Orthodox Christians and Muslims of Cappadocia: Intercommunal Relations in an Ottoman Rural Context (1839-1923)

Aude Aylin de Tapia

A dissertation presented to the

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at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales,
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Abstract

"Orthodox Christians and Muslims of Cappadocia: Intercommunal Relations in an Ottoman Rural Context (1839-1923)"

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This study explores the relations between Orthodox Christians (Rums) and Muslims from the beginning of the Tanzimat (1839) to the Exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey (1923). Focusing on the Turkish- and Greek-speaking Christian communities living in the villages and towns of the region of Cappadocia in the heart of Anatolia (i.e., the countryside surrounding the towns of Kayseri, Niğde, Nevşehir, and Aksaray) as well as on their interactions with Muslim populations that share the same settlements or live in neighboring villages. It asks how, in a rural context, forms of individual, communal, and collective identification were locally negotiated by ordinary people, at a time when nationalisms transformed and apparently strengthened identities based primarily on religious affiliation. The ways to share space, to organize economic networks, or to negotiate matrimonial strategies, religious conversions, worship places, and ritual practices are explored to ask if interactions may belong to a collective identity that transcends boundaries between religious groups.

270,000 words

Özet

"Kapadokya'da Yaşayan Hristiyan Ortodoks ve Müsmümanlar: Osmanlı Kırsal Bölgede Cemaatler Arası İlişkiler (1839-1923)"

Aude Aylin de Tapia, Doktora Adayı, 2016
Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü
EHESS, Centre d'études turques, ottomans, balkaniques et centreasiatiques

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Bu çalışma Tanzimat'ın başlangıcından (1839) Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi (1923) arasındaki dönemde Ortodoks Hristiyanlar (Rumlar) ile Müslümanlar arasındaki ilişkileri incelemektedir. Araştırmanın odak noktası Kapadokya bölgesinde (Kayseri, Niğde, Nevşehir ve Aksaray şehirleri ve çevrelerindeki kırsal bölgeler) yer alan köy ve kasabalarda yaşayan Türkçe veya Rumca konuşan Ortodoks Hristiyan toplumları ile aynı yerleşim yerlerini paylaşan veya yakınlarda olan köylerde yaşayan Müslüman nüfus arasındaki etkileşimlerini içermektedir. Bu araştırmanın sormuş olduğu soru ilk görünüşe göre öncelikle dini eğilimlere dayalı bir milliyetçiliğin güçlendiği bir zamanda, kırsal bağlamda, bireysel, toplumsal ve kolektif kimlik formlarının yerel olarak, sıradan insanlar tarafından nasıl müzakere edildiğini sormaktadır. Ayrıca, paylaşılan ortak alanlar, ekonomik ağları organize etme, evlilik stratejileri, dini dönüşümleri, ibadet yerleri ve ritüel uygulamaları ile dini gruplar arasındaki sınırları aşan bir kolektif kimlik bilincinin olabileceğini incelemiştir.

270 000 kelime

Résumé

"Chrétiens orthodoxes et musulmans de Cappadoce: Relations intercommunales dans un contexte rural ottoman (1839-1923)"

Aude Aylin de Tapia, doctorante au Centre d'études turques, ottomanes, balkaniques et centre-asiatiques, Ecole doctorale "Histoire et Civilisations" de l'EHESS et à l'Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History de l'Université de Boğaziçi, 2016

Sous la direction de Méropi Anastassiadou et Cengiz Kırlı

Cette étude explore les relations entre chrétiens orthodoxes (Rums) et musulmans de la période des Tanzimat (1839) à l'échange de population gréco-turc (1923). Se concentrant sur les communautés chrétiennes turcophones et hellénophones ayant vécu dans les villages et les villes de Cappadoce, au coeur de Anatolie (régions des villes de Kayseri, Niğde, Nevşehir et Aksaray) et sur leurs interactions avec les populations musulmanes locales, la présente étude interroge la manière dont, dans un contexte rural, les formes d'identification individuelle, communautaire et collective sont négociées par les populations locales. Elle propose l'hypothèse selon laquelle les relations intercommunautaires forment une identité collective locale qui transcende les frontières entre les groupes religieux à une époque où les idéologies nationalistes transforment et renforcent les critères d'identités comme l'appartenance religieuse et la langue. L'organisation des espaces de résidence, et des réseaux économiques locaux, les formes de négociation des stratégies matrimoniales et des conversions religieuses, mais aussi le partage des lieux de culte, des rites et des croyances locales sont analysées pour mettre en évidence les oscillations, voire la superposition, entre appartenance à la communauté religieuse et appartenance à la collectivité locale.

270 000 mots

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EDUCATION

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- Tapia (de), Aude Aylin, "Osmanlı döneminde Aynoroz Dağı Manastırları: İstibdat ve Hürriyet arasında Beş Yüz Yıl" [The Monasteries of the Mount Athos during the Ottoman Period. Five centuries between domination and liberties], *Toplumsal Tarih,* no 215, 8 p.
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AWARDS AND HONORS

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CONFERENCE AND WORKSHOP PARTICIPATION

- "Le culte des saints et les lieux de culte partagés en Cappadoce (1870-1923)," Journée Concours Agrégation/Caps, Strasbourg: Department of Historical Sciences, University of Strasbourg (November 4, 2016).
- "Exclusive and Inclusive Religiosity. The Case of Muslim/Rum-Orthodox Shared Religious Practices and Worship Places in Late 19th-Century Cappadocia," Circulation, Adaption, and Invention: Religious Change in Anatolia at the Intersection of Continents and Cultures, Bochum: Bochum university and Orient-Institut (June 3-4, 2016).
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- "Cappadocia, the region of continual Re-enchantments," Conference New Religiosities in Turkey, Re-enchantment in a Secularized Muslim Country? Geography, Locality and Location, Istanbul: Orient-Institut (October 8-9, 2015).
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- "Written and 'Oral' Sources, Methodology, Tools, Issues," *Graduate School of the Ecole française d'Athènes*, Athens: EFA (September 12, 2013).
- "Habitants des villes et habitants des champs. Définir les limites entre urbanité et ruralité en Anatolie au XIXe s.," *Sociétés urbaines méditerranéennes et levantines. Histoire et anthropologie*, Paris: INALCO (June 3, 2013)
- "Orthodox Christians and Muslims in Nineteenth-Century Cappadocia: Popular Culture(s) and Interrelations of Religious Communities in an Anatolian rural territory," *Rethinking the Long Nineteenth Century in the Ottoman Empire,* University of Oxford (May 14, 2013).
- "Cappadocia from Byzantines to Ottomans: Landscape as a Basis for Identity?" *International Conference of Historical Geographers,* Prague (August 6-11, 2012).

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- "The procedure of family reunification in the late Ottoman Empire. Examples of family migration paths from Kayseri to Istanbul (1830s-1870s)," Ankara: Bilkent University (April, 26-27, 2011).
- "A Chronicle in Karamanli-Turkish on the Mount Athos History," IFEA, Istanbul (25 February 25, 2009).

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

PARTIES, INSTITUTIONS AND ARCHIVES

ABCFM	American Board Commissioners for Foreign Missions
BCA	Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivleri (Turkish Prime Ministry Republican Archives) Ankara
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives) Istanbul
FO	British Foreign Office, London
CAMS	Center of Asia Minor Studies (Κέντρο Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών) Athens
CUP	Committee of Union and Progress
EFA	Ecole française d'Athènes, Athens
GAK	Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους (General State Archives of Greece) Athens
IFEA	Institut français d'études anatoliennes, Istanbul
IFA	Institut français d'Athènes, Athens
OTA	Oral Tradition Archives (Αρχείο Προφορικής Παράδοσης) CAMS, Athens
TDV	Türk Diyanet Vakfı (Turkish Religious Foundation) Ankara
TTK	Türk Tarih Kurumu (Turkish Historical Society) Ankara

BOA ARCHIVES SERIES

A.DVN	BOA, Bâb-ı Âlî Sadâret Evrâkı, Sadâret Dîvân Kalemi belgeleri, Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn Kalemi
A.DVN.MHM	BOA, Bâb-ı Âlî Sadâret Evrâkı, Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn Mühimme Kalemi
A.MKT	BOA, Bâb-ı Âlî Sadâret Evrâkı, Mektûbî Kalemi
A.MKT.DV	BOA, Bâb-ı Âlî Sadâret Evrâkı, Mektûbî Kalemi – Deâvî
A.MKT.MHM	BOA, Bâb-ı Âlî Sadâret Evrâkı, Mektûbî Kalemi – Sadâret Mektûbî Mühimme Kalemi
A.MKT.MVL	BOA, Bâb-ı Âlî Sadâret Evrâkı, Mektûbî Kalemi – Meclis-i Vâlâ

A.MKT.NZD	BOA, Bâb-ı Âlî Sadâret Evrâkı, Mektûbî Kalemi – Nezâret ve Devâir
A.MKT.ŞD	BOA, Bâb-ı Âlî Sadâret Evrâkı, Mektûbî Kalemi – Şûrâ-yı Devlet
A.MKT.UM	BOA, Bâb-ı Âlî Sadâret Evrâkı, Mektûbî Kalemi – Umûm Vilâyât
BEO	BOA, Bâb-ı Âlî Evrâkı Odası Belgeleri
C.ADL	BOA, Muallim Cevdet Tasnifi Belgeleri, Adliye
C.DH	BOA, Muallim Cevdet Tasnifi Belgeleri, Dahiliye
C.IKTS	BOA, Muallim Cevdet Tasnifi Belgeleri, İktisat
C.ML	BOA, Muallim Cevdet Tasnifi Belgeleri, Maliye
C.ZB	BOA, Muallim Cevdet Tasnifi Belgeleri, Zabtiye
DH. KMS	BOA, Dahiliye Nezâreti Belgeleri, Kalem-i Mahsus Müdüriyeti Belgeleri
DH. MUİ	BOA, Dahiliye Nezâreti Belgeleri, Muhaberât-ı Umumiye İdaresi Belgeleri
DH.EUM	BOA, Dahiliye Nezâreti Belgeleri, Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti Belgeleri
DH.EUM.SSM	BOA, Dahiliye Nezareti Emniyet-I Umumiye Müd£uriyeti Seyrüsefer Kalemi
DH.İ.UM	BOA, Dahiliye Nezâreti Belgeleri, İdâre-i Umumiye Belgeleri
DH.İD	BOA, Dahiliye Nezâreti Belgeleri, Idarî Kısım Belgeleri
DH.MKT	BOA, Dahiliye Nezâreti Belgeleri, Dahiliye Nezâreti Mektubî Kalemi
DH.ŞFR	BOA, Dahiliye Nezâreti Belgeleri, Şifre Kalemi Belgeleri
DH.TMIK.M	BOA, Dahiliye Nezâreti Belgeleri, Muamelat Belgeleri
DH.UMVM	BOA, Dahiliye Nezâreti BelgeleriUmûr-ı Mahalliye-i Vilayât Müdüriyeti Belgeleri
HAT	BOA, Hatt-ı Hümâyûn
HR.HMŞ.İŞO	BOA, Hariciye Nezâreti Belgeleri, Hukuk Müşavirliği İştişare Odası Belgeleri
HR.MKT	BOA, Hâriciye Nezareti belgeleri – Mektûbî Kalemi
HR.SFR.3	BOA, Hariciye Nezâreti Belgeleri, Londra Sefareti Belgeleri
HR.SYS	BOA, Hariciye Nezâreti Belgeleri, Siyasî Kısmı Belgeleri

İ.DH.	BOA, İrâde – Dâhiliye
İ.MF	BOA, İrâde – Dâhiliye
İ.ŞD	BOA, İrâde – Şûrâ-yı Devlet
IE.MT	BOA, İbnülemin, Müsted'iyat
MF.MKT	BOA, Maarif Nezâreti Belgeleri, Mektubi Kalemi
MVL	BOA, Bâb-ı Âlî, Meclis-i Vâlâ Riyaseti Belgeleri
ŞD	BOA, Şûrâ-yı Devlet Belgeleri
ZB	BOA, Zabtiye Nezâreti Belgeleri

JOURNALS AND COLLECTIONS

CEMOTI	*Cahiers d'Etudes sur la Méditerranée Orientale et le monde Turco-Iranien*
DKMS	Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών (Bulletin of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies)
DOA	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
EJTS	European Journal of Turkish Studies
EFD	Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi (Journal of the Faculty of Letters of the Hacettepe University)
IJMES	International Journal of Middle East Studies
IJTS	International Journal of Turkish Studies
ILWCH	International Labor and Working-Class History
OTAM	Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi (Journal of The Center for Ottoman Studies Ankara University)
REMMM	Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée

Calendars

Primary sources presented in this work use variouscalendar systems, especially the Islamic Hijri calendar (in Ottoman administrative archives) and the Gregorian calendars. A so-called "financial" (*mali*) calendar, which followed the Julian calendar and thus preceded the Gregorian calendar thirteen days, also existed in Ottoman administration, but appeared rarely in our sources.

For most Ottoman documents mentioned in this study, the date is first given in the way it is registered in the BOA archives (Hegira Year – Month – Day), followed by its Gregorian equivalent (Day.Month.Year)

Abbreviations are used to indicate the months of the Hegira calendar:

M.	Muĥarrem (ü-l-ĥarām)
S.	Śafer (ü-l-ħayr)
Ra.	Rebīʿü-l-evvel
R.	Rebīʿü-l-āħir
Ca.	Cemāźīü-l-evvel
C.	Cemāźīü-l-āħir
B.	Receb (ü-l-ferd, ü-l-mücerred)
Ş.	Şaʿbān (ü-l-muʿażżam)
N.	Ramażān (ü-l-mübārek)
L.	Şevvāl (ü-l-mükerrem)
Za.	Źī-l-ķaʿde
Ź.	Źī-l-ĥicce

Notes on Transliteration, Terminology and Orthography of Geographical Terms and Identifications

SETTLEMENT NAMES

Towns and villages mentioned in the present study, especially when they were inhabited by several religious groups, (mainly Orthodox Christians and Muslims) often had two names. Beyond issues of pronunciation or translitteration, names in Greek and in Turkish were often different. For instance, in the nineteenth century, Ürgüp was also called Prokopi, current-day Yeşilgölcük was called Gölcük or Limni, and current-day Hasaköy was already called Hasaköy, but also Akso (Aksos or Naksos). One would suppose that *Rum*s generally used the Greek name while Muslims used the Turkish; however, this was far from being a systematic rule. It is common to see the "Greek name" of a village used in Ottoman state archives. Similarly, "Turkish names" were often used in Greek and *Karamanlidika* publications, in handwritten records, as well as in testimonies of exchangees collected from the 1930s through the 1960s. For simplicity but also because some of them are still used today, we have decided to use the Turkish name (and its Turkish spelling), except for the case of a few villages – namely Limni/Gölcük, Akso/Hasaköy, and Misti/Misli (today's Konaklı), for which the Greek name appeared more frequently in the various sources we studied. For Prokopi/Ürgüp, both names appear with an equivalent frequency in Ottoman archives as well as in Greek and *Karamanlidika* texts, so we use the name Ürgüp, which is the current name of the town.

For all toponyms, when different names were used for the same place or when the name changed in the time of the Republic of Turkey, the first occurrence includes various former and current names in parentheses. A list of settlements with former and current names is also provided in appendix (Appendix C1). It does not include versions of the names in the travel accounts and reports of Westerners because the latter often used extravagant spellings, more or less close phonetically to the Turkish name or linked to a supposed Greek etymology.

IDENTITY NAMES

Names used for identified peoples and groups are actually at the heart of this study. It would thus be illusory to try to explain in a few lines which words we use to identify people. Nevertheless, as formal identity in the Ottoman Empire was based on religion, we most frequently use the term "Rum" (in its Turkish orthography) to refer to Orthodox Christians living in Cappadocia and officially belonging to the *millet-i Rum*. We avoid the term "Greek," which at that time referred only to citizens of the Greek state established in 1830; when it is used, it is exclusively for its a religious meaning (namely as members of the Greek-Orthodox Church) and has no ethnic or national denotation. As for Muslims, often called "Turks" in various archives an collections, we only refer to them as Muslims except when a distinction is necessary among them (for instance among Turks, Turkmens, Circassians, or Kurds).

The terminology used to refer to individuals who experienced the exchange of populations involves distinctions between words such as "refugees," "exchangees," and "migrants." In Greece, those expelled from Anatolia are known as "Asia Minor refugees" (*Mikrasiates prosphyges*). But they could also be identified as "exchangees" (*antallaksimoi* in Greek, *mübadil* in Turkish). In the present study, we also frequently call them "informants" since in one of our main primary sources (the Oral Tradition Archives of the Center of Asia Minor Studies) the exchangees have been interviewed and registered as "informants." The word migrant, on the other hand, is only used to speak about those who migrated from their native land to Ottoman cities (or abroad) for economic purposes before the 1920s.

OTHER GREEK AND TURKSIH TERMS

There is no standard way of transliterating the Greek alphabet. The approach taken follows a compromise preserving the phonetic with the visual, and allows for exceptions. The orthography of Ottoman-Turkish is as it is in modern Turkish. When the same word was used in Greek and in Turkish, the modern Turkish orthography is privileged. For readability when the plural form is required in English, an "s" has been added to the Turkish and Greek words instead of the respective plural forms in those languages. Turkish and

Greek words used frequently throughout the text are given in italics (followed by a definition) in the first instance.

None of these remarks are applicable to quotations in which we leave the orthography, words, toponyms, and identity names as written by their authors.

READING CONVENTIONS FOR GREEK AND TURKISH WORDS AND TRANSCRIPTIONS

Work on Ottoman, Greek, and Karamanlı archives and publications requires dealing with various alphabets. It has thus been necessary to propose a compromise for the transcription. Modern Turkish transcription has been used for words still used today. For instance, the letter "c" is read [dʒ] as in *hoca* (pronounced *hodja*), the letter "u" [ʊ] as in *Rum,* the letter "ç" [tʃ] as in *çiftlik* (pronounced *tschiftlik*) or the letter "ş" [ʃ] as in *paşa* (pronounced *pasha*).

However, when we quote and transcribe excerpts of documents, we follow a strict transliteration of the Arab or Greek alphabet. For instance, in Ottoman Turkish, a word like *itdügi* retains its Ottoman transcription instead of its modern form *ettiği*. As for Greek and Karamanlı words, we kept the direct transliteration of Greek letters. For instance, the word *Τούρκδζε* has been transliterated "Tourkdze," the word *Ρούμδζα* "Roumdza." The letter "η" in Karamanlı Turkish has been transliterated with the Turkish "ı."

However, to avoid difficulties in reading, we have chosen to transcribe the Karamanlı "ου" combination either as "ou" or as "ü," the difference between the sounds [o/ə]§ and between [ʊ/y] not being pronounced in Karamanlı. Finally, because of the specificities of the Karamanlı use of the Greek alphabet and the limitations of word processors, we have not been able to write some original Karamanlı diacritical signs, such as the superscript point on the σ/ς to write "ş," on the "π" to write "b" [b], on the "ο" to write "ö" and on the "κ" to write "g" [g]; they are respectively transliterated as "ş," "b," "ö," and "g" in the Latin transcription.

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NOTE: The in-house editor of the Atatürk Institute has made recommendations with regard to the format, grammar, spelling, usage, and syntax of this dissertation in compliance with professional, ethical standards for the editing of student, academic work.

1

Introduction

A normal day in 1880: Nikolaos stands at the coffeehouse of Delmason, a village in the close periphery of Niğde. Actually, his real name is Mehmed; he is one of the rare Muslims living in Delmason, a village inhabited mostly by Orthodox Christians speaking a local Greek dialect. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, he had been taken prisoner by Russian troops and claimed his name was Nikolaos. When he returned safe and sound in Delmason, he told how his life had been saved because he was able to speak Greek, and thus pretended to be a Greek. Since then, everybody in the village kept calling him Nikolaos.[1]

January 30, 1923 in Lausanne, Switzerland: the convention for the exchange of populationss (*Mübadele* in Turkish, *Antallagi*/*Ανταλλαγή* in Greek) between Greece and Turkey is signed. Soon, people from both countries will be forced to move out, to an unknown place, a place they do not want to go to and about which nobody asked their opinion. Panic? Amazement? Yes and no. Rumors had already spread before the signature of the convention that *Rums*[2]

1 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, in *Oral Tradition Archives* (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ270: S. Terkenlis.

2 The word "Rum" designates Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire, especially after the independence of Greece, distinguishing them from the Greeks of Greece. It is in this sense that we use the term "Rum" in the course of this study (unless if we specify a particular, alternate meaning in some limited contexts).

of Anatolia and Muslims of Greece would be expelled. Besides, many Rums of Anatolia had fled Anatolia for Greece even before the beginning of negotiations, and the convention only confirmed a real situation. After the World War I and especially the debacle of the Greek army in Asia Minor (known as *Mikrasiatiki Katastrofi* in Greek) in 1922, a substantial part of the 1,770,000 Rums[3] who lived in Ottoman territory in the beginning of the 1910s fled the empire and the majority of them had disembarked in one of the Greek ports.[4] As a result, when the Lausanne negotiations began, many had already left their native land and those who remained were exiled after the Lausanne convention's signature. However, as a retroactive decision, the Lausanne convention of 1923 concerned the 1,220,000 Orthodox Christians who fled from Ottoman territories between 1912 (October 18) and 1926. On the other side, around 500,000 Muslims were affected by the convention.[5]

Yet, for those who were still in Turkey after 1922 and had no particular intention to leave, the final decision of Lausanne fell like a ton of bricks. Rums from all parts of Anatolia – Turcophone as well as Hellenophone –would have to leave everything – their lands, their house, their churches, their stores, all their memory – to begin another life elsewhere. In Cappadocia, nobody wanted to believe this frightful eventuality. Whatever it was, by 1923, Cappadocia's villages were already almost emptied of their Rum populations. In many villages, only some women and children, a priest and the elders of the

3 There are no uncontested statistics on the Ottoman population vis-à-vis religious affiliation. For Rum populations, available estimations vary from 1.5 and 2 million inhabitants in the Asiatic provinces of the empire. The most accurate statistics are certainly those of the Turkish Official Statistics (1910), with a count of 1.77 million, and the Greek Patriarchate Statistics (1912) with a count of 1.78 millions Rums. See Dimitri Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece* (London: Hurst & Co., 2002), 29-30.

4 Ibid., 99, According to the *Statistical Annual of Greece* of 1930 (p.41) used by Pentopoulos, about 12% of the Ottoman Rums had left the Empire already before the *Mikrasiatiki Katastrofi* of 1922.

5 Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange* (2002), 99; Renée Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean, An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2003), 19; Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı, *Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi*, Mübadele Müzesi, Çatalca Belediyesi, http://mubadelemuzesi.net/mubadele.aspx (last connection: 06.08.2016)

community remained. This demographic decrease was not only the result of lost wars, but because Cappadocia was far from battlefields, even during the First World War and the subsequent Turkish War of Independence. It was mainly the consequence of a massive immigration process to Ottoman urban centers that had progressively occurred from the beginning of the nineteenth century. For a long time, men migrated to Istanbul or other towns and only returned for some weeks – or at best some months – to see their families before setting out again. In time, many families joined the father and immigrated, such that the beautiful village houses were used as a secondary residence rather than as year-round homes full of life. However, living in Istanbul was not enough to avoid the exchange.[6] Those who were still registered in their native lands, and did not possess a fixed residence in Istanbul and did not permanently exercise a profession had to leave with the others.[7]

With bare necessities, a long and difficult journey began towards the unknown. Sometimes urban immigrants and those who had remained in villages had to travel separately and found each other once with difficulty in Greece. Many – especially children and elders – died on the road, on the boats, during the quarantine. Many entrusted the keys of their houses to their Muslim neighbors, hoping to return when political tensions ease. Was this evidence of a relative good harmony between Muslims and Christians?

October 7, 1705: Paul Lucas, travelling in Anatolia on orders of the King Louis XIV of France, reaches Kayseri. On the road, he has seen a strange landscape that he describes in his travelogue published in 1714 as thousands of pyramids sculpted by men in the shape of women holding a child, sphinxes and even nude kneeling virgins.[8] This description intrigued his readership, to an extent that the King sent him to verify that what he wrote was real. The travel account of Lucas also incited many European travelers to go through

6 According to the Lausanne agreement, the Rum population of Istanbul and the Muslims of Thrace were not subject to exile.

7 "Series B. Advisory Opinion N° 10. Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations (Lausanne Convention VI, January 30th, 1923, article 2)," February 21, 1925.

8 Paul Lucas, *Voyage du sieur Paul Lucas fait par ordre du roi dans la Grèce, l'Asie mineure, la Macédoine et l'Afrique*, *Tome I contenant la description de la Natolie, de la Caramanie et de la Macedoine* (Paris, 1714), 128.

Cappadocia on their travels to the Orient to seeing this extraordinary place for themselves. More realistic descriptions of Cappadocia's landscape, vestiges, and populations emerged in the beginning of the nineteenth century with the travel accounts of Hamilton and Texier.[9] As much as the geological landscape, classic and medieval monuments but also the contemporary populations of Cappadocia – especially Christian population – rapidly became topics of interest for European as well as Rum elites of Istanbul and for Greek scholars of the newly created Kingdom of Greece. Local customs, traditions, cultures, beliefs, and languages were henceforth described and interpreted in one way or another. Ottoman Cappadocia was fascinating for its ancestral vestiges, but also for its multireligious, pluricultural, and pluriethnic populations that scholars liked to contemplate and interpret as the descendants and guardians of the past, protected in this remote area, far from the influences of urban centers.

July 16, 2011, in Güzelyurt, Cappadocia: in its fifth year, the festival of Turkish-Greek Friendship was organized. Every year, the children and grandchildren of Rums from Gelveri (but also from other villages of the region) return to their family village. Nowadays, the village is named Güzelyurt, but everybody knows its former name, Gelveri, a place where Muslims and Turkish-speaking Rums lived side-by-side until 1923. Besides, the exchanged people of Gelveri settled in the area of Thessalonica and called their new town "Nea-Karvali" to remember and remind them of the name of their home. Songs are sung, dances are danced, and traditional food is eaten. Nowadays, the exchange of populationss of 1923 is no more a taboo. In Turkey as well as in Greece, memory of this tragic event reappears in the society, through the last representatives of the exchanged generation, and from their children and grandchildren. Biographies, memoirs, and other books and articles are published; documentaries are made in both countries. In Güzelyurt, as well as in many villages of Cappadocia, the Muslims who came from Greece but also from other former Ottoman territories settled in some of the Rum houses.

9 William J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armernia; with Some Account of their Antiquities and Geology*, II (London: John Murray, 1842); Charles Texier, *Asie mineure: description géographique historique et archéologique des provinces et des villes de la Chersonnèse d'Asie* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1863).

Cut-stones of ruined buildings have been reused for the construction of new houses. An old woman who experienced the exchange of populationss from Greece to Turkey apologizes for the concrete they used to repair and enlarge their house: "You know when we were sent here and we settled in these houses, we did not know the historical importance they had and we had no other possibility. Now, we regret it, but it is too late."

These cut-stone buildings are not the vestiges of the Byzantine past for which most tourists come to Cappadocia – they are the houses, churches, monasteries, schools, libraries, and shops built in nineteenth century by Cappadocia's Christian and Muslim inhabitants. This architectural and cultural heritage is the witness of the history of the area and of its people, the witness of the everyday stories of those people – Muslims and Christians – of their life side-by-side, their co-existence (or life together), and their friendship, but also their quarrels and disagreements. The house of this old woman is one of those built during the last decades of the nineteenth-century by Rums who had migrated to Istanbul and earned enough money to construct a new home on their native land. The village of Güzelyurt (formerly Gelveri), together with the village of Mustafapaşa (formerly Sinasos)[10] nowadays most representatively evince the nineteenth-century success-stories Rum migrants. Gelveri and Sinasos were two villages inhabited by a religiously-mixed population of Muslims and Orthodox Christians. Gelveri, a Turkish-speaking Christian community and Sinasos, a Greek-speaking community, both experienced the same fate in 1923. The exchange of populationss put an end to this epoch. A new life elsewhere began for the Christians of Cappadocia, but also for the remaining Muslims and for those who had just settled here. A new story – the story of the Republic of Turkey and of Anatolia as the new heart of a new nation – began. With the departure of Christians, part of the history of Cappadocia sank into oblivion. Ottoman Cappadocia was lost… for a while.

10 Sinasos was the first "Ottoman village" that drew attention, especially with the documentary of Timon Koulmasis, "Sinasos, Histoire d'un village déplacé" (France, Greece: Arte France, 1997). This short movie is one of the first works by which a general and international public dealt with the exchange of populations. After it, numerous documentaries have been produced and many books – especially biographical novels – have been written.

Lost. The reader may find this expression strange for a region, which, nowadays, is one of the jewels of Turkish tourism. Yet Cappadocia is not another lost Atlantis; today, the touristic landscape appears as the wan reflection of a bright past. Geology, which is at the root of the extraordinary natural landscape of Cappadocia, mixed with countless Byzantine churches and "monasteries" have made the region an incredible place for tourism. However, the history of the area, known as Cappadocia – wrongly translated as "The Land of Beautiful Horses" for the enjoyment of national and international tourists alike[11] – is mostly confined to those buses full of tourists, explanatory plaques and the entrances of concrete museums and pseudo-ancient rock-cut hotels.

In the nineteenth century, the region of "Cappadocia" – forgotten with the Turkish conquest of the area – reappeared under the pens of European travelers and Rum scholars, as an historical region – a cultural and geographical entity with an ancient and medieval heritage. In late nineteenth-century literature, it also began to be described as an ethnologically interesting area inhabited by a multi-religious population. Cappadocia, with its mixture of Muslims and Christians, Turcophone and Hellenophone, and its sedentary villages and nomadic tribes, fascinated travelers and scholars but disappeared again in the course of the first third of the twentieth century. Raised from the ashes, it reappeared in the 1960s, but this time as a touristic center where fairy chimneys, Byzantine churches, and underground cities are the main attraction, leaving the Ottoman past of the region to fade into obscurity.

§ 1.1 State of the Arts

The lack of research about Ottoman Cappadocia, crushed between the region's famous Byzantine past and the traumatic exchange of populations led me to work on this area and on the specific time of the late Otoman Empire. Incidentally, I make no secret of my wish excitement about realizing field studies in such a beautiful region, a naive initial enthusiasm rapidly disenchanted, since I spent most of my research time in archives and libraries

11 The etymology and meaning of the word "Cappadocia" (which in the Luwian language, means, according to Olivier Casabonne, "bottom plains"), see Olivier Casabonne and Emanuela Borgia, "Notes ciliciennes," *Anatolia Antiqua* 11, no.11 (2003).

in Istanbul and Athens! Nevertheless, the idea to work not on a community but on relations between religious groups, namely Orthodox Christians and Muslims in a region that in the nineteenth century was still considered remote, somehow kept attracting my historian's eye.

In historiography of the late Ottoman period, non-Muslim communities, known as *millet*s (traditionally, the *Rum* or Greek Orthodox, the Armenian, and the Jewish *millets*) have mainly been studied as closed entities with autonomous organizational systems, openings of these systems to the outside being mostly political (relations between the head of the *millet*'s authority and the Ottoman state) and economic (relations to the state as taxable entities and individuals and their involvement in Ottoman society through professional activities). In the late Ottoman centuries, the appearance and increase of ideologies of nationalism suggested new perspectives on minority history. A two-volume book edited by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis in 1982, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, is representative of Ottoman historiography of 1970-1990, focusing on polticial structures and the economic roles of non-Muslims. Social and cultural history forged a new international trend followed by Ottomanists since the 1990s. In this context, numerous valuable works have been published, especially on non-Muslim communities. About the late Ottoman period, the internal organization of *millet*s continues to be one of the main issues, and is generally combined with the study of the changing meaning of the notion of *millet*, from a religiously-defined form of community into a poltical, nationalized identity.[12]

12 Kemal Karpat, "Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruitty of Nation and State in the Ottoman Era," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, The Functioning of a Plural Society*, eds. B. Braude and B. Lewis (London: Holmes & Meier, 1982); Gerasimos Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor, Confession, Community, and Ethnicity in the Nineteenth Century* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1992); Sia Anagnostopoulou, "Les communautés grecques d'Asie Mineure, 1897-1919: aspects de l'évolution d'une "communauté nationale" au sein d'un Empire" (EHESS: Unpublished PhD, 1994); Paraskevas Konortas, "From Ta'ife to Millet: Ottoman Terms for the Ottoman Greek Orthodox Community," in *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. D. Gondicas and C. Issawi (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1999); Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, "From Millets to Minorities in the 19th-Century Ottoman Empire: An Ambiguous Modernization," in *Citizenship in Historical Perspective*, eds. S. G. Ellis, G. Hálfdanarson, and A.K. Isaacs (Pisa:

On the other hand, the issue of interactions between communities have been unequally analyzed if we compare early and late Ottoman periods. Historians working on earlier centuries have been interested in the new social and cultural phenomena following the Turkish conquests of former Byzantine territories and the political reconfiguration implied by the domination of Islamic dynasties. The seminal works of Claude Cahen on *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (1968), of Speros Vryonis on *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (1971), or later that of Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (2000), and more recently the book of A. Peacock, B. de Nicola, and S.N. Yıldız on *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (2015) are good examples of these works on the empire's early centuries.[13]

Regarding the early Ottoman centuries, the various studies of Suraiya Faroqhi, albeit not directly concerned with intercommunal relations, have raised various questions on this issue, from the sharing of urban districts between Muslim and non-Muslim city-dwellers of Kayseri and Ankara to the role of guilds in socio-professional sharing.[14] Another interesting part of her research concerns Bektashism in the multireligious Anatolian countryside.[15]

Pisa University Press, 2006); Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, *Instilling Religion in Greek and Turkish Nationalism: A "Sacred Synthesis"* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Ayşe Ozil, *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire: A Study of Communal Relations in Anatolia* (New York: Routlegde, 2013); Méropi Anastassiadou, *Les Grecs d'Istanbul au XIXe siècle. Histoire socioculturelle de la communauté de Péra* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

13 Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: a general survey of the material and spiritual culture and history, c. 1071-1330* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1968); Speros 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); Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Andrew C.S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola, and Sara Nur Yıldız, *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (London: Ashgate, 2015).

14 For instance, see Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth-Century Ankara and Kayseri* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

15 Suraiya Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik* (Istanbul: Simurg, 2003).

Together with studies on Sufi orders conducted by Irène Mélikoff or Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, she revitalized interest in Anatolia and especially in popular culture and beliefs, and Sufi orders, which were central to the literature of the 1900s and 1930s (especially in work of F.W. Hasluck and J.K. Birge on the Bektashi order) but which vanished in subsequent decades.[16]

Several studies have focused on individuals and groups crossing boundaries between communities through religious conversion[17] or living on the border between two communities – one of the two religions being lived secretly.[18] Gathered under the notion of "crypto-religiosity," the latter's in-

16 Irène Mélikoff, *Uyur İdik Uyardılar. Alevilik-Bektaşilik Araştırmaları* (Istanbul: Cem, 1994); Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Un Aperçu général sur l'Hétérodoxie musulmane en turquie: réflexions sur les origines et les caractéristiques du Kizilbachisme (Alévisme) dans la perspective de l'histoire," in *Syncretistic religious communities in the Near East: collected papers of the international symposium "Alevism in Turkey and comparable syncretistic religious communities in the Near East in the past and present,"* ed. K. Kehl-Bodrogi (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Frederick W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, II vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929); John Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (Istanbul: Luzac & co., 1965).

17 See Selim Deringil, ""There is no Compulsion in Religion': On Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1839-1856," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, no.3 (2000); Bernard Heyberger, "Frontières confessionnelles et conversions chez les chrétiens orientaux (XVIIe – XVIIIe siècles)," in *Islamic Conversions. Religious Identities in Mediterranean Islam,* ed. M. Garcia-Arenal (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2001); Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans. Kisve Bahasi Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Marc D. Baer, "Islamic Conversion Narratives of Women: Social Change and Gendered Religious Hierarchy in Early Modern Ottoman Istanbul," *Gender & History* 16, no.2 (2004); Marc D. Baer, Ussama Makdisi, and Andrew Shryock, "Tolerance and Conversion in the Ottoman Empire: A Conversation," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no.4 (2009); Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); Gilles Grivaud and Alexandre Popovic (dir.), *Les conversions à l'islam en Asie mineure et dans les Balkans aux époques seldjoukide et ottomane. Bibliographie raisonnée (1800-2000)* (Athens: EFA, 2011); Marc D. Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Selim Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

18 For an overview of crypto-religiosity, see Maurus Reinkowski, "Hidden Believers, Hidden Apostates: The Phenomenon of Crypto-Jews and Crypto-Christians in the Middle East," in *Converting Cultures: Religion, Ideology, and Transformations of Modernity*, eds. Dennis C.

between situation has been studied in the context of the Ottoman Empire through three now-famous, symbolic examples: the *Sabbateans* (Jews who officially converted to Islam, mostly living in Thracia and Western Asia Minor and also known by the Turkish name *Dönme*s) and the crypto-Christians of the Black Sea (including Armenian Hemshins and Pontic Rums) have captivated historians and anthropologists of Ottoman and Turkish Republican history.[19]

Historiography of the Ottoman nineteenth century, however, has predominantly taken another half. The rise of nationalism has attracted the attention of historians on intercommunal relations but has generally confined it to conflicts between ethnoreligious groups on the road to the creation of nation-states. On that issue, the Balkans and Middle East have been at the heart of most studies, the former being the region of the declaratins of independence from the Ottomans (beginning with the Greek War of Independence in 1821-1832), and the latter the place of colonial race undertaken by Western powers. Especially for later decades (the Hamidian period from 1876 to 1908, the Young Turk period from 1908 to 1918 and the Turkish War of Independence from 1919 to 1923), homogenization, demographic engineering, and genocide are among the main themes found in

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Washburn and A. Kevin Reinhart (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Stavro Skendi, "Crypto-Christianity in the Balkan Area under the Ottomans," *Slavic Review* 26, no.2 (1967).

19 For specific studies about the Hemshins, see Bert Vaux, "Hemshinli: The Forgotten Black Sea Armenians," *Journal of Armenian Studies* 6, no.2 (2001); Hovann Simonian, *The Hemshin: History, Society and Identity in the Highlands of Northeast Turkey* (London: Routledge, 2007). Regarding the crypto-Christian Rums of the Black Sea, see F. W. Hasluck, "The Crypto-Christians of Trebizond," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 41 (1921); Antony Bryer, "The Crypto-Christians of the Pontos and Consul William Gifford Palgrave," *DKMS* 4 (1983); Georgios Andreadis, *The Cryptochristians, Klostoi: Those Who Returned; Tenesur: Those Who Have Changed* (Salonica: G. Andreadis, 1995); Yorgos Tzedopoulos, "Public Secrets: Crypto-Christianity in the Pontos" *DKMS* 16 (2009); Zeynep Türkyılmaz, "Anxieties of Conversion: Missionaries, State and Heterodox Communities in the late Ottoman Empire" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, UCLA) 2009. Regarding the *Dönme*s, see Marc D. Baer, "Revealing a Hidden Community: Ilgaz Zorlu and the Debate in Turkey over the Dönme/Sabbateans," *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 23, no.1 (1999); Marc D. Baer, *The Dönme: Jewish Converts, Muslim Revolutionaries, and Secular Turks* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

studies on the relations among ethnoreligious – and nationalizing – groups.[20] For this period, studies about relations between ethnic and/or religious groups have mostly focused on Middle Eastern, especially Arab-speaking regions (such as current-day Syria, Libya, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Palestine, and Egypt), or the Balkans, namely areas where cohabitation after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire (and sometimes still today) continued to be a reality of local everyday life with more or less antagonistic intergroup relations.[21] On the other hand, central Anatolia has been neglected in the historiography of intercommunal relations – or rather conflicts – of the nineteenth century. This may be the consequence of the politics of Turkification of Anatolia which consisted of the de-integration of the quasi-totality of non-Muslim minorities through massacre, expulsion or displacement from the region in the early twentieth century, such that coexistence among religious groups no longer exists.[22] It was through massacres and genocides of the First World War (1914-1918) and the ensuing Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923) that the Anatolian situation was lugubriously brought to light. Demographic engineering, deportation, and genocide of Armenians (the first massacres of whom took place in the 1890s) and Rums (especially in the Pontus and Aegean regions) have been written about extensively.[23] Nevertheless, we should not

20 See especially Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism. Community, History and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Hervé Georgelin, *La Fin de Smyrne: du cosmopolitisme aux nationalismes* (Paris: CNRS, 2005); Hannes Grandits, Nathalie Clayer, and Robert Pichler, *Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans: The Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire and Nation-Building* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011); J.R. Nielsen and J.S. Nielsen, *Religion, Ethnicity and Contested Nationhood in the Former Ottoman Space* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

21 Works referenced in the previous footnote mostly focus on the Middle East and the Balkans. Studies of the case of Izmir are, in this context, an exception.

22 We define the minorities in the Ottoman sense of *millet*, namely as non-Muslim groups. We can continue talking about the current coexistence or cohabitation among groups in central Anatolia if we consider Alevis and Sunnis or Turks and Kurds cohabitation.

23 Among the numerous publications on these issues, see Nesim Şeker, "Demographic Engineering in the late Ottoman Empire and the Armenians," *Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no.3 (2007); Matthias Bjørnlund, "The 1914 Cleansing of Aegean Greeks as a case of violent Turkification," *Journal of Genocide Research* 10, no.1 (2008); D.J. Schaller and J. Zimmerer,

imagine that studies on intercommunal relations in the last century of the Ottoman Empire only focus on violence and conflict. Even though they are fewer, works on the Ottoman society of the long century also analyze socio-economic and cultural interaction.[24]

Most of the studies on intercommunal conflicts and interactions focus on urban environments and especially on the largest cities of the empire; rural areas have been neglected by socio-cultural historians of the late Ottoman period. This is easily explained by the fact that cities were far more dynamic in terms of their economic, cultural, and artistic production. Moreover, cultural history being classically linked to the history of elites, issues of culture (defined as "popular" when it concerns countryside) remain poorly documented when it comes to late Ottoman rural areas. However, "popular culture," or "popular traditions" are topics about which Western travelers

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Late Ottoman Genocides: The Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and Young Turkish Population and Extermination Policies (London: Routledge, 2009); Raymond Kevorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011); Taner Akçam, *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); Ronald Grigor Suny, *"They Can Live in the Desert but Nowhere Else": A History of the Armenian Genocide* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

24 Johann Strauss, "The Millets and the Ottoman Language. The Contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th-20th centuries)," *Die Welt des Islams* 35, no.2 (1995); Paul Dumont and François Georgeon, *Vivre dans l'Empire ottoman: Sociabilités et relations intercommunautaires (XVIIIè-XXè siècles)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997); Lucette Valensi, "Intercommunal Relations and Changes in Religious Affiliation in the Middle East (Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries)," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39, no.2 (1997); Onur Yıldırım, "Ottoman Guilds as a Setting for Ethnoreligious Conflict: The Case of the Silk-thread Spinners' Guild in Istanbul," *International Review of Social History* 47, no.3 (2002); Randi Deguilhem, "Shared Space of Contested Space: Religious Mixity, Infrastructural Hierarchy and the Builders' Guild in Mid-Nineteenth Century Damascus," in *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East: Fashioning the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean*, eds. S. Faroqhi and R. Deguilhem (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005); Ulrike Tischler, "Communautés ethno-confessionnelles et levantines à Istanbul au XXe siècle: Coexistence, réseaux de sociabilité et relations intercommunautaires au quartier de Pera," *DKMS* 15 (2008); Maria Couroucli, "Chthonian Spirits and Shared Shrines: The Dynamics of Place among Christians and Muslims in Anatolia," in *Sharing the Sacra: the Politics and Pragmatics of Intercommunal Relations around Holy Places*, ed. G. Bowman (Oxford: Berghahn, 2012).

visiting Anatolia in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (and their readers) were passionate. The first ethnographic descriptions of Anatolian peasantry are those of Kinneir (1818),[25] Ainsworth (1839),[26] and Hamilton (1842),[27] followed by numerous works of Western, Greek and Ottoman intellectuals, missionaries, military officers, and consuls until the fall of the empire. The small book *Traditions populaires de l'Asie mineure*, published by E.H. Carnoy and J. Nicolaïdes in 1889 (collection *Les Littératures populaires de toutes les Nations*), is a typical example of the interest of intellectuals of that time in popular culture.[28] Among later ones, Dawkins' studies on Anatolian Greek dialects and songs[29] as well as Hasluck's prominent book on *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (published in 1929)[30] are among the the seminal works that forged the way for the few subsequent works on socio-cultural history of rural populations of Ottoman Turkey.

From this general context, a trend emerged in the way contemporary Turkish and mainly Greek historians write the history of rural Anatolia. From the early 2000s, numerous monographs on Anatolian villages have been published. For instance, Greek historians have written detailed descriptions of the Rumway of life in Cappadocia, generally focusing on the village where their parents or grandparents lived before the exchange of populations.[31]

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25 John MacD. Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan in the years 1813 and 1814* (London: Murray, 1818).

26 William F. Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea and Armenia*, I (London: John W. Parker, 1839).

27 Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, II, 1842.

28 E. Henry Carnoy and Jean Nicolaides, *Traditions populaires de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Ch. Leclerc, 1889).

29 Richard M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor; A Study of the Dialects of Sil li, Cappadocia and Pha rasa, with Grammar, Texts, Translations and Glossary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916); Richard M. Dawkins, "Some Modern Greek Songs from Cappadocia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 38, no.1 (1934).

30 Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1929. See also his articles on Bektashism: F. W. Hasluck, "Ambiguous Sanctuaries and Bektashi Propaganda," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 20 (1914); F. W. Hasluck, "Geographical Distribution of the Bektashi," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 21 (1916).

31 Among these monographs, the work of Hadziiossif on Sinasos is certainly most successful. Christos Hadziiossif, *Σινασός, ιστορία ενός τόπου χωρίς ιστορία* [Sinasos, history of a place

Moreover, with respect to Anatolian Rums and especially Turcophone communities – the so-called "Karamanlıs" – Evangelia Balta's work focusing on written production and socio-cultural history is the most inclusive and complete author.[32] Numerous other authors are currently carrying on research on Karamanlı Christians, and it would be impossible to list all of the works. However, there is a general trend in *Karamanlidika* studies, as it is henceforth called (the word *Karamanlidika* being used to define written works of Karamanlı people), which concentrates on linguistic and literary aspects, studying the written production (books, newspapers, almanacs, manuscripts, etc.) and identity issues. Whether in village monographs or in Karamanlidika

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without history] (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2005). See also Konstantinos Nigdelis and Symeon Koimisoglou, *Η Μαλακοπή της Καππαδοκίας* [Malakopi in Cappadocia] (Salonica: Δήμου Συκεών, 2003); Symeon Koimisoglou, *Μιστί της Καππαδοκίας: Η Μάνη των Ελλήνων της Μικράς Ασίας* [Misti in Cappadocia: Tradition of Greeks of Asia Minor] (Salonica: Naus, 2006); Konstantinos Nigdelis and Symeon Koimisoglou, *Το Ανταβάλ της Καππαδοκίας* [Andaval in Cappadocia] (Salonica: Κέντρο Ιστορίας Δήμου Συκεών, 2008); Konstantinos Nigdelis, *Τα Φλογητά της Καππαδοκίας: Σουβερμέζ* [Floïta in Cappadocia: Suvermez] (Polygyros: Νομαρχιακή Αυτοδιοίκηση Χαλκιδικής, 2006); Konstantinos Nigdelis and Yannis Stamatidis, *Σύλλατα Καππαδοκίας* [Sylata in Cappadocia] (Nea Sylata: Πολιτιστικός Σύλλογος Γυναικών Νέων Συλλάτων, 2008); Konstantinos Nigdelis, *Τα Λίμνα, Γκιολτζούκ της Καππαδοκίας* [Limni, Gölcük in Cappadocia] (Salonica: Ιστορικό Αρχείο Προσφυγικού Ελληνισμού Δήμου Καλαμαριάς, 2012); Konstantinos Nigdelis and Iordana Hatzisaak, *Το Χαλβάντερε της Καππαδοκίας* [Halvandere in Cappadocia] (Salonica: ΕΠΙΙΜΝΣ, 2010); Sophia Anastasiadi-Manousaki, *Μνήμες Καππαδοκίας* [Memories from Cappadocia] (Athens: CAMS, 2002).

32 Evangelia Balta, *Beyond the Language Frontier. Studies on the Karamanli and the Karamanlidikas Printing* (Istanbul: Isis, 2010); E. Balta, *Karamanlidika, Bibliographie analytique d'ouvrages en langue turques en caractères grecs, Additions (1584-1900)* (Athens: CAMS, 1987); E. Balta, *Karamanlidika, Nouvelles additions et compléments I* (Athens: CAMS, 1997); E. Balta, *Karamanlidika, XXe siècle. Bibliographie analytique* (Athens: CAMS, 1987); Ilias Anagnostakis and E. Balta, *La découverte de la Cappadoce au dix-neuvième siècle* (Istanbul: Eren, 1994); E. Balta, *Prokopi, Ürgüp* (Istanbul: Bir zamanlar, 2010); E. Balta, *Sinasos. Mübadeleden önce bir Kapadokya Kasabası* (Istanbul: Bir Zamanlar, 2009); E. Balta, "Tracing the Presence of Rum Orthodox in Cappadocia. The evidence of Tapu Tahrirs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries," in *Between Religion and Language. Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire*. eds. E. Balta and M. Ölmez (Istanbul: Eren, 2011).

studies, the question of the intercommunal relations between Rums (Turcophone or Hellenophone) and Muslims in the rural context of Cappadocia is almost nonexistent or limited to succinct descriptions.

On this issue, but focusing on Western Anatolia and the Pontus region (and including Cappadocia in the larger concept of "Central Anatolia"), the recent book of Nicholas Doumanis, *Before the Nation: Muslim-Christian Coexistence and Its Destruction in Late Ottoman Anatolia,* is a first approach to Rum/Muslim intercommunal relations that took place in urban and rural environments, albeit using only Greek primary sources (mostly documents of the Oral Tradition Archives kept at the Center of Asia Minor Studies) and Westerners' reports or travel accounts. Doumanis analyzes the discourse on coexistence as ritualized and exaggerated expressions of solidarity expressed retrospectively as a part of a broad discourse of nostalgia.[33]

The conceptual notion of co-existence emerged in the fields of anthropology and ethnography instead of in historical studies, especially in the context of the post-imperial Balkans and the contemporary Mediterranean world that we have found main analysis. A paradoxical observation is at the root of these works: after years, even decades of ethnic or religious (and often ethnoreligious) conflict, struggle, and massacre, the nostalgic narratives of survivors and their heirs concerns a paradise losrt – a past multicultural harmony and peaceful coexistence that "emerges from violence that appears irreparable."[34] This popular nostalgia for multiculturalism – i.e. religious or ethnic pluralism – generally appears after intercommunal coexistence and harmony have been destroyed by conflicts, wars, and displacement and replaced by a supposed homogeneity – which actually never really exists – and which, in the context of the creation of nation-states, was considered politically as necessary for sustainable peace. The paradox is obvious. A seminal book on shared sacred places, edited by

33 Nicholas Doumanis, *Before the Nation. Muslim-Christian Coexistence and Its Destruction in Late Ottoman Anatolia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Regarding the primary sources and especially the Oral Tradition Archives, see "On Primary sources" in this introduction.

34 Rebecca Bryant, *Post-Ottoman Coexistence: Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2016), 4.

Dionigi Albera and Maria Couroucli in 2012 focuses on worship places shared by Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the Mediterranean world and shows the "polyphonic nature of religious mixing," taking into account "the multiplicity of contexts, forms and protagonists." Authors participating in this collective work challenged and even refuted the idea of a clash of civilizations which, in Mediterranean areas, is generally thought to be the result of insurmontable barriers among religious groups.[35]

Finally, another collective work has been published very recently, which can be regarded as an original attempt to conceptualize intercommunal relations in the post-Ottoman context embracing for the first time various forms of everyday relations. Edited by Rebecca Bryant, it proposes new analyses of post-Ottoman coexistence going further than the sharing of worship places to study the way that communities, as religiously or ethnically defined groups, share space and cohabite on an everyday basis.[36] In the introduction, Bryant raises a problem linked to the attempt of researchers to name and conceptualize relations between these groups. "Co-words" such as co-existence, co-habitation, co-presence in which the prefix "co-" comes from the Latin preposition *cum,* meaning "with," imply recognition and assertion of boundaries between groups.

> While recognizing the limitations of coexistence as a term, we use it here as an umbrella for understanding ways of living with acknowledged difference. We qualify this here, however, as "everyday coexistence," the form of coexistence produced through proximity, to distinguish it from the legal, political, and discursive forms of coexistence that imply the "living together" of *millet*s or ethnic groups within the empire or nation.[37]

35 Dionigi Albera and Maria Couroucli (eds.), *Sharing Sacred Space in the Mediterranean. Christians, Muslims, and Jews at Shrines and Sanctuaries* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 239-40. Also refer to the work of Norig Neveu and Bethany Walker, "Shrines and pilgrimages in Late Ottoman Jordan," in *Atlas de Jordanie*, ed. M. Ababsa (Beirut: Édition de l'Ifpo, 2012).

36 Bryant, *Post-Ottoman Coexistence* (2016).

37 Ibid., 8.

Bryant opposes the notion of coexistence to that of tolerance, the latter often being considered as a paradigm in the literature about Ottoman society. We analyze the contributions and limits of these two concepts in the next paragraphs. But first, Bryant makes an interesting observation on the division among social human sciences, mainly between anthropology and history, concerning this conceptual difference:

> While studies by anthropologists have focused primarily on coexistence and shared spaces, especially shared religious sites, historians until recently have turned much of their attention to the question of toleration. While tolerance, in this literature, is primarily a strategy of empire, coexistence, as Ussama Makdisi recently commented, is "more difficult to gage, to describe, and to get at through the available sources than is the practice and politics of toleration, especially when the sources present history from the imperial center and from those at the pinnacle of power in this center."[38]

The present dissertation combines historical and anthropological analyses, falls under the continuity of anthropological studies mentioned above but proposes historical perspectives and uses tools, methods, and sources of both the histocial and anthropological fields. In terms of the geographical scale of research, it lies between the broad studies realized by Doumanis on the whole Anatolia, by Albera and Couroucli on Mediterranean and by Byrant on post-Ottoman spaces and the small-scale monographs of the Rum villages of Cappadocia produced by numerous Greek authors. It analyzes a mainly rural region, that we call Cappadocia (though, as we maintain in the next chapter, this geographical concept is problematic for the Ottoman period), including about seventy Rum communities living either in towns or in religiously homogeneous or mixed villages located in the countryside around Kayseri, Nevşehir, Aksaray, Niğde, and Develi.

38 Ibid., 12. References quoted and mentioned in the excerpt: Baer, Makdisi, and Shryock, "Tolerance and Conversion" (2009): 929; Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 118.

§ 1.2 Theoretical and Conceptual Background

1.2.1 *Community, Ethnic Group, Groupness and Collectivity*

Dealing with intercommunal relations first requires defining what we call community in the late Ottoman context. In fact, to choose adequate concepts to name various groupings is the most difficult aspect of writing this work. The word "community"/"communauté" in Western languages is problematic because of its numerous denotations. Etymologically, the word community comes from the Latin *communitas, com-* meaning ″with" + *munus* meaning "load" or "burden" literaly "shared burden" or "load carried together."[39] It is commonly used to define any group sharing common values or defined by their geographical location. "It is at once an indispensable term and a dangerous one, whether we are practicing history or sociology or simply living our everyday lives," wrote Peter Burke.[40] Simultaneously, it is largely conceded that individuals can belong simultaneously to several "communities" (not only location-based, religiously, ethnically, culturally, or linguistically defined communities, but communities of memory, or companionship, etc.).[41] In the early twentieth century, the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies contrasted premodern *Gemeinschaft,* namely community based on personal, face-to-face relationships, and the modern *Gesellschaft*, an impersonal, institutional-based society. Norbert Elias took over this duality, defining the former as "the society of communities" and the latter as "the society of individuals."[42] In this theoretical background, the society of the Ottoman Empire easily corresponds to the "society of communities." However, this does not help to define these communities.

The use of the term "community" may also, as proposed by Hamit Bozarslan, designate a group distinguished by "essentialisable" characteristics (common ancestry, religion, language, lifestyle, historical references, etc.). In

39 Félix Gaffiot, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français* (Paris: Hachette, 1934), 451&1003.

40 Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 5.

41 Andreas Wimmer, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* 113, no.4 (2008).

42 Norbert Elias, *La société des individus* (Paris: Pocket, 2008).

this sense, a community is constituted only if it interacts with other communities and if the distances and vicinities among them can be negotiated. As a result, the boundaries between communities remain fluid and the space of communal homogeneity is reduced to a few areas (the matrimonial domain, places, and rituals of worship). During crisis, however, these communal borders may become more inflexible, making the space of communal homogeneity larger and the space of mixing smaller.[43] The definition recalls the theoretical work of Fredrick Barth, who, instead of "community" preferred the notion of "ethnic group."[44] Following the Weberian theorization in which ethnic groups are constructed on an awareness of differences from other groups, Barth defined these groups as "an organizational type, a form of social organization in which self-ascription and ascription by others determine the membership to [the] ethnic group."[45] That definition introduces the idea that ethnic groups are not a prerequisite of identity, but rather the result of common identification among a more or less large number of individuals. Ethnicity, here, is understood as a mode of drawing boundaries between individuals, as "the product of a social process rather than a cultural given, made and remade rather than taken for granted, chosen depending on circumstances rather than ascribed through birth."[46] Thus, individuals use ethnic identities to categorize themselves and others for the purposes of interaction. In this context, they do not take into account the sum of all objective differences but only the ones considered significant for establishing or maintaining the group's boundaries. Consequently, some features (cultural, linguistic, religious, etc.) become defining features while others are ignored or denied. Ethnic groups include or

43 Hamit Bozarslan, "L'alévisme et l'impossible équation du nationalisme en Turquie," in *Nationalismes en mutation en Méditerranée orientale*, eds. A. Dieckhoff and R. Kastoryano (Paris: CNRS, 2002), n.4.

44 Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The social organization of culture difference* (London: George Allen & Uwin, 1969).

45 Weber put the notion of *ethnos* next to race and before the notion of nation: race refers to a common origin, while the ethnic group refers only to belief in a common origin, and nation adds political passion, referring to an ethnic group with a desire for political existence. See Max Weber, *Economy and Society; an Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968); Barth, *Ethnic Groups*. 1969.

46 Wimmer, "The Making and Unmaking" (2008): 971.

exclude individuals, according to their compatibility with these standards, while the social closure formed by their boundaries may be more or less permeable.[47]

In Barth's conception, ethnicity appears most clearly in terms of processes, dynamics and events, and it necessarily involves proximity or the sharing of the same geography in which different groups coexist and interact. Interactions structure groups since they confirm the perseverence of difference: "a set of prescriptions governing situation of contact, and allowing for articulation in some sectors or domains of activity, and a set of proscriptions on social situations preventing inter-ethnic interaction in other sectors, and thus insulating parts of the cultures from confrontation and modification."[48] In the context of everyday intergroup relations, a variety of processes can produce changes in individual but also group identity. People can thus more or less easily cross boundaries between groups. Correlatively, boundaries may change according to the inclusion or exclusion of these individuals.[49]

Virginia Yans argues that scholars "conceptualize groups in a common sense way, as continuing, transhistorical entities with agency, homogeneous membership, and consensual goals" and that "we would do well to understand groups as historically contingent, and continually changing formations." The notion of "ethnic groups" has been so massively and variously used that the social world has been over-ethnicized, offering "a distorted representation of whole world regions as 'seething cauldrons of ethnic tension."[50] Brubaker and Cooper have proposed a new conceptualization of this social world through the notion of *groupness* instead of group. According to them, historians looking at the past through the prism of nationalism have considered past social worlds as a juxtaposition of conscious groups, as if individuals actually thought of themselves as the members of the groups that historians have conceptualized in retrospective – that is to say, as if individuals had a pre-awareness of their membership in a group in the making. Moreover, to presume the

47 Ibid., 980-81.

48 Barth, *Ethnic Groups* (1969), 16.

49 Ibid., 19-21.

50 Virginia Yans, "On 'Groupness'," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 25, no.4 (2006): 119.

group as a principle prevents the conceptualization of its period of formation, but also its dissolution. Consequently, Brubaker and Cooper proposed to historicize groups through the notion of groupness and to reflect upon it as a relational and social process of group formation, as "a contextually fluctuating conceptual variable," as "variable and contingent rather than fixed and given."[51] In that sense, I argue that it is possible to deal with *borderness* when studying those close to the fluctuating borders of groups or those who transcend them.

A common feature of the notion of Barth' ethnic groups and of Brubaker and Cooper's groupness is this *borderness*, namely the fluidity, contingency, and variability of boundaries, as well as the importance of interactions between swaying groups. Applied to the Ottoman context, this theoretical background is interesting for studying the interactions among groups at the local scale. What role did religious and linguistic affiliation, but also geographical location play in intercommunal relations? To what extent was the borderness of these different kinds of group fluid? Did and – if yes – how did the process of nationalizing identities, at the imperial or even transnational level influence evolving, variable definitions of groupness at the local level, particularly in rural environments distant from the main intellectual and political urban centers?

Attention paid to the words used in Turkish, and in the case of our study, in Greek, brings some ideas for contextualizing Ottoman communities. In Turkish, the word *millet*, which is generally a religiously-defined group, is difficult to translate, especially given that its meaning has evolved through time but also according to those who used it. In the course of the nineteenth century, in the context of rising nationalism, it progressively turned from a religiously-defined community into the meaning of "nation."[52] This changing meaning change of a central notion of the political, economic, and social

51 Brubaker, Ethnicity Without Group (2004), 12

52 Regarding the different uses in Arabic and Ottoman-Turkish texts, see Benjamin Braude, "Foundation Myths of the Millet System," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, eds. B. Braude and B. Lewis (London: Holmes & Meier, 1982).

structure of the Ottoman Empire is difficult to follow precisely because it implies a change is occurring under the surface of a word that remains the same. According to Marc Aymes, the apparent continuity that by which the national community emerges as the "horizon of the religious community" needs to be questioned.[53] The *millet* as religious community is traditionally described as a structure that adapted to new historical circumstances. From this point of view, religious and national communities are effectively understood on the basis of their continuity rather than discontinuity or a rupture. Aymes argues that this description eclipses the singularities of religious as well as national communities: the religious *millet* having certain particularities distinct from the same *millet* used in the sense of nation and vice versa. The formation of the *millet* as a national identity did not replace or cancel the religiously defined *millet*. Likewise, religious and national communities to not necessarily share *communal historicity*; both may coexist but are not necessarily analogous and thus need to be distinguished.[54] Because of its obvious change in signification through time, the *millet* as community (without the religious or national connotation) can be observed as a group experiencing a historicized process of construction and reconstruction. This process is not necessarily one of continuity but may involve ruptures, discontinuities or redefinitions. Moreover, such reconstruction should either be considered homogeneous nor simultaneously shared by all members of the community. It is multiple and experienced in different temporalities according to geographic localization or social and cultural belonging.

The Turkish word *millet* – and especially its form *millet-i Rum* when it concerns the Orthodox Christians under the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople – will of course be used in the course of this study, but specifically in its largest sense, namely as a political entity including all the Rums of the Ottoman Empire. We avoid defining local Rum communities (of towns or villages) as *millets* because the political, legal, and structural attributes of the word are not generally suitable to the context of everyday life and intercommunal relations. However, other words used in Turkish or in Greek offer other perspectives on community. While the term *millet*, was

53 Marc Aymes, "La communauté d'historicité," *Labyrinthe* 21 (2005): 59.

54 Ibid.

exclusively used for non-Muslims in the ninteenth and early twentieth centuries, the word *ümmet* (from Arabic) means the community of the faithful as a whole – a supra-national or supra-imperial community. Thus the *ümmet-i Muhammed* was the community of the followers of the prophet Muhammad, namely Muslims, the *ümmet-i İsa* was the community of Christians (the followers of Jesus Christ), and the *ümmet-i Musa* was the Jews (the followers of Moses). On the other hand, a *cemaat* is a geographically (and numerically) smaller unit than the *ümmet* or even the *millet*, meaning the local community, the congregation or the flock tied to a parish and its priest(s) or on a mosque and its imam. As a result, a *cemaat* was a religious community at the scale of a village or district. In nineteenth-century Greek, two words were mainly used to define – with some nuances – the Orthodox community. On one hand, a *koinotis* is the local community, more or less the equivalent of the Turkish *cemaat*, although it can correspond to one or to several neighboring parishes.[55] On the other, the *genos*, meaning the community of the "Christian brothers" is rooted in kinship relations, but was used in the nineteenth century as the equivalent of *millet* in the sense of nation.[56] All these definitions, however, remain fragile, especially because identities were being redefined in the nineteenth century, a period during which words' meanings changed sometimes more and sometimes less obviously.

The common trait of all these terms, whether Turkish or Greek, is not what they meant but what they did not mean, namely a linguistic criterion. The Ottoman Empire was, as Johann Strauss noted, polyglot. This polyglot-ism was also encountered at the scale of religious communities, whether *ümmet* or *millet*, and language was not considered by the state as a marker of identity. In the nineteenth century, however, with the rise of nationalisms, language followed religion, turning into a more and more central criterion for the definition of a nation. Einer Haugen, in 1966, provided a clear (and certainly the most accepted) theory about the integration of language into nationalist ideologies. He established four important moments: 1) the selection of a starting point for developing a standard language ("selection of a norm"); 2) the

55 Anastassiadou, *Grecs d'Istanbul* (2012), 122.

56 Maria Couroucli, "Génos, ethnos. Nation et Etat-nation," *Ateliers* 26 (2003): 289.

development of this standard language through grammars, dictionaries, and translations ("codification of form"); 3) the increasing use of this codified language in various social contexts; and 4) the acceptance by the community turning into a nation of the standard language as the communal – and correlatively national – language.[57] From this conceptualization, Tomasz Kamusella described four phases in the Central and Eastern European context. In the first phase, scholars who collect oral folklore and material culture delimit the ethnic group. In the second phase, a few members of the defined ethnic group establish the project of turning the ethnic group into a nation, debate the language to choose as the standard national language, and discuss the way to codify it. The third phase is the moment of the spread of the national movement: the ethnic group becomes the nation and the standard language becomes the national language through appropriation by all members of the nation. In the final phase, the nation creates its own nation-state, establishing the classical equation: language = nation = state.[58] In the Cappadocian context, the main languages spoken in everyday life were Turkish, Armenian and Greek, the latter composed of various dialects. Linguistic belonging did clearly not corresponded to religious affiliation since many Armenians as well as most Rums actually spoke Turkish as their mother tongue. Historians and linguists have made a habit of calling Turcophone Rums "Karamanlıs" and their literary production in Turkish written with Greek alphabet, the *Karamanlidika*.[59] In the two first chapters of the present study, we analyze how language(s) (mainly Turkish and Greek) became instruments of identification in the politics of nationalizing local populations and how locals actually related their linguistic belonging to their religious – and national – affiliation. The aim is not to propose a linguistic analysis – that which we are clearly unable to provide – but to understand how, through a historicized process, languages, as criterion of identification, became vectors of identity and simultaneously vehicles of or obstacles to intergroup communication and, *a fortiori*, relations.

57 Einar Haugen, "Dialect, Language, Nation," *American Anthropologist* 68, no.4 (1966).

58 Tomasz D. I. Kamusella, "Language as an instrument of nationalism in Central Europe," *Nations and Nationalism* 7, no.2 (2001): 240-41.

59 The use of these terms is explained in Chapter 3.

Elise Massicard noted that, when social sciences deal with the context of the Middle East, the word "community" is generally used to name religious groups.[60] On the other hand, language only appears as a secondary criterion and as a curiosity or even an unnatural or anomalous element, especially when it does not correspond to the "national language" that all "nationals" are supposed to possess as their mother tongue. Moreover, a territorially- or locally-defined group – for instance, the dwellers of a city or the inhabitants of a village, which is to say a group composed of individuals sharing the same space regardless of their religious, linguistic, or ethnic belonging – are what Marc Aymes calls the "unnamed community." For Aymes, this unnamed community is that of a locality in which "dotted lineaments of 'linguistic or religious affiliations' sparkle as often as they fade."[61] If unnamed, how can we name this other form of community to avoid confusion with the historiographically-overwhelming religiously-defined community?

Relations between people belonging to different groups, whether religious or linguistic, created and institutionalized this unnamed community based on a shared locality – namely a groupness defined by the fact of sharing geography. If Bryant and other authors claim to deal with co-existence, for our part, we propose in the present study to use another co-word to name "collectivity" groups defined by the belonging to a locality and thus by the sharing of the same space regardless other criteria, in the first instance, religion and language but also social level or gender. Etymologically, *collectivity* comes from the Latin participle form of the verb *colligo, colligere*, "to gather or collect together, to assemble." Its first meaning, to gather (in the sense of picking up) together is interesting because it implies a shared ground or territoriality. In that sense, territory itself joins or ties together communities, whether religious, ethnic, or linguistic. That is why, we propose to name the unnamed community of Aymes the "collectivity." Produced by locals who more or less randomly settle together, a collectivity is institutionalized after the fact by political powers as town, village, or district/quarter. The hesitancy to demarcate borders, groups,

60 Elise Massicard, "La communauté, un universel sociologique," *Labyrinthe* 25 (2005): 79.

61 Marc Aymes, "Lin-coton: l'étoffe d'une communauté partagée," *Labyrinthe* 21 (2005): 120.

or entities to designate the inhabitants of specific areas is evidence of the mismatch between locally-produced locality and administratively-organized locality established from the top.[62]

1.2.2 *Juggling Among Groups in the Production of Locality*

We already mentioned the fact that "Cappadocia" was a problematic notion and we will develop this idea in the first chapter of the present enterprise. However, before proposing what it may be, we can already say what it was (and still is) not. Cappadocia was not a province, at least not in the administrative sense of the Ottoman province (*eyalet*, then *vilayet*).[63] In this case, can we even deal with the idea of a region of Cappadocia? Actually, the use of the word "region" evokes a geographical entity with intrinsic coherence. Vidalian geographers of the early twentieth century defined regions – their main objects of study – as spaces without political or administrative borders but with natural coherence – a landscape – combined with specific relations between the local people and its environment. Maximilian Sorre claimed, moreover, that the region is an artifact built to test potential interactions between the natural environment and human ways of life.[64] Albeit outmoded, Vidalian geography laid the foundation of the idea of a region with a form of unity, its natural as well as artificial landscape(s) testifying to the historical relations between local people and their environment. Recent anthropological and ethnographical interest has focused on landscape as a primary source upon which the establishment of human belonging is constructed. Landscape has been analyzed vis-à-vis its interaction with – but also its creation and definition through – space of human experience, as a human production used to provide images of ownership.[65] In Cappadocia, rupestrian activity is still today visible from Aksaray

62 Angelo Torre and Christine Piot, "'Faire communauté': Confréries et localité dans une vallée du Piémont (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle)," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 62e Année, no.1 (2007).

63 For borders of the eyalet before and the vilayet after 1864, see Appendices A3 and A4

64 Maximilien Sorre, *Les fondements de la géographie humaine* (Paris: A. Colin, 1948).

65 Barbara Bender, *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives* (Oxford: Berghahn, 1993); Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments* (Oxford: Bloomsbury Academic, 1997); Eric Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon, *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

to Kayseri and Nevşehir to Niğde, and is perhaps one of the most obvious images of ownership.

Moving to a smaller scale, the region appears not as a homogeneous unity but as a series of "localities" connected with each other not only through similarities – such as rupestrian activity –, local networks and practices to activate resources, but also separated by differences. The locality corresponds to the formation of a local entity, built by local people – those that Arjun Appadurai called "natives" – who are aware of belonging to a locality that is not necessarily identified or conceded by the state.[66] However, as a region, the region is problematic, as recent anthropologists have underlined. R. Fardon, for instance, warned of the dangers of confining locality and its discourse to isolated, remote countrysides with little connections to main political centers and the wider world.[67]

"The natives" are the producers or actors of local practices – for tactics, to usethe word of de Certeau – in the interlaced jurisdictions and political forms of communities. Relations between natives activate the production of locality, which is made easier by geographical proximity. It is the result of neighborhood relations and of pooling of resources on account of political, economic, and also social and cultural networks. The existence of localities appears through their connection (or absence of connection) with one another, namely through inter-local and inter-personal relations of any kind (economic networks, culture, worship, or sharing of natural resources, etc.). The interactions between these localities thus allows the region to form a coherent whole, recognized by natives who produce localities, but not necessarily by the institutions of power. After all, the latter do not take into account this form of regionality in their administrative system. In this context, the local – unnamed – community is created by the production of locality made possible through interaction with other localities in the space of the region. The locality is thus a form of association of individuals defined mainly by their proximity. For its

66 Torre, "Faire communauté" (2007): 108; Arjun Appadurai, "Production of Locality," in *Counterworks: managing the diversity of knowledge*. ed. R. Fardon (London: Routledge, 1995).

67 Richard Fardon, *Localizing Strategies: Regional Traditions of Ethnographic Writing* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1990).

legitimacy, it needs to be perpetually produced, reproduce, or renewed to continue to be accepted by locals, if not by institutions. Consequently, the locality is intrinsically fragile; unnamed, it is an intermittent grouping that can disappear and reappear in new forms if the process of production ceases or evolves.

The locality is the product of locals and of the collectivity, but this production does not necessarily occur only locally. Appadurai showed that the locality also appears as "deterritorialized" – located between places rather than being bound to particular homelands.[68] The lived experience of migration, exile, or other kinds of displacement may uproot settled locality but also reinforce it by the experiential narratives of uprooted locals who produce locality in another locality. Nadia Lovell noted thus that the locality is thus "a multifaceted, multilayered process which mobilizes loyalty to different communities simultaneously."[69] In that sense, Bahloul noted that collective memory of territorial belonging in which the landscape plays the symbolic role of visual – and imagined – representation also produces locality.[70]

The issue of representation takes on new relevance in studies on nationalisms since nationalistic discourses aimed to create national identities, ideological and political spheres that seldom coincide with the plurality of localities' imageries. As a result, national and local imageries and with them national and local communities are often opposed to each other with respect to the elements used to produce belonging. At the local level, shared participation in rituals in which the natural environment and landscape provide features to define a shared identity strengthen the sense of local belonging. Angelo Torre demonstrated that a corpus of particular rituals of belonging and sharing (distribution of food, of money, ceremonies, fests, processions, etc.) maintain and strengthen local identity but also the permanency of the production of locality. These rituals, parts of what Lefebvre referred to as "spatial practice"[71], facilitate the process of the construction of local identification but intrinsically required geographical proximity to be operational. Rituals are realized in a

68 Appadurai, "Production of Locality" (1995).

69 Nadia Lovell, *Locality and Belonging* (London: Routledge, 1998), 5.

70 Joelle Bahloul, *The Architecture of Memory: A Jewish-Muslim Household in Colonial Algeria, 1937-1962* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 9.

71 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992, first French edition 1974), 48.

given space endowed with a name and recognized by local inhabitants, so proximity is consequently required for the production of locality and collectivity. However, distance and separation from the locality plays a role in the institutionalization of the locality by confirming its preservation even outside the locality.[72] As a result, the production of locality is practiced and experienced not only inside but also outside the locality (through the experience of another locality).

The process of producting of locality needs to be historicized, contextualized, and singularized in the same way we need to historicize and contextualize notions of community, group, and groupness. The production of locality is based on peculiar properties of interpersonal relations continuously reproduced. It means everyday basis co-existence, co-habitation, co-presence, and co-llectivity but requires a definition of just who is implied by the prefix *co-*. Ordinary people, the main protagonists of the present study, appear to be jugglers of identities and forms of belonging. Between communities, linguistic groups, and their collectivity, they maximized different forms of grouping to their advantage, using tactics, in the Certeausian sense of the word. From this perspective, the notion of identity is dissonant. And individual cannot be confined to a unique identity since his or her everyday life is not immutable, stagnant, or passive. Rather it is dynamic and adapts to general and local conditions in time and over space, juggling between different ways of identification according to prevailing circumstances. Michel de Certeau wrote:

> The banality of everyday life is full of tricks and tactics in the art of practicing differentiated times and spaces. The mechanisms of resistance are the same from an epoch to another, from an order to another; because the same unequal repartition of powers remains and the same processes of diversion are used by the weak as ultimate recourses.[73]

These tactics used by ordinary people, especially in rural contexts, "are used by groups, which, in absence of an own power, are compelled to manage in a

72 Torre, "Faire communauté" (2007): 114.

73 Michel de Certeau, *L'Invention du Quotidien, 1. Arts de Faire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990), 65.

network of established forces and representations. They have to 'make do with' (*'faire avec'*)."[74] This art of making do with allows creating a stratification of different and interacting structures and practices. Consequently, the study of official, institutionalized representations is insufficient for understanding society because people interpret and use them differently. In the course of this study, we show that, facing main political, cultural and economic changes of the nineteenth-century, the local populations of Cappadocia used many tactics and tricks that we need to decipher and analyze. The present study describes and analyzes the ways of identification and the tactics used by groups – whether religious, linguistic, or local – and individuals to juggle their identities. We show that, curiously given rise of nationalist ideologies and of the nationalizating meaning of the notion of community, religious affiliation which was for centuries the main criterion of differentiation used by acting political powers in Ottoman Anatolia was not necessarily the main criterion used by ordinary people for identifying themselves and others. Linguistic affiliation and collectivity are among the other bases for identification, that were as important as – if not more than – affiliation to a *millet* or to a nation, whether Greek or Turkish.

The approach of intercommunal relations proposes different notions: that of coexistence, but also of amity and conflict, or conviviality and hospitality – "otherness" and "neighborliness." Neighborliness, for instance, is a word used in the anthropology of coexistence to translate *komşuluk* , which is used in contemporary Turkey and the Balkans to describe a conventional form of everyday interaction that acknowledges the need to accommodate and negotiate differences and otherness to maintain peace and order in the interests of local solidarity.[75] Beyond coexistence, Bryant also analyzes the concept of "peaceful coexistence," as emerging in the Soviet propaganda in the context of the Cold War referring to Soviet policy toward non-communist states that contrasted

74 Ibid., 35.

75 Bojan Baskar, "Komšiluk and Taking Care of the Neighbor's Shrine in Bosnia-Herzegovina," in *Sharing Sacred Spaces in the Mediterranean*, eds A. Dionigi and M. Couroucli (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 51-68.

with the conflictive foreign policy of the capitalist West. As a diplomatic concept implying "the strengthening of contacts in the interest of aims which can be mutually formulated and settled,"[76] it involves horizontal relations between groups defined as nations or as an ethnoreligious majority and minorities rather than vertical connections between socially-defined groups (or classes).[77]

In the literature about the Ottoman Empire, a paradigm of tolerance rather than one of peaceful coexistence predominates historians' explanations of "how groups lived together in relatively peaceful ways for centuries" and descriptions of "how Ottoman doctrines and practices of tolerance affected the ways that individuals interacted in daily life, perhaps especially in remote parts of the empire and at times when the state was not palpably present."[78] However, this model has primarily been theorized from a structural perspective, looking at organization as something established from the top. The study of coexistence is rather a way to make history from the below, through person-to-person interactions on an everyday basis. It includes but can also transcend or divert political, administrative, and officially-organized structures. Moreover, one can highlight a distinction between tolerance and coexistence. On one hand, the paradigm of tolerance assumes a political perspective in which the difference is observed vertically, from the top (mainly from the point of view of the state). In this paradigm, otherness is perceived as a negative category or at least as a reason for discrimination, leading to the idea that others (the minorities, or in the Islamic context, the *protégés*) are benevolently tolerated by those who have the power. On the other hand, the concept of coexistence interrogates understandings of difference, otherness, and ways of identification and self-identification from the perspective of the people, in the horizontal form of relationships.[79] The production of locality as we have defined it appears to be the product of coexistence rather than tolerance. In a two-way logic, the production of locality is a permanent effort to do collectivity while the collectivity is a permanent effort to produce locality. In both ways, locality

76 Istvan Kende, "Peaceful Co-Existence: Its Interpretation and Misinterpretation," Journal of *Peace Research* 5, no.4 (1968): 362-63.

77 Bryant, *Post-Ottoman Coexistence* (2016), 11.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

and collectivity must be continuously reaffirmed, reproduced, and re-emphasized before the communities and their administrators. In that sense, collectivity and locality are not self-evident.

§ 1.3 On Primary Sources

In the matter of primary sources, we combine a plurality of documents to cross-examine their contents and thus observe intercommunal interactions through different eyes: from the top (mainly the state and its representatives but also the ecclesiastical administration), from the bottom (namely locals themselves), and from outsiders or foreigners (mainly Western travelers, the military, businessmen, diplomats, and missionaries). The goal is to cross reference different perspectives, though choices had to be made since it was not possible to analyze an exhaustive list of primary sources. For practical and arbitrary reasons, I decided to focus my research on five categories of primary sources.

1 The first category includes printed books, newspapers, journals, and reports, but also hand-written reports and letters written before 1923 by foreigners, mostly French, German, British, American but also Greek authors. These include travel accounts, reports of missionaries or state representatives, as well as a series of ethnographical publications. Being mostly in French, English, and German, the travel accounts were an easy door to get through for the beginning of my research. I later added to my research some books and reports in Greek, as well as reports and diaries of missionaries of the American Board Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and of the Jesuit missions in Kayseri.[80] These accounts and reports, however, require particular vigilance because of their subjectivity and the specific purposes they had to fulfill (diverting the reader or reporting the success of their activities) for which they may have distorted the reality of their experience. Nevertheless, for the study of nineteenth-century Anatolia, it would be regrettable not to look at these

80 Archives of the ABCFM in Turkey are available at the American Research Institute in Istanbul. As for the archives of the Jesuit missions of Kayseri, they are, at least partially, kept in the archives of the Jesuit community of Beirut.

accounts, which are all the more important since their descriptions of landscape, local populations, and local culture(s) illuminate a world about which few descriptions and visual sources are available.

2 The particularity of the Orthodox Christians of Cappadocia was that most were Turcophone and did not know the Greek language. In the nineteenth century, an incredible wave of publications in Karamanlı-Turkish and Greek was produced. On one hand, part of these publications was produced by local intellectuals as well as by Rums of the main Ottoman urban centers who sought to "educate the Anatolian countrymen" in various fields (religion, trade, literature, medicine, botanic, history, etc.) or to make the history, ways of life, and popular culture(s) of their Anatolian and especially Cappadocian fellows known to urban Rums. On the other hand, missionary – especially Protestant – printing houses, seeking to spread of the "true faith" among Turkish- and Greek-speaking Christians of Anatolia published numerous books (mainly religious tracts) but also newspapers and journals in these local languages. While the publications of missionary houses have not been particularly useful for this study, Karamanlı and Greek books and articles on Anatolia, its history, its population, and its popular culture(s) have been central in sense the beginning of my research, especially to localize villages and their inhabitants according to religious and linguistic affiliations. Moreover, they are particularly useful sources for studying the position of elites vis-à-vis nationalist ideologies, but they also played a role in the cultural and linguistic debates of the time.

3 The Ottoman State Archives (BOA - *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri* or Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives in Istanbul) are the third series of archives I studeied. Their location in Istanbul and their useful and rich catalogs made my approach to Ottoman paleography easier even though the reading of handwritten Ottoman documents was among the most difficult experiences of my research! In the course of my analysis of the archives (and because of the slow process of deciphering them), I decided to exclude the *şeriye sicil*s or records of kadı courts from my research. While they can be a central source to study everyday life in an Ottoman province and while every Ottomanist knows that

non-Muslims could also appeal to the *kadi*'s justice[81], I decided, after having read several Latin transcriptions of the records of Kadı of Nevşehir, Niğde, and Kayseri, to leave them outside my scope of research. Kadı court records are inconvenient: they included few cases interesting for our research and these cases were buried among the mass of other cases – often basic issues of inheritance or of debts between Muslims. Moreover, cases not resolved before the kadı, were sent to the imperial court, and I assumed that the most interesting cases of conflicts between religious communities or between local *collectiveness* would appear in the central archives. That is why, with respect to archives in Ottoman-Turkish, I focused on documents issued from the *Sadaret Divân Kalemi* fonds (A.}DVN), the *Sadaret Mektubî Kalemi* fonds (A.}MKT), the *Dahiliye Nezareti Belgeleri* fonds (DH), the *Hariciye Nezareti Mektubî Kalemi* fonds (HR.MKT), and the *Meclis-i Vâlâ Riyâseti Belgeleri* fonds (MVL). The Ottoman state was a particularly prolific producer of official documents – at all hierarchal levels – and the difficulty for Ottomanist historians is the overabundance, not the lack, of sources. Moreover, not knowing to what extent the available set of documents are a representative sample in light of all the documents still waiting to be cataloged can make us feel small in front of this flood of documentation.

4 The last two categories, I discovered more or less simultaneously during my first stay in Athens. The records of Cappadocian Rum communities, especially parish codices are hand-written sources, in Karamanlı-Turkish or in Greek, kept at the Center of Asia Minor Studies (CAMS) and, for the most part, at the General State Archives of Greece (GAK).[82] GAK archives consist in parish and communal records but also sultan *ferman*s and *berats* and patriarchal letters and orders, all registered in the Fonds of the Population Exchange (*Αρχείο του Ταμείου Ανταλλαξίμων*). These documents are particularly useful to understand how the communities and the parishes were organized internally but

81 The kadı courts were the main tribunals of the Ottoman provinces. Ensuring both Islamic *sharia* and the sultan's *kanun*, they served the everyday needs of all the people of a kaza, one of the smaller subdivisions of the empire. Ronald C. Jennings, "Kadi, Court and Legal Procedure in 17th C. Ottoman Kayseri: the Kadi and the Legal System," *Studia Islamica* 48 (1978): 138.

82 Most of the codices kept in the GAK archives are also available online: http://arxeiomnimon.gak.gr/browse/index.html?cid=567529 (last connection: 30.08.2016)

also what kinds of relations their members could have with Muslim neighbors. We regularly encountered agreements between Christian and Muslim communities of a village, as well as names of Muslims being in relation with Rums (as employee, tenant-farmer, partner, seller or purchaser, etc.).

5 Finally the Oral Tradition Archives (OTA), a collection created and kept by the CAMS, despite many methodological limits, have certainly been the most interesting and useful primary source in the course of my research. Because of their importance in the preparation of the present work but also because of the skepticism of a lot of historians vis-à-vis oral history, it would be useful to dwell on the creation of this collection as well as on its nature. Founded in 1930 by Melpo and Octave Merlier, the CAMS went in search, during the late 1930-1960s, of the Asia Minor Greek refugees to collect information on their (popular) culture and everyday life before the population exchange. Next to music records, the development of the Oral Tradition Archives became one of the main activities of the center. Interviews followed a detailed questionnaire addressing specific themes and issues, which were systematically asked of each informant. Among the main topics were the organization and demography of the village, churches, and religious life, relations with Muslims, life in immigration, and place names, etc. Organized according to the village of origin of the informants, microfilms documents with the details of each interview, the biography of respondents, and then each substantive topic with the name of the informant and the details of his or her explanation. In the context of the present study, testimonies dealing with intercommunal relations or describing the way of life of the Muslim inhabitants of Cappadocia have been studied with particular attention. We need, however, to mention some of the limitations of these archives, especially context of their production: the time lag and political circumstances in which informants lived between their departure from Cappadocia and their interview. Several studies have already been published on the way the Center of Asia Minor Studies created its Oral Tradition Archives,[83] and we address this issue in the course of the chapters, but it seems

83 See E. Balta, "Le fonds ethnographique des réfugiés grecs d'Anatolie: questions d'histoire et d'historiographie," *Ateliers* 32 "L'ethnologue aux prises avec les archives" (2008); Penelope C. Papailias, *Genres of Recollection: History, Testimony and archive in contemporary Greece* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

important to give, from the beginning, an overview of the main methodological problems encountered with these central sources.

First, it is necessary to point out the method of collection employed in the OTA: as the archive series' name suggests, testimonies were mostly collected orally and then transcribed and formatted by the CAMS staff to fit to the general form of the archives.[84] This collection is a compilation of roughly five thousand interviews made with refugees from Asia Minor, Pontic, and East Thrace set down on paper by teams of interviewer-transcribers who went to refugee neighborhoods and villages throughout Greece to record eyewitness accounts of everyday life in the Ottoman Empire and of the exchange of 1923[85]. In her study about the "genre of recollection" in Greece, Penelope Papailias described how interviews were conducted, as well as the instructions of the director, Melpo Merlier, and the politics associated with recording eyewitness accounts. Transcribers did not have recorders, but jotted notes as interviewees spoke. Then, they copied and finalized their notes for the archives of the center.

From an historical perspective, two main limitations can be highlighted in the use of these archives. First, the fact that final documents were written by staff of the center and not by witnesses themselves introduced a mediator (the staff member) between the informant and the reader – a mediator who potentially reconstructed and consequently distorted the discourse. Through his/her transcription, this mediator could modify the notes dictated during the interview when he or she finalized the final copy. Even though when we read the documents the intent to accurately transcribe the words of the informants is obvious, we have to keep in mind that words used in the final transcript were not necessarily those uttered by the informant him or herself.[86] The other limitation consists of the fact that the interviews, especially those of

84 Next to the OTA, a few hand-written memoirs written by refugees themselves are also kept at the CAMS. For convenience, we include them when we deal with OTA documents.

85 For files about Cappadocia, the first interviews were conducted in 1935-37 especially with refugees from Ağırnas, Malakopi, and Zincidere. The World War II interrupted the interviews, which started again in 1948. The most intense period of interviewing occurred in the 1950s and 1960s.

86 Papailias, *Genres of Recollection* (2001).

Cappadocian refugees, were realized thirty sometimes fifty years after the exchange of populations! This implies problems of reliability, especially because of the issuess of the relationship between memory and historical reality, which is often the root of criticism against the use of oral history by historians. Moreover, informants lived and conversed in Greece for many years in a nationalist context, which could have modified their way of identifying both themselves and the Turks, their former neighbors who became the "enemies" of their new nation. These two main shortcomings counteract: while the public opinion of Turkey and of the Turks was particularly negative in Greece during these years, Merlier's instructions were, to the contrary, inclined to draw a harmonious and peaceful picture of everyday coexistence. Moreover, the content of these "oral" archives has been largely corroborated by audio-visual documentaries (made between 1980 and the 2000s) in which we hear witnesses (Greeks as well as Turks) talking about their life and cohabitation before 1923.[87]

The major absentee from these primary sources is the Muslim villager. In the OTA, he is regularly depicted as the neighbor, friend or enemy, employee or partner but no source offers him the opportunity to speak as Rum refugees spoke in the 1930s to the 1960s. Michel de Certeau used the concept of heterology to describe history as a discipline in which the narrator relates facts and evidence about a necessarily silent "other always presupposed and always missing."[88] In our study, we instigate a *mise en abyme* of the discourse on the Muslim other, since by working with refugee testimonies (and also Westerners accounts and Ottoman state archives), we try to ascertain the role of the soundless Muslims who shared Cappadocia with the Rums until 1923.[89]

Finally, in addition to these five categories of written sources, the region of Cappadocia itself can be added as a historical source *per se*: its geography

87 For documentaries, see Koulmasis, "Sinasos," Ömer Asan, "Kardeş Nereye? Mübadele," (Turkey: Heyamola, 2011).

88 Michel de Certeau and Luce Giard, *La faiblesse de croire* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), 198.

89 Sources we have studied also mention Armenian populations but this aspect remain absent from this study since we decided to focus on relations between Rums and Muslims. Nevertheless, Armenians appear a few times in the course of the chapters, especially for the elaboration of the maps of Cappadocian communities and in some examples of intercommunal relations.

and cultural heritage fully participating in the comprehension of past populations who lived there in the late Ottoman period. All these sources are complementary. Each gives, in different ways, from different voices, and perspectives, pieces of information on the different forms of groupings and interactions between groups.

§ 1.4 Problematics and Dissertation Outline

This dissertation elaborates an approach to the history of intercommunal and intergroup relations in the everyday context of the second half of the long-nineteenth-century Cappadocia to understand what kinds of groupings and negotiations between groups took place in this part of Anatolia. We ask how groupings (whether defined as a family, community, collectivity, flock, village, or tribe) were produced at the local level and how these forms of groupings produced locality. Instead of a history of institutions, a study of the legal organization of group, or of the place of individuals in these groups (even though institutional and legal aspects will, of course, arise), we propose a history of perceptions and conceptions. We analyze intergroup relations and interactions from the perspective of perception and conception of local space and environment – through different perspectives but mostly through the eyes of local Rum inhabitants. This includes the way individuals perceived and conceived their own and others' place(s) and their ways of sharing this environment with people they considered members of their own group(s) – sameness – or members of other group(s) – otherness.

For that purpose, the demonstration is spread into three parts, following a Braudelian-inspired succession. It does not concern the three time spans – the *longue durée* or geo-history, the middle-term conjuncture or history of structures (society, economy, political context, technological evolution, etc.), and short-term history or the history of events – but rather follows the strain of geographical, socio-economic, and individual (or religio-cultural) developments. The first part of our work is thus entitled simply "Geography and Demography" and focuses on the space of Cappadocia and its sharing by local population to define and localize groups and the way (and names used by dif-

ferent actors) to identify these groups. The Chapter 2 sets the stage by historically localizing Cappadocia in the checkered history of the long nineteenth century (finishing, in the context of this study with the population exchange of 1923) and attempts to show how, in a context of reforms and of the nationalization of territories and identities, Cappadocia appeared, or rather reappeared, as a region. The Chapter 3 – to be read in combination with maps created for the specific purpose (appendices A1 and A2)– is designed to localize populations of the region. This requires first on analysis of how people were identified in archives to decide how to map them. As a result, this chapter first names and identifies groups before localizing them. Finally, the Chapter 4 concludes the first part by analyzing the space of Cappadocia from the perspective of Lefebvre's triplicity of space, namely as conceived, perceived and lived space. The aim of this chapter is to understand how the space of Cappadocia was experienced at different levels, mainly in the administration, in the everyday life of inhabitants, and in the organization of local communities and collectivities.

The second part, entitled "Society and Economy," questions different socio-economic aspects of intergroup relations first by focusing on the changes experienced by Rum communities from the mid-nineteenth century and the consequences for intergroup relations in Cappadocia. The Chapters 5 and 6 need to be thought of as a whole. They require us leave Cappadocia for a while to follow Cappadocian migrants to their eventual destination. Among the main changes transforming Ottoman society, the increase of maritime trade, the economic rise of littoral areas, and later the construction of railways progressively isolated Cappadocia from main developing economic networks. As a result, an increasing phenomenon of emigration from Cappadocia to coastal cities and especially to Istanbul took place in the second half of the nineteenth century. Chapters 5 and 6 thus move between two forms of locality: the rurality of Cappadocia and the urbanity of Ottoman coastal cities. If the Chapter 5 follows the travel of migrants "Home and Elsewhere," and the strategies of integration into the host city, the Chapter 6 attempts to connect the two worlds through "strategies of compatriotism" and analyzes consequences of migrations for those who remained in the villages and towns of Cappadocia waiting for news and support from the migrants. By constituting a bridge between rural hinterland and urban centers, migrants became a prevailing vector for the

penetration of ideologies of that time and promoter (directly or indirectly) of the enlightenment of their "Anatolian brothers." We decided thus to analyze migrations at an early stage of our work because it was one of the main dynamics giving rhythm to everyday life in Cappadocia and reshaping local balances of power between groups by reconfiguring intergroup relations. As with Chapters 5 and 6, the Chapters 7 and 8 are designed to be considered together. Focusing on the local urban but mostly rural Cappadocian society, they analyze economic relations between local religious communities that share the same settlement or live in neighboring settlements. The Chapter 7 studies more precisely how land and natural resources were shared among private, communal, collective, and public properties and how their use was configured by inter-personal, intercommunal, or inter-village agreements, whether official or tacit. The Chapter 8 analyses professional and economic networks by looking to the way local production and exchange were organized in and among villages and towns and by analyzing the socio-religious profiles of workers in the main activity sectors.

Finally, the third part of this work, "To Cross Boundaries," investigates the boundaries between groups and the individuals who crossed them, asking whether the latter can be considered intermediaries in intergroup relations. We postulates that, while religious affiliation was the most apparent criterion for classifying individuals in Ottoman society, interestingly, religiosity may be the field where the boundaries between Muslims and Christians were most blurred. In that context, we ask if religiosity was a bridge or a vehicle for intercommunal relations, or even a marker of collectivity. Chapter 8 jointly scrutinizes the issues of matrimonial strategies and religious conversions. Beginning with a study of matrimonial strategies inside the *millet-i Rum*, and the contrasts between village endogamy and exogamy (namely marriages contracted between members of the same or of two different settlements), we then slide to the issue of interreligious marriages, which generally become an issue of conversion of Islam. Even though conversion of Rums to Islam in nineteenth-century Cappadocia was not a broad phenomenon, the few cases found in archives show whether converts became a bridge between Christian and Muslim families, and *a fortiori* communities, or the opposite – that is, whether the conversion created a rupture between the convert and his or her "former" and "new" families and communities. Finally, the conversion issue

leads to the questions of beliefs and religiosity that we study in the tenth and final chapter. Taking the notion of "believing" developed by de Certeau – and his idea that "rural 'believers' evade the fatality of the established order,"[90] – as point of departure, we analyze how religious belonging was actually blurred by beliefs and practices shared by Muslim and Christian individuals. Anthropologists and ethnologists – especially those working on the Mediterranean region, have broadly studied the issue of shared (or mixed) places of worship. However, historians have neglected the issue because of the lack of reliable primary sources. In the case of Cappadocia, the Oral Tradition Archives and research conducted at the end of the Ottoman Empire, provide interesting descriptions of what is often – but we think wrongly – called syncretism. We will thus attempt to explain why shared worship places, practices, and beliefs cannot be described as forms of syncretism by describing and analyzing the extent to which they maintain religious divisions but created a feeling of belonging to the same collectivity through a "ritualization" of inter-person relations, including among members of "the two clergies," that is to say, local priests, imams, and *hoca*s.

90 De Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien* (1990), 34.

PART I

GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY

2

Regionality in a Context of Nationalization: Cappadocia and the Long Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century experienced many rapid changes which shook the Ottoman Empire. Reforms begun under Sultan Mahmud (r.1808-1839) intensified during the Tanzimat era (1839-1876) and continued in new directions during the Hamidian (1876-1908) and Young Turk (1908-1918) periods. Nationalistic movements also rattled the empire. The Greek War of Independence (1821-1829) and the foundation of the Kingdom of Greece created a new context for the development of national ideology, which took the form, beyond the boundaries of the kingdom and especially in Anatolia, of a movement of (re-)hellenization of Anatolian Rums (from the 1860s onwards). It is nevertheless Armenian nationalism that created the main conflicts in Central and Eastern Anatolia, especially from the late 1890s. Moreover, the economic penetration of Western powers and expansion of missionary activities in Ottoman territories were processes that occurred across the empire and spread over the course of the century. All these events were intertwined at different scales and directly affected even the most isolated, calm regions. I expose in this chapter how Cappadocia and its inhabitants found themselves trapped in a whirlwind of reforms and struggle for religious, economic, and political hegemony and simultaneously produced a locality based on forms of intercommunal relations among communities being potentially (ethno-)religiously-, linguistically-, and/or geographically-defined. Local context and centuries of cohabitation created a particular

environment that produced intercommunality and was produced by intercommunal relations.

§ 2.1 Setting the Stage: Ottoman Reforms, Hellenization, and Missionary Movements

During the nineteenth century, territories of the Ottoman Empire experienced a long, frenetic period of changes initiated under Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839)[1] and amplified after 1839 by the Tanzimat. The reforms were characterized by a wish to modernize the Empire in various fields and affected all of the multi-religious, -linguistic, -cultural, and -ethnic communities of the empire. Moreover, they involved all aspects of Ottoman society: the economy, army, and administration were reorganized, while education, literature, religious, and cultural belongings were redefined to create a viable Ottoman society in an international context of the "nationalization" of societies. These reforms were generally most effective in the capital, in the Balkans, and in Arab provinces where the necessity of rapid reform was more urgent because of the pressure of European powers and the rapid evolution of national ideologies. As a result, less strategic and less dynamic Anatolian provinces were not prioritized. Nevertheless, reforms were applied and had many consequences for the everyday life of Anatolian populations, as well, especially in the fields of military organization, rationalization, centralization of administration, regulation of the organization of non-Muslim communities, and the development of primary and secondary education. The accession to the throne of Abdülhamid II (r.1876-1908) put an end to the Tanzimat period, but during the Hamidian period, the implementation of reform law prepared before and after 1876 actually continued.[2] Similarly, the period that began with the Young Turk Revolution and was dominated by the Committee Union and Progress (1908-1918)

1 The first reforms were actually introduced by Selim III (r.1761-1807), but his ambitious project of military reform led to a rebellion of the Janissaries and ended with the assassination of the Sultan.

2 Vanessa Guéno, "S'identifier à l'aube de l'état civil (nufûs). Les justiciables devant le tribunal civil de Homs à la fin du XIXe siècle," in *L'identification: des origines de l'islam au XIXe siècle*, eds. I. Grangaud and N. Michel (Aix-en-Provence: REMMM, 2010), 197.

brought about many new reforms and changes, especially in the ways of thinking about political identities and nations, nationality and regionality. These major political changes that had taken place throughout the long nineteenth century determined a new, changing context for everyday life for all subjects of the empire and implied changing forms of identification, communality, and intercommunality.

The Decree of Gülhane promulgated in 1839 that inaugurated the Tanzimat era was a message from the sultan to all his subjects, regardless of their religious belonging. It promised the abolition of the farming tax (*iltizam*), the standardization of military recruitment, and the elimination of corruption within the civil services. By issuing this decree and facing the rise of nationalism within society, ruling Ottoman bureaucrats aimed to instigate a feeling of belonging to a common Ottoman citizenship that would override separatist tendencies and replace them with a renewed sense of unity. In 1856, the *Hatt-i hümayun* reinforced that first impetus in 1839, launching the acceleration of reforms and of their application throughout the empire. Moreover, one of the most urgent issues was to rationally re-organize the army through, among others, new methods of recruitment and levying troops, and the standardization of the duration of military service (1843–44). In accord with the Gülhane Edict and the Hatt-i Hümayun, non-Muslims were henceforth supposed to participate in military obligations, but in practice the state allowed them to pay a special tax (*bedel-i askeriye*) instead of being conscripted. For the purposes of conscription as well as for tax farming, administrators attempted to procure a more detailed knowledge of the demography of its provinces. The first census established on a nationwide scale was thus organized in 1844 to count the active male population of the empire. It would be followed by several other censuses up until the fall of the empire, but the collection of data was a long, meticulous, and difficult work, and the results were rarely as good as expected by statesmen.[3] The necessity to modernize the army, to redress the situation of the imperial Treasury, and to this end, to better control the population incited Ottoman authorities to

3 Stanford J. Shaw, "The Ottoman Census System and Population 1831-1914," *IJMES* 9, no.3 (1978); Kemal Karpat, "Ottoman Population Records and the Census of 1881/82-1893," *IJMES* 9, no.2 (1978).

rationalize the administration of its territories. Through legal reforms and adoption of new administrative systems, the intent was to elevate the empire to the level of neighboring Great Powers and to resist militarily – but also economically and politically – foreign and internal pressures, interference, and national separatism.

Just following the independence of Greece, the invasion of Syria and Anatolia by the troops of Mehmed Ali Pasha commanded by his son, Kavalalı Ibrahim Pasha, was experienced as a real trauma for Ottoman statesmen. Ibrahim Pasha succeeded in penetrating Anatolia from Syria (1831) up to Kütahya (1833) with no real opposition by the local populations. In December 1832, he easily defeated the Ottoman army in the plain of Konya after having crossed the Taurus, through the region of Ulukışla and then turned to the west, towards Konya, going across the region of Niğde and Nevşehir. The campaign revealed to Ottoman rulers that not only were the empire's extremity was not sheltered from attack, neither was the heart of its territories. And their subjects could easily betray them.[4]

To maintain its legitimacy in the eyes of its subjects, internal antagonistic forces, and foreign powers, the Ottoman state was aware of the necessity to modernize its military system but also its method of governing to gain the support of its subjects. For this purpose, among the aims of the reforms was ensuring the security of its population's lives, honor, and property; it abolished slavery, reorganized rules of social life through new Civil and Criminal Codes (1840), established a Ministry of Healthcare (1850), codified property rights with the Land Code (1858), and rebuilt its provincial administration (1864, 1871). To reinforce national sentiment and create an "Ottoman identity," it also adopted new symbols such as the anthem and flag and created an identity card marking the belonging of each subject to the Ottoman Empire (1844). In 1869, the Nationality Law reinforced the reform of 1844 by creating an Ottoman citizenship regardless of religious or ethnic divisions. Henceforth, living in Ottoman territory was the common denominator of belonging to the Ottoman nation. However, it was not until 1881-1882 that the totality of citizens

4 Efkan Uzun, "Mehmed Ali Paşa'nın Anadolu'ya Saldırısının Niğde ve Nevşehir Yöresindeki Tesirleri," *Zeitschrift für die Welt der Türken* 4, no.2 (2012).

were registered.[5] On the whole, the program of reformation was an attempt to encourage Ottomanism among the diverse ethnic groups of the empire, stemming the tide of nationalist movements within the Ottoman Empire by more thoroughly integrating non-Muslims and non-Turks into Ottoman society by enhancing civil liberties and granting equality throughout the empire.

Standardization and centralization of the administration were among the main aims of the Tanzimat and the subsequent Hamidian period. In this way, development of transport infrastructure, especially through the creation of a railway network and the modernization and securing of roads, as well as the creation of post and telegraph services were important challenges. However, in central Anatolia, the results of this effort were mitigated. The construction of first railway into the interior of western Anatolia from Haydapaşa Station in Istanbul to Ankara ended only in 1892. Another line extending towards Konya was inaugurated in 1896 and was extended to down to the Persian Gulf during the following years, but the first train line did not enter in Kayseri until 1927. To the north, roads to Amasya, Samsun, and Kastamonu had been macadamized, but similar efforts were not realized in the central parts of Anatolia.[6] Moreover, because of its geographic localition, the region is not directly benefit from sea transport abilities. As a result, the area of Cappadocia and its main towns, Kayseri notwithstanding, remained far away from modern means of transportation. Compared to other parts of Anatolia along coasts or adjacent the main transport infrastructures, Cappadocia missed the opportunities to develop the local economy and lost its competitiveness vis-à-vis other Ottoman regions but also with respect to foreign trade which, at the time, was penetrating the local market. Local economic stagnation combined with the infiltration of industrialized Western products into the Anatolian market were, at least partly, the origin basis of a massive emigration – especially of non-Muslims who became progressively more involved in trade activities and were better integrated to economic networks than Muslims. Migrants left Cappadocia for Istanbul and to a lesser extent for other port cities of the empire (mostly Izmir, Samsun, Mersin, Adana, and Alexandria),

5 Guéno, "S'identifier à l'aube de l'état civil" (2010), 197.

6 Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *Osmanlı Imparatorluğu ve Modern Türkiye*, II (Istanbul: E-yayınları, 2006), 158.

for Europe, or for the United States. Albeit with demographic consequences, the movement of emigration triggered new opportunities for the development of the area by locals.

The implementation of reforms was complemented by the deployment of a new system of provincial administration based, as far as possible, on public agents sent from the center to the the provinces and their subdivisions. For instance, to maintain the registration of the population, inspectors of the Ministry for Population (*Nüfus naziri*), census takers, and also agents for the update of civil status (registering births, deaths, marriages) were sent to provinces and occupied offices in each *sancak* and *kaza*.[7] However, because of the changes and costs involved, administrative reforms were not able to be executed only by sending public agents from the center and relied on former local representatives. Moreover, at the *vilayet* and lower levels, assemblies were created that were composed of state agents and local representatives elected by a group of electors with local stature.[8] In these assemblies, non-Muslims were represented by their spiritual leaders as well as by notables in the community. After the 1864 *nizamname*, the institution of the *muhtarlık* spread to villages and towns to administer and represent local communities in front of state administrators.

Rationalization of provincial administration was also an answer to the need to implement a more efficient tax-levying system. Former tax systems were no more adapted to the principles declared in 1839 and confirmed in 1856. For instance, following the declaration of equality between all the subjects of the empire, in 1856, the *cizye* tax paid for centuries by non-Muslim subjects was abolished but rapidly replaced by the *bedel-i askeriye*, first collected by *millet* leaders and, from 1887, by a commission at the *kaza* level. On the other hand, despite numerous attempts to reform the taxation system and especially the practice of tax farming (*iltizam*), tax-related reforms mostly failed especially because of resistance by former local tax collectors and large property owners.[9] The first attempt to abolish the *iltizam* included a undo with

7 Karpat, "Ottoman Population Records" (1978): 245-46.

8 İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimatdan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Geleneği* [The Tradition of Local Administration from the Tanzimat to the Republic] (Istanbul: Hil, 1985), 21.

9 Ibid.

plan to replace the *mütlezim* by a representative of the state (the *muhassıl*) assisted by an assembly (the *muhassıl meclisi* created in 1840), which in turn would be composed of local lay representatives and religious leaders. However, facing local opposition, this solution was rapidly abandoned for a return to the *iltizam* system, and it was not before the late Hamidian period that the definitive abolition of the *iltizam* occurred. Among newly introduced taxes, the *tarik bedelatı* or road tax (commonly called "*yol vergisi*"), enacted in 1866, jointed financial needs with the necessity of modernizing of transportation infrastructures. Populations of provinces had to contribute physically in this effort of modernization by participating in the construction of roads and railways. According to the law, all males between 18 and 60 living in rural areas had to work for the state for twenty days every five years or to pay for an exemption.[10] This rule was modified with several regulations in the following years (1869, 1890, 1909, 1910, 1913, and 1914) and continued to be applied until the first years of the Republic of Turkey.[11] However, in spite of the progressive rebuilding of the Ottoman tax system, the state did not succeed in generating large tax revenues for the treasury.

Despite development disparities, provincial organization was strongly centralized and connected to the Sublime Porte, and it followed, at least theoretically, systematic structures which did not take local particularities into account (especially in terms of ethnic composition). Nevertheless, efforts were made to force the acceptance of reforms in the provinces. From the 1840s onwards, new modes of enforcement and diffusion were developed to limit variations in the interpretation of official texts. Official texts were translated into different languages and scripts (Arabic, Greek, Armenian, Armeno-Turkish, and Karamanlı), diffused in the official *Gazette,* and from the 1860-1870s, in local newspapers and almanacs according to the languages spoken by the communities of each province. In this way, Tanzimat bureacurats used regionality, especially local linguistic specificities, to create a territorial unity

10 In 1869, the minimum age was reduced to sixteen and then increased to twenty in 1890. See Shaw and Shaw, *Osmanlı Imparatorluğu ve Modern Türkiye*, II (2006), 136; Ali Rıza Gönüllü, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Döneminde Yol Vergisi (1866-1921)," *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 30 (2011): 294.

11 Gönüllü, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Döneminde" (2011).

and transcend local variations. However, as in most other Ottoman territories, this impulse was hindered in Anatolia by local forces or by broader counter-movements based on political, economic, and mostly ethnoreligious claims. The hellenization movement being led from Istanbul and later from Athens exemplifies one of these counter-movements based on a nationalist ideology that claimed territorial legitimacy and thoughts to recover Hellenic lands (including central Anatolia) to create a Greek state that would embrace all members of the Greek nation but also its historical territories. Even when their implementation remained difficult and sometimes had limited upshots, the consequences of reforms in the provinces affected the way of life of subjects living in towns as well as in villages. Everyday intercommunal relations, especially in regions such as Cappadocia where Muslim and non-Muslim communities lived, intertwined.

While the process appears external to Cappadocia, the development of a Greek nationalist ideology that took shape with the independence of Greece – which was strenghtened in Athens but also in main cultural, political centers of the *millet* of the Rums [*millet-i Rum* or *Rum milleti*] of the Ottoman Empire – can be considered as a portent of a period of substantial changes for the Ottoman Rums and, colerratively, for intercommunal relations. Greek nationalism applied to Anatolian Rums took place in a larger ideological context, imbued with the prevailing nationalism in Eastern Europe and other marginal parts of the Ottoman Empire. It went together with nationalistic theories that developed during the nineteenth century and found particular favor within the non-Muslim fringes of the Ottoman Empire, especially the Balkans. Given that Anatolian Rums were Orthodox Christians but most of them did not speak Greek, the first step of national identification took the form of a Hellenization movement managed first by the Greek Patriarchate in Istanbul and later from Athens.

The creation of the Kingdom of Greece (1832) provided a spark for the development of Greek nationalism. However, when it came to Greeks (or Rums) living outside the kingdom, it would be misleading to think that Athens had become the heart of Greek nationalism. In Ottoman territories, the main issue was to unify all the Rums under the same identity based, first, on Orthodox faith and Greek language. In this context, Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians, who were for the most part not able to understand

Greek, appeared to be a thorny issue. The Hellenization movement that took place under the leadership of Rum elites living in Istanbul and especially under the auspices of the Patriarchate was assisted by Cappadocian immigrants living in the capital who were especially motivated to solve this linguistic contradiction. But the movement's final purpose was far more broad than a linguistic issue. Nevertheless, next to faith, the Greek language was the main symbolic incarnation of the unity of Greek culture and civilization. In this context, Karamanlı-Turkish was a tool leading toward Hellenization and not an end itself.

Sia Agnastopoulou described the premices of this movement as follows:

> The complexity of this process of the "Hellenization" of Anatolia is illustrated in a sigil published by Patriarch Gregory V in 1820. This sigil was published in Karamanlı; it concerned the funding of the school of Nevşehir, thanks to the "blessed guild of the grocers settled in Constantinople." It is thus obvious that, at this point in time, Hellenizing Anatolia through the founding of schools still constituted first and foremost a religious duty. Aiding the development of Greek schools and thus "civilizing" Anatolia, was a demonstration of "religious patriotism" and loyalty to the Patriarchate.[12]

The choice to prepare the document in Karamanlı-Turkish shows that the language issue was already, at that time, consciously considered as a discrepancy within the Hellenic, Orthodox world.[13] To write an official text in Karamanlı Turkish about the creation of a school whose main goal was to teach the Greek language was a way to reach non-Hellenophone Orthodox who theoretically belonged to this world but were not able to speak its common language. In a way, to speak Turkish, or rather to not speak Greek, was considered the equivalent of being uncivilized. Consequently, according to ecclesiastical authorities, the flock had to learn Greek to show its loyalty to

12 Sia Anagnostopoulou, "Greek Diplomatic Authorities in Anatolia," in *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books*, eds. M. Kappler and E. Balta (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010).

13 The use of Karamanlı Turkish by the ecclesiastical administration at the local but also at the imperial level was actually common practice.

the Greek Church, and those who were opposed or hampered the proper functioning of Greek education risked excommunication.[14] The principal aim of this initial Hellenization movement directed all of Istanbul was obviously to civilize Anatolian Orthodox Christians by teaching them the sacred language of the Holy Book and Divine Liturgy (and consequently of the true faith). In this context, teaching Greek became synonymous with civilizing uncivilized people and "the Greek language became the elements par excellence of a patriotism which was religious if we judge from its sources (the Patriarchate) but secular if we judge from its content."[15]

From the mid-nineteenth century, next to religious affiliation, "linguistic loyalty" became progressively associated to national belonging.[16] At the time, lay elites in Istanbul but also later in Athens – the new politcial capital of the Greek nation – began to take precedence over clerics. Athens began to impose itself as a potential new center for political leadership. While in Istanbul the Patriarchate officially continued to lead the *millet-i Rum*, in Athens, the idea of a Greek nation was reinforced, from the 1840s onwards, by the *Megali Idea*, first expressed before the National Assembly of Greece by Ioannis Kolettis (1844) and then taken over and developed by the historians Spyros Zampelios (1850s) and Constantine Paparrigopoulos (1860s). In the 1860s, the *Megali Idea* began to be based on the idea that modern Greeks (and modern Greece) were the heirs of medieval Hellenism, which itself was the heir of ancient Hellenism. The work of Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos more specifically established the basis of the ideology according to which Greek communities had already emerged as social and administrative entities during the Hellenistic era over vast territories including, among others, Asia Minor or Anatolia.[17]

14 Konstantinos Manafis, "Ανέκδοτον Καραμανλιστί Σιγίλλιον του Πατριάρχου Γρηγορίου του Ε' περί της εν Νεαπόλει (Νεβ Σεχερί) Καππαδοκίας κοινοτικής σχολής" [Unpublished Karamanli Sigils of the Patriarch Gregory V about the school of the community of Neapoli (Nevşehir) in Cappadocia], *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 14 (1970): 245-47.

15 Anagnostopoulou, "Greek Diplomatic Authorities" (2010).

16 Daniel Baggioni, *Langues et nations en Europe* (Paris: Payot&Rivages, 1997), 212.

17 Konstantinos Paparrigopoulou, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* [History of the Hellenic Nation], VI vols (Athens, 1860-1877). There was a general demand for national unity which seemed to be an indispensable condition for the realization of political control. The spatial

Based on an ethnoreligious definition of Greek identity, the idea of a Greek nation unifying all the Greeks was brought face to face with a major difficulty: the majority of those who were defined as Greeks still lived outside the borders of Greece. The *Megali Idea* corresponded to a wish to liberate them and reconstitute a state embracing all Greek lands, with Istanbul as its capital. Even though the thrust of the *Megali Idea* was never determined in any strict and definitive way, the main issue was to create a political command focused on the political and geographical unification of Greek populations so that they could be included within the national state. The Byzantine Empire constituted the territorial reference for the irredentism and expansion of the Greek state, and in this context, the civilizing process of Anatolia to be achieved through Hellenization was the "historic mission" of the Greek nation. It was a necessity to reinforce the claim of the direct descent of the newly-established kingdom from Greek Antiquity. The aim of this Hellenization movement in Asia Minor was to create an impetus for a reminiscence of Hellenism among Orthodox Christians and particularly Turkish-speaking communities. Ideologically, when it came to the so-called Karamanlı Rums, it rather took the shape of a re-Hellenization.

