

Leaving 'the Rock': Emigration from Kastellorizo, 1870-1939

By Nick Pappas, Sydney



One of the mainstays of the island's robust economy in the 19th century was shipbuilding. This image from 1902 shows the size of some of the vessels that used the island's accommodating harbour in this period.

This article is an edited version of the paper presented at the West Australian Kastellorizian Association Centenary Speaking Forums in May 2012.

We have all heard stories about Kastellorizo's prosperity in the 19th century, when tall two and three-masted brigs and caiques filled the island's accommodating harbour, and when the island's traders travelled across the Mediterranean and deep into western Asia for mercantile opportunities. Indeed, a great deal of Kastellorizian legend is imbued with a sense of nostalgia for these long-gone days, and the island is regularly recalled as a bustling entrepot with an ascendant merchant class that had accumulated considerable wealth through trade.

And the stories we have all heard are by no means exaggerated. At the end of the Greek revolution in 1828, Kastellorizo was well-positioned to take advantage of its geographical location. By mid-1829, the bulk of the islanders had returned to the island (they had been forced to abandon it in the hostilities), and the Ottomans displayed remarkable liberality in the aftermath of the revolution by imposing on Kastellorizo only a modest annual tax (*mahtou*) of 48,000 *grosia*, payable in three equal instalments.

The Kastellorizians also won the right to self-administer their internal affairs through their five elected *demogerontes*, under the oversight of a generally passive Ottoman governor, or *kaimakam*. By permitting the islanders to administer the collection of duties, to conduct their own religious affairs and to oversee their health and sanitation, the Ottomans, either by design or by default, had created an environment that would encourage entrepreneurship. This, combined with the advent of safer travel on the high seas, was to be the basis of the surge on wealth on the island over the next three decades.

Which brings me to the theme of this paper: if Kastellorizo was as prosperous as we have been told in the second half of the 19th

century, why did its residents choose to depart from as early as 1870 for places across the entire globe? What were the catalysts for these intrepid journeys to places like Santa Catarina (Brazil), New York, Russia, central and southern Africa and, of course, Australia? Was it just the greater economic opportunity these destinations offered, or were there deeper issues on the island that had precipitated these bold adventures?

If there is to be a conclusion it is that decisions about emigration were, in large part, closely aligned to, and often triggered by, events on and around Kastellorizo. Until recently, we have tended to look at the island's local history and the diaspora experience as largely unrelated phenomena, but more recent research is leading to the view that the ebbs and flows of emigration from Kastellorizo were invariably linked to quite specific events and trends on the island.

Ship building

So let us begin with the Ottomans. Aside from freedom of religion and language and exemption from conscription, another important concession the Ottomans afforded to the islanders after the Greek revolution was the right to construct their own vessels with the approval of the *kaimakam*. These permits were given quite freely from around 1840, usually on the express condition that the vessel could not be on-sold, particularly to a foreigner, or fly a foreign flag. To give a flavour of these permits, this is a translated extract from one such a permit issued on 28 October 1841 by the Ottoman Pasha in Rhodes to a petitioning Kastellorizian, one Hatziyiannis Hatzimarkou:

To the island of Kastellorizo, its notables and all its subjects of this island it is made known that, being a rocky island without land to be cultivated, its residents are compelled to turn to the sea for their livelihoods and to pay their taxes, there appeared before us Hatziyiannis Hatzimarkou, a Kastellorizian, and he made known to us his desire to build a brig of a length of 13 pychon and to build



Leaving 'the Rock': Emigration from Castellorizo, 1870-1939 (Cont.)

the said vessel on Castellorizo, and being reliably informed that he is a loyal subject we have given our approval for him to build it and for him to sail the said vessel under the Ottoman flag and with Castellorizian sailors but with the obligation that he never sells it to another subject, only that he uses it for his own benefit.

With shipbuilding underway, the island's merchant fleet grew rapidly between 1835 and 1850. This rise in activity is evidenced by the fact that from 1836 the British Foreign Office appointed a permanent commercial consul to the island (Fortunato Bigliotti) who also represented Russia and Italy. His role was to foster commercial interaction between his own subjects and the local traders and shipowners, but over time he would become an active participant in transactions, particularly in the sponge industry.

Shipbuilders and tradesmen from other islands, like Nikolettos Karalis from Syros and the Tourkomanoli family from Hydra, soon established their enterprises on the island with a view to profiting from the increasing activity and the Mandraki basin soon became a massive shipbuilding facility with up to 20 large vessels under construction at any one time. Simultaneously, the island's harbour front had become a veritable market town with one British traveller describing it in 1841 as a 'metropolis of trade, with every provision finding a ready market.'



