

**Melis Cankara**

## Spatial and cultural changes in Rethymnon – Crete after the Treaty of Lausanne

### ABSTRACT

Crete, due to its strategic importance, changed hands several times and, as a result, experienced the cultural hybridization and homogenization that formed and changed it spatially. The proposed study considers changing hands as an important factor that determines the formation and transformation of Crete spatially in the case of Rethymnon. It will examine the spatial changes of Rethymnon after the population exchange between Greece and Turkey that took place in 1923.

The main sources of this study are the exchange catalogs for Rethymnon that were created, by the Institute for Mediterranean Studies, using the archives of the population exchange commission, and partly published online; Rethymnon population records between 1900-1927; the output of the author's fieldwork between the years 2013-2015 in Rethymnon; and the liquidation requests (*tasfiye talepnamesi*) found in the State Archives of the Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey.

In this study, the street patterns are visualized according to the documents of the Rethymnon Refugee Rehabilitation Committee, and the economic and class dynamics that generated these patterns are investigated. The overall aim is to evaluate the spatial changes after the population exchange in the context of cultural hybridization and homogenization.

**KEYWORDS:** Crete-Rethymnon, Treaty of Lausanne, Cultural Hybridization, Homogenization, Spatial Continuity and Changes

### INTRODUCTION

The proposed study considers changing hands as an important factor that determines the spatial formation and transformation of Crete in the case of Rethymnon. It will examine the spatial changes of Rethymnon after the population exchange between Greece and Turkey that took place in 1923. However, this exchange of populations is not an operation of changing hands for the island, but it is a swap of human beings, languages and religions between two nation-states. In other words, with the exchange of populations the properties on the island changed hands, not the island itself.

The main sources of this study are the exchange catalogues for Rethymnon<sup>1</sup> that were created, by the Institute for Mediterranean Studies, using the archives of the population exchange commission, and partly published online; Rethymnon Municipality records between 1900-1927;

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<sup>1</sup> <http://digitalcrete.ims.forth.gr>

and the output of the author's fieldwork between the years 2013-2015 in Rethymnon. In order to make up for some missing information, the liquidation requests (*tasfiye talepnameleri*) found in the State Archives of the Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey were also used for this research.

In this research, two important spatial changes were identified in the old town of Rethymnon after the population exchange. The first is the changes of use. It has been observed that the changes of use in the old town of Rethymnon occurred on different scales, such as the building and the urban scale. With the departure of the Muslim population from the island, a group of buildings remained without a community that could use it. And, as a result, the use of some buildings mandatorily changed. The uses of mosques, hammams, medreses and *tabhanes* changed in the old town of Rethymnon after the population exchange. Today these buildings are used for cultural events such as concerts and exhibitions.

It was concluded that the changes of use on an urban scale occurred in two different ways. The first was a natural outcome of the population exchange: the disappearance of the traces of the Muslim population that left the island, in the urban space. The departure of Muslims from the island resulted in the extinction of some occupations in Rethymnon, such as fez making, fez molding and horseshoeing. Especially along the commercial axis that had a particular use of concentration, as well as Petaladika (Πεταλάδικα) Street, the use of the street changed automatically. The second kind of change of use on the urban scale was performed by the state. Demolishing some *mahalles* of the Ottoman rule which were created by destroying the Venetian squares resulted in the re-opening of the public squares after the population exchange. However, some of the re-opened squares turned back into ordinary streets according to the preferences of the new users, as in Mavrokordatou Street. At this point, it should be underlined that the user is one of the most important figures of the spatial changes that occurred in Rethymnon.

The second type of major spatial change that took place after the population exchange is the subdivision of the parcels. Passing an important part of the remaining Muslim properties to local people caused difficulties for the refugees to be placed in the city. The subdivision of the parcels that is seen in the old town of Rethymnon is considered a consequence of this situation. On the other hand, during the fieldwork, it has also been seen that some buildings were subdivided as a result of changing needs overtime. The university that was founded in the city and increasing tourism also played important roles in these changes.

### RETHYMNON REFUGEE REHABILITATION COMMITTEE DOCUMENTS

The main source of this research is the documents of the Rethymnon Refugees Rehabilitation Committee, which holds the record of the Muslim properties in Rethymnon after the Treaty of Lausanne. 1624 of these documents have been classified and published online by the Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS-FORTH) within the "Digital Crete" project. For this study a total of 2456 documents have been examined, including the unclassified and unpublished ones. These documents contain information on the properties that changed hands during the population exchange, such as the first and subsequent owners/renters of properties, ethnic identities of

70  
185

ΑΥΣΘΝ ΑΡΙΘ ΚΤΗΜΑΤΟΣ 474  
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΜΕΤΑΓΡΑΦΩΝ

**ΠΙΝΑΞ ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗΣ ΚΤΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΑΡΙΘ. 474**  
(ΠΡΩΗΝ Κοζακί Καταμεταρτυμένων του Έθνους)

Τοποθεσία κτήματος: Ρεθύμνιος, Πόλεως Κορυναϊός.  
Είδος ατόφου: Οικόπεδος.

ΑΡΙΘ. 2 ΤΗΣ 25/9/25  
ΑΡΙΘ. 2 ΤΗΣ 175504  
175504 1/4 Δυσ. Κωνσταντίνου

Κατ. πρώτου: 15-9-25

<p>*Έκταση και όροι κτήματος ή οικοδομής και είδος ατόφου (απόδοτος, αλμυρός, γαλακτός κ.α. ή ποτιστός, έρημος, βοσκήσιμος, είδος καλλιέργειας).</p> <p>Εκτάσεις: <math>5 \times 5 + 11 \times 11 \mu = 113 \mu^2</math> γαλακτός, παραγωγικός.</p> <p>Όρια: Α. Γεωργίου Γεωργίου, οικόπεδο Δ. Μουχαρράμ Κερί, οικόπεδος, οικόπεδο Β. οδός Πόλεως Κορυναϊός Κ. οδός Γεωργίου Κερί</p>	<p>*Όνοματεπώνυμον και ιδιότης των κατέχοντων συνδεδεμένων ή άνω.</p> <p>Γεωργίου Γεωργίου, πρόεδρος, Γραφείο Απομαρτυρ., 15/5-24</p> <p>Έσοχη ενόχου, κατοχής ή μισθώσεως. 15 Μαΐου 1924.</p>
<p>Διαμερίσματα και χώροι οικοδομής (όροφοι, δωμάτια, κ.α.)</p> <p>Μισθώσιμα Μισθώσιμα: άροσίου με μισθό 2000 δραχμ. ετών</p>	<p>Σημαντικότερον επίσημον μέτρον και μέγεθος έσοχης καταλέξιμης και της τιμής.</p> <p>2000 δραχμ. ετών μισθός από Γεωργίου Γεωργίου Γραφείο Απομαρτυρ.</p> <p>*Αν είναι έκτεθειμένον και από τίττον.</p>
<p>Παραρτήματα (σταύρια, ύποστερα, αλώνια, άποθήκη, κ.α.)</p>	<p>Σημαντική άγρονομία άβλα κατά προσέγγισιν.</p> <p>88 χιλιάδες (6.000) δραχμ. ετών Συνολική αξία μισθώσεως 2000 δραχμ. ετών (9.000)</p> <p>*Αν το κτήμα είναι κενόν, αναφέρεται διάστημα διακοπών φύλακος.</p> <p>Από: 1895-9</p>
<p>Παράβολα (ένοίκια, άφροί και έκτατος ατόφου, άφροί και είδος δένδρων κ.α.)</p>	<p>Σημαντικότερα στοιχεία άλλη πληροφορία άφορῶσα τῷ κτήματι.</p> <p>Κατάσταση, οικόπεδος μερτικό.</p> <p>Συνεδρία Τοντός Έπιτροπής Εν Ρεθύμνι 17 30 Δεκεμ 1925 Τα Μέλη Ο Πρόεδρος Οι Εκτελεστικοί</p>

Fig. 1. An example of Rethymnon Refugee Rehabilitation Committee Documents.

