Αγίου Πάσχα ελέη εν τη περιφέρεια του καθ' ημάς Ι. Ναού της Αγίας Τριάδος παρακαλούμεν υμάς όπως εγκαιρως ορίσητε ποσόν ανάλογον εις τας παρούσας περιστάσεις καθ' άς ως υμεις γνωρίζετε η πτωχεία ευρίσκεται εις το κατακόρυφόν της, τα δε θύματα της από της παρελθούσης εβδομάδος ήρχισαν κατακλύζοντα το γραφείον μας κλαίοντα και οδυρόμενα.

Ευελπιστούντες ότι η παρούσα παράκλησις μας θέλει τύχει ευμενούς υποδοχής διατελούμεν μετά πολλής τιμής και υπολήψεως

Η εκκλησιαστική επιτροπή

**Summary:** This year too, during the Easter celebrations, it is necessary to distribute alms throughout our circumscription of Holy Trinity church. We are asking you to allocate a sum proportionate to the current circumstances during which poverty reached its peak and, since last week, its victims have begun flooding our office crying and screaming...

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Αγίας Τριάδας (Correspondence of Holy Trinity church), 1914-1925, no 65*

**14 April 1915 (01 April 1331): Department of Istanbul. Direction of Education, no 1058**

Κύριοι,

Εκ των εκθέσεων των επιθεωρητών εξηκριβώθη ότι εις τας μη οθωμανικάς σχολάς και ιδία εις τας Ελληνοοθωμανικάς (sic) οι μαθηταί διδάσκονται την Σταμπούλ ως Κωνσταντινούπολιν, την Εδίρνε ως Αδριανούπολιν, το Τσανάκ-Καλέ ως Δαρδανέλλια, το Τεκφούρ δαγ ως Ραιδεστόν και ακούοντες τας τουρκικάς ονομασίας τούτων δεν εννοούσιν τίποτε.

Αλλ' επειδή δεν αρμόζει να μη διδάσκωνται αι υπό του κράτους εν χρήσει ονομασίαι, δια τούτο κατ' ανάγκην συνιστάται όπως διδάσκωνται εις τους μαθητάς η Ιστορία και η Γεωγραφία τουρκιστί, διότι εις αυτάς υπάρχουσιν ονόματα πόλεων και ορέων.

1 Απριλίου 1331

Ο Διευθυντής της Παιδείας

**Summary:** From the inspection reports, it has been verified that in the non-Ottoman schools and in particular in the Greek-Ottoman (sic) ones, Istanbul is taught as Constantinople, Edirne as Adrianople, Çanakkale as Dardanelles, Tekfurdağ [i.e. Tekirdağ] as Raidestos and

the students, when they hear the Turkish names of them, they understand nothing.

History and geography to be taught to all students in Turkish.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία σχολών (School Correspondence)*, no 593, 1914–1919

### **03 May 1915: Application of N.G. to the direction of Zografeion school**

Αίτησις Ν. Γ. προς την διεύθυνσιν του Ζωγραφείου, ενταύθα

Ελλόγιμε κύριε Γυμνασιάρχα,

Επειδή καταζητούμαι προς στρατολόγησιν και οφείλω να καταβάλω το αντιστάθμισμα της στρατιωτικής μου υπηρεσίας, παρακαλώ όπως μεσιτεύσητε παρά τη σεβαστή Εφορία, ίνα μοι μετρηθή επί τη βάσει του υπάρχοντος προηγουμένου το προς τούτον αναγκαίον ποσόν Ltq 22.

Ευχαριστώ δε υμάς εκ των προτέρων διατελώ μετ' άκρας τιμής

Εν Πέραν τη 3<sup>η</sup> Μαΐου 1915

**Summary:** Since I have been called up for military service and am required to pay the amount due, I would be grateful if you could intervene with the Central Board on my behalf so that I may receive the sum of Ltq 22.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρου και προσωπικού (Clergy and Staff Correspondence)*, 1914–1923, no 64

### **09 May 1915: The sacristan of Holy Trinity church to the Central Board**

Προς την Σεβαστήν Κεντρικήν Εφορείαν της ορθοδόξου Κοινότητος Σταυροδρομίου

Βασιζόμενος εις τα φιλεύσπλαχνα υμών συναισθήματα υφ' ων εμφορείσθε, τολμῶ δια της παρούσης μου ὅπως θερμοπαρακαλέσω υμᾶς ὅπως ευαρεστούμενοι διατάξητε να μοι δοθῆ δάνειον εκ δέκα πέντε λιρών Τουρκίας συμπληρών δε και το υπόλοιπον μέχρι των 22 Λ. Τ. δυνηθῶ πληρώνων το στρατιωτικόν αντισήκωμα να απαλλαγῶ της στρατιωτικῆς υπηρεσίας, διότι στρατολογούμενος εγκαταλείπω εννεαμελῆ οικογένειαν (ἐξ ἑξ ἀνηλίκων τέκνων, ἐξ ὧν το μεγαλύτερον (sic) 9 ετών, πατρὸς και γυναικός). Προς ἀπόσβεσιν του δανείου δύνamai εκ του μισθοῦ μου να παραχωρῶ τουλάχιστον μίαν λίραν Τουρκίας καθ' ἕκαστον μῆναν. Ευελπιστῶν ὅτι η ταπεινῆ μου αὐτῆ παρὰκλήσις θέλει εισακουσθῆ, διατελῶ εσαεὶ ευγνώμων.

Ο νεωκόρος Ἁγίας Τριάδος, Γ. Ν.

**Summary:** The sacristan of Agia Triada Church requests a loan of 15 Turkish Liras. He will add to this amount to reach a total of 22 TL required for the military fee (*bedel-i askerîye*). If conscripted, he would leave behind a family of nine, (namely) his wife, his elderly father, and six young children, the eldest only nine years old. For repayment, he can contribute one TL per month from his salary.

Source: *Ἀλληλογραφία Κλήρου και προσωπικοῦ (Clergy and Staff Correspondence)*, 1914–1923, no 64

### 23 May 1915: V. O., chief cantor in the church of Panagia, to the Committee of the church

Προς την ἀξιότιμον Επιτροπὴν του εν Σταυροδρομιῶ  
ιεροῦ ναοῦ

Αἰτησις δανείου

Ἀξιότιμοι Κύριοι,

Του ζητήματος της στρατολογίας των ιεροψαλτών λήξαντος δυστυχώς επί βλάβη αυτών, οι ιεροψάλται έχοντες ηλικίαν μέχρι 45 στρατολογούνται. Επειδή δυστυχώς κι εγώ υπάγομαι εις την κατηγορίαν αυτήν, ως φέρων ηλικίαν 43 ετών, παρακαλώ θερμώς όπως η αξιότιμος Επιτροπή, η πάντοτε πατρικώς μεριμνήσασα περί εμού, και περιβάλλουσα μοι δια πολλής αγάπης και εκτιμήσεως, σκεφθή εν τη δεινή μου ταύτη περιστάσει τι δύναται να πράξη ίνα με απαλλάξη της δυσχερούς ταύτης θέσεως και σώση την πολυμελή οικογένειάν μου.

Ευελπιστών ότι η αξιότιμος και Σεβαστή μοι Επιτροπή θέλει λάβει υπ' όψει (sic) την ταπεινήν μου ταύτην αίτησιν, εκφράζω εκ των προτέρων τας απειρους μου ευχαριστίας και διατελώ μετά της προσηκούσης υπολήψεως.

B. O., πρωτοψάλτης Εισοδίων Παναγίας  
Πέραν, 23 Μαΐου 1915

**Summary:** Cantors up to the age of 45 are being conscripted into the army. V. O., the chief cantor of the Church of Panagia, is 43 years old. The church committee has always supported him with paternal care. In this particular circumstance, the question arises as to what can be done to relieve him from this difficult situation and “save” his large family.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρου και προσωπικού (Clergy and Staff Correspondence), 1914–1923*, no 64

## 12 June 1915: The Central Board to the committee of Holy Trinity church

Αξιότιμοι κύριοι,

Η Κεντρική Εφορεία παρατηρήσασα ότι εν τω σωλέα του ιερού ναού της Αγίας Τριάδος συνωστίζεται εξ αμφοτέρων των φύλων πλήθος παραγκωνίζον

διαχειριμένους ενορίες και επιθυμούσα όπως, όσον οίον τε, τηρήται αυστηρά τάξις και άμεμπτος κοσμιότης εν αυτώ, προς αποφυγήν δικαίων παραπόνων, παρακαλεί υμάς όπως, ευαρεστούμενοι, επιστήσητε ιδιαίτερος την προσοχήν υμών επί του αντικειμένου τούτου και, προς τούτο, συνιστά υμίν να απαγορεύσητε ρητώς την εν τω σωλέα είσοδον παιδιών και γυναικών εκτός εκείνων αίτινες έχουσιν στασίδια ενωκιασμένα εν αυτώ. Παρακαλούντες αύθις όπως ιδιαίτερος μεριμνήσητε περί του αντικειμένου τούτου, διατελούμεν, αξιότιμοι κύριοι, μετ' άκρας υπολήψεως και τιμής

Ο έφορος γραμματεύς

Ο πρόεδρος

**Summary:** In the central part of the church of the Holy Trinity, we observe a crowd of both men and women pushing aside distinguished parishioners. Desiring strict order and impeccable decency, we expressly forbid the entry of children and women into the central part of the church, except for those who have rented stalls.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρου και προσωπικού (Clergy and Staff Correspondence), 1914–1923*, no 65

## 25 June 1915: The Central Board to the Patriarch Germanos V

Τη Αυτού Θειοτάτη Παναγιότητι τω Οικουμενικώ Πατριάρχει Κυρίω Κυρίω Γερμανώ τω Ε' Παναγιώτατε Δέσποτα,

Συγκινημένη η Κεντρική Εφορία εκ της αθλίας καταστάσεως των προς το έλεος της κοινότητος καταφυγόντων ομογενών προσφύγων, οίτινες γυμνοί, πειναλέοι και φερέοικοι έτεινον χείρα ικέτιδα προς την ημετέραν Κοινότητα, ενέτεινεν όλας αυτης τας

προσπαθείας όπως παράσχη εις τους δυστυχείς τούτους την βοήθειαν ήν υπαγορεύει η χριστιανική αγάπη.

Άπασαι αι Σχολαί αυτής, πεπληρωμένοι ήδη, παρέχουσιν άσυλον εις επτακόσια πενήκοντα περίπου άτομα, εκατόν πενήκοντα ομογενών οικογενειών αποτελουμένων το πλείστον υπό γυναικών, παιδιών, γραιών και γερόντων.

Προς τους δυστυχείς τούτους έσχε την γενναιότητα να προσφέρει άρτον, ιατρικήν περίθαλψιν και φάρμακα, συστηματοποιήσασα ιδιαιτέραν υπηρεσίαν χάριν της τάξεως και καταρτίσασα επί τούτω Επιτροπήν, διανέμουςαν περίπου ενί εκάστω την προσήκουσαν συνδρομήν κατόπιν διαφόρων πληροφοριών και επισταμένης εξακριβώσεως της καταστάσεως ενός εκάστου.

Αλλά αι υλικαί δυνάμεις της Κοινότητος ημών, καταπεπονημένοι ήδη υπό του βάρους της οικονομικής καχεξίας και της στρεείσεως (sic) διαφόρων αυτής πόρων, του προϋπολογισμού κλείοντος δι' ασυνήθους ελλείμματος, υποχωρούσι προ των αυξουσών αναγκών των γυμνητευόντων και λιμοκτονούντων προσφύγων.

Οι εν τοις Ναιοίς περιερχόμενοι υπέρ αυτών δίσκοι αποφέρουσιν ασήμαντη επικουρία εις τας ογκώδεις δαπάνας, ας επιβάλλει η συντήρησις του πλήθους τούτου των ανεστίων ομογενών.

Προ της αμηχανίας ταύτης η Κεντρική Εφορία μόνην λύσιν εύρεν ίνα προσφεύγουσα εις την συναντίληψιν της Υμετέρας Θειοτάτης Παναγιότητος ικετεύση αυτήν όπως ευδοκήσασα παράσχη αυτή ποσόν 300 τουλάχιστον λιρών όπως μη υπείκουσα εις σκληράν ανάγκην στέρηση τους εις το έλεος αυτής καταφυγόντας της προσφερομένης παρηγόρου συνδρομής.

Η ημετέρα Κοινότης γενναιοφρόνως προσενεγκούσα άλλας 500 λίρας υπέρ των προσφύγων της Θράκης

ευελπιστεί ότι η υπέρ των υπό την εαυτής αιγίδα προσφύγων φωνή αυτής θέλει εύρει ευνοϊκήν ηχώ εν τη μεγάλη καρδιά του πανσέπτου εθνάρχου ημών.

Κατασπαζόμενοι την σεπτήν δεξιάν της Υμετέρας Θειοτάτης Παναγιότητος, διατελούμεν μετά βαθυτάτου σεβασμού και προσκυνητώς τέκνα αυτής ευπειθέστατα.

**Summary:** The miserable situation of Greek Orthodox refugees, all of them naked, hungry and homeless, has left them entirely dependent on the mercy of the community. All schools, already at full capacity, are sheltering approximately 750 people, including 150 Greek Orthodox families, mostly women, children, and elderly persons. The community has provided bread, medical care, and medication through a dedicated service, distributing appropriate aid to each person on the spot. However, the community's resources are already strained under the weight of economic hardship. The financial deficit is unprecedented, collection trays yield nothing, and the costs continue to mount.