By 1880, Castellorizo had been recorded as having among the highest population densities in the world. This image of the Kavos waterfront attests to the density of the built environment.

Sponge diving

Closely allied to this activity was the increasing number of Castellorizian males engaging in sponge diving along the Syrian coast. This extract, from a report of the British consular agent in 1839, attests to the level of Castellorizian participation in the sponge industry at this time:

All the Greeks who pursue this occupation come from the archipelago of Castel Rosso. In an average year some 290-300 Greek divers come to Tripoli, scattering from there all over the Syrian coast. At Tripoli, Batrun and Latakia they hire boats suitable for diving, each carrying 3-6 divers. The boats that the Greeks bring with them not being suitable for diving, they lay them up at Tripoli and use them only for the journey and for carrying back the sponges they have fished out.

Almost all of the divers from Castel Rosso work under the

management of M. Bigliotti, a Tuscan subject established at Rhodes, who advances them money in winter and draws a contract obliging them to sell to him all the sponges they fish during the season at an agreed-upon price that is always below the sale price in this country, thus covering the value of his advances.



While sponge diving had all but ceased by the turn of the century, it had been a central plank of the island's economy in the 19th century. This photo shows one of the island's last divers in the late 1920s. Note the bell stone used to descend speedily.

Not surprisingly, it wasn't long before the Ottoman regime came to the view that their indulgence in the immediate aftermath of the devastating Greek revolution may have been a little generous, especially given the surge in shipbuilding and housing and the wealth accumulated by the municipality through the collection of duty on imported sponges. As early as 1844, the *nomarch* in Rhodes, Hasan Pasha, sought to impose a 10% surcharge on sponges brought to the island for on-sale. And as a sign of the regime's increasing oversight of the island's rising property-owning class, he also ordered the first listing of all houses on the island by names of landholders and this document was prepared and despatched by the Pasha to Constantinople in late 1847. It represents the first cataloguing of properties and their owners on the island and served to remind those in authority of the economic benefits the island's privileges had delivered.

Such was the burgeoning prosperity of the municipality during this period that financial records from 1844 disclose that it had become a virtual financial institution, advancing short term loans to its own



Leaving 'the Rock': Emigration from Castellorizo, 1870-1939 (Cont.)

islanders and, as the town grew, deriving handsome profits from the sale of parcels of undeveloped land to its cashed-up merchants. It is little wonder, therefore, that from around 1850 the Ottoman Turks started to abrogate some of the privileges that had served as the foundations of this new-found luxury. As an early sign of what was to follow, the annual tax was raised in 1851 from 48,000 grosia to 51,455 grosia, and the responsibility for the payment of the salary of the *kaimakám* and his ten-strong constabulary was transferred to the municipal treasury.



'A forest of masts': While this image is from 1916, this is very much what the town and harbour of Castellorizo would have looked like in the prosperous last decades of the 19th century.

Not surprisingly, the Castellorizians were not shy in protesting, and in July 1849, they delivered to the Pasha of Rhodes a stern rebuke of their new *kaimakám*, Hatzí Katir Agha (whose salary they were now paying), calling for his immediate removal for corruption and harsh practices. The document attests to the bold standing of the wealthy islanders vis-à-vis their Ottoman overlords at this time, even while the tide was starting to turn against them:

We, the residents of Castellorizo, have observed that your representative here, Hatzí Katir Agha, has brought to our community great suffering, because he tortures, punishes and imprisons women and men without cause and without any enquiry. Because he has brought such tyranny to this place, but also because our respected and beloved Sultan desires tranquility and peace and the improvement of the lot of his subjects, we beseech your highness that you urgently despatch to us a more sensible governor for our island.

These calls for the *kaimakám's* removal were heeded and the Pasha in Rhodes despatched a new, more genial, *kaimakám*, Omer Agha, to serve in his place.

While some Castellorizians could now count themselves among the wealthiest shipowners and merchants in the islands of the Aegean, it appears that the island's new-found prosperity had not distributed itself evenly across its rising population which, by 1850, had reached over 8,000 inhabitants. This inequality had manifested itself most obviously in the island's embedded dowry system whereby a bride's family would be called upon to give substantial gifts of land and jewellery to their daughter, and cash to their intended son-in-law, before, or at the time of, marriage.

To combat the problem, which had led to a spate of litigation in the island's civil court, the island's municipality issued the following order to the population on 20 December 1856:

All the residents of this island, having assembled today in a general meeting, have considered the situation that exists today whereby grooms demand from their in-laws for their dowry, aside from the traditional house and a second house and plot of land, other unacceptable and oppressive things, with the greatest indiscretion and cruelty, and in this manner the poor are made more wretched and many end up in poverty and extreme misfortune thereby becoming miserable, which has become evident over a long period of time and which no person can deny.

With one strong voice, young and old called for this inhuman, destructive and pernicious practice to end. In the future, grooms intending to marry will not have the right to request more than one house, that which the other party has and is able to give, but should one not have even a fig tree or an olive tree to give then neither the father or the mother of the bride, nor her relatives, shall give more than one house and the usual clothes of their daughter, and no secret agreements will be entered into, but if they do, they will be without effect as if never written.

So by 1850, while there was commercial activity aplenty, we also find an island whose prosperity was delicately linked to the continuing indulgence of its Ottoman overlords and ready access to the seas and to Anatolia. We also see an island where wealth was increasingly vested in the hands of a prosperous class of landed merchants and shipowners who would dominate economic and social intercourse on the island through the positions of authority they held and their close relations with the island's clergy and *morfoméni*.

Ban on shipbuilding

The first real nail in the coffin of the island's wealth was an Ottoman ban on shipbuilding which took effect early in 1860. The prohibition appears to have had its origins in some unauthorised sales of vessels built on the island to Greek shipowners from Galaxidhi near Corinth, but its impact was to prove calamitous for Castellorizo's shipbuilding industry. A British consular agent reported to the Foreign Office in the following terms after visiting the island in 1869:

Shipbuilding was formerly carried out here on a grand scale. They used to build annually 5 or 6 large vessels, and there were at the time as many as 18 on the stocks, without reckoning smaller craft. But the restrictions, amounting to a total prohibition, which were established towards 1860 compelled the Castel-Rossiotés to give up this industry, which furnished constant employment to upwards of 50 shipwrights; and while they could procure timber on the mainland only six miles distant, while they could employ their own countrymen and spend their money on their Island, the inhabitants of Castel-Rosso, who are all seamen, were under the necessity to proceed to Syra and there build at heavier expense the vessels they required.

Luckily the Ottoman Government has finally repealed a measure which has lasted but too long. Although only a few months have elapsed since, five individuals have already applied for the required permission.



Leaving 'the Rock': Emigration from Castellorizo, 1870-1939 (Cont.)

While the ban was lifted by 1870, the damage had been done and the next decades did not witness anywhere near the same level of shipbuilding activity as before the ban. Allied to this was the sharp rise in steam-based sea travel in and around the Mediterranean which reduced the need for sail-based craft. The writing was on the wall.

Emigration begins

It is no coincidence that the first recorded emigration from Castellorizo occurred during this period. Of course, there had already been movement to and from Egypt, particularly Cairo and Alexandria, from as early as 1840 (particularly from 1860 with the construction of the Suez Canal), but from 1870 onwards we find for the first time Castellorizians travelling as far afield as central Africa and eastwards to central Asia. Theirs were intrepid, but ultimately random, journeys, usually with a return to the island in mind. It was not until the end of that decade that we see the first longer and better planned journeys.

What encouraged these emigrants were not only the events on Castellorizo I have described; on Crete in 1867, and on Symi and on Kalymnos in 1869, a series of protests against increasing Ottoman regulation had led to violent sieges and, in the same year, even Castellorizo's mayor had been arrested after more protests. In 1874, more evidence of change in the air arrived when an order from Rhodes directed that all official documents be written only in Turkish.

Nevertheless, by 1880 there was still a feeling on the privileged islands that these were but transitory impositions and that the days of unbridled prosperity would persist. Ironically, the island's population continued to grow during this period, the places of origin of these new arrivals forever reflected in many of their adopted surnames: Nisyrios (Nisyros), Patiniotis (Patmos), Syrianos (Syros), Kotis (Kos), Spartalis (Isparta), Axiotis (Naxos), Santoriniou (Santorini), Halkitis (Halki), Karpathiou (Karpathos), Kasiotis (Kasos), Astypalitis (Astypalia), Mougla (Mugla) etc. Some were arrivals from Anatolia seeking the added security (and tax relief) that an island off the coast could offer, while others were from other Greek islands looking for employment opportunities (not too dissimilar from the influx of Kalymnians on the island today).