The legitimization of the process of (re-)Hellenization went hand in hand with the demonstration of a continuity from ancient to contemporary times. In this context, significant effort was being made vis-à-vis the language issue through linguistic, etymology, and grammar studies that aimed to reach this purpose. Among erudite Karamanlıs, the Hellenization movement met with various reactions. It would be wrong to suppose that Cappadocian scholars, because they were Turcophone, were necessarily opposed to Hellenization. More accurate, maybe there would be a division between, on one side, scholars who published in Greek, and on the other, those who published in Karamanlı-Turkish. Born in Endürlük, a Turcophone village close to Kayseri, Pavlos Karolidis, a future history professor at the University of Athens (1886-1908)

unity of Hellenism presupposed its temporal unity – i.e., its uninterrupted continuity down through the centuries. In this respect it was useful to present theByzantine Empire as a link between Greek antiquity and modern Hellenism at a time when the racial kinship and continuity of ancient with modern Greeks was being questioned.

and deputy of the Ottoman Parliament (1908-1912) never wrote in Karamanlı-Turkish. In his first work, in Greek, *Καππαδοκικά: Ήτοι πραγματεία ιστορική και αρχαιολογική περί Καππαδοκίας* [*Kappadokika: Historical and archaeological Treaty on Cappadocia*, 1874],[18] Karolidis, who was a supporter of the Hellenization movement, emphasized that local Greek dialects were vestiges of the ancient Cappadocian Greek language.[19] His argument to demonstrate the Hellenism of Cappadocian Rums inspired other scholars but was also severely criticized,[20] which is representative of the intellectual atmosphere of the Rum circles that flourished in the late nineteenth century.[21] Later, as a deputy of the Ottoman Parliament, Karolidis reinforced his position by supporting the Hellenization of Turkish-speaking communities and the ideology of Helleno-Ottomanism. For instance, he considered that the Greek Patriarchate should impose Greek as the only liturgical language for all parishes, but also maintained that this process needed to be managed by Ottoman Rums themselves, without the intervention of the Greeks of Greece of any other external influence.[22]

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18 Born in Endürlük (near Kayseri), Karolidis' mother tongue was Turkish like most Cappadocian Rums, but he was educated in Greek schools in Izmir (Evangeliki School) and Istanbul (Fanar Greek Orthodox College) before continuing his studies at the universities of Athens, Munich, Strasbourg, and finally Tübingen. Vangelis Kechriotis, "Atina'da Kapadokyalı, İzmir'de Atinalı, İstanbul'da Mebus: Pavlos Karolidis'in Farklı Kişilik ve Aidiyetleri," *Toplumsal Tarih* 257 (2015).

19 Karolidis underscored Greek-speaking communities and generally avoided mentioning the presence of Turkish-speaking settlements. Pavlos K. Karolidis, *Καππαδοκικά: Ήτοι πραγματεία ιστορική και αρχαιολογική περί Καππαδοκίας* [Kappadokika: Historical and archaeological Treaty on Cappadocia] (Constantinople: Τύποις Ευαγγελινού Μισαηλίδου, 1874). See also Strauss, "The Millets and the Ottoman Language" (1995): 243-44.

20 For critics, see Henri Grégoire, "Rapport sur un voyage d'exploration dans le Pont et en Cappadoce," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 33 (1909). Grégoire criticized particularly the Rum scholars such as Karolidis who saw in local idioms a direct survival of an ancient Cappadocian language, especially in matters of vocabulary: "M. Karolidis has been drawn into such exaggerations; he has proposed so fanciful etymologies that his theory has incurred discredit and mistrust." Original text: "M. Karolidis s'est laissé entraîner à de telles exagérations, il a proposé des étymologies si fantaisistes, que sa théorie a encouru le discrédit et la méfiance."

21 Karolidis, *Καππαδοκικά* (1874).

22 Kechriotis, "Atina'da Kapadokyalı" (2015): 41.

Karamanlidika publications dealing with Cappadocia were less much on the lookout for traces of Hellenism. If they mentioned the presence of Hellenophone villages, they did not describe them as direct heirs of ancient Hellenism. The book of Ioannis Ioannidis, *Kayseri metropolitleri ve maaloumati moutenevvi* [*Metropolitans of Kayseri and miscellaneous information*] is representative. Openly inspired by the work of N. Rizos and Kyrillos, it described one by one the Rum settlements of Cappadocia. The importance Ioannidis gave to spoken language is particularly illuminating, since he mentioned many details about the dialects of small communities that Rizos or Kyrillos had not. Ioannidis systematically specified the language spoken by each Rum settlement. Concerning Hellenophone communities, he regularly pointed out that their dialects were full of Turkish words or even a kind of mixt of the Turkish and Greek languages. For instance, when dealing with the village of Kordonos near Niğde, he explained:

> Its inhabitants, who only speak a language mixing up Turkish and Rum [Greek], are considered to have settled here after the 13th century, coming from the surrounding towns and burgs.[23]

Similar remarks are made about other Hellenophone villages such as Aravani, Fertek or Malakopi.[24] In fact, Ioannidis more or less accurately took over the description that Rizos wrote about Greek dialects of Cappadocia in 1856.[25]

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23 Ioannis Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί βε Μααλουμάτη Μουτενεββιά* [Metropolitans of Kayseri and diverse information] (Deri Saadet: Αλέξανδρος Νομισματίδης ματπαασή, 1896), 141. Original text: "Εχαλισινίν τεκελλοὺμ ἰτδιγὶ λισανὴν Τούρκδζε βὲ Ρούμδζα ἰλὲ καρησὴκ πὶρ λισὰν ὸλμασηνδὰν ὅν οὺτζουνδζὶ ἀσηρδὰν σόνρα, δζιβὰρ σεχὶρ βὲ γιὰ κασαπαλαρδάν χιδζρὲτ ἰδενλέρ ταραφηνδάν τεεσὶς βέ ἰσκιάν ἰδιλμίς ἰδουγί ἀνλασηλήρ." Tanscription: "Ehalisinin tekellüm itdiği lisanın Tourkdze ve Roumdza ile karışık bir lisan olmasından on ützündzi asırdan sonra, dzivar şehir ve ya kasabalardan hidzret idenler tarafından teesis ve iskian idilmiş idüği anlaşılır."

24 Ibid., 117, 120. Ioannidis noted that the dialect of Fertek, in comparison to dialects of Kourdonos or Aravani, was more easily understandable by urban Rums.

25 For instance, regarding the dialect spoken in Misti, Ioannidis wrote in 1896, "*Misthi ehalisinin […] lisanlarıda eski ellinika ve o derece değişmişdirki, edznebiler tarafından bir kelimesi bile anlaşılamaz*" (p.101), an exact translation of the words of Rizos: "*Οί κάτοικοι όμιλοῦσι τὴν Ελληνικὴν, τόσον ἀνάρθρως, ὥστε ἀδύνατον νὰ ἐννοήση ο᾽άπειπος μίαν λέξιν*" (p.100). (The

When Rizos mentioned that villagers spoke "simple Greek" (*aploelliniki/άπλοελληνικη*), Ioannidis sometimes preserved the Greek word (for instance, in the case of Fertek or Delmason, today's Hançerli), sometimes translated it not as "simple" but as "old ellinika" (*ἐσκί ἑλληνικὰ/eski ellinika)* in the case of Aravani or Misti, or translated it as "changed Rum language" (*δεγισμίς ὀλάν Ρούμτζα/değişmiş olan Rumca*) in the case of Malakopi.[26]

Late nineteenth-century works emphasizing local history, culture, literature, songs, and traditions assumed or attempted to prove that Cappadocian Rums – Turcophones on the same basis as Hellenophones – were ethnically Rum and were consequently the heirs of the ancient Greeks. In the same way, Ioakeim Valavanis – a Rum of Aravani who studied at the University of Athens before settling in Istanbul – wrote in his book *Mikrasiatika* (a collection of his articles published in various newspapers particularly the *Parnassos* in Athens) about everyday life and the traditions of the people of his place of birth.[27] Including descriptions of popular culture and religious practices, legends, and myths – particularly the anecdotes of Nasreddin *Hoca*[28] – and a great variety of ethnographical information about, for instance, the migrations of the male population from Cappadocia to

inhabitants of Misti speak a so-confused Greek that a foreigner would not understand a single word).

26 Nikolaos S. Rizos, *Καππαδοκικα, ήτοι δοκίμιον ίστορικῆς περιγραφῆς τῆς Ἀρχαίας Καππαδοκίας, καὶ ἰδίως τῶν ἐπαρχιών Καισαρείας καὶ Ἰκονίου* [Kappadokika: Historical essay describing Ancient Cappadocia, and particularly the provinces of Kaisareia and Ikonio] (Constantinople: Εκ του τυπογραφείου Η ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ Ευαγγελινός Μισαηλίδης, 1856), 98. Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 100-20.

27 Ioakeim Valavanis, *Μικρασιατικά* (Athens, 1891), 5.

28 The stories of Nasreddin Hoca, famous in Turkish popular culture, also held an important place in the popular culture of Anatolian Rums. They were published in Greek and Karamanlı versions several times in the late Ottoman period. Ioannis Nikolaïdis, *Μεσχούρ Νασραδήν Χότζα βε πελαγατή μεζχακέ γιάνι κιουλμεκλιγέ σαγεστέ μεσουλιέτ* (Athens: Ιωάννης Νικολαΐδης, 1908). Another example of a story, the *Legend of Aşık Garip*, was popular among "Anatolian Muslims" but also among Christians, especially Rums of the region. See *Ασήκ Γαρίπ χικιαγεσή βε χουριέτ σαρκελερή*, [The story of Ashik Garip and Songs for Liberty] (Constantinople: Εκδοτικόν Βιβλιοπωλείον Γερασίμου Αλεξανδράτου, 1914).

Istanbul, the articles of Valavanis can be read as interpretations of aspects of local ways of life, across the spectrum of the (re-)Hellenization process.[29]

Even though the *Megali Idea* ideology and the Hellenization movement were ideals to achieve and rebuild free from Ottoman and Muslim domination as an independent, self-sovereign nation, in practice it was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that the Greek state began to show a direct interest in the case of Cappadocian Rums. The first visit of a Greek diplomat (the Greek Consul General in Smyrna, Stamatis Antonopoulos) to Anatolia took place in 1901, and the first permanent consulate created in Anatolian inlands was established in 1908 in Konya. Anagnostopoulou saw in these diplomatic stages a shift of the center of the Hellenization movement. Athens, through the opening of a consulate in Konya, was trying to establish the basis of its ascendancy over the Rums of Anatolia. However, the role of Athens and its diplomats remained limited, especially because activities on the ground occurred too late. Nevertheless, it showed that out of religious and cultural necessity, the Hellenization of Anatolian Rums turned into a political issue, and language began to be seen as a proof of "Greekness." As religion, language had been a criterion of belonging to the *millet-i Rum*, but became a criterion of belonging to a *millet* defined as an ethnicized nation.[30] Marc Aymes rightly noted in the case of Cyprus that this transformation of the meaning of the word *millet* from a religious community to a nation "performed in the mode of a continuous mutation, not of the discontinuous substitution."[31] Instead of a clear-cut and "datable" rupture, this transformation was a "historicized" evolution within a "geographicalized" variability since it followed different temporalities in different geographies. In that matter, Karamanlıs of Cappadocia were apparently the last Rums of Anatolia to experience the nationalization of their *millet*.

Parallel to the progressive transformation of the *millet-i Rum*, from the point of view of Greece, Ottoman Orthodox communities began to be seen as

29 Valavanis, *Μικρασιατικά* (1891). See particularly the article "Σελίδες εκ του οικογενειακού βίου των εν Μικρά Ασία Ελλήνων" [Pages about family life among Greeks of Asia Minor]

30 Anagnostopoulou, "Greek Diplomatic Authorities" (2010), 68-71.

31 Aymes, "La communauté d'historicité" (2005).

exterior nationals by juxtaposed to Greeks who lived within the borders of the kingdom. In Cappadocia, on the one hand, except for a few individuals, Rums, especially Turcophone ones, neither actively took part in the Hellenization process nor in the nationalized feeling of belonging to a Hellene nation.[32] On the other hand, except for the late proclamation of the "Turkness" of Turkish-speaking Orthodox Anatolians and effort led by Papa Eftim (1920s) joined by a limited number of clerics and laymen, Turkish nationalism did not attract them any more than Greek nationalism. Especially after 1908, Rums of Cappadocia stayed in an "in-betwixt" state between ethnicized notions of Turkness and Greekness. As a result, in the same way as the Rums of the Aegean coasts or the Pontus region or the Armenians in Eastern Anatolia, Rums of Cappadocia began to be considered as foreigners by Muslim locals and consequently to feel like strangers in their own land.[33] Rather than under the influence of Athens, it was in response to the Turkish nationalization of Anatolian Muslims that the so-called Karamanlıs were ethnicized as Greeks in the eyes of Muslim locals. A few years later, the same Karamanlıs, exiled to Greece, were seen as foreigners in Greece, their new homeland… Twice a stranger…[34]

If language was one of the main tools to re-build Hellenism among Anatolian Rums, communal schools founded in towns and villages were the main frame for this process of (re-)Hellenization. As much as the language was seen as a vehicle for nationalization, education and schools gave a frame in which the Hellenization movement could develop and be promoted among younger generations.[35] In fact, beyond the *millet-i Rum,* education was a central issue of the nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire. In earlier decades, especially in the eighteenth century, for the Orthodox Patriarchate, the education of the flock was a necessity to protect the community from conversion to Islam, but in the nineteenth century it became a requirement for countering proselytization by Catholic and especially Protestant missionaries. Western

32 Anastassiadou, *Grecs d'Istanbul* (2012), 328.

33 Anastasiadi-Manousaki, *Μνήμες Καππαδοκίας* (2002).

34 Bruce Clark, *Twice a Stranger: The Mass Expulsions That Forged Modern Greece and Turkey* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

35 Anagnostopoulou, "Greek Diplomatic Authorities" (2010).

missions on Ottoman territories were regarded as potentially dangerous by the leaders of the different "historical" *millet* of the Empire (especially those of Rums and Armenians) but also by Ottoman bureaucrats.

The nineteenth century is commonly described as a period of progressive engulfing of the Ottoman Empire by the globalization of the economic – but also the cultural – market, while the empire endured considerable loss of territory and Western penetration into its remaining territories. As a paradigm, Ottoman state structures flourished, "thanks to a mutual accommodation between European political-economic interests and the needs and concerns of the Ottoman bureaucracy."[36] Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and up to the beginning of World War I, education was a leading issue in simultaneous but different, even antagonistic movements of the reformation of Ottoman society. Other topics need to be developed to understand this period of intense change, in which various actors opposed but also influenced each other in the reformation of the structures of society. For instance, the economic rise of non-Muslims, the penetration of foreign economic powers into the Anatolian market, and the introduction of new ideologies and concepts played a part in this time of broad change that we will broach in the course of the next chapters. The general stage being set, the next paragraphs focus on the (re-)appearance of Cappadocia as a geographical and cultural entity in this context of the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire.

§ 2.2 The (Re-)Appearance of a Region

In the frenetic environment of reform and reorganization of Ottoman society, Cappadocia might appear to historians, at first sight, as an unattractive area with few dynamics – as a region "without history" to repeat the words of Christos Hadziiossif[37] – at least in comparison with other Ottoman regions

36 Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, II (Cambrigde: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 761.

37 Hadziiossif entitled his study about the village of Sinasos "history of a place without history": Christos Hadziiossif, *Σινασός, ιστορία ενός τόπου χωρίς ιστορία* [Sinasos, history of a place without history] (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2005).

such as the Balkans, Arab provinces, or Aegean coasts at the same period. Nevertheless, as a region Cappadocia experienced a resurgence after centuries of oblivion. Today, the space called Cappadocia is known on accounts of its touristic reputation, its incredible landscapes with fairy chimneys and troglodytic (rock-cut) settlements, churches, and monasteries. However, this touristic region has no official delimitation and does not coincide with established administrative borders or entities. It is thus difficult to say what Cappadocia is, where it begins, and where it ends.

Geographically and geologically, "nucleus Cappadocia"[38] can be described as an area included in a circle with the town of Ürgüp at its center and a radius of around 100 km, approximately corresponding to the distance between Ürgüp and Aksaray or Ürgüp and Niğde. Based on physical geography and geological specificity, geologists call this area "Cappadocian Anatolian Volcanic Province" (CAVP), an area of 15 000 km² located between the Kızılırmak River (to the north), the Erciyes volcano (to the east), the Taurus Mountains (to the south), and the Tuzgölü (to the west). Its orogeny comes from intense volcanic activity during Neogene period. Eruption produced pyroclastic flows that formed ignimbrite when they cooled and fell down. This rock is particularly soft and easy to dig out because of its porous, isotropic nature.[39]

According to the period, the name Cappadocia designated various historical entities, a territory with changing boundaries that was sometimes a kingdom and sometimes a military, administrative, and/or religious province or series of provinces. Sometimes it altogether disappeared from official

38 The expression "nucleus Cappadocia" (or "çekirdek Kapadokya" in Turkish) is used by Sacit Pekak, to dealing with a region of Cappadocia in terms of Art history. See Sacit Pekak, "Christian Art of Cappadocia from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century," in *Common Cultural Heritage: Developing Local Awareness Concerning the Architectural Heritage Left from the Exchange of populationss in Turkey and Greece*, eds. S. Güvenç, E. Yıldırım, and K. Kitidis (Nevşehir: Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants, 2005), 29.

39 Anaïs Lamesa, "D'une Cappadoce à l'autre (Ve av. - Xe ap.). Problèmes historiques, géographiques et archéologiques" (Unpublished PhD, Université Paris-Sorbonne 2015), 326-30.

territorial nomenclatures.[40] As a result, the use of the name Cappadocia is problematic. However, we decided to deal with Cappadocia as a region following Peter Burke's definition of the "region" as "in fact less precise than it looks."[41] Burke claimed that it is impossible to enumerate the regions into which Europe is divided especially because the "region" can be dissolved at will into its constituent towns and villages – even into families and individuals who live in it.[42] The definition of a region is thus based on various criteria such as natural landscape and topography, history and cultural heritage, spoken languages, and settled populations. Similarly, the geographers Armand Frémont and Jean Gallais showed that economic and administrative regions never match up with regions as described by inhabitants who, according to their social status, professions, age, and gender talk about their "own region" – the one that they daily experience. This empirical approach shows that this

40 First record of the term "Cappadocia", dating to the late sixth century BC, was found in a trilingual inscription in the Persian, Elamite and Akkadıan languages in the form "Katpatuka," which designated the name of one of the satrapies of the Persian Empire. The kingdom of Cappadocia then extended its borders as far as the Pontus and after the Roman conquest in 17 BC, became a province that included the Pontic area and Lesser Armenia (Armenia minor). But with the administrative reorganization by Diocletian in 286, it was reduced to its geological nucleus. In the 370s, a new administrative reform split it into two Cappadocias: *Cappadocia Prima* and *Cappadocia Secunda*. In the early seventh century, the area was briefly captured by the Sassanid Empire, then by the Arabs who settled there for two centuries. It thus became a militarily crucial border zone and lost an important part of its population because of its unstable situation. After the Byzantine re-conquest at the end of the eleventh century, Cappadocia flourished and became a major Byzantine province. But with the progressive centralization of the empire in Constantinople and the rise of civil aristocracy in the capital, provincialism eroded and Cappadocia became progressively lessimportant to the empire. This weakening opened it to new conquerors, the Seljukids. For a more detailed description of these periods, see Adam Room, *Place names of the World* (London: MacFarland and Company, 1997); Olivier Casabonne, *La Cappadoce antique dans tous ses états*, *Cappadoce, terre d'histoire et de cultures* (Istanbul: IFEA, 2011); Lamesa, "D'une Cappadoce à l'autre" (2015); Friedrich Hild and Marcell Restle, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, 2. Kappadokien (Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebesteia und Lykandos) (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981); Nicole Thierry, *La Cappadoce de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002); Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism* (1971); Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (1968), 61-142.

41 Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Burlington: Ashgate, 1994), 52.

42 Ibid.

"personal" region is punctuated with specific places that allow individuals to mentally map their region according to positive or negative images. As a result, we can conclude that the region is above all else the result of an indivualistic, psychological approach.[43] Therefore, this multiplicity of definitions and especially the empirical, individualistic approach allows to discuss a region called Cappadocia which, beyond a geological specificity clearly visible in its landscape, has no clear political or administrative borders, but correspond to the idea of "regionality".

The beginning of the Turkish period marked the definitive disappearance of the name "Cappadocia" from the nomenclature of the administrative and military provinces of Anatolia. None of the Turkish dynasties governing the region between the eleventh and early twentieth centuries nor the Republic of Turkey ever used it again as a toponym, at least not officially.[44] Between 1483 (definitive conquest of the region by the Ottomans) and 1864 (the date of ma-

43 Jean Gallais, *Le delta intérieur du Niger: étude de géographie régionale (*Dakar: IFAN, 1967); Armand Frémont, "Recherches sur l'espace vécu," *Espace géographique* (1974).

44 Knowledge of the early Turkish period in Cappadocia remains poor. We know that Christians and Muslims (nomadic, rural, and mercenary Turkic groups) were already living side by side for at least one decade when the battle of Manzikert broke out (1071). One hypothesis about the origins of Turcophone Orthodox Christians is that their ancestors were the first Turks to settle there who integrated with the society and converted to Christianity before the eventual conquest of the region by Turks. The region of Caesarea was conquered by Turks in 1082, while the western part of Cappadocia remained in the hands of the Byzantines until the early twelve century. In 1178, Cappadocian territories entered under Seljuq rule. At that time, Christians still comprised a large majority of the population, especially in rural areas. However, the Turks controlled administratively and military important cities. For instance, Niğde, Aksaray, Yeşlhisar, Gülşehir, and Damsa maintained their Christian populations but became the political and religious centers of Muslim elites who built majestic mosques, *medreses, türbes, hamams*, fountains, caravanserais and other *vakf*s, developing local Islamic culture. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (1968); Janos Eckmann, "Die karamanische Literatur," *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* 2 (1965). Thierry, *La Cappadoce de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge* (2002), 211. Hild and Restle, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, 2. Kappadokien (1981), 41. Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism* (1971), 155. Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "La Géographie historique de l'Anatolie centrale d'après les Registres ottomans," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Compte-rendus des Séances* (1982, juillet-octobre).

jor territorial reform), the territory of the former Byzantine province of Cappadocia was part of the *eyalet* of Karaman (see the map in Appendix A3). With the reform of provincial organization in 1864, Cappadocia was divided between two *vilayets*: Ankara (including everything north of the Kızılırmak river and the east of the region around the towns of Kayseri and Everek) and Konya (including Aksaray, Nevşehir, Ürgüp, and Niğde). The eyalet of Karaman (as well as the post-1864 vilayets) were divided into *sancak*s subdivided into *kazas* for juridical issues. Boundaries and capitals of sancaks and kaza*s* were in flux before 1864.[45] For instance, between 1846 and 1849, the town of Niğde lost its role as the sancak capital in favor of Nevşehir and became simply the seat of a kadi, instead. In 1849, however, it regained its status to the detriment of Nevşehir, which was demoted to the rank of kaza center. Similarly, the kaza of Ürgüp belonged to the sancak of Kayseri in 1852, but incorporated into the sancak of Niğde in 1854.[46] After the creation of the vilayet system in 1864 – implemented across the empire in 1867 and revised in 1871 – state reformers aiming to rationalize the organization of territories created larger kazas, but administrative boundaries changed several times between 1866 and 1907.[47]

In the organization of the Orthodox Church under Ottoman domination, Cappadocia was not the name of a diocese and was actually divided into several entities. Actually, from five dioceses at the end of the Byzantine era, central Anatolia was eventually reorganized into two large dioceses, the metropolitan bishop sees of which were in Caesarea (Kayseri) and Ikonium

45 Until 1864, the eyalet of Karaman, in addition to the sancaks of Niğde, Aksaray, Kayseri, and Kırşehir, included five other sancaks at the beginning of the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (Konya, İçel, Beyşehir, Maraş, and Bozok). In 1518, according to the *Mufassal Defteri*, there were only six sancaks (Konya, Beyşehir, Akşehir, Aksaray, Niğde, and Larende), and in 1530, İçel again became a sancak capital.

46 The sancak of Niğde included seventeen kazas in 1854 and twenty-three for the period 1855-1861. Among the six new sancaks, five were actually nomadic tribes registered as independent kazas (the kazas of Aşiret-i Muhacirin-i Acem, Aşiret-i Cerid, Aşiret-i Köceklü, Aşiret-i Boynuince, and Aşiret-i Şereflü). Some years later, in the regulation of 1861, Niğde lost nine kazas, some incorporated into other sancaks, while others merged. See Mehmet Kaya, "XX. Yüzyıl Başlarında Niğde Sancağı'nın Nüfusuna Dair," *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 19 (2006).

47 Regarding changes in administratrive boundaries after the Vilayet regulation, see Chapter 4.1.

(Konya).[48] In Caesarea, despite an apparent inactivity during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries due to the absence of a metropolitan bishop, the diocese progressively recovered its strength from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. The foundation of the monastery of St. John Prodromos in Zincidere in 1728 by the Metropolitan Neophytos from Patmos (who became Patriarch in 1734) was one of the main signs of the local revival of Orthodoxy.[49] To the west, Ikonium was not tested as a diocese in the patriarchal *berat*s of 1483 and 1523. Similar to Caesarea, it was only in the seventeenth century that it again became the see of an active metropolitan bishop.[50]

From the late eighteenth century, with the decline in mine production of the Torul area (the region of Gümüşhane, tied to the diocese of Chaldia) and the opening of mines in various Anatolian areas, Christian miners left their villages and migrated to the new mines. As a result, the northern diocese of Chaldia saw its territory expand to a pockets of interspersed, scattered mining settlements, especially on the northern slopes of the Taurus.[51] This decision followed an earlier patriarchal decision of 1710 recognized the authority of the Metropolitan of Chaldia over the mining villages of Asia Minor. Consequently, with the migration of Pontic miners to Cappadocia, mining villages of the Taurus in the region of Buğamaden (also called Bulgarmaden

48 From the fourteenth century, the number of dioceses in Anatolia diminished because of a decline of the local Christian administration and the demographic decrease of the Christian local flock. See Elisabeth Zachariadou, *Δέκα τουρκικά έγγραφα για την Μεγάλη Εκκλησία (1483-1567)* [Ten turkish documents concerning the Great Church (1483-1567)] (Athens: Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, 1996), 142-44.

49 Anastasios M. Levidis, *Θρησκευτική και πολιτική ιστορία, χωρογραφία και αρχαιολογία της Καππαδοκίας* [Religious and political history, topography and archeology of Cappadocia] (Athens, 1885), 182-227; Ioannis Kalfoglou, *Ζιντζίντερε καργεσινδέ πουλουνάν Ιωάννης Πρόδρομος Μοναστηρή γιαχόδ Μονή Φλαβιανών* [The Monastery of Ioannis Prodromos or Flavian Monastery located in the village of Zincidere] (Deri Saadet: Αλέξανδρος Νομισματίδης ματπαασή, 1898).

50 Paraskeuas Konortas, *Οθωμανικές Θεωρήσεις για το Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο, 17ος-αρχές 20ού αιώνα* [Ottoman Authorization to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, 17th- early 20th century] (Athens, 1998), 232. Ikonium is recorded as the see of a metropolitan from the *berat* of 1625.

51 Anthimos Papadopoulos, "Ο Χαλδίας Αρχιερεύς των Μεταλλουργών" [The Chaldian Archibishop of Miners], *Αρχείον Πόντου* 13 (1948).

or Metalleio – today's Madenköy) in the south of Niğde and more in the east, in the region of Farasa were assigned to the eparchy of Chaldia.[52] As a result, in the nineteenth century up until 1923, the Christian flock of Cappadocia was under the auspices of three different prelates: the metropolitan bishops of Caesarea, Ikonium, and of Chaldia. The Metropolitan of Caesarea managed the eastern half of Cappadocia and had his see, logically, in Caesarea. The Metropolitan of Ikonium managed the western half of Cappadocia, but actually was seated in Niğde instead of Ikonium, because of the concentration of Rum communities in the region of Niğde and the decline of the Rum population in and around Ikonium/Konya. Finally, the Metropolitan of Chaldia had responsibility for a few villages on the Taurus slopes, near the border between the *vilayets* of Konya and Adana.[53]

Even though the name "Cappadocia" was used neither in state nor in the Church's territorial organization, the cultural unity of the region marked by its particular landscape carried on. Especially in Christian tradition, Cappadocia and its landscape covered – or more exactly, pierced – by thousands of churches continued to symbolize spirituality. The writings of its famous theologians – the "Fathers of Cappadocia" Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa – kept alive, albeit in latent form, the idea of a Cappadocian regionality.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the word "Cappadocia" reappeared in writings of Christian authors (of Rums but also Western travelers), defining a geographical and historical region, in the same vein as names like "Armenia" or "Kurdistan," to delimit geographical and historical subdivisions of Anatolia.[54] It was not until the nineteenth century that Western authors made the connection between the history and geography of the region of Aksaray-Niğde-Nevşehir-Kayseri and that of the mythic, mystic Cappadocia. The term "Cappadocia" first reappeared in the fields of geography and

52 Georgios. Th. Kandilaptis, "Ο κώδιξ του εν Αργυροπόλει ναού της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου" [The codex of the parish of the Assumption church in Argyroupolis]. *Αρχείον Πόντου* 24 (1961): 148-52.

53 See maps in Appendices A1 and A2.

54 Regarding "Armenia" and "Kurdistan," see Hans-Lukas Kieser, *Iskalanmış Barış. Doğu Vilayetleri'nde Misyonerlik, Etnik Kimlik ve Devlet, 1839-1938* (Istanbul: Iletişim, 2005), 63 ff.

history and then took on an ethnographic and linguistic meaning. This reappearance can be explained in a plural context, combining the interest of Westerners in Asia Minor, which became an important step along the "Voyage to the Orient" so in vogue at the time; the importance of Cappadocia as a base of Protestant and Catholic missionary activity; the attention paid by leaders of the Hellenization movement for this Anatolian area still inhabited by a significant rural Orthodox population; and the huge increase of Cappadocians among Rum intellectuals and scholars in the main cities of the Ottoman Empire.

Paul Lucas, William F. Ainsworth, and other European travelers were struck by the singular landscape of the region. Lucas, who visited Anatolia in the 1710s, was the first European to write about what he saw in Cappadocia, but never used the term "Cappadocia" and made no reference to ancient or medieval texts dealing with the area. He was certainly unaware of travelling through the region where the three "Fathers of Cappadocia" had lived.[55] On the other hand, one century later, the second European to pass through the region, John MacDonald Kinneir, clearly identified the region between Aksaray and Kayseri as the ancient Kingdom of Cappadocia and as "the Cappadocia of Strabo."[56]

If Lucas and Kinneir thought the landscape they saw was the result of anthropogenic works, the next travelers clearly understood that the Cappadocian landscape was a natural consequence of local geomorphology; fairy chimneys were not sculptures representing women, men, or sphinxes but natural forms resulting from the erosion of volcanic ignimbrite rocks.[57]

55 Lucas, *Voyage du sieur Paul Lucas*, I (1714), 115-31.

56 Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor* (1818), 96-100.

57 John Kinneir was the second European, after Paul Lucas to visit the region in 1813. As Lucas, Kinneir mainly described the north area of the Kızılırmak and the regions of Kayseri, Karahisar, and Niğde. Similar to Lucas, Kinneir's travelogue describes a "monument" located on the road between Karahisar and Niğde composed of "fragments of a rock placed vertically, two and two, on the top of each other, in the manner of those at Stonehenge." He added: "The upper stones must have been raised by art, as they could not possibly have been placed so by nature, and had they been ranged in any sort of regular order, I should have been apt to conclude that it was an ancient place of worship." Ibid., 111.

Charles Texier and William J. Hamilton who traveled in the region in 1834 and in 1837, repsectively, explained in detail how volcanism and erosion had created this landscape.[58] Hand in hand with this particular geology, anthropogenic caves – dug in the rock and still used by the coetaneous local population – equally fascinated Western visitors.

Against a background of romanticism and orientalism, travelers were mainly interested to find the ruins of ancient and medieval civilizations and to highlight the Christian identity of this formerly Byzantine land. The landscape of Cappadocia made this easier to demonstrate since the "Christian identity" of the region was visible on account of the numerous churches strewed throughout the region. Moreover, the continued existence of Christian communities reinforced Christianity's crucial role in the area. Local Christians, isolated and surrounded by a Muslim majority, were thus regarded by travelers as a particularly fervent flock. Archaeological remains, on the one hand, and Christian communities, on the other, became the main [and linked] subjects of interest for visitors of the second half of the nineteenth century.[59]

Troglodytism (defined – generally negatively – as the fact of inhabiting natural or artificial caves, holes, or underground cavern) and its way of life were fascinating for Europeans, and Cappadocia rapidly became the land *par excellence* of the troglodytic way of life. On the subject, J.R. Sitlington Sterrett wrote one of the most eloquent descriptions:

> The natives of [Cappadocia], to all intents and purposes, are still troglodytes. But if we leave out of consideration the fact that dwellings are at least partially underground, they differ in habits and customs in no whit from the ordinary Turkish villagers with ordinary, humdrum surroundings.[60]

In fact, modern rock-cut dwellings in Cappadocia should be defined as semi-troglodyte rather than troglodyte. Most of the inhabited houses had both an

58 Texier travelled in Cappadocia in 1834, but his book was only published in 1863. As for Hamilton, he visited in 1837, and his travelogue was published in 1842. Texier, *Asie mineure* (1863), 533-34. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, II (1842), 251.

59 J.R. Sitlington Sterrett, "Troglodyte dwellings in Cappadocia," *The Century* (1900); J.E. White, "The Cavate Dwellings of Cappadocia," *Records of the Past* 3 (1904).

60 Sterrett, "Troglodyte dwellings" (1900): 677.

excavated part and a constructed part, generally a façade and a first room that opened up to the excavated rooms, frequently on two floors. Hamilton described the houses of a small Muslim village called Bektaş to the east of Ürgüp:

> The appearance of this village was remarkably striking, hanging as it were to the steep side of the rocky hill, with the houses extending underground, and the façades built in the same white pumiceous stones, of which the barren hill consists, so that at a little distance the village would not have been perceptible, but for a few horizontal lines of paths, and the openings of the caves beneath, by which the houses are entered. A narrow staircase cut in the solid rock leads to the apartment above; a stable is generally quarried out below at the back of the entrance cave; here the mangers are hollowed out of the rock, and might almost be mistaken for ancient tombs or receptacles for sarcophagi or urns.[61]

In front of this disconcerting way of life, each traveler proposed an explanation for upholding troglodytism, a form of dwelling that was considered primitive but also fascinating. Most agreed that it resulted from the preservation of a local, ancestral way of life, made possible by the remoteness of the area. Locals, especially Orthodox Christians, were thus presented as the inheritors of an ancient, local tradition that showed the capacity of former and coetaneous inhabitants to adapt to the local environment and guard against allogeneic influences. Therefore, the geographical situation of Cappadocia – encircled between mountains with its wild, inhospitable landscape – reinforced the visitors' feeling of a particularly significant remoteness.[62]

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61 Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, II (1842), 254.

62 Henry F. Tozer, in 1879, summarized some common points of intrigue as followed: "We knew already that Cappadocia was a land of rock dwellings, but it seemed none the less strange that any should be met with here. Who was it that made for himself this aerial abode? Was it one of the primaeval inhabitants? But in those days when stores of food were scanty, what was the inducement for anyone to occupy so inhospitable a spot? Was it a goatherd, who was accustomed to seek refuge here from stress of weather. But where was the herbage on these barren rocks, which should tempt him to climb to such a height? And besides, the labour required

The upholding of local particularism may have been allowed by geographic remoteness, but it was also presented by travelers as the result of a deliberate wish of locals to preserve their "identity" from external influence. According to Ainsworth:

> Cappadocian Greeks certainly constitute a tribe themselves, distinguished by their manners, their habits, and their independent prosperity and civilization, and not so much surpassing other Greeks in Asia Minor by their progressive civilization, as excelling them in having become less changed, and less humbled and prostrated, than other Greek communities are by four centuries of Osmanli tyranny.[63]

When it came to contemporary inhabitants, travel accounts focused on Christian communities. Their ways of life were described in detail to prove that they were heirs of the legacy of people who lived there centuries ago, the remnants of antique Hellenism and Byzantine Christianity. For instance, Reverend Henry F. Tozer described the Greeks of Cappadocia as "the descendants of the early inhabitants of the land, with some slight admixture, perhaps, of Hellenic blood, derived from Greek traders settled in the cities and from the Greek colonies which were introduced by Alexander and his successors."[64]

In the narrative of Lucas, Cappadocia already appeared to Western visitors as a phantasmagoric, spiritual landscape perfect for inventing a tradition of fervent spirituality and oriental monasticism.[65] According to Texier, rock-cut

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for such a work was not likely to have been expended by a casual visitor. Or was it a hermit?" Henry F. Tozer, *Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1881), 127.

63 Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839), 214. This remoteness presented by most authors of the nineteenth century needs to be put in perspective, however, since the influence of Istanbul and other main centers of the empire was felt in Cappadocia through the massive migrations of Cappadocian men to Istanbul, Smyrna, Samsun, and Athens. This movement partly undermines the idea of an identity totally isolated from outside influence.

64 Tozer, *Turkish Armenia* (1881), 117.

65 Ibid., 87; Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin, les Eglises rupestres de Cappadoce*, V vols. (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1925). Regarding Cappadocia as a "Spiritual Landscape" and the narrative genesis of a myth of Cappadocian monasticism, see Veronica

chapels, churches, tombs, dwellings, and refectories required much greater eefort than building them of masonry and could only have been the work of fervent monks:

> We cannot suppose that the Christian community would undertake the difficult task of cutting out a church from the rock at a time when they were at liberty to erect places of worship, and to practice freely their rites of the religion […] a work of great difficulty to people poor and without resources.[66]

Rock-cut antique tombs, Byzantine churches, and "monasteries" were undeniable clues for travelers proving a direct continuity of Hellenism from antiquity to contemporary times in the Christianized, Byzantine form. However, as noted by Bareilles, the combination of Hellenism and "Byzantinism" was not straightforward and even misguided, since "the Greek who was first and foremost Orthodox, had only some vague idea of his Hellenic origin." He added:

> Abused by their science, [European] poets and politicians have unconsciously bonded to their ideal Greece the Greece issued from the darkness of Turkish rule […] forgetting that for two thousand years, the Roman conquest, the deep Christian renovation and a lot of invasions, which have left their mark on the soil where Greek civilization had flourished, have passed over the East. […] Still, we persist in translating the name 'Roman' in Byzantine texts by that of "Hellene" or "Greek" and no one seems to suspect that this mistranslation would have outraged Justinian or Comnenian's contemporaries. This name "Hellene," they would have repudiated it as an affront to their faith, because we know that it had the significance of "pagan."[67]

Kalas, "Early Explorations of Cappadocia and the Monastic Myth," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 28 (2004): 9-13.

66 Charles Texier and E. Popplewell Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture* (London: Day, 1864), 38. Quoted in Kalas, "Early Explorations of Cappadocia" (2004): 17.

67 Bertrand Bareilles, *Constantinople, ses cités franques et levantines (Péra, Galata, banlieue)* (Paris: Bossard, 1918), 353-54.

The maintenance of churches and presence of Christian communities that continued to perform their faith openly in the midst of territories that had been conquered by Muslim invaders centuries before were sufficient to demonstrate the fervent religiosity of these generations of Christians. Among those Christians, Greeks, who comprised the largest Christian population in Western Cappadocia, drew the attention of archaeologists, epigraphers and geographers in search of the vestiges of Hellenism and the Cappadocia described by Strabo. Armenians, whose settlements were localized around Kayseri in Eastern Cappadocia, were also an object of attention, but particularly of British and American missionaries. Moreover, they were not studied with the same hope of finding the heirs of an ancient people. On the other hand, while the numeric majority, non-Christians of the region were rarely the subject of extended description. Except when they were welcomed by state representatives, local notables and less often by a Muslim family for the night, travelers very rarely wrote about the Muslim element of Cappadocia. Rare ethnographic studies about Muslim peasantry and nomadic tribes included the works of William M. Ramsay at the very end of the nineteenth century.[68] Similarly, in contrast with ancient and Byzantine monuments, a description of buildings dating from the Seljuk period – that of Hans Rott – would not appear until 1909.[69]

While Turk, Turkic, and Kurdish nomadic tribes and also Armenians were, according to the narratives, not unlike those living in other parts of Anatolia, the Orthodox Christians of Cappadocia were presented as a particular sub-group among the "Greeks," especially when studied as ethnographic and linguistic objects. Given that the term "Cappadocia" became a generic word to define the area, the notion of "Cappadocian Greeks" also emerged in several narratives, but while no one dealt with "Cappadocian Turks" or "Cappadocian Armenians." The first author using this expression to refer to the contemporary population was Ainsworth in 1839, followed by

68 William M. Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey during Twelve Years Wanderings* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897); William M. Ramsay, "The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor: Some of its Causes and Effects," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 7 (1915-16).

69 Hans Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien*, (Leipzig, 1908), 81-294. See also Kalas, "Early Explorations of Cappadocia" (2004): 24-26.

Perrot in 1864, Wilson in 1884, and Ramsay in 1897.[70] For comparison, Kinneir had already used the expression in 1818, but only to describe population from antiquity. Rum scholars – as detailed in next paragraphs – used the same expression when they studied local Greek dialects, which they gathered under the generic name of the "Cappadocian Greek language."

Local dialects were also an aspect that interested European travelers in search of the vestiges of ancient languages. The latter interpreted the remoteness of the area as a barrier that preserved it from external influence and consequently from linguistic evolution. Cappadocian Greeks were thus supposed to speak an intact antique, or at least non-inflected, language. Georges Perrot described the local Greek language as follows:

> People have never really lost the use of Greek language; the language spoken among them has been preserved and lived in almost complete isolation in a remote province, free from scholar's influences and sometimes unintelligent effort that since the end of the last century is exerted on the romïque of Greece and the islands, and which tends to get closer to the old literary language: it also may have kept few turns, expressions, forms peculiar to the ancient dialect of Cappadocia, as it was spoken at the Graeco-Roman time.[71]

Turcophone Christians, who did not know a word of Greek, also surprised European travelers.[72] Travel accounts rarely described both Turkish- and Greek-speaking communities. On one hand, those that mentioned

70 Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839), 312; Georges Perrot, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure* (Paris: M. Lévy Frères, 1864), 383; Charles W. Wilson, "Notes on the Physical and Historical Geography of Asia Minor, made during Journeys in 1879-1882," *Proceedings of the Royals Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 6, no.6 (1884); Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey* (1897), 243; Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor* (1818).

71 Perrot, *Souvenirs d'un voyage* (1864), 382-83.

72 The "Turkish" way of life and the language of the Karamanlıs is the object of an article of Michael Knüppel. See Michael Knüppel, "Die Karamanen im Spiegel europäischer Reisebeschreibungen des 15.-19. Jahrhunderts," *Materialia Turcica* 18 (1997); Aude Aylin de Tapia, "Les relations entre les Grecs orthodoxes et l'Empire ottoman à partir d'une chronique de 1901 en karamanli sur l'histoire du Mont Athos" (Unpublished MA, Université de Strasbourg 2009), 40-47.

Hellenophone communities, such as Perrot, generally highlighted the Hellenistic past of Cappadocia and avoided mentioning the existence of Turcophone Christian settlements. On the other hand, those that described Turkish-speaking communities explained that these Christians had been "Turkified." A widespread story, taken up in several travel accounts suggested that the Greeks had lost their original language because Turks used to cut out the tongues of Greek children "to exterminate that speech."[73] Thee most detailed and tactful description of Cappadocian Greeks, in the matter of their languages, is that written by Ramsay. The Scottish archaeologist simply but meticulously explained the coexistence of Turkish- and Greek- speaking communities, as well as the large proportion of bilingual individuals. He was one of the rare travelers to mention the existence of the Karamanlı script in the Cappadocian context:

> They [the Greeks] are divided by difference of language: some use Greek alone, some Turkish alone, many are bilingual. One sees Greek Orthodox churches in the eastern part of Turkey, over whose door is an inscription in Greek letters; but when you read the words inscribed you find that they are Turkish, and on inquiry you learn that not soul in the congregation knows any Greek except the priest.[74]

Descriptions of Cappadocia in European travelogues offer a diversity of detail on a variety of topics such as architecture, language, agriculture, customs, and other aspects of everyday life. At a time when the kingdom of Greece had just been founded and Greek elites were establishing the basis for the creation of an encompassing Greek nation, travelogues by Westerners, particularly those of the eighteenth century and first third of the nineteenth century, were important resources for Rum scholars. A network of exchange of ideas among Western and Rum scholars of Istanbul is obvious – Westerners learning from Rum studies and Rums from Western travelogues. As early as 1834, Texier included among his sources the work, in Greek, of the Father Kyrillos

73 See for instance Tozer, *Turkish Armenia* (1881), 107.

74 Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey* (1897), 240.

(Patriarch of Constantinople in 1813-1818),[75] while in 1879, Tozer highlighted the process of Hellenization of Turkish-speaking communities by mentioning what he had heard from a Greek teacher living in London:

> The Greeks also until quite lately spoke Turkish as their native tongue; but now, we were informed, some of them were returning to the use of Greek, owing to the spread of national feeling. The teacher from whom I learnt Turkish in London was born in this district, and from him the story, which is current to account for the loss of their original language, namely, that the Turks at one time cut out the tongues of all the Greek children in order to exterminate that speech.[76]

Narratives of European authors engaged the interest of the Rum elite of the Ottoman capital for this particular region of Anatolia, but Orthodox tradition already supposed a conscious knowledge of the importance of Cappadocia for Greek cultural and theological heritage. Moreover, the curiosity of Rum scholars was piqued in the face of a massive migration of Cappadocian Rums, especially after 1850. Some of these migrants natives of the areas of Kayseri, Niğde, Nevşehir, and Aksaray were well-educated, entered the intellectual environment of the capital, and attracted interest to their native land through their writing.[77]

The Patriarch of Constantinople, Kyrillos, published a precursory work in 1815 (that he had actually written as the Metropolitan of Ikonium). Although his study did not directly refer to Cappadocia, but rather to the diocese of Ikonium, it became one of the most used references for later scholars interested in Cappadocia.[78] His interesting, albeit erroneous, observation about the dialect of the village of Sille (in the region of Konya), which he described as the antique dialect of Laconia, was the cornerstone for studies in

75 Texier, *Asie mineure* (1863), 559. The source mentioned by Texier is: Patriarch of Constantinople Kyrillos, *Ιστορική περιγραφή του εν Βιέννη προεκδοθέντος χωρογραφικού πίνακος της μεγάλης αρχισατραπίας Ικονίου* (Constantinople: Πατριαρχικό Τυπογραφείο, 1815).

76 Tozer, *Turkish Armenia* (1881), 107.

77 Regarding migration to Istanbul, see Chapters 5 and 6.

78 Kyrillos, *Ιστορική περιγραφή* (1815).

the decades to follow. In 1842 and 1848, a Rum from İncesu, Hadji-Iordanis, wrote two manuscripts about the topography and history of Cappadocia.[79] After him, in 1856, Nikolaos Rizos, a native of Sinasos, published a book entitled *Kappadokika*, telling the history of the area and describing the region with particular attention to Greek-speaking villages and to the remaining marks of Hellenism. Rizos claimed that his aim was to correct "the erroneous ideas of non-specialists" who considered that Cappadocian Greeks were all Turkish-speakers. Through this book, Rizos wanted to answer the Rum intellectuals of cultural capitals like Istanbul and Izmir, but also Athens, who regularly laughed at and disregarded the Cappadocians, describing them as an uncouth people who were unable to speak the language of their Church and nation.[80] Apparently, Rizos achieved his goal: his work initiated a new era of interest among Rum intellectuals in the Cappadocian living monuments and local culture of Cappadocia.[81]

While Rizos instigated an wave of publications about Cappadocia, it is later, in 1863, that the interest of urban elites in Cappadocia truly thrived. In a session of the Greek Literary Society of Istanbul on June 15, 1863, a presentation of the article of Andreas D. Mordtmann, "Die Troglodyten in Kappadokien," by Paranikas (who had translated the article into Greek), opened a passionate debate on two principal issues: Mordtmann's use of the term "troglodyte" and his point of view concerning local languages.[82] First, the

79 Anastassiadou, *Grecs d'Istanbul* (2012), 324.

80 Stavros Th. Anestidis, "Yunan ve Türk Edebiyatında Erken Karamanlı Tiplemeleri," in *Cultural Encounters in the Turkish-Speaking Communities of the Late Ottoman Empire*, eds. E. Balta and M. Ölmez (Istanbul: Isis, 2014).

81 Rizos, *Καππαδοκικα, ήτοι δοκίμιον* (1856). Rizos was was born in Sinasos in 1838. According to Evangelia Balta, his work, which was soon followed by scholarly studies of other native Cappadocians, initiated the gradual "discovery" of the region and of its population by Christian elites – not only those of Istanbul but of other main centers of Hellenism, such as Athens and Izmir. Anagnostakis and Balta, *Découverte de la Cappadoce* (1994).

82 In the following session, on July 27 1864, Mordtmann himself participated in the debate but stated that, because he had not attended the previous session, he was not aware of the presentation of Paranikas. Consequently he was not able to assess the accuracy of the Paranikas translation. See "Συνεδριακες ΞΒ΄ τη 27 Ιουλιου 1863," Ο εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος [Greek Literary Society of Constantinople] (1863).

term "troglodyte" was refuted by members of the Society, especially Sofoklès, who interpreted it as a pejorative, degrading description of his Cappadocian compatriots. It is interesting to compare Sofoklès' definition of the word troglodyte with the definitions of European travelers. For Sofoklès, who visited the area in 1855, the term "troglodyte' was…

> … improper for Cappadocians because these hills [where they live] are not caves (troglai) but huge monoliths excavated and arranged in homes of two or three levels and because we cannot call their ancient inhabitants Troglodytes, a name which is only suitable for inhabitants of Malakopia and other villages with underground tunnels extended over four or five hours [walk] in the plain.[83]

Consequently, Sofoklès considered only those people who lived in underground settlements as "troglodytes," not people who lived in rock-cut houses with access to and windows on the surface.

The second issue of controversy concerned the mother tongue of local Christians. In the beginning of the century, urban Rum elites of the empire (mainly living in Istanbul and in Izmir) "discover[ed] with surprise that, among the eighty-two rural Christian settlements of Cappadocia, some Greek-speaking communities exist[ed]."[84] The existence of these communities and of their "Greek dialects" was henceforth used ideologically to prove a direct link between ancient Greece and the Greeks of the nineteenth century.[85] Scholars consequently quasi-exclusively oriented their attention to these specific communities. On this topic, Mordtmann entered with a contrarian theory that occasioned impassioned debates. The German orientalist claimed that the local Christian population had directly switched from a Cappadocian language to the Turkish language, without ever using Greek as a mother tongue; the Greek language had only been the language of the Church. The debates following this claim during assemblies held in the last months of 1863

83 "Συνεδριακες ΞΒ΄ τη 15 Ιουνιου 1863," Ο εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος [Greek Literary Society of Constantinople] (1863), 206.

84 Anastassiadou, *Grecs d'Istanbul* (2012), 324.

85 Ibid.

triggered interest in Cappadocia among urban Rums.[86] During these debates, the necessity of studying local dialects through the collection of "living monuments" (records of speakers, transcription of songs, etc.) became a real purpose. As a result, from this point forward, Rum scholars began to try to demonstrate that Cappadocian Christians were Greeks and Greek-speakers, heirs of a Hellenistic civilization going back to Alexander the Great who had either maintained their dialects or, in the case of Turkish-speakers, lost their mother tongue in the face of Turkish pressure.

The particular interest of Rum scholars in Greek-speaking Cappadocians is explained by the contemporaneous discovery of these "vestiges of Hellenism" in the heart of Anatolia. The linguistic argument, even though refuted by the theory of Mordtmann, offered a particular useful basis for demonstrating the direct link between ancient and modern Greeks. The case of Turkish-speaking communities constituted a substantial impediment to this argument, circumvented by a theory according to which Turkish-speaking communities were formerly Greek-speaking communities that had been influenced by the overwhelming Turkish environment. Among scholars, some chose to develop the theory of Hellenicity of Cappadocian Christians by emphasizing Hellenophone communities and disregarding, or even showing contempt for, Turkish-speaking settlements. Beyond research about language, all aspects of the everyday life of Cappadocians became objects of curiosity for the Rum intelligentsia. However, until the 1920s, most studies about Cappadocia were written by scholars who were natives of the region.[87] An

86 "Συνεδριακες ΞΒ΄ τη 15 Ιουνιου 1863" (1863). The first debate about Mordtmann's article was on 15 June, and the issue was discussed again in July 27 and November 14 sessions.

87 The main works of native Cappadocian scholars are: Anastasios M. Levidis, *Ιστορικόν δοκίμιον διηρημένον εις τόμους τέσσαρας και περιέχον την θρησκευτικήν και πολιτικήν ιστορίαν την χωρογραφίαν και αρχαιολογίαν της Καππαδοκίας* [Historical background divided into four, volumes containing political and religious history, geography and archaeology of Cappadocia], Α΄ Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία [A. Ecclesiastical History] (Athens: Εκ του τυπογραφείου της μυθιστορικής βιβλιοθήκης Δ. Φέξη, 1885); Karolidis, *Καππαδοκικά* (1874); Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896); Symeon Farasopoulos, *Τα Σύλατα. Μελετή του νομού Ικονίου υπό Γεωγραφικων* [Sylata. Study about the Geographical aspects of the Customs of Ikonium] (Athens: Φιλολογικην και Εθωολογικων Εποψιν, 1895); Anastasios S. Alektoridis, "Λεξιλόγιον του εν Φερτακαίνοις της Καππαδοκίας γλωσσικου ιδιώματος" [Vocabulary of the

interesting exception was the erudite Ioannidis Kalfoglou, who was born in 1871 in Üsküdar (on the Asian shore of Istanbul) to a family that issued from Bafra (in Pontus area). He was thus not a Cappadocian but belonged to the larger group of provincial (or more precisely, Anatolian) Rums living in the capital. Kalfoglou worked as an editor of the Karamanlidika newspaper *Anatoli* (from 1892 to 1898) and published a book on the Monastery of Zincidere (in the region of Kayseri) in 1898 and the *Historical Geography of the Asia Minor Continent* in 1899.[88] His focus on Cappadocia is explained by his education, since he had graduated from the Cappadocian Theological Seminary of Zincidere. As Karolidis, Kalfoglou became a fervent supporter of the Hellenization movement and the emancipation of the Greeks of Asia Minor. From 1901 onwards, living in Batum, he participated in the liberation movement of the Pontic region (i.e. the Black Sea region). As noted by Benlisoy, the career of Kalfoglou was divided into two distinct periods: he lived "his first thirty years as a Turkish-speaking Orthodox subject of the Ottoman Empire and the other thirty years as a militant of Greek irredentism."[89] Contrary to Karolidis, who wrote exclusively in Greek, Kalfoglou first wrote in Karamanlı-Turkish. Through his writings, he aimed to reach Turkish-speaking compatriots and make them aware of their Greek identity.[90]

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dialect of Fertek in Cappadocia], *Deltion Istorikis Ethnologikis Etaireias* 1 (1883); Socratis Krinopoulos, *Τα Φερτάκαινα υπό Εθνολογικήν και Φιλολογικήν έποψιν εξεταζόμενα* [Ethnological and Philological issues about the Fertekians] (Athens, 1889); Iordanis I. Limnidis, *Καϊσεριγέ* [Kayseri] (1896); Archelaos I. Sarantidis, *Η Σινασός ήτοι θέσις, ιστορία, ηθική και διανοητική κατάστασις, ήθη, έθιμα και γλώσσα της εν Καππαδοκία κωμοπόλεως Σινασού* [Sinasos, i.e. localization, ethics and intellectual condition, customs and language of the town of Sinasos in Cappadocia] (Athens, 1899).

88 Ioannis Kalfoglou, *Μικρα Ασια Κητασηνην Ταριχιε Δζαγραφιαση* [Historical Geography of the Asia Minor Continent] (Deri Saadet: Αδελφοι Μισαηιλιδαι Ματπαση, 1899).

89 Stefo Benlisoy, "Another Newspaper in our Language!" in *Cultural Encounters in the Turkish-speaking Communities of the Late Ottoman Empire*, eds. E. Balta and M. Ölmez (Istanbul: Isis, 2014), 382.

90 Ioannis Kalfoglou, *Ιστορική γεωγραφία της Μικρασιατικής χερσονήσου* [Historical Geography of Asia Minor (with a preface of S. Anestidis)] (Athens: CAMS, 2002), 11-34.

Anatolian authors wrote books and newspapers in Greek or in Karamanlı Turkish printed in the printing house of the patriarchate, followed by private printing companies owned by Rum but also Armenian printers who where mostly settled in Istanbul and in Izmir (but also abroad, especially in Athens).[91] These publications were read by Cappadocian and non-Cappadocian Rums living in these and other cities of the empire but also, to a lesser extent, in rural contexts where people gained access to them thanks to libraries founded within communal schools which generally bought or received donated books from urban migrants.

In works of Rum authors, the term "Cappadocia" was applied to a broad region reaching as far as Yozgat in the north, Niğde in the south, Konya in the west, and beyond Kayseri in the east, entirely encompassing the two dioceses of Ikonium and Caesarea and all of the Greek- and Turkish-speaking Orthodox communities of central Anatolia.[92] In fact, Cappadocia was almost used as a synonym for Anatolia. However, in practice, because of the

91 The most important publishing house for Karamanlı publications was certainly that of Evangelios Misailidis who began in Izmir and then settled in Istanbul. Strauss, "The Millets and the Ottoman Language" (1995); Evangelia Balta, "Karamanlidika Press (Smyrna 1845 - Athens 1926)," in *Beyond the Language Frontier. Studies on the Karamanlis and the Karamanlidika Printing* (Istanbul: Isis, 2010), 109-11.

92 Rizos, *Καππαδοκικα, ήτοι δοκίμιον* (1856); Karolidis, *Καππαδοκικά* (1874); Levidis, *Ιστορικόν δοκίμιον*, Α΄ (1885); V.A. Mystakidis, "Καππαδοκικά. Περιγραφή γεωγραφική, στατιστική, εκπαιδευτική, εμπορική, εκκλησιαστική της μητρόπολης Καισαρείας" [Kappadokika. Geographic, statistical, educational, commercial, and ecclesiastical history of the Diocese of Caesarea], *Parnassos* 15 (1892); Savva V. Zervoudaki, "Διανοητικὴ ἀναγέννησις ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Καππαδοκίας" [Intellectual Renaissance in Caesarea in Cappadocia], *Ξενοφάνης: σύγγραμμα περιοδικόν του Συλλόγου των Μικρασιατών "Ανατολής"* 1 (1896-1904); Savva V. Zervoudaki, "Τὰ ἤθη καὶ τὰ ἔθιμα, τὸ ἐπάγγελμα, ἡ ἐνδυμασία τῶν ἐν ἀποκέντροις Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας οἰκούντων Ὀρθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν" [Manners and customs, profession, clothes of the Orthodox-Christians inhabitants of Caesarea in Cappadocia], *Ξενοφάνης: σύγγραμμα περιοδικόν του Συλλόγου των Μικρασιατών "Ανατολής"* 1 (1896-1904); Anastasios M. Levidis, "Πραγματεία περί πολιτισμού και διανοητικής αναπτύξεως των Καππαδόκων και των εκ Καππαδοκίας διαλαμψάντων επισήμων ανδρών από των αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι της σήμερον" [Treatise on cultural and intellectual development of the Cappadocians and on religious and state men coming from Cappadocia from ancient times until today] (CAMS, 1899).

concentration of Rum communities in the eastern half of this broadly defined Cappadocia, studies focused on the region between Aksaray and Kayseri. Despite the indistinctness of its borders, in Rum publications Cappadocia became a regional entity, the main factors of unity of which were its landscape, traditional housing stock, and also local culture and "living monuments." As a symbol of this "Cappadocization" of local geography, the names of Rum institutions and associations founded after the 1870s often included the word Cappadocia. For instance, in 1872 the Cappadocian Educational Association of Istanbul was founded to help finance the development of schools in Cappadocia; in the next decade, the Seminary of Zincidere, called Rodokanakis Theological Seminary (*Ροδοκανάκειος Ιερατική Σχολή*) upon its foundation in 1882, was renamed the "Cappadocian Theological Seminary (*Καππαδοκική Ιερατικμή Σχολή*) in 1889.[93]

The opening of the seminary at Zincidere represented the continuity and apex of a broader educational movement among the Rum population of Cappadocia. In fact, interests in the education of Cappadocian Christians was foremost a reaction to the penetration of Protestant and Catholic missions into central Anatolia, and the flourishing of schools throughout Cappadocian villages over the course of the nineteenth century played a nascent role in the invention of Cappadocian unity based on a common geography and history. As schools opened throughout the region, a Cappadocian identity began to define itself a subgroup within the *millet-i Rum*. The rural population of Cappadocia, until then neglected, began to be more carefully taken into account by central religious institutions.

It is no exageration to claim that Protestant and Catholic missions triggered this interest in education. For missionaries, religious knowledge went through education, healthcare and scientific illumination of the flock.

93 Regarding the seminary of Zincidere, see Stefo Benlisoy, "Education in the Orthodox Community of Nevsehir during the Nineteenth Century" (Unpublished PhD, Boğaziçi University, 2010), 101-02. "Καππαδοκική Εκπαιδευτική Αδελφότης εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει" [Cappadocian educational fraternity in Constantinople] (Constantinople: Ευαγγελινός Μισαηλίδης, 1872); "Γενικός Κανονισμός των Σχολείων της Θεοσώστου Επαρχίας Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας" [General regulation of the schools of the eparchy of Kayseri in Kappadocia] (Constantinople: Βυζαντίδος, 1872).

The interest and success of missions vis-à-vis these issues incited Ottoman authorities (including the heads of *millet*s) to roll up their own sleeves in these fields. Moreover, missionary activity in Anatolia and the reforms introduced by the state created an impetus for the takeover of education by the Eastern churches. According to Evangelia Balta, "the appeal of the propaganda of various Western churches among [Christian] populations [of Anatolia] caused the leadership of the Orthodox Church to worry about its flock in Anatolia."[94] As a result, even though education systems apparently gave a clear and divided picture of the Ottoman society, with each religious community having its own instruction network, in fact, the topic of education topic is emblematic of the intricacy of internal and external actors.

Founded in 1810, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) would be the most active mission in Cappadocia. It was granted a corporate charter in 1812 by the State of Massachusetts which enabled it to use funds in order "to pursue general altruistic labor but mostly to propagate the Gospel and spread Protestant beliefs to all the communities of Turkey."[95] Their activities in Anatolia began in the 1820s. Because proselytizing Muslims was prohibited, they focused their effort on the flocks of Eastern churches that they considered as being astray. The American Board in Anatolia wanted to stimulate the reform of oriental Churches. In practice, they nurtured the emergence and development of a new Protestant community formalized by a ferman in 1847[96] establishing permanent stations in urban areas settled by small Protestant communities of mainly Armenians who had converted to Protestantism.

The first missionary of the ABCFM to reach Kayseri was Elnathan Bridley in 1827, but he died from malaria soon after.[97] The town then received a permanent station of the American Board in 1854 with the arrival of J.N. Ball

94 Balta, *Beyond the Language Frontier* (2010), 72.

95 Brian Johnson, "A Traveler's view of the 'Gilt-Edged Mission': Reflections on a Century of American Missionary Involvement in Anatolia," in *Recovering the Past: Archeologists and Travelers in Ottoman Lands*, ed. PENN Museum (Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2010), 2.

96 Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy* (2012) 79.

97 Barrows noted that Bridley was buried in Endürlük. See John O. Barrows, *On Horseback in Cappadocia or a Missionary Tour* (Boston: Congregational Sunday, 1884), 79.

and W.A. Farnsworth. At that time, there were around twenty Protestants in Kayseri. In just three years, the Protestant flock increased to 151 followers, composed predominantly of Armenian converts; in 1875, they were 2310 according to the statistics of Farnsworth. Nineteen sub-stations were established in the region. In the 1890s, the missionaries moved their central station from Kayseri to Talas where they had built a boarding school and hospital. In the same period, another central station was established in Zincidere on account of a ferman granted in 1893 that allowed the American mission to build a Protestant church in this town.[98] It appears that Protestant missionary activity focused on eastern Cappadocia – Kayseri and its surrounding countryside – while the areas of Niğde, Aksaray, and Nevşehir remained peripheral. In practice, Ioannidis counted only a few Protestant households in the towns of Nevşehir and Niğde in 1896, and missionaries were absent. In 1884, John O. Barrows mentioned a Protestant preacher in Niğde and another in Ürgüp.[99] However, their activities were limited to small dispensaries and mobile missions, namely to journeys during which missionaries helped locals, especially in times of epidemic or famine. This imbalance in the number of Protestant missions in the western and eastern parts of Cappadocia is explained by the fact that Armenians, as the main audience of the missionaries, lived predominantly in the east, mostly in and at the periphery of Kayseri. In the beginning of the twentieth century, however, missions were established in Nevşehir, Aksaray, and Niğde, but their influence remained limited.

Albeit less numerous and active, Catholic missions were also present in the region. Catholic missions in the Ottoman Empire were actually older than Protestant ones but spread to Cappadocia only in the last third of the nineteenth century. It was not until 1881 with the nomination in Istanbul of the Jesuit Father Amédée of Damas as the procurer of a new mission that Catholic missions would be created in Anatolia (in Kayseri, Merzifon, Amasya, Tokat, Sivas, and Adana). In Kayseri, the Catholics established a

98 Benlisoy, "Education in the Orthodox" (2010), 264.

99 Barrows, *On Horseback* (1884), 4 & 35. Barrows also noted that the preacher who had been sent to Ürgüp was persecuted by Orthodox inhabitants and compelled to flee. “His life had been threatened and the brethren themselves urged him to leave.”

monastery and a school dedicated to Saint Basil. The Jesuits were among the more active orders to participate in Anatolian missions, but they were assisted by other orders such as the Oblates of the Assumption (from Nîmes) in Tokat and Merzifon and the Sisters of Saint-Joseph (from Lyon) in Adana as well as in Kayseri. In this last city, they established their presence in 1883, managed an orphanage, and provided itinerant medical care in the countryside.[100] In Cappadocia, the mission of the Jesuits was concentrated on the region of Kayseri and villages further noth along the road to Sivas. In the Western part of Cappadocia, their activity was more limited, focused on the town of Nevşehir where a very small Catholic community lived.[101]

For both Catholic and Protestant missions, education was the primary activity. The goal of instruction was to instill (religious) knowledge to locals, but schools were also a good way to the draw attention, respect, and sympathy of the population. On this issue, Amédée of Damas wrote, "[t]he school has even become for us a passport […] To know French is the great ambition of the country."[102] The French language held a particular prestige in Anatolia because of its importance for trade and other international exchanges. Jesuit schools consequently attracted an important audience: children of well-off families as well as poor and penniless pupils from the Catholic and Gregorian Armenian and, to a lesser extent, Orthodox communities, but also, generally for evening courses, children of local Muslim notables seeking high-quality education.[103] The educational activities of missions were oriented to people of all faiths; even though the schools' aim was to spread a Protestant or Catholic

100 Alexandre Brou, *Les Jésuites missionnaires au XIXe siècle* (Bruxelles: Librairie Albert Dewit, 1908), 226. From the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Sisters of S. Joseph also ran a carpet workshop in Kayseri. See "Césarée de Cappadoce. Journal personnel d'une soeur de Saint Joseph de Lyon - 4 C 4," *Archives de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth* (1905-1914).

101 Jules Pargoire, "Diocese of Adana," in *Catholica Encyclopedia*, eds. C. G. Herbermann, E. A. Pace, *et al.* (1913); Siméon Vailhé, "Caesarea," in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, eds. C. G. Herbermann, E. A. Pace, *et al.* (1913); Philippe Luisier, "Présence des Jésuites en Turquie au XIXe et au XXe siècle," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes* 110, no.2 (1998).

102 Amédée de Damas, "Bulletin de l'Oeuvre des écoles d'Orient," 1883 (January), 13. Original text: " L'école est même devenue pour nous un passeport. […] Or, savoir le français est la grande ambition du pays."

103 Luisier, "Présence des Jésuites" (1998): 788.

message, students were free to follow their own creed. For the viability of the mission, missionaries adopted a broad, inclusive approach, "combining the most earnest religious teaching with perfect religious liberty" and concealing the wish to proselytize.[104] Commonly, extracurricular activities such as music (brass band, orchestras), sports (tennis, baseball, etc.), and even initiations into botanic or archaeological study were included among the programs of missionary schools .[105] Moreover, Jesuit missionaries were even contacted by Rum and Armenian schools in which French teachers were in demand. For instance, Father Gransault, superior of the mission of Kayseri in the 1900s received a request from the Christian community of Nevşehir in 1906 asking that he opens a school, especially to teach French, to serve the town's Christians.. Among the eight notables who signed the request, six were Rums and two were Armenians.[106]

Missions, whether Catholic or Protestant, emphasized the education of girls, an issue on which the state was particularly retrograde.[107] The conditions of life of women and girls, whether Muslim or Christian, preoccupied male but mostly female missionaries, who, in addition to opening schools for girls, proposed them specific activities, such as carpet weaving working groups.[108] Prayer-meetings reserved for women were also organized in and out missionary stations. In his book on the *History of the Missions of the ABCFM to the Oriental Churches* published in 1872, Rufus Anderson, in a chapter concerning the Armenians of the empire, claimed that the situation of women in the region of Kayseri experienced important progress thanks to the work of missions. Anderson, who spent several decades organizing overseas missions from United States, assured that a large number of Armenian women, who were formerly bitterly persecuted by their husbands and were unable to read, were henceforth learning to read and "became better wives and mothers, their

104 "The Anatolian," *Anatolia College* (1911-1912), 33.

105 Luisier, "Présence des Jésuites" (1998): 789; Johnson, "A Traveler's view of the 'Gilt-Edged Mission'" (2010), 7.

106 "Césarée de Cappadoce, Divers I -15 D 19," *Archives de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth*, (1889-1914). The letter, written in poor French, is reproduced in Appendix D2.

107 Kieser, *Iskalanmış Barış* (2005), 84; Luisier, "Présence des Jésuites" (1998): 792.

108 Luisier, "Présence des Jésuites" (1998): 792.

influence being felt for good upon those around them."[109] One must of course recall that Anderson, an eminent member of the American Board, looked out for his own interests and, according to the French expression, preached for his own parish!

Education was not the only field of activity of missions. Healthcare was also a central issue, especially in provinces where hospices were rare and epidemics (especially cholera) and famines were frequent. Small, free health centers were opened in villages and towns and missionaries went throughout the countryside, visited villages offering itinerant medical care. Thanks to their mobility, which led them even to the most remote villages, missionaries not only attracted the sympathy of villagers but acquired a detailed knowledge of the area and of local customs.[110] If education was mostly oriented towards non-Muslim communities, a few Muslim pupils notwithstanding, medical care served the whole of the population, including and probably mostly Muslims who often comrpsied the most vulnerable local communities.[111]

Other activities were developed by missions. Among them, literary production aimed at enlightening the local flock: translated editions of books – especially but not limited to scriptures translated into local languages (Armenian, Armeno-Turkish, and Karamanlı) – as well as newspapers and periodical publications. Providing literature to locals was one of the most important branches of work carried out by the American Board. Multilingual book production particularly flourished after 1870 and was conducted by the Bible House in Istanbul, the production of which included school and religious books, but also scientific and literary writing. Central to its secular production were medical issues, mainly on topics of hygiene and epidemics. For literature published in Karamanlidika by the *American Bible House*, the *Foreign Bible Society*, the *Church Missionary Society*, the *London Missionary*

109 Rufus Anderson, *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, II (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1872).

110 Luisier, "Présence des Jésuites" (1998): 791-92. See also Barrows, *On Horseback* (1884); Joseph Burnichon, "A travers le Taurus. De Césarée en Cappadoce à Adana, Souvenirs de Voyage," *Compagnie de Jésus. Études de théologie, de philosophie et d'histoire* (1894).

111 Johnson, "A Traveler's View of the 'Gilt-Edged Mission'" (2010), 7.

Society, and the *Prayer Book*, religious books remained the staple.[112] The *English Bible Society* published a large number of Karamanlidika books with religious content in London or in Istanbul, books that the Society diffused throughout the Ottoman Empire and especially among Turkish-speaking Orthodox communities of Cappadocia.[113] Originally published in Athens, Smyrna, and London, most of the religious books after 1890 were published directly in Istanbul by one of several Protestant Armenian printers (*Matbaa-i Aramyan*, *Matbaa-i K. Bağdadlıyan*, *A. Minasyan Basmahanesi*, or *A. H. Boyacýyan Matbaası*). According to Stavros Anestidis, of 140 Karamanlidika religious books, 110 were published by missionary societies over only thirty published on the initiative of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.[114] In addition to books, the American Board published a weekly paper *The Missionary Herald* woth a Karamanlı version (*Angeliaforos*) from 1876 to 1909, but also in Armeno-Turkish (*Avedaber*) from 1872 to 1911. This paper contained general religious and political issues, offering news of both the empire and the rest of the world. More surprising was a monthly version targeting a young audience (*Angeliaforos Çocuklar içün* in Karamanlı and *Avedaber çocuklar içün* in Armeno Turkish) which gave news about the world, described customs in foreign countries, and gave encyclopedic information in the form of illustrated narratives. The Karamanlı version was issued from 1872 to 1895. *Angeliaforos* and *Angeliaforos Çocuklar içün* were both printed in Istanbul in a publishing house belonging to an Armenian.[115] Different versions of *The Missionary Herald* were broadly diffused in Cappadocia as can be ascertained from various testimonies. The missionary John O. Barrows wrote, for instance,

112 Stavros Th. Anestidis, "Saint Augustin visite la Cappadoce des Pères orthodoxes," in *Between Religion and Language: Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire*, eds. E. Balta and M. Ölmez (Istanbul: Eren, 2011), 278.

113 The British and Foreign Bible Society conducted its missionary work with much the same general plan as the American Society, but its efforts were confined to Bulgaria, the Greek islands, and the Aegean coast of Asia minor as well as Syria and Egypt. Arrangements had been made between the English and American societies so they would not crowd or interfere with one another. Consequently, central Anatolia was the domain of the American Board but that did not prevent from the distribution of books published by the English society.

114 Anestidis, "Saint Augustin visite la Cappadoce" (2011), 279.

115 Balta, *Beyond the Language Frontier* (2010), 123-24.

that an imprisoned Protestant Armenian received the *Angeliaforos* once a week in "Greco-Turkish," which "he read over and over, deriving much comfort from it."[116]

Missionary activity was subtler than the classical picture of pure proselytism. On one hand, Protestants were more avant-garde than the much older Catholic missions, providing education in locals' mother tongue and developing the positive sciences, literacy, and vocational education. During the nineteenth century, missionaries did not intend to grow their religious flocks in Anatolia through conversion, but rather they tried to reform Eastern churches internally, believing that education would bring new generations to enlightenment. Through this reformation, missions aimed to achieve a gradual increase of "enlightened" Christian from "nominal" ones.[117] Catholic missions were not totally outdone. The prestige of the French language and the long history of the Jesuit order in the Ottoman Empire were crucial to the preservation of the Catholic missions, which were motly led by French priests. In Kayseri, the arrival in 1878 of an Armeno-Catholic Friar, Boğos Efendi Emmanuilyan stimulated the Catholic mission of the city. According to Levidis, Emmanuilyan gained the respect not only of Catholics, but of people of other *millet*s. He succeeded in convincing 150 Armenian families to convert and established the church of the Holy Cross as well as a school in the city.[118]

The Sublime Porte did not wait until missionary teaching activities intensified to become involved with educational issues. The reformation of education took a new turn under the reign of Mahmud II who, in 1824, issued a ferman stipulating the necessity of teaching reading for everyday use, and the compulsory religious education of Muslims – an early precursor of the

116 Barrows, *On Horseback* (1884), 169.

117 Benlisoy, "Education in the Orthodox" (2010), 14.

118 Levidis, *Ιστορικόν δοκίμιον*, Α΄ (1885). A letter written in 1888 by Father Gransault, superior of the Jesuit mission in Kayseri, confirms the central role of Monsignor Boos Emmanuelian in attracting the population of Armenian villages – "poor, oppressed and almost abandoned by their national chiefs" – to Catholicism. See "Césarée de Cappadoce, Divers I -15 D 19, " *Archives de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth* (1889-1914).

establishment of a secular public education.[119] The control of education remained in hands of *ulemas* and the *şeyhülislam*, even though teaching programs were partly secularized with the introduction of disciplines such as literature, mathematics, history, and geography.[120] However, the efforts were concentrated on the capital and main cities of the empire. The first *rüşdiye* schools in central Anatolia were founded in 1853 but were limited to main towns such as Ankara and Konya – not, for instance, Kayseri. Nonetheless, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the development of public schools in provinces was designed to catch up with missionary schools (which paid special attention to less developed and less urban areas), but also with Greek and Armenian communal schools that had also rapidly spread in urban and rural environments. The expansion of Greek orthodox schools which were recruiting teachers from Greece and of missionary schools began to be regarded by Ottoman authorities as a potential danger.

The edict of 1856 broadened state educational efforts through the creation of the Ministry of Public Education (officially established in 1857) and of Provincial Educational Councils (*Meclis-i Maarif*) to remedy provincial backwardness, and supervise the development of educational structures. At that time, the state officially recognized the right of each religious community (*cemaat*) to establish and organize its own schools under state supervision. This recognition was aimed to maintain state control over the educational facilities of non-Muslim communities, which were being developed far more rapidly than state schools. Methods of instruction and recruitment of teachers was "under the control of a mixed council of public instruction (*Meclis-i Muhtelit-i Maârif*), the members of which shall be named by my [the sultan's] sovereign command."[121] This council also determined the language of

119 In February 1839, the Council of Public Works (*Meclis-i Umur-i Nafia*) published several propositions to reform the education system, suggesting "compulsory [primary] education for boys at the traditional and greater mosque-schools to provide them proficiency in reading, writing and basic Islamic precepts." See Selçuk Akşın Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire (1839-1908)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 26-31.

120 Ibid., 32.

121 Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom Islam, the State and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 74.

instruction. In those years, communal primary schools, were authorized to give instruction in the language spoken by the members of the community.[122] Needless to say, in the case of the Orthodox communities of Cappadocia, this decision would open debates concerning schools created in the villages of the region, whether the communities spoke Turkish or local Greek dialects.[123]

For non-Muslims, the right to create communal schools led to the rapid development of educational networks. The *millet*s of the empire were called upon to institutionalize their organization by proclaiming their own constitutions and to setting up parliaments of elected representatives. For Orthodox Christians, the "*Milli* Regulations" (*Ιενικοί Κανονισμοί/Genikoi Kanonismoi*) were elaborated between 1858 and 1860 and published in 1862.[124] In this new context, the *millet-i Rum* was particularly successful in deploying educational networks throughout towns and villages, under the auspices of the Patriarchate but also supported by the urban elites driven by an enthusiasm, typical of the time, for philanthropic activity, as well as their wish to enlighten ordinary people. Cappadocia was considered a backward region in terms of public educational structures, but the opening of Orthodox communal schools slowly began in the 1850s and intensified after 1870, following the Regulation on Public Education (1869), which defined all educational facilities totally funded by Ottoman subjects or foreigners as private schools.[125] This intense development of communal schools reinforced the disequilibrium between Muslim and non-Muslim populations in terms of education but also, a fortiori, in terms of professional – and especially trade – activity. According to Deringil, in the face of the educational endeavours of Rums, the "relatively

122 Somel, *Modernization of Public Education* (2001), 43-44.

123 In 1908, to curtail nationalist ideology among non-Muslim subjects and bind them to Turkness, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) tried to retract the liberties regarding the language of instruction, proposing that Turkish be taught in all primary schools and be the only language of instruction in all secondary schools in the empire. Facing the strong resentments of Christians, the CUP eventually compromised and decided not to intervene in the instruction of communal secondary schools. Benlisoy, "Education in the Orthodox" (2010).

124 Anagnostopoulou, "Greek Diplomatic Authorities" (2010), 66; Anastassiadou, *Grecs d'Istanbul* (2012), 115.

125 Benlisoy, "Education in the Orthodox" (2010), 43.

tolerant atmosphere of the Tanzimat" turned into extreme suspicion of non-Muslims in the Hamidian era.[126]

A report of 1857 sent by the governor of Crete to the Sublime Porte noted that, in the face of non-existence of public (Muslim) education, some locals "were inclined to convert to Christianity" to benefit from the education provided by Greek schools.[127] Despite reforms and efforts to develop infrastructure of education, in most remote areas, the upshots remained limited. They depended on sufficient financial capacity, but also on the active demand (or not) of local populations given the continued increase in the number of missionary and especially communal schools. This double-standard scheme increased during the Hamidian period. Several Ottoman bureaucrats (Radovişli Mustafa Bey in 1886, Şakir Pasha in 1891, and Mehmed Ferid Pasha in 1901) began to consider that the only way to limit the disequilibrium of Muslim and non-Muslim communities and mitigate the risk of the disloyalty of non-Muslim subjects was to close down their schools.[128] Despite a series of regulations and the foundation of public schools throughout the empire, Şakir Pasha continued to believe in 1891 that non-Muslims still had more opportunities than Muslims in terms of education. Consequently, he emphasized the necessity of spreading public educational networks more broadly to increase level of instruction among Muslim populations. In the 1910s, Ahmet Şerif continued to describe the same "great gap between Christians and Muslims" of Anatolia, emphasizing the central role of structures of education.[129]

Among Rum (as well as Armenian) elites of the empire, the increasing interest in the education of masses was foremost a reaction to the deployment of education by foreign missionaries in Anatolia. During the first years of missionary activity in Asia Minor (1820s-1830s), Eastern churches did not

126 Selim Deringil, *The Well-protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), 105.

127 Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education* (2001), 70 (according to a report dated March 8, 1857 (BOA, IMVL 16301).

128 Fortna, *Imperial Classroom Islam* (2002), 68; Ali Karaca, *Anadolu Islahatı ve Ahmet Şakir Paşa* (Istanbul: Eren, 1993), 82-83.

129 Ahmet Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanîn*, I (Ankara: TTK, 1999), 222.

seem particularly disturbed by the missions, but they soon began to be seen as a potential, dangerous competitor. According to Benlisoy, "the primary reason behind the Patriarchate's increasing interest in educational activities was the threat posed by missionary activities on its flock."[130] Similarly, Mamoni described the creation of the Ecclesiastic and Spiritual Central Committed by Patriarch Gregory VI (1835-1840) in 1836 as the first official organ of the Patriarchate for the supervision of educational affairs and as the first clearly organized reaction to counter missionary activities.[131] A few years later, in 1839, in response to the rise of Lutheran discourse in his diocese, Països, the Metropolitan bishop of Caesarea, translated the *Catéchisme de la véritable religion* of the Metropolitan of Moscow (1765).[132]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Armenian Church regularly excommunicated those who embraced Protestantism and its response was severe against those who attended the services of missionaries. As for the Orthodox Church, it regularly warned its flock through circulars and announcements not to follow t "foreign propaganda," attempted to make parents aware of their responsibilities, and tried to prevent them from sending their children to missionary schools. Official denunciation of missionaries, an interdiction against Orthodox attending mission schools, and the prohibition of Bible translations that contained potential misunderstandings were among the measures taken by the Orthodox Church.[133] Missionary schools were

130 Benlisoy, "Education in the Orthodox" (2010) 12 & 260-77.

131 Ibid., 17. Closed a few years later, the commission was recreated in 1868 to keep close watch over religious and educational affairs, especially the verification of the content of books published on these issues in Istanbul. See Anestidis, "Saint Augustin visite la Cappadoce" (2011), 277.

132 Metropolitan of Moscow Platon, *Τογρού τινίγν ταλιμί κι ταρικτέ 1765 Μόσχα Μητροπολουτού φαζιλετλού μαλουματλού Πλάτωνταν τασνίφ ολτού, βὲ Ορθόδοξος Χριστιαναρὶγν τζόυμλεσι κεντί λισανναρηνὰ τερτζουμὰ ἐττιρτιλέριτι, βὲ φάκατ τούρκτζα πιλὲν Χριστιαννὰρ μαχρόυμιτλερ που Αζίζ Κιταπτὰν σιμτιγέκαταρ* [Catechism of the true religion, composed in 1765 by the Metropolite of Moscow, Platon] (Asitane: Κουτους Σεριφιγν Πασμαχανεσι, 1839). Quoted in Anestidis, "Saint Augustin visite la Cappadoce" (2011), 279.

133 Kyriaki Mamoni, "Αγώνες του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου κατά των Μισσιοναρίων" [Battles of the Oecumenical Patriarchate against the missionaries], *Μνημοσύνη (Mnimosyni)* 8 (1980-1981).

presented as harmful for Orthodoxy but also for Greekness because they led to the loss of traditional values. In parallel, circulars insisted on the necessity of sending children to communal schools that also taught foreign languages but, at the same time protected religion, language, morals, and customs dear to the Orthodox Church. Lay intellectuals were also worried about the expansion of missions, especially because proselyte activity was considered a dangerous for Greek national identity in the context of an attempted (re-)Hellenization of the Anatolian Greek population. For leaders of the Hellenization movement in the late nineteenth century, any change in religious affiliation on account of Protestant proselytism would also provoke detachment from the Greek nation. That is why elites such as Krinopoulos and Valavanis insisted on the necessity of creating communal schools to support efforts to protect and cultivate national culture.[134]

Just as liturgical texts in Karamanlidika attempted to thwart freely distributed publications by missionaries, treatises were published to denigrate Protestant belief and promote Orthodoxy. Eustathios Kleovoulos, the Metropolitan of Kayseri between 1871 and 1875, wrote a long treatise accusing missionaries of stealing the ignorant, unarmed sheep of Christ's flock.[135] This writing is only one of numerous polemics, pamphlets, and letters that multiplied through the latter decades of the century: the *Refutation of Protestants* (1876), the *Defender of Orthodoxy* (1883), and the *Misleading and Misled* (1898) are a few other examples of treaties against Protestantism written by both clergymen and lay intellectuals, published as books or in various newspapers such as *Anatoli*, *Terakki,* and *Xenophanis*.[136]

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134 Benlisoy, "Education in the Orthodox" (2010), 30; Valavanis, *Μικρασιατικά* (1891); Krinopoulos, *Τα Φερτάκαινα* (1889), 15-17.

135 Kleovoulos also had an important role in the development of community schools, working in collaboration with the Fraternity for Education in Cappadocia (Καππαδοκική Εκπαιδευτική Αδελφότης). See Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 37.

136 Stefanos H. Ioannou, *Έλεγχος Διαμαρτυρόμενων γιά χοτ τεκζιπ-ούλ Προτεστάν* [Refutation of Protestants] (Athens: Τυποις Φιλαδελφεως, 1876); *Χαμιϊ ορθοδοξία (Προστάτης της Ορθοδοξίας). Γιάνι Προτεστανλήκ δεσισλερινέ καρσού Ορθοδοξίαϊ χημαγέ, βε Προτεστανληγήν ιπτιδάϊ ζουχουρινί βε ιϊτικαδηνή ιφαδέ ιδέρ πίρ κιτάπη μουστετάπδηρκι* [The Defender of Orthodoxy. A book teaching about the apparition of Protestantism, its belief and defense of Orthodoxy against its intrigues] (Deri Saadet: Μισαηλιδης ματβααση, 1883); Hierodiacre

Local clergy, notables, and intellectuals reacted violently against missionaries and worse still against Rums who sympathized with them. Excommunication constituted the main punishment, which engendered social exclusion, the experience of which was worse than simple religious banishment. The "ordinary flock" itself, influenced by local notables, was particularly resistant to proselytism. Many mission reports contained complaints about incidents with and harassment by local leaders, but also by ordinary people against inhabitants who sympathized with the missionaries and converted to Protestantism. These persecutions were more common in Orthodox than Armenian communities. This difference is explained by the fact that missions were more successful among Armenian communities and because the struggle of the Armenian Apostolic Church against the missions wass less resolute than that of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople.[137] As a consequence of this anti-Protestant atmosphere, conversions to Protestantism were often temporary. Levidis described the case of the village of Stefana where forty families had embraced Protestantism, but Levidis himself managed to convince all but one to return to Orthodoxy.[138]

Despite the antipathy, obvious suspicion, or even animosity, of Eastern churches towards the missions, the hospitals, clinics, and schools managed by missionaries were considered by locals as the best institutional structures of the provinces. Christian and Muslim notables regularly preferred to register their children in missionary schools rather than communal or public schools.

Hierothee Teknopoulos, *Πλανωντες και πλανωμενοι γιανι Αλδαδανλαρ βε Αλδανανλαρ* [The deceivers and the deceived] (Deri Saadet: Πατρικχανε Ματβααση, 1898). Regarding pamphlets in newspapers, for instance, see the *Anatolia* newspaper' issue n.3929 (7 July 1888). "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' - 1914. Ανατολή Ρουμλαρηνά Μαχσούς Ιλμί, Εδεπί, Φεννί Μουσαββέρ Σαλναμέ - ικινδζί σενέ" [Mikrasiatikon Imerologion, o Astir – 1913. Scientific, Literary and Technical Brilliant Salname for the Anatolian Rums – second year] (Constantinople: Σύλλογος Νεαπολιτών 'Παπά Γεώργιος', 1913), 143. Other examples are provided in Benlisoy, "Education in the Orthodox" (2010), 271-72.

137 Barrows, *On Horseback* (1884), 141-43 & 59.

138 Anastasios M. Levidis, "Συμβολαί είς τήν Ιστορίαν τού Προσηλυτισμού έν Μικρά Άσίά. Περί τών έν Καππαδοκία ένεργειών τών προσηλυτιστικών έταιρειών" [Contribution to the history of proselytism in Asia Minor. Regarding the actions of societies of proselytism in Cappadocia], *Ξενοφάνης: σύγγραμμα περιοδικόν του Συλλόγου των Μικρασιατών "Ανατολής"* 3 (1905-06): 254-55.

The American College of Talas, near Kayseri, was one of the most famous mission schools of Anatolia, and Rum, Armenian, and Muslim children pursued their studies there. It is in this context of competition between Western and Eastern churches, made easier by the educational reforms promulgated by the Ottoman state, that the Hellenization movement found a foothold in Cappadocia, mainly – if not only – in the process of developing educational networks. In 1891, Ioakeim Valavanis called on Greeks to help to create an educational system, aimed at cultivated the national consciousness of Orthodox Christians in Anatolia. In this context, Cappadocia became rapidly one of the main loci of activity in Anatolia. Hellenization was seen as a process of persuading Orthodox communities to identify with the Greek nation, a process which would take place through education – especially the teaching of "standard" Greek, as it was spoken in Athens, Istanbul, and Izmir and not "corrupted Greek(s)," these local dialects spoken by Anatolian villagers which an urban Greek could barely understand. In the face of Turkish-speaking communities, the issue was even more difficult: it was necessary to teach Greek to people who often did not know even a word and were considered to have forgotten the language of their ancestors because of their isolation from the centers of Hellenism and their environment, which was dominated by Turks (meaning Muslims). The idea was not to Hellenize but re-Hellenize local Christians by engendering a kind of "reminiscence" of the Greek language and a fortiori of the Greek identity forgotten after centuries of Ottoman domination.

In the countryside, education was thus the central pillar of Hellenization and reciprocally, the Hellenization movement participated in the development of education in the area through the foundation of schools and particular attention to programs that taught Greek.[139] However, the totality of community schools were not opened only with the intent to Hellenize as an instrument of a larger project of national completion. The opening of Greek schools would not have been possible if the Ottoman Empire did not reform and create new rules for education. In the new context of Ottoman reforms combined with a process of Hellenization, education of Orthodox subjects fell under the control of the Patriarchate, which coordinated and supervised

139 Benlisoy, "Education in the Orthodox" (2010).

educational affairs within the *millet*. Even though the secular element within the Orthodox *millet* began to be more actively involved in community affairs and especially in issues of education, until the creation of the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople *(Ο εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος/O en Konstantinoupoli ellinikos Philologikos Syllogos)* and its intervention in education, in the 1860s, the schools of the community were managed by the Patriarchate. From the 1860s onwards, however, many philanthropic- and education-oriented voluntary associations were created, to teach the values of the emerging middle class to lower social strata and to create social cohesion within the Rum community.[140] Nevertheless, in the face of missionary educational activities that had developed at the same time, the Patriarchate maintained its supervision by reconstituting a centralized ecclesiastic commission for spiritual affairs in charge of supervising schools and educational issues in 1868.[141]

Among the philanthropic associations, the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople, which began propagating and supporting educational activities outside the influence of Patriarchal institutions, was certainly the most active. Created as an independent society, the Hellenic Literary Society, did not cooperate with the Patriarchate's Central Educational Committee – at first. According to Anagnostopoulou, its emphasis on secular education and its focus on protecting and reproducing the established order and creating of respect for holy customs were in clear opposition to the Patriarchate's vision.[142] However, after the declaration of independence of the Romanian church in 1865, the Literary Society and the Patriarchate needed one another's legitimacy to preserve their authority over Ottoman Greeks. As a result, despite an increase of the influence of laymen in educational issues, the Patriarchate managed to maintain its authority over the totality of community schools. From this more or less obligatory cooperation between laymen and clerics in the educational system emerged the nationalization or Hellenization

140 Ibid., 28-29.

141 Anestidis, "Saint Augustin visite la Cappadoce" (2011), 277.

142 Sia Anagnostopoulou, "Tanzimat ve Rum Milletinin Kurumsal Çerçevesi," in *19. Yüzyil İstanbul'unda Gayrimüslimler*, ed. P. Stathi (Istanbul: Türkiye Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Tarih Vakfı, 1999), 20.

of the Rum community, which had formerly been defined only by its religious identity, but was increasingly legitimated as an ethnic identity.

On account of Ottoman reforms, clerical as well as secular circles in Istanbul constituted the main actors of the development of education throughout Anatolia. Later, with the shift to Athens as the new center of the Greek nation, the National University was established in 1837 in the capital of Greece becoming the main point of reference for educational missions and playing a determining role in the definition of the national community. The university was the place where most educated, Ottoman Orthodox Christians who wanted to carry on their education at the highest level would attend. By training Rum elites, it provided trained staff, teachers, and scholars for the communal schools spread throughout Asia Minor.

In Greece, the interest in the education among Rum communities began in the second half of the century and was strengthened by the foundation of the Society for the Propagation of Greek Letters in 1869 under the leadership of Paparrigopoulos, known as one of the main promoters of the *Megali Idea*.[143] Greek consuls in the Ottoman Empire had among their main missions to observe and support local education, but in the case of Cappadocia, the first diplomatic reports about the situation of local Rums were published only after 1900. In earlier years, the absence of representatives of the Greek State notwithstanding, the Patriarchate and the Ottoman Rum institutions of Istanbul confined themselves to the dissemination of the values and national discourse emanating from Athens. Facing the emergence of Athens as the secular, ideological, and cultural center of Hellenism, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, in this role, sought to maintain its centrality and spiritual leadership over Orthodox communities and tried to characterize itself as the most essential cement for the ethnic-religious identity.

143 Konstantinos Th. Dimaras, *Κωνσταντίνος Παπαρρηγόπουλος: Η Εποχή του - Η Ζωή του - Το Εργο του* [Constantinos Paparrigopoulos. His time, his, life, his work] *(*Athens: MIET, 1986), 241; Socrates D. Petmezas, "From privileged outcasts to power players: the 'Romanic' redefinition of the Hellenic nation in the mid-nineteenth century," in *The Making of Modern Greece*, eds. R. Beaton and D. Ricks (London: Ashgate, 2009), 133.

In this context, Cappadocian communities, mainly at the instigation of compatriot migrants living in various cities of the empire and especially Istanbul, began to develop an organized communal system. If, ideologically, the spread of the communal school network was led by the Patriarchate and Rum elites of Istanbul, economically, the construction and functioning of Anatolian schools were made possible almost exclusively due to the financial support of the miigrants who would fund the school of their native village or town through associations of compatriots. The first fraternity (in Greek *αδελφότης/adelfotis*, or in Karamanlı-Turkish *ουχουββετ/uhuvvet*) they created in 1872 was the Fraternity for Cappadocian Education *(Καππαδοκική Εκπαιδευτική Αδελφότητα*). This association was founded by migrants living in Istanbul and aspired to develop education among Rum communities of the whole region. It also was the first institution carry the term "Cappadocia" in its name, indicating the reappearance of a Cappadocian geographical and cultural entity in the minds of Anatolian Rums.[144] Towards the turn of the century, the efforts of associations of migrants obviously bore fruit in Cappadocia since most of the Rum urban and rural communities laid claim to at least a primary school.[145] If for Greek and Rum intellectual elites schools were seen as vehicles of Hellenization, for ordinary Cappadocians as well as for the petite bourgeoisie composed of merchants, craftsmen and shopkeepers that had developed through migratory work, communal schools existed to enlighten younger generations by training them and imparting theoretical but above all practical knowledge in matters of trade and economy. They also had to convey a shared sense of belonging to a community in which religion remained the

144 Ο Kaisareias Eustathios, "Οργανικός αύτης Κανονισμός," (Constantinople: Ανατολής, Ευαγγελινού Μισαηλίδη, 1872).

145 Ioannidis, in a work published in 1896, systematically inventoried the schools of each settlement. The author also expressed his sadness when he noticed the absence of a school in several communities, especially in Suvermez and Akso, but also the inefficiency of others, such as Misti's, which possessed "one school and a rare teacher more ignorant than the peasant community of the village" ("Καρυεδέ δημοτική σχολή μουδζιπίνδζε βίρ μεκτέπ βάρδηρκι, όραδα κενδιλερινδέν δαχα ζιγιαδε δζαχίλ δενιλεδζέκ δερεδζεέ βιρ διδάσκαλος οκουγιούπ γιαζμαγή τζοδζουκλαρά τεαρί ιδέρ" (p.102). Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 99-103.

identifying criterion, followed closely by language and locality (or territoriality). In this context, to learn languages – Greek but also Turkish and French – was seen as a tool for professional success and for strengthening the situation of Cappadocians within the broader Rum community. Even in the first half of the 1900s, national discourses proclaimed in Athens and Istanbul were but a murmur by the time they reacher the communities of Cappadocia. "The incorporation into Ottoman local society" remained the main aim of Cappadocians, as testified to by the regulations (*nizamname/kanonismos*) of compatriot associations created at that time in many villages and towns of the region.[146] Ethnicity, as a synonym of nationality, only really became set in minds of the Rums of Cappadocia after 1908 with the beginning of the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918), a time of intense debates over nationalism. In discourses and texts of Anatolian Rum communities, ethnicity began to appear as a criterion of identification adjacent and even in place of religious affiliation. For the first time in 1911, a text marking the foundation of a compatriot association, the *Neapolitans' Regenerative Association "Papa Georgios,"* highlighted the aim of "strengthening and consolidating ethnoreligious faith" by using, as a principal tool, instruction in communal schools.[147] However, as Anagnostopoulou reminds, "despite all this, there still existed great resistance to this 'national program,' mainly by Karamanlıs of regions such as Konya, where incorporation into local Ottoman society was socially and economically far more advantageous."[148]

§ 2.3 Conclusion

The re-appearance of Cappadocia took place progressively from the mid-nineteenth century, resulting from the production of a regionality shared among different actors with differing ambitions and expectations. On a

146 Anagnostopoulou, "Greek Diplomatic Authorities" (2010), 72.

147 "Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ανορθωτικού Συνδέσμου των Νεαπολιτών ο ΠΑΠΑ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ/ Δερισααδετδε Μουκίμ Νεβσεχιρλερίν ΠΑΠΑ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ναμ Αζεμιετί Ισλαχιεσινίν Νιζαμναμεσιδίρ" [Regulations of the Neapolitans Regenerative Association Papa-Georgios] (1911), 1. Anagnostopoulou, "Greek Diplomatic Authorities" (2010), 72.

148 Anagnostopoulou, "Greek Diplomatic Authorities" (2010), 72.

foundation of ancient sources, Hellenism and Byzantine remains, Cappadocia was reinvented and adapted to a contemporary context by intellectuals who saw in its Christian inhabitants the last representatives of an ancient Hellenism – a kind of lost paradise where ancient ways of life that had disappeared from other parts of the world surviced. Hobsbawm defines invented traditions as:

> "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past."[149]

According to this view, traditions commonly defined as the perpetuation of elements of culture – gestures, narratives, songs, clothes, food, etc – play the role of bonding individuals of the same community from generation to generation. But this is in fact a modern creation that serves to maintain a feeling of group belonging by artificially rooting it in the past. In this way, the production of a Cappadocian locality, based on highlighting particular criteria such as local ways of life, dialects, clothing, housing, and popular rites, can be understood as inventions of local traditions and consequently of a regional identity.

This invention has taken place in an erudite context since the reappearance of Cappadocia was attested to in written works of European travelers and Rum scholars, who based their observations on the work of ancient authors (especially Strabo) but also on medieval theological works. Consequently, the narratives and studies of travelers and scholars contributed to the foundation of a geographical, historical conceptualization of Cappadocia generated by an intellectualized, literary construction. However, it would be erroneous to consider the origin of the geographical conceptualization to be the written sources that we analyzed. Carlo Ginzburg claims: "too often, original ideas or beliefs

149 According to Eric Hobsbawn, invented traditions "include both 'traditions' actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and traditions emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period." See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1-2.

have been considered by definition to be a product of the upper classes, and their diffusion among the subordinate classes a mechanical fact of little or no interest."[150] Similarly Michel de Certeau notes that, because written sources generally reflect elite rather than popular culture, historians are tempted to conclude that elite culture was the creative and producer of meaning while popular culture remained passive and receptive. If we abandon the notion of a top-down diffusion of culture, new questionings are possible. Burke suggests that when "printed sources are misleading," one must rely on oral tradition, especially on "collection[s] of songs and stories from individual craftsmen or peasants or their wives."[151] The Oral Tradition Archives (OTA) of the Center of Asia Minor Studies (CAMS) could offer other approaches, but we can also rely on other kinds of sources, such as tombstone epitaphs. For instance, the use of the term "Cappadocia" appeared on an epitaph of the 1870s, engraved before the multiplication of publications about Cappadocia in the 1880s. The epitaph is today visible in the courtyard of the Monastery of Balıklı (Istanbul) and mentions Cappadocia as the "homeland" of a young craftsman who died in 1876 in Istanbul.[152] In our next chapter, through the study of names and expressions used to identify individuals and communities from different points of view (the state and patriarchal administration, literature, newspapers, and testimonies of informants of the CAMS Oral Tradition Archives), the name Cappadocia appears but is not necessarily the most common form of identification, especially among villagers. The region of Cappadocia was not essentially an erudite but an urban invention. Rather than in Cappadocia, it was conceptualized from outside, mostly by Westerners and by urban Rums, including (urbanized) migrants from Cappadocia who, from outside the region, perpetuated and propagated in the Ottoman context the idea of belonging to a kind of "imagined Cappadocian community."

150 Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), xiv.

151 Burke, *Popular Culture* (1994), 73.

152 See, for instance, the epitaph (in Greek) of Iordanis, son of Spyridon, which is quoted by Merih Erol, "Cultural Manifestations of a Symbiosis: *Karamanlidika* Epitaphs of the Nineteenth Century," in *Cultural Encounters in the Turkish-Speaking Communities of the Late Ottoman Empire*, eds. E. Balta and M. Ölmez (Istanbul: Isis, 2014), 94.

3

Naming, Identifying, and Localizing Groups in Cappadocia

While Ottoman society has been traditionally described by historians as a combination of several religious communities Coexisting but living separately, we suggested that linguistic or regional belonging could be other forms of groupness that we need to analyze. In fact, to define and classify individuals according to categories (that we could also call groups, communities, collectivities, or nations – but the important issue is what we understand each of these terms to mean!) is a complex issue depending on who is identifying and who is bieng identified through each term. Fuat Dündar used the term "taxonomy" (in the sense of hierarchized nomenclatures) to depict the ways that states (as the main but not the only producers of nomenclature) identify and classify populations within their territories. According to Dündar,

> [E]ach power has its own taxonomy according to its political history, present situation and future strategy, and according to the character of the identity/identities (ethnicity, religion, language, race, origin) of its population. […] The history of the Ottoman Empire, by dint of its 500 years of experience with census-like operations (henceforth referred to as enumerating) through tax and population surveys and registers,

> is an excellent laboratory for understanding the impact of social and political changes on the taxonomy of identities.[1]

In the Ottoman Empire, ethnoreligious affiliation was traditionally considered as the main criterion for taxonomy. The distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims (*Islam* and *Gayri-Muslim*) was the most basic. It also appears in the use of the notion of *re'aya* which from a socio-economic category (meaning "peasantry" or "tax-paying subjects") which became synonymous with non-Muslim and especially Christian subjects. The notion of *millet,* which was institutionalized by the Tanzimat reforms, kept this religious division but formalized customary subcategories within the non-Muslim category (the Armenian, Rum, Jewish *millet*s in the course of the nineteenth century, with the number of official *millet*s increasing to twenty in 1907[2]). These subcategories completed confessional and ethnic meanings but aimed for a more and more precise taxonomy.

Other ways of identification, using ethnic, linguistic, social, and geographical characteristics were taken into account by the state as well as by other identifying actors, such as ecclesiastical hierarchies, foreign powers, foreign and local intellectuals, and ordinary people in the course of identifying themselves and others. For instance, Westerners visiting Ottoman territories for missionary, diplomatic, military, or scientific purposes, at a time when ethnology was being developed as a new scientific discipline, regularly used but rarely defined ethnonyms such as "Turks," "Turkmens," "Yörüks", "Kizilbashes," "Kurds," "Greeks," "Rums," "Hellenes," "Armenians."

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1 Fuat Dündar, "Empire of Taxonomy: Ethnic and Religious Identities in the Ottoman Surveys and Censuses," *Middle Eastern Studies* 51, no.1 (2014): 136-37.

2 Among those having communities in Cappadocia were the Catholic Armenians (recognized in 1831) and the Protestant Armenians (1850). In the census of 1885, there were twelve categories (Muslims, Rums, Armenians, Bulgarians, Catholics, Jews, Protestants, Latins, Monophysites, non-Muslim Tziganes, Foreigners, and "Other"). In the census of 1907, nine new categories were added. Cem Behar, "Qui compte? 'Recensements' et statistiques démographiques dans l'Empire ottoman, du XVIe au XXe siècle," *Histoire & Mesure* 13, no.1-2 (1998): 142-43. Stamatopoulos, "From Millets to Minorities" (2006), 256-68; Dündar, "Empire of Taxonomy" (2014): 147-52.

The borders between categories in all these systems of classification, whether established by the state or by other actors, were generally not clearly established and often had different meanings over time according to those who applied them. Moreover, few scholarly works analyze these categories. Gilles Veinstein studied the way that Jews of the city of Avlonya (in Albania) were designated in kadı registers.[3] Similarly, looking at the documents of the Orthodox Patriarchate, Paraskevas Konortas enumerated the terms used by the Ottoman sultan, pointed out that the Ottoman terminology changed over time: "*Nasrani*" (Christians) in the fifteenth century, "*Kefere*" (infidel) in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, and "*Rum*" (Orthodox Greek, Roman) in the eighteenth century.[4] On the other hand, as Dündar notes, no scholarly work examines how communities referred to each other in everyday life. In the next paragraphs, we try in some measure to fill this void by focusing on the local context of Cappadocia, observing the various terms of identification and the polysemy of identifying names according to different actors and producers of categories including the Ottoman state, the Greek Patriarchate, missionaries, and travelers, but also locals of the mid-nineteenth century.

§ 3.1 Genres of Taxonomy

Jean-François Gossiaux observed that, "at the forefront of identity (and otherness) markers, at all levels of society, is the name. One can even say that the name is in the field the only universal marker."[5] Names of individuals and groups (a group being potentially a family, tribe, or an ethnic or religious group) are central for understanding how forms of (self-)identification operate at specific moment in a specific space. Collective names, (especially the names of ethnic groups) are most often multiple: the name of the group is not independent of the place and circumstances in which it is uttered and can

3 Gilles Veinstein, "Une communauté ottomane: les Juifs d'Avlonya (Valona) dans la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle," in *État et société dans l'Empire ottoman, XVIe - XVIIIe siècles* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), 788-689.

4 Konortas, "From Ta'ife to Millet" (1999).

5 Jean-François Gossiaux, *Pouvoirs ethniques dans les Balkans* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2002), 6.

vary according to the situation. In this context, it is necessary to distinguish between *endonyms,* which are names given from the inside the group and *exonyms*, the names assigned pr appointed by others from outside.

In that context, collective names (self-designating or designating others) are important in the analysis of intergroup relations, since they refer to groups constituting entities that entered into contact, through relational ties, but also into conflict. On this backdrop, several issues emerge about the populations and formed groups in Cappadocia. At the local level, what are the main forms of groupness and how are criteria such as religion, ethnicity, and locality enter go to the identification with these groups? Are these groups static, fixed forms of commonality or are they historicized process? It is important to analyze not only how categories were defined by institutions and heads of communities, but also how ordinary people identified themselves and others as members of different groups and consequently how they defined the boundaries between their group(s) of self-ascription and the group(s) of otherness.

3.1.1 *Religious and Linguistic Affiliations*

In Cappadocia, the plurality of groups and complexity of defining them and their boundaries are particularly apparent in the large number of endonyms and exonyms used by different actors (and observers). The most frequently highlighted nomenclature (and the most basic) for identifying people was a dichotomy between "Turks" and "Christians." It may seem surprising to see on the same level an ethnic and a religious qualifier. However, the use of the name "Turk," despite being an ethnonym, actually had a religious meaning. In the Cappadocian context, a Turk was a Muslim and more specifically a sedentary one. At the same time, he was one who was on the side of the power. The same use of "Turk" was common in the Balkans during the Ottoman period and even after the empire's withdrawal. According to Gossiaux, this use can be understood in the context of an ethnicization of power in nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire: "We can talk about a case of ethnicization of power. The social stratum, which supposedly had power, appears as a particular group."[6] He endorsed the dichotomy between "people

6 Ibid., 28.

of power" and "people of land" proposed by Michel Izard in the African context of the Yatenga Kingdom (today's Burkina Faso) before its colonization in 1895, adapting it to the nineteenth-century Balkan case. In Yatenga case, society was organized into two separate groups: the people of power who were at the same time nomadic conquerors which is to say, non-natives, and the people of land who were a conquered, indigenous, and sedentary population. This dichotomy and the equivalence between land and autochthony was not strictly factual, but symbolic and historical. The largest group of the "people of land" included the autochthonous population, but also people who had arrived at the same time as the conquerors but had settled as sedentary villagers, merging in with the mass of the local inhabitants.[7]

Gossiaux argued that the same ethnicized dichotomy can be observed in the Balkans. The Ottomans (the Turks) were the (descendants of) conquerors – non-natives with a nomadic tradition. Non-Muslims were the conquered, native, and sedentary people of land. In the Ottoman case, the dichotomy also contained a religious aspect since the conquerors were Muslim and the conquered, non-Muslim. However, the religion criterion allowed for the creation of bridges from one group to the other since; through Islamization (forced or voluntary), autochthons could move from the group of land to the group of power. Given this context of the ethnicization of power, the ethnonym "Turk" was the common name for designating "people of power."

7 Michel Izard, *L'odysée du pouvoir: un royaume africain: Etat, société, dessin individuel* (Paris: EHESS, 1992). Gossiaux applies the theory of Izard in an interesting digression on the French Ancien Régime before applying it to the Balkan example. According to him, a similar dichotomy is visible in the Ancien Régime. Boulainvilliers wrote in 1732 that aristocrats are the descendants of the Franks, that is to say, the conquerors of Gaul (and by definition people of power), while the Third Estate, which corresponds to "people of land," was composed of Gallic people. His thesis would be largely endorsed by both factions during and after the French Revolution. The aristocracy is consequently considered at the same time people of power, conquerors, non-native and also nomadic (up until the Renaissance, the royal court moved from one château to another). On the other hand, the Third Estate is by definition a master of land, but also conquered, autochthon, and sedentary. See Gossiaux, *Pouvoirs ethniques* (2002), 30. The same national discourse, especially the connection of the Ottomans with the ancient Turkish nomads of Central Asia, began to be developed by Ottoman intellectuals under Abdülhamid II. See Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 262-63.

Thus, in Cappadocia, as elsewhere in Anatolia and in the Balkans, the ethnonym "Turk" was used for identifying Muslims, whatever their social position. In fact, it was mainly used by European travelers as well as Christian intellectuals and inhabitants to identify the Muslim population, while the Ottoman administration preferred deal with the noun "Islam" for Muslims and various designations for "non-Muslims."

Westerners visiting Cappadocia throughout the nineteenth century often made a point of describing the local populations they met during their travel. It is critical to consider the names they used for identifying populations they encountered, while keeping in mind that the narratives they wrote (travel accounts, reports, scientific articles, and memoirs) were intended for a European audience. When proceeding across Anatolia, travelers generally made a clear distinction among Muslims: between sedentary people, whether rural or urban people, and nomadic tribes. For sedentary populations, the city or village of settlement played the role of identifier, while nomads were designated according to the supposed ethnicity of their tribe (Turkmens, Yörüks, Kurds, etc.).[8] Sedentary Muslim communities were commonly called "Mohamedans, " "Muslims," or "Osmanlis/Ottomans."[9]

Armenians were identified as Armenian but many authors, especially missionaries, also mention their religious affiliation since in Cappadocia they were the main population to convert to Catholicism or Protestantism. For instance, Barkley identified the subdivisions of the Armenians in 1891 as follows:

> We were happy enough to obtain at Kaiseriyeh a good cleanly apartment, attached to the chief church of the Eski (old) Armenians, gener-

8 Among the designations in Ottoman documents, we regularly find the *aşiret*s of Cebel-i Kozan or Karahacılı. On the other hand, Europeans use the names "Turkmens," "Yörüks," or "Kurds." See for instance Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey* (1897); Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839), 146, 168.

9 In Barth, for instance, we find both "Moslem" or "Osmanli" for naming Muslim inhabitants. See Heinrich Barth, *Reise von Trapezunt durch die nördlich Hälfte Klein-Asiens nach Scutari im Herbst 1858* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1860).

> ally so called, to distinguish them from the Roman Catholic Armenians, but, who are Armenians, strictly speaking. We generally found these people more kindly-disposed and more communicative than the Greeks or the Romish Armenians, although both these sects look upon the others as scarcely Christians.[10]

Most missionaries, such as Barrows, an American Protestant missionary travelling in Cappadocia in 1880s, referred to Armenians of the Apostolic Church and Orthodox Christians as "nominal Christians" without distinction.[11]

As for Rums, European travelers most of the time called them "Greeks" and rarely "Rums" – without feeling the need to specify their faith. A qualifying word sometimes clarified territorial belonging. Expressions such as "Cappadocian Greeks," "Angora Christians," or "Christians of Caramania" are encountered in several travel accounts and missionary reports to highlight the particularities of local Greeks.[12] Moreover, travelers regularly mentioned the linguistic affiliation of the Rum communities they encountered, especially highlighting the fact that many Rums of Cappadocia were ignorant of Greek, the language of their church. These categories are valuable for narratives of the early as well as the late nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, even though it was rare than an author like William Ramsay made a more detailed analysis of the ethnic groups living in Anatolia.

In Ottoman administrative documents that embody the taxonomy established by the state to identify and classify the inhabitants of its territories, an evolution in the way of naming groups is discernible from the early nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. Ottoman sources simultaneously include religious terminology such as *zimmi* and *gayri-müslim* (non-Muslim), or alternatively *Hristiyan* (Christian) and *Islam* (Muslim), and names with ethnic connotations such as *Rum* or *Ermeni* (Armenian). While these were

10 Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839), 220.

11 Barrows, *On Horseback* (1884).

12 Richard Clogg, "Publishing for 'the poor, ignorant, and oppressed Christians of Lesser Asia': Early 'Greco-Turkish' translations of the British and Foreign Bible Society," in *Between Religion and Language. Turkish-speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire*, eds. E. Balta and M. Ölmez (Istanbul: Eren, 2011), 230-32.

more or less interchangeably used in the first decades of the Tanzimat era, ethnic names gradually replaced religious terminology in the state's manner of naming its subjects. In the early nineteenth-century Ottoman administration, the dichotomy of Turk versus Christians frequently encountered in foreigners' narratives was generally absent, at least in this form. Whether Muslim or non-Muslim, individuals were generally identified by their personal name, the place where they lived, often the name of their father (or, for married women, of their husband), and their professional activity. Ethnic or religious epithets can be found in administrative sources specifying the ethnoreligious affiliation of non-Muslims but in the case of Muslims, there was no specification most of the time. The epithet "*Islam"* was sometimes used when necessary to distinguish among Muslim and non-Muslim individuals, the latter being called "*re'aya*."

Examples:

1 Muslim and re'aya male population… (1834)
2 Hadji Mehmet, son of Isa, in the Low district (Aşağı mahallesi) of the village of Nar in the kaza of Nevşehir… (1843)
3 Ahmed, son of Sofuoğlu Ibrahim, among the inhabitants of the village of Eneği in the kaza of Nevşehir in the sancak of Konya… (1846)
4 Hadji Mehmed Ağa, son of Anuş in the village of Fertek linked to Çamardı… (1859)[13]

In the 1850s, the word "*Müslüman"* began to be used more frequently, not as an epithet for specifying individuals, but as a denomination for a whole community. Generally, it appears parallel to the epithet "*Hristiyan*" in issues concerning intercommunal relations and in the context of conversion to Islam.[14]

13 Original Version: 1/İslam ve re'aya erkek nüfusu; 2/Nevşehir kazasının Nar karyesinde Aşağı Mahalle'de İsa oğlu Hacı Mehmed; 3/Konya sancağı Nevşehir kazası Eneği karyesi ahalisinden Sofuoğlu İbrahim'in oğlu Ahmed; 4/Çamardı'na bağlı Fertek Köyü'nde Anuş oğlu Hacı Mehmed Ağa.

14 See for instance: BOA, A.MKT.UM 19/53 (1266-Ş-9/20.06.1850); BOA, A.MKT.UM 32/58 (1266-Za-17/14.09.1850); BOA, A.MKT.UM 259/92 (1273-Ra-29/29.11.1856); BOA, HR.SYS 121/30 (1275-Ş-16/22.03.1859).

