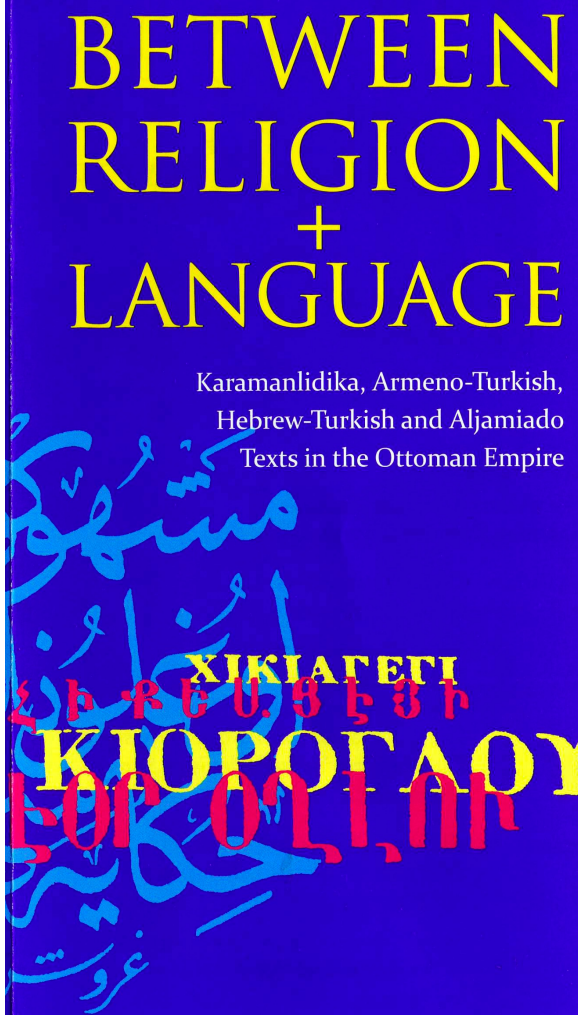


TÜRK DİLLERİ ARAŞTIRMALARI DİZİSİ: 48
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**Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews
and Greek-Speaking Muslims and
Catholics in the Ottoman Empire**

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Between Religion and Language:
Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews
and Greek-Speaking Muslims and
Catholics in the Ottoman Empire

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Tracing the presence of the Rum Orthodox Population in Cappadocia

The evidence of *Tapu Tahrirs* of the 15th and 16th centuries

Evangelia Balta

*Dedicated
to the memory of the Rum Orthodox Murat and Sultana
who died in Cappadocia
and to the memory of all their relatives and neighbors
who lived as refugees in Kavala
carrying their "homeland" in their hearts.*

In this paper I briefly present the goals of a research project concerned with the investigation of issues touching on the religious and ethnic composition of Central Anatolian populations as they were recorded in the first tax registers drawn up by the Ottomans after their overthrow of the Karaman-oghullari state. It will be clear that my subject is directly linked to the issue of the Turkification and Islamisation of Asia Minor which began with the first Turkish invasions, and the impact of these changes on the indigenous populations. Consequently, the project is concerned with the discussions about the origin of the Turcophone Orthodox populations of Cappadocia.¹

¹ This project was conceived one freezing-cold night in Ürgüp some years ago when together with some fellow historians and anthropologists we began musing on the interminable subject of the origin of the Karamanlis and ended up discussing the Ottoman fiscal registers and the possibilities they might offer to the study of the religious and ethnic composition of the population of Cappadocia. So we decided there and then to process these sources, starting our research in the wider area of Ürgüp. This choice was dictated by the fact that most of us were already involved in the Kayakapı Project whose aim was the restoration and revival of the oldest neighbourhood (*mahalle*) in Ürgüp. The

Karamanlis in ethnic narratives

The discussion as it continues to the present day perpetuates as indisputable truths certain ideological notions which gave birth to a nationalist discourse in the late 19th and early 20th century. Until that time, in the pre-nationalist context of the multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Ottoman Empire, the presence of Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians in Central Asia Minor did not attract any particular attention. But in the years of the emergence of nationalism their existence raised a question regarding the contradiction of the two structural elements of nationalism, namely language and religion. This was the time when Asia Minor was contested territory between Greeks and Turks.

From the moment when the Greek state claimed national integration, the Turcophone Orthodox population of Asia Minor, as members of the Rum *millet*, were almost automatically incorporated into the Greek *nation*. Their incorporation reveals with perfect clarity the mediating role played by religion and the pre-national institution of the *millet* in the homogenizing integration of an ensemble into a new, now *national* reality. Religion and the ethno-religious institutions facilitated the incorporation of the Karamanlis into the “Unredeemed” category. From the mid-19th century, the arguments of the Greek nationalist intelligentsia concerning the fact that this Orthodox population spoke Turkish were no different from those advanced about the corresponding populations in Macedonia who spoke languages other than Greek. These arguments conclude “all in all, that the loss of Greek language was attributed to unfortunate historical circumstances at a time when the Greek nation was politically in decline”.² As in the case of the non Greek-speaking Orthodox of Macedonia, their definition of Hellenism lines up Greek education, religion and that other ethnic criterion of community, language.

The Greek position concerning the indisputable Greek origin of the Karamanlidhes (Karamanlis) was supported by ideas about unmediated continuities and converged with the main line of Greek nationalist

basic outline of the program was presented for the first time at the Mini Symposium at the Research Centre for Anatolian Civilization of Koç University (21 May 2010). It is published here in the same form in which it was presented in the “Greek-Turkish Encounters Series 2010-2011” (SOAS, 24 March 2011). I would like to thank Ilias Anagnostakis, Yorgos Dedes and Theocharis Stavridis for their observations.

² See Haris Exertzoglou, “Shifting boundaries: language, community and the ‘non Greek-speaking Greeks’”, *Historein* 1 (1999), 81.

historiography which was founded on the constructed notion of direct continuity from antiquity. Consequently, the fact that this part of the Greek population of Asia Minor spoke a non-Greek language could only be attributed a priori to the violent imposition of that language³. Over recent years such absolutist positions are heard less frequently, with the exception of a few websites. Turkish theories about the origin of the Karamanlis appeared much later than the Greek, basically after the First World War which brought in tow drastic political changes in the status quo of the former Ottoman Empire.

It was no coincidence that during the same period Sir William Mitchell Ramsay (1851-1936), an archaeologist who worked and traveled for many years in Asia Minor, presented before the Central Asian Society on October 25, 1916 a paper entitled *The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor*.⁴ Ramsay undertook to explain in historical terms the political problem faced in the Ottoman Empire during the transition from multi-ethnic empire to numerous nation states, underlining the tragic consequences for the empire's inhabitants. In his prologue he states that he "will attempt to trace the causes which produced such complexity". For Ramsay the mosaic of peoples in Anatolia at the beginning of the 20th century constituted relics of conquered races and fragments of invading tribes which with very few exceptions did not form bodies capable of

³ A representative example of this view is the following quotation: "The language spoken by the Rums of Zincidere was Turkish. The Rums of the city of Kayseri and the villages of the surrounding area were also Turkish-speaking. I heard from the elders of my village and also from the elders of other villages around Kayseri that the mother tongue was Greek, but it had been lost after the tongues of an entire generation were cut out. The next generation had no longer been able to hear the Greek language spoken by their forbears and so they became Turkish speakers. This was the tradition which went back many centuries and was passed down from generation to generation. When the cutting out of tongues had taken place, no one knows. The tradition does not preserve anything about the chronology, not even a conjecture". The quotation is from an unpublished text by the learned refugee Emmanuel I. Tsalikoglou who also refers to similar narratives recorded by Charles Texier. Testimonies of this sort inform us how Turcophone Orthodox Christians in the 19th century thought about the fact that they did not speak Greek. The unpublished text of E. Tsalikoglou, a colleague at the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in the 1950s-1970s, appears with annotation in my forthcoming book *A la recherche des publications karamanlies*. E. Tsalikoglou was interested in the interpretation of the phenomenon of Turcophony among the Orthodox Christians of Anatolia; "Πότε και πώς ετουρκοφώνησεν η Καππαδοκία" [When and how Cappadocia became Turkish-speaking], *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* [Mikrasiatika Chronika] 14 (1974), 9-30.

⁴ Sir William Mitchell Ramsay, *The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor: Some of its Causes and Effects*, Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. VII [1917], 1-64.

political independence and for a great majority the only hope was, as he stressed, a strong central government capable of ruling by civilized methods. The Armenian massacres had already been perpetrated and the political horizon foretold the dark days that would follow⁵. A comment made by Ramsey with regard to the use of the terms *Turks* and *Turkmens* in the Central Anatolian Plateau is of particular interest, as these terms were gradually replaced, he notes, by the terms *Moslem* and *Osmanli*.

On the terms' conceptual content he noted the following:

The population of towns and generally of the settled villages consists of Turks, or, as they call themselves, Osmanli; And the distinction between them and the Turkmens is clearly marked. The Turkmen tribes used to claim ostentatiously to be and to be styled 'Turkmen', and repudiated the name 'Turk' while the Osmanli would have regarded it as an insult to be called 'Turkmen'. Formerly the usual account of this difference was that the Turks represent the tribes who overran Asia Minor in the years immediately following the great battle of Matzikert in A.D. 1071..., whereas the Turkmens belong to various successive waves of immigration which came in from Central Asia during the following centuries.

In this context he presents and comments on the new view that was gaining ground at that time:

On the other hand, an explanation which has been favoured recently is that the Turkish population is the native Anatolian population Moslemized, while the Turkmen tribes are left unexplained, and it seems to be assumed that they are the conquering race. Although these explanations both contain some element of truth, they are both insufficient, because they take no note of the fact that the difference goes back to the earliest years after the Turkish Conquest⁶.