By 1885, the scene was undoubtedly set on Castellorizo for the epic journeys of Athanasios Avgoustis and the Manolas and Jackomas brothers to WA, of Savvas Savvas and Komianos Lakerdis to Brazil, of the Tsakalakis and Karazepounis families to the USA and of the Antoniou and Mavrokordatou families into deepest Africa. Sensing that the island's fragile economy, which had developed as swiftly as it would ultimately collapse, was in peril, these individuals, and many after them, looked abroad, and between 1890-1908 we see a slow, but gradual, erosion of the island's wealthier inhabitants as first the males, then the females, turned to foreign shores for their futures.

One example I will mention is Savvas Nikolaou Savvas who, at 25, left Castellorizo in 1882 and journeyed via Hydra and Piraeus to Brindisi and then past Gibraltar across the Atlantic to Montevideo (Uruguay) which he reached on 27 April 1883. He eventually made his way down the South American coast where he encountered a small hamlet on an island that recalled for him Castellorizo. He decided to settle there and to return to the island to bring his family

and extended relations. This was to become Florianopolis on the island of Santa Catarina, now one of Brazil's largest cities where Savvas is still remembered as the city's founding father. He returned to Castellorizo on 19 June 1884, but it was not until 1887 that he returned to Florianopolis again (via Portugal this time where he remained for 1 year), this time with a number of family members who were to form the backbone of the Greek community of Santa Catarina.

Reform brings false hope

But there was to be a respite after this first exodus, albeit a momentary one. As the Ottoman Empire slowly contracted and revolution broke out in Crete, there was a growing sentiment in the islands that overdue reform in the Empire would forestall any further abrogation of privileges. A new liberal undercurrent took hold in the first decade of the 20th century, and it was widely believed that change meant change for the better, even for the minorities in the Empire who had long enjoyed generous privileges.

Of priority to the Greeks of the islands were the exemptions from personal taxation and conscription that had allowed them the freedom of movement to conduct their trade without interference. As one writer commented at the time, the privileges seemed like an outdated remnant from another era to all except their beneficiaries, but their complete abolition seemed too radical a step for the beleaguered regime to take. Most people bided their time...

On 28 July 1908, the day the new constitution of the Young Turks was proclaimed, the Castellorizian elders were famously photographed on the steps of their newly-built Santrapeia School. In the centre of the group stood the island's *kaimakâm*, the locally-born Moustafa Loutfi Bey, surrounded by the *demogerontia* and the clergy of both faiths. Many honestly believed this was the dawn of a new era for the minorities within the Empire, but within months most of the remaining privileges had been withdrawn for good and emigration had begun again, this time in far larger numbers and with greater urgency. Over the next four years, with uncertainty reigning throughout the Empire as the Balkan Wars commenced, the island's population would be halved, with 90% of those departing being from the island's menfolk who hoped to provide for their families by heading abroad and avoiding conscription and taxation.



The proclamation of the new Ottoman constitution in 1908 was seen by some as the beginning of a new era for the ethnic minorities of the Empire. Instead, it signalled the end of the privileges that had underpinned decades of prosperity and was to be the trigger for mass emigration.



Leaving 'the Rock': Emigration from Castellorizo, 1870-1939 (Cont.)

Overthrow of Ottomans & French occupation

The Castellorizian revolt against their Turkish administrators in March 1913 was hardly a surprise against this background. With the island's economy in near collapse, with the other Dodecanese islands now safely occupied by Italy, with Anatolia increasingly inaccessible and hostile and with a world war looming, what prospects were there for those remaining on Castellorizo? It seems almost ludicrous now, but the islanders who led the revolt genuinely believed that cutting the island off from Anatolia and aligning it to a Greek nation imbued with overly-ambitious notions of expansion was the solution. In fact, it was anything but the recipe for the salvation of their island. Greece baulked long enough for the French navy to arrive in December 1915 and, before they knew it, the Castellorizians were the colonial subjects of a major European power whose principal enemy in the region was none other than their own formerly benevolent occupier, Turkey.



This photo was snapped by a British naval officer as he entered Castellorizo's harbour in the aftermath of the devastating bombardments and fire of the 1943-44 period.

Disaster loomed and it arrived in the form of fierce Turkish and German bombardments between January and May 1917. The locals fled to the hills, but soon they were applying to the French governor for permission to emigrate. The next 18 months saw a rush of similar applications, most of them for travel to Australia where our Commonwealth Government fretted unnecessarily about new arrivals who would not be easily categorised as Greek, French or Turk.

And when the peace did arrive, there was yet another reason for hasty departures abroad, this time in the form of the Spanish Flu which reached the island in February 1919. There were a total of 43 deaths during that cold winter month, of which 37 were due to the epidemic, and there were to be more deaths from the disease in March and April that year. Unsurprisingly, the French governor's files are filled with applications for travel abroad in the months that followed.

In the faces of the Castellorizians photographed for their French travel documents between 1918-1919 we see the misery of these years. 'Epese katara!', the French recorded the locals frequently exclaiming as they walked the island's narrow lanes. The years of prosperity of the last decades of the 19th century must have seemed a thousand years away as lives were lost, fortunes dissipated and family bonds broken by the pain of separation.

Italian occupation

By 1920, Castellorizo's population stood at a meagre 2,500, one quarter what it had been 20 years earlier. Large sections of the town were now uninhabited by emigration or destroyed by the hostilities. In the harbour, only a small number of two-masted caiques were now berthed in the winter months. Little was it known that the pomp and ceremony of the official handover by France to Italy on 1 March 1921 would signal only an all-too-brief brief renaissance of the island's fortunes during the 1920s. Of course, there were some benefits: improved sea connections, seaplane travel and Italian imports added some impetus to the island's flagging economy, and emigration ebbed and flowed with the benefits and burdens the island's new occupier delivered.

But further calamities, in the form of a devastating earthquake on 18 March 1926 and a declining world economy, would hasten emigration again and, by the mid-1930s, the island would become an isolated and depressed outpost of Italy's colonial empire. And the onset of fascist repression from 1937 and, in 1939, another war – this time with far more damaging and lasting results for this small rock in the eastern Mediterranean – saw the island devastated and entirely depopulated again, just as had been the case in the Greek revolution the previous century. Only 1,000 inhabitants were evacuated in those last frantic days in October 1943 and only 600 or so were to return two years later at war's end. What change a mere 50 years had delivered.



Enosis: While formal union with Greece in 1948 was a triumphant moment in the island's history, it remained a sobering moment given that Castellorizo had been forever changed by decades of war and emigration.

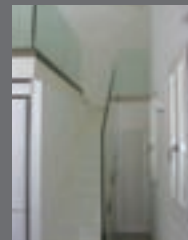
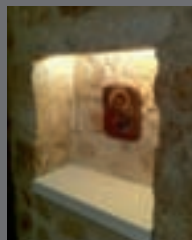
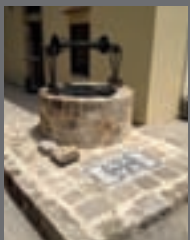
Gladly, for those of us who are the children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren of these early and intrepid emigrants, those calamitous days are now far behind us and Castellorizo is at last reclaiming some of its lustre, despite the continuing calamities of the Greek nation to which its fortunes are now indelibly tied.

Renovate or build your house in Greece

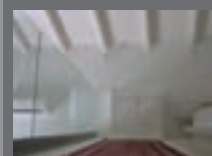


John Mangos
journalist

"OIKO built our house in Kastelorizo. Their attention to detail was meticulous and they finished on time and on budget. I can't recommend them highly enough for a build or restoration. Very professional service with regular email updates and photos, simply the best"



"The Blue House" Currently under restoration.





Craziness and Paradise

Name : Ioannis Kontos

Café : Aiolis Cafe

Address : The Wharf, Kastellorizo, Dodekanisos, Greece 85111

When did you first come to Kastellorizo?

1991 – just before Christmas as a visitor. There was nothing here... dead... just a cemetery.

What is your favourite city in the world?

Rhodos....a small paradise, then New York.

Are there any similarities between the islands of Manhattan and Kastellorizo?

None... one is craziness and one is paradise...but I still love them both.

How long did you live in New York?

27 years.

What was your address?

Corner 42nd and Ditmars Boulevard, Queens. I was almost in the centre of Astoria, Queens...Greek, Italian, Irish.

Do you regret leaving New York?

No, I like it more here. It is exciting but as far as quality of life...in New York there is no family.

Where do your siblings live?

New York. Everybody.

What changed in New York to make you leave?

As soon as the Vietnam War finished all the junkies came in, that's it...

Where were you and your family September 11, 2001?

Here. Nitsa was in New York, two blocks away...she was near the Wall Street area...she would have felt it. I thought it was a movie. I was watching it happening on Greek television. I thought it was a movie of Scorsese, all of a sudden it says it was happening now. I thought impossible! We lost one Greek boy from Rhodos... was an accountant in the Twin Towers. A lot of Greeks died in that building, but that's a long story.

What do you like to read?

Focus magazine...anything to do with planets I love.

When were you happiest in your life?

The birth of the kids Haroula and Dimitri...those 20 years, the New York years. It was a city you could do anything you want to. You want to live full, you do. You want to live rich, you do.

What is your best trait?

The way I like to communicate with people...also to keep your mouth shut – like a priest.

What advice would you give your teenage self?

One, before you get married if you can, save some money, build something for yourself before you get married...I had a lot of money through my hands before I got married- gone.

Two, never get mixed up with drugs.

An Interview by Theona Mitaros, Perth

Who has been the biggest influence in your life?

My Dad – he died when he was very young, he's number one. He always instructed me in his own way. Whatever I have in my pocket, work for it...he was a great teacher...he didn't get a chance to stay long...my father was 47 when he passed away.

What is life about now?

Listen to me, listen to me carefully. I'm working for these 5 grandkids now.

When were you most frightened?

When I had the accident in 1980...motorcycle accident, my kneecap was smashed. Don't know whether you can live or die...21 year old kid, freshly married and my wife was pregnant.

What sort of person are you?

I take good things and bad things the same way. I'm sweet but don't piss me off. I get ticked off and don't forget. I put you on my blacklist you stay on my blacklist. Maybe because I'm a Cancer you don't forget. On my blacklist you're done. I'm really a very easy person to get along with. I have a lot of patience doing this job because you get some weird people.

What's been your most unusual customer?

Where can I start, where can I end...in this business you get everything – especially this time of year, we get the Italians, the French, the Greek, especially the Greek.

What has changed in Kastellorizo?

Most of these old folks, I miss them. Nikos Panagiri, Barba Kostas(Houli), Thios Dimitris...all the good people, all these old folks leaving us, I miss these people.

What holds you here?

The work...if I sell it, I'm gone Charlie. I've got 5 grandkids, settle them. I've got 5 bank books.

What is something no one knows about you?

I used to be a great player in 9 Ball, Billiards. I was a hustler. When I played the game...I was worse than you. First game, second game, then we play for bucks. When big bucks come on the table then I showed you who I was. As kids we used to make money on pool tables.

What sports do you enjoy?

I like football...there is only one team in Greece, Olympiakos. I used to like Basketball with the New York Knicks until they sold them to New Jersey and then agents came in.

What is the most important thing in life to you?

Happiness, any way you can find it. It doesn't have to be rich, it doesn't have to be famous. I'm a very easy person, tonight I can get myself a piece of watermelon, feta cheese and bread. I'm happy. I don't want to have no filet mignon, no champagne...if you serve it to me I'll eat it – but I can live with cheese.

Family... your kids and grandkids, my wife Nitsa and a little music. There's nothing after that. This is the Greek way of life.



Proverbs by Dr Paul Boyatzis, Perth

Proverbs

Gatta pou kimate pondikous then piani
(A sleeping cat won't catch mice).

Be alert to achieve your objective
according to your instinct.

Pou troi mana ke to pedi then thini.
(Where a mother eats but does not
share with her child).

A phrase to indicate 'almost the
unbelievable '.

Kastellorizian Lexicon

The Kastellorizian word is in bold lettering with the demotic word in brackets.

Matsoxylo	(Xylo yia anyima fyllou apo zymi)	Round wood used in working with dough for making pastry.
Kombodima	(Filagmena hrimata)	Saved money / precious coins usually from a woman's dowry.
Koloka	(Xery kokini kolokitha)	Dried yellow elongated pumpkin used as floaters for swimming.
Moutti	(Mitti)	Nose
Mousoukarfi	(Garifallo – Mpahariko)	Cloves – Spices
Sourella	(Andrika pandelonia)	Men's trousers
Tse	(Ke)	And
Tsargas	(Lemos-Laringas)	Throat-gullet
Tsimia	(Rafi pano apo to tzaki)	Shelf above the fireplace
Fengo	(Fotizo)	To shine / illuminate.
Psifi	(Nekrotafion)	Cemetery
Hoursouzis	(Atyhos)	Unfortunate / without luck

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