The regular absence of mentioning the religious belonging of Muslims might be explained by the fact that the Ottoman administration did not feel the need to specify the religion of the politically, demographically dominant group – both because it was the dominant group and also because the Muslim community, the *Ummah*, was one and indivisible on principle. The indivisible unity of the *Ummah* (despite the practical division between, for instance, Sunni and Kizilbash) is particularly striking in the context of the more and more fragmented nomenclature applied by the state to Christian populations throughout the century. In the census of 1881-93, for instance, there were eleven non-Muslim categories (based on ethnic and religious criteria), while the Muslims were identified as a single category without distinguishing among ethnic and confessional subgroups.[15] Whether Sunni or Kizilbash, Turkish, Kurdish, or Arab, a Muslim household was only recorded as Muslim.[16] In a way, the word "*Islam*" or "*Müslüman*" (or its absence) in Ottoman documents was equivalent, in the Anatolian context, to the term "*Turk*" coming out of the mouths of Europeans and non-Muslim Ottoman subjects. As noted by Shaw, it was only under the reign of Abdülhamit II that "the word 'Turk' began to be used with pride [by Ottoman Turks], gradually losing its less desirable connotative meaning (a country lout), very much as the term 'Arab' had been used for Bedouin in eastern provinces."[17]

However, while ethnicity and sects were not used as subcategories for Muslims, their way of life – sedentary or nomadic – was obviously a basic dichotomy. To be more precise, nomadism was a particular subgroup within "Islam," while a sedentary way of life was the norm and consequently not specified. As in travelogues, a clear distinction is made between sedentary inhabitants and nomadic tribes. While sedentary Muslims, easily localizable as town- or village-dwellers, were recorded in documents as "Islam," nomads

15 Dündar, "Empire of Taxonomy" (2014): 143-49; Behar, "Qui compte?" (1998): 142. In the census of 1907, there were nine more.

16 Dündar, "Empire of Taxonomy" (2014): 143.

17 Shaw and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, II (1977), 262. This evolution goes hand in hand with the change of the signification of the word "millet," which traditionally denoted religious communities but was progressively given the modern connotation of "nation." See Aymes, "La communauté d'historicité" (2005).

and semi-nomads – who, because of their mobility, were difficult for the state to identify as units of taxation – were registered, in the absence of spatial or geographical reference points, under the name of their tribe (*aşiret*).[18] According to Dündar, "sedentary Muslims could have been considered 'civilized' and needed no other secondary differentiation, ethnic or otherwise, whereas the nomadic groups, perhaps by their very nature, had their public appearance always recorded by reference to their ethno-tribal affiliations."[19]

While an affiliation to Islam was rarely mentioned, affilation to a non-Muslim confession was frequently expressed. Personal names were sometimes not sufficient to clearly indicate the religious belonging of an individual, especially in the case of biblical-Koranic names used by Jews, Chrisians, and Muslims (such as Abraham/Ibrahim, Joseph/Yusuf, and David/Davud), as well as Turkish names often used by Karamanlı Christians. In this second case, an encyclical of the metropolitan bishop of Caesarea, Païsios, written on January 27, 1839, and addressed to the clergymen of his diocese apprised that in matters of baptism "foreign" (especially Turkish and Persian) names should be avoided in favor of the names of the saints and martyrs of the Church.[20]

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18 Nomads who sedentarized before the nineteenth century either through a spontaneous process or with the incitement of central authorities were recorded as sedentary villagers but the name of the villages they found often show their nomadic past. Regarding sedentarization of nomadic populations, see Onur Usta and Oktay Özel, "Sedentarization of the Turcomans in 16th Century Cappadocia: Kayseri, 1480-1584)," in *Between Religion and Language: Turkish-speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire*, eds. E. Balta and M. Ölmez (Istanbul: Eren, 2011).

19 Dündar, "Empire of Taxonomy" (2014): 143.

20 The English translation of the encyclical is as follows: "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." This encyclical is kept in the parish register of Tavlosun, see "Codex 22/42 Tavlosoun" (1807-1822), in the community registers and codices of parishes (Athens: CAMS), 116-12, cited in Balta, "Les codices karamanlis" (2010), 37. For an analysis, see Fotis Apostopoulos, "Τρία έγγραφα του κώδικα Ταβλουσούν της Καππαδοκίας: Αυτοκρατορικό βεράτι και 2 επιστολές του Παϊσίου, Μητροπολίτου Καισάρειας" [Three letters of the codice of Tavlosun in Cappadocia: one imperial berat and

This reminder testifies to the incidence of non-Christian names among Rums of the Caesarea diocese. Nonetheless, it seems that early Christian (or Byzantine) names (such as Anastasios, Haralambos, Savvas, Eleutherios, Evangelos, Irini, Sofia, and Barbara) and ancient (pagan) names (such as Socrates, Achilles, Alexandre, Despina, and Antigone) became far more prominent in the second half of the century. Among authors and book subscribers[21] of the late nineteenth century onwards, as well as among the OTA informants, Turkish and Persian names are rare.

When a personal name was not enough to indicate it in administrative wirtings, words such as *zımmi*, *re'aya*, *gayr-i muslim,* or *nasrani* could be added in administrative writings. The expression *Hrıstiyan halkı* also appeared in documents post-1870.[22] Such words and expressions designated Christians but did not distinguish among denominations. When required to mark a difference, administrators would specify, for instance that Orthodox Christians were Rum. This was a valuable identifier for individuals, but also for buildings and places, especially churches, chapels, schools, districts, and cemeteries. The expressions *millet-i Rum* or, more rarely *Rum cemaati,* are also encountered, mainly in documents post-1850.

Examples:

1 Lefter the zimmi clockmaker, being kahya of the village of Endürlük in Kayseri… (1843)
2 Son of Kalenere, inhabitant of the village of Delmason in the kaza of Çamardı of Niğde… (1844)
3 The zimmis Hacıbekli, son of Kalenere and Hristomos, son of Yuvan, inhabitants of the village of Delmason in the kaza of Çamardı in Niğde… (1844)
4 A non-Muslim called Haralambos… (1845)
5 Efmiye, daughter of the tobacconist Eftim, from the Rum *millet*… (1865)

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two letters of Paisius, Metropolite of Caesarea], *DKMS* 1 (1977): 230; Balta, "Tracing the Presence of Rum" (2011), 203.

21 Many Greek and Karamanlı books ended with a list of subscribers organized according to living places but also places of origin.

22 Generally, the word "*halk*" (people) was reserved for expressions such as *fakir halk* (the poors), *mahalle halkı* (people of the district), or *köy halkı (*villagers*)*.

6 The cemetery belonging to the Rum *millet* in Kayseri… (1866)[23]

Chronologically speaking, the evolution in the use of these different words identifying non-Muslims is clear. Expressions that did not detail confessional belonging (*reaya, zımmi,* and *gayr-i müslim*…) were more frequently used before the 1850s. Few occurrences are found after 1856. On the other hand, epithets such as Rum, *Rum milleti*, and *Rum cemaatı* to identify Orthodox Christians, as well as *Ermeni* and *Ermeni milleti* for Armenians, while already used in the 1830s were used more intensely after 1850. With the Tanzimat, the state's identification of subjects and properties became more accurate – hand in hand with the institutionalization of the *millets* beginning in the 1830s and especially after 1850 and the simultaneous historical construction of a nationalized signification of *millets* based on an assumed ethnicity rather than on unique, religious criteria.

Parallel to thz institutionalization of *millet*s as administrative and legal categories, Ottoman Rum intellectuals and scholars developed other forms of identification that often transcended the idea of *millet*. Particularly influenced by contemporaneous theories on ethnicity and nationality, they put aside – but certainly did not abandon – the religious criterion, juxtaposing it with linguistic, territorial, and ethnic criteria. In this context, Karamanlidika books, journals, and newspapers were works of scholars that Gossiaux, in the Balkan context, described as a new class of urban intellectuals issued from the peasantry. Rather than a "local urbanized intelligentsia"[24] (living in developing provincial towns), Karamanlı scholars were an intelligentsia urbanized through migration since most lived in the largest cities of the empire – especially Istanbul, but Izmir as well. Authors and publishers of Karamanlidika often identified Turkish-speaking Orthodox communities simply as "Christians" (*χριστιάν/hrıstiyan*). This designation allowed the distinction between them and Muslims who were called *Ἰσλάμ/Islam*, as in Ottoman administrative documents, or more rarely *Turks*. By identifying

23 Original versions: 1/Kayseri'nin Endürlük köyü kâhyası olan zımmi Saatçı Lefter; 2/Niğde'nin Çamardı kazasının Delmason karyesinde mütemekkin Kalenere oğlu; 3/Hacıbekli ile Yuvan veled-i Hrıstomoz zımmileri; 4/Haralambos ismindeki gayr-i muslim; 5/Rum *millet*inden Tütüncü Eftim kızı Efmiye; 6/Kayseri'deki Rum *millet*ine ait mezaristan.

24 Gossiaux, *Pouvoirs ethniques* (2002), 58.

themselves as "Christians," they also made a distinction between them and other Christians. They are *the* Christians while others are "Armenian Christians," "Catholics," "Protestants," "Armenian Protestants," or "Armenian Catholics." Self-identification as "Orthodox Christian" (*ὀρθόδοξος χριστιάν* or *χριστιάν ὀρθόδοξος*) rarely occurred because they were anyway Christians *par excellence*, while otherness within Christianity was defined by denomination.[25] It is surprising to note, however, that the word *Ἰσλάμ* in Karamanlı publications was always written with a capital "I," while the words *ὀρθόδοξος* and *χριστιάν* were generally written in a lower case.[26] It would be speculation to propose an explanation even more so to claim it was the mark of a conscious recognition of hierarchy.

In publications in Greek, the same logic of identification can be observed with a stress on ethnic and confessional identification. As in Karamanlidika publications, the word "Christians" *(Χριστιανοί)* was used to identify the Orthodox population of Anatolia but the latter were also regularly called "Hellenes" *(Ἕλληνες)*, "Greeks" *(Γραικοὶ),* or "Christian Greeks" *(Ἕλληνες Χριστιανοί)*. Ioakeim Valvanis, in the book *Mikrasiatika* (in Greek), argued that Orthodox Christians of Anatolia were actually ignorant of the name of their nation. As an illustration, he wrote this dialogue:

> If you ask any of them:
> What are you?
> Christian, he will reply without hesitation.
> Well, there are many other Christians, the Armenians, the Franks, the Russians…
> I don't know, he will say, yes they believe in Christ but I am Christian
> Maybe you are Greek.

25 According to Evangelia Balta, the expression "Orthodox Christians" was used more regularly from 1826 onwards following the creation of the Bible Society. Balta, *Beyond the Language Frontier* (2010), 63.

26 The use of capital and lower case is not clearly defined in Karamanlıdika scripts. We see, for instance, in a same sentence Ermeni "Katolik" and "Ermeni protestan." However, the capitalization of the word Islam is systematic, while the use of lower case for the word *xristian* is conventional.

> No, I am nothing! I have already told you that I am Christian and I repeat that I am Christian, he will say impatiently."[27]

As for Muslims mentioned in Greek publications, writers identified them as "Turks" *(Τουρκοί)* or "Ottomans" (*Ὀθωμανοὶ*), while Armenians were basically called "Armenians."[28] As a result, the difference between Greek and Karamanlidika publications clearly concerns ethnic names: while authors writing in Greek (already Rizos in 1856 but also later authors such as Ioakeim Valavanis, and Anastasios Levidis) frequently identified Orthodox Christians of Anatolia as "Greeks" or "Hellenes," Karamanlı writers rarely used ethnic names and contented themselves with religious identification. Even the name "Rum" is very rarely encountered.

Among the Rums, linguistic affiliation was also used as a way to make subgroups. Until 1908, Karamanlı intellectuals generally defined themselves and their compatriots as "Christians knowing Turkish" (*Τούρκτε πιλὲν χριστιάν/Tourkçe bilen Xristiyan)*.[29] With this expression which, by the way, showed a positive sense of belonging, Turcophone scholars distinguished their community from Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians on a linguistic basis. Another expression appears in Karamanlidika: "Christians who do not know the Greek language" (*Γιουνανί (*or *Ρουμή) λισανί πίλμεγεν Χριστιάνλερ/ Yunani (*or *Rumi) lisani bilmeyen Hrıstiyanler*).[30] Linguistic identification was

27 Ioakeim Valavanis is a typical local intellectual (as defined by Gossiaux) settled in Istanbul. He was born in Aravani, a Greek-speaking village of Cappadocia where he attended primary school. He then migrated to Istanbul to learn a craft and managed to continue his studies at the "Megali tou Genous Scholi" (Great School of the Nation, the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal High School) before completing his studies at the University of Athens. After several years in Athens, he returned back to Istanbul as a teacher. This dialogue is also exposed in Richard Clogg, *Anatolica: Studies in the Greek East in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), 66.

28 See for instance Rizos, *Καππαδοκικα, ήτοι δοκίμιον* (1856); Levidis, *Ιστορικόν δοκίμιον*, Α΄ (1885).

29 See for instance Platon, *Τογρού τινίγν ταλιμί* (1839), Preface.

30 See for instance *Μιλλετὴ Χριστιανληγήν τζοκ Ιλαζιμλή Ταριφιε Κιταπτζααζή, Ποθνδὰ μεβτζούττουρ, Ὀρθοδοξία ήμανὴν ἄσηλ ἐκτηζαλῦ σαρτλαρή κὶ, βουνναρῦ βατζίπτιρ ἐβλατλαρημηζὰ ταλὴμ ἐδελὴμ, βε δαχὴ βουνδὰ πουλουνοὺρ Σταυρός νισνηνὴ νάσηλ ἐτμενὴν Ταριφί* [Small book very necessary to the Christian nation. Basis and elements necessary to

expressed negatively – by the lack of knowledge of the Greek language – in some publications of the 1830s, but this form became more regularly used in the 1870s. This evolution shows that Turkish-speaking Christians clearly identified themselves as a specific sub-group within the Orthodox community. From the late nineteenth century, under the influence of the Hellenization movement, they progressively began to see their Turcophony as a problem, a negative point, or even a sign of inferiority within the *millet-i Rum*. This ambivalence vis-à-vis the Greek and Turkish languages was obvious in numerous articles of the newspaper *Anatoli* as well as in the prefaces of many Karamanlidika books. Authors (or translators) claimed pride in writing in Karamanlı-Turkish, but emphasized the necessity of learning Greek and of Hellenizing their compatriots. But they simultaneously complained about younger generations who preferred to read Greek, Ottoman, or French rather than Karamanlı writings![31]

The criterion of language was not taken into account in the state's taxonomy but was central to self-identification; the knowledge or ignorance of a language is, de facto, an inclusive or exclusive factor in the context of everyday relations. It is thus necessary to ascertain how speakers or non-speakers call their native language or the language of others. For instance, in Karamanlidika, authors unequivocally called their native language "Türkçe" while they were more hesitant with respect to the names of the language spoken by Greek-speakers. An author could use the epithets "*Ellinika*," "*Rumca*," "*Aploellinika*," or "*Urumca*." *Aploellinika* ("simple Greek") was used for local dialects spoken in rural communities and was often accompanied by

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the Orthodox religion are available, essential to teach to our children, the way to make the ign of the cross] (Asitane:Ἰγνατιάδησλερην Πασμὰ χανεσὶ, 1835). See also studies about karamanlıdika: Sévérien Salaville and Eugène Dallegio, *Karamanlidika: Bibliographie Analytique d'Ouvrages en langue turque imprimés en caractères grecs (1584-1850)*, I (Athens: IFA, 1958), 216-17; Eckmann, "Die karamanische Literatur" (1965); Balta, *Beyond the Language Frontier* (2010), 63.

31 It appears clearly in the pages of the newspaper *Anatoli*. See Foti Benlisoy and Stefo Benlisoy, "Reading the Identity of 'Karamanli' Through the Pages of Anatol," in *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books*, eds. M. Kappler and E. Balta (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 105-06.

a short explanation (of grammatical and lexicalm usages).[32] On the other hand, publications in Greek did not differentiate between the Turkish language and Karamanlı-Turkish, calling both the "Ottoman language" *(Όθωμανική γλῶσσα/Othomaniki glossa)* or the "Turkish language" (*Τουρκική γλῶσσα/Tourkiki glossa).* The epithet "Ottoman" was never used to designate a language in Karamanlidika. Recalling that this word was used in Greek to name the local Muslim population, we see that Turkish-speaking Christian communities were, by their language, cast into the company of "Ottoman-speakers," i.e. speakers of the language of the conquerors.[33]

3.1.2 *"Regional" and "National" Identifications: Anadoluluk (Anatolianness) versus Rumluk (Rumness) and Türklük (Turkness)*

As in the expression "Christians of Anatolia who did not know the Greek language," geographic localization appeared to be another criterion for identifying Christians of Cappadocia. Beyond religion and language, the idea of a belonging to a defined territory or locality was commonplace in works of Ottoman intellectuals. Şemseddin Sami in the "*Anatoli*" entry of his encyclopedia *Kaamûs-ul A'lâm* (sub-entry: *Anatolinin Ahalisi*) defined an Anatolian identity that included all people living in Anatolia, whatever their religion. He wrote that Christian citizens who lived in Anatolia, though they possessed another faith, were not unlike Muslims since they spoke the same language and were of the same race.[34] He also argued in favor of the ethnic

32 For instance, Ioannidis, for each Hellenophone communiy of Cappadocia, explained how intelligible the dialect was or to what extent Turkish vocabulary was used by locals. See Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896).

33 See for instance Rizos, *Καππαδοκικα, ήτοι δοκίμιον* (1856), 57, 72, 102.

34 Şemseddin Sami, "Anatoli," in *Kaamûs-ul-A'lâm/ Dictionnaire universel d'Histoire et de Géographie,* Istanbul, 396. Original text: "Anadolu'da sakin bulunan Hıristiyanlarin vatandaşları olan Müslümanlardan farkı yalnız mezhepçe olup lisan ve cinsce Müslümanlardan hiçbir farkları yoktur". Translation: "The Christian citizens who lived in Anatolia being only different from the Muslims by their religion are not linguistically and racially different from Muslims."

continuity of Anatolians and saw in Anatolians the substrate of the Turkish nation, criticizing the Hellenization efforts of the Rums.[35]

Interestingly, Karamanlı authors took over the term Anatolia to identify the Rums geographically. Michel Bruneau recently noted that the geographical notion of Anatolia encompasses the interior plateau while the notion of Asia Minor concerns the coasts, but that both are often used interchangeably. Moreover, the former is used rather more by Turks and the latter by Greeks.[36] Actually, "Asia Minor" (*Μικρὰ Ἀσία*) and "Anatolia" (*Ἀνατολή*) are two concepts both with Greek etymology. Stathis Gauntlett demonstrates that the term Asia Minor was probably used in the nineteenth-century *katharevousa* form of Greek and then promoted over the spoken demotic.[37] Meanwhile, Bruneau claims that Turks would systematically adopt the point of view of the plateaus, mountains, and hills of the hinterland, while Greeks would use the sea as their point of reference. He based this observation on a form of cultural determinism, according to which the relation to space is determined by culture: the Greeks being historically people of the sea, while the originally nomadic Turks people of the land. In this sense, according to Stéphane de Tapia, Turkish vocabulary shows that the Turks, who were originally nomads, make their territory move together with them (the *ulus* and the *yurt* – in the senses of "tent" and "homeland" – travelling together). Similarly, Altan Gökalp contrasted the sedentary life of the cities and cultivated lands of the Greeks, for whom the littoral was their main perspective, and the spirit of the Turks who followed a continental, nomadic logic (hence the use of Anatolia rather than Asia Minor in Turkish). While nomadic cultures take the individual as the

35 Ibid., 396-97.

36 Michel Bruneau, *De l'Asie Mineure à la Turquie. Minorités, homogénéisation ethno-nationale, diasporas* (Paris: CNRS, 2015), 40.

37 Stathis Gauntlett, "Between Orientalism and Occidentalism: The Contribution of Asia Minor Refugees to Greek Popular Song and Its Reception," in *Crossing the Aegean*, ed. R. Hirschon (Oxford: Berghahn, 2003).

point of reference for defining space, sedentary cultures take space as the reference for defining an individual's location – the boundaries of its settlement being clearly delimited by a citadel, by ramparts, or the limits of the land.[38]

Among nineteenth-century Rum authors, there is no consensus about these geographical concepts. Alexandros Paspatis, the director of the Rum Hospital of Balıklı in Istanbul from 1852 to 1856 and active member of various Greek philanthropic societies (who was originally from the island of Chio), used Asia Minor and Anatolia interchangeably.[39] When he classified his patients according to their native land, he used the following categories: Roumeliotes, Anatolians, Islanders, Ionian Islanders and Hellenes (these last categories designating citizens of Greece). On the other hand, though Karamanlı authors sometimes (especially in publications of the 1900s onwards) used the Turkish or Greek versions of the Asia Minor concept (*Küçük Asya* or *Mikra Asia*), most preferred to talk about Anatolia and Anatolians when discussing the contemporaneous population. They identified themselves and their compatriots, as Şemseddin Sami did, as the "inhabitants of Anatolia" (*Anatol ehalisi)* or "Anatolians" (*Anatollılar*).[40] It is unsurprising that Ioannis Kalfoglou, a fervent partisan of the Hellenization movement, was the exception. His main Karamanlidika book was entitled *Geography of the Mikra Asia Continent*. While in the introduction (*mukaddeme*), he addressed his readers as "our Anatolians" (*Anatollularımız*) and used the words Anatolia and Asia Minor interchangeably, he then clearly switched to the term Mikra Asia for the

38 Stéphane de Tapia, "Ulus et Yurt, Millet et vatan: territoires nomades et migrations de mots (éléments pour une discussion de la conception turque du territoire)," in *Le territoire lien ou frontière?* eds. J. Bonnemaison and L. Cambézy (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999), 136; Stéphane de Tapia, "Le lexique anatolien de la moblité et de la migration," *Turcica* 42 (2010); Altan Gökalp, *Têtes rouges et bouches noires et autres écrits* (Paris: CNRS, 2011), 330-32.

39 Regarding the role of Alexandros G. Paspatis in the enlightenment of Greek communities of the Ottoman Empire, see G.A. Vassiadis, *The Syllogos Movement of Constantinople and Ottoman Greek Education 1861-1923* (Athens: CAMS, 2007), 47.

40 Alexandros G. Paspatis, *Υπόμνημα περί του γραικικού νοσοκομείου των Επτά Πύργων* [Notes on the Greek hospital of the Seven Towers] (Athens: Lazourou D. Vilara, 1862), 145-298. Regarding Paspatis and his career, see Anastassiadou, *Grecs d'Istanbul* (2012), 160-64.

remainder of the book.[41] The common use of the geographical identification of Anatolia can be regarded as a step forwards – an appropriation of Anatolia not simply as a territory occupied by Rums, but also as a particularly fertile ground for their search for identity. The epithet "*Anadolulu"* clearly rooted them in a geographic place, a locality that hid religious heterogeneity under territorial homogeneity.

The term "Anatolian" was often used as an adjective with the appellation "brother" (*Anadolulu kardaşlarımız*), emphasizing the unity of people who belonged to the same territory, whatever their faith. Similarly, the sense of belonging to a group defined by its locality was also reinforced by the frequent use, especially in Karamanlidika publications, of the word "*hemşehri*" (compatriot or "the one who comes from the same place"). In both cases (*Anadolulu kardaşlarımız, hemşehrilerimiz),* the addition of the suffix *-miz* ("our," as in *hemşehrilerimiz*: "our compatriots") was the echo of imagined communities, since it strengthened the sense of belonging to a group of people who did not know each other and did not necessarily live in – but came from – the same place.[42] The same suffix was also used in words such as "our community" (*cemiyetimiz)* or "our nation" (*milletimiz).*[43] Endonyms asserting territory joined with epithets that recall the unity of the group allowed Anatolian Christians to distinguish themselves from other Orthodox Christians (especially those from Istanbul) and, to an extent, better root their identity in a geography that welcomed different religious groups. Even – or especially –Rums of Anatolia who migrated to cities continued to identify

41 Kalfoglou, *Μικρα Ασια Κητασηνην* (1899). In the introduction, Kalfoglou operated this switch with the sentence: Βιζλὲρ Ἀνατολλήγιζ, βατανημήζδα Ἀνατὸλ γιάνι Μικρὰ Ἀσίαδηρ." Transcription*:* "Bizler Anatollığız, vatanmzda Anatol, giani Mikra Asiadır." Translation: "Us, we are Anatolians, our motherland is Anatolia, that is to say Asia Minor." (p.5)

42 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

43 See "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' - 1913. Εδεπί Ανατολή Ρουμλαρηνά Μαχσούς Ιλμί, Φεννί Μουσαββέρ Σαλναμέ" [Mikrasiatikon Imerologion, o Astir – 1913. Scientific, Literary and Technical Brilliant Salname for the Anatolian Rums] (Constantinople: Σύλλογος Νεαπολιτών 'Παπά Γεώργιος', 1912); "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' - 1914" (1913).

themselves as Anatolians, but did not necessarily self-ascribe according to religious belonging.

Territorial identification can be seen in the name *Anadolulu* but also at other scales. For instance, occurrences of the name "Cappadocian" appear in different contexts. We already mentioned the expression "Greeks of Cappadocia" in Western travel accounts as well as the use made by Rums scholars to define a broad region embracing the dioceses of Ikonium and Caesarea.[44] Nevertheless, when it came to identifying population, writers (in Greek or in Karamanlı-Turkish) rarely called locals "Cappadocians." This word was reserved to designate ancient peoples. Identifying as "Anatolians" was far more widespread and accepted in Rum literature.

On an everyday basis, the most common form of geographical identification operated on an even smaller scale: namely the village or the town of origin, which created a form of collectivity. Epitaphs are a prime example that shows that individuals, especially in migrants, self-identified with their native land.[45] The native village or town was one of the main identity markers.[46] This local way of identification was particularly obvious in the lists of subscribers that generally brought to a close Greek and Karamanlidika publications. In these lists, even people living in Istanbul were classified according to their native village or town ("The people from İncesu in Istanbul"/*Deri Saadetde İncesulular;* "The people from Niğde in Istanbul"/*Deri Saadetde Niğdeliler;* "The people from Bor in Istanbul"/*Deri Saadetde Borlular*).[47] Several villages, especially those where Rums lived (alone or together with Muslims), often had two names – a Greek and a Turkish one. Beyond issues of pronunciation or transliteration, names in Greek and in Turkish could be quite different. For instance, Ürgüp was also called Prokopi,

44 See Chapter 2.2.

45 Erol, "Cultural Manifestations of a Symbiosis" (2014).

46 Religious and linguistic affiliations were implied respectively by the cemetery where the tomb was located (since each confessional community had its own cemeteries) and by the language used for the epitaph (in Greek or Karamanlı-Turkish). Another identity marker, mostly for men, was belonging to a socio-professional group.

47 See, for instance, Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896): "Zileli" (p. 92-93), "Enehili" (p. 102), "Suvermezli" (p. 110), "Andavanli" (p. 117), "Fertekli" (p. 119), and subscribers' list ("Deri Saadetde Incesulular," "Niğdeliler," Borlular," etc.)

current day Yeşilgölcük was called Gölcük or Limni, and current day Hasaköy was called Akso (or Aksos or even Naksos) but also Hasaköy even in the nineteenth century. One would suppose that Rums generally used the Greek name while Muslims favored the Turkish name; however, this practice was far from being so systematic. The Greek name of a village was frequently used in Ottoman state archives, especially in the cases of Limni, Akso, and Malakopi (today's Derinkuyu). Malakopi was often written Melegob, Mileköy, or even Mileönü in BOA documents. On the other hand, the Turkish name was often used in Greek and Karamanlidika publications, in hand-written parish codices, as well as in the testimonies of refugees collected in the 1930-1960s. This was the case for Anaku/Eneği (today's Kaymaklı), but also for Neapoli/Nevşehir and Floïta/Suvermez. For the sake of simplicity, we use the Turkish name (and its Turkish spelling), except for a few villages – namely Limni/Gölcük, Akso/Hasaköy, and Misti/Misli (today's Konaklı) – four which the Greek name appeared more frequently in the various sources we studied – especially in Karamanlidika writings.[48] As for Prokopi/Ürgüp, both names appear with equivalent frequency in BOA archives as well as in Greek and Karamanidika texts, so we settled on Ürgüp, which is the current name of the town.

The previous examples we are actually endonyms, that is to say, identifying names given and/or accepted by members of the group in question. But the most widely spread ethnonym, still in use today to identify Anatolian Rums and especially Turkish-speaking communities is "Karamanlı." Karamanlı is actually an *exonym*, that is to say an ethnonym created by outsiders and used to express otherness rather than to self-identify. As Gossiaux asserted, the "pregnancy of exonyms is generally greater than that of endonyms – designation of otherness is more powerful than that of identity … and this is the exonym which becomes the ethnonym commonly used throughout the whole society."[49] The ethnonym "Karamanlı" was never used by those we

48 When different names were used for the same settlement or when the name changed at the time of the Republic of Turkey, the first occurrence includes various former and current names. A list of settlements with their former and current names is also given in Appendix C1.

49 Gossiaux, *Pouvoirs ethniques* (2002), 23.

usually call Karamanlıs today. Used for the first time by the German traveler Hans Dernschwam in the sixteenth century to name the Turcophone Orthodox community of Istanbul,[50] the primary signification of this ethnonym was "people from Karaman" (the southern of central Anatolia).[51] However, in the nineteenth century, it spread throughout the Greek world as tantamount to an uncivilized, backward, uncouth people.[52] Paroditès, in his 1898 description of the Greek metropolitan sees of Asia Minor, summarized the meaning of the name "Karamanlı" as it was used by the Greeks of Istanbul, Izmir or Greece:

> The mass [of Anatolian Rums] speaks Turkish and only Turkish. Is it a crime? Certainly not, but the smooth talkers of Constantinople, Smyrna, and Europe consider it almost as such. In their eyes, the Anatoliote is only half a Christian, he does not deserve the name Greek; the nickname Karamanle is enough to describe him. Whether he comes from Karamanie or from elsewhere, as long as he only speaks Turkish, he cannot be considered a perfect Orthodox – he has black faith, he is Karamanle. This designation does not please, we have no difficulty in believing it, those to whom it applies.[53]

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50 Hans Dernschwam, *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/1555)* (Münich: Verlag von Düncker & Humblot, 1923), 52.

51 The name "Karamanlı" comes from the name of the *beylik* of the *Karamanoğulları,* which up until 1444 was the last dynasty to resist the Ottomans. The *beylik* embraced the region of Cappadocia as well as a broad part of South-Eastern Anatolia.

52 Already in the eighteenth century, A. Heladius wrote about the *Caraimanli* living in Istanbul. Alexander Helladius, *Status præsens Ecclesiæ Græcæ: in quo etiam causæ exponuntur cur Græci moderni Novi Testamenti editiones in Græco-barbara lingua factas acceptare recusent. Prætera additus est in fine status nonnullarum controversiarum* (1714), 137.

53 Constantinos O. Paroditès, "Le patriarcat œcuménique en Asie Mineure," *Échos d'Orient* (1898): 14. Original text: "La masse parle turc et ne parle que le turc. Est-ce un crime? Assurément point; mais les beaux parleurs de Constantinople, de Smyrne et d'Europe le considèrent presque ainsi. A leurs yeux, l'Anatoliote n'est qu'à demi chrétien, il ne mérite pas le nom de Grec, le sobriquet de Karamanle suffit à le désigner. Qu'il vienne de Karamanie ou d'ailleurs, du moment qu'il parle seulement le turc, il ne peut se donner pour un parfait orthodoxe, il a la foi noire, il est Karamanle. Cette appellation est peu faite, on n'aura pas de peine à le croire, pour contenter ceux à qui elle s'applique."

From the perspective of the urban elites of Athens, Istanbul, and Izmir, both Karamanlı and Anatolian had equally negative connotations. In 1836, Dimitrios K. Byzantios, in the play *Babylonia*, presented the Anatolian character as a rude, uncivilized man who was unable to speak Greek.[54] However, as suggested by Paroditès, the name "Karamanlı" turned clearly into an insult in the eyes of the Turcophone Rums. On this issue, the pages of the newspaper *Anatoli* are revealing. Foti and Stefo Benlisoy noted that the newspaper "constantly tried to correct the negative perceptions of the Anatolian Orthodox and their stigmatization as crude, uncivilized, and ignorant under the label of Karamanlı."[55] Whether accepted or rejected, the ethnonym "Karamanlı" finally fixeed to posterity.[56]

To conclude on the matter of geographical identification, let us give a synopsis of the ethnonyms or expressions found more or less frequently in Greek and Karamanlı texts to name the Rums of Cappadocia: "Christians," "Orthodox," "Orthodox Christians," "Christian Orthodox," "Anatolian Christian," "Anatolian Orthodox," "inhabitants of Anatolia," "our Anatolian brothers," "our Anatolian compatriots," and "Anatolian Rums," "Anatolian Greeks," "Anatolian Christians who speak Turkish," "Anatolian Christians who do not know Greek," "Cappadocians," and "Karamanlıs."[57] The diversity of ethnonyms with religious, confessional, ethnic, political, and territorial connotations show the complexity of the issue of identification and how difficult it was to find consensus between identification and self-identification. On their own, religious, geographical, and linguistic criteria were not enough to identify people and groups, and often a double (or even triple) self-ascription was needed, combining religion and location, or religion and

54 Dimitrios K. Byzantios, *H Βαβυλωνία (1836)* (Athens: Ερμη ς, 1972). For a study of the play, see Anestidis, "Yunan ve Türk Edebiyatında" (2014), 33-34.

55 Benlisoy and Benlisoy, "Reading the Identity" (2010), 103.

56 For a detailed study of the use of the name "Karamanlı" in European sources, see Knüppel, "Die Karamanen im Spiegel" (1997); de Tapia, "Les relations entre les Grecs orthodoxes et l'Empire ottoman" (2009), 39-45.

57 All these denominations can be found in various books. For instance, Ioannidis used all of them in his book about the diocese of Caesarea (1896). See Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896).

language. In this sense, the Karamanlı edition of the *Ceza Kanunnamesi* (Criminal Code, 1859) is a particularly interesting case. In the introduction, a territorial identification through the use of "*Anatolu ehalisi*" is followed by the expression "of Rum belief [*huruf*] and of Turkish formulation [*ibare*]."[58] A few years later, the upsurge in identity construction that went together with the multiplication of printed works led to a convolution of names and expressions used for (self-)identification. This density of qualifiers reflected a vagueness through which authors entertained their new, unprecedented desire for identification. In that context, "Rumness" as well as "Turkness," underwent a progressive process ethnic redefinition, becoming respectively nationalized identities for Rums and for Turks.

A turning point occurred during the first decade of the twentieth century. The role of language in identification evolved with the spreading of nationalism, even surpassing religiosity, since, from the late 1900s, language became a crucial criterion for defining nations and ethnic groups. Linguistic commonality became a sine qua non condition for belonging to the same *millet*. According to Anagnostopoulou, "the term *millet* acquired a content that was obviously secular and national, while at the same time it acquired autonomy vis-à-vis religion."[59] In fact, religion did not disappear from ways of identification, far from it… However, alone, it was no longer enough to fulfill the conditions of belonging to the *millet*; henceforth, it needed to be combined with language.[60] Religion and Greek language became inseparable conditions to be considered a member of the *millet-i Rum*. The combinations "faith and nation" (*mezhep ile millet*), "religion and nation" (*din ve millet*) or "Christianity and *Rumness*" (*hristiyanlık ve rumluk*) that were frequently used in Karamanlı publications of the time show that the nation was no longer synonymous with the religious group, but that both necessarily went together.

This evolution was not specific to the Rum community since language became a central aspect of nationalist ideologies and was the basis of

58 *Δζεζά Κανονναμέι Χουμαγιουνούν Αίνι Σουρετί Τερδζουμεσί Ολούπ* (Istanbul: Ευαγγελινός Μισαηλίδης, 1859).

59 Anagnostopoulou, "Greek Diplomatic Authorities" (2010), 71.

60 The multiplication of the number of millets officially recognized by the Ottoman state between 1885 and 1914 shows that the multiple detailed definitions of identities took linguistic and cultural variables into account.

definitions of national identity. Cappadocian migrants were, in fact, carried away by the whirl of the events and the prevailing ideologies. They played a role of intermediary between the ideologies developed in urban centers and their native communities, which remained in relative isolation. More and more involved in the intellectual atmosphere of the capital, lettered Cappadocian immigrants themselves became convinced of the newly defined ethnicity. However, in this whirlwind, the "Karamanlıs" became a problem in the search for a common Rum identity: they did not fulfill one of the main criteria, namely, knowledge of the common language.

From the late 1900 onwards, while urban Rum intellectuals seemed to have more or less agreed on the definition and use of the ethnonym "Rum," a relative divergence appeared between migrants and those who had remained in the villages. On one hand, for urban (or urbanized) elites, the nationalized concept of the *millet-i Rum* had turned into a political and national entity based on a common language.[61] As a result, from having been a religious label, the word "Rum" became an ethnonym in the narrow sense of the term. On the other hand, Orthodoxy continued to be the main, if not only, criterion of identification in the countryside. This divergence can also be seen through a critical reading of the two main Karamanlidika newspapers, *Anatoli*, published between 1850 and 1922, and *Nea Anatoli,* published between 1912 and 1923. The former was founded in the mid-nineteenth century, at a time when the migration to main urban centers was still negligible and massive had not yet rached the Turcophone Orthodox Christians of Anatolia. It identified its readers as "Anatolian Christians," even up to its last issues, and continuously referred to Anatolia as the home land of all Karamanlıs, even those who had lived in the capital for several decades. On the other hand, in *Nea Anatoli*, which started in the 1910s – a few years after the Young Turk Revolution and simultaneous with the beginning of the Balkan war, at a time of intensification of nationalist ideologies in the Ottoman Empire – Turcophone Christians were identified as Rums without any particular stress on their homeland. As Ayça Baydar demonstrated, "in *Nea Anatoli*, the

61 Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 654-68.

identity of the Karamanlı was transformed from 'Anatolian' to 'Greek'."[62] Moreover, in a third newspaper written by Karamanlı authors and dedicated to Karamanlı readers (but written in Ottoman-Turkish) – the *Anadolu'da Ortodoksluk Sadası (1922-1923),* the organ of the Congregation of the Anatolian Turkish Orthodox Church (published in Kayseri) – proposed a substantially different, nationalist approach, identifying Karamanlıs as Orthodox Turks.[63]

These three newspapers and their ways to identifying Turkish-speaking Orthodox Anatolians can be observed as representative of a gap, which grew from 1908 onwards, between urban (including that of settled in cities) and rural self-identification. *Nea Anatoli* represented the "Greekicized" urban element while *Anadolu'da Ortodoksluk Sadası* (published in Kayseri in Ottoman-Turkish) presented itself as the voice of Anatolian nationalism and emphasized Turkness of all Anatolians, regardless of religious affiliation. This gap could also be described as a conflict between generations, with young, lettered migrants more likely to adhere to nationalist ideologies. On one hand, *Anatoli* could be understood as the voice of first-generations Anatolian migrants who, even after 1908, continued to consider themselves Anatolian Christians, rather than Greeks or Turks. On the other hand, the newer newspapers *Nea Anatoli* and *Anadolu'da Ortodoksluk Sadası* represented authors and readers who belonged to a younger generation.

An anecdotical comparison is possible through the reading of a text published in *O Astir* in 1914. Entitled "*Babamın bir mektubu*" ("A Letter from my Father") and written by a law student at the University of Istanbul,

62 Ayça Baydar also compared the contents of *Nea Anatoli* with another Karamanlı newspaper, actually published in Ottoman-Turkish but by Orthoox Christians, the *Anadolu'da Ortodoksluk Sadası* (1922-1923). In her study, she shows how *Nea Anatoli,* which was published in Istanbul and largely influenced by Greek nationalism, and *Anadolu'da Ortodoksluk Sadası,* published in Kayseri, had divergent aims concerning the identity of the Turcophone Orthodox of Anatolia. The latter "shared the features of the other newspapers published in Anatolia during the same period," namely it was expected to spread Kemalism and support Turkish nationalism, and consequently it was attentively subjected to censorship. Ayça Baydar, "Anadolu'da Ortodoksluk Sadası," in *Cultural Encounters in the Turkish-Speaking Communities of the Late Ottoman Empire*, eds. E. Balta and M. Ölmez (Istanbul: Isis, 2014).

63 Ibid., 336-46.

Demosthenis Danielidis, the text is particularly representative of the rapid evolution of the ideological crux of communal identification, as well as the gap it created between urban and rural communities and also between generations. Danielidis narrated an event of his life, that occurred in 1910. That spring, he and his classmates of the Istanbul University Law Faculty prepared to journey to Romania for the summer vacation. While he was hesitant, he received a letter from his father, living in Ürgüp that convinced him to stay in Turkey and spend his summer in his native land. In the letter, the father of Demosthenis explained that he had heard, from one of the teachers working in Ürgüp that his son would be travelling in Romania over the summer.[64] He then expressed his clear disagreement, claiming that his son first had to know his own country (*vatan*) before travelling abroad ("My son! Before everything, you first need to know your own homeland, and even to know it well").[65] By the term *vatan*, the father of Danielidis was implying Anatolia, since he added in another part of his letter that his son could, of course, later travel abroad, to Romania, but first to Greece and then to the Balkan states and Europe.[66] In brief, the idea exposed by Danielidis' father in the six-page letter was that his son should first visit, and know his own native land, namely Anatolia, resolving the problems of his native community rather than going abroad, even to Greece. The father, even though he also refers to the concept of "*Rumluk,*" and emphasizes Christian identity

Following the letter, Danielidis wrote his own opinion, agreeing with the lesson e learned from his father –he had finally decided not to go to Romania but to return to Ürgüp for his summer vacation. He then added a description of an incident experienced during his train travel on the way to Prokopi. Crossing paths with the *Vali* of Konya in one of the train cars, he exchanged a few words:

64 The teacher learned of this travel from news in a Karamanlı newspaper. "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' - 1914" (1913), 54.

65 Original text's transcription: "Oğlum! Sana her şeyden evvel elzem olan vatanığını bilmek ve hemde iyi bilmekdir."

66 Original text's transcription: "Yalınız Rumanyaya değil, hepsinden evvel Elladaya ve sonra elinden gelirse sıra ile diğer Balkan devletlerine ve daha sonra Europaya gitmelisin. Bu senin içün bir vazifedir. Lakin, oğlum, her şeyin bir sirası var."Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' - 1914" (1913), 55.

> The *vali*: The inhabitants of this place, whether Muslim Turks or Christian Turks, are hard-working and industrious. They focus only on their own, singular jobs. With this kind of people, everything is possible.
> I was obliged to interrupt the prefect and to ask him to clarify who were the Christian Turks.
> - The Christian inhabitants of the vilayet, he said.
> Me: Sir, I am sorry, but you are wrong. These inhabitants are not Turks, they are Rums. I am one of the Christians of this vilayet. But I am not a Turk, I am a Rum.
> The *vali*: The only thing which distinguishes local inhabitants is religion. Christians or Muslims, their mother tongue is Turkish […] Their songs are Turkish. Spiritually and materially, everything in their appearance only reveals a Turkish spirit. If these Christians were Rum, at least, their mother tongue would have been Greek, wouldn't it?"[67]

Danielidis added, as a final comment:

> Did not the fact that we have been able to preserve our religion throughout the centuries show that the blood, which runs in our veins, remained pure? Does not the fact that we have been able to preserve for centuries our language specific to Rumness in our churches show

67 Original text's transcription:
"Vali: Buranın ehalisi, gerek Islam Türkleri olsun gerek hristiyan Türkleri, çalışkan ve zanaatkârdırlar. Kendi işlerinden başka hiç bir şey ile uğraşmazlar. Böyle ehali ile her şey yapılabilir.
Vali beyin sözünü kesmeye mecbur oldum ve bu Xristiyan Türklerin kimler olduğunu sual eyledim.
- Vilayetin Xristiyan ehalisidir, dedi
Ben: Efendim aff edersiz, burda bir yanlışlığınız var. Bu ehali Türk değildir, Rumdur. Bende Vilayetin Xristiyanlarındanım. Lakin Türk değil Rumum.
Vali: Buranın ehalisini mezhepden başka bir şey ayırmaz. Gerek Xristiyan, gerek Islamın ana lisanı Türkçedir. […] Şarkıları türkçedir. Ehalinin maddi ve manevi her bir tezahüratında türklüğün ruhundan başka bir şey göremezsiniz. Bu Xristiyanlar Rum olsaydılar hiç olmazsa analisanları rumca olacak değilmi idi?" Ibid., 56.

> that we will be able to bring it from the church to the school and from the school to the house?[68]

The use of the term Rum and of the concept of Rumness, by Danieliedis (the son) is representative of a general trend among Karamanlidika writers in post-1908 publications. It shows a clear ethnicization of the word Rum in the usage by lettered Orthodox Christians. Moreover, this abstraction clearly emphasizes the chain of three inseparable elements: religion (Orthodoxy), language (Greek), and ethnicity (Rumness). Even for Turkish-speaking communities, the Greek language was considered a lost element of identity that had nonetheless been preserved in churches and was finally being due to thanks to education. This dialogue, though arranged by the author (who sent it to *O Astir* in 1913 from Vienna) shows that languages came to have a particular meaning in the nationalist context and that the learning of Greek by a Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christian was, from this time forth, a requirement to be considered a Rum by the rest of the *millet* but also by members of other communities. The dialogue with the *vali, the* representative of the state, shows the widespread position that as long as they were unable to speak Greek as other members of their *millet*, the Karamanlıs would neither be considered Rum by their own community nor by others, especially not by the Turks. As explained by Fredrick Barth, "since belonging to an ethnic category implies being a certain kind of person, having that basic identity, it also implies a claim to be judged, and to judge oneself by those standards that are relevant to that identity."[69] For Karamanlı elites, religion and religious institutions played a symbolic role of linking their community, but a commonality of language that went hand in hand with the ethnicization of Rumness needed to be reinforced. Henceforth, *Rumness* was defined as an ethnic and national identity that remained indistinguishable from Orthodox Christianity, but in the early twentieth-century context, all agreed that learning the Greek language was imperative for the entire community.

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68 Original text's transcription: "Asırlarca mezhebimizi muhafaza edebilmemiz damarlarımızda akan kanın bozulmadığını göstermez mi? Lisanımızı asırlarca yalnız rumluğa has bir sebat ile Ekklisiada saklayabilmemiz, onu Ekklisiadan Skoleiona ve Skoleiondan yine eve getirebileceğimizi göstermez mi?" Ibid., 57.

69 Barth, *Ethnic Groups* (1969), 14.

Rural/urban and generational dichotomies need not to be understood too radically, however. Among the inhabitants of the regions of Kayseri, Nevşehir, and Niğde, there were certainly Turkish-speaking Rums who claimed to be Greek, as there were Turcophone Christians who claimed to be Turk or neither Turk nor Greek but Rum in Istanbul and Izmir). Similarly, even writers in the same generation held radically different points of view. For instance, Kalfoglou and Ioannidis, two disciples of Misailidis, maintained opposing positions vis-à-vis Rumness.[70] In the same way, while *Anatoli* represented an older way of doing Karamanlı journalism, it also evolved and adapted to the debates and emerging ideologies of the early twentieth century.[71] Nevertheless, the 1908-1923 period was an intense time of identity (re-)definition during which Rum elites attempted to define (from various perspectives) an identity that the people of major urban centers, including an important segment of migrants, rapidly internalized, but that those living in rural Anatolian settlements did not seem to claim or simply did not care about. In 1922, the movement led by Papa Eftim (Father Pavlos Karahisarithis) to create the Turkish Orthodox Church, in the last moments before the finalization of the exchange of populations, appeared to contradict the tide of Greek nationalism even as it took part in the general current of the nationalization of identities and communities. Claiming that Anatolian Orthodox Christians were Turks ("not friends of Turks but Turks," according to the famous words of the leader), Papa Eftim and other members of the pro-Turkish nationalist General Congregation of the Anatolian Turkish Orthodox (*Umum Anadolu Türk Ortodoksları Cemaatleri)* participated in their own way in the nationalization of self-identification along with their media outlet *Anadolu'da Ortodoksluk Sadası*. Though the Autocephalous Orthodox Patriarchate of Anatolia was founded in 1922 in Kayseri, in the heart of Cappadocia, it did not really succeed in assembling the Turkish-speaking communities of the region.

70 Regarding the verbal joust between Kalfoglou and Ioannidis, see Benlisoy, "Another Newspaper in our Language!" (2014), 381-85.

71 Baydar, "Anadolu'da Ortodoksluk Sadası" (2014).

3.1.3 *Post-1923 Narratives: Remining Former Groupnesses?*

In spite of the time lag between their departure from Cappadocia and their interviews (1930-1970s), the discourse of OTA informants are representative of the state of mind of the rural population that stayed in Cappadocia until the exchange of populations. They show that locals remained relatively apart from nationalist ideologies, whether Rumness or Turkness. The words of Papa Grigoris, a priest who was born and worked in İncesu and met Papa Eftim in 1922, reveal the doubts, perplexity, and skepticism that Anatolian Christians felt in the face of nationalized identities: "Papa Eftim claimed that we were Turks. Were we Turks? We had been told we were Greeks?"[72]

In fact, similarities and distinctions can be observed between pre-1923 publications and testimonies collected from the 1930s to the 1970s recorded in the Oral Tradition Archives of the CAMS. Informants generally used the basic dichotomy that we already discovered in Ottoman archives and early Greek and Karamanlı publications: Christians (themselves), Turks (the Muslims), and Armenians. As Cappadocian authors writing under Ottoman rule, informants identified themselves simply as Christian and rarely mentioned Orthodoxy when they talked about their past in Anatolia. When they needed to differentiate themselves from other Christians, they usually continued to call themselves Christian and define other Christians either by their ethnicity (Armenian, which, at the same time has a religious connotation) or by their confession (Catholics and Protestants). For Muslims, the name *Islam*, denoted Muslim in the Ottoman archives but often in Karamanlidika publications as well, was never used by informants who sometimes preferred to use the name *Mousoulmanoi,* if not *Tourkoi*. On the other hand, the use of the word Rum as an ethnonym rarely appears in transcriptions. Moreover, the word *Hellene* can often be read to define both a language (*Ellinika*) and a people (*Ellinoi*), generally going hand in hand with the term "Tourkoi" to refer to the main other community.

These ethnonyms are unsurprising to encounter in the files of the OTA, especially when one keeps in mind the particular context of the production

72 "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, in *Oral Tradition Archives* (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ78: Papa Grigoris.

and recording of these testimonies. Beyond the problems of a time lag and this context of production described in the overview of sources,[73] the main issue is that informants answered only questions asked by the interviewers and were potentially influenced in the choice of topics on which they talked as well as the choice of words they used to identify themselves and others. For instance, one of the first questions asked was: "Were there Turks in your village?" or "How many Turkish and how many Christian families lived there?" The use by interviewers of the ethnic categories "Hellenes and Turks" might also have induced informants to speak about Turks and Hellenes rather than Rums, which was more widely used in the publications of Orthodox communities of Anatolia. Categories used at the time of the interview may have thus supplanted categories used in the past. At the same time, witnesses regularly countered these established categories with short, interspersed comments such as "We were Christians; they were Turks. It did not matter, it was the same, we did not care." That is why it is preferable to analyze these testimonies realized after the 1930s separately from sources written or published before the exchange of populations of 1923-24.

Nevertheless, informants were mainly people who lived in their village in 1923, even if they had previously migrated to Istanbul or to another Ottoman city for several years. Consequently, the sample represented a rural, socially-low group that included peasants, craftsmen, shopkeepers, and also educated priests, teachers, and former *muhtar*s (village or district headmen). Those who had been economically successful in the large cities of the Ottoman Empire generally settled in cities definitively or had already emigrated beyond Ottoman borders before the 1920s. As for families registered in Istanbul before 1918, they were exempt from the exchange and most remained in Turkey, often until the events of September 6-7, 1955.[74] We can assume that the social background of the sample explains why the main means of identification way

73 See Chapter 1.3.

74 Some Cappadocian Rums who remained in Istanbul after 1923 migrated to Greece in the 1930s. Consider the case of Nikodimos Kuloglou, for instance, who was born in1879 in Ağırnas, worked in Istanbul where he had his own store, and was also *muhtar*. He left Turkey in 1933. "ΚΠ 49-52 Agirnas," 1950s, in *Oral Tradition Archives*, (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ49: N. Küloglou Ananiadis.

used in refugee discourse was the classical, religiously-defined, ethnic dichotomy (Christians/Turks) with no particular national signification. The sample represented *par excellence* the rural people of Cappadocia who were removed from debates about nationalism and did not experience the national consciousness or awakening that took place among urban, educated Rum communities.[75]

If we look in more depth at the testimonies, another way of identification used was based largely on local belonging. Informants self-ascribed to a community defined by its locality. The "we" were people living in their village, and otherness characterized the inhabitants of other villages. Otherness was subdivided on the basis of geographical and social proximity rather than on ethnoreligious belonging. Informants talked about other people as being inhabitants of friendly or hostile villages. This dichotomy between friendly and unfriendly villages did not necessarily correspond to religious division – Muslim vis-à-vis Christian – since informants often had better relations with a Muslim village than with another Christian village. The example of the village of Misti, inhabited by a Christian community, illustrates this point since the Christian inhabitants of surrounding villages (Keçiağaç, Limni, and Fertek) were described by Mistiotes as hostile people, while they generally mentioned the good relations they had with Turks living in surrounding villages.[76] When it came to defining Muslims, informants expressed this relation of proximity with the expression "our Turks," which identified Muslims living with them in their own village. In the testimonies, "our Turks" were generally described as "good Turks" in opposition to those living in other villages who were regarded suspiciously. In a way, proximity was a guarantee of security. Locally, everyday relations that occurred quite peacefully in normal circumstances were proof of "interreligious toleration." On the other hand, distance meant possible danger and outsiders (often described as foreigners) were thus considered as potentially harmful and intolerant

75 Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 225-36; Bruneau, *De l'Asie Mineure à la Turquie* (2015), 169-70.

76 "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ235: Maria Topsakal; "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ216: Kosmas Serafeimidis; "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ299: Prodromos Papadopoulos.

persecutors. This geographical definition of groupness also appears through the frequent use of the village name as main identifying unit. As did authors of Karamanlidika and Greek publications, informants defined mainly their collectivity using the name of their village as the main marker of belonging.

The great variety of expressions and words to identify individuals and groups (or for self-identification) gives an idea of the complexity of identities. The superimpositions and combinations of several criteria (ethnic, religious, linguistic, cultural, and geographical) in the way of identifying or self-identifying show an interlacing of supple and rigid identities, whether constructed by producers of taxonomy (mostly political, administrative and religious authorities) or by producers of daily social ineraction (mostly ordinary people who experienced everyday interreligious relationships). Even though, Ottoman society was theoretically organized according to categories based on religious affiliation, groups were so interwoven in local, daily interactions – especially in rural areas like Cappadocia – that ascription to only one means of identification was impossible. The official nomenclature evolved to take this multiplicity of identities into account. However, in the context of the taxonomization of society, it was impossible to take all the multiplicity of identities that any given individual could internalize into consideration. As Dündar noted, taxonomic operation "flattens multiple identities of population"[77] because it basically aims to construct an organized, hierarchized society (corresponding to a political, ideological project), but also because it was pragmatically impossible to count the same individual in different categories.

§ 3.2 Mapping Religious and Linguistic Collectivities

As most regions of the Ottoman Empire, Cappadocia was mainly a rural land inhabited by a multi-religious population. Rather than concentrations in specific parts of the region, religious groups were spread throughout the villages or towns of the region without any other logic of clustering than geographical, historical, and economic conditions. Compared to other regions of Anatolia, non-Muslims comprised an important, but not the main, portion

77 Dündar, "Empire of Taxonomy" (2014): 136.

of the local society – especially Rums in the west, Armenians in the east. They had lived there for centuries, in relative isolation from the political and religious centers, in the midst of a large Muslim community composed of sedentary village- and town-dwellers and nomadic tribes.[78] In this geographically remote and religiously and linguistically heterogeneous context, relations between groups were necessarily a central aspect of everyday life – often a matter of survival. If, as we saw in the previous paragraphs, linguistic differentiation was not considered a criterion of the state taxonomy and consequently did not appear in the state census, from the perspective of the population and of ecclesiastical authorities, it was a crucial social issue superimposed over religious and geographical criteria. That are these three elements – religious, linguistic, and geographic affiliations – that we propose to study and map in the next paragraphs.

One needs to wait until the late nineteenth century for a relatively clear picture of local demography. Counting male population, the first modern regional and empire-wide censuses (1831, 1844) used religious belonging and localization as combined categories of taxonomy while spoken language(s) were not taken into account. Later state censuses (1881-93, 1906-07) and the Greek Patriarchate Statistics of 1912 (officially established by the Patriarchate between 1910 and 1912 with the support of Greece and its consular authorities[79]) allow a more accurate depiction of the population that localize religious communities living in religiously homogeneous or heterogeneous settlements. However, authors do not agree about the value of these records. For instance, concerning the Greek Patriarchate Statistics of 1912, Alexandris and Kitromilides explain that the necessity to conduct such such an accurate census in Asia Minor and European Turkey was Venizelos' top priority after his election as Prime Minister of Greece in 1910. They added:

78 Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 189.

79 The statistics were prepared between 1910 and 1912 by the Greek Government represented by the Consul General in Istanbul, Constantine Kypraios, in cooperation with Patriarchal authorities. It offered a new series of statistical data, but focused only on Greek Orthodox demography.

> Particularly difficult to surpass was the suspicious nature of the Greek villagers, who, in many instances shied away from registering even with the Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical authorities fearing that the ottoman civil authorities might get hold of the records and use them as evidence to increase their taxes or draft them to the army.[80]

However, they considered that, by 1913, the Greek and Patriarchal authorities had a full-fledged statistical report on the demography of the Rums of Anatolia. McCarthy, on the other hand, argued that the "so-called Patriarchate Statistics of 1912" were actually an altered version of figures given by Vital Cuinet in *La Turquie d'Asie* (1890-94) "to fit political purposes."[81] Because the boundaries of the diocese did not correspond to those of the vilayet, it is impossible to compare the general figures.[82] However, statistics about the Rum population of the dioceses of Caesarea and Ikonium were already available in 1905 in the review, *Xenofanis*. We can assume that these figures were those transmitted by the metropolitans to the Patriarchate and therefore might be relatively accurate. Finally, Karamanlidika and Greek publications, narratives, reports, and studies prepared by Westerners – especially Richard Dawkins' study of rural Rum communities (1916) – are the basis of the demographical analysis of the next paragraphs.

For the early Ottoman period, various authors, especially Irène Beldiceanu, Ronald Jennings, and Evangelia Balta, used toponyms and anthroponyms found in Ottoman registers as clues for determining the settlements in the pre-Ottoman period in the areas of Aksaray, Ereğli, Ulukışla, Çamardı, Yahyalı, and Develi.[83] However, the difficulty is that Christians could have Turkish, Persian, or Arab names[84] and that many settlements kept names with Greek- or

80 Alexis Alexandris and Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "Ethnic survival, nationalism and forced migration: the historical demography of the Greek community of Asia minor at the close of the Ottoman era," *DKMS* 5 (1984-85): 26.

81 Justin McCarthy, "Greek Statistics on Ottoman Greek Population," *IJTS* 1, no.2 (1980).

82 Ibid. According to McCarthy, the author of the "so-called Patriarchate Statistics found a solution by inventing a 'Turkish Official Statistics of 1910' to which he constantly referred." See also Alexandris and Kitromilides, "Ethnic Survival" (1984-85): 26-27.

83 Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Géographie historique" (1982).

84 Balta, "Tracing the Presence of Rum" (2011), 198-203.

Armenian-sounding (Antrolos, Amos, Avanos…) though they were inhabited by Muslims. Moreover, rapid demographic changes, especially population moves, made the picture particularly dynamic during the Ottoman period, especially its latter centuries. Nevertheless, some long-term continuities and discontinuities can be highlighted by comparing information given by Beldiceanu,[85] Jennings,[86] and Balta[87] for early periods with the census data of the 1890s-1910s. For instance, the village of Misti remained entirely Christian from the first decades of the Ottoman period to the 1910s; villages such as Sorsovu, Ortahisar, Uçhisar, and Nar were already completely Muslim just after the Ottoman conquest; and several mixed settlements of the nineteenth century (Malakopi, Ürgüp, Niğde, Kesi, Kenatala, Sinasos) were mixed by the fifteenth century. On the other hand, some fifteenth-century Christian villages, such as Limni, became mixed at an undeterminable time in the course of the next centuries. We can suppose that, in main cases, the switch-over was a progressive process. Christian villages of the early Ottoman period switched progressively to mixed settlements and sometimes from mixed to homogeneous Muslim settlements in parallel with the progressive Islamization of the area.

Evangelia Balta traced the presence of Christian (and especially Rum) populations in Cappadocia from the *Tapu Tahrirs* (registers of lands) of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for the area of Kayseri (registers of 1484, 1500, 1570, and 1584). She noted that the Christian population of the area of Kayseri "follows the demographic increase of the rest of the population. While there were 53 Christian communities (20 living in purely Christian and 33 in mixed settlements) in 1484, while 64 communities (22 in purely Christian, 42 in mixed settlements) were registered in 1584."[88] If the number of homogeneous Christian villages remained stable, the number of mixed settlements increased

85 Nicolas Beldiceanu and Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur la province de Qaraman au XVIe siècle* (Leiden: Brill, 1968); Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Géographie historique" (1982).

86 Ronald C. Jennings, "The Erciyes dagi in the sixteenth century," in *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman, Turcica 3*, eds. J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont and P. Dumont (Paris: Peeters, 1987).

87 Balta, "Tracing the Presence of Rum" (2011).

88 Ibid.

during the period. For comparison, in the mid-nineteenth century, there were about forty villages inhabited by Rum and/or Armenian communities in the same area.[89] Because of the lack of similar studies on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we are unable to analyze how, when or why Christian communities disappeared, presumably by either leaving their settlement or converting to Islam.

Table 3.1. Male population of the towns and kazas of Kayseri, Niğde and Aksaray in 1831 census.[90]

	Muslims	Christian (*reaya*)	Total
Kayseri			
Town of Kayseri	13 446	-	13 446
Villages of the kaza of Kayseri	21 005	15 901	36 906
Other kazas	5 014	-	5 014
Total	39 465	15 901	55 366
Niğde			
Town of Niğde	3 353	14 703	18 056
Villages of the kaza of Niğde	895	-	895
Other kazas of the sancak of Niğde	41 025	-	41 025
Total	45 273	14 703	59976
Aksaray			
Town of Aksaray	2 322	-	2 322
Villages of the kaza of Aksaray	4 290	987	5 277
Other kazas of the sancak of Aksaray	1 166	-	1166
Tribes (*aşiret*)	28 868	-	28 868
Total	36 646	987	37 633

Censuses of the nineteenth century allow a better picture of the populations living in the region even if the reliability of their figures are controversial among historians. According to the census realized in 1831, the male population of the sancaks of Kayseri, Niğde, and Aksaray was distributed as given in Table 3.1. The absence of data about Christians living in the town of Kayseri and the other kazas of the sancak as well as in several kazas of Niğde

89 For Armenian rural communities, see Hervé Georgelin, "Armenians in Late Ottoman Rural Kesaria/Kayseri," in *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia*, ed. R.G. Hovannisian (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 2013), especially the map on p. 235.

90 Figures reproduced in "Kayseri," in *Yurt Ansiklopedisi,* ed. T. Parla, Istanbul, 1982-83, 4696. "Niğde," in *Yurt Ansiklopedisi,* ed. T. Parla (Istanbul, 1983), 6165.

and Aksaray is surprising because we know from early travelogues that there were Rums communities throughout the whole Cappadocia and Armenian communities in the city and periphery of Kayseri. Between 1881 and 1893, a large census of the whole Ottoman Empire, including for the first time female population and categorizing people according to their millet, was undertaken by the state. Its results, summarized in the Table 3.2 seem, more relevant than those of 1831 census.

Table 3.2. Population (male and female) of main kazas of Cappadocia according to the census of 1881-1893.[91]

Kaza	Muslims	Rums	Armenians	Protestants	Catholics	Total
Sancak of Kayseri						
Kayseri	85 163	18 406	24 850	1 315	715	13 0449
Develi	21 778	1 821	10 846	238	-	34 683
İncesu	13 416	4 668	23	-	-	18 107
Sancak of Niğde						
Niğde	36 868	15 725	843	-	-	53 436
Bor	19 016	989	508	-	-	20 513
Aksaray	37 407	2 437	478	55	-	40 377
Ulukışla	7 851	1 331	-	-	-	9 192
Nevşehir	30 370	8 918	477	-	-	39 765
Ürgüp	19 880	3 134	16	-	-	23 030
Arapsun	11 029	3 934	20			14 984
Avanos	17 970	-	392	-	-	18 362
Total	300 748	61 363	38 453	1 608	715	393 705

At the scale of Cappadocia, the Patriarchate counted 90,300 Rums in the diocese of Ikonium and 65,120 in the diocese of Caesarea in 1912, or a total of 155,420 for the dioceses combined which correspond to the large definition of Cappadocia.[92] In 1918, Georgios Soteriadis published *An Ethnological Map Illustrating Hellenism in the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor*. According to this source, takin into account the kazas that correspond the definition of (small) Cappadocia, Rums accounted for about 20 percent of the total population while Muslims represented 72 percent (Table 3.3).

91 Figures reproduced in "Kayseri," in *Yurt Ansiklopedisi,* 1982-83, 4698; "Niğde," in *Yurt Ansiklopedisi* (1983), 6166; "Nevşehir," in *Yurt Ansiklopedisi,* ed. T. Parla, (Istanbul, 1983), 6069.

92 Bruneau, *De l'Asie Mineure à la Turquie* (2015), 162-63.

Finally, records of the population exchange of 1923-24 estimated the number of refugees from Cappadocia as 54,622 persons. Even if we take into account the fact that conscripts, war loses, and earlier emigration parly explain a decrease, this figure is particularly low compared to those of Soteriadis and the Patriarchate.[93]

Table 3.3. Demographics of Cappadocia according to Soteriadis (1912).[94]

	Turks	Greeks	Armenians	Jews	Other
Sancak of Kayseri (kazas: Kayseri, İncesu, Develi)	128,787	28,201	39,448	-	2,845
Sancak of Kırşehir (kaza Avanos)	20,667	-	-	-	-
Sancak of Niğde (kazas: Bulgar Maden, Bor, Niğde, Arapsun, Aksaray, Nevşehir, Ürgüp)	174,140	55,518	753	41	38
Total	323,594	83,719	40,201	41	2,883

Actually, all these figures need to be considered with suspicion because of the limits of statistical techniques of the time but also because of differing agenda that may have been hidden behind each census. However, an overview of all these statistics allows a general idea of the demographics of Cappadocia for the period 1831-1920. On one hand, a general population increase can be observed in most kazas of the region, particularly on account of the massive arrival of Muslim refugees from the Balkans. In the same period, the figures for Christian populations were stable (and even increased a little). On the other hand, when we look at the smaller scale, we can see that over the same period, Christian populations tended to decrease in many settlements.[95] For instance, the Armenian community of Avanos that appears in the census 1831 is no more in the statistics of 1907 (of course, tension and massacres, especially that of 1895-96, had occurred in the meantine). Similarly, in terms of percentage, the figures for the town of Niğde show a particularly impressive demographic reversal from 1831. The town's 18,000 inhabitants was comprised of a clear Christian majority (80 percent of the town's population) in 1831,

93 Bruneau, *De l'Asie Mineure à la Turquie* (2015), 167.

94 Georgios Soteriadis, *An ethnological map illustrating Hellenism in the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor* (London: E. Stanford, 1918).

95 Stanford J. Shaw, "Ottoman Population Movements During the Last Years of the Empire, 1885-1914: Some Preliminary Remarks," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 1 (1980).

while Ioannidis in 1896 and Kalfoglou in 1899 mentioned 17,000 inhabitants but with a clear Muslim majority. Even when we add the district of Kayabaşı, which both authors counted separately because of its particular concentration of Rum households (about 300 Orthodox and only 50 Muslim households), Niğde, from the late nineteenth century forward was a predominantly Turkish city with a Christian minority. According to statistics given in the *Annuaire oriental* of 1912, the population of the town (including Kayabaşı) was no more than 11,529 inhabitants (7,636 Turks, 2,702 Greeks, 1,043 Armenians, and 148 Protestants) Rums represented no more than 35 percent of the town's total population.[96]

This localized demographic decrease was mainly due to migration from Cappadocia to other regions of the empire, especially to urban centers (mainly Istanbul and Izmir), but also abroad. In the smallest villages, it could lead to the total abandonment of the settlement which was then sometimes reinvested by Muslims. This was the case of the village of Molu in the region of Kayseri, for instance, which lost its last Christian inhabitants before 1900. On the other hand, some Rum settlements experienced important demographic increases emigration notwithstanding. Especially due to the economic success of

96 The district of Kayabaşı, inhabited mostly by Rums, is a particular case because it was sometimes considered a district of Niğde and sometimes described as a separate settlement. Thus, it is difficult to compare the data of 1831 with the data of the early twentieth century because the system changed from a count of households to headcount individuals. However, from a general perspective based on the censuses of 1830, the 1890s and 1906, we can say that the Rum population of Niğde (including the mahalle of *Kayabaşı*) experienced, as other communities of the city, an demographic increase throughout the century, but with a broad decrease beginning at the end of the 1890s. See Rizos, *Καππαδοκικα, ήτοι δοκίμιον* (1856), 102; Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 197; Kalfoglou, *Μικρα Ασια Κητασηνην* (1899), 116.

Among the twenty-five parish or community registers kept in the GAK for the town of Niğde, twelve exclusively deal with the Kayabaşı community (around Panagia parish) while the others are codices of the Rum communities of Niğde comprised of several parishes but excluding Kayabaşı. See, for instance, "Codex α/α 308 Kayabaşı, Εκκλησία Καγιάμπαση [Church of Kayabaşı] (1835-1922)," in Codices of the Exchange (Athens: GAK). "Codex α/α 260 Niğde, Εκκλησιαστική Επιτροπή Αγίου Ιωάννη Προδρόμου - Δημογεροντία Νίγδης [Ecclesiastical epitropi of St. John Prodromos – Niğde demogerontia]" (1858-1876), in Public Welfare (Athens: GAK).

migrants from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, large communities such as that of Gelveri or Sinasos, which Sia Anagnostopoulou described as "communities with 'developed' organization" (by contrast with "communities with 'traditional' organization), grew up until the 1920s.[97] The success of these "developed" communities can be explained precisely by the same migration process that vanished small communities such as Molu. In burgs like Sinasos or Gelveri, the economic success of migrants led to an impressive development of their native land.[98] Moreover, another change that occurred in the early nineteenth century – the closing of mines in the region of Gümüşhane – led to the creation of new Rum settlements on the Taurus slopes in the extreme south of Cappadocia. These newly created, shortly-lived Christian settlements experienced a similar cycle of creation and extinction. For instance, a Rum community originating from the region of Gümüşhane settled in Farasa (north-eastern Taurus) in the early nineteenth century to work in the new mines of the Taurus chain. When the mines of Farasa closed in turn around 1878, some of its inhabitants founded two new villages, Afşar and Fkosi. Then from Afşar, new communities were created in the surroundings (the villages of Bahçecik, Kurumca, Sati, Çukur, Kıska Beşkardeş, Taşçı, and Hoşça). Similarly, in western Taurus, the Rum households of miners settled around 1825 in Buğamaden, receiving a concession for mine exploitation from the sultan. Later, several households of Buğamaden founded the villages of Karacaviran, Eminik, Ovacık, and Kavuklu. Between these two groups of villages, however, most Rum communities had already collapsed before the exchange of populations.[99]

The demographic data we found in various sources, including that in testimonies of the OTA, were mostly relevant for the period 1890s-1920. The

97 Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 567-77.

98 Regarding the consequences of emigration from native lands, see Chapter 7.

99 Regarding demographic changes of villages of the region of Farasa, see Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 197-98 & 205-06. Because of their recent creation and dependence on the Metropolitan of Chaldia rather than on one of the traditional metropolitans of Cappadocia, but also because they linguistically belonged to Pontic communities, we prefer to keep them at the periphery of our study.

next paragraphs and the maps linked to which they refer[100] give a detailed picture of Cappadocian settlements in this late period. The maps correspond to the years 1896-1905 and the demographic information are drawn from the most abundant, systematic sources on hand.

3.2.1 *Religiously Mixed and Homogeneous Settlements Map in Appendix A1*

We have been able to count and precisely locate about 200 settlements, which can be divided into two groups: religiously mixed and religiously homogeneous settlements. Religiously homogeneous settlements were generally villages, with populations below 2500 inhabitants. In 1899, twenty-nine villages were inhabited exclusively by Rums and were mainly located around Niğde, in the southern part of the plain of Malakopi, or in more isolated areas such as Farasa or Afşar in the Taurus mountain chain or in the Ak mountains to the north of Kayseri. Four villages in the south of Kayseri were inhabited only by Armenians. As for Muslim villages, they represented the large majority of religiously homogeneous settlements. We located about 110 Muslim villages, but they were certainly even more in number.[101] These Muslim villages were spread throughout the whole region with particular concentrations around Nevşehir, Niğde, and mostly Kayseri.

Most of these settlements remained religiously homogeneous until 1923. Only some Christian villages included, at the very end of the nineteenth century or in the first decades of the twentieth century, a few newly-settled Muslim households. For instance, a small community of Muslims was registered in Zincidere in 1896, a village that was a Christian settlement until the 1870s.[102] For the first time in the 1920s, fifteen Muslim households were

100 See the maps in Appendices A1 and A2, prepared from data collected in primary sources of the 1890-1900s period.

101 Because we focus on the issue of relations between Rum and Muslim communities, we only mapped Muslim villages mentioned in Greek/Karamanlı sources for in the testimonies of the OTA informants.

102 Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 376.

registered in Farasa, three in İloson (north-east of Niğde).[103] These Muslim families came from surrounding villages, were refugees who fled territories lost by the Ottomans, or may have been Christians who converted to Islam (but this last possibility is improbable because converts generally left their communities and settled in other villages).[104] Informants from İloson explained how the first Muslims settled in the village which, according to them, was inhabited by around twenty Christian and fifteen Muslim households on the eve of the exchange:

> Many of the inhabitants [of İloson] went to live in Istanbul. They sent money to the village to pay the salaries of the priest, the teacher and two Turks who worked as night watchmen and protected the houses. Rich migrants made their families come to Istanbul and sold their houses to Turks. Consequently, the Turkish population of the village began to increase while the Christian population decreased. There were in our village around 30 to 40 houses; at the end only 10 to 15 remained Christians. Others were inhabited by Turks.[105]
>
> The Turks arrived. They were night watchmen, guards, shepherds… Over time, they took up more and more space; they purchased the houses left by Christians and sold them to other Turks. In the end, there were no more than ten or twelve Christian homes in our village.[106]

For other settlements, the chronology of changes is more difficult to follow. For instance, the village of Keçiağaç (close to İloson) was sometimes presented in sources as only Christian (in 1856 by Rizos, in 1896 by Limnidis, and in 1905

103 Regarding Iloson, see Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Η Έξοδος. Μαρτυρίες από τις επαρχίες της κεντρικής και νότιας Μικρασίας* [The Exile. Testimonials from the Provinces of Central and Southern Asia Minor], Β' (Athens: CAMS, 1982); "ΚΠ 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS); "Report of the General Royal Consulate of Konya," Historical Archive of the Greek Foreign Ministry (IAYE), Embassy of Greece in Constantinople, B/59, 1916.

104 Regarding the move of converts to Islam, see Chapter 9.

105 "ΚΠ 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, ΚΠ232: R. Avramidou

106 Ibid., ΚΠ232: N. Delloglou.

by the Patriarchate) and sometimes as mixed (by Levidis in 1885 – who noted a Muslim majority – and by a report of the Greek consul in 1916, which presented two communities of thirty households each).[107] According to refugees, the village was mixed, inhabited by around sixty Muslim and forty Rum households. But most of the Rums did not actually live in the village anymore, but had migrated to urban centers.[108] The lack of chronological coherence (a regular increase or decrease) suggests that these fluctuations are a problem inherent to the sources. But another hypothesis is that Turkish families (or Rums who had converted to Islam) left the village, replaced by other Muslim households. Moreover, the area regularly experienced dramatic famine and epidemics which caused deaths and exoduses from rural settlements.[109] In 1874, for instance, a great drought and famine was followed by a severe winter, which led to the death of most cattle. According to the missionary Barrows, the significant snow cover made it impossible to pass from one village to another; people were consequently unable to leave and many died.[110] For small settlements such as Keçiağaç, inhabited only by some dozens of families, this kind of natural catastrophe could have decimated the community and could be a reason for such unstable figures. Beyond casualties

107 Rizos, *Καππαδοκικα, ήτοι δοκίμιον* (1856); Limnidis, *Καϊσεριγέ*, 1896; "Της Σύνταξης, Στατιστικὴ τῆς Ἐπαρχίας Ἰκονίου" [Synthesis. Statistics of the eparchy of Ikonium], Ξενοφάνης: σύγγραμμα περιοδικόν του Συλλόγου των Μικρασιατών "Ανατολής" 3 (1905-06); Levidis, *Ιστορικόν δοκίμιον*, Α΄ (1885); "Report of the General Royal Consulate of Konya" (1916).

108 "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ235: V & F. Topsakal.

109 Barrows, *On Horseback* (1884), 306-09. Barrows explains that the main victims of starvation as well as those who fled rural areas in order to survive in the cities were Muslims: "The greater part of those that perished were Moslems […] The cities all around the famine-stricken region were filled with a great horde of beggars. […] Probably nine-tenths of all the beggars were Mussulmans". Tozer gives also a detailed description of the 1874 famine according to a narrative he heard in 1879 when he undertook his journey. See Tozer, *Turkish Armenia* (1881), 88-93.

110 The drought and famine of 1874 were particularly devastating in the area of Kayseri and Nevşehir. According to Ottoman documents studied by Mehmet Yavuz, among the villages of the kaza of Nevşehir, the drought claimed 10,000 victims. Around 300,000 individuals would die in Anatolia because of drought. See Mehmet Yavuz Erler, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kuraklık ve Kıtlık Olayları (1800-1880)* (Istanbul: Libra, 2010), 153-63.

linked to natural catastrophes, we should also keep in mind that local populations – Christians as well as Muslims – were particularly mobile and could settle and then move from one place to another in a limited period of time.

The existence of mixed settlements is a particularly useful indication for the study of everyday relations between Muslims and Christians. The main towns of the region were inhabited by more than two religious communities (Muslim, Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Protestant, and Catholic) and generally had over 10,000 inhabitants (Kayseri, Niğde, Aksaray, Bor, Nevşehir, Talas[111], and Ürgüp[112]). Develi-Everek was an unusual case because it was actually comprised of several joint settlements: Develi and Fenese consisted of mainly Armenian and Muslim households, while Everek (also called Aï Kösten by Rums) was inhabited by Orthodox.[113] These settlements with more than two religious communities were the main regional centers towards which trade and economic activities were focused. Often of the three or four communities living in these towns, two were large while the other(s) consisted of a small group of only a few dozen of households.

111 The case of Talas, near Kayseri, is problematic because numerical data are contradictory from one source to another, given that the town was being used as a secondary residence by well-off non-Muslim families of Kayseri. In a publication of 1899, Sarantidis mentioned 25,000 inhabitants in Talas comprised of 11,000 Muslims, 1900 Rums, and 12,000 Armenians. The same year, Kalfoglou dealt with a population of 3500 households (around 14,000 inhabitants) of which half was Rum. In 1907, Antonopoulos suggested a total population of 2500 households with 800 Muslim, 1000 Rum, and 700 Armenian homes. Sarantidis, *Η Σινασός ήτοι θέσις* (1899); Kalfoglou, *Ζιντζίντερε καργεσινδέ* (1898); Stamatis Antonopoulos, *Μικρά Ασία* [Asia Minor] (Athens, 1907). Regarding the situation of summer residences, see Henry C. Barkley, *A Ride through Asia Minor and Armenia* (London: Murray, 1891à; Hervé Georgelin, "Armenians in late Ottoman rural Cappadocia" (Athens, s.d.).

112 According to Texier, *Asie mineure* (1863); Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, II (1842); Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839); Antonopoulos, *Μικρά Ασία* (1907).

113 According to the traveler Hamilton, there were actually four neighbor villages: the Muslim mountainside village of Develi where the ağa lived, the contiguous villages of Everek and Aï Kösten (which, according to Hamilton is a corruption of Agias Konstantin) on the piedmont plain, which was inhabited by Rums and Fenisse, inhabited by an Armenian community. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, II (1842), 272.

In towns, missionary activities, Catholic but mostly Protestant, add another dimension to the picture: various sources attest to small communities, of often less than twenty Catholic or Protestant households. The missions of the European and American Boards were well-known in Anatolian areas, but were more successful in converting Armenians than Rums. This is perhaps because the areas where missionaries were the most active were small urban centers where the Armenian population was greater.[114] Armenians lived mainly in towns and burgs but also in the villages of the region of Kayseri where the missions were established.[115] Nevertheless, while Armenian communities were a susceptible audience for the missionaries, a few Rum families and individuals also converted to Catholicism or Protestantism. For instance, Sarantidis and Kalfoglou, in their respective books in 1899, claimed that the population of the village of Endürlük (near Kayseri) was composed, according to Sarantidis, of 3000 inhabitants, among whom 200 were Muslims, 1700 Greeks, and 100 Protestants; according to Kalfoglou, of 500 households, fifty were households were Muslim, 430 were Greek, and twenty were Protestant. In both cases, Protestants were not defined as Armenian or Greek. Earlier authors such as Rizos (1856) and Ioannidis (1896) noted that the village of Endürlük was not inhabited by Armenians. Rizos mentioned only few Muslims and 3000 Greeks, while Ioannidis noted that a total of 500 households consisted of 100 Muslim and 400 Greek-Orthodox households. Given that there were no Armenians in Endürlük, the Protestants mentioned by Sarantidis and Kalfoglou in 1899 were necessarily converted Rums. Except for the case of Endürlük, where a minority of Orthodox Christians converted to Protestantism on the eve of the twentieth century, and other isolated individuals and families, the Rums of Cappadocia were not much influenced

114 Regarding religious conversions, see Chapter 9.

115 Armenian communities are more prominent in the eastern of Anatolia. Sivas, Erzurum, Bitlis, Van, Diyarbakır, and Mamuratülaziz are the *vilayet*s which sustained the most dense Armenian communities. The *sancak* of Kayseri is in fact the western border of "Armenian Anatolia." See Kieser, *Iskalanmış Barış* (2005), 92.

by proselyte missionary activities[116] – certainly less than the Armenians, who were the main target of especially the English and American Protestant Board missions.

While in towns, often at least three religious groups cohabited, the cohabitation in religiously-mixed villages occurred in most cases only between two groups: in Cappadocia, mixed villages were mostly composed of Muslims and Rums. For the late 1890s we counted forty-four Rum/Muslim settlements, three Muslim/Armenian settlements (Tomarza, Çomaklı, and Rumdüğün), and only one Rum/Armenian village (Karacaviran near Kayseri).[117] Among Rum/Muslim settlements, there were large towns such as Arapsun (with about 12,000 inhabitants) and small villages below 150 inhabitants such as Halvadere or Eminik. Mixed Muslim/Orthodox settlements were spread throughout Cappadocia with some concentration to the east of Kayseri, around Ürgüp and in the northern part of the Budak plain (*Budak ova*, or Plain of Derinkuyu). Numerical data from the years 1896-1905 allow us to postulate and approximate ratio between the majority and minority group in each of them: twenty-seven had a clear Muslim majority, while twenty-one had a Greek majority. In the case of Uluağaç, the ratio clearly reversed during the First World War: in 1905 the village was inhabited by about 170 Christian and fifty Muslim households, while in 1916, there were no more than eighteen Christian for sixty Muslim households. Similarly, Fertek had a Rum majority, at least until 1900, but the ratio reversed during the first years of the twentieth century with the emigration of Rum families. In 1905, the town was inhabited by approximately 2500 Muslims and 1500 Rums. In 1916, Dawkins noted the ratio had reversed and drastically intensified,[118] while Fertekiote informants explained that fewer than 400 Rums still lived in Fertek

116 Among Rum authors, Levidis was one of the most vehemently opposed to missions. He published in 1875 a book entitled "Mirror of virtues and evils" (Katoptron ton areton kai ton kakion) and several articles such as the *Spiritual Armour* (Pnevmatiki Panoplia), "biblical passages against the heterodox propagandists," that he translated in Karamanlı.

117 There were also mixed settlements south of Kayseri that were cohabited by Muslims and Armenians or Rums and Armenians. Among them, Çomaklı, Tomarza, Derevenk, Karacaviran and Cücün were the most populated. These are not treated in the data exposed by this study.

118 Dawkins, *Modern Greek* (1916), 14.

on the eve of the exchange of populations.[119] In fact, the change in the ratio occurred in the decade 1910-1920 because of war, the arrival of refugees from territories lost by the Ottomans, and also on account of the departure of many Christians who migrated definitively to Istanbul, to other main cities of the empire, or abroad.

Sedentary communities were far from being the only inhabitants of Cappadocia. According to categories noted by Fernand Braudel, the nomads of central Anatolia wandered seasonally over delimited areas according to a pendular move between *yayla*s (hillsides) and plains.[120] Anatoly Khazanov sharpened this distinction, distinguishing between semi-nomadic pastoralism "characterized by extensive pastoralism and periodic changing of pastures but also by agricultural activities as a secondary and supplementary capacity" and semi-sedentary pastoralism where "agriculture plays the predominant role in the general economic balance." Moreover, Khazanov distinguished between herdsman husbandry for communities where "the majority of the population leads a sedentary life and is occupied for the most part with agriculture while the livestock […] is maintained all year round pastures, sometimes quite far from the settlement and tended by herdsman especially assigned to this task" and *yayla* pastoralism defined by populations that "are occupied with agriculture in specific ecological zones to use other areas as seasonal pastures," namely mountains.[121]

In Cappadocia, the inhabitants of the religiously-homogeneous and mixed towns and villages mentioned in previous paragraphs are considered sedentary populations even though some residents, Muslims as well as

119 Levidis, *Ιστορικόν δοκίμιον*, Α΄ (1885); Farasopoulos, *Τα Σύλατα* (1895); Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896); Sarantidis, *Η Σινασός ήτοι θέσις* (1899); "Της Σύνταξης, Στατιστικὴ τῆς Ἐπαρχίας Ἰκονίου" (1905-06); "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s.

120 This pendular move looks like transhumance, but Braudel distinguishes transhumance – when part of the population, namely shepherds, goes to pasture while the rest remains in dwellings located in permanent settlements – from nomadism, which involves the move of the whole community, including women and children. Braudel notes that Turcoman tribes in Anatolia did not travel great distances, but took their families and dwellings, caravans, or tents, with them. Anatoly M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin, 1994).

121 Ibid., 19-23.

Christians, would go up to the y*ayla*s, for a part of the summer – not to take care of cattle, but mostly for their own comfort, to benefit from the higher altitude when heat and drought struck the plains and valleys. Villages often owned more or less large herds of animals, and one or several shepherds of the community would take care of the villagers' herds leading them to pasture in return for a salary. On the other hand, nineteenth-century Cappadocia was also home to nomadic or rather semi-nomadic populations. In Anatolia, the settling of nomadic groups was a gradual process that began in the late sixteenth century and was not yet complete in the 1920s.[122] Braudel demonstrated that the process of settling down generally required hundreds of years to complete and should consequently be scrutinized as such. In Cappadocia, part of the local population continued to live according to nomadic patterns, but a significant proportion of Muslim villages were actually founded by former nomadic populations that had settled down at different periods. Toponyms often suggests which villages were originally founded by former nomadic populations since the place took the name of the tribe. In the region of Kayseri, this process began in the late sixteenth century and had almost finished by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Nomadism had almost disappeared from the area of Erciyes Mountain by this period. On the contrary, the Taurus mountains continued (and continue today) to be areas where nomadic communities wander down to the southern (in the region of Kozan and Adana) or northern (in the region of Niğde and Çamardı) foothills of the chain during winters. Consequently, we can actually propose a distinction between the north and south. The northern region of Cappadocia, including the areas of Nevşehir and Kayseri, experienced early sedentarization of nomadic populations, while the southern part, around Niğde and Çamardı and south of Develi, was still, in early twentieth century, home to nomadism whereby populations living in the Taurus mountain chain during summers migrated to southern Cappadocia during the winters.[123]

122 Huri İslamoğlu-İnan, *State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire: Agrarian Power Relations and Regional Economic Development in Ottoman Anatolia During the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 147-48. Xavier de Planhol, "Géographie politique et nomadisme en Anatolie," *Revue internationale des sciences sociales* 11, no.4 (1959).

123 Regarding the stages of transition from nomadic to sedentary life among the populations of the region of Kayseri, see Usta and Özel, "Sedentarization of the Turcomans" (2011), 159-79.

Among them, the Cebel-i Kozan and the Karahacılı tribes were the largest nomadic groups of the region of Çamardı.

This distinction in Cappadocia between the northern part where nomadism had almost disappeared and the south where it continued to be a lifestyle for numerous tribes explains why, in the nineteenth century, complaints regarding nomadic tribes only occurred in regions of southern Cappadocia. There, the nomadic population was mainly pastoral; they reared cattle and mostly sheep and had an economy based on seasonal migration from *yaylas* to the piedmont areas of Niğde, Çamardı, and futher east, Dündarlı. On foothills where the density of sedentary populations and arable lands was important, the passage of nomadic tribes with their large herds often led to conflict and tension with villagers who complained about the damage to arable lands caused by nomadic tribes – also with merchants attacked by tribes along the roads.[124]

3.2.2 *Rum Communities According to Spoken Language(s) Map in Appendix A2*

Along with presence of nomadic and sedentary populations and the territorial distribution of religious communities among homogeneous and mixed settlements, the singularity of Ottoman Cappadocia's populations resides in the fact that, among Rums, a clear linguistic subdivision existed, between, on one hand, Greek-speaking communities (which were in turn divided into several dialectal groups) and on the other, Turkish-speaking communities commonly known as Karamanlıs.[125] Beyond the particular case of the Rums of Cappadocia, Ottoman society as a whole was marked by multilingualism and individuals, whatever their social status (from peasants to elites), were often capable of diglossia or bilingualism. By diglossia, linguists intend a functional distribution between two varieties of the same language: the "inequal coexistence of two forms (or levels) of language within a unique linguistic

124 Regarding conflicts between sedentary villagers and nomadic tribes, see Chapter 7.1.

125 Similarly, Armenians of the Kayseri region were divided between Turcophone and Armenophone communities.

community."[126] In the Ottoman context, Johann Strauss, builds on Charles Ferguson's conception to define diglossia as a linguistic situation in which an upper variety of a language is superimposed over local dialects.[127] In the Cappadocian case, "Constantinopolitan Greek" spread through the region as a standardized, literary Greek that was superimposed onto local Greek dialects. Among Turcophone (Turk but also Rum, and Armenian) and Armenophone communities, a similar dichotomy can be drawn between urban and rural dialectal varieties.[128] On the other hand, bilingualism corresponds to the ability to speak two different languages (not two varieties of a single language), such as Turkish and Greek. It does not imply that bilingual individuals speak both languages equally fluently, but rather that they have a first (or native) language and are able to understand and speak (or at least circumlocute) a second language. Moreover, bilingualism does not necessarily imply literacy since individuals can understand and speak two (or more) languages without being able to read and write.

In Western sources – but more systematically in pre-1923 Karamanlidika and Greek publications – this linguistic distinction was clearly asserted. Nonetheless, the mapping of these linguistic groups is no easy task. For earlier periods, European travel accounts remained the main source for dealing with linguistic issues and often provide fragmented information. Moreover, many travelers understood neither Turkish nor Greek, or even when they had some knowledge of Greek, were unable to understand local accents and dialects that mixed Greek and Turkish vocabularies.[129] From the mid-nineteenth century, available information became more systematic and abundant. However, a

126 Robert Chaudenson, "Diglossie créole, diglossie coloniale," *Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain* 9, no.3-4 (1984): 21-22.

127 Johann Strauss, "Diglossie dans le domaine ottoman. Evolution et péripéties d'une situation linguistique," in *Oral et écrit dans le monde turco-ottoman*, ed. N. Vatin (Aix-en-Provence: REMMM, 1995), 231-33.

128 Ibid.

129 For instance, Ioannis Ioannidis wrote in 1896 that the dialects of the villages of Kordonos (Hamanli) and Aravani (Kumluca), Telmisos (Delmason), and Fertek were Greek dialects that incorporated significant Turkish vocabulary. The dialect of Farasa is also the object of linguistic studies. See Grégoire, "Rapport sur un voyage" (1909); Karolidis, *Καππαδοκικά* (1874).

second difficulty is the fact that important linguistic evolutions were occurring throughout the period, certainly as in previous centuries. For several communities, these changes have been noted by scholars, allowing us to observe how communities shifted from a first language to another, sometimes in only one or two generations. By first language, we mean the language that a person usually, comfortably used on an everyday basis at home and in the public sphere. Precisely because the shift from one language to another (generally from a Greek dialect to Turkish, as we see in following paragraphs) could occur in just one generation, we prefer the notion of a "first" language to avoid dealing with the awkward notion of a mother tongue.[130] This shift from one language to another can be considered "successive bilingualism." Individuals (or successive generations) did not use two languages simultaneously, but spoke a first language before switching to a new one.[131] Similarly, we can propose a concept of "successive diglossia," which is an individual or a group shifts from one to another variety of the same language. In both cases, a more-or-less long period of transition from one linguistic state to another can be considered (simultaneous) bilingualism.

In Cappadocia, successive bilingualism - i.e., the forced or voluntarily change of one's first language – happened regularly throughout history from ancient to contemporary times.[132] Yet, in the course of the long nineteenth

130 The notion of first language refers to the language that an individual speaks fluently and comfortably as a first choice for communication. Learning of the first language happens immersed in family but also in social and public life (including interaction with distant relatives, inhabitants of the district, neighbors, and also at school). A mother tongue implies a language learned in childhood within the nuclear family or at least within the home. Native language could be an "in-between" notion, since it corresponds to a language learned by a young child (mainly before schooling) and consequently involves the home environment but also the public sphere (including relatives, neighbors, especially other children, but not school).

131 Rainier Grutman, "Bilinguisme et diglossie: comment penser la différence linguistique dans les littératures francophones?" in *Les études littéraires francophones: état des lieux*, eds. L. D'Hulst and J.-M. Moura (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 2003), 115-16.

132 See, the debates about the shift from Cappadocian to Greek language during ancient and medieval times, and then from Greek to Turkish during the long period of transition from the Byzantine to the Ottoman Empire. The precursor of the scholastic debate was German Orientalist Mordtmann's article "Die Troglodyten von Kappadokien," in the *Abhandlungen der*

century, the language shifts of individuals and whole communities made for a complex linguistic landscape. Christos Hadziiossif, basing his conclusions on the language used in parish registers in the village of Cemil, which is traditionally depicted as a Greek-speaking community, showed that, in fact, the Cemiliotes might have first been Turkish-speakers before adopting Greek as their first language, probably in the course of the eighteenth century.[133] In the nineteenth century, with the Hellenization movement and opening of Greek school in Cappadocian Rum communities, the formal education of younger generations led to a standardization of the Greek language used in Greek-speaking communities and villages and consequently to the progressive disappearance of local dialects. Nevertheless, diglossia continued in Cappadocia until 1923 and later continued in communities of Cappadocian refugees in Greece.[134] On the other hand, linguistic Hellenization did not really affect Turkish-speaking communities (though they were actually the main target of the Hellenization movement in Cappadocia). Turkish continued to be used as the first tongue even when children learned Greek at school or used Greek in their everyday life as a secondary language.

Until 1923, the more common shift in first language was from one of the Greek dialects to Turkish. Dawkins, who realized his fieldwor in the 1910s, noted that several Greek-speaking communities had recently lost (especially Andaval and Limni) or were about to lose (Fertek) their dialects to Turkish, on account of the demographic decline of Christian communities due to emigration and the proportional increase in Turkish-speaking Muslims

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Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Philologische und Historische Klasse, 2 (1861). The use of Turkish by most Cappadocian Christian communities was believed, in popular but also intellectual milieus, to be the result of a forced shift: Turkish rulers and ordinary people sliced off the tongues of Christians who continued to speak Greek, "in order to exterminate this language." Tozer, *Turkish Armenia* (1881), 107.

133 Christos Hadziiossif, "The Ambivalence of Turkish in a Greek-Speaking Community of Central Anatolia," in *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Karamanlidika Studies (Nicosia, 11th-13th September 2008)*, eds. M. Kappler and E. Balta (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010).

134 Regarding diglossia among Rum communities of the Ottoman Empire, see Strauss, "Diglossie dans le domaine ottoman" (1995), 231-33.

adjacent to Christian households. Concerning this "turcophonization"[135] of Rum communities, Dawkins noted that in Limni, a mixed village with an Orthodox majority and Muslim minority, the local dialect was only understood by only a few old people in 1910. In 1856, Rizos described the village as a Greek-speaking community. In the case of Andaval, a Rum village surrounded by several Muslim and Turcophone Christian villages, Karolidis noted as early as 1844 that the Andavaliotes had spoken Greek until recently, but that the local dialect had almost disappeared in favor of Turkish.[136] Finally, Dawkins showed that the local Greek dialect of Fertek was "very corrupt, and probably dying out" not only in the face of the propagation of Turkish among Christian women of the village, but also given the standardized (or Constantinopolitan) Greek and Ottoman-Turkish spoken by men who returned to the village after several years of migration, which there were compelled to use to practice their professions.[137] As a result, the dialect of Fertek was given a pounding at both by Turkish and by "urban" Greek. The case of the Fertekiotes is thus an example of simultaneous (gender-shared) bilingualism, successive bilingualism among women and successive diglossia among men.

Beyond the switch to a new first language, local societies marked by multilingualism were also places of (simultaneous) bilingualism. The ability to speak at least two languages is central to understanding intercommunal relations. The idea of being able to speak more than one language is often linked to high social status and access to education. Of course, social class, sex, and age are important factors since, as a general rule, a boy from a well-off urban family had greater chance of receiving an education – and could

135 We propose the term "Turcophonization" to designate the linguistic turn from local, dialectal Greek to the Turkish language and to avoid the terms "Turkicization" or "Turkification" since, in Greek, the verb *"τουρκεύω/tourkeuo"* (literally, "to become a Turk") means "to become a Muslim."

136 In the case of Andaval, S. Rizos noted in 1856 that the village was effectively Hellenophone. Subsequent authors (Farasopoulos, Ioannidis, and Sarantidis) mentioned the village and its demography, but curiously not the language spoken there, maybe because a process of turcophonization of the local population confused the issue.

137 Dawkins, *Modern Greek* (1916), 11-15.

easily learn a second language as a consequence – than a girl from a peasant family living in a village with no school.[138] However, in the multilingual, rural context of Cappadocia, even peasants who never went to school and never learned to read and write were often able to communicate or at least to dabble in a locally-used second language. This is especially relevant for Christians who, because they were in the minority, needed to be able to speak Turkish to maintain everyday relations with Muslim neighbors and local authorities. But it was also important for Muslims who coexisted with Rums. For instance, in addition to their own dialect, many Greek-speaking Rums also knew Turkish, which they used for trade and simply in their daily contact with Muslims. The OTA informants provided interesting details when it came to language. For instance, old women in Fertek whose mother tongue was the local Greek dialect complained when the priest conducted the Mass in Greek and asked him to perform the liturgy in Turkish, instead, because they did not understand the literary Greek of the church.[139] This case shows that in addition to their own dialect, these old women were able to speak or at least understand Turkish. Many informants confirmed this situation for several Greek-speaking communities of Cappadocia:

> No Turks lived in Akso. However, we all knew Turkish because we had many transactions with surrounding Turkish villages.[140]
>
> We spoke a Greek dialect with a lot of Turkish words. However, we sang in Turkish. Do not ask why! All our songs were in Turkish. When someone immigrated to Istanbul… when he came back, he was able to sing Greek songs. We went to Istanbul young and we learned Greek songs there. […] At the Services, Father Anthimos read in Greek and

138 Various biographies of refugees given in the OTA show this social and gendered inequality vis-à-vis linguistic knowledge. However, others also demonstrate that illiterate Hellenophone women from low social groups who never went to school knew Turkish, especially those who were settled in a mixed village.

139 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ299. See also Dawkins, *Modern Greek* (1916), 14.

140 "ΚΠ 207-215 Axo," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ207: A. Hatzibaloglou.

> in Turkish because the old women did not understand the ancient Greek of the Gospels.[141]

As in Fertek, priests in the Christian Hellenophone settlement of Misti regularly read Gospels in Turkish. The following testimonies show the ambiguity of situations in which people juggled local Greek dialects, the archaic Greek of liturgy and sacred texts, and Turkish.

> Turkish language was spoken only by those who worked outside our village. Neither the children nor the women knew Turkish. The priests read the Gospels in Turkish, but we understood Greek. The women did not know Turkish and thus did not understand the priest's readings. Children, however, learned Turkish when they went to school.[142]
>
> There were eight priests in Misti, three of them came from outside. Liturgy was in Greek, troparies were read in Greek too. The Gospels were in Greek, but sometimes they were explained in Turkish because not everybody understood the archaic Greek of the Gospels.[143]

On the other hand, due to the development of local educational institutions, at the end of the nineteenth century, most people among the younger generations of Turkish-speaking Christians were able to understand and, to a lesser extent, speak Greek, which they learned at school and, especially for men, when they migrated to work in urban centers.

Bilingualism was also encountered among Muslims, especially among those in religiously-mixed settlements or living close to Christian villages with which they had frequent relations. Muslim men and women often had at least a sufficient, basic knowledge of the local Greek dialect to communicate with their neighbors. Dawkins noticed this situation in Farasa where, in the 1910s, only two Muslim families were living. They were able to speak the local Greek dialect. Similarly, members of the Muslim minority in Sinasos were able to

141 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ299: I. Poluheni.

142 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ242: M. Damianoglou.

143 Ibid., ΚΠ242: G. Karavelidis.

speak and understand Greek.[144] Recall the story exposed at the beginning of the introduction of this work – of Mehmed from Delmason who was taken prisoner by the Russian army during the Russo-Turkish war and survived because he was able to speak in Greek telling his jailers his name was Nikolaos.[145]

The prevalence of bilingualism is also confirmed by the lists of subscribers to Karamanlidika and Greek books, which show that many people from Hellenophone communities were able to read Karamanlı-Turkish and Turcophones were able to read Greek. This is obvious for several inhabitants of the village of Sinasos, which was known as the "Athens of Anatolia," and the heart of Hellenism in Cappadocia[146]: in several Karamanlidika, the lists of subscribers included Sinasiotes living in Istanbul or in Sinasos. In a list in a book about the life of Alexander the Great (1843), three names were recorded as "Sinasonlou" (Antonios tou Prodromou, Nikolaos tou Strati and Konstantinin oglou Eftim Zelilli).[147] The format of the first two names is typical of Greek names, while the third corresponds rather to Karamanlı names that adopt the Turkish format "oglou/oğlu." The same situation was the case for villagers of Kordonos and Delmason, which are presented in sources of that period as Hellenophone communities. In the subscribers' list for the book *Kaiseri Metropolitleri* by Ioannidis, thirty-four names fall under the section "Kourdonoslılar" and fifteen under the heading "Delmosonlılar," showing that Greek-speaking Rums of Cappadocia knew Turkish and were able to read in Karamanlı if not also in Ottoman-Turkish.[148]

Is the issue of language thus an illusory problem? Certainly not. The fact that different languages and various dialects were spoken locally until 1923

144 Dawkins, *Modern Greek* (1916), 27, 32.

145 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ270: S. Terkenlis.

146 Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 201.

147 *Αλέξανδρος Μακεδόνιαλη μεσχούρ Πατησαχήν εττιγί σεφερλερίν βε τζενκλερίν, βε ντογουσουντάν τα βεφατινάτακ, τζεμίγι ομρουντέ εττιγί χαρεκετλερίν βε καχρημανληκλαρινήν νακληγετί*, Constantinople, 1843, 323. Regarding Hellenization of patronyms, see Ioanna Petropoulou, "Ο Εξελληνισμός - Εξαρχαϊσμός των Ονομάτων στην Καππαδοκία τον Δέκατο Ένατο Αιώνα" [Hellenization of the names in nineteenth-century Cappadocia] *DKMS* 7 (1988-1989).

148 Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 157-59.

even by different religious communities living in the same village is an important key to the study of intercommunal relations. First (or native) and secondary languages are different levels of language practice. In the first case, they imply speaking and understanding fluently and comfortably, and in the case, being less at ease when it comes to communication skills. Bilingualism shows that rather than being an obstacle to communication and daily relations between individuals of different groups, languages actually create social, cultural, and economic bonds, thus reinforcing cohesion between locals who, despite having different religious affiliations, spoke and understood the same languages and local dialects.

Information about local linguistic specificities were not systematically presented by authors writing about Cappadocian settlements. For instance, there is no mention of the mother tongues spoken by Christians living in the main cities (Kayseri, Aksaray, Nevşehir, and Niğde), probably because these cities were places of immigration for people of the surrounding villages – an "assortment" of people with various linguistic backgrounds. The 1916 report of the Greek Consul noted that the Greek community of Kayseri was composed of 940 Turcophone and 160 Hellenophone inhabitants.[149] However, in major cities where the Turkish element dominated all aspects of everyday life, the Turkish language was spoken fluently by most Christians.

By intersecting various data, it is possible to ascertain that by the turn of the twentieth century, the Orthodox Christian communities of thirty settlements were Hellenophone. In 1916, Dawkins, who performed his fieldwork in Cappadocia in 1909-1910 and 1911, described the Greek dialects of several of these places in detail. He noted that villages where Christian inhabitants spoke "the dialect or group of allied dialects called in this book Cappadocian, are twenty in number, all, except Arabison (Arapsun), lying inside a lozenge shaped area, at the four angles of which are Tyana to the south, Develi-Karahisar to the east, Ürgüp to the north and Nazianzos to the west." These twenty communities mentioned by Dawkins are Arapsun, Aravani,

149 "New statistics about the Greek population and its educational situation in the district of Caesarea," Embassy of Greece in Constantinople, B/55, 1916. Quoted in Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 191.

Akso, Cemil, Çarıklı, Çeltek, Eneği, Fertek, Suvermez, Kordonos, Malakopi, Misti, Potamia, Semendire, Sylata, Sinasos, Delmason, Trohos, Uluağaç, and Dila.[150] Revisiting the classification proposed by Dawkins, Mark Janse classified the varieties of Cappadocian Greek dialects in geographical terms:

- Northern Cappadocian varieties
  - Northeastern varieties: Delmason, Sinasos, Cemil, and Potamia[151]
  - Northwestern varieties: Sylata,[152] Eneği, Suvermez, and Malakopi
- Central Cappadocian varieties: Akso and Misti
- Southern Cappadocian varieties:
  - Southwestern varieties: Fertek, Aravani, and Kordonos
  - Southeastern varieties: Uluağaç and Semendire[153]

A few settlements located on peripheries of Cappadocia can be added to this list, especially in the Taurus. Around Farasa, a group of villages comprised a dialectal group, but except for Farasa and Afşar, most of these small communities had switched to Turkish by the beginning of the twentieth century.[154] On the western slopes of the Taurus, between Ereğli and Çamardı, several other Hellenophone villages were located where inhabitants spoke a Pontic dialect, also vanishing in the advance of Turkish.[155] Around Kayseri, in the late nineteenth century, all Rum communities were Turcophone but it is possible that few had spoken Greek at an earlier time. For instance, the Rums

150 Dawkins, *Modern Greek* (1916), 209.

151 Included in the northeastern group despite its actual location in the southwest, the Telmisos (or Delmason) variety is the only exception within Janse's grouping. The village of Cemil, which was actually inhabited by descendants of Sinasiotes, also belong to this group.

152 While Sylata was a Hellenophone village, the codex of its parish was written both in Greek and Karamanlı-Turkish. See Balta, *Beyond the Language Frontier* (2010), 31. The same observation is true for Cemil's parish records. See Hadziiossif, "The Ambivalence of Turkish" (2010).

153 Mark Janse, "Clitic doubling from Ancient to Asia Minor Greek," in *Clitic Doubling in the Balkan Languages*, eds. D.Kallulli and L. Tasmowski (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2008), 191.

154 Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 68; Dawkins, *Modern Greek* (1916), 30-34; Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 424-26.

155 Regarding the presence of these Pontic communities on the Taurus slopes, see Chapter 2.2 and for more detail Chapter 8.1.

of Endürlük were noted as Hellenophone by Rizos in 1856, but as Turcophone by later authors. Moreover, Pavlos Karolidis, who was born in this village in 1849, was said to have been a native Turkish speaker who learned Greek first at the local school and then in Istanbul at the Great School of the Nation.[156] Either Rizos wrongly wrote that Endürlük was a Greek-speaking or the locals experienced a process of successive bilingualism before the late 1840s.

If several Hellenophone villages progressively gave up their Greek dialect in favor of Turkish, most Orthodox communities of Cappadocia were Turcophone for tens of generations. The so-called "Karamanlıs," while spread throughout Cappadocia, were mainly concentrated in the peripheries of the towns of Kayseri, Niğde, and Nevşehir as well as in the region to the west of Aksaray. We counted forty-two Karamanlı communities in the whole Cappadocia at the beginning of the twentieth century. The OTA show that development of local schools coupled with migration to Istanbul spread knowledge of a "standard" Greek among the youngest generations of Karamanlıs. However, Turkish remained the standard language for daily communication up until the exchange and even, for many refugees, after their resettlement in Greece. An inhabitant of Ağırnas described the situation of his community as follows:

> Everybody spoke Turkish. We knew a little Greek but only those who had gone to school. Still, those who knew Greek did not speak in Greek. It was the language of books. We understood but did not speak it. At school, our books were in Greek.[157]

Like Antiopie Karapotosoglou, many refugees from Turkish-speaking communities made a clear distinction between knowing and speaking Greek, claiming that most of them knew and understood but never spoke Greek outside of school. In terms of language knowledge, a generational issue is clear when looking at the profiles of refugees interviewed by the CAMS. Older Turcophone informants, born in the 1860s-1870s, did not speak Greek thirty years after their arrival in Greece, even if they had attended communal schools. On the other hand, younger generations that benefited from the

156 Regarding the life and the career of Karolidis, see Kechriotis, "Atina'da Kapadokyalı" (2015).

157 "ΚΠ 49-52 Agirnas," 1950s, ΚΠ50: A. Karapotosoglou.

development of local schools – especially after 1890 – had sufficient knowledge of Greek to easily, often fluently speak in Greek during the interviews. Only a few women born in the 1890s from certain Karamanlı settlements where access to education (particularly for girls from families with low social status) remained limited up until the 1920s had difficulty expressing themselves in Greek.[158]

A difference should be emphasized between the bilingualism ofTurkish- and Greek-speaking communities. The latter used Turkish for their daily communication since, in a context of everyday relations with Turks and Turkish-speaking peoples, they were regularly obliged to speak in Turkish with neighbors and inhabitants of other villages. On the other hand, Karamanlıs used Greek only at school and continued to speak Turkish at home as well as with Muslims living in their area. Only merchants or clerics, who needed to speak Greek for their professional activities, would use this non-native language more broadly. Consequently, Greek-speaking Rums encountered more regular occasions to practice Turkish on a daily basis than the Karamanlıs – who only spoke Greek in an educational context – had occasion to practice Greek.

When we coverlay religious and linguistic information with geographical location, some observations and hypotheses are possible. First, Christian communities in the areas of Kayseri, Nevşehir, and Aksaray predominantly lived in mixed settlements (fifteen mixed settlements for six homogeneous ones in the area of Kayseri, fourteen for two in the region of Nevsehir, and four for one in Aksaray), while villages in the area of Niğde are more frequently religiously homogeneous (five mixed for twelve homogeneous villages). Is this predominance of religiously homogeneous villages in the surroundings of Niğde a simple coincidence or the will of local population to stay separate? In either case, the next chapters show that this territorial separation did not prevent relations between Rum and Muslim groups.

From the point of view of religious topography, a north/south dichotomy is relatively clear: the northern part of Cappadocia, including the borders of

158 Biographical sections of the OTA give details about the year of birth and language knowledge for most interviewed refugees. Files about Keçiağaç, Germir, Çukur, and Endürlük are particularly meaningful in this respect.

the Kızılırmak around Nevşehir, Ürgüp, and the region of Kayseri had an important concentration of Muslims; in the southern part, approximately from the latitude of Limni, Muslim communities were more dispersed while Christian communities were concentrated around (and especially to the north of) Niğde. The plain of Malakopi (also called Budak Ova) was, in a way, a transition space from the region of Nevşehir where Muslim communities were numerous and often shared villages with Christians, to the region of Niğde, where Muslims were fewer and villages were more homogeneous in terms of religious belonging. On the eve of the twentieth century, the few mixed settlements in the region of Niğde were inhabited by a large Christian majority (especially in Delmason and Fertek), and only a few Muslim households that had settled there quite recently. The eastern region of Aksaray is unique because villages were particularly dispersed, local Rum communities were Turcophone, and they shared their settlements with Muslims. The main settlement, Gelveri, was a burg with a Rum majority and a Muslim minority. By contrast, most mixed settlements of the area of Kayseri were demographically dominated by Muslim majorities.

This distribution of religious groups and especially the concentration of Muslim settlements around Kayseri and on the Kızılırmak might be explained by the fact that the city of Kayseri had been an important center for Turkish dynasties since 1082. On the other hand, in spite of the small distance between Kayseri and Niğde (about 130 km), the area of Niğde fell under Turkish rule only after 1166. After the complete conquest of Anatolia by the Turks and over centuries of Ottoman rule, the town of Kayseri remained one of the main centers of Anatolia. It was more attractive than Niğde, which progressively lost its local predominance. Moreover, the main trade road went from Konya to Kayseri through Aksaray, while Niğde remained isolated. In addition to this, the fertile lands around Kayseri adjacent the Kızılırmak river would have stimulated Muslim settlement in these areas, especially given that summers were particularly dry. Conversely, the particularly arid plain of Malakopi was mostly inhabited by Christians. Moreover, the demographic weight of Muslim population in the north of Cappadocia might have been the source of a more intense process of Islamization (by conversion, but mainly by natural increases, and settlement by tribes or new-comers…).

In terms of linguistic sharing, we can superimpose an east/west dichotomy over this north/south division. If one excepts the villages of Pontic Christians that had settled in the Taurus region more recently, a diagonal strip with an important concentration of Hellenophone communities is discernible bewteen Niğde in the south and Sinasos in the north, stretching through the plain of Malakopi. Outside this strip, Christian communities were mostly Turcophone. The areas around Niğde are most complicated in terms of the sharing of space between Hellenophone and Turcophone groups: several Hellenophone villages but also many Turkish-speaking settlements (some formerly Hellenophone) were located there. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, we find four Hellenophone villages to the west of Niğde (Aravani, Delmason, Fertek, and Kordonos) surrounded by several Turcophone settlements (Matala, Sazalca, İloson, Bor, and Andaval). Similarly, to the northeast of Niğde, the Hellenophone villages of Semendire and Uluağaç stood alongside Keçiağaç, a Turcophone settlement.

When we combine linguistic data with the ethnoreligious sharing of settlements, we can add that Turcophone Rums mostly lived in mixed settlements (thirty-two of the forty-three Karamanlı groups, about 74 percent, lived alongside Muslims), while Hellenophone communities most often occupied homogeneous villages (seventeen of the thirty-three communities, or approximately 51 percent). Muslims were the majority in twenty of the thirty-two mixed settlements shared with Karamanlıs, while the Hellenophone Rums were the demographic majority in ten of the seventeen mixed settlements.

This impressions from these observations need to be confirmed ensuing chapters, but we can propose some basic assumptions. First, homogeneous Christian villages were more often Hellenophone than Turcophone. Consequently, it is possible and logical that daily cohabitation of religious communities seems to have been easier when there was linguistic homogeneity, but also that coexistence may have driven linguistic homogenization. This second point is strenghtened by the turcophonization that operated among several Rum groups living in mixed settlements where the Muslim population tended to increase. These examples show that all "Karamanlı" communities had not necessarily always been Turcophone, but could have experienced linguistic shifts over the previous centuries as seen in

Fertek, Andaval, or Limni over the previous decades. Karamanlı communities were certainly more varied than supposed at the beginning of our research and should not be regarded as homogeneous vis-à-vis scattered Hellenophone groups divided by local dialect.

Finally, we can suppose that in villages where Greek dialects were preserved until 1923, the upholding of local dialects was helped by the religious homogeneity of the settlements or by the fact that, in mixed settlements, Greek-speaking communities demographically dominated the Muslim communities. On the other hand, Turcophone Christians more frequently cohabited with Muslims and as a consequence might have experienced more intense, everyday relations with Muslims. However, it is necessary to observe different aspects of everyday life and relations in greater detail (e.g., economic exchanges, social integration, political relations, religious practices and beliefs, and traditions) in order to support the idea that Karamanlı groups were more involved in Muslim-Christian relations than Greek-speaking groups, which kept more to themselves.

§ 3.3 Conclusion

The study of ethnonyms and ways of identification illuminates the difficulty of defining and describing the populations of Cappadocia. Religious and linguistic affiliation as well as geographical localization are the main three criteria used together or separately by the Ottoman state, ecclesiastical authorities and locals to identify individuals and groups. Consequently, it is on these three criteria that we mapped the Cappadocian population. Even though an accurate picture of the demographic changes of the Cappadocian population over the long nineteenth century is not possible, an overall trend can be highlighted. Moreover, despite local, isolated events such as famines, drought, and epidemics that hit Anatolia at specific moments, causing heavy loss of life, the region generally experienced a positive demographic growth throughout the period. However, taken separately at the local scale, different religious groups evolved differently. Muslim communities experienced a general increase due to a natural, positive growth but also to refugees on account of wars and loss of Ottoman territories from the mid-nineteenth

century onwards. On the other hand, many local Rum as well as Armenian Christian communities experienced a demographic decline over the course of the century due to the progressive shift from seasonal migratory movements to definitive departures, especially after 1870. Christian Cappadocia felt in households that left the region were progressively replaced by Muslims. Moreover, while Rums did not suffer any particular tension before 1923, the Armenians of the region of Kayseri and further east endured a dramatic fate with the massacres of the 1890s and their deportation and genocide in 1915. Demographic consequences are easy to grasp. As for Rums, the 1920s put an end to their presence in Cappadocia but the demographic situation of many of their settlements was already critical even before the World War I.

Demographic changes occurring during the long nineteenth century played an important role in the ways that cohabitation and everyday sharing took shape. Moreover, these changes and their consequences for the territories need to be incorporated into a more general picture: that of an empire trying to reform, and especially to standardize its administration of lands and populations. To study different aspects of everyday relations between Muslims and Rums of Cappadocia, the next chapter focuses on the way that land and local resources were shared and administered in the towns and villages of the region and how groups, whether defined by religious, linguistic, or territorial affiliation, negotiated the space surrounding them.