Source: *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου (Letters of Ecumenical Patriarchate), 1914–1922*, 053 ΓΟΠ

### **17 July 1915: The right domestikos (cantor) of Saints Constantine and Helen church to the Central Board**

Προς την Σεβαστήν Κεντρικήν Εφορίαν της Ελληνικής ορθοδόξου κοινότητος Σταυροδρομίου

Ενταύθα

Θ., δεξιός δομέστιχος του ιερού ναού των αγίων Κωνσταντίνου και Ελένης

Αίτησις δια στρατιωτικό αντισήκωμα

Σεβαστοί μου Κύριοι,

Ο βαθυσεβάστως υποφαινόμενος δεξιός δομέστικος του Ιερού Ναού των Αγίων Κωνσταντίνου και Ελένης εν Πέραν, προάγομαι να εκθέσω υμίν τα ακόλουθα.

Από τεσσάρων ήδη μηνών βασανιζόμενος και παρενοχλούμενος από τα αστυνομικά όργανα, προσκαλούμενος υπό του στρατολογικού γραφείου, μη έχων δε τα απαιτούμενα μέσα προς πληρωμήν του στρατιωτικού αντισηκώματος και τυγχάνων κηδεμών πολυμελούς οικογενείας μετά της γραιας μητρός μου, έγνων ίνα αποταθώ (sic) προς την Σεβαστήν Κεντρικήν Εφορίαν και θερμώς παρακαλέσω Αυτήν όπως εν τη εγνωσμένη Αυτής μερίμνη υπέρ των υπαλλήλων της Κοινότητος, ευδοκήση να καταβάλλη (sic) το ήμισυ τουλάχιστον ποσόν, έναντι του μηνιαίου μισθού μου.

Πεπειθώς ότι ληφθήσεται υπ' όψιν η ταπεινή μου αύτη αίτησις, χάριν της πολυμελούς οικογενείας μου, διατελώ μετ' απείρου σεβασμού

Ο. Ι. Θ

Πέραν, τη 17<sup>η</sup> Ιουλίου 1915

**Summary:** For the past four months, he has been tormented and harassed by the police and summoned by the army office. Lacking the necessary means to pay the military fee, he, as the guardian of an extended family including his elderly mother, is requesting the Central Board to cover at least half of his monthly salary.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρου και προσωπικού (Clergy and Staff Correspondence)*, 1914–1923, no 64

## 17 October 1915: The Grand Vicar, Kallinikos to all girl school committees

Η Π. Κ. Εκπαιδευτική Επιτροπή έχουσα υπ' όψει την μεγάλην χρησιμότητα της Τουρκικής γλώσσης εν τω

Οθωμανικῶ Κράτει ἐνέκρινεν ἵνα εἰσαγάγῃ τὴν διδασκαλίαν αὐτῆς καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐκπαιδευτήρια τῶν θηλέων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ ὥρισεν, ἵνα ἡ διδασκαλία αὐτῆς, υποχρεωτικὴ οὖσα δια πάσας τὰς μαθητριάς, ἀρχῆται ἀπὸ τῆς Γ' τάξεως, γινομένη ἀνά τέσσαρας ὥρας καθ' ἑβδομάδα εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν Σχολῶν τῆς πρώτης παιδεύσεως, ἀνά δύο δὲ ὥρας εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν Σχολῶν τῆς μέσης παιδεύσεως. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ διδασκαλία τῆς Τουρκικῆς γλώσσης νυν πρῶτον εἰσάγεται εἰς τὰ Παρθεναγωγεία, διδασκτέα ὕλη ὀρίζεται κατὰ τὸ παρὸν σχολικὸν ἔτος δι' ἅπασας τὰς τάξεις αὐτῶν ἡ περιεχομένη ἐν τῇ Γ' τάξει τοῦ ἐγκλείστου προγράμματος.

Διατελούμεν δὲ μετ' εὐχῶν

Ἐν τοῖς Πατριαρχείοις, τῇ 17 Οκτωβρίου 1915

**Summary:** The Patriarchal Central Education Committee emphasizes the usefulness of the Ottoman language within the Ottoman State. Consequently, it has approved its introduction in girls' schools across the Archbishopric of Constantinople. The teaching of the Turkish language, introduced for the first time in girls' schools, is mandatory for all students from the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade onward, with four hours of instruction per week.

Source: *Γράμματα Οικουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου (Letters of Ecumenical Patriarchate), 1914–1922*, 053 ΓΟΠ

## 22 January 1916: The Grand Vicar Kallinikos

Θεοφιλέστατοι Ἀρχιερατικῶς Προϊστάμενοι, Οσιώτατοι Ἱερατικῶς Προϊστάμενοι καὶ τιμιώτατοι κ. Ἐπίτροποι τῶν ἐνοριῶν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως

Ἀνωτέρα σεπτὴ ἐντολὴ προτρεπόμεθα ὑμᾶς ὅπως, ἐν συνεννοήσει καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Μουκτάρου καὶ Κεχαγιά, καταρτίσητε καὶ ἀποστείλητε εἰς τὰ Πατριαρχεῖα ἐντὸς

βραχυτάτου χρονικού διαστήματος κατάλογον των εν τη υμετέρα ενορία ομολογουμένως πτωχών και εχόντων απόλυτον ανάγκην υποστηρίξεως, καταβαλομένης της δεούσης προσοχής ίνα μη υπεισδύσωσιν ονόματα, συμπαθείας ένεκα, ή άλλων τοιούτων λόγων, οπότε ληφθήσονται τα δέοντα κατά των παραβατών μέτρα. Προσεπιδηλούται δε συγχρόνως όπως υποδειχθώσι δύο ή τρία φερέγγυα πρόσωπα εν τη υμετέρα ενορία υπεράνω πάσης υπονοίας ιστάμενα επ' ονόματι των οποίων θα αποστέλληται εκάστοτε ποσόν χρημάτων ωρισμένον εκ των Πατριαρχείων μετά της εντολής όπως υπ' αυτών διανεμηθε εις τους πτωχούς της ενορίας, συνωδά τω αποσταλησομένω καταλόγω, μηδεμιάς παρεκτός τούτου επιτρεπομένης παρεμβάσεως. Οφείλουσι δε ούτοι να αναφέρωσιν εις τους πτωχούς να παύσωσιν ερχόμενοι εις τα Πατριαρχεία δεν θα ήναι δυνατόν να λαμβάνωσιν ουδ' ελάχιστον χρηματικόν βοήθημα. Εφιστώντες και αύθις την αμερόληπτον σύνταξιν των καταλόγων τούτων εν πάση τη δυνατή ακριβεία αναμένομεν την αποστολήν αυτών συντόμως.

Είητε δ' επί τούτοις εν Κυρίω υγιαίνοντες.

Εν τοις Πατριαρχείοις, τη 22 Ιανουαρίου 1916

Ο Μέγας Πρωτοσύγγελλος Καλλινίκος

**Summary:** It is requested that the *muhtar* of each parish compile a list of those who are “undoubtedly” poor and in absolute need of support, and designate two or three “creditworthy parishioners” to oversee the distribution of the sums allocated by the Patriarchate.

Source: *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου (Letters of the Ecumenical Patriarchate)*, 1914–1922, 053 ΓΟΠ

## 29 January 1916: The Committee of the Holy Trinity church to the Central Board

Η επιτροπή του ιερού ναού της Αγίας Τριάδος προς την Κεντρικήν Εφορείαν

Αξιότιμοι Κύριοι,

Η επιτροπή του ιερού ναού της Αγίας Τριάδος λαμβάνουσα υπόψιν ότι ολονέν αυξάνουσιν αι κηδεiai των απόρων στρατιωτών και ότι ευρίσκεται εις την ανάγκην να πληρώση δι' εκάστην κηδεiαν γρόσια 35 δια την νεκροφόρον άμαξαν εκάστου νεκρού προς μεταφοράν αυτού εις το Νεκροταφείον Σισλι και παρατηρήσασα ότι έναντι των προϋπολογισθέντων δια το έτος 1915 γρ 600 εδαπανήθησαν γρ 1230, μόνον δε δια τον μη έτι λήξαντα μήνα Ιανουάριον 1916 εδαπανήθησαν γρ 400 περίπου, λαμβάνει την τιμήν να παρακαλέση την Εφορείαν όπως κατά την σημερινήν αυτής συνεδρίαν σκεφθή και εξεύρη μέτρον προς ελάττωσιν της ολονέν αυξανούσης ταύτης δαπάνης.

Επί τούτοις διατελεί μετά πολλής της τιμής και υπολήψεως

Ο επίτροπος γραμματεύς Ο πρόεδρος της επιτροπής

**Summary:** The Committee of the Church of the Holy Trinity (*Agia Triada*), having taken into account the unceasing increase in funerals of indigent soldiers and the necessity of paying 35 gurus per funeral for transportation to the cemetery, has observed that instead of the 600 gurus budgeted for 1915, a total of 1,230 gurus has been spent. Furthermore, in January 1916 alone, approximately 400 gurus were paid out. The Committee therefore requests the esteemed Central Board to find a way to reduce this ever-increasing cost.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία εκκλησίας Εισοδίων (Correspondence of the church of Panayia), 1914–1923*, 626

**15 March 1916: Efterpi Michailidou, director of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Astiki School to the Committee of Schools for girls of the Greek orthodox community of Stavrodromi**

Ευτέρπη Μιχαηλίδου, διευθύντρια της Γ' Αστικής Σχολής

Προς την αξιότιμον Εφορίαν των Αστικών των θηλέων Σχολών της ελληνικής ορθοδόξου Κοινότητας Σταυροδρομίου

Αξιότιμος Εφορία,

Έχουσα υπ' όψιν την υπ' αριθμ. 300 και ημερομηνία 8.03.1916 επιστολήν της Σεβαστής Εφορίας δι' ης ζητείται παρ' εμού η βεβαίωσις περί της τηρήσεως πασών των περί θερμάνσεως διατάξεων αυτής ως και η κατάσταση ακριβούς στατιστικής των κατά τα δύο τελευταία σχολικά έτη ασθενειών των διδασκουσών και διδασκομένων σπυδω όπως παράσχω τη Σεβαστή Εφορία τας ζητούμενας πληροφορίες.

Συνωδά τω α' εδαφίω της υπ' αριθμ. 285 και ημερομηνία 3.12.1915 επιστολής της Σεβαστής Εφορίας δι' ου απαγορεύεται να ανάπτωνται αι θερμάστραι των αιθουσών όταν το εν αυταίς θερμόμετρο ανέρχεται τους 10 βαθμούς, εδόθη υπ' εμού διαταγή τη θυρωρώ όπως συμμορφωθή προς την εντολήν ταύτην της Σεβαστής Εφορίας. Εξαιρέσις εγένετο μόνον ενίοτε δια την εις το ισόγειον ευρισκομένην παράδοσιν εν τη οποία η υγρασία και το ψύχος ήσαν επαισθητώτεροι. Εάν εις την εν τη εφημερίδι «Πατρίς» γενησομένην δημοσίευσιν ενέχεται το προσωπικόν της Σχολής μου, ομολογώ ότι δεν είμαι εις θέσιν να βεβαιώσω ή να αρνηθώ. Τούτο μόνον δύναμαι μετά βεβαιότητος να δηλώσω τη Σεβαστή Εφορία, ότι κατά την παραμονήν της δημοσιεύσεως εκείνης, οπότε εγώ αδιαθετούσα απουσίαζον εκ της Σχολής, συνέβη

μικροεπεισόδιο μεταξύ θυρωρού και μιας εκ των συναδέλφων, της κυρίας Ευριδίκης Φίλιου. Η εν λόγω συνάδελφος εξήτησε από την θυρωρόν να ανάψη την εν τη παραδόσει αυτής θερμάστραν καθ' όσον το εν τη παραδόσει αυτής θερμόμετρο ενδείκνυε 9 βαθμούς, αλλά εκείνη συμβουλευθείσα το εν τη αυτή θερμόμετρον όπερ ενδείκνυε κατ' αυτήν άνω των 10 βαθμών, ηρνήθη να πράξη τούτο έχουσα υπ' όψιν την εντολήν της Σεβαστής Εφορίας, όπερ βέβαια δεν θα συνέβαινε εάν δεν συνέπιπτε κι εκείνη την ημέραν η απουσία της διευθύνσεως.

Όσον αφορά την φύσιν των ασθενειών των διδασκαλισσών και των μαθητριών, έχω να παρατηρήσω ότι αύται δεν φαίνονται προερχόμεναι εκ της κακής της Σχολής θερμάνσεως, ως τούτο δεικνύει σαφώς η ως έπεται στατιστική.

Κατά τα σχολικά έτη 1914-1915 και 1915-1916, η διευθύντρια ησθένησε εκ γρίπης και εντερικής διαταραχής, η δεσποινίς Γιάγκου εξ εντερικής διαταραχής και τραχειίτιδος, η κυρία Ευριδίκη Φίλιου εκ στοματικής και εντερικής διαταράξεως και η δις Νικολαΐδου εκ βρογχίτιδος ήτις προσέβαλεν αυτήν προ της προσελεύσεως αυτής εις την Σχολήν και ήτις παρετάθη και μετά την έναρξιν των μαθημάτων.

Εκ των μαθητριών ησθένησαν 6 εκ γρίπης, 3 εκ πνευμονίας, 3 εκ τυφοειδούς πυρετού, 1 εκ βρογχίτιδος και 1 εκ πλευρίτιδος, 3 εκ κωκύτιδος, 4 εκ πυρετού προελθόντος εκ της δια του αντιτυφικού ορού ενέσεως, 2 εξ εντερικών διαταράξεων, 3 εκ στομαχικών διαταράξεων, 1 εξ οφθαλμικής παθήσεως, 4 εξ αναιμίας, 3 εξ οδονταλγίας, 3 εκ χιμέθλων, 2 εξ αμυγδαλών, 2 εκ ταινίας και εξ μίνθων, μία εκ δερματικού νοσήματος και 20 περίπου εξ ιλαράς, της οποίας είχε σχηματισθεί εστία μολύσματος κατά τον παρελθόντα Μάρτιο και Απρίλιο.