This last suggestion made by Ramsey poses the question which arose in the early 20th century about the origins of the peoples of Anatolia and which is fatefully interconnected with the question of the Karamanlis'

⁵ Ramsay's paper, according to M. Longworth Dames "deserved careful study by the statesmen who hold great issues in their hands, and by all who desired to obtain some insight into the involved maze presented by the ethnological problems of that much-invaded region", see M. Longworth Dames, *Man* 19 (April 1919), 61-62.

⁶ Ramsay, *The Intermixture of Races*, 23-24.

origin. As a historian, Ramsey suggested that the solution to the problem should be sought in the years when the Turks appeared in Asia Minor.

After the end of the First World War the territory of the once mighty Ottoman Empire was limited to Asia Minor and in isolation from the Great Powers an increasingly robust *Turkish* nationalism grew up, based in Anatolia. In addition, by the end of the Hamidian period Anatolia had come to be closely identified with the concept of a Turkish homeland⁷. It was at this time that the notion was formulated of the “Anadolulu”, the inhabitants of Anatolia who constituted the substrate population of the Turkish nation. Contributing to this was the formal discontinuation of the *millet* system after 1914 and the consequent forced de-Ottomanization of society and the former Ottoman lands with the aim of making them Turkish. The discourse of Turkish nationalism aspired to the unification of the populations living in Asia Minor on the basis of certain criteria. Use of the Turkish language was considered the basic unifying element for the Turkish *nation*. Through the unification process the Turcophone Orthodox Christians were grafted onto the Turkish national body. They were deemed en bloc as Christianized Turkish tribes and characterized as *Hıristiyan Türkler*, *Türk Ortodokları*, *Hıristiyanlaşan Türkler*, *Karamanlı Ortodoks Türkler* etc.⁸ John Myhill has noted that regardless of whether or not these views were grounded in historical fact, they certainly “do underscore the extent to which people at the time wanted to believe in the ideology of language and national identity, in this case, to believe that people who spoke Turkish must in some sense be ethnic Turks”.⁹ The Turkish origin of the Turcophone Orthodox Anatolians would form the foundation of the efforts made by Papa-Eftim to found a Turkish Patriarchate during the critical years 1919-1922 of the Greco-Turkish war¹⁰.

⁷ David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism 1876-1908*, London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1977, 52-54.

⁸ As far as I am aware, the first to use the term *Hıristiyan Türkler* was by Cami Baykurt, *Osmanlı Ülkesinde Hıristiyan Türkler*, İstanbul, 1932. Among the earlier studies is Hasan Fehmi Turgal, “Anadolu’da Gregoryen ve Ortodoks Türkler”, *Ülkü*, IX/49 (March 1937), 173-182.

⁹ John Myhill, *Language, Religion and National Identity in Europe and the Middle East (Discourse Approaches to Society and Culture)*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 2006, 248.

¹⁰ Foti Benlisoy, *Papa Eftim and the Foundation of the Turkish Orthodox Church* (Master’s thesis), Boğaziçi University, 2002, which assembles the bibliography.

In such historical circumstances, the Turkish theories formulated in order to make sense of the Karamanli combination of Turkish language use and Christian Orthodox faith concluded that they were “the descendants of Turks who had migrated to Byzantine territories before the conquest or had served as mercenaries in the Byzantine armies and who had adopted the religion but not the language of their new rulers”¹¹.

Cut free from their original context and recharged with new developments emerging from the Greco-Turkish War and the Exchange of Populations, these ideological formulations are repeated still today by some authors, even scholars, as historical truths without, however, any serious documentation to support them. What is offered as alleged scientific documentation is in fact simply a fabric of references to authors who move in the same ideological circles with the result that often the meaning of the original positions is perverted. It would be interesting to investigate this particular historiographical approach on its own with an eye to its convoluted history, since even today dissertations are written, books published and conferences convened about this same leitmotiv, and they produce myths and theories about the origin of a people even though the very necessity of discovering the origin belongs to another time and circumstance altogether, that of 19th-century ethnogenesis and nationalism¹².

Examples of level-headed historical discussion are still few, but enough exist today for us to be hopeful and in recent years scholarship is appearing which demonstrates a grasp of the historical problem and a

¹¹ Among the first to provide succinct descriptions of the Turkish positions on the origin of the Karamanlis is Richard Clogg, “The Publication and Distribution of the Karmanli Texts by the British and Foreign Bible Society Before 1850, I”, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 19 (1968), 57.

¹² I note here the titles of several studies by graduate students whose titles indicate their reproduction of the *origo gentis* theory as adopted by the Turkish side in their understanding of the Turcophone Rum Orthodox in the Ottoman Empire: Mustafa Ekincikli, *Türk Ortodoksları (Başlangıçtan Millî Mücadele Sonuna Kadar)*, Erciyes University, Kayseri 1990 (published by Siyasal Kitabevi, Ankara, 1998); Yonca Anzerlioğlu, *Karamanlı Ortodoks Türkler*, Ankara, Phoenix Yayınevi, 2003. Mustafa Akkaya, *Hıristiyan Türklerden Karamanlılar. Tarihi Bir Bakış*, (Yüksek Lisans Tezi), Sakarya University, 2001; Özgür Mert, *Türk Ortodoksları* (Yüksek Lisans Tezi), Dokuz Eylül University, İzmir, 2005. Outside our present interest and in a separate category are works which make naive unhistorical claims for a continuous, 3,000-year Turkish presence in Anatolia, such as, for example, “Türkler, Anadolu’ya üç bin sene önce gelmiş ve İslâmiyet’le birlikte Anadolu’nun Türkleşmesi devam ederek, Selçuklular ile Osmanlılar zamanında da had safhaya ulaşmıştır”, see Bülent Atalay, “Türk Ortodoksları’nın Kendi Patrikhanelerini Kurmak için Verdikleri Mücadele”, *Türk Kültürü Dergisi*, 463 (yıl XXXIX), Kasım 2001, 671.

critical disposition towards the old historiographical stereotypes. The first step has been taken and if research continues along this trajectory we should expect studies which will confront in a measured fashion the issue of the origin of the Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire¹³.

Chronicles and Tax Registers

We have traced the historical circumstances in which questions concerning the origin of the Turcophone Orthodox of Anatolia arose and the different Greek and Turkish historiographical positions, both wholly political, were formulated. But if the controversy continued and the various myths of origin lived on in the collective imagination while the historical approach to the question of the Turkish-speaking Orthodox in Anatolia remained quiescent and short-circuited, it was due to the state of our sources which contributed on both sides to myth-creation and the perpetuation of the rhetoric of ethnocentric historical narrative.

Historians who have occupied themselves with the period, such as Paul Wittek, George Georgiadis-Arnakis, Osman Turan, Claude Cahen, Speros Jr. Vryonis, Rudi Paul Lindner, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak and others, have confirmed the difficulties presented by the study of pre-Ottoman history in Asia Minor¹⁴. In particular, the study of Asia Minor from the end of the Seljuk Empire until the beginning of the reign of Selim I runs up against the insurmountable obstacle of the sources' exiguity. There are

¹³ See Gülen Göktürk, *Clash of Identity Myths in the Hybrid Presence of the Karamanlis* (Central European University), Budapest 2009, in which a special chapter is entitled 'Literature Review: Critical analysis of the scholarly debate about the Karamanlis'. See also Foti Benlisoy, "Türk Milliyetçiliğinde Katedilmemiş Bir Yol: 'Hıristiyan Türkler' ", in: (eds.) Murat Gültekingil & Tanıl Bora, *Milliyetçilik*, Istanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 927-933.

¹⁴ Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1938; G. Georgiadis-Arnakis, *Οι πρότοι Οθωμανοί. Συμβολή εις το πρόβλημα της πτώσεως του ελληνισμού της Μικράς Ασίας (1282-1337)*, Athens 1943; Claude Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, Istanbul – Paris, 1988; Speros Jr. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor: and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971; Rudi Paul Lindner, *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory*, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2007; idem, "Anatolia, 1300-1451", in: *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1: *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071-1453*, ed. Kate Fleet, Cambridge University Press 2009, 102-137; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Social, cultural and intellectual life, 1071-1453, in: *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1: *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071-1453*, ed. Kate Fleet, Cambridge University Press 2009, 353-422.

no sources concerned with the invasions of Byzantine territory and settlements by Turkic tribes and nomads in the 12th and 13th centuries. And the period from the mid-14th until the mid-15th century constitutes a huge gap. Secondly, difficulties also arise from the peculiarity of Ottoman chronicles, which are concerned with military events and dynasties. They make no mention of the population or the setting in which the events they describe took place¹⁵. Rudi Paul Lindner has made the acute observation that the Ottoman chronicles redacted after 1420 give a very confident response to the issue of Ottoman origins: they go all the way back to Noah¹⁶. The chronicles list the generations from Osman back through to Noah. But these genealogies do not help us very much. They are useful tools in the study of Ottoman history-writing and the ideological needs of the 15th century Ottoman court, but not in the analysis of early Ottoman history. Consequently, many dimensions of the process of Turkification in Central Anatolia remain unclear, a difficulty related to important historiographical problems concerning the disintegration of the Byzantine Empire and the emergence, at the end of the 15th century, of Ottoman rule in the region¹⁷.

While, on the one hand, for the pre-Ottoman period (late 11th to late 15th centuries) we are short of the sort of sources which provide information about the composition of the population and the network of settlements in Anatolia, and at the same time shed light on the history of the Christian peoples in these earlier periods, on the other hand, Ottoman

¹⁵ Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr & N. Nicoara Beldiceanu, “Deux villes de l’Anatolie préottomane: d’après des documents inédits Develi et Qarahisar”, *Revue des Études Islamiques* 39/2 (1971), 337-338. See also Spyros Jr. Vryonis, “The experience of Christians under Seljuk and Ottoman Domination, Eleventh to Sixteenth Century”, in (eds), Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi, *Conversion and Continuity. Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, Toronto Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, c. 1990, 186-189.

¹⁶ Lindner, *Explorations*, 17.

¹⁷ Judging by the remaining metropolitan sees in Asia Minor (over 97% of its bishoprics had been destroyed), Vryonis considers that “the resurgence of tribalism literally destroyed the basis of Christianity and when by the late fifteenth century the area was reunited and pacified by the Ottoman sultans, slightly less than half of its metropolitanates had survived. ... In the sixteenth century we can see clearly the geographical pattern of survival of the Christians”. See Vryonis, “The experience of Christians”, 197. Lindner argues that the religious zeal had less to do with the early Ottoman expansion than tribal-nomadic concerns such as securing pasture lands and he shows how Islamic expansion was later used as a justification for the early exploits of Osman and Orhan, see Mark Soileau, *Humanist Mystics: Nationalism and the Commemoration of Saints in Turkey*, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2006.

fiscal registers *do* exist from the 15th and 16th centuries. These are the sources in which the heads of the taxable households, Muslims and *gebran* (infidels) were recorded by name, as well as all wealth-productive sources in each settlement, so that their taxes could be apportioned to the *timar*-holders. They were prepared in order to facilitate both the collection of taxes and the assignment of state revenues to Ottoman officials¹⁸.

Scattered historical data from these cadastral registers of the Christian population, Greek or Armenian, in the early Ottoman centuries are to be found in studies by Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Ronald Jennings, Rudi P. Lindner, Süleyman Demirci and others¹⁹, as well as in various post-graduate dissertations and doctoral theses prepared at local Turkish universities²⁰. Finally, municipalities such as that of Kayseri have recognized the

¹⁸ For the publication of a catalogue of tax registers from the sanjaks of Kayseri and Karaman drawn up in the 15th and 16th centuries, see Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, “Fiscalité et formes de possessions de la terre arable dans l’Anatolie préottomane”, *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 19/3 (Sep. 1976), 305-312; idem, “La géographie historique de l’Anatolie Centrale d’après les registres ottomans”, *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l’année 1982* (juillet-octobre), 470-472. For the tax register of Kayseri, see Ronald Jennings, “The Population, Society, and Economy of the Region of Erciyeş Dağı in the Sixteenth Century”, in J. Bacqué-Grammont and P. Dumont (eds), *Contributions à l’histoire économique et sociale de l’Empire ottoman* (Louvain 1983), 149-250 (reprinted in Ronald Jennings, *Studies on Ottoman Social History in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Women, Zimmis and Sharia Courts in Kayseri, Cyprus and Trabzon*, Istanbul, The Isis Press, 1999, 21-114). See also the catalogue of the sources presented by İsmail Çiftçioglu, *Vakfiyelere ve Tahrir Defterlerine Göre Karamanlı Eğitim – Öğretim Müesseseleri*, İsparta 2001 (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis).

¹⁹ To the above-mentioned studies by Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr and Ronald Jennings we should add those by Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*, Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Studies, vol 144, 1983, and some which began as Ph.D. theses, such as Süleyman Demirci, *The Functioning of the Ottoman Avâriz Taxation: An Aspect of the Relationship Between Centre and Periphery. A Case Study of the Province of Karaman, 1621-1700*, Istanbul, The Isis Press, 2009.

²⁰ For example at Erciyeş Üniversitesi (Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü) dozens of post-graduate theses (yüksek lisans) have been written which transcribe and comment on the *şer’iyye sicilleri* of Kayseri and Niğde. From these sources we may derive a variety of data about the Christian inhabitants of Kayseri and Niğde, and well as the villages of the surrounding area. I refer here to only a few examples: Mustafa Süslü, *20/2 Numaralı Kayseri Şer’iyye Sicili, H. 1027-1028 (M. 1617-1618), Transkriptiyon ve Değerlendirme*, Kayseri 1995; Emine Dalkılıç, *Kayseri Kadı Sicillerine Göre Zimmiler*, Kayseri 2004; Bayram Üstün, *41/2 Numaralı Kayseri Şer’iyye Sicili, (H. 1048/M. 1638-1639), Transkriptiyon ve Değerlendirme*, Kayseri 2009; Azmi Gündal, *10 Nolu Niğde Şer’iyye Sicili, (H. 1318-1324/M. 1900-1906)*, Van 2006; Tarkan Kırılancı, *12 Numaralı Niğde Şer’iyye Sicil Defteri (1313/1897) (1-63 sayfalar)*, Niğde 1999; Erol Yıldız, *12 Numaralı Niğde Şer’iyye Sicili Transkriptiyon ve Değerlendirmesi, H. 1307 (M.1890) – H. 1310 (M. 1893) (155-246 Sayfaları Arası)*, Niğde 2001; Hatem Aka, *H. 1186-1190 (1772-1776)*

importance of the tax registers for the history of their region's administration and have recently published a series of the oldest registers²¹.

The Aims of the Project

In my study of the Ottoman tax registers of Central Anatolia I have had the opportunity to make several discoveries related to the Rum Orthodox settlements in the first centuries of Ottoman rule, and especially those characterized as Turcophone in the 18th and 19th centuries which are my main subject of interest. The early history of Christian settlements of Anatolia under Ottoman rule has never, as far as I know, been the sole subject of a study whereas, by contrast, there are notable studies of their history in the 19th century²². This was my motive for grappling with the tax registers for *Karaman eyaleti* in the 15th and 16th century. This eyalet encompassed the sanjaks of Konya, Niğde, Aksaray, Beyşehir, Kırşehir, Kayseri, Akşehir. During the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent it spread south as far as Icel, east as far as Maraş and north as far as Bozok (Yozgat). I am concerned not to prove origins but to seek traces of the Rum Orthodox Christian population in the earliest possible sources and to study the *ad hoc* picture that emerges and which may possibly help clarify the landscape of earlier periods and posit working hypotheses relating to the composition of these populations.²³

tarihli 290 Numaralı Karaman Şeri'ye sicil Defterinin İncelenmesi (Yukse Lisans), Konya 1994.

²¹ *1484 (H.888) Tarihli Kayseri Tapu-Tahrir Defteri*, by Mehmet İnbaşı, Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları No: 61, 2009; *1500 (H.906) Tarihli Kayseri-Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, by Mehmet İnbaşı, Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları No: 59, 2009; *1570 (H.976) Tarihli Kayseri Tapu-Tahrir Defteri*, by Mehmet İnbaşı, Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları No: 60, 2009; *Kayseri İli Tahrir Defterleri (H.992, 971, 983/Milâdî 1584, 1563, 1575)*, by Refet Yinanç and Mesut Elibüyük, vol. I-II-III, Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları Nos: 65a, 65b, 58, 2009.

²² Irini Renieri, "Houshold Formation in 19th-Century Central Anatolia: The Case Study of a Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christian Community", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34 (2002), 495-517, which mentions the village of Çukur in the province of Kayseri; idem, "Ανδρονίκιο. Ένα καππαδοκικό χωριό κατά τον 19ο αιώνα" [Andronikio. A Cappadocian village in the 19th century], *Mnimon* 15 (1993), 9-67. See also Ramazan Adibelli, "Un modèle de cohabitation ethnico-religieux au XIXe siècle: Musulmans, Rûms, Arméniens, Catholiques, Orthodoxes et Protestants à Kayseri", *Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 28 (2010/1), 361-387.

²³ See the case study by Ronald Jennings, "Sakaltutan Four Centuries ago", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9 (1978), 89-98, in which by investigating the *tahrir defters* of the 15th and 16th centuries Jennings traced the development of the village of

My first aim is to follow how the picture of the settlements is formed through the historical *durée* of these two centuries – from the closing decades of the 15th century to the beginning of the 17th – in order to ascertain whether the purely Christian settlements remained intact or whether the religious composition of their registered tax-paying population changed. The sources allow us to make such assessments since the taxed population was entered in the *defters* on the basis of religion: Muslims first, followed by the *gebran* (infidels). It would be of interest to study the fluctuations in the percentages of Christians and Muslims in the settlements over time because a possibly continuous increase of the Muslim element in the total of settlements may indirectly indicate a process of Islamization which was not always by coercion. For the historian wishing to study the development of the demographic composition of the Christian settlements of Anatolia it is of great significance to observe that, for instance, in the year 1584 the four Muslim inhabitants of the village of Androniki in the Kayseri region all have the patronymic Abdullah. This patronymic leaves no room for doubt that they were recent converts to Islam. Androniki was until the end of the 16th century a village with exclusively Christian inhabitants although, of course, this fact alone does not tell us anything about their language and origin²⁴.

In some cases the prevalence of the Muslim element in a previously mixed settlement may conceal resettlements or migrations either voluntary or forced, a phenomenon which also deserves investigation. I imagine that something similar happened in the case of the village of Sarımsaklı (the ancient city of Semousa according to the Cappadocian scholar Anastasios Levidis²⁵), which in the first three Ottoman *tahrirs* taken in 1484, 1500

Sakaltutan, which produced a nomadic clan called Sakal Tutan in the Köstere Plain, and brought his study up to the 1970s through the application of anthropological methods.

²⁴ See Ramazan veled-i Abdullah, bennâk; Yusuf veled-i Abdullah, bennâk; Mahmud veled-i Abdullah, bennâk; Receb veled-i Abdullah, bennâk; and *Kayseri İli Tahrir Defterleri (H.992, 971, 983 / Milâdi 1584, 1563, 1575)*, by Refet Yinanç and Mesut Elibüyük, vol. I, 250.