4

Conceived, Perceived, and Lived Space(s)

To map or locate people and groups is not particularly interesting in itself if we do not take into account the way mapped space was experienced by the different actors in question, namely, the state and ecclesiastical authorities (at various levels), ordinary people and inhabitants of the region, as well as individuals passing through (travelers, scientists, diplomats, etc.) That is why we decided to use the triple concept of space (conceived, perceived, and lived) developed by Henri Lefebvre in *The Production of Space*. Lefebvre distinguished between:

> [t]he "representations of space" connected to relations of production- and of order (this is the "conceived space" characterized by the representations that dominant groups, especially rulers and administrators, produce to define and control space, this is also the space of "ideality"), the spatial practice produced by social relations (this is the space as it is "perceived" by individuals through their social ties, the space of "physicality")and the representational spaces which are plural because they are "lived spaces," based on the specific experiences and uses that each individual has of the space surrounding him/her (the "experiential" space).[1]

1 Lefebvre, *Production of Space* (1992), 38-40.

While Lefebvre specifically applied this triad to urban space, we think that, when applied to rural space, it can bring out interesting issues with respect to the ways the Anatolian countryside was considered by different actors and especially in the ways in which individuals and groups inserted selfness and otherness into the shared environment.

For rural territories of the Ottoman Empire, the second half of the nineteenth century was a time of intense reform in matters of territorial organization, property, and the renewal of agrarian law. Regulations about the administration of populations and territories, justice, economy, and especially tax farming modified the way the state governed its provinces. The process of elaboration, codification, and application of reforms has been widely studied by historians, applying a classical, state-centered perspective that specifically analyzes the space as it was conceived. These changes in the conception of space could have influenced the way ordinary people perceived and lived the same space, but these aspects remain neglected as subjects of study, especially when it comes to central Anatolia. In this chapter, we attempt to understand if – and if yes, how – territorial administration reforms have modified the ways that individuals considered their connection to their environment but also the relations between groups. In practice, new regulations were not necessarily experienced simultaneously and similarly by all populations in the empire. The implementation of decisions taken in the capital – and especially the 1864 regulations concerning provincial administration – were not systematically applied at the same time and in the same manner in all provinces, and they met with reactions that varied from place to place.

Administrative and legal reforms were at the heart political activities and were aimed not only to control territories but relations between individuals and groups as religiously, territorially, socially, and professionally defined. Via local services and agents, the state fully participated in issues concerning individuals, groups, and social life and attempted to supervise relations. Territorial reforms, including the reconceptualization of provincial administration and the official introduction of the notion of private property were a clear way of reconceiving Ottoman space. However, it is more difficult to understand to what extent the conceived – or reconceived – space influenced how ordinary people perceived and lived in their environment and, against this background, managed their relations with others. This chapter

first analyze how the reform of provincial administration was locally applied and especially what roles state agents played in the new organization of local groups and individuals and what kinds of relationships they could have with them. The aim is to understand how administrators did (or did not) interfere in or influence relations between Muslim and Christian individuals and communities and the way the conceived space was shared between groups. Second, we interrogate how locals received this conceived space as well as how they themselves perceived and lived in the environment within which they were operating with respect to privacy, communality, and publicity.

§ 4.1 Conceived Space: Administering Provinciality, Regionality, and Locality

The economic, military, and political need to reform the empire led to an unavoidable necessity to rebuild administrative systems. From the perspective of the provinces, the standardization of provincial administration launched by the Vilayet Regulation of Tuna in 1864, implemented throughout the empire in 1867, and revised in a new regulation in 1871 was an important step beyond the Land Code of 1858, which had already standardized the legal status of land.[2] It was henceforth necessary to reorganize the management of territories and to establish an adaptable, suitably organized administration from the level of the province (*vilayet*) down to the village (köy or karye). Roderic H. Davison summarized the units announced in the law of 1864 as follows:

> The name of the reorganized province was changed from eyalet to vilayet, an older term for 'region' or 'native country' that had sometimes been applied to provinces. Each vilayet was subdivided into

2 Regarding the effects of the Land Code of 1858 on society in Cappadocia, See Chapter 7; about the standardization and codification of jurisprudence and administration, see Zafer Toprak, "From Plurality to Unity: Codification and Jurisprudence in the Late Ottoman Empire," in *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey: Encounters with Europe, 1850-1950*, eds. Anna Frangoudaki and Cağlar Keyder (London: I.B.Tauris, 2007). Jun Akiba, "The Local Councils as the Origin of the Parliamentary System in the Ottoman Empire," in *Development of Parliamentarism in the Modern Islamic World*, ed. T. Sato (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 2009).

> a number of sancaks (sometimes also called 'liva'), a subdivision of the old eyalet), each sancak into kazas, and each kaza into kariye's (either communes, or town quarters with at least fifty houses), and nahiye's (groups of rural hamlets). […] Governors of the highest three divisions – vali, mutasarrıf, and kaymakam respectively – were appointed by the sultan; only the headmen (muhtar's) of the communes were elected by the people.[3]

Concerning the *muhtar* in religiously mixed settlements, each religious community generally elected its own representative,[4] but this rule could adapt to practical situations, especially in the smallest villages. In 1871, the revised version of the law created "a new division to the administrative hierarchy by redefining the nahiye, a collection of villgaes or farms, as an intermediate step between the kaza and the village (karye)."[5] Each nahiye was supervised by a *müdür*. Finally, from 1877, the concept of municipality – another subdivision established in large settlements and headed by a *belediye reisi* – spread progressively to towns, burgs, and large villages throughout the empire.

Except for the muhtar, the head of each administration, as well as most of the public agents working in different offices were appointed by the sultan or his central administration, but the Vilayet Laws also established, for vilayets, sancaks, kazas, and later nahiyes and muhtarlık (districts administered by the muhtar), assemblies or councils (*meclis*) that included appointed public agents, spiritual leaders of each religious community living in the area, and several elected members, among which were Muslim and non-Muslim representatives. The integration of non-Muslim representatives was central to the

3 Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 146.

4 Ibid., 147.

5 Ibid., 159-60; Avi Rubin, *Ottoman Nizamiye Courts: Law and Modernity* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 29. Especially in the case of religiously-mixed villages, there was not a signle muhtar for the entire village, but at least one for each religious community, such that muhtars were essentially lay administrators of religious communities rather than administrators of a village defined as a territorial entity, in the same way as the *sancak*, *liva*, kaza, or nahiye. Ed. Engelhardt, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat ou histoire des réformes dans l'empire ottoman depuis 1826 jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Cotillon, 1882), 193.

administrative reforms. Even before the law of 1864, the *muhassıllık meclisleri* created in 1840 and reorganized under the name *memleket meclisleri* in 1842 incorporated Christian leaders in regions inhabited by Christians – namely the metropolitan bishop and two *kocabaşıs* (notables in charge of collecting taxes inside their community). However, according to the study of Jun Akiba, "there must have still remained councils without non-Muslim members" and "in reality non-Muslim members tended to be only present at the meeting when the cases concerned non-Muslims."[6] Moreover, some appointed state agents in different services of the administration were also chosen from among non-Muslims.[7] In that sense, the formal acceptance of non-Muslim members was a novelty of the Tanzimat local councils. It was certainly aimed to create a feeling of belonging to an inclusive Ottoman society, but also sought to better control non-Muslim communities through the presence of their representatives in provincial and local assemblies.

The Vilayet Laws thys introduced a new conception of territorial and human administration on the basis of what we call "co-representativeness." Up to the 1840s, non-Muslim communities possessed their own power hierarchies which were authorized by imperial fermans and consulted on specific issues, but did not participate in state administration. Especially after 1867, Muslim and non-Muslim representatives officially participated in assemblies at all territorial levels more or less in proportion to the ratio of their population. Administration was thus defined by the "co-representativeness" supposed to embody "co-existence" of communities. At the vilayet level, the assembly (*Meclis-i umum-i vilayet*, also called *Meclis-i idare* by Davison), which was headed by the *vali*, included several elected members (six in the regulation of 1864, four in the 1867 law).[8] In smaller administrative entities,

6 Akiba, " Local Councils" (2009), 186-88.

7 A few examples are presented in subsequent paragraphs.

8 See Akiba, " Local Councils" (2009), 190. Akiba listed the members of the vilayet council as follows: the vali, the inspector of judges (müfettiş-i hükkam – after 1879, the judge of provincial center), the financial director (muhasebeci – after 1867, *deflerdar*), the corresponding clerk *(mektubcu),* the secretary for foreign affairs *(hariciye müdürü)*, and six elected members (four according to the 1867 law) consisting of three Muslim and three non-Muslim representatives.

assemblies were composed of state agents, spiritual leaders (the Muslim mufti and the spiritual leaders of the non-Muslim communities), and four elected members (theoretically two Muslims and two non-Muslims, but the ratio could change in favor of Muslims when non-Muslims constituted a small demographic minority).[9] As for the nahiye, its assembly was composed of Muslim and non-Muslim members but, in practice, only a few nahiyes succeeded in setting up these assemblies before the fall of the empire.[10] The *müdür* was in charge of local issues such as the maintenance of roads and bridges between villages, the administration of shared areas, and the supervision of a series of local services, including a police station (*karakol*).[11]

According to this new conception of space, the region of Cappadocia was divided into two vilayets, Konya and Ankara.[12] The sancak of Niğde was incorporated into the borders of the former, while the latter included, among others, the sancaks of Kırşehir and Kayseri. The subdivision into kazas is more difficult to enumerate because the number of kazas in each sancak changed

9 "Düstur" (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, H. 1289 (1872-73)), 635. According to Akiba, the council of the sancak was composed of the sancak governor (kaymakam), the judge, the treasurer (*mal miidürü*, or after the 1867 law, *muhasebeci*), the chief scribe (*tahrirat miidürü*) the mufti, non-Muslim religious leaders, and elected members (four according to the 1867 law) including Muslims and non-Muslims. The kaza council was composed of the kaza administrator, the kadı, the mufti, non-Muslim religious leaders, the scribe, and four elected members including two Muslims and two non-Muslims (three in all according to the 1867 law). See Akiba, "Local Councils" (2009), 190.

10 İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri, 1840-1880* [Ottoman Local Administration during the Tanzimat Era 1840-1880] (Ankara: TTK, 2000), 100.

11 The nahiye is defined as followed in 1871 Nizamnamesi: "The territories formed by the gathering of several villages, not being a kaza, are considered nahiyes and subdivisions of the kazas." Original text: "birkaç köyün toplanmasıyla meydana gelen yerleşim yerleri, kaza olmayıp, kazalara ilhak edilerek nahiye itibar olunacaktır."] "Düstur" (H. 1289 (1872-73)), 636.

12 For borders of vilayets, see the map in Appendix A1. Because the borders of small entities fluctuated, we have only mapped the borders of the vilayets of 1864 and dioceses to avoid overloading the map with smaller administrative entities. For borders of the main sancak of Cappadocia (Kayseri and Niğde), see the maps in Appendix A5. For detail about the changes between 1866 and 1907, see Kaya, "XX. Yüzyıl Başlarında Niğde" (2006). Musa Şaşmaz, *Niğde, Aksaray ve Nevşehir Tarihi Üzerine* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2008). See also the Ottoman maps of 1869-71 describing the area of Ürgüp and reproduced in Appendix A8. They show how the area was drawn at the time of the reorganization of administrative borders.

throughout the period (See the example of the sancak of Niğde in Table 4.1). As for the subdivision of kazas into nahiye, *salnames* published by the central state or by vilayets began mentioning them after 1878 (considered the example of the nahiyes in the kaza of Niğde in Table 4.2). In the 1890s, the three nahiyes if Niğde managed a total of ninety-one köy (sixty-six dependent on Niğde, fourteen on Misti, and eleven on Fertek). For comparison, the nahiye of Nevşehir supervised thirty-four villages; Ürgüp twenty-eight villages, Bor twenty-two villages, Maden thirty-four villages, and Arapsun fourteen villages.[13]

Table 4.1. Kazas of the sancak of Niğde between 1866 and 1889.[14]

Year	Number of kazas	List of kazas
1866	9	Niğde, Nevşehir, Kırşehir, Ürgüp, Aksaray, Koçhisar, Hacıbektaş, Mucur, Arapsun
1867	5	Niğde, Nevşehir, Kırşehir, Ürgüp, Aksaray
1868	4	Niğde, Aksaray, Nevşehir, Ürgüp
1872	5	Niğde, Aksaray, Nevşehir, Ürgüp, Bor
1877	8	Niğde, Nevşehir, Ürgüp, Aksaray, Bor, Çamardı, Ulukışla, Arapsun
1878	5	Niğde, Bor, Aksaray, Ürgüp, Nevşehir
1881	6	Niğde, Bor, Nevşehir, Ulukışla, Aksaray, Arabsun
1889	7	Niğde, Bor, Aksaray, Nevşehir, Ürgüp, Arapsun, Maden

Table 4.2. Nahiyes of the kaza of Niğde between 1878 and 1890.

	1878	1880	1888	1890
Kaza of Niğde	5 nahiyes: Fertek, Anduğu, Süçaeddin, Arapsun, Yahyalı	8 nahiyes: Fertek, Anduğu, Süçaeddin, Arapsun, Yahyalı, Çamardı, Koçhisar, Afşar	9 nahiyes: Fertek, Anduğu, Süçaeddin, Arapsun, Yahyalı, Çamardı, Koçhisar, Afşar, Misti	3 nahiyes: Niğde, Misti, Fertek[15]

13 The particular situation of the nahiye of Misti is developed in next paragraphs.

14 From data collected in Kaya, "XX. Yüzyıl Başlarında Niğde" (2006); Şaşmaz, *Niğde, Aksaray ve Nevşehir* (2008).

15 Former nahiyes were either downgraded or transferred to the jurisdiction of another kaza.

Finally, the village (*köy* or *karye*) and the neighborhood or district (*mahalle*) were, above the household (*hane*), the smallest administrative entities. Ortaylı explained that the *köy* was the rural equivalent of the mahalle in an urban context. Both were closed entities with linguistic and religious homogeneity, but the former was an autarkic unity while the latter was a subdivision of a town.[16] However, even the smallest villages of Cappadocia were divided into at least two mahalles, and it would be erroneous to say that Cappadocian villages had an autarkic economy and way of life.[17]

Albeit frequently used in archives as well as in everyday life, the word *mahalle* is particularly difficult to define. Translated as neighborhood, district, or quarter, it is a territorial – especially residential – unit with vague boundaries. About the Ottoman mahalle, Bryant recalled:

> [T]he extensive literature on the Ottoman mahalle shows us the legal means by which persons were made responsible for each other. Neighborhoods were jointly assessed for taxes, but they were also made jointly responsible for crimes. […] Some historians have called this an "auto-control mechanism"[18], and all conclude that records show the neighborhood as an important social and legal unit. […][T]here seems to be agreement that "peace [*huzur*] in the neighborhood was the principle thing. There was no discrimination between Muslims and non-Muslims in that regard."[19] Moreover, persons were often identified on the basis of their neighborhoods, as in "Fatma from Baştepe Mahallesi," or "Ali from Beşpınar Mahallesi."[20] Such statements had the ef-

16 Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli* (2000), 106.

17 Regarding economic inter-village networks, see Chapter 8.

18 Works to which Bryan refers: Tahsin Özcan, "Osmanlı Mahallesi Sosyal Kontrol ve Kefalet Sistemi" [The social control and guarantee system of the Ottoman neighborhood], *Marife* 1 (2001); Osman Özsoy, "Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahalleliler Arası Münasebetler" [Relations between neighbors in Ottoman society], *Tarih Dergisi* (1998).

19 Works to which Bryan refers: Özsoy, "Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahalleliler" (1998).

20 Works to which Bryan refers: Işık Tamdoğan-Abel, "Osmanlı Döneminden Günümüz Türkiye'sine 'Bizim mahalle'" ['Our neighborhood' from the Ottoman Period to present-day Turkey], *İstanbul Dergisi* 40 (2002): 68.

> fect not only of making neighbors morally accountable but also morally responsible for each other. The neighborhood, in other words, appears to have been understood as a moral community from which one also derived one's identity […].
>
> What emerges clearly from these descriptions is a mutual constitution of person and place, where the social person emerges through the milieu of the neighborhood, while the character of the neighborhood appears through the constitution of its community. The capacity of neighborhoods collectively to ban individuals who would sully their reputation[21] or the care to counsel one's neighbors are instances of the ways in which neighborhood and personhood are mutually constituting.[22]

In early Ottoman period, the mahalle*s* of most towns were defined according to the closest gate of the ramparts, but in the later periods, its name was derived from its main building (generally a mosque, *mescid*, fountain, or palace) or even from the name of an eminent family living there.[23] As it was defined by a central point, the peripheries and especially the boundaries of the mahalle remained blurred.[24] For instance, we do not know if its boundaries depended on its size in terms of square kilometers, on demographics, or on number of houses it contained. Özer Ergenç defined the Ottoman mahalle as that part of the town where the community [*cemaat*] all lives together around a *mescid*,

21 Works to which Bryan refers: Cemal Çetin, "Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahalleden İhraç Kararları ve Tatbiki: Konya Örneği (1645–1750)" [Neighborhood expulsion decisions and their implementation in Ottoman society: The Konya example (1645-1750)], *History Studies* 6, no.6 (2014).

22 Bryant, *Post-Ottoman Coexistence* (2016), 15-17.

23 Tuncer Baykara, *Türkiye Selçukluları Devrinde Konya* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1985), 49.

24 Turan Açık, "Mahalle ve Camii: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Mahalle Tipleri Hakkında Trabzon Üzerinden bir Değerlendirme" [Neighborhood and mosque: An assessment of neighborhood types in the Ottoman Empire based on Trabzon], *OTAM* 35 (2014); Tamdoğan-Abel, "Osmanlı Döneminden Günümüz" (2002); Işık Tamdoğan, "Sulh and the 18th Century Ottoman Courts of Üsküdar and Adana," *Islamic Law and Society* 15 (2008). Cem Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul. Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap Ilyas Mahalle* (New York: SUNY Press, 2003).

mosque, *zaviye,* or *imaret*, or as a section of the town comprised of a series of houses settled by people of the same professional group, religion, or traditions.[25] Working on *tapu* or *mufassal defters*, Ronald Jennings noted that Muslim quarters of the city of Kayseri were recorded as mahalles in the early sixteenth century, while when it came to the names of non-Muslim quarters, the word *mahalle* was omitted and replaced by the expression *Rumiyan-i (or Ermeniyan-i) nefs-i Kaysariyye,* ["Rum (Armenian) of the city proper of Kayseri"] in the *defter* of 1500 and as *cemaat* ["community"] in the *defters* of 1523 and 1550.[26] About this difference, he noted that "it may be that the government felt it necessary to distinguish in the registers non-Muslim from Muslim communities, or it may be that another kind of distinction is implied, such as a convenient lumping together of those of special administrative and taxation groups."[27] Jennings also assumed that because non-Muslims were registered as a community and not as a mahalle, in terms of their residential location, their households might be dispersed in different mahalles. The survey of 1583 seems to confirm this idea since, by that time, non-Muslims were recorded according to their mahalle. Nine mixed mahalles appeared, most of them hosting a large Muslim majority and a small number of Christian households.

From the late sixteenth century, an increasing number of mixed quarters blurred not only the residential boundaries between Muslims and non-Muslims but also the definition of the mahalle, the apparent main criterion of which was originally its religious homogeneity.[28] Despite the intense work of standardization and codification in the nineteenth century, the Vilayet Regulations remained unclear about the definition of the mahalle as a territorial unit. The regulation of 1871 only decreed that a mahalle should

25 Özer Ergenç, *Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi Kent Tarihçiliğine Katkı XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya* (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı, 1995), 50; Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehrinde Esnaf Örgütlerinin Fiziki Yapıya Etkileri," in *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920)*, eds. O. Okyar and H. İnalcık (Ankara: Meteksan, 1980), 10.

26 Ronald C. Jennings, "Urban Population in Anatolia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon, and Erzurum," *IJMES* 7, no.1 (1976): 29.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid., 29-34.

include at least fifty houses.[29] But in practice, the mahalles of many towns and villaes included only a dozen households. Despite the vagueness of its definition, the mahalle remained a central unit for the state administration to record populations and goods, distribute taxes, and register buildings and infrastructures. Moreover, while we are unable to explain how the boundaries of mahalles were established, locals clearly knew where their mahalle began and where finished. For instance, Aikaterini Aslanoglou from Ürgüp precisely recalled that her mahalle (Mubayaacı Mahallesi) "began from the house of the Pantazidis family and ended at the Istradjoglou residence!"[30]

On that point, particular attention will pay to the role of local representatives and assemblies at the different scales we have introduced. Moreover, we explore how administration influenced the way of life of ordinary people and the relations between communities and collectivities.

4.1.1 *Mutasarrıf, Kaymakam, Müdür, and Their Assemblies*

One of the first categories of the OTA concerns local administration. In Section A dedicated to general information, the fourth subdivision is related to "Turkish administration" and the fifth to "Ecclesiastical Administration." Later, in the village files, the Section G takes the administrative issue up with more detailed description. These sections are generally poorly documented, however. In the Section "A.4" on "Turkish administration," information is limited to the name of the *valilik* (or vilayet capital), the *mutasarrıflık* (capital of the *liva*), the *kaymakamlık* (capital of the *kaza*), and rarely of the *müdürlük* (capital of the *nahiye* on which the village depended). Similarly, for ecclesiastical administration (Section A.5), succinct descriptions consist of the location of the *metropolis* and of local representative (the deputy of the bishop or general vicar – in Turkish, *despot vekili* and in Greek, *Αρχιερατικός Επίτροπος*) that were settled in main Rum settlements of the region. In Section G, records are focused on the role of the *muhtar* and on the village's internal administration. Here again, detailed descriptions are rare. The lack of information in refugees' testimonies, particularly concerning the organization

29 Kemal Karpat, "Ottoman Population Records and the Census of 1881/82-1893," *IJMES* 9, no.2 (1978): 248.

30 Testimony of Aikaterini Aslanoglou, in Balta, *Prokopi, Ürgüp* (2010), 78.

of the vilayet, liva or kaza, or even nahiye administration, can be explained by the fact that villagers scarcely had direct contact with these levels of administration (even when their own locality was the head of a liva or nahiye). Some witnesses noted that villagers went to the *mutasarrıf* or the *kaymakam* for administrative purposes. For instance, Kosmas Serafeimidis from Limni mentioned that Limniotes sometimes went to Niğde where the head of the liva on which Limni was dependent was located. However, he added that nobody went to Bor, which was the seat of the kaymakam.[31]

Those who participated in local administrative and political life knew territorial administration better. A refugee from Ürgüp, Eustathios Hadjieuthiamidis, was one among these informants involved in local administration before the exchange of populations. He served as a member of the Council of Elders of Prokopi and participated in the Exchange of Populations Committee in 1924. His detailed description of the kaymakam assembly is corroborated by studies about the reform of provincial organization:

> The assembly was composed of the kaymakam and eight other members. Among the latter, four sat permanently and four were elected, two among the Greeks and two among the Turks. The permanent members were the *despot vekili* representing the Christian communities of the kaza, the müfti, the *mal müdürü* (head of the finance office), and the *tahrirat müdürü* (secretary general). To be eligible, you had to be at least thirty-one years old, married, own real estate, able to read and write, have a good social situation (namely, have an affluent and well-off family), and be recorded as permanent resident of the kaza. […] When there were complaints against the kaymakam regarding one of its services, you could appeal to the mutasarrıf or the vali, the upper administration of the kaza depended on.[32]

31 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ215: K. Serafeimidis.

32 "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ312: E. Hadjieuthiamidis.

The *despot vekili* who was permanent member of the kaza assembly was chosen from the priests working within the borders of the kaza. Once chosen by the Christian community, his nomination was confirmed and approved by the kaymakam since he would participate in the kaymakamlık assembly.[33] The representation of Christians in Ottoman assemblies was summarized by Constantinos (1898) as follows:

> Almost all the Greeks of Asia Minor depend on the Ecumenical Patriarchate, not only from a religious perspective but also to some extent from the point of view of lay administration. Their bishops are at the same time, if we can say so, half prefects. They sit in the council of representatives of the Porte and defend the interests of their flock to the valis and kaymakams.[34]

The system of representation of *millet*s in the assemblies as well as the tax system, which was mostly based on a distribution organized internally by the heads of local religious communities, limited direct exchanges between ordinary people and state agents. In the rural context where local communities were less hierarchically organized than in urban districts,[35] however, meetings could take place under various circumstances. For instance, Bethleem Kalavoutsoglou from Nevşehir recalled that when he was a child he saw inspectors of the Ministry of Education and the kaymakam of Nevşehir visit his school several times.

> We learned Turkish at school. Turkish classes were compulsory even though our books were in Greek and our teachers spoke Greek during

33 Ibid.

34 Paroditès, "Patriarcat œcuménique" (1898): 11. Original text: "Les Grecs d'Asie Mineure relèvent presque tous du patriarcat oecuménique, et cela, non seulement au point de vue religieux, mais encore, dans une certaine mesure, au point de vue civil. Leurs évêques sont en même temps, si l'on peut dire ainsi, leurs préfets à demi. Ils siègent dans le conseil des fonctionnaires de la Porte, valis ou kaïmakans, et défendent auprès d'eux les intérêts de leurs ouailles".

35 For instance, writing about the urban Jewish community of Avlonya (today Albania), Gilles Veinstein showed that ordinary people almost never met state agent because the administrators of their community took care of all the procedures in relation with the Ottoman state administration. Veinstein, "Une communauté ottomane," 1994.

> courses. Sometimes, Turkish administrators visited the school, inspected classes, and verified that we actually learned Turkish. The kaymakam, an inspector, or another civil servant opened a book and tested us. When we answered correctly, the Turk said "afferim, afferim," and he went away happy. Then our teacher awarded us."[36]

These kinds of visits were apparently frequent. Iordanis Goulanoglou from Delmason also explained how, when the mutasarrıf of Niğde and his associates came to Delmason for an official visit, they generally made a detour to the church, curious to observe and listen to the liturgy. They did not hesitate to ask questions of the priests about the icons and frescoes.[37] Even though these kinds of moments were rare, locals often at least knew the name of their mutasarrıf or kaymakam, and the reputation of these leaders among the local population was thus particularly important.

Reputation was crucial for state agents who could be dismissed as a result of complaints lodged by members of his administration for by the local population. Indeed, it was not rare that administrators – especially mutasarrıf, kaymakam, and müdür –were accused by their colleagues or by locals of corruption, illegal tax collection, bad behavior, or injustices towards the inhabitants of their districts. When such an accusation occurred and especially when it was reiterated in several petitions, the central administration would investigate the case and decide whether to remove or to exonerate its agent. For instance, the Kaymakam of Nevşehir, Zühdü Bey, who was appointed in May 1891, was accused in March 1893, of corruption, theft, and bad administration. After an investigation, he was removed in June 1894 and replaced one month later.[38] On the other hand, some allegations were found to be groundless after an inquiry, as in the 1865 case of the Kaymakam

36 "ΚΠ 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ144: B. Kalavoutsoglou.

37 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ270: I. Goulanoglou.

38 BOA, I.DH 1227/96070 (1308-L-05/13.05.1891); BOA, DH.MKT 2057/86 (1310-Ş-13/19.02.1894); BOA, DH.MKT 12/5 (1311-Z-14/17.06.1894); BOA, BEO 437/32725 (1312-M-13/16.07.1894). A long administrative procedure followed. Zühdü Bey refused several appointments and his salary payment was finally stopped in 1898. BOA, BEO 1068/80084 (1315-Ş-20/12.01.1898).

of Niğde, Mehmed Said Pasha. About one year after his appointment and his efficient management of fighting between peasants and nomadic tribes that had caused significant damage to local infrastructure, Mehmed Said Pasha was denounced by the Rum metropolitan who accused him of immoral behavior – especially for having authorized the force conversion of a Rum girl and her marriage to a Muslim. After two-month investigation led by the *meclis-i idare*, Mehmed Said Pasha was cleared of all suspicion, the allegations were declared unfounded and to have been borne by malevolence, since inhabitants of the conscriptions appreciated his management.[39]

Though the majority, an important part – proportionally relative to the ethnoreligious demographics of Cappadocia – of complaints against provincial administrators were filed by Christians, ordinary individuals, and communal representatives (the metropolitan, a priest, a muhtar, or even the Patriarchate itslef when the charges were essential). The accusation against the Kaymakam of Niğde, Mehmed Said, in 1865 was an example. Another case occurred several years earlier in Kayseri where the kaymakam, Iskender Bey, who had been in charge since December 1852, was the subject of a complaint filed by the Patriarchate in February 1856. In May, the inquiry concluded that the Christian community of Kayseri had tried, by this complaint, to delay the payment of tax debts.[40] In fact, numerous complaints filed against state agents were brought to a close by the central state ruling in favor of its own. Should we consider that local populations would accuse state agents without legitimate reasons to try to benefit from a particular decision? Or were the conclusions of investigations designed to protect and clear local colleagues? It would be difficult to give definitive answers. It is natural that people would try to benefit from their situations, as well that investigators (generally a local assembly like the *meclis-i idare* of a liva or a of vilayet when the affair concerned administrators of a kaza) would protect local colleagues. The Ottoman state, however, was particularly attentive that local communities be

39 BOA, MVL 710/61 (1282-S-29/22.07.1865); BOA, MVL 712/43 (1282-Ra-29/20.08.1865); BOA, MVL 711/124 (1282-Ra-21/12.08.1865); BOA, MVL 712/96 (1282-R-02/24.07.1865).

40 BOA, A.MKT.MHM 63/1 (1271-Ra-23/14.12.1854); BOA, MVL 296/66 (1272-C-14/21.02.1856); BOA, HR.MKT 147/66 (1272-L-07/12.05.1856).

satisfied with respect to its administrators as proven by the numerous documents and opinions surveys sent to Istanbul.[41]

Due to the smaller size of the territory they administered, müdürs of the nahiye were more closely connected with locals than kaymakams or mutasarrıfs. The müdür was in charge of public order and security, especially of the *karakol* (police station).[42] Consequently, in cases of criminal acts, fights, thefts or abductions, policemen were regularly called to help. Moreover, police stations of the region often employed Christians, but they were only appointed to low grade position. At the very end of the nineteenth century up until the Young Turk Revolution (1906-1909), three policemen in the *karakol* of Nevşehir were Rums, for instance.[43] Similarly, non-Muslim civil agents could be found in various offices of local administrations – in nahiye administrations and especially in those services in charge of issues involving non-Muslims. For instance, in the nahiye of Fertek where viniculture and production of rakı were central economic activities for Christian communities, the agent responsible for the supervision of taxes on alcoholic drinks was, unsurprisingly, a Rum. Incidentally, the agent appointed in the last days of 1889 was a Rum from Fertek who appeared to be unable to speak or write in Turkish and was consequently removed from office in February 1890.[44]

While the question does not arise for headquarters of the liva and kaymakam, which were logically located in towns or large burgs, it is difficult to explain the logic behind the choice of the location of the müdürlük. With respect to the issue of the location of these local representatives of the Porte, it is important to observe the relations between local communities and state

41 See for instacnce BOA, A.DVN 89/70 (1269-N-13/22.05.1853); BOA, MVL 648/50 (1279-Za-27/16.05.1863); BOA, MVL 661/36 (1280-C-09/21.11.1863); BOA, MVL 706/97 (1281-Z-21/16.05.1865); BOA, MVL 693/7 (1281-C-16/16.06.1864); BOA, MVL 712/96 (1282-R-02/25.08.1865).

42 Misti, as a *müdürlük*, had no police station. The *karakol* was in Limni and policemen only came to Misti to look for offenders (Mistiotes were often accused of robbing the fields of surrounding villages). "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ243, M. Damianoglou.

43 "ΚΠ 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s, ΚΠ144: G. Leuko.

44 BOA, DH.MKT 1695/22 (1307-C-13/04.02.1890).

agents. To that end, the nahiye of Misti is a particularly interesting case. The village of Misti, inhabited exclusively by a large, Greek-speaking Rum community, was officially the seat of a müdür with a jurisdiction of about thirty villages. Misti was unconventional. Its Rum population was infamous in the region for its isolation and bad disposition towards Muslim and Rum communities of surrounding settlements. According to its monographer, Kostakis, the seat of the müdür was transferred to Limni around 1870, and Misti was demoted to the status of a simple village until, in 1924, it was once again transformed into a nahiye.[45] However, the OTA informants gave another explanation which is corroborated by documents in the BOA. Iordanis Grigoroglou, who originated from Misti, claimed that his village was still a müdürlük at the turn of the twentieth century, but that the müdür lived in Limni or Uluağaç rather than in Misti itself.[46] Another refugee, Kosmas Serafeimidis, confirmed this situation, explaining that because there were no Turks in Misti, the müdür preferred to stay in and work from Limni.[47] State archives shows that the status of nahiye was officially attributed to Misti up to the 1900s. Indeed, a document from 1891 congratulates the müdür of Misti, Hasan Hüsnü Efendi, for his efficient, successful administration of the cholera epidemic that ravaged the area the previous year.[48] In the *Annuaires Orientaux* of 1893-94 and 1896, Misti is listed as a nahiye of the sancak of Niğde.[49] Between 1902 and 1905, several other documents confirm its status and that

45 Thanasis Kostakis, *Το Μιστί της Καππαδοκίας* [Misti in Cappadocia], II vols (Athens: Ακαδημία Αθηνών, 1977), 5&399.

46 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ242: I. Grigoroglou.

47 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ215: K. Serafeimidis. The testimony of Serafeimidis concerning the *müdür* Hasan Efendi working in the 1900s is confirmed by Ottoman state archives which show that the nahiye of Misti was administered by Hasan Şevket Efendi during the first years of the twentieth century. See BOA, DH.MKT 608/71 (1320-Ş-7/09.11.1902); BOA, DH.MKT 655/7 (1320-Za-19/17.02.1903); BOA, DH.MKT 798/52 (1321-N-10/30.11.1903).

48 BOA, DH.MKT 1844/89 (1308-Za-20/27.06.1891).

49 "Annuaire oriental (ancien indicateur oriental) du commerce, de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature: Turquie, Russie, Grèce, Roumanie, Serbie, Bulgarie" (Constantinople: Cervati Frères & Cie, 1893-94), 924; "Annuaire oriental (ancien indicateur oriental) du commerce, de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature" (Constantinople: Cervati Frères & Cie, 1896), 1061.

the müdürlük building was located there.[50] In 1902, a document mentioning a reduction in the rent of the müdürlük building of Misti (*Misti nahiyenin hükümet konağı*) ordered the reallocation of the money saved to pay the rent of the müdürlük building of Fertek.[51] One consequently wonders why the müdür lived in Limni even as the state rented a building for that purpose in Misti and, a fortiori, why the central state kept the nahiye capital in Misti in spite of the lack of a Muslim community there.

The reputation of the Mistiotes in Cappadocia helps to explain this paradoxical situation. Mistiotes had a bad reputation throughout the region as inhospitable and even as ferocious, boorish robbers. Even their coreligionists in surrounding villages kept their distance and were reluctant to have relations with them or to give their daughters in marriage to a Mistiote.[52] The testimony of Serafeimidis speaks volumes about the Mistiotes' reputation:

> In Misti, men gave fifty, 100 or even 150 mecidiye to marry a girl. But we did not give them our girls or take theirs. Once, we tried to go to Misti to claim the hand of one of their girls. They almost killed us and we never asked again.[53]

50 BOA, DH.MKT 608/71 (1320-Ş-07/09.11.1902); BOA, DH.MKT 655/7 (1320-Za-19/17.02.1903); BOA, DH.MKT 798/52 (1321-N-10/30.11.1903); BOA, DH.MKT 1031/45 (1323-L-14/12.12.1905).

51 BOA. DH.MKT 619/71 (1320-N-06/07.12.1902). With the reorganization of provincial and local administrations, the central state needed buildings for its administrators and their offices. But it was not possible for the state to construct new buildings in all administrative centers throughout the empire – especially for the cases of publics works (*umur-u nafia*), of public security (*zabtiye*), of commerce, agriculture, education, justice, of foreigners (*umur-i ecnebiye*), and of the office of the director of provincial finance (*defterdarlık*), İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimatdan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Geleneği* [The Tradition of local administration from the Tanzimat to the Republic] (Istanbul: Hil, 1985), 5.

52 Incidentally, Mistiotes preferred to marry women of their own community, believing that women from outside were not sufficiently hard-working and did not adapt to the Mistiote way of life; it was a shame to marry a girl from outside because it signified that no one in the community had agreed to marry you. "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ243: M. Damianoglou. Regarding matrimonial strategies, see Chapter 9.

53 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ216: K. Serafeimidis.

Stories of the fates of Muslims trying to enter in Misti – or worse to kidnap a Mistiote girl – were numerous within the Christian as well as the Muslim communities of the region. Moreover, informants from Misti recalled that there were no Turks in their village and that it was the only place in the region where they could live peacefully without having problems with Muslims. Even in the last decades of the empire, a time for which informants of other villages hightlighted the persecution they suffered at the hands of the Muslim population or state authorities, refugees from Misti put forward the insubordinate characteristic of its inhabitants. Misti was almost described as lawless place, not only in matters of state administration, but also from within the ecclesiastical hierarchy which viewed the village of Misti as a troublesome place where even local priests were inattentive to rules set by the hierarchy.[54] Even the police station of the district was located in Limni, as were all other administrative activities of the nahiye.

Problems between the müdürlük and the Mistiotes occurred regularly throughout the period. Even in 1837, the English traveler, Hamilton, who visited the village of Misti, noticed that the place was inhabited by Greeks "independent of the Turkish authorities and subject only to the Bishop of Nigdeh." He added that at that time, Mistiotes "paid no taxes to the government; but worked gratuitously in the lead-mines of Maden-Dagh."[55] As with all miners of the Ottoman Empire (who were quasi-exclusively Christian), Mistiotes did not pay taxes. However, the community had stopped this activity by the early 1830s. Visiting the region in 1834 (three years before Hamilton), Texier noted that the peasants of Misti had just abandoned mining activities earlier that year because of its high cost, but that the Ottoman government extended their tax privileges.[56] According to a document in the

54 Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 102-03.

55 Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, II (1842), 296.

56 Texier, *Asie mineure* (1863), 568. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the village of Misti belonged to the eparchy of Ikonium while other mining villages located further south (between Kilisehisar and Buğamaden) or in the area of Farasa continued to be under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Chaldia who officially managed all mining communities even outside the borders of his eparchy. It is difficult to say whether the Mistiotes then fell

BOA, the state began to ask for taxes in 1841, but most inhabitants refused to pay.[57] According to inhabitants, rare relations with state agents generally ended badly. Makarios Damianoğlu explained for instance, how a Mistiote and his son were stopped by a state agent on the road coming back to their village one day and asked for the *yol parası* (road tax). As the Turk was alone and they were two, the Rums caught and beat him."[58] In case of problems within the village or with outsiders, Mistiotes never asked for the help of police, preferring to dispense their own justice.[59] In wartime, they y chose desertion instead of serving in the Ottoman army. In 1914 and 1915 when civil servants and military officers came to the village to enforce general conscription, Mistiotes refused to be enlisted, exhorted the soldiers to desert the Ottoman ranks, and attacked police officers who accompanied the conscription agents.[60] Additional skirmishes occurred in 1924, just before the departure of the Rums, when the Church of St. Basil was transformed into barracks to receive Muslim refugees.[61]

We can thus easily understand why, throughout the century, müdürs and other state agents avoided staying in Misti and preferred not to deal with the ferocity of villagers every day. We can also assume that the Porte was aware of the situation, but it is difficult to understand why it continued to pay rent for an unused building instead of officially moving the nahiye headquarters to Limni or quelling the inhabitants of Misti. Actually, Misti was an exception. In headquarters of other nahiyes and kazas, except in particular times of tension, there were no persistent hostilities between Christian inhabitants and state agents. It was also the only example in the region of a homogeneous Rum village chosen as the headquarters of state administration. We can thus assume that, beyond the particularly negative attitude of Mistiotes towards all kinds

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under the responsibility of the Metropolitan of Ikonium when they gave up mining or if the village of Misti was ever actually dependent on the Metropolitan of Chaldia.

57 BOA, MVL 20/316 (1257-S-24/24.02.1841).

58 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ243: M. Damianoglou.

59 Ibid.

60 BOA, BEO 4333/324932 (1333-Ra-03/19.01.1915).

61 Kostakis, *Μιστί,* II (1977), 531.

of foreigners, settlements with mixed ethnoreligious populations were more balanced environments for state administrators.

It is difficult to know to what extent ordinary people had contact with agents of the müdürlük. The book in Karamanlı, *The Writing of Letters,* suggests small clues since it indeed contains, in the midst of sample letters for private and professional purposes, a series of template letters and petitions addressed to state administrators (vali, kaymakam, mutasarrıf, müdür, zabtiye and gümrük agents, and different ministries).[62] Would such a book be bought by anyone or was it only in the hands of professionals such as merchants, attorneys,, and lawyers who would prepare these documents on behalf of their clients? The list of the book's subscribers does not give enough clues about the socio-professional categories of its buyers. However, the fact that some model letters are specifically prepared in the name of women and the poor (one is a document that women might write to the *şeyhülislam*) and the fact that the introduction written by Misailidis show that this textbook was consecrated to all kinds of situations with which any Turkish-speaking Christian might deal, including correspondence with state services.

4.1.2 *Muhtars and Muhtarlık Assemblies*

The muhtarlık (office of the neighborhood head) was the lowest level of administration. It preexisted but was redefined during the Tanzimat. The muhtar (headman) and his assembly were the only administrators not appointed by the state but elected by the inhabitants of the district – generally a mahalle or, in mixed settlements, one of the religious communities. The muhtar was thus more closely connected to his citizens than the aforementioned administrators, as clearly indicated in narratives of informants, some having themselves been muhtar or member of the muhtarlık assembly before their exile.

62 *Κιτάπη ινσά γιάνι μεκτούπ σουρετλερί* [The art of letter writing, i.e. models of letters] (Istanbul: Ευαγγελινός Μισαηλίδης ματπααση, 1885), 104-17. Along with letters addressed to state agents, the book contains examples of trade agreements; letters to send to the ecclesiastical hierarchy; correspondence between fathers and sons; baptism, wedding and death announcements; and also letters of poor to rich people to ask for financial support (followed by answers), as well as letters written by women in need of various forms of representation.

The role of the muhtar was redefined and took on an institutionalized form starting in 1864, but especially with the regulation of 1871. Before the Tanzimat, the main intermediary between inhabitants and provincial or central administration was the imam, or, in districts inhabited by Christians, a priest appointed by the Patriarchate and confirmed by a *berat*. Theoretically, imams and priests had to record births, marriages and deaths occurring in their districts, but because of their lack of initiative, reforms were implemented under the reign of Mahmut II. Religious leaders played important roles for their neighborhood, especially by representing it before the state and by acting as tax collectors.[63] Even though they kept their central place in the organization and decision-making process within their community, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, imams partly lost their capacity as district administrators to muhtars, The first muhtarlık were established in Istanbul to replace the janissaries who had been responsible for maintaining public order up until 1826. Then the muhtarlık system was spread throughout the provinces and progressively more firmly institutionalized. In Mahmud II's time, the muhtarlık was composed of a first and second *muhtar* (the *muhtar-i evvel* and the *muhtar-i sani*) and limited to Muslim districts.[64] With the 1864 *Vilayet Nizamnamesi*, the muhtar began to be accompanied by

63 Açık, "Mahalle ve Camii" (2014); Mefail Hızlı, "Osmanlı Mahalle İmamlarının Performanslarına Dair" [Regarding the performances of Ottoman neighborhood Imams], *Turkish Journal of Tesam Academy* 1, no.1 (2014); Ziya Kazıcı, "Osmanlılarda Mahalle İmamlarının Bazı Görevleri," *İslam Medeniyeti Mecmuası* 5, no.3 (1982); Cem Behar, "Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants. A social and demographic portrait of a neighborhood Community in Intramural Istanbul (The Kasap Ilyas Mahalle) in 1885," *Research Papers* (1995): 6.

64 The *Niğde Cizye defteri* of 1830 and the *Rüûs defteri* of 1835 show that, at least for a time, a *kâhya-i evvel* and a *kâhya-i sani* were appointed in non-Muslim *mahalle*s instead of *muhtar*s. In surrounding villages, there was only one *muhtar* or *kâhya* instead of two. In non-Muslim communal organization, the *kâhya*s did not replaced the *kocabaşı* (or *çorbacı*) who continued to be the main mediators between the state and the community. See Ali Akyıldız, "Türkiye'de Muhtarlık Teşkilâtının Kuruluşu ve Gelişimine Genel Bir Bakış" [A General View on the Establishment and Evolution of the Muhtarship Organization], *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi* 14 (2006): 18; Şenay Atam, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Muhtarlık Teşkilâtının Kurulması: Niğde Örneği" [Establishment of Mukhtarship Organization in the Ottoman Empire: the example of Niğde], *Journal of World of Turks* 5, no.1 (2013): 300-02.

an assembly called the *ihtiyar meclisi* ("assembly of the elders"), and the institution was expanded to non-Muslim mahalles which, up to that time, continued to be managed by a priest and a *kocabaşı*.[65]

The *muhtars* and their boards were parts of the administrative mechanism of the state – responsible for public order, the supervision of tax collection, the maintenance of public space, water access, schools, and other public buildings. The *ihtiyar meclisi* was in charge of managing the sharing of taxes among members of the community and of surveying tax collection, but also of resolving litigation between members of the community. They also had executive authority for the construction of communal buildings, for the general security of the community and for the management of agricultural issues. In mixed villages, issues that concerned multiple communities were debated and resolved by a commission comprised of members of the various *ihtiyar meclisleri*. This commission could alsoassemble to debate common issues such as infrastructure, agriculture, or trade questions that concerned the bold population of the village or, until 1871, of a group of neighboring villages. With the regulation of 1871, issues between neighboring villages were entrusted to the nahiye or to the kaymakamlık.[66] Muhtars, especially in mixed localities, played a central role as a mediator between communities, inhabitants, and upper-level administrative entities (nahiye and liva, but also local state agents such as the *muhassıl* or the police).

Most of the time, the muhtarlık worked at the scale of a mahalle, but when the latter was religiously mixed, each religious community could have its own muhtar. Each mahalle or religious community elected two muhtars, but when it comprised fewer than twenty households, it could only choose one muhtar instead of two. According to the *Vilayet Nizamnamesi* of 1871 (Articles 60, 63, and 64), candidates for muhtarlık elections, as for other administrative functions, had to be over thirty years of age, married, able to write and read, and be member of the community.[67] As for the ihtiyar meclisi, it was composed

65 Musa Çadırcı, "Türkiye'de Muhtarlık Teşkilâtının Kurulması Üzerine Bir İnceleme," *Belleten* 34, no.135 (1970).

66 Ortaylı, *Tanzimatdan Cumhuriyete* (1985), 105-10.

67 In wartime, the state reserved the right to appoint a *muhtar* from outside.

– according to the size of the village – of three to twelve persons, including local spiritual leaders. It supervised the collection and sharing of taxes among community members. The muhtar and his assembly were elected by the community's men who were over eighteen years of age, had Ottoman citizenship, and paid at least fifty *kuruş* of taxes per annum.[68] However, the testimonies of Cappadocian Christians show that election rules could be different from one place to another. In Andaval, the Christian muhtar was elected as prescribed in the regulation of 1864, but according to Ignatiadis (who had himself been muhtar of his village), electors had to be twenty and candidates twenty-two years of age and have completed their military obligations.[69] In many communities, the new system of local administration was adapted to the former customs of internal organization.

In contrast with Muslim communities for which there was, in practice, no organized system of local administration before the introduction of the muhtarlık, Orthodox communities were already administered by efficient institutions before 1864. The *muhtarlık* system was consequently superimposed over existing assemblies and generally overlapped with the duties that the latter were already exercising. The local organization of the *millet-i Rum* of the Ottoman Empire was relatively well-standardized and efficiently administered even before the Tanzimat, and parishes were the basis of an ecclesiastical but also administrative hierarchy. Locally, Rum communities were organized into parishes (*ενορία/enoria*) and communities (*κοινότης/koinotis*). Anastassiadou, studying the case of Istanbul, gives a detailed analysis of this double form of groupness that is also suitable for rural settlements of Cappadocia. She noted that the terms "parish" and "community" sometimes lead to confusion since they neither designate the same reality nor the same space even though they are often used interchangeably. A Rum community might have been constituted of one or several parishes, but the reverse was not true.[70] In Cappadocia, for instance,

68 "Düstur" (H. 1289 (1872-73)), 619-20.

69 "ΚΠ 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ205: P. Ignatiadis.

70 Anastassiadou, *Grecs d'Istanbul* (2012), 122-23.

large localities such as Nevşehir, Niğde, Ürgüp, Zincidere, and Germir were divided into several parishes (the *enoria*, often corresponding to one or two adjoined mahalles) all of which were part of the same Rum lay community (*koinotis*).[71] Another similarity with Istanbul was the way these "parish/communities," to use the expression of Anastassiadou, evolved in terms of their internal administration from the 1860s with the increasing role of the notable laymen. Theoretically, local communities were administered by a bicephalous system. An assembly of clerics and notables, the eldership council – called, interchangeably, the *epitropi* (*επιτροπή*) or the *demogerontia*, (*δημογεροντία*) – was in charge of religious affairs, collection of some taxes (mainly the *bedel-i askeriye*) and control over the habits and behavior of community members. Next to it, a committee called the *eforia* (*εφορεία*), which was composed of some clerics but mainly of notable laymen (especially teachers and local merchants), was either elected by the community or appointed by the demogerontia. It was charged with civil and secular affairs, especially financial and educational issues. At the turn of the twentieth century, however, the eforia – which was theoretically inferior to the demogerontia – took control in many communities of Cappadocia.

Local organization was particularly influenced by emigration and the increasing role of the migrants – the most important notables of the community being often counted among them – in the administration of their communities of origin. Increasingly from the 1870s, communities were administered by a *central* eforia (*κεντρική εφορεία*) which was most of the times located outside Cappadocia (generally in Istanbul), had funds and consequently maintained decision-making powers. Meanwhile a secondary eforia located in the native land had only an executive role. Traditionally, the demogerontia had the higher status in Cappadocian Rum communities, but in the late nineteenth century in settlements with significant emigration, the central eforia located outside the village became the main decision-making assembly, followed by the demogerontia – which continued to be the most important local assembly –, and finally by the local eforia, which executed the

71 The distinction between parish and community remained important in matters of land tenure. Even though they were administered by the same assembly, goods belonging to the parish and property of the koinotis were registered separately. See Chapter 7.1.

decisions of the central eforia. Moreover, in practice, the local eforia and demogerontia of many settlements merged under the name *eforoepitropi (εφοροεπιτροπή)* or *eforo*demogerontia (*εφοροδημογεροντία*). In the OTA, most of the informants talking about the demogerontia used the term in a broad sense, as a generic name embracing the actual demogerontia and the local eforia together. They described it as an assembly composed of clerics, teachers, and other local notables, but it remains impossible to generalize the situation. Merging occurred in several burgs and towns such as Niğde, Fertek, Enehil, and Sinasos. In İncesu, the parish of the Church of St. Eustathios had an independent *epitropi*, while in the parish of the Church of St. Dimitrios the eforia and the *epitropi* had merged. As for the Rum communities of Kayseri, Nevşehir, Ürgüp, and Malakopi, the two assemblies clearly remained independent. Moreover, in villages such as İloson, Akso, Aravani, and Cemil, the traditional distinction between ecclesiastical and lay administrations generally remained intact.[72]

With the introduction of the muhtarlık system into non-Muslim communities in 1864, a new administrative layer was added. Even though the Vilayet regulations described the roles of the muhtarlık, the muthar, and its assembly (ihtiyar meclisi) in detail, it seems that local communities often adapted it to their already-existing internal institutions. According to the regulation of 1864, the muthar's main duties were to collect taxes; supervise local services and especially the maintenance and renovation of fountains, schools, and religious buildings; administer the guardians and watchmen of the community; publicly announce the state's official statements; record populations; and to help in affairs of heritage – responsibilities which were, in Rum settlements, already in the hands of either the demogerontia or the eforia. In fact, demogerontia and ihtiyar meclisi – the Greek and the Turkish words both mean "council of elders" – fused in most settlements. In a 1959 report for the Center of Asia Minor Studies, Emmanouil Tsalikoglou evoked questions about the local administration of communities and indicated his concern regarding the administrative organization. Looking at the case of the Christians of Zincidere, he noted, albeit perplexed, that the demogerontia and the ihtiyar meclisi seemed to be two different entities. Achilles Symeonoglou,

72 See the codices of the GAK and the CAMS.

a refugee from Zincidere, explained that at the time he lived in Zincidere (between 1887 and 1895), "there was a Christian muhtar and a demogerontia, the ihtiyar meclisi, as it was called […], the muhtar's council was composed of six members, two muhtars and four *aza*. They sat in a large house located in the merkez (center), next to the houses of Turkish inhabitants."[73] Tsalikoglou added in his annotation that it remained unclear from this testimony and from others if the ihtiyar meclisi and the demogerontia were a same institution or two distinct assemblies.[74] Testimonies from other settlements are no clearer: Makarios Damianoglou from Misti said that in his village they "had one muhtar and four demogerontes;" Paisios Kirelitzoglou from Germir related that the muhtar of Germir was chosen by the demogerontes from inhabitants of the village to represent the community before Turkish authorities; in Nevşehir, according to Roteini Georgiadou and Bethleem Kalanoutsoglou, Rums were administrated by a Council of Elders called the demogerontia which looked after affairs of the community and that there was also a muhtar who was in charge of mediation with the Turks.[75] The narrative of Stavros Terkenlis, a native of Delmason, is particularly enlightening. It shows that, instead of having a stable administration, communities adapted to internal and general circumstances such as wars and emigration.

> The village was represented vis-à-vis the Turkish administration by a muhtar and four assembly members [*aza*]. The Council of the Greek community was composed of the muhtar, his assistant, a priest, and a teacher. It was responsible for appointing water and night watchmen, and guardians of fields and vineyards. Each household paid 10 kuruş per annum for the watchmen. The demogerontes were clerics. Around

73 "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ75: A. Simeonoglou.

74 Ibid., ΚΠ75: Notes of E. Tsalikoglou. In his annotations, Tsalikoglou called the muhtar's assembly the *ihtiyar heyeti* and the demogerontia the *ihtiyar meclisi*.

75 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ249: M. Damianoglou; "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ87: P. Kirelitzoglou; "ΚΠ 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s, ΚΠ144: R. Georgiadou & B. Kalanoutsoglou

> 1890, they were three priests and then only two. During the war, there was no priest in the village. A priest came from İloson or from Fertek for the Sunday mass. There was also no teacher at that time.[76]

Through these testimonies and others, it appears that each community accommodated its internal organization according to the local situation, demographic size and financial capacities. The number of members of the ihtiyar meclisi or the demogerontia varied depending on the number of inhabitants – between three for smallest up to twelve for largest communities. In some communities, the demogerontia and the ihtiyar meclisi had clearly merged into a unique assembly. In other communities, the double organization was maintained. On one side, a muhtar assisted by a second muhtar and the ihtiyar meclisi looked after civil affairs and mediated with Turkish authorities and neighboring communities; one the other side, the traditional administration of the demogerontia continued to be active, assisted by the eforia. As a result, in practice, the traditional demogerontia and the ihtiyar meclisi instituted by the Vilayet regulations apparently merged, but in theory, this merger seems to have been institutionalized at a late point.

In 1880, the Patriarchate published a regulation intended for the communities of Istanbul clearly establishing the duties of the muhtar as well as the procedures of his election, his rights, and the disciplinary measures in case of breaches.[77] For communities in Cappadocia, the institutionalization and clear sharing of the attribution of the muhtarlık and the demogerontia only occurred in the first years of the twentieth century. In 1903, the diocese of Caesarea enacted a *Regulation of the Communities of the Province of Caesarea* in Karamanlı. The document defined the procedures for electing the demogerontia, the duties of the assembly, and the qualifications of candidates as well as the role of the eforia and the organization of all kinds of administrative tasks. The document prepared for the diocese – probably inspired by another document enacted for Istanbul in 1892 and by a general

76 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ270: S. Terkenlis. With the lack of priests, the activities of the demogerontia had to be taken over by the muhtarlık.

77 "Κανονισμός των μουχτάρηδων των ενοριών Κωνσταντινουπόλεως," *Ανατολικού Αστέρος* (1880); Anastassiadou, *Grecs d'Istanbul* (2012), 138-39.

regulation established by the Patriarchate in 1902 - standardized the framework of the organization of Rum communities in the diocese.[78] For the western part of Cappadocia under the authority of the Metropolitan of Ikonium (in Niğde), no such document was found. However, as in the diocese of Caesarea, the demogerontia and ihtiyar meclisi were generally merged; according to testimonies of refugees, and each community managed its internal organization relatively autonomously.

Similarly, while the fusion of local assemblies became official in most settlements after 1910, it was certainly already established in the practice of most communities. Basically, the makeup of different assemblies did not really matter since members were necessarily the same individuals, due to the limited number of clerics and notables living on site. For instance, it was not rare to see in communal records that the president of the demogerontia was also the muhtar or that the demogerontia was composed of the same members as the ihtiyar meclisi. On that matter, the regulations of the community of Malakopi [*Ο Κανονισμός της Ορθοδόξου Κοινότητος Μαλακοπής*], put down on paper in 1914, is particularly enlightening. The Articles 3 and 25 of the regulation clearly claimed that the President (*Proedros*) of the demogerontia was also the muhtar of the Rum community of the village. The Article 56 also mentions the fact that the demogerontia and the muhtarlık had a unique, bilingual seal dated 1908 on which "*Melekopi Rum millet meclisi*" was written in Turkish and "Demogerontia *koinotitos Malakopis*" in Greek .[79] On the other hand, the demogerontia and the eforia remained separate entities that cooperated on a few issues, as exposed in Articles 53-55, which also show that

78 For the 1903 document issued by the Metropolitan of Kayseri (in Karamanlı-Turkish), see "Codex α/α 205 Kayseri, Ιερά Μητρόπολις Καισαρείας [Saint Metropolis of Kayseri] (1871-1915)", in Codices of the Exchange (Athens: GAK), 319. For the Greek translation, see Emmanouil I. Tsalikoglou, *Ελληνικά εκπαιδευτήρια και ελληνορθόδοξοι κοινότητες της περιφέρειας Καισάρειας βάσει των εις τα Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους Κωδίκων* [Greek Schools and Greek Orthodox Communities from the district of Caesarea, according to records kept in the General Archives] (Athens: CAMS, 1970), 61-65. Regarding the document issued by the Patriarchate in 1902, see Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 330-31.

79 "Codex α/α 349 Malakopi, Κοινότητα Μαλακοπής [Community of Malakopi] (1914-1919)," in Codices of the Exchange (Athens: GAK), 4, 13, 25.

the eforia actually had a relative predominance over the ecclesiastical committee since, the eforia could dismiss the clerics of the demogerontia.[80] Interestingly, contrary to most Cappadocian communities which were governed by a central eforia located outside Cappadocia, the central eforia of Malakopi remained in the village while a second eforia represented it in Istanbul, among migrants.[81] The ascendency of these two eforias over the demogerontia is indicative of the rise of secular notables within the affairs of the Rum *millet*. Yet, concerning the merger of the demogerontia and the ihtiyar meclisi, we can assume that the case of Malakopi might be representative of the organization of other communities of the region. The multiplicity of names of local assemblies answered the necessity to comply with the rules imposed by the Patriarchate and the Ottoman state instead of revealing real institutional differences. The unique seal containing in Turkish the word "meclis" corresponding to the expectations of Ottoman administration and the Greek word "demogerontia" to corresponding to the expectations of the Patriarchal administration clearly shows this practical fusion that answered two different administrative systems with their own theoretical frameworks.

Muslim settlements had also their own muhtars. The Muslim muhtar did not replace the imam who continued to manage the religious issues of his community. In charge of record-keeping tasks that imams often failed to efficiently fulfill,[82] muhtars and the ihtiyar meclisi of Muslim communities had a more central role in the internal organization of their community than their Christian counterparts. Nevertheless, especially in mixed settlements, the muhtars of Muslims and the muhtars of Christians were the main intermediary between the community and higher levels of state administration. As the official interlocutor, he was the first individual that state agents met when they needed information about the community or its members. In practice, beyond the sharing and collection of taxes[83] and the

80 Ibid., 24.

81 Ibid., art.46-52, p.22-24.

82 For instance, the muhtar progressively replaced the imam to issue *mürur tezkeresi* to inhabitants who wanted to leave their kaza for travel or emigration purpose. See Chapter 5.

83 Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 564.

other duties established in the Vilayet regulations, the muhtars mainly dealt with requests by public agents about criminal offences committed by members of the community. Makarios Damianoglou from Misti explained that policemen, when they were looking for an individual of the village, first met the muhtar.[84] From 1909, with the cancellation of the *bedel-i askeriye* which was replaced by the obligatory military service for all Christian men, the muhtar was also responsible for conscription issues. Indeed, Paraskevis Igniatiadis, who himself had been muhtar of Andaval in the 1910s, claimed that his main activity was to assist policemen looking for deserters:

> The main problem the muhtar had to manage was desertion from military service. For that purpose, he worked with Turkish authorities. The muhtar was summoned to the administrator in Niğde who opened his records and began reading the names:
> - This man, where is he?
> - In Istanbul.
> - That one?
> - In America.
> - That one?
> - In military service.
> - That one?
> - In the village.
> Thus, the administrator prepared the list of the deserters and sent it to the *jandarma dairesi* [local police]. Four or five police officers came to the village and went directly to the muhtar, saying:
> - You have deserters, we want them!
> - Well, go to their houses and if they are at home, arrest them!
> They went together to the address of a deserter. Either the latter was not at home, or the police officers arrested and beat him. Sometimes they imprisoned him. But they could not keep him more than two days. Sometimes, if it went well, they agreed with the deserters, but

84 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ249: M. Damianoglou.

> there were so many deserters that it was difficult [for the muhtar] to be in the middle of it. That is why few people agreed to be muhtar.[85]

Because of this role of interlocutor, muhtars were in a delicate position between the necessity of cooperating with the state and protecting or defending the interests of his fellow community members. Moreover, there was officially no financial advantage to being a muhtar since, in spite of regulations introduced during the first years of the Tanzimat period concerning the salaries of muhtars (which were set at between 500 and 1000 kuruş per annum), the state decided in the 1850s not to pay them because of practical irregularities.[86] However, even though the muhtar's function was difficult, it offered a powerful position within the community and some muhtars did not hesitate to benefit from it through bribery, irregular collection of money from community members, and agreements with local state agents. But a muhtar was not shielded from complaints. Like public agents at higher levels of administration, accusations of corruption, misappropriation of tax revenues, or fraudulent acts – often with the complicity of a local state administrator (a *tahsildar*, namely a tax collector and a policeman, for instance) were common against muhtars. Addressed to the headquarter of the kaza which carried out investigations, the most frequent complaints concerned elections themselves – the muhtar being accused of corruption or manipulation of election returns[87] – or his way of administration and especially of his collection of money (taxes, but also fines and repayment of real or fake debts).[88] It seems the position of muhtar yielded sufficientpower and enough revenues to want to run in elections.

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85 "КП 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, КП205: P. Ignatiadis.

86 Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli* (2000), 110. Just because the state did not pay muhtars as state agents neither meant that the function was performed benevolently nor that the muhtar did not receive a salary or financial support from his community.

87 BOA, DH.MKT. 2434/114 (1318-Ş-12/05.12.1900): a complaint about the Muslim muhtar of Germir; BOA, DH.MKT. 477/25 (1320-M-03/12.04.1902): a complaint about corruption that occurred during the elections of muhtars and assembly members in the districts of Niğde.

88 BOA, MVL. 491/114 (1282-L-16/04.03.1866): a complaint about the Christian *muhtar* of Gelveri; BOA, DH.MKT. 1366/24 (1303-Z-19/18.09.1886): a complaint about the Christian *muhtar* of Delmason; BOA, DH.MKT. 204/8 (1311-Ş-01/07.02.1894); BOA, DH.MKT. 2283/70 (1317-Ş-

The muhtarlık system, albeit understood as an office defined by territorial borders (namely, the mahalle or the village) was actually established on the basis of a division of local society according to religious belonging. As a result, it seems to have limited forms of intercommunality since each community had its own muhtarlık. Similarly, it limited direct interaction between community members and agents of the state. However, if set aside vertical relations between the community and various levels of the state administration and look to the horizontal relations between Muslim and Christian communities, the muhtars appear to have had a central role in the ways that neighboring communities negotiated shared space, resources, and infrastructure.

In smallest religiously-mixed villages, the whole settlement could be administered by a single Turkish muhtar if the Rum community was too small. This situation happened, for instance, in Keçiağaç at the turn of the twentieth century. Because of massive emigration, the number of Rum inhabitants fell below twenty households and did not have their own muhtar. Apparently, no one wanted to take on this responsibility, but they were also not particularly bothered by the idea of being represented by a Muslim muhtar vis-à-vis Ottoman administration. Indeed, an informant explained that this change had actually no real consequence for the Christian community because villagers already lived in an intercommunal context and debated issues all together.[89]

In mixed settlements, it was common for muhtars of both communities (and their respective assemblies) to debate all together when it came to affairs concerning the whole village, but final decisions generally depended on nahiye or kaza administration. Especially in small localities or when the Muslim community was the demographic minority, muhtars worked together to solve most issues concerning their village. These "intercommunal negotiations" were clear in the village of Kenatala, which was inhabited by

08/12.12.1899) and BOA, DH.MKT. 2296/52 (1317-N-10/12.01.1900): complaints made against the *muhtar* and tax collector of Delmason concerning charges that they collected as military tax; BOA, DH.MKT.1240/44 (1326-S-14/18.03.1908): a complaint against the Christian *muhtar*s and the local representative of the metropolitan in Nevşehir who were accused of having used the money collected from inhabitants for schools in order to interfere in the election of the assembly members.

89 "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ236: M. Tsalakidis.

about 250 Christians and 100 Muslims at the end of the nineteenth century. Various informants explained that the Rum and the Muslim muhtars would organize small meetings together in the coffeehouse to talk about the village's issues, especially issues of the prices of goods, security, and choice of the principal watchmen and shepherds.[90] These informal meetings cannot be compared to the official ones organized in muhtarlık buildings, in the presence of the ihtiyar meclisi. However, one can suppose that decisions concerning the whole village were debated in these kinds of informal meetings during which muhtars – and also male members of both religious communities – had the opportunity to discuss their points of view.

In the larger settlement of Sinasos, where Christians were the majority, these kinds of joint meetings were also organized on a more official basis. During these meeting, the village appointed night watchmen as well as rural policemen, postmen, shepherds, and the rest of the community's employees who were chosen from among the Turkish male population. When a dispute occurred between a Rum and a Turk, a mixed committee was gathered with an equal number of representatives of each community and final decisions were made collectively. According to Stamatopoulos, "the consequences of the Great War and the common disaster it caused united the two peoples still more closely (in spite of their opposite national directives) in a common endeavour to survive." As an example, he recalled that when famine affected the region in 1916-17, the supervisors of the Rum School Board organized a large religious service for the poorest children of the village, including around fifty Turks.[91]

The harmony that seemed to nurture intercommunal relations in Sinasos was not so egalitarian in other mixed settlements of Cappadocia. In most mixed settlements, the Turkish muhtar and his assembly had the last word over his Christian counterpart. But it is difficult to say if it was the result of the political dominance of Muslims or the numerical balance of power. In Sinasos,

90 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ26: O. Moumtzoglou & A. Haïtidou.

91 Kostas Stamatopoulos, "Everyday Life in Sinasos, Cappadocia," in *Sinasos in Cappadocia*, ed. National Trust for Greece "Nea Sinasos" Philanthropical Society (London: Ekdoseis Agra, 1985), 41.

Kenatala, and in large burgs like Gelveri where Rums were more numerous than Muslims, the former generally led local decision-making processes while, in mixed settlements with a Muslim majority, the latter had more sway in final decisions. However, the general imbalance of power seemed to favor Muslim administrators. Even though the role of the muhtarlık was to represent his community defined by more-or-less clear geographical boundaries but mostly defined by religious affiliation, in practice, a Rum inhabitant could visit a Muslim muhtar for various administrative tasks. The converse was not possible. In many places, the Muslim muhtars were seen by Rum locals as more prominent than their Rum counterparts, if only because the state administration regarded them as such. In his testimony, Stavros Terkenlis of Delmason (a village with a large Rum majority) relates:

> When a document required a validation, the Christians could go to the Muslim muhtar whose validation was more prestigious. But in fact, the Christian and the Turkish muhtars had a similar round seal with the name of the community around the outer circle.[92]

Other informants expressed a similar idea. Tsalikoglou, in his report about the interviews he conducted with refugees from Zincidere, noted that, contrary to the example of the Sinasiotes, when discord between Orthodox and Muslim inhabitants of Zincidere occurred the villagers of the two communities gathered to come to a resolution, but the final decision was always taken by the Muslims, even thoug they were the minority.[93]

The following example strengthens this idea of an informal hierarchy between Christian and Muslim muhtars. An incident that occurred in 1915-1916 in the village of Çukur (today's Özvatan, seventy kilometers north of Kayseri) shows that, from the point of view of higher levels of administration, the Muslim muhtar had a stronger voice than his Christian counterpart. Sofia Koutlidou, born in 1900 in Çukur, gave a detailed narrative of an episode in her life which happened just after her wedding to an Armenian carpenter who had fled from a Turco-Armenian of the region of Kayseri during the massacres of 1896 and had converted to Orthodoxy. The Muslim *muhtar* of Çukur played

92 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ270: S. Terkenlis.

93 "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, ΚΠ75: Notes of Tsalikoglou.

the central role of mediator between state agents and the Rum family in his village.

> My husband was from Umurtium, a Turco-Armenian village near to Boğazlıyan. […] We married [in 1915] and fifty days later, the Turks began to massacre the Armenians in the region. A Turk came to my father with a captain; they wanted to arrest my husband. […] My mother ran through the village for alerting our neighbors, Christians and Turks. The Turkish muhtar of our village, Hüseyin Efendi came and told to the Turk: "You certainly have come here without order, there are only Greeks here. If you want to find Armenians, go see elsewhere. We do not go on your lands or to your houses for killing Armenians." The Turk [to the muhtar]: "What do you want? What do you want for the Armenians? That one, he's not a Greek." The muhtar: "He has been baptized as a Greek and has married a Greek woman three years ago." Actually, we did not married three years ago but only fifty days earlier. But the muhtar lied for protecting my husband but also because he was afraid since he hid himself Armenians in his house. You can ask to my husband.[94]

The narrative does not mention the presence of a Christian muhtar in the village, but we can suppose the fact that the muhtar standing up to the intruders was a Muslim certainly played a crucial role in the event's happy ending.

Beyond administrative tasks, the muhtars – Muslim or Christian – were often the first person in a village that outsiders visited. Paraskevis Ignatiadis, himself muhtar of Andaval in the 1910s, told a short anecdote illustrating this point:

> One day a Turk of Eskigümüş came and told me "Muhtar Efendi, I love a woman of my village. Please, could you ask Father Nicholaos to write a letter declaring my feelings?" Father Nicholaos took a piece of paper and wrote down a few words in Turkish but with Greek characters,

94 "ΚΠ 394-397 Tsoukour," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ394: S. Koutlidou.

> folded the sheet, and gave it to him. I told the Turk: "Take this letter. But be careful! When you go past your beloved, let drop it on the floor and continue along your way!" They married and to thanks me, the Turk sent me a bag of walnuts. I gave half to Father Nicholaos.[95]

This story includes some surprising points, especially the fact that the priest wrote the letter in Karamanlı-Turkish though it was intended for a Turkish woman. Actually, the man of Eskigümüş made this request to the muhtar certainly because he (and probably his beloved) were not able to read or write. As a result, what counted was the gesture rather than the content or the alphabet used in the message. The important point is that the Turk first came to the Christian muhtar for his request and did not directly ask the priest. In this context, the muhtar, even though he acted more as a friend than as an administrator, here again played the role of intermediary between a Muslim villager and the priest of his own community.

4.1.3 *The Creation of Municipalities*

The introduction of municipal administration (*belediye*) began with first succinct reforms under the reign of Mahmud II and aimed to reinforce the management of localities, firstly the capital and the towns with a high demographic concentration and a series of public services and infrastructures. The belediye was, in terms of size, in charge of a larger territory than the muhtarlık and defined by the collective structures and infrastructure it had to manage. In theory, rather than administering people, the municipality organized locality, and, because this locality was defined by its population concentration, it controlled and managed city-dwellers. It is in this context that the Ottoman state first created modern municipalities in harbor cities where the control of space and intense circulation of people and goods were a crucial issue. The docking of boats, especially commercial ships, needed to be administered locally to efficiently control quarantines, accommodate merchants and boat staff, and unload and transfer merchandise. That is why the first municipality (*daire-i belediye*) in Istanbul was created in 1858 in Galata, the commercial center of the capital which housed main trade societies

95 "ΚΠ 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, ΚΠ205: P. Ignatiadis.

and companies and on which depended an important segment of the docks along the Golden Horn and the shore of the Bosphorus (approximately from Şişhane to Tophane).[96] The *belediye reisi* (mayor) and his administration were in charge of maintening public spaces (through the creation of fire brigades, cleaning services, lighting, access to potable water, wastewater evacuation, transportation, and health infrastructures as well as municipal police for security and public order and zoning-map services)

In the provinces, the creation of municipalities was aimed at better administering towns and populations and at the same time strengthening control over local notables by linking them to the central bureaucracy. Thus, according to the *Vilayet Belediye Kanunu* (1877), the mayor and members of the municipal assembly were theoretically locally elected notables while some municipal agents were appointed by the central state from other provinces of the empire. This double system of appointment allowed the formation of a reciprocal control of municipal agents.[97]

Far removed from harbor issues, the towns of central Anatolia were endowed with municipal administration from the end of the 1860s. In Cappadocia, it is unsurprising to see that Kayseri, the largest city of the region, was the first to be endowed with a modern municipal administration in 1869, following the *Vilayet Nizamnamesi* of 1864 which, after the creation of the *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye* (Sixth District Municipality) in Istanbul (Beyoğlu), established the definition of the modern belediye. In the *Vilayet Nizamnamesi* of 1871, the responsibilities of municipalities were redefined and enlarged, but it was not until the *Vilayetler Belediye Kanunu* of 1877 that the role of the daire-i belediye was defined for provinces (basically with similar charges as for municipalities in Istanbul). Aside from Kayseri, the oldest documents mentioning activities of belediyes in Cappadocia are dated to around 1880 for towns such as Niğde, Nevşehir, and Aksaray.[98] Municipalities in smaller

96 Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli* (2000), 123-24.

97 Nurşen Gürboğa, "Osmanlı Taşrasında Belediye İdaresi: Alanya Belediyesi (1914-1915)" [Municipal Government in the Ottoman countryside: Alanya Municipality (1914-1915)], *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi 7*, no.16-17 (2008): 169.

98 The *Vilayetler Belediye Kanunu* was published the same year as the *Dersaadet Belediye Kanunu* which institutionalized and reorganized the municipal administration of Istanbul. See Ibid., 166.

settlements of the region were then created in several stages (1886-1892, 1906-1910, and 1915-1917) according to decisions made on a case-by-case basis. In the surroundings of Kayseri, the first municipalities were created between 1886 and 1892 in settlements with populations higher than 2500 inhabitants such as Talas, Germir, Endürlük, and Tavlosun. Elsewhere in Cappadocia, the foundations of municipalities in localities with at least 2500 dwellers occurred around 1910. A municipality was established in Fertek in 1906; Gelveri, Uçhisar, and Ortahisar acquired belediyes in 1916 and Eneği in 1919. All these towns had around 2800 and 4000 inhabitants by the turn of the century.[99] For these medium-sized locales, the establishment of a belediye signified that the place would be granted some decision-making abilities in the matters of the development of infrastructure and services, changes for which the muhtarlık often only had the possibility of requesting from higher administrative levels.

The BOA archives shows that for burgs, the request for a belediye was made by inhabitants who measured the advantages of receiving this status. The creation of a belediye meant, in the short and medium term; the development of infrastructure, the potential amelioration of roads, access to water, the creation of a public health center, and the increase of commercial opportunities. Upon the request by locals, the Ottoman state investigated and decided whether or not to establish a belediye.[100] The main criteria taken into account were the demographic size and the location of the locality, and the proximity of a bigger city. For instance, Talas (around 9000 inhabitants) and Germir (around 5000 inhabitants) received the right on account of "their size and location" (*büyüklüğü ve mevkiisinin ehemmiyet sebebiyle*) to create a

99 BOA, BEO 2820/211490 (1324-Ra-09/03.05.1906): the reintroduction of the municipality of Fertek; BOA, I.DH. 1444/1324 (1324-Ra-09/03.05.1906): the foundation of the municipality of Fertek; BOA, DH.UMVM 86/34 (1334-S-27/04.01.1916): the decision to create a municipality of Gelveri; BOA, DH.UMVM 86/35 (1334-Ca-08/13.03.1916): the decision to create the municipality of Ortahisar and Uçhisar; BOA, DH.UMVM 86/56 (1337-B-02/03.04.1919): the decision to create the municipality of Eneği.

100 Inhabitants of Tavlosun waited two years between their request and the official creation of the municipality. See BOA, ŞD 1339/56 (1305-Ş-15/27.04.1888): the request of inhabitants for the creation of the municipality of Tavlosun; BOA, ŞD 2532/10 (1307-B-26/18.03.1890): foundation of the municipality of Tavlosun.

belediye in 1886. However, this decision was rescinded in 1888 because of the proximity of the city of Kayseri. Responsibility for the locales was consequently returned to the belediye of Kayseri. Nonetheless, the possibility of creating a belediye in Talas was again debated in 1895, and Talas finally officially became a town with its own municipality in 1903.[101]

An informant of the OTA, Achilles Symeonoglou, explained that a belediye had also been established in Zincidere around 1910. According to his testimony, this municipal administration had the settlement of Zincidere and also the village of Akçakaya – which was located not far from and intense economic relations with Zincidere – under its responsibility. In 1916, Akçakaya, with a population about 3000 people was authorized to create its own municipality. Symeonoglou added that the main role of the municipality was to manage and locally control weights and measures, but also to deal with hygiene and health issues, a responsibility formerly delegated to the *muhtesib*.[102] The BOA documents confirm this since most documents concerning belediye administration in small towns of Cappadocia concern these two topics. Moreover, fire-fighting, street construction, and management of the food and water supply (especially during famine, and

101 BOA, DH.MKT 1355/52 (1303-L-12/14.07.1886) and ŞD 311/16 (1303-L-20/22.07.1886): documents explaining the reasons for the creation of the municipality of Talas; I.DUIT 56/42 (1304-S-13/11.11.1886); ŞD 1339/54 (1305-Ş-15/27.04.1888); DH.MKT 1527/9 (1305-Za-22/13.07.1888): renunciation of the creation of the municipality of Talas and Germir; DH.MKT 1535/91 (1305-Z-17/25.08.1888): inquiry about the initial decision to create the municipalities of Talas and Germir following the abandonment of the project; DH.MKT 1595/1 (1306-C-15/16.02.1889): definitive decision of cancelation of the municipalities of Talas and Germir; DH.MKT 384/51 (1312-Z-16/10.06.1895): due to its important demography, the special authorization to reestablish the municipality of Talas despite the abandonment of the project to create municipalities in nahiyes and karyes; BEO 654/48989 (1313-M-20/13.06.1895): the cancelation of independent municipality and the incorporation of Talas under the authority of the municipality of Kayseri; ŞD 1344/3 (1321-B-16/08.10.1903): the creation of a new municipality of Talas.

102 "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, ΚΠ: A. Symeonoglou. In Islamic towns, the *muhtesib* was the superintendent of police in charge of examining weights, measures, provisions, money, and prices in commerce and especially in the marketplace. He was also responsible for public morals, sanitary issues – such as cleanliness of public places and public baths –, and security issues.

drought periods) were among the main responsibilities charged to the municipal administration of small and medium towns.[103]

Because Rum inhabitants of Cappadocian burgs experienced the existence of municipalities at a later point, only a few years before their exile, few details are available about the role municipal administrations may have had in the relationships between local religious groups. The testimony of Tayit Tsaloglou from Fertek, nevertheless, gives an interesting point of view.

> There were two muhtars in Fertek: one Turk and one Greek. There was also a mayor [*o dimarhos*] that we called in Turkish the belediye reisi. The mayor was a Turk or sometimes a Greek. The members of the municipal council [*oi oizades*], however, were mostly Greeks. The Turks did not succeed in reaching this position.[104]

Like in the case of the muhtarlık, most members of the municipal assembly were local notables: merchants, local bankers, lawyers, or representatives of banks and insurance companies.[105] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, at the time the municipalities were being created in Cappadocia, Christians prevailed in these fields, explaining why they were often the best-placed notables to sit in municipal assemblies.[106]

From the mid-nineteenth century, the Ottoman state and its bureaucrats managed an administrative reorganization of the provinces that testified to the way they (re-)conceived space. Incontestably, this evolution of "conceived space" influenced how populations experienced and perceived regionality and

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103 See, for instance, BOA, İ.DH 1134/88563 (1306-Ş-5/06.04.1889); BOA, DH.MKT 1625/3 (1306-N-26/26.05.1889) about the exemplary service of the Rum municipal physician of Nevşehir; BOA, DH. MUİ 14/2 (1327-N-6/21.09.1909): the appointment of a new municipal doctor in Niğde; BOA, DH.MKT 889/10 (1322-B-4/14.09.1904): about the good work of the fire brigade of Niğde; BOA, DH.İ.UM 20/2 (1337-C-28/31.03.1919): the decision of the municipality of Aksaray to send crops to support the municipality of Nevşehir in order to counter the famine affecting the town and its countryside.

104 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, 299: T.Tsagloglou.

105 Regarding the prevalence of Christian notables in local assemblies and committees, see Chapter 7 and the on-going work of Ekin Mahmuzlu (PhD thesis prepared at the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, Boğaziçi University).

106 Regarding the economic role and sharing of professional activities between Muslims and Christians, see Chapter 8.

locality. It is clear and logical that the reorganization of lowest rungs of the administrative scale – namely the nahiye, the muhtar, and his assembly who were issued from and were elected by villagers – influence more deeply the perception of the state administration than higher levels which remained more evasive and ditant for the large majority of ordinary people. Based on a territorially-defined system of divisions and subdivisions of the empire's lands, the vilayet system certainly modified the depth of how ordinary people thought about their links to their environment (their "lived space") – and their relations to the neighboring other (their "perceived space") – and through these spaces, their links to the state and other governing entities. In this context, religious otherness was maintained or even strengthened. In fact, while Christian agents were included in the different administrative assemblies and services, their representation remained based on their religious belonging since they did not represent locals but Christian locals.

§ 4.2 To Live and Share Space: Residential Patterns and Religious Co-Residency

The reforms launched during the Tanzimat, the Hamidian era and the Young Turk period seem to have turned administration of territories upside down. Nevertheless, it is difficult to say whether this huge reorganization had a direct impact on the way local populations experienced the space in which they lived, brought about changes in their routine life or changed their experience of relations with others who shared the same environment. In terms of residential patterns, continuities with former periods testify to a relative stable practice of everyday relations – to few changes in the way individuals experienced their space and mentally mapped it.[107]

Lefebvre described "lived space" as space directly lived and experienced through associated images and symbols and "inhabitants" as those who appropriate space as it is conceived and dominated by authorities. In that sense, lived space is simultaneously singular and plural since it combines different representational spaces that belong to the imagination and

107 Lefebvre, *Production of Space* (1992).

conceptualization of each individual.[108] Inspired by Lefebvre, the geographer, Armand Frémont developed the notion of the region, which he defined as a background for social, economic, and political life but also as a space experienced andpracticed by individuals.[109] This space is thus lived singularly and peculiarly by each individual, according to their age, gender, place of residency, and activities. At the same time, it is shared in the sense that the same space is lived differently by various persons. This approach considers that human beings do not live in the world as it is but in the world as they see it. As actors, they behave according to their own representations of space. In this context, geographers developed a theoretical background about residential patterns that Frémont called the "residential rhetoric" [*rhétorique résidante*],[110] which allows a consideration of space through the way individuals – i.e. "residents" or "inhabitants" – experience and appropriate it but also how they situate themselves and their relationships to others in it. The "pedestrian enunciation" [*énonciation piétonnière*][111] or "rhetoric of walking" performed by individuals[112] are routine practices which are active ways of appropriating of space that explain how ordinary people experience and consider their environment. Michel de Certeau describes trajectories, shortcuts, and detours taken by passersby as "turns of phrase" and "stylistic figures." Any particular trajectory or detour composes an unforeseeable path, a "long poem of walking," out of the formal spatial possibilities at its disposal. Stories enunciated by the walker create space, and the walker who lives and experiences it takes part in that space, his or her "speaking body" being thus inserted into the text.[113]

In Cappadocia, the existence of mixed settlements and the close relationships between neighboring villages hints that communities were not

108 Ibid., 39-41.

109 Armand Frémont, *La région, espace vécu* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1976).

110 Alain Médam, *Conscience de la ville* (Paris: Anthropos, 1977); Jean-François Augoyard, *Step by Step: Everyday Walks in a French Urban Housing Project* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 77-78.

111 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 99.

112 Ibid., 100.

113 Ibid., 162.

as compartmentalized as suggested by the conceived form of space that highlights a religiously-divided map of settlements. Especially in rural areas, what we are generally calling intercommunal relations might, in some contexts, be experienced as relations taking part inside the collectivity, the latter being defined as shared space, that is to say, as an identification based on a territorial criterion. In homogeneous settlements, this collectivity is superimposed over the borders of communities and in a way, consolidates them; in mixed settlements, on the other hand, it comprises another form of groupness that may be observed as a "softening" of the borders of cohabiting religious communities. The issue of territorial distribution of religious communities has been broadly explored for urban environments, especially for cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, Salonica, and Bursa. In these spaces of high demographic and economic concentration, the mahalle was the basic residential entity (beyond the household) commonly associated with the religious community living in it. However, it was not necessarily religiously homogeneous. Moreover, professional and economic activities were far more mixed. In a district known as Greek, people from other communities could own or work in shops, workshops, and factories but would also come as clients or as passersby.

In everyday routine, populations did not intrinsically experience the changes instituted by reforms to the territories' administration in the way they experienced space. In practice, everyday life was certainly more influenced by local events and changes to one's personal way of life than by state-centered developments. The picture of Ottoman populmations living in distinct districts according to religious affiliation is partly correct for the towns and villages of Anatolian provinces. The popular idea of Ottoman society as religiously compartmentalized and segregated is illustrated by the supposed religious homogeneity of mahalles which were the lived spaces of ordinary Ottoman people, par excellence. However, analyses of residential patterns and the ways that public spaces were shared by inhabitants of various ethnoreligious groups add a layer of nuance to this idea. A burgeoning stream of historiography has begun to show that, whatever the period, religious

homogeneity of city quarters was far from the rule.[114] These analyses have already been conducted with meticulous attention to the urban environments of the empire where residential patterns, economic exchanges, and cultural factors created contexts of "commingling" and everyday "intercommunality." For instance, Donald Quataert questioned interreligious residential sharing in the case of mid-nineteenth-century Salonica:

> The city map of Salonica separates Jewish, Muslim, and Greek Orthodox quarters and further depicts these respective quarters generally clustered together. […] Also, it is unclear if quarters designated as Jewish, Greek Orthodox or Muslim held any persons of another religion. That is, we do not know if large numbers of Christians or Muslims resided in a "Jewish" quarter in Salonica but we do know this was the case elsewhere in the empire.[115]

Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis explained that the space of Izmir was divided into European, Greek, Armenian, Jewish, and Turkish mahalles, but that these divisions should be understood as "concentrations" rather than as intransigent homogeneity, especially because residency was not the only characteristic of these quarters which were also places of sociability and commerce. They were consequently crossing points or nodes of integration in intercommunal economic and social networks. In the late eighteenth century, the traditional picture of separate neighborhoods was further blurred in the new quarters built at the periphery where inhabitants settled according to social division instead of classical ethnoreligious divisions.[116] Regarding the

114 See for instance Méropi Anastassiadou-Dumont, *Salonique, 1830-1912. Une ville ottomane à l'heure des réformes*. Leiden: Brill, 1997; Anastassiadou, *Grecs d'Istanbul* (2012); Tischler, "Communautés ethno-confessionnelles et levantines" (2008); Ozil, *Orthodox Christians* (2013); Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance* (1987).

115 Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 177.

116 Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, "Colonies européennes et communautés ethnico-confessionnelles à Smyrne de la fin du XVIIe au milieu du XIXe siècle. Coexistence et réseaux de sociabilité," in *Vivre dans l'Empire ottoman. Sociabilités et relations intercommunautaires (XVIII-XXe siècles)*, eds. F. Georgeon and P. Dumont (Paris: Harmattan, 1997), 179; Marie-Carmen

towns of early twentieth-century Ottoman Palestine, Michelle Campos claimed that:

> [R]eligious and ethnic groups often lived in the same neighborhoods (sometimes even in the same apartment building or courtyard), belonged to the same craft guilds, worked and shopped in the same markets, went into business together, and frequented the same cafés and law courts. […] In other words, the physical proximity of different religious groups could, and often did, lead to familiarity and even solidarity.[117]

Similarly, Lucette Valensi highlighted the importance of geographical and residential proximity – or intertwining – in the practice of everyday life in a multireligious context as well as the abundance of data, especially concerning public uses often described by travelers and missionaries surprised by the "homology between the practices [of the Christians] and those of the Muslims." She opposed this vision to that of Turkish authorities that continually tried to maintain differentiation between Muslims and non-Muslims through the reiteration of prohibitions and regulations.[118]

All these works have focused exclusively on urban centers of the Ottoman Empire. We wonder if this residential, interreligious sharing and the shared social practices linked to it are also encountered in the context of nineteenth-century, rural Cappadocia that consisted of an interesting hierarchy of towns, burgs, and villages with homogeneous and mixed populations.

As elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, residential patterns in Cappadocian localities were organized into quarters.[119] Often, mahalles were named

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Smyrnelis, "Comment définir le quartier dans une ville ottomane plurielle: Smyrne aux XVIIIe XIXe siècles," *Anatolia Moderna - Yeni Anadolu* 10 (2004): 140-45.

117 Michelle Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 11.

118 Valensi, "Intercommunal Relations" (1997): 256.

119 Ortaylı claimed that *köys* (villages) and *mahalle*s (quarter) were similar entities, the former corresponding to the basic unity in rural areas, the latter in urban context. However, the villages of Cappadocia, even when they consisted of less than 500 inhabitants were always subdivided into at least two mahalles. He adds that the main difference was that villagew were

according to their geographical location within the settlement (*Yukarı Mahalle*, *Aşağı Mahalle*, *Orta Mahalle*), or in remembrance of a local particularity, such as the presence of a church, mosque, *han* (*Panagia Mahallesi* in Zincidere or in Germir, *Hanönü Mahallesi* in Germir or in Limni), river, fountain (*Kuyubaşı Mahallesi* in İncesu), or its location along a cliff or in a muddy area (*Kayabaşı Mahallesi* in Niğde, *Çamur Mahallesi* in Cemil). Others bore the name of a local notable family (*Mubayaacı Mahallesi* in Ürgüp which took its name from its inhabitant Ioakeim Mubayaacıoglou, who was a member of the *ihtiyar meclisi*; *Ispiroglou Mahallesi, Piniatoglou Mahallesi* and *Kaplanoglou Mahallesi* in Zincidere) or of the place of origin of its inhabitants (*Molu Mahallesi, Tirhan Mahallesi*, and *Mistili Mahallesi* in İncesu).

In mixed villages, most mahalles were known by locals according to the main religious community their inhabitants belonged to.[120] For instance, the *Aşağı Mahalle* in Ağırnas was commonly called the Turkish mahalle, and the *Panagia Mahallesi* and *Küçük Anton Mahallesi* of Limni were known as Rum quarters.[121] Nevertheless, it was common to find a church still used by Christians of the village in the heart of a Muslim mahalle. This situation was encountered in numerous mixed settlements throughout the region. In Keçiağaç, near Niğde, the new Church of St. Haralambos was built in 1850 in the middle of a Muslim district. We can assume that its dedication to Haralambos and its location in the midst of Muslim households were not a coincidence since Haralambos was venerated in Anatolian Islam as the same character as Hacı Bektaş Veli. As a result, Christians of the village regularly went in the Muslim mahalle to participate in the masses of the latest church to be built.. In Zincidere, near Kayseri, there were two churches in the Muslim *Çobanlaroğlu Mahallesi,* and several Christian families lived in this same

organized on an autarkic basis while (urban) mahalles were dependent on the city organization. Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli* (2000), 106.

120 Ibid.

121 "КП 49-52 Agirnas," 1950s, КП49: K. Saritsisoglou; "КП 215-218 Limni," 1950s, КП216: K. Serafeimidis.

district.[122] In the region of Ürgüp, in Cemil, the small Church of St. Basil was also in the Muslim district of the village. A refugee from Cemil explained that the church had always been in the middle of Muslim households because the first Turks to settle in Cemil arrived just after the construction of the church. Another Cemiliote refugee adds, however, that the district of the Church of St. Basil was also inhabited by Christian families.[123] In Kenatala, near Gelveri, Christians had to go through the Muslim *Aşağı Mahallesi* to reach the two rupestrian Churches of St. Minas and St. Nicholas which they used to visit regularly.[124]

Numerous testimonies of refugees describing the residential patterns in mixed settlements show that the division of communities into separate quarters was not so clear-cut, especially in small localities. For instance, the village of Ağırnas on the periphery of the city of Kayseri was organized into two mahalles. We already mentioned that the *Aşağı Mahalle* was inhabited by Muslims, but the other quarter, *Yukarı Mahalle,* had a mixed population of Orthodox Christians and Muslims. In front of the Church of St. Prokopios around, which most of the Christian houses were located, stood the Turkish school.[125] The village of Endürlük was similarly organized into two quarters, but Muslims, who remained a minority at the turn of the twentieth century (accounting for around 30 percent of the total population), lived in houses distributed among the Christian households of both quarters.[126] Moreover, the fact that a quarter was known as Christian or Muslim did not signify that the area was homogeneous in terms of the religion of its households. The *Panagia Mahallesi* of Germir was said to be a Christian sector, but among its thirty houses, around ten were actually inhabited by Muslims at the end of the

122 "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ235: B. and F. Topsakal; "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, ΚΠ76: E. Lazaroglou.

123 "ΚΠ 340-342 Tzalela," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ341: I. Mihailidis & P. Mistilokoulou.

124 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ217: D. Simeoniou.

125 "ΚΠ 49-52 Agirnas," 1950s, ΚΠ49: K. Saritsisoglou. Around 1900, the village was inhabited by around 1000 Rums and 500 Muslims. See the map in Appendix A1.

126 "ΚΠ 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ58: I. Karamanoglou. There were around 2500 mostlu Christian inhabitants in Endürlük (Androniki)

nineteenth century. The district of *Harman* was inhabited by Rums and Armenians, and *Hanönü* was inhabited by Rums, Armenians, and Muslims.[127]

On the southwest of Cappadocia, most quarters of Limni were mixed: *Karlı, Tozak, Abdi* and *Halil Ibrahim*, and *Yeniköy* mahalles were a blended of Muslim and Christian households, while *Keyiş*, and *Tilli* were inhabited only by Muslims, and *Pagias*, *Kapacı* and *Küçük Anton* exclusively by Christians.[128] To the northwest, the village of Eneği was developed around a small hill and was divided into two large districts: the upper quarter (*Pano* or *Yukarı Mahalle*) to the north and the lower district (*Kato* or *Aşağı Mahalle*) in the direction of Malakopi. Both quarters were divided into smaller districts named after the churches, mosques or fountains that existed there or after prominent figures of local history. While the mahalles were organized according to a north/south division, the residential patterns in terms of religious belonging followed a west/east distribution. A large segment of Christian households was concentrated in the west and Muslims in the east of the village. Nevertheless, as in other mixed villages of the region, the population of all districts remained mixed.[129]

In Sinasos, where around 75 percent of the population was Rum and 25 percent Muslim, the residential rhetoric was similar to Germir – namely a combination of homogeneous and mixed mahalles. According to the testimony of Pavlos Iordannis (recorded in 1845) and to detailed descriptions made in the late nineteenth century by Eleftheriadis (1879) and Sarantidis (1899) and half century later by S. Rizos (1952), it is possible to describe the twelve districts of the burg as follows:[130] Mesohori was the central district of Sinasos where the marketplace, most shops, the coffeehouse, the town hall, the

127 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ85. Germir, at the turn of the twentieth century, was a relatively large burg of 6000 inhabitants (3000 Rums, 2000 Armenians, and 1000 Turks).

128 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ216: K. Serafeimidis. The population of Limni consisted of 2000 Rums and 600 Muslims in 1899.

129 Thanasis Kostakis, *Ανακού της Καππαδοκίας* [Anaku in Cappadocia] (Athens: CAMS, 1963), 39.

130 Sarantidis, *Η Σινασός ήτοι θέσις*, 1899; Serafeim N. Rizos, *Η Σινασός (1952)*, II vols. (Athens: CAMS, 2007); Eleftheriadis Rizos, *Συνασός ήτοι μελέτη επί των ηθών και εθίμων αυτής* [Sinasos, a Study of its Customs and Morals] (Athens, 1879); "ΚΠ 332-339 Sinasos," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ334.

grain market, and the han were located. It was thus mainly a trade district and only a few inhabitants lodged there. Kapalos, Loulas, Dergos, and Mezgit were the four main mixed mahalles with concentrations of various communities concentrations. The best-off Sinasiotes lived in Kapalos – mainly Rums but also a few Muslims. The Christian school for boys, its school board, a library, and the tax collection office were located there. Loulas was the second most comfortable of the mahalles. Inhabited mainly by Rums, it nonetheless housed the large mosque and the *medrese* (Islamic school) of the Muslim community of Sinasos. The four quarters of *Gavras, Mahatur, Kipos*, and *Yeni Mahalle* were inhabited by Christians, and the three peripheral districts of *Dulmatsia, Miskin*, and *Galasies* were inhabited exclusively by Muslims. Miskin was known as the poorest, most overcrowded, and dirtiest place in Sinasos. According to Serafeim Rizos – who was born in 1882 in Sinasos, was the son of the intellectual Nikolaos Rizos, and was himself an important figure among the refugee community in Greece after 1923 –, the neighborhoods had natural boundaries, namely streams that ran across the settlement and clearly marked the boundaries of each quarter. More vague are the pieces of information given about co-residency. The most comfortable areas are generally described as (quasi-)exclusively inhabited by Christians, while the poorest (often described as dirtiest) areas were mentioned as the places of Muslim Sinasiotes.[131] In fact, descriptions of residential patterns, made over the course of the nineteenth century and later, after the exile, seem to reflect the way individuals mentally mapped and recalled their village. They often turn concentrations of a community into exclusive homogeneity, instead of reflecting forms of co-residency that are more difficult to describe.

As a last example, in Keçiağaç, one of the smallest mixed villages of Cappadocia, mahalles also reflected a form of religious commingling. A division into quarters existed but was not really meaningful. According to several testimonies, the village was divided into two quarters. As in several other mixed settlements, Christians lived in the upper quarter and Muslims in the lower. In the testimonies of refugees, this description of up and down dichotomy was a generally easy way to highlight the idea that Christians lived

131 Rizos, *Η Σινασός (1952)*, I (2007), 56.

in a clean, well-organized, and well-constructed upper part. In the lower part, Muslim households had their feet in the mud.[132] However, the description of Keçiağaç made by one inhabitant, Kostas Papazoglou suggests another, more vague distribution:

> The village was almost circular […]. The Greek houses were in two or three groups surrounding the Turkish houses. On the upper side, on the Karatepe cliff, were located the house of Bektaş Ağa and ten or fifteen Christian households. The other Christians were in another part of the village called Katefdeni. There were also five or six Turkish houses between the Christians and the Bektaş Ağa's house.[133]

We thus need to keep in mind that the perception of the same space is a subjective issue, especially when we recall that informants were providing descriptions more than twenty years after the exchange. Many of them were young men and women, or even children, when they left their native villages in 1923 or 1924. However, the descriptions of mixed quarters in various settlements of Cappadocia suggests that the residential rhetoric in mixed settlements, especially in small villages, did not necessarily correspond to the traditional picture of communities living separately in different quarters.

When we look to cities of the region, the distribution of communities in separate mahalles appears more frequent. In mixed mahalles, urban patterns corresponded to the idea of the district as "concentration."[134] For sixteenth-century Kayseri, Ronald Jennings observed that mixed settlements were in fact composed of a large majority of households belonging to one community while households of the other religious group(s) were interspersed throughout the mahalle arising from random instances of inter-confessional sales of

132 "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ215: B. and F. Topsakal. The sharing of Christian in "upper" and Muslim in "lower" district is a relatively usual distribution in Cappadocia. Contrary to the case of the city of Smyrna where the lower district, on the edge of te sea, was the most prized area, in Cappadocia upper districts are described as the most attractive places. See also "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ299.

133 "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ235: K. Papazoglou.

134 Jennings, "Urban Population" (1976).

houses.[135] In Kayseri, Nevşehir, Niğde, and in smaller towns such as Ürgüp, İncesu, and Develi, each religious community was concentrated in a series of mahalles. Because of the demographic superiority of Muslims in these towns, religious homogeneity in quarters inhabited by Muslims was a relatively frequent and easily comprehensible occurrence. However, the number of mixed mahalle was also important. The data collected by Ronald Jennings for Kayseri show that, in 1585, there were nine mixed quarters out of a total of seventy-two mahalle*s*. Based on an analysis of legal issues concerning immovable property recorded in *kadı* registers as well as on the religious affiliation of sellers, plaintiffs, buyers, and defendants, Faroqhi has shown that the presence of mixed mahalles in the city of Kayseri was widespread in the late sixteenth century and increased throughout the seventeenth century. So, "it is safe to say that 'mixed' mahalles constituted a permanent feature of the Kayseri townscape; this may indicate that […] inter-confessional strife was not very common. […] Apparently, the relations between the Muslims and non-Muslims of Kayseri were reasonably relaxed even in the 1690s."[136] Despite the durability of mixed mahalles, the city of Kayseri experienced relatively regular increases to its Muslim population. Nonetheless, this rarely led to the homogenization or total Islamization of mixed districts.

In contrast with this frequent co-residency in Kayseri, which was still apparent up to the early twentieth century, the distribution of town-dwellers in Nevşehir followed a relatively segregated pattern in terms of religious belonging. This situation can be explained as the result of the particular history of the town. Nevşehir, as its name suggests, was a recently established town created at the time of Nevşehirli Damat Ibrahim Pasha (*sadrazam* between 1718 and 1730) in the place of his native village, Muşkara. The new town received the title of kaza to the detriment of Ürgüp (which was downgraded to the position of nahiye). In 1726 it received a ferman

135 Smyrnelis, "Comment définir le quartier" (2004): 141; Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance* (1987).

136 Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance* (1987), 59-60. Jennings, "Urban Population" (1976): 27-30. Jennings counted nine mixed (with a Muslim majority) among the city's seventy-two mahalles in 1585, while Faroqhi's inventoriy for the late seventeenth century suggests twenty-six of 64 mahalles.

authorizing the organization of a market twice a week.[137] At that time and during the following decades, the growth of the city was the result of an important movement of Rums from surrounding villages to the "Neapoli." On the creation of the town, Ainsworth noted: "It is not many years since the Osmanli government, by a rather enlightened policy, dragged the Christians from the caves of Osiana, Tatlar, etc. and made them reside in the New City."[138] Several villages in the city's surroundings seem to have been abandoned by their Rum communities during the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth-century in favor of settling in Neapoli,[139] which had the most important concentration of Rums among the towns of Cappadocia. On the eve of the twentieth century, the Rums of Nevşehir comprised about thirty-seven percent of the total population, while they accounted for around thirty-three percent in Ürgüp, thirty percent in Niğde,[140] eleven percent in Aksaray, and six percent in Kayseri.[141] Throughout the nineteenth century, the Rum population of the region of Nevşehir-Ürgüp was increasingly concentrated in the two towns, while in other parts of Cappadocia, they remained spread throughout villages located at the peripheries of towns, (especially around Kayseri and Niğde) or in the countryside (as in the areas of Gelveri and in the plain of Malakopi).

We can suppose that the recent establishment of the town explains why its populations were distributed according to a stricter religious separation than older towns. As a new town, Nevşehir had clearly been conceived by state

137 Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 86.

138 Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839), 203.

139 There is a strong possibility that villages such as Matyan, Göreme, and Ortahisar had lost their Orthodox communities by that time, but this hypothesis needs further exploration.

140 In Niğde, it depends on the inclusion or exclusion of the mahalle of Kayabaşı, which is sometimes considered a village. For instance, Ioannidis counted the Christian households of Niğde separately from those of Kayabaşı in 1896, while in census data corresponding to the town of Niğde include the mahalle of Kayabaşı. According to these different data, the Rums of Niğde comprise between eleven and thirteen persent of the total population, Kayabaşı having the most important concentration..

141 Rates are calculated according to data given in the second part, about the provinces in "Annuaire oriental: commerce, industrie, administration, magistrature de l'Empire Ottoman" (Istanbul: The Annuaire Oriental Ltd, 1912).

authorities, and inhabitants were moved in groups from their village to their new mahalle.[142] In the nineteenth century, the town did not have time to experience the practical changes and commingling that older towns had experienced through interreligious renting and selling of houses and shops. As a result, the Rums of Nevşehir remained concentrated in three adjoining quarters of the city, and until 1924, no Muslim settled in these quarters. However, a large squaere where Christians and Muslims owned shops was located at the extremity of the *Baş Mahallesi* adjoining a Muslim quarter.[143] Only one informant mentioned that a few Christians (three or four families) lived in Turkish quarters.[144] Moreover, the "pedestrian enunciation" or "walking rhetoric" of the Orthodox Christians of Nevşehir show that they mostly remained in the Rum mahalles of the town to go to church, shop, and spend their leisure. They went through Muslims quarters only when they could not avoid it to go, for instance, to their fields, to a cemetery, to a specific chapel (for saint days or celebration), or to access public services unavailable in their own mahalle*s*. As a result, at least in terms of residential patterns, the concentration of each religious community in different quarters created separate towns within the town[145]

By contrast, the residential rhetoric in Niğde is different from that of Nevşehir. The mahalles of the town of Niğde were, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, far more mixed than in Nevşehir. On one hand, like in Kayseri, the large Muslim majority of Niğde explains easily why a great number of mahalle*s* were solidly Muslim. On the other hand, the residential

142 Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839), 173. Incidentally, Ainsworth wrote that he was delighted to find that "the town of Nev Shehr (the New Town, par excellence) was more cleanly, more promising and altogether more substantial, than any town we had yet seen."

143 The town of Nevşehir counted, in the turn of the twentieth century, 26 mahalles. According to CAMS informants, the three Rum quarters were called *Rum Baş mahallesi, Orta mahallesi and Aşağa mahallesi*; in the *Annuaires Orientaux*, the same districts are named *Kilise-Djédid, Orta mahallesi* and *Papayorghi mahallesi*). "Annuaire″ (1912), 1648; "Annuaire oriental, Oriental Directory. Commerce, industrie, administration, magistrature″ (Constantinople: Alfred Rizzo, 1922), 1351. "ΚΠ 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s, ΚΠ144: G. Leuko.

144 "ΚΠ 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s, ΚΠ144: Marika Treflopoulou.

145 Armenians of Nevşehir had only one mahalle. In the case of Rums, their three *mahalle*s were adjacent to one another, reinforcing the idea of a separate Rum town within the town.

concentration of non-Muslims was less obvious. According to the *cizye defteri* of 1830 and the *rüus defteri* of 1835 (Table 4.3), of a total of thrity-four mahalles in Niğde, twenty-three accommodated only Muslim households and two only Rums (*Ömer Han* and *Rum Mahalles*). The other nine mahalles housed Muslims and Rums and/or Armenians in varying ratios.

Table 4.3. Ethnoreligious sharing of households of the mahalles of Niğde according to the *Niğde Livası Nüfus Defteri* and the *Cizye Defteri* of 1830.[146]

Mahalles	Muslim	Rum	Armenian	Mahalles	Muslim	Rum	Armenian
Ahi Mustafa	5	35	0	İlyas Ağa	77	0	0
Ahi Paşa	11	0	0	Kasım	41	0	0
Ali Bey	83	0	0	Kayabaşı	165	208	8
Esen Bey	46	0	0	Kıble	14	30	7
Bal Hasan	40	0	0	Kuba	19	0	0
Burhan	19	0	0	Mahalle-i Rum	0	14	0
Danabaşı	19	0	0	Ömer Han	0	17	0
Derecik	10	18	2	Rüstem	27	0	0
Efenek	70	0	0	Şahne	51	0	0
Emir	62	0	0	Şehidler	140	0	0
Eraman	6	0	38	Sırçalı	63	0	0
Hacet	33	7	0	Sultan Alaaddin	109	0	0
Hacı İne	23	0	0	Sungur	11	10	0
Hatip	12	0	0	Tahtalı	44	0	0
Hoca Ferraş	20	0	0	Tata Ahmed	11	25	3
Hoca Veyis	55	8	31	Torbalı	32	0	0
İbn-i Dai	43	0	0	Yenice	95	0	0
				Total	1456	372	89

The majority of Christian households of Niğde (around 90 percent) shared their mahalle with at least a few Muslim households. Most of these mixed mahalles were located in the southwest part of the town between the *kale*

146 According to data collected in Hamdi Doğan, "Hicri 1246 Tarihli Cizye Defteri'ne Göre Niğde Kazası'ndaki Gayrimüslim Unsurlar," in *Niğde, Aksaray ve Nevşehir Tarihi Üzerine*, ed. M. Şaşmaz (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2008), 43; Hava Selçuk, "Niğde'de İlk Nüfus Sayımı (23 Şevval 1246/6 Nisan 1831)" [The first census in Niğde (23 Şevval 1246/6 April 1831)], *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies* 6, no.2 (2013): 1269-87.

(fortress) of Niğde and the *Kayabaşı Mahalle,* which marked the western end of the town. Christians were the majority in terms of the number of households in seven of these mahalle*s* (six of Rums and one of Armenians). The Muslim populations living in mixed quarters corresponded only to 20 percent of the total Muslim population of Niğde. Consequently, at the scale of the entire town, a clear distinction can be made between the southwest quarter with its high concentration of non-Muslim households and the rest of the town which was almost entirely inhabited by Muslims.

Until the late nineteenth-century, residential patterns and the concentrations of religious communities in Niğde remained stable, but from the end of the 1890s, an important decrease of the total population of the city and especially of the Christian population changed the balance of power in terms of residential concentrations in mixed mahalles in favor of Muslims. Nevertheless, the district of Kayabaşı remained the main mixed mahalle with a large Rum majority until 1923 and was, incidentally, described by Christian authors as a separate entity.[147] Compared to Nevşehir, where the tendency towards clear confessional segregation was apparent, in Niğde, even though the general picture suggested vague divisions between parts of town inhabited by Christians and others by only Muslims, at the scale of the mahalle, we see that Christians – Rums as well as Armenians – mostly lived in mixed districts. Niğde was an ancient settlement, that had been well integrated into old, commercial networks and wad greatly involved in interregional trade due to its strategic location as the southern door of Cappadocia leading from the Taurus Mounains to Mediterranean coast. On the other hand, still at the eve of the World War I, Nevşehir remained relatively isolated and a weak player in interregional exchanges. This difference could partly explain the dissimilarities between the two in terms of residential rhetorics of religious communities.

The convenient picture of separately settled urban communities seems to be confirmed by the place and situation of respective towns. Nevşehir, with its clear territorial separation between Christian and Muslim groups, was a relative exception, while in other towns, the combination of mixed and homogeneous quarters strengthens the argument that situations were actually

147 Regarding Kayabaşı, see Chapter 3.2.

varied, nebulous, and evolved over time. In rural settlements, the demographic imbalance between Muslim and Christians villagers explains why so many homogeneous Muslim villages existed in the region, but if we look at villages inhabited by Christians, about 70 percent of the communities shared their village with a Muslim community.[148]

Demography and residential sharing were neither static nor stable, but some stabiliy can be highlighted according to the type of mahalles. For instance, in burgs and villages that maintained a Christian majority throughout the period (Germir, Zincidere, Limni, Kenatala, Keçiağaç, and several mixed mahalles of Niğde), Muslim households were, in most cases, the result of relatively recent settlement, which is especially clear in the cases of Keçiağaç and Kenatala. The arrival of Muslims in these locales occurred late in the nineteenth century. In these burgs and villages, the Muslims settled in the midst of Christian households – in unoccupied lots in the settlement – and were thus more-or-less distributed in already existing mahalles. Christian communities, because they were the local majority and settled for a long time, had strong control over village space, did not necessarily feel this residential propagation of outsiders in their residential areas as a danger for their community. Quite the contrary, they have considered it as a way of limiting the settlement of a strong Muslim presence reinforced by spatial unity.

On the other hand, in towns where we located mixed mahalles, the large Muslim majority and its increase throughout the century led to a different picture in which, most of the time, Christians remained the minority at the mahalle level. Already at the turn of the seventeenth century, Faroqhi observed that "heavy concentrations of non-Muslims in any one mahalle" in Kayseri were rare.[149] This situation seemed to strengthen at the end of the nineteenth century, at least for the small Rum communities. We have no sufficient data about the residential distribution of the Armenians of Kayseri to take a clear position about their distribution, but the fact that they made up around 30 percent of the population of the city in 1907 allows to suppose that they may have been highly concentrated in several mahalles, possibly shared

148 See Chapter 3.3.

149 Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance*, (1987), 158.

with Muslims and/or Rums.[150] In Niğde, the mahalle of Kayabaşı remained an important exception since it was one of the rare mixed mahalle with a large majority of Rum inhabitants.

Observed over the long nineteenth century, the mobility and local dynamics of rural populations from one settlement to another, from one village to another, and from a village to a town suggest that the idea of strictly separate religious communities over time is unrealistic. Jennings and Faroqhi, for the early periods, clearly showed how migration, settlement, and the sale of individual houses did not necessarily take religious divisions into account. Faroqhi rightly notes that, in terms of the religious composition of mixed settlements, constant ebb and flow seem to have continued well into the nineteenth century.[151] A refugee from Ürgüp recalled that her grandmother claimed that their mahalle (*Mubayaacı Mahallesi*) was in the past a Muslim neighborhood in which Rums had progressively settled, apparently in the early nineteenth century. Aikaterini Aslanoglou added that, at her time, the neighborhood was wholly Greek:

> The Turks sold their houses because they wanted to go to a Turkish neighborhood and the Greeks in the Turkish neighborhood sold theirs. So the neighborhoods were sorted out clearly into Greeks and Turks. The Greeks lived in Mubayaacı and the Turks in Kayakapı. In Duayeri and Süphanverdi, there were still Turks among the Greeks, less so in Duayeri but quite a lot in Süphanverdi.[152]

From a regional perspective, in the mid-nineteenth century, a general "Muslimization"[153] of quarters in Cappadocian villages and towns took place

150 R.G. Hovannisian, *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia* (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 2013), 209. According to Armenian sources used by Der Matossian, there were around 31,500 Turks 16,000 Armenians, and 2500 Greeks in Kayseri in 1907. Antonopoulos, that same year, counted 40,000 Turks, 12,000 Armenians, and 3000 Greeks. See Antonopoulos, *Μικρά Ασία* (1907).

151 Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance* (1987), 158.

152 The English translation of the testimony is from Balta, *Prokopi, Ürgüp* (2010), 86.

153 We intentionally use the term "Muslimization" instead of "Islamicization" to avoid misunderstandings. By Muslimization, we mean that an increasing number of Muslims settled in the

because of the increasing size of the Muslim population in Anatolian provinces, especially due to the arrival of refugees from lost Ottoman territories and Caucasus as well as the simultaneous migration of Christians to port cities. As a consequence, the number of wholly Muslim mahalles increased, as did the weight of Muslim populations in mixed quarters. Formerly Christian mahalles tended to turn into mixed quarters. This general evolution should not eclipse local variations. However, we can assume that it was the logical consequence of local demographic changes rather than a conscious wish of locals to live separately.

Inter-confessional real estate sales and leases, the mobility of the population, and the departure of local inhabitants and the arrival of new ones belonging to other ethnoreligious groups compelled a necessary cohabitation that was either experienced temporarily until a new religious homogeneity hold or was prolonged over time and turned a mahalle into a new co-residential area. In the first part of this work, we mentioned several examples of villages in Cappadocia having experienced changes of population throughout the century: the disappearance of a village altogether, the shift from a homogeneous to a mixed population, or the shift from a mixed to a homogeneous village.[154] These changes were mostly the consequence of intra- and interregional mobility. The movement of emigration which intensified

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mahalles, not that the actual inhabitants converted to Islam or were Islamized. In the nineteenth century context, conversion to Islam occurred regularly but not at the rate to have consequences for the figures. Conversions occurred rather among individuals or isolated families and were not a significant phenomenon. Collective conversions seem to have occurred up the early nineteenth century. See Chapter 9.

154 See Chapter 3.2. We already mentioned the case of the village of Molu, which disappeared about 1900. Its inhabitants migrated to Incesu, Erkilet, Endürlük, and Nevşehir. Similarly, the abandonment of the village of Amos, occurred in the mid-nineteenth century and was the result of local movements rather than long-distance migration its inhabitants settling in surrounding villages such as Andaval, Keçiağaç, and Kordonos. See "ΚΠ 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, ΚΠ204: P. Ignatiadis, H. Pashalidis; "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ236: K. Papazoglou. Regarding Molu, see "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, ΚΠ77: A. Isaakidis; Symeon Koimisoglou, *Καππαδοκία. Μνημείο παγκόσμιας πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς, ελλήνων ιστορία, πίστη, πολιτισμός* [Cappadocia. World heritage, Greek history, faith and culture] (Salonica: ILP Production, 2005).

especially among Christian communities and the settlement of refugees from the Balkans (and Circassians from the Caucasus), who had been steered by the state to central Anatolia – where available agricultural land could be provided to them –participated in the change in the distribution of the local population. In 1900, around one thousand Circassians settled in Ereğli, for instance, after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78.[155]

To these "transnational" or "trans-imperial" refugees, one must add "transregional" refugees, namely Armenians fleeing tensions and massacres in the Eastern parts of Anatolia and seeking (temporary) refuge in the towns and villages of the regions of Aksaray, Nevşehir, Niğde, and Kayseri in the 1890s. Eastern Cappadocia and especially Kayseri had large Armenian communities that increased in size up to the last third of the nineteenth century. However, in the century's last decades, a slight decline was observed by Der Matossian who attributed the decrease to the Hamidian massacres of the 1890s and to large-scale relocation to Izmir, Istanbul, and Egypt. In 1914-1915, the Armenians of Cappadocia experienced the same tragic fate as those in Eastern Anatolia. A few found refuge in surrounding villages such as Ağırnas and Endürlük or further away in the regions of İncesu and Nevşehir, which, despite the war, remained relatively tranquil compared to other parts of Anatolia.[156]

155 "ΚΠ 231 Eregli," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), P. Antoniadis. Regarding settlement of refugees, see also "ΚΠ 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s, ΚΠ145: E. Tiriggidou; "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ85: H. Pantoteinou; "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, ΚΠ75: K. Piniatoglou; "ΚΠ 49-52 Agirnas," 1950s, ΚΠ49: M. Kiriamidou.