Διαβεβαιούσα την Σεβαστήν Εφορίαν ότι η στατιστική εγένετο μετά πάσης ακριβείας, διατελώ μετά πολλού σεβασμού

Η διευθύντρια της Γ' Αστικής Σχολής

Ευτέρπη Μιχαηλίδου

Εν Σταυροδρομίω, τη 15 / 03 / 1916

**Summary:** It is forbidden to light stoves when the thermometer in the classrooms reaches 10 degrees. An exception is sometimes made for the ground floor, where humidity and cold are more intense.

A minor incident occurred between a concierge and one of her colleagues, Evridiki F. The colleague instructed the concierge to light the stove in her classroom, as the thermometer indicated 9 degrees. However, after checking the same thermometer – which, according to her, showed a temperature above 10 degrees – the concierge refused to do so.

Statistical data on the nature of illnesses among teachers and students suggest that these are likely not caused by inadequate heating in the school.

Source: *Αιτήσεις, εκθέσεις, αλληλογραφία σχολών (Requests, reports, school correspondence)*, νο 195, 1912–1916

## **22 March 1916: The Committee of the Holy Trinity church to the Central Board**

Μισθοδοσία θυρωρού Β.

Εν Σταυροδρομίω, τη 22<sup>α</sup> Μαρτίου 1916

Προς την Σεβαστήν Κεντρικήν Εφορίαν της Κοινότητος Σταυροδρομίου

Αξιότιμοι Κύριοι,

Του θυρωρού του καθ' ημάς ιερού ναού Α. Β. μεταβάντος ως γνωστόν υμίν τυγχάνει κατά τον Οκτώβριον

του παρελθόντος έτους προς εκπλήρωσιν της στρατιωτικής αυτού θητείας, η εκκλησιαστική επιτροπή, επί τη ελπίδι ότι θα επανήρχετο συντόμως, είχε αποφασίσει όπως παρέχει εις την οικογένειάν του το ήμισυ της μισθοδοσίας του, ήτοι γρόσια 155, δια του υπολοίπου ημίσεως πληρώνει τον αντικαταστάτην του τον οποίον προσέλαβε αμέσως. Αλλ' επειδή φαίνεται η επιστροφή του ότι θέλει βραδύνει, η δε εν λόγω αντικατάστασις του δεν είναι δυνατόν του λοιπού να εξακολουθήση υπηρετών με μηνιαίαν μισθοδοσίαν ολιγωτέραν των 300 γροσίων, απεφασίσθη κατά την τελευταίαν συνεδρίαν όπως από της 1ης προσεχούς Απριλίου πάυση πλέον παρεχόμενον το εν λόγω ποσόν εις την οικογένειαν του, του προϋπολογισμού άλλωστε μη επιτρέποντος την τοιαύτην παροχήν. Δια τούτο φέροντες ταύτα κατά καθήκον εις γνώσιν υμών παρακαλούμεν θερμώς την Σεβαστήν Κεντρικήν Εφορίαν όπως θελήση να λάβη πρόνοιαν περί της όλως απροστατεύτου απομεινάσης ταύτης οικογενείας εκ οποίας εις σχετικήν έκκλησιν επισυνάπτωμεν υμίν ώδε.

Διατελούμεν δε μετ' άκρας προς υμάς τιμής και υπολήψεως

Ο επίτροπος γραμματεύς

Ο πρόεδρος

**Summary:** The salary of concierge V., who left last October to fulfill his military service, was initially managed with the expectation of his quick return. The church committee continued to provide half of his salary to his family while using the other half to hire a replacement. However, as V.'s military service has been prolonged, the committee has ceased salary payments to his family and requests the Central Board to assume responsibility for their support.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρου και προσωπικού (Clergy and Staff Correspondence)*, 1914–1923, No 65

## 07 April 1916: The Committee of Agios Konstantinos church to the Central Board

Ελληνική ορθόδ. Κοινότης Σταυροδρομίου. Ιερά Εκκλησία των Αγ. Κωνσταντίνου και Ελένης. Τω Εξοχωτάτω Κυρίω Α. Παντζεϊρη Βέη, προέδρου της Κεντρικής Εφορίας της Κοινότητας Σταυροδρομίου

Εξοχώτατε,

Εις απάντησιν της επιστολής της Κεντρικής Εφορίας δι' ἣς ενετείλατε ἡμῖν ὅπως διανείωμεν γρ. 300 τοῖς πτωχοῖς της ἡμετέρας ενορίας, αναγκαζόμεθα νὰ απευθύνωμεν τὴν παρούσαν τὴ υμετ. Εξοχώτητι δια τὸ ἐπεῖγον αὐτῆς ἵνα δια τῆς υμετέρας ἐξοχότητος λάβωμεν ταχέαν τὴν ἀπάντησιν εἰς τὴν ἀκόλουθον ἡμῶν αἴτησιν.

Πέρυσι, ὅτε τὰ δεινὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἦσαν κατὰ πολὺ μικρότερα, διανείωμεν καὶ μόλις ἐπηρεύσαμεν με γρ. 1500 ἐφέτος ὅθεν ὅτε πανσύνγνωστος ἡ φρικαλέα τῶν πενήτων κατάστασις καὶ διὰ τὴν καταπληκτικὴν αὐτῶν ἀύξησης καὶ συγκέντρωσις ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρα ενορία, παρακαλούμεν ὅπως μὰς υποδείξητε τίνι τρόπῳ θὰ ἀνταποκριθῶμεν δια 300 γρ. ἅτινα μόλις εἰς τοὺς λεγόμενους ζητιάνους θὰ ἐπαρκώσιν. Ἡμεῖς τουλάχιστον, οἱ ἐν ἀμεσωτάτῳ γνῶσει τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ προσώπων διατελοῦντες καὶ πολλαχῶς τὸ ζήτημα τοῦτο μελετώντες, θεωροῦμεν ἀνεπαρκέστατον μὲν ἀναγκαιότατον ὅμως τὸ ποσὸν τουλάχιστον τῶν 1200 γρ εἰς ὃ παρακαλούμεν ὅπως δώσητε ἡμῖν τὴν ἐντολήν ἵνα ἀνέλθομεν, ἄλλως ἀγνοοῦμεν τὴν λύσιν τοῦ ζητήματος τούτου.

Ἀναμένοντες ὅθεν ἀνυπομόνως τὴν ἀπάντησιν τῆς Κεντρικῆς Εφορίας ἐπὶ τούτῳ, διατελοῦμεν προθύμως

**Summary:** Last year, when the suffering of Christians was far less severe, we distributed 1,500 gurus, which were just enough to meet the needs. This year, given the well-known dire situation of the indigent population,

particularly their alarming increase and concentration in our parish, we ask you to advise us on how we are expected to manage with only 300 gurus. This sum will barely suffice for the so-called beggars.

Those among us who have a direct knowledge of the situation and carefully examine this issue from multiple perspectives consider at least 1,200 gurus to be absolutely necessary, though still insufficient. We therefore ask for your directive on this matter, as we see no viable solution otherwise.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Αγίου Κωνσταντίνου (Correspondence of Saint Constantine church)*, 1914–1934

## 10 May 1916: The Central Board to Monsignor Agios Stavroupoleos Christophoros Knitis

Αριθμ. 6268

Νεκροί Στρατιωτών

Η Κεντρική Εφορεία τω Θεοφιλεστάτω Αγίω Σταυρουπόλεως κκ. Χριστοφόρω Κνήτη, ενταύθα

Θεοφιλέστατε,

Η Κεντρική Εφορεία εξ ανακοινώσεως του κ. Η. Ηλιάσκου κατά την τελευταίαν αυτής συνεδρίαν εξενίσθη ακούσασα ότι νεκροί τινες των υπό των κυβερνητικών νοσοκομείων αποστελλομένων στρατιωτών θάπτονται εν τω νεκροταφείω της Κοινότητος χωρίς να ψάλληται νεκρώσιμος ακολουθία. Την είδησιν ταύτην διαβιβάζουσα ημίν παρακαλεί όπως εξακριβώσητε το πράγμα και λάβητε τα απαιτούμενα μέτρα προς πρόληψιν της αντιχριστιανικής ταύτης πράξεως.

Εγνώσθη προς τούτοις, ότι οι νεκροί των στρατιωτών θάπτονται γυμνοί, φερόμενοι εντός πεπαλαιωμένων φερέτρων· επειδή τούτο δυσφημίζει μεγάλως την υπόληψιν

της ημετέρας Κοινότητος, η Κεντρική Εφορεία εξακριβώσασα την αλήθειαν του πράγματος απεφάσισεν ινα μεριμνήση περί της κατασκευής φερέτρων και σαβάνων.

Επί τούτοις διατελούμεν μετά σεβασμού

**Summary:** The Central Board was surprised to learn that the bodies of some soldiers sent here by government hospitals were buried in the community's cemetery without a funeral procession being chanted. While conveying this news to you, it requests both verification of the matter and the necessary measures to prevent this anti-Christian act.

Furthermore, it has come to light that the deceased soldiers were buried naked, placed in old coffins. As this severely damages the reputation of our community, the Central Board, after verifying the matter, has decided to undertake the production of coffins and shrouds.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρου και προσωπικού (Correspondence of Clergy and Staff)*, 1914–1923, no 64

### **15 June 1916: The Stavrodromi association “The Orphans of the Virgin” to the Central Board**

Η εν Σταυροδρομίω αδελφότης Τα Ορφανά της Παναγίας προς την Σεβαστήν Κεντρικήν Εφορίαν της Ελληνικής Ορθοδόξου Κοινότητος Πέραν. Ενταύθα

Εν Σταυροδρομίω, 15 Ιουνίου 1915

Αξιότιμοι Κύριοι,

Έχοντες υπ' όψει τον προϋπολογισμόν του τρέχοντος έτους, ούτινος αντίγραφον λαμβάνωμεν την τιμήν να επισυνάψωμεν τη παρούση, καθήκον θεωρούμεν, κατ' απόφασιν ληφθείσαν κατά την τελευταίαν ήμών συνεδρίαν, να εκθέσωμεν υμίν τα εξής:

Ουδείς δύναται να αρνηθή ότι από της εποχής της ιδρύσεως της ημετέρας Αδελφότητος κατά πολύ εβελτιώθη η θέσις των εκθέτων, άμα δε και ανυψώθη ηθικώς η υπηρεσία αύτη απέναντι του Κοινού δια της ιδρύσεως Οικοτροφείου και δι' αρκετών άλλων ωφελίμων μεταρρυθμίσεων γενομένων παρ' αυτής. Ταύτα παρά τους ελαχίστους σχετικώς πόρους ών η Αδελφότης απ' αρχής διέθετε.

Ατυχώς όμως από τινος η λειτουργία του ημετέρου Σωματείου ήρχισε να δυσχεραίνη, το μεν ένεκα ως των παρουσών κρίσιμων περιστάσεων πολλαπλασιασθεισών αναγκών αυτού, το δ' ένεκα της σημαντικής ελαττώσεως των προσόδων. Η οικονομική δε της αδελφότητος κατάστασις έφθασεν ήδη εις το απροχώρητον απειλούσα την κατάρρευσιν του όλου τούτου πολυτίμου έργου, ως σαφώς προκύπτει και εκ του προϋπολογισμού του τρέχοντος έτους παρουσιάζοντος έλλειμμα εκ γρ. 58 625, όπερ αδυνατούμεν φυσικά εξ ιδίων ημών πόρων να καλύψωμεν.

Τούτων ούτως εχόντων, το ημέτερον Διοικητικόν Συμβούλιον συσκεφθέν επειγόντως και λαβόν υπ' όψει ότι η ημετέρα αδελφότης διατελούσα, κατά το γράμμα του 18<sup>ου</sup> άρθρου του Κανονισμού, υπό την προστασίαν της Σεβαστής Υμών Κεντρικής Εφορίας, εξαρτάται απευθείας παρ' αυτής και έρχεται μάλλον επίουρος εις αυτήν εν τη υπηρεσία των Ορφανών της Κοινότητος, έργον όπερ βαρύνει, ως εικός, αυτήν και μόνην, απεφάσισεν όπως εκθέτον την δυσχερή ταύτην κατάστασιν του Σωματείου εις την Υμετέραν Κεντρικήν Εφορίαν, παρακαλέση αυτήν ίνα προσέλθη αρωγός κατά την έκτακτον ταύτην περίστασιν καλύπτουσα, ει δυνατόν, αύτη το ως άνω έλλειμμα.

Εν εναντία περιπτώσει, ευρισκόμενοι προ ανυπερβλήτων δυσχερειών, ας δεν θα δυνηθώμεν να υπερπηδήσωμεν δια

των μέσων άτινα διαθέτομεν, θα αναγκασθώμεν μετά μεγίστης λύπης να καταθέσωμεν την εντολήν ημών, επαφιέμενοι εις την μεγαλώνυμον Κοινότητα, της οποίας η Υμετέρα Σεβαστή Κεντρική Εφορία λίαν επαξίως προΐσταται, την φροντίδα όπως μεριμνήση αύτη περί της τύχης των ταλαιπώρων ορφανών της.

Επί τούτοις διατελούμεν μετ' άκρας προς Υμάς υπολήψεως

**Summary:** Since the creation of our association, the situation of exposed children has greatly improved. At the same time, the establishment of a Boarding School has elevated the moral standing of this service in the eyes of the public, despite its initially limited resources.

Unfortunately, however, the operation of our association has begun to face serious difficulties due to prevailing circumstances. Its financial situation has already reached a critical point, and all its valuable work is at risk of collapse, as is evident from this year's budget, which shows a deficit of 58,625 gurus – an amount we are naturally unable to cover from our own resources.

As our association operates under the protection of the Central Board, we implore its assistance in this extraordinary situation by covering, if possible, the aforementioned deficit. Otherwise, with the deepest regret, we will be forced to relinquish our mandate, leaving it to the greater Community to take responsibility for the fate of its afflicted orphans.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Κεντρικής Εφορείας (Correspondence of the Central Board)*, 1914–1919

**10 December 1916: Nikolaos A., former teacher at the school of Agios Konstantinos to the Central Board**

Τη αξιοσεβάστω Κεντρική Εφορία

Σεβαστέ μοι κύριε Πρόεδρε,

Ο ευσεβάστως υποφαινόμενος από του παρελθόντος Μαΐου στρατολογηθείς ειτελώ μέχρι τούδε την στρατιωτικήν μου θητείαν εν τω νοσοκομείω της στρατιωτικής Σχολής Παγκαλτίου. Λόγοι επιτακτικώτατοι και ανωτέρα βία ανεξάρτητοι της θελήσεως μου, σεβαστέ μοι κύριε Πρόεδρε, δεσμεύουσί με μακράν των διδασκαλικών μου καθηκόντων άτινα από πέντε συναπτά έτη εξετέλεσα, διδάξας εν τη Σχολή Αγίου Κωνσταντίνου και μη δυνάμενος παρεκκλίνει της στρατιωτικής μου υπηρεσίας, εξ ής απολυόμενος ευθύς θέλω αναλάβω τα τέως εν τη Κοινότητι Πέραν διδασκαλικά μου καθήκοντα. Η αξιοτίμος εφορεία Ζωγραφείου ορθώς κατανοήσασα τούτο, μετά την λήξιν του σχολικού μου συμβολαίου επί εν έτι έτος εξηκολούθησεν αποτίουσα μοι μηνιαίως, μέχρι της 1<sup>ης</sup> παρελθόντος Σεπτεμβρίου, δηλονότι ανά τρεις τουρκικάς λίρας, ήτοι το ήμισυ σχεδόν του διδασκαλικού μου μισθού αιτησάμενος παρ' αυτής επί έν έτος άδειαν απουσίας εκ της Σχολής δια τον γνωστόν ως άνω ερρέθη λόγον. Ληξάσης όμως της προθεσμίας ταύτης και δεσμευόμενος έτι υπό της κυβερνητικής μου υπηρεσίας όπως διδάξω αύθις εν τη Σχολή ητησάμην εκ νέου παρά της αξιοτίμου εφορείας ανανέωσιν της άδειας προς ολιγόμηνον τουλάχιστον απουσίαν, ευελπιστών πάντως επί τη θάπτων ή βράδιον βελτιώσει της σημερινής καταστάσεως. Δυστυχώς όμως έτι μη παρασχεθείσης μοι της επί τούτω άδειας, παρατεινομένης δε και της σημερινής καταστάσεως και συνεπώς καταστάσης εσχάτως της οικονομικής μου θέσεως λίαν αξιοθρηνήτου, ως

στερηθέντος αφ' ενός του τρίλιρου επιδόματος, δι οὐ μόλις συνετήρουν τα τέκνα μου και εξοικονομών αυτοίς τον επιούσιον άρτον, αφ' ετέρου δε ως τυγχάνοντος πατρός πολυμελούς οικογενείας και του μεγαλειτέρου μου υιού, παρ' ούτινος θα ήλπιζον οικονομικήν τινα υποστήριξιν σήμερον, και αυτού, λέγω, προ τριών μηνών στρατολογηθέντος και επομένως ουδενί τρέφων άλλην ελπίδαν, ένδακρυσ και γονυκλινής ικετεύω την Σεβαστήν Κεντρικήν Εφορειάν, όπως αναχαιτίση αυτή την μέχρι πεινης επιδεινωθείσαν θέσιν μου και ευαρεστηθή όπως διατάξη την έστω και εις ελάχιστον έναντι του διδασκαλικού μου μισθού μηνιαίαν χρηματικήν καταβολήν, σώζουσα ούτω από προφανούς λιμοκτονίας 5 ψυχάς. Ζητώ δε μυριάκις συγγνώμην παρ' υμών εάν τολμήσω ν' αναφέρω υμίν ότι τα δυστυχή τέκνα μου από δέκα και πέντε ημερών στερούνται φαγητού τρεφομένων εντός 24ωρου μόνον δι' ενός τεμαχίου άρτου, φοβούμενος συνάμα μήπως εις τε την σύζυγόν μου και τα τέκνα μου συμβή απευκταίον τι ως ανεπανόρθωτον. Άλλωστε δε και η εκ της Σχολής απουσία μου δεν επεβάρυνε τόσοσ επαισθητάς τον οικονομικόν αυτής έλεγchon καθότι το εξ εμού προκύψαν κενόν δεν ανεπληρώθη υπό νέου προσώπου, ει μη υπ' αυτών των εν τη Σχολή λειτουργούντων τέως συναδέλφων μου. Επί τούτοις καθιετευών αύθις Υμάς όπως μη παριδίωτε ενός δυστυχούς διδασκάλου και πολυμελούς οικογενειάρχου την απηλπισμένην οικονομικήν σημερινήν θέσιν του, πίπτοντος το γε νυν θύμα του προς την εαυτόν πατρίδα ενόρκως εκτελουμένου καθήκοντος και δη κατά χειμερινήν περίοδον, δέξασθε παρακαλώ τα βαθύτατα προς Υμάς σέβη του

Νικόλαος. Α., τέως διδάσκαλος εν τη Σχολή Αγίου Κωνσταντίου

**Summary:** Nikolaos A. taught at the school of Agios Konstantino for five years before being recruited into the military. For one year after his contract expired, while he was still in the army, the Zografeion Board continued to pay him half of his salary. However, as his mobilization continues, the allowance has been discontinued, leaving him in a state of utter destitution.

In tears and on his knees, he pleads for assistance, invoking the hunger that threatens the lives of five souls. Over the past 15 days, with no other sustenance, his children have survived on nothing but a piece of bread.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρου και προσωπικού (Correspondence of Clergy and Staff)*, 1914–1923, no 66

#### **14 December 1916: Vasilios O. (chief cantor at the church of Eisodion Pera) to the Central Board**

Βασίλειος Ο. (πρωτοψάλτης Εισοδίων Πέραν)

Τη εριτίμω Κεντρική Εφορία της Κοινότητας  
Σταυροδρομίου

Εριτίμοι Κύριοι,

Ο υποφαινόμενος λαμβάνω την τιμήν θερμώς να παρακαλέσω υμάς, όπως εν τη εγνωσμένη υμών καλοκαγαθία λάβητε πρόνοιαν και φροντίδαν και δι' εμέ, προλαμβάνοντες ούτω τον εξευτελισμόν και την κατάπτωσιν της αξιοπρεπείας μου και ως οικογενειάρχου και ως πρωτοψάλτου της ημετέρας Κοινότητος.

Η οικονομική θέσις, εριτίμοι Κύριοι, εις ην περιήλθον συνεπεία των διαφόρων υλικών υποχρεώσεων προς την ημετέραν Κοινότητα, και των αλλεπαλλήλων ασθeneιών εμού τε και της οικογενείας μου, ής δύο μέλη ασθενή εισέτι κατάκεινται, είνε (sic) εκτός πάσης περιγραφής. Εάν δε μη

έξωθεν προσέλθη τις επίκουρος και αρωγός, κινδυνεύω, Κύριοι, πανοικεί να υποστῶ τον θάνατον εξ αστίας.

Παρακαλώ όθεν όπως λειφθή (sic) υπό σοβαράν σκέψιν η παρά πόδας παράκλησίς μου, εν τη πραγματώσει της οποίας έγκειται η σωτηρία και η υλική αναγέννησίς μου.

Ως γνωστόν, το κοινοτικόν ταμείον πάνυ φιλογενώς και φιλανθρωπώς κατέβαλε το στρατιωτικόν αντισήνωμά μου, ήτοι λίρας οθωμανικής τεσσαράκοντα και τέσσερας (44 αριθμ). Το ποσόν τούτο, προστιθεμένου εις αυτό και τεσσάρων οθωμανικών λιρών (αριθμ. 4), υπόλοιπον παλαιού δανείου μου, παρακαλώ όπως καλυφθή δια της μηνιαίας παρακρατήσεως 15 % εκ του μισθού μου, εφ' όσον, εννοείται, ισχείει (sic) το μέτρον τούτο, υποχρεούμενος μετά την κατάργησιν αυτού να εξοφλήσω το υπολειπόμενον ποσόν.

Όσον δ' αφορά το δάνειον των επτά και ήμισυ λιρών (αριθμ 7,5) εκ του ταμείου των συντάξεων, παρακαλώ, όπως απέναντι αυτών καταβάλλω μηνιαίως, ως και πρότερον, πενήκοντα γρόσια (αριθμ. 50).

Τοιουτοτρόπως, ερίτιμοι Κύριοι, και μόνον υπάρχει ελπίς να βελτιωθή οικονομικώς η θέσις μου και να αναπνεύσω εκ της κατατροχούσης με αφορήτου οικονομικής στενοχωρίας.

Ελπίζων ότι η παράκλησίς μου αύτη θα εισακουσθή, ευχαριστώ θερμώς και ευγνωμόνως εκ των προτέρων, ευχόμενος όπως εν υγεία και ευφροσύνη διέλθητε και τας αγίας ημέρας των Χριστουγέννων.

Εν Πέραν, τη 14<sup>η</sup> Δεκεμβρίου 1916

Ο εσαεί ευγνώμων Βασίλειος Τιμ. Ο., πρωτοψάλτης  
Εισοδίων Πέραν

**Summary:** Vasilios O. respectfully requests the esteemed Central Board to take him under its protective wing, thereby preventing the humiliation and collapse of

his dignity, both as a *paterfamilias* and as chief cantor. His financial situation is dire beyond words, resulting from various material obligations toward the community, as well as successive illnesses affecting both himself and his loved ones.

Without community support, he faces the risk of starvation. The Community Fund has graciously covered his military fee (*bedel*), amounting to 44 Ottoman liras. In conclusion, Vasilios O. proposes a revised distribution of his monthly payments to the community, allowing him to survive.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρου και προσωπικού (Correspondence of Clergy and Staff)*, 1914–1923, no 64

## 22/5 July 1917: The Committee of the Tatavla Community to the Central Board

Επιτροπικόν Γραφείον της Ελληνικής ορθοδόξου Κοινότητος Ταταούλων

Τῆ ἀξιότιμῳ Κεντρικῇ Εφορίᾳ τῆς Ἑλλ. Ορθοδόξου Κοινότητος Σταυροδρομίου

Ἀξιότιμοι Κύριοι,

Τὴν ἀπὸ 25 παύσαντος ἐπιστολὴν τῆς Ὑμετέρας Ἐντιμότητος μετὰ πλείστης εὐχαριστήσεως ἐλάβομεν καὶ μετὰ μεγάλου ἐνδιαφέροντος ἀνέγνωμεν. Ἡ αἰτήσις Ὑμῶν ὡς ἐκπληρώσαν ὑψιστον καὶ χριστιανικὸν καθήκον δέιται ἀπὸ μέρους ἡμῶν ἀποδοχῆς, δυστυχῶς ὅμως ἐνεκα τῶν πολλῶν καὶ καθημερινῶν θανάτων ἐκ τῆς ἐπιδημίας τοῦ ἐξανθηματικῆς τύφου καὶ λοιπῶν ἀσθενειῶν ἀπὸ διάφορα μέρη ἀποστελλομένων νεκρῶν πρὸς ταφὴν καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου νεκροταφείου ὁ χώρος σχεδὸν ὑπερπληρώθη καὶ σκεπτόμεθα περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζητήματος δια τὸ μέλλον, ἐφ' ὧ μετὰ λύπης μας σας ἀπαντοῦμεν ὅτι ἡ αἰτήσις σας εἶναι

αδύνατον να εκπληρωθή δια τους λόγους ούς σας εξεθέσαμεν.

Επί τούτοις διατελούμεν μεθ' υπολήψεως και τιμής  
Η εκκλησιαστική επιτροπή

**Summary:** Due to the numerous daily deaths from typhus fever, the space in our cemetery is nearly full. Therefore, the committee of the Tatavla community can no longer accommodate deceased individuals from other parts of the city.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Κεντρικής Εφορείας (Correspondence of the Central Board)*, 1914–1919

## 25 September 1917: The Stavrodromi association “The Orphans of the Virgin” to the Central Board

Η εν Σταυροδρομίω αδελφότης Τα Ορφανά της Παναγίας

Εν Σταυροδρομίω, την 25ην Σεπτεμβρίου 1917

Προς την Αξιότιμον Κεντρικήν Εφορίαν της Κοινότητος Σταυροδρομίου -Ενταύθα

Αξιότιμοι Κύριοι,

Το Διοικητικόν Συμβούλιον της ημετέρας Αδελφότητος δια μακρόν συζητήσαν εν τη τελευταία αυτού συνεδρία την οικονομικήν κατάστασιν αυτής κατέληξεν εις το συμπέρασμα ότι η περαιτέρω συντήρησις του οικοτροφείου θα επισπεύση την εξάντλησιν της περιουσίας την οποία από πολλού ήδη ήρχισε να καταναλίσκη· κατά συνέπειαν εθεώρησεν επιβαλλόμενον υπό της ανάγκης και απέφασισε να καταργήση προσωρινώς το Οικοτροφείον και τοποθετήση τα εν αυτώ διαιτώμενα ορφανά εις οικογενείας, πληρώνον μηνιαίον επίδομα.

Την απόφασιν ταύτην φέροντες εις γνώσιν της Αξιοτίμου Κεντρικής Εφορείας, δραττόμεθα της ευκαιρίας ίνα

υπομνήσωμεν αυτή ότι και ένεκεν και των προβλεπομένων περισσοτέρων εκθέσεων κατά τους προσεχείς του χειμῶνος μήνας και ένεκεν της ελλείψεως διαφόρων ειδῶν της πρώτης ανάγκης προς διατροφήν των βρεφῶν, η περαιτέρω λειτουργία της υπηρεσίας των εκθέτων θέλει καταστή αδύνατος, καθόσον μάλιστα δεν είναι δυνατή και η εξεύρεσις τροφῶν, λόγω του υπό της υπηρεσίας εις αυτάς προσφερομένου, ένεκεν της δυσχερούς οικονομικής καταστάσεως της Αδελφότητος, γλίσχρου μισθοῦ.

Επί τούτοις διατελούμεν μεθ' υπολήψεως και τιμῆς.

**Summary:** Keeping the Boarding School open and maintaining it further will only accelerate the depletion of resources, which have already been steadily consumed for a long time. It has therefore been decided to temporarily close the Boarding School and place the orphans with families, providing them with a monthly allowance.

Given the likely increase in child abandonment during the coming winter months and the shortage of essential supplies for infants, it will be impossible for the Service to remain operational. This is further exacerbated by the difficulty of securing food, given both the meager salaries and the Association's precarious financial situation.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Κεντρικής Εφορείας (Correspondence of the Central Board)*, 1914–1919

**17 February 1918: The Central Board to Agios Chalkidonos, chairman of the Committee for the homeless “omogeneis” (coreligionists) - association “The Orphans of the Virgin”**

17 Φεβρουαρίου 1918

Τῷ Σεβασμιωτάτῳ Ἀγίῳ Χαλκηδόνος κυρίῳ κυρίῳ Γρηγορίῳ, προέδρῳ τῆς Κ. Επιτροπῆς υπέρ των αστέγων ομογενῶν -Ενταύθα

Σεβασμιώτατε Ἄγιε Πρόεδρε,

Ἡ Κ. Εφορία τῆς Ἑλλ. Ὁρθοδόξου Κοινότητος Σταυροδρομίου φέρουσα εἰς γνώσιν ὑμῶν ὅτι ἡ ὑπὸ τὴν προστασίαν αὐτῆς διατελοῦσα ἀδελφότης «Ἐὰ ὀρφανὰ τῆς Παναγίας», τῆς ὁποίας σκοπὸς εἶναι ἡ περιθαλψὶς καὶ συντήρησις τῶν εἰς τοὺς περιβάλλουσιν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν λάθρα εγκαταλιμπανομένων ομογενῶν βρεφῶν, μὴ δυναμένη ὡς ἐκ τῶν σοβαρῶν δαπανῶν, ἀσπαιτούσιν ἡ ἀπὸ βεβαίου θανάτου διάσωσις καὶ συντήρησις αὐτῶν, νὰ ἐπαρκῆ καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀνάγκας τῶν μεγαλειτέρων (sic) ὀρφανῶν, λαμβάνει τὴν τιμὴν ἵνα παρακαλέσῃ θερμῶς τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὑμετέραν Προεδρείαν Κ. Επιτροπὴν υπέρ των Ἀστέγων ὅπως εὐαρεστομένη δεχθῆ αὐτὴ ἐν τῷ Ὁρφανοτροφεῖῳ τῆς ἀνω τῶν 6 ἐτῶν παρὰ τὴν ῥηθείσην Ἀδελφότητα διατρεφόμενα ἐκθετα, ἤτοι 25 περίπου τῶν ἀριθμῶν.

Εὐελπιστοῦντες, Σεβασμιώτατε, ὅτι ἡ παράκλησις ἡμῶν αὐτὴ εὐμενῶς γενήσεται ἀποδεικτὴ καὶ ὅτι προθύμως ἡ Ὑμ. Επιτροπὴ θέλει υποστηρίξει τὸ βαρὺ καὶ ὑψηλὸν ἐθνικὸν ἔργον τῆς Ἀδελφότητος τῶν Ὁρφανῶν τῆς Παναγίας, διατελούμεν μετὰ σεβασμοῦ.

Ὁ ἔφορος Γραμματεὺς

Ὁ πρόεδρος

**Summary:** The purpose of the association is to care for babies surreptitiously abandoned in churchyards. However, due to the considerable expenses involved, it is unable to meet the needs of older orphans. Therefore, it

requests that the Committee for the Homeless accept into its orphanage those who are over six years old, approximately 25 children.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Κεντρικής Εφορείας (Correspondence of the Central Board)*, 1914–1919

## 28 January 1919: The *locum tenens* of the patriarchal throne Dorotheos to the Central Board

Εντιμότατοι κύριοι οι αποτελούντες την Κεντρικήν Εφορίαν της Κοινότητος Σταυροδρομίου εκ ψυχής ευχόμενοι ευλογούμεν

Αποφάσει της Π. Κ. Εκπαιδευτικής Επιτροπής, εκτελούσης απόφασιν των Δύο εν τοις Πατριαρχείοις Σωμάτων, ανακοινούνται υμίν προς γνώσιν και εκτέλεσιν αι ακόλουθοι περί καταργήσεως της διδασκαλίας των Τουρικών διατάξεις:

α. το μάθημα της Τουρικής Γλώσσης διαγράφεται εκ των προγραμμάτων απασών των ημετέρων Σχολών, καταργουμένης της διδασκαλίας αυτού. Ουδεμία προσθήκη νέου μαθήματος γίνεται εις τας εκ της καταργήσεως των Τουρικών κενουμένης εν τω Προγράμματι ώρας.

β. Οι διδάσκοντες τα Τουρικά εν ταις Σχολαίς της Αρχιεπισκοπής θα λαμβάνωσιν πλήρεις τους μισθούς αυτών μέχρι της λήξεως του παρόντος σχολικού έτους. Αι δυνάμει ειδικών Κανονισμών παρέχουσαι εις το διδάσκον προσωπικόν δικαιώματα συντάξεως Σχολαί, θα καθορίσωσι τας εις τους αποχωρούντας διδασκάλους των Τουρικών συντάξεις αναλόγως των ετών της υπηρεσίας εκάστου.

γ. Καταργείται η τουριστί ή ελληνιστί κεχωρισμένη διδασκαλία των μαθημάτων της Οθωμανικής Ιστορίας και Γεωγραφίας, αποκαθισταμένης εν άπασι τοις

Προγράμματα της ενιαίας διδασκαλίας των μαθημάτων της Γενικής Ιστορίας και Γεωγραφίας.

δ. Πάντα τα εις την ημετέραν Εκπαιδευσιν επιβληθέντα μέτρα, οία η ανάρτησις τουρκικών επιγραφών, η χρήση σφραγίδων, επικεφαλίδων, πτυχίων και ελέγχων ελληνοτουρκικών, η έκδοσις ελληνοτουρκικών εγγράφων καταργούνται, απαγορευομένης μεν πάσης των Διευθύνσεων επικοινωνίας προς ξένας των Πατριαρχείων Αρχάς, αποκαθισταμένης δ' εν παντί της χρήσεως της Ελληνικής Γλώσσης δι' άπάσας τας Ελληνικάς Σχολάς του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου.

Είεν δε τα έτη υμών ως πλείστα, υγιεινά και ευφρόσυνα.

Αωιθ' Ιανουαρίου κη'

Ο τοποτηρητής του Οικουμενικού Θρόνου και εν Χριστώ διάπυρος ευχέτης

Ο Προύσης Δωρόθεος

**Summary:** By decision of the Central Patriarchal Educational Committee, the Turkish language course is abolished:

1. The Turkish language course is removed from all school curricula, and its teaching is discontinued.

2. Turkish language teachers in the archdiocese's schools will continue to receive their full salaries until the end of the year.

3. The separate teaching of Ottoman history and geography in Turkish and Greek is abolished; a unified curriculum for general history and geography is reinstated.

4. All previously imposed measures on secondary education – such as the requirement for Turkish inscriptions, the use of Turkish stamps, headings, and diplomas, as well as the issuance of documents in both Greek and Turkish – are abolished. School directors are prohibited

from communicating with any authority other than the Patriarchate. The exclusive use of the Greek language is fully reinstated in all Greek schools under the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Source: *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου (Letters of Ecumenical Patriarchate)*, 1914–1922, 053

## 22 April 1919: The *locum tenens* Nikolaos of Caesarea to the Central Board

Εντιμότατοι Κύριοι οι αποτελούντες την Κεντρικήν Εφορίαν την περισπούδαστον υμών Εντιμότητα εκ ψυχής ευχόμενοι ευλογούμε

Το Διαρκές Εθνικόν Μικτόν (ΔΕΜ) Συμβούλιον, συμπληρὸν την περί των μισθῶν των διδασκάλων ἀπόφασιν αὐτοῦ, ἣτις ἀνεκοινώθη δια τῆς ὑπὸ ἡμερ. 18 Ἰανουαρίου 1919 καὶ ἀριθμ. πρωτ. 428 Ἐγκυκλίου, προτάσει τῆς Π. Κ. Ἐκπαιδευτικῆς Επιτροπῆς, ὥρισε δι' ἀποφάσεως αὐτοῦ, ἄρτι ληφθείσης, τὰς ἀκολουθούσας ἐπεξηγηματικὰς διατάξεις.

Α) Ἡ ἀύξεισις τῆς μισθοδοσίας τοῦ διδάσκοντος προσωπικοῦ κατὰ εἰκατὸν πενήκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰκατὸν λογίζεται ἀρχομένη δι' ἅπαντας γενικῶς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Σχολαῖς τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἐργαζομένους Διευθυντάς, Διευθυντριάς, Διδασκάλους καὶ Διδασκαλίσσας τῆς πρώτης καὶ μέσης παιδείσεως ἀπὸ τῆς 1<sup>ης</sup> Σεπτεμβρίου 1918.

Β) Τὸ ποσὸν τῆς μισθοδοσίας τῶν διδασκόντων, ὅπερ λαμβάνεται ὡς βᾶσις τῆς αὐξήσεως, καθορίζεται ὑπὸ τῶν διατάξεων τῆς ὑπὸ ἡμερομ. 7 Σεπτεμβρίου 1918 καὶ ἀριθμ. πρωτ. 1629 ἐγκυκλίου. Καὶ δια μὲν τοὺς τῶν προηγουμένων ἐτῶν παραμένοντας εἰς τὰς θέσεις τῶν ὡς βᾶσις λαμβάνεται ἡ τακτικὴ μηνιαία μισθοδοσία τοῦ παρελθόντος σχολικοῦ ἔτους 1917-1918, ἣτις ὁμῶς δια

τους εν ταις Σχολαίς της πρώτης παιδείσεως εργαζομένους δεν δύναται να λογισθή μικροτέρα του υπό του εν ισχύι μισθολογίου καθωρισμένου ελαχίστου ορίου. Δια δε τους κατά το παρόν σχολικόν έτος 1918-1919 το πρώτον διοριζομένους εις μεν τας Σχολάς της μέσης παιδείσεως ως βάσις μισθοδοσίας προς αύξησιν λαμβάνεται το ποσόν μηνιαίας μισθοδοσίας, όπερ δεν δύναται να είναι μικρότερον του καθοριζομένου ορίου υπό του εν εκάστη Σχολή ισχύοντος μισθολογίου· εις δε τας Σχολάς της πρώτης παιδείσεως ως βάσις μισθοδοσίας προς αύξησιν λαμβάνεται το ποσόν μηνιαίας μισθοδοσίας, όπερ δεν δύναται να είναι μικρότερον του καθοριζομένου ορίου υπό του εν εκάστη Σχολή ισχύοντος μισθολογίου· εις δε τας Σχολάς της πρώτης παιδείσεως το ποσόν μηνιαίας μισθοδοσίας, όπερ λαμβάνεται επίσης ως βάσις αυξήσεως, δεν δύναται να λογισθή μικρότερον του υπό του εν ισχύι μισθολογίου καθωρισμένου ελαχίστου ορίου, αλλ' επί μισθών καθορισθέντων κατά τον διορισμόν, των οποίων το ήμισυ υπερβαίνει το ελάχιστον όριον του εν ισχύι γενικού μισθολογίου των δημοτικών σχολών, ως βάσις αυξήσεως λαμβάνεται το ήμισυ της τιοιούτης μισθοδοσίας.

Γ) Αι εφορείαι, αι διευθύνσεις και οι διδάσκοντες απασών των Σχολών οφείλουσιν εντός δεκαπέντε ημερών ίνα απαντήσωσι δηλώντες ότι αι μισθοδοσίαι του διδάσκοντος εν γένει προσωπικού καθωρίσθησαν κατά τας παρούσας διατάξεις. Εντός της αυτής προθεσμίας δέον να προσαχθώσι τα συμβόλαια και οι τόπον συμβολαίων επέχοντες κατάλογοι του προσωπικού του τρέχοντος σχολικου έτους προς εξέλεγγιν και επικύρωσιν.

Αι διατάξεις αύται, ισχύουσαι δια πάσας τας εν τη Αρχιεπισκοπή σχολάς της πρώτης και της μέσης παιδείσεως τας τε κοινοτικάς και τας εθνικάς, ανακοινοούνται εις γνώσιν και της Εντιμότητος υμών,

προτρεπομένης όπως προφρόνως ενεργήση κατ' αυτάς το προσήκον.

Είεν δε τα έτη υμών ως πλείστα, υγιεινά και ευφρόσυνα  
22 Απριλίου 1919

Ο αναπληρωτής Τοποτηρητής του Οικουμενικού  
Θρόνου και εν Χριστώ διάπυρος ευχέτης

Ο Καισαρείας Νικόλαος

**Summary:** The Permanent National Mixed Council completes and clarifies its decision regarding teachers' salaries, following the recommendation of the Central Patriarchal Educational Committee. The 150% salary increase for teaching staff in all primary and secondary schools of the Archbishopric applies retroactively from September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1918.

The minimum salary thresholds are also specified, confirming the extent of the increases within the educational sector. School administrations and the individuals concerned must submit teachers' employment contracts to the Archbishopric within 15 days for review and validation.

Source: *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου (Letters of Ecumenical Patriarchate)*, 1914–1922, 053

### 23 May 1919: The priest Apostolos Hrysafidis to the bishop of Irinoupolis Fotios, ecclesiastical supervisor in Stavrodromi's orthodox community

Τω Θεοφιλεστάτω Αγίω Ειρηνοπόλεως Κυρίω μοι  
Κυρίω Φωτίω Αρχιερατικώς Προϊσταμένου της  
ορθοδόξου Κοινότητος Σταυροδρομίου

Προσκυνητής

Θεοφιλέστατε,

Εμφανιζόμενος μετά του προσήκοντος σεβασμού προ της Υμετέρας Θεοφιλίας διατυπώ (sic) και γραπτώς ό,τι και προφορικώς διεπίστωσα Αυτή, ότι ούτε τη εισηγήσει τινός ούτε υπό μεταρρυθμιστικής τινός τάσεως προς επικράτησιν του επαράτου μαλλιαρισμού προέβην εις την ανάγνωσιν της περικοπής του Ευαγγελίου κατά τον Εσπερινόν της Αναστάσεως, δι' όπερ η Σεβαστή Επιτροπή της Παναγίας κατήγγειλε με τη Σεβαστή Κεντρική Εφορεία και εντεύθεν προσκαλούμαι εις απολογίαν προ της πανσεβάστου μοι Υμετέρας Θεοφιλίας.

Θεοφιλέστατε, εξ αφελείας όλως ουχί δε εκ κακεντρεχείας και υστεροβουλίας ετόλμησα να αναγνώσω άπαξ και εις το γλωσσικόν ιδίωμα του Πόντου την περικοπήν του Ευαγγελίου, θέλων να ευχαριστήσω τους εκκλησιαζομένους, μεταξύ των οποίων θα ήσαν πολλοί και πολλοί εκ του Πόντου, τοσούτον μάλλον καθόσον το γλωσσικόν αυτό ιδίωμα υποστηρίζεται ανέκαθεν υπό της Ακαδημίας και κάνει εντύπωσιν εις πάντας, αλλά φαίνεται ότι εις ή δύο το παραζήγησαν (sic), τότε κι εγώ προς αποφυγήν παντός θορύβου, μετά την α' στάσιν το διέκοψα. Αλλά σας διαβεβαιώ, Θεοφιλέστατε, εν πάση ειλικρινεία, ότι ήτο καθαρώς διάλεκτος του Πόντου και προς τελείαν πίστωσιν σας εσωκλείω την περικοπήν αυτούσιον εις το ιδίωμα αυτό, ίνα εξετασθή υπό κριτών και μαρτύρων του Πόντου και ουχί άλλων.

Η δε αφορμή και αιτία δι' ής προέβην εις την ανάγνωσιν κατά το γλωσσικόν ιδίωμα του Πόντου προήλθε

1<sup>ov</sup>) εκ συμπαθείας προς τους του Πόντου κατοίκους, παρ' οίς εχρημάτισα επί τετραετίας διευθυντής εις διακεκριμένας σχολάς, ένθα εδίδασκον τα ανώτερα μαθήματα και την αρχαίαν ελληνικήν γλώσσαν, περί τούτου ας μαρτυρήσωσι και η Υμετέρα Θεοφιλία, ήτις με

προσεκάλεσεν άλλοτε ως διευθυντήν της εν Καβακλή Σχολής.

2<sup>ον</sup>) έμαθον και επείσθην από ιερείς και ψάλτας του Γαλατά ότι κατ' έτος εκεί εις όλας σχεδόν τας εκκλησίας αναγιγνώσκειται το Ευαγγέλιον εις το γλωσσικόν ιδίωμα του Πόντου κι εφέτος έτι ανεγνώσθη υπό του ιερέως Κωνσταντίνου εν τη εκκλησία του Χριστού και υπό του ιερέως Ιωάννου εν τη του Αγίου Νικολάου.

3<sup>ον</sup>) προηγήθη όλη προμελέτη δι' εμέ και προπαρασκευή εις το γλωσσικόν αυτό ιδίωμα του Πόντου δια του εκείθεν καταγομένου ιερέως Ιεροθέου, ό φιλοξένου την εσπέραν του Μ. Σαββάτου ως βοηθόν ημών δια την επαύριον.

4<sup>ον</sup>) εδήλωσα και εγώ προς την Υμετέραν Θεοφιλιαν ως και οι άλλοι συνάδελφοι μου ιερείς προ της ακολουθίας του Εσπερινού εις ποίαν γλώσσαν θα έλεγον το Ευαγγέλιον και με την άδειαν αυτής και επευλογίαν προσέβην εις τούτο.

Εντέλει αναθέτων όλως εμαυτόν εις την αδέκαστον κρίσιν και επίκρισιν της πανσεβάστου μας Υμετέρας Θεοφιλίας, παρακαλώ θερμώς Αυτήν έτι πολύ βαθύτερον να εξετάση και να ανεύρη και το ελάχιστον τρωτόν ού μόνον προς τοιαύτην τινα κατηγορίαν περί εμού, αλλά και αναφορικώς προς την πολιτείαν και διαγωγήν και εξυπηρέτησιν πάντων των καθηκόντων μου και να με τιμωρήση με την βαρύτεραν ποινήν.

Διατελώ μετά του προσήκοντος σεβασμού, ευπειθέστατος

Ιερεύς Απόστολος Χρυσαφίδης

Εν Πέρεα, τη 23<sup>η</sup> Μαΐου 1919

**Summary:** The priest Apostolos Hrysafidis explains how and why he used the Pontic idiom during the Resurrection evening service. *I did not proceed with the reading of the Gospel passage at someone's suggestion, nor as part of a re-*

*formist trend in favor of the vernacular language* (μαλλιαρισμός), he states.

His letter is an apology to the bishop following a complaint from the committee of Panagia's Church. Out of naivety, and not out of malice or backwardness, he dared to read the Gospel passage once in the Pontic idiom, wishing to honor the faithful, many of whom were from Pontus. He also noted that this idiom is consistently supported by the Academy and leaves a strong impression on listeners. However, it seems that one or two individuals misunderstood his intention. To avoid any controversy, he stopped reading after the first verse.

He assures the bishop, with complete sincerity, that he used purely the Pontic dialect. He further explains his reasoning: first, out of affection for the people of Pontus, where he taught ancient Greek for four years in distinguished schools. Additionally, he had heard that in Galata, the Gospel was read in the Pontic idiom. His preparation for this public reading was guided by Father Ierotheos, himself from Pontus. Moreover, he had already informed the bishop of his intention and had proceeded with his blessing.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Κλήρου και προσωπικού (Correspondence of Clergy and Staff)*, 1914–1923, no 64

#### **14 December 1919: The Great Vicar Athenagoras to the committees and clergy of the churches throughout the Archbishopric of Constantinople**

Θεοφιλέστατοι αρχιερ. Προϊστάμενοι, οσιώτατοι ιερατ. Προϊστάμενοι και τιμώτατοι Εφοροεπίτροποι των ιερών Εκκλησιών της Αρχιεπισκοπής Κωνσταντινουπόλεως

Επί τη αύριον αγομένη ονομαστική εορτή του προέδρου της ελληνικής κυβερνήσεως κ. Ελευθερίου Βενιζέλου, καθ' ἣν θέλουσιν τελεσθῆ δοξολογία υπέρ υγείας και ενισχύσεως αὐτοῦ, προτρεπόμεθα υμᾶς κατὰ σεπτῆ εντολή της Α. Σ. του αγίου Τοποτηρητοῦ, ὅπως συστήσητε εἰς ἅπαν το χριστεπώνυμον πλήρωμα ἵνα εὐθύς μετὰ την δοξολογίαν διαλυθῆ, μὴ σχηματίζον ομίλους προβαίνοντας εἰς ζητωκραυγὰς και εκδηλώσεις. Επίσης συνιστάται ἵνα την αὐτὴν σῶφρονα, λεπτὴν και μὴ προκλητικὴν στάσιν τηρήσωσιν οἱ χριστιανοὶ και κατὰ τας ἐπερχομένας σοβραράς δια το ἔθνος ἡμῶν ἡμέρας, αναμένοντες μετὰ ψυχραιμίας ἀλλὰ και δεδικαιολογημένης ἐλπίδος την αἰσίαν ἐκβάσιν και λύσιν των ενδιαφερόντων ἡμᾶς ἐθνικῶν προβλημάτων.

Επί δε τούτοις εἴητε ἐν Κυρίῳ υγιαίνοντες

Ἐν τοῖς Πατριαρχείοις, τη 14 Δεκεμβρίου 1919  
Ο Μ. Πρωτοσύγγελλος Ἀθηναγόρας

**Summary:** On the name day of the President of the Greek government, Mr. Eleftherios Venizelos, prayers will be offered for his health and continued support. The Christian congregation is advised to disperse immediately after the service and to refrain from forming groups, shouting, or demonstrating.

Christians are urged to maintain the same prudent, discreet, and non-provocative attitude in the coming days, which are critical for our nation. With calm and justified hope, they should await the outcome and resolution of our national issues.

Source: *Γράμματα Οικουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου (Letters of Ecumenical Patriarchate)*, 1914–1922, 053

**20 December 1919: From the Office of the PCEC  
(Patriarchal Central Education Committee)**

Εκ του γραφείου της Πατριαρχικής Κεντρικής  
Εκπαιδευτικής Επιτροπής (ΠΚΕΕ)

Προς τας εντίμους Εφορείας (sic) και τας ελλογίμους  
Διευθύνσεις των Σχολών της Αρχιεπισκοπής  
Κωνσταντινουπόλεως

Αποφάσει της Π. Κ. Εκπαιδευτικής Επιτροπής  
διακόπτονται ένεκα της εν τη ημετέρα πόλει επιτάσεως της  
ισπανικής γρίππης, από της πρωίας της σήμερον  
Παρασκευής, 20 τρέχοντος, τα μαθήματα απασών των  
Σχολών της Αρχιεπισκοπής Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, θα  
επαναληφθώσι δε μετά τας εορτάς του Δωδεκαημέρου,  
ήτοι την 8<sup>ην</sup> Ιανουαρίου 1920.

Επί τη ευκαιρία ταύτη συνιστάται εις τας Διευθύνσεις των  
Σχολών, όπως προ της απολύσεως υποδείξωσιν αυστηρώς  
εις πάντας τους μαθητάς, ότι το εθνικόν ημών καθήκον  
επιβάλλει υπό τας παρούσας περιστάσεις, πλέον ή άλλοτε,  
ίνα αποφεύγωσι πάσαν επίδειξιν δυναμένην να προκαλέση  
προστριβάς προς τους ομήλικάς των συμπολίτας Τούρκους  
και πάσαν οιανδήποτε προς αυτούς σύγκρουσιν, ως άλλως  
αρμόζει εις πάντα Χριστιανόν και εις πάντα Έλληνα.

**Summary:** Due to the ongoing outbreak of the Span-  
ish flu in the city, as of this morning (December 20,  
1919), classes in all schools of the Archbishopric of Con-  
stantinople are suspended until January 8, 1920.

Students are advised that, under the present circum-  
stances, our national duty demands more than ever that  
they avoid, as befits every Christian and every Greek, any  
demonstrations that might lead to conflicts with their  
fellow Turks.

Source: *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου (Letters of Ecu-  
menical Patriarchate)*, 1914–1922, 053

## 20 December 1920: The Central School for Girls to the Central Board

Κεντρικόν Παρθεναγωγείον Σταυροδρομίου

Εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, τη 20<sup>η</sup> Δεκεμβρίου 1920

Τῆ Αξιότιμω Κεντρικῇ Εφορείᾳ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς  
Κοινότητος Σταυροδρομίου

Ενταῦθα

Αξιότιμοι Κύριοι,

Ἡ Εφορεία τοῦ Κεντρικοῦ Παρθεναγωγείου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κοινότητος Σταυροδρομίου λαμβάνει τὴν τιμὴν νὰ υποβάλλῃ Ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπόμενα:

Κατόπιν ἐπανελημμένων διαβημάτων παρὰ τοὺς ἀρμοδίους ἐπιτευχθείσης ἐν μέρει τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ ἡμετέρου σχολικοῦ κτιρίου ἀπὸ τῆς γενομένης ἐπιτάξεως καὶ ἀποπερατωθῆσάν των ἀπαραιτήτως ἀναγκαιουσῶν ἐπισκευῶν (καθόσον τὸ κτίριον παρεδόθη ἡμῖν εἰς ἀξιοθρήνητον κατάστασιν), κατωρθώθη περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ παρελθόντος Νοεμβρίου ἡ τακτικὴ λειτουργία τῆς σχολῆς. Ἀλλ' ἐνεκα τῆς βραδύτητος ταύτης περὶ τὴν ἐναρξίν των μαθημάτων πλείσται μὲν μαθήτριάι ἰδίᾳ των εὐπορουσῶν οἰκογενειῶν ἐνεγράφησαν εἰς ξένας σχολὰς, πολλαὶ δὲ ἐπωφελοῦμαι τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο γενομένης καταργήσεως των διδάκτρων ἐν ταῖς κοινωτικαῖς σχολαῖς ἐσπευσαν νὰ ἐγγραφῶσιν ἐν αὐταῖς.

Οὕτως, αἱ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Σχολὴν προσελθούσαι μαθήτριάι, ἀνήκουσιν κατὰ μέγα μέρος εἰς οἰκογενεῖας περιελθούσας ἐνεκα των γεγονότων εἰς ἀθλίαν οἰκονομικὴν θέσιν ἢ στερηθείσας ἐνεκα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ των κακουχιῶν των στηριγμάτων αὐτῶν, δὲν ἦσαν εἰς θέσιν νὰ πληρῶσσι δίδακτρα. Ἐντεῦθεν ἡ ἐκ των διδάκτρων πρόοδος τῆς Σχολῆς υπέστη σπουδαίαν ἐλάττωσιν, ἀφοῦ ἐπὶ 500 περίπου μαθητριῶν, ἐγγραφεισῶν ἐφέτος εἰς τὸ Κεντρικόν Παρθεναγωγείον Σταυροδρομίου, μόνο αἱ ἑκατὸν δέκα καὶ

τέσσαρες επλήρωσαν τα ορισθέντα επηυξημένα διδασκτρα, αι δε λοιπαί ενεγράφησαν όλως δωρεάν ή επλήρωσαν ελάχιστα διδασκτρα.

Την εκ της ελαττώσεως ταύτης των διδάκτρων οικονομικήν δυσχέρειαν της Σχολής επηύξησεν έτι μάλλον και η από της ιδρύσεως της Σχολής τακτικής καταβαλλομένη μέχρι της ενάρξεως του γενικού πολέμου και δια παντός πλέον απολεσθείσα εκ λιρών Τουρκίας 225 ετήσια επιχορήγησις της Αυτοκρατορικής Ρωσικής Οικογενείας και το ζήτημα των ως εκ της επιτάξεως επισκευών άνευ των οποίων ήτο αδύνατον να λειτουργήση η σχολή και δια τας οποίας εδαπανήθησαν Λίρες Τουρκίας 2 458 ΛΤ, πρόκειται δε να δαπανηθώσι και έτεροι 1 600 περίπου μετά την παντελή εκκένωσιν του κτηρίου της Σχολής παρά των ενταύθα γαλλικών στρατιωτικών υγειονομικών αρχών.

Λαμβανομένου δε υπ' όφιν ότι εφέτος, αποφάσει του Εθνικού ημών Κέντρου εγένετο σημαντική αύξησις των μισθοδοσιών του διδάσκοντος προσωπικού, γίνεται καταφανές πόσον ανισοσκελής είναι ο τακτικός έγγλειστος προϋπολογισμός της ημετέρας Σχολής, δια το αρξάμενον σχολικόν έτος των μεν προσόδων μονίμων τι και εκ διδάκτρων ανερχομένων εις ΛΤ 10 440 των δε δαπανών εις ΛΤ 13 875, ήτοι παρουσιαζομένου ελλείμματος ΛΤ 3 435 όπερ μετά του εις επισκευάς δαπανηθέντος και δαπανηθησομένου ποσού δια το κτήριο της Σχολής και των θρανίων αυτού και της αξίας θερμαστρών του επισυνημμένου εκτάκτου προϋπολογισμού του Κ. Παρθεναγωγείου εξ ετέρων ΛΤ 4 551,95 ανέρχεται το όλον δια το σχολικόν έτος 1919/1920 εις ΛΤ 7 986,96.

Δια ταύτα, η Εφορεία του Κεντρικού Παρθεναγωγείου, ευρισκομένου προ αδιεξόδου ως προς την λειτουργίαν και συντήρησιν της Σχολής, θεωρεί καθήκον απαραίτητον

όπως φέρει εις γνώσιν της Αξιοτίμου Κεντρικής Εφορείας την δυσαρεστάτην οικονομικήν θέσιν του Κεντρικού Παρθεναγωγείου και παρακαλέση αυτήν όπως αυξήση μεν το ετησίως παρεχόμενον ελάχιστον χορήγημα της Κοινότητος εις ΛΤ 3 435 προς κάλυψιν του ελλείμματος του τακτικού της Σχολής προϋπολογισμού, χορηγήση δε εφάπαξ το ποσόν ΛΤ 4 551,95 αίτινες εδαπανήθησαν δια τας επισκευάς ινα ούτως εξασφαλισθή η συντήρησις του Κεντρικού Παρθεναγωγείου της ημετέρας Κοινότητος, εις ο φοιτώσι τοσαύται μαθήτριαι τυγχάνουσαι ελληνοπρεπούς μορφώσεως.

Βέβαιοι όντες ότι η Αξιοτίμος Κεντρική Εφορεία εκτιμώνσα δεόντως την παρούσαν τιμήν θέλει φροντίση ταχέως δια τα περαιτέρω, διατελούμεν μετ' άκρας τιμής και υπολήψεως

Οι έφοροι

**Summary:** The partial exemption of the Kentriko Parthenagogeio (Central School for Girls, KP) from requisition has been achieved. Following the necessary repairs, since the building was returned in a deplorable condition, the school was able to resume its regular operation only last November.

Due to these delays, many students took advantage of the abolition of tuition fees in community schools for this year and rushed to enroll, while most female students from wealthy families opted for foreign schools. The general hardships caused by the war have left many families in dire financial situations; out of 500 registered students, only 114 have paid the required increased tuition fees.

The annual grant of 255 Turkish Liras from the Imperial Russian family has been permanently lost, while the costs of repairs following the requisition have already

reached 2,458 TL, with an additional 1,600 TL expected to be spent once the French military health authorities vacate the school building. Furthermore, by decision of our National Center, the salaries of the teaching staff have been significantly increased this year.

For the 1919-1920 academic year, the school faces a deficit of 7,986 TL. The School's Committee is therefore requesting financial support from the Central Board to cover this shortfall.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Κεντρικής Εφορείας (Correspondence of the Central Board)*, 1920-1924

### **01 November 1921: The teaching staff of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Astiki School for Boys to the Central Board**

Τῷ εριτίμῳ προέδρῳ τῆς Κεντρικῆς Εφορείας τῆς Κοινότητος Σταυροδρομίου κυρίῳ κυρίῳ Σόλωνι Καζανόβα

Ερίτιμε κύριε Πρόεδρε,

Επ' ευκαιρία τῆς ανακοινωθείσης ἡμῖν ὑπὸ ἡμερομηνία 29 λήγοντος σεβαστῆς αποφάσεως τῆς Κεντρικῆς Εφορείας, ἧς επαξίως προΐστασθε, αποφάσεως αφορώσης τὴν διαρρῦθμισιν τάξεων τινῶν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Β' Αστικῆς τῶν Ἀρρένων Σχολῆς, συνεπεῖα τῆς ἐπελθούσης υπερπληθώρας τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν ταῖς δυσὶ κατωτέραις τάξεσιν, ἡ διεύθυνσις τῆς Σχολῆς ἐξ ἐπιβεβλημένου αὐτῆς καθήκοντος συνεκάλεσεν ἐν ἐκτάκτῳ συνεδρίῳ τὸ διδάσκον προσωπικόν, ὅπερ ἐπιμελῶς καὶ ἐπισταμένως ἐξετάσαν τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπόφασιν, προέβη μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀκολουθούσας σκέψεις, ἅς ὑπὸ τύπον ευχῆς υποβάλλει ὑμῖν πρὸς ἐγκρισιν.

Ἐν πρώτοις, ερίτιμε κύριε Πρόεδρε, αναφορικῶς πρὸς τὴν μίαν τῶν ἀπόψεων τῆς Κεντρικῆς Εφορείας, ἥτις λαβούσα ὑπ' ὄψει τὴν πληθῶραν τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν ταῖς δυσὶ

κατωτέραις τάξεσιν, ενέκρινεν και δη δεδικοιολογημένως την διαίρεσιν προ παντός της Α' τάξεως εις δύο τμήματα, συμφωνούμεν πλήρως, αφ' ου άλλωστε συνάδει τούτο προς το συμφέρον της Σχολής μας από τε παιδαγωγικής και υγιεινής απόψεως. Εφ' ω μετ' ευρείαν και επισταμένην συζήτησιν εν τω διδασκαλικώ ημών συνεδρίω εκρίθη σκόπιμον ίνα, προς εξοικονόμησιν του ετέρου των τμημάτων της Α' τάξεως διατεθή ελλείψει καταλληλοτέρου χώρου, αυτό τούτον το διευθυντήριο δι' αίθουσας διδασκαλίας, με την ιεράν και ομόφωνον υποχρέωσιν ίνα οι διδάσκαλοι θυσιάζοντες τας διαθεσίμους αυτών ώρας, αναλάβωσιν αμισθί την διδασκαλίαν των μαθημάτων του Β' τμήματος.

Ήδη, ερίτιμε κύριε Πρόεδρε, εξοικονομηθείσης καταλλήλως, καθ' ά φρονούμεν, της Α' τάξεως, ήτις απετέλει δι' ημάς μέγαν σκόπελον εν τη καθόλου λειτουργία της Σχολής. Ευχής έργον ήθελεν είσθαι εάν η Σεβαστή Κεντρική Εφορεία, εν τη χαρακτηριζούση Αυτήν καλακαγάθω μερίμνη και στοργή υπέρ της λυσιτελούς και απροσκόπτου προαγωγής της καθ' ημάς εκπαιδεύσεως, άρη πάντα λόγον περι καταργήσεως της Ε' τάξεως. Και τόσω μάλλον όσω προβληματική ήθελεν είσθαι η τύχη των πλείστων μαθητών δια την περαιτέρω εις άλλην -ουχι βεβαίως ξένην ημίν Σχολήν- σπουδή των, εάν εφηρμόζετο το μέτρον τούτο άλλως τε και αυτοί ούτοι οι γονείς θα απέστεργον εις τούτο δι' ούς αποχρώντας λόγους γνωρίζουσι ως το τοιούτον εξεδηλώθη ημίν μετά πολλής της δυσαρεσκείας και δυσφορίας.

Δια πάντα ταύτα, ερίτιμε κύριε Πρόεδρε, πεπεισμεθα ότι, εν τη διακρινούση υμάς τε και τα περι υμάς έντιμα μέλη της Κεντρικής Εφορείας της ενταύθα κοινότητος βαθεία συνέσει και κρίσει θέλετε τείνη ευμενές και ευήκοον ους εις παν ό,τι αφορά την ομαλήν και κανονικήν λειτουργίαν της καθ' ημάς

Σχολής, εν η μαθούμεν τον ιερόν των γραμμάτων αγώνα, μορφούντες και διαπλάττοντες την νέαν των Ελλήνων Γενεάν, εφ' ής η πατρίς στηρίζει τας χρηστάς ελπίδας.

Εκφράζοντες επί τούτοις την διαβεβαίωσιν της προς Υμάς βαθείας υπολήψεως και τιμής, διατελούμεν

Εν τω Πέραν, τη 1<sup>η</sup> Νοεμβρίου 1921

Ο διευθυντής της Β' Αστικής των Αρρένων Σχολής.  
Κωνσταντίνος Κ. Χρηστίδης

Οι διδάσκαλοι: Κ. Σ. Γεωργιάδης, Ιωάννης Στεφανίδης,  
Χ. Νικηφορίδης, Μ. Σωτηριάδου

**Summary:** On the occasion of the announcement of the esteemed decision of the Central Board, dated October 29, regarding the arrangement of classes at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Astiki School for Boys, and in response to the overcrowding in two of the lower classes, the school administration, in accordance with its duty, convened an extraordinary session with the teaching staff. The decision was carefully examined, and the following considerations were submitted to the Central Board for approval.

Given the large number of students, the Central Board approved the division of the lower classes into two sections. The teaching staff fully supports this decision, as it serves the best interests of the school from both pedagogical and hygienic perspectives.

To accommodate part of Class A, and in the absence of a more suitable space, it was deemed appropriate to repurpose the Directorate's room as a classroom. In a spirit of dedication and unanimity, the teachers have undertaken the solemn commitment to sacrifice their free time and voluntarily teach the remaining students without additional remuneration.

Source: *Αλληλογραφία Κεντρικής Εφορείας (Correspondence of the Central Board)*, 1919–1924

**28 July 1922: The interim Grand Vicar Ioakeim of Korytsa to the members of church committees, school ephorias and other National and Community establishments, presidencies of various associations**

Θεοφιλέστατοι Αρχιερατικῶς Προϊστάμενοι, οσιώτατοι ιερατικῶς Προϊστάμενοι, εντιμῶτατοι κύριοι οι αποτελούντες τας επιτροπὰς των ιερῶν ναῶν, Εφορείας των Σχολῶν και των λοιπῶν Ἐθνικῶν και Κοινοτικῶν καθιδρυμάτων και τα προεδρεία των διαφόρων Σωματείων, εγχωρίων και επαρχιακῶν.

Του Ἐντίμου Δ.Ε.Μ. Συμβουλίου λαβόντος γνώσιν ἐξ ανακοινώσεως της Κτηματικῆς Επιτροπῆς των Πατριαρχείων, ὅτι παρὰ τας απευθυνθείσας δύο ἐγκυκλίους της Μ. Πρωτοσυγκελλίας ἐπεδειξατε ὀλιγωρίαν εἰς τας διαβιβασθείσας περὶ των ακινήτων περιουσιῶν διατάξεις, διαπιστώσαντος δε ὅτι ἡ ακίνητος Ἐθνικὴ περιουσία εἰς οἶον δῆποτε ἐπὶ μέρους Ἰδρυμα ἢ Σχολῆν ἢ Ἐκκλησίαν ἢ Σωματεῖον και ἀν ἀνήκη δέεται της ἐμμέσου του Κέντρου ἐποπτείας και ἐξελέγξεως προς προφύλαξιν αὐτῆς ἀπὸ οἰωνδῆποτε κινδύνων και ζημιῶν, ἐξ ἀποφάσεως αὐτοῦ, προαγόμεθα ἤδη το τρίτον ὅπως δια της τε δε της ἐγκυκλίου ἡμῶν συστήσωμεν πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀνευ περαιτέρω ἀναβολῆς συμμορφούμεναι προς τας διατάξεις της Κτηματικῆς Επιτροπῆς τας ἀναφερομένας εἰς την ακίνητον ἐκάστου Ἰδρύματος περιουσίαν, συμπληρώσητε και ἐπιστρέψητε τα ἀποσταλέντα ὑπ' αὐτῆς διαγράμματα και προσαγάγητε τους τίτλους ιδιοκτησίας ἐκάστου ακινήτου, προς ἐξέλεξιν και κωδικοποίησιν, εἰς το Γραφεῖον αὐτῆς, μετὰ της δηλώσεως ὅτι το Ἐντιμον Συμβούλιον θέλει θεωρήσει υπευθύνους ὑμᾶς δια πάσαν τυχόν ἀμέλειαν ἢ ὀλιγωρίαν.

Ἐπὶ δε τούτοις εἶητε ἐν Κυρίῳ υγιαίνοντες

Ἐν τοῖς Πατριαρχείοις, τη 28 Ἰουλίου 1922

Ο πρωτοσυγκελλεύων Κορυτσάς Ιωακείμ

**Summary:** The Permanent National Mixed Council, informed by the Real Estate Committee of the Patriarchate, has learned that despite two directives from the Grand Vicariate, there has been negligence in implementing the ordinances concerning real estate. To ensure its protection, “national” property requires the oversight and control of the Center. Consequently, the interim Grand Vicar Ioakeim of Korytsa instructs the members of the various committees to comply with the directives of the Real Estate Committee, complete and return the required forms, and submit the title deeds of each property for review and registration. The Permanent National Mixed Council will hold them accountable for any negligence.

Source: *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου (Letters of the Ecumenical Patriarchate), 1914–1922, 053*

### **18 August 1922: The interim Grand Vicar Ioakeim of Korytsa**

Θεοφιλέστατοι Αρχιερατικώς Προϊστάμενοι, οσιώτατοι Ιερατικώς Προϊστάμενοι, εντιμότατοι κύριοι οι αποτελούντες τας επιτροπὰς των ι. ναών, τας Εφορείας των Εθνικών Ιδρυμάτων και Σχολών και τα προεδρεία των διαφόρων σωματείων, εγχωρίων και επαρχιακών

Του Εντίμου Δ. Ε. Μ. Συμβουλίου λαβόντος υπ’ όψει ότι ενιαχού της Αρχιεπισκοπῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ενηργήθησαν εκποιήσεις ακινήτων κτημάτων ανηκόντων εις ναούς ἢ σχολὰς ἢ σωματεία ἢ ιδρύματα εθνικά άνευ της εγκρίσεως αυτού, προαγόμεθα ἐξ αποφάσεως αυτού δια της δε της εγκυκλίου ημών, ίνα δηλώσωμεν προς πάντας υμάς ότι απαγορεύεται η εκποίηση οιουδήποτε ακινήτου άνευ

της εγκρίσεως του Δ. Ε. Μ. Συμβουλίου και ότι εν περιπτώσει εκποίησης ακινήτου άνευ της γνώσεως και εγκρίσεως των Πατριαρχείων, οι μεν ενεργούντες την εκποίησιν καθίστανται προσωπικώς υπεύθυνοι, αύτη δε θεωρείται άκυρος και μη γενομένη.

Επί δε τούτοις είητε εν Κυρίω υγαιίνοντες

Εν τοις Πατριαρχείοις, τη 18 Αυγούστου 1922

Ο πρωτοσυγκελλεύων ο Κορυτσάς Ιωακείμ

**Summary:** The Permanent National Mixed Council (PNMC), noting that real estate properties belonging to churches, schools, unions, or national institutions within the Archdiocese of Constantinople have been sold in some areas without its approval, declares that the sale of any such property without PNMC authorization is strictly prohibited. Furthermore, any sale conducted without the Patriarchate's approval is deemed invalid, and those responsible for the transaction will be held personally liable.

Source: *Γράμματα Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου (Letters of Ecumenical Patriarchate), 1914–1922, 053*

## Response

Claudia Römer

The present volume addresses some general problems of wartime in multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious cities, exemplifying them via the Greeks of Istanbul. It makes use of a real treasure trove of archival material which, among other sources, had previously formed the backbone of Meropi Anastassiadou's book on the Greeks of Istanbul in the nineteenth century: the archives of Stavrodromi, or Pera/Beyoğlu. These archives span roughly two centuries, from 1804 -the foundation date of the church of Panagia de Péra (Notre Dame de Péra)- to the present.

For the period she is dealing with in the present volume, the documentation is continuous, as it is for 1876 onward. Although the archives of Stavrodromi are restricted to the concerns of the Greek orthodox population of Pera with its three parishes and by definition leave out information on the other ethnic and religious groups living in Pera, they yield material for a wealth of questions and shed light on all kinds of administrative and private matters. Thus, on their basis, it is possible to write a "History from Below".

This documentation seems to be the most telling for the two general ideas of the present volume, namely,

a) How can the population cope with cases of continued crises such as catastrophic wars? We must not forget that the First World War, being one of the first of the "total wars", was unlike any previous war, encompassing

both the front and the home front and affecting every single individual of the involved states in a hitherto unknown manner. In the Ottoman army, Muslims and non-Muslims alike were conscripted.

b) The other question addressed is: What was the difference between the upper and lower classes of society in this situation? Until relatively recently, there were no studies on the lives of normal people in the Ottoman Empire during the Great War.

Thus, both Anastassiadou (2012) on the period prior to the First World War and the present volume are in line with studies of neglected groups like, as Nazan Maksudyan states, the history of labour in the 1960s, the history of feminism in the 1970s, the history of colonialism in the 1980s. Maksudyan talks about the development of children's studies and explains the idea that children were not passive beings only in the process of becoming adults, but agents of history.

The agency of these groups has been recognized and their voices, which had been lost in the depths of a forgotten past, have been recovered. In a similar manner, the reintroduction of children into the general picture as partakers, witnesses, and actors of history brings forth unnoticed and unelaborated aspects of seemingly exhausted subjects of nineteenth-century Ottoman history.

A similar approach was followed by Mahir Metinsoy (2016), who saw women as actors on the home front – not, however, in their roles of joining the war effort, but on the contrary as acting persons claiming assistance from the state after their husbands and sons had had to go fighting, and as acting persons singing their grief away in bitter folk songs. Of the three examples of songs Ma-

hir Metinsoy gives, let us cite a short one as an illustration:

*Mızıkalar çalınıyor,  
On altılı gelsin diye.  
On beşliden asker mi olur!  
Topluyorlar ölsün diye.*

[Military] harmonicas are being played,  
For the sixteen-year-old to be called to arms.  
Can a fifteen-year-old [boy] become a soldier!  
They collect [him] to die.

Peasants, in particular peasant women (the men being away), were not only subject to physical abuse, but also to paying exceptional taxes and delivering their produce, with only a small portion allotted to themselves. Individual women and groups of them sent telegrams of complaint to the authorities. Their livestock was taken away. They were forced, together with their children and elderly people, to work in agriculture elsewhere. This is reminiscent of one of the constant complaints along the sixteenth-century Ottoman-Hungarian border, where commanders of fortresses of both sides would forcibly make the peasants work for themselves. Mowing the grass (*otluk biçmek*) in particular was a very popular kind of forced labour.

In this volume, Meropi Anastasiadou is doing a very similar thing by focusing on hitherto unnoticed “normal” people, in this case a non-negligible part of the total population of Istanbul in 1914. Indeed, the orthodox Greeks made up one quarter of the population of Istanbul.

The three parts of the present essay show a thematic progress, which coincides with the evolution of historical events.

In the first part, Meropi Anastassiadou questions the idea of absolute loyalty of the Greek community towards the Ottoman State, trying to move beyond the nationalistic approaches of both sides, who called the Greek community either traitors or victims. The Ottoman authorities used the Phanar as an intermediary to enforce regulations by having them transmitted to the parishes. In general, the regulations were respected, but in some cases, as is shown, the parishes ignored them or delayed their execution. An example is the 1913 law on real estate property, which was supposed to put an end to the practice of “fictitious ownership” of estates, but despite several reminders nothing was done until at least 1916. Measuring the degree of loyalty via the way fiscal and military obligations are met has struck me as a brilliant idea.

In this context, the problem of desertion during the war that has been treated by Özdemir (2008) forms a topic of its own. At home, ordinary people tried to cope with the situation of either paying the *bedel-i askeriye* (αντισήκωμα in Greek) or having to leave their families who were then supported by the community. This question of loyalty also becomes clear for the Ottoman Empire in general in (2012). As Anastassiadou mentions in footnote no. 19 of the present work, the number of deserters was high. The *bedel-i nakdî*, meaning the payment for exemption, was open to non-Muslims, but to Muslims only under special conditions. The Greeks (and other non-Muslims) who could not afford the *bedel-i nakdî* were conscripted. Some had to serve in unarmed

units called *amele taburları* and faced bad health and malnutrition, just as other soldiers did. This problem of the ordinary population was in contrast to the official positive attitude of the Patriarchate and the élites towards the war effort and the Young-Turk regime.

As becomes clear from the documentation (see also the Appendix), many men tried to get financial aid from the community in order to pay the *bedel-i askeriye*, and if they could not find any funds and had to join the army, their families were theoretically given half their salary; but later on, the amounts decreased.

Meropi Anastassiadou tries to weigh the amount of loyalty of the Greek community – in a nutshell it seems that at least the Patriarchate tried to be loyal, a loyalty which, after an incident of protest by the parishioners during a mass, cost Patriarch Germanos V his position and he had to resign in October 1918.

In the second part, Anastassiadou characterizes Pera as a city within the city with its three parishes, its schools for boys and girls and a whole infrastructure. She stresses the fact that ever since the introduction of the millet system in the 1860s, the community was extremely well organized and functioned very well. We again see the dichotomy of society. Whereas the wealthy left the city from the beginning of the war onward, normal people had to live under conditions that became more and more difficult to bear due to the collapse of the general political and socio-economic framework. This latter had ensured a positive development of the Greek orthodox community of Pera up to 1914. However, as the war went on, the pauperization of the people grew, not helped by waves of refugees coming in from Thrace, difficulties for the schools, and an epidemic of typhoid

fever. Epidemics, and especially typhoid fever, were also a scourge of armies – as Özdemir (2008) has shown. Some 18.3% of all the war casualties resulted from illness, with six million dead from typhoid fever. According to him, poor hygienic conditions foster the spread of the disease, which is propagated by lice. The deserters played an important part in spreading the disease into towns. Malaria, from which three-quarters of the Ottoman population suffered before the Great War, was spread within the army, and 20,000 soldiers died of it within four years.

The number of widows registered in the 1927 census may be an indicator of the total war casualties at the front and at the home front. In this respect, other countries were much better off than Turkey, where about 30% of the population of Anatolia were lost: 20% on account of death, and 10% due to emigration.

Not only did the inner structure of the Greek community disintegrate, but with the collapse of the international routes of commerce and trade and the abolition of the Ottoman capitulations by the Committee of Union and Progress, the non-Muslim communities lost their protectors and the Turkification (*millî iktisad*) of commerce began. Concomitantly, in 1916 and 1917 various laws were passed that changed the status of the millets, from now on called *cemaats*, and reduced them to their religious roles.

But let us turn back to Istanbul's Greek orthodox community. All this led to the disintegration of the structures of social assistance within the community, which had been built up in the previous decades. Poverty and restrictions followed, such as the banning of heating when the temperature was above 10°C. The influx of

refugees to the capital city added to the desperate situation. The Appendix gives a vivid picture of the circumstances of increasing poverty. The culmination of this second part, however, is the discussion of the dire situation of orphans and orphanages within the Stavrodromi brotherhood of the “Orphans of the Virgin”. This association engaged in caring for abandoned babies and ran into more and more difficulties the longer the war went on. Not only did the number of babies increase, but also the means to feed and ultimately hand them over to foster families decreased at an alarming pace. The documents in the Appendix show in what desperate need they were.

In the third part of the present volume, Meropi Anastassiadou gives a general outline of the political upheavals that set in during the war: the mass emigration of Greeks, especially in what is called the “Great Catastrophe” (i.e. the population exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923); the Young-Turk vision of creating a nation state going hand in hand with the gradual Turkification of education and the destabilization of the Phanar; and the Greeks’ loss of protection (provided by, e.g., the Russians, the French and the British). The measure of Turkification of teaching is understood as a means of integrating the non-Muslims into a new nation state, distancing them from their “community cocoon”. Anastassiadou asks whether all this was aiming at a superficial integration of non-Muslims.

However, after 1918 the attitude of Phanar underwent the most decisive rupture of its history since the conquest of Constantinople by changing to a pro-Athens policy, nevertheless displaying a certain caution as regards taking sides too openly. The Appendix contains

documents corroborating this change of sides, be it the question of taxation or the language of education.

Again, there was a dichotomy of the Greek population in Istanbul: on the one hand the wealthy autochthonous inhabitants and on the other the immigrants from Anatolia who spoke Turkish and of whom Anastassiadou asks whether they were ready to be completely Hellenized.

Meropi Anastassiadou shows how these developments ultimately led to a crumbling of the structures that had developed over time.

In her concluding remarks she tries to answer her three questions. The issue of loyalty is not clear as long as there is no comparative material concerning the Muslim population. The issue of the collapse of the community is obvious, although Anastassiadou eventually suggests the term “adjustment” rather than “collapse”. As an evaluation of the third question, the integration of Greeks into the nation state, she thinks that the Kemalist project has failed, because of, among other reasons, the population exchange. She tries to answer a final question – why Istanbul Greeks were not too enthusiastic about Greek irredentism – and suggests it was because they were attached to their city.

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## Gunnar Hering Lectures

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### Lecture 3



François Hartog

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