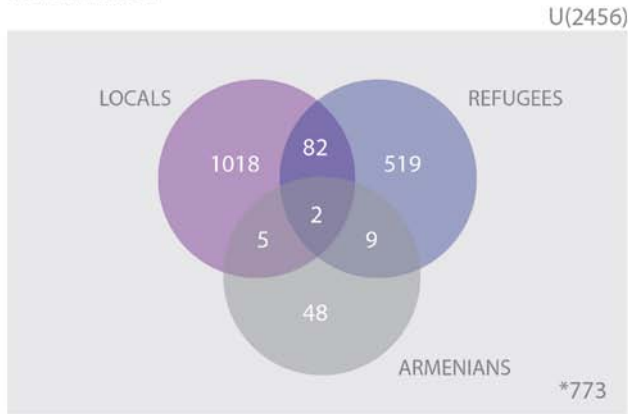
owners/renters (such as local, refugee or Armenian), street names, border neighbours; dates, ways and costs of changing hands, and simple definitions of the properties. An example of the documents is shown in Fig. 1.

The absence of street numbers in the aforementioned properties is the first notable deficiency of these documents. Moreover, the street names have changed over time. Therefore, in order to match the documents with the existing buildings, it is necessary to know the new street names and to have an idea of the principles of the commission for developing at least a simple system. Another major deficiency is the lack of knowledge on the total number of documents. For this research the documents are divided into two sub-groups: the properties in the city and those outside the city. The distribution of the properties that changed hands is examined according to the identity of the subsequent owners/renters in both groups (Fig. 2).

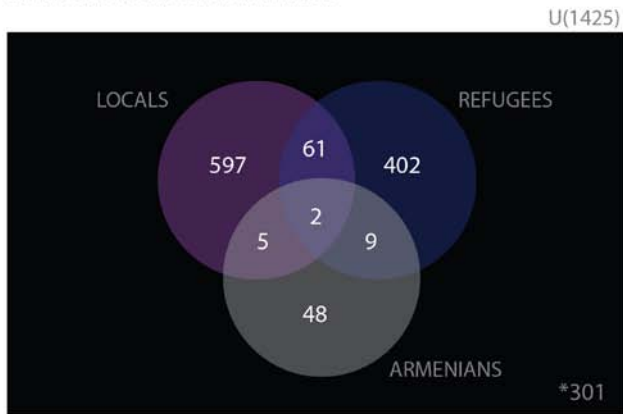
It should be noted that the balance between these groups may change at any time, due to the large number of documents with indefinite identities of subsequent owners/renters. Therefore, to make a comment on the issue, the indefinite documents should be ignored. From this perspective, the subsequent owners of the properties that changed hands in Rethymnon after the Treaty of Lausanne are mainly locals. On the other hand, it is known that the number of refugees that migrated from Asia Minor is three times that the number of refugees that left Greece during the population exchange (Aktar, 2007). Even in this case the settlement of refugees was

4 ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΕΝΑ ΙΒ' ΔΙΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΚΡΗΤΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ

THE PROPERTIES THAT CHANGED HANDS IN RETHYMNON



THE PROPERTIES THAT CHANGED HANDS IN THE OLD TOWN OF RETHYMNON



THE PROPERTIES THAT CHANGED HANDS OUTSIDE THE OLD TOWN OF RETHYMNON

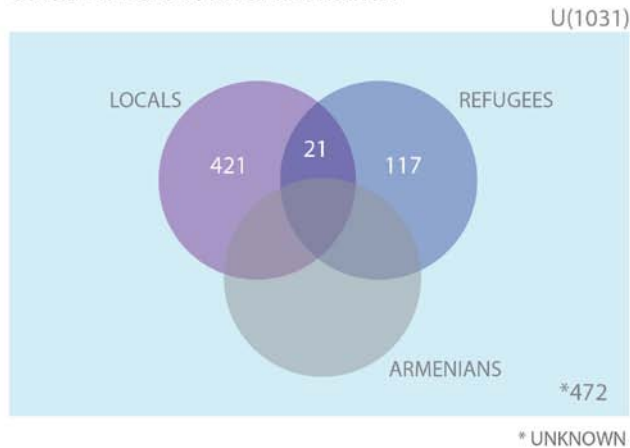


Fig. 2. The distribution of the properties that changed hands (according to the identity of the subsequent owners/renters).

a difficult issue. The problem has been further complicated by the local population who settled on the abandoned Muslim properties. Nikos Andriotis (2004) associates the lootings and conflicts between the Christian population and the Muslim population in Crete with the agricultural crisis that arose in 1821 and states that the lootings continued until the population exchange in 1923. Therefore, he argues that the exchange commission worked as an approval authority for those who looted the abandoned Muslim properties, as well as to provide settlement for the refugees. Nevertheless, even if we assume that all of the aforementioned indefinite documents belong to the refugees, the imbalance between the incoming and outgoing populations in Rethymnon raises the question where the rest of the refugees settled down. Even if the incoming and outgoing populations had been equal, the allocation of 1018 out of 2456 properties to the local population was enough to cause a problem. This problem could be solved in two ways: either by changing the existing lots in the city or by constructing new settlements outside the city for refugees. Both solutions imply significant spatial changes, but the focus of this study is the properties in the old town of Rethymnon and the spatial results of their changing hands.

CHANGING HANDS IN THE OLD TOWN OF RETHYMNON (ACCORDING TO THE STREETS)										
OLD NAME	NEW NAME	LOCAL	REFUGEE	ARMENIAN	UNKNOWN	L+R	L+A	R+A	L+R+A	TOTAL
Aglas Vavdras	Aglas Vavdras	13	2		3	1				18
Athanaslou Diákou	Athanaslou Diákou	2	6	1	4	1				14
Athinón	Renieri Márkou	9	12		5	1				27
Akrópolis	no longer exists	25	1	5	119			1		151
Aryropoulón	Aryropoulón	12	2		13	1				28
Aristídeu	Pigá Meletíou	4								4
Aristotélous	Melchisedék	1								1
Arkadiou	Arkadiou	51	9		5	2				67
V. Voulgaroktónou	Melissínou	13	14		4	5				36
Vaphé	Vaphé	1								1
Vikentiou Kornárou	Vikentiou Kornárou	2	2		2		1			7
Vospórou		3	4		2					9
Ethnikón Orphanotrophion			1							1
Epimenídeu	Epimenídeu	1	3			3				7
Igouménou Gavriíl	Tsikhi Anagnósti	4	2			1		1		8
Themistokléous	Oúngo Viktórios	3								3
Thermoplíon	Kritovoulídeu	2			1					3
Thessaloníkis	Arapatzídeu	23	19	1	4	6				53
Thrákis	Xanthodídeu Stephánu	1	16	2	3					22
Kanári	Damvéri Ioánni	4	4	1						9
Kapodistríou	Tsouderón	7			1					8
Karatskáki	Karatskáki	1								1
Kimonos	Makri Khrístou	10		1						11
Kolokotróni	Vernárdou	10	12	3	5		1			31
Kóraka	Kóraka	2	3							5
Kordótou		1								1
Kon/nou Palaiológu	Kon/nou Palaiológu	28	9	3	2	4			1	47
Konstantinoupóleos	Ethnikis Antístaseos	46	1		1	1	1			50
Lámprou Katsóni	Lámprou Katsóni	2								2
Lasthénous	Lasthénous	1	9	1	6					17
Leonída, Leonída (Párodos)	Koral Adamántiou	7	8		3	3				21
Leophóros Kon/nou Yiampou		2			1					3
Leophóros Páflou Kountouriótou	Leophóros Páflou Kountouriótou	2			2					4
Liménos	Psarrón	11		1						12
Likórgou	Klidi Stillanou	3	6		1	1				11
M. Bótsari	M. Bótsari	4	1	1	1					7
Makedonias, Makedonias párodos	Makedonias, Makedonias párodos	11	18		5	1				35
Marathónos	Katekháki Yeðryiou	3	6	4	3					16
Mavroyénous	Mouseírou Márkou	2								2
Mavrokordátou	Mavrokordátou	19	8	3	1	3		2		36
Meg. Alexándrou	Marinou Tzáne Bouniali	23	5	3	3	1				32
Mesologyíou	Mesologyíou	5	9	3	3	1		1		22
Miaoullí	Bótsari Márkou	7	8					1		16
Miltídeu	Melidóni Antoníou	5			2					7
Mínoos	Mínoos	3	16			2				21
Mikális	Mikális	1								1
Navarínou	Mavlií Lorentzóu	11	18	3	2	1		1		36
Nikiphórou Phoká	Nikiphórou Phoká	9	28		3	2				42
Nosokomío	Makedonias	7								7
Xepatéra	Xepatéra	3			2	1				6
Odissé Androuítsou	Odissé Androuítsou	2								2
Omírou	Omírou	6	1		2	2				11
Pan. Dangil, P. Dangil, Vospórou	Yerakári Kon/nou	16	1		3			1		21
P. Kountouriótou		7			1					8
P. Palaiológu	P. Palaiológu	1	1							2
Pánu Koronaíou	Pánu Koronaíou	13	19	1	8	5				46
Párodos Leophórou Páflou Kountouriótou			1							1
Patriárkhou Grigoriou kai párodos	Patriárkhou Grigoriou kai párodos	8	14		4	2			1	29
Perivolíon			1							1
Platía Ierolokitón <párodos>		3								3
Plataión	Metaxáki Meletíou	7	9	1	2		1			20
Platía Philellínon		5								5
Platía Philikis Etairías	Plastíra Platía	1			2					3
Plátonos	Papamikheláki Mikháil	2	5	1	1			1		10
Ploútonos	Artik yok	4	2	2	3	1				12
Prokímaia Eleftheríou Venizélu	Prokímaia Eleftheríou Venizélu	5								5
Radamánthios	Radamánthios	4	12	1	5	1				23
Ríga Pherralíou	Ríga Pherralíou	3	4		1	1				9
Salamínos	Salamínos	4		1	1					6
Smírnis	Smírnis	4	13		3	1				21
Solomou	Solomou	1	2		3					6
Sólonos	Pórtou Phrangískou	3	2		2					7
Souliou	Souliou	34	4	1						39
Sophokléous	Titou I.	6	3			1				10
Spetsón	Photáki Efstrátiou	4	2							6
Sokrátous	Govatzidáki Ioánni	5	4		2					11
Tompázi	Tompázi	15	4		2	1				22
Trikouplí	Trikouplí	9	4	4	2		1			20
Ídras	Arkadiou	5	2		3	1				11
Ipsilántou	Patelírou	5	10		6	2				23
Khairéti	Khairéti	2								2
Khairónias	Khairónias	6			22					28
Khimárras	Khimárras	7	6		9	1				23
Khimárras, párodos	Aryropoulón				4					4
Psaromilingón	Psaromilingón		1		1					2
Psarrón	Psarrón	3								3
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>597</b>	<b>402</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1424</b>

Table 1. The properties that changed hands in the old town of Rethymnon (according to street names and the identity of subsequent owners/renters).

1425 documents belonging to the properties that changed hands in the old town of Rethymnon have been re-categorized according to street names and the identity of subsequent owners. Table 1 has been created with this information.

In Table 1 it is seen that the refugees were mainly placed in residential zones and streets that changes many hands, such as Nikiforou Foka and Thessalonikis Streets. On the other hand, it is also seen that quite a small number of refugees were placed in the most important commercial zones that changed many hands, such as Arkadiou, Souliou and Konstantinopoleos Streets. As seen in Table 1, the properties in the commercial zones passed to the locals. Furthermore, it is also seen that the properties in Agias Varvaras Street passed to the locals. Agias Varvaras Street was at the intersection of Megali Porta and Tistsomahalles which were densely inhabited by the Christian population in Rethymnon. This situation supports Andriotis' argument that the refugee rehabilitation committee worked as an approval authority against the lootings that took place before the arrival of the refugees.

### A CASE STUDY IN KOLOKOTRONI (VERNARDOU) STREET

For this research I have examined 15 streets in detail and Kolokotroni Street is taken as a sample for this article. This is a residential zone where a considerable number of the refugees were placed and properties changed many hands. 35 properties changed hands in Kolokotroni Street. The Refugee Rehabilitation Committee documents on the properties in this street begin at No.268 and end at No.295. Although document No.292 could not be found in the archive, it could be located because the documents followed a certain order. Based on the border neighbours of the properties, the “Neighbourhood Relations” graph was drawn (Fig. 3).

This graph includes the names of the first owners, table numbers, boundary neighbours and types of properties that changed hands in Kolokotroni Street with the population exchange. In this graph the rectangles in red show the properties that did not exist in the archive. Not having the necessary documents, their location was estimated from the border neighbours. Each rectangle in the graph belongs to a property and has no size. The rectangles should not be considered as parcel lines because we have no information regarding this. The horizontal lines with circles show the relationships between the floors. For example, in this graph the house of Mehmet Perdikaki is on the house and store of Adile Hamam codopoula; but the entrances are side by side. Grey horizontal stripes specify uncertain conditions in which the border neighbour is unknown; it may well be a street, two Christian properties side by side, or it could also be

Neighbourhood relations before the population exchange in Vernardou (Kolokotroni) Street

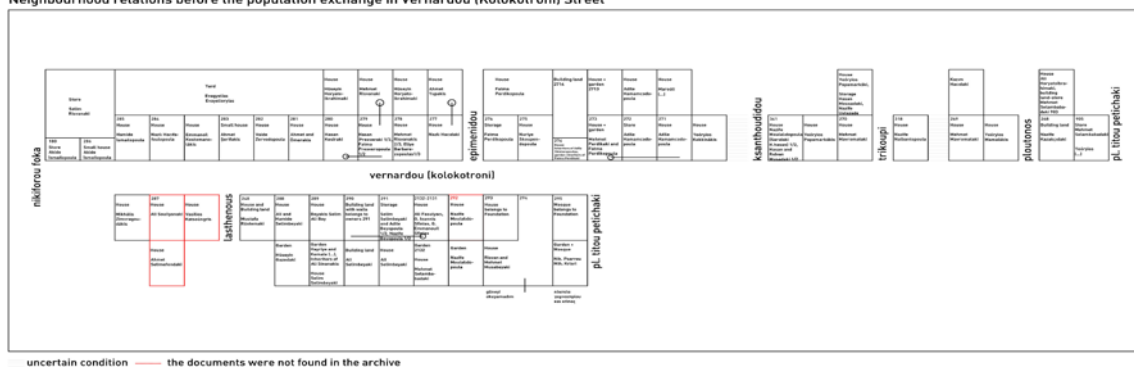
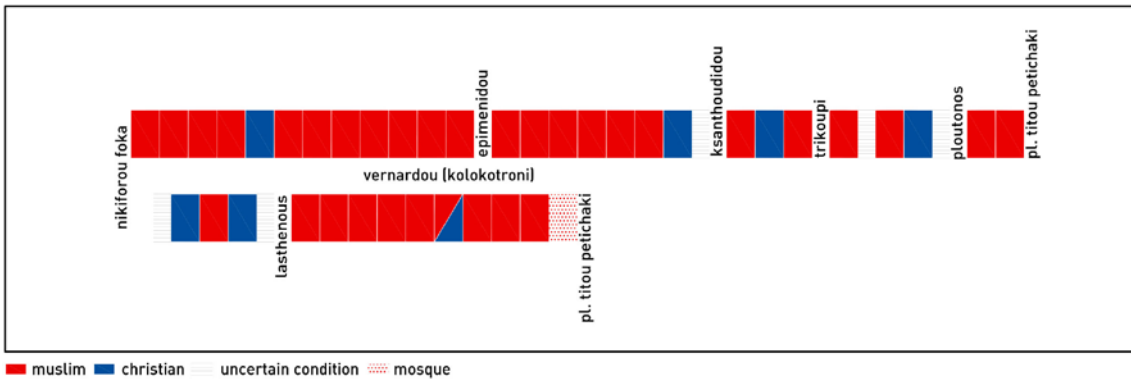


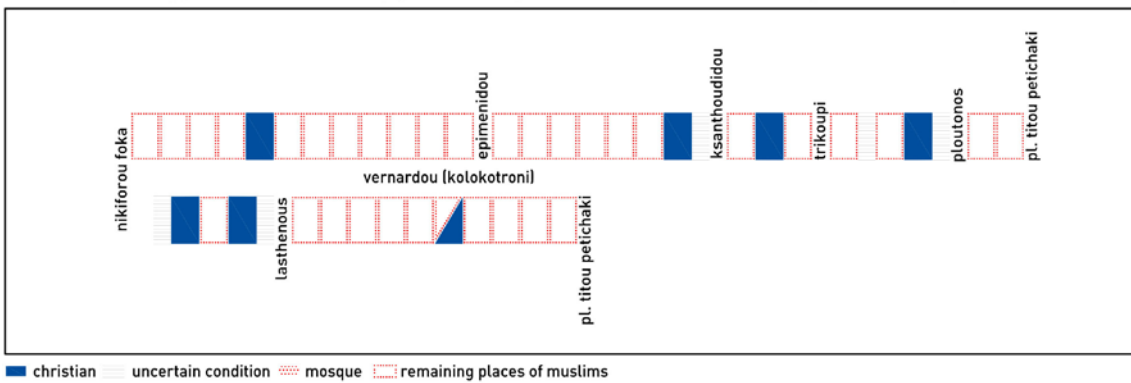
Fig. 3. Neighbourhood relations before the population exchange in Vernardou (Kolokotroni) Street.



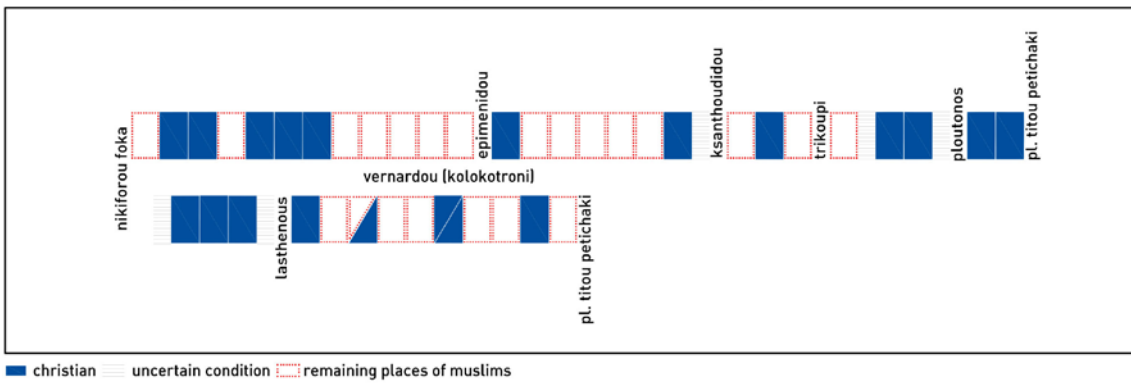
Phase I: The relationship between the Muslims and the Christians before the population exchange in Kolokotroni Street



Phase II: The remaining places of Muslims after the population exchange in Kolokotroni Street (Before the immigrants came to Rethymnon)



Phase III: The remaining places of Muslims after the plunderings in Kolokotroni Street (Before the immigrants came to Rethymnon)



Phase IV: The religious identities after the population exchange in Kolokotroni Street (after the immigrants came to Rethymnon)

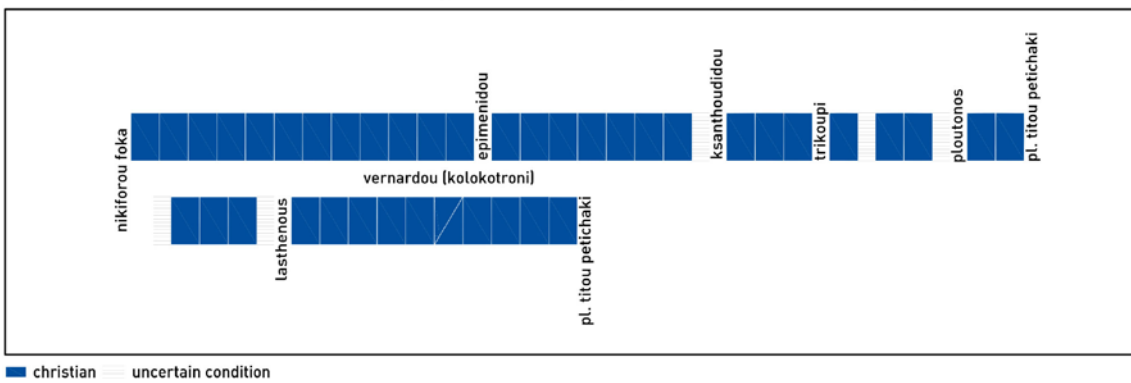


Fig. 4. Religious homogenization.

a case in which the borders of a property could not be found in the archive. Although this chart cannot be superposed on today's site plan, it is important for understanding the atmosphere in Rethymnon just before the population exchange. According to the examined documents, in this street 17% of the properties belong to Christians and the rest to Muslims.

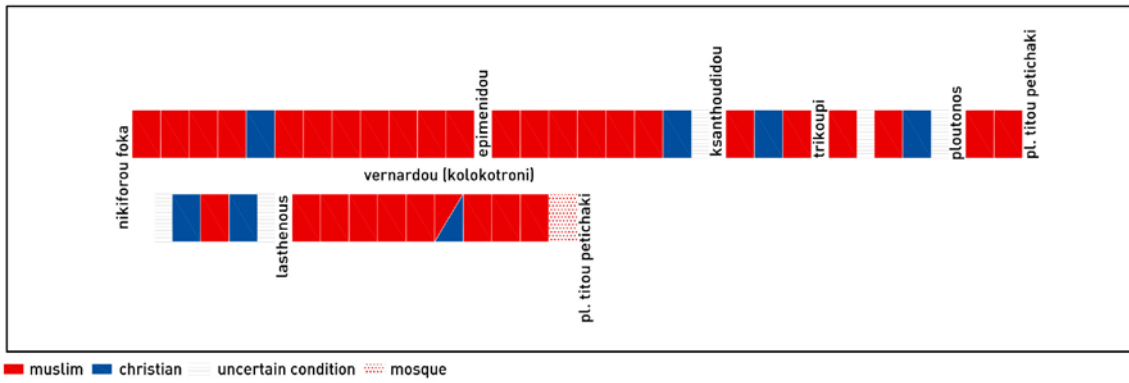
The changes in Kolokotroni Street after the population exchange, which aimed at the homogenization of the population in both countries, is shown in the graphs (Fig. 4). In these graphs the properties belonging to Christians are in blue and Muslim properties are in red. The white lines dividing the rectangles specify properties with more than one owner. The white diagonal dashed lines specify unknown multiple owners. In the first phase graph, the relationship between the Muslims and the Christians before the population exchange in Kolokotroni Street is seen. In the second phase graph, the remaining Muslim properties after the population exchange are seen. In the third phase graph, it can be observed that local people moved into some of the properties left behind by Muslims, yet before the refugees came to Rethymnon. In the fourth phase graphic, it is seen that the refugees from Asia Minor settled in the remaining properties. Obviously, the religious diversity in the first phase graphic disappeared with the population exchange and, as a result, the religious identities in the street were homogenized. However, it is also possible to interpret the identity changes after the population exchange in Kolokotroni Street as in these graphs in Fig. 5. In these graphs the changes in the street are represented through ethnic identities. It is clear in the fourth phase that the street which was religiously homogeneous was hybridized culturally. Although religion was seen as a binding and homogenizing factor by the nation-states, it seems rather hard to believe that this street became homogeneous with the refugees who had grown up in different cultures and different geographies. Refugees came from different parts of Anatolia and indeed were different even among themselves, so it is possible to believe that the street, having lost its religious diversity, was still hybrid.

Spoken languages before the population exchange in Kolokotroni Street are seen in the graphs in Fig. 6. Cretan Dialect (κρητική διάλεκτος) was the lingua franca of Christians and Muslims on the island of Crete before the population exchange. After the population exchange, three different languages began to be spoken on this street: Cretan Dialect, Modern Greek and Armenian. The language that held together the Christians and the Muslims living on the island before population exchange, became the disintegration point of Orthodox Christians on the island after the population exchange. From this point of view, in the case of Rethymnon, the idea of homogenization of the nation-states (Greece and Turkey) resulted in another type of hybridization.

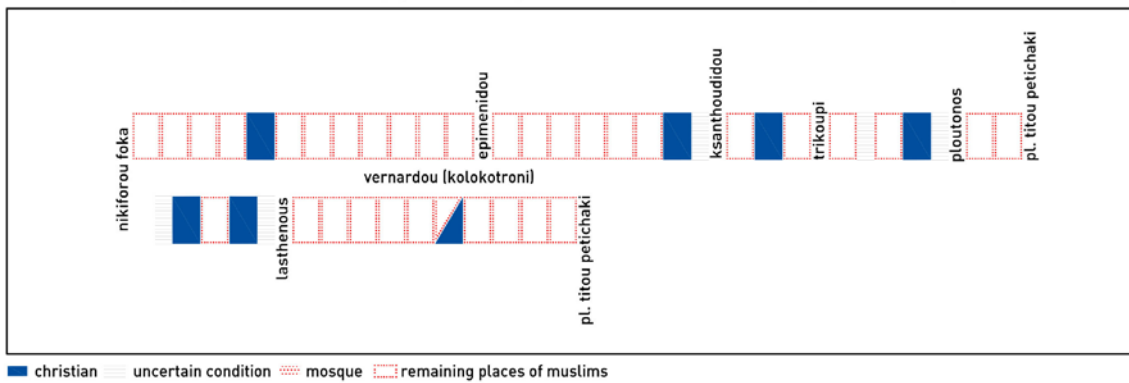
According to Rethymnon Refugee Rehabilitation Committee documents, properties Nos 276 and 349 in Kolokotroni Street changed hands with the population exchange. These properties belonged to Ali Skoupentidakis' wife Fatma Perdikopula. Property No.276 is a storeroom. Property No.349 is a house above this storeroom (276) and its entrance is on Epimenidou Street (Annex1, Annex2). According to the documents the storeroom consists of a single room. The ground floor of the house contains a laundry, a storeroom and a well; the first floor of the house contains six rooms, a kitchen, a bathroom and two terraces.



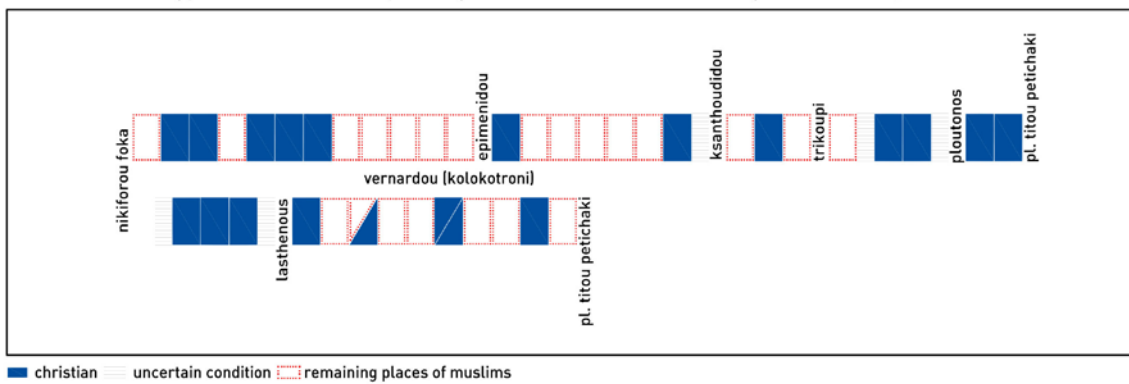
Phase I: The relationship between the Muslims and the Christians before the population exchange in Kolokotroni Street



Phase II: The remaining places of Muslims after the population exchange in Kolokotroni Street (Before the immigrants came to Rethymnon)



Phase III: The remaining places of Muslims after the plunderings in Kolokotroni Street (Before the immigrants came to Rethymnon)



Phase IV: The ethnic identities after the population exchange in Kolokotroni Street (after the immigrants came to Rethymnon)

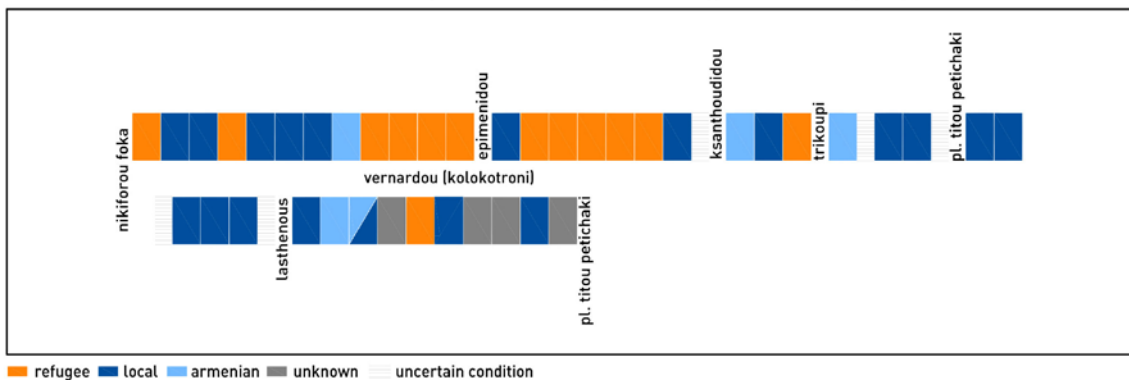


Fig. 5. Cultural hybridization.

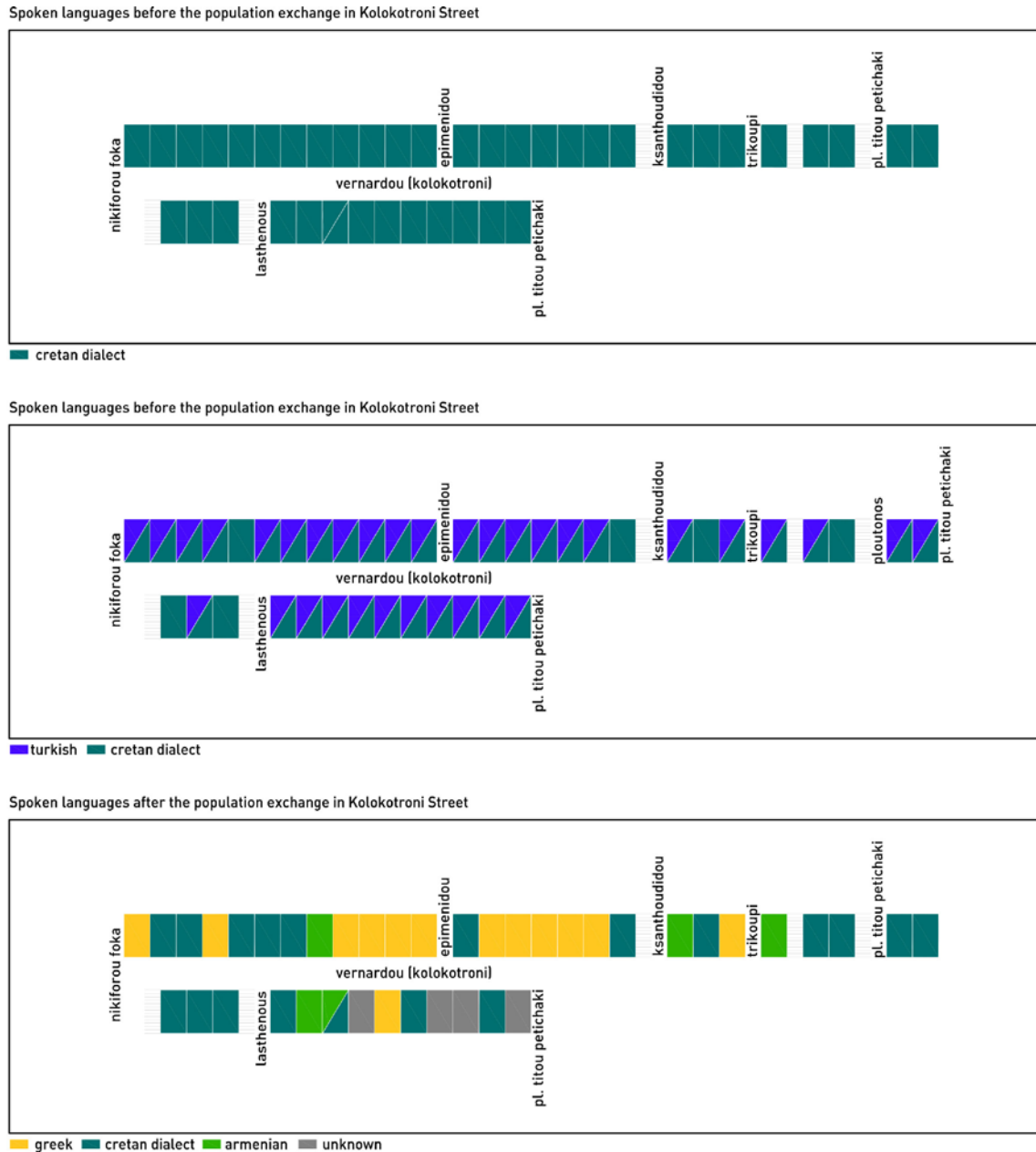


Fig. 6. Spoken languages graphs in Kolokotroni Street.

In Figure 7, the survey plan of this building which shows its status in 1973 is seen. These survey plans were created by the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.<sup>2</sup> During the fieldwork carried out in Rethymnon in 2013, a simple sketch showing the current status of this building was drawn (Fig. 8). By comparing these plans, it was concluded that the house was divided into five different student flats with sizes ranging from 20 m<sup>2</sup> to 60 m<sup>2</sup>. In this case, there are two different dynamics affecting this conversion. The first is the presence of the University of Crete

<sup>2</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Manos Tsakonas and Rethymnon Old Town Office for providing access to the plans.

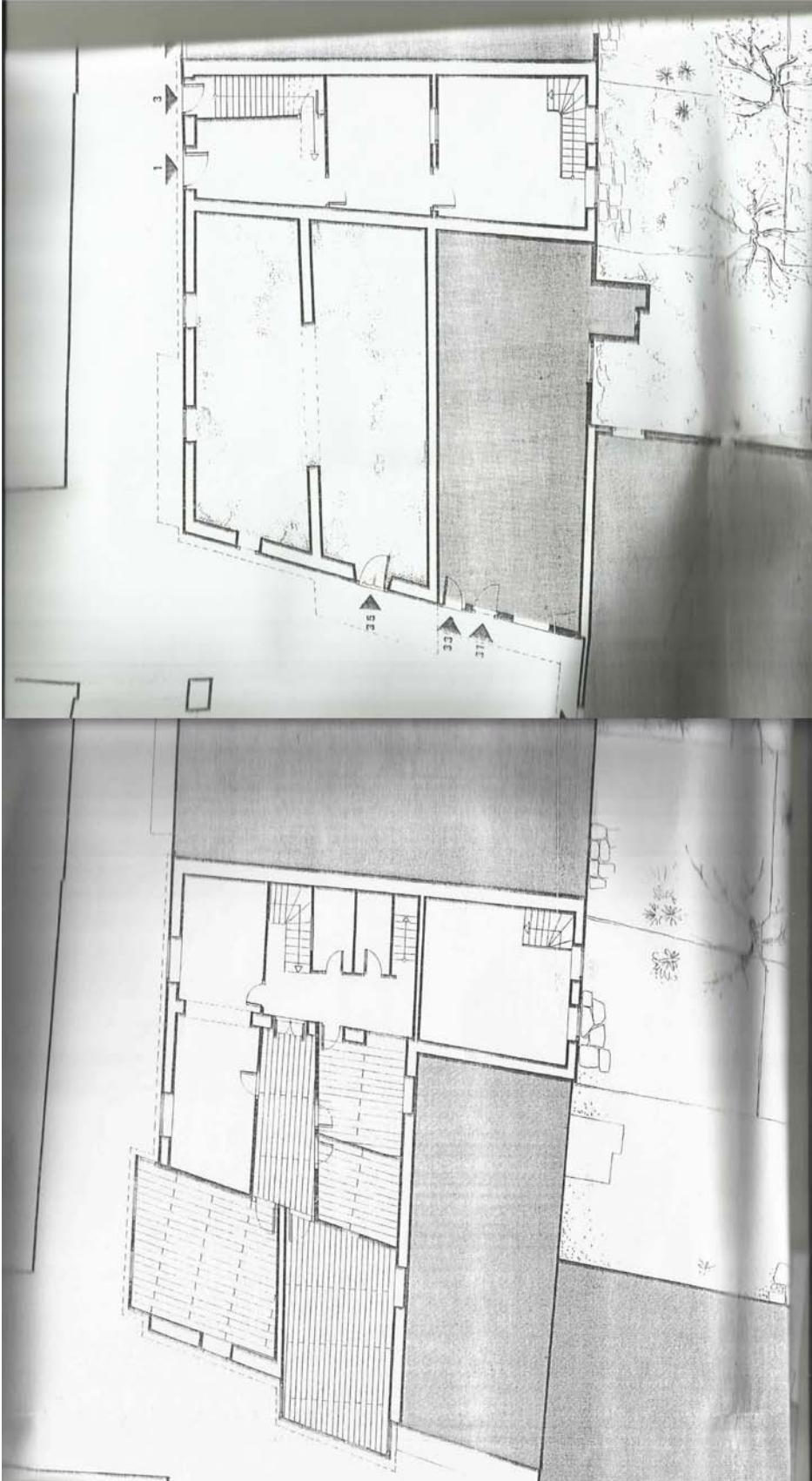


Fig. 7. Survey plan of the building in 1973.



Fig. 8. Survey plan of the building in 2013.

which was founded in 1973. The establishment of the university brought a new population to Rethymnon. Over time, the students began to live in the old town of Rethymnon due to low rents. The second factor that changed the typology of Skoupentidakis' house is the population exchange that caused a mandatory change of ownership and hence led to the change of uses and the change of ownership structure.

Today, showing the population exchange as the sole reason for the changes in the ownership structure is very difficult. The impact of the bombing of Rethymnon during the Second World War (Operation Mercury), the conservation plan caused by the tourism boom during the 1970s, immigration starting with the establishment of the University of Crete, the development of the tourism industry and the ongoing economic crisis in Greece cannot be ignored when interpreting the changes in this pattern. Each of these events has changed and will continue to change both the social and cultural fabric and the ownership structure. But none has caused a mandatory change of ownership as did the population exchange. In this sense, the population exchange was a tough and unfortunate complication which led to the change of ownership structure. The population exchange, forcing 1,600,000 people to migrate to places they had never seen, unwittingly caused another type of hybridization and led to an unrest that would continue for generations. Although the Treaty of Lausanne seems a breaking point throughout the history of Rethymnon, it resulted in the continuity of hybridization.

## REFERENCES

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ANNEX 1. RETHYMNON REFUGEE REHABILITATION COMMITTEE DOCUMENT No. 276.

20 10 2015	DIGITAL CRETE - BAS FORTH	20 10 2015	DIGITAL CRETE - BAS FORTH
<p>Αρχαιολογία   Αρχιτεκτονική   Ο.Π.Σ. Κρήτης   Βιβλιοθήκη   Επεξεργασία   Επικοινωνία   Πύλη   Αρχιτεκτονική   Αρχιτεκτονική</p> <p>Μουσική   Δοκίμια</p> <p><b>ΨΗΦΙΑΚΗ ΚΡΗΤΗ - ΟΙ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΡΗΤΗΣ ΣΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΤΕΡΟΥΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΥΣ - ΑΝΤΑΛΛΑΞΙΜΑ</b></p> <p>ΟΙ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΡΗΤΗΣ ΣΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΤΕΡΟΥΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΥΣ - ΑΝΤΑΛΛΑΞΙΜΑ</p> <p>ΛΥΣΗ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ: 154</p> <p>ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΣΤΙΧΑΚΙ: 276</p> <p>ΗΜΕΡΟΜΗΝΙΑ ΠΑΡΑΛΑΒΗΣ: 1925-09-25</p> <p>ΗΜΕΡΟΜΗΝΙΑ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΑΣΗΣ: 1925-02-10</p> <p>ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟ ΜΟΝΟΤΗΤΗΣ: Παρθενώνας Φορτίμης, Σκουρηνιώτης ΑΑ</p> <p>ΚΑΤΟΧΟΣ ΝΥΝ: Ανδρουλάκης Ευάγγελος, Γραφείο ενκατάστασης κεντρ.</p> <p>ΜΟΝΟΤΗΤΑ ΚΑΤΟΧΟΥ: ΠΡΟΣΦΥΓΑΣ: - ΕΠΙΤΟΞΕΥΣΗ: ✓ ΑΡΧΗΛΟΓΟΣ: -</p> <p>ΕΠΩΝΥΜΟ ΚΑΤΟΧΟΥ: 20 Ιανουαρίου 1926 Α/Ε 19 Ιανουαρίου 1927 (μονοτέλιος)</p> <p>ΤΡΟΠΟΣ ΚΑΤΟΧΗΣ: Εξέλιξη με ηθελοδότηση όνομα του υπ. 18280/191/28 μονοτέλιος 0,2 στρωτότε</p> <p>ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ ΜΕΤΡΗΣΕΩΣ: Μηνιαίο Δρα. 201 καταβάλλο στο 20-1-26 ως 19-4-26 και το κοινό ως 19/4-26/26 η Αλφειάκη καταβάλλο Δρα. 02 η 8) τριμηνία</p> <p>ΑΞΙΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΗ: Έκτακτη χρέως (30.000) Δρα. Συνολικά αναφερόμεται Κ. Επιδότηση από 20/10/26 η αξία προσαυξηθεί με Δρα. 100.000 (45.000)</p> <p>ΕΚΤΑΣΗ: 9 * 8 1/2 = 77 τε</p> <p>ΠΡΟΫΠΟΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ: Αδελφότητα κατα κέντρον εκτός δικαστηρίου</p> <p>ΘΕΣΗ:</p> <p>ΧΩΡΙΟ:</p>		<p>ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΗ:</p> <p>ΚΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΙΣΤΙΚΑ: Μονοτέλιος δόσεων υπακού</p> <p>ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ:</p> <p>ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΕΠΙΤΟΞΕΥΣΗΣ: 2811</p> <p>ΕΠΩΝΥΜΟ ΜΟΝΟΤΗΤΗΣ: Αναθίλη</p> <p>ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΙΑ ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΜΕΤΡΗΣΕΩΣ:</p> <p>ΟΔΟΣ: Κολοκαρπύνη</p> <p>ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΗΣ:</p> <p>ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ:</p> <p>ΟΡΙΑ</p> <p>ΒΟΡΕΙΑ: Οδός δικαστηρίου (Παρθενώνας Φορτίμης) ΝΟΤΙΑ: [ΟΔΟΣ] Κολοκαρπύνη</p> <p>ΔΥΤΙΚΑ: [ΟΔΟΣ] Επικέντρο δικαστηρίου [μ] ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΑ: Σκουρηνιώτικος Ναός, εκτός</p> <p>ΛΕΞΕΙΣ ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ: Κεντρ. κτίριο</p> <p>ΠΡΟΣΤΑΣΙΑ ΑΝΑΖΗΤΗΣΗΣ</p>	

ANNEX 2. RETHYMNON REFUGEE REHABILITATION COMMITTEE DOCUMENT No. 349.

<p>Υπόλ. 2</p> <p>ΠΕΡΙΦΕΡ. ΥΠΟΧΡΩΣΗ <u>Ρεθύμνου</u></p> <p>Αριθμ. Πρωτ. εισαγωγής υπηρέσης <u>25.9.25</u></p>	<p><b>ΠΙΝΑΞ ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗΣ ΚΤΗΜΑΤΟΣ</b> ΑΡΙΘ. <u>349</u> ΑΥΞΟΝ ΑΡΙΘ. ΚΤΗΜΑΤΟΣ <u>3714</u></p> <p>ΠΡΩΗΝ <u>Πατρις Παρθενώνας επί Αλφειών</u></p> <p>ΜΟΝΟΤΗΤΑ <u>Μονοτέλιος</u></p> <p>Τοποθεσία κτήματος <u>Ρεθύμνον, Σκουρηνίου</u></p> <p>Είδος κτήτου <u>Οικία</u></p> <p>ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΜΕΤΑΓΡΑΦΩΝ <u>λογαρίων Ρεθύμνου</u></p>
<p>Εκτασίαι και όρια κτήματος ή οικοδομής και είδος αυτής (λιθόκτιστος, κλινοκτιστος τοις μέρη κλπ., ή ποτιστικός, ερμηκός, βοσκήσιμος, είδος καλλιέργειας).</p> <p>Εκτασίαι: <u>4 1/2 x 15 = 68 μ<sup>2</sup>, κτισμένη οικία επί τούτου 68 μ<sup>2</sup> κτισμένη ή σφαιρική κτισμένη ήτοι εν σπηλαιώσει 100 μ<sup>2</sup> κτισμένη κτισμένη κτισμένη</u></p> <p>Ορία: <u>Α' Σκουρηνίου ιδιοκτησίας, οικία Δ. Κωνσταντίνου επί Αλφειών</u> <u>Β' Οικία Δ. Κωνσταντίνου, οικία Δ. Κωνσταντίνου</u> <u>Γ' Οδός Βασιλείου</u> <u>Δ' Οδός Βασιλείου</u></p>	<p>Όνοματεπώνυμον και ιδιότης τῶν κατέχοντος δυνάμει μισθωτηρίου ή άνευ.</p> <p><u>Μαρία Δεζιμή, Παισιματιστή, εφορολογημένη υπηρέτρια κατά τὴν ἐπίσημην καταγραφήν τῶν ἀπογραφῶν καὶ ἀπογραφῶν τῶν ἀπογραφῶν καὶ ἀπογραφῶν τῶν ἀπογραφῶν</u></p> <p>Ἐποχή ἐνάρξεως κατοχῆς ή μισθώσεως.</p> <p><u>Μαρία Δεζιμή: 1 Μαΐου 1924</u> <u>Π. Παισιματιστή: 1 Δεκεμβρίου 1924</u></p>
<p>Λιμενησώματα και χώροι οικοδομῆς (δρόμοι, δωματῖα κλπ.)</p> <p><u>Δρόμος</u> <u>Τοίχοι: ἑξήμισυ καὶ ἑπτακτῆρον μὲ φράξιν, 1 ἀσπίδιον</u> <u>199 δρόμοι: γαράζα, 6 δωμάτια, μαγειρεῖο, ζουλερ, ὑποθήκη γαράζα</u></p>	<p>Σημειωθημένον ἐτήσιον μίσθωμα καὶ μέχρι ποσῆς ἐποχῆς κατεβλήθη καὶ εἰς τίνα.</p> <p><u>Ὁ μίσθωσις μισθωτοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἀπογραφῶν τῶν ἀπογραφῶν</u></p> <p>Ἄν εἶναι ἐπιτεταγμένον καὶ ἀπὸ ποῦ.</p>
<p>Παραρτήματα (σταθλοί, ἀποσπασμα, πλυντήρια, ἀποθήκη, κλπ.)</p>	<p>Σημερινή ἀγοραία ἀξία κατὰ προσέγγισιν: <u>ἀμοιβή χιλιάδων (300.000) Δραχ.</u> <u>ἀμοιβή ἀμοιβῶν τῶν ἀπογραφῶν ἀπὸ 20/10/26 ἡ ἀξία ἀπογραφῶν τῶν ἀπογραφῶν</u> <u>ἀμοιβή ἀμοιβῶν χιλιάδων (300.000) -</u></p> <p>Ἄν τὸ κτήμα εἶναι κενὸν παρίσταται ἀνάγκη διορισμοῦ φύλακος:</p> <p><u>ἀπὸ ἀμ. 2811</u></p>
<p>Περιοχαὶ κήποι, ἀγροὶ καὶ ἐκτασίαι αὐτῶν, ἀριθμὸς καὶ εἶδος δένδρων κλπ.)</p> <p><u>ἀμοιβή ἀμοιβῶν 25 x 16 = 322 μ<sup>2</sup>, σφαιρική φράξιν, 1 ἀσπίδιον, 5 σφαιρική</u> <u>4 μανδραρινία, 4 μοιρομυρία, 2 μανδραρινία, 1 κεράντζα, 3 χριστιανισμ.</u> <u>νία, 2 θάμνια, 3 κρημναρισμ</u></p> <p><u>ἀμ. ἀμ. ἀμ. ἀμ. ἀμ.</u> <u>ἀμ. ἀμ. ἀμ. ἀμ. ἀμ.</u></p>	<p>Σημειωθῆτω οἰαδήποτε ἄλλη πληροφορία ἀφορῶσα τὸ κτήμα.</p> <p><u>Ὁ μίσθωσις ἀμοιβῶν ἀμ. ἀμ. ἀμ. ἀμ. ἀμ.</u></p> <p>Συνεδρία Τοπικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς</p> <p>Ἐν <u>Ρεθύμνῳ</u> τῇ <u>17 Φεβρουαρίου 1926</u></p> <p>ΤΑ ΜΕΛΗ <u>Δ. Κωνσταντίνου</u> <u>Δ. Κωνσταντίνου</u></p> <p>Ο ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ <u>Δ. Κωνσταντίνου</u></p> <p>ΟΙ ΕΚΤΙΜΗΤΑΙ <u>Δ. Κωνσταντίνου</u> <u>Δ. Κωνσταντίνου</u></p>