156 Various testimonies on the arrival of Armenians can be found in the files of the OTA: "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s; "ΚΠ 49-52 Agirnas," 1950s; "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s; "ΚΠ 394-397 Tsoukour," 1950s; "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s; "ΚΠ 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s; "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s. A few documents in the BOA also mention cases of Armenians who converted to Islam or Greek Orthodoxy and married non-Armenian men. See for instance BOA, DH. ŞFR, 55/92 (R.1331-08-05/18.08.1915): a telegraph sent by the Directorate of Public Security to the mutasarrıf of Niğde authorizing marriages between Armenian girls who had converted to Islam and Muslim men (provided abuses would be prevented). In 1919, a series of documents expose the claim of the "restitution" (*iade*) to the Armenian Patriarchate of Armenian women living in Nevşehir who had converted to Islam and married Muslim men. See, for instance, BOA, DH.KMS, 54/50.2

Finally, intraregional mobility (from villages to towns, or from village to village) also broadly changed local demographics. All these forms of mobility, the consequences of specific events, and changes in ways of life influenced the composition and permanent reshaping of settlements. By the eve of the exile of the last Christians from Cappadocia, all villages, including the impenetrable Misti, were accommodating at least some Muslim refugees from Greece or Russia.[157]

§ 4.3 To Perceive Private and "Free" Spaces

Lefebvre described "perceived space" as "the materialized, socially-produced space that exists empirically. […] It is directly sensible or perceivable – open to measurement and description. In that context, 'spatial practice' – which is an integral part of the perceived space – ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion."[158] In that sense, it differs from lived space in that it is not experienced but felt. The space is perceived by individuals who are at the center and who imagine it by using their own experience, but also social, economic, and political factors. The way inhabitants imagined and consequently described their own situations, and that of others in their quarter, town, or village helps to explain to what extent different forms of groupings were consolidated or dispersed.

One perspective appears when we read the testimonies of refugees. The act of passing the threshold of the house to enter public space (a road or square, a shop, a coffeehouse, etc.) is one of the main dichotomies that informants reveal when they talk about social life and relationships to others, especially to those belonging to another religious group. This posits the notion that public space was perceived (positively or negatively) as a potential crossing point for intercommunal relationships while private space was impervious to such relations. The notion of public space – loosely defined as the area of societal activity that is relevant to the social and political order in general – is a historical, western construction used, primarily, to distinguish western cities

157 "ΚΠ 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, ΚΠ205: P. Igniatidis; "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s; "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ86: N. Postanoglou.

158 Lefebvre, *Production of Space* (1992), 33.

from others, especially from "oriental cities." It defined public space as the space of democracy, free speech, and political action. It was specific to the urban environment. According to Max Weber, the modern western city was a community where citizens participated in public authority through an associative form led by a local bourgeoisie that possessed economic but also part of local political power. Eastern cities, Weber wrote, were economic centers, too, but economic actors equivalent to the western bourgeoisie were not legal representatives of the city and had no official political strength. In western cities, public space is first of all the marketplace – the heart of urban economic life but also the place where the political power of the state and the bourgeoisie qua legal representatives of city-dwellers is symbolically represented by their physical headquarters (the town hall and the offices of guilds and corporations). As a result, public space is a collective space where powers are symbolically exhibited: a space of confrontation and representation.[159]

According to Stéphane Yerasimos, the traditional Ottoman city had, in fact, no public space, but rather "free spaces" which were not as controlled or enclosed as Western public spaces. They included, according to a typology inspired by the descriptions of Istanbul by Evliya Çelebi, the *meydan (*or "square") as well as parks and other spaces dedicated to leisure. For instance, the meydans and gardens of Istanbul – whether belonging to mosque complexes, along a harbor, or adjacent the ramparts – and other open-air spaces dedicated to leisure were "free" areas frequented by individuals during their "free time," but they were not public areas since they did not incorporate the characteristics of political confrontation and representation. Similarly, Yérasimos noted that instead of a notion of clear borders between private and public (or free) space, there was a vague notion of fringes, according to which the more you left main streets and overtly public areas behind, the more you

159 Max Weber, "The Nature of the City," in *Classic essays on the culture of cities*, ed. R. Sennett (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969). See also Cânâ Bilsel, "L'espace public existait-il dans la ville ottomane? Des espaces libres au domaine public à Istanbul (XVIIe-XIXe siècles)," *Etudes balkaniques* 14 (2007), URL: http://etudesbalkaniques.revues.org/233.

entered the private fringes.[160] Busy thoroughfares characterized by their sinuosity drove people from public sectors around the main mosques, harbors and shops to the smallest lanes of residential "alveolar areas" or impasses led to private houses.[161] Faroqhi described a similar urban disposition between publicly accessible streets (*tarik-i am*) and semi-public ways with only a "right-of-way not readily accessible to outsiders" (*tarik-i has*) in seventeenth-century Kayseri.[162] This division between public and semi-public thoroughfares can be understood as another form of the notion of fringes proposed by Yerasimos. The *tarik-i has* were actually the intermediate areas between public and private spaces. Nonetheless, Faroqhi noted that in *kadı* registers of Kayseri the distinction between *tarik-i has* and *tarik-i am* was not systematic, even though about 70 percent of the houses studied were bordered by a public street or simultaneously by a public street and a semi-public lane.[163]

Reforms launched by Sultan Mahmud II and strengthened during the Tanzimat called for the westernization of urban space and transformed free spaces into public spaces under state control.[164] Consequences for the urban landscape were mainly visible in the capital, but also in towns of Anatolia – with a certain delay and to a lesser extent. Throughout the Tanzimat, numerous codes and regulations reconfigured and standardized free (and public-to-be) space and its control through systems of supervision of the public order and public health. The Ottoman government tended to approach the notion of publicity that had been assimilated into the modern definition of the state that was considered to innately represent public interest. Squares and streets came to fall under public administration. Large meydan enclosed in the walls of *külliye* (mosque complex) were reconfigured as public squares. From the reign of Mahmut II, the small, enclosed meydan of Beyazit Mosque in Istanbul was enlarged step-by-step. Its walls were demolished and the

160 Stefanos Yerasimos, "La limite et le passage dans l'espace musulman," in *Pera peras poros: atelier interdisciplinaire avec et autour de Jacques Derrida*, eds. F. Keskin and Ö. Sözer (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 1999), 157-58.

161 Ibid., 160.

162 Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance* (1987), 39.

163 Ibid., 39 & 60.

164 Bilsel, "Espace public" (2007), §46-50.

sacred square of the mosque became a public, secularized space. The meydan of the Yeni Cami in Eminönü went through the same evolution, becoming a central public space of Istanbul with the construction of the Galata Bridge and the train station in Sirkeci.[165] Despite its attempts to control public space, the state did not really succeed in monitoring public life which continued to take place in indoor spaces such as coffeehouses, restaurants, theaters, libraries, *çarşı* (shopping districts), hans, and even in the privacy of houses rather than on the squares planned and controlled by the state.

While public and free space has been mainly studied in an urban context, this does not mean that rural settlements devoid of it. The realities of roads, cul-de-sacs, squares, and other places of sociability also apply to villages and burgs. Market places, the forecourts of churches and mosques, and also threshing floors, coffeehouses, small shops, and dirt roads lanes separating houses were the rural forms of free space on the same terms with meydan, çarşı, and theaters in cities. Moreover, the progressive emergence of public spaces experienced in towns through the application of reforms also took place in burgs and large villages. For instance, the establishment of police stations in nahiye headquarters for the control of public order or the creation of municipalities in several of the locales of Cappadocia shows that publicity (in terms of space, life, opinion, order, and health) also shaped rural areas.

Settlements inhabited by Christian communities also benefitted from migration which brought to Cappadocia an idea of urbanity – or at least "pre-urbanity" – on account of the economic and cultural support of migrants who shaped the physical planning of burgs and villages. In Sinasos, for instance, the mahalle of *Mahatur* in the west included a public garden[166] – a luxury generally considered an urban privilege. Urban migration indubitably introduced among the originally rural middle-class a wish to urbanize their collectivities in Cappadocia. However, while public spaces obviously developed in the rural settlements of Anatolia, it would be exaggerated to think of these rural public spaces as tantamount to the Habermasian public sphere.

165 Ibid., §61. Urban planning of the surroundings of the New Mosque, however, would only occur in the 1950s, and then according to the plans of Henri Prost.

166 Stamatopoulos, "Everyday Life in Sinasos" (1985), 43.

In a rural context, the daily mobility of people (from home to the place of work – as pastures and fields, but also bakeries, mills, threshing floors, and workshops) required regular movement across a mahalle or even beyond its borders. Pierre Mayol noted that a neighborhood is a kind of intermediate space between the privacy of home and the publicity of the entire city or village:

> As a result of its everyday use, the neighborhood can be considered as the progressive privatization of public space. It is a practical device whose function is to ensure a continuity between what is the most intimate (the private space of one's lodging) and what is the most unknown (the totality of a city or even the rest of the world). […] The neighborhood is the middle term in an existential dialectic (on a personal level) and a social one (on the level of a group of users), between an inside and an outside. And it is in the tension between these two terms, an inside and an outside, which little by little becomes the continuation of an inside, that the appropriation of spaces takes place.[167]

The mahalle is first experienced through the street (or rather in Cappadocian towns, through dirt roads) that connect the private space (the home) to public spaces (the square, shops, marketplace, and coffeehouse). As Mayol adds:

> "the dwellers necessarily meet each other to provide for their everyday needs but the interpersonal contact that takes places in these meetings is itself random, not calculated in advance; it is defined by chance comings and goings involving the necessities of everyday life: […] in the grocery store, at the market."[168]

In mixed settlements, streets were thus the primary place for potential intercommunal commingling. From the intercommunal perspective, these chance meetings must be considered the central aspect of everyday relations between persons belonging to different religious groups. Moreover, they play a central role in the understanding of perceived space. As a result of the

167 Michel de Certeau, Luce Giard, and Pierre Mayol, *The Practice of Everyday Life, Vol. 2: Living and Cooking* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 11.

168 Ibid., 15.

walking rhetoric, relationships occurring in public space are felt and apprehended basically as positive or negative experiences.

The case of Nevşehir with its strict residential separation of Muslims and Christians can be recalled in this context. We showed that residential and walking rhetorics of Rums reveal that the latter avoided mingling with Muslims, probably because areas inhabited by Muslims were perceived negatively. A story found in various Greek and Karamanlidika publications[169] as well as in the testimonies of refugees[170] provides some clues to this end. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Rum districts did not yet have direct access to the water network of the "new town," and especially female inhabitants were annoyed to have to go through Turkish districts to reach the fountains. The story is that, in 1812, a priest of the community (called Georgios) decided to go to Istanbul to request authorization for the construction of a water network in Rum mahalles. He returned with an imperial ferman and found a spring in the Güvercinlik mountains to supply water to the three Rum districts. An epigraph (in Karamanlı and in Greek) on the wall of the Church of St. George in Nevşehir recounts the cleverness of the priest.[171] Authors and informants claim the main reason prompting the community to create its own water network was the annoyance of Rum women going to the fountains in Muslim districts. Decades later, in 1892, a hamam was constructed by the

169 "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' - 1914" (1913), 119-20; "Νέβσεχιρ Μεκτεπλερινίν Δερσααδέτ Εφορείασηνην γιουζουνδζού σενέϊ δεβριεσί 1820-1920," (Istanbul: Anatolia Matbaasi, 1920), 19-22.

170 "ΚΠ 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s, ΚΠ144: E. Sekeroglou, G. Leuko.

171 The St. George Church of Nevşehir was built in the priest's honor between 1837 and 1849. In 1870, a belfry was added next to the church and is the last vestige of the church today. Semavi Eyice transcribed and commented the karamanlı version of the epigraph in Semavi Eyice, "Aradolu'da 'Karamanlıca' Kitabeler (Grek harfleriyle Türkçe kitabeler)," *Belleten* 44, no.176 (1980): 685-86. According to informants, this church was not used for regular masses but women regularly visited it for personal prayers. For that purpose, a *mahfil* for women (section reserved for women) was added to the church in 1880. Sacit Pekak, "Kappadokia Bölgesi Osmanlı Dönemi Kiliseleri: Örnekler, Sorunlar, Öneriler," *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi* 26, no.2 (2009): 260. Semavi Eyice, *Rum Harfleri ile Türkçe-Karamanlıca bir Nevşehir Salnamesi* (Istanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası, 1977), 77-102; "ΚΠ 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s, ΚΠ144: P. Ankaralioglou.

Rums for the same reason: so that women would not be bothered by Turks when they went to the only baths which were situated in the Turkish mahalle. The Karamanlı version of a book originally prepared in Greek by Ioannis Georgios argued that "Turkish children threw pebbles at Rum women and that young Turkish men insulted them in the street."[172] In Nevşehir, this apparent mistrust with regard to the Turks explains why mahalles remained strictly homogeneous up to the 1920s. Nevşehir seemed to be an unusual case. In publications as well as in the OTA interviews, annoyances experienced by Rum women are mentioned in other settlements, but not with the same intensity as in the case of Nevşehir.

As a religiously-mixed town, Nevşehir was an exception wherein space was perceived through a strong, ethnoreligious filter. While this was reflected in the residential rhetoric and, at least for women, in the walking rhetoric, we can suppose that the town's public space, if only partially, were necessarily crossing points for intercommunal interactions in positive as well as negative senses. Town-dwellers often met their needs and could take advantage of spaces of sociability without leaving their quarter. However, complementarity between districts (which corresponded to a more-or-less ethnoreligious division of professional activities[173]) remained necessary for specific needs that were not fulfilled internally. For instance, the Rums of Nevşehir could find in one of the three Rum districts most of the products of everyday consumption, health services provided by Greek doctors and pharmacists, and areas of sociability such as coffeehouses, casinos, and libraries. However, they had to go to Turkish districts to get firewood and tobacco – which were not available

172 Karamanlı version: "Τοὺρκ τζοδζουκλαρὴ ταραφηνάν τασλανμαλαρὴ βε τοὺρκ κεντζλερὶ ταραφηνδὰν χαφρενδαζληκλαρὰ μααροὺζ καλμαλαρὴ." Transcription: "Türk çocukları tarafından taşlanmaları ve Türk gençleri tarafından hafrendazlıklara maaruz kalmaları." According to the same publication, the inhabitants tried to build a hamam in the Rum mahalle in 1857 but did not receive authorization. They had to wait until 1892 to build it. "Νέβσεχιρ Μεκτεπλερινίν" (1920), 21-22.

173 Regarding division of labor as well as professional and economic complementarity, see Chapter 8.

in the shops of the Rum districts – or to go to the baths since Rums built their own hamam only in 1892.[174]

In towns, the multiplicity of public spaces might have been regarded as so many opportunities for intercommunal relations. On the contrary, it actually limited interactions between districts. In Nevşehir, the only square where regular intercommunal relations occurred was the square located at the border between *Rum Baş Mahallesi* and the main Turkish mahalle of the town. The largest shops of the town, owned by Rums and by Turks, were located there.[175] But the relations taking place were not only economic. Indeed in 1922 a group of Turks celebrated the recapture of Izmir by dancing and playing music in that square, forcing the Rums to observe their festivities.[176] The choice of the square was certainly symbolic. It shows that, especially in periods of tension and conflict, shared public spaces can be areas of confrontational intercommunal relations. It turned into a place of political demonstration.[177] This political use of public spaces was already occuring in the towns and burgs of Cappadocia in the mid-nineteenth, especially during the reign of Abdülhamit II. Celebrations, be they Muslim or Christian, began with a proclamation of the magnanimity of the sultan on a public square in which all the men of the villages participated. An informant from Fertek described, for instance, how religious celebrations such as *Anastasis* day began in the market place with the proclamation "Long live the Sultan Abdülhamit" pronounced by a priest and echoed by all Fertekiotes. Then Christians would continue with their festivities while Muslims attended to their own business.[178] These kinds of gatherings and proclamations were intended to represent and reinforce the control of the imperial regime over territories and over people. They consequently transcended community borders to encompass the entire – but it goes without saying, only male – population.

The largest mixed settlements of Cappadocia were organized around one or several squares which were the main places of sociability. In small locales,

174 "ΚΠ 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s, ΚΠ145.

175 Ibid., ΚΠ144: G. Leukofridis.

176 Ibid., ΚΠ144: E. Sekeroglou.

177 Bilsel, "Espace public" (2007), §9.

178 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ301: K. Kalldiou.

a single square would be surrounded by a few shops and sometimes a coffeehouse, and it could be the place of the *pazar* (market).[179] In burgs such as Germir, Zincidere, and Limni where the borders between mahalles were blurred and parts were inhabited by mixed populations, squares were public spaces for local Christian and Muslim dwellers but also for villagers living in surrounding localities. In Limni, for instance, the square known as *pazar yeri* (market place) was, at its name suggests, the location of a weekly market where the inhabitants of surrounding villages came to sell their produce. The burg had three other squares encircled by shops and other notable buildings such as a han or school. One of these squares, known by the Rums as the *Aï Paraskevi meydanlık,* was regularly used for celebrations. It was a gathering space where benches and tables could be set up. Informants from Limni regularly recalled that these meetings gathered Christian and Muslim inhabitants together.[180]

In smaller settlements, the absence of a large range of services (especially administrative, health, and commercial services), of places of sociability, and in smallest settlements, of essential structures such as mills or bakeries obliged more-or-less regular travel to a neighboring locality or, for specific administrative, commercial, and health issues, to a large center. This mobility could even take the form of routine walking when neighboring villages were nearby. The best example of organized complementary was the twin villages of Andaval and Eskigümüş where the respective inhabitants shared activities according to their abilities and capacities: Christians cultivated the fields and Muslims transported harvests to the market in Niğde. As a result, inhabitants of small settlements tended to more regularly cross the borders of their mahalle than the inhabitants of towns the latter of which could provide for their main needs within a small perimeter.

179 In the smallest settlements, there was no pazar and inhabitants would get their supplies from the pazar of a nearby burg, from peddlers, or by local self-sufficiency. Similarly, coffeehouses were generally only located in large villages. See, for instance, "ΚΠ 340-342 Tzalela," 1950s; "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s; "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s.

180 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ216 K. Serafeimidis, N. Apostolidis. The two other squares were called Han Önü (the han was an outbuilding of Limni's church, and the school of the community was also located there) and Soku başı, in the middle of which was located a large millstone.

In gendered terms, public space in Cappadocia, as elsewhere, was practiced differently by female and male populations. We can argue that in Ottoman society and in the Islamic world more broadly, the female and male practices (and production) of space were modeled on a public/private dichotomy. Public space was dominated by men and private space was the area of women. We already mentioned that Rum women of Nevşehir were described as being particularly fearful and suspicious towards Muslims and consequently avoided passing through shared public spaces. Here again, Nevşehir seems to habe been a relative exception. In other settlements and especially in villages and burgs, women were more present in public areas, especially when, from the mid-nineteenth century, massive emigration of males drove women outside of the privacy of their households to work in the place of men. Regarding settlements such as Limni, Zincidere, Germir, İncesu, and Hacıbektaş, the informants of the OTA regularly mentioned that female inhabitants moved freely outside, from one district to the other, but to leave the inhabited part of the locality was a more delicate issue. Many testimonies narrated legends of the misadventures experienced by Christian women attacked by unknown men on vicinal roads, in the fields, or next to chapels situated outside the village. In settlements from which many men had emigrated, Christian women had to leave the inhabited centers to fulfill outdoor activities in fields or on the threshing floors. Several female informants explained that when they went to the fields, they moved in groups of four or five women, often escorted by a man who was a Rum or Muslim neighbor. A common strait in these descriptions was that they posed a dichotomy between central, built-up parts of localities that were considered safe places for women and peripheral, "unbuilt" areas which were places of insecurity.[181] This dichotomy can be superimposed onto a similar distinction made by Christian informants between those they called "our Turks" – namely their Turkish neighbors and friends – and "the Turk" – namely the unknown foreigner and potential aggressor. For women, the familiar, secure territory appeared to be limited to the built part of the village, while they regarded unbuilt peripheries as "foreign" and potentially dangerous areas, even when these were formally parts of the village's territory.

181 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ27: O. Ampouroglou.

In the mind of many villagers, space was not divided between private and public areas, but between "familiar, secured zones" and "unfamiliar, risky zones." This distinction was made according to personal experience but also based on the statements of relatives. For instance, the interviewer of Maria Papa, a refugee from Keçiağaç, noted that Maria remembered that, as a child her parents authorized her to go to specific sectors of the village, including areas inhabited by Muslims, but not to others that they considered dangerous.

> Her parents let her meet her friends near the river and go to the house of Bektaş Ağa to play with his daughters who were her friends. However, her parents did not authorize her to go alone to other places because one might be beaten when the Turks sometimes shouted at Greek children going through the orchards and eating the fruits.[182]

The question of the veil worn (or not) by Muslims but also by Christians – and of their clothes more generally gives an interesting perspective into the way women lived public space. In a way, it show how genders, publicity, and ethnoreligious affiliations were combined. According to several informants of different settlements of Cappadocia, Muslim women did not veil their faces on the streets in the presence of Christian men. For instance, Kosmas Serafeimidis from Limni claimed: "Turkish women in our villages did not hide their faces. Actually, it was only in regions such as ours that they were uncovered." Hristos Georgantzoglou, a refugee from Zincidere, specified that Muslim women did not hide their faces with Rum men but did with Muslims.[183] Anastasia Sofronidi of Limni claimed that Muslim women wold wear a veil over their mouth when they went to towns such as Niğde, Prokopi, and Nevşehir but not in the streets of Limni.[184] Again, in urban public space, women were more discreet and stayed in the privacy of their homes while in villages they moved out of their home more freely.

182 "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ236: M. Papazoglou.

183 "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, ΚΠ70: H. Georgantzoglou. "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, ΚΠ315; "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s.

184 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ218: T. Sofronidi. Another informant from Limni also claimed that, Turkish women in the region walked bareheaded around their village. Ibid., ΚΠ216: K. Serafeimidis.

The situation of Christian women was similar to that of their Muslim co-compatriots. In towns such as Kayseri, Niğde, Nevşehir, Ürgüp, and İncesu, the women of the Christian communities were accustomed to covering their faces publicly. European travelers, intrigued by the traditions of Eastern Christians, regularly described the dress of Greeks and Armenians living in the countryside. In the early nineteenth century, Ainsworth claimed, for instance, that Rum women of the countryside of Nevşehir would walk outside without covering their faces:

> The dress of these Cappadocian Greeks had much originality about it, and still more particularly so in the females, who dressed showily, and enjoyed a great degree of freedom, exhibiting themselves openly and with uncovered faces, and event at times, entering into conversation.[185]

Visiting the region a few years later, Texier (who does not give details about whether the faces of Christians were covered or not), noted with surprise how, wearing many jewels, they walked carefree in streets:

> The Greek population [of the countryside of Nevşehir] seems to be at ease. Women have a taste for silver jewelry; they wear turbans on their heads adorned with a quantity of coins; their shoulders are loaded; they have heavy bangles on their arms and silver rings on their legs that Turks call carcals and which were already in use in ancient times.
>
> So far, I had found among the inhabitants of Cappadocia little distinction between the costumes of Christians and Turks. But to my surprise I awoke in In-Eughi [Eneği/Kaymaklı] to see a herd of horned beings armed with pitchforks going to work well singing a melancholy hymn! At first I had trouble discerning if men or women were before me, or if I was not at some particular ceremony of a pagan tribe, but I

185 Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839), 176.

> soon learned from the pope that the inhabitants of In-Eughi were all Christian and belonged to the Greek communion.[186]

In travelogues as well as in refugees' testimonies, a distinction was often made between young and old women. According to OTA informants, women of a certain age were freer to circulate unveiled in public spaces, while young women were regularly called upon to be careful about their dress and to cover their faces when they went outside. Ioannis Sahinidis, for instance, remembered that after an incident that occurred during a wedding, young Rum women of the community of İncesu were asked to cover their faces with kerchiefs in order not to attract the attention of Turks.[187] Surprisingly, the same division between young and old (or pretty and ugly!) appears in several travelogues, but with the opposite conclusion. Hamilton, for instance, wrote that for the Christians of Everek, the veil was a way to hide ugliness and old age: "the women seldom covered their faces, except the old and ugly; the young were particularly handsome."[188] Similarly, the missionary Barrows claimed that "the Christian women, especially the older ones, tie up the lower part of their face with a handkerchief; and, on going into the street, put on a shawl, which is made also to cover the head."[189]

We made an assumption that intercommunaal relations happened in public spaces, shops, and on the thresholds of houses, but could they also

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186 Texier, *Asie mineure* (1863), 548 & 64. Original text: "La population grecque [de la région de Nevşehir] paraît être dans l'aisance. Les femmes ont un goût prononcé pour les bijoux d'argent; elles portent sur leur tête des turbans ornés d'une quantité de pièces de monnaies; leurs épaules en sont chargées; elles ont à leurs bras de pesants bracelets et à leurs jambes des anneaux d'argent que les Turcs appellent carcals et qui étaient déjà en usage dans l'antiquité.
Jusqu'ici, je n'avais trouvé chez les habitants de la Cappadoce que peu de variété dans les costumes aux chrétiens et aux Turcs. Mais quelle fut ma surprise en m'éveillant à In-Eughi [Eneği] de voir une troupe d'êtres cornus et armés de fourches, se rendant à l'ouvrage en chantant une hymne sur un ton mélancolique ! J'eus peine au premier abord à discerner si j'avais devant les yeux des hommes ou des femmes, si je n'assistais pas à quelques cérémonies particulière d'une peuplade païenne mais j'appris bientôt du papas que les habitants d'In-Eughi étaient tous chrétiens et appartenaient à la communion grecque."

187 "КП 215-218 Limni," 1950s, КП218: T. Sofronidi; "КП 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, КП78: G. Sahinidis.

188 Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, II (1842), 272.

189 Barrows, *On Horseback* (1884), 68-69.

occur in private space? The home – the place of privacy par excellence – was also a place for the expression of hospitality or inhospitality since the admittance of a "foreigner" into a house was an intrusion into private space: a way to make public the privacy of a home.

Regarding contemporary Cyprus, Bryant noted that "although one owes hospitality to one's neighbors, in actual practice the neighbor emerges as the one who does not need hospitality."[190] In nineteenth-century Cappadocia, hospitality (and inhospitality) are topics systematically developed in travel accounts since travelers necessarily experienced it, albeit in a more-or-less pleasant way. On the other hand, the OTA informants mostly mentioned the issue of hospitality when they were outside of their own village or when foreigners (members of other collectivities) came to them. Among Europeans, the idea that Turks were more hospitable than Christians in the Ottoman Empire was widespread. Barkley summarized and refuted this general idea:

> As far as my experience goes and it extends over thirteen years spent in Turkey, hospitality is a virtue possessed by all the inhabitants and not, as has been asserted by some travelers, confined to the Osmanlis. The Turk is naturally most hospitable to the Turk, and the Christian to the Christians, but it often happens that the Turk receives the Christian as his guest, and the Christian the Turk. We have reason to be grateful to both, for both came forward at different times, both did their very best for us, and this without any expectation of our being able to make them any return.[191]

From the same perspective, Ramsay noted:

> A contrast is frequently drawn between the grasping nature of the Greek and the generosity of the Turk. So far as my experience goes this contrast is often much exaggerated. I have had more difficulties in bargaining with Turks, especially when I was new to their ways, than I ever had with Greeks, and found them in a small way quite as grasping as any Greeks are. I have experienced, proportionately, at least as much

190 Bryant, *Post-Ottoman Coexistence* (2016), 19-20.

191 Barkley, *Ride through Asia Minor* (1891), 135.

> kindness and generosity and hospitality among Greek villagers as among Turks; but, as it happens, I have stayed at a hundred times as many Turkish villages as at Greek.[192]

Hospitality was not an issue of religious or ethnic belonging but was differently according to the situation, place, and circumstances. Here again, a relatively clear distinction between towns and villages can be inferred from travelers' narratives and corroborated by the OTA informants. In the 1830s, Ainsworth lodged in the Rum quarter of Nevşehir, by the order of the town's governor. For three days, he and his friend Russel only met the master of the house and its male residents:

> A domestic [of the governor's palace] was sent with us to the Christian quarter, where a room had been assigned to us, and which they attempted to prove was the cellar, but we taught them better, and preferred a boarded room on the first floor, the more especially as Mr. Russel was unwell, and I intended stopping here a day or two to put him under medical treatment. The master of the house, his sons and visitors, came in the evening to eat, and afterwards to sleep with us, in this small apartment, a proceeding which, with the greatest delicacy possible, we begged to object to, but as was always the case, it required more than delicate insinuation to get rid of them.[193]

Hosting the foreigners against his will, the master of the house finally tried to take financial advantage of his unwanted guests:

> Previous to our departure, however, we were destined to experience a draw-back to the general good impressions we had received of the intelligence and morality, and the advancing social condition of the Christians of Nev Shehr, in the misconduct of our host, who, though a respectable merchant, yet condescended to enter into a petty conspiracy with the shehr kyayasi or deputy of the governor, in order, under the pretence that Mr. Russel was sick of the plague, to force from us

192 Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey* (1897), 249-50.

193 Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839), 171-72.

> the sum of 400 piastres, or four pounds sterling, for the use of our single apartment for three days, also requiring two piastres per hour for horses, the ordinary post price being then one piaster, and, what was worse than all, that horses should only be given to us for one road, viz., that of Nighed by Ak Serai.[194]

This venal, mistrusting attitude can nonetheless be easily understood when we recall that one of the guests was ill and that an outbreak of the plague had been devastating the region in those years.

The invisibility of women vis-à-vis male guests was also highlighted by Tozer who noted that even local Protestant women in the city of Kayseri had become accustomed to hiding from men in both public and private spaces:

> We were introduced to [the] wife [of a native Armenian Protestant pastor, Mr. Keropé Yakobian, who spoke English, having been educated for the ministry in Scotland, where he had resided two years] but she did not appear again until the time of our departure. Female seclusion is practiced by the Christians in this country almost as strictly as by the Mahometans; except when we visited American families, throughout our journey, the female sex may be said not to have existed for us at all.[195]

Travelers apparently faced inhospitable hosts more frequently in towns than in villages. Muslim as well as Christian villagers were presented as far more pleasant than the inhabitants of towns.[196] Is it only a matter of romanticism that a bucolic picture of people in the countryside are depicted in perfect opposition to the self-centered, self-interested city dwellers? In villages, especially in the open country where state agents were rare, most travelers, who did not stay in a han succeeded in finding a house or at least someone who would open their barn for a night. However, convincing locals to welcome foreigners into the privacy of their home was no easy affair. The

194 Ibid., 176.

195 Tozer, *Turkish Armenia* (1881), 104.

196 Barrows, *On Horseback* (1884), 189; Barkley, *Ride through Asia Minor* (1891), 135; Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839), 169-78; Baptistin Poujoulat, *Récits et souvenirs d'un voyage en Orient* (Paris: Mame, 1859), 64.

Catholic missionary, Burnichon, testily relates the difficulties of finding a roof in the cold Taurus winter:

> Mahmoud [our caterdji] stopped a woman who was returning from the stream, her pitcher on her head, escorted by two enormous dogs. She did not deign to answer. We presented ourselves successively at several doors; all were closed abruptly: "We do not want to receive Roumis.[197] Mahmoud got angry; he called on God as witness to the barbarity of his coreligionists. But nobody answered. This was a sampling of the famous hospitality of the Turkish. What to do? We could not go further, we would have had to walk for several hours, a thick fog had added to the darkness of the night; the path was not tended, and at that hour the wolves were hunting. Our only chance was the devedjis – the camel drivers – for a little space under their skin tents. We were already moving away when an old woman finally came out with a big piece of wood with nails, and opened an uninhabited house for us. We took possession of the cottage thanking Providence and his venerable messenger, who hastened to return to her own house.[198]

On this and another occasion during Burnichon's journey, an old woman would welcome them, even though the reception was not particularly hospitable.

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197 *Roumis* means here "non-Muslims."

198 Burnichon, "A travers le Taurus" (1894): 492-93. Original text: "Mahmoud [notre catérdji] a interpellé une femme qui revenait du ruisseau, sa cruche sur la tête, escortée de deux chiens énormes; elle n'a pas daigné lui répondre. Nous nous sommes présentés successivement à plusieurs portes; toutes se sont refermées brutalement: on ne veut pas recevoir de roumis. Mahmoud s'est fâché très fort; il a pris Allah à témoin de la barbarie de ses coreligionnaires. Mais personne ne répondait. C'était un spécimen de la fameuse hospitalité à la turque. Que faire? Nous ne pouvions pousser plus loin; il aurait fallu marcher plusieurs heures; un brouillard épais ajoutait à l'obscurité de la nuit; la trace n'était point faite; puis à pareille heure les loups sont en quête. Il ne nous restait qu'à aller demander aux dévedjis, les chameliers de là-bas, une petite place sous leurs tentes de peau. Déjà nous étions en marche, quand enfin une vieille est sortie avec une grosse clef de bois garnie de clous, et est venue nous ouvrir une maisonnette inhabitée. Nous avons pris possession du gite en remerciant la Providence et sa vénérable messagère, laquelle s'est hatée de regagner ses pénates."

The notion of hospitality is a common topic in refugees' testimonies, too. They often told how, when they were far from home at nightfall, Muslims or Christians of other villages would welcome them for the night. In the home, relations remained within the bounds of common courtesy. Kosmas Serafeimidis explained about the Muslims in Limni:

> When we were in their house and night started to fall, they did not let us return home and gave us a dinner and a room for the night. The women and would sit with us, as did our wives and daughters, and did not remain in another room of the house.[199]

Kostas Papakostantinou, from Malakopi, recalled a journey he made with his father from Malakopi to Prokopi and the night they spent in a small Turkish village:

> Once my father, who was a priest, needed to go to Prokopi and took me with him. By nightfall, we were still on the road, close to a small Turkish village Mamaso, one and one half hours from Prokopi. We had to go but we were unfamiliar with the road at night. When we arrived in Mamaso, we met a young man and asked if we could find a han for the night. He answered "Here, all the houses are hans" and he led us to a beautiful house. The inhabitants of this house, when they saw a priest, welcomed us very warmly and cordially.[200]

However, these forms of hospitality were limited to occasional, urgent situations, generally in the face of night and the dangers and fears it presented. In daily routine, the privacy of homes was rarely transcended by intercommunal relations, especially when one adds gender differences into the mix. It was not so rare that Muslim and Christian women reciprocally crossed the thresholds of their respective homes; on the other hand, men did not cross these thresholds. Homes were private spaces par excellence and the domain of women. The following testimonies are a small sample of these relations.

199 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ216: K. Serafeimidis.

200 "ΚΠ 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ178: K. Papakonstantinou.

Evanthia Skenteroglou of Endürlük and Paisios Kirelitzoglou of Germir expressed relations to the private sphere of the other as follows:

> The Turks never tried to enter a Christian house and never disturbed women in their house. They were always friendly, knocked on the door, and called the woman to speak at the threshold. I would like everyone to be as good and friendly as the Turks were with women.[201]

> If a Turk needed something, he came to us and asked with great respect and kindness. He knocked on the door and when the housewife opened and asked him "What do you want, Mehmet?" and he asked politely "Is the chief here?" If the woman said no, he turned away. If the woman told him to enter and wait for the return of her husband, he would sit, with his hands on his knees and his eyes lowered.[202]

The house remained under the control of women and men were rarely introduced into it. The latter met in public spaces, in coffeehouses, or in other formal or informal areas of sociability. On the other hand, women, whatever their religious affiliation, regularly invited each other to one another's homes. Ilias Kastaktsoglou of Ürgüp, for instance, explained how he and his wife coexisted with Muslim neighbors:

> Everything went well with our Turks. We lived in the same country, we ate the same bread, and we learned to cohabit harmoniously. They respected our religion, our wives, our children as much as their own. […] My [Turkish] neighbor invited me to his shop; his wife invited my wife at their home.[203]

Inter-gender relations were strained to particular situations – generally cases of force majeure in which needs transcended religious and sexual differences. For instance, it was not rare for Orthodox priests to visit Muslim households

201 "ΚΠ 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, ΚΠ61: E. Skenteroglou.

202 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ86: P. Kirelitzoglou.

203 "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, ΚΠ317: I. Kastaktsoglou

to bless children or food reserves as well as in cases of the illness of a family member.

> My grandfather told that he went to the houses of Muslims in the village of Akçakaya to bless salt, water, and bread that they had.[204]

> Once, in our village, a Turkish family came in the middle of the night to pick up my grandfather because one of their cows was ill. My grandfather and I went together, and in their home I saw women who prayed (I mean, who prayed as Christians). […] One or two times, I accompanied my grandfather on his blessings.[205]

As a result, the privacy of homes remained mostly removed from intercommunal relations even though they could be places of occasional encounters. Instead of being "intercommunal," these could be said to have been "interpersonal" or an answer to a particular context of necessity. Through such "necessary hospitality," villagers offered hospitality to foreigners – namely, in the Ottoman sense, people coming from another locality or belonging to another religious community, and also foreigners in the contemporary sense, such as European travelers as well as Muslim refugees arriving from Greece in the 1920s with whom Rums of Cappadocia shared their homes at the eve of their own exile. The enthusiasm of European travelers about "Anatolian hospitality" reminds us that this situation was not endemic to Cappadocia: the privacy of the homes was made public through hospitality only when conditions required it. Rather than simple altruism, it is connected to the religious ethic of reciprocity, which is regularly mentioned in refugees' testimonies in the form "We helped them, but they helped us, too."

§ 4.4 Conclusion

Conceived, perceived, and lived spaces overlap – do not juxtapose – one another. Conceived space supposes clear borders between territorial entities and, by extension, between communities since territorial entities – especially at the

204 "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, ΚΠ75: B. Papadopoulou.

205 "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ236: K. Papazoglou.

smaller scale of the mahalle – were generally administered according to religious affiliation of inhabitants. In practice, the space was actually lived with more nuanced boundaries between groups and perceived in a more personal way according to which gender, age, and origin played central roles. Residential patterns show that individuals were able to override mahalle boundaries. Religiously homogeneous mahalles coexisted with mixed mahalles in most settlements, whatever their demographic size. Walking rhetorics, show how even in towns and villages where religious homogeneity remained central to residential organization, the circulation of individuals in space transcended the limits established by the immovable aspects of space (buildings, streets, and gates).

For instance, while mahalles were religiously homogeneous in Nevşehir, Rums moved through Muslim mahalles, if only just to go to a bath (until the construction of their own hamam in 1892). Economic exchanges as well as social, professional, and all manner of routine aspects of life led people to go outside the private spaces of their homes – individually or in group –, to move around in the public spaces of their residential districts and also to pass through other public areas that they shared with the inhabitants of other districts. As a result, the limits of mahalles were often crossed and transcended by th practice of everyday life in the Certaldian sense.[206] In that context, public spaces, squares, streets, shops, and vicinal roads often played the role of intercommunal crossing points. They were "in-betweens" within which individuals established relations and communication in their daily routine – which could be simple as a commercial exchange, but could have also been friendships or mutual assistance. On the other hand, in contrast to the publicity of streets and squares, shops and even places of worship, households remained the sphere of privacy and their thresholds were generally the limits

206 De Certeau wrote: "[a] way of using imposed systems constitutes the resistance to the historical law of a state of affairs and its dogmatic legitimations. […] [A North African living in Paris or Roubaix] creates for himself a space in which he can find ways of using the constraining order of the place or of the language. Without leaving the place where he has no choice but to live and which lays down its law for him, he establishes within it a degree of plurality and creativity. By an art of being in between, he draws unexpected results from his situation." Michel de Certeau, *Arts de Faire. The Practice of Eveyrday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 18 & 30.

of intercommunal relations since, except in occasional cases that were the result of specific situations requiring an offer of hospitality – as a courtesy or by necessity –, the doors of homes remained close to interreligious relations.

However, a gendered practice of the space of privacy can be highlighted since women, unlike men, were freer to penetrate the privacy of the house of another, whether from the same or another religious community. Indeed for women – unlike men – intercommunal relations might well take place in houses, maybe even more leisurely than in a public space. As for cross-gender intercommunal relations, they remained (in the same way as cross-gender, intra-communal relations) limited to the happenstance of everyday moving and activity.

Through the different chapters of this first part, the names used to identify groups, locales and distributions of dwelling, as well as the modes of administration have made the experience of territorial, linguistic or religious affiliation different for individuals depending on whether they are male or female, children, youth, or elderly; educated (with all the degrees that education can involve) or uneducated; lay or ecclesiastic; and migrant or non-migrant. In the next chapters, we focus on this last pair – migrant and non-migrant – moving away from Cappadocia to analyze social and economic aspects of intercommunal relations.

PART II

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

5

Home and Elsewhere

Ağam İstanbol'da bilmem ne halda
Geliram dedi da gözlerim yolda
Bu ses guyamata galsın mi böyle?
Ağam, sen gideli yedi yil oldu.
Dıktiin ağaşlar meyvadan doldu
Senin inen giden hep geri döndü
Tez gel ağam, tez gel ağlatma beni
Gördün güzelleri unuttun beni

– Anonymous, *Popular Song from Çarıklı*[1]

In addition to the territories of their native land in the region of Cappadocia, many Cappadocians experienced another space: that of their place(s) of immigration. Since mobility over more-or-less long distances was a central aspect of life for many locals who – temporarily or permanently –

1 Thanasis Papanikolaou, "Ağam İstanbol'da," in *Απόηχοι της Καππαδοκίας: καραμανλήδικα τραγούδια από το Τσαρικλί /Kapadokya'dan Yankılar - Çarıklı'dan Karamanlı Rum Ezgileri (CD)* (1980). Translation: My man (Ağam) is in Istanbul, I don't know in what condition/ "I will come back," he said but my eyes are on the road [looking for him]/ Will this sound remain until the Last Day?/Ağam, over seven years ago you left./ The trees you planted are full of fruit./ Those who left with you have come back./ Come back quickly, ağam, come quickly and don't make me cry./ You saw pretty women and you forgot me.

settled in the cities of the empire or abroad to make a living. Historical studies on migratory paths mostly focus on migration as a process of settlement, integration, and assimilation in the new environment. By contrast, emigration, namely the process of leaving a place, has been less often explored. However, in studies focusing on regions affected by large waves of emigration (such as nineteenth-century Cappadocia) this consequential process needs to be analyzed. It necessarily had important consequences for the people – those who left as well as those who remained behind – but also for local, everyday organization. Many migrants leaving the rural regions of Cappadocia went to urban environments[2] where economic, social, political, and ideological views were plentiful, especially in the mid-nineteenth century which was marked by reformism and nationalism. Immersed in this new context, migrants who maintained strong ties with their homeland played a major role in the changes experienced by the communities they left. More broadly, they played a role in the evolution of intercommunal relations. In parallel, those who remained behind had to reorganize local life in the absence of a larger and larger proportion of the active Christian (especially male) workforce of Cappadocia. Consequently, studying the ties of migrants to their native place allows to see the impact of migration on the production of locality and intercommunal relations.

The massive emigration of Christians from Cappadocia had consequences for the everyday life of migrants but also for the populations that stayed in the region. Demographic consequences are the first to come in mind. With the departure of more and more migrants, the ratio of different religious communities progressively evolved, changing the balance power between numerically decreasing Christian and increasing Muslim communities. Alongside this demographic consequence, a broad series of changes occurred in the economic and social fields, accompanied by cultural, religious, and kinship questions. Emigrants, influenced by their new experiences of the

2 The main cities of migration for Cappadocian Christians were the "great Istanbul," Smyrna, Adana, Mersin, and Samsun, but also, especially from the end of the nineteenth century, cities outside Ottoman borders, in Greece (Athens), Egypt (Cairo), Russia, France, and the United States.

urban lifestyle, brought new forms of identification, new definitions of groupness and new visions of the other back to Cappadocia.

Adapted to the particular case of migration, the notions of imagined and actual communities coined by Benedict Anderson are instrumental.[3] On one hand, the actual communities living in villages and towns of Cappadocia were based on everyday relations. On the other hand, imagined communities were constructed by migrants on the basis of common belonging to a common, native land. As we demonstrate in this chapter and as has been frequently verified in numerous studies on migration over time and space,[4] a network of mutual aid and the a process of chain migration lead to migrants coming from the same area generally settling together – often in a same district – and thus re-creating a fragment of their actual community in a new space. Consequently, migrant communities can be observed simultaneously as actual and imagined: actual because everyday relations existed between migrants, imagined because the main link between them was their belonging to the same native place and to a community to which they continued to belong despite their geographical remoteness. Alongside to this double way of belonging to the same community of origin, we ask if they succeeded in being integrated into the urban environment in which settled or if they remained at the margins of the urban society. Integration might come through different ways (marriage, work, or economic, religious and educational, charitable

3 Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (1991).

4 The issue of the migrant networks has been studied particularly by specialists in contemporary studies. For an overview of the issue, see Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); S. Reicher, & N. Hopkins, *Self and the nation: Categorization, contestation and mobilization* (London: Sage, 2001). Regarding the Turkish immigrants in Europe, see Stéphane de Tapia, "Immigrations turques en Europe: typologies des espaces et des réseaux," in *Migrations et mobilités internationales: la plate-forme turque*, eds. Paul Dumont, Jean-François Pérouse, and Stéphane de Tapia (Istanbul: IFEA, 2002). Migration to America: L. Dicarlo, *Migrating to America: Transnational social networks and regional identity among Turkish immigrants* (New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008); especially Greek immigration to the United States: A. Scourby, "Mobility and ethnicity: The case of Greek- Americans," in *Immigration and ethnicity: American society – "melting pot" or "salad bowl"?* eds. M. D'Innocenzo and J. P. Sirefman (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991); Italian immigration: D. R. Gabaccia, *Italy's many diasporas* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).

activities) and could create a new form of belonging (to the "host" community). These different forms of belonging could even appear oppositional, canceling each other out. But we show in this chapter that belonging to the host community did not necessarily replace the feeling of belonging to the native; rather, it as superimposed over it. In fact, the feeling of belonging to the native community was stimulated and reinforced as a subgroup within the urban community into which migrants had integrated.

The issue of this chapter is to understand the process of migration experienced by Cappadocians and how, in the course of the long nineteenth century, migrants combined their different, even contradictory, forms of belonging to different communities and collectivities. First, it is useful to have a look at the continuities and discontinuities with previous centuries concerning the migration of Cappadocians since it would be wrong to imply that nineteenth-century emigration movement from Cappadocia was an unprecedented phenomenon. Then, we analyze the successive stages of migratory movements throughout the century, from the temporary, short-distance, and male emigration experienced especialy by Christians to permanent, long-distance, and family migrations that involved Christians and, to a lesser extent, Muslims. We also explore the way migrants adapted and integrated into their new – mostly urban – environments and recreated their communities of origin in the middle of their host city.

§ 5.1 Migration from Cappadocia: From Seasonal Moves to Permanent Settlements

Following diverse patterns of mobility that evolved through the centuries, the populations of Cappadocia and of Anatolia more broadly were always very mobile. Some of these main movement patterns are illustrated by the nomadism of tribes, by the semi-nomadism of villagers who spendt summers on the *yaylas*, by the creation of new villages by people who had left their own

home for economic purposes, or for Christians, to avoid turkification.[5] These various forms of mobility were generally confined to limited territories and short distances. Immigration over longer distances and especially the rural exodus to Istanbul or to other main urban centers of the Ottoman Empire was also an old trend. Travelogues already note the presence of Anatolian Christians in districts of Constantinople as early as the sixteenth century. The first was the French traveler, Nicolas de Nicolay d'Arfeville (1517-1583), who was in Istanbul in 1551 and 52. He precisely described the district of Yedikule where "Caramanians" Greeks who mainly worked as craftsmen lived.[6] This narrative, the first to deal with the "Karamanlı identity," did not specify the language spoken by this population. Two years later, however, the German traveler, Hans Dernschwam, visited the same district and similarly described the "Caramanians," but included interesting details about the linguistic particularities of these Greeks who practiced Orthodox rites though they did not understand Greek and only spoke Turkish.[7] Two decades later, the theologian Stephan Gerlach, who stayed in Istanbul between 1573 and 1578, wrote in his *Tagebuch* (published after his death, in 1674) that this population was a Turcophone Orthodox community whose roots were in Karamania.[8] In these three descriptions, one of the main shared aspects was that the

5 During the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century, several Christian communities had been dissolved and recreated, absorbed within other existing communities. The case of the village of Citlavik near Zincidere is certainly the most representative example. A part of the Christian population have converted to Islam, and those who refused to convert settled in Germir, Zincidere, and other villages of the area, blending into the already existing communities. "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ86: Report of E. Tsalikoglou.

6 Nicolay defined the region he called Caramania as the ancient Cilicia, while ancient Cappadocia was part of ancient Armenia. In fact, the link between the Caramanians of Istanbul and Cappadocia would be made later, in the course of the nineteenth century. Before Paul Lucas, none of the European travelers went further east in Anatolia. Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les navigations, pérégrinations et voyages, faits en la Turquie par Nicolas de Nicolay Daulphinoys, Seigneur d' Arfeuille, Valet de chambre & Geographe ordinaire du Roy de France*, IV vols. (Lyon, 1567-68). See also Jennings, "Erciyes dagi" (1987), 239.

7 Dernschwam, *Tagebuch einer Reise* (1923), 52.

8 Stephan Gerlach, *Türckisches Tagebuch* (Franckfurth am Mayn: Verlegung Johann Savid Zunners, 1674), §173.

Caramanians of Istanbul were relatively rich (some very rich) and worked principally as goldsmiths. During his travel in Constantinople in 1652, Paul of Aleppo also visited the district, explaining that it was currently called "Qaraman" because its inhabitants were from the region of Karaman and had come to Istanbul after the conquest of the city by Mehmed the Conqueror. The sultan had given them this district and the Church of St. Constantine.[9]

According to studies focusing on early centuries of the Empire[10] –between the sixteenth and the late eighteenth centuries – the migration of Christians from Anatolia to Istanbul continued but remained marginal compared to other forms of mobility. The main migration flows in Cappadocia were over short distances in the direction of surrounding settlements, from one kaza to the next, from a village to a local town, or from the plains to mountains. At that time, Anagnostopoulou noted, Rums of Central Anatolia, unlike those who lived on islands or along Asia Minor's coasts, rarely migrated outside Central Anatolia and mostly stayed in rural areas. In the face of population growth and overexploitation of land due to the sedentarization of nomads after the sixteenth century, especially in the region of Kayseri, villagers regularly moved from one place to another within a relatively confined area. Until the late eighteenth century, Central Anatolia did not receive Rum migrants from other parts of the empire. The migration process of Christian

9 See Paul d'Alep, "Voyage du patriarche Macaire d'Antioche par l'archidiacre Paul d'Alep" (trans. B. Radu), *Patrologia orientalis* 107 no.22 (1930).

10 The main studies referred to in the next paragraphs are: Suraiya Faroqhi, "Migration into Eighteenth-Century "Greater Istanbul" as Reflected in the Kadi Registers of Eyüp," *Turcica* 30 (1998); Anna Ballian, "Argyroupolis - Gümüşhane: Mining Capital of Pontos," in *The Greeks in the Black Sea: from the Bronze Age to the Early Twentieth Century*, ed. M. Koromila (Athens: Panorama, 2002); Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994); Kyriakos S. Hatzikyriakidis, *Το Μεταλλείο του Ταύρου (Μπουγά Μαντέν) 1626-1924: Συμβολή στην ιστορία των ελληνικών οικισμών της Μ. Ασίας* [Metalleio in the Taurus (Bouga Maden) 1626-1924: Contribution to the history of Greek settlements of Asia Minor] (Salonica: Κυριακίδη Αφοί, 1999); Anna Ballian, "Η Καππαδοκία μετά την κατάκτηση των Σελτζούκων και οι χριστιανικές κοινότητες από το 16ο έως το 18ο αιώνα" [Cappadocia after the Seljuq conquest and Christian communities from the 16th to the 18th centuries], in *Καππαδοκία. Περιήγηση στη Χριστιανική Ανατολή*, eds. A. Ballian, I. Petropoulou, and N. Panteleaki (Athens: Adam, 1993).

a,d also Muslim rural communities in Cappadocia was characterized by its relative regional confinement. Moreover, these moves generally concerned whole families and often entire communities whose members would leave a settlement together and create a new one some distance away.[11]

Movement to cities and especially to Izmir and Istanbul (or more precisely "Greater Istanbul," which includes the intra-muros city but also Galata, Üsküdar, and Eyüp) occurred in early centuries, but increased in the course of the eighteenth century. In contrast with short-distance moves, migration to Istanbul almost exclusively concerned the male population and was a seasonal phenomenon.[12] Moreover, a new migration movement took place in the late eighteenth century with the closing of mines in the Torul (Gümüşhane) region. Miners, principally Rums, left their homeland in search of new mines in different parts of Anatolia. Some settled in Cappadocia, mostly in the south part, on the Taurus slopes, or to a lesser extent, in the region of the Erciyes dağ. As a result, Cappadocia welcomed new communities of Rums who settled in various villages in the late eighteenth century and sometimes moved from village to village, following the opening and closing of mines.[13]

Migration in the nineteenth century was thus a continuation of former phenomena of mobility, but was also a specific answer to the rapid changes experienced at that time, especially in economic matters. The penetration of the Anatolian market by European industrialized products, the development of international trade, the resulting invigoration of harbor cities, and the construction of railway infrastructure – first in western Anatolia, then along the Marmara Sea (1870s), the plain of Konya (1890s), and toward Aleppo through the southern Taurus piedmont – had a negative impact on the eastern

11 Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 377-81.

12 "Greater Istanbul" includes the intramural city or *Dersaadet,* but also the *Bilad-ı Selase*: the three nearby towns of Eyüp, Galata on both sides of the Goldern Horn, and Üsküdar on the Anatolian side of the Bosphorus. Male migrants coming to Istanbul came for seasonal work and originated from Anatolia but mainly from Roumelia. See Faroqhi, "Migration into Eighteenth-Century 'Greater Istanbul'" (1998).

13 Regarding villages of miners, see Chapters 3.2 and 8.1. See also Georgios Th. Kandilaptis, *Οι αρχιμεταλλουργοί του Πόντου και το εθνικόν έργον αυτών μετά παραρτήματος* [The chief miners of Pontos and their national action] (Athens, 1929); Ballian, "Argyroupolis" (2002).

and central parts of Anatolia, isolating Cappadocia from modern transportation routes.[14] In the face of the intensification of this economic remoteness after 1870, Cappadocians – especially Christians who were particularly involved in local trade and consequently severely affected by the situation, but also more generally all people engaged in farming activities – attempted to survive unscathed by choosing emigration. As a result, local populations took the plunge and emigrated. Despite their specialization in farming sectors, Cappadocian migrants mainly headed for the main urban centers of the empire that provided a larger job-market. After the 1870s, this move focused on the great Istanbul.

In nineteenth-century Istanbul, Greek Orthodox communities were particularly heterogeneous in terms of social groups and origins. They embraced people who had lived in Istanbul from Byzantines times (the Phanariots) as well as people who had just settled there, coming from various regions of the empire. However, as explained by Anastassiadou, "the originally rural population fully adhered not only to urban ways of life, but more uniquely to the collective memory of the 'indigenous' community that had welcomed them, while developing a feeling that they were rooted in the city's past."[15] On the other hand, for new comers and often for generations, the link to the native land was conserved and played a central role in the ways of identification, especially as long as family remained there. This link was reflected mainly in activities of migrants for the benefit of their homeland through, for instance, the facilitation of chain migration or remittances for the modernization of local infrastructures and development of local education. In homelands, the absence of an ever more important segment of the male population and the general demographic decrease in most Christian communities obliged a reorganization of local life, within households but also within entire communities and village networks.

14 For an idea of the railways already built in Anatolia in 1900 and a proposed project for an eastern railway, see the map in Appendix A9. Only in 1927 did the first train enter the Kayseri station. The town of Niğde waited until 1932 before being connected to the rail network.

15 Méropi Anastassiadou, "Greek Orthodox Immigrants and Modes of Integration within the Urban Society of Istanbul (1850-1923)," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 24, no.2 (2009): 152.

Even though migration was intense and incessant throughout Anatolia, travel within the Ottoman Empire was, theoretically, strictly controlled by the state. As early as the sixteenth century, regulations for migration (*Men-i mürur*) within the empire were particularly restrictive, especially concerning migration to Istanbul. Theoretically, all unauthorized forms of mobility beyond kaza boundaries were forbidden. The aim was to maintain agricultural production in rural areas in order to lessen the burden of provisioning overpopulated cities. Additionally, it allowed the maintenance of law and order by restricting or prohibiting people's movement. It was only in 1908 that the Men-i mürur was officially rescinded (although it continued to be applied for a few more years). That said, numerous studies have shown that these restrictions did not prevent people from moving outside their kaza and especially to large cities of the empire.[16]

Once in Istanbul, immigrants did not acquire the status of resident and continued to be assigned to the administrative unit where their household was registered.[17] Mainly arriving in the city as single men, they lived in a han or *bekarodası* and were listed on registration lists (*yoklama defteri*) whether they stayed for a few days or for several months. Migrants who came to work in Istanbul were registered as *bekâr*, namely "single men" even if they were

16 Regulations about travelling datinge to the sixteenth century and were aimed to limit the influx of migrants and *serseri* (vagabonds) into cities, especially Istanbul. According to Çadırcı, until the time of Mahmud II, migrants living in Istanbul without permission or a reason to stay (a job, for example) were sent back in their province of origin every three to five years. However this did not prevent them from returning later. A series of modifications were made in the nineteenth century. In 1826, the *Ihtisab Nezareti* (roughly the Ministry of Municipal Police) was set up to control population moves and particularly entry into the Greater Istanbul. After 1831, a *defter nazırı* (superintendant of records) was appointed in each *sancak* to organize a census and file official travel documents. See Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Mürur Tezkiresi," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2003); Musa Çadırcı, "Tanzimat döneminde çıkarılan men'-i mürur ve Pasaport Nizamnameleri" [An Analysis of the Establishment of the Muhtarship Organization in Turkey], *Belgeler* 15, no.19 (1993). Karpat, "Ottoman Population Records" (1978). Regarding migrants living in Istanbul, see also Behar, "Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants" (1995).

17 Nejdet Bilgi, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin 1917 Yılı yabancı Nüfusu," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 25, no.1 (2010): 105.

married. The term *bekâr*, according to the Ottoman administrative definition, signified that these men were alone – not accompanied by a spouse or children when they applied for registration – even if they were actually married and had children. Conversely, Anastassiadou noted that men who migrated to Istanbul and entered into a Constantinopolitan household (moving in with relatives, for instance) were administratively called *muteehhil* (married) whether they were married or not.[18]

Urban administrators paid a particular attention to the mobility of non-Muslims. In Istanbul, the *yoklama defters* included quasi-exclusively the names of non-Muslims. Moreover, the suspicions of the administration vis-à-vis non-Muslim immigrants appear clearly in documents throughout the nineteenth century. Even when they worked in the capital as merchants or shopkeepers, administrators of the capital regarded them as potential troublemakers, continually tried to prevent them from settling permanently in the city, and tried to push them back out of it.[19] This was particularly obvious during periods of tensions. For instance, in the face of rising nationalism and the first rebellions in the western regions of the empire, specific orders were issued by the central administration for the surveillance of movements of Rum population. At the beginning of the Greek War of Independence in the early 1820s, several official decrees increased control over unauthorized entrance by Rums to Istanbul, especially those coming from Anatolia. The aim was to avoid amplifying the rebellion with a rally of Anatolian Rums, propagating it to the capital and to Anatolian territories of the empire. Two documents in 1821 clearly state the necessity of preventing Anatolian Rums from joining the rebellion by coming to coast cities (Istanbul and Izmir) to reach boats and rally Greek troops.[20]

18 Anastassiadou, *Grecs d'Istanbul* (2012), 76. To be official inhabitants of Istanbul, migrants had to enter via a household already registered in the city or to transfer the registration of their own household from their place of origin to Istanbul. The family link was not necessarily a direct one between members of the same household. A distant cousin or someone from the same village could be registered in a household.

19 BOA, HAT 1316/51330 (1235-Z-29/07.10.1820).

20 BOA, C.ZB 34/1685 (1237-M-23/20.10.1821); BOA, C.DH 72/3593 (1237-S-29/25.11.1821).

Despite these regulations and restrictions, population moves, especially to the capital, were intense whether in accord with official ways or not. Until World War I, migration from Cappadocia to main urban and economic centers, port cities, and more-and-more to Istanbul intensified.On the eve of the twentieth century, the capital had become the main destination for the igration of the Orthodox Christians of Cappadocia.[21]

5.1.1 *Single Men on the Move (1820-1870)*

Throughout the nineteenth century, emigration from Cappadocia had shared characteristics but was also diverse. In the 1830s, it was already a broadly developed process in many villages of the region, though only a few inhabitants of local towns emigrated outside their kaza. *Nüfus* and *cizye* records recorded the male population and noted those who worked for the part of the year in another sancak. Thus, according to the *nüfus defteri* of the region of Kayseri, in 1833-34, more than forty percent of the male population of Rum communities of ten villages were migrants (Table 5.1).[22] On the other hand, Rum inhabitants of the city of Kayseri and other towns in Cappadocia were far less mobile. In 1833-34, only 15 percent of male Rum Kayseriotes lived outside the city, and according to the *cizye defteri* of Niğde of 1830-31, only 8.4 percent of Rum town-dwellers lived and worked as migrants (Table 5.2). In these defters, peddlers and seasonal workers (who left for only a few weeks or months) were not recorded as migrants. However, many of the men who left their settlements were actually seasonal migrants living on the roads and

21 Muslim immigration to Istanbul, during the same period was a movement of refugees fleeing western borders lost by the Ottoman Empire; emigration of Muslims from Cappadocia was an extant but limited phenomenon.

22 From the data of the *nüfus defteri* of Kayseri of 1833-34, Renieri established that villages of Stefana, Tavlosun, Gesi had more than 50% of their Rum male population living as migrants (between 40 and 50 percent for the villages of Endürlük, Skopi, Zincidere, Talas, Vekse, Erkilet, and Germir). See "Codex α/α 216 Kayseri, Καισαρείας Νοφούς δεφτερί έτους εγείρας 1250 Τουρκιστί [Nüfus defteri of Kayseri for the year H.1250] (1833-1834)," in Codices of the Exchange (Athens: GAK); Irini Renieri, "Household Formation in 19th-century central Anatolia: the Case-Study of a Turkish-speaking Orthodox Community," *IJMES* 34 (2002): 506.

working as itinerant craftsmen or tradesmen, selling (or more often swapping) goods or skills in the villages through which they passed.

Table 5.1. The male Rum population – including men who migrated – of the sancak of Kayseri according to the nüfus defteri of 1834.[23]

Settlement	Total Male Rum Population	Male Rum Migrants	Proportion of Migrants (%)
Stefana	189	113	59,8
Tavlosun	268	146	54,5
Gesi	58	30	51,8
Endürlük	1 235	606	49,1
Skopi	114	53	46,5
Zincidere	720	328	45,6
Talas	1 808	777	43
Vekse	47	20	42,5
Erkilet	307	128	41,7
Germir	1 336	540	40,4
Kerkeme	40	13	32,5
Sarımsaklı	258	83	32,2
Ağırnas	78	23	29,5
Molu	44	11	25
Kayseri	1 130	176	15,6
Çukur	130	8	6,1
Total	7 762	3055	39,4

Table 5.2. Male Rum population – including migrants – of the town of Niğde according to the cizye defteri of 1830-31.[24]

Mahalle of Niğde	Male Rum Population	Male Rum Migrants	Proportion of Migrants (%)
Ahi Mustafa	78	14	17,9
Ömer Han	40	6	15,0
Tata Ahmet	70	8	11,4
Mahalle-i Rum	37	4	10,8
Hoca Veyis	38	4	10,5
Kayabaşı	506	36	7,1
Derecik	35	2	5,7
Sungur	27	1	3,7

23 Table available in Irini Renieri, "Household Formation in 19th-century central Anatolia: the Case-Study of a Turkish-speaking Orthodox Community," in*ternational Journal of Middle East Studies* 34 (2002): 506.

24 According to data in Doğan, "Hicri 1246 Tarihli Cizye" (2008), 20-25.

Kıble	69	2	2,9
Hacet	13	-	0
Total	913	77	8,4

According to the OTA informants (mostly individuals born after 1870), their grandfathers used to trade as peddlers in neighboring regions: the surroundings of Aksaray, Konya, and Ankara.[25] Others were employed on the *çiftlik* (farms) in the plains of Ankara and Konya. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, several rich Rums of Cappadocia had bought large tracts of land in the vicinity of Ankara where they employed their compatriots.[26]

For many of them, the year was balanced between months of migration and months at home. During his travels in 1861, Georges Perrot met several Rums from Nevşehir and Niğde in the area of Ankara who had come there for trade:

> All the villages we encounter in this journey are Muslims. In one of these villages, called Aslan Hadjili, we find three Cappadocian Greeks of Nevscheïr. They have here a factory of linseed oil that they retail in the surrounding villages. They spend three quarters of the year here with those of their children who are old enough to help them in their work. Their wives remained in Nevscheïr, where they will find them for Easter. They know a little Greek, but they have mixed up so many Turkish words and pronounce it so strangely that I do not understand their language. And on the other hand, they do not really understand my Greek from Athens. I had also met, in the Kurdish village of Haïmaneh, Greeks from Niğde, another town of Cappadocia. They were four, and I first thought that they were dervishes because of their egg-shaped hats. It is, they explained to me, a kind of emblem showing their profession. They traveled through the province of Angora from one village to another to make big pieces of felt used to cover the soil

25 "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, K. Papazoglou; "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, M. Damianoglou.

26 Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 387, according to the files about the region of Ankara in the OTA.

> in houses as a kind of carpet. Their Greek was more-or-less unintelligible, too.[27]

In villages as well as in towns, the number of emigrants slowly increased until the 1850s. It experienced a far more rapid acceleration from the 1860s onwards and especially after 1890. Migration became widespread in most Rum communities of Cappadocia even though the migration patterns and temporality varied. In the first phase (up until the 1860s), migration was heterogeneous in terms of its destination, but had common features. It was a seasonal, male phenomenon taking place over short to medium distances. Women and young children remained at home while the father (followed by his oldest sons) left for several months and returning for particular periods quch as the harvest, the celebration of Easter, or events such as a wedding or the birth of a child.

During this phase, migrants worked in regions close to their homeland, often adjacent to their sancak of residency. One should recall that journeys on the roads of Anatolia were a difficult adventure, because of the lack of modern transportation infrastructure but even more so because of the danger of roaming robbers, described by many European travelers and also regularly mentioned by locals in complaints made to the local and central administration.[28] Paul Lucas, in the early eighteenth, and MacDonald Kinneir, Ainsworth, and Perrot a century later regularly mentioned the presence of bandits on the roads. Travelers in the late nineteenth century did not necessarily describe safer conditions, but highway robbery had become a *topos* in the travel literature that had the advantage of holding readers' attention. Nevertheless, the numerous petitions on the same issue available in Ottoman archives confirms the precarious situation of Anatolian roads.[29]

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27 Georges Perrot, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure* (Paris: M. Lévy Frères, 1864), 382-83.

28 Lucas, *Voyage du sieur Paul Lucas*, I (1714); Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor* (1818); Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839); Perrot, *Souvenirs d'un voyage* (1864); Burnichon, "A travers le Taurus" (1894).

29 See, for instance, BOA, MVL 22/44 (1264-R-1264/29.02.1848); BOA, A.MKT.UM 383/68 (1276-Ca-12/07.12.1859); BOA, DH.MKT 2001/110 (1310-S-22/15.09.1892); BOA, DH.EUM.SSM 55/106 (1336-M-29/14.11.1917); BOA, DH.ŞFR 101/28 (1337-L-27/26.07.1919).

Beyond the risks linked to the trip, novice migrants would have been less worried by a short-distance move, from which they could, if life elsewhere was not successful, more easily return. When economic success was achieved by a first wave of migrants, new ones joined them, and the move intensified and became ordinary. Simultaneous with this "democratization" of emigration, the distances traveled by migrants increased. In the first half of the century, following the improvements to roads, migrants began settling in towns and villages located further away from their native land, remained there a few years before continuing with their migration much further away, favoring locations where large tracts of land were available and trade opportunities were attractive.[30] While their grandfathers migrated to local or regional towns like Kayseri. Ankara, and Konya, men who lived at the end of the nineteenth century henceforth migrated to Istanbul, Izmir, and even abroad – to Greece, Russia and, to a lesser extent, the United States or France. This change is also visible in the space of a life-time: many migrants of the second half of the century migrated first to close and dynamic cities such as Ankara, Samsun, Mersin, and Adana before going to Istanbul, Izmir, Athens, Cairo, and Aleppo.[31] Port cities and their surroundings were generally favored by migrants because access to maritime trade made the economy more dynamic. Towns such as Adana, Tarsus, Cairo and Aleppo on the Mediterranean, Smyrna on the Aegean, Samsun, Bafra on the Black Sea, and to a lesser extent Erzurum in Eastern Anatolia were among the main destinations of Cappadocian Rum migrants throughout the nineteenth century.[32] There, migrants worked as dailyworkers, merchants, and craftsmen or sometimes created their own businesses which often turned into a family business, remaining definitively in one of these towns, or moving after several years to another location.

Generally speaking, the chain migration described by the OTA informants and by several Rum authors of the second half of the nineteenth century shows

30 "Report of the General Royal Consulate of Konya" (1916). Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 230-34.

31 For examples of life-time migration paths, see the biographies in Appendix B.

32 Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί*, 1896; "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, Symeonoglou.

that early on the villages in the area of Niğde and Nevşehir concentrated their migration on specific places, especially Istanbul. The villages in the region of Kayseri had a greater range of destinations.[33] Moreover, small communities such as İloson, Keçiağaç, and Çat concentrated their immigration on one or two cities, while large communities such as Zincidere, Germir, and Delmason sent migrants across the empire and even abroad. To these geographical differences can be added, at least in the first phase of nineteenth-century migration (1820s-1860s), a clear socio-professional distinction between a socially lower class, mainly peasant and craftsmen migrants, who went to the rural areas of Central Anatolia such as the regions of Konya and Ankara, while an upper class of merchants favored port cities. However, this dichotomy was not absolute and it became blurred during the second phase of migration (1860s-1910s) with the enrichment of the land owners and managers of small workshops in Central Anatolia as well as with the large number of peasants who went to work as porters, factory workers, and employees in port cities.[34]

Thanks to its dynamic economy, Istanbul was and remained one of the main destinations for seasonal and Rum migrants from Cappadocia during the whole of the century. In spite of the great distance, up until the end of the 1860s the move was not permanent. Most migrants divided their year between several months in Istanbul (often between September and May) and summer in their village. Migration to Istanbul was regarded by Cappadocians as particular: even though it also a seasonal move, migration to Istanbul was seen as "real" migration, while seasonal migration to closer cities such as Mersin and Adana was not. An informant from Delmason formulated an interesting view on the migration pattern:

33 Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896). See also testimonies of CAMS informants who often talked about their fathers and grand-fathers.

34 For published examples, see N. Rizos, *Καππαδοκικα, ήτοι δοκίμιον* (1856); Rizos, *Συνασός* (1879); Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896); Kalfoglou, *Ζιντζίντερε καργεσινδέ* (1898); Kalfoglou, *Μικρα Ασια Κητασηνην* (1899); "Δερί Σααδετδε Μουκίμ Νεβσεχιρλί Πεϊνιρδζι Εσναφή Ιττιχατηνίν Νιζαμναμέσι" (Deri Saadet: Ευαγγελινός Μισαηλίδης ματβααση, 1882); Levidis, *Ιστορικόν δοκίμιον*, Α' (1885).

> In our village, we were divided into two groups: the "Istanbulites" (*Πολιτες*) and the "locals" (*Ντοπιοι*). The locals inhabited the village and only went to Mersin for trade. If one's family was not involved in farming activities, the men went to Istanbul to earn money.[35]

In this testimony and many others, evn though all migrants left the village for several months, the people who went to Mersin for trade were regarded as "locals" while those who went to Istanbul were called "migrants." It is interesting to note that the Greek word used for migration in the OTA is *ξενιτιά*/*xenitia* ["abroad/foreign lands"], and the Turkish word *gurbet* was sometimes used as an equivalent by Turcophone informants. As in the testimony of Makrina from Delmason, the notion of xenitia or gurbet was generally used by informants according to a definition based on distance rather than time. The migrant was the one who left the community for a distant place – who almost became a foreigner – whereas men who went to nearby towns (Kayseri, Mersin, Adana, and Ankara) continued to be considered locals even though they left the village for the same length of time.

Concerning the meaning of xenitia, the case of the Greek-speaking community in Misti is interesting. The British geologist, Hamilton, who passed through this village in 1873 wrote:

> The place contained between 200 and 300 houses, all inhabited by Greeks independent of the Turkish authorities, and subject only to the Bishop of Nigdeh. The inhabitants pay no taxes to the government; but work gratuitously in the lead-mines of Maden Dagh. […] The Greeks of Misli never leave their village or travel in search of employment elsewhere, and neither men nor women are allowed to marry strangers.[36]

In the OTA, the file on Misti is full of testimonies claiming that when it came to emigration, nobody in the village went "in xenitia." Similarly, informants from surrounding villages affirmed that people of Misti were famous for their isolation; they never left their village while the men of other communities were emigrating en masse. However, the same informants explained that it was

35 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ269: M. Bagdazoglou.

36 Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, II (1842), 296.

common for young Mistiotes to go to Russia for three or four years to earn money, but they did not consider this to be migration.[37] The peculiarity of the Mistiotes was that they left for several years, but only once in their life. Moreover, most Mistiotes lived off livestock farming and the production and trade of *keçe*.[38] Each year, many men left would leave the village and work as peddlers in villages in the areas of Aksaray, Beyşehir, Konya. Ankara, and sometimes up to Izmir. But informants did not consider this mobility as xenitia.[39]

According to their town or village of origin, definitions of xenitia or gurbet were different, and migrants from different places favored various destinations and forms of mobility. However, whatever the distance crossed, during this first phase of migration, the large majority of moves were temporary and punctuated by regular returns to native lands. Moreover, one or two decades was enough time to raise funds for an improvement that would last the rest of their lives, so many migrants returned definitively to their native lands. The most successful of them took up residence in houses they built there to enjoy their retirement, while the others took up farming.

In the 1840s-1870s, together with an intensification of emigration from Cappadocia, the profiles of migrants changed in important ways. Former migration directed in various derections turned progressively to a focus on Istanbul and lost its seasonal characteristic. Istanbul was already an essential place of migration for several communities of Cappadocia, such as İncesu, Fertek, Cemil, and Sinasos from which men had migrated exclusively to Istanbul for several generations. In other communities (in Delmason, for instance), the reorientation of migration occurred around the middle of the century.[40] Generally speaking, migratory flows from throughout Cappadocia

37 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ248: Makarios Damianoglou.

38 The *keçe* is a felt often used by shepherds as outer garment (also called *kepenek)*. Its artisanal manufacture is a particularly strenuous work exclusively undertaken by men. Regarding economic activities of Mistiotes and other communities of Cappadocia, see Chapter 8.1.

39 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ241: M. Damianoglou.

40 Some communities however (for instance, Limni or Çat) continued to send migrants to Ankara, Samsun, Adana, or Mersin rather than to Istanbul up until the 1920s, while Mistiotes continued to go to Russia. "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s; "ΚΠ 131-132 Tsat," 1950s, in Oral

to the capital converged more intensely, after 1840. Anastassiadou noted that the 1840-1880 decades were a transitory period for the migratory flux, the consequence of a succession of major events and evolutions: the Crimean war (1853-56), the Hatt-i Hümayun proclamation (1856), the Russo-Turkish conflict (1877-78), the progressive dismantling of the empire's western frontiers and the resultant refugee flood, and the intensification of European economic infiltration. Displacement of refugees from bordering territories as well as emigration from economically depressed or stagnant areas such as Cappadocia, brought about deep changes in the Ottoman demographic landscape. Thus, Cappadocian Christian migrants, such as the ones from Epirus or Macedonia, "came to improve [their] lot in Istanbul towards the mid-nineteenth century, a time when the opening of the economy of the Empire to the countries of European promised deep structural changes in the job market, and in the world of business."[41]

On the other hand, immigration continued to be mainly a male phenomenon following the logic of chain migration, young migrants retracing the footsteps and professional patterns shaped by previous migrants of their community. The assistance of relatives who already lived and worked in the host place made easier the settlement and professional launch of newcomers as well as their social and economic integration to the urban society they just introduced all the more so as the first trip generally occurred very early in the lifetime of a man. According to Anastassiadou, among the whole Greek Orthodox immigrant population of Istanbul (including people from Macedonia, Thrace, Anatolia…), almost seventy percent were less than thirty years old and many of them had left their village around ten or twelve years old, or even younger.[42] About the age of Cappadocian migrants, S. Rizos wrote:

> I do not know at which age men migrated in the past. Travel was a difficult and dangerous epic; maybe they left the village around twenty

Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS); Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 383-84.

41 Anastassiadou, "Greek Orthodox Immigrants" (2009): 153.

42 The Ottoman administration classified children younger than ten years old and youth between eleven and sixteen years old in the lowest fiscal bracket. See Ibid.

> years old. In our time, a boy generally finished schooling at thirteen or fourteen years of age – the boys of the poorest families even earlier – and went to Istanbul to become a man and make money.[43]

In the mid-nineteenth century, a large part of young boys indeed emigrated for the first time between ten and twelve years old. The age of first migration then increased to fourteen or sixteen due to the development of educational structures that retained young boys for longer period in their homeland. Up to the 1870s, communal educational structures in Cappadocia were not yet developed and boys often left their village without any education. As a result, most migrated to work in stores and workshops; very few migrated as students. According to Anastassiadou, "at least towards the middle of the nineteenth century, school was a path rarely taken by the vast majority of children from the countryside."[44] At that time, the correlation between the wealth of one's family and the ability to continue study in Istanbul was self-evident. Moreover, the instruction efforts in Cappadocian communities were feeble during this period, while they became prominent in the last third of the century. After the 1870s and especially from the 1890s onwards, when the development of educational activities through the Greek Orthodox community was in full swing, some children, who started their primary or even secondary education in their villages or neighboring towns, would be sent to Istanbul and registered in one of the Greek or French high schools and later at the Istanbul University or even the University of Athens. The proportion of young people who came to Istanbul for studies remained minor, however, and this situation was a privilege of students coming from large villages where the educational and associative organizations were already well-developed or whose families were sufficiently well-off to send them to Istanbul to pursue their studies. Thus, large settlements such as Fertek, Gelveri, Malakopi, Ürgüp, Nevşehir, Sinasos, and Zincidere – the heart of Greek Orthodox education in Cappadocia – were the main places from which young people were able to come to Istanbul or Athens to attend a university.

43 Rizos, *Η Σινασός (1952)*, I (2007), 56.

44 Anastassiadou, "Greek Orthodox Immigrants" (2009): 153.

With the huge increases in local education, most boys who migrated for the first time in the last decades of the century had already finished their primary education or had at least been educated in their village for two or three years – enough time to be literate. The most deserving pupils, even when issued from humble families, could receive scholarships financed by their community to continue their education in one of the Rum, or French schools of the capital. These remained a relatively little proportion in comparison to those who migrated to the city to work in the shops or workshops of their father, brother, relatives, or compatriots as grocers, *helvacı,* peddlers, porters, or servants. Still, the development of educational structures in Cappadocian villages had an objective impact on the age of migrants, even those of the lowest social backgrounds. Complaints by the Sinasiote caviar traders in Istanbul serve as evidence. Sinasiote emigrants were among the first Cappadocians to have financially supported the foundation of a school in their village. However, the powerful union of caviar traders soon complained that boys migrating to Istanbul were already too old to efficiently learn the delicate "art" of making caviar. They had all finished primary school before coming to Istanbul and were arriving in the city at eighteen years of age. In answer to the needs of the Caviar traders, a regulation (*praktika*) was signed between the demogerontia and Sinasiote traders in Istanbul. Boys of the village were henceforth divided into two groups: on one side were pupils who only went to school for four years and then migrated to Istanbul to work as apprentices in the caviar shops; on the other side were the best pupils selected to attend school for six years and destined to become teachers in local schools, to be sent to schools in Istanbul or Athens, or, if possible to an university with the financial support of the community.[45] As in Sinasos, the most deserving students of the Cappadocian communities in the late nineteenth century, were sent to Istanbul or Izmir for their high school education and later enrolled at the university in Istanbul or Athens. They were the pride of the entire community which financially supported their education and followed them in

45 Rizos, *Η Σινασός (1952)*, II (2007), 89.

the newspaper announcement of the universities and departments in which they enrolled.[46]

S. Rizos described the traditions linked to the first departure of young Sinasiote men to Istanbul in the late nineteenth century:

> According to the customs of this time, a boy getting ready for migration, on the evening of his departure, would visit his teacher with a basket of fruits. The priest would come to the house of the boy's family and in the presence of the mother pray for the good progress of this travel. But this was only in wealthiest families. For the poorest ones, the priest only came to the village square just before the departure. If the boy's father lived in the village, he accompanied his child. If the father was already in Istanbul, the mother and father would reach an agreement by mail about the travel of their child, and the boy would travel with an uncle, neighbor, or a right-hand compatriot. This person was in charge of the boy until his arrival in Istanbul. Generally, he would hand the boy over to his father or his parents at the train station of Haydarpaşa.[47]

According to other refugees from Sinasos, the travel to Istanbul began fifty days after Easter, when weather was wtill mild. First, in the evening, migrants went to the church to pray. Then, the community gathered at the square of the Monastery of St. Nicholas and relatives distributed pastries to migrants. During the journey they made on foot, with horses, mules, and donkeys, the men ate molasses (*pekmez*), olives, cheese, pastrami (*pastırma*), spicy sausage (*sucuk*), and sacred bread (*andidoro*). They slept outside and when they passed through Turkish villages, villagers gave them milk, yogurt, and eggs. The first step was generally to the small town of Avanos from which the caravans going to Istanbul began. Migrants arrived in Ankara in eight days, and stayed one day before continuing their twelve-day journey to Izmit (Ankara to Izmit is

46 For instance, the activities of students enrolled in the University of Istanbul were reported in newspapers read by the inhabitants of Ürgüp. See "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' - 1914″ (1913), 54.

47 Rizos, *Η Σινασός (1952)*, I (2007), 55.

345 kilometers). Later, with the construction of the railway in 1873, the caravan journey ended in Izmit, and migrants continued by train until Haydarpaşa Station.[48]

5.1.2 *Family and Permanent Settlement (1870-1914)*

From the 1870s onwards, the increase in the average age of the first migration of Cappadocians was confirmed. According to biographical data kept by the CAMS about informants and their relatives, the average age of male migrants from 1880 to1920 was fifteen, the youngest being ten and oldest twenty-five. If we look at female migration, in the period 1890-1920, a wide range in the age of first migration appears – from young girls about six to eight years old who accompanied their mothers to women of fifty, often widows who would take up residence in the family of one of their sons or, more rarely, their daughters. There is no data about female migration in the earlier decades, women being absent from the descriptions of earlier migration waves, certainly because rare were those who migrated. In that sense, in the period from 1880 to 1920, the presence of female migrants and their large age range are indicative of new forms of migration in which women and young children began to take a central place, on account of "family reunification." The largest segment of female migrants was composed of married women who were joining their husband when they were about thirty years old, generally after the marriage of their children, especially of their daughters who would remain in the villages of their husbands.[49]

For many Rum communities of Cappadocia, the 1870s were the beginning of a massive move involving men as well as women. In Delmason, for instance, small groups of men used to work as mule-drivers and go to Mersin to trade in cotton while the main part of the community continued to be engaged in

48 The trip of around 270 kilometers became even shorter in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the 1892 inauguration of the section of railway between Izmit and Ankara. It was not until 1927 that trains reached Kayseri and not until 1933 that they reached Niğde. Balta, *Sinasos. Mübadeleden önce* (2009), 187; "ΚΠ 332-339 Sinasos," 1950s, D. Kurcoglou, E. Papagrigoriou, P. Vayianis, Th. Semedrelis.

49 See the biographies in Appendix B.

farming. However, in face of the declince of the domestic cotton trade in the 1860s due to European competition, Telmisiotes diversified their activities, and an important part of the population of the village undertook the trip to Istanbul.[50] Kyrillos Terkenzis, a refugee from Delmason, described the situation as follows:

> Until 1865-70, the inhabitants lived from the land and there were few Telmisiotes who left to trade cotton in Istanbul. From 1870-80, with all the events in Europe and in Turkey, cotton trade became tougher and xenitia became a systematic process. Each year, five or ten men left the village to go to Istanbul. The few people who stayed in the village and still lived from farming began to work in cotton transportation and in trade with Mersin, which was, at the time, the nearest port. More than seventy percent of the men lived outside of the village. And more and more men began to take their families to join them.[51]

Entire families began to emigrate from Delmason as well as many other Christian communities in the 1870s. Emigrants who previously returned for each sowing seasons or at least once every two or three years henceforth came less regularly, sometimes waiting for "retirement" to spend the remainder of their lives in the houses built with the money saved during their years of migrating. Moreover, those who married in their homeland would, after several years, make their family join them as migrants. This new involvement of women and entire families in the migration process (especially to Istanbul) combined with the progressive transformation from seasonal movements into permanent moves reinforced the integration of originally rural populations into the urban, host society.

5.1.3 *Family Reunification (1870-1900)*

In the 1870s-1900s, male migrants who came back to Cappadocia to get married would, after their wedding, go back alone to their place of migration and wait to earn enough money and to secure their economic situation before calling their family to rejoin them. With the extension of the length of

50 Anastasiadi-Manousaki, *Μνήμες Καππαδοκίας* (2002), 214-23.

51 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ269: Kyrillos Terkenzis.

migration, long-distance relationships and family life became more and more difficult. Sometimes only three months or sometimes one or two years following their weddings, migrants returned to Istanbul and often did not come back before several years, their wives remaining alone, living with her parents or step-parents. As a result, numerous migrants met their children for the first time when they were already three of five years old. The lenghtening of the periods of migration and the process of "family reunification" progressively turned temporary migration into a permanent move. In many cases, the household would finally move to rejoin father (and often eldest sons) and take up residence in Istanbul.

In official requests kept in the BOA, the idea of family reunification existed, to a lesser extent, in the first half of the nineteenth century but broadly increased during the last decades of the century. It appears in th BOA documents as *nakl-i hane*. Literally meaning "move of household" or "transfer of residence," the *nakl-i hane* implied family reunification since the official move of the household involved the move of all of its members. It occurred especially when the head of household had a secure job in his palce of migration. A few cases are available in archives for the 1860s, but among Rums of Cappadocia, the process became widespread from the 1870s. The context of the period of the 1870s-1890s explains this evolution. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 – during which Russia proclaimed its protection of the Christians of Ottoman territories – and the massacres of Armenians in the mid-1890s instituted a strained atmosphere vis-à-vis Armenians and accordingly vis-à-vis other Christians of Anatolia. In eastern Cappadocia, Rums living in the city of Kayseri and in its surroundings felt these tensions more than in other areas of Cappadocia where Armenian populations were quasi-nonexistent outside of main towns. In some villages in the region of Kayseri, such as Germir, the Rum communities not only witnessed massacres of Armenians in 1896 but also narrowly avoided the violence of Muslim villagers themselves.[52] Facing this hostility and out of fear for the safety of their families, many Rums decided to immigrate with their entire household rather than leave their wives

52 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, Ch. Pehlidis, H. Bostanizoglou.

and children without protection.[53] Throughout Cappadocia even before this period, the main reason mentioned in official requests for family reunification in a host city was the lack of security of women and children who remained alone without the protection of a adult male family member. Events of 1870-1900 reinforced this feeling of insecurity and the necessity of not leaving women and children behind.[54]

With this feminization of immigration, the previous trend of temporary male migration turned progressively into a permanent family migration. Once the family reunified in Istanbul, the movement of coming and going slowed and often eventually stopped. The household could thus be registered in the records of the mahalle in which the family settled . In this way, men who had previously migrated alone could henceforth – if they were not already living in a household of the city – transcend their administrative status of *bekâr* and officially become the head of an Istanbulite household. Migrants to other cities of the empire inderwent the same evolution. After having brought the members of their household with them, migrants who had often lived in hans or even in a back-room of their workplace could henceforth settle in a residential district of the city. At the turn of the twentieth century, those who achieved relative economic success became owners of a house and/or shop in their adopted city.[55] Beyond the well-being of the family, family reunification was a mean of long-term integration into the place of migration, as well as a means of being officially recognized by the state administration as city-dwellers. The status of migrant (or rahter of non-local) could be turned into the status of inhabitant only when the transfer of the household records to a

53 See, for instance, "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s; "ΚΠ 49-52 Agirnas," 1950s; "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s.

54 Among the main reasons cited, security, the age of a mother, and economic difficulties were the most frequent. See, for instance, BOA, A.MKT.UM 131/69 (1269-B-4/13.04.1853); A.MKT.UM 328/7 (1275-S-27/06.10.1858); A.MKT.DV 197/46 (1278-M-26/03.08.1861); DH.TMIK.M 44/62 (1315-B-10/04.12.1897)

55 Regarding access to ownership in Istanbul, see "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ269: T. Papadopou. In Izmir or Samsun, see "ΚΠ 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, ΚΠ61: Isaak Karamanoglou. Regarding the access of immigrants to ownership in Istanbul see also Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul households: marriage, family, and fertility, 1880-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1991.

mahalle of the city was agreed upon by the state, and this transfer was possible only if all members of the household moved to the new place.

Nevertheless, despite the intensification of family reunification, numerous men continued to migrate alone after their weddings, definitively returning to their villages where their family was waiting for them after a couple of years. For instance, Hatzifopadis Pantelis, born in 1882 in Malakopi, settled in Galata at the end of the 1890s. In 1906, he came back to Malakopi, married, and had a child, but in 191, he set out again for Istanbul. Two years later, when he was thirty-four, he definitively joined his family in Malakopi where he opened a small grain store.[56] In the same way, Kostas Papakonstantinou, born in Malakopi in 1874, migrated to Istanbul to work in his brother's grocery. Seven years later, he came back to Malakopi for two years, married, and then went back to Istanbul. When he learned that his father, who was one of the priests of Malakopi, had died, he returned to his homeland and was ordained as priest to replace his father. Until the population exchange of 1923, he officiated in different parishes of Cappadocia and never returned to Istanbul.[57] Like Papakonstantinou, a relatively significant number of immigrants, male as well as female, would, for various reasons, finally return home after several years spent in the capital or in another host city.[58]

5.1.4 *Family Migration (1890s-1920s)*

From the 1900s, the migration process entered a new phase as family reunification progressively turned into family migration – that is to say, newly married couples henceforth migrated to Istanbul together. In some cases, the husband already had an experience of life as a migrant: he came back to the village for his wedding, but rather than setting out again alone and waiting for several years before bringing his family with him, he migrated directly with his wife, generally after some months spent in their home community. In other cases, the couple passed the milestone of first migration together. For instance, Marika Kalathopoulou from Ağırnas and her husband from Vekse married

56 "ΚΠ 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s, ΚΠ173: H. Pantelis.

57 Ibid., ΚΠ173: K. Papakonstantinos.

58 For other examples, see the biographies in Appendix B.

around 1905 and migrated together, for the first time, to Istanbul in 1910.[59] Similarly, Eleni Tzobanoglou and her husband, Aristidi, migrated from Cemil to Istanbul together in 1910;[60] Basileos and Fevronia Topsakali married in 1917 and, two years later, left their village of Keçiağaç to settle in the capital together;[61] and as a last example, Prokopios Antoniadis left Ereğli for Istanbul with his wife in 1918.[62] The context of war in the 1910s (first the Balkan wars) partly explains partially the intensification of family migration. Even though Cappadocia was not in the middle of the wars, everyday life in the region became particularly difficult because of conscription, food requisitions, starvation and exacerbated tension between communities. Wartime in the imperial capital was also difficult for families. In fact, among the series of refugee testimonies from villages of Cappadocia, family emigration effectively stopped during World War I and seems to have begun again in 1917-1918, but husbands and sons continued to live as migrants or were conscripted into the Ottoman army during the same period.[63]

The general evolution from family reunification to family immigration is confirmed by an analysis of baptism registers of Cappadocian parishes for

59 "КП 49-52 Agirnas," 1950s, КП49: M. Kalathopoulou.

60 "КП 340-342 Tzalela," 1950s, КП340: E. Tzobanoglou.

61 "КП 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, КП235: F.& B. Topsakali.

62 "КП 231 Eregli," 1950s, КП231: P. Antoniadis.

63 For instance, Simeon Apostolidis from Endürlük spent four years in the Turkish Army between 1914 and 1918. Ioakeim Papadopoulos from Çukur was been conscripted during the Balkan war and continued his obligatory military service until 1918. A large proportion of Rums of Cappadocia became enrolled in the Turkish army in 1914. Some of them, however, decided to flee the Ottoman Empire to avoid conscription or deserted the Ottoman army. For instance, Prodromos Grigoriadis, born in Malakopi in 1893 left Malakopi for Greece in 1914 in order not to enter in the Turkish army and came back to his village in 1919, where he stayed until the exchange of populations. As for Kosmas Serafeimidis from Limni, he was enrolled in 1914 and returned to Limni in 1919. One year later, he left and fled to Mytilene to join the Greek Army in Smyrna However, he was rejected by the Greeks back because he was Turcophone and consequently reenrolled in the Turkish Army. As a result, he participated in the war on the Turkish side. Numerous other examples are available in the OTA. "КП 215-218 Limni," 1950s, КП215: Kosmas Serafeimidis; "КП 394-397 Tsoukour," 1950s, КП394: Ioakeim Papadopoulou; "КП 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, КП57: Simeon Apostolidis; "КП 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s, КП173: P. Grigoriadis.

which records are available for several continuous decades. In the Orthodox tradition, because of the high rate of infant mortality, babies were baptized early and the quantitative study of baptisms gives representative data about the birth rates in communities. For instance, the average number of baptisms from 1838 to 1870 in Zincidere was around fourteen each year. In the 1870s, the number of baptisms felt to seven babies per year. During the following decade, this decreasing trend continued: there were no more than two or three baptisms per year.[64] Within a decade interval, the same trend is noticeable in other Christian communities of Cappadocia. In the village of Germir, for instance, the decrease in the number of baptisms per year began in the 1880s: from four baptisms per year in prior years, no more than two in the period 1880-1910, and during the years of the Great War, no baptisms were celebrated in the community.[65] Similarly, in the smaller locale of Kerkeme, the same evolution occurred over a ten-year interval since the decrease in its number of baptisms began in the 1890s.[66] Rather than family reunification, this decrease is representative of family immigration. In the case of family reunification, babies – at least firstborns – were born and baptized in the village and only later joined the father as migrants. On the other hand, with family immigration, just-married couples emigrated together and their children were born eslewhere.

Falling of birth rates were the obvious consequence not only of migration, but of bad local conditions such as famine, epidemics, or conflict. For instance, the famine of 1873-1874 led to a huge drop in the number of births (between 1873 and 1875) that can be observed in most settlements. In Zincidere, the

64 "Codex α/α 218 Zincidere, Εκκλησιαστική Επιτροπή Μεταμορφώσεως Ζιντζίντερε [Zincidere ecclesiastical epitropi of Metamorfosis] (1835-1894)," in Public Welfare (Athens: GAK); "Codex α/α 220 Zincidere, Κοινότητα Ζιντζίντερε Καισαρείας" (1871-1924), in Codices of the Exchange (Athens: GAK).

65 "Codex α/α 248 Germir, Εκκλησιαστική Επιτροπή Κοινότητας Κερμίρας" (1834-1880), in Public Welfare (Athens: GAK); "Codex α/α 254α Germir, Εκκλησιαστική Επιτροπή Κερμίρας [Ecclesiastical epitropi of Germir] (1793-1917)," in Public Welfare (Athens: GAK).

66 "Codex α/α 246 Kerkeme, Εκκλησιαστική Επιτροπή Κοινότητας Κέργκεμε [Ecclesiastical epitropi of the community of Kerkeme] (1842-1924)," in Codices of the Exchange (Athens: GAK).

average rate for the years before and after 1873-74 was up to ten while only two children were baptized in 1873-1874.[67] In Germir too, in 1873, the year when famine was most acutely felt in Cappadocia, no baptisms were recorded.[68] In the village of Kerkeme, for which baptism records went back earlier in the century, the mark of the 1845 famine is also visible since, in 1845, no baptisms were registered.[69] Similarly, the cholera epidemics of 1893 in the vicinity of Kayseri appears in baptism records of Zincidere and Germir communities, which particularly suffered from the disease and experienced an impressive decrease in birth rates.[70] The decline of baptism rates also had other reasons such as the absence of a priest to celebrate and record the baptisms of a parish. In such cases, it was unfailingly followed by a spike in celebrations and records in the following months since it was necessary to update the situation. For instance, only six baptisms were recorded in 1902 – all in the first months of the year – in several districts of Kayabaşı we analyzed in depth (Bucak, Sokubaşı, Oylu, Masat, Eces, Aşağı and Çarşı), in spite of a stable rate over the period 1880-1901, twenty-one baptisms per year. From September 1903 to December 1903, thirty-six baptisms were recorded by the new priest of the parish.[71] Drops in baptism rates resulting from famine, epidemics, wars or the absence of a priest were then followed by returns to normal rates – or even to spikes – in the following years. On the other hand, in the case of family emigration, drops in birth rates were progressive and continuous.

The record of baptisms of Kayabaşı allows to follow annual rates for the period between 1866 and 1912. It shows that the continued and systematic decrease linked to family migration began later in Kayabaşı than in the villages

67 "Codex α/α 218 Zincidere, Εκκλησιαστική Επιτροπή Μεταμορφώσεως Ζιντζίντερε (1835-1894)"; "Codex α/α 220 Zincidere, Κοινότητα Ζιντζίντερε Καισαρείας (1871-1924)."

68 "Codex α/α 248 Germir, Εκκλησιαστική Επιτροπή Κοινότητας Κερμίρας (1834-1880)"; "Codex α/α 254α Germir, Εκκλησιαστική Επιτροπή Κερμίρας [Ecclesiastical epitropi of Kerkeme] (1793-1917)."

69 "Codex α/α 246 Kerkeme, Εκκλησιαστική Επιτροπή Κοινότητας Κέργκεμε (1842-1924)."

70 "Codex α/α 254α Germir, Εκκλησιαστική Επιτροπή Κερμίρας (1793-1917)"; "Codex α/α 220 Zincidere, Κοινότητα Ζιντζίντερε Καισαρείας (1871-1924)."

71 The arrival of a new priest is visible by a change in the handwriting and the way of organizing records. "Codex α/α 308 Kayabaşı, Εκκλησία Καγιάμπαση (1835-1922)."

of the area of Kayseri, namely in the late 1900s. This drop stopped with the beginning of World War I since, between 1914 and 1916, a relative surge of birth rates is evident. This surge in wartime is explained by the fact that many families who had migrated to port cities decided to come back to Cappadocia where the situation was more peaceful. During the later years of the war (1917-1919), however, birth rates weret close to zero, probably because of the difficulties linked to wartime conditions and the departure of men who, while they remained in Cappadocia, were conscripts in the Ottoman army.[72] Higher rates resumed in 1920 and 1921. The specificities of these local evolutions and especially the maintenance of relatively high baptism rates in the 1880-90s and in 1914-1916 can be explained respectively by the role of Niğde as the main economic center of south Cappadocia. It attracted villagers from surrounding rural areas and was relatively peaceful during the war.[73]

If family migration became an important mode of emigration that led to the progressive depopulation of the Christian villages of Cappadocia, it would be erroneous to imagine that all Rum households were involved in this process. Many continued to follow the traditional form of seasonal, male migration. Moreover, many migrants planned to come back to their native land after having earned enough money. Even when entire families migrated to Istanbul, they could decide to return to their villages after years spent in Istanbul. For instance, the Kalathopoulous from the village of Vekse settled in Istanbul in1902, and after four years in the capital, they came back to Vekse. They definitively left the village upon the exchange of populations.[74] Similarly, the parents of Katina Zampoglou of Fertek migrated to Istanbul when she was nine and returned to Fertek all together six years later.[75] Moreover, the engagement of the Ottoman Empire in World War I in 1914 provoked a significant number of families who had migrated either to the capital or to

72 From 1909 to 1919, non-Muslims Ottoman citizens were conscripted into the army. After the Treaty of Mondros – and because of numerous cases of desertion and treason – the Ottoman state stopped calling upon non-Muslims to serve in the army in 1919, even for unarmed services. See Ufuk Gülsoy, *Osmanlı'nın Gayrimüslim Askerleri* (Istanbul: Timaş, 2010), 177.

73 "Codex α/α 308 Kayabaşı, Εκκλησία Καγιάμπαση (1835-1922)."

74 "ΚΠ 49-52 Agirnas," 1950s, ΚΠ49: M. Kalathopoulou.

75 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ298: K. Zampoglou.

port cities (which were militarily strategic and consequently dangerous during wartime) returned to their homeland.[76] From 1914, with the beginning of the war, many women and children resettled in their home villages to avoid the perils of wartime in cities like Istanbul. Fathers and eldest sons, however, remained to continue to work for the family's needs or were conscripted in the Ottoman army. Others waited until the late 1910s to come back in their villages and remain until the exchange.

§ 5.2 Muslims in the Face of Migration

The previous paragraphs dealt entirely with the emigration of Rums. The OTA informants interviewed on this issue claimed quasi-systematically that Muslims of their towns or villages did not emigrate. The case of Armenians was not broached by informants but was similar to that of Rums.[77] Informants described Cappadocian Muslims as people frightened of the idea of leaving their village. As a result, informants provided a general picture of, on one hand, Christian communities that migrated and earned money as migrants , and, on the other hand, Muslim communities who preferred to remain in poverty rather than migrate for better economic opportunities. This division confirmed the general assumption that non-Muslims dominated economy, especially trade and commerce, while Muslims predominantly worked in agriculture and stayed in rural areas. However, the few exceptions of Muslim migrants mentioned by informants reveal a breach in this oversimplified picture. Moreover, if we compare these testimonies to other sources, especially

76 The geographic location of Cappadocia, far from Ottoman borders but also from the strategic Mediterranean, Aegean, and Black Seas, made the region a good place of entrenchment. Even though restrictions, confiscations of foodstuffs, and starvation also occurred in rural areas, survival was nonetheless easier in a region like Cappadocia than in a huge city like Istanbul.

77 In the CAMS files concerning the area of Kayseri, the mobility of Armenians was only broached in the context of short-distance moves, which were actually the result of flight before the massacres rather than economic migration. However, the Armenians of Anatolia followed a similar process of migration as Rums. Regarding the process of emigration of Armenians in the region of Kayseri, see Georgelin, "Armenians in Late Ottoman," 2013, 236-42.

administrative documents of the Ottoman state, the picture, in which the role of rural workers was played by Muslims, was actually far from true.

According to diverse Ottoman registers of the capital, Muslims were actually an important part of the migrants coming from Anatolia to Istanbul by the late eighteenth century. Through an analysis of the *esnaf* ["shop"] registers of several districts of the capital, Cengiz Kırlı showed that workers were often migrants and that those who came from Anatolia were mostly Muslims and to a lesser extent Armenians.[78] For instance, most migrants from Ürgüp registered as *esnaf* workers in the capital in the 1790s were Muslims.[79] Contrary to the recollections of informants, Cappadocian Muslims clearly participated in the process of migration. The contradictory picture given by Rum refugees can be explained by the ways they perceived the migration phenomenon from their individual and communal perspective. As in most regions of Anatolia, the main part of the Cappadocian migrants was Muslim; however, because Christian communities were smaller than Muslim ones, the departure of few Rums was immediately perceived as a substantial loss for the communal demographic, social, and economic balance. That is why informants perceived the departures of their coreligionists as a massive movement but minimized the migration of Mulsims. Moreover, though we are unable to propose precise rates of Muslim and Christian emigration, in proportion to their respective populations, the emigration among Cappadocia's Christian communities occurred at a higher rate than among Muslim communities throughout the late nineteenth century. The negative demographic growth rate of most Christian communities of Cappadocia at the turn of the twentieth century set in contrast to the positive growth rate of Muslim communities highlights this difference. However, from the end of the nineteenth century onwards, the growth rate of Muslim communities in Cappadocia was not just the result of natural growth; the region – as other

78 Kırlı defines the term *esnaf* as "a generic term that refers to a variety of small businesses, from shopkeepers, gardeners, and peddlers to boatmen and porters," The term also denotes more-or-less organized labor. See Cengiz Kırlı, "A Profile of the Labor Force in Early Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," *ILWCH* 60 (2001): 127.

79 Cengiz Kırlı, Personal communication.

parts of Anatolia – became an asylum for the refugees who had fled the regions lost by the Ottoman Empire, especially Eastern Europe.

In fact, a few voices among the informants show that Muslims emigrated too. Some indeed mentioned that Muslims of the region, after witnessing the economic success and enrichment of Christian migrants, decided in turn to try their luck in Istanbul as well as in other destinations such as Adana, and Mersin. For instance, following the example of the Christians of Zincidere, Muslim men of the village Akçakaya - a Muslim settlement in intense economic relations with Zincidere – began to migrate to Ceyhan, a small town, sixty kilometers east of Adana where they made trade. According to informants, the migration of Akçakayalı Muslims followed the same stratagem as the migration of Christians. They returned to their home village to get married, left again after two or three years, and then returned regularly, almost each year.[80] Similarly, according to Cemiliote informants, the Muslim and Christian inhabitants of their village migrated to Istanbul. An informant from Cemil, Ioannis Mihailidis, explained that several Turks of the village had been very successful migrants. One, called Hacı Mazo, regularly helped the poor of the village by sending money to his community. He also welcomed and helped his compatriots, Christians as well as Muslims, when they were in Istanbul. Mihailidis related his own meeting with Hacı Mazo in Istanbul, and described the strange habits of another Muslim of Cemil who had become rich in Istanbul:

> I came to Istanbul as a soldier, and I went to Hacı Mazo who welcomed me as his own son. He told me, embracing me, that I was his friend and that he had become a banker! He gave me fifteen mecidiye. He held a purse out to me and put it in my pocket. When I left him, on the road, I counted the coins. There were fifteen coins. There was also Hacı Sufo. He was always well dressed and wore a *fez,* but only when he was at home, never outside. He always had very expensive hats, up until his death. By the way, he asked to be buried with a hat.[81]

80 "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s.

81 "ΚΠ 340-342 Tzalela," 1950s, ΚΠ341: I. Mihailidis.

Still, the success stories of Cappadocian Muslim migrants were proportionately more limited than those of Christians, and most Muslims who migrated to work had a relatively precarious life (as did a large part of the Christian migrants). According to several informants from İloson, the Muslims who went to Istanbul never came back to their village, even though they had families was waiting for them. For instance, Nikolaos Delloglou specified that they often went to Istanbul to work in the shops of their Rum compatriots. However, unlike to the latter who returned to İloson more or less regularly, the Muslims rarely earned enough money for the return journey or to bring their families to join them. For news of their migrant relatives, Muslim families were dependent on Christian migrants returning to İloson. Delloglou added that while most Christians, when they had gained enough money, again took up residence in their native villages and were buried in the cemetery of their communities, Muslim migrants often died and were buried in Istanbul, far from their relatives.[82]

5.2.1 *Socio-Professional Profile of Muslim Migrants*

Emigration in the late nineteenth century, especially after the 1870s, concerned all social groups of Christian communities indifferently, from the poorest farmers to the richest merchants. A similar statement can be claimed for Muslim emigration. However, when compared, similarities but also differences existed. As they were for Christians, chain migration and compatriot (in Turkish *hemşehri*) networks were particularly important for Cappadocian Muslims. However, the latter did not wait for the economic success of Christian emigrants for trying their own luck with migration. The study of Başaran and Kırlı about the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century *esnaf* of Istanbul shows that Muslim immigration from Anatolia to Istanbul was an early phenomenon that, we can assume, continued throughout the long nineteenth century.[83] Moreover, the high rates of Anatolian Muslim migrants working in

82 "КП 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, КП232: N. Delloglou.

83 Cengiz Kırlı and Betül Başaran, "18. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Osmanlı Esnafı," in Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Esnaf ve Ticaret, ed. F. Demirel (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1999); Betül Başaran and Cengiz Kırlı, "Some Observations on Istanbul's Artisans during the Reign of Selim III (1789-

the capital as porters or boatmen, namely unskilled workers who endured the heaviest physical labor also prove that the rural Muslim population, contrary to what has been reported by the OTA informants, did not hesitate to emigrate.

When one looks at information available in the BOA, the picture different than that given by the OTA. For instance, official requests for *nakl-i hane* to Istanbul give a good idea of the socio-professional and ethnoreligious profile of migrants from Cappadocia in the nineteenth century. For the period 1830-1860, available requests were mostly submitted by Muslim households (forty compared with only ten filed by Christians). On the other hand, during the following decades, Christian requests multiplied and the trend reversed. For the period 1880-1900, among the thirty-four available documents, only five requests were submitted by Muslims and twenty-nine by Christians.[84] It is difficult to say to what extent this sample of catalogued requests is representative of the whole picture, since we do not know how many other requests have not yet been made available. Moreover, we cannot estimate the number of migrants who clandestinely moved to and worked in Istanbul. However, it gives an idea of what aspects of the OTA can be confirmed and what aspects can be contested. Contrary to the claims of many informants, Muslims also immigrated to Istanbul (and to other cities of the empire) to seek a job and applied for *nakl-i hane*. Nevertheless, in the case of mobility between Cappadocia and Istanbul in the second half of the century, the intensification of Christian migration and family migration (and a decrease in Muslim family migration) seems to be confirmed by the official requests.

The same sample also shows that migration of Cappadocian Muslims had specificities which partly confirm the narratives of Rum informants. First, Ottoman archives show that Muslim migrants mainly moved from towns to Istanbul, mainly from Kayseri and, to a lesser extent, Nevşehir. People leaving villages were a small minority, unlike Christians who emigrated largely from

1808)," in Bread from the Lion's Mouth: Artisans Struggling for a Livelihood in Ottoman Cities, ed. F. Suraiya (London: Berghahn, 2015).

84 The main part of these requests is recorded in the files MVL, A.DVN and A.MKT for the period 1839-1960 and in DH.MKT from the 1880s onwards. The 1870s were not present in the files investigated.

smaller towns and villages. Moreover, if we analyze the socio-professional backgrounds of these Muslim migrants, most were actually civil servants and military executives. Some were in juridical administration, others worked in different sections of the Imperial Palace, others as custom inspector or assistant at the *Tercüme Odası* [Office of Translation], and others as military officers or students (*Hamlacı* [Palace boatmen], *Mekteb-i Bahriye talebi* [student of the Naval Officers' school], *Ordu Kolağası* [adjutant major in the army]). A few requests submitted by Muslims working in the "private sector" are also available, most of them being craftsmen or artists, especially embroiders *[nakkaş esnafı]*.[85] Professions linked to trade activities (merchants, grocers, commission agents, and money-changers) which are common among Christian migrants are absent from the professional occupations of Muslims who moved from Cappadocia to the capital.

Examples in the previsou paragraphs show how could be the life courses of people coming from the same region could be various. They choose the same migration path but have and make different choices. Rums and also Muslims of Cappadocia often improved their lot in Istanbul, but it would be difficult to propose an exhaustive, homogeneous picture of the consequences and results of this migration. The mobility phenomenon rapidly evolved throughout the century, but changes did not necessarily head in the same direction. When one looks to available requests for travel authorization (*mürur tezkeresi*), it seems that the migration processes of Muslim families largely occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century and reduced after 1860. For Rums, mobility to the capital intensified after 1870. If we compare the professional backgrounds of emigrants from Cappadocia according to

85 See, for instance, BOA. IE.MT 3/296 (1255-Z-29/04.03.1840); BOA, A.MKT 121/39 (1264-Ca-12/16.04.1848); BOA, A.MKT 119/43 (1264-Ca-4/08.04.1848); BOA, A.MKT.MVL 31/31 (1266-Za-3/10.09.1850); BOA, A.MKT.UM 71/19 (1267-L-23/21.08.1851); BOA, MVL 129/30 (1269-Ra-17/29.12.1852); BOA, MVL 131/2 (1269-R-17/28.01.1853); BOA, A.MKT.UM 258/16 (1273-S-29/29.10.1856); BOA, MVL 590/50 (1275-Z-29/30.07.1858); BOA, A.MKT.DV 140/46 (1276-M-17/16.08.1859); BOA, A.MKT.DV 197/46 (1278-M-26/03.08.1861); BOA, A.MKT.UM 566/27 (1278-Za-19/18.05.1862); BOA, MVL 456/7 (1281-Ca-28/29.10.1864); BOA, MVL 464/112 (1281-L-15/13.03.1865); BOA, MVL 515/24 (1283-B-16/24.11.1866); BOA, MVL 513/99 (1283-C-27/06.11.1866); BOA, DH.TMIK.M 69/2 (1316-Z-8/19.04.1899); BOA, DH.TMIK.M 73/83 (1317-Ra-28/06.08.1899).

their social, economic, and geographic origins, a differentiation can be proposed. According to available requests for *mürur tezkeresi*, Muslims who left Cappadocia during the nineteenth century were mostly urban people, especially inhabitants of the city of Kayseri, who migrated to work in military or administrative offices or in various "public" sectors, while Christians were largelyfrom among rural populations who, in their native land, worked as farmers, local merchants, and craftsmen and as migrants had various jobs but remained in private sectors most of the times. Nevertheless, if one looks to the socially and economically lowest categories of migrants to Istanbul newcomers who took their place among the ranks of the mass of unskilled workers, mainly as porters or boatmen (the lowest-paid and heaviest labor) were equally Christian and Muslim but shared the common feature of being peasants coming from the small villages of the region.

It is important to emphasize that these observations are based on available documents concerning the mobility of individuals and families. In fact, they do not allow us to comprehend the whole migration process which included "clandestine" and unregistered moves that can be supposed to be those of the socially and economically lowest segments of rural society. We can hypothesize that a large proportion of these migrants who were not recorded by the central administration were comprised of the rural Muslim population. The mouvement of Christians within Ottoman territories was followed more closely, first because their parishes kept systematic records (to share communal taxes among members of the community) and second because the Ottoman state kept records of personal taxes, especially the *bedel-i askeriye* implemented after the beginning of the Tanzimat for non-Muslims in place of military service.[86] The lists in the *yoklama defters*, which followed taxable subjects who arrived and left the capital, testify to this difference in matters of following-up on individuals since, as noted by Anastassiadou, *yoklama defters* available for the 1840s contain quasi-exclusively the names of Rums and Armenians, and rarely Muslims.[87] On the other hand, this does not mean that

86 Regarding the *bedel-i askeriye* and the difficulty it caused for immigrants living in Istanbul and administrators responsible for its collection, see Chapter 6.2.

87 Anastassiadou, *Grecs d'Istanbul* (2012), 72.

Muslims did not migrate. Muslim migrants from Anatolia to Istanbul were certainly as numerous as, if not more numerous than Christian migrants. *Esnaf* registers in the capital confirm this idea since the large majority of Muslim shopkeepers and employees working in the capital were actually recorded as "non-local," namely immigrants from Anatolia or Rumelia.[88]

§ 5.3 Becoming Urban: Strategies of Integration and the Mutual Assistance of Compatriots

Migrants from Central Anatolia, whether Christians or Muslims, were driven to cities for economic purposes, in search of a job and means of subsistence for their families. They integrated into the huge capital more-or-less easily, according to various factors such as the reasons for their arrival, their social and educational background, and the previous settlement of relatives. The exercise of a profession, affiliation with a corporation, district chosen as living place, creation of kinship relations, and networks of mutual assistance were some of the factors facilitating integration. Moreover, migrants created networks of compatriots strengthening the links between individuals coming from the same village, town, or sometimes the same region, establishing a bridge between the urban world of Istanbul and the rural life of Cappadocia. These networks established, in a way, an extension of the original community in the context of migration. At the same time, new forms of community based on the urbanization of migrants developed, and we can question whether they were superimposed and coexisted with the original community or, whether they progressively erased it, especially for the cases when migration turned into permanent settlement in the host place.

According to Anastassiadou, Rum migrants from Cappadocia as well as from other parts of the empire were quickly integrated into the Constantinopolitan life. This population with rural origins rapidly and "proudly bore the identity of 'Constantinopolitans'" and "fully adhered not only to urban ways a life, but more uniquely to the collective memory of the 'indigenous' community that had welcomed them. […They] quickly felt

88 Kırlı, "Profile of the Labor Force" (2001): 135.

themselves members of a community, and acquired the awareness of a proper Istanbul identity.[89]

Many young male migrants coming to Istanbul could integrate into Istanbul urban society through marriage. Most were single when they arrived in the capital for the first time and some married with "a 'local' girl, thereby endorsing his decision to stay in the city through marriage."[90] Consequently, they would begin living in the household of their wife's parents. They thus formed a new type of Greek household that obviously developed because of the massive increase in migration. The result was a transposition of the rural household pattern in the urban environment; the former was traditionally composed, as in Turkish households, of a couple, their children, and the parents of the husband (not those of the wife).[91] In the urban context of the capital, no typical model of household stood out since a great diversity of situations existed according to social and economic background, religious belonging, and also simply because people adapted to the possibilities.[92]

On one hand, marriage with a woman of Istanbul seemed to be a common strategy to officially acquire "Istanbul citizenship;" according to Anastassiadou, parish registers of early twentieth-century Istanbul contained numerous cases of Cappadocian men married with Istanbulite women. Moreover, if we look at the petitions submitted to the Ottoman central administration by individuals living in Istanbul, it seems common that men married in the capital out of pure administrative necessity and then abandoned their wives without means of subsistence.[93] On the other hand, it

89 Anastassiadou, "Greek Orthodox Immigrants" (2009): 152-63.

90 Ibid., 157.

91 Ibid., 158-60.

92 For an overview of household patterns in Istanbul, see Duben and Behar, *Istanbul households* (1991).

93 In these petitions, families notified the administration of the disappearance of the head of household and the difficult situation of remaining family members, often a wife remaining alone with or without a child. Taking note of the situation, the administration would try to find the husband and force him to pay a pension to his family or to return home. If the administration did not succeed in finding him, a pension could be paid by the state to the family (*nafaka kesilmesi*). See, for instance, BOA, A.MKT 109/57 (1264-S-29/05.02.1848); BOA, A.MKT.UM 258/16 (1273-S-29/29.10.1856); BOA, A.MKT.UM 538/40 (1278-Ş-4/04.02.1862).

is difficult to estimate to what extent this strategy spread among male migrants, since numerous biographies available in the OTA show that, until the 1920s, many migrants preferred to return to their native land and marry a girl of their own region.[94] Moreover, even when they married in Istanbul, migrants regularly favored women who hailed from the same region but were already living in Istanbul.[95] Of course, the OTA informants are a particular sample of Cappadocians: the Rums who left Turkey in the 1920s, which is to say, people who were still officially registered in their native land. Consequently, their own experiences were not representative of all the Rums who hailed from Cappadocia. Many individuals and families were recorded as residents of Istanbul before 1918 and remained there after 1924. They consequently would not become OTA informants.[96] Besides, among Rums

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Most of these cases are from the years 1840s-1860s. It is difficult to say if this situation is the result of particularly intense migration during these decades, of particular attention by the state to family issues, or simply the consequence of current-day archival circumstances. The Ottoman State Archives still contain thousands of documents that are not yet opened and classified.

94 The first part of each file of the OTA includes biographical details about the informants (date and place of birth and marriage, professional activities, migratory activity, number of children, and educational background). Some of these have been translated in Appendix B. See also Rizos, *Η Σινασός (1952)* (2007).

95 Working on the example of the inhabitants of the (Muslim) district of Kasap Ilyas in Istanbul, Cem Behar also suggested that many men working in Istanbul women from their home region. According to his statistics, 61 percen of couples living in this district were born in the same region. Behar, "Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants" (1995).

96 According to the Lausanne Convention, "All Greeks who were already established before the 30th October, 1918, within the areas under the Prefecture of the City of Constantinople, as defined by the law of 1912, shall be considered as Greek inhabitants of Constantinople." However, because the notion of "establishment" remained muddled, the Council of the League of Nations was asked by the Mixed Commission for the exchange of populations to obtain an advisory opinion from the Permanent Court of International Justice on the interpretation of Article 2 of the Convention, which concerned the definition of the term "established." At the beginning of 1924, the court decided that, "established" should be understood as: "(1) Any inhabitant of these areas who is entered in the public registrar's books or who is included in the census of these areas; (2) Any person possessing in these areas a fixed residence, with the intention of remaining there permanently. This intention may be inferred from a number of circumstances, such as, for instance, the permanent exercise of a profession, commerce or

living in Istanbul today, it is common to hear that a grandparent had emigrated from Cappadocia before the 1920s. While it is impossible to provide relevant rates for one case or the other, we can nonetheless assume that marriage was clearly the result of a strategy, whether it was to be better integrated into the urban community or to uphold a strong link with the region of origin.

Marriage was not the only possibility for officialy becoming an Istanbul dweller. Many young migrants were actually welcomed by relatives who had previously settled there and were already registered in the capital. Newcomers could thus be registered in the household of their relatives. Consequently, for a large part of Cappadocian immigrants, it was not the marriage but the administrative attachment to a local household that could be seen as a strategy of official integration into Constantinopolitan society. This mode of integration seemed to be frequent among migrants in the second half of the nineteenth century who could rely upon a firmly-rooted network of compatriots already settled in the capital.

Descriptions by the OTA informants confirm the idea that those who arrived for the first time in the capital in the early twentieth century were directly incorporated into compatriot networks. After the inauguration of the train station of Haydarpaşa (1908), it became the meeting point for new migrants and their fathers or relatives who would take charge of them from that point. Serafeim Rizos described the first days of the new life of young Sinasiotes in Istanbul as follows:

> When the boy arrived in Istanbul, he had a rest of ten or fifteen days during which he visited his relatives but also the main places of Istanbul (the district of Balıklı, the Patriarchate…). One showed him the Russian and Greek flags on the embassies of two countries. On Friday, he attended to the procession of the Cuma namazı of the Sultan Hamid

industry or the acquisition of a practice in conformity with the laws. […] The status of married women, widows and minors shall be the same as that of their husbands or fathers. This applies equally to fathers and mothers who, in accordance with the law and local custom, are dependent upon their children." "Series B. Advisory Opinion N° 10. Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations (Lausanne Convention VI, January 30th, 1923, article 2)," February 21, 1925, 12.

> at Haghia Sofya. Finally, he wrote a letter to his mother and his relatives who remained in Sinasos explaining that he was well and that it was not necessary to be worried for him. After this period of adaptation, if the boy did not go to a high school of Istanbul, he began to work in the family business or in the store of a relative or compatriot to learn how earn money. If the boy was an orphan or fatherless, he generally worked in exchange for room and board for the one who was in charge of him during the travel or for one of his acquaintance. Once the young boy learned the job, he would finally receive a salary.[97]

These few days can be observed as a ritual of integration, that allowed young migrants to get accustomed to their new environment through visits to relatives and the main attractions of the Rum community (the Balıklı district, and the Patriarchate), as well as attendance at characteristic events of the capital (such as the procession of the sultan for the *Cuma namazı* at Hagia Sophia). Newcomers were thus introduced to their new communities (their new district, the larger Rum community of Istanbul, and the even larger community of Istanbul as a whole) while continuing to be connected to their compatriots and consequently to their homeland community.

The narrative of Serafeim Rizos shows that even though the everyday, practical link to the territory that once circumscribed the borders of the community had disappeared, the relations with compatriot migrants allowed the maintenance of a belonging to the Cappadocian community. The latter was re-created in a new spatial context – the context of urban Istanbul. However, it would be wrong to think that this pleasant reception and discovery of the capital was common to all migrants to Istanbul. At the turn of the twentieth century, Rums from Sinasos were the best organized and most prosperous community of Cappadocian migrants in Istanbul and could thus be observed, if not as an exception, as a particular case.[98] However, even though the reception of newcomers was not always as grandiose as described by S. Rizos, co-residence was a shared characteristic since migrants generally gathered in

97 Rizos, *Η Σινασός (1952)*, I (2007), 55-56.

98 Regarding the organization of the community of Sinasos and of its migration networks, see Hadziiossif, *Σινασός, ιστορία ενός* (2005).

the same districts. For instance, migrants from İloson, who had to migrate to Istanbul since the 1800s, settled mostly in the district of Topçular near Edirnekapı where they cultivated orchards and vegetable gardens.[99] Telmisiotes mainly settled in Üsküdar (on the Asian shore) and worked in the area of Eminönü (on the south shore of the Golden Horn).[100] Similar residential concentration was present in other destinations such as Izmir, where Arağaç was the main district of the city where Cappadocians settled.[101] As a result, for many migrants the community they had left was brought together again in one or several districts of their host city. Co-residence created a link based on the idea of unity between the community that had been left behind and the community being re-created. Newcomers were hired by earlier migrants who had already secured their situation in Istanbul.[102] Many young boys came to Istanbul following their fathers and would work with him or become an apprentice in the store of an uncle, brother-in-law, or any relative.

This reconstitution of c-oresidence was a progressive process resulting from chain migration and mutual assistance among migrants coming from the same place. Moreover, the transformation of the migration process into a vast and mostly family movement from the 1870s onwards made the stable settlement of immigrants in residential districts of intra- and extra-muros Istanbul easier.[103] On the other hand, male migrants who continued to live alone in the capital generally found accommodation at their workplace. Cengiz Kırlı noted that an important proportion of migrant workers lived either in a *bekarodası* or in the shops, gardens, warehouses, coffeehouses or inns where they were employed. Some even lived in their master's house.[104]

99 "ΚΠ 232-233 Iloson," 1950s.

100 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ269: Theano Papadopou.

101 Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 419.

102 Anastassiadou, "Greek Orthodox Immigrants" (2009): 161.

103 Recall that male migrants who arrived alone had to stay in *han*s or *bekarodası* and were not authorized to live in residential areas of the city unless they belonged to a household already registered in Istanbul.

104 Kırlı, "Profile of the Labor Force" (2001): 133. This residential pattern not only applied to immigrants, whether seasonal or not, but also to workers who had been born and were living permanently in the capital. Nonetheless, the labor market consisted mainly of new-comers.

This way of life was often the only possibility for many unskilled workers coming from the provinces. Their only chance to succeed as migrants was to immigrate young, begin working as an apprentice in the shop of a compatriot – often with a very small (or no) salary – and to save money progressively, while they sent to send the bulk of their revenues to their families back in the village. Those who issued from wealthier families or had skills had access to better living conditions in the capital. They could go to school, live in a house with their family or relatives, work to widen the local entreprise of their family (for instance, by developing export market for their local production), and create their own business. Most Cappadocians who succeeded in making a fortune in this way hailed from towns and villages that were already economically strong such as Sinasos, Talas, Bor, Prokopi, and Kayseri.[105]

§ 5.4 Conclusion

In 1887, Sir Charles Wilson wrote about the Rums of Cappadocia: "They have a reputation throughout Asia Minor for energy and commercial activity; there are few towns in which a merchant from Kaisariyeh is not to be found; and the rocky nature of the country drives even the poorer classes to seek their living elsewhere."[106] The long tradition of mobility for economic purpose and the networks, which became progressively structured, certainly played a central role in this reputation of an active, hard-working, enterprising people. It would be wrong to imagine that Cappadocian Rums were the only successful migrants. The process that we described for Cappadocians was similar for many other groups in the Ottoman Empire, but from place to place, traditions

105 These settlements corresponded more or less to communities "with developed organization," as described in Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques," 1994, 567-77.

106 Sir Charles Wilson, "The Greeks in Asia," in *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*, ed. D. Boulger (1887), 50-51. "The Cappadocian Greeks have a reputation throughout Asia Minor for energy and commercial activity; there are few towns in which a merchant from Kaisariyeh is not to be found; and the rocky nature of the country drives even the poorer classes to seek their living elsewhere."

of mobility could be more-or-less strong.[107] Whatever their native land, leaving family, sheep, fields, and houses behind them was a real difficulty for all migrants. This often turned into an important obstacle to integration in the host city. It maintained the possibility of a return if the new urban life was not successful. Family and material ties, as well as administrative aspects that bound individuals to the place from which they emigrated, sometimes became administrative, legal, family, and emotional barriers for integration into the new space. In addition, migration also brought many economic difficulties: the journey was expensive, finding a place to stay and a job was uncertain, and the family – often the whole community – that remained at home needed – and expected – financial support. From the 1870s onwards, the mobility of entire households led to an important evolution in emigration headed from Cappadocia. Nevertheless, marital strategies, family reunification, and family immigration (after 1890) did not imply a rupture of ties with the homeland just as they did not necessarily bring stability to the household situation. Despite all the difficulties experienced by migrants, the economic situation of Cappadocia and the possibilities offered in harbor cities, especially in the capital, incited Cappadocian Rums and to a lesser extent Muslims to perpetuate their migration experiences by definitively leaving Cappadocia.

At the same time, the hope of return and the wish to promote their communities maintained, up until the exchange of populations, the potency of compatriot networks. Integration within the urban society was not paradoxical to the upholding of a strong link with the homeland. Immigrants, even when wholeheartedly integrated into Constantinopolitan society, continued to be associated with their native land through networks created on the basis of compatriotism. These networks helped migrants to integrate in the new environment but mostly served to support the development of the locales they had left behind. The creation of compatriot associations and their main purposes – which we explore in the next chapter – can be interpreted as the

107 For instance, Anastassiadou noted that the Rums of Ayvalık, a seaside town on the northwestern Aegean coast of Asia minor which was inhabited exclusively by Rums in the nineteenth century, did not migrate to Istanbul and were actually a sedentary population, preferring to stay in their native land rather than to move beyond the nearby countryside. Méropi Anastassiadou, "Quitter Ayvalik/Kydonies et ses oliviers, regards sur une société de l'entre-deux," *Cahiers balkaniques*, 40 (2012): §7-8.

reflection of the in-between position of these migrants who often seem to tip the scales in favor of their homeland. As a result, integration into the host place not only depended on the new environment and its local conditions, it was also greatly conditioned by the relations and strong links that migrants continued to have with their native land. The place of emigration and the place of immigration were actually a connected worlds inseparably bound to one other.

6

Connected Worlds

> *Perhaps the most interesting trait in the character of these Christians is their intense love of their native country; the great ambition of every man is to earn sufficient money to enable him to build a house and settle down in his beloved Cappadocia. […] Each village is connected with some particular guild in Constantinople; one supplies groceries and small storekeepers, another seller of wine and spirits, another dryer of fish, another trader of caviar, another porter, and so forth…*
>
> – Sir Charles Wilson (1887)[1]

Chain migration is a motor for the organization of systems of mutual assistance and integration in the host environment. Among Cappadocian migrants, compatriot networks were developed in the second half of the nineteenth century to help migrants and to develop the community of origin. In this chapter, we describe the socio-professional and associative organizations that migrants created in their host city to strengthen the connection between their community in their native land and their

1 Wilson, "The Greeks in Asia" (1887).

community in their place of migration. Until the 1920s, the destinations of Cappadocian immigrants continued to be diverse. The capital of the Ottoman Empire obviously became the heart for the improvement of these networks, but other cities, especially Izmir, Samsun, and Mersin, had a similar but more restricted role; that is why this chapter focuses on the Constantinopolitan case, with only occasional reference to other cities.

§ 6.1 Socio-Professional and Compatriot Networks

Cappadocian Christians were particularly known in the capital for being active, successful shopkeepers, especially grocers (*bakkal* in Turkish, *παντοπώλης/pantopolis* in Greek). In his unique analysis of the social and professional profile of Rum communities living in the capital, the doctor Paspatis claimed that many Anatolians worked in *bakkals* with relatives or compatriots, that most rarely left their adopted parish, and that they lived a solitary life. The statistics he proposed (from information collected about patients of the Rum hospital of Balıklı) confirmed the importance of grocery activity for Anatolian Rums.[2] To grocers (whether as shopkeepers or employees), we can add caviar and dried fish merchants, innkeepers, cheese makers, wholesalers of grain, restaurateurs, greengrocers, and, especially after 1880, moneylenders (*sarraf*) to the main activities practiced by Cappadocians. According to Anastassiadou the "relative rise of Cappadocians in the Constantinopolitan urban society stemmed from their economic success which was in turn fostered by their terms of payment (selling on credit) and by the close networks of dependence they created."[3] Cappadocian shopkeepers of Istanbul, especially from the 1870s onwards, used to sell on credit, and they were also "non-professional money lenders" for their compatriots – Christian as well as Muslim – who contined living in the homeland.

The *Annuaires orientaux* are particularly useful sources for localizing these activities in the different districts of the capital. Even though these directories

2 Paspatis established that 1,720 of the 2,250 grocers recorded in his hospital (76,5%) were from Anatolia. Paspatis, *Υπόμνημα περί του γραικικού νοσοκομείου* (1862), 286-89.

3 Anastassiadou, "Greek Orthodox Immigrants" (2009): 158.

do not mention the regional allegiance of shopkeepers, combined with the OTA, the codices of Cappadocian parishes but also nineteenth-century publications (especially when they include lists of subscribers), the *Annuaires* allow the cross-referencing of several names of shopkeepers with Cappadocian families.[4] We especially looked at the *Annuaires* from 1891 onwards, with which a greater number of Cappadocian codices and Karamanlidika publications are matching. We can say that a concentration of shops held by Cappadocians can be observed in several streets and hans of Istanbul and Galata. In Eminönü, they were particularly numerous in the Balıkpazarı and the area of Zindankapı, on Limon İskelesi and Limoncular Sokak, as well as in several hans such as Cambaz Han, Kürkçü Han, and Mercan Han, located between the Grand Bazar and Eminönü. In Galata, there were on the Grande rue de Péra and in the Havyar Han, in Karaköy.[5]

In fact, many of these Cappadocian shopkeepers or employees in Istanbul were not necessarily occupied with the same business sector in their native land. Owners of shops and workshops in villages were only a few individuals and actually rarely migrated as long as the economic situation was viable.[6] Entrance of Cappadocian Rums into sectors such as shipping or caviar trade was clearly not the result of a former activity practiced in the native land! But this was also the case for ordinary grocers, restaurateurs, innkeepers, and moneylenders who, by in large, did not practice these activities in their villages. However, compatriots used to specialize in specific occupations, whether or not they had any relation to the traditional activities and production of their village. Sharing of professional activities among immigrants did not necessarily correspond to the traditional assumption that

4 The *Annuaire orientaux du commerce, de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature)* published between 1868 and 1945 (first under the name *Indicateur constantinopolitain* between 1868 and 1880 and *Indicateur Ottoman* thereafter) are available in various libraries, especially the archives of the Ottoman Bank in Istanbul and the archives of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

5 The insurances plans prepared by Goad in 1905 are useful for locating these places and are reproduced in Appendices A10a-c.

6 "ΚΠ 295-297 Tsarikli," 1950, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ297: A. Karalis.

each religious group specialized in specific occupations;[7] rather, it corresponded to the continuity of a network of chain migration in which migrants chose their destinations because of the presence of previous migrants hailed from the same home community. Accordingly, they began to work in sectors into which these previous migrants could help them to enter. This "regional allegiance"[8] transcended religious groups since it was common to see Christians and Muslims of the same village engaged in similar jobs, and working as master and apprentice, or even as partners, creating interreligious relations in business sectors.

Regional allegiance was strengthtened by professional specialization since the migrants of each settlement of Cappadocia often worked in the same sector. For instance, people from Ürgüp and İncesu were mainly grocers, Sinasiotes traded dried fish and especially caviar, immigrants from Nevşehir specialized in the production and sale of cheese, people from Kordonos produced and sold soap, those from Delmason were often wholesalers,[9] while Fertekiotes were famous in the capital as tavern owners (*meyhaneci* in Turkish, *κάπηλος/kapilos* in Greek) and producers of *ouzo* (also called *rakı* or *arak*).[10] According to their villages of origin, prominent Cappadocians sectors of activity in the mid-nineteenth century were thus forgers, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, carpet makers, weavers, cheese makers, eggs, dried fish and caviar sellers, tavern owners, and producers, and merchants of fruits and vegetables. In the turn of the twentieth century, Cappadocian Rums had a large presence in trade and office work, especially in banking and insurance.[11]

It would be wrong to imagine that this job specialization for small as well as large immigrant communities confined workers to a small range of professions. For instance, even though migrants from Ürgüp were mainly

7 For a long time, the division of labor in the Ottoman Empire was described as a phenomenon linked to religious and – secondarily – ethnic belonging. Non-Muslims were assumed to be shopkeepers or craftsmen (for instance Jews as doctors, Armenians as craftsmen, Rums as merchants) and Muslims peasants and low status workers.

8 Kırlı, "Profile of the Labor Force" (2001).

9 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ269.

10 Paspatis, *Υπόμνημα περί του γραικικού νοσοκομείου* (1862), 276.

11 Anastassiadou, *Grecs d'Istanbul* (2012), 93-94.

engaged in the grocery business, many had other occupations. Alongside communal allegiances were kinship networks which led immigrants to specific professions. At the turn of the twentieth century, several families from Ürgüp (the Kouperloglous, the Tsoskounoglous, the Hatzigregoriadis, and the Papadopoulos) dominated grocery activities in Istanbul, while other families engaged as restaurateurs (the Mihailidis, the Karapaulidis, and the Tzitzikoglou), or moneylenders (the Kaptanoglous, the Pantalidis, the Hatzialeksandros, and the Oustouratzoglous).[12] According to Serafeim Rizos, in addition to being involved in caviar trade, migrants from Sinasos were also *boyacı* (literally dyers, but Rizos actually described their jobs as wholesalers specialized in fabrics). They functioned mainly as small family businesses owned by a patriarch who worked with his son, a nephew, or an apprentice and sold oils, ropes, oakum, turpentine, and sails. The largest ones, located near the quay in Galata supplied Greek, Turkish, Russian, and Italian ships docked in the harbor of Istanbul. B*oyacı*s, Rizos claimed, "created a guild [which succeeded in] attracting all the younger Sinasiotes and tended to replace the historical Union of Caviar Merchants, which was progressively slipping out of Sinasiotes' hands."[13]

6.1.1 *Success Stories or Precarious Lives?*

Charles Wilson made a well-considered remark when he wrote in 1885 that each "village [of Cappadocia] is connected with some particular guild in Istanbul."[14] Beyond chain migration, communities of migrants increased their chances of success, organizing and strengthening their socio-professional lives. However, instead of guilds, these professional networks rather associations or unions based not only on the practice of a profession, but mostly, on coming from the same native land.[15] They allowed many migrants

12 "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s.

13 Balta, *Sinasos. Mübadeleden önce* (2009), 156 (Translation from the manuscript of S. Rizos).

14 Wilson, "The Greeks in Asia" (1887), 52.

15 In publications (especially in travel accounts but also in Greek and Karamanlı works) of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as well as in testimonies collected by the CAMS, the term *guild* (*esnaf*, *συντεχνία*) is often employed to imply professional unions. Actually, the classical Ottoman guilds were subject to important changes during the nineteenth century:

to reinforce their socioeconomic situation in the capital. Some, such as the Union of Cheese Makers from Nevşehir or the Union of Caviar Traders from Sinasos, were particularly powerful. Moreover, these unions – mainly those in Istanbul but also those in Izmir and other urban centers of the empire – played a central role in the economic, cultural, and social development of their town or village of origin by financially supporting the development of infrastructure and especially educational activities.

The prosperity of the Cheese Makers of Nevşehir derived from its good organization and quasi-monopoly over the fresh cheese market in Istanbul and in other urban centers of Asia Minor. Their success was the consequence of several factors: years of experience (this cheese production was already traditional in Nevşehir), entrepreneurial abilities, and according to the book published in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the Constantinopolitan Association for Education in Nevşehir, the introduction by Prodromos Filippidis of a system of walk-in refigerator (*buzhane*) for the conservation of fresh cheese.[16] This success story was particularly apparent by a presence in the area of Balıkpazarı (in Eminönü), on the streets of Taşcılar, Zindankapı, Limnoncular, Hassır İskelesi, and Limoncu İskelesi, and Yacılar. They also owned a Han at Taşcılar Sokak n°128[17] and numerous other stores in Istanbul, but also in Izmir, Samsun, Alexandria, and even in the United

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the abolition of the Janissary corps (in 1826) had a particularly important role in the ascendancy of the *esnaf*, and the beginning of the Tanzimat – which, among other goals, aimed to abolish economic monopolies – led to significant revisions in the status of guilds. The latter largely lost privileges formerly granted by the state and many of them turned into private enterprises, associations, or unions, experiencing a general decline until their official abolition in the early 1910s. Meanwhile the "craftsmen's associations" created at the beginning of the Young Turks' period as a substitute for traditional guilds experienced a limited success. See Onur Yıldırım, "Ottoman Guilds in the Early Modern Era," in *The Return of the Guilds*, eds. J. Lucassen, T. De Moor, and J.L. van Zanden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 75-76.

16 "Δερί Σααδετδε Μουκίμ Νεβσεχιρλί Πεϊνιρδζι Εσναφή" (1882).

17 For the main locations of the shops, see E. Goad, "Planche 4: Yemiche, Tacha Kale et Deve Oglou," in *Plans d'assurances. Vol I. Stambul* (Istanbul, 1904); E. Goad, "Planche 5: Valide Sultan, Balouk Pazar et Tachta Kale," in *Plans d'assurances. Vol I. Stambul* (Istanbul, 1904). Both planches are reproduced in Appendix A10a-b.

States.[18] The power of this union was also reflected in the stability of the shopkeepers. When we compare the lists of cheese merchants in the *Annuaires orientaux* between 1885 and 1922, the shopkeepers' names as well as the addresses of the shops are stable, unlike other professional groups such as grocers, for which the longevity of the activity appears to be more exceptional.[19] Moreover, the *Annuaire* of 1922 mentions the *Société anonyme des négociants en fromage*, founded by the immigrants of Nevşehir, located at 165 Balıkpazarı, the location of a shop of a Nevşehir cheese merchant since 1896.[20]

The creation of the Union of Caviar Traders from Sinasos also has an interesting backstory. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the Sinasiotes cultivated flax, one of the few plants growing easily on the lands of their village. They made flaxseed that they sold in the migrants' cities. However, the competition was harsh between the villages of the region (especially with Akso, Suvermez, and Eneği) and finally the eventual introduction of flaxseed and rapeseed from Great Britain to the Anatolian market put an end to local production.[21] At that time, black caviar was just

18 "Νέβσεχιρ Μεκτεπλερινίν" (1920), 90-91.

19 We used as a sample directories from the years 1885, 1891, 1893-94, 1896, 1900, 1902, 1012, 1914, and 1922. "Annuaire du commerce, de la magistrature etc. Turquie, Russie, Grèce, Bulgarie (Indicateur oriental)″ (Constantinople: Cervati Frères & Cie, 1885); "Annuaire oriental (ancien indicateur oriental) du commerce de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature″ (Constantinople: Cervati Frères & Cie, 1891); "Annuaire″ (1893-94); "Annuaire″ (1896); "Annuaire oriental du commerce de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature″ (Constantinople: Cervati, Raphael C., The Annuaire Oriental Printing Co. Ltd., 1902); "Annuaire oriental (ancien indicateur oriental) du commerce de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature″ (Constantinople: Cervati, Raphael C., The Annuaire Oriental and Printing Company Ltd, 1900); "Annuaire″ (1912); "Annuaire oriental: commerce, industrie, administration, magistrature de l'Empire Ottoman″ (Istanbul: The Annuaire Oriental Ltd, 1914); "Annuaire″ (1922). The recurrence of the names of shopkeepers from one year to another was obvious in the lists of cheese merchants in the capital who are, incidentally, quasi-exclusively Rums. But this is an exception among other sectors and activities represented in the directories. For instance, the names and addresses of grocers in Istanbul and Galata are particularly inconstant from year to year.

20 "Annuaire″ (1896), 687; "Annuaire″ (1922), 665.

21 Rizos, *Η Σινασός (1952)*, II (2007), 80.

beginning to be commercialized internationally and curried favor among the richest families of the European kingdoms and empires.[22] The Sinasiotes succeeded in monopolizing its commercialization in Istanbul and rapidly made a fortune from it. Caviar and salted fish became the specialty of several families hailed from Sinasos. In most families of the village, at least one boy was sent to Istanbul to learn these delicate arts. Like cheese makers, the success of Sinasiotes in the caviar trade is evidenced by the longevity of their shops in Istanbul. Several shops, especially in the Balıkpazarı, were owned by several generations of Sinasiotes. Even though the names of shopkeepers changed, the continuity of the activity in the same shop between 1893 and 1922 testifies to the success of this trade, which was concentrated in the hands of around ten shops in Istanbul.[23] Moreover, the monopoly of this profitable activity was not limited to Istanbul. In other regions of Turkey and in adjacent territories such as Bulgaria, Greece, Egypt, and Serbia, the caviar trade was also practiced by migrants from Sinasos.[24] Thanks to its economic contribution to the development of the village, the Union of Caviar Traders became particularly powerful in Sinasos and became one of the two main links – long with the *boyacı,* who developed later – in the networks connecting Sinasos and Istanbul.[25]

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22 Caviar, or fish eggs more generally, were a common product eaten by Greeks especially during Lent. Because its preservation was difficult, it could not be commercialized over long distances and was only consumed locally, mainly by fishermen and peasants. However, in the late eighteenth century, on account of new preservation techniques developed by Ioannis Varvakis (1750-1825), Greek merchants were able to trade it over long distances, and it became a particularly refined dish throughout Europe.

23 "Annuaire" (1922); "Annuaire" (1893-94). Four addresses were maintained between 1893 and 1922 in the Balık Pazarı (nos. 137, 143, and 145) and in the Havyar Han (no. 93). One of them (Balık Pazarı 137) remained in the hands of the same family over the whole period, while the ownership of the other shops each changed once between 1896 and 1922. This corresponds with what the CAMS informants explained about the network set up by migratory Sinasiotes, namely that the network between the village and the guilds of Istanbul allowed young people to come and work as apprentices before becoming the heads of shop when a previous *usta* retired. Balta, *Sinasos. Mübadeleden önce* (2009), 155; "ΚΠ 332-339 Sinasos," 1950s.

24 Sarantidis, *Η Σινασός ήτοι θέσις* (1899), 32.

25 Balta, *Sinasos. Mübadeleden önce* (2009).

The Rums from Fertek also experienced important economic success in Istanbul through the opening of taverns and the production and sale of *rakı*,[26] and activity which was forbidden to Muslims before 1880. Several epitaphs on the tombstones in the forecourt of the Monastery of Zoodokhos Pigi in Balıklı, refer to the *meyhaneci* occupation of the deceased, informing us that migrants from Fertek had worked in the inns of Istanbul at least since the late 1820s.[27] According to one informant of the OTA, Haralambos Lampsidis, the Rums of Fertek had received authorization to open taverns in Istanbul during the reign of Mahmud I. A dozen opened taverns. Then, following temporary interdictions under the reigns of Selim III and Mahmud II, Fertekiotes opened other *meyhane*s in various hans of the district of Eminönü (especially in Fener, Balat, Cibali, and Hasköy) throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the most famous being the *Fertek Meyhanesi* which opened in 1890 and closed in 1908. This activity brought prosperity to the migrant community of Fertekiotes who founded a compatriot association, which in turn became the owner of several shops and houses mainly in the district of Balat.[28] To run their businesses, tavern owners of Istanbul needed to receive supplies, especially of *ouzo* and wine, which were the most drunk alcoholic beverage in Istanbul at that time. Viticulture was an old activity in the region of Niğde. Muslim vineyard owners produced grape molasses (*pekmez)* while Christians produced wine and *ouzo*. Fertekiotes, as well as the Christians of other villages

26 Paspatis, *Υπόμνημα περί του γραικικού νοσοκομείου* (1862), 276.

27 Erol, "Cultural Manifestations of a Symbiosis" (2014), 81-84; Richard Clogg, "Some Karamanlidika Inscriptions from the Monastery of the Zoodokhos Pigi, Balıklı, Istanbul," in *Anatolica: Studies in the Greek East in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), 63; Erich Prokosch, "Karamanische-Türkische Grabinschriften," *Yearbook of the High School Sankt Georg* (1988): 298-305.

28 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ3030: Haralambos Lampsidis. Numerous insutance contracts for buildings in the name of the fraternity in Eminönü and Balat are available in the various parish registers of the community of Fertek. "Codex α/α 339 Fertek, Κεντρική Εφορεία Φερτεκίου - Εφοροεπιτροπή Φερτεκίου [Central eforia of Fertek – Eforoepitropi of Fertek] (1828-1922)," in Public Welfare (Athens: GAK); "Codex α/α 337 Fertek, Εφοροεπιτροπή Φερτεκίου - Μητροπολίτης Ικονίου [Eforoepitropi of Fertek – Metropolis of Ikonium] (1911-1924)," in Codices of the Exchange (Athens: GAK); "Codex α/α 325 Fertek, Κεντρική Εφοροεπιτροπή Φερτεκίου (1911-1923)," in Codices of the Exchange, GAK.

of the area such as İloson, Andaval, and Deneï wou:d sell their beverage production locally in the marketplaces of Niğde and surrounding villages. Their production was famous throughout Cappadocia, and people from the northern part of the region agreed that the wine and *rakı* produced in the region of Niğde were much better than those of the region of Nevşehir. With the spread of Fertekiote taverns in Istanbul, production intensified and Rum families bought lands from Muslims to increase their production. It was then sent to Istanbul via the port of Mersin.[29]

Individual success stories such as that of Simeonaki Siniosoglou strengthened the wish of many young men of Cappadocian villages to migrate. Born in Talas in 1851 in a family involved in trade, Siniosoglou became a cotton wholesaler, and branching into bankering first in Adana and Mersin, then in Egypt and later in Syria before finally settling in Istanbul in 1878. There, he became one of the official suppliers of grain, cotton, raw wool, sheets, and various goods to the Ottoman state.[30] As Siniosoglou, there are numerous individual success-stories, but they generally concern Cappadocian Rums hailed from main settlements of the region and typically with a relatively wealthy, educated family background. For instance, the brothers Ioannis and Hermolaos Hatziprodromos and their associates Andreadis and Prodromos Kaplanoglou, all from the village of Gelveri, succeeded in creating a lucrative food trade and made regular donations to their compatriots who lived as migrants as well as for the economic development of their village.[31]

However, economic success was not the faith of all migrants. While part of them, mainly merchants and shopkeepers, became relatively well-integrated economically into the urban life of Istanbul, for the majority, everyday life in the huge capital remained particularly precarious. Among Christians as well as Muslims, there were numerous migrants who lived on few resources, sending the little money they earned to support their families back home. Most were at the lowest socio-professional stratum, employed in shops and factories, often unskilled and worked as day laborers. In Istanbul,

29 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ303: Prodromos Papadopoulos.

30 "Annuaire" (1885), 431. Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 52.

31 "Codex 8/12 Constantinople" (1853-1867), in community registers and codices of parishes, CAMS. Also described in Balta, *Beyond the Language Frontier* (2010), 25.

they had often no choice other than to work as porters, boatmen, and waiters. For instance, migrants from the poorest, smallest villages of Cappadocia and especially from the region of Niğde and Aksaray (Andaval, Aravani, Eneği, Halvadere, İloson, Kenatala, Keçiağaç, and Uluağaç) were porters – a labor-intensive activity – and were employed as daily laborers. However, despite their precarious situation, some succeeded in saving enough money to begin another, more lucrative or at least less-exhausting activity. This was the case for migrants from İloson who apparently from the early nineteenth century worked and finally settled in rented gardens in Istanbul and took over gardening activities that they had traditionally done in their village. At the turn of the twentieth century, they were among the main market gardeners and vegetable traders in the area of Edirnekapı. Others succeeded in being employed in shops or restaurants.[32] Dependent on whatever opportunities opened up for them, migrants who hailed from these small communities used to take jobs for any way, were consequently professionally split, and did not necessarily succeed in creating strong professional networks.[33]

As for women for whom the range of professional activities was far more limited, they often needed to work to contribute to the home economy after joining their husbands or fathers or if they lived alone (or with children) as migrants. This was especially trus in the case of widows, divorced women, or wives deserted by their husband. While in their homeland many of these women used to engage in agriculture and animal husbandry, in the capital they worked in the family store or were employed with groceries or some craft sectors, particularly textiles, rugs, or cigarettes.[34] In the domestic context, they also worked as maids, housekeepers, and wet nurses.[35] Among informants of the OTA, one of the rare women to have lived alone as a migrant, was Sofia

32 "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, ΚΠ77: Sofia Hristofou.

33 This diversity of migratory occupations appears in the testimonies of peoples who hailed from various small communities of Cappadocia such as Keçiağaç and Çukur, "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ236: Moïse Tsolakidis.

34 Donald Quataert, "Ottoman Women, Households, and Textile Manufacturing, 1800–1914," in *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, eds. N.R. Keddie and B. Baron (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1991).

35 "Νέβσεχιρ Μεκτεπλερινίν" (1920), 87.

Hristofou, a native of İncesu. She had migrated from İncesu to Istanbul with her husband and their first daughter in 1914. There, her husband owned a *bakkal* where she worked for about six years, but her daughter died in 1919 and she decided to leave her violent, alcoholic husband. Alone with a second young child, she opened a small shop selling printed textiles and trinkets which she ran for a few years, before finally leaving Turkey for Greece in 1926.[36] As a female shopkeeper, her case was an exception.

For other female migrants living in the capital, prostitution was sometimes another way to earn a living.[37] This was not specific to the context of Istanbul. A petition in 1866 mentioned the "unpleasant presence" of prostitutes among the Rum community of Niğde and asked for their displacement ito another district. A similar affair occurred in Nevşehir in 1895.[38] Given these two cases – and even though we did not find cases of prostitutes hailed from Cappadocia in the archives dealing with migrants in Istanbul – we can assume that single women could practice this activity more freely in the anonymity of the huge capital than in the small towns of Anatolia from which they came.

Istanbul had a particular aura, was a kind of "El Dorado," in the imaginations of prospective migrants. However, upon arrival and from the first months, the precariousness of urban life was revealed to them. Paspatis described the extreme deprivation of many immigrants in detail. Writing in the 1850s, the doctor claimed that many immigrants with rural backgrounds survived in the huge capital with difficulty and had a short life expectancy.[39] In the beginning of the twentieth century, many immigrants still lived alone and fought to survive in the huge, expensive city.[40] The testimony of a woman from Delmason summarizes the situation of many of them:

36 Sofia Hristofou is one of the rare CAMS informants to have left Turkey later than 1923.

37 The Ottoman administration classified prostitutes at the same level as the unemployed, beggars, and vagabonds and regularly issued decrees for their expulsion from Istanbul.

38 BOA, MVL 746/136 (1283-Ş-22/30.12.1866); BOA, DH.MKT 437/49 (1313-4-13/03.10.1895).

39 Paspatis, *Υπόμνημα περί του γραικικού νοσοκομείου* (1862).

40 Anastassiadou, *Grecs d'Istanbul* (2012), 100.

> The men left and the women remained alone. Why did they go? For money. What happened in Istanbul? They were alone, without relatives; it was as if they were abroad. They worked one month here, another month there. They earned ten kuruş which they did not spend because they had to save the money to send it to our mother who remained in the village. The immigrants wrote in their letters "Dear sister, we are losing weight here." What did they do? They were porters. All my brothers died in Istanbul.[41]

Cappadocian merchants, grocers, and moneylenders embodied the emergence of a broad trade-middle-class, petty as well as great – which spread to rural Cappadocia starting in the 1870s, initiated by emigration which intensified from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Grocers from Ürgüp and İncesu, cheese makers from Nevşehir, caviar sellers from Sinasos, and tavern owners from Fertek were the success stories of Cappadocians in Istanbul, but far from represented the majority of Cappadocians whose life in the capital remained precarious. Nevertheless, we should not understate the ability of the communities of Cappadocians living in the large cities of the empire or even abroad to organize their life as migrants. Involvement in compatriot networks (or fraternities) created from especially in last third of the nineteenth century provided them structures of mutual assistance and a certain degree of economic stability that explain their reputation as hard workers throughout Asia Minor.

6.1.2 *The Fraternities of Compatriots: Creations & Systems of Funding*

Fraternities founded by Cappadocian migrants in the last decades of the nineteenth century developed at a time when private and public philanthropy flourished in urbanized areas of the Ottoman Empire. Participation in philanthropic activity became one of the main means of maintaining of communality between migrants and their villages at a time when seasonal migration had turned into a definitive move for most Cappadocians living in cities. The philanthropy movement spread through the Ottoman Empire and especially among the Orthodox community, though it was, of course, not

41 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ269: T. Papadopoulou.

limited to the Rums of Cappadocia. We already mentioned guilds (*lonca*) and professional unions, which met this double purpose, gathering people together from the same native land in the same business sector. These professional unions prefigured the associations of the 1870s which maintained the sharing according to the native land and were inspired by earlier philanthropic and "phil-educational" societies such as the Greek Philological Syllogos of Constantinople founded in Istanbul in 1861.[42] In the case of migrants, to create an fraternity was a way to facilitate their integration into urban Greek communities as social, cultural, and economic entities, but also to maintain a "link of com-patriotism," the *patria* being the town or village of origin. As a result, in the Rum community of Istanbul, they formed sub-groups corresponding to each Cappadocian settlement. We can assume that this ability to combine integration into the urban community of Istanbul and attachment to the community of origin would have been strengthened by professional unions and later fraternities.

The associations or fraternities to which migrants subscribed had a variety of purposes. As Anastassiadou explained, "most of these associations made it their top priority to offer material and moral aid to needy compatriots in the capital."[43] They also aimed to provide financial support to the village of origin, to develop local infrastructures, and to enlighten young compatriots through the establishment of schools in the homeland. On the other hand, several migrant communities never founded fraternities but contented themselves with professional unions created by wealthy members of the community who took charge of the needs of the village in matters of education or infrastructural development. For instance, the Christians of Endürlük who mainly immigrated to Samsun and Izmir had a union of shopkeepers (with committees in both cities) funded mainly by the wealthiest families and which looked after the needs of the collectivity.

The Cappadocian Educational Association of Constantinople (*Καππαδοκική Εκπαιδευτική Αδελφότης εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει*), created in

42 Regarding the emergence of the Greek Philological Syllogos of Constantinople and other societies in Istanbul, see Vassiadis, *The Syllogos Movement* (2007), 40-80.

43 Anastassiadou, "Greek Orthodox Immigrants" (2009): 160.

1872, was the first fraternity which aimed at unifying all Cappadocian migrants under the roof of a Cappadocian region for common educational and charitable purposes but collapsed around 1877-78.[44] During the ensuing decades, other fraternities were created with smaller areas of activity, focusing on the ties among migrants coming from the same village or town. Among the early ones was that of the Germiriotes, founded in 1879 in Istanbul,[45] and the Fraternity "Nazianzos" (1884) gathering together people who hailed from Gelveri and small, surrounding villages.[46] Kyriaki Mamoni prepared an almost-exhaustive list of Cappadocian fraternities.[47] We list here some of the most important associations based in Istanbul (details about those that Mamoni did not mentioned are added in the footnotes):

- Educational Fraternity of Immigrants from Talas "Concordia" ("*Ομόνοια*" – 1889)
- Fraternity of Aravaniotes "O Agios Georgios" (1905)[48]
- Fraternity of Malakopiotes "Orthodoxy" (1908)
- Educational Fraternity of Immigrants from Kordonos "Transfiguration" (*Φιλεκπαιδευτικής* Αδελφότης Γουρδονιωτών "*Η Μεταμόρφωσις*" (1908)
- Fraternity of Incesiotes "Concordia" ("*Ομόνοια*" – 1909)
- Fraternity for the Monastery of Kerkeme (1909)

44 "Καππαδοκική Εκπαιδευτική Αδελφότης" 1872. Regarding the end of the fraternity, see Kyriaki Mamoni, "Σωματειακή οργάνωση του ελληνισμού στη Μικρά Ασία (1861-1922). Γ': Σύλλογοι Καππαδοκίας και Πόντου" [Corporative Organizations of Hellenism in Asia Minor (1861-1922). Part C: Associations of Cappadocia and Pontus], *DKMS* 6 (1986-87): 175.

45 "Κανονισμός της Αδελφότητος 'Η Αρωγός του Λουκιανού Αρμονία'" [Regulation of the Association 'I Arogos tou Loukianou Armonia'] (Constantinople, 1879).

46 "Δερί Σααδετδε βακή Κελβερινίν μεαριφπερβέρ "Ναζιανζός" ναμ ουχουβετινιν νιζαμναμέσι: τεεσισὶ 1884 Σενεσινδε" [Regulation of the Philanthropic Association 'Nazianzos' located in Istanbul and founded in 1884] (Constantinople: Ἐκ τοῦ Τυπογραφείου Πλ. Μισαηλίδου, 1909).

47 Mamoni has recorded the large part of the associations and fraternities founded by the Rum populations from various parts of Anatolia (Bithynia, Aeolis, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Phrygia, Galatia, Lycaonia, Ionia, Cappadocia, and Pontos). Concerning Cappadocia, see Mamoni, "Σωματειακή οργάνωση" (1986-87).

48 "Κανονισμός της εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Αδελφότητος της κώμης Αραβάν 'Ο Άγιος Γεώργιος'" [Regulation of the Constantinopolitan Fraternity of the Aravanians 'Agios Georgios'] (Constantinople, 1905).

- Association of the Friends of Prokopi, "Virtue" (Εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Σύνδεσμος των φιλομούσων Προκοπιέων "*Η Αρετή*" – 1909)
- Educational Fraternity of Fertekiotes (*Φιλεκπαιδευτικής* Αδελφότης τῶν *Φερτεκηνων "Ο Μιχαήλ Αρχάγγελος"* – 1911)[49]
- Educational Fraternity of Immigrants from Ağırnas "Sts. Anargyroi" (1911)[50]
- Educational and Charitable Fraternity of Immigrants from Akso "St. Makrina" (1911)
- Educational Association of People from Niğde "St. John Prodromos" (1911)[51]
- Association of Neapolitans "Papa Georgios" (1912)[52]
- Philanthropic Association "St. Panteleimon" of Gelveri (1914)[53]
- the Association of Neapolitan Women Living in Istanbul "Resurrection" ("*Anastasis*") (1919)
- Association of Potamiotes "St. Georgios" *(Αδελφότης των Ποταμιτών "Ο Αγιος Γεώργιος"* – 1922)

The founding deed of the Fraternity "Nazianzos" published bilingually in Greek and Karamanlı, shows the typical purposes to which these fraternities aspired. According to its introductory paragraph, it brought together Gelveriotes who worked in trade businesses established in Istanbul; its head office was thus in the capital. Its main aim was to develop the school of Gelveri, suport the education of the children of the poorest families living in the village

49 This fraternity is not recorded by Mamoni, but we found records of its decisions and funding in the "Codex α/α 325 Fertek, Κεντρική Εφοροεπιτροπή Φερτεκίου (1911-1923)."

50 "Κανονισμός της Ενταύθα Φιλεκπαιδευτικής Αδελφότητος 'Οι Άγιοι Ανάργυροι' των Παρεπιδημούντων Κατοίκων της εν τη Επαρχία Καισαρείας Κοινοτήτος Αγιρνάς εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει" [Regulation of the Educational Association 'the Sts. Anargyrs' of people from the community Ağırnas in the Eparchy of Kayseri established in Istanbul] (Constantinople: Τύποις Π. Ι. Λαγοπούλου, 1911).

51 "Κανονισμός της Φιλεκπαιδευτικής Κοινότητος τῶν Νιγδαίων 'Αγιος Ιωάννης ὁ Πρόδρομος'" [Regulation of the phileducational community of Niğde 'Agios Ioannis Prodromos] (Constantinople: Τύποις Αριστόβουλου και Αναστασιάδου, 1911).

52 "Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ανορθωτικού Συνδέσμου των Νεαπολιτών ο ΠΑΠΑ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ/ Δερισααδετδε Μουκίμ Νεβσεχιρλερίν ΠΑΠΑ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ναμ Αζεμιετί Ισλαχιεσινίν Νιζαμναμεσιδίρ" [Regulations of the Neapolitans Regenerative Association Papa-Georgios] (1911), 116-18; "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' - 1913″ (1912).

53 Mentioned in "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' - 1914″ (1913), 233.

– boys as well as girls –, and also to give them the opportunity to follow up their education in Istanbul or another large cities. The first articles (1-10) explained how the fraternity was funded (by yearly subscription and one-time donations by compatriots), and the following articles (10-37) explained how the administrative council of twelve people was elected and what its role would be. The other articles concerned the general organization and functioning of the fraternity in Istanbul as well as its branch in Gelveri.[54] The founding deeds of other fraternities were similar. Some were published bilingually , others only in either Greek or Karamanlı-Turkish.[55]

These fraternities had their head offices in Istanbul, while others were settled in Izmir, Samsun or Adana. For instance, according to the parish records of the village of Stefana (codex of the years 1909-1924), the community received money from emigrants who had created a fraternity in Samsun. The codex recorded the amounts that the Stefaniote Fraternity of Samsun sent to the village for the administration of the community and for the maintenance of the church and payment of the churchwardens salary.[56] Moreover, fraternities that several Cappadocian communities established in their main place of migration often became the main financial supporters of the central committee (eforia) responsible for the propagation of education and instruction.[57] Rum schools founded in Cappadocian towns and villages were thus administered from Istanbul while a second in situ committee was responsible for the implementation of decisions taken in the capital. Emigrants from Gelveri were the first to create, around 1860, a committee in Istanbul in charge of the organization of fund-raising for the construction of a school in their native settlement.

Financial contributions of emigrants were not only achieved through direct donations and regular subscriptions. Fraternities and Istanbul committees also financed their activities with various events that Stefanos Houskanidis, from the village of Matala, described as follows:

54 "Δερ-ί Σααδετδε βακή Κελβερινίν μεαριφπερβέρ 'Ναζιανζός'" (1909).

55 Balta, *Karamanlidika (1584-1900)* (1987); Balta, *Karamanlidika (XXe siècle)* (1987); Balta, *Karamanlidika* (1997).

56 "Codex 21/11 Stefana (1909-1924)", in community registers and codices of parishes (Athens: CAMS), 60-71.

57 Regarding the role of the eforia, see Chapter 4.1.

> The [Matala] village school and the church were administered by two committees: the central committee located in Istanbul and the local committee in the village. Every two years, elections were organized for selecting committee members among contributors. Each year, theater plays were produced in Istanbul; two performances were held. Alongside our contributors, many established Anatolian Christians in Istanbul used to buy tickets to attend the play. Comedians came from Greece. They played *Cybel*, *The Shepherdess,* or *Golfo*.[58] With money collected from tickets sales and from the contributions of members, the fraternity paid the salaries of teachers and priests. It also sent classroom textbooks and notebooks that were distributed for free to pupils in the village school. In the village, we even began to build a boarding school for orphans wandering in the Niğde region, but the wars interrupted our activities.[59]

The organization of theatrical performances by the association of Mataliotes in Istanbul is confirmed by a BPA document of 1907 that deals with a play performed in Tepebaşı to raise funds for the schools of the village of Matala. The *zabita* [municipal police] of Beyoğlu claimed that the authorization required for this kind of public performances had not been requested by the organizers and that the aforementioned schools had no needs of that kind.[60] We do not know from this document if the performance finally took place or if it was prohibited by authorities, but it demonstrates the kinds of difficulties fraternities had in organizing fund-raising and how, at least in the early twentieth century, administrative and financial situations were controlled by the state and the various municipal departments.

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58 *Golfo* (*Γκόλφω),* which was written by Spyros Peressiadis and performed for the first time in 1877 is one of the most famous neo-Hellenic plays of the late nineteenth century. We did not find details about the other two plays mentioned by Houskanidis, but we can assume they were also pieces in the neo-Hellenic literary vein.

59 "ΚΠ 237-240 Matala," 1950s, in *Oral Tradition Archives* (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ238: S. Houskanidis. Two authorizations by the state were delivered for the building of a Greek school (in 1914 and 1919, respectively), but the construction was never undertaken. BOA, DH.İD 214/12 (1332-Ca-7/03.05.1914); BOA, ŞD 1774/3 (1337-N-10/09.06.1919).

60 BOA, ZB 332/4 (1325-M-28/13.03.1907).

Appeals for funds were also regularly organized through the sale of aid tickets (*iane bilet*) – a kind of lottery ticket with a specific philanthropic aim.[61] According to Nadir Özbek, *iane* campaigns became a particularly frequent way of raising funds for philanthropic purposes in the second half of the nineteenth century:

> Official documents of the Hamidian period reveals a remarkably high volume of public activity with philanthropic aims, with lotteries, concerts, and balls being the major forms of fund-raising activities among both Muslim and non-Muslim Ottomans.
>
> One can observe incidences of lotteries for philanthropic purposes in Ottoman domains as early as the mid-nineteenth century. In this early period, the government did not intervene in such activities as long as they retained a purely philanthropic goal. By 1857, as for-profit lotteries began to multiply, along with disputes between lottery organizers and their customers, the government attempted to prohibit all forms of lottery. To what extent the government was successful in this attempt at this blanket prohibition is open to question, especially as regards the small-scale lotteries organized for charity in various parts of the empire. During the Hamidian period, activities of this sort increased considerably, especially in non-Muslim communities; in response, governments of this period employed various devices to keep such activities under control.[62]

In 1901, the municipal police found a series of "aid tickets" (*iane bilet*) to help the functioning of schools in the village of Cemil in the shop of a grocer hailed from the village and working in the *Hayvar Han* (Galata). Because it was without official authorization, the organization of the lottery was prevented by

61 Özbek explained that *iane* literally means aid or assistance, but that "in the late Ottoman context [it] encompasse[d] a broad spectrum of social and political activities public assistance, indigence and disaster-relief efforts, and patriotic campaigns for public projects – whose initiators may be the local government, the palace, any other social agent, or a combination of these," Nadir Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime, 1876-1909," *IJMES* 37, no.1 (2005): 64.

62 Ibid.

the Ministry of Education, the grocers and the printing house organizing it being placed under court prosecution.[63] Three months earlier, merchants from Sinasos, who had requested prior permission, were authorized to organize a similar lottery in the name of the schools of Sinasos. The lottery took place in the Cibali district of Istanbul (west of Unkapanı) and participants were awarded with prizes prepared by the girls attending the Rum school of Cibali. Loteries were a regular activity to collect funds for the Cibali school in the years 1904-1908.[64]

In the Hamidian period, fraternities had to apply to the Ministry of Education when they wanted to organize a fundraiser for their village schools. This procedure had been set up to control philantropic activities involving money-raising, to avoid complaints against the misappropriation of funds and fraud as well as to follow up on the financial activities of associations that were particularly economically powerful.[65] After having verified the application, the ministry announced the procedure to be followed. For instance, in response to a request for a collection organized by the Rum community of Nevşehir living in Istanbul on behalf of their schools' annual expenses, the ministry decided that, in view of the serious profile of the organizers who took charge

63 BOA, MF.MKT 596/26 (1319-N-20/31.12.1901).

64 BOA, MF.MKT 581/11 (1319-C-8/22.09.1901); BOA, MF.MKT 605/9 (1319-L-29/29.10.1901); BOA, MF.MKT 773/56 (1322-M-20/06.04.1904); BOA, MF.MKT 791/74 (1322-Ca-6/19.07.1904); BOA, MF.MKT 870/34 (1324-Ca-15/18.07.1905); BOA, MF.MKT 977/77 (1324-Z-29/13.02.1907); BOA, ZB 29/186 (1324-Te-26/08.08.1908).

65 The BOA are full of this kind of investigations. For instance, in 1889, an affair occurred with three cheese merchants from Nevşehir who claimed they were selling cheese to raise funds for the school of their community. On September 24, the money they raised was confiscated by authorities during an investigation and then returned to them three days later. See BOA, DH.MKT 1655/28 (1307-M-13/09.09.1889); BOA, DH.MKT 1656/41 (1307-1-16/12.09.1889). In 1892, the Fertekiote fraternity of Istanbul, represented by three members of its head committee, presented a request to the Ministry of Education for authorization of a fundraiser dedicated to the development of the operation of communal schools. See BOA, DH.MKT 2025/111 (1310-5-13/13.12.1892). Nadir Özbek analyzed other examples throughout the Ottoman Empire that show how widespread the use of *iane* campaigns was (especially among non-Muslim communities) and how the Hamidian government tried to control these initiaitives. See Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity" (2005): 64-66.

of the collection, it was not necessary to form an independent committee responsible for the oversight of their activities.[66]

Throughout the years, several fraternities, especially the largest ones and those which counted among their members wealthy donors financed the construction and daily functioning of several schools, orphanages, churches, libraries, and other public buildings in their villages. Butthey also became owners of several buildings, hans, shops, and apartment building in Istanbul or other adopted cities. These two purposes were directly linked since real estate in Istanbul (and other cities) allowed the generatation of revenue, especially through the renting of shops and apartments. These were then invested in the village through building construction and maintenance, the salaries of teachers, scholarships for children, and purchase of classroom supplies. The largest fraternities generally had an office but most often, the official address was the shop of one of the principal members where activities and fundraising were centralized. For instance, several shops owned by Telmisiotes centralized the collection of donations and subscriptions of fraternity's members. The owners of these shops were, at the same time, among the main benefactors of the community.[67]

After years of hard work, many migrants had begun as young apprentices finally became owners of real estate in their adopted city. The subscriptions, donations, and other financial support they allowed to their fraternity to purchase real estate in Istanbul and other cities where the association had its headquarters or branch offices. Even the fraternity of a small village such as Matala owned, on the eve of the World War I, several buildings and shops in Istanbul. According to Houskanidis:

> [T]he fraternity owned the Madala Han in Istanbul, a three-story building near the quay of Hasır [in Eminönü], with shops on the

66 BOA, DH.MKT 386/11 (1312-12-23/17.06.1895).

67 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ269: K. Terkenlis & B. Hatzivasilidis. The principal benefactor of Delmason was Yovanakis Sismanoglou who had immigrated to Odessa in the 1880s but was buried in Istanbul in the garden of the fraternity's office. There were also several families of merchants who worked and lived in Istanbul, such as the Isaakidis and the Papazoglou families.

> ground floor and offices on the upper floors. It also owned two shops that it rented out near the new bridge [of Galata]. […] But in 1924, the Turkish state dissolved our fraternity as well as other associations and clubs belonging to Greek communities. The funds and real properties owned by our association were considered abandoned and were seized by the state.[68]

Other OTA informants mentioned the numerous buildings and shops owned by the committee of their village in Istanbul, Izmir, and Samsun. The largest communities of migrants often owned several properties in Istanbul. The community of Gelveri purchased – generally secretly under the auspices of a private individual (often the president or a member of the committee of Istanbul) – important real estates in the capital.[69] On the eve of the 1920s, its property holdings consisted of a house, a café, and a casino in Fener, a hotel on Soğuk Çeşme Sokak, and two shops on Hoca Paşa Sokak (district of Sirkeci) and on Yacılar Sokak (in Eminönü) that it partially owned.[70] Around 26,000 Turkish liras were aslo kept in a bank on behalf of the fraternity. All

68 "ΚΠ 237-240 Matala," 1950s, ΚΠ238: Stefanos Houskanidis. Insurance maps and directories do not indicate a *Matala Han* in Istanbul. This name would have been the informal name used among Mataliotes to designate the building. According to insurance maps of 1904-1929, the sector of the *Hassır Iskelesi* mentioned by Houskanidis was occupied mainly by small commercial buildings of three or four floors. See Goad, "Planche 4: Yemiche, Tacha Kale et Deve Oglou," in *Plans d'assurances. Vol I. Stambul* (Istanbul, 1904), lot 93-107 (reproduced in Appendix A10a).

69 It seems that the practice of using a front man to hide communal property was frequent among migrants as well as in Cappadocia. Mamoni, "Σωματειακή οργάνωση" (1986-87): 167-68.

70 The Sofya Hotel, owned by the community of Gelveri, was situated at 31 Soğuk Çeşme Sokak in the district of Sirkeci. According to the Annuaire of 1891, it was run by P. Kyrillos and Papadopoulos. See "Annuaire" (1891), 346. There is insufficient information to precisely locate the two shops. However, if we hypothesize that they were owned in partnership with Rums, they could be, according to directories, a *sarraf* (money-lending office), a restaurant, or a grocery. E. Goad, "Planche 7: Sirkedji, Kara Keui et Ibn Kemal," in *Plans d'assurances. Vol I. Stambul* (Istanbul, 1904); E. Goad, "Planche 18: Soouk Tchechmé, Lala Hairettine, Buyuk Zaptie et Yere Batan," in *Plans d'assurances. Vol I. Stambul* (Istanbul, 1904). Planche 7 is reproduced in Appendix A10c.

these goods were purchased on accounts of the revenues of the association "Nazianzos" and the parish of Gelveri, especially revenues generated by the *Tekke*/Church of St. Mamas (near Gelveri) that the community owned together with a local dervish lodge.[71] Real estate in Istanbul, on account of rental revenue and interest on money placed in banks, served in turn to make the acquisition of land and other real estate in Cappadocia possible, but also to save money in the name of the community.[72]

In codices of various parishes of Cappadocia, numerous property deeds and insurance documents in the fraternity's name show the large investment that communities made in real estate in their place of migration. For instance, the Fraternity of Fertekiotes in Istanbul was the owner of several insured buildings and shops, especially in the district of Balat.[73] By analyzing the *Annuaires orientaux* together with insurances plans prepared by Goad in 1905 and by Pervititch for the 1920s, we have been able to find several of these properties in Istanbul. As of 1911, the Community of Fertekiotes owned (according to the insurance contracts and renewals preserved in the codices) a house (of stone and brick) of two floors with a shop on the ground floor, situated at n°2 Bostan Sokak in the Aya Strati district. On Pervitich's insurance maps, this building is registered on the Map 26 (Balat-Fetiye Kesmekaya) on a street recorded as Haci Yssa Bostani Sokak, east of the Taxiarchs church (Aya Strati Kilise), at the corner of the Ayan Sokak (which is called Rue Aya Strati

71 Regarding the mausoleum of St. Mamas and the sharing of its maintenance and revenues between the dervish order and the Christian parish of Gelveri, see Chapter 10.

72 See "Καργεμίζ Κελβερινίν Δερί Σααδετδτε βακη μεαριφπερβέρ "Ναζιανζος" ναμ ουχουββετινιν βε καργεμιζδε βακη Ρουμ μεκτεπλερι μερκεζ εφοριασηνην 14 Ιουλιος 1913 ταριχλι μεδζλισι ουμουμισι χουζουρηνδα ιραδ οληναν πεγιανναμεσι" [Report of the Central Executive Board in Istanbul of the fraternity "Nazianzos", gathering the friends of education, about the rum schools of our village of Gelveri, 14 July 1913](Deri Saadet: 1913). This report includes revenues of the casino located in the Phanar district (p.30 and 90) as well as several property deeds. See Balta, *Karamanlidika (XXe siècle)* (1987), no 94, p.118. For details about communal real estate in Cappadocia, see Chapter 6.1.

73 "Codex α/α 337 Fertek, Εφοροεπιτροπή Φερτεκίου - Μητροπολίτης Ικονίου (1911-1924)"; "Codex α/α 325 Fertek, Κεντρική Εφοροεπιτροπή Φερτεκίου (1911-1923)"; "Codex α/α 339 Fertek, Κεντρική Εφορεία Φερτεκίου - Εφοροεπιτροπή Φερτεκίου (1828-1922)".

on the contract and its annual renewals).[74] The real estate frenzy was doubled since the community had property holdings in the capital and also locally in Cappadocia. For both places, revenues of these goods were invested to respond to the needs of the community and for savings in case of future difficulties such as droughts which in Central Anatolia could destroy agricultural production for one or even consecutive years.

§ 6.2 Everyday Life in a Village Experiencing Emigration

6.2.1 *Local Application and Results of Philanthropical Endeavours*

The connection of expatriate fraternities and professional associations was made possible by local branches created in villages. Local branches of fraternities of migrants linked the head office, which sent financial support, and the administration of the community, which invested this support in various local projects. The creation of these local branches consequently closely followed the foundation of the fraternity. This trend flourished, beginning in the 1870s and intensifying during the first decades of the twentieth century. A small village such as Matala would thus have a fraternity with two committees: the central one in Istanbul and the local one in Matala. According to Houskanidis, the transfer of money from Istanbul to the committee of Matala was made by people who regularly went back and forth. It could be a Christian member of the fraternity or anyone – including a Turk – trusted by the committee. For instance, Houskanidis mentioned a Turk of Niğde, called Kurtoğlu, whose father was member of the Municipal Council of Niğde during the First Constitutional period (1876-1878). When the fraternity or private individuals wanted to send money to the village or to their

74 J. Pervititch, "Planche 26: Balat-Fetiye Kesmekaya," in *Plans d'assurances* (Istanbul: Kaatçılık ve Matbaacılık Anonim Şirketi, 1929), lot 335 (reproduced in Appendix A11). Information about the real estate of Cappadocian communities in Istanbul that is available in codices, manuscripts, and oral tradition archives are patchy and the locations are consequently difficult to situate precisely. The address of this house owned by the community of Fertek was among the more detailed that we have found, and so we were able to localite on insurance plans.

families, they used to give it to Kurtoğlu who dropped it off in his father's office from which the Committee of Matala would get the money.[75]

Moreover, local, independent philanthropic and educational associations began to be founded starting in the 1850s and especially from the 1870s onwards. Founded as "club" (*Λέσχη*) and often named for the patron saint of the village or town, these local associations pursued similar activities as the fraternities of migrants. The earliest local association we know of in the region was the fraternity called "Anunciation" (Ευαγγελισμός τής Θεοτόκου) founded in Ürgüp in 1859 by about fifty founding members. It apparently remained active until 1907.[76] A second local association, the Charitable Fraternity "Orthodoxy" (*Φιλόπτωχος Αδελφότης Προκοπίου η Ορθοδοξία*) was founded in Ürgüp in 1894 with the encouragement of the Metropolitan Ioannis Anastassiadis.[77] However, "Orthodoxy" closed its doors in 1913, supposedly because the Philanthropic Fraternity of Prokopiotes, "Virtue'" founded in Istanbul (1909) and working directly in collaboration with the executive board of the community overlapped with its fields of activity. In Nevşehir, the "Basileias" Educational Club (*Φιλεκπαιδευτική Λέσχη "Βασιλειάς")* was founded in 1872 (after a failed attempt to organize in 1866) followed by another educational club called "Indiction" (*Φιλεκπαιδευτική Λέσχη "Ινδικτιάς")* in 1879.[78] In Sinasos, an Educational Society (*'Ο Φιλεκπαιδευτικός Σύλλογος*) was established in 1875 (after a first attempt in 1867) and the "St. Nicholas" club was inaugurated in 1877. These clubs and associations were encountered only in largest, most developed communities of Cappadocia, namely in towns such as Kayseri, Nevşehir, and Ürgüp or in villages with high level of economic development such as Sinasos, Gelveri, and

75 "ΚΠ 237-240 Matala," 1950s.

76 "Codex α/α 169 Prokopi, Ο Ευαγγελισμός της Θεοτόκου από άρχων Μιχαήλ" (1859 - 1907), in Codices of the Exchange (Athens: GAK), 3-14. Mamoni considered this association as the oldest example of brotherhood in Cappadocia. Mamoni, "Σωματειακή οργάνωση" (1986-87): 166.

77 "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' – 1914" (1913), 113. Mamoni, "Σωματειακή οργάνωση" (1986-87): 166-67.

78 Ioannis Karachristos, "Club 'Basileias', Nevşehir," *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού, Μ. Ασία* (2005), URL: http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=6994 (last connection: 30.08.2016); Mamoni, "Σωματειακή οργάνωση" (1986-87).

Fertek. They corresponded to what Anagnostopoulou called "communities with developed organization" which possessed relatively dense populations and effective socioeconomic expansion, in contrast to "traditionally organized communities."[79] It is thus unsurprising to see the creation of clubs in large communities composed of broader social ranges of people than small villages where activities remained mainly agriculturally-oriented and the economy was limited to basic exchange.

Alongside clubs, several large settlements also possessed, at least from the 1880s onwards, local coporations (*συντεχνία/syntehnia* in Greek, *lonca* in Karamanlı-Turkish) that, in addition to their professional objectives, served educational and charitable purposes. In Gelveri, for instance, main local professional unions were:

- Corporation of Farmers "Demeter" (*Τή συντεχνία τών γεωργών "Δήμητρα"* – 1887) founded by the Hatsatoglou family and owning large tracts of land in the region
- Corporation of Potters "Keramos" (*Τή συντεχνία τών κεραμέων "Κέραμος"*)
- Corporation of Oil-Traders "Omonia" (*Τή συντεχνία τών λαδάδων "Ομόνοια"* – 1890)
- Corporation of Blacksmiths "Hephestos" (*Τή* συντεχνία τών σιδηρουργών "Ἡφαιστος")
- Corporation of Grocers, which merged with the fraternity "Nazianzos" based in Istanbul

Most of them had close connection to their Istanbul counterparts.[80] The ways these local corporations or professional unions functioned were more or less copied from those of Istanbul. Similar situations were encountered in other large communities such as Prokopi, İncesu, Nevşehir, or Sinasos. In 1910 in Ürgüp, there were two associations and at least five professional unions. The latter were actually based in Istanbul but had funds in Ürgüp that served to

79 Anagnostopoulou, *Μικρα Αζία 19ος αί.* (1997), 365-67.

80 Mamoni, "Σωματειακή οργάνωση" (1986-87): 180-81. Regarding the symbolism of their name which refers to ancient Greek mythology, see Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 571-72.

help their members' needs and support their community's activities, especially in matters of education. The "Fund of Shoemakers", the Fund of Tailors, the Fund of Sailors (collectively migrants sailors of Istanbul and Izmir), and the Fund of Stone-Carvers "Pater Avraam" are examples, the last of which was particularly large and comprised Rum but also some Muslim members.[81]

Local associations, clubs, and unions or corporations, just as those based in Istanbul, had the common purposes of charity and philanthropy. As a result, when several groups existed for the same settlement, cooperation but also rivalry took place. For instance, the "Basileias" and "Indiktias" clubs of Nevşehir regularly tried to cooperate but were actually competitors. In various reports from the period 1882-1885, the committee of "Basileias" proposed to merge the two clubs, but members of "Indiktias" refused out of fear of losing their leadership capacity in a potential merged club. Both thus continued to act on same issues but separately; in 1884, for instance, they both supported the maintenance of the girl's school of Nevşehir.[82]

If the creation of associations and unions were numerous, it is generally difficult (except when they clearly closed) to establish how they operated and evaluate to what extent, once created, they reached the goals they set. On this matter, the codices of Fertek are particularly interesting. For instance, records of financial aid earmarked by the committee of Istanbul for destitute families living in the village (thanks to a fundraiser made among Fertekiote migrants living in America) are available for the year 1919 and clearly show the process of awarding. In June 1919, an inventory of the poorest families was provided

81 "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, ΚΠ316. Stefo Benlisoy, "Istanbul'a Göçmüş Ürgüplü Ortodoksların Kurduğu Bir Cemiyet 'Areti' Maarifperveran Cemiyeti," *Toplumsal Tarih* 233, *(*2003). Mamoni explained that there was no professional union based in Ürgüp because they had closed at an earlier time, but we did not find details about the reason and date of its closing.

82 "Codex α/α 135 Nevşehir, Βιβλίον των πρακτικών της Εφορίας της εν Νεαπόλει της Καππαδοκίας Φιλεκπαιδευτικής Λέσχης Βασιλειάδος [Register of rules of the Phileducational Club "Basileias" in Neapoli, Cappadocia] (1872 - 1889)," in Codices of the Exchange (Athens: GAK). Propositions for cooperation are evoked in the minutes of the "Basileias" Club meeting on 29 August 1882 (p.76, n°260) and 11 and 22 January 1885 (p.97, n°345 and 346). We know however from minutes of the meeting of 9 May 1884 (p.94, n°329) that both clubs worked separately on projects for the girls school. On this issue, see also Mamoni, "Σωματειακή οργάνωση" (1986-87): 178-79.

by the committee (eforia) of Fertek. Each family was recorded with the number of dependent family members and the name of one person – apparently the most important individual of the household – present in Fertek. A large majority of these households were actually recorded under the name of a woman who might have been a widow or the wife of a migrant. Households in this inventory had from one (a single woman) to six members. This first list looks like a draft: it included 202 individuals in need, but among them, numerous names have been struck out. It was prepared by the local committee of Fertek, which was presided over at that time by A. Nomidis. One month later, a second list was finalized by the head committee of Istanbul. This second definitive list includes only remaining names on the first, provisory list (forty-three households of ninety-nine individuals); it also incorporates the amounts allotted by the committee for each of these families, namely 200 lira per individual, or a total of around 20,000 – lira. A third list signed on August 1919 by the president and four members of the local committee of Fertek provides both the information already given in the July list as well as the signatures of individuals who received the amounts dedicated to their household. It also shows that the total amount was distributed, but not exactly as planned by the committee of Istanbul. Sixty-three instead of forty-three families benefitted from the aid. Consequently, instead of 200 lira, each person received only 150 lira.[83] This case is an interesting example showing that committees, at least in large settlements, were able to accomplish their goals. It also demonstrates how head and local committees functioned and collaborated. The evaluation of needs – and the sending and distribution of money was organized very rapidly – it took only two months to establish the list of beneficiaries, to prepare and send 20,000 lira, and to distribute the sums to needy families. It demonstrates the power of the committee in Istanbul, but also the leeway that the local committee could exercise in using the money sent from Istanbul.

Financial aid for needy households was one of the basic charitable actions assumed by fraternities of Istanbul. But they had a broader spectrum of activities including cultural and religious issues, the organization of courses to

83 "Codex α/α 337 Fertek, Εφοροεπιτροπή Φερτεκίου - Μητροπολίτης Ικονίου" (1911-1924). The lists are on pages 121-123, and 148-156. Some pages are reproduced in Appendix D1.

teach skills to women without incomes, the foundation of libraries, and, of course, the education of children. While not a clear-cut division, a kind of distribution of labor can be highlighted according to which Istanbul fraternities (and their branches in Cappadocia) focused primarily on education while local Cappadocian clubs were more involved in charitable activities. Incidentally, the latter often had the adjective "*φιλόπτωχος/filoptohos*" (charitable) rather than the adjective "*φιλεκπαιδευτικής/filekpaideutikos*" ("phileducational") in their name, the latter of which was more current among Constantinopolitan fraternities. The activities of local clubs might take various forms. For instance, the club in Ürgüp distributed food and clothes to the poor, covered their medical expenses, and generally sent them to the American missionary hospital of Talas.[84] In Nevşehir, encouraged by the Metropolitan of Caesarea, Eustathios Kleovoulos, the "Basileias" club offered public courses in the religious fields (ecclesiastical music, celebrations, sermons, life, and works of Basil the Great) as well as on the history of Cappadocia and on the Greek and Turkish languages. It organized conferences, meetings, public readings, and commentary in newspapers. Thanks to donations, it was also able to found a nursery school in 1872. The main donor, L.P. Oraiopoulos gave 5000 kuruş for the creation of the nursery and was proclaimed founder, patron of the school, and great benefactor of the club.[85] However, this school was active for only three years. Similarly, in Sinasos, the "St. Nicholas" club founded in 1877 did not limit its activities to education. It was concerned with the monastery's *vakıf* (pious foundation), the cultivation of its lands, the preservation of its building, and the functioning of its guest house. In the case of a substantial reserve of funds, it also made charitable donations, but more particularly invested in the foundation of factories and other businesses that would employ destitute women.[86] In 1892, it also funded the construction of the communal

84 Mamoni, "Σωματειακή οργάνωση" (1986-87): 166-68.

85 Karachristos, "Club 'Basileias', Nevşehir" (2005).

86 Kostas M. Stamatopoulos, "Η καθημερινή ζωή στη Σινασό της Καππαδοκίας," in *Η Σινασός της Καππαδοκίας*, ed. Φ. Ποιμενίδη (Athens: Άγρα, 1986), 52-53. Ioannis Karachristos, "Club 'St. Nicholas', Sinasos," *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού, Μ. Ασία* (2005), URL: http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=6801 (last connection: 30.082016).

baths, which indirectly contributed to the functioning of the school since the revenues of the baths revenues went to the school budget. Another part of the funds was used to help students.

The 1920 book, *Centenary of the* eforia *of the schools of Nevşehir*,[87] gives a general survey of the philanthropic, educational, and charitable activities of associations in Istanbul as well as in their villages or towns of origin. The main domains of activity were, in Istanbul, helping compatriots who were in difficult situations and, in the native land, building, promoting, and funding community schools, churches, and various actions taken for the development of the community such as the construction of water reservoirs and irrigation systems. In particular circumstances, they could lead specific actions. Thus in 1874, when Anatolia was affected by a particularly harsh famine, the fraternity of Nevşehir organized an extraordinary collection of money to help the local population.[88] Moreover, to keep members of their community in Cappadocia informed, associations and central committees regularly sent books and textbooks as well as newspapers and almanacs published in Istanbul and Izmir. For instance, the committee of Istanbul purchased twenty copies of the book *Kayseri Mitropolitleri* written by Ioannis Ioannidis in 1896, 100 copies of the *Mikrasiatikon Imerologion "O Astir"* in 1914, and sixty copies of the new volume in 1915.[89] These books were sent to Nevşehir to take their place on the library shelves of the schools.[90]

Fraternities played a significant role in the development of educational networks in Rum communities of Cappadocia. However, the opening of Greek schools in Cappadocia was not generally dependent on the creation of these associations. In the largest communities, communal schools opened their doors between 1820 and 1840, on account of funds of private benefactors who, at that time, had already emigrated but were not yet organized into

87 "Νέβσεχιρ Μεκτεπλερινίν " (1920).

88 Ibid., 114-15.

89 Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 152; "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' - 1913″ (1912), 274; "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' - 1914″ (1913), 295-96.

90 A catalogue of the books kept in the library of the community of Nevşehir was realized in 1897-98 and suggests the importance the community gave to the acquisition of books. "Codex α/α 127 Nevşehir, Βιβλίοθήκη της Κοινότητας Νεβσεχίρ [Catalogue of the Library of the Community of Nevşehir] (1897-1898)," in Codices of the Exchange (Athens: GAK).

associations. Donations for the creation and functioning of schools were, in the beginning, individual initiatives, even though a corporation was often behind and controlled the continuity of a school's financial support. For instance, the first Rum school of Nevşehir was founded in 1820 thanks to the donations of migrants, and its board had a branch in Istanbul. Because of its financial support, the Constantinopolitan board had a central role ranging from the construction of the building to the daily functioning of the school. It regularly sent writing materials and textbooks, paid the salaries of teachers, and funded scholarships for pupils.[91] During its first years, the school was supported by the members of the Guild of Green Grocers established in Istanbul, and it was later financed by the Constantinopolitan Union of Cheese Makers from Nevşehir. In the same way, the first community school of Sinasos was constructed in 1821, thanks to the financial support of Haci Polykarpos, the president of the Caviar Traders Union, as well as other caviar merchants such as Serafeim Tandirtzis, Serafeim Rizos, Thanasis Teperoglou and Vasilis Makropoulos, and above all, Ioannis Varvakis, the wealthy inventor of a solution to preserve the freshness of caviar (invention he apparently revealed to Sinasiote merchants of Istanbul).[92] Varvakis was not from Sinasos. He was born on the island of Psara in 1750, but in 1820 he offered 10,000 kuruş to the Sinasiote Guild for the foundation of the village's primary school. According to the *Sigillum* of Patriarch Gregory V concerning the creation of schools in Sinasos, the Caviar Trade Union raised 15,000 kuruş (10,000 kuruş of whichwas donated by Varvakis and the rest by fifteen Sinasiote caviar traders of Istanbul).[93] Sinasiote caviar merchants were thus the first example of a guild of Cappadocians using its professional network for phileducational purposes.

91 "ΚΠ 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s, ΚΠ144: V. Kalatavoutsoglou. Also quoted in Benlisoy, "Education in the Orthodox" (2010), 81.

92 It is difficult to say in which circumstances Ioannis Varvakis (1750-1825) revealed his technique to the Sinasiote merchants of Istanbul. From the BOA, we learn that merchants in several fish markets of Istanbul and Galata complained about those trying to change caviar conservation techniques in 1794. BOA, C.IKTS 35/1745 (1209-Za-17/05.06.1795)

93 Rizos, *Η Σινασός (1952)*, II (2007), 11. Stamatopoulos, "Η καθημερινή ζωή" (1986), 46; Balta, *Sinasos. Mübadeleden once* (2009), 99.

The creation of Nevşehir and Sinasos' schools were particularly early examples of educational development. The case of Gelveri was even earlier since the school for boys was founded in 1802, before the creation of any fraternity or union in the capital.[94] The widespread development of communal education was made easier after the Tanzimat period began since the Ottoman State gave autonomy to each *millet* for the opening and management of communal schools, though they remain under the state's supervision) In the *millet-i Rum*, education was thus theoretically managed by the Patriarchate. Nevertheless, in his work about community education in the region of Nevşehir in the nineteenth century, Benlisoy demonstrated how, even in "traditionally organized communities," the administration of schools from Istanbul led to the "secularization" of educational affairs since migrants participating in educational committees voiced "their opposition towards the exclusive control of the church and their preference for the control of the communal affairs by 'lettered' persons."[95] Motivated by the Hellenization movement and the rediscovery of Cappadocia by Rum and Greek scholars in Istanbul and Athens, the development of communal education in villages of Cappadocia occurred more rapidly in the 1870s and especially after 1890 under the auspices of the migrant committees settled in the Ottoman capital.

As a result, in addition to primary schools for boys, schools for girls multiplied and specialized establishments opened in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Benlisoy highlighted the attempt of several Rum communities to create kindergartens and preschool institutions.[96] In Ürgüp in 1904, there were two primary schools (one for boys with 230 pupils and the

94 Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 129.

95 Benlisoy, "Education in the Orthodox" (2010), 68-69.

96 In Gelveri, Zincidere, and Germir, three large, Turkish-speaking Christian communities, the creation or attempt to create preschools occurred in the 1900s-1910s, but the beginning of the First World War was an obstacle. "Γενικός Κανονισμός των Σχολείων της Θεοσώστου Επαρχίας Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας 1872" (Athens: CAMS), art.2, p.5; "Codex 7/3 Kermira (Germir)" (1906-1924), in community registers and codices of parishes (Athens: CAMS), 34-43. According to Benlisoy, "The age of entrance to the kindergartens was not specified and changed according to every community, i.e. according to the general regulations of the schools of Gelveri in 1910, the kindergarten accepted infants from five years old and not older than seven years old." See Benlisoy, "Education in the Orthodox" (2010), 344-46.

other for girls with 120 students) and a kindergarten with around 250 children. The expenses of all these establishments were largely derived from contributions of both migrants and residents of the town. In Nevşehir in 1912 mainly on account of funds provided by the fraternity of Istanbul and the clubs of Nevşehir, there were three kindergartens with around 300 children, a primary school for girls with six classrooms and 257 students, and a primary school for boys with seven classrooms and 357 pupils.[97] As with the majority of Rum schools in Cappadocia, the schools in Nevşehir were all managed by two committees, one local and the other in Istanbul.[98]

From the 1870s to the 1890S, Zincidere became the main regional educational center for the Orthodox Christians of Anatolia. In 1860, Ioannis Anastassiadis, the son of a grocer in Istanbul and a priest from İncesu created a small seminary within the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Zincidere at the request of the Metropolitan Paisios of Kayseri. He was himself appointed Metropolitan of Kayseri in 1878. In the 1870s, the school grew up due to fundraising organized by the Educational Fraternity of Cappadocians in Istanbul. While a large endowment campaign was organized in 1880 under the auspices of the Greek Patriarchate, the generosity of Theodoros Emmanouil Rodokanakis, a wealthy Greek trader from Chios based in Marseille, allowed the small school to turn into an educational complex which would be renamed the "Seminary Rodokanakis of Kayseri" in 1882.[99] At that time, it had twenty-three students. In 1887, it reached eighty-five students of which thirty-five had scholarships and the others paid a twelve lira annual tuition.[100] Despite a deep crisis between 1889 and 1891 about the way the school was administered, the

97 According to figures of the patriarchate administration given in the 1905 review of *Xenophanis,* 350 boys and 150 girls were enrolled in the two primary schools. Mention is also made of twenty Rum students registered in the Turkish schools of Nevşehir. Comparable figures from 1912 show the demographic decline of the community of Nevşehir due to emigration of family that began, for Nevşehir, in the first years of the twentieth century. "Της Σύνταξης, Στατιστικὴ Ἐπαρχίας Καισαρείας," Ξενοφάνης: σύγγραμμα περιοδικόν του Συλλόγου των Μικρασιατών "Ανατολής" 2 (1905), 230-33.

98 "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' – 1913" (1912). Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 123.

99 Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 12-15.

100 Benlisoy, "Education in the Orthodox" (2010), 284.

establishment in Zincidere became the main point of reference for education in Anatolia and was officially recognized by the University of Athens. In 1891, along with the theological seminary, the complex consisted of the Cappadocian Central Girls' School, two orphanages (for boys and for girls, respectively), and as of 1905, a Kindergarteners Training College. Students in these various institutions were children coming all over Cappadocia and beyond. In wartime, all the establishments continued to function, but in 1916 and 1917, the Training College and the Girls' School closed their doors, respectively. The orphanages remained open and sheltered numerous, mostly Armenian orphans .[101] After the war, Zincidere lost its centrality as an educational place due to massive emigration which meant the numbers of students were too limited to maintain its activities.

From the 1870s onwards, the frenzy of the educational efforts of Cappadocian Christian communities intensified and spread to smaller settlements. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were sixty-four Rum schools in the province of Kayseri – so many that almost every Rum village and community, even the smallest ones, had its own primary school, even if classrooms were not frequented by a crowd of students.[102] Support of fraternities for the development of educational infrastructures particularly benefitted smaller communities, which by the turn of the twentieth century, had at least one primary school for boys.[103] As in large communities, they were headed by a committee located in Istanbul and locally by the community's local assembly.[104] By 1913, the village of Kordonos in the region of Niğde had a primary school with six classrooms with 130 male and forty-seven female

101 Ibid., 376. See pictures of the buildings, staff, and students in Appendix E5.

102 Tsalikoglou, *Ελληνικά εκπαιδευτήρια* (1970).

103 In the smallest settlements, the only school would be dedicated to boys and would have had at least twenty students in 1905. In the area of Kayseri, Kesi, Vekse, Saroumsaklı, and Stefana enrolled between twenty and fifty pupils. In the western part of Cappadocia, Kenatala, Iloson, and Matala had between twenty and seventy. At that time, these communities each had between 100 and 750 inhabitants. "Της Σύνταξης, Στατιστικὴ τῆς Ἐπαρχίας Ἰκονίου" (1905-06), 44; "Της Σύνταξης, Στατιστικὴ Ἐπαρχίας Καισαρείας" (1905), 230-33.

104 Benlisoy, "Education in the Orthodox" (2010), 68-69.

pupils (for a total of 250 Christian households).[105] It was administered by a committee in Istanbul and mainly funded by a fraternity in the capital. In Uluağaç (with a Rum community of about 1000 members), the school founded in 1893 with funds raised by emigrants had 150 children enrolled in 1896. In İloson where the population was 500 inhabitants (all Christian), there were around thirty or forty pupils and one teacher.[106] Even in Sazalca, with only fifty Rum and fifteen Muslim households, the emigrants financed the construction of a school with two stories. In 1895, forty-five pupils were enrolled and one teacher was being employed.[107] On the other hand, in a few, mainly agriculture-oriented villages from which emigration was limited or nonexistent, the ineptitude of the teachers often prevented children from gaining a valuable education even when a building was dedicated to this purpose. In face of the ignorance of pupils and also of teachers of the villages of Suvermez and Misti, the lettered Ioannidis, claimed that education was a big word for these schools![108] These settlements were, around 1900, the last examples in Cappadocia of what Anagnastopoulou called "traditionally organized communities," at least in terms of their systems of instruction. In the case of Misti, the community experienced important changes resulting from temporary male immigration to Russia but Mistiotes neither invested in the development of their school nor the level of instruction, but rather in religious life. In 1844, they built the majestic and unique Church of St. Basil with the money earned in Russia.[109]

With the propagation of local education from the 1870s, a larger group of young Christians of Cappadocia enrolled in higher education. Due to the opening of local schools, the number of children going to primary classrooms increased, including in small settlements where boy schools opened. In larger

105 Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 114. A decade earlier, according to Ioannidis, 105 male and 55 female students were enrolled in the schools of Kordonos. These figures reflect the general demographic decline of Rum communities in Cappadocia and the extent of family emigration.

106 "ΚΠ 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, ΚΠ: R. Avramidou.

107 Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 123. In 1905, the size was fifty pupils divided into three classes. "Της Σύνταξης, Στατιστικὴ τῆς Ἐπαρχίας Ἰκονίου" (1905-06), 44.

108 Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 100-04.

109 Kostakis, *Μιστί* (1977), 171-74 & 253-64.

communities, the effort rapidly focused on the opening of schools for female pupils as well as of secondary schools and kindergartens. Moreover, fund-raising organized by fraternities and guilds in Istanbul paid for their operation, classroom supplies, and the salaries of teachers, as well as scholarships for a larger number of deserving children who henceforth were able to continue their studies in institutions of higher education, in Istanbul and Izmir, or also in the Seminary of Zincidere. With the importance given to religiosity among Cappadocian Christians and due to the proximity of the seminary, the latter became, from the 1870s onwards, an unprecedented local higher education structure recognized by the University of Athens. Its reputation grew to such an extent that it hosted students from all regions of the empire.[110] As a result, by the turn of the twentieth century, it was common to see Cappadocian Christians enrolled in most prestigious schools of the Rum *millet* as well as in missionary schools, especially those managed by French orders. Some of them, like Karolidis a few decades earlier, continued their academic careers at the universities in the Ottoman and Greek capitals, especially in the faculties of law, philosophy, philology, and medicine of the University of Istanbul and the National University of Athens, but also in universities of Western countries.[111] The path followed by Ioakeim Valavanis, from a poor family of Aravani to the University of Athens is representative of the new possibilities compatriot networks offered to children of humble

110 For instance, Ioannis Kalfoglou who was born in Istanbul from a family that hailed from Bafra (in the Pontus), studied in Zincidere in the late 1880s. See Anastasia Falierou, "Ioannis Kalfoglous, Géographie historique de l'Asie Mineure, (Athènes: Centre d'études d'Asie mineure, 2002)," *CEMOTI* 37 (2005).

111 In almanacs and newspapers, the titles of authors and readers in the correspondence columns show the academic careers and accomplishments of Cappadocian Rums. See, for instance, the pages of the newspaper *Anatoli* and almanacs such as *Miskrasiatikon Immerologion* – but also more generally all publications that contained lists of subscribers that included names and titles of individuals. For a study of such lists of subscribers as sample to paint a social and professional picture of Karamanlı communities, see Aude Aylin de Tapia, "De la Porteuse de Pain (1884) à l'Etmekçi Hatun (1885). Un roman populaire français chez les Karamanlis," in *Cultural Encounters in the Turkish-Speaking Communities of the Late Ottoman Empire*, eds. E. Balta and M. Ölmez (Istanbul: Isis, 2014), 248-49.

families of the region.[112] Consequently, in parallel with trade and the middle-class which grew outside Cappadocia, a group of highly-educated people with Cappadocian origins formed within the urban Rum communities of Istanbul as well as Izmir. These included lawyers, physicians, philologists, historians, translators, editors, and printers. Even though most of them enjoyed a career outside Cappadocia, this "petty intelligentsia" with rural origins played a particular important role in the literature about Cappadocia in Greek as well as in Karamanlidika. Some of them, at least for a few years, actively participated in the education movement by teaching in local Cappadocian schools and especially in Zincidere. The rise of this group of Anatolian intellectuals was clearly linked to the relatively high economic success of migrants who had generated a new social class – an established, expatriate middle-class that invested in Cappadocia. Migrants, over the generations, turned into a socially diversified cosmos that contributed to the modernization of their homeland by focusing philanthropic and phileducational actions on their home community.

Even though the quality of instruction was often debated by school boards, intellectuals, and donors, the number of Rum schools created between 1850 and 1914 in Cappadocia (most of which operated until 1914 or even 1923) is undeniable evidence of the successful organization of migrant associations. While migration had positive impacts on local life, it also had serious consequences for family life. Even in the early twentieth century, many families continued to be separated for long months or years. Lists of destitute households

112 Ioakeim Valavanis, born in the small community of Aravani in 1858, was the son of a fishmonger who provided for his family with difficulty. Nevertheless, he was able to attend the primary school of Buğamaden (where he had migrated with his family) before migrating to Constantinople where he became the apprentice for a wholesaler of iron goods. Because he was relatively unsuccessful, his master sent him to school. With the support of his master and apparently of a scholarship offered by the Patriarchate, Valavanis completed his studies at the prestigious Great School of the Nation and even enrolled at the Faculty of Philosophy faculty of the University of Athens, from which he graduated in 1889. In the 1890s, he began a career as a teacher in private schools in Athens and later in Istanbul. D.P. Fosteris, "Ιωακείμ Βαλαβάνης" [Ioakeim Valavanis], *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 6 (1955): 377. Biographies in the OTA (partially reproduced in Appendix B) are full of this kind of academic trajectory.

in Fertek remind us that for the poorest families, for those who remained behind, economic and social conditions were harsh. Often, a household's income declined dramatically or even ceased because of the absence of the main working members of the family (the father and the older sons). The situation was even more difficult when migrants were unable to earn enough money both for their own survival and their families' needs.

Responsibilities vis-à-vis family but also their community of origin were heavy on the shoulders of migrants. While they could not even send enough money to support their families, many complied with their tax obligations with difficulty.[113] Male migrants continued being officially registered in their native village, and their household continued to be subject to taxes in their Cappadocian parish. Even when they succeeded in transferring the official records of their household to Istanbul, the situation was not necessarily better. Numerous petitions and requests available in the BOA archives show that migrants frequently encountered many problems, especially when they wanted to transfer their household records out of their original parish.

The first problem concerned their situation vis-à-vis taxation. Facing demographic decline, Cappadocian parishes had no interest in seeing migrants transferring their household records to Istanbul since tax amounts paid communally and shared among the community's households were not adjusted in response to emigration rates. Migrants were recorded on the tax lists of their parish of origin but, because of their precarious situation, were often unable to pay their shares. For instance, in a meeting of March 1, 1868, the demogerontia of the Rum community of Everek debated the necessity of rpaying a state loan of 20,000 akçe and the economic faculties caused by emigrants who did not pay their share of the taxes. With the consent of the Ottoman local administration, it was decided that the community would sell or rent the lands of emigrants to reimburse the loan. Alongside the decision, the tax amount due from each emigrant and the value of his lands were recorded in the codex.[114]

113 "Codex 1/2 Aï Kösten (Everek) (1853-1924)," in community registers and codices of parishes (Athens: CAMS), 52-70.

114 Ibid., 27-31.

When their request for *nakl-i hane* was consented to by Ottoman administration, migrants theoretically had to be erased from tax lists of their settlement of origin. However, this administrative procedure was not so easy. In 1920, numerous families that had permanently settled in Istanbul were still registered in Cappadocian parishes. For instance, in a codex of Nevşehir including the reports of the Commission for the Exchange (1924), one inventory counted 723 (of a total of 1499) families registered in the community that were actually living in Istanbul.[115] In addition to the reluctance of parishes to surrender households, the state administration was not enthusiastic about the idea of officially integrating more and more migrants as "Istanbul citizenry" – newcomers were regarded as potential troublemakers. Moreover, the massive transfers meant tax revenues lesses since the population of Istanbul was exempt from several taxes. For non-Muslim men, one of the main consequences of becoming an official inhabitant of Istanbul between 1880 and 1909 was exemption from the *bedel-i askeriye*. Exemption from military service was also granted to Muslim merchants and servants of the Imperial Palace.[116] However, it was not systematically taken into account by provincial administrations. In 1863, an official report of the assembly of the *sancak* of Niğde raised the issue of numerous non-Muslim emigrants who neither paid tax in their home settlements nor in the city where they worked during the year.[117] On the other hand, after 1880, numerous petitions by Christians who had ben settled in Istanbul for years, or even decades complained about the

115 "Codex 13/40 Nevşehir (1924)," in community registers and codices of parishes (Athens: CAMS), 2.

116 Gülsoy, *Osmanlı'nın Gayrimüslim Askerleri* (2010), 84-85. When the *bedel-i askeriye* was introduced in June 1856, the Sublime Porte land to take all non-Muslim subjects of the empire into account, including the non-Muslim inhabitants of Istanbul. However, the latter as well as non-Muslims living on islands and in select regions were exempted from this tax in 1880. BOA, I.MMS 65/3062 (1297-1-24/07.01.1880). Not incidentally, this corresponds to the beginning of the migration to Istanbul and especially to family reunifications in the capital.

117 BOA, MVL 649/20 (1279-Za-25/14.05.1863).

bedel-i askeriye and the property taxes they continued to pay in their regions of origin.[118]

For instance, in 1889, the banker Eftim, a native of Kayseri who had lived thirty years in the capital, proposed to pay his *bedel-i askeriye* in Istanbul rather than in Kayseri because he did not regularly return; in 1893, the *bakkal* Yorgi, who had lived with his family in Istanbul for forty years, complained that he was asked to pay the military tax in Nevşehir, his region of origin, though he had married in Istanbul and "become a Constantinopolitan" ("*Dersaadet'de evlenip burada vatan edindiği halde*"). In 1899, the same *bakkal* Yorgi was still complaining about the same issue, claiming that he had nothing to do with his homeland – had no property or land there.[119] The same year, the administration of the *sancak* of Niğde sought out several merchants from Delmason who had not paid their military and road taxes. Because the latter claimed to be in compliance with respect to their tax payments, the *sancak* administration asked to see their identity certificates (*ilmübaher*).[120] Mobility of the population was a difficulty for fiscal follow-ups and administrative confusions were frequent. In the sancak of Nevşehir, special decisions were taken as early as 1845 to keep an up-to-date record of tax payments of Cappadocians who worked as merchants and shopkeepers in Istanbul.[121] However, despite official exemptions, migrants were regularly asked to pay tax in their regions of origin and consequently had to inform the tax offices and prove their situations regarding taxation.[122] For instance, Anastas Vasilis, who worked as a *sarraf* (moneylender) in Istanbul but hailed from the *Orta mahalle* of Nevşehir, was arrested in 1904 because he did not pay his *bedel-i askeriye* in Nevşehir. He was finally released after having paid his debts.[123] This double

118 See, for instance, BOA, DH.MKT 1359/8 (1303-Za-7/07.07.1886); BOA, DH.MKT 1686/26 (1307-Ca-8/31.12.1889); BOA, DH.MKT 388/57 (1313-M-2/25.06.1895); DH.MKT 2418/24 (1318-C-27/22.10.1900); BOA, DH.MKT 2501/4 (1319-Ra-3/10.07.1901).

119 BOA, DH.MKT 128/50 (1311-2-27/09.09.1893); BOA, ŞD 2995/47 (1317-2-9/19.06.1899).

120 BOA, DH.MKT 2316/44 (1317-Za-9/11.03.1900).

121 BOA, MVL.68.1289 (1261-8-25/29.08.1845).

122 BOA, DH.MKT 1685/97 (1307-Ca-7/30.12.1889); BOA, DH.TMIK.M 73/83 (1317-Ra-28/06.08.1899); BOA, DH.MKT 79/48 (1317-Ş-27/31.12.1899); BOA, DH.MKT 2316/44 (1317-Za-9/11.03.1900).

123 BOA, ZB. 318/57 (1322-9-2/10.10.1904).

belonging and the various tax implications put numerous migrants in a difficult situation.

6.2.2 *Land Tenure, Employment and Loan Systems as Increasing Forms of Christian-Muslim Relations*

In the face of these economic problems, many migrants sent money to their relatives who remained in Cappadocia with difficulty. Of course, local families – mostly women who stayed alone with their children – could not depend only on the revenue sent by their husbands, sons, and other male relatives. They lived from agriculture, cultivating their own plots of land, working as farm laborers, and practicing home industries such as weaving. Even in 1839, the British traveler Ainsworth pointed out, with irony, the difficult situation of the Christian women of Cappadocia who remained alone while their husbands and fathers emigrated:

> In the villages, the man, marrying early, repair to Constantinople and Smyrna to trade, while to the women is left the care of the house, the flock and the vineyard; an evil follows from this, that the females become masculine and full of violent passions, and when the men return to their homes, they are often very far from finding an echo to the subdued tones and more polished manners which they had learnt to appreciate in the civilized world. The priests who remain at home might be supposed to have some counteracting influence, but they are often old, have rarely above moderate capacities and are frequently disregarded and disrespected.[124]

The harsh conditions of life are also emphasized by the OTA informants who explained that families of modest means used to cultivate their lands and that of others (if they were landless), while those receiving enough revenue from their migrant relatives no longer worked in the fields. If economic conditions got worse, especially women who did not possess arable lands or vineyards worked in the fields of their Christian or Muslim compatriots and sometimes

124 Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839).

in fields of neighboring villages.[125] Agriculture was the main livelihood for villagers who could supplement their income with domestic crafts. On the other hand, in towns and burgs, at the turn of the twentieth century, many women made a living as factory employees (mostly in Kayseri, İncesu, Ürgüp, and in the regions of Niğde and Bor where industrialization was beginning). As in the capital, the textile and carpet industries became a women's affair.[126]

The Christian village of Andaval is a particularly interesting case vis-à-vis its Christian female workforce. Andaval, like most Rum villages of the region, experienced massive male emigration. Migrants from Andaval worked in Istanbul in unskilled jobs – as porters or waiters – and consequently were often unable to send enough money for the subsistence of their family or to apply for family reunification. As a result, every year landless women used to go to the neighboring Muslim village of Eskigümüş where they worked in the fields and orchards. Each day during the harvest season, a man accompanied the group of women on the road between Andaval and Eskigümüş (a distance of around five kilometers). Christian women received a daily allowance from landowners that they budgeted to subsist through the next winter.[127]

However, according to the OTA informants from other villages of Cappadocia, the most widespread situation was the converse. Throughout the century, due to the revenues of emigrants, many Rum households were able to increase their land holdings and maintain good conditions of life, but experienced a shortage of manpower. In Cemil, when the older son of a family joined his father as a migrant , the second son would remain in the village to work on his family lands with his mother.[128] Humble households continued working on their lands themselves, trying to produce at least enough crops for their own needs, while other luckier ones who received enough income from migrant relatives did not really worry about their lands, preferred to give them up for tenant farming or sharecropping, and bought foodstuffs in markets or

125 "ΚΠ 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, ΚΠ206: M. Karadagli, L. Koupelis & P. Ignatiadis.

126 "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, ΚΠ80: G. Iliadou. Regarding economic and professional activities in towns and villages of Cappadocia, see Chapter 8.

127 "ΚΠ 204-206 Andaval," 1950s; Nigdelis and Koimisoglou, *Το Ανταβάλ*, 2008.

128 "ΚΠ 340-342 Tzalela," 1950s, ΚΠ340: M. Kermilidou

*bakkal*s.[129] Moreover, they received enough money from migrant work to broadly rely on the employment of Muslim villagers. Lands and vineyards were leased and organized in either the form of sharecropping (laborers and owners sharing the production) or tenant farming (laborers receiving wages for their work).[130]

This situation was particularly common in the villages of the countryside of Kayseri where Rum communities experienced important economic growth due to their successful emigrants. In this part of Cappadocia, Rums largely withdrew from agricultural activities but continued to own land in their village as well as in the surrounding areas.[131] Nevertheless, after the 1890s, because Christian women were unable to take care of such large landholdings in the absence of male relatives, they stopped cultivating the fields themselves and gave them up for sharecropping to Muslim neighbors. Land owners gave seeds to Muslim farm workers each years who, after the harvest, kept the half of the crops and gave the other half back to the owner, who also had to pay the one tenth tax (*aşar*). Often, the half of the production was insufficient and families had to supplement it with foodstuffs bought in markets or *bakkal*s. According to several informants of the OTA coming from these villages, Rums actually did not care anymore about their lands.[132] In Germir, for instance, most Christian landowners who had bought fertile lands in the Turkish villages of Kumerli and Citlavik finally abandoned the usufruct to Muslims who cultivated them, thus avoiding tensions and conflicts. Each year, Muslim villagers visited he Christian landowners and requested the right to cultivate their soil. Theodoros Souhouroglou claimed that Rum landowners gave them this authorization to avoid quarrels, but also because they "did not really know which lands belonged to [them] and where their boundaries ended."[133]

129 Ibid.; "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s; "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s. When they possessed vineyards and orchards, families kept them for themselves and only gave fields for tenant farming.

130 "ΚΠ 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, ΚΠ233: A. Delloglou; "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ27: A. Loukidis; Ibid., ΚΠ341.

131 Regarding ownership and use of lands, see Chapter 7.

132 "ΚΠ 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, ΚΠ61: P. Karamanoglou; "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ86: T. Souhouroglou; "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, ΚΠ79: N.Gementzoglou

133 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ87: Th. Souhouroglou.

Because the Rums seemed not to take care of their fields, the tacit agreement became the rule and its renewal each year maintained the compromise. However, the inhabitants of Kumerli and Citlavik began to complain about the situation in 1914.[134] We can assume that, with the beginning of the war, the conditions of war and especially shortages aroused intercommunal tensions and incited landowners to retake control of their lands – consequently to be less conciliatory in their tenant-farming agreements.

In other parts of Cappadocia, too, Christian households rented or gave their lands up for sharecropping to Muslims of their own village or of surrounding settlements. Unlike villages in the region of Kayseri, in the areas around Nevşehir and especially Niğde, agriculture continued to have a paramount place in the family economy. Despite income coming from migrants, the local village economy remained largely agriculture-oriented; in some settlements, such as Fertek, agriculture was directly linked to the professional activities of emigrants since the local production of *ouzo* and wine was traded and served in Fertekiotes' *meyhanes* of Istanbul.[135] Unlike the Sinasiotes who needed young people to come to the capital to work as apprentices in the salted fish, caviar, and other stores of their elders, in the case of Fertek, manpower was also needed in the vineyards and distilleries of the village. Thus, the Cappadocian and Istanbul extremities of Fertek's compatriot network appeared to be interdependent, not only because of the necessity of a regular replenishment of the workforce, but also because the economic activity of migrants depended on local production. Neverheless, to maintain the durability of their local production the community of Fertek also hired Muslim neighbors to work in their vineyards. But distilleries needed Christian workers since occupations linked to the alcoholic drink industry were forbidden to Muslims.[136]

Farming activities were not the only domain in which Christians called on Muslim employees. For a large part of the year, to protect their communities and goods, the Christians employed Muslims neighbors for various daily

134 Ibid., ΚΠ86: T. Souhouroglou.

135 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ70: P. Esepaloglou."

136 Regarding distilleries in Fertek, see Chapter 8.1.

tasks. Watchmen were hired to ensure the protection of the village and its lands (especially at night), and Muslim shepherds took care of the herds.[137] These employees were generally paid with revenues collected by the central committee in Istanbul. The wealthiest households also hired Muslim housemaids for domestic tasks.[138] If some OTA informants mentioned the fact that the absence of men constituted a dangerous situation for women staying alone, many also claimed that, most of the time, Christian families relied on the protection of their Muslim neighbors. Nonetheless, they avoided calling upon people from another village and leaving the inhabited part of their villages alone without being accompanied by a man (whether Christian or Muslim) from their own settlement. However, the main reason claimed in requests for a *nakl-i hane* was the security of women and children. Yet, it is difficult to say if this reflected real local insecurity or was rather the widespread use of a good, efficient pretext to receive a positive answer to the request.[139]

Tenant farming and employment provided by migrant income opened the way for new forms of daily economic exchange. The combination, in Cappadocia, of sharecropping and tenant-farming is particularly interesting because they were two cohabiting modes of production. According to data collected from various files of the OTA, it seems that, in the last decades before the departure of Christians in the 1920s, sharecropping remained prevalent in most villages, while wage workers were only employed in towns and large villages with high migration revenues (Sinasos, Gelveri, Germir, and Zincidere) and a higher level of monetization than other settlements. In the early twentieth century, monetization was recent in Cappadocia, and it was partially linked to the process of emigration. Informants regularly claimed that families of migrants were often the only ones to have money in their pockets. Expressions such as "The Turks constantly looked at the hands of the

137 "ΚΠ 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, ΚΠ233: R. Avramidou.

138 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ300: S. & P. Papadopoulou; "ΚΠ 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, ΚΠ233: Rahil Avramidou; Dawkins, *Modern Greek* (1916), 14.

139 The absence of a male in the household, the risk of being victim of an attack, and other local dangers were among the main claims in *nakl-i hane* requests. See, for instance, BOA, A.MKT.UM 328/7 (1275-S-27/06.10.1858).

Rums" or "We were the chiefs, the Turks were our employees" were used recurrently.[140] In villages moreso than in towns, money was rare and exchanges mainly occurred in kind. Monetization of exchanges – even if only partial – created new forms of economic relations between individuals. In the late nineteenth century, like in Istanbul, many Rum*s* became moneylenders in Cappadocia and formed a new local middle class. Moreover, reproducing the financial organization of cities, the largest Cappadocian Rum communities created systems of loans they proposed to locals, whether Christian or Muslim. A banking system was quasi-nonexistent in the countryside, and villagers, facing the new ethos of the international market, needed money to participate in the market's general trends. A striking spirit was launched in 1889 in the community of Sinasos which, to overcome the lack of cash in the region, created its own paper currency. The currency spread locally beyond the borders of the village and was used by Christians as well as by Muslims of the nearby areas. This experience, inspired by a situation that already existed in Istanbul, was stopped in 1899 after an injunction of the Vali of Konya. He obliged the communal assembly of Sinasos to withdraw their banknotes from circulation and to reimburse equivalent amounts in official money.[141]

Though this local currency interrupted in 1899, it did not prevent Sinasiotes, as well Rums of other large settlements of Cappadocia from continuing to develop local banking activities. Already in the 1870s, the communal assembly as well as fraternities and corporations would loan money to locals.[142] Throughout the last third of the century, the largest associations of compatriots turned into banking business. The "Basileias" club, which was originally created in 1866 to support the development of educational activities in Nevşehir, turned partially into a loan bank in the

140 "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s. "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ235: V. & F. Topsakal; "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, ΚΠ80: N. Gementzoglou; "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ299: A. Tsorbatzoglou & H. Lampsidis.

141 Hadziiossif, *Σινασός, ιστορία ενός* (2005), 242-43. See also Dimitri Petropoulos and Hermolaos Andreadis, *La vie religieuse dans la région d'Akséray-Ghelvéri (Avant-propos et analyse par Melpo Merlier et Octave Merlier)* (Athens: CAMS, 1970), 21.

142 Regarding the role of the committees as loan banks, see Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 575-77; Hadziiossif, *Σινασός, ιστορία ενός* (2005), 180-205.

1870s, dedicating part of its revenues to interest loans that it proposed to locals. However, the economic returns were limited and the activity was actually not very profitable due to the difficulties of obtaining repayment of the loans.[143] In Sinasos, the first "joint stock company" of the region was created in 1872. Designed to lend money to th local population, it was forced to close in 1883 because of economic difficulties and the lack of profitability.[144]

Despite difficult local conditions, money-lending progressively became one of the most widespread occupations among Rums – and, in the region of Kayseri, among Armenians – who were locally involved in the tertiary sector of economy. In the last years of the nineteenth century, Rums in this sector were active in the Ottoman State Land Bank (*Ziraat Bankası*), as local representatives of foreign banks, and mostly as private, individual *sarrafs*. Money-lending was an activity not only practiced as a communal or associative or corporative groups, but also regularly by private individuals. Many had already an experience of migration and then entered into this activity locally. From the 1850s, the multiplication, in the BOA archives, of the deeds of loans local Rum bankers made to members of their own communities and also to Muslims, including local representatives of the state, shows to what extent this activity seemed to be, at first glance, very lucrative. However, complaints by these local *sarraf*s who were not reimbursed on time by their borrowers and who consequently asked for the help of the state are numerous.[145] To be a private banker was certainly a risk and most bankers recorded in the *Annuaires orientaux* were also involved in other sectors such as insurance, manufacturing, and various branches of trade. For instance, the *Annuaires* of the years 1912-1922 list several names for the regions of Nevşehir,

143 Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 577. Mamoni, "Σωματειακή οργάνωση" (1986-87): 172-73.

144 Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 577.

145 Numerous documents in the BOA mention loans and complaints concerning reimbursement. BOA, A.MKT.UM 25/64 (1266-L-9/18.08.1850); BOA, A.MKT.UM 35/46 (1266-Z-18/25.10.1850); BOA, A.MKT.UM 325/36 (1275-S-1/10.09.1858); BOA, A.MKT.DV 176/82 (1277-Ca-19/03.12.1860); BOA, A.MKT.DV 158/11 (1276-L-23/14.05.1860); BOA, A.MKT.UM 414/61 (1276-Z-27/27.12.1860); BOA, A.MKT.DV 220/82 (1278-L-17/17.04.1862); BOA, MVL 650/55 (1280-R-22/06.09.1863).

Niğde, and Kayseri that appeared in various categories. In Nevşehir, the name I. K. Artemiadis occurs as the local agent of two different insurance companies (La Foncière and New-York companies), as the local representative of two foreign banks (the Deutsche Orient-Bank and the Wiener Bank-Verein), as a general merchant and more specifically as a merchant of silkworm eggs and animal hides, and as the official, exclusive reseller of "Metaxa du Pirée" cognac for all of Anatolia. Similarly, a Rum in Niğde called I.A. Kyriakidis was simultaneously a banker, a commission agent, and a merchant of paint, varnish, agricultural machines, and hydraulic mills.[146] It can be assumed that all these activities required a strong link with imperial and even international networks.

§ 6.3 Conclusion

In time and due to their own perseverance, many migrants succeeded in socially and administratively integrating into their host city, first seasonally then for longer and longer periods. While some of them cut their ties with their native land, bringing their families with them, and selling or abandoning their property, many others, even if they did not come back regularly, remained attached to their homeland. Despite the distance, they actively took part in the economic, educational, cultural, and even architectural development of their community, and the networks of compatriots they created in their host cities played a central role in the relative good success of their enterprises.

Emigration (as a process of departure, the consequence of a locally stagnating economy) and immigration (as a process of arrival and an attempt to fill the economic void) brought about paradoxical evolutions that combined the social, cultural, and economic growth of communities and the progressive, accelerating depopulation of Christian settlements, especially from the 1870s onwards. Consequences involved also changes in the way intercommunal relations took place in the region. Muslim neighbors directly or indirectly benefited from migrants' contributions to local improvement. Loans,

146 Kyriakidis had an office in Izmir but mainly seemed to manage his activities from Niğde. "Annuaire" (1912); "Annuaire" (1914); "Annuaire" (1922).

employment, and tenant-farming were the usual forms of intercommunal exchange that increased with the emigration of Christians. Though rare, the enrollment of Muslim children in schools founded by Christian communities and the employment of Muslim apprentices in Christian workshops and stores also occurred. On the other hand, consequences could be severe for families' well-being, Local, Rum communities often turned into female societies. As the lyrics of the song of Çarıklı exposed at the beginning of this chapter reminds us, some male migrants succumbed to the charms of Constantinopolitan women and abandoned their wives and children without news or revenues. A non-negligible number of widows and deserted women remarried with Muslims, because conversion to Islam and union with a non-Orthodox was generally easier than divorcing and remarrying inside the Orthodox community.[147]

In their host city, migrants from Cappadocia created, within the urban community into which they integrated, sub-groups – kinds of "expatriated" branches of their Cappadocian community. From peripheral branches, they progressively became the core element: in the first decade of the twentieth century, the leadership of most Rum settlements of the region had fallen out of the hands of the demogerontia[148] and were controlled by central committees in Istanbul. Composed mainly of secular, urbanized leaders, these committees possessed financial strength and led, from outside, the economic and intellectual renewal of their communities of origin, thus creating new and extra-local forms of the production of locality. The combination of Rum demographic declines, increases in revenues and lands purchased on behalf of their communities shaped an apparently viable reorganization of local systems of production and exchanges based on greater cooperation that turned into a real interdependence between Christian and Muslim groups. Even though the role of migrants and their networks should not be overestimated, their investments and the loans they offered to locals facilitated the adaptation of

147 Regarding matrimonial strategies and the conversion of Rum women to Islam, see Chapter 9.

148 The emergence of secular notables in control of Rum communities is not specific to Cappadocia. Analyzing the case of Ayvalık, Anastassiadou noted that from the 1840s the increase of secular authorities was taking place virtually everywhere in the Ottoman Empire. Méropi Anastassiadou, "Quitter Ayvalik/Kydonies et ses oliviers, regards sur une société de l'entre-deux," *Cahiers balkaniques*, 40 (2012).

the region to the changing demands of an international market that had penetrated Cappadocia. As a result, the progressive demographic decline of Christians in Cappadocia should not be considered simply as a process of leaving and of communal decline, but rather as a participatory process which created negative as well as positive dynamics in the everyday life of communities and improved new forms of intercommunal relations.

7

Private, Communal and Collective Uses of Land and Natural Resources

> *Before 1826, […], the Turks of Anaku [Eneği] were sipahis and those of Malakopi janissaries. In Anaku, Arif Ağa was the chief of the sipahis and had a çiftlik in Çarikli. […] When the Hatt-i hümayun decree arose, the inhabitants of Çarikli who had pasturelands bordering the territory of the Turkish village of Yahyalı came to Anaku to see Arif Ağa and asked him to clearly define the limits between properties because he was the only one to possess official documents. […] After this date, each one had to declare his lands and paid 1/10 of his revenue in taxes which were dedicated to the mosque of Nevşehir.*
>
> – Anastasios Sikalidis, refugee from Çarıklı[1]

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the migration and revenues provided by migrants combined with the state reforms on land tenure led to an increase in the acquisition of immovables in Cappadocia by Rums on the individual scale and on behalf of the community. In the midst

1 "ΚΠ 295-297 Tsarikli," 1950, ΚΠ297.

of the classical dichotomy between private and public space, an important in-between, communal space needs to be highlighted. If the house was the private space and the streets and squares the main elements of public (or free) space, religious buildings and their forecourt as well as lands and other real estate holdings belonging to a *vakıf* or a community were parts of a "communal (in the confessional sense) space," or space of semi-publicity. We thus propose to deal with the idea of a triad – private/communal/public – based on the way space, or more precisely lands and buildings, were used by individuals and groups. The first element of this triad defines the space of the family (basically the house and other private properties), the second branch the space of the religious community, and the third the space of publicity that we call the "collective space," since it corresponds to places open to all inhabitants of a territorial collectivity (a town or village, district or whole region), regardless of their confessional affiliation.

The triad of private, communal, and collective spaces is not specific to the nineteenth century. The *vakf* tradition in the Ottoman (and more generally Islamic) world is a form of communal space, though the broad varieties of *vakıf* cannot be simply summarized as such. Religious edifices and their outbuildings were typically the spaces of the community of the faithful. However religious spaces have to be studied according to more precise subcategories: they could be places of communal but also of intercommunal or collective encounters. For instance, entering a mosque was forbidden to non-Muslims, but they could visit *tekkes* (Muslim monasteries, especially those of the Bektashi order) and *türbes* (tombs of Muslim saints).[2] On the other hand, there was no specific prohibition vis-à-vis Muslims who had the right to enter churches and chapels.[3] Alongside religious edifices, communal schools, *meyhanes* (inns), and the offices of associations were other examples of communal – or semi-public – spaces that may or may not be frequented by people of other communities.[4]

2 On visits to *tekke*s and *türbe*s by Christians, see Chapter 10.1.

3 Regarding religious intercommunality and shared worship places in Cappadocia, See Chapter 10.

4 For instance, *meyhane*s (or inns) were theoretically forbidden to Muslims, but Muslim pupils could enroll in schools managed by Christians.

The *meydan*s (or squares) located in front of mosques are generally considered by historians of urban planning to be the largest public – or free – spaces of Ottoman cities. Despite their sanctified characteristic, they did not host particular religious activities, but often fit into a communal, segregated definition of publicity since the "public" that gathered there was only the Muslim faithful. Likewise, the main religious spaces belonging to non-Muslim communities also combined open-air areas (a square and surrounding parks) and buildings systematically enclosed behind walls and doors. Communal space was thus fragmented but not as systematically compartmentalized as it may be imagined: they could be defined either by their religious exclusiveness (being exclusive to one community) or by their inclusiveness (receiving people with different religious affiliations). Places such as shops, coffeehouses, associations offices, schools, and even religious edifices could constitute communal spaces which, in practice, were part of public space.[5]

Regulations about private, communal, and collective use of land and immovables was institutionalized with the development of reforms on land status starting in the late 1840s. The standardization of the categories of land first took place with Regulations Enacted on Title Deeds (*Tapu Hakkında İcra Olunacak Nizamat*) of 1847 and especially in the 1850s with the Land Code (*Arazi Kanunnamesi*) of 1858 and the Regulation of Title (*Tapu Nizamnamesi*) of 1859. After having analyzed how space was conceived, perceived and lived by different actors in Cappadocia and how these actors did (or did not) encroach on territorial borders established by the state administration, the current chapter focuses on the way land, other immovables, and natural resources were used and shared by the communities and collectivities of Cappadocia. We scrutinize how private, communal, and public uses of lands and natural resources influenced the way intercommunal relations took place in the towns and villages of Cappadocia. Because in a rural context land status

5 In the nineteenth century, the Ottoman state began to pay special attention to public opinion and particularly to what people talked about in cooffeehouses – the ultimate informal public space. See Cengiz Kırlı, "Coffeehouses: Public Opinion in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire," in *Public Islam and the Common Good* eds. A. Salvatore and D.F. Eickelman (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Cengiz Kırlı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu: Osmanlı Modernleşme Sürecinde "Havadis Jurnalleri" (1840-1844)* [The Sultan and Public Opinion: "News Reports" during the Modernization Period of the Ottoman Empire] (Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009).

and the notion of property are the elementary constituents of bold territorial administration and economic power, we first analyze the changes to regulations about private, communal, and collective forms of property and then the adjustments to the ways individuals and groups negotiated their use of land and the sharing of natural resources.

§ 7.1 Private, Communal, and Collective Properties

The Land Code of 1858 simultaneously institutionalized the Ottoman definition of the notion of private property as well as the idea of "public benefit." According to it, all common land with no specific owner (a natural person, a community, or a *vakıf*) were considered as *araz-i metruke* ("field without owner") and were reverted to the state. In areas with dense residential fabrics, these state-owned domains were reserved for public use and that is why many of these public spaces became synonymous with state domains, namely places of state representation.[6] In rural areas, these spaces without owners were often turned into the village commons and were, in the case of religiously mixed settlements, potential zones of intercommunal cooperation.

Regulations in the second half of the nineteenth century in matters of the supervision of provinces had two interconnected focuses: to administer local populations and to control territories. Both aspects were intertwined in the need to rationalize provincial management. The urban environment, because of the demographic concentration implied by urbanity, incited the state to be particularly careful with respect to its city-dwellers, but reforms also targeted rural areas where population concentrations were lower. Territories – in terms of their size and supply capacity – required close supervision. Real estate rapidly became one of the main topics of the reform era in an empire where, up to that time, the legal status of lands was codified differently in each eyalet and constituted a confused, disparate series of regulations difficult for the capital to manage. Land was distributed according to a series of rules which, in practice, were applied in a particularly unstable – or flexible – way from place to place, person to person.[7] Following the *Islahat fermanı* of 1856,

6 Bilsel, "Espace public" (2007), §49-50.

7 M. Macit Kenanoğlu, "Mîrî Arazi," in *Islam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2003), 159.

Tanzimat bureaucrats, under the leadership of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, drew up the Land Code which came into force in 1858 and tackled questions of land status, real estate, and property rights.

Ayşe Ozil noted that "property ownership was regarded as a most important sphere by every actor […] – individuals, communal leaders, and the Ottoman authorities."[8] In rural areas, it was all the more important because land was the main good and tool of the local economy. Before the Land Registration Law (*Tapu Kanunu*) of 1847, which was strengthened in 1858 by the Land Code, the territory of the Ottoman Empire was organized according to different land status which, despite an apparent coherence, varied broadly from one region to another. Theoretically, there were, on one hand, state-owned (*miri*) land for which the sultan gave the right to his subjects to benefit from the land – to have usufruct and collect taxes on the local population –, and on the other hand, there were freehold lands (*mülk*), which were owned by individuals (natural persons). The miri lands were divided into military fiefs (*timar*), held by cavalrymen (*sipahis*), and peasants (*reaya*) worked and lived on them.[9] In contrast to *miri* lands, *mülk* was closer to the idea of private property in that it remained out of the direct control of the state and had an owner who was not subject to taxes or military obligations and who could sell, donate, or transmit the land to his heirs. In rural areas, the malikâne system organized mülk lands according to a different principle. A mülk linked to a malikâne provided its owner only restricted rights of

8 Ozil, *Orthodox Christians* (2013), 87.

9 The *sipahis* did not own their land and consequently could not sell or bequeath it. Moreover, they had no jurisdiction over the *reayas* who worked on the lands they administered. To be a *timariot* was a function rather than an ownership status; it did not directly grant rights to the lands. The *reayas*, as producers and the basic units of the agricultural economy, were linked to the land on which they worked and lived, and had inheritable tenancy rights that could not be an old by the *sipahi.* But theydid not own the land they cultivated and had no right to sell or to leave it. The change of meaning of the term *reaya* in the early nineteenth century is important since it began to be used in the 1810s simply to refer to non-Muslim subjects. Dündar, "Empire of Taxonomy" (2014): 146. Oya Gözel, "The Implementation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 in Eastern Anatolia" (Unpublished PhD, METU, 2007), 8; İslamoğlu-İnan, *State and Peasant* (1994), 7.

ownership – the state intervened directly on the lands for the collection of taxes.[10]

An important shift occurred in the late sixteenth century with the incorporation of the Ottoman economy into the world market system and the commercialization of its agriculture.[11] *Sipahis,* whose military role felt progressively into disuse because of new conditions of war, also lost their administrative and financial roles to the *ayan*s – local notables, merchants, and bureaucrats – who found in the commercialization of agricultural goods an attractive source of income and became the new acquirers of lands and a fortiori the new tax collectors. Moreover, the *iltizam* system – according to which the *mültezim* (tax-farmer) received the right to collect taxes[12] – strengthened tax-farmers and weakened the state. Whereas the *iltizam* was originally granted by the state for only a limited time (generally one or two years), it was progressively replaced by the *malikâne* system in which lands were allocated to a *mültezim* for a lifetime and could even turn into a inheritable right.[13] At the same time, in practice, vakıf real estate turned into a kind of private property. Even though the *ayans* were dependent on the political power of the state, the state was economically dependent on the *ayan*s

10 According to Barkan, the origin of the *malikane-divani* system is found in the old, pre-Ottoman aristocratic classes. It prevailed in central Anatolia, especially in regions of Kayseri and Konya. Gözel, "Implementation" (2007), 10-11; Mehmet Genç, "Malikâne-divani," in *Islam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2003), 518; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Malikane-Divani Sistemi," in *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi* (Istanbul: Gözlem, 1980), 166-67. Ilkay Sunar, "State and Economy in the Ottoman Empire," in *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy*, ed. H. İslamoğlu-İnan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 67.

11 Sunar, "State and Economy" (2004), 67.

12 The theory of the *iltizam* system is based on invitations to tender. It created the possibility for the state to receive funds quickly. The state auctioned taxation rights to the highest bidder, who then became one of the local *mültezim*. The *mültezim* paid installments and were able to collect taxes for his own use, outside of the control of the state. As a result, the difference between funds entering in the state treasury and the sums collected from *reaya*s was often consistent.

13 Cengiz Kırlı, "Tyranny Illustrated: From petition to Rebellion in Ottoman Vranje," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 53 (2015): 7.

with this organization and a deep gap took shape between the state and the economy of its provinces.[14]

In the late eighteenth century, many *ayan*s extended their military and economic power to such an extent that the central state became largely dependent on them to manage its provinces. As a consequence, in 1808, despite complaints from the inhabitants of provinces concerning over taxation practices, confiscation of village commons, and violations of justice by notables,[15] the newly enthroned sultan, Mahmud II, signed the *Sened-i Ittifak* (or Deed of Agreement) recognizing and formalizing his sharing of power with the *ayan*s. However, within a few years, between 1812 and 1820, Mahmud II succeeded in eliminating most of the *ayans*.[16] The elimination of most *ayan*s – who were also among the main owners of large tracts of lands (*çiftlik*)[17] –

14 Sunar, "State and Economy" (2004), 71-74.

15 Two documents from 1779 show how difficult it was for the state to regulate tax-farming and control tax-farmers in the provinces. One document (BOA, C.ML. 319/1339 (1193-R-24/05.11.1779) mentions the fact that the tax-farmer charged to collect *cizye* tax in Niğde from non-Muslim populations did not pay the expected sum to the central state. Three months later, a second document was sent showing that after the inquiry the tax-farmer collected excessive taxes from non-Muslims as well as from those who were theoretically exempt because of age, poverty, or handicap – but he kept the revenues for himself. BOA, C.ML. 319/1341 (29-B-1193/12.08.1779). See also Kırlı, "Tyranny illustrated" (2015): 32; Bruce McGowan, "The Age of the Ayans, 1699–1812," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 686-87.

16 Despite the introduction of *muhassıls* who were appointed and paid by the state in place of *mültezims*, the state – subject to significant debt and dependent on taxes to fill the treasury – was unable to eliminate definitively eliminate local notables. See Gözel, "Implementation" (2007), 18-26. See Kırlı, "Tyranny illustrated" (2015): 20.

17 Regarding land property and ayans, see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi, Toplu Eserler* 1 (Istanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1980); Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 121-70. Halil İnalcık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftliks: State, Landlords, and Tenants," in *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East*, eds. Ç. Keyder and F. Tabak (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 17-34. Michael Ursinus, "The Çiftlik Sahibleri of Manastır as a Local Elite, Late Seventeenth to Early Nineteenth Century," in *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire*, Halcyon Days in Crete V (10–12 January 2003), ed. A. Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2005). Sophia Laiou, "Some Consid-

allowed the reassignment of an important part of their formerlands to peasant households. Throughout Anatolia in the 1830s, a part of the *ayan*s' lands were redistributed among peasants who became small landowners, directly under the patronage of the state, while another part continued to be leased as large estates to tax farmers. However, according to Reşat Kasaba, "since scarcity of labor continued as a problem, these estates too were broken down into small unites and leased to peasantry, or were cultivated by peasant households under sharecropping arrangements."[18]

Martha Mundy noted that "anthropological analyses have long considered property as a social relation between persons concerning material or immaterial 'things'" without considering the role of the state and its administration.[19] Huri Islamoğlu also criticized "liberal understandings which assume that activities of state and society are irreconcilable and reject the notion that state intervention disables civil society and/or market economy, the most important institution of which is private property," and saw "the state as enabling and as constitutive of social reality" and "administration as a social process."[20] The articles of the Land Code concerning land distribution; delimitation; management of public, communal, and private space; and use of lands located in village peripheries show that the Ottoman state intended to

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erations Regarding Çiftlik Formation in the Western Thessaly, Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries," in *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek Lands: Toward a Social and Economic History: Studies in Honor of John C. Alexander*, eds. E. Kolovos *et al*. (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2005). Alp Yücel Kaya, "On the Çiftlik Regulation in Tırhala in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: Economists, Pashas, Governors, Çiftlik-holders, Subaşıs, and Sharecroppers," in *Ottoman Rural Societies and Economies*, Halcyon Days in Crete VIII (13–15 January 2012), ed. E. Kolovos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2015).

18 Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The Nineteenth Century* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1988), 64. See also Şevket Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, 1820-1913: Trade, Investment and Production* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 105.

19 Martha Mundy, "The state of property: late Ottoman Southern Syria (the Kaza Aclun, 1875-1918)," in *Constituting modernity: private property in the East and West*, ed. H. Islamoglu (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 214.

20 Huri İslamoğlu, *Constituting Modernity: Private Property in the East and West* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), viii-ix.

constitute social reality by introducing new legal basis for the interpretation and administration of property rights.

The Land Code was designed to provide uniformity throughout the empire, since, in earlier times, land status was particularly dependent on local and regional ownership customs. Even though most lands were registered as *miri*, this status was subject to different understandings and rules related to geographical location. The Code of 1858, in that sense, brought about a clearer classification of state-owned lands that could serve as reference concerning property issues.[21] The five categories of land that were institutionalized and clearly defined included: 1) *mülk* – freehold properties dependent on Islamic law, for instance, orchards, vineyards, and gardens cultivated by peasants that their owners had the right to sell or pass on to their heirs; 2) *miri* – state-owned lands with usufruct rented to individuals and inheritable leasehold ownership; 3) *vakıf* – lands devoted to pious foundations; 4) *metruke* – common lands dedicated to public necessities such as *yayla*s (upland meadows), pastures, forests, roads, and other public areas allocated to common or collective uses (the usufruct of these lands belonged to a whole village or, in many cases, to the inhabitants of multiple villages in the area); 5) *mevat* – empty or unclaimed lands. These categories were not exclusive. On one hand, m*evat* land could turn into *miri* land if someone began to actively use and cultivate it, and the state regularly converted *miri* lands cultivated by *reayas* into *mülk* registered under the name of the cultivator.[22] On the other hand, conversion of *mülk* plots belonging to peasants into *vakıf* was theoretically prohibited, but in practice, "on the terms of negotiation between the central state and the different groups of revenue claimants,"[23] *mülk*s could sometimes be converted into *vakıf*. The *mülk* holder was thus escaping obligations to the state. Finally, while, under Islamic law, *vakıf* lands were inalienable, in practice, the state could reclaim vakıf lands considering that it was "the source of all property

21 Louba Belarbi, "Les mutations dans les structures foncières dans l'Empire ottoman à l'époque du Tanzimat," in *Économie et sociétés dans l'Empire ottoman: fin du XVIIIe-début du XXe siècle*, eds. J-L. Bacqué-Grammont and P. Dumont (Paris: CNRS, 1983).

22 Gözel, "Implementation" (2007), 26.

23 İslamoğlu-İnan, *State and Peasant* (1994), 59.

rights as was the case under Mehmed II"[24] and could redefine them as *miri* or *mülk*.

The Land Code of 1858 was neither a revolution nor even an obvious reform of land tenure. It did not abrogate former laws but simply codified and classified already existing land statuses. Nevertheless, while the code maintained the principle of state supremacy in matters of land property, the Code, it introduced a new conception of real estate ownership by institutionalizing land statuses.[25] Moreover, the *Adalet Fermanı* (Justice Decree) of 1875 marked an important step concerning the rights of ownership of non-Muslims. Noting that in some parts of the empire, non-Muslims were not authorized to own land but only to work as farm workers, it claimed that this situation contradicted the principles of justice and enacted the equal right of non-Muslims to purchase and sell real estate according to the same legal framework established for Muslims in the Land Code.[26]

The code and other regulations about land status established in the second half of the nineteenth-century showed that the Ottomans were determined to centralize their administration, take back the control of territories from the hands of local notables, and also better monitor local transformations. In Cappadocia, land tenure reforms led to the increase of real estate transactions within each religious community as well as between individuals belonging to different ethnoreligious groups. Coupled with new regulations concerning non-Muslims' rights, it had particularly important consequences in matters of property and use of lands. However, despite their official proclamation, some reforms had difficulty finding favor among locals and especially among local notables. As a result, a time lag between the announcement of a rule and its local implementation is frequently observed in the archives.

As symbols of Christian communities, churches are a typical example through which to observe this time lag between the enactment and the implementation of reforms. During the early Tanzimat era, requests and

24 Ibid., 60.

25 Belarbi, "Les mutations dans les structures foncières" (1983), 253.

26 "Düstur" (1877), 24. See also İrfan Bingöl, *Ülkemizde Anayasa Hareketleri* (Ankara: Atak Ofset, 1993), 48-51.

complaints by the Christian communities of various towns and villages of Cappadocia recall the former constraints imposed on non-Muslim communities in matters of religious real estate. Numerous documents of the pre-1839 period concerned requests for the authorization of church reconstruction.[27] Moreover, the narratives of Andronikiote refugees about the construction of their church (Agia Triada in Endürlük) is typical of stories told by Christians throughout Cappadocia and throughout Ottoman territories more broadly. The Agia Triada church of Endürlük was rebuilt and extended between 1831 and 1835, that is to say, at a time when the enlargement of churches was prohibited except by exemption of the sultan. There are two versions of the story:

> When we wanted to restore our church, the Turks saw that the building would be bigger than their mosque in Kayseri and they forbade the work. The Christians of Endürlük who went to Istanbul presented a petition directly to the sultan and told him the whole story. The sultan listened and directly sent a ferman to authorize the construction of the church by the Christians, order the Turks not to stop them. The *çorbacı* returned from Kayseri to Endürlük and showed the ferman of the sultan to local Turks and immediately we were able to restart the construction work.[28]
>
> If we wanted to build something in the village, we had to take a day to see the Kalelides and ask them personally. The Kalelides were the Turkish ağas who lived in Kiranardi, on the road Kayseri. The Kalelides would measure the height of the building and if they saw that it would be higher than the Ulu Cami of Kayseri, they immediately ordered work to cease. It was impossible to build anything higher than their mosque. But one day, a village elder who was in Istanbul met Kaptan

27 For instance BOA, C.ADL 67/4006 (1224-M-29/16.03.1809) about the church of Kayabaşı in Niğde; BOA, C.ADL 17/1025 (1247-B-29/03.01.1832) and BOA, C.ADL 41/2483 (1247-Ra-5/14.08.1831) about the St. Basil Church of Telmisos; BOA, C.ADL 100/6013 (1252-L-29/06.02.1837) about a ferman delivered for the reconstruction of the Church of Meryem Ana in Nevşehir.

28 "ΚΠ 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, ΚΠ60: P. Karamanoglou.

> Pasha and told him about the problem. For a month, there was no news from him. Then, one day he returned but not empty-handed. He brought a ferman which authorized construction and ordained "the Kalelides not to hinder the Christians" and, "if they come to control them, not to ask or ordain anything."[29]

From the 1840s, the number of such requests decreased, progressively replaced by announcements of the construction of churches or petitions (*arzuhal*) about problems during the construction.[30] We can nevertheless assume from these petitions that the new rules were not immediately implemented by local state agents. For instance, in 1848, the inhabitants of Rum mahalle*s* of Nevşehir sent an *arzuhal* for the reconstruction of their church repeating a request already sent in 1836. Six months later, the Patriarchate of Constantinople made known to the sultan that the process of reconstruction was being illegally impeded by local authorities.[31] Still, in 1849, another complaint sent by the diocese of Ikonium claimed that local public agents for creating difficulties for the maintenance of churches and monasteries. In response, in 1852, the central state ordered local agents of the region of Niğde and Çamardı (especially the *vali* and the *naib* but also the Metropolitan of Ikonium) not to prevent churches from using metal bells in place of wood bells that were the rule before

29 Ibid., ΚΠ60: G. Tsourouktsis. Stories about the exemption accorded by the sultan for the construction of a church are a *topos* among Rum communities. Exemptions accorded by the sultan are generally said to be the result of his compassionate, benevolent personality or sometimes of his fear of the wrath of God. This second explanation appears, for instance, in the narrative of Isaak Avraamidou from Ağırnas: "The Turks did not authorize the Christians to build churches. An ingenious Rum wrote a petition to the sultan, in which he explained that if his community did not receive the right to build a church, the Christ would destroy the Ottomans. The sultan became frightened and granted permission to the Rums to construct their church. Thus, they began to build several churches." See "ΚΠ 49-52 Agirnas," 1950s, ΚΠ49: I. Avraamidou.

30 BOA, A.MKT 20/9 (1260-Z-29/09.01.1845); BOA, A.MKT 23/7 (1261-Ra-17/17.03.1845) about the beginning of the reconstruction process of the church of Kordonos and the difficulty of finding an engineer to supervise the repairs.

31 BOA, A.DVN 35/22 (1264-R-21/27.03.1848); BOA, A.DVN 41/30 (1264-Z-28/25.11.1848)

the Tanzimat.[32] With new rights provided by the *Islahat Fermanı* of 1856, Christian subjects of the empire started to construct churches more freely.[33] Nevertheless, an imperial *berat* of 1860 addressed to the Patriarch Ioakeim II mentioned discord regarding religious edifices and reiterated that state agents were not "authorized, without order of their hierarchy, to impose fines or to make investigations in churches and monasteries, these buildings being under the control of the Patriarchate they depend on."[34] Expect for some local reluctance, the relatively rapid disappearance of these kinds of complaints in Cappadocia after 1860 allows us to suppose that the repeated injunctions sent to the provincial administration put an end to the attempts of local agents to interfere in issues concerning real estate belonging to Christians. This was twenty years after the 1839 Gülhane Edict and four years after the 1856 Hatt-i Hümayun, a lapse which was actually short taking into account the large territories to which they were applied and the huge number of reforms implemented simultaneously.

The evolution of the state's position towards non-Muslim edifices and the relative freedom concerning the construction and maintenance of these buildings had certainly a central role in the way local populations perceived the reforms established by state. The end of constraints about size and location and the possibility of using metal instead of wood bells were internalized by Christian communities. Ordinary people, (maybe Christians more than Muslims since the former received new rights that the latter could have considered a loss of their own privileges), rapidly became accustomed to the reforms and new laws from which they could benefit. This adaptation is also perceptible in the relatively rapid changes in real estate ownership that took place startin in the 1840s.

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32 BOA, A.DVN 46/100 (1265-C-22/15.05.1849); BOA, A.DVN.MHM 9A/73 (1268-B-20/10.05.1852)

33 Muammer Demirel, "Construction of Churches in Ottoman Provinces," in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies*, eds. C. Imber and K. Kiyotaki (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 216.

34 The *berat* of 1860 clarified the points exposed in the Hatt-i Hümayun of 1856. According to Anastassiadou, it confirmed "the authority of the Patriarch and Saint Synod as the head of Orthodox clergy, guaranteed the protection of worship places […] and recognized the rights of the Patriarchate to manage its movable and immovable goods and to collect taxes from its flock". See Anastassiadou, *Grecs d'Istanbul* (2012), 116.

With the beginning of the reforms and especially after 1860, a time of intense investment and interpersonal, and intercommunal transactions took place in matters of ownership and use of land. A chronological evolution can be observed suggesting distinct three phases, though transitions from one phase to the other are difficult to precisely date. In the first phase, approximately the decades from 1830 to 1860, the lack of clarity of land status is reflected in the archives through the numerous complaints lodged by inhabitants against their families, neighbors, and other persons they accused of usurpation of land, but which often turned out to be problems of the definition of boundaries and unclear property deeds. After 1860, the number of these kinds of cases ending up before the Istanbul administration decreased, ostensibly because of the progressive regularization of land status and ownership linked to the implementation of the 1847 and 1858 regulations. During the second phase, Christians benefitted from the reforms of land status at just a time when their personal economic successes as migrants allowed them to invest in real estate in their native land. On account of the revenues they earned as migrants, Christian and, to a lesser extent, Muslim migrants were able to purchase for themselves or for their communities, land located within the territories of their villages as well as that of neighboring settlements – wherever the quality and fertility of arable lands was worth investing in. Christians of Germir, for instance, purchased arable lands in the neighboring Muslim villages of Citlavik and Kumerli, and Rums of Endürlük bought large, fertile tracts of lands in the village of Asarcık.[35]

This phase of investment corresponded to the last decades of demographic growth of the Christian population of Cappadocia. In contrast with other regions of Anatolia thay were less settled and where unused, arable land was still available, in the northern half of Cappadocia, to increase one's private arable lands (with *mülk* status) was possible almost exclusively through purchasing. As Hadziiossif noted for the region of Sinasos, "the extension of cultivated lands reached its limits at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The fields of Sinasos adjoined, at least in two areas, the borders of lands

35 "ΚΠ 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, ΚΠ61: S. Apostolidis; "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ87: T. Souhouroglou.

belonging to the inhabitants of Ürgüp in the north and the inhabitants of Aravani in the south."[36] In the nearby, hilly periphery of Kayseri, a significant concentration of settlements created a similar situation. Villagers of Endürlük, Hisarcık, and Kiranardi in the south, of Germir, Citlavik, and Tavlosun in the east, and of the series of eastern villages (Taksiarchi, Kesi, Timidere, Ağırnas, Skopi, Büyükbürüngüz) often possessed land outside the administrative borders of each village. On the periphery of Niğde in the south as well as in the region of Gelveri in the west, the situation was similar. Olympia Moumtzoglou from Kenatala claimed that men left the village to work in Istanbul because there was no longer enough land.[37] In Fertek, Christians bought land from their Muslim neighbors and created large vineyards that transformed the area into one of the main producers of *rakı* in the course of the nineteenth century. An informant from Fertek, talking about the first decades of the twentieth century, explained that the Muslims of Fertek sold their lands to Christians because they needed money. They knew that Christians were able to purchase their lands due to their income from working as migrants. As a result, Christians of Fertek became, out of proportion to their demographic, the main landowners, and a significant segment of the local Muslim population worked as farmers on the lands of Christians.[38]

On the other hand, areas with lower population densities, such as the central part of Cappadocia (especially on the plain of Malakopi, including the villages of Sylata, Eneği, Potamia, Çarıklı, Misti, Antrolos, and Suvermez) were regions of low productivity. *Metruke* and *mevat* lands were sprawled over it at the end of the nineteenth century. Land as property was consequently not a matter for rivalries. The plain was a place of extensive agriculture with low yields, the economic crisis prompted by the penetration of foreign producers into local markets incited the peasants to seek other sources of income. Informants from Çarıklı gave interesting account of the difficulties encountered by the local peasantry:

36 Christos Hadziiossif, "Dimensions culturelles des pratiques successorales des Grecs orthodoxes de Cappadoce à l'époque ottomane," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 110, no.1 (1998): 194.

37 "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ236: K. Papazoglou.

38 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ303: P. Papadopoulos.

> Since the days of my father, our people began to emigrate. There were more than eighty to ninety houses in the village at that time. Our grandfathers had not needed to emigrate. In their time, there was a great abundance [bereket]. In our time, there was shortage. No one paid to obtain your wheat or anything else you sold. The Turks had no money to pay and they wanted to sell their land to us to have money. That is why we went into exile and we brought back money. Only those who had their own shops – namely a bakkal, because there was no other kind of shops in Çarikli – did not leave. People who left were those who had no job and no craft skills.[39]
>
> We had good lands but rainfall did not occur; there was no enough water and it was not good for agriculture, we could not live under these circumstances. We earned nothing. And there was no transportation infrastructure. How do you expect us to earn a living? Thus we went into exile. […] After ploughing, the men went to Izmir between August and May. Two hundred men left the village. In the beginning, only twenty or thirty men left; then, each household began to send two or three men and only the elders and children remained. The majority of men went to Izmir but a dozen went to Istanbul or to some Turkish villages of Anatolia where they sold the keçe [felt textile] they made.[40]

In areas where conditions for agriculture were good enough, money earned by migrants was reinvested into private property or communal real estate for through purchases on behalf of the parish (enoria) or the community (koinotis) with the income of compatriot associations.[41] However, with the enlargement of Christian migration and especially with the increase of family migration, migrants returned less regularly and began to sell their houses and land. By the turn of the twentieth century, a third phase characterized by land purchases by Muslims (whether locals or newcomers) took place, resulting from the shift in migrants' investment priorities.

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39 "ΚΠ 295-297 Tsarikli," 1950, ΚΠ297: A. Karalis.

40 Ibid., ΚΠ297: Stavros Hoursanidis.

41 By communal purchase, we intend land bought by the community to meet the needs of priests, support the poorest of the community or to construct a church, school, *hamam*, or other communal buildings.

For those who had been successful in their migrant life, wealth did not only consist of ownership of real estate in their native land. At that time the Rums of Cappadocia were inclined to invest in commercial and residential real estate located in their place of migration, especially in Istanbul, rather than in their native land. However, to own land in Cappadocia remains important for migrants who regularly or definitively returned after several years of expatriation. For others, it became symbolic, marking the attachment to the homeland rather than being a source of revenue. Large, majestic houses were built by migrants in villages, especially from the 1870s onwards. They had a similar symbolic meaning, as local evidence of the economic success of migrants, but mostly served as physical markers of a presence through which migrants consolidated their local belonging despite their own physical absence. However, this situation was only discernible in the case of a economic success. For those struggling to make ends meet, and especially for households in small villages, agriculture and arable land remained issues of survival, and family members who lived in the villages could rely only on themselves and their farming production.[42]

While migrants began to abandon their local properties in favor of investments in other sectors, Christian and Muslim families remaining in situ took the opportunity to purchase or take over abandoned lands and buildings while newcomers (mostly refugees from territories lost by the Ottomans) received land from the state.[43] In some areas, this situation regularly led to

42 See Chapters 6.2 and 8.1.

43 Already by 1857 with the *Muhaceret Nizamnamesi* [Regulation about immigration], the state decided to give Ottoman citizenship and distribute public lands to refugees fleeing from Caucasuses. In 1860, a Commission for the Refugees (*Muhacirin Komisyonu*) was established to manage the arrivals. Nevertheless, the settlement of refugees in central Anatolia remained limited; most were settled in coastal cities (Istanbul, Trabzon, Samsun, Sinop, Batum, and Rize) or close to the borders (Kars and Erzurum). In 1878, refugees arrived from Georgia and in the 1910s from the Balkans. In 1913, a new regulation (*İskân-ı Muhacirin Nizamnamesi*) for the settlement of refugees was issued. Regarding the various waves of refugees and their settlement in Anatolia, see Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914. Demography and Social Characteristics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985); David Cameron Cuthell, *The Muhacirin Komisyonu: an Agent in the Transformation of the Ottoman Anatolia (1860–1866)* (Columbia University: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2005); Ipek Nedim, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya*

disputes. For instance, in Suvermez in 1903, the Christian merchant, Todoros, who worked in Istanbul, sent a complaint to the *Vali* of Konya against one of his compatriots whom he accused of having seized his property in his absence.[44] Similarly, in 1904, the Christian inhabitants of Cemil pressed charges against the inhabitants of neighboring villages whom they accused of having usurped their village's borderlands.[45] In the same period, the Christians of Misti entered into a conflict with the Muslim inhabitants of the neighboring village of Edikli about the ownership of lands situated close to the borders between the two villages.[46] These examples show that it would be wrong to consider cases of land usurpation as inherently intercommunal issues: the usurped and the usurpers could be from different but also from the same community. Complaints also show that even when households left the region, they often continued to supervise their real estate, whether by regularly returning or by designating an attorney.[47]

Other migrants (for economic reasons or because they did not intend to return) donated their immovables to their communities or sold them. In several settlements, if no one in the community wanted to purchase a property sold by a compatriot, the parish would try to buy it to maintain territorial cohesion. Private real estate thus became communal property. In Endürlük, for instance, this situation was the rule until the beginning of the First World War, but then, with the departure of most Christian households, the parish was no longer able to purchase and manage such large areas with so few parishioners.[48] Consequently, some among the Christians began to sell their properties to Muslims. In 1923, before the exchange, the majority of arable lands were already in the hands of Muslims. Only 145 Christians left Endürlük

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Türk Göçleri (1877–1890) (Ankara: TTK, 1994); Abdullah Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri (1856–1876)* (Ankara: TTK, 1997); Oktay Özel, "Migration and Power Politics: The Settlement of Georgian İmmigrants in Turkey (1878-1908)," *Middle Eastern Studies* 46, no.4 (2010); Anastassiadou, *Grecs d'Istanbul* (2012), 215-16.

44 BOA, DH.MKT 772/34 (1321-B-11/03.10.1903)

45 BOA, ŞD 3026/09 (1322-Ra-21/05.06.1904)

46 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ243.

47 Regarding the designation of attorneys, see the relevant paragraphs in this chapter.

48 "ΚΠ 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, ΚΠ61.

for Greece, though even on the eve of the twentieth century, the village had had a clear Christian majority.[49] On the other side of Cappadocia, in Fertek, a similar turnaround was occurring: while a few years earlier, Christians were still purchasing land and vineyards from Muslims, by the 1880s, the unused land and unoccupied houses of migrants began to be seized and sold by Muslims. While the village had had a large Christian majority from 1840 through the 1880s, the Rum population of Fertek was no more than the half of the total population by 1913, Fertek progressively became a village with a clear Muslim majority in the late 1910s.[50]

While the phenomena described in these two last phases appear clearly in various kinds of archives, they should not be considered as radical shifts. They neither mean that, between 1860 and 1900, Christians became large landowners purchasing the main arable lands of Cappadocia en masse to the detriment of Muslims, nor that after 1900 the purchase of land by Muslims constituted a massive movement of investment capital. In both phases, the phenomena of appropriation and re-appropriation were common enough to be significant but not overwhelming. As evidence, the parish codices of the last years before the exchange still recorded numerous, large real estate holdings on behalf of Rum communities, in the name of the Rums who inhabited in the area, or in the name of those who lived as migrants but continued to have immovable properties in Cappadocia. Titles deeds (*tapu*) of the first decades of the Republic of Turkey also show that Rums were still the owners of houses and lands in the region until the exchange of populations. Their names appear as the former owners in new deeds established by

49 Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 64.

50 The switch from a Christian to a Muslim majority seems to occur in Endürlük as well as in Fertek during the first years of the twentieth century. In their publication of 1899, Sarantidis mentioned 2500 Christians and 300 Muslims while Kalfoglou already dealt with two equal communities (around 1500 Christians and 1500 Muslims). In 1905, the census published by the *Xenophanis* counted 1500 Christians and 2500 Muslims. In the Immerologion of 1914, Fertek is said to have 4000 inhabitants, the half being Rum. See Farasopoulos, *Τα Σύλατα* (1895), 86; Sarantidis, *Η Σινασός ήτοι θέσις* (1899); Kalfoglou, *Μικρα Ασια Κητασηνην* (1899); "Της Σύνταξης, Στατιστικὴ τῆς Ἐπαρχίας Ἰκονίου" (1905-06); "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' - 1914″ (1913), 247.

Republican Turkey.[51] The distinctness of these phases is also relative because, from one village to the next, changes followed different paths. We already mentioned villages such as Misti and Çukur where inhabitants did not follow the classical migration paths taken by other Christian communities of the region. Moreover, small communities, albeit benefitting from migratant incomes, remained more dependent on arable lands and local revenues than the communities of large villages and towns where multiple sources of revenue led to a diminution of the need for agricultural production. In the latter, the acquisition of immovable goods, especially arable lands, was no longer a priority for many Christian families who, for several generations, had increased their real estate in their host city rather than buying immovables in their homeland.[52]

The evolution throughout the decades of the Rum village of Akso studied by Mavrochalyvidis is interesting. In the 1830s, Akso was inhabited by 600 families: among them, 120 families owned large tracts of land (at least eight hectares, only the half of which were irrigated), 360 families were small landowners (with around three hectares each), and the remaining 120 families were landless, living from daily wages. According to Panayotopoulos, "time worked against the relatively large Ottoman Greek landowners, whose holdings became fragmented as parts were inherited by their children."[53] In 1924, despite emigration, there were still a total of 900 households in Akso. But among them, no more than 200 families lived exclusively from agriculture. This does not mean that Aksiotes were no longer landowners, but that most families' income henceforth came from other activities. Especially the fragmentation of land holdings through successive inheritance limited the possibility of deriving sufficient revenues from it, but also other activities, such as trade and shop-keeping were more profitable.

51 See, for instance, the *tapu* in private archives of today inhabitants of the *Cumhuriyet mahallesi* of Nevşehir, former Rum district of the town.

52 Hadziiossif, "Dimensions culturelles" (1998): 196.

53 Alkis J. Panayotopoulos, "On the Economic Activities of the Anatolian Greeks, Mid-19th century to Early 20th" *DKMS*, 4 (1983): 96.

7.1.1 *Vakıfs and the Village Commons*

In Akso, as in other settlements, alongside to private property, some real estate was owned communally or collectively. In religiously-mixed and Christian villages, most communal lands belonged in practice to the parishes that generally rented them out.[54] However, Ayşe Ozil noted that, in theory…

> … communal property ownership was not officially recognized and the institutions it was associated with did not have a formal acknowledgement of their corporate status but [that] this did not mean that Orthodox Christians did not possess, use or dispose of property. […] Imperial licenses that were issued by the government for church and school construction mention plots of lands that belonged to the Orthodox Christians of an area.[55]

According to the Land Code and the Regulation of Titles (1859), all lands had to be recorded as an estate with a clear owner – the state for *miri*, a natural person for *mülk,* a legal person for a vakıf, and a village for *metruke* which were, in practice, village commons. The two last categories need to be analyzed together, at least in the case of Cappadocia, because they represented two forms of common entities: (religiously-defined) communal or semi-public property and (territorially-defined) collectivity which were conflated – not legally, but in their use. Beyond lands the same question was raised for all kinds of immovables registered as vakıf and mostly used by the members of a single (religious) community, for real estate administered collectively by different communities living side by side, and for all kinds of natural resources and infrastructure used in a collective way (water, rivers, dams, reservoirs, aqueducts, and vicinal roads).

7.1.2 *Communal Assets*

In rural and an urban areas, the vakıf was clearly one of the most important public – or communal – institutions, constituting important elements of the public sphere and of social organization that gave substance to civil society.

54 Ibid.

55 Ozil, *Orthodox Christians* (2013), 69.

Especially in the rural context, the vakıf, whatever its size, operated as a community asset. Muslim pious foundations were generally registered under the name of a mosque or a *zaviye* (the vakıf of Hacı Bektaş Veli being one of the most important in the region), but could also be registered in the name of former local *ağa, paşa* or any other individual. To avoid the restrictions of Islamic law in matters of inheritance (which limited inheritance to one-third of an estate), an estate owner could found a vakıf and thus bequeath his entire estate to the beneficiary of his choice, including any member of his male progeny. Beyond maintaining estates within the same hereditary line, these family vakıf*s* (or *vakf-ı ehli)* had some religious purpose and undertook charitable activities.[56] In nineteenth-century western Cappadocia, the largest vakıf was that of Nevşehirli Damat Ibrahim Paşa, which, next to the *külliye* of Nevşehir, included several mosques, and Islamic school (*medrese*), public kitchens (*imaret*), hospitals (*darüşşifa*), numerous fountains (*çeşme*), and aqueducts, and arable lands in various settlements throughout the region (especially in the villages of the kaza of Nevşehir, and in the *sancak*s of Niğde, Kayseri, and Kırşehir more broadly).[57] It was these large vakıf*s* founded by a member of the dynasty or by the highest echelons of the state hierarchy that Haim Gerber considered to "look more like a branch of the central government than an autonomous public sphere," especially because "they retained a strong connection to the central government." Their main purpose was to "establish charitable institutions to foster bonds of social connection based on sharing with the lower classes, to enhance feelings of community and ultimately legitimacy."[58] These large, mainly Muslim, vakıf*s* provided services to ordinary people and strenghthened the cohesion among social strata. In

56 John Robert Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 12, 42.

57 For instance, in the region of Nevşehir, the holdings of the el-Hac Mahmud Ağa vakfı of Uçhisar included a mosque, a *mektep*, a fountain, and several shops; several buildings in the village of Takke were recorded as belonging to the Osman Ağa vakıf, while others, including several fountains, belonged to the Hacı Ahmed Ağa vakfı; in Zile (Sylata), the main mosque was registered to the vakıf of Hacı Lütfullah Ağa.

58 Haim Gerber, "The Public Sphere and Civil Society in the Ottoman Empire," in *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies*, eds. M. Hoexter, S.N. Eisenstadt, and N. Levtzion (SUNY Press, 2002), 75-77.

terms of the religious partitioning of the society, in practice the services they offered were mostly intended for the community of their own faithful. They thus reinforced the communal, semi-public sphere instead of the collective, public sphere.

Small vakıfs had similar purposes. Present in great numbers, they formed extensive networks of charitable activities that constituted the basis of autonomous civil society and an arena for the public and semi-public spheres. Among them, the vakıfs of Christian communities, for the most part, followed the same scheme as Islamic vakıfs. They were generally instituted on behalf of a local community for charitable purposes and to cover unexpected communal expenses. Pious foundations were elements of communal cohesion and adopted – according to their size, location, religious affiliation, and the kinds of revenues they took in – different priorities and ways of serving the civil society. Among Rum communities, the status of communal assets reflected the double organization of the community: part belonged to the parish (enoria), which is to say, the religiously-defined community, and the other part belonged to the lay community (koinotis), namely the Rum community in the "secular" sense of the word, including the inhabitants of a village or town and often those of several adjacent parishes. In Cappadocia, each settlement, corresponded to a single koinotis, whatever the number of parishes they included. In the course of the nineteenth century, however, because of the demographic decline of Rum communities, the enoria and koinotis tended to blend into each other. This was mainly a consequence of emigration: the demographic decline of local populations led to a merger of parishes under a common administration, and in some settlements, the decision-making process progressively passed from the hands of the local clergy to that of the lay emigrants. This is particularly discernible in the village of Endürlük where, from six parishes in the 1850s and 1860s, successive mergers finally led to a single parish of Endürluk in 1894.[59] The expression "community assets" in the paragraphs below thus includes both kinds of communal property.

59 "Codex α/α 489β Endürlük, Εκκλησιαστική Επιτροπή Κοινότητας Ανδρονικίου [Ecclesiastical epitropi of the community of Androniki] (1834-1895)," in Public Welfare (Athens: GAK).

If not vakıfs, most communal Rum land and buildings were officially registered in the name of a natural personal (as a *mülk*) but recorded in the communal codices and recognized by the official owner – or nominee –, the community, the *millet-i Rum*, and state authorities as communal real estate.[60] The largest Christian communities of Cappadocia owned buildings and various kinds of lands, mostly vineyards, orchards, and fields – inside and outside the territorial boundaries of their settlements. These properties were acquired by the community through purchase, donation (*inter vivos* or testamentary), and seizure by community members.[61] We already mentioned that in the case of Akso, the fragmentation of land through successive inheritance led to decreases in the size of private properties but also to increase in communal assets since it was common that a plot would be donated to the church, whether or not there were heirs.[62] As a result, in most Rum communities of Cappadocia, mainly due to donations and economic successes of emigrants, communal assets regularly increased up until 1924. For instance, the Rum community of Gelveri owned substantial community assets by 1923: twenty-two *çiftliks* between eight and ten hectares each, 213 plots, seven vineyards, three orchards, eight houses (of two or three rooms), five shops, and two workshops.[63] The revenues from these lands, houses, and shops

60 Only in 1913 was a law on corporate property promulgated for the first time in the Ottoman Empire, officially recognizing the right to ownership of immovable property by legal personalities including, but without weekly naming, parish, and local confessional communities. Ozil, *Orthodox Christians* (2013), 72-74.

61 Donation (as well as sale) of immovables (land or houses) could be addressed to the parish or to the community. Seizing of immovable or movable goods occurred more regularly after 1900, particularly when emigrants did not pay their share of taxes or when a household had debts recorded in the name of the community. "Codex 1/2 Aï Kösten (Everek) (1853-1924)," 74-85; "Codex 22/42 Tavlosoun (1807-1822)," 125-22; "Codex 5/7 Gelveri (1857-1871)," in community registers and codices of parishes (Athens: CAMS), 81; "Codex 17/32 Sylata (Zile)," in community registers and codices of parishes (Athens: CAMS), 23-55.

62 Georgios Mavrohalividis, "Αξός" (Athens: CAMS, 1957), 82-83, 163-64.

63 According to Eleni Karatza, the total value of these goods was estimated between 9,585 and 15,000 Turkish gold liras at the time of the exchange of populations. Eleni Karatza, *Καππαδοκία: ο τελευταίος ελληνισμός της περιφέρειας Ακσεράι Γκέλβερι (Καρβάλης)* [Cappadocia: the last Hellenism of the region of Aksaray-Gelveri (Karvali)]. Athens: Γνώση, 1985, 212-13 n.563. See also Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques," 1994, 574-75.

entered the treasury of the community and served to pay all kinds of commitments (the salaries of employees, charitable activities, the maintenance of buildings, etc.). Schools as well as baths, libraries, orphanages, and fountains were built on communal plots, as was the case, for instance, for the school for girls of Gelveri which was built on land registered as a vakıf of the community in 1913.[64] Alongside funds coming from Istanbul and other places of migration, communal assets were thus a central source of income for communities. Real estate belonging to the community could be rented or sold to members of the community as well as to non-Rums, whether Muslims or Armenians. Lands were cultivated in the name of the community, and products were subjected to the law of the vakıf.[65]

Most prosperous communities were thus at the head of huge fortunes. The assets of the community of Gelveri itemized above were estimated at between 10 and 15 thousand gold lira while the community of Nevşehir owned immovables estimated, in 1923, at up to 2,3 million lira.[66] In these large communities benefitting from migrant income, the koinotis, through its powerful central committees in Istanbul, progressively took precedence in the parish in matters of administration. However, immovables generally continued being officially recorded separately, supposedly in line with title deeds recorded by the state administration. For instance, the vakıf real estate belonging to the Rum community of Nevşehir was officially divided: 1,840,700 lira belonging to the parish (enoria) and 542,870 lira to the community (koinotis).[67] Moreover, we know that the record of a property on behalf of a front man was a frequent practice among professional unions and associations of compatriots for the immovable properties located in their host city or in Cappadocia.[68] We can hypothesize that front men might have also be used for

64 BOA, I.MF 21/1331 (1331-Ca-21/28.04.1913); BOA, BEO 4172/312854 (1331-C-6/13.05.1913); BOA, DH.ID 30/43 (1331-C-10/17.05.1913).

65 See, for instance, "Codex 4/18 Vexe (1909-1924)," in community registers and codices of parishes (Athens: CAMS).

66 "Codex 11/20 Nevşehir (1923-1924)," in community registers and codices of parishes, (Athens: CAMS), 17-18.

67 Ibid.

68 Mamoni also mentioned this practice in the case of the professional unions of Ürgüp. See Mamoni, "Σωματειακή οργάνωση" (1986-87): 167-68.

real estate belonging to the enoria or the koinotis to avoid heavy taxes on the shoulders of groups that were tending to decrease in number even while acquiring more and more immovables. However, we did not find evidence of this practice in the archives.

Needless to say, Nevşehir or Gelveri – which were among the largest and most prosperous Rum communities of Cappadocia – were exceptional cases of communal wealth. If other large communities (for instance, Ürgüp, Sinasos, Kayabaşı/Niğde, Fertek, Kayseri, and Talas) were similar, the communal assets of small villages were often limited to a few plots, a church, a school, and sometimes a bath or other communal building officially managed by the parish. In small communities, even when emigrants participated in the development of the community, the parish often remained the main managing entity and the koinotis was weaker.[69]

An interesting conflict about church property occurred in Delmason in 1849 between the community and one of its members (called Dimitri), who was accused of having built his house on a plot belonging to the parish. In February 1849, an investigation was requested by the Kaymakam of Niğde about the destruction of the house and two outbuildings (a laundry room and a guest house) by several members of the community. These had been built and declared vakıf by Dimitri. A few days later, Dimitri lodged a complaint against the decision taken by his community to expel him from the village and sell his goods. One month later, after a petition prepared by the community explained that the structures built by Dimitri were actually located on a plot of the church accompanied by a decree issued by the Patriarchate, a vizieral letter confirmed the decision to sell the goods of Dimitri in compensation for damage he caused to the community. Because of the Telmisiotes' hatred of him, Dimitri was apparently forced to flee and settle in Istanbul: in August of the same year, his official record was transferred from the kaza of Niğde to Istanbul. And yet, Dimitri did not stop there. In turn, he asked for financial indemnity. In November 1849, a petition of the community exclaimed that Dimitri acted in bad faith and explained that the demolition a few months earlier was realized according to official decisions. This is the last record we

69 Regarding the rise of the central committees located in Istanbul in the administration of the community, see Chapter 4.1.

found about this case which shows to what extent a community would protect, including against its own members, the properties belonging to its parish. Also, it was able to use various legal means (the Patriarchate as well as the state jurisdictions) to achieve its ends.[70]

Communal properties, nevertheless, were not outside the bounds of real estate acquisition. The inclusion of a building or plot in a vakıf was not necessarily definitive. For instance, several plots formerly belonging to the *Ibrahim Paşa Vakfı* were acquired by private owners in the course of the nineteenth century. In the late eighteenth century, Ürgüp, Sinasos, Eneği, Sylata, Cemil, and Malakopi were parts of the domain of the *Ibrahim Paşa Vakfı*.[71] Their lands were nonetheless turned into private property from the 1840s onwards. In one of the codices of Sylata was recorded in 1855 the will of Daniel, son of Elie, which included a property deed that shows that part of the property of the deceased formerly belonged to the Muslim vakıf.[72]

All these communal assets were rented our or employed workers such as farmers, guardians, caretakers for their maintenance and improvement. In many Christian communities of Cappadocia, especially after the emigration waves post-1870, employees and land tenants were often Muslim villagers. In Sinasos, fields belonged mainly to Christians but were sown by Muslims on a day labor basis with animals belonging to the Greeks because the Muslims did not have enough animals to work all the fields.[73] Records of revenues and expenditures of Rum communities in Cappadocia regularly mention the names of Muslims who received payment for the work done or for other

70 BOA, A.DVN 45.45 (1249-Ca-01/24.03.1849); BOA, A.MKT 173/67 (1265-Ra-16/11.03.1849); BOA, A.MKT 174/20 (1265-Ra-19/14.03.1849); A.MKT 185/31 (1249-Ca-01/24.04.1849); BOA, A.DVN 56/58 (1266-M-11/27.11.1849); BOA, A.DVN 56/41 (1266-M-11/27.11.1849).

71 Hadziiossif, *Σινασός, ιστορία ενός*, 2005, 59. These territories entered the domain of the Ibrahim Paşa Vakfı in 1777-78 via a sultanic ferman. Hadziiossif supposes that the assembly of these villages into one foundation could reflect already existing administrative, economic, and social ties. However, other villages of the region inhabited by Muslim communities were also part of this decree (Kolyak and Kızlık). See BOA, C.EV 567/28605 (1192-M-29/27.02.1778).

72 "Codex 17/32 Sylata (Zile) (1855-1875)," 54.

73 Stamatopoulos, "Everyday Life in Sinasos" (1985), 54.

commercial exchanges.[74] Conversely, Rums of Cappadocia, especially in towns, often rented shops and workshops from vakıf*s* linked to a mosque or other Muslim legal entity. These kinds of interactions involving immovable property were forms of economic intercommunal relations. Moreover, we should not forget that many vakıf*s* and communal establishments such as schools, orphanages, hospitals, fountains, baths, and other water supply infrastructure accommodated persons belonging to various ethnoreligious groups.[75] Even though these cases of intercommunal relations remained rare (schools of Rum communities could accept Muslim pupils, bur rarely in practice and vice versa), in proportion to the population density, they were probably less rare than in urban environments where the range of establishments and services provided by each ethnoreligious group was wider. City dwellers could benefit from the educational, health, and sanitary services (and if necessary, philanthropic facilities) within just their own religious community. As a result, in the rural more than the urban context, some part of community assets were places of various forms of intercommunal interactions. However, these interactions took place in a field often marked by inequality of status: the advantages taken from and the uses made of these communal assets depended on whether individuals were or were not members of the community that possessed them.

According to Richard van Leeuwan, who studied the case of the vakıf*s* in Mount Lebanon, large vakıf domains established by Maronite monasteries provided a strategy of territorial control to minority communities. However, these Christian vakıf*s* were more strictly "communal" (in the religious sense) and did not produce services for people outside the community.[76] Similarly,

74 The records for the community of Nevşehir for the years 1911-1924 contains, the day-to-day details of all the expenses and receipts of the community. "Codex α/α 119 Nevşehir, Κοινότητα Νεβσεχίρ (1911-1924)," in Codices of the Exchange (Athens: GAK).

75 Until the construction of their own baths in 1892, the Rums of Nevşehir would go to the *hamam* belonging to the Muslim community of the town. See Chapter 4.3.

76 Richard Van Leeuwen, "The Control of Space and Communal Leadership: Maronites Monasteries in Mount Lebanon," *REMMM* 79, no.79-80 "Biens communs, patrimoines collectifs et gestion communautaire dans les sociétés musulmanes" ed. by S. Denoix (1996).

Anastassiadou, for the case of the district of Péra in Istanbul, also showed that the philanthropic activities of the Rum community were addressed to coreligionists, bonding individuals around a communal identity in order to avoid losing members to other communities by conversion (to Islam but also to the denominations of missionaries).[77] On the other hand, Jean-Claude David has shown, through the example of the vakıf of Ibshir Paşa in Alep, that according to the Islamic conception of the Muslim protector and the non-Muslim *protégé*, Muslim vakıf*s* felt free –even obliged – to help the old population, including the *protégés*. They thus had non-Muslim beneficiaries.[78] The different conclusions of these studies lead to the idea that, in the Cappadocian case, a competitive relation to space took place. We assume that the enlargement of communal assets and especially of vakıf immovables was a way for Christian communities to control a given space and enhance their social and territorial integrity and continuity in this space. The degree of inclusiveness or exclusiveness vis-à-vis "the other" implied through the examples of Mount Lebanon, Istanbul, and Alep is, however, not obvious: in Cappadocia, local Muslim as well as Christian vakıf*s* had a large majority of beneficiaries belonging to their own religious group, but both also involved a few number of beneficiaries from the other group.

7.1.3 *Village(s) Commons*

Unlike communal assets belonging to a community defined by its religious affiliation, village commons were collective properties, namely immovables of a village – an entity defined not religiously but through administrative and geographical boundaries. In villages, whether they be religiously homogeneous or mixed, the commons belonged collectively to all the inhabitants of the settlement. Unlike community assets, in the case of mixed villages, the maintenance of village commons required the cooperation of communities. In other words, they required that intercommunal relations

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See also Sylvie Denoix, "Introduction: Formes juridiques, enjeux sociaux et stratégies foncières," *REMMM* 79, no.79-80 (1996): 18.

77 Méropi Anastassiadou, "De la paroisse à la communauté. Les Grecs orthodoxes de Stavodromi (Beyoğlu-Istanbul)," *Anatolia Moderna - Yeni Anadolu*, 10 (2004): 163.

78 Jean-Claude David, *Le waqf d'Ibsir Pasa à Alep (1063, 1653)* (Damas: IFEAD, 1982).

turn into intra-collectivity relations. In fact, village commons were the main public spaces of rural areas. They included streets and squares (especially the marketplace), as well as threshing floors, and, rounding the inhabited part of the settlement, land, pastures, forests, vicinal roads, and all grounds registered as parts of the *metruke* – that is to say "abandoned" state-owned land devoted to public necessities not part of the property of a natural or legal person.[79]

From the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman bureaucracy began to more systematically define the status of land and the borders of administrative entities, but some points remained legally vague with respect to *metruke* areas. As Martha Mundy noted:

> [W]ith regard to the practically existence but legally untheorised village 'estate of administration', [village commons were] tied to vital services. Given the practical importance of the village estate of administration in many rural parts of the empire, the 'Instruction Concerning the Correct Procedures for Title (tapu)' published in volume II of the Düstur [1863 edition] do stipulate that the registration of land in a village should classify all lands – both cultivated lands to be registered as individual property and other categories, notably forests and pastures which may be held as village commons.[80]

Practice and local experience often preempted the legislation. Locally, namely, within the limited radius of a few neighboring villages, the management of borderlands, resources, and infrastructures in common use was organized according to tacit agreements. In practice, discord was frequent: sharing often required difficult compromises when the size of arable, pastureland, forests, and access to rivers and potable water were a matters of survival.

Threshing floors are interesting cases of village commons, especially because they were a central subject of the interviews of refugees led by the CAMS.[81] Small settlements, whether religiously homogeneous or mixed,

79 Denoix, "Introduction: Formes juridiques" (1996): 11.

80 Mundy, "State of Property" (2004), 219.

81 It is difficult to ascertain whether interviewers oriented the discussion to the topic of threshing floors or if informants introduced this issue by themselves. According to our study of different files concerning Cappadocia localities, it seems that interviewers specifically asked about this

generally owned a single threshing floor. But the largest localities and especially those where agriculture was central to the local economy could have up to a dozen floors, generally located at the periphery of residential quarters between arable land and built up areas. After harvesting, these floors were used by villagers who brought their crops from private lands and threshed the total crop all together before sharing the grain among contributing households. However, variations in practice appeared in mixed settlements: Muslims and Christians threshed their crops separately. In small villages where only one floor was available as well as in larger settlements such as İncesu, floors were used alternately by Muslims and Christians. In other places, such as Zincidere, where several threshing floors were available, each religious community threshed its crops on a different threshing floors.[82]

In the 1858 Land Code, pastures and forests (mostly pastures in the case of Cappadocia where forests were rare, except in the south, on the verdant Taurus slopes, or on the northern shore of the Kızılırmak[83]) were officially recorded as *metruke*.[84] Within the administrative borders of a village, they were used as village commons. In Çukur for instance, 2500 hectares of

issue and wondered whether villagers would meet on the threshing floors for particular occasions and use them as dancing arenas. This line of questioning must be seen in the light of the folklorist studies that were in vogue in those years and especially in the CAMS. The idea of threshing floors used as arena for events such as marriage, religious celebrations, or any kind of feast typically reflects the will to conduct ethnography of authentic, bucolic rituals and a ritualized lifestyle of rurality. However, the answers given by informants are far from this arcadian, folkloric idea of rural life. Incidentally, transcriptions of refugees' responses clearly show that the latter were often surprised by the question, claiming that neither Christians nor Muslims danced and sang on threshing floors – only in their houses. Nonetheless, this focus on threshing floors allows us to see how this kind of commons was used.

82 "КП 49-52 Agirnas," 1950s, КП49: N. Anakadıs, A. Avraamidou. "КП 340-342 Tzalela," 1950s, КП341: M. Kermidou. "КП 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, КП60: K. Kiosoglou; "КП 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, КП87: P. Kirelitzoglou. "КП 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, КП78: E. Sofoulis.

83 Cappadocia is described, from antiquity as a place without wood, that is to say without timber. This was incidentally one of the reasons, according to Strabo, that locals dug their homes in the rock instead of constructing them. Strabo, *Geography* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), XII, §7-8.

84 Belarbi, "Mutations dans les structures foncières" (1983), 254.

pastureland and forest were recorded as commons.[85] When located far away from the inhabited part of a locality, these commons were often used by villagers of different, surrounding settlements. The sharing of pastureland was common practice in regions where livestock farming was a widespread activity, particularly in the south of Cappadocia around Niğde and Çamardı. In villages where most households had a few grazing animals (mostly sheep), as was the case in Sinasos or in Keçiağaç, for instance, a shepherd was hired communally (on the scale of the village, a religious community, or a mahalle) who was in charge of the whole flock. In mixed villages, shepherds were generally Muslims who, in exchange for a salary, took care of the sheep belonging to Muslim and to Christian households.[86] In homogeneous Rum villages, however, two situations were possible: in the case of the village of Misti, Rums preferred to employ someone from their own community instead of hiring Muslim shepherds. On the other hand, in Çarıklı (a few kilometers east from Misti), the community hired Muslim shepherds who generally came from the neighboring village of Karaatlı.[87]

Even though borders between settlements were clearly known by locals, pastures were often used by shepherds of different villages. For instance, the Rum village of Andaval and the Muslim villages of Eskigümüş and Güllüce had their own shepherds hired from among their own communities, but shepherds of the three villages shared the same pastureland. The hill known as Keldağ (south of Andaval) was used as pastureland by herds from Andaval and Eskigümüş, while pasturelands on the north of Andaval called Kalleli were used by shepherds of Andaval and Güllüce. This sharing was the result of a common decision taken by the villages concerned and generally did not cause a problem. Nevertheless, disagreements could occur. In 1916, a Muslim shepherd from Eskigümüş was killed by Andavaliotes because of a

85 Renieri, "Household Formation" (2002): 510.

86 "ΚΠ 230 Enehil," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), T. Paraskeui. "ΚΠ 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s, ΚΠ145; "ΚΠ 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, ΚΠ232: N. Delloglou. In Sinasos, each district hired a Turkish shepherd annually to look after a flock composed of a few sheep from each household. See Stamatopoulos, "Everyday Life in Sinasos" (1985), 55.

87 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ247: M. Damianoglou; "ΚΠ 295-297 Tsarikli," 1950, ΚΠ297: E. Zourboglou.

disagreement about the use of pasturelands within the borders of the territory of Andaval. A few years later, inhabitants of Eskigümüş took revenge for this assassination by killing six men of Andaval.[88] Further south, in the region close to the town of Niğde, herds regularly ventured beyond the administrative borders of localities and pastures were shared because of the geographical proximity of the villages, generally without critical incident.[89]

If sharing of pasturelands among local shepherds was sometimes a cause of tension between neighboring villages, these issues were generally rapidly resolved. Incidents were more common between settled villagers and nomadic tribes.[90] We already noted a north/south split according to which, in terms of nomadic activity, the south part was the main part of Cappdocia regularly visited by nomads who came down from the Taurus Mountains during the winter.[91] Complaints by settled communities about nomadic tribes thus came mostly from villages in the south Cappadocia as well as from merchants whose caravans were attacked along the roads connecting the main towns. On this issue, Huri Islamoğlu noted that conflicts between nomads who sought to expand their grazing lands and villagers struggling to extend cultivation were inevitable and that "the outcome of this conflict and the balance between pastoral and agricultural activity would, at any given period, be determined by the extent of the state's political authority over the nomadic tribes."[92] In the nineteenth century, controlling the movement of nomads and protecting local settlements and their lands were the particularly important and delicate mission of the kaymakam. Facing numerous complaints in the 1840s, the central state tried to prevent these kinds of problems by sending representatives to supervise the passage of tribes through villagers' lands, but the regular reiteration of similar complaints shows the difficulty of managing

88 "КП 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, КП205: A. Athanaaşoglou, H. Pashalidis, P. Ignatiadis.

89 "КП 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, КП300: P.& S. Papadopoulos.

90 Regarding notions of nomadism, semi-nomadism, and transhumance applied to the Anatolian case, see Usta and Özel, "Sedentarization of the Turcomans" (2011), 155-57.

91 Regarding the north-south difference in terms of nomadic presence in Cappadocia after the sixteenth century, see Chapter 3.2.

92 İslamoğlu-İnan, *State and Peasant* (1994), 143.

the conflicts between settled and nomadic livestock farmers.[93] Villages in the region of Niğde regularly protested against the damage caused by nomadic tribes to their fields, and solutions proposed by state agents were only answering temporarly, case-by-case basis. Following one complaint in 1846, the local assembly of Çamardı tried to prevent the problems caused by the *Karahacılı* tribes that had previously damaged the arable lands of the Muslim village of Dündarlı, in the area of Niğde. Over the ensuing years, complaints of villagers against nomadic groups continued to be brought before local agents. In 1859 and 1860, on two occasions a few months apart, the central state ordered the arrest of members of the *Cebel-i Kozan* tribe that had attacked villages and merchants moving through the area of Çamardı on the road between Kayseri and Niğde.[94] To remedy this enduring problem, the administration developed a new system of control in 1861. Forecasting the imminent passage of the Cebel-i Kozan tribe through the *sancak* of Niğde and recalling the damage they had caused in previous years to the fields of peasants and the goods of merchants, the state sent an order to its local administration to avoid problems. According to this disposition, tribal chiefs would be warned by local representatives and, if necessary, their passage in the region would be supervised by a state agent charged with the maintenance of public order and the protection of local and traveling populations during the tribes' passage.[95]

Despite the annoyance they caused to villagers, throughout the year, nomadic tribes and settled villagers had also economic relations. Tribes generally made a living selling dairy products and manure (to villagers who had few animals), and they bought agricultural and manufactured products to the villages and towns.[96]

93 For instance, BOA, A.MKT 57/66 (1262-Z-29/18.12.1846); BOA, MVL.711/118 (1282-S-29/22.07.1865)

94 BOA, A.MKT.UM 368/16 (1276-S-28/26.09.1859); BOA, A.MKT.UM 397/37 (1276-B-28/20.02.1860)

95 BOA, A.MKT.UM 491/38 (1278-S-07/14.08.1861)

96 Regarding economic relations between villages and nomadic tribes, see Chapter 8.2.

§ 7.2 Conflicts and Compromises over Land and Natural Resources

From the provincial perspective, the reforms launched between 1839 and 1871 (especially the Land Code of 1858 and the second Vilayet Regulations of 1871) and complementary regulations and adjustments certainly had practical repercussions on the way land and natural resources were used.[97] The reorganization of the provincial and local administrations of justice was a next step in the supervision and control over relations between individuals and, a fortiori, between communities and collectivities. Non-Muslims had their own courts they could use for internal, civil issues.[98] Ottoman justice was generally reorganized into two courts: traditional kadı courts and the so-called "mixed courts" (*nizamiye mahkemeleri)* which initially supervised commercial and criminal affairs and later also civil affairs involving persons of different communities. From 1864, the *nizamiye* or secular courts were established to preside over civil and criminal cases involving Muslim as well as non-Muslim Ottoman subjects. Nonetheless, the creation of these new courts did not supplant the local kadıs who, despite the official reassingment of most of their administrative tasks to other local administrators, continued to be active as judges until 1924 and to look after the affairs of the local population, including non-Muslims. In 1875, the *Adalet Fermanı* established that affairs between Muslims and Christians (or other non-Muslims) or between individuals belonging to different non-Muslim communities had to be handled by *nizamiye* courts.[99]

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97 Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire* (1963), 28, 44. Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli* (2000), 63-66.

98 Ozil, *Orthodox Christians* (2013), 88, 97.

99 "Düstur" (1877), 24. Regarding the *nizamiye* courts, see Rubin, *Ottoman Nizamiye* (2011). Sedat Bingöl, *Tanzimat devrinde Osmanlı'da yargı reformu: Nizamiye mahkemelerinin kuruluşu ve işleyişi 1840-1876* [The Judicial Reform during the Tanzimat Era: Foundation and Functioning of the Nizamiye courts 1840-1876] (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi, 2004). Yücel Terzibaşoğlu, "The Ottoman Agrarian Question and the Making of Property and Crime in the Nineteenth Century," in *Ottoman Rural Economies and Societies*, ed. E. Kolovos) (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2015).

Reforms neither systematically provided new judicial mechanisms nor clearly (re)assigned responsibilities and administrative tasks to the new courts, opening the way for a pluralist judicial system subject to the superimposition of different legal authorities.[100] From 1869, individuals theoretically had the choice between the traditional kadı and the new nizamiye courts to resolve personal litigations – with the exception of family, inheritance, vakıf, and offenses against individuals, which continued to be treated solely by the kadı court.[101] Moreover, stemming from the declaration of the equality of all subjects, non-Muslims had the same "value" as witnesses as Muslims before tribunals. Kadı courts were, in a way, the remnants of the classical Ottoman period, while the nizamiye symbolized the modern, centralized, and westernized judicial administration.[102] For historians working on judicial and social issues in the late Ottoman Empire, the kadı registers continue to be one of their main sources; nizamiye courts appear in studies more scarcely because of the difficulty of accessing their records. This period of legal reforms, albeit maintaining a basis in the Islamic legal tradition, has traditionally been interpreted by historians as the result of a wish to modernize, which is to say, to westernize and secularize. However, recent works focusing on local application of the reforms have developed the idea of a legal pluralism or hybridity of systems in which old and new systems are superimposed and also variations emerge according to local situations and conditions. In this context, it is important to understand how and why local populations, when they needed to resolve judicial affairs, decided where to go or if they were led to one court or another. The ways of using land and sharoing natural resources serve as case studies.

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100 Hamiyet Sezer Feyzioğlu and Selda Kılıç, "Tanzimat Arifesinde Kadılık-Naiplik Kurumu," *DTCF Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 24, no.38 (2005); Rubin, *Ottoman Nizamiye* (2011), 3-5; Buğra Ekrem Ekinci, *Osmanlı Mahkemeleri* (Istanbul: Arı Sanat, 2004); Musa Çadırcı, "Tanzimat'ın İlanı Sırasında Kadılık Kurumu ve 1838 Tarihli Tarik-i İlmiyye'ye Dair Ceza Kanunnamesi" [Regarding the Kadilik Institution at the Time of the Tanzimat Declaration and the Penal Regulation of 1838 concerning the *Tarik-i İlmiyye*], *DTCF Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 14, no.25 (1982).

101 Osman Kaşıkçı, *İslâm ve Osmanlı Hukukunda Mecelle: Hazırlanışı, Hükümlerinin Tahlili, Tadil ve Tamamlama Çalışmaları* (Istanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1997), 45.

102 Rubin, *Ottoman Nizamiye* (2011).

7.2.1 *Inter-Village or Intercommunal Conflicts about Access to Natural Resources*

Intercommunal and inter-village relations are issues that appear in Ottoman archives in the form of litigation and conflicts that were presented before tribunals and administrative offices. Most cases we found concerned land and property rights. We already approached the subject of conflicts linked to territory in the case of the pastureland. While often used by the shepherds of surrounding villages in the framework of a tacit agreement, pasturelands were part of the village commons and could be the cause of inter-village conflict in cases of abusive or unauthorized use by shepherds working on behalf of another village. While issues over pastures did not result in much litigation, access to fresh water – a vital but rare resource in Cappadocia – frequently caused discord between villages. Access to safe water sources was an issue of survival. Consequently, when a village at the upper part of a waterway used too much of the water, downstream villages did not have enough water for their agriculture and everyday use. Agreements about water distribution generally allowed each village access to fresh water, in accordance the demographic size of the village and the extent of its arable lands. Among given villages (generally no more than three) the use of the water of a river was organized according to a distribution cycle. For instance, each week, the first village was authorized to use the river's water for two days, the second village for two days and the third for three days because it had a larger population or because it needed to irrigat more land. On the Damsa stream, the source of which is near to the village of Sövese and which flows north into the Kızılırmak, the upstream villages – mainly Sövese, Damsa, Cemil, and Sinasos – had organized the watering of their farmland according to a rotation system. In the 1900s, irrigation took place in each village every two weeks under the supervision of guards appointed by each community.[103] According to informants from Sinasos, no problems or conflicts concerning the sharing of water occurred. Similarly, in the 1890s, for instance, the villagers of Zincidere

103 Stamatopoulos, "Everyday Life in Sinasos" (1985), 54.

in the region of Kayseri could use water of the closest stream to water their gardens each Saturday and Sunday.[104]

Water supply was a thorny issue particularly for villages on the plain of Malakopi, from Andaval in the south to Sylata and Eneği in the north. The plain wa particularly dry. The traveler Ainsworth, who crossed it in 1839, described the difficult climatic and natural conditions experienced by the village of Malakopi as followed:

> Mar Yakub, commonly called Malakob, is subject to great inconvenience in summer, being built upon a plain of volcanic sand, which is drifted about the slightest breeze. In order to protect their cattle and fodder, the inhabitants have paved circular spaces in front of their houses. There is also no running stream on the plain and water is obtained only by considerable labour from deep wells, and these are surrounded by stone reservoirs, each family claiming its own, so that the labour of drawing may only be undergone in the cool hours of morning and evening.[105]

Scarcity of water made the water supply particularly precious for villages of this part of Cappadocia during summer. The OTA informants coming from this area regularly related the lack of surface water and the absence of greenery, while community codices from the villages regularly contained decisions about creating and maintaining systems of water collection and storage for daily consumption.[106] In the mixed settlement of Sylata, for instance, the Muslim and Christian communities entered into an agreement in the 1860s for the construction of an aqueduct financed by the Christian and Muslim communities, who contributed 6000 piasters and 2000 piasters, respectively, in proportion to the demographic ratio of both communities at that time. The imperial decree ratifying this agreement and recorded in the parish register also mentions the fact that, in case of the estimated budget is surpassed, both

104 Kalfoglou, *Ζιντζίντερε καργεσινδέ* (1898), 48.

105 Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839), 205.

106 "ΚΠ 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s; "ΚΠ 237-240 Matala," 1950s; "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s; "ΚΠ 204-206 Andaval," 1950s; "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s; "ΚΠ 295-297 Tsarikli," 1950; "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s.

communities would add money, in the same proportion, to finalize the project. The project was assigned to an engineer of Sinasos, Thrasyvoulos Rizos, and another contract was signed several years later with Symeon Zafiroglou for the further maintenance of the water supply network.[107] The last register of Sylata includes a particularly detailed description of the village's water supply networks. Written in 1925, just to say after the exchange of populations, and entitled "For future generations," it explains how the people of Sylata had tried to resolve this water issue individually, communally, and collectively.

> There was no water and the unfortunate inhabitants [of Sylata] suffered from lack of water. Sometimes, they had to walk an hour and a half in order to bring water back. […] There were, in the village, twenty-two communal tanks and one large reservoir with thirty-two pillars in the place called *Kızıl Toprak*, seven small cisterns, and seven *mahzens* [underground cisterns] in the place called *Irgiaka*, six cisterns in *Kara Sarnitsia*, and up to thirty-five private tanks in wealthy households in which rainwater was collected. Locals collected rainwater in these private cisterns and also icy snowmelt that dripped on the slopes of the hills *Monastır bucağı* and *Kalogeros bayiri*. With these cisterns, at the time of the harvest, they could quench their thirst. There were also eleven wells. Outside the village, there were two wells, one which was called *Uzun kuyu* because of its depth. Twenty minutes away, there were two drinking water wells. […] A spring was located north of them. In 1889, a large drilling initiative to divert the water from this spring to Sylata was undertaken. An excavation near the village and called "lake" the locals was used to give water to the herds, and another network, built by the engineer Th. Rizos from Sinasos (who was un-

107 "Codex 17/32 Sylata (Zile) (1855-1875)" 29, 104-23.

> fortunately hanged by the Kemalists in Ikonium) to supply households. This water question was formerly a famous and delicate issue, for which more than 230 gold lira had been spent in vain.[108]

After the establishment of this network in 1889 and 1890, the water supply apparently continued to be a problem. In 1915, the inhabitants of Sylata requested the right from the public administration to divert a stream to solve a water deficiency. It was decided that the Ministry of Public Works (*Nafia Nezareti*) would not assume the fees and that the supervision of the work would be conferred to vilayet administrators.[109]

Agreements such as those made in the areas of Zincidere, Sinasos, and the village of Sylata certainly existed in the eighteenth century and before. However, they did not necessarily solve problems in the long run because villages often disagreed about the sharing and tried to monopolize water on days when they normally should not have been using it.[110] Especially during dry years, irrigation issues were the frequent cause of inter-village conflict but seemed not to cause any particular intercommunal tensions within mixed settlements. Water supply was an issue which concerned the collectivity as a whole. Supervised by the public administration, agreements and conflicts were managed at the nahiye level (and never in kadı courts), and when solutions were not found locally, the issue could come before the vilayet or even central administrators. After visiting the village of Bor in 1837, Hamilton narrated how the surroundings had suffered from the passage of nomadic tribes combined with the diversion of a river by a neighboring village:

> Before reaching Bor, we passed through what were once well-cultivated gardens and vineyards, but now deserted and neglected. My companion explained the cause of this change, by stating that some twenty years ago, when they were rich and flourishing, the country was

108 "Codex 18/419 Sylata (Zile) (1874-1925)," in community registers and codices of parishes, (Athens: CAMS), 304. Quoted entirely (in French translation) in Balta, *Beyond the Language Frontier* (2010) 39-47.

109 BOA, DH.UMVM 73/31 (1333-B-18/02.06.1915)

110 For instance, a claim was registered in 1759 among the villages of Kinik, Ortaköy, and Aligölü, in the region of Nevşehir. BOA, C.IKTS.34/1700 (1173-Ra-29/21.11.1759)

> attacked by Choppan Ogly, in one of his predatory excursions, when the gardens and the villages to which they belonged, were plundered and destroyed. Afterwards, the inhabitants of another village higher up the mountains turned off the stream of water, which flowed through them, to irrigate their own grounds, and since that time, the vineyards have been quite abandoned.[111]

Other examples of problems linked to access to water in the region of Niğde can be followed in the archives of the late 1840s, which illustrate how conflicts were managed. In 1846, the villages of Semendire and Keçiağaç brought a complaint against the upstream village of Uluağaç, which they accused of monopolizing access to river's water.[112] At the time, the three villages were inhabited mainly by Christians; Keçiağaç was host to a Turcophone community, while the villagers of Semendire and Uluağaç were Hellenophone. Similarly, in 1847, the Christian village of Andaval filed a similar complaint against the villagers of Amos who they accused of having diverted the course of a river that the village of Andaval used for everyday needs. The conflict lasted several months, and after an investigation, the Assembly of Konya decided on a new framework for sharing the water supply: using a system of canals and dams, the water of the Pınarbaşı River would flow to Andaval for five days and five nights and to Amos for two days and two nights. Two months after the decision, the troubles were still continuing, and one month later, the villagers of Amos sent a new petition claiming that implemented water sharing was unfair. They requested a return to the former system of water distribution.[113] The problem came to an end with the desertion of Amos by its last inhabitants in the ensuing years, the appropriation of its vineyards and land by Andavaliotes, and the sharing of local pasturelands among the Christians of Andaval and Muslims of Güllüce.[114] Because water supply was a

111 Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, II (1842), 299.

112 BOA, A.DVN 15/17 (1262-Ra-19/1846-03-17)

113 BOA, A.DVN 24/100 (1263-Ca-4/21.04.1847); BOA, C.DH 157/7820 (1265-M-04/01.12.1848); BOA, A.MKT 173/44 (1265-Ra-15/10.02.1848); BOA, A.DVN 45/11 (1265-R-11/07.03.1849).

114 Regarding the re-appropriation of the land of Amos, "ΚΠ 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, ΚΠ205: P. Agnatiadis, H. Paschalidis; "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ235: G. Papazoglou.

central issue of everyday life and for agricultural activitiy, it was one of the only reasons for inter-village conflict that can be unearthed throughout different archives: Ottoman administrative archives, parish and community registers, the OTA, and nineteenth-century publications concerning modern Cappadocia.[115]

7.2.2 *Purchase, Usurpation, Donation, and Inheritance: When Property Right Were Not Consensual*

With the Tanzimat reforms, the old system of differentiation and Muslim legal superiority formally disappeared. Equality of status meant equality before the law. However, the maintenance of the autonomy of the *millet*s for their internal organization was an initial limit to this theoretical equality. In matters of justice, this autonomy was not absolute, since non-Muslim individuals could depend on their own millet and apply to the kadı or the nizamiye courts. The kadı and nizamiye courts were actually the only tribunals officially sanctioned to preside over civil and criminal cases involving both Muslims and non-Muslims. However, the intervention of the kaymakam or the vali in judicial decisions was common practice, even if the separation of powers was endorsed as an ideal by the Ministry of Justice.[116] When provincial and local administrations did not succeed in resolving a case or when disputes were with local officials, the affairs could end up in the offices of the central administration in Istanbul.[117] In fact, the sharing of remits among these various courts and administrations remained uncodified. For instance, despite the creation of the nizamiye courts which took charge of secular issues, a large part of the sultan's subjects continued to go to the kadı to resolve litigation in matters of real estate. Moreover, it was common to see non-Muslims choose

115 The following travelogues systematically describe the topography and water supply conditions in the whole of Cappadocia: Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor* (1818); Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839); Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, II (1842); Texier, *Asie mineure* (1863); Sterrett, "Troglodyte dwellings" (1900).

116 Regarding the role of the vali in judicial decisions, see Rubin, *Ottoman Nizamiye* (2011), 39-62.

117 Amy Singer, *Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

to go before the kadı rather than demand justice within their own millet. As Quataert mentioned:

> Non-Muslims routinely sought out Muslim courts when they were under no obligation to do so. Once they appeared before the Islamic court, its decisions took precedence. They often appealed to Muslim courts to gain access to the provisions of Islamic inheritance laws, which absolutely guaranteed certain shares of estates to relatives – daughters, fathers, uncles, sisters. Thus, persons who feared disinheritance or a smaller share in the will of a Christian or Jew placed themselves under Islamic law. Christian widows frequently registered in the Islamic courts because these provided a greater share to the wife of a deceased than did ecclesiastical law. Or take the case of a dhimmi girl being forced into arranged marriages by fellows. Since Islamic law required the female's consent to the marriage contract, the young woman in question could go to the Muslim court that took her side, thus preventing the unwanted arranged marriage.[118]

Similarly Ozil noted:

> Both the Ottoman and the Orthodox Christian legal frameworks could be used for the same case or the same contract. In other words, communal registration did not rule out Ottoman registration and in fact, the latter, being an official record with wider applicability and guarantees outside the commune reinforced the former.[119]

The situations exposed by Quataert and Ozil imply that ordinary people, including young women, were aware of – or at least informed of – the legal opportunities to which they could appeal.

In this legal context, issues concerning property right were one of the main topics systematically encountered in all kinds of historical sources. Deeds of sale, donations, litigious issues such as the usurping of land or real estate and disagreements about inheritances were frequently broached before the courts. Litigation concerning land occurred not only between natural persons but

118 Quataert, *Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (2005), 176.

119 Ozil, *Orthodox Christians* (2013), 88.

between groups of individuals and sometimes between whole communities. The OTA informants regularly mentioned the property issues experienced by emigrants whose lands and houses were often seized by neighbors or outsiders who settled in their houses or took the stone to construct of their own homes. Testimonies remained discreet on this issue, however, and we need to look to the BOA documents – among which complaints and decisions concerning property issues are numerous – for more details.

Cases between natural persons most often consisted of conflicts between members of the same religious community and rarely between Christian and Muslim individuals. Within Rum communities, deeds of purchase, inheritances, and donations were registered in parish registers. For Muslims, as well as for Christians who applied directly to the Islamic court, the kadı had a similar notarial role. Most discord evident in these different archives involved mainly relatives – fathers and sons, brothers and sisters, cousins and uncles – but also, when the problem concerned adjacent properties, neighbors. Consequently, affairs that brought people from different religions into conflict were rare but not nonexistent.

Between relatives, the most frequent problems concerned inheritance. In 1847, in the Muslim village of Uçhisar, an *arzuhal* (petition) was prepared by Bozoğlu Mustafa who claimed that real estate he had inherited from his father had been usurped by his uncle, Ali.[120] The petition file does not contain the resolution to this complaint, but because there is no reiteration of the complaint, one can suppose that the issue was resolved. By contrast, three different cases occurring in 1849 in three settlements of Cappadocia (Nevşehir, Delmason, and Nar) give an idea of how these kinds of affairs could persist. In Nevşehir, after the death of their father, Pavlos and his brother Anastasios proposed to either purchase the share of their third brother, Yovan, who lived in Istanbul or to send him his deed of ownership. Two months later, a new document stated that the lands of their father would be granted to Anastasios and Pavlos, but eight months after that, Yovan accused them of trying to sell inherited lands without his consent.[121] The second affair concerned real estate

120 BOA, A.DVN 32/42 (1263-Z-30/10.12.1847).

121 BOA, HR.MKT 29/53 (1266-S-16/1849-01-01); BOA, HR.MKT 24/69 (1265-Ca-01/25.03.1849); BOA, A.MKT 229/14 (1265-Z-21/07.11.1849).

located in the village of Nar. In 1849, a man called Mehmed from Nevşehir purchased a house in the *Orta Mahalle* of Nar, four kilometers north of Nevşehir. But just after he became owner of the house, his sister Ayşe settled in without his permission. Mehmed consequently sent a petition which was redirected to the müdür of Nevşehir one week later demanding the expulsion of his sister. The third affair broke out in Delmason in 1849. Two brothers, Dimitri and Hristos sent a complaint to the kaymakam of Niğde accusing their father Kyriakos of having sold his house and garden to his son-in-law and consequently having done them an injustice. A few months later, the same plaintiffs sent a new petition to the Vali of Niğde asking that a mandate be prepared against those who had seized lands they had purchased from their father.[122] It is difficult to say if this second petition concerned the same estate. However, the reappearance of same plaintiffs with a similar accusation against their own relatives shows that most persistent property issues happened within families. A similar issue occurred in 1856 in Nevşehir where the house of a Rum was occupied by his daughter-in-law while his son (her husband) had emigrated. Apparently, the young woman refused to share the house with her father-in-law.[123] The last examples show that, while such discord generally occurred at the moment of sharing an inheritance, it could also be subsequent to simple purchases or just the result of a bad deal between relatives.

Conflicts about property rights of course not only happened within families. Neighbors or people from outside were also regularly accused of illegally occupying a house or using land. Confusion – even mayhem – of this kind about ownership rights are frequent topics in the archives of the 1840-1850s. A complex case happened in the village of Dengi (in the kaza of Çamardı), which was closed only after four different requests and four months of investigation. On April 1, 1849, an *arzuhal* was sent to the Vali of Konya to launch an investigation about the real owner of a house. At the time, three persons claimed the right to the property: Petros, Serafeim, and Haralambos. Petros, living in the kaza of Bafra, had actually sold the house to Serafeim with the help of an intermediary in Istanbul, but a disagreement during the purchase caused confusion. As a result, a document was sent two months later

122 BOA, A.MKT 235/6 (1265-Z-28/13.11.1849); BOA, A.DVN 63/6 (1266-Za-28/04.10.1850).

123 BOA, A.DVN 118/47 (1273-Ra-19/20.11.1856).

by the Vali of Konya to remedy the situation and put the record straight. After further investigation, it appeared that the official deed of sale – realized in the presence of Petros' representative – had been lost or stolen, and consequently nobody really knew who officially owned the house. Petros therefore asked in a new *arzuhal* to be issued a new deed. Finally, the file was closed on July 20, 1849 by the Vali of Konya with the purchase of the house of Petros by Serafeim being made official.[124] Another case occurred in Delmason between two Rums of the village who applied to the kadı of Niğde regarding a disagreement about the rights to arable land. The affair was adjudicated in favor of one of the plaintiffs who received an official deed.[125] In the last example dated October 1883, two brothers of Niğde who had inherited a house and arable lands from their father were able to prove their right by a *fetva*, accusing local *sipahis* who owned adjacent lands to have infringed upon their real estate.[126]

These cases have little to do with everyday intercommunal relations, but are representative of the most frequent affairs evident in the archives. Most disagreements recorded in kadı registers and central archives concerned individuals or institutions belonging to the same religious community. However, a few cases of intercommunal conflicts can be found in the central archives and allow us to confirm that issues concerning real estate ownership, transactions, and disagreements between members of different religious communities occurred – especially when related to arable land, orchards, and vineyards rather than houses. Complaints were brought by Muslims as well as by Christians. For instance, in 1844, Yovan, a Rum of Nevşehir, requested state intervention against Ali, one of his Muslim neighbors who had tried to appropriate his land; the plaintiff received a *buyuruldu* (sultanic order) confirming his ownership.[127] In 1845, the *kolağası* (lieutenant commander) Ömer petitioned the Vali of Konya to take control of an investigation led by the Assembly of Ürgüp concerning an affair of ownership between a Rum

124 BOA, A.MKT.DV 13/40 (1265-Ca-26/01.04.1849); BOA, A.MKT.DV 14/62 (1265-B-08/03.05.1849); BOA, A.DVN 48/49 (1265-Ş-17/07.07.1849); BOA, A.MKT.DV 16/85 (1265-N-01/20.07.1849).

125 BOA, A.DVN 4/100 (1260-Ca-01/15.06.1844).

126 BOA, C.ADL 1/71 (1300-Z-29/30.10.1883).

127 BOA, A.DVN 5/18 (1260-Ca-11/28.05.1844).

called Keşkeşoglou and himself.[128] In 1849, on a similar issue, the Vali of Konya published a decision in favor of Lefter, a Rum of Nevşehir, after the latter complained that his house had been usurped by Hacı Abdullah and his garden by another Muslim called Salih.[129] In 1850, a decision was published about land belonging to a Muslim woman called Emine of the village of Fertek which had been appropriated by Dimitri, who also lived in Fertek. The decision confirmed Emine as the owner of the land.[130] Although these cases appear in fragments in archives, they suggest a common pattern: in affairs concerning land usurpation, decisions taken by the kadı or representatives of the state were generally in favor of owners whenever the latter was able to prove their right to the property through the presentation of an official document.

When the affair concerned co-owners (*ortak*), decisions were more delicate.[131] Situations vary. Co-owners were generally from the same village, but did not necessarily belong to the same religious community; they could also inhabit different quarters, neighboring villages or lived as migrants. In their testimonies, the OTA informants clearly distinguished between partnership and tenant farming. For instance, an informant from Germir, Herakleia Bostanizolgou, explained that her husband and a Muslim associate with whom he worked for more than twenty years owned a land in the area of Horsana, near Kayseri together. But he also possessed tenant farming land in the area of Talas which he rented out to Muslim villagers of the region.[132]

The variety of situations and conditions of ownership and cultivation of fields did not depend on the official status of the land but on the ways locals organized their activities. If the owner (or one of the owners) was a migrant, land cultivation was handed over to a local partner or the land was rented for tenant farming and crops were shared between the owners and tenant farmers. The absence of a land owner was a usual situation, either because the latter

128 BOA, A.DVN 9/70 (1260-Z-29/01.01.1845).

129 BOA, A.MKT 234/94 (1265-Z-27/13.10.1849).

130 BOA, A.MKT.UM 7/98 (1266-Ra-26/08.02.1850).

131 *Ortaklık* differs from tenant farming. In the former, the partners (*ortak)* are all official owners of the plot; in the case of tenant farming, the owner employs one or several peasants to cultivate his land in exchange of a part of the crop.

132 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ86: H. Bostanizoglou.

was involved in other activities or because they lived too far away to supervise the use of their lands. This absence often led to disputes that were presented before local, regional, or central tribunals. In 1867, for instance, two Muslims from Fertek – Hasan and Mustafa – both servants of the Imperial Palace, complained about the usurpation of orchards they owned in their village by several Rums. Their complaint was lodged at the end of August and a decision in their favor was signed in mid-September, driving the squatters out of the orchards.[133] A similar conflict happened in Delmason in 1860 between two Rums who co-owned a vineyard and who accused a third of trying to seize their property. The decision of the tribunal, similar to the previous case, was in favor of the plaintiffs.[134] Another example concerned an affair in 1846 between two co-owners of a garden in the village of Eldas in the region of Ürgüp. In terms of intercommunal conflicts, this case is particularly interesting because the co-owners, Mehmed and Haralambos, belonged to different religious communities. They owned a garden as partners but decided to put an end to their partnership and divide their garden into two separate properties. However, because they did not agree on the borders of their divided property, they appealed to the state administration to establish official boundaries between them.[135]

Most property conflicts we found documented in state archives dated to the years 1840-1870. Later, the number of available complaints substantially decreased. Is this only the consequence of partially-cataloged archival materials or can we link this decrease to the new system of local administration that was progressively implemented throughout provinces after the adoption of Land Code of 1858 and of Provincial Regulations of 1864 and 1871? Donald Quataert noted:

> [T]he Land Law of 1858 certainly affected rural stability but in ways we do not yet understand fully because the actual impact of the law on landholding itself is unclear and the subject of much controversy. The prevailing view has been that it primarily benefited the notables who

133 BOA, MVL 542/97 (1284-R-23/27.08.1867); BOA, MVL 541/44 (1284-Ca-20/18.09.1867).

134 BOA, A.MKT.DV 160/70 (1276-Ca-20/06.06.1860).

135 BOA, A.DVN 10/94 (1260-Z-29/01.01.1846).

> formed large estates, but this consensus probably is incorrect. […] But [it also] legalized and solidified small cultivators' claims to lands that they had been cultivating.[136]

In Cappadocia, large domains existed, but the region cannot be considered a place of extensive fiefdoms. On the contrary, the region was mostly shared between small to medium landholders who regularly relied on local or regional state representatives to solve disagreement about ownership, usurpation, or problems such as flooding and the destruction or theft of harvests. The issues varied and documented cases after 1860 are rarer than for the period of the 1840s and 1850s. Moreover, most complaints recorded after 1860 were lodged by emigrants. This was already the case in the examples of Petros from Dengi and of Yovan from Nevşehir who, in 1849, lived as migrants in Bafra and in Istanbul, respectively. The fact that many migrants lived in Istanbul explains why their complaints are more numerous in central archives: they could apply more easily to the central administration.[137] However, we can also assume that with the increase of migration in the following decades, the number of complaints lodged by emigrants who owned real estate in their native land also increased. Because of their abstance, the immovables of migrant households were more vulnerable to attack. Starting in the late nineteenth century, many families who settled elsewhere as migrants no longer carefully supervised their Cappadocian properties, which thus became more susceptible to being the targets of relatives, neighbors, and outsiders. The relative importance of emigrants' complaints and the implicitly few number of complaints lodged by individuals remaining in situ can also be considered an effective consequence of legal codification. With the general confirmation of property deeds, disagreements about property rights obviously decreased.

The stereotypical picture is that of a – mostly male and Rum – plaintiff living as a migrant, often in Istanbul, claiming to be the victim of a fake deed of sale, of the occupation of his property, or of the usurpation of land he owned

136 Donald Quataert, "Rural Unrest in the Ottoman Empire 1830-1913," in *Workers, Peasants, and Economic Change in the Ottoman Empire, 1730-1914* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1993), 32.

137 We assume that after the 1860s, most affairs between locals were also solved locally and consequently would not end up before the central administration.

or had just inherited. For instance, in 1860, an incident of a house being usurped occurred in Nevşehir. A Rum migrant living in Istanbul, Yovan Ligoroğlu, lodged a complaint against Hacı Yovan and Eftad, whom he accused of occupying his house in Nevşehir. Both of the accused were called to appear before a tribunal in Istanbul.[138] Two similar cases occurred in 1903 in the mixed village of Suvermez. In one, the Muslim Hüseyin Imamoğlu, who lived in Istanbul, initiated a complaint against Derviş Hatiboğlu, another Muslim inhabitant of the village whom he accused of land usurpation. In the other, which occurred a few months later within the Christian community of the village, a similar charge was laid against the Rum Hristos Doğanoğlu by his co-religionist, Todoros Çaykinoğlu, a merchant who lived and worked in Istanbul but owned real estate in Suvermez.[139] In some villages, just as in Suvermez, emigration became a so commonplace by the turn of the twentieth century that we can suppose that cases adjudicated by tribunals were but part of all the cases of illegal land and house appropriations. Most migrants, if they were not landless, owned only a house and small plots when they left their villages. These remained an economic safety in case of difficulties in the host city. Migrants maintained a patriotic attachment to their homeland, and owning real estate in their villages was often their last link to it.

Kadı registers confirm the general trend of a decline in cases concerning property rights. Among around 850 cases brought before the Kadı of Niğde between 1882 and 1912, only sixteen concerned property litigation, among which twelve occurred between Muslims and four between Christians. In most cases, they were between relatives or neighbors. The topic of global property also appears in 382 declarations of inheritance (*veraset i'lamı*; among which fifty-three work by) and in a significant number of the 265 declarations of power of attorney (*vekalet hücceti*). In the face of the risk of property usurpation by neighbors or relatives (often after a death and in the context of inheritance), some inhabitants – but mostly emigrants – would chose an official representative (*vekil*) to look after their administrative and judicial affairs in their absence. In the *şeriye sicil*s of Niğde, of a sample 265 powers of

138 BOA, A.MKT.UM 396/97 (1276-B-26/18.02.1860); BOA, A.MKT.UM 419/98 (1277-M-24/11.08.1860); BOA, A.MKT.UM 441/36 (1277-Ca-27/10.12.1860).

139 BOA, DH.MKT 631/35 (1320-L-12/10.01.1903); BOA, DH.MKT 772/34 (1321-B-11/02.10.1903).

attorney registered between 1882 and 1912 (for the population of the town and also of the villages within the kaza territory), ninety-five were given by Muslims and 170 by Christians. Among the latter, a large majority of these proxies were authorized by emigrants who, because they left the region for long periods, were not able to manage their local affairs on their own.

One can easily understand why Rums and especially emigrants appealed to the kadı for power of attorney. If, during their absence, a problem arose about their properties – especially if the issue was with a non-Christian – a *vekalet* notarized by a kadı was more useful than an equivalent document given by the local parish. Most Rum migrants gave their power of attorney to another Rum, but a dozen of cases show that some granted it to a Muslim neighbor or partner.[140] On the other hand, the large majority of *vekil*s chosen by Muslims were actually Rums. In the kadı register of 1911, for instance, the lawyers (*vükela-yi deâ'viden)* Minas Papazoğlu andKyriakos Ağnioğlu were regularly appointed as *vekil* by Rums as well as by Muslims and Armenians. Both men lived in mahalles of the town of Niğde but were designated as *vekil*s by people living in the surrounding mixed villages like Fertek, Delmason, and Uluağaç. The cases of Delmason and Uluağaç are particularly interesting

140 Ali Bilgen, "11 Numaralı Niğde Şer'iyye Sicili H.1299-1301 (Transkripsyon)" (Van: Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi, Unpublished MA Thesis, 2003); Sahir Demirbaş, "15 Numaralı Niğde Şer'iyye Sicil Defterine Göre Sosyal, İdari, Dini, Hukuki ve Kültürel Açıdan Niğde. H. 1328 (M.1911), 166-216. Sayfalar arası" (Niğde: Niğde Üniversitesi, Unpublished MA Thesis, 2003); Alparslan Ermiş, "9. Niğde Şer`iyye Sicil Defteri Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme (185-233 sayfalar) (H.1308/M.1891)" (Niğde: Niğde Üniversitesi, Unpublished MA Thesis, 2001); Soner Gülseven, "4 No'lu Niğde Şer'iyye Sicili H.1311–1313 (Transkripsiyon)" (Van: Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi, Unpublished MA Thesis, 2006); Azmi Gündal, "10 Numaralı Niğde Şer'iyye Sicili H.1318-1324 (Transkripsiyon)" (Ibid., 2006); Alpaslan Kılıç, "4 No'lu Niğde Şer'iyye Sicili H.1313–1316 (Transkripsiyon)" (Ibid., 2007); Selim Kızgın, "8 numaralı Niğde Şer'iyye Sicili (Transkripsiyon)" (Ibid., 2008); Tekin Tuncer, "9 Numaralı Niğde Şer'iyye Sicili H.1326-31 (Transkripsiyon)" (Ibid., 2003); Eylem Yeşilova, "3 Numaralı Niğde Şer'iyye Sicili H.1314–16 (Transkripsiyon)" (Ibid., 2004); Murat Polat, "H.1301-1303 Tarihli Niğde Şer`iye Sicil Defteri ve Deftere Göre Sosyal, İdari, Dini ve Hukuki, Kültürel Açıdan Niğde" (Niğde: Niğde Üniversitesi, Unpublished MA Thesis, 1997); Birol Toyer, "9. Niğde Şer`iyye Sicil defteri Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme (235-282 sayfalar) (H.1308/M.1891)" (Ibid., 2001); Erol Yıldız, "12 Numaralı Niğde Şer`iyye Sicili Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi H.1307 (M.1890) - H.1310 (M.1893) (155-240 sayfaları arası)" (Ibid., 2001).

because their inhabitants, whether Rum or Muslim, consistently made use of the services of Papazoğlu and Ağnioğlu.[141]

On the other hand, it is surprising to note that Christians regularly went before the kadı administration to designate shares of inheritance, given that the administration of their parish was also empowered to take testaments. According to the *berat* of 1860 granted to the Rum community and clarifying the liberties granted in 1856, questions of inheritance were matters of either the millet or the kadı authorities. In practice, most testaments of Christians were recorded in parish codices, just as baptisms, marriages, and purchase deeds. Recorded testaments inventoried movable and immovable properties, there precise value, and for land their exact borders. The sale of deeds between natural persons of the community were also registered by the parish as seen in codices of Gelveri, Aï Kösten, Sylata, and Cemil.[142] In these private sales, the parish did not register the deeds for free but received a commission from both the sellers and purchasers. In Skopi, the parish banked 2 percent of the property price from the seller and 5 percent from the purchaser.[143] In this respect, it had a notarial role within the community and received, for its notarial deeds, money that was then used for the financial maintenance of the community. It could also take a more active role by selling communal lands or purchasing private land that would be entered into the list of communal immovables in this way. In Sylata, for instance, the codex of 1855-1875 includes the purchase of a property by the church from an individual of the community.[144] Local parishes also received private donations from members of the community who could donate their movable and immovable properties, or a part of them, either by way of testamentary disposition or for their lifetime. Since they were used as notarial registers, parish codices do not

141 By the 1910s, the originally Rum village of Delmason had become a mixed village with a Rum majority. Tuncer, "9 Numaralı Niğde Şer'iyye Sicili" (2003)

142 "Codex 5/7 Gelveri" (1857-1871) 39 & 59; "Codex 1/2 Aï Kösten (Everek) (1853-1924)," 74-85; "Codex 17/32 Sylata (Zile) (1855-1875)," 34-102; "Codex α/α 187 Cemil, Κοινότητα Τζεμήλ Ζαλέλας [Community of Cemil Tzalela] (1848-1920)," in Public Welfare (Athens: GAK).

143 "Codex 19/14 Skopi (1856-1923)," in community registers and codices of parishes (Athens: CAMS), 348.

144 "Codex 17/32 Sylata (Zile) (1855-1875)," 124.

include reports of disagreement between community members about property issues.

A main difference between parish codices and kadı registers is that the former contained copies of the testaments (declared before the death of the testator), while the latter included mostly, when it concerned Christians, inheritance issues brought before the kadı by the heirs after the testator's death. Did that mean that families went to the kadı only when they were dissatisfied with the will as recorded by their parish? Or did they choose to go to the kadı because he was considered more reliable or more advantageous than ecclesiastical authorities? Information in kadı registers and parish codices are too limited and fragmentary to answer these questions. For instance, in kadı records at our disposal, we did not encounter inheritance issues concerning a testament registered in a parish codex. Consequently, we can only suggest that Rums who went to the kadı regarding inheritances may have been heirs of someone who did not leave a testament or heirs who did not accept the validity of a will. On his study of succession practices among Sinasos and Cemil villagers, Hadziiossif noted that a shift in inheritance practices happened during the nineteenth century which was linked to new rules within the communities, such as the dowry of daughters (paid by a bride's family) and of a sum to "purchase the girl" (paid by a groom's family to the bride's family). These "new traditions," which transformed local inheritance practices from egalitarian practices (according to which all heirs, male and female, received equal parts of estate) to unequal practices (in which daughters were excluded from inheritance) came through the intermediary of migrants.[145] Hadziiossif added that this shift was also the consequence of another evolution that transcended the Rum community: with its wide-ranging reforms, the Ottoman state unified Civil Law and especially aspired to supervise all kinds of issues concerning its territory – particularly the inheritance of real estate and arable land – to submit the whole of society to a standardized, "westernized Muslim law."[146] This evolution was in opposition to the jurisdiction of the Rum *millet*. In response to this legal conflict between the state and the patriarchate, the latter tasked its own jurists with the legal

145 Hadziiossif, "Dimensions culturelles" (1998): 196.

146 Ibid., 197.

codification of Orthodox succession customs in the 1860s and 1970s. The issue was regularly a cause of crises between the Ottoman bureaucracy and the Orthodox authority (in 1868, 1874, 1880, and 1890), and each time, the state sent reminders to its local representatives about the necessity of respecting the limits of *millet-i Rum* jurisdiction.[147] However, the records of Rum inheritances in the 1911 kadı register of the kaza of Niğde shows that a double jurisdiction was still the rule for issues of succession.

In the middle of these two, overlapping jurisdictions, the Rums of Cappadocia found different strategies. Comparing the strategies of the inhabitants of Cemil and Sinasos in the 1880s through the 1910s, Hadziiossif first noted that inhabitants of Cemil confirmed their testaments with the metropolitan, an "obligatory condition imposed by the imperial authority for the acknowledgment of testament's validity."[148] In Sinasos, strategies varied according to the economic wellness of families. To guarantee local, social cohesion based on inheritance – egalitarian sharing between heirs as traditionally applied by the Orthodox Church – fictitious agreements were realized between the testator and his natural heirs. On the other hand, the unequal sharing inherent to Ottoman succession law might have been attractive to families that preferred to conserve the unity of their property in the hands of one or few heirs – excluding women (who received substantial dowries) – rather than dividing it and losing its economic value and strength.[149] Sinasiotes could thus also enjoy the benefits of Ottoman law and take advantage of the oppositional situation between the state and the church, tactically choosing one or the other jurisdiction according to their perceived benefit.

147 Ibid.; M. Karavokyros, *Le droit successoral en Turquie ab intestat et par testament codifié d'après le Chéri et le droit byzantin* (Constantinople, 1898).

148 Hadziiossif, "Dimensions culturelles" (1998): 198.

149 Ibid. According to Islamic law, women only inherit the half of the amount inherited by male heirs. However, the Code of 1858 brought a new standard according to which female and male heirs had an equal rights of succession. See Belarbi, "Mutations dans les structures foncières" (1983), 254-55.

§ 7.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, we analyze how, beyond the strict issue of real estate property, land, and resources were actually used by individuals, families, communities, and collectivities. Inter-village, intercommunal, and inter-personal relations connected to use of land and other immovables were central issues to which importance was given in the different kinds of primary sources we analyzed. Irene Dietzel, in her study on sharing traditions in land use and ownership in pre-modern Cyprus, recently showed the complex land use and ownership patterns of Ottoman Cyprus. She also argues that the sharing of natural resources created forms of cooperation and solidarity that began to disappear with the "rationalization" of land rights under the British administration from 1878.[150] Our analysis of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Cappadocia confirms, in another context, the local necessity to create and permanently reproduce cooperation between groups despite simultaneous forms of competition between individuals over land ownership and more commonly, between collectivities over natural resources, especially water.

Until the 1870s, real estate was, for most Cappadocian communities and individuals, the main object of investment and source of income. Later, as a consequence of a series of socio-economic conditions mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, new fields of wealth developed as a product of the local repercussions of emigration and of individual commercial initiatives launched by migrants in their host cities. Nevertheless, investment in land and real estate did not stop but was distributed differently among locals. The Rums, for instance, continued to own and purchase land, but began to consider them of secondary importance in terms of the revenues they produced – behind income from handicrafts, trade, and financial activities such as loan and credit offers and banking, whether practiced in thoe host city or in the native land. Nevertheless, in the early twentieth century, numerous families living in the countryside continued to make a living from farming. Furthermore, for those who succeeded as migrants, possessing real estate in their native land

150 Irene Dietzel, "Sharing Traditions of Land Use and Ownership: Considering the "Ground" for Coexistence and Conflict in Pre-Modern Cyprus," in *Post-Ottoman Coexistence: Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict*, ed. R. Bryant (Oxford: Berghahn, 2016).

continued to have a symbolical value and asserted individual and communal presence over the territory despite the absence of an important proportion of the members of the community. Emigrants invested by constructing impressive stone houses and communal buildings rather than by increasing landholdings that they could not cultivate themselves and which, in most cases, did not generate sufficiently high income.

8

Economic Networks and Professional Activities

> *Every one of the few processes in Turkey that require skilled labor is performed by a Christian. If a Turk lives in anything better built than a hut, I have always found that it is constructed by a Greek. If a Turkish village requires a fountain with its aqueduct, a Greek workman is employed to make it. […] Needless to say that almost all trade, especially carrying and retail trade, is in the hands of Christians: the muleteer is often, and the camel-driver always, Turk or Turkmen, but the owner of both of the goods and of the animals is Christian.*
>
> – William M. Ramsay (1890)[1]

In addition to real estate, professional activities also shaped economic networks and relations between individuals and between communities. The question is to what extent professional activities and economic networks strengthened or, on the other hand, weakened borders between communities in the context of the progressive integration of Anatolia in the capitalist world-

1 Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey* (1897), 22.

economy?[2] The epigraph from Ramsay is representative of a general assumption about Ottoman society, present in many classical historical works, which suggests that professional activities were organized according to an ethnoreligious division of labor.[3] However, numerous studies have challenged this idea, especially those focusing on urban environments. Rural areas have remained at the periphery of such research. Especially in a region like Cappadocia where urban development was limited, the definition of boundaries between urban and rural settlements needs to be questioned. When dealing with the notion of public space in Chapter 4, we already mentioned the sociological and political dichotomy of Max Weber between modern Western and Eastern cities. According to Weber's definition, urbanity has among its main criteria being a market settlement with politico-administrative and military centrality as welle as being a place that attracts consumers and producers. According to this defintion, the Eastern city is nothing more than a large settlement with a concentrated population and concentrated economic activities.[4] Faroqhi also noted that in the late fifteenth-

2 İslamoğlu and Keyder, supplemented by Wallerstein, have shown that in terms of the volume of trade and the commercialization of production, the incorporation of Anatolia into the world-economy only took place in the 1830s, while the Balkans had already become integrated into the European economy by the beginning of the eighteenth century, Egypt and the Levant had done the same by the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Ottoman Empire and the Capitalist World-Economy: Some Questions for Research," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 2, no.3 (1979): 398; Huri İslamoğlu and Çağdar Keyder, "Agenda for Ottoman History," Ibid. 1, no.1 (1977): 53. Focusing on the Balkans and Western Anatolia, Reşat Kasaba dated the process of incorporation to world-economy between 1750 and 1815. Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The Nineteenth Century* (1988), 18-34.

3 Among the main studies supporting this assumption, See Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean in the Ancient World*, I (London: HarperCollins, 1973), 50-51; Charles P. Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey, 1800-1914* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1966); several studies in the seminal book by Bernard Lewis and Benjamin Braude, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire* (1982), especially Robert Mantran, "Foreign Merchants and the Minorities in Istanbul during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries"; Charles P. Issawi, "The Transformation of the Economic Position of the Millets in the Nineteenth Century"; Roderic H. Davison, "The Millets as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire."

4 Weber, "The Nature of the City" (1969).

and early sixteenth-century Anatolia, "only administrative centers seem to have possessed market facilities."[5] The first part of this chapter demonstrates, however, that in the late nineteenth century some villages without specific administrative or military centrality nevertheless had market facilities. Towns in Cappadocia differentiated themselves from villages and burgs by their size; their demographical density; and their concentration of administrative, economic, and religious structures, but it is difficult to strictly demonstrate at which stage, a settlement became a town or remained a village – all the more so because there was no official statement by the Ottoman settlement hierarchy to establish clear categories (except for the administrative hierarchy – vilayet, sancak, kaza, nahiye).[6] Even the largest cities of the empire – Izmir, Salonica, and even Istanbul – had attributes of rurality (vegetable gardens, orchards, henhouses), at least as rurality was defined in Western cities of the time. However, despite these "rural attributes," no one would deny that these Ottoman centers were cities. Consequently, for largest settlements the issue of defining them as urban or rural is easily solved; for mid-sized settlements it is difficult to clearly categorize them as villages or cities. Anastassiadou, in her study of nineteenth-century Ayvalık (Kydonies), a settlement of about 20,000 inhabitants in 1889, describes this "in-between" as "fluidness between urban and rural environments." After all, a large part of the inhabitants of Ayvalık owned olive groves, horses, and cattle in the countryside surrounding the town.[7]

Cappadocia was nevertheless an exception in Anatolia because of its lack of as dense urban network (including small towns) as in other parts of Anatolia. This "urban deficiency" dated from Roman times and progressively reduced through the centuries[8]; the creation of the town of Nevşehir – or,

5 Suraiya Faroqhi, "Urban Development in Ottoman Anatolia (16.-17. Centuries)," *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi* 7, no.1 (1982): 35.

6 See Chapter 4.1.

7 Anastassiadou, "Quitter Ayvalik" (2012): §5.

8 Stephen Mitchell noted that Hellenistic Cappadocia – with its cities of Tyana, Caesarea, and Hanisa – was more developed than the neighboring regions of Galatia, Lycaonia, and Pontus, but this advantage was not maintained in the Roman period during which "most of Pontus, Paphlagonia, north Galatia, Galatian Phrygia, Lycaonia, and Psidia was divided up between

more precisely, the transformation of the village of Muşkara into the "New City" – in the time of Damat Ibrahim Paşa (1720s-30s) was certainly the apex of this local, urban development. However, in the early twentieth century, the town was still a contested economic center and remained distant from the main commercial axes of Anatolia. The only city (Kayseri) and towns (Niğde, Nevşehir, Aksaray, and to a lesser extent Prokopi, Everek, İncesu, and Bor) of the region were thus "urban" islets: Most did not have the attributes of the modern city; rather, many had the attributes of a rural settlement. These urban islets were sunk in an essentially agrarian milieu and deeply dependent on their countryside. They received vital infusions of people – immigrants or itinerant workers – and goods from surrounding villages, experiencing the rural more intensely than the urban economy. However, in a region marked by such a low rate of urbanization, the network of cities and towns – according to a hierarchy based mainly on the size, administrative position, and situation vis-à-vis main lines of communication – had a central role in economic life as doors to the outside and platforms for interregional exchange.

Administratively, a hierarchical organization structured the territories: at the top were cities that controlled a network of smaller towns or burgs which, in turn, controlled the villages at their peripheries. Faroqhi recalled, for instance, that "the circulation of craft products demonstrates the existence of these hierarchies and networks."[9] In this hierarchy, Kayseri logically held the top position despite the apparent economic decline that the city experienced throughout the nineteenth century. However, this hierarchy superimposed over the size of settlements needs nuance: complementary production and deficiencies in local production played an important role in the way economic networks were regulated. Moreover, in the daily routine of inhabitants of the countryside towns played a limited role in economic exchanges, which were more frequently organized through horizontal or inter-village schemes.

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contiguous city territories, only Cappadocia was left outside this pattern of settlement and remained largely without cities," Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor (*Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 97-98.

9 Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Fieldglass and the Magnifying Lens: Studies of Ottoman Crafts and Craftsmen," *Journal of European Economic History* 20, no.1 (1991): 47.

We propose in this chapter to analyze local schemes of production and consumption and different aspects of economic networks (professional activities, commercial exchanges, marketplaces, and connection between markets) before asking how groups (communities and collectivities) and individuals participated in economic activities as producers and consumers. The aim of this chapter is to propose an economic perspective for intercommunal relations in rural and urban contexts. To that end, we use the various archives already mentioned in previous chapters (the BOA; travelogues; Turkish, Greek, and Karamanlidika printed sources, and the OTA) to which we add the *Annuaires orientaux* of post-1900 period. We already worked, in Chapter 5, on the *Annuaires* of the 1890s to analyze the professional activities of migrants living in Istanbul.[10] Concerning the provinces, details about local towns and activities are available only from the 1900s onwards. The OTA also provides interesting perspectives on rural activities and networks that are often invisible in classical archives. They stress positive economic and commercial relations, while administrative and legal documents which are valuable for the 1890-1920s, focus on negative and contentious relations.[11] Similarly, except a few early travel accounts and reports by European agents about the central Anatolian economy,[12] most of the primary sources used in this chapter deal with the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Consequently, this chapter focuses on this later period even though short descriptions about earlier economic networks serve to contextualize the analysis.

10 See Chapter 5.1.

11 Mostly in the first part, "Geography", subcategory "Relations with other villages," the OTA informants provided information about commercial relations, the common use of private and communal structures (such as mills, ovens, and threshing floors), and the local networks of supply available to each village and/or community. The other main issue addressed concerns matrimonial strategies between Christian villages. We analyze this in the next chapter, which focuses on households, families, and religious conversions.

12 Mainly Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor* (1818); Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839); Helmuth K. von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus den Jahren 1835 bis 1839* (Berlin: Bofen und Bromberg, 1841); Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, II (1842); Henry Suter, "Report on the Trade of Kaissariah for 1842, and General Remarks on the State of the District (Foreign Office Series),"Public Record Office, 26 February 1842.

§ 8.1 Production and Consumption, Infrastructure, and Means of Transportation

The largest part of Cappadocian production and consumption was linked to agrarian activity even though Cappadocia was not homogeneous in terms of agricultural potential and had, in many areas, poor yields due to harsh natural conditions. In terms of local production, we can differentiate six sub-regions with common characteristics but also variations and specificities, not only with repsect to farming, but also to handicrafts, manufacturing, and even mining. Accordingly, the six sub-regions we describe do not correspond to administrative borders because we prefer to group entities according to their geographical situation and economic similarity.

8.1.1 *Region of Kayseri*

Located in the heart of Anatolia, Kayseri was the second-largest city of Anatolia after Bursa from the sixteenth century onwards, but compared to Konya or Malatya, remain minor as far as interregional trade was concerned. The city was far from the two main caravan roads going through Anatolia (to the south and the north) and was linked only to Sivas, the closest city located on the northern caravan route.[13] Locally, however, Kayseri had no rival in terms of size and economic weight and continued to be, up to the 1920s, the main stop for caravans crossing Cappadocia.

Nineteenth-century travel accounts presented ancient Caesarea as the main market, especially for the supply of scarce manufactured, and industrial goods; for the sale of regional products; and as a platform for the conveyance of exported and imported goods. Kinneir in the 1810s and Ainsworth in the 1830s described the centrality of Kayseri as follows:

> Nothing could exceed the filth and stench of the streets at this place. They were literally blocked up by dunghills, and no pains seemed to be taken to remove dead horses, dogs, and cats, the offals of animals

13 Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts, and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 42-43.

> butchered in the market, and stagnant pools of water, at the sight of which I was almost every instant sickened with disgust. The quantity of vegetables exposed for sale in the bazar was extraordinary; and, on inquiry, I found that there was no part of Asia Minor which surpassed the neighborhood of Caesarea for the quality and variety of its fruits.[14]

> The market [of Kaiseriyeh] is extensive and is well stocked with the usual articles of demand in these countries, including many of British manufacture. The commercial communication between this place and Smyrna is constantly kept up, and our commercial interests are now further ensured by the establishment of a Consular Agent at the same spot.[15]

A few years after Ainsworth, the British Consul, Henry Suter, noted in a report in February 1842 that the city's main exports were yellow berries, raw cotton, madder roots, gum tragacanth, aniseed, linseed, scammony, sheep and goat wool, furs, skins, and hides.[16] Writing later in the century, Cuinet announced a similar list of exports, adding that even apricot kernels were sold to confectioner of Istanbul.[17] The region mainly imported cotton and woolen textiles; copper, bronze, and other metals; rice; sugar; coffee; and tobacco; colonial and manufactured goods from France, England, and the United States; and oil from Russia which was unloaded in the ports of Mersin and Samsun and brought to Kayseri by caravan.[18]

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14 Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor* (1818), 102-03.

15 Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839), 222.

16 Suter, "Report on the Trade of Kaissariah for 1842" (26 February 1842). Reproduced in Issawi, *The Economic History* (1980), 129.

17 Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie: géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie-Mineure*, *VI: L'Anatolie centrale, Angora, Koniah, Adana, Mamouret-ul-Aziz, Sivas* (Istanbul: Isis, 2001 (1895)), 53.

18 Bedross Der Matossian, "Ottoman Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri in the Nineteenth Century," in *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia*, ed. R.G. Hovannisian (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 2013), 199; Suter, "Report on the Trade of Kaissariah for 1842, and General Remarks on the State of the District (Foreign Office Series),"26 February 1842; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, VI (2001 (1895)).

The yellow berries[19] mentioned by Suter, Bennet, and Cuinet were used as dye for yarn and were cultivated all around the Erciyes Dağ.[20] Hamilton, who wrote in the same epoch as Suter, described the process of cultivation as follows:

> The steeper sides of the [Ali Dagh] mountain presented young plantations of yellow berry, all proofs of industry and increasing consumption; for this plant, which grows wild in many parts of Asia Minor, is cultivated round Caesarea wherever the ground is available. After it is collected by the peasants, it is bought up by the Armenian merchants for about six or eight piastres the oke, and sent to Smyrna, where, when there is a demand for it in the European market, it fetches two or three time that price.[21]

As main products of export, these berries were renowned for their "quality being acknowledged far superior to that grown elsewhere"[22] but had also a very limited return.

Kayseri's countryside was not fertile enough to supply the large city situated in the foothill of the Erciyes with wheat, and imports from Yozgat and Sivas were necessary to have sufficient wheat year round. Vegetable gardens and orchards were numerous and produced goods in sufficient quantities for domestic use but were, according to the British Vice-Consul Bennet, "watery and flavourless" because of the "poor soil and irrigation" in the region.[23] Local

19 Yellow berries called *cehri* in Turkish (buckthorn or *rhamnus* in English) were cultivated in the Central Anatolian regions of Konya, Sivas, Ankara, and Kayseri, on slopes at relatively high altitudes and were used as deep yellow dye.

20 Ferdinand Bennet, "The Social, Economic and Administrative Situation in the Sanjak of Kayseri in 1880: The Report of Lieutenant Ferdinand Bennet, British Vice-Consul of Anatolia (october 1880)," *IJTS* 1-2 (1980): 112. Bennet described the landscape around Kayseri as "never-ending undulations of yellow hills, Argios alone reliev[ing] the hideous monotony of the desolate and treeless scene."

21 Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, II (1842), 263. Yellow berries were exported or used locally to make dye for carpets.

22 Suter, "Report on the Trade of Kaissariah for 1842," (26 February 1842).

23 According to Bennet, locally vegetables produced included potatoes, cabbage, vegetables marrow, onions of all sorts, cucumbers, spinach, beets, parsley, lettuce, eggplant, bamia, French

vegetables and fruits could be found and purchased in town and village markets.

To the southeast of Kayseri, villages such as Talas and Endürlük were located on hilly sites that made large-scale agriculture difficult. Production of grains, vegetables, and fruits barely met the needs of resident. In Germir, on the other hand, orchards, vegetable gardens, and fields of flax were abundant. In all these villages, handicrafts and trade were also central activities. For instance, many builders, blacksmiths, stonemasons, and carpenters lived in Zincidere. As elsewhere in Cappadocia, women were largely engaged with carpet-making. As in other areas of Cappadocia, the Christian (Rum and Armenian) communities of the villages near Kayseri were generally disengaged from farming and craft activities in favor of migrant income. In the 1900s, no more than thirty of the few hundred Rum families of Zincidere lived exclusively on farming.[24]

In terms of manufacturing, several local specialty handicrafts – especially carpet-making and processed animal products (leather and *pastırma,* i.e. beef jerky) – became major products for export. In Kayseri, these businesses were largely in the hands of Armenian families, but in other parts of Cappadocia, Rums and to a lesser extent Muslims also participated in their preparation and trade. *Pastırma* was produced throughout the region and was famous throughout Anatolia. In the area of Nevşehir, as in Kayseri, it was a large industry. Large herds of cattle were imported each year from Erzurum and processed in Cappadocia. Livestock farming was limited among Christian communities of the countryside, and families either purchased *pastırma* or purchased live animals from Muslim livestock farmers to prepare the famous pressed, highly-seasoned cured meat themselves. In the Christian village of Misti, as in many Turkish villages where livestock remained an important

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beans, broad beans, tomato, radishes, peas, pumpkin, topinambour, pickling peppers, linseed, hemp, carrots, turnips, cresses, and mangel beets. Fruits included apples, apricots, grapes, watermelons, muskmelons, pears, mulberries, plums, quince, and cherries. Almonds and walnuts were produced as well. Bennet, " Social, Economic and Administrative Situation in 1880" (1980), 112.

24 Maria Asvesti, *Επαγγελματικές ασχολίες των Ελλήνων της Καππαδοκίας* (Athens: Επικαιρότητα, 1980), 58.

activity, *pastırma* was prepared from the meat of the village's herds.[25] On an international scale, Kayseri and Cappadocia more broadly were mostly known for carpet production which, at the turn of the twentieth century, became a central industry coupling domestic looms and large factories.[26]

Among these local products, a few were exported to other Ottoman regions or outside the empire. According to Suter, the main exports in 1842 were natural dyes, grapes, dried fruits (especially apricots), and processed animal products, (mainly *pastırma* and leather). In 1880, a list of exports for the period 1875-1880 by Bennet was headed, in terms of quantity and value, by *pastırma* (360,000 okes, 21,600 £T), yellow berries (250,000 okes, 15,000 £T), tragacanth gum (70,000 okes, 16,800 £T), various kinds of wool (sheep and goat) and skins (goat, sheep, hare, fox, etc.), showing that the range of exports was similar in the first and second halves of the century, but also that income from trade and export of these products remained limited.[27]

8.1.2 *Region of Aksaray*

The sandy soils in the area of Aksaray, especially near the Tuz Gölü (Salt Lake) and the valley of Ihlara, were suitable for farming grains, mainly wheat, but barley and rye as well. Next to grains, legumes, some vegetables, and fruit trees were grown in small orchards usually near houses. Viticulture was especially practiced by the Christians of Gelveri, though their production of wine and *rakı* was limited and of poor quality. Linseed oil was an important product used in cooking but also as fuel source for oil lamps. In some places, plants were cultivated for the production of dye and as raw material used in the textile and tannery industries. Stock farming was also common throughout the region. Each Christian family generally had a few animals (cows, oxen,

25 "ΚΠ 137-138 Aï Kösten," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ138: I. Alexandridis; "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ300: P. Papadopoulos; "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ243: M. Damianoglou.

26 Lida Istikopoulou, *Η ελληνική ταπητουργία και η ταπητουργός στη Μικρά Ασία (1860-1922)* [Greek carpetmaking and carpetmaker in Asia minor] (Athens: Βιβλιοπωλείον της Εστίας, 2000), 70-72; Agop Chiknagour, *Exposition de tapis (Koniah, 19 Juin 1901)* (Constantinople: Imprimerie française, 1901).

27 Bennet, "Social, Economic and Administrative Situation in 1880" (1980), 125.

sheep, poultry) while several Muslim villages and nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes of the region owned large herds. Some part the household income was derived from arboriculture: mainly poplar for lumber production used as raw material in the field of carpentry that had developed in the areas of Aksaray and Halvadere. To the west of Aksaray, the Tuz Gölü contributed to a considerable production of salt that reached between 15,000 and 20,000 tons per year and was exploited exclusively by the Ottoman state.[28] Handicraft workshops and retail shops were numerous in Aksaray as well as in large villages of the area (especially Gelveri) where one could find shoemakers, bakers, potters, blacksmiths, cobblers, stone dressers, grocers, carriers, millers, and moneylenders. Carpets produced in a domestic context, or in the workshops and factories of Gelveri and Sivrihisar were one of the main local exports. Women (who were the main producers of carpets) also wove flannel fabrics, cloth, and socks for domestic use or trade. The small village of Kenatala had no carpet production but was heavily involved in agriculture and locally known for its production of lentils.[29]

8.1.3 *Region of Niğde*

The region of Niğde was rather fertile compared to other sandy and mountainous areas of Cappadocia. However, according to Cuinet, agriculture remained "at an absolutely rudimentary state."[30] The area was renowned for its plentiful orchards and vineyards, especially for its production of dried apricots, mastic, and grapes. Vineyards mostly belonged to Christians who

28 Pantelis Kontogiannis, *Γεωγραφία της Μικράς Ασίας* [Geography of Asia Minor] (Athens: Π. Α. Πετράκου, 1921), 166-67, 424.

29 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ27: G. Hatzatoglou.

30 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, VI (2001 (1895)), 99. Cuinet suggested several causes for this situation: "the laziness of the inhabitants, the too high proportion of the contingents required for the military service, the lack of initiative and of necessary encouragement, the lack of roads and of communication modes." Some authors of the nineteenth century, such as Ramsay (referred to in the quotation at the beginning of this chapter), maintained that this was also the cause of the almost universal division of labor between Muslim and non-Muslim people.

produced wine and *rakı*.[31] However, in many vineyards owned by Christians, Muslim workers looked after the vines and, according to a contract or a tacit agreement, kept the half of the crop or received a wage.[32] Although the region of Niğde was suitable for the cultivation of grain, large expanses remained uncultivated.[33] We can assume that because actual production met local needs and because trade beyond the local market was difficult due to transportation shortcomings, local farmers had no economic interest in extending their activities to larger plots. Nevertheless, compared to other sub-regions, Ruùs in the area of Niğde, continued being largely occupied with agriculture, as farmers or landowners, even up to the 1920s. Registers of the population exchange (1924) reproduced by Panayotopoulos show that there were 2044 Rums in Niğde working as farmers (compared with 663 in the area of Nevşehir, 604 in Kayseri, 268 in Gelveri, and 137 in Ürgüp), while there were forty-seven landowners (compared with sixteen in Nevşehir, twelve in Kayseri, and five each in Gelveri and Ürgüp.[34] Moreover, the export of dyes (produced from buckthorn and madder), cotton textiles, and printed fabric was important and as elsewhere in Cappadocia, rug manufacturing was a significant source of income. In the end of the 1910s, 100 looms employing 450 female workers (over half of which were Greek-Orthodox) functioned in Niğde and the surrounding settlements, and they exported their production throughout the Ottoman

31 Viticulture was a Christian as well as a Muslim activity. By contrast, viniculture (wine and *rakı* production) was, in theory, exclusively practiced by Christians – the production and consumption of alcohol was forbidden to Muslims. As already noted, Fertek was the main settlement of the region involved in the production of *rakı*. There were several distilleries in the village, and there production was sold locally but also exported to Mersin and from there to Istanbul. According to an OTA informant, there were even Muslim distillers. If true, they may have been employed during the grape harvest and as workers in distilleries owned by Rums. However, it is doubtful they produced alcohol in their own name since the production and consumption of alcohol was forbidden to Muslims in the empire. "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ303.

32 Regarding land tenure and wageworkers, see Chapter 6.2.

33 Kontogiannis, *Γεωγραφία της Μικράς Ασίας* (1921), 151.

34 Panayotopoulos, "On the Economic Activities of the Anatolian Greeks, Mid-19th century to Early 20th" (1983): 122. For the complete table of occupations, see Appendix C5.

Empire.[35] Consequently, in absolute terms, shortcomings in transportation infrastructure were not obstacles to exports but could be, when it concerned perishable goods, a disincentive for farmers to produce at more than subsistence level.

Some villages of the area were locally renowned for one of their activities. For instance, Aravani was particularly important for orchards and vineyards, and farming in Andaval was developed. Andavaliotes also produced a wine of high quality, as well as large quantities of beetroot, wheat, barley, rye, broad beans, and chickpeas. Many villages to the north (especially the Turkish villages of Karaatlı, Zamzama, Arluson, and Nentiso), and to the east of Niğde (Adirmoson, Cücü, Fesleğen, and Okçu) also produced large quantities of grain. Livestock farming was also important in Okçu and Nentiso. The Christian community of Fertek owned large vineyards and distilleries where they produced *rakı* for local and Anatolian markets as well as for Istanbul where a significant number of inns were kept by immigrants from Fertek. Carpets of Bor were known for their high quality.[36] In Tyana, too, carpets and textiles were produced for export. The region had also important water mills, large fields of fruit trees and vegetables, beehives, and a relatively important cheese production on account of large herds of sheep on local pasturelands.[37] On one hand, in most settlements, except for one or several specialties produced and exported, most of the production was consumed locally. On the other hand, a few villages of the area largely withdrew from farming over the course of the century. For instance, local natural conditions combined with emigration wiped out farming in Semendire.[38]

8.1.4 *Region of Malakopi*

Between Niğde and Nevşehir, the large plain of Malakopi had a relatively limited number of villages because of the restrictive natural conditions. The plain (included Misti, Çarıklı, Karaatlı Limni, Antrolos, and Akso in the south

35 Istikopoulou, *Η ελληνική ταπητουργία* (2000), 76, 173.

36 Ibid., 55-67, 80-95.

37 P.I. Kyriakidis, "Τα Τύανα της Καππαδοκίας" [Tyana of Cappadocia]. *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 6 (1955): 352-53.

38 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ243: M. Damianoglou.

and Potamia, Suvermez, Malakopi, Dila, Sylata, and Eneği in the north) was generally unfertile because of the relatively poor hydrographic network and correlative irrigation shortcomings. However, villagers practiced agriculture. Farmers in the south part of the plain were actually prolific: Limni was particularly known for its potato growing, while the trio of neighboring villages, Akso, Trohos, and Alay followed the crop rotation method.[39] Although practiced in Europe for centuries, crop rotation was an advanced agricultural technique in Anatolia where the usual cycle of cultivation was plant-fallow-plant, or plant-burn-fallow, but it is difficult to date when the farmers of these Cappadocian villages started practicing crop rotation. Misti, too, had extensive lands and villagers lived mainly from agriculture and from livestock. The men of Misti made *keçe,* or felt fabric, which they sold throughout Anatolia. On the other hand, the sandy, dry, rocky soils of the north, where the villages of Malakopi, Potamia, Sylata, and Eneği were located, had such low yields that families were not able to meet their nutritional needs from their own agricultural production.[40] The inhabitants of Eneği owned large plots, much larger than people of nearby villages, but the infertility of the soil limited productivity, and villagers not only had no surplus to sell but had to supply for their own subsistence from other villages – especially from the market of Malakopi.[41] As in other parts of Cappadocia, most families in each village had some animals and a few beehives.[42] In Limni and Malakopi, a weekly market allowed inhabitants of the area to supply themselves with complementary products. All the quantity of local agricultural production in villages of the plain of Malakopi remained limited, underground storehouses in most were an advantage for the preservation of perishable goods that villagers could

39 See Georgios Maurohalividis, *Η Αξός της Καππαδοκίας* [Axos en Cappadoce] (Athens: CAMS, 1990), 73-80; Asvesti, *Επαγγελματικές ασχολίες* (1980), 109; Anagnostopoulou, *Μικρα Αζία 19ος αί.* (1997).

40 "ΚΠ 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s, ΚΠ173; Melpo Merlier and Thanasis Kostakis, *Η Ανακού* [Anaku] (Athens: CAMS), 1963, 347-48.

41 Kostakis, *Ανακού της Καππαδοκίας* (1963), 347-48.

42 Levidis, *Ιστορικόν δοκίμιον*, Α΄ (1885), 162.

purchase from more distant marketplaces (namely Nevşehir, Ürgüp, and Niğde).[43]

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, Kyrillos claimed that households of the plain were poor, only lived off agriculture which had low yields, and handicrafts were limited to domestic uses.[44] Women wove carpets and clothes with wool or mohair they obtained from their own sheep or goats. In the mid-nineteenth century, the insufficient agricultural production led villagers to generate complementary sources of income. Given the low agricultural yields and the deficiency of transport infrastructure in the area, people lived at a subsistence level and consequently emigrated to create new incomes from themselves.[45] As a result, the main economic activities of villages in the northern part of the plain developed outside the region, mainly in Istanbul, but also in Izmir and Samsun. The active male population worked there as shopkeepers (especially grocers), mongers of cheese or caviar, cooks and waiters.[46]

8.1.5 *Region of Nevşehir-Ürgüp*

While the previous sub-regions were clearly dominated by one main settlement, the northeastern part of Cappadocia had two main centers: the historical one (Ürgüp) and the recent one (Nevşehir), separated from each other by only fifteen kilometers. For the Rums, Sinasos (six kilometers from Ürgüp) can be considered as a third center. In the first half of the century, a large part of the inhabitants of these three towns, as those of surrounding villages, was engaged in agriculture and stock breeding as their only or main occupation. In the course of the century, however, part of the population progressively disengaged from agriculture and engaged in crafts or in local, interregional, and even international trade. Compared to the plain of Malakopi, the region was far more fertile and abounded in vineyards, orchards (especially apricot, walnut, and apple trees), vegetables gardens, grains, flax, and poppy fields. A significant part of the production went to domestic

43 "ΚΠ 340-342 Tzalela," 1950s.

44 Kyrillos, *Ιστορική περιγραφή* (1815), 20.

45 "ΚΠ 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s, ΚΠ175: D. Feidopoulou, ΚΠ77: H. Kanaki

46 Ibid., ΚΠ175, ΚΠ77, M. Parara.

consumption, and the surplus – especially grapes and dried apricots – were sold elsewhere. Agricultural products such as gum, seed oil, *pastırma*, *sucuk*, and *rakı* were also processed and consumed locally or exported to other regions of the empire, especially to the capital.

As urban or pre-urban settlements, Nevşehir, Ürgüp, and to a lesser extent, Sinasos, had important groups of craftsmen and merchants, both Christian and Muslim. In Nevşehir, there were balers and mills and also numerous groceries, clothiers, textile shops, coffeehouses, restaurants, butchers, shoemakers, tailors, seamstresses, some moneylenders, a bookstore, and a pharmacy. There were also several doctors. Most of these occupations were practiced by both Christians and Muslims, but some were traditionally connected to one or the other community. For instance, in Nevşehir, tobacco retailers and wood sellers were exclusively Muslim as were textile and butcher shops. The only casino of Nevşehir was in the hands of a Rum proprietor. In Ürgüp, commerce and especially handicrafts were particularly important. The town had, at the beginning of the twentieth century 441 shops, 211 of which were owned by Muslims and 230 by Christians.[47] Stone dressers of Ürgüp were renowned in the region and beyond. Moreover, tanneries, textiles, and the carpet industry developed during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Because of this large range of activities (especially in crafts and the field of trade), the Rums of Ürgüp began emigrating later compared to other Rum communities of Cappadocia. In the late eighteenth century, most of the migrants from Ürgüp who worked in Istanbul were actually Muslims.[48] However, from the mid-nineteenth century, a significant part of the active male population still emigrated and worked in shops (especially groceries) in the Ottoman capital.

In Sinasos, emigration to Istanbul was already intense in the first half of the nineteenth century and activities in emigration had become their most important source of income. Locally, wine, *pekmez*, dried fruits, and dairy products were produced in small quantities but did not even cover domestic

47 Asvesti, *Επαγγελματικές ασχολίες* (1980), 148.

48 Personal communication by Cengiz Kırlı concerning individuals from Ürgüp recorded in *esnaf* registers in the late eighteenth-century Istanbul.

consumption. As a result, necessities were made available in the few shops in the village, namely groceries, tailors, and cobblers, fabric shops of Christians, and butchers of Muslims. There were, in the 1890s-1900s, five or six coffee shops, half of which were owned by Rums.[49] As for products not available in these shops, villagers went to Ürgüp, rarely to Nevşehir, obtained them from itinerant peddlers, or had them sent by migrant relatives or friends living in Istanbul. Small settlements of the area, such as Cemil, Matçyan (Göreme), Çavuşin, and Uçhisar were agriculture-oriented and dependent on Ürgüp, peddlers, and returning migrants for their supplies of manufactured goods.[50]

8.1.6 *Villages of the Anti-Taurus*

The northern slopes of the Anti-Taurus chain (Aladağlar) marked the southeastern limit of Cappadocia. We do not study the settlements of this area in depth, because their location and their socio-economic and cultural situations are different from settlements located in regions of Aksaray, Niğde, Nevşehir, and Kayseri. However, because they participated in the economic networks of Cappadocia, it is interesting to highlight their specificities. With an abundant hydrographic network and far more verdant landscape than other parts of Cappadocia, the local economy of this area was different from other sub-regions. The burgs of Çamardı (also called Bereketlü Maden) and of Enehil (today's Dikilitaş) dominated over the regon's western part and the villages along the valley of the Ecemiş river. The eastern villages, in the moutains, were organized around the village of Farasa. In this area, which was astride the vilayets of Konya, Ankara, and Adana, orchards and vineyards were the main farming activities, while livestock was also important in comparison with other areas of Cappadocia. Livestock farming was often limited to domestic use, but the presence of nomadic tribes with large herds who lived in the Anti-Taurus and Taurus in the summer had a significant place in the local economy.

The main specificity of this area was mining activities that developed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. We do not describe the

49 Stamatopoulos, "Everyday Life in Sinasos" (1985), 55-56.

50 "ΚΠ 340-342 Tzalela," 1950s, ΚΠ341.

Ottoman system of mining exploitation and the changes that occurred from the late 1830s in detail,[51] but rather we look at the way miners experienced the opening (and closing) of mines of this area.[52] Nevertheless, because the formation (and decline) of nineteenth-century Christian communities of the Anti-Taurus were directly connected to mining, we need to have a general view of contemporaneous evolutions in the sector. Until the late 1830s, the Ottoman state had absolute control over mineral resources. The general administrator of mines was a Muslim official, the *maden emini*. The superintendent or *madenci ustabaşı* (*archimetallourgos* in Greek) was Christian, as were all the miners. The surrounding villages that provided miners or services connected to mining activity (transportation, supplies, and guarding of the mines) were subject to laws enforced by Ottoman authorities for managing the mining sector. In the course of the nineteenth century, the liberalization of trade following the Baltalimanı Trade Convention of 1838 and Ottoman loans contracted during the Crimean War (1853-56) led to important changes in mining exploitation. It was henceforth opened to foreign investors through a system of concessions.[53] In 1858, the Land Code reaffirmed state ownership of mines but also confirmed the system of concessions. In the 1860s, a series of regulations institutionalized the role of foreign investors in the mining sector. In 1869, a regulation on mining stipulated new conditions making investments and exploitation of Ottoman mines by foreigners easier. One to five percent of the production went to the state. The law of 1869 put an official end to forced labor, and in 1887, the Ministry of Forestry and Mining (founded in 1872 and reestablished in 1878) began to give concessions of ninety-nine years, during which the operator would not pay taxes but had to turn over twenty-five percent of the annual production to the state.[54]

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51 Alaaddin Tok, *The Ottoman Mining Sector in the Age of Capitalism: An Analysis of State-Capital Relations (1850-1908)* (Saarbrücken: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, 2011), 32-33.

52 The main mining regions in Anatolia were Gümüşhane, Espiye, Keban, İnegöl, Ergani, Bilecik, Malatya, İçel, Karaman, Larende, Akdağ, Niğde and Kayseri. Ahmet Refik (Altınay), *Osmanlı devrinde Türkiye Madenleri (967-1200)* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1931), v; Ballian, "Argyroupolis" (2002).

53 Eliot Grinnell Mears, *Modern Turkey: A Politico-Economic Interpretation, 1908-1923* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), 363. See also Tok, *Ottoman Mining Sector* (2011), 21.

54 Shaw and Shaw, *Osmanlı Imparatorluğu ve Modern Türkiye*, II (2006), 287.

Most miners were Rums of Pontic origin who had left the Torul region further following the exhaustion of the reserves in Chaldia, especially in the main center of metallurgy, Argyroupolis (Gümüşhane). Looking for new ore to continue their mining activities, groups migrated with their entire families, some settling in Misti, others in the region between Buğamaden and Kilisehisar (also called Kenise), and others in the region of Çamardı where they extracted gold, silver, tin, and lead. The mine of Buğamaden, according to the tradition story, was founded in 1825 by a small group of Pontic miners headed by Hatzi Lefteris Apostologlou and rapidly became prosperous. The ferman authorizing the founding of the settlement and giving the rights to Apostologlou to commence mining was issued in 1826. According to a system of operation in trust (*emâneten*), Apostologlou and his community of miners exploited the mine on behalf of the state, gave a fixed proportion of their revenue to it, and kept the remainder (often selling it to the state).[55] Following the death of Apostoglou (1868), European engineers – called in to evaluate the mine's output – suggested ending the *emâneten* system and turning it into a concession in 1887, but the miners eventually maintained their exploitation privileges.[56]

Further east, another group of Rum miners founded the village of Farasa around 1750 and worked local silver and iron mines.[57] In the mid-nineteenth century, a part of the community of Farasa left the village because of the

55 Tok, *Ottoman Mining Sector* (2011), 15.

56 Hatzikyriakidis, *Το Μεταλλείο του Ταύρου* (1999), 77; Nerantizis Nerantzis, "Pillars of Power: Silver and Steel of the Ottoman Empire," *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 9, no.2 (2009): 79.

57 See Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 196. It is difficult to say if the Rums who settled in Farasa were Pontic Greeks. Anagnostopoulou noted that the area was formerly inhabited by Christians but that the village of Farasa had been founded recently by a Rum community that had come to the region to work in the mines. According to various linguists, the Farasa dialect resembles Pontic Greek; however, in the second half of the nineteenth-century, Farasa and "its colonies" were tied to the eparchy of Caesarea, while other mining communities were under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Chaldia. There is insufficient data to be certain, but it seems possible that when the mines were exhausted and mining activities abandoned in the mid-nineteenth century, the communities passed from the purview of the Metropolitan of Chaldia to that of the Metropolitan of Kayseri.

tyrannical power of the local *bey*, founding the villages of Afşar and Fkosi further east where they received authorization to mine and farm.[58] A few years later, some inhabitants migrated further and founded the villages and hamlets of Bahçecik, Görümce, Sati, Çukur, Kiska, Beşkardeş, Taşçı, and Hoşça, where they continued to live off mining and agriculture. Some mines of the area, however, seem to have run dry in the late 1870s. For the period 1875-1880, Bennett described the mines of the *sancak* of Niğde and of the area of Farasa as depending on the market of Kayseri to sell their production. He counted four furnaces in Farasa, specifying that the owners paid 100 piasters each per annum to the government and to produce an unlimited amount.[59] However, with the quick exhaustion of local mineral veins, communities were established and declined in barely a few decades. Many inhabitants emigrated while those who remained concentrated agricultural activities.[60]

Needless to say, mining was an exclusively male activity. Women, as elsewhere in Cappadocia, contributed to the household economy by participating in farming activities and weaving carpets. The rugs of Çamardı were particularly renowned for their durability.

Most villages of these six sub-regions of Cappadocia, even when local conditions did not allow high yields, produced small quantities of grain, fruits, and vegetables; had a few animals, especially for dairy products; and were engaged in apiculture and mostly viticulture.[61] However, in many villages, production was barely enough for domestic consumption, and bartering and importing were the basis of local economic networks. Arts and crafts were concentrated around domains such as carpet making and leathern while

58 Ibid., 197-98.

59 Bennet, "The Social, Economic and Administrative Situation in 1880" (1980), 110. The comments of Bennet lead us to assume that, in contrast with the mine of Buğamaden which was an *emâneten*, in the region of Farasa, mines were operated as *iltizam* (tax-farms). Each year, operators paid a certain sum (*bedel-i iltizam*) up front and did not pay any additional taxes on the amount they extracted.

60 Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994).

61 In most late nineteenth-century Christian communities, livestock intended for meat was limited. Processed meats such as *pastırma* and *sucuk* were generally produced from animals purchased especially for that purpose. Dairy products, on the other hand, were generally produced in each household for home consumption and sometimes, to a limited extent, for sale.

processed meats (especially *pastırma*, and *sucuk* – a typical, spicy sausage), linseed oil, and winemaking were widespread throughout Cappadocia and among its leading exports. Locally, some settlements were renowned for specific, high-quality crafts such as stonework, construction, and production of distilled alcohol, and felt fabrics.

In towns and large villages (mainly Kayseri, Talas, Germir, İncesu, Nevşehir, Ürgüp, Aksaray, Gelveri, Niğde, Fertek, Bor, and Farasa), carpetmaking was, in terms of trade, one of the main activities. Carpets were woven on looms in homes or in workshops and factories that employed especially female Christian workers.[62] According to Quataert, on the scale of the empire, carpetmaking had turned into a quasi-exclusive female activity due to the Ottoman and foreign merchants who looked to Anatolian labor market to meet increasing demand. They recruited women – and more and more Christians – to knot the rugs since female labor was cheaper and kept final costs lower.[63] In villages as well as in towns, women contributed to the economy of the households of "the agricultural class" by weaving carpets (and textiles) at home. Merchants provided the looms, yarn, dyes, and designs and then sold the finished product.[64]

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62 Numerous female informants of the OTA noted that Turkish women did not know how to weave carpets. It is difficult to determine if this claim was designed to celebrate the workforce of Christian women whether it described a real situation.

63 This situation was not exclusive to the carpet industry. Moreover, participation by female workers in craft activities was not an innovation of the nineteenth century, but a result of the transformation of the conditions of labor due to the industrialization of Western production. The opening of the Ottoman Empire to foreign merchants and imports led to a restructuring of the labor force in order to remain competitive. The labor force became thus "decreasingly male, urban, organized and workshop-based" and "increasingly female, outside of any formal labor organization and located in the rural countryside, in homes as well as workshops". Consequently, in the manufacturing sector, this led to the decline of guilds. Guild masters lost their importance as production and the labor force came to be more and more controlled by merchants. Donald Quataert, "Labor History and the Ottoman Empire, c. 1700–1922," *ILWCH* 60 (2001): 104.

64 Bennet, "The Social, Economic and Administrative Situation in 1880" (1980), 109. Bennet also mentioned the participation of children in household economies, writing that "the children are usually employed collecting dung, which, after a delicate manipulation, serves as fuel."

During the second half of the nineteenth century, carpet production massively increased and progressively turned into an industry.[65] Ferdinand Bennet wrote in 1880 that "a little carpet manufacture for local demand is carried on in Kaisarieh and Indjesou."[66] By the turn of the twentieth century, a report by Ottoman authorities (1898) listed 2500 carpet factories in the city of Kayseri, 1600 of which made silk carpets and the remaining 900 wool carpets.[67] The increasing interest of Europeans in the carpet market contributed tp the development the sector. In 1901, Agop Chiknagour, writing for the *Revue commercial du Levant* about a carpet exhibition organized in Konya, claimed that merchants of Kayseri exhibited silk carpets even though the local population preferred to use wool carpets because of their durability.[68] Silk rugs were mostly produced for export, especially to European markets, while wool carpets often remained in local markets or were sold in other Ottoman provinces. Carpet export turned at that time into an important source of income for the region. Among Anatolian production, Cappadocian production became distinctive through the design of rugs inspired fby the Greek and Armenian pictorial tradition.[69] The design, however, was not to everyone's liking. The German traveler Hans Herman Schweinitz, who visited the region in 1905, wrote that Cappadocian patterns used at that time were so "frighteningly ugly" that a government official in Nevşehir decided to distribute old mosque carpets to weavers to provide them models of old designs to imitate.[70] In any case, regional production developed rapidly. In

65 In the late nineteenth-century, Cappadocian production clearly corresponded to what Franklin Mendels called proto-industrialization.

66 Bennet, "The Social, Economic and Administrative Situation in 1880" (1980), 110.

67 Istikopoulou, *Η ελληνική ταπητουργία* (2000), 70.

68 Chiknagour, *Exposition de tapis* (1901).

69 Patterns with Greek or Armenian crosses are particularly frequent on carpets woven in Cappadocia. We can assume that these patterns which became representative of local production, were introduced by Christians (who were particularly active in carpet production) and then incorporated by Muslim weavers. Today, these patterns are often explained to tourists as the result of fake conversions by Cappadocian Christians to Islam; The converts are said to have kept alive their former beliefs through these Christian designs.

70 Hans Hermann Graf von Schweinitz, *In Kleinasien: ein Reitausflug durch das Innere Kleinasiens im Jahre 1905* (Berlin: Reimer, 1906), 103-04.

1905, a carpetmaking cooperative was founded in Bor called "Melissa of Boros" in a quarter where communal and private workshops as well as home looms were concentrated.[71] By the 1910s, a large number of female weavers no more worked at home but in factories. The testimony of Gesthimani Iliadou, born in 1895 in İncesu, is representative of the situation of women issued from lower classes. As a child she learned to weave because, being without a father, her mother and she wove rugs at home for their livelihood. When she married in 1911, her husband migrated to Istanbul where he owned a *bakkal,* but he was held prisoner during the war, and Gesthimani began to work in the carpet factory of İncesu. The large part of her co-workers were Christian women, mainly members of landless households, widows, wives, and daughters of men who had emigrated but did not send enough money for their livelihood.[72]

8.1.7 *Processing and Transportation Structures*

Another main common point of the six sub-regions was the remoteness of the settlements (to varying degrees) from the main commercial roads and from the coasts. In the course of the nineteenth century, the development of maritime trade – especially with the introduction of steamboats in Ottoman territorial waters beginning in the 1820s – and of railways beginning in the 1850s (or for Anatolia, after the 1890s), isolated Cappadocia which remained far from modern modes of transportation and depended on animals and overland routes.[73] From the 1820s, Cappadocia became, in a way, the distant hinterland of the ports of Samsun on the Black Sea and the new port of Mersin on the Mediterranean Sea, both of which welcomed numerous Cappadocian migrants, especially Rum and Armenian merchants who established their head office.[74] In 1892 and 1896, the train stations of Ankara Konya were

71 Istikopoulou, *Η ελληνική ταπητουργία* (2000), 55-67, 80-95.

72 "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, ΚΠ77: G. Iliadou. The husband of Gesthimani was taken prisoner by the British army during the Battle of Çanakkale, and Gesthimani had no news of him for ten years. The couple finally found each other in 1924 in Kavala.

73 Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi*, II (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), 920, 928, 939.

74 Evangelia Balta, "The Greek Orthodox Community of Mersina (mid-19th Century to 1921)," in *Mersin, the Mediterranean and Modernity - Heritage of the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed.

inaugurated, respectively, located 275 and 225 kilometers from Nevşehir and 316 and 303 kilometers from Kayseri. It was not until the 1910 that railways wuld spread to southern Cappadocia with the inauguration of the train station of Ulukışla (fifty-six, 136, and 184 kilometers south of Niğde, Nevşehir, and Kayseri, respectively). For interregional trade, commodities were transported to ports or the closest train station by caravan, but the rate of the use of pack animals remained higher than rail or maritime transportation.[75] Moreover, Anatolian roads were out of repair, not particularly suitable for wheeled transport, often only fitting for camels and other pack animals.[76] Because of these deficiencies, by way of default, caravans continued to carry half of all goods shipped overland in Anatolia in the late nineteenth century.[77] On one hand, the high rate of pack animal shipments limited the development of Ottoman export agriculture and general economic growth; on the other hand, in the large areas of the continent where the Ottoman rail system did not penetrate, railroads revived the caravan business since, in areas where they were the sole alternative, caravan routes were reorganized to accommodate short-distance trips from agricultural districts to railheads.[78]

Locally, the supply of basic provisions took place over short distances, mostly through inter-village networks. Trips to cities occurred more rarely. The sentences used by informants (at least as transcribed by the CAMS collaborators) typically follow the form "People of the village of X came to our village to sell Y and purchase Z." Inhabitants of smaller villages would go to larger settlements, but the converse was also possible, depending on the needs, goods, and infrastructure available in each settlement. Inter-village economic exchanges were mainly based on barter rather than monetized exchange. Consequently, villagers scarcely moved to another place only to sell or only to buy provisions.[79] The analysis that Irini Renieri proposes for the villages of

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Akdeniz Kent Araştırmaları Merkezi (Mersin: Mersin Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2002); Der Matossian, "Ottoman Armenian Kesaria" (2013), 199.

75 İnalcık and Quataert, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomik*, II (2004), 939-40.

76 Bennet, "The Social, Economic and Administrative Situation in 1880" (1980), 113.

77 İnalcık and Quataert, *Economic and Social History*, II (1997), 818.

78 Orhan Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi* (Istanbul: Bilim Yayınları, 1974), 80.

79 Regarding the late introduction of monetized exchange in Cappadocia, see Chapter 6.2.

Çukur and Taşlık (two villages within twenty kilometers of each other) is representative though located in an extreme northeast corner of Cappadocia:

> Economic relations for the most part were based on barter, although certain commercial tendencies can also be noted: community employees (e.g., shepherds and clergy) were paid in grains, while economic relations with the Turkman stock breeders were based on the exchange of their respective products. However, it appears that, in both Çukur and Taşlık, surplus grain products were channeled into the market of Kayseri and the surrounding villages, and Çukur and Taşlık in return received mainly raw materials and agricultural tools. However, the lack of both a transportation system and a communications network prevented the growth of this kind of trade.[80]

Moreover, the exchange of goods was generally combined with other needs to ensure the hours of journey by foot were worth the effort.

Proximity and ease of access – rather than belonging to the same religious or linguist group – were the primary factors for the constitution of stable inter-village networks. Moreover, because travel was generally by foot, sometimes with one or a few pack animals, every occasion of travel was taken advantage of for commercial exchange and barter. For instance, in Malakopi, celebrations held on the occasion of religious feasts – especially for saint days such as the Sts. Anargyroi, St. Theodoros, and the Taxiarchs Michael and Gabriel – were occasions for commercial transaction with the inhabitants of nearby villages who took the opportunity to visit Malakopi and, at the same time, to get supplies from its market.[81] Local pilgrimages on saint days and the presence of a thaumaturgical sanctuary (which were visited by Christians as well as Muslims) stimulated economic exchange. Villagers sometimes came from far away to participate in celebrations and religious ceremonies.

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80 Renieri, "Household Formation" (2002): 509-10.

81 "ΚΠ 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s, ΚΠ173. The main churches of Malakopi were dedicated to these saints and that is why inhabitants of nearby villages visited Malakopi on their celebration days. For the St. Basil's day, Christians of Eneği, Malakopi, Limni, Dila, and Çarıklı went to Misti where the largest church in Cappadocia dedicated to this saint was located.

Another opportunity was the presence of infrastructure and facilities such as mills and ovens only available in some settlements. Inhabitants of surrounding villages came to use these facilities and took the opportunity to sell, purchase, and barter goods. Ovens and mills were private or communal properties made accessible for payment to members of the community as well as to villagers coming from outside. The inhabitants of Misti, for instance, would go to Akso to use their ovens (*tandır*) until they built several small ovens in their own village in 1914. Similarly, Misti had no mill until 1910, and Mistiotes went to Keçiağaç to grind grain they had harvested from their land.[82]

While most villages had at least one oven, mills were far rarer. In Cappadocia, thegrinding of grain was mostly realized on watermills, while the production of oil was done with mills powered by hand or driven by animals. The mill was either rented to villagers who ground what they had brought themselves or the owner (and, when applicable, his workers) gathered the raw material and carried out the processing. In the latter case, owners either purchased the raw material and traded the transformed product or they worked for a fee. The following examples from the 1890-1920 period show how various situations and conditions of sharing were.

Water mills imply access to running water in a region where summers were particularly dry. In most areas of Cappadocia, grinding in watermills took place from March to mid-June and again in September and October since there was not enough water in the rivers to power the mills during the hot months of summer.[83] As a result, the milling needed to be organized in such a manner that locals and villagers of surrounding settlements could grind their crops in time. Several organizations can be derived from refugees' testimonies:

- The watermill of İloson was used between March and the middle of June by İlosoniotes and Muslims villagers of the northwest region (from Fesleğen and Tepeköy) who brought their wheat on camelback.[84] But the main mills north-west of Niğde were owned as communal estate by Rums of Delmason. The latter possessed four mills located in the surroundings of the village in areas

82 "КП 241-250 Misti," 1950s, КП243: M. Damianoglou.

83 "КП 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s; "КП 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s.

84 "КП 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, КП233.

where streams were abundant.[85] Fees for the mills were established by the demogerontia of Delmason and banked on behalf of the parish. However, from testimonies (there are no available communal records for Delmason), it is unclear if access to the mills was open to villagers of the surrounding settlements. Apparently, access to the main mill of the community was limited to Telmisiotes, while the others also received villagers from the surrounding Muslim and Christian communities – especially the Muslims of Adirmoson and the Christians of İloson when water shortage limited the functioning of their own mill.[86]

- To the northeast of Niğde, the watermill of the small village of Keçiağaç was used by villagers from Zamzama, Yerhisar, and Misti. Each village had between ten and fifteen days to finish its own grinding.[87] Inhabitants of Keçiağaç took the opportunity to purchase wheat and flour from their neighbors. Similarly, the mills of Fertek were also used by Muslim villagers from Okçu who carried their wheat on donkeys and brought cows which they sold to Fertekiotes.[88]
- The three watermills of the Muslim village of Eskigümüş were used by the Rums of Andaval. Economic relations between the two villages were intense; many Andavaliotes, especially women, worked on the lands of Eskigümüş at harvest time.[89]
- In the region of Gelveri, watermills located in the İhlara Valley in the Muslim villages of İlisu, İhlara, and Belisırma and were used by the (mostly Christian) inhabitants of Gelveri, Kenatala, and Sivrihisar. Most of these watermills were owned by Muslims, but a few were the property of Rums from Gelveri.[90] There was, for instance, a mill in Yaprakhisar (ten kilometers west of Gelveri) that

85 Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 121.

86 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ269: G. Agiarnidis; Anastasiadi-Manousaki, *Μνήμες Καππαδοκίας* (2002). It would have been useful if the decisions of the demogerontia were found in the parish register of Delmason, but no register for Delmasons is to be found in the GAK or in the CAMS archives.

87 "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ235; "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ243.

88 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ299: P. Papadopoulos.

89 "ΚΠ 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, ΚΠ: L. Koupelis.

90 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ27: A. Ampouroglou.

belonged jointly to the Karayusuflu family of Yaprakhisar and the priest of Gelveri, Anton Karatopal. According to informants from Gelveri, the priest owned a part of the mill through inheritance, and the Karayusuflu family claimed to be kin to him, implying that their family was formerly Christian and had converted to Islam.[91]

- In the region of Ürgüp, the village of Cemil owned a watermill that was visited by the Muslim villagers of Mimison, Babayani, Ortahisar, Aravani, Kavak, and even Avanos to the northwest and of Tağar and Karlık to the east. According to one Cemiliote informant, villagers from Damsa also came to Cemil to grind their grain when their own watermill did not functioning.[92] The trip was an occasion for Muslim villagers to sell their products to the inhabitants of Cemil who had little local production but received income from relatives who had migrated. Thus, each year Cemiliotes bought many items of pottery brought by the people of Avanos as well as stocks of flour that Turkish villagers produced in their mill.
- To the north of Kayseri, the Christian community of Çukur rented its mill to Muslim villagers from Zilifere, Kliseköy, Küpeli, and Kızılan as well as to co-religionists from Taşlık. The journey took around, one hand a half hours from Silihdar to three and a half hours from Kızılan. On occasion of their visit, villagers bartered and bought and sold crops and animals.[93]

Hand mills were more numerous because their function did not depend on running water. As a result, there often was at least one hand mill in each community (belonging either to the community or to a private owner). Consequently, they were less often objects of intercommunal relations. Used for the production of various kinds of oil – but especially linseed oil –, these mills (called *bezirhanes*) were generally located in caves for in troglodyte or underground structures and consisted of a millstone driven by one or two

91 Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 378; Karatza, *Καππαδοκία: ο τελευταίος ελληνισμός* (1985), 82-92. According to a story narrated by an informant, the formerly Christian community of Yaprakhisar converted en masse to Islam and the priest left to settle in Gelveri, but the period when the conversion took place is not mentioned.

92 "ΚΠ 340-342 Tzalela," 1950s, ΚΠ341: K. Mistilopoulos, M. Raftopoulou

93 "ΚΠ 394-397 Tsoukour," 1950s, ΚΠ395.

individuals or – when accessible to animals – by a mule. In Gelveri, *bezirhane* were mainly owned by Muslims;[94] in Germir, a dozen *bezirhane* located in *Aşağı Mahallesi* belonged to several Muslim families of the village. The Christians of Germir sold linseed they harvested to owners of one of the Muslim *bezirci*s who then produced and sold the oil in the marketplaces of Kayseri or its surroundings.[95]

The key element of inter-village exchange was the organization of transportation. Small producers often practiced itinerant trade in surrounding settlements to sell (or barter) their produce. In many villages there was a group of individuals who worked as peddlers or dealt with the transportation and sale of crops for the whole village. They would hit the road to sell goods produced in their villages and purchase other products – agricultural or manufactured – which they resold on the road or brought to their home villages. As a result, daily exchange between villages with a short- to medium-distance between them were regular and based on the comings and goings of peddlers. In this kind of exchange, the presence of a market or of shops to replenish was unnecessary. Production dedicated for wholesale, for large markets, and especially for long-distance trade required more structured networks of transportation which were assumed by professional caravan that followed the main arterial grid heading towards urban markets.

If we believe several OTA informants, transportation and itinerant trade at the turn of the twentieth century were mostly practiced by Muslims (Turks, Turkmens, Kurds, or Circassians) who traveled between villages. Christians stayed at home and preferred to wait for sellers and purchasers to arrive. They would even throw out their surplus instead of moving leaving their homes to sell their production.[96] These descriptions certainly include some overstatement; informants were proud to indicate that Muslims came to their feet to earn few *kuruş* from wealthy Christians who were the "chiefs" and the only ones with "money in their pockets."[97] However, we can also assume that with several family members having emigrated, Rum households were unable

94 "КП 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, КП27: A. Ampouroglou.

95 "КП 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, КП86: M. Kosmidou.

96 "КП 340-342 Tzalela," 1950s, КП341.

97 "КП 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, КП235: B. Topsakal.

to undertake themselves even short-distance travel, in the absence of the men. This situation was certainly common from the 1870s onwards, but even in previous decades (and still in the early twentieth century for households that had remained agriculture-oriented), one or several male members who often worked as peddlers outside the growing and harvest season to supplement family income. For instance, several Christians from Misti, Farasa, Akso, Delmason, and Germir still practiced itinerant trade in the 1910s. An informant from Delmason described the travel conditions for Christian caravans:

> Around 1900, two of our compatriots went to Mersin wearing turbans to look like Turks. They addressed each other with Turkish names and spoke only Turkish. Generally, the Christians tried to travel with at least one Turk they knew from their village or their neighborhood. It is only after the hürriyet (1908-1909) that we were able to travel safely on the roads.[98]

Because of the insecurity of the roads, low profitability, and the difficulty of the activity, most Christian peddlers of Cappadocia progressively settled down as merchants, grocers, mercers, and wholesalers, collecting the local production of wheat, wool, poppy, leather, and dairy products and reselling them to merchants from Niğde, Nevşehir, Mersin, and Adana.

Itinerant trade was mostly practiced over short-distance round trips by villagers coming from the surroundings of a town. The smallest villages were particularly dependent on passing peddlers for their provisions or to barter their own production. The village of İloson, for instance, where there was no shop, was regularly visited by peddlers coming from the neighboring village of Adirmoson. The latter sold sugar, oil, watermelon, onions, cabbages, and other vegetables and fruits they had produced or bought from other villages.[99]

98 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ269: G. Bastabisidis.

99 "ΚΠ 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, ΚΠ233: R. Avramidou. Because emigration from İloson was extensive from the mid-nineteenth century, agricultural production was limited to home consumption. Villagers had nothing to sell but were able to pay peddlers with money sent by migrant compatriots, especially by the Fraternity of Istanbul which supported families who remained in the village financially.

The Turkmen villages of the region of Aksaray travelled to the areas of Niğde and Nevşehir and sold, along their way, dairy products, vegetables, and grains. They bought dried fruits and manufactured goods such as agricultural tools and shoes.[100] In the 1910s, when he was still a child, Kostas Papazoglou, of Keçiağaç practiced itinerant trade in Niğde, Keçiağaç, and the surrounding villages (Badana, Zamzama, Karaatlı, Çarıklı, Misti, Enehil, and Sulucova) where he bartered goods, especially grains and fruits, which he carried on his back. Later, in the early 1920s, he began taking orders from villagers and travelled up to the villages south of Kayseri where he sold goods he had collected, purchased commodities ordered by villagers, and then returned. His round trip exceeded 300 kilometers, and he generally travelled with other peddlers whom he knew from neighboring villages because the roads were particularly dangerous. Papazoglou recalled several attacks by bandits.[101]

Except for settlements located on the few roads connecting the main centers, most villages were sited along paths and dusty tracks. These shortcomings in transportation infrastructure limited the distances people could routinely travel. In villages with one or several stores, shopkeepers resupplied their shops regularly but often had to travel for several hours to do so. From Çukur, for instance, grocers traveled twelve hours by paths with one or two pack animals to the market of Kayseri once or twice a month.[102] Similarly, the groceries in the village of Çarıklı were regularly resupplied in the larger village of Misti (eighteen kilometers to the west) and approximately once a month in Niğde (forty-two kilometers to the west).[103]

Like shopkeepers, peasants and craftsmen generally traveled themselves and did not resort to transport professionals. According to N. Apostolidis from Limni, "in the village, each family owned a donkey to go to Niğde where it sold its production of potatoes and bought what it needed."[104] In some villages, when it was necessary to go to a city to get supplies, a few individuals made the trip on behalf of the whole community. Among them, grocers were

100 "КП 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s, КП144: I. Kasnaktzioglou.

101 "КП 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, КП235: K. Papazoglou.

102 "КП 394-397 Tsoukour," 1950s, КП395.

103 "КП 295-297 Tsarikli," 1950, КП295: K. Hoursanidou.

104 "КП 215-218 Limni," 1950s, КП218:N. Apostolidis.

generally responsible for the supply of products from outside, especially of manufactured goods, while sometimes farmers and craftsmen would take the community's produce to surrounding markets. When pack animals or wagons were not available in a community, a generally tacit agreement would be reached with inhabitants of a neighboring village. For instance, Prodromos Igniatidis of Andaval explained how the Turks of the neighboring village of Karaatlı would lend their wagon which was then harnessed to an animal belonging to the Andavaliotes. The driver, who was from Karaatlı, would drive to Niğde and look after the animal while the Andavaliotes who accompanied him loaded and unloaded the wagon.[105]

Makarios Damianoglou of Misti recalled that his village was often visited by Muslim and Christian peddlers from various areas.[106] Peddlers were actually the only Muslims that Mistiotes admitted into their village. Some Mistiotes also practiced itinerant trade, traveling throughout Anatolia to sell *keçe* that they made and other goods that they bought in the villages they visited. Mistiotes actually practiced itinerant trade over longer distances than the other examples cited above. Indeed, they would travel across Anatolia up to Konya or Izmir in the west (some 800 kilometers from their village) to trade and barter goods.[107] Similarly, Herakleia Pantoteinou of Germir, explained that her husband traveled to Eastern Anatolia, all the way up to Erzurum (700 kilometers east of Germir):

> My husband was a peddler. He left in the beginning of the spring and travelled up to Erzurum with three or four other men. One of them was a Tcherkess [Circassian]; he was fierce and feared by highway bandits. Once in Erzurum, they bought cows and buffalo that they fattened and brought back to Germir to sell.[108]

When not for live animals, long-distance trade and transportation of great quantities of heavy commodities required more structured and equipped

105 "ΚΠ 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, ΚΠ205: P. Igniatidis.

106 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ243: M. Damianoglou.

107 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ87: H. Pantoteinou.

108 Ibid., ΚΠ86: H. Pantoteinou; Burnichon, "A travers le Taurus" (1894): 86-87.

means. They required more significant returns than peddling.[109] On long distances, peddlers travelled by forming caravans of mules, donkeys and/or camels and were thus able to carry and sell larger quantities of goods. However, the risks grew with each additional kilometer covered. Those operating the caravans and the merchants with whom they signed contracts for the transportation of their goods could be economically affected by difficult conditions of travel.[110]

In the region of Kayseri, some communities met their needs by specializing in transportation. For instance, the inhabitants of the Muslim village of Citlavik (east of Kayseri) specialized in the breeding of beasts of burden which they used for the transportation of agricultural and artisanal goods.[111] By the turn of the twentieth century, most muleteers and operators of long-distance caravans issued from Turkish or Turkmen villages. Nevertheless, with the development of the port city of Mersin as the main outlet for central Anatolia, in the 1870s, a group of Rums from Delmason began specializing in transportation as muleteers connecting the region of Niğde to the port of Mersin through the Taurus chain (passing by the valley between the Medetsiz and Bolkar Dağları as well as the towns of Ulukışla and Pozantı).[112] Several Telmisiote households maintained this activity up to their exile in 1924.

109 Georgios Mavrohalividis, *Η Αξός της Καππαδοκίας* [Axos in Cappadocia] (Athens: CAMS, 1990). Asvesti, *Επαγγελματικές ασχολίες* (1980), 187-88.

110 Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 83.

111 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ86: Ch. Pehlidis. It seems that at least a part of the inhabitants of Citlavik were Turkmens who sedentarized, probably in the eleventh century, but maintained their husbandry activities. Other narratives about this village present it as a Rum settlement of which inhabitants converted to Islam in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. See Chapter 9.1.

112 Regarding muleteers from Telmisos, see Chapter 5.2 and Anastasiadi-Manousaki, *Μνήμες Καππαδοκίας*, 2002, 214-23.

§ 8.2 Commercial Exchanges and Marketplaces

Kayseri, as the only large city and interregional commercial center of Cappadocia, was generally described by travelers of the late nineteenth century as moribund. In fact, up to the 1840s, Kayseri had a central role in Anatolian economy? Its merchants had created a huge network for the commercialization of cotton and spun yarn. They bought cotton from Adana and distributed it to spinners throughout Anatolia. However, the "manufacturing empire of the Kayseri merchants," according to the words of Quataert, "fought a bitter but losing rearguard action against European yarn imports."[113] In 1842, Suter noted that "the trade of Kaissariah has been long gradually diminishing, but its decline has been more rapid during the last few years," a decline that he attributed to the introduction of steam navigation as well as to the "depressing influence of the war with Mehmet Ali, the insecurity of the country owing to the constant disturbed state of the Koords that inhabited the neighborhood."[114] By the middle of the century, its role as a manufacturing center had faded even though spinning and weaving of cotton and wool (for the production of clothes or carpets) remained a routine activity for women at home.

In 1880, a report of British Lieutenant Bennet, which was based on statistics and data obtained from the government and the local population, concluded that the economic situation of the *sancak* of Kayseri was "quite satisfying" and provided a list of imports and exports (reproduced in Appendix C2). According to this list, the balance was positive between exports and imports since revenues from exportas were around 4,720 Turkish liras (£t) while imports cost 2,977 £t. In the 1890s, Cuinet confirmed this positive balance, reporting that revenue from exports in the *sancak* of Kayseri was estimated at 650,000 £t annually, while the cost of imports weas around 400,000 £t. He noted that the city, despite the lack of good roads and distance to the sea or railways, maintained the image of its former commercial

113 Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 37.

114 Suter, "Report on the Trade of Kaissariah for 1842" (26 February 1842).

greatness.[115] At the turn of the twentieth century, the region would even regain vitality with the development of the muslin printing industry and carpet manufacturing for export throughout the Ottoman Empire and abroad.[116]

Locally and in accordance with Braudel, who claimed that the largest cities of any region were able to command the services of smaller towns and villages, Kayseri maintained, throughout the century, its economic role as the main regional center and an interregional platform. In Kayseri, crafts and trade were largely dominated by Armenians who developed, especially from the 1840s, trade networks controlled by wealthiest merchant families and that connected the city market to foreign trade.[117] According to Der Matossian:

> Foreign trade in the Ottoman provinces that had been controlled by Muslims gradually passed into the hands of Christians. European merchants preferred to establish commercial contacts with non-Muslim Ottoman merchants by using them as intermediaries in trade. This led to the rise of the Armenians in import-export enterprises. The network of Armenian merchants was not confined only to the Ottoman Empire, especially as prominent Christians were able to gain extraterritorial rights such as obtaining foreign passports and receiving protection of European states. Eventually, they began to open commercial firms in Constantinople as well as in Manchester and other European cities and to take a leading position in import-export businesses.[118]

The Armenian merchants thus controlled most exports and imports but also, correlatively, most marketplaces of the city. In eastern Cappadocia, they also maintained strong positions in Develi/Everek where they owned most of the 150 shops in the greatest han and dominated the large market in which some forty villages of the surrounding countryside participated.[119] However,

115 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, VI (2001 (1895)), 53.

116 Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing* (2002), 60.

117 Der Matossian, "Ottoman Armenian Kesaria" (2013), 198.

118 Ibid.

119 Hervé Georgelin, "Armenians in Late Ottoman Rural Kesaria/Kayseri," Ibid., 239-40. The countryside of Everek was comprised of several Armenian communities living principally in Fenese, Tomarza, and Çomaklı, but also in mixed villages such as Cücün and Karacaviran.

elsewhere in Cappadocia, especially in the Western half and in the surroundings of Kayseri,[120] Armenian merchants, shopkeepers, and craftsmen were less established and far less present in the markets. Local production and trade remained in the hands of Rums and, to a lesser extent, Muslims.

Despite its importance on an interregional scale and the large range of products which could be found there, the market of Kayseri was not necessarily the principal place for provisions for villagers in the countryside. Even villagers of nearbyy neighborhoods had no regular connection with Kayseri. Nevertheless, even in the 1910s, Kayseri's marketplace and stores were often the only places where people of the countryside could find imported or manufactured goods and export their own products.[121] According to Anagnastopoulou, this situation can be explained by the fact that most of these nearby villages were not located on one of the two main roads leading to Kayseri.[122] As a result, the routine networks of these villages often excluded Kayseri and concentrated instead on short-distance, inter-village exchange.

For settlements located further, smaller towns or burgs such as İncesu (thirty-five kilometers from Kayseri), Develi (forty-five kilometers), Ürgüp (sixty-seven kilometers), Nevşehir (seventy-five kilometers), Niğde and Ereğli (over 100 kilometers) served as intermediary platforms to supply imports and to sell local productions. For instance, Yanis Savvaïdis from İncesu described the market networks of his settlement as follows:

> The Christians of our village often went to the market of Kayseri and never to that of Prokopi. In İncesu, there was a market too with Turkish merchants and a few shops to supply Christian households. The Turks of İncesu regularly went to Kayseri to get supplies.[123]

120 The traveler Ainsworth had already noted in the early nineteenth century that "while within the city, the Armenian population quadruples the Greek, the reverse os the case in the surrounding villages." Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I, 1839, 222.

121 Faroqhi, "The Fieldglass" (1991): 47. The term "region" is used by Braudel as a territorial unit that may or may not coincide with a political or administrative unit.

122 Anagnostopoulou, "Communautés grecques" (1994), 192.

123 "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, ΚΠ78: Y. Savvaïdis.

In the southwest, Ereğli, in spite of its small size (about 1700 inhabitants in 1900), was a particularly important relay town on the road between Cappadocia and the Mediterranean ports. It consequently had a central commercial position. Main manufactured products arrived by road from Kayseri, Mersin, and Adana and were sold at its market, which was organized each Saturday. According to the OTA informants, the market of Ereğli attracted sellers and purchasers as far away as Akso (130 kilometers tp the northwest).[124]

These secondary towns, relatively dispersed throughout the territory,[125] had their own zones of economic influence limited to a relatively small diameter and not exclusive. While Kayseri had such importance that there was no real competition from other towns, other large towns of Cappadocia (Aksaray, Arapsun, Nevşehir, Ürgüp, Niğde, Ereğli, İncesu, and Develi) shared their role as central markets and provided outputs, services, and trade activities to surrounding villages. Villages of central Cappadocia, for instance, were simultaneously in the economic periphery of Nevşehir/Ürgüp and Niğde (and to a lesser extent Ereğli) as well as Aksaray to the west, and İncesu to the east. For basic needs (especially food), the distance factor was elementary, especially because restocking was regular because to maintain the freshness of foodstuffs. As a result, villagers, when they needed to, went to the closest markets. On other hand, for non-perishable goods and expensive products (such as wine, fabrics, and clothes), the quality and price of goods could encourage them to travel further. An informant from Nevşehir, Prodromos Agkaralioglou, described the network in which the town of Nevşehir was included, enumerating the main cities of the region as well as villages renowned for agricultural or craft specialties:

> From Aksaray came butter, cheese, garlic, and red peppers. We sold them fruits, grapes, and dried apricots. The Turkmen villagers of the region of Aksaray came to the market of Nevşehir to sell wheat and buy agricultural tools and shoes. The coppersmiths of Nevşehir bought from Kayseri their raw material and we all sold carpets woven in

124 "ΚΠ 231 Eregli," 1950s, ΚΠ230: P. Antoniadis.

125 Towns with more than 15,000 inhabitants (Kayseri, Nevşehir-Ürgüp, Kırşehir, Aksaray, and Niğde-Bor) were separated by approximately eighty-nine kilometers.

> Nevşehir in the market of Kayseri. The food merchants of Nevşehir had relations with Adana and Mersin. From Istanbul, through Ereğli, all kinds of colonial goods arrived to the market of Nevşehir. In Prokopi, we sold fabrics woven in Nevşehir; villagers of Eneği bought oil, rice, coffee, etc. for domestic use and sold grains, chick peas, and *kaymak*. Suvermez bought everything and sold potatoes. Idem for Limni. Inhabitants of Troho and Akso rarely came to the market in Nevşehir. People from Malakopi bought everything from Nevşehir and Sylata bought all kinds of goods and only sold grains. Avanos brought pottery. Tuzköy sold mineral salt. Agasliköy sold fish. Çat cultivated watermelon, Tatlar bean, Sulusaray melon, and watermelon; Topata farmed grains and raised cattle; Göre produced milk and yogurt; Nar grew fruits and vegetables.[126]

Recall that the villagers of Akso were said to regularly go to Ereğli (around 130 kilometers to the southeast) to get supplies but they rarely came to Nevşehir, which was situated only about fifty kilometers from their village. Distance was thus not an absolute factor. Prices and quality wereparticularly important to villagers' trade strategies. Makarios Damianoglou, from Misti, explained that:

> Inhabitants of Misti used to go to the market of Niğde. Sometimes, they went to Nevşehir to buy peppers, grapes, and wine which were cheaper than in Niğde. But the wine of Niğde was better than that of Nevşehir which was undrinkable. […] In Nevşehir [fifty kilometers from Misti], everything was cheaper, but the town was farther – twice as far – than Niğde [thirty kilometers].[127]

Nevşehir and Ürgüp formed an interesting pair. Because of their proximity, they shared the same zone of influence and had approximately the same demographic and economic weight. Despite increases in the size and administrative and economic importance of Nevşehir throughout the nineteenth century, Ürgüp remained, for most villages of the region, the main trade center. Moreover, arts and crafts were concentrated in Ürgüp and

126 "КП 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s, КП144: P. Agkaralioglou.

127 "КП 241-250 Misti," 1950s, КП243: M. Damianoglou.

associations of craftsmen were particularly powerful there. According to figures concerning the active, Christian population in the Cappadocian registers of the population exchange, Ürgüp maintained supremacy in terms of the number of artisans there: in 1924, the town and its nearby surroundings were home to 449 Rum artisans, while they were only nineteen in Nevşehir, three in Niğde, eight in Gelveri and forty-three in Kayseri.[128]

Moreover, the concentration of villages closer and better connected to Ürgüp was higher than Nevşehir. The former had a long history as an economic center, while the *Neapoli* had been recently founded. As a result, it was unsurprising that inhabitants of Sinasos, Cemil, Babayani, Karlık, and Boyalı kept going to Ürgüp instead of Nevşehir for supplies. Several informants from Ürgüp explained that they could find everything in their own town or in Kayseri, and they would sell their local products (mainly fruits, grapes, and *ouzo*) in Kayseri rather than in Nevşehir. Inhabitants of surrounding villages regularly conducted commercial exchanges in their town.[129]

When it did not involve interregional trade, the routine network of commerce for villagers was organized in small circles that did not necessarily include towns but rather a series of small and large neighboring villages. Many OTA informants claimed that inhabitants got supplies through inter-villages exchange or inter-personal bartering rather than from urban markets, even if they lived near to the largest towns. For instance, in the south-western part of Cappadocia, Niğde had a large – partly covered – marketplace where local commercial activities were concentrated, but the more popular market for inhabitants of surrounding settlements was in Bor where an important trade fair took place regularly.[130] Many villages actually had their own market, or *pazar*. The marketplaces (*pazar yeri*), generally located in the center of the settlements and sometimes surrounded by small shops, were often the main site where people found goods that they did not produce themselves. The

128 Panayotopoulos, "On the Economic Activities of the Anatolian Greeks, Mid-19th century to Early 20th" (1983): 122. See the full table in Appendix C5.

129 "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, ΚΠ315: A. Argyropoulou, I. Papadopoulos, I. Kasnaktzioglou.

130 Kontogiannis, *Γεωγραφία της Μικράς Ασίας* (1921), 150-55; Rizos, *Καππαδοκικα, ήτοι δοκίμιον* (1856), 102.

range of available products was generally greater in towns than in villages. By *pazar* one should not necessarily imagine a market organized weekly or monthly with temporary stalls. It was initially an area where, in mid- and large-sized villages, permanent shops encircled an open-air square or were gathered together in a covered *han*. The main square of these villages often served as marketplace. In towns and in the largest villages, market day was generally established on a specific day of the week (or once a month). In some of the smallest villages, there were no stores or only a grocery. The central square was used as an informal marketplace, or more precisely as a point of sale where villagers, nomads, and peddlers came to sell or buy goods. The organization of an official weekly or monthly market was only the case in settlements of more than 1000 or 1500 inhabitants.

To the east of Kayseri, a market was organized weekly in Talas, the second-largest settlement of the area and headquarters of its nahiye. But it's market remained secondary to that of Germir, both because its location, on the lower escarpment of the Erciyes Dağ and because its remoteness from main roads limited its development as a commercial center. Germir, on the other hand, located eight kilometers to the north, was more prosperous in terms of trade, due to its location near to the road taken by caravans connecting Kayseri and Sivas.[131] There were thus two markets in Germir, one with products transported by caravans and another in the mahalle of Harman with products brought in from nearby villages. In the latter, no market day was set. On the central square of Harman, shops were open every day and in front of them the inhabitants of surrounding villages would come to sell their products, especially wheat and vegetables. Furthermore, an extemporaneaous third market sometimes took place in front of the Panagia Church where Christian emigrants sold manufactured goods brought back from the city to which they migrated during the year.[132]

131 Talas was administratively and demographically more important than Germir. Moreover, it developed in tandem with the emigration of Christians to Constantinople. Many emigrants became wealthy and invested part of their fortunes into building stately houses. The village became a particularly attractive place, turning into a luxurious getaway for the wealthy inhabitants of Kayseri who maintained secondary residences there. Today, Talas is, tellingly the wealthiest district of the city of Kayseri.

132 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ86: I. Simeonidis, H. Bostanizoglou.

In the plain of Malakopi, the limited number of settlements and the absence of towns combined with the low agricultural output to limit local supply possibilities. The inhabitants of Sylata, Eneği, Suvermez, Kilidere, Potamia, and Orhanlı had to purchase a large part of their provisions from the market of Malakopi. The demographic size of this large village, its centrality in the plain, its situation on the caravan road between Niğde and Nevşehir, and its relatively small number of shops were the main reasons a large market was organized there once a week. Malakopi was the central place of commerce and supply for villagers living on the northern part of the plain while southern villages got their supplies in Limni. The Malakopiotes and the inhabitants of the surrounding villages sold very few goods in their market but bought many supplies there.[133]

Sinasos, despite its 5000 inhabitants (Malakopi and Limni, by comparison, were half its size), its large marketplace in the Mesochori district bordered by shops, its grain warehouse, and its hostelry, hosted no weekly or even monthly market. Villagers went to Ürgüp for supplies.[134] Virtually nothing was exported or sold to neighboring villages from Sinasos, nor from Cemil and Potamia, two other villages of the area from which many men had migrated to Istanbul. An informant from Cemil summarized the situation as follows:

> The people from Potamia, Cemil, and Sinasos did not sell anything. They did not travel to sell anything. There was no market there. We ate everything we produced and we threw the rest away. We only sold to the Turks one or two kilograms of cheese, a little *kaymak,* and things like that.[135]

On account of the income from migration, most Rum families of Sinasos, Cemil and Potamia were no longer dependent on their own crops since they were able to buy most of their needs from shops, the market of Ürgüp, and peddlers or they directly received imported goods from family members living in Istanbul or elsewhere.

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133 "ΚΠ 340-342 Tzalela," 1950s, ΚΠ341; "ΚΠ 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s; "ΚΠ 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s, ΚΠ144.

134 "ΚΠ 340-342 Tzalela," 1950s, ΚΠ341; "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, ΚΠ315: I. Kasnaktzioglou.

135 "ΚΠ 340-342 Tzalela," 1950s, ΚΠ341.

From these examples, we see that the size of a settlement, its economic development, and the needs of its inhabitants did not necessarily imply the presence of a regular market. Moreover, the geographical situation and professional activities of inhabitants determined the directions that local economic networks stretched in various parts of Cappadocia.

§ 8.3 Professions, Pluriactivity, and Specialization

The traditional picture of a Ottoman population divided according to ethnoreligious belonging has been clearly challenged in recent studies, especially those focusing on urban environments and on cities such as Istanbul, Bursa, and Salonica. Cengiz Kırlı, for instance, writing on the labor force in early nineteenth century through the analysis of *esnaf* registers in Istanbul, demonstrated that, even though certain religious groups were specialized in particular occupations, Muslims were not the only modest workers and could be, in the same way as Christians, merchants and artisans. Moreover, there were numerous non-Muslims among the unskilled workers hired as day laborers.[136]

In towns as well as in villages, professional categories (farmer, peddler, grocer, miller, weaver, merchant, and banker) – which were registered in tax records and that archivists routinely use – may be misleading because most Ottoman subjects, men as well as women, generally practiced multiple activities. Farmers during the agricultural season could become peddlers during the remaining months or may have practiced a craft in addition to their agrarian production. Women who wove carpets at home or in workshops also worked in their own fields or as farmhands for a daily wage. Some could even combine the jobs of wet nurse or charwoman in wealthier families of their town or village. In fact, most inhabitants of Cappadocia, as elsewhere in Anatolia, engaged in more than one job. Pluriactivity was the rule. On that issue, Asvesti noted a distinction between rural and urban settlements. Dealing with craftsmen, she showed that those who worked in urban centers practiced their craft exclusively, while those settled in villages worked on a

136 Kırlı, "A Profile of the Labor Force" (2001): 13.

craft to increase their income.[137] In rural areas, agriculture was the main domain of activity, but even it was practiced as a "part-time" activity. Pluriactivity was a necessity, both due to the calendar of agriculture, to supplement income, and provide basic needs and services that, in towns, could be provided by dedicated practitioners. Can we thus assume that, on one hand, pluriactivity was the rule in villages while, on the other, city-dwellers tended to specialized in one professional activity?

8.3.1 *Agrarian Activities: Pluriactivity, Crop Rotation, and Multiple Incomes in Villages*

According to official figures of 1924 for the exchange of populations, though Christians were said to have largely disengaged from agriculture, 54.5 percent of the Cappadocian Rums were actually still engaged in agriculture as main activity, while 11 percent were craftsmen, 7.3 percent merchants, 6.8 percent artisans, 3.4 percent grocers, 2.1 percent workers.[138] We should note that these figures, because of massive emigration, only include those who continued to earn their living mainly from their activities in Cappadocia and not from the income of migration. For instance, the 263 registered grocers worked in stores located in Cappadocia, and did not include those who worked in Istanbul or in other regions of Asia Minor.

Farming activities thus concerned the main part of the active population, whatever their religious affiliation. Pluriactivity was actually the guiding principle according to which most individuals practiced several activities, among which one was a specialty and the others their means of survival. Quataert wrote:

> Most Ottoman subjects therefore were cultivators. The majority of these in turn were subsistence farmers, living directly from the fruits of their labors. They cultivated, overall, small plots of lands, growing a variety of crops for their own consumption, mainly cereals and also

137 Asvesti, *Επαγγελματικές ασχολίες* (1980), 195-97.

138 These figures only take into account the main job of the active population, not secondary jobs that provided additional income, for farmers, peddlers, and moneylenders. For details, see Appendix C5.

> fruits, olives and vegetables. Quite often, they raised some animals for the milk and wool or hair. […] In many areas, both in Ottoman Europe and Asia, family members also worked as peddlers, selling home-made goods or those provided by merchants. Some rural families, as we shall see, also manufactured goods for sale to others: Balkan villagers traveled to Anatolia and Syria for months to sell their wool cloth and western Anatolian women and men spun yarn for town weavers. […] In sum, cultivator families drew their livelihoods from a complex set of different economic activities and not merely from growing crops.[139]

Moreover, in many parts of Cappadocia, topographic, natural, and climatic conditions were not lenient enough for profitable agricultural activities, and the means of production remained technologically basic. The OTA informants claimed that agrarian work involved exclusively wooden tools (spades, forks, and pichtforks); their testimonies are confirmed by the fact that in the first decades of the Republic of Turkey, farmers of central Anatolia were still not using metal tools. As a result, farmers were particularly dependent on natural conditions, and most had to supplement their revenues with other activities. Except for peasants who decided to abandon their activity to emigrate, pluriactivity remained the main way to survive.

In villages such as Çukur and Taşlık where lands were fertile compared to other areas, crop rotation (of pulses, clover, flax, barley, and *millet*) was the main solution chosen by farmers to live the year around from their agriculture. According to Renieri, "in conjunction with the ability to irrigate, crop rotation enriched the land probably also helping to increase its output." Moreover, the vast large forests surrounding the village might be used to enlarge the arable lands and at the same time to provide additional income from tree-cutting.[140] In other areas where villages were close to each others, the limits of available lands often prevented villagers from extending farmable lands (as, for instance in the area of Ürgüp and Sinasos or in the close surrounding of Kayseri[141]). In any case, because of low fertility rates, archaic tools, and high taxes on agricultural goods, yields were often too low to be

139 Quataert, *Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (2005), 128.

140 Renieri, "Household Formation" (2002): 509.

141 Hadziiossif, "Dimensions culturelles" (1998): 194.

profitable, so many households were content with producing just for self-sufficiency.

In villages in close peripheries of main towns, agriculture included fields (with various grains and vegetables), orchards, and vineyards. Incidentally, European travelers were often impressed by the large vineyards and orchards surrounding the towns and villages of the region. MacDonald Kinneir, for instance, wrote in 1818 about the area of Niğde:

> We continued our journey to Nidegh, the road still leading S.W. through a noble plain partially inhabited and cultivated, but bare of trees and containing many artificial tumuli such as that at Hiklar. Wheat, barley, sesam, and cotton, are the chief productions; oats, peas, or beans I never saw, and rye or Indian corn very seldom. […] The population [of Niğde] is said to amount to about five thousands souls, Greeks and Turks, most of whom are very poor, and derive a subsistence for the produce of their gardens and vineyards. […] At the ninth mile (after Niğde) we entered a garden, or rather forest, of fruit trees, irrigated by a number of rivulets of the clearest water; and though this little paradise we continued to travel for nearly four a miles[142]

Combining many, various types of agriculture was not possible everywhere as it was in the countryside of Niğde. In the plain of Malakopi, for instance, orchards and vineyards were quasi-nonexistent; only a few varieties of vegetables and grains were cultivated. As for the villages of Limni and Semendire, they concentrated their agricultural activities on potatoes. Limni was the main regional producer, supplying the areas of Niğde and also Nevşehir.[143]

In most settlements, peasants combined agriculture with homemade crafts and livestock farming to bring in extra, but generally negligible, incomes that nevertheless decreased household dependence on external supplies. Livestock was mainly owned by Muslims, while Christians tended to be involved in

142 Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor* (1818), 111-13.

143 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ217.

cultivation and owned only a few sheep and sometimes one or two cows.[144] An informant from Kenatala mentioned that, in the last years before the exile, Kenataliotes had given up livestock farming altogether because their shepherds feared being attacked by the Turks.[145] A few Christian communities of the southern part of Cappadocia (in the region of Misti and Anti-Taurus area) were more engaged in livestock farming. We already noted that Mistiotes, unlike most Rum communities of Cappadocia, did not emigrate as often and continued to maintain agriculture-oriented activities until their exile in 1924. Although cultivation was a central activity in the village, an important part of the population of Misti also practiced animal husbandry and artisanal manufacture of felt fabrics (*keçe*).[146] Mistiotes were said to be involved in regular disputes because they annoyed surrounding farmers by traipsing through arable lands with their cattle and by stealing fruit from their orchards.[147] Interestingly, in their work on popular beliefs in Asia Minor, Carnoy and Nicolaïdes claimed that shepherds were considered to have the right to steal because a shepherd had stolen the nails intended to nail the hands and feet of Christ a Mount Calvary. As a result, they claimed that shepherds were allowed to steal and that, in Anatolia, they largely took advantage of the situation![148] What is more, refugees from Misti themselves admitted that they tendedto steal from the gardens of surrounding villages and had bad relations with their inhabitants, whether Muslim or Christian. One summarized the situation of Mistiote shepherds as follows: "At the time we lived in the region, the Turks regularly got angry with our shepherds and tried to chase them away

144 Regarding shepherds and herdss, see Chapter 7.1.

145 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ26: D. Simeonidou.

146 The artisanal manufacture of felt made without any machine (other than the distaff for the first spinning step) required a warm, humid room, and physical strength. The *keçeci* produced the fabric by matting the felt with his arms and by throwing his chest violently against the rolled fabric.

147 "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ235; "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ245: M. Damianoglou. "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ216.

148 Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Traditions populaires* (1889), 241-42.

because they went to the lands surrounding their village and devastated their fields. Sometimes there were big disputes which could end up in fight."[149]

8.3.2 *Specialization and Division of Labor in Towns*

For early decades of the nineteenth century, *cizye* records, which were revoked in the *İslahat fermanı* of 1856, offered an accurate picture of job distribution within Christian communities.[150] For 1830-31, the *cizye defteri* of the town of Niğde contains a list of the main professional activities practiced by the active Christian population. It confirms the idea that Christians of the town were represented in trade and shopkeeping as well as daily labor (Table 8.1).

To compare the domains of activity of the Christian and Muslim populations, *temettü* records could provide more complete data for a study of the division of labor force since they recorded the goods and professions of each household for the *temettü* tax levy.[151] Prepared in the 1840s-1860s and organized according to home neighborhood, these records register Muslim and non-Muslim households in separate *defter*s even when they lived in the same mahalle. However, for most settlements of Cappadocia, in separate *defter*s the sets of *defter*s are incomplete, so we are not able to consult all the records. Consequently, it is difficult to ascertain professional occupation of Muslims and Christians for earlier decades. Nonetheless, in some cases, *temettü* and *cizye* records at least allow an observation of some general trends, if not comparisons.

149 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ245: M. Damianoglou.

150 The *cizye* was the capitation tax paid by male non-Muslims. Halil İnalcık, "Cizye," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1993), 48.

151 The *temettü* was a tax paid by households (*hane*) that took revenues and properties (movable and immovable goods) into account. See Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Temettü Defterleri," *Belleten* 59, no.225 (1995): 397.

Table 8.1. Profession of the Christians of Niğde according to the *cizye* defteri of 1830-31.[152]

Profession	Registered workers	Profession	Registered workers
Aşçı (cooker)	3	Kasap (butcher)	1
Astarcı and terzi (tailos)	11	Kasaracı (deck builder)	4
Attar (perfumer, herbalist)	2	Kazgancı Çırağı (coppersmith apprentice)	2
Bakkal (grocer)	27	Keşiş, rahip and papaz (cleric)	9
Balıkçı (fisher)	2	Kibritçi (matchstick-seller)	1
Basmacı (printer)	16	Koltukçu (armchair seller)	1
Bekçi (watchman)	1	Kürekci (oarsman)	1
Bezzaz (cloth merchant)	6	Kuyumcu (jeweler)	7
Bohçacı (peddler)	2	Manav (fruit seller)	20
Boyacı (painter)	7	Meyhaneci (innkeeper)	21
Çiftçi (farmer)	4	Palancı (saddler)	1
Çulcu (haircloth merchant)	44	Papuççu and yemenici (shoemaker)	6
Değirmenci (miller)	4	Rençber and amele (daily worker)	75
Dülger (carpenter)	3	Sabuncu (soap seller)	1
Duhancı (tobacco merchant)	2	Salcı (builder of raft)	1
Ekmekçi (baker)	1	Sandalcı (boatman)	1
Eskici (cobbler)	2	Sebzevatçı (vegetable seller)	2
Hallaç (ironmonger)	23	Sucu (water seller)	3
Hamal and küfeci (porter)	4	Taşçı (stonemason)	1
Havyarcı (caviar merchant)	1	Temizlikçi (housekeeper)	1
Kalıpçı (maker of molds)	10	Tüccar (merchant)	79
Kantarcı (steelyards seller)	1	Yağcı (dealer in oil)	2

For the city of Kayseri, for instance, the comparison of an early *temettü* record (1834) of only Muslim households and the *cizye* record of 1843 shows that (despite the time lag) professions such as grocer, barber, bootmaker, ironworker, tobacco seller, tanner, leather-worker, felt fabric-maker, polisher, and builder were mainly practiced by Muslims, while shoemaker, clothmaker, peddler, jeweler, carpenter, cobbler, cauldronmaker, silk manufacturer, furrier, tailor, plasterer, stonemason, merchant, and commissioner were more often

152 According to data exposed in Doğan, "Hicri 1246 Tarihli Cizye" (2008), 22.

practiced by Christians – especially Armenians, who were by far the largest minority in the city (Table 8.2).

Table 8.2. Division of labor in the city of Kayseri according to religious belonging (*temettü defteri* of 1834 and *cizye defteri* of 1843.[153]

Profession (maker or seller)	Muslims (1834)	Armenians (1843)	Rums (1843)
Alcohol producer/seller	0	1	0
Baker/Oven owner	26	5	
Daily worker/Porter	8	12	1
Entertainment and services	48	33	3
Farmers	10	0	0
Grocers	15	0	2
Craftsmen	177	292	71
Health and education services	4	5	2
Insurer/banker/trader (other than agricultural products)	26	77	5
Livestock and processed animal products	24	30	2
Peddlers	0	86	6
Shoemakers	47	43	0
Textile trader	32	48	8
Trader (agricultural goods)	51	6	9
Wood/Charcoal seller	3	3	0

Let us point out that groceries of Kayseri were mainly owned by Muslims (fifteen Muslim *bakkal* in 1834, two Rum *bakkal* in 1843), while in Niğde, in view of the size of the town, we may assume that the twenty-seven Christian *bakkal* (Table 8.1) comprised most of the stores.

Official records only registered the main job of each person and do not help enlighten us about the potential multiplicity of jobs that a city-dweller or a villager may have practiced. Consequently, it is impossible to obtain a more accurate picture for the early decades of the nineteenth century. However, a few decades later, the pages of the *Annuaires orientaux* concerning the

153 The Table 8.2 has been created with data from a transcription by İsmet Demir of the temettü defteri of 1834 and from the work of Hamdi Doğan on the *cizye defteri* of 1843. İsmet Demir, *Kayseri temettuât defteri: H. 1250/M. 1834 tarihli*, III vols. (Kayseri: Kayseri Ticaret Odası Yayınları, 1999); Doğan, "Hicri 1246 Tarihli Cizye" (2008). A more detailed table is available in Appendix C3.

provinces – that is to say, those of the 1910ss, since earlier *Annuaires* are not sufficiently detailed for provinces – can a broader picture of the distribution of professions between Muslim and non-Muslim active populations. However, it is important to note that these directories mention only the name of the business owner, not the number and religious affiliation of employees. In the *Annuaire* of 1912, for instance, the same individual may appeared in various categories. In Nevşehir, J. K. Artemiadis was listed as livestock dealer [*Bestiaux (Nég.)*], grain dealer [*Céréales*], agent for all Anatolia of Metaxa cognac from Piraeus [*dépositaire pour toute l'Anatolie du cognac Metaxa du Pirée*[154]], flour dealer [*farine (nég)*], broker [*Négociants*], skin dealer [Peaux] – namely six categories that are all connected to trade. Similarly, in Niğde, J. A. Kyriakidis appeared in ten categories: commercial agent of the *Chemin de fer ottoman d'Anatolie,* matchstick dealer [*allumettes*], banker [*Banquier*], commission agent [*commissionaire*], colors and varnishes dealer [*couleurs et vernis*], agricultural machines [*machines agricoles*], hydraulic mill [*moulins hydrauliques*], prize bonds [*obligations à lots*], and postage stamps for collections [*timbres postes pour collections*]. All these activities can be summarized in two main categories: banking and trade. These two examples are exceptional, but it is not uncommon to see the same businessman listed under two or three categories in the directory.

It is interesting to note that Artemiadis in Nevşehir and Kyriakidis in Niğde were both honorary agents of the *Annuaire oriental* in their respective towns.[155] This may explain why they are mentioned in so many categories. As local agents of the directory, they benefitted from this position, using it as an advertising medium. This may also suggest that other individuals could potentially have been recorded in more categories than they actually practiced. We could also suppose that the honorary agents of the *Annuaire* in the provinces might have had the power to select those who would and would not be registered. In any case, names that appear in more than one category are actually mostly those of Christians – Rums, and to a lesser extent, Armenians who worked in banking and trade and for whom there was no real difference between being banker, moneylender, or dealer of grains, leather,

154 The Metaxa cognac is a Greek liqueur combining brandy, blended, wines, and flavorings.

155 "Annuaire" (1912), 1648-53.

and matchsticks! On the other hand, for professions that required specific knowledge, techniques, a particular formation, or even official authorization, "mono-activity" was a rule. Thus, in the *Annuaires*, names of artisans (tailors, stonemasons, blacksmiths, jewelers, and confectioners), doctors, and teachers do not appear in other categories.

Through the analysis of the *Annuaires,* comparisons between Niğde and Nevşehir, two towns of similar size and shared among different religious groups highlight the differences and similarities observed from one place to the other in terms of the division of the labor force vis-à-vis religious affiliation. Both towns appeared to have been dominated by Christian merchants, craftsmen, and shopkeepers. In Niğde, for instance, all the traders registered in the *Annuaire* of 1896 were Rums and Armenians. However, the short lists in this directory – as in other versions published in the period 1880-1900 – do not give a complete picture of the actual situation. They might not have recorded small Muslim and non-Muslim shopkeepers and retailers who confined themselves to supplying local demand. By contrast, later directories offer a more detailed inventory. In the 1912 *Annuaire* for Nevşehir as well as Niğde, Christians, although the minority, owned the large majority of craft and trade businesses, though Muslims were not altogether absent from these professions. Rates of commercial and artisanal activity were actually inversely proportional to ethnoreligious demographics: in Nevşehir, Muslims comprised around sixty-two percent of the total population but owned only thirty-seven percent of the businesses, while in Niğde, they comprised around sixty-eight percent of the city's dwellers but owned around twenty-nine percent of the businesses mentioned in the *Annuaire oriental* of 1912 (Table 8.3).

Table 8.3. Sharing (in %) of businesses according to ethnoreligious belonging and demographic sharing in Niğde and Nevşehir (according to the *Annuaire oriental* of 1912).[156]

	Nevşehir		Niğde	
	Muslim	Christian (Rum)	Muslim	Christian (Rum)
Businesses according to ethnoreligious belonging of the owner (%)	36,6	63,4 (53,4)	28,8	71,2 (54,5)
Demography according to ethnoreligious belonging (%)	62,8	37,2 (34,4)	68,6	30,4 (22,6)

Table 8.4. Main fields of activity and ethnoreligious belonging in Niğde and Nevşehir according to the *Annuaire oriental* of 1912.[157]

Professional category	Nevşehir			Niğde		
	Muslim	Rum	Armenian	Muslim	Rum	Armenian
Finance and insurance	1	9	9	4	13	0
Handicrafts	15	18	3	14	31	9
Groceries	15	23	5	13	15	10
Livestock and processed animal products	11	15	1	10	2	2
Agricultural products	17	14	0	10	15	5
Alcohol	0	3	0	0	4	0
Health services	1	4	0	1	13	0
Entertainment (coffeehouse, casinos…)	1	5	0	6	8	1

In specific fields, ethnoreligious groups clearly prevailed over others. In 1912, in both towns, finance, insurance, groceries, and health services were dominated by Rums. Similarly, as can be easily understood, the trade of alcohol was a Christian, or more precisely a Rum, monopoly. Craft workshops, too, were mainly owned by Christians, but the predominance of the latter was more marked in Niğde than in Nevşehir.[158] On the other hand, in Niğde, the trade of livestock (including processed animal products such as skin, leather,

156 "Annuaire" (1912). The percentages have been determined from the number of businesses – not of business owners – mentioned in the *Annuaire oriental* of 1912, since the same businessman could head several businesses.

157 Ibid., 1649-53. A detailed table is available in Appendix C4.

158 Of course, each craft was not shared between Christians and Muslims in equal proportion.

and salting casings) was mainly practiced by Muslims, while in Nevşehir, business owners in this category were mostly Rum. The converse can be said for other agricultural products. The sector was dominated by Muslims in Nevşehir but by Christians in Niğde. Finally, it is interesting to note that services such as restaurants, coffeehouses, and casinos were almost exclusively in the hands of Rums in Nevşehir while Muslims had a strong presence in the field in Niğde (Table 8.4).

The professional unions of the nineteenth century reinforce the idea of specialization in professional domains. In early centuries, Ottoman guilds (*lonca* and sometimes *esnaf*), were often based on city divisions, were religiously mixed, included male members and could employ women. The latter could also be members, especially if they inherited a workshop from a male relative.[159] On the other hand, the historiography of the nineteenth century presents it as a time a decline for the guild system. From the mid-eighteenth century, craft guilds evolved from state-bound institutions to autonomous structures and began to be exposed to growing economic domination by foreigners and non-Muslims of the empire.[160] The abolition of the Janissary corps – which had been particularly important for the ascendancy of the guilds[161] – in 1826 and the *Tanzimat* – which among other goals, aimed to abolish economic monopolies – in 1839 led to significant revisions of the status of guilds. They lost the privileges formerly granted by the state and experienced a general decline until their official abolition in the early 1910s. To cope with this changing situation, some weakened guilds merged into umbrella organizations on the basis of either geography (associations of guilds of various cities) or sectors (associations of guilds in the same town and belonging to broad sectors of activity – for instance textile production).[162] Others turned into private enterprises, associations, or professional unions, though the "craftsmen's associations" created at the

159 İnalcık and Quataert, *Economic and Social History*, II (1997), 894.

160 Yıldırım, "Ottoman Guilds as a Setting" (2002): 409-11.

161 Regarding the connection between the Janissary corps and the *esnaf* in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Noémi Lévy-Aksu, *Ordre et désordres dans l'Istanbul ottomane, 1879-1909: de l'état au quartier*, Paris: Karthala, 2013, 71-72.

162 İnalcık and Quataert, *Economic and Social History*, II (1997), 894.

beginning of the Young Turks' period and intended as a substitute for traditional guilds experienced limited success.[163] Amidst this general decline, however, some guilds were spared, especially in the capital where there were still at least 287 separate guilds. The situation of guilds in Istanbul and large economic centers such as Bursa, Aleppo, and Izmir, however, cannot be compared to the cases of smaller towns such as those in Cappadocia.[164]

The idea of an ethnoreligious division of labor corresponds to a relatively late socio-professional distribution. For instance, in analyzing the builders' guild of the mid-nineteenth century in Damascus, Randi Deguilhem showed that the guild was religiously mixed in the 1840s,, but by 1883 it had turned into an entirely Christian organization. This evolution was certainly the result of interreligious tensions and massacres that occurred in the 1860s.[165] Suraiya Faroqhi summarized this empire-wide evolution as follows:

> In the nineteenth-century, the number of guilds in which a single religious or denomination predominated seems to have grown […]. In the historiography of the few last decades, it has often been assumed that this growing segregation on religious/denominational grounds was due to the fact that non-Muslim craftsmen could adjust more easily to the capitalist market dominated by European traders moreover, wealthy non-Muslims were now less willing to defer to Muslims and this change in attitudes exacerbated bad feelings.[166]

According to Onur Yıldırım, non-Muslims…

> … began to present different patterns of behavior in their market activities […] Unlike the Muslim craftsmen, who opted to stay within their guilds, the non-Muslim artisans, who began to feel uncomfortable in organizations in which their potential expansion

163 Yıldırım, "Ottoman Guilds as a Setting" (2002): 75-76.

164 İnalcık and Quataert, *Economic and Social History*, II (1997), 896.

165 Randi Deguilhem, "Shared Space of Contested Space," in *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East: Fashioning the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean*, edited by S. Faroqhi and R. Deguilhem (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 274.

166 Suraiya Faroqhi, "Understanding Ottoman Guilds," in Ibid. (2005), 15-16.

> was limited, chose either to organize themselves in separate guilds or turn into independent artisans or guild-free craftsmen and shopkeepers.[167]

In the last third of the nineteenth century, the increasing number of fraternities and unions created by Cappadocian Christians according to professional specialty and a shared native land corresponds to the movement of non-Muslims away from the guild system.

Contrary to large cities for which we have numerous studies focusing on the role of guilds and unions in the economic and everyday life of workers, it is difficult to obtain an accurate picture of their role in smaller settlements. We already mentioned in the Chapter five the existence of professional unions in several large villages and towns in Cappadocia. The case of Ürgüp is particularly interesting since its artisans, mostly but not only Rums, were organized at the turn of the twentieth century into more than a dozen profession unions (or "funds," *kasa* in Turkish, *tameio* in Greek) managed by craft collectives (the funds of builders, sailors, shoemakers, stone carvers, etc.). Beyond the assistance to their own adherents, these funds participated in the philanthropic activities organized in the town under the auspices of the Charitable Association of the Prokopiotes.[168] Other towns and large villages of Cappadocia such as Sinasos, Gelveri, Fertek, and İncesu had their own professional unions which were often headquartered and managed by migrants in Istanbul as well as other associations managed in situ or in another city of migration.[169] In analyzing the Armenian community of the city of Kayseri in the nineteenth century, Bedross der Matossian does not mention the existence of such a system among Armenian craftsmen. Rather he notes a sharing of domains according to family specialization.[170]

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167 Yıldırım, "Ottoman Guilds as a Setting" (2002): 411-12.

168 Kontogiannis, *Γεωγραφία της Μικράς Ασίας* (1921), 154; Istikopoulou, *Η ελληνική ταπητουργία* (2000), 42-56.

169 See Chapter 6.2.

170 For instance, der Matossian notes that the production and sale of pastırma was mostly an Armenian monopoly, dominated by the Shalejian and Mayisian families, among others. More generally, throughout the nineteenth century, Armenians of the region experienced changes that were comparable to those experienced by the Rums, especially in matters of emigration

8.3.3 *Intercommunal Economic Relations in the Light of Loans, Debts and Deeds of Sale*

Despite Islamic prohibitions against interest and usury and the absence of established forms of banking, Ottoman society relied on systems of borrowing and moneylending. Taking out loans for personal or professional needs was already common in the mid-sixteenth century. At that time, moneylending *vakıfs* were numerous in cities, and borrowers could also rely on private lenders. Based on early seventeenth-century Islamic court records of Kayseri and to a lesser extent, those of Amasya, Trabzon, and Karaman, Ronald Jennings has shown that moneylending was a widespread practice in urban as well as rural society. He has highlighted that in most cases, loans were instituted on a one to one ("atomistic") basis, sometimes inside families, and did not "hang too heavily the debtors."[171] Moreover, contrary to common perception, "Muslims (i.e Turks) were prominent in the local money lending and credit business of Kayseri even though they had to compete with both Greek orthodox Chritsians (Rum) and Armenians, who made up 22 percent of the population of the city."[172] Of the 1400 cases studied, non-Muslims gave eighteen percent and received twenty-two percent of the total credit, ratios proportional to demographical shares in the kaza of Kayseri.

Through a similar but far more modest scale study of cases available in the BOA, we ask if the "great deal of interconnection and interdependence

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and the increase in philanthropic and educational associations. Der Matossian, "Ottoman Armenian Kesaria" (2013), 200. Regarding emigration and educational and philanthropic associations in Kayseri and the surrounding Armenian villages see Ibid., 202-33; Georgelin, "Armenians in Late Ottoman" (2013), 237-40.

171 Kadı court records only consider the nuclear family and do not identify distant kinships. As a result, even though it certainly occurred, it is not possible to ascertain what credit was established between relatives. Within the nuclear family, however, Jennings found cases of loans extended from father to son and even from wife to husband (or reciprocally). Ronald C. Jennings, "Loans and Credit in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records the Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 16, no.1 (1973): 192.

172 Ibid., 180-83. Jennings also shows that, "despite the zimmi disability, in accordance with the sharia, of being unable to bear formal witness against a Muslim, zimmis were obviously integrated into the sharia court system of seventeenth century Anatolia."

between the millets"[173] observable in seventeenth-century credit market continued to be pertinent in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In spite of the development of banking activities in Ottoman territories, central Anatolian society remained largely based on traditional systems of payment and credit. Even in the 1900s, the number of banks, bankers, and moneylenders (*sarraf*) that had become established in the towns of Cappadocia was limited. Monetized economic relations, as with non-monetized ones, were generally realized in the form of loans or debts between private individuals. However, it was common that the seller or loan provider waited longer than expected and filed complaints to local courts. According to the issue and the individuals concerned, these complaints weretaken up by the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of the Interior, and, when it involved non-Ottoman citizens, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Some 205 documents issued between 1844 and 1900 have been found concerning at least one inhabitant of Cappadocia (as either creditor or debtor). Most are complaints of creditors who did not succeed in getting back their payment, because the debtor died (and the loan was transferred to his or her heirs), for because he or she was unable to pay or otherwise refused to pay. In this small sample, forty-seven percent of the total cases concerned intra-communal relations, among which fifty-three percent occurred between Rums. With respect to intercommunal cases, European creditors were mainly British, Russian, Austrian, and Greek citizens and may have formerly been Ottoman citizens, but the documents do not provide sufficient details about their identities.[174] Consequently, if we set

173 Ibid., 182.

174 Regarding change of citizenship, see, for the Izmir region, Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi* (1974), 35-36. Some foreigners involved in trade in Cappadocia were also (former) Ottoman subjects – Rums, Armenians, but also Turks – who had acquired Western citizenship. In the face of difficulties engendered by citizenship changes, the Ottoman state promulgated a regulation on Ottoman nationality (*Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunnamesi*) in 1869, explaining that each Ottoman citizen (*tebea*) who changed his citizenship without the authorization of the Ottoman administration would stil be considered Ottoman citizen (Article 5). Anyone living in Ottoman territories would be regarded as an Ottoman citizen as long as their foreign nationality could not be proved (Article 9). Several BOA documents show that Cappadocian merchants, Rums, Armenians and Muslims had acquired a foreign citizenship and were active in local trade. We however found too few cases to propose more details on this issue. BOA

cases concerning European creditors aside from the total, intercommunal credits consisted mostly of loans by Muslims (51.3 percent), mostly to Rums (ninety percent). All complaints by Rum creditors about non-Rum debtors involved Muslims.[175] (Table 8.5)

Table 8.5. Creditors and debtors in Cappadocia according to religious affiliations (1844-1900)

Creditor	Debtor	Number of cases	Intra-communal	Intercommunal (including non-Ottomans)	Intercommunal (only Ottomans)
Armenian	Armenian	15	15		
	Muslim	6		14	14
	Rum	8			
Muslim	Muslim	31	31		
	Rum	36		40	40
	Armenian	4			
Rum	Rum	52	52		
	Muslim	23		23	23
	Armenian	0			
Jew	Rum	1		1	1
European (including naturalized)	Armenian	2		29	
	Muslim	10			
	Rum	17			
Total cases		205	98	107	78
Total (%)		100	47.8	52.2	30.0

In our sample, European and Ottoman merchants [*tüccar*] were most numerous among creditors (around forty percent of cases in which the profession of the creditor is clearly mentioned), followed by insurers [*poliçeci*] (seventy percent), professional moneylenders [*sarraf*] (nine percent), and grocers [*bakkal*] (eight percent). While the large majority of these cases concerned male creditors and debtors, eight female creditors and seven

HR.HMŞ.İŞO 219/6 (1301-Ks-25/06.02.1886). BOA, DH.MKT 1535/45 (1305-Z-18/26.08.1888). BOA, DH.TMIK.M 126/31 (1320-Ra-25/02.07.1902). BOA, SN.THR 17/83 (1329-S-11/11.02.1911).

175 Cases concerning Armenian creditors and/or debtors are concentrated in the city of Kayseri and certain villages supporting an Armenian community. That is why their number is limited. Elsewhere, cases mostly involved Muslims and Rums.

debtors were involved in fourteen cases (one of which concerned a loan given by one woman to another). Whether we look from the professional or gender perspective, proportion of intra- and intercommunal relations are almost equal.

Even though the sample is limited, it allows us to challenge the idea of a deeply divided economic environment dominated by non-Muslims. Muslim creditors appear to have been almost as numerous as Christian creditors, while outstanding debts were owed by Christians as often as by Muslims. Moreover, it enables us to emphasize the numerous economic relations that members of different religious communities could have. When it came to purchasing real estate or merchandise, borrowing money, or taking out an insurance policy, people did not take into account or at least gave little importance to the religious belonging of those with whom they conducted business. Furthermore, the cases show that transactions occurring between members of different religious communities were not unidirectional. Unlike the classical assumption that non-Muslims owned economic and monetary power, an important number of the cases show that moneylenders were often Muslims and that Christians might regularly call upon the services of Muslim lenders.

§ 8.4 Conclusion

This chapter shows that rather than being directly connected to religious (or ethnic) belonging, division of labor is dependent on a combination of contextual factors including geographical, social, educational, family, and – subordinately – ethnoreligious background. If Rums appeared to be more intensely involved in handicrafts and trade, craftsmen and traders were also numerous among Muslims, and all were engaged in local trade. Nevertheless, in the villages and towns of Cappadocia, the majority of households made a living from agricultural activities even into the early twentieth century, and they generally combined several activities to complete their incomes. Contrary to what Ramsay wrote, merchants, muleteers, and camel drivers as well as skilled and unskilled workers could be Muslim or Christian.

In terms of regional and local exchanges, communal belonging again often remained in the background behind factors such as travel distance and quality

or price of goods. If official business partnerships (*ortaklık)* between Muslims and non-Muslims were rare (but not nonexistent), cases of intercommunal tenant farming and employment were numerous. Shortage of local manpower, equipment, and infrastructure; natural conditions; and transportation shortcomings led inhabitants of towns and villages to do the best they could with the means at their disposal and, if necessary, to cooperate with neighbors, whether or not they belonged to the same *millet*.

Even though boundaries between urban and rural environments were confused, in terms of the socio-professional organization of inhabitants, two tendencies defined urbanity and rurality. On one hand, in villages with agriculture-oriented organization, the capacity to carry on several manual jobs was often a necessity. On the other hand, in towns, a tendency toward professional specialization is evident over the course of the nineteenth century, due to demographic concentration, labor force capacities, and development of new economic activities. Moreover, the range of occupations in towns was wider than in villages and included a scope of services that were not available in villages and that required, such as banking, insurance, medicine, pharmacy, library, and entertainements.

While pluriactivity and specialization seem to separate rural and urban active populations, both tendencies led to similar consequences for intercommunal relations. The relative withdrawal of Rums from agriculture, their engagement in trade, and especially their migration to the largest cities of the empire indeed improved local economic relations in the same manner. Often described as a domination of the economy by Christians vis-à-vis Muslims, this progressive reconfiguration of economic and professional activities that took place in towns and villages throughout the nineteenth century led to the restructuring of intercommunal relations and reinforced the necessity to "make collectivity." At the local and regional levels, economic and professional reconfiguration crystallized the interdependencies among individuals. In the rural context, Rum households more and more relied on a Muslim labor force to work in fields and organize transportation structures and local trade, while Muslim households benefitted from the new perspectives made possible by the emigration of Rums and the latter's ability to invest in their own community, as well as in the structures and infrastructure of their collectivity. In towns, a similar intensification of

interdependency appears. Regardless of their religious affiliation, all dwellers were consumers and consequently needed to draw on the services provided by members of other communities more-or-less regularly. As a result, in rural pluriactivity and urban specialization, the reconfiguration of professional distribution, economic structures, and networks combined with social changes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought about intensified intercommunal economic relations and strengthened collectivities.

PART III

TO CROSS BOUNDARIES

9

Religious Conversions and Matrimonial Strategies: A Bridge between Groups?

> *Eighty years earlier, a Christian woman has converted to Islam with her child because she has married a Turk. Her grandchildren have become the worst Turks. They were throwing stones at the St. George Church adjoining the Turkish quarter.*
>
> – Heraclea Palazoglou, refugee from Zincidere[1]

Conversion or apostasy – it depends on the point of view of the receiving or losing religion – implies the passing of a person (or group of persons) from one religion to another as well as the rejection of one way of life for another.[2] It signifies, theoretically, the abandonment of a religion and, with it, of a community to enter a new frame. From one point of view, the convert leaves the community, the "ours," and becomes one of the "others"; from the other point of view, he leaves the community of the "other" to enter "us." As such, it is also a crossing: a violation of the (religious) community borders. A priori, the act of conversion, whether individual or collective, does not create a state

1 "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, ΚΠ75.

2 John Bowker, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of World Religions* (Oxford Oxford University Press, 2000).

of relation between two groups, since converts are leaving one a group for another. The conversion, as a process of passing through, transcends and erases boundaries between communities but simultaneously, as a process of crossing, confirms and reaffirms them. It involves the convert but also his or her entourage, family, relatives, and friends who, whether they belong to the forsaken or to the adopted community, experience, from outside the erasing and reassertion of religious divisions.

Could there be any religious conviction behind conversion? Jessica Coope postulated that there are two kinds of conversion. She compares the case of Augustine, motivated by his particular family history, personality, and his intellectual, spiritual quest for meaning, to the conversion of Clovis, whose main goal was to ally with the Gallo-Roman aristocracy and the prestigious political and cultural tradition of the Roman Empire. While the conversion of Augustine looks "sincere," the one of Clovis looks "hypocritical," because it does not correspond to real belief but simply to a shift in cultural and social identity. However, Coope notes that "this is not to say that individual spiritual and emotional needs played no role in these conversions. Along with whatever internal shifts in perception accompanied conversion, however, a change in religious affiliation involved practical and dramatic changes in people's social ties and cultural practices."[3]

Conversion was a clear crossing of borders between religious groups defined by their differences in dogma and catechesis as well as by their socio-political situations in a society organized according to religious affiliation. In the Ottoman Empire, conversion to Islam meant a shift from the politically dominated group to the dominant group, and despite the declaration of equality of all subjects regardless of their religious belonging as part of the Tanzimat, the political hierarchy between Islam and other religions was maintained. Non-Muslims who converted to Islam theoretically moved up to a politically higher category of subjects. However, in social terms, it did not necessarily mean that converts to Islam improved their social status or that the status of converts to Christianity deteriorated. Moreover, in terms of spirituality, converts did not necessarily radically change their beliefs or their

3 Jessica A. Coope, "Religious and Cultural Conversion to Islam in Ninth-Century Umayyad Córdoba," *Journal of World History* 4, no.1 (1993): 48.

religiosity in the sense of devoutness to God, regardless of their dogmatic affiliation.

Religious conversion in the Ottoman Empire is a widely studied topic, especially for the classical period and in the Balkans.[4] In this context, "crypto-religions" – the crypto-Christians of the Black Sea region (Rums or "Armenians Hemshins"), and the "Jewish Dönmes" in the western parts of the Ottoman Empire who converted to Islam but secretely practiced Christian or Jewish rites – have been the subject of particular interest.[5]

However, works dedicated to the process of conversion are often exclusive, not because they observe conversion as an isolated phenomenon – most studies take into account political, economic or religious and cultural contexts – but because they detach conversion from other forms of communal boundary crossing. In this chapter, we ask if we can consider the act of conversion not only as a passage from one community to another, but as a way of connecting communities, if only temporarily. It is a passage for the convert who leaves a group for another with all the implications this change can have. But it can be a way of connecting for the convert's family and for relatives in both the "original" and "adoptive" communities. Krstić noted:

> Tolerance and coexistence were phenomena that attained meaning in local contexts depending on a complex interplay of (inter)communal, imperial and international conditions informing particular cases of conversion and apostasy […]. General imperial and shariatic principles, such as dhimma were negotiated, accepted, modified or contra-

4 Deringil, ""There is no Compulsion"" (2000); Heyberger, "Frontières confessionnelles" (2001); Minkov, *Conversion to Islam*, 2004; Baer, "Islamic Conversion Narratives" (2004); Baer, Makdisi, and Shryock, "Tolerance and Conversion" (2009); Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, (2011); Grivaud and (dir.), *Les conversions à l'islam* (2011); Baer, *Honored by the Glory* (2011); Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy* (2012).

5 For an overview, see Skendi, "Crypto-Christianity in the Balkan Area" (1967); Reinkowski, "Hidden Believers, Hidden Apostates" (2007). Other studies are referenced in footnote 19 of the introductory chapter.

> dicted in local contexts through interactions among members of religious difference and adapt to it in order to reach a modicum of coexistence.[6]

Obviously, in any century of Ottoman society, conversion to Islam (*ihtida*) was the most common change of faith. However, with the expansion of western missionary activities in the nineteenth century, cases of conversion of Rums and Armenians to Catholicism or Protestantism occurred. Furthermore, apostasy from Islam (*irtidad*) was forbidden and punished by death according to Islamic law. Even though in the Tanzimat period, Ottoman law began to be more accommodating to apostates, this act, in the context of rising of nationalism, was regarded, in the words of Selim Deringil, as a "double insult because it flew in the face of centuries of assumed superiority."[7] And yet, examples, albeit rare, can be found in Anatolia as elsewhere in the empire.

Working on seventheenth- and eighteenth-century Ottoman Syria, Bernard Heyberger has noted that Christian primary sources were particularly silent about conversion of ordinary people (especially women), focused instead on the apostasy of notables, because, Heyberger supposed, "the little people did not seem worthy of narrative and did not call into question the life of Christian communities, unlike notables."[8] Nonetheless, the scarcity of documents shows *per se* that conversion was not a massive phenomenon. Cases encountered by Heyberger in Syrian Christian sources led to the conclusion that conversion from Christianity to Islam remained a limited practice of mostly individuals and rarely entire families or communities.[9] Popular practices in Eastern Christianity and Islam were similar, and signs of religious affiliation were "communal" and "externalized," that is to say collectively (rather than individually) apparent through fasting, liturgy, and rites of passage. In this context, the passage of an isolated believer – especially when indigent – from one community to another was neither

6 Krstić, *Contested Conversions* (2011), 164.

7 Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy* (2012), 7. Zervoudaki, "Τα ηθη και τα εθιμα" (1896-1904).

8 Bernard Heyberger and Rémy Madinier (eds.), *L'Islam des marges. Mission chrétienne et espaces périphériques du monde musulman xvie-xxe siècles* (Paris: IISMM-Karthala, 2011), 134.

9 Ibid., 133-34.

necessarily experienced by the communities nor by the convert him or herself as a major spiritual shift. According to the words of Heyberger:

> When we set aside from institutional practices, points of contact between the expression of the sacred in both religions [Christianity and Islam] are far more numerous. […] These interferences favor syncretism, which, in a way, denies conversion. If both religions are the same, there is no longer a need to cross a border; one can simply assimilate the elements of the other. But if, for a social reason, it becomes pressing to move from Christianity to Islam, this change does not necessarily look like a rupture, and one can attempt to reconcile both identities.[10]

Conversion was theoretically a transitional time since, once converted, the converts should be fully considered as Muslim. However, often, at least for a while, the converts maintain a position "in-between" the original community and the new one. They are "betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by laws, custom, convention, and ceremony."[11] This is what Victor Turner calls "liminality" in the context of his study of rites of passage. The duration of the "in-betwixt situation" was theoretically limited but practically could be lasting; converts often continued to have ties with their birth family and keep some practices "inherited" from it. But also, their new community often welcomed them with suspicion.

Religious conversion was thus often negotiated, and sometimes distorted. According to Deringil, it was used as…

> … a negotiating space by various actors – the state, Muslim subjects, non-Muslim communities and individuals, foreign powers. […] The negotiation process, therefore, often take place between highly unequal parties. The negotiation space can also be used by people who do

10 Heyberger, "Frontières confessionnalles" (2001), 246. Regarding popular beliefs and points of contact, see Chapter 10.

11 Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine de Gruyter, 1969), 95.

> not even know they are negotiating, like children who run away from their parents' beatings and take refuge with a Muslim neighbor.[12]

As a negotiating space, conversion can also be observed as a way of thwarting rules used by "people who sought to manipulate, bend, outwit, collaborate with, or become invisible to a system of power that was, itself, making up the rules as it went along."[13] In this sense, it enters in the field of Certeau's "arts of doing" since it is a diversion in a space instituted by the other and based on a network of powers and representations – a way of using the established, constraining order without leaving the place. "The individual [or anonymous hero] institutes plurality and creativity by the art of the in-between, from which he draws out unexpected effects."[14] These unexpected effects created by the converts and the people surrounding them are described and analyzed in this chapter.

Throughout the Ottoman period, the composition of population of Anatolia experienced many evolutions. Intermingling of populations – natives and migrants, Christians and Muslims – created an intricate local society with local specificities. Travelling in Anatolia in the late nineteenth century, Ramsay pointed out:

> A considerable part of the Christian population of central Anatolia turned Moslem during the first two or three centuries of Turkish rule, and the Mohammedanised Christian population has melted into, or perhaps has absorbed into itself, the settled and more adaptable part of the Turkish population. In Phrygia and Psidia, the Christian population disappeared almost entirely; and the whole country became Mahommedan, except a few small Christian settlements […] On the other hand Cappadocia, where the Orthodox Church had been far more completely victorious, has a very much larger Christian population.[15]

Even though we focus on relations between Muslims and Orthodox Christians and consequently on the conversions occurring between these two religious

12 Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy* (2012), 255.

13 Ibid., 258.

14 De Certeau, *Arts de Faire* (1988), 51 (French edition).

15 Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey* (1897), 94-95.

groups, we also analyze and compare other cases, especially of conversions of Armenians to Islam and conversions from Eastern Christianities (mainly the Greek-Orthodox and Armenian Apostolic Churches) and, to a lesser extent, from Islam to "Western" confessions introduced in Anatolia by American and European missionaries – namely Protestantism and Catholicism.

In terms of sources, as expected, there are no details about the conversion of Christians in the records of Orthodox parishes of Cappadocia. When a member of the parish converted to Islam, his or her departure from the community was not registered – his or her name was not stricken off. On the other hand, in the records of kadı courts, the admission of a new member to the community of the faithful was recorded. When the conversion was problematic, either because the family did not accept the conversion of one of its members, or because the conversion did seem sincere in the eyes of Muslims, the case could go to central administration in Istanbul. As a result, interesting cases can be encountered in the BOA (mainly in the series HR.SFR, HR.MKT, MVL, A.MKT.UM, DH.MKT, and DH.ID). Furthermore, the OTA provides many valuable testimonies dealing with what informants and interviewers called "Turkification" (*τουρκεύω*: "to become Turk," which is to say a Muslim).[16] Needless to say, conversion was usually a unidirectional process from Christianity to Islam. Cases of conversion from Islam to Christianity are scarce in these two series of sources. The few cases encountered are thus particularly useful to observe the reactions of relatives and communities in the face of such exceptional situations. On the other hand, we cannot forget that given intense missionary activities in Anatolia, conversions occurred from one Christian confession to another. Conversion to Protestantism or Catholicism mainly occurred among Armenians, though a few cases are also documented among Rums. In these cases, the archives previously cited are (almost) completely silent. Rare BOA documents give information about missions and their efficiency in terms of conversion. The main sources for this are the memoirs of missionaries and the reports of the missions themselves which relate and describe – precisely but not without bias – the number of converts, the process of conversion, the lives of new converts,

16 On the ethnoreligious assimilation of Turks/Muslims, see Chapter 3.

and especially the difficulties they have living in peace.[17] The combination of these different sources gives an interesting picture of the role of conversion in nineteenth-century Ottoman society, especially in a rural context like Cappadocia. It also allows us to perceive the situation of converts in the face of the reactions of relatives and acquaintances in both their former and new communities.

Primary sources show that conversion in nineteenth-century Cappadocia – in peacetime – went hand-in-hand with marriage, the convert generally being a woman. For this reason, we study take up the issues of religious conversions and matrimonial strategies in the same chapter. Marriage is one of the most basic ways to cross boundaries between groups, whether they be boundaries between members of the same faith living in different settlements or – generally combined with religious conversion – between families of different religious communities living in the same or in different settlements.

Rather than a serial or quantitative study of conversion, for which there is certainly not enough data, we describe particular cases and specific situations, placing them in their social, cultural, and kinship environment. Collective conversion is a topic frequently mentioned in the OTA but informants described it as a historical issue they associat with the time of their grandparents and even more remote ancestors. The maintenance of these stories throughout generations, however, testifies that such conversion, even when it did happen, was neither regular nor massive. It belonged to the narrative tradition of non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman Empire for which stories of conversion to Islam, whether collective or individual, were designed to strengthten communal cohesion in the face of another, dominant religion.

§ 9.1 Collective vs. Individual Conversions

Before getting to the heart of the matter of nineteenth-century conversion in Cappadocia, it is useful to have an overview of conversion in earlier periods to better understand the continuities and contrasts. Conversion to Islam was

17 The description by J.O. Barrows of the Greek Protestants of Ürgüp is an obvious example. See Barrows, *On Horseback* (1884)

never a goal *per se* for Ottoman rulers. Except in particular times, even from the arrival of first Turkish conquerors, conversion of the local Christian population was relatively rare in Anatolia. Turkish leaders had no particular interest in the conversion of Christian subjects. Forced conversions were most frequently the result of pressure of Muslim worshippers who tried to force Christians into apostasy. Numerous hagiographies of neo-martyrs –namely martyrs who died under non-christian rulers in post-medieval period – refusing to convert to Islam describe the difficulties endured by non-Muslims. "Voluntary" conversions also happened, especially by intermarriage of a Muslim man and Christian woman (the converse of which is forbidden by Islamic law). This way of conversion, which seems to have played an important role in the integration and absorption of Christian elements into a progressively Islamizing society through the demographic decline of Christians and the growth of the Muslim population.[18] Another way of conversion was the Ottoman system of slave administration and slave soldiery called *devşirme*. Young non-Muslims were taken from their families and educated for specific purposes according to their own abilities. They then converted to Islam and were enrolled in Ottoman administrative or military bodies. One of the most famous Cappadocian children thus enrolled was Mimar Sinan, a Christian born in the village of Ağırnas who became the most celebrated architect of the Ottoman period.[19]

Scholars have shown that conversions happened more intensely in the popular *milieu* than among the local Christian aristocracy who, when they did not flee, maintained their Christian creed but accommodated themselves to their Muslim rulers, often entering into the sultan's service in military or administrative offices.[20] Taxation of non-Muslims is often presented as the main reason for conversion and as the explanation for the massive conversion phenomena. However, Molly Greene notes that an important conversion movement to Islam within Ottoman borders occurred in the sixteenth century.

18 Minkov, *Conversion to Islam* (2004), 20.

19 Emmanouil I. Tsalikoglