# **History of the Southern Marmara Islands**

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General Map of the Islands in Southern Marmara

#### Southern Marmara Islands in Antiquity

The Southern Marmara Islands, which constitute the scope of this Project titled "Southern Marmara Islands: Documentation and Risk Assessment of Architectural Heritage", are located in the southern half of the Marmara Sea, to the west and east of the Cyzicus (Kapıdağ) Peninsula; the biggest one is Marmara Island, after which the sea is named. The other islands and islets include Hayırsız, Işık, Asmalı, Ekinlik, Avşa, Mamalı, Paşalimanı, Koyun, Yer, Kuş, Hali, Hasır, Soğan, Sedef, Fener, and İmralı (Maps pp.12, 32-33). İmralı is excluded from the Project's frame because it is not accessible; moreover, only the islands of Marmara, Ekinlik, Avşa, and Paşalimanı currently have settlements. Information on the prehistoric settlements at these islands is limited to that on Avsa Island. The earliest data are the traces of Ağaçlı culture attributed to the

Mesolithic period (Özdoğan 2018, 17). Nevertheless, finds from the Early Bronze Age were attested at Manastır Locality of Avşa Island (Özdoğan 2018, 27). As for antiquity, archaeological evidence only indicates settlements on Marmara and Paşalimanı Islands.

Our main source for the names of these islands during Antiquity is Pliny the Elder (first century), who lists the islands near Cyzicus in Propontis (Marmara Sea) as follows (V.44.1): "The islands of the Propontis are, before Cyzicus, Elaphonnesus, from whence comes the Cyzican marble; it is also known by the names of Neuris and Proconnesus. Next come Ophiussa [Avşa], Acanthus [Ekinlik?], Phœbe, Scopelos, Porphyrione, Halone [Paşalimanı], with a city of that name, Delphacia, Polydora, and Artaceon, with its city."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A similar description of Propontis encompassing Proconnesus island is also found in the 4<sup>th</sup>-century-AD narrative of Ammianus Marcellinus (XXII.8.5). Taking together into consideration that Pliny cites Proconnesus as Elaphonnesus and that Strabo mentions "ancient Proconnesus" may indicate that Elaphonnesus was actually the "ancient Proconnesus".

Marmara Island, located in the middle of two important strategic crossing points of Antiquity -Hellespont (Çanakkale Strait) and the Bosporus (İstanbul Strait)– was colonized by Milesians during the Great Colonisation Period of 750-550 BC when the city-state of Proconnesus was founded. In Greek, nesos  $(ν \eta σ o \varsigma)$  means "island"; however, there are various proposals for the origin of prokon (προκον-): (1) after a deer known as πρόξ; (2) from a pitcher called  $\pi \rho \delta \chi o o \zeta$ ; (3)  $\pi \rho o \sigma \chi \delta \omega$ from a legend that it was not always an island but a peninsula. Coins of the ancient city-state bore the types of a deer and a pitcher (*oinochoe*) frequently (Fig. 1). The island's name is spelled as Προικόννησος in the Byzantine sources and thought to have derived from προίξ in reference to the mythological marble dowry of Persephone. The use of the name Marmara spread with the Italian sailors in the Middle Ages and the Turks afterwards (Hasluck 1909, 7-8).

The earliest historical information about Marmara Island, which was part of ancient Mysia, comes from the famous Greek historian Herodotus (5<sup>th</sup> century BC). While conveying the miraculous life story of the bard Aristeas, who lived around the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, Herodotus mentions Proconnesus (Marmara Island) as the birthplace of Aristeas and the setting of a number of events (IV.13-15).<sup>2</sup> He also mentions that during the Ionian Revolt (499-494 BC), which was initiated by the Greek cities in western Anatolia against the Persians, a pro-Persian Phoenician fleet destroyed Proconnesus and Artake (Erdek) (Herodotus VI.33).

The name of Proconnesus is attested in the Delian Sea League tribute lists in 452 and 450 BC. According to these lists, the city of Proconnesus paid a tribute of three talents to the Delian Sea League in 450 BC (ATL, 261-263).



*Fig. 1: Examples of silver coins minted by the Proconnesus city-state* 

Xenophon (4<sup>th</sup> century BC) also mentions some of the phases of the Battle of Cyzicus (410 BC), the extension of the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC), which took place about Proconnesus, but does not give specific information about the island (I.1.13- 14, 18, 20; I.3.1).<sup>3</sup> Proconnesus is mentioned briefly in relation to the struggles of the Spartan admirals named Anaxibius and Antalcidas against the Athenian navy in 389 and 387 BC (Xenophon IV.8.36, V.1.26).

In another of the wars between maritime tribes, the Cyzicenes attacked and destroyed Proconnesus in the summer of 362 BC from land and sea, and the Proconnesians asked for help from their allies, the Athenians. Furthermore, Athens still dominated over the island circa 330 BC (Demosthenes *Polycles*, 5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Aristeas of Proconnesus, who can be considered as the most famous personality of the island, was frequently referred to over the next centuries (1<sup>st</sup> century: Pliny VII.2.1, VII.52.1; Plutarch *Rom.* 28; Strabo I.2.10, XIII.1.16, XIV.1.18. 2<sup>nd</sup> century: Aulus Gellius IX.4; Dio Chrysostom, XXXVII.46; Pausanias I.24.6, V.7.9; Tatian 41. 3<sup>rd</sup> century: Athenaeus, *Deip.* XIII.83. 4<sup>th</sup> century: Iamblichus XXVIII.138. 10<sup>th</sup> century: SOL al. 3900). There are other historical figures among the islanders. For instance, Metrodorus in the Scythian Campaign of the Persian Great King Darius I in 513 BC, was the despot of Proconnesus (Herodotus IV.138). Pliny mentions a Proconnesian Zoroastrian around the 1<sup>st</sup> century (Pliny XXX.2.1). There was also a Proconnesian author named Bion in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Diogenes Laertius IV.58). Another source from the 4<sup>th</sup> century mentions the story of an anonymous slave girl from Proconnesus, while giving information about pregnancy (Solinus I.60). There is also the story of Manaechmus of Alopeconnesus (Avşa Island?) -or- of Proconnesus in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (SOL mu. 140, pi. 2478).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Diodorus Siculus (1<sup>st</sup> century BC) and Plutarch (1<sup>st</sup> century), who lived in later periods, have similar accounts of this war (Diodorus Siculus XIII.49.1; Plutarch, *Alk*. 28).



Fig. 2: Detail from Tabula Peutingeriana showing Marmara Island (from Prontera 2003)

According to Pomponius Mela (II.99), who lived in the 1st century, Proconnesus was the only inhabited island among those of the Propontis. Ptolemy, a 2<sup>nd</sup>-century author, talks about Proconnesus Island in Propontis and gives its coordinates (III.11.8). According to Appian, another 2<sup>nd</sup>-century writer, a Roman army sailed to Proconnesus in 35 BC to go after the rebel-general Sextus Pompey, who conquered Nicaea (Iznik) and Nicomedia (Izmit) (V.14.139). According to another 2<sup>nd</sup>-century author, Pausanias, the people of Cyzicus, who forced the people of Proconnesus to live in Cyzicus by war, took away a Mother Dindymene (Cybele) statue from Proconnesus around 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (VIII.46.4).

Marmara Island was famous for its marble, which was exported to the entire Mediterranean world throughout antiquity. Egyptian ruler Ptolemy III (246-222 BC) constructed a temple in Heracleion from Proconnesian marble (Photius Bib. CCXXIV.17.1). Roman architect Vitruvius (1st century BC) mentions that Proconnesian marbles were used in some monuments, especially in Halicarnassus (Bodrum) and Ephesus (II.8.10, X.2.5). Strabo (1st century) also describes the marble quarry on the island as large and splendid (VII.8.55) and states that the settlement is a colony founded by the Milesians (XIII.1.12). Strabo also mentions an 'older' Proconnesus settlement in the region and emphasizes that Proconnesus Island was the continuation of this former city of the same name in the 1st century. According to Strabo, the most beautiful art works in the cities around the world -especially those in Cyzicus- were built from this marble (XIII.1.16). Moreover, Pliny the Elder reports that the walls of the palace of Mausolus at Halicarnassus were decorated with Proconnesian marble (XXXVI.6.1).4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Proconnesian marbles are also mentioned very briefly in the following centuries (4<sup>th</sup> century: Solinus XXXVII.7. 5<sup>th</sup> century: Sidonius Apollinaris II.2.7. 6<sup>th</sup> century: Cosmas Indicopleustes 140).



Fig. 3: Marmara Island, Çınarlı (Galimi), wall remains above the village



Fig. 4: Marmara Island, Saraylar, Roman-period necropolis



Fig. 5: Paşalimanı Island, Tuzla, artefacts of Antiquity and the Byzantine period at the harbour

Proconnesus Island is shown as "Ins. Proconessus" in *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a Roman road map dated to the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century AD. It is marked just south of Constantinople and shown to be quite larger than all the other islands around it (Fig. 2).

Archaeological remains can be summarised as follows: Hasluck mentions a polygonal wall and two towers that are a half-an-hour climb up from Marmara (1909, 10-11, Pl. II.a). There are remains belonging to various walls above Marmara and Galimi (Çınarlı) (Fig. 3). The richest ancient finds of Marmara Island came from the excavated Roman period necropolis in Palatia (Saraylar), which can be easily visited (Fig. 4). Some of the marble archaeological finds are kept in the adjoining area arranged as an open-air museum. Ancient marble quarries, again excavated at Saraylar, remain amidst modern active quarries. The other finds come from Paşalimanı Island (Aloni); various marble pieces from Antiquity and Middle Ages gathered at the pier in Houhlia (Tuzla) (Fig. 5) and remains of walls, possibly belonging to a city wall mentioned by Hasluck and Makris (Hasluck 1909, 17, Pl. IV.b; Makris 1960).

#### **Byzantine Period**

Information about the period of the island under East Roman (Byzantine) rule is scarce and scholarly publications are not numerous. The earliest East Roman document on Marmara Island is *Codex Theodosianus*, compiled in the period of Theodosius II (408-450), referring to the rights of those working in the quarries of Troy and Proconnesus (XI, 28.9). According to the *Codex Theodosianus*, families working in the marble quarries were prohibited to leave their region under any circumstances. Based on this information, Texier, a 19<sup>th</sup> century French historian, architect and archaeologist, wrote that a permanent population of workers formed on the island (2002, 276).

Stephanus of Byzantium (6<sup>th</sup> century), not only described Proconnesus in Propontis and its inhabitants, but also the cities of Besbikos (İmralı Island), Phoebe, Aloni (Paşalimanı Island), Physia, Ophiussa (Avşa Island) and Proconnesus (Marmara) in the same region. He also specifically mentions a legend about the establishment of Besbikos (80, 165, 264, 536). In the 6<sup>th</sup> century, Proconnesus was part of the province of Hellespont, whose capital was Cyzicus. It was administratively linked to the Theme of Aigaio Pelagos (Aegean Sea) in the Middle Byzantine period (Constantine Porphyrogenitus 42-44). The islands were exposed to Russian and Arab raids starting in the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Theophanes 299; Cedrenus II, 227).

In Palatia (Saraylar), there are the remains of an Early Byzantine building, located behind the mosque, which was noted by Ch. Texier (1862, I, 161-162) and published with an engraving (Pl. VI.29). According to Texier, it is not possible to identify whether these substantial wall remains with alternating rows of bricks and marble stones belonged to a palace or fortress. Texier points out that the name Palatia, literally 'palaces' in Greek, indicates the existence of imperial structures in the village, part of which seems to be this remaining wall. Today, only a small part of this structure is extant. Across from this remain is a trench of excavations from 2016 by the Bandırma Archaeological Museum, which uncovered remains of a complex that housed a sarcophagus and columns, attributed to the Early Byzantine period.

Historic texts and references about Marmara Island are few for these centuries; however, archaeological findings indicate that marble quarries continued to operate effectively on the island. The findings, which were unearthed by an excavation team led by archaeologist N. Asgari and are currently exhibited in the Saraylar Open-Air Museum, indicate that the marble quarries on the island continued their activities (Fig. 6) (Asgari 1981, 117-118). Ambo, column capitals, parapet panels, and ciborium pillars made from Marmara marble were used in civic and religious architecture almost everywhere along the Mediterranean coast during the early Byzantine period. Constantine the Great (4th century) built a circular forum (Forum Constantinus, today's Çemberlitaş) during the reconstruction of the city of Byzantium (Istanbul) -which would be called after his own name- at the location of the old city gate and placed two gigantic arches in this area using marbles brought from Proconnesus (Zosimus 2.30). Proconnesian marble was also used in the decoration of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. It is possible to see architectural elements made from



Fig. 6: Marmara Island, Saraylar, general view of the Open-Air Museum

Marmara marble in churches and monasteries in almost every part of Anatolia such as Daphne-Antioch, Aphrodisias, Lycia, and Isauria (Koch 2007, 224-225, 231, 247, 271). Marmara marble was also used in buildings such as the Stoudios Monastery (İmrahor Mosque) in Istanbul as well as churches in more distant geographies such as Palestine, Tunisia, Algeria, and even France (Gallia) (Koch 2007, 85, 90-92). Marmara marble was also a very popular material for a variety of tombs, particularly sarcophagi. It is attested that many sarcophagi found in Istanbul and Ravenna (Italy) were made from Marmara marble (Koch 2007, 156, 163). As we learn from Michael Psellos's Chronographia, the island's marble remained important in the later Byzantine period. It is also known that Isaac I Komnenos (1057-1059) built palaces out of marble from Marmara Island (Demirkent 2014, 225).

There are more Byzantine artefacts lying underwater than there are in the Southern Marmara Islands and their surroundings. Approximately thirteen Byzantine shipwrecks were discovered, especially around Marmara Island. A total of eleven wrecks were identified during the archaeological survey seasons of 1993-95 (Günsenin 1996, 99). Of these, the Tekmezar Burnu I wreck was loaded with around 20,000 amphoras, which renders it the largest amphora shipload known in the world (Günsenin 1996, 98).

In 1998, a twelfth shipwreck was discovered in Çamaltı Cape, dating to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It is thought that the ship belonged to an Italian city, trading between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea (Günsenin - Özaydın 2000, 342). As a result of the 1996 surveys, a wreck loaded with marble was discovered near Ekinlik (Koutali) Island, which probably dated from the period of Emperor Justinian I (527-565) (Günsenin 1998, 298). Standard seals are attested on the amphoras found in the shipwrecks, including the names of the workshops or the masters that made them (Günsenin - Özaydın 2002, 382). These seals also show that trade was under the control of the Byzantine Empire.

The long historical hiatus that we try to understand with archaeological findings dissolves -to a certain extent- towards the Crusades. The Southern Marmara Islands, which had only economic importance -or were a place of exile for convicts- for many centuries, gained strategic importance starting in the 11th century as Byzantine sovereignty declined and the Latins began to dominate along the Mediterranean littoral. After this century, historical documents about the island start to increase. With the influence of the Crusaders, the island came to be called "Marmara" instead of Proconnesus. The earliest source known to use the name Marmara for the island is the memoir of the French Crusader knight Geoffroi de Villehardouin (1160-1212) (Hasluck 1909, 7). It is thought that this name became popular through the Latin seafarers.

Although Byzantine domination gradually declined in Anatolia after 1071, a few regions including the Cyzicus (Kapıdağ) Peninsula and the surrounding islands remained under the Byzantine rule until the fall of the empire. In 1115, the island was donated to a John Comnenus by Emmanuel Comnenus and in 1224, it was turned over to Georgios Marmora and his descendants as a fief (iqta). The relevant document of fief was published by Andrea Marmora, descendant of Georgios Marmora, in his book Della Historia di Corfu (1672, xiv-xv) and in Turkish by Ertüzün (1999, 235) but Gedeon and Hasluck consider the document to be a forgery (Gedeon 1895, 151-152; Hasluck 1909, 8-9). These dates and names cannot be verified with other references. When the territory of the Byzantine Empire was shared after the occupation of the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204), Proconnesus and other Marmara islands were given to the newly founded Latin Empire (Tafel - Thomas 1856, 476-477). In the following years, residents of the "Marmora" Island revolted against the Crusader commander Pierre de Braiecuel and caused him great losses (Villehardouin 1908, 127). It is thought that some of the historical buildings on the island, such as Marmara's sea walls including those on Cape Kole and the fortification of the east cape of Prastio (Gündoğdu), were built by the Latins. The Latin occupation lasted until 1224.

In 1304, Catalans attacked but could not capture Marmara Island, so they withdrew and captured Perinthos (Marmara Ereğlisi) (Pachymeris L, VI, 529, 1-5). In 1315, the island was given to Martin Zaccaria by Philip of Tarentum, Prince of Achaea (Morea) and the titular Latin Emperor of Constantinople (Hasluck 1909, 9). However, after this date, the island seems to have come under Byzantine domination again.

According to a record dated 1324, only three archdioceses in Asia Minor were listed under the Patriarchate of Constantinople, namely Cyzicus, Proconnesus and Lopadion (Uluabat) (Herrin 2016, 418). It is known from the lists published by Gedeon that an archbishop named Ignatius was first appointed to the island in 879 (Hasluck 1909, 8). This information shows that the islands managed to maintain their religious hierarchical position from that date onwards.

According to the accounts of the Ottoman-Venetian naval war in 1399, the Venetians were certainly active around the island. As mentioned by Michael Doukas, the Byzantine fleet was active in the Marmara Sea until the last days of the empire. Even when Constantinople was besieged, the imperial navy was able to raid Cyzicus and its environs (Doukas 4).

It is not known exactly when Marmara Island came under Ottoman rule; it is likely that Byzantine rule continued until the fall of Constantinople. It is recorded that Ioannis VIII Palaeologus, son of Manuel II, visited Marmara Island in 1422 (Chalcocondyles II.6.11-16). Therefore, the island was likely under Byzantine rule during this period. Accordingly, it can be said that Marmara Island remained under the control of the East Roman (Byzantine) Empire for a thousand years, except for the Latin occupation of 1204-1224.

## Southern Marmara Islands under the Ottoman Rule

It is not known exactly when the Southern Marmara Islands came under Ottoman rule, but it must have been in mid-15<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, the Ottoman Empire had tried to increase the Muslim population on the island through immigration. According to the Ottoman tombstones on Marmara Island, Turks settled on the island after the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Enön writes that the first settlers came from Amasya, Tokat, Erzincan and Eğin. When the tombstones from the 17<sup>th</sup> century are considered, Enön (2003, 30) states that the first settler families were Bektashi. Afterwards, the Ottoman administration transferred new families from Trabzon and Sinop to the island. Workers were brought from Ayancık and Boyabat in Sinop and Çarşamba in Samsun to work in the marble quarries, whereas imams were brought in from Trabzon. Of these islands, we are best informed about Marmara Island for this period.

#### Marmara Island (Marmaras)

The famous navigator Pirî Reis gives the earliest and most detailed information about Marmara Island during the Ottoman period (Fig. 7). According to a less-known version of Book of Navigation (Kitab-1 Bahriyye) by Pirî Reis (Ayasofya K. 2605), there were eight villages on the island, including the village of Marmara, which has the same name today. Theofanidis translated and published the relevant section of the abovementioned manuscript (1937, 9-11), followed by Ertüzün (1999, 236-237). According to the Book of Navigation, there were villages and harbours such as Marmara, Midillu [Midilli], Bulgarlar [Bulgurlar], and Palatiya on the island as well as a ruined castle (burgaz) before Marmara Village (the ruined wall was partially standing during the office of Ertüzün as kaymakam). The village mentioned by Pirî Reis as Midillu (Mytilene) is Prastio (Gündoğdu). The reason behind this name may be the immigration of its inhabitants from Lesbos (Mytilene). The other village is Bulgurlar, the location of which cannot be identified. Although it is not possible to suggest anything about Bulgurlar village, it is possible that there is a mistake because Bulgurlar might well be Vourgaro in Paşalimanı Island. It is certain that Afthoni (Asmalı) is the place he referred to as Arnavud [Albanian] (village). European travellers suggest that the inhabitants of Afthoni were Albanians originally from Epiros, which suggests that Balkan Christians were settled on this island. According to Western travellers and the locals of Afthoni, the elderly people of Afthoni village spoke Albanian even in the late 19th century (Valsamis - Lampadaridis 1940, 73).

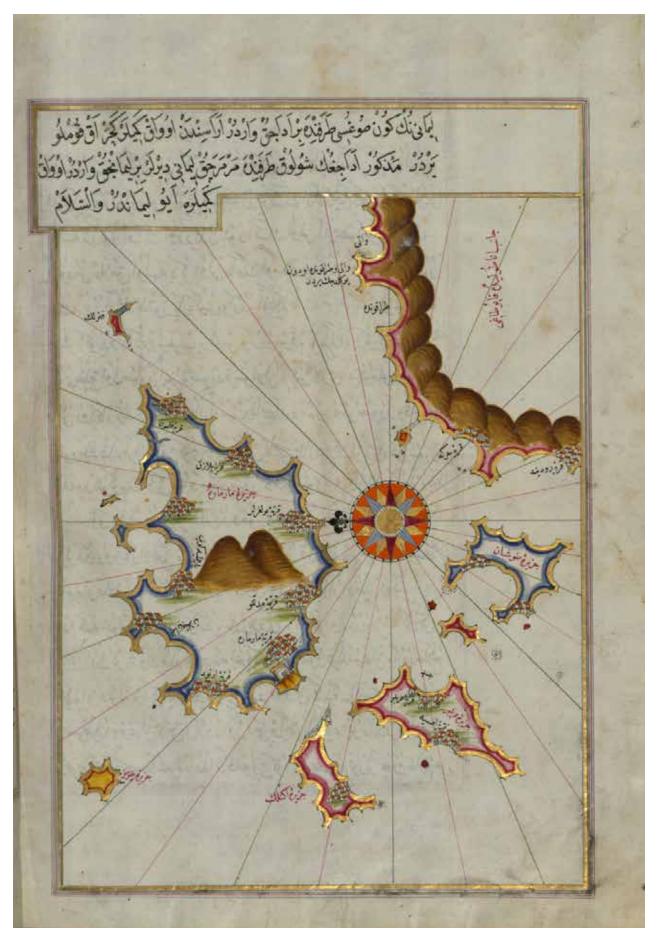


Fig. 7: Map showing the Southern Marmara Islands from Pîrî Reis, Kitab-ı Bahriye, Walters Art Museum Collection, Ms. W658, f. 368v.

Other sites mentioned by Pirî Reis are the Palatiya [Palatia] *kariyye* in the island's north and the port of Petalan [Badalan] where five or six ships can fit in its northwest. The first site is clearly modern Saraylar.

Apart from the Orthodox Rums, which constituted majority of the islands' population in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Sephardic Jews and Muslims also settled in the island as part of the Ottoman population-relocation policy. This is supported both by historical texts and archaeological material such as tombstones. During this period, the island was under the jurisdiction of Galata's gadi court. The court records provide very detailed information about daily life. As we learn from 17th-century court records, the Rums of the island were obliged to pay their tribute (haraj) taxes to the Foundation of Sultan Mehmed Han in Bursa. In a court record dated 1604, residents of Marmara Island complained that the tax collectors tried to collect tributes for a second time, even though they had already paid their tribute to the aforementioned foundation, and the re-collection of tributes was stopped when the residents' appeal was found to be just (Kuran 2010, I 469-470).

According to another edict dated 1605, the people of the island had difficulty in paying their taxes in cash, so it was decreed that they would meet the wood demand of the Palace instead. According to the records, the annual tax amount per capita of non-Muslim residents of Kapıdağ, Marmara, Avşa (Afisia), Tavşan and Ekinlik islands was 70 akche (official silver currency) and the total amount of 5500 taxpayers living in these regions summed 385,000 akche. The Rums of the region were also obliged to pay sür-sat (forced contribution) tax in return for their gains; this amounted to 428,805 qurush, which was also paid in wood rather than cash. The amount of wood that the Rums needed to send to the Palace was determined as 23,000 cheki (approximately 5750 tons) annually. The wood was shipped to Istanbul for 15 akches a cheki by Todori son of Yani, Penapod Reis son of Kosta, Telasinozi son of Marki, Nikola Reis son of Maklakari, Manol Reis son of Andon, Zagor Reis son of Yani from Marmara Island; Pandazi and son of Alexi from Tavşan Island (Cezire-yi Tavşan), Pator and Malakis Reis son

of Manol from Avşa Island; and Dimitri Reis son of Istemani from Ekinlik Island (Cezire-i Kotali). The captains earned a total of 345 thousand akches in return for this work (Kuran 2010, I 470). In the early 1600s, the brokers of Istanbul bought a cheki of wood from the Rum captains of Marmara for a price of 16 to 22 akches sold it for 45 akches to Istanbuliotes, for about thrice the cost (Faroqhi 2000, 96-97). Numerous Ottoman-era anchors found near the shipwrecks around Marmara Island prove that there was a busy sea traffic with Istanbul (Günsenin - Özaydın 2002, 382-383). These anchors also show that many ships had to cut their anchors in heavy storms around this area before they had the opportunity to weigh them. The large number of historical shipwrecks around Marmara Island proves that sailing here was risky.

Another record from 1605 mentions that the rights to collect liquor taxes in the region were taken away from three Jews named Simoil, Hanovil, and Chaim. These Jews did not transfer the tax they were obliged to collect from nine villages on Marmara Island, Doğan Island (must be Yigitler village in Avşa), Arap Island (must be Yiğitler in Avşa), and Ekinlik to the Ottoman Palace. Thus, after paying 1,900,000 akches ('ten times a hundred thousand and nine times a hundred thousand akches'), which corresponds to the sum of two years of delayed tax, the right to collect taxes was bestowed upon Mois and Franco, two other members of the Jewish community (Kuran 2010, II 202-203).

Towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the life of the Rum community on the Marmara Islands began to change when the Ottoman State readopted the policy of conquest. During the preparations for the siege of Vienna in 1682, avarız (extraordinary) levies were collected from the Rums of Marmara Island, and oarsmen were recruited for the navy. Based on an edict sent to Galata's *qadi* court by Sultan Mehmed IV (1648-1687), 46 households from Marmara Island district were selected to pay avarız taxes. According to tradition, each household had to either provide an oarsman to the navy or pay 429 akches as avariz. The decree commanded that this amount be collected by the *qadi* and handed over to the shipyard officers, and that a debt bill be issued

to the *qadi* stating that this amount was paid to the shipyard officers. In addition to the *avaruz* tax, after the registered taxpayers remitted their taxes, each household was ordered to pay a levy of 15 *akches* for shipyards and a levy of 10 *akches* for ushers (Kuran 2010, III 315-316).

According to a similar document dated 1689, the total number of households on İmralı, Kapıdağ and Marmara Islands decreased from 1075 to 772. It was reported that only one third of the tax could be collected with 154,000 akches remaining. Since the taxes were not paid, Sultan Mehmed IV made a discount. After 26,000 akches more were collected, the remaining tax debt was pardoned 'at His mercy to their condition' (Kuran 2010, I 687-688). However, the constant conflicts that the Ottoman Empire had with Austria, Venice, Poland, and Russia caused new taxes to be levied. Consequently, an emergency expedition tax (imdadiye-yi seferiye, avarız) was demanded from the islands and their environs through another order dated 1689. The islanders, who were encountering this kind of tax for the first time, appealed that they had paid their taxes in wood for many years, and added, "we supply wood to the Imperial Kitchens, but we cannot afford to pay the emergency expedition tax". However, the response stated that the wood was shipped in return for poll tax (jizya) and emergency in-kind tax (nüzul), and that the emergency expedition tax was new because the state needed money urgently; cash was demanded from two persons per household and 150 akches per person (Kuran 2010, I 691-692).

A ruling sent to *qadis* and viceroys in H 1107 (AD 1695/6) complained that onions, garlic, wood, coal, and various grains (cereals) to be sent to Istanbul by Marmara Island, *Kapudağı*, Edincik, Bandırma and other nearby, seaside settlements were not sent in time due to the unfavourable conditions created by the war. The same ruling ordered that the storehouses be sealed in case these provisions were found to be kept in them<sup>5</sup>. These accounts reveal that the people of Marmara Island and its environs suffered from the elongated war period of 15 years, which ended with the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699).

During the 18th century, Marmara Island retained its importance and -according to a document dated 1732- Karabiga (Priapus), Avşa, Ekinlik, and even Emirali (İmralı) Islands were attached to the District of Marmara (Ertüzün 2009, 238). The oldest codex of the Metropolis of Proconnesus (that covers the period 1651-1833) contains a copy of a letter written by Ecumenical Patriarch Prokopios in 1788. The Ottoman State, due to the war with the Russians, asked the Rums of the Proconnesus province, the peninsula of Cyzicus, and all other littoral settlements in Marmara Sea to offer sailors for the imperial fleet. For this reason, the admiral (kapudan paşa) of the Ottoman fleet as well as a representative from the Patriarchate in Istanbul asked the province of Proconnesus to offer men for the fleet noting that their needs will be covered by the Ottoman State during their service (15 qurush for each sailor for three months). The letter of Prokopios is accompanied by an important note giving details on the required number of sailors from each village: Aloni 14, Vourgaro 14, Vori 14, Skoupia 14, Houhlia 14, Afisia 10, Koutali 20, Marmara 14, Prastio 10, Afthoni 14, Palatia 14; 162 sailors in total. Furthermore, each village decided to offer each sailor an extra 100 gurush. Another note in the codex shows that during the following year of the war between the Ottomans and the Russians (in 1789), the province decided to send 46 fewer sailors; therefore, they sent 10 men from each village amounting to 116 sailors (Papachristou 2015, 37-39).

According to the personal notes of Dionysius, the abbot of Agios Ermolaos Monastery, the island experienced three major earthquakes on 1 October 1825, 28 January 1826, and 18 April 1836 in addition to an epidemic plague in 1834 (Gedeon 1895, 99; Enön 2003, 48-49) (Pl. VIII.33). İmralı was administratively separated from the Marmara kaza after 1840 and attached to Mihaliç (Karacabey). On the contrary, the entirety of Kapıdağ, Bandırma, and Erdek were attached to the District of Marmara in 1843. However, with the administrative change introduced in the same year, the liva centre was transferred from Marmara to Erdek, with Marmara becoming a kaza attached to Erdek. It is noted that development

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Mühimme Defteri (Book of Records of the Imperial Assembly) no. 103, Ruling no. 757.

of Marmara Island slowed down thereafter. The islanders wrote public petitions to express their problems in 1863 to Sultan Abdulaziz, who was the only sultan to have visited the island. According to these petitions, there was a shortage of water –as is the case today– on the island, the income from fishing was decreasing, and there was a disease in the vineyards. In his memoirs, Lamprinos Dimarchopoulos, mayor of the Rums in the village of Marmara, wrote that the Sultan responded to these complaints by saying, "These are divine matters, what can I do?" (Ertüzün 1999, 242).

The gravestones from Marmara Island that are currently in Bandırma Archaeology Museum indicate that there was incoming migration –arising from various reasons– from the Aegean basin to Marmara Island. For example, part of the inscription on the tombstone of Maria Kavaliotou born in Chios, translated by I. Papachristou, goes as follows:

ΕΙΣ ΠΡΟΠΟΝΤΙΔΑ ΕΣΠΕΥΣΑ ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝ ΝΑ ΤΥΧΩ ΒΑΒΑΙ ΚΑΙ [Ε]ΔΩ ΤΟΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ ΕΜΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΡΙΣΚΩ. ΑΦΙΝΩ ΠΙΣΟΝ ΣΥΖΗΓΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΓΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΛΛΟΤΡ[Ι]ΑΝ ΠΟΡΕΥΟΜΑΙ ΣΤΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΣΤΗΝ MONHN KATOI[KI]AN. ΚΑΤΑΓΩΓΗ ΜΟΥ ΧΙΑΚΗ, ΦΕΥ ΘΑΠΤΟΜΑΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΓΑΛΙΜΗ  $\Omega\Sigma \equiv ENH EI\Sigma THN \equiv ENH \Gamma HN.$ [...] ΕΓΕΝΝΗΘΗ ΕΝ ΧΙΩ ΤΗ 15 ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟ[Υ] 1854 ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗ ΕΝ ΚΥΡΙΩ ΕΝ ΓΑΛΙΜΗ ΤΗ 4 7BPIOY 1881. ΑΙΩΝΙΑ ΣΟΥ Η ΜΝΗΜΗ.

I hastened to the Sea of Marmara to find protection alas, here too death I find in front of me. I leave behind a husband in a foreign land I am heading to the sky, the only dwelling. Chios is my origin alas, I am buried at Galimi as a foreigner in a foreign land. [...] Born on Chios on August 15, 1854 Died, in the Lord, at Galimi on September 4, 1881. May your memory be eternal. Due to economic problems in the island, the Rum youth began to migrate to the United States of America starting in the 1890s. Some of these immigrants became wealthy through the fishing and shipping industries, since the Rums of Marmara were skilled seafarers. They spent some of their wealth for the development of the island. For example, they ensured that steamships reached the island, opened modern marble quarries, financed church repairs, and built schools. Over time, some Jews and Muslims of Marmara also began to migrate. Sabri Pala, one of the Muslim immigrants, worked on the construction of the Panama Canal (Enön 2003, 26).

Marmara Island, despite being the most populous and the richest among those in the ecclesiastical province of Proconnesus, was not the metropolitan seat, rather Aloni was. Gedeon states that the island became the independent metropolitan seat in 1824 (1895, 14) and this information is repeated by Hasluck (1909, 8). However, in 1900, the community asked from the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul to become the seat of the Metropolis of Proconnesus and this request was partly satisfied: The Patriarchate decided that Aloni and Marmara would share the seat of the Metropolis. As a result, the Church of Taxiarches was announced as the metropolitan church on Marmara (see 'Taxiarches Church') and the Church of Agios Georgios on Aloni continued its role (Nestoridis 1992, 129-131).

## Population of Marmara Island before the Population Exchange

As a result of the revival during the 19th century, the population on Marmara Island reached 9,000 by the end of this period. According to the Ottoman records, 8355 Rums and 340 Muslims lived on the island in 1898 (Rizos - Podaras 2014, 27-28). The same document mentions that there were 1693 houses, two mosques, 14 churches, a synagogue, a bathhouse, six water mills, and two windmills as well as nine schools for 515 boy and 183 girl students (Ertüzün 1999, 243). According to an article published in Xenofanis journal in 1906, the population of Marmara Island reached 13,504 people. 280 were Muslims, 250 were Jewish, and the rest were Rums (Xenofanis 3, 190).

Greek Name	Turkish Name	Rums	Muslims	Total	Photos of the period
Marmaras	Marmara	3280	280	3560	Pl. I-IV nos. 2-17
Palatia	Saraylar	3000	-	3000	Pl. VI-VII nos. 26-31
Galimi	Çınarlı	2145	-	2145	Pl. IX no. 37
Prastio	Gündoğdu	2600	-	2600	Pl. VIII nos. 32-34
Klazaki	Тораğаç	160	-	160	Pl. VIII nos.35-36
Afthoni	Asmalı	2030	-	2030	Pl. V nos. 18-25
Total		13215	280	13495	

According to the 1912 census, the population of the island with its villages was as follows:

Source: Prepared by Nakracas (2003, 124), based on the data given by Geórgios Sóteriades in 1912.

The earliest information about the Jewish population on the island is from 1821. Accordingly, there were only five Muslim and 25 Jewish families in the island (Theofanidis 1937, 12-13). Hasluck mentions that there were 30 Jewish and 40 Turkish households on the island in 1907 (1909, 10). Since the number of Muslims living on the island was around 250-300, the number of Jews should be similar at this time. According to Cuinet, there were 492 Jews living in the 'the District of Erdek' in the 1890s and they had two schools with 72 students, 50 of whom were boys and 22 were girls (Güleryüz 2018, 69). Although Cuinet refers not only to Marmara Island when he mentions 'the District of Erdek', the figures can still represent the Jewish community on Marmara since there were not any Jewish villages in the Cyzicus Peninsula.

The cemetery, which was very important for the history of the Jews on the island, was destroyed during the construction of the coldair storage. According to Galanté, the oldest tombstone encountered in the Jewish cemetery belongs to Yakov Eshkenazi and is dated 1740 (1986, vol. 4, 336); and according to Papachristou to 1718-19 (2019a, 179). Twenty Jewish gravestones were unearthed during the foundation excavations for the cold-air storage, which are currently preserved in a private museum in Çınarlı. The photographs of the gravestones that were legible to Prof. Dr. Nicholas De Lange indicate that they belong to the 18th and 19th centuries. According to Galanté, there was a synagogue on the

island before 1872. However, it was seriously damaged in the 'blood libel' incident (see 'Marmara Island Synagogue' in this book).

Although their exact migration dates are unknown, the names we know among the Jews who stayed on the island until the early 1950s are the grocer and wine-merchant Shuva Bezirgan, Daniel who was selling salted fish, draper Avram Kalvo, grocer Mordovahay, cheese-merchant Albert, tinsmith Nahman, Avram who was selling clothing, wine-producer Aron Kaptan, and other grocers named Nisim Agha, Marko and Yeshua Kordova (Güleryüz 2018, 72).

Some artefacts associated with Marmara Jews can be found in Balat, Istanbul. Among these is a panel of Ten Commandments in Yanbol Synagogue, which has the date of 5564 (AD 1904) and an inscription reading *Kal Kadosh Marmara Shel Aaron Eskenazi* at the bottom. Aaron Eskenazi mentioned here is probably the person known as Aaron Kaptan. Another Jew from the island, known as Mavnacı Kemal Kaptan, placed a marble plaque depicting a sailing ship on the door of his house after settling in Balat, on which was inscribed *Furtuna Marmara 1933* (Güleryüz 2018, 72) (Fig. 8).

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, a rapid modernization process began on the island. A telegraph line was established in 1911 and the marble factory –operating on steam power– was opened in 1912 (see 'Saraylar Marble Factory'

in this book). The latter, which belonged to a merchant from Kayseri called Mehmet Bey, is the first marble factory established in Turkey. In 1914, the first telephone line was installed. The rapid development of the island ended with World War I. As British-French submarines started to appear in the Marmara Sea during the war, the Ottoman administration relocated nearly 15,000 Rums from the island to the Karesi province, particularly in Apolyont (Uluabat), Mihalich (Karacabey), Kermasti (Mustafakemalpaşa), on the grounds that the Rums of the island would cooperate with the Allied Forces (Gingeras 2015, 243). Although the Rum population returned to Marmara after the Moudros Armistice (30 October 1918), they found that Muslim refugees from the Balkans had already settled in their villages. Thus, during the period of uncertainty from 1918 to 1922, tensions arose among the Muslims, the Jews who were believed to be helping the Muslims, and the Rums. Considering that the island was taken under control with a Greek phalanx of only 12 people in June 1921 and half a dozen people died during the conflict between Muslim and Rum bands, it can be estimated that many of the islanders were not involved in this conflict. In the wake of the Greek forces' defeat, the Rums of the island first moved to Istanbul via the ships of the Allied Forces and the shipowners of the

island, then soon left for Greece or America before the Population Exchange. Those that remained in Istanbul continued to travel between the island and the city, retaining their previous businesses and commercial partnerships until 1955. However, due to the pogrom on 6-7 September 1955 and its aftermath in 1964, the Rum population left Turkey en masse, resulting in the end of this network of relationships.

Some of the Jewish community remained on the island until Israel was founded in 1948. They later settled in Israel, America or Istanbul in waves of migration that started after the population exchange and continued until the 1950s.

#### The Other Islands

There are several other islands in the south of Marmara Sea that are of various sizes, with or without settlements. While settlements are found on islands such as Paşalimanı, Avşa, and Ekinlik, there are not any on Koyun Island, islets such as Mamali, Yera, Hasır, or –to the east of the Cyzicus (Kapıdağ) Peninsula– islets such as Fener, Soğan, Hali, and Sedef. Nevertheless, there are still churches, chapels, and lighthouses that are of importance for cultural heritage on islands such as Koyun, Yera, and Fener.



Fig. 8: Plaque with ship depiction and inscription "Furtuna Marmara 1933" from a house in Balat, Istanbul.

#### Paşalimanı Island (Aloni)

Prior to the Population Exchange, Paşalimanı carried great religious importance among the Southern Marmara Islands (Maps pp.12, 32-33 and no.6). The island, called Aloni since the beginning of the common era in the Roman and Byzantine sources, was also the metropolitan seat of Marmara islands (Ertüzün 1999, 257-259).

It is believed that the name of Paşalimanı came from Mezomorto Hüseyin Pasha, who shought shelter for the fleet in the island's harbour on a stormy day (Papachristou 2019a, 154). The island has been known by this name since the 18th century as attested in geographical works/treatises. R. Ertüzün, the former district governor of Erdek, searched for the non-extant inscription panels of the Paşalimanı Village's mosque and fountain, which had lost their original characteristics due to repairs following the 1935 earthquake. He discovered the name of Lala Mustafa Pasha (1500-1580), the conqueror of Cyprus, cited in an inscription panel on the fountain, and the name of Mezomorto Hüseyin Pasha, the chief admiral between 1696-1701, cited in another inscription panel on the mosque (Ertüzün 1999, 262-263). These names reveal that the island was an important stop.

The island has five settlements. Vourgaro (Paşalimanı) and Aloni (Harmanlı) are located in the western bay of the island, which is a natural harbour, whereas Vori (Poyrazlı) is located in the northern bay. Houhlia (Tuzla) in the east is a small peninsula connected to the island with a very thin isthmus. On the south coast is Skoupia (Balıklı) settlement, which is still an active port.



Fig. 9: Paşalimanı Island, tombstone of Theodoros.

Today, there are very few findings from antiquity in Paşalimanı. Sarcophagi, some of which were destroyed, are scattered all over the island. A huge sarcophagus lid is preserved in good condition in the square of Harmanlı. In Tuzla, there are a few antique fragments that were moved to the pier by locals as well as steles, column capitals and drums from the Byzantine period (Fig. 5). Moreover, there are two Rum tombs from the 19<sup>th</sup> century (one on the seafront outside Paşalimanı and the other at the entrance of Harmanlı) found at different points of the island. The Paşalimanı tombstone was read by I. Papachristou as follows (Fig. 9):

#### ΟΝΑΡ ΜΟΙ ΕΦΑΝΗ Ο ΒΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΙΑ ΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ ΤΟΥ.

Ώ θεατὰ, ἐνθυμοῦ εἰς πῶν σου βῆμα ὅτι βαδίζεις ἀφεύκτως πρὸς τὸ Μνήμα. Κ' ἐγὼ στὸν Κόσμον ἔζων ποτε ὡς Σὺ ἀλλὰ τώφα με καλύπτει πλάκα ψυχρή. Υίός Χφυσοστόμου, Θεόδωφος τ' ὄνομά μου, παντοπώλης ἦτον τὸ ἐπάγγελμά μου. Παφέδωκα τὸ Πνεῦμα <εἰς χεί>φας τοῦ Κυφίου. Ἄν θέλης τὴν ψυχὴν μου νὰ εὐχαφιστήσης ἐκ βάθους ψυχῆς σου νὰ με συγχωφήσης. Ἐνταῦθα τῷ 1827 γεννηθεὶς, ἀπέθανεν 1875 Μαΐου 22.

### LIFE SEEMED TO ME A DREAM AND ITS DAYS A SHADOW.

O watcher, remember in every of your step that you inevitably walk towards the grave. Once I was living in the world me too like you, but now a cold stone covers me. Theodoros, son of Chrysostomos, my name grocer was my profession. I left my spirit <in the hands> of the Lord. If you want to please my soul, forgive me from the bottom of your soul. Born here in 1827, died 1875, May 22.

Considering the island's population and the wealth mentioned in the literature, the number of surviving historical buildings is very low. Most of them have lost their original features as a result of interventions and repairs. Black mulberry, figs, grapes, olives, plums, and apples were grown in the region before the exchange. The island was also famous for its vineyards and wines (Çokona 2016, 152) (see, "Paşalimanı Winery" in this book).

#### *Population of Paşalimanı Island before Population Exchange*

Before the population exchange, Paşalimanı Island had an active Rum population and many wealthy people. The banker Georgios Zarifis, who was originally from Vori (Poyrazlı) on Paşalimanı, built schools even in Bursa to support education in Greek (Özil 2016, 97-99).

The population of the island was quite high before the population exchange. According to the Hüdavendigar Almanac of 1892, the population reached a total of 6008 people, comprising 357 Muslims and 5651 Rums. However, this census included Avşa and Ekinlik. According to the 1898 census, the total population, including Ekinlik and Avşa again, was 6737, including 516 Muslims (Ertüzün 1999, 265-284; Rizos - Podaras 2014, 27-28).

According to the 1898 Almanac, there were 1489 houses, ten churches, four mosques, six Christian schools and three Muslim schools with 447 boys and 38 girls in Paşalimanı, including Avşa and Ekinlik. Today, there are not any religious or public structures on the island that have survived from the Rums.

The information on the population of Paşalimanı Island in 1898 is as follows:

Settlement			Population (1898)			
Island	Greek Name	Turkish Name	Rums	Muslims	Total	
Paşalimanı	Vori	Poyrazlı	434?	60?	494	
Paşalimanı	Aloni	Harmanlı	803	-	803	
Paşalimanı	Vourgaro	Paşalimanı	853	-	853	
Paşalimanı	Skoupia	Balıklı	802	-	802	
Paşalimanı	Houhlia	Tuzla	510	-	510	
Total			3402?	60?	3462	

Sources: Ertüzün 1999, 265-284; Rizos – Podaras 2014, 27-28.

Although the number of Muslims was not given exactly in this census, it was stated that they constituted only up to 15 households in Vori. This should be equivalent to a population of about 60-75 people. The comparison of the 1898 and 1912 censuses can lead to more consistent results. The 1912 census, which was made with more accurate data, shows an increase in the population of almost every village.

Settlement			Population (1912)			
Island	Greek Name	Turkish Name	Rums	Muslims	Total	
Paşalimanı	Vori	Poyrazlı	640	75	715	
Paşalimanı	Aloni	Harmanlı	1100	-	1100	
Paşalimanı	Vourgaro	Paşalimanı	1000	-	1000	
Paşalimanı	Skoupia	Balıklı	970	-	970	
Paşalimanı	Houhlia	Tuzla	610	-	610	
Total				355	4675	

Prepared by Nakracas (2003, 124), based on the population table prepared by Geórgios Sóteriades using the data of 1912.

#### Avşa, Ekinlik and Other Islands

The island known as Avşa –official name Türkeli– does not have a long history (Map 6). The island's name comes from the word for "snake" (Afisia corrupted from Ofioussa (Οφιούσα) derived from ofis [snake]) in Greek (Çokona 2016, 152). Avşa did not have any settlements in the Middle Ages due to the scarcity of its water resources. It was an empty island, which was used by the Byzantines as a place of exile. Avşa Island began to develop during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and had a population of 2,000 by the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Settlement			Population (1912)			Photographs of the	
Island	Rum Name	Turkish Name	Rums	Muslims	Total	Period	
Avşa	Afisia	Avşa	1300	-		Pl. XII no. 46	
Avşa	-	Araplar/Yiğitler	-	700	2000		
Ekinlik	Koutali	Ekinlik	2607	-	2607	Pl. VIII-XII nos. 38-45	

Sources: Nakracas 2003, 124; Çokona 2016, 152.

Unlike Avşa, Ekinlik was a socially- and economically-developed settlement (Map 5). The island's ancient name may have been Acanthus, albeit not certain. Its later Greek name, Koutali, means 'spoon'. Indeed, the view of the island from the east and west is in the form of an inverted spoon, and the locals still use this name. The earliest sources mentioning the name of Koutali as a geographical term date back to the 17th century. However, as we learn from the books of Pirî Reis, Turks used to call the island Ekinlik -literally 'cultivated place'- in earlier periods. The name must be related to the island's rich agricultural activities in the past. In fact, Ekinlik had self-sufficient water sources, unlike Avşa.

The Rums of Ekinlik Island had an active merchant class, who had trade partners with branches on the American continent, and a significant fleet. The captains from Ekinlik carried goods to distant ports in Europe. They had a trade capacity that could generate 25,000 gold *lira* per year with thirty sponge boats (Çokona 2016, 152). The fishermen of the island were an important group dominating Istanbul's fish market.

The inhabitants of Koutali that migrated to Istanbul established the Fraternity of Evangelismos (Pl. XI.43). This association covered the island's school expenses (see 'Ekinlik Greek School for Girls' in this book). Vlastos and Christodoulou, well-known bankers in Istanbul, and Fotios Fotiadis, a 'pasha' that was one of the first linguists in Turkey, were from Ekinlik. The famous wrestler Panayis Koutalianos, who was an important athlete and a national wrestler, was also from this island (Çokona 2016, 152).

While Turks lived on the island until 1711, when the Ottoman administration transferred the Turks to Narlı (Roda) in the Cyzicus Peninsula due to the problems between them and the Rums (Enön 2003, 181-182). Population records indicate that there were no Turks living in the island after this date. Another interesting feature of the island is that it was the place where Dimitri Kantemir (1673-1723), who once had a very respectable position in the Ottoman palace but fell out of grace after he was accused of treachery, spent his final years (Ertüzün 1999, 271). Ekinlik prospered in the 19th century. The island received much migration from Greece. Families from the Ionian Islands in western Greece, such as Kefalonia, Corfu, Zante, Lefkada, Ithake and Paxoi -all of which came under British rule in 1815 and were transferred to Greece in 1864- settled on Ekinlik Island around the 1840s. Therefore, the islanders claimed that they were British citizens and did not want to pay-poll tax (Özil 2016, 160).

There is not much information about the history of a group of isles between Ekinlik, Avşa and Paşalimanı –such as Koyun Island (Provaton), Mamali (Mamalia), and Yer (Yera)– except for the physical evidence of their lighthouses and small chapels (Maps pp.32-33 and no.7). Agios Andreas (Fener) Island to the east of Cyzicus Peninsula. was the private property of a priest named Kyroglou before the population exchange, then it was transferred to the State Treasury and sold to a person also known as Gavur İmam from Karşıyaka (Peramos) Village. The island and the surrounding small islets are still the property of the descendants of this person (see 'Lighthouse' and 'Agios Andreas Monastery' in this book).

### Southern Marmara Islands after the Population Exchange

The Turkish National War of Independence ended in September 1922 with Turkish victory, and the Rums of the islands left for Greece in the following October. So, the islands were mostly deserted even before the Population Exchange. There were bands coming on boats and looting abandoned houses. To ensure that the islands –particularly Marmara Island– were not deserted, migrants from Crete and families from the Black Sea region were settled here with the Population Exchange in 1923.

After the foundation of the Republic, immigrants from Çayeli in Rize were settled in Çınarlı Village. Those coming from Abana in Kastamonu were settled in Gündoğdu Village. Those from Sürmene in Trabzon were distributed among Asmalı and Topağaç. Families from Tonya in Trabzon were settled in Çınarlı Village and families from Tonya came to work in Bedalan (Petalan) guarries in later years. The inhabitants of the district of Saraylar are of Black Sea origin. Similarly, families mostly coming from the Black Sea region were settled on Paşalimanı and Ekinlik Islands as well. Families from Black Sea and Crete were resettled on Paşalimanı Island, while Black-Sea families from Abana were settled on Ekinlik.

A substantial portion of the inhabitants of Marmara Village, after which the most-densely populated of the islands was named, are Cretan immigrants. This population consisted of Greek-speaking families who were expelled from Crete for being Muslims during the population exchange, and the vast majority learned Turkish after settling on the island (Enön 2003, 125-131). Some can still speak Cretan Greek. The elder generations of Cretan immigrants revealed that they were indecisive about settling on Marmara Island or in Erdek when they came to the region in 1924, but they chose Marmara since it was an island like Crete. While the number of these Cretan families on Marmara was around 100, it fell to 50 households following the departure of some families.

Despite incoming migration, the island's population is almost the same as it was before the population exchange. The population, which was close to 9000 in 1898, was 9870 in 2018. The population of the district centre in Erdek, which was around 9000 over a century ago, has reached 35,000 today and Bandırma's (former) population of approximately10,000 has reached 154,000; however, the population of Marmara Island has not increased for a century. The efforts to revive the island in the early Republican period were interrupted due to the serious damage inflicted on its structures by the great earthquake on 4 January 1935 (Pl. II.5, VIII.34). The recovery of the island's economy has been achieved only after it was opened to tourism in the 1960s and some popular films were shot there (such as Orhan Elmas's 1974 film Bloody Sea). In this period, intellectuals from Istanbul mobilized to increase the recognition and development of Marmara Island. Prominent people such as Selahattin Hilav, Mehmet Ali Aybar, Melih Cevdet Anday, Sebahattin Eyüboğlu, Necati Cumalı, Falih Rıfkı Atay, Yaşar Kemal, Kemal Tahir, and Oktay Rıfat registered in the island during the census of 1970 in order to reach 2000-inhabitant limit required for Marmara Village to become a municipal district (Enön 2003, 162).

The growth of the island has evolved in another direction with the development of modern technologies. The marble industry has come to the fore in a way that spoils the natural character of the island, the old cultural attractions have disappeared, and the historical traces have gradually –almost– vanished.