²⁵ Anastasios Levidis (1834-1918) was a scholar who wrote in Greek and in Turkish in Greek letters. He was the author of books and articles about the history and culture of Cappadocian Hellenism, including *Μιράτη Φεζαΐλ βε Μεαγίπ* (1875); *Πνευματική πανοπλία γιάνι Ρουχανί πουσάτ* [Spiritual armor] (1880); *Ονομαστικόν Συνταχθέν ... Πρὸς χρῆσιν τῆς τουρκογλώσσου νεολογίας* [Onomasticon composed ... For the use of Turcophone youths] (1887); and *Λεξικὸν Ἑλληνο-Τουρκικόν* [Greek-Turkish Lexicon] (1888). Priceless information about Christian settlements and monuments can be found in his work *Αἱ ἐν μονολίθοις μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας καὶ Λυκαονίας* [The rock monasteries of Cappadocia and Lycaonia] Constantinople, Alexandros Nomismatidis Press, 1899.

and 1570 was recorded as possessing a mixed population, whereas in register TT 136 dated 1584 the population is recorded as exclusively Muslim. In TT 136 the entry for the village of Sarımsaklı is followed immediately by an entry for *karye-i Enerük(?)*, *der sınır-ı karye-i Sarmısaklı, tabi'-i mezbur* (“village Enerük(?) on the border of the village Sarımsaklı”), which leads me to suggest that the village of Enerük was most likely created by Christian inhabitants of Sarımsaklı who left their old village and moved to a new location nearby²⁶. I was led to this suggestion by the fact that except for a very few Muslims, Enerük was inhabited in 1584 by two groups of Christians who were recorded separately and identified with the terms *gebran-ı zimmiyan* (166 Orthodox) and *Ermeniyan* (58 individuals), clearly on account of their different religious identities. They were most likely Rum Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox. We may only conjecture why the Christian population moved. Later sources such as the *kadi sicilleri*, *nüfus defterleri* etc. certainly contain information about population shifts in the Christian villages of Cappadocia.

Again with reference to Sarımsaklı it is worth noting that in the early 20th century the village is recorded in the Archive of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies as a mixed settlement with Muslim and Turcophone Christian (Rum and Armenian Orthodox) inhabitants. The three communities lived in three separate quarters. In an unpublished manuscript entitled “Description of Cappadocia” Anastasios Levidis notes that at the end of the 19th century Sarımsaklı was inhabited by 450 families of Turks, 150 Rum Orthodox and 50 Armenian Orthodox. In other words, three centuries later the quantitative ratios of the three ethnic groups remains the same as in 1584.

My second aim is to ascertain whether and to what extent the Christian communities encountered in the early 19th-century records and in the archival material related to the Exchange of Populations in 1924 existed during the early centuries of the Ottoman Empire. What was the classic

Only the first volume was published of *Ιστορικόν Δοκίμιον Δηρημένον εις τόμους τέσσαρας και περιέχον την θρησκευτικήν και πολιτικήν ιστορίαν την χωρογραφίαν και αρχαιολογίαν της Καππαδοκίας* [Historical essay in four volumes about the religious and political history, landscape and archaeology of Cappadocia] (1885). His unpublished manuscripts are housed in the Centre for Asia Minor Studies.

²⁶ See *Kayseri İli Tahrir Defterleri (H.992, 971, 983 / Milâdî 1584, 1563, 1575)*, by Refet Yinanç and Mesut Elibüyük, vol. I, 191-193.

Ottoman profile of these communities known as Greek-speaking and Turkish-speaking Orthodox communities in the late Ottoman period? On the basis of personal names what can we learn about the composition of the Christian population in these villages during the first years of Ottoman occupation? What was their administrative / fiscal status, in other words, what percentage of the taxes from settlements with a Christian population were collected by the *vakıfs* of Islamic foundations?²⁷ In other words, my aim is to seek in the 15th- and 16th-century sources the Christian communities of Cappadocia which were recorded in the late 19th-century studies by travelers such as Charles Texier, William J. Hamilton, Andreas D. Mordtmann, William M. Ramsay²⁸ or by Cappadocian scholars such as Anastasios Levidis or Ioannis Kalfoglou²⁹, who wrote studies on the history of Anatolia in Karamanlidika. My aim is to follow the traces of these Christian settlements in the narratives of the Exchange refugees, those who reached Greece after the Treaty of Lausanne and gave testimony of their homeland to the collaborators of Melpo Merlier,³⁰ and

²⁷ The clarification of this issue would most likely shed light on aspects of the Turkification process in Anatolia. Vryonis claims that in the case of Asia Minor the foundation of a mosque, medresse, caravansary, or of any other Islamic institution was grounded on the gift of lands, revenues, and serfs and thus the extensive lands, revenues, and manpower of the Christians were appropriated and put in the hands of the Muslim institutions”, see Speros Vryonis, Jr., “Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor”, *Dumbarton Oaks* 29 (1975), 60-61.

²⁸ Charles Texier, *Asie Mineure: Description géographique, historique et archéologique des provinces et des villes de la Chersonnèse d'Asie*, 1862; William J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia with some Account of their Antiquities and Geology*, I-II, London 1842; Andreas D. Mordtmann, “Die Troglodyten in Kappadokien”, *Vierter Beitrag zur vergleichenden Geographie von Kleinasien*, 1861 II, 1- 28; William M. Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey during Twelve Years' Wandering*, London 1890. On the travellers who visited the region of Cappadocia, see Meliha Karakaya, “Seyahatnamelerde Nevşehir”, *Niğde, Akasaray ve Nevşehir Tarihi Üzerine*, (ed.) Musa Şaşma, Istanbul, Kitabevi, 2008, p. 27-68.

²⁹ Ioannis Kalfoglou (1871-1931). Biographical details about Ioannis Kalfoglou and information about his work are included in the introduction and commentary on the translation his work *Μικρά Ασία κητσηνηήν* (1899) from Karamanlidika into Greek by Stavros T. Anestidis as Ioannis Kalfoglou, *Ιστορική γεωγραφία της μικρασιατικής χερσονήσου* [The Historical Geography of the Asia Minor Peninsula. Introduction – translation – commentary], Athens, Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 2002.

³⁰ On the valuable Oral History Archive of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, see Georges Yannakopoulos, “The Reconstruction of a Destroyed Picture: The Oral History Archive of the Center for Asia Minor Studies”, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 8/2 (1993), 201-217. See also Evangelia Balta, “Le fonds ethnographique des réfugiés grecs d’Anatolie: questions d’histoire et d’historiographie”, (see <http://ateliers.revues.org/1073.html>)

to focus on the historical construction of their memory of the “homeland” by inquiring into their understanding of the landscape and its peoples.

My priority is also to plot on the map the network of these purely Christian or mixed settlements in the 19th and the early 20th century, and those recorded in the Ottoman fiscal registers of the 15th and 16th centuries.

The third aim of my project, and in my opinion the most important, is to study the actual names of the tax-paying Christians by allocating them into categories. Anthroponyms point indirectly to ethnic groups among the registered Christian population which bore Greek but also Armenian and Turkish names either as personal names or patronyms³¹. It is logical to arrive at the conclusion, as does Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, that the names Agop and Ohannes point to the Armenian population while the names Nikola or Aleksı point to the Rum population. On the basis of names we may also be able to draw conclusions about the ethno-religious identity of the Christian population since the occasions are very rare when Rumiyan and Ermeniyan are distinguished in the sources, as for example in the city of Kayseri³² where the Armenians are recorded according to the subcategories Şarkiyân and Sisıyân, which terms designate their place of origin³³.

On the other hand, it is extremely interesting to see baptismal names derived from the Byzantine tradition such as Komnenos, Andronikos, Doxas, Fokas, Fotinos, Kaloth(e)odoros which in many cases the experienced palaeographer may suspect lie behind disfigured transcriptions³⁴.

³¹ “The majority of names certainly reflect the ethnic affiliation of their holders and are an effective tool for the reconstruction of their ethnic composition”, see Rustam Shukurov, “The Byzantine Turks: An Approach to the Study of the Late Byzantine Demography”, in *L'Europa dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli: 29 maggio 1452*, Spoleto 2008, 83. I would like to thank Arietta Papaconstantinou for her efficiency in providing me with this article.

³² *Kayseri İli Tahrir Defterleri (H.992, 971, 983/Milâdî 1584, 1563, 1575)*, 33b-40b.

³³ See Akıf Erdoğan, “XVI-XVII. Yüzyıllarda Kayseri Zimmileri”, *I. Kayseri ve Yöresi Tarih Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (11-12Nisan 1996), Kayseri 1997, 73. On the term *şarkıyan*, see Alpaslan Demir, “XVI. Yüzyıl Anadoluşunda Dıř Göçler: Şarkıyan”, *Karadeniz Arařtırmaları* 28 (Winter 2011), 51-66.

³⁴ The Ottoman tax registers, apart from demanding proficient knowledge of *siyakat* script, also demand sound knowledge of the region’s toponyms and of the onomasticon of the varied population. Carelessness in the readings inevitably negates the value of these publications. In certain recently published registers of the region of Kayseri, the transcription of the names of the Christian inhabitants of the Cappadocian settlements is erroneous in many cases. Consequently, these publications are hardly reliable for

Without a doubt, the more interesting cases involve the Turkish / Turkic personal names found in the Christian population. We find in the registers entries with names such as *Todoro veled-i Tanrıverdi* (Theodoros son of Tanrıverdi). Here the patronymic *Tanrıverdi* / *Tanrıvermiş* may well be a Turkish translation of the Greek name *Theodosios* or *Theodotos*, but we cannot be absolutely sure because we also come across *Hüdaverdi veled-i Sergis* or even *Kirkor veled-i Allahverdi*, in other words, it is encountered also as a name among the Orthodox Armenians. Then there are the intriguing Turkic names, always applied to Christians, such as Yağmur, Kaplan, Armağan, Arslan, Durmuş, Karyağdı, Aydoğmuş, Emir Beğ, but also Murat, Aydın, and so on, accompanied by patronymics such as Lazaros, Thodoros, Vasileios, Vartan, Hanik. We also observe the opposite, that is to say Christian names accompanied by Turkic patronymics. Of great interest is the combination of Turkic and Byzantine personal names within the same family. For example, members of a family in the village of Ağırnas in 1500 bore the following name: Ayvad veled-i Dökürmez; Sultanşah veled-i o (= son of the aforementioned); Komnenos birader-i o (his brother), in which the Turcoman and Byzantine names are combined³⁵. Similar examples of name-giving practices can be added from the village of Babayani (pr. İbrahim Paşa) in the district of Ürgüp as they appear in a register from the time of Bayezid II (1481-1512). Here we find that the grandson takes the name of his grandfather: Emmanuel, son of Emir, gives the name Emir to his son (Manuyıl, veled-i Emir, çift and Emir, veled-i o, mücerred). Eyne Beyi, son of Christodoulos, gives the name Christodoulos to his son (Eyne Beyi, veled-i Hristodulos, bennâk and Hristodulos, veled-i o, mücerred)³⁶.

We should in any case note that in all these instances it is no surprise that we do not find among this Christian population any obvious Arabic /

verifying issues pertaining to the ethnic synthesis of such settlements. Of necessity, the readings of the names of the Rum and Armenian Orthodox has to be done from scratch. *Tapu tahrirs* of a region such as this, inhabited by Rums, Armenians and a host of Turkic tribes, demand not only knowledge of Ottoman palaeography, but also at least a rudimentary knowledge of the region's history. Publications of sources of this kind demand scholarly collaborations in order to achieve the best possible result.

³⁵ I note here some typical examples of *gebran* family names from the village of Ağırnas as they were recorded in 1500: *Yorgi veled-i Coban, nim; Nikid veled-i o, mücerred; Kosta veled-i İvad, çift; Doksa veled-i Kostadin, nim; İstefanos veled-i Karyağdı; Arslan veled-i Yorgi*, see *1500 (H.906) Tarihli Kayseri-Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, edited by Mehmet İbnaşı, Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları No: 59, 2009, pp. 98, 215.

³⁶ TT 46, p. 9. Mustafa Oğuz and I are preparing an edition of tax register TT 46.

Muslim names like Muhammed / Mehmet or Abdurrahman. But, as Metin Kunt has observed, although Muslims were predominant in the Osmanli community, its essential character was more Turkish than Muslim and the names of the first generation Osmanlis attest to this Turkishness³⁷.

Ö.L. Barkan notes that the Christian chief builders and laborers who worked from 1553 until 1558 on the construction of the Süleymaniye cami and imaret had Turkish names as opposed to those in the registers from the regions of Niğde, Kayseri, Erzican, Sivas etc.³⁸ These workers came either from Doğu and Orta Anadolu, or from neighborhoods in Istanbul, such as Kumkapı, Langa, Karaman, etc. where Christian populations had been transferred with *sürgün* under Mehmet II in order to reinforce the population in the imperial capital³⁹ just as one century later for the same reason Anatolian peoples, including Christians, were moved to Cyprus following the island's occupation in 1571. It is mentioned in the bibliography that through the intervention of Mimar Sinan his own family was exempted from banishment, together with the other inhabitants of the village of Ağırnas, his place of birth.⁴⁰

³⁷ Metin Kunt, "Ottoman Names and Ottoman Ages", *Journal of Turkish Studies, Raiyyet Ruumu Essays Presented to Halil İnalçık 10* (1986), 230.

³⁸ Ö.L. Barkan, "Türk Yapı ve Yapı Malzemesi Tarihi İçin Kaynaklar", *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 17 (1956), 13-14.

³⁹ Travellers such as Triphon Korobeïnikov (1583), Hans Dernschwam (1553-1555), Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan mention Karamanli settlements in Yedikule and in the parish of SS. Constantine and Helena in the Karaman mahallesi, see Halil İnalçık, "The Policy of Mehmed II Toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23/24 (1969-1970), 238-239. See also Jennings, "The Population, Society, and Economy of the Region of Erciyeş Dağı", 104-105. Stefanos Yerasimou thinks that they are not Rum Orthodox (Rûmîyân), but rather Armenians (Ermenîyân), because he observes that in registers TT 210 and TT 240 from Istanbul persons with Turkic names are recorded as members of the Armenian community. But he underlines that "Si à Istanbul la variété anthroponymique concerne uniquement la communauté arménienne, nous avons vu qu'à Kayseri elle s'applique tout autant à la communauté grecque", see Stéphane Yérasimos, "A propos des sürgün du Karaman à Istanbul au XVIe siècle", *Syncrétismes et hérésies dans l'Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIVe -XVIIIe siècle)*, Actes du Colloque du Collège de France, octobre 2001, (ed.) Gilles Veinstein, Peeters, Paris – Leuven 2005, 353-362 [expanded version of the study published under the title "Ελληνες της Κωνσταντινούπολης στα μέσα του ΙΣΤ' αιώνα", *I kath'imas Anatoli* 2 (1994), 117-138. On p. 121 he notes that in the *Tapu Tahrir* of Istanbul are found names of Rum Orthodox originating in Karaman, such as Manolis and Michali Karamanlı].

⁴⁰ Ronald Jennings, "Forced Population Transfers and Banishment of Undesirables", in Ronald Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571-1640*, New York University Press, New York – London 1992, 224-225, 238.

The variety in name-giving which we encounter among the Christian population of Anatolia has also been noted by Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr with reference to Bithynia⁴¹, where the combination of Christian and Turkish personal names has made Michel Balivet ask with regard to their origin:

Are we dealing with Greek-speaking Christians with Turkish family names or nicknames, with Byzantinized Turks with Christian first names and Turkish names, or with Turkified Christians with exclusively Turkish names?⁴²

Obviously there is no easy answer to this question. Perhaps the systematic grouping of the personal names of Anatolian Christians in Cappadocia from the first Ottoman registers (an approach already employed in some administrative regions of the empire⁴³), the tracing of major shifts in name patterns, and their correlation always with the specific geographical area where they proliferated would shed light on aspects of the problem. At present, the only thing we can say with certitude is that the naming practices of the Christian inhabitants of Cappadocian settlements in the 15th century do not appear to differ from those reflected in the registers of the *cizye* (head taxes) of, for instance, Niğde for the year 1830/31: thus, Nikolas, Anastas, Vasil, Yosef, Harelim (= Haralambos), Prodromos or Bodos are side by side with Karabet, Kirkor, Artin as well as with Karaca, Karagöz, Bayram, etc. In other words, the Christian population of Niğde in the beginning of 19th century

⁴¹ Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "La population non-musulmane de Bithynie (deuxième moitié du XIVe s. – première moitié du XVe s.)", Zachariadou, E. (ed.), *The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389)*, Rethymnon 1993, Halcyon Days in Crete I, A Symposium Held in Rethymnon 11-13, 17-18.

⁴² Michel Balivet, «A la manière de F.W. Hasluck. A Few Reflections on the Byzantine-Turkish Symbiosis in the Middle Ages», *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia. The Life and Times of F. W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, ed. D. Shankland, vol 2, Isis Press 2004, 128.

⁴³ On the anthroponymy of tax registers of Anatolia see for example the studies which were conducted by Yılmaz Kurt, "Adana Sancağında Kişi Adları", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, cilt XV sayı 26 (1990-1991), 169-252; Idem, "Sivas Sancağında Kişi Adları", *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi (OTAM)* 4 (1993), 223-290. See also Rustam Shukurov, "The Byzantine Turks of the Pontus", *Mesogeios* 6 (1999), 7-47.

used Greek, Armenian and Turkish names⁴⁴. At the end of the 19th century, however, the situation had already changed. In the *kadi sicilleri* of Niğde⁴⁵ the Rum Orthodox inhabitants of the villages of Deneyi, Fertek, Gurdonos, Suvermez, Dilmesun etc. bear names from the Bible, the Christian festal calendar and, more unusually, ancient Greece, the latter being an indication of the influence of Greek education which spread to the interior of Asia Minor with the foundation of Greek schools after the mid-19th century⁴⁶. It is notable that by the end of the 19th century Turkish names appear only as patronymns among the Rum Orthodox population. The same pattern can be observed in the lists of subscribers to books in Karamanlidika: only one of the 216 subscribers to *Temaşa-i Dūnya ve Cefakâr ve Cekafeşler* (1871-1872) by Evangelinos Misailidis has a Turkish name as his baptismal name, Hadji Mourat Yorgancoglou from Permata of Konya⁴⁷ (pr. Savaş köyü). Once again it is in personal names used by the Anatolian Christian population that we can follow the changes outlined above.

In the Ottoman sources I have ascertained something that I learned as a child from the history of my own Turkish-speaking refugee family. My maternal grandfather was called Alexios Mouratis. Alexios does not come from Alexander / Iskender; instead his baptismal name came from Aziz Alexios, a local saint of Anadolu whose *vita* circulated in multiple Karamanlidika publications⁴⁸. My grandfather's father was Murat and this patronymic became, from 1909, our family surname (Mouratis) in Greece, pointing, of course, to our Anatolian origin.

The unknown author of the chapter “Bazi türkçe işimler” in the Anniversary Yearbook of the School Board of Educational Institutions in Nevşehir (1920) presents some Turkish names for men and women which

⁴⁴ Hamdi Doğan, “Hicri 1246 Tarihli Cizye Defteri'ne Göre Niğde Kazası'ndaki Gayrimüslim Unsurlar”, *Niğde, Aksaray ve Nevşehir Tarihi Üzerine*, (ed.) Musa Şaşmaz, İstanbul, Kitabevi, 2008, 26.

⁴⁵ Erol Yıldız, *12 Numaralı Niğde Şer'iyeye Sicili Transkriptiyon ve Değerlendirmesi*, H. 1307 (M.1890) – H. 1310 (M. 1893) (155-246 Sayfaları Arası), Niğde 2001.

⁴⁶ Ioanna Petropoulou, «Ο εξελληνισμός – εξαρχαϊσμός των ονομάτων στην Καππαδοκία τον δέκατο ένατο αιώνα» [The Hellenizing of names in Cappadocia in the 10th century], *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* 7 (1988-89), 141-200.

⁴⁷ *Ταμασάϊ Δουνηιά βε Δζεφακιάρ-ου Δζεφακές*, İstanbul'da, Evangelinos Misailidis matbaasında 1871-1872, 1093.

⁴⁸ Evangelia Balta, *Karamanlidika, XXe siècle. Bibliographie analytique*, Athènes 1987, no 17 (1905), no 30 (1907), no 115 (1929), and nos 113, 114, 116 (without dates of publication).

he claims to have copied from church registers and relays the information that in 1920 very few of these names were still attested in Nevşehir⁴⁹, although they were still found in the Greek-speaking villages of Cappadocia⁵⁰. This evidence confirms that in the Turcophone villages they had put into practice the encyclical issued by Paisios, Metropolitan of Caesarea (Farasa 1777? – Istanbul 1871) which has come down to us in a copy preserved in the church register of Tavlosun⁵¹. The encyclical was written in Turkish in Greek characters and addressed to the priests of his see. In it he urged them not to baptize children with Turcoman and Persian names but with names from the Christian festal calendar. I quote here the original text transcribed into the Turkish alphabet⁵².

Her bir papaz enoriasında mevcut olan çocuğu şahsında olduğunda ismini Şerif ekklesiamızın itibar ettiği Azizlerinin, Peygamberlerinin ve Meleklerinin isimlerinden koyulup ve eğer o çocuğun dedesi, yahut ebesi Türkmen ve Acemi ve saire Kubat milletlerin isimlerinden ayırıyorsa onların ismini zahir

⁴⁹ *Néβσεχιρ μεκτεπλερινίν Δερσααδέτ Εφορειασηνήν Γιουζουνδζού σενεί δεβριεσί 1820-1920, 1920*. The names from the original Karamanlidika text appear in the bibliographical entries accompanied by a translation, see Evangelia Balta, *Karamanlidika, XXe siècle. Bibliographie analytique*, Athens 1987, no 113.

⁵⁰ It would be of interest to investigate whether there were any changes in the naming practices of the Christian inhabitants in the Greek- and Turkish-speaking villages of Cappadocia. Useful for this purpose may be the church registers in which baptisms and deaths of members of the community were recorded and the *kadi sicilleri*. Numerous Turkish names are included among the baptismal names of Cappadocian men and women recorded in the Oral History Archive, see Photis Apostolopoulos–Ermolaos Andreadis, «Τα βαπτιστικά ονόματα ανδρών και γυναικών της Καππαδοκίας» [The baptismal names of men and women of Cappadocia], *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* 1 (1977), 89-135.

⁵¹ Photis D. Apostolopoulos, «Τρία έγγραφα του κώδικα Ταβλοσούν της Καππαδοκίας: 1 αυτοκρατορικό βεράτι και 2 επιστολές του Παϊσίου, μητροπολίτη Καισαρείας» [Three documents in the Tavlosun codex of Cappadocia: 1 imperial *berat* and 2 letters of Paisios, Metropolitan of Caesarea], *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* 1 (1977), 230. On the contents of the Tavlosun codex which is housed at the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, see Evangelia Balta, «Καράμανλίδικοι κώδικες του Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών» [Karamanlidika codices at the Centre of Asia Minor Studies], *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* 7 (1988-1989), 245 (a French translation of the study was published in Evangelia Balta, *Beyond the Language Frontier. Studies on the Karamanlis and the Karamanlidika Printing*, Istanbul, The Isis Press, 2010, 37-38.

⁵² My thanks to Stavros Anestidis who helped me read this paleographically difficult passage.

koymasın çocuğa ve o çocuğu vaftiz ettiğinde kucağına alacak her kimse ve kimin evladı ise papaz iyice bellesin...⁵³

The encyclical is dated 1839, a year marking the beginning of a new period for the Christians of Anatolia, one which saw the birth of nationalism. In Paisios's encyclical we can discern clearly that name forms were once again becoming an integral element of cultural identity.

The fourth aim of my project is to investigate an equally important subject, namely the study of the development of the toponyms over time. The study of toponyms is imperative because they denote the experience of a place. The Byzantine toponym Archalla appears as Erkelat in the earliest *tapu tahrir* in the series, that of 1484, Taxiarches (Ταξιάρχης) as Darsiyak, Byzantine Kase (Κάση) becomes Gesi, and Nita Doara (Νίτα Δόαρα) near Niğde becomes Divara etc⁵⁴. Sermousa (Σέρμουσα) was transformed into Sarmusakli by a process of phonetic assimilation so that the old toponym meant something in the language of the dominant Turkish layer of society, in the same way that the Ottomans changed Aksara, Taxsara (anc. Archelais, Αρχελαις) to Aksaray. Similarly, the name of the settlement Andronikion was transcribed in 1484 in Arabic script as *Andronik*, but by the end of the 16th century it had assumed the Turkicized form Endürlük, which is still in use today⁵⁵. I am almost certain that hidden behind the toponyms Kiçi Bürüngüz and Ulu Bürüngüz in the vilayet of Kayseri is the Greek place name Pyrgos ("fortress"). There are many such instances and I have provided only a few examples which do not draw on all existent types of transformations.

⁵³ "Every priest in the parish when he reads the prayer over the child should recommend that a name from those of the saints, prophets and angels honored by our church be given. If the sponsor or nurse asks that the child be given a Turcoman, Persian or any other non-Greek name, let the priest refuse and attempt to discover the name of the child's sponsor and the father", see Photis D. Apostolopoulos, "Τρία έγγραφα του κώδικα Ταβλσοῦν" [Three documents in the Tavlosun codex], 230.

⁵⁴ A pioneer in this area of research was Paul Wittek, see his "Von der byzantinschen zur türkischen Toponymie", *Byzantion* 10 (1935), 11-64. See also Demetrius J. Georgacas, *The Names for the Asia Minor Peninsula and a Register of Surviving Anatolian pre-Turkish Placenames*, Heidelberg 1971.

⁵⁵ 1484 (Hicri 888) *Tarihli Kayseri Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, 66 (Andronik); 1500 (H.906) *Tarihli Kayseri-Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, 37a (Andronuk); 1570 (H.976) *Tarihli Kayseri Tapu-Tahrir Defteri*, 51 (Endürlük); *Kayseri İli Tahrir Defterleri (H.992, 971, 983/Milâdî 1584, 1563, 1575)*, 157a (Endürlük). In paleographical terms, the difference between Andronik and Endürlük is limited to a single letter: the nasal n (nun) is replaced by the liquid l (lam).

The study of Cappadocian toponyms in relation to the ethnic and religious identity of the inhabitants in the various settlements is exceptionally interesting. It is also important to follow the fluctuation in the percentage of Turkish and non-Turkish toponyms over time, in parallel to the demographic changes which were taking place⁵⁶. And it goes without saying that the process of passing into Turkish of a place name that was not Turkish remains a *desideratum* for research.

It is obvious that there is also fertile ground for linguistic studies in this sector particularly since patterns of place-naming in Anatolia changed to a significant degree on account of the recurring waves of toponymical engineering. These waves were exceptionally destructive and the consequent toponymic layering successfully submerged what İnalçık called the “archaeology of the *longue durée*”⁵⁷. Lindner has noted⁵⁸ :

The history of Turkey’s toponymy is still in its infancy –and may become a mortality statistic as the Turkish government persists in changing certain names from the unfamiliar (if historic) to the banal (if modern). There is as yet no way of deriving the sorts of dates that Köprülü needed for his argument, and there is thus no solid reason for placing the arrival of the Ottomans on the Anatolian scene before the era traditionally ascribed to them.

It is well known that the Exchange of Populations was accompanied by the systematic substitution of Rum toponyms in Anatolia which brought about the first drastic destruction / construction of historical continuity in that landscape. And of course the phenomenon as experienced in Anatolia is far from unique. Similar spontaneous “purging” tactics were also implemented in the early 20th century in the Balkans where renaming was used as a tool to black out historical connections and

⁵⁶ Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr has observed in the example she studied that in 50% of the cases, the old names of settlements changed and were Turkicized when the entire population was Muslim, see Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, “La géographie historique”, 465. See also Friedrich Fild, Marcell Restle, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 2, Kappadokien (Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandos)*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 1981.

⁵⁷ Kerem Öktem, “The Nation’s Imprint: Demographic Engineering and the Change of Toponyms in Republic Turkey”, *European Journal of Turkish Studies* [Online] 7 (2008), online since 18 November 2009. URL: <http://ejts.revues.org/index2243.html>.

⁵⁸ Lindner, *Explorations*, 26. See also the comment by Jeanne & Louis Robert, “La persistance de la toponymie antique dans l’Anatolie”, in: *La toponymie antique*, Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 12-14 juin 1975, Leiden 1977, 62.

ethno-religious patterns, especially in regions inhabited by minorities who had been persecuted or forced to leave their ancestral lands. To confine our observations to Greek examples, in the publication of *Köylerimiz* (1928) many of the Greek toponyms of Cappadocia had been replaced with Turkish substitutes.⁵⁹ It is my opinion that historians of nationalism would benefit from investigating the list of Christian settlements that had their names changed, observing the order in which the changes were made, the historical moment when the change occurred and, finally, the new names that were chosen to replace those which had existed for centuries, and their meanings.

I could go on enumerating various areas of research towards which my work on the Ottoman tax registers of Central Anatolia is oriented, since without a doubt many working hypotheses remain to be posited and tested on the basis of the testimony of these sources. However, I believe that even at this very early state of our research it is possible to present with confidence some of the first findings drawn from the study of a sample of the vast material that has been amassed.

In Table I the Christian villages of the vilayet of Kayseri are classed in alphabetical order on the basis of four published registers of the 15th and 16th centuries⁶⁰. The numbers correspond to tax-paying family heads. The numbers in parentheses correspond to the Christian family heads who are entered under the heading *gebran / zimmiyan* (infidels). In those cases without parentheses, the population of the village is entirely Christian. And some villages remained entirely Christian throughout the period from the end of the 15th to the end of the 16th century. In the early 20th century in the district of Kayseri the 24 villages with a Turcophone Rum

⁵⁹ *Son Teşkilat-ı Mülkiye'de Köylerimizin Adları*, İstanbul, Dahiliye Vekaleti, 1928. The edition reflects the beginning of toponym change, as noted by Kerem Öktem, and the practice would continue in subsequent years in an increasingly systematic fashion with the establishment of the "Expert Commission for Name Change" (*Ad Değiştirme İhtisas Kurulu*).

⁶⁰ Data derived from various Ottoman registers about many of the villages in the table can be found in Irène Beldiceanu-Steiherr, "La géographie historique", 475-499 and Jennings, "The Population, Society and Economy of the region of Erciyeş Dağı". The calculations made by the latter about the population sizes do not always stand up. Nilüfer Yetkin presents the taxation categories by which the population was divided and the taxes levied as recorded in register TT 136 (1584). In many cases of mixed population villages and especially in the case of purely Christian villages the ethno-religious identity of the inhabitants was not noted, as in the case of Uskubi (Σκοπή), see Nilüfer Yetkin, 136 Numaralı Tahrir Defterine Göre XVI. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Kayseri, Gazi Üniversitesi 2007.

population (as recorded by the Centre of Asia Minor Studies) were described as mixed, except for those of Karacören and Ai Konsten (= Agios Konstantinos), a Rum Orthodox settlement near Everek. What is needed now is an investigation of the process by which the changes in the religious constitution of the population occurred, the chronological determination of when the phenomenon first began, and the rhythms and historical circumstances under which they were made. The changes in religious constitution of the population of a settlement could have been due to various factors. This is an issue which remains to be elucidated from sources of other types as, for example, the *kadi sicilleri* for the earlier centuries and the *defters* of Christian communities kept by priests from the mid-19th century, two highly valuable sources which illuminate different aspects of the life of Cappadocian Orthodox Christians.

Table I

Villages	1484	1500	1570	1584
Ağarnos / Ağırnas	65 (62)	79 (76)	120 (116)	187 (182)
Ağca İn	18			
Akin			7	9
Andronik	34 (32)	53 (49)	105	137 (133)
Bala Gesi		11	20	57
Canbaz		8	14	11
Cırlavuk	43 (9)	47 (12)	70 (10)	64 (2)
Dadasun	16 (3)	24 (3)	30 (6)	38 (3)
Efkere	121	163	219	269 (268)
Enerük				242 (226)
Erkilet	78 (57)	96 (64)	138 (105)	293 (221)
Gergeme	41 (?) ⁶¹	30 (20)	32	81
Germüri	47	83 (81)	99 (93)	214 (210)
Gesi	68 (40)	110 (69)	195 (136)	232 (156)
Gökçe Hisarı		63 (4)	75 (2)	120 (2)
Gömülgen ⁶²	112	112	75	121

⁶¹ All we know is the number of tax-payers and the tax paid, see *1484 (H.888) Tarihli Kayseri Tapu-Tahrir Defteri*, 70. In TT 38 tax-payers' names are not registered and for this reason we are not in a position to know the relative percentages of Muslims and Christians in the settlement.

⁶² The publication of the register reverses the conjectures made by Jennings about the change in the village's population since in 1584 the constitution had reached 50%

Villages	1484	1500	1570	1584
Hanköy			24	24
İncesu				384 (230)
İspile	61	91	82	201
İsbidin		38 (24)	63 (34)	79 (51)
İstefana	30	36	44	103 (101)
Kal'a Horsanos	55 (5)	55 (5)	65 (13)	
Kayseri	1,511 (257)	2,287 (326)	2,789 (656)	8,019 (1,826)
Kestogan			12	31
Kiçi Bürüngüz	19	25	27	33
Kozla			5	
Mancusun	18 (3)	130 (125)	181 (167)	232 (228)
Mervane/Nurvana (?)	8			13
Moli	33	37	66	137 (128)
Muncusun	84 (6)	153 (142)	204 (194)	302 (278)
Nîziyye	24	37	40	75
Salkoma	17 (4)	33 (10)	36 Muslims	56 Muslims
Sarımsaklu	122 (?) ⁶³	124 (63)	155 (93)	121 Muslims ⁶⁴
Serha / Çukur ⁶⁵	59 (32)	88 (37)	112 (66)	302 (168)

Muslim, see *Kayseri İli Tahrir Defterleri* (H.992, 971, 983/Milâdî 1584, 1563, 1575), 179.

⁶³ It is clear that TT 38 lacks one or more of the pages on which the census for the village of Sarımsaklu began. This fact is shown by the words with which the census of the village begins on page 2: “tetimme-i karye-i Sarmusaklu”, the words commonly used in the *Tapu Tahrirs* to designate where the census continues on a new page from the previous page. By comparing facsimiles of corresponding examples of villages inscribed in the same manner in the same register (see, for example, p. 39 of the facsimiles) I confirmed that on the missing page (or pages), at the place where the census taken of Sarımsaklu began, the first 70 tax-payers must have been inscribed. From the place which has been preserved and is noted as page 2 are recorded 52 individuals who appear to have been Christians. We know neither the number of Muslims nor the exact total of Christians. All together there were 122 tax-payers in Sarımsaklu although the editor noted 123, since it is easy to confuse the numbers 2 and 3 in the *siyakat* script.

⁶⁴ See above for information about the settlement.

⁶⁵ Until 1484 the village retained the name Siriha / Seriha (Σιριχά / Σάριχα). In the tax register dated 1484 it is noted thus: “karye-ı Serha şimdi Çukur köyünden otururlar timar”, see *1484 (H.888) Tarihli Kayseri Tapu-Tahrir Defteri*, 12. In the census of 1500 the name Çukur precedes it and Serha is included as a second name: “karye-ı Çukur, nam-i diğer Serha, see *1500 (H.906) Tarihli Kayseri-Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, 49. The name of the village Siriha was preserved in the name of the nahiye: nahiye-i Sahara.

Villages	1484	1500	1570	1584
Talas	136 (133)	157 (153)	278 (264)	531 (493)
Tevanosun / Tavlosun	21	44	59	96 (92)
Tekşan / Darsiyak		71 (69)	114 (111)	160 (155)
Tomarza	103	135	241	415 (393)
Tuz Hisarı			29	48
Ulu Bürüngüz	102	124 (106)	157 (135)	283 (231)
Uskubi	19	35	53	82
Venk	50	86	63 (62)	149 (145)
Vekse	12	19	24	59 (58)
Zimmiyan-ı Hınzırı	14		34	50
Zincidere	29 (27)	39 (34)	46 (39)	76 (68)

In the following table we have listed the villages according to the date of the tax register giving the number of mixed population and purely Christian settlements. In the last category are also included the very few cases of villages with just two or three Muslim inhabitants, namely *timar*-holders and their men. As can be seen in Table II, the numbers are more or less the same in subsequent years. It is important to note that the purely Christians settlements in the liva of Kayseri which provide the material for these tables are centered around Erçiyeş Dağı.

Table II

Year	Settlements with Muslim and Christian population	Purely Christian settlements
1484	33	20
1500	35	21
1570	41	21
1584	42	22

Taking into account the peculiarity of the sources – for we should not forget that these are not sources of the demographic type but tax registers – we ascertain the following:

First, that the number of purely Christian settlements remained stable throughout the century under study. The increase in the number of mixed settlements by 20% in the 16th century should be compared with whatever

was happening in other areas of Cappadocia such as Niğde, Ürgüp, Karaman and other settlements before we reach any conclusions and interpretations because in principle this increase may be ascribable to the movement of the Christian population from adjacent areas.

Second, that the Christian population in the vilayet of Kayseri follows the demographic increase of the rest of the population. Demographic growth is observed likewise in the Christian populations of the vilayet of Karaman if we judge by the numbers of tax-payers⁶⁶. The rapid increase, especially after the mid-16th century, of both the Muslim and Christian population in the vilayet of Kayseri, the region under study, suggests input from population shifts. What we would like to know would be the rhythm of this demographic increase in both the Muslim and Christian populations, which the tax registers suggested⁶⁷.

The above findings allow us to say for certain that both the unbroken presence of the Christian settlements and the continuous percentage increase of their population rules out, at least for the 15th and 16th centuries, hypotheses regarding policies of Islamization implemented by the Ottomans or regarding mass voluntary conversions to Islam⁶⁸. These are the first remarkable findings I made by browsing through the *Tapu Tahrirs* for the region of Cappadocia in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi. Undoubtedly, many more examples await discovery and cover the whole of Central Anatolia, which was inhabited by Christian populations, Greek-speaking or Turkish-speaking. It is impossible to distinguish them in these official Ottoman sources.

Osman Turan has noted that the Christian population was preserved in 16th century Seljuk centers such as Ikonio, Caesarea and Sebasteia (Konya, Kayseri and Sivas)⁶⁹. Data from the first Ottoman registers drawn up in the region we have defined as Cappadocia provide the numbers to confirm his claim. If at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th Christian populations appear in the tax registers this means that

⁶⁶ Alaaddin Aköz, *XVI. Asırda Karaman Kazası*, Konya 1992, 26, 125, 130.

⁶⁷ Jennings found that in Talas, one of the faster growing villages which was inhabited mainly by Christians, the growth rate accelerated without interruption from 8% between 1484 and 1500 to 98% between 1500 and 1550 and to 110% between 1550 and 1584. He underlines that we do not know the origin of any immigrants, but that they would have been Christians, see Jennings, "The Population, Society, and Economy of the Region of Erciyeş Dağı", 78.

⁶⁸ Ocak, "Social, cultural and intellectual life, 1071-1453", 383.

⁶⁹ Osman Turan, "L'islamisation dans la Turquie du Moyen Age", *Studia Islamica* 10 (1959), 151-152.

these groups also continued to exist from the pre-Ottoman period. And although we may not know the number of Anatolian Christians at the time when, after the Battle of Manzikert (1071), Turkic tribes began to arrive and settle in Anatolia, we are nonetheless in a position to know the percentage of Christians who were part of the total tax-paying population when the Ottomans assumed control of the region and imposed taxes on their new subjects.

The local Christian populations of Anatolia during the pre-Ottoman period of its history surely did not vanish into thin air. It is obvious that they lived on into the 13th and 14th centuries since they appear in the Ottoman censuses of Mehmed II and Bayezid II, in the late 15th and the early 16th centuries. Their names, as we have seen, were Greek and in some regions Armenian, and also included Turkish ones as praenomens and patronyms. It is reasonable to assume that these Turkish names are linked with the Christianized Türkmén, Tatars, Mongols or Turkic tribes generally, who at some time mixed with the local Christians of the region.

The first Ottoman fiscal registers for Cappadocia appear to indicate the manner in which the various Turkic tribes penetrated Asia Minor in earlier centuries. For example, in the register *Maliyeden Müdevver* 20 for the year 1500, we come across the *bölük kafırlü an cemaat Yahyalu, haric ez defter*. The note that accompanies the inscription mentions that the clan in question had not been inscribed in the previous tax register, a fact which indicates their recent arrival in the region of Kayseri. By settling permanently they would have been required to pay tax to the Ottomans and in this way came under the control of the central authority. *Yahyalu* nomads in the 15th century were settled around the area of Karahisar (present day Yeşilhisar) and Develi of Ürgüb where we also find a settlement named Yahyalu.⁷⁰ What is of special interest in the case of the

⁷⁰ “La documentation ottomane nous révèle que Develi (ou Develü) et ses environs étaient habités par une tribu turkmène nommé Yahyalu (Yahyaluogullari) ou veled-i Yahya”, see Irène Blediceanu-Steinherr, “Deux villes”, 364. In this context, I might note that among the Oral History Archive files at the Centre of Asia Minor Studies I discovered the interesting fact that Rum Orthodox refugees from Sarımsaklu reported that in their village there were twenty to thirty families of Turks with pasturage, estates and servants who worked for them. They referred to them as *ağas*. They lived in their own neighborhood, known as the Konah mahalla. These *ağas* were of a single stock. They said that the *ağas* of Hamidiye (the new name for Sarımsaklu after the Huriyyet) had come from Kayseri, but it was not known when. They did not give their children to other Turks. Neither did they give or take girls. They were of another stock. They had come from outside. From Teveli. (Folder ΣΑΡΜΟΥΣΑΚΛΟΥ nr. 2, p. 74). The interviewees were Theodoros and

bölük of the Yahyalu who are inscribed in *Maliyeden Müdevver* 20 is that they are described as *kafırlü*, a designation which means at least that they were not Muslims. Most likely they were shamanist pagans. We know that in medieval Muslim sources certain people coming from Central Asia to Anatolia were named *kafir Etrak* (Turkic infidels).

It will be apparent that here we run up against the complicated issue of tribalism or nomadism, one of the most hotly-debated problems for understanding the formation of the Ottoman enterprise. This issue is related directly to the Turkish-speaking Orthodox Anatolians. As I noted at the beginning of my paper, certain scholars basing themselves on the fact that people have Turkish names have asserted that the Karamanli population group comprised Turkic tribes who converted *en bloc* to Christianity. But it is extremely difficult, or quite impossible, to discover when and by what process Christianization occurred and which Turkic peoples became Christians. How can anyone insist that these were the pagan Turks of the steppe? I am afraid that these kinds of questions will remain open because several waves of Turkish nomadic expansion covered Asia Minor one after another and with several conquerors at their head.

And the issue is much more complicated than this. Some scholars have made clear through their research that the Seljuks and Byzantines were not only enemies on the field of battle at Manzikert in 1071 and at Myriokephalon in 1176. Close relations between the Byzantine population of Asia Minor and the Seljuks of Rûm, already from the end of the 11th century, created mutual influences and crosspollinations in administration, art, architecture, literature, science, religious and philosophical thought, everyday manners and customs, and the configuration of society in Asia Minor. As Ahmet Ocak has rightly observed, “from a sociological and historical point of view, here, as in all parts of the world, there were two-way influences”. Religious affiliation did not necessarily conflict with political identity among the *al-Rumi* of Anatolia. The terms *Rum* and *Al-Rum* in the 12th and 13th centuries were used to describe both Turkish Muslims and Greek Christians. Turks styled themselves Rumi since they

Georgios Sarafoglou, and Isaak Ambatzoglou. The interview was taken for the CAMS by Christos Samouelidis on 23.11. 1957; and Folder ΣΑΡΜΟΥΣΑΚΛΟΥ nr. 3, p. 17. Stefanos Keisoglou interviewed by Sofia Dandolinou on 7.3.1956).

conquered the land of Romania (namely, Byzantium) and became residents of it together with Christian Greeks and Armenians.⁷¹

At the late 13th-century church of St George in Belisirma the Greek dedicatory inscription mentions both Sultan Mesut (Masud) in Konya as well Andronikos Palaeologos as the ruler of the Romans, thus documenting in a conspicuous social and religious space an awareness of the multi-layeredness of religious and political identity at this time and place.⁷² The first known Islamic coin in conquered Anatolia was minted by the founder of the Danishmendid dynasty Amir Gazi Gümüştigin bin Danishmendid (1104-1134) and it bears on the obverse a Greek inscription: “ο μέγας αμηνράς αμηνρ γαζής” [the grand amir Amir Gazi] and the image of Jesus Christ on the reverse⁷³. Byzantines served Seljuk sultans and Christianized Turkish-speaking mercenaries served the Byzantine army. We know that Muslim and Christian royal families freely inter-married, especially among the lower echelons where marriage with associated conversion was one of the most important factors reinforcing this two-way cultural exchange. These mixed marriages led the way in the first or second generation to conversion to Islam but they also created a new generation of Anatolians of mixed ethnic parentage. There are various examples of conversions. Vryonis has explained some of the motivations behind Christian conversion to their conquerors’ religion and, most importantly, the fact that Christian political power in Anatolia had at last been broken was a further factor contributing to conversion.⁷⁴ But was there also an opposite process, a process of apostasy? Contemplating this question, Ocak claims that “Although it is impossible to know, it [apostasy] is nevertheless possible, however small the numbers involved may have been. In fact neither [in] the Turkish nor the Christian sources of the

⁷¹ Rustam Shukurov, “Turkoman and Byzantine Self-identity: Some Reflections on the Logic of the Title-Making in Twelfth and Thirteenth-century Anatolia”, in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-Third Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999, ed. Antony Eastmond (Burlington: Ashgate Variorum, 1999), 267. For the terms *Rum* and *Anatolia*, see Cemal Kafadar, “A Rome of One’s Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum”, in Gürlü Necipoğlu (ed.), *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the Lands of Rum*, 7-25.

⁷² Senem Suzek, *The Decoration of the Cave Churches in Cappadocia Under Selçuk Rule*, (unpublished PhD, University of Notre Dame, Indiana 2008), 9.

⁷³ Rustam Shukurov, “Christian Elements in the Identity of the Anatolian Turkmens (12th-13th Centuries)”, in : *Cristianità d’Occidente e Cristianità d’Oriente (Secoli VI-XI)*, 24-30 aprile 2003, Spoleto 2004, 725.

⁷⁴ Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 359-360.

period does [one] find incidents of apostasy from Islam to the extent that one does of conversion from Christianity to Islam”⁷⁵.

The point of all that I have sketched out briefly and schematically has been to draw attention to shared aspects of the lives of indigenous peoples and immigrants who lived on the common ground of Asia Minor in the pre-Ottoman period, and to show different varieties of cultural osmosis and interaction. Information from the *Tapu Tahrihs* concerning the place and time of the sedenterization of the nomadic tribes, for example of the *kafir Yahyalu*, and the personal names of the nomads, if they present certain specific characteristics, represent valuable data that will shed light on the study of the Christian settlements of Cappadocia, and more specifically of the villages known as Turkish-speaking in the 19th century. But I would like to leave no room for misunderstanding by underlining that I am in no instance implying a linear and unbroken continuity in the composition of the Christian settlements across so many centuries. What is possible to some degree, thanks to the Ottoman fiscal sources, is to record the Turkish names of the Christian inhabitants in order to ascertain whether these names appear in only specific settlements, whether only certain inhabitants have these names, or they are found applied to inhabitants as a whole. It must be clarified whether nomads settled in the villages where Turkish / Turkic names are found or whether these villages are in proximity to nomads. It is my opinion that only such investigation, involving careful notation of personal names and toponyms encountered in Cappadocia, will allow the formulation of hypotheses concerning what may have happened in previous centuries. Only in this way can we approach historically the Christian communities of Central Anatolia. The time has come to confront the issue of the Turcophone Rums in scientific terms and not with the usual stale political discourses. Research on this issue will illuminate many facets of the process of Turkification in Central Anatolia, a complex issue that impinges on important historiographical problems concerning the collapse of the Byzantine Empire and the process of the emergence of Turkish sovereignty in the area.

⁷⁵ Ocak, “Social, cultural and intellectual life, 1071-1453”, 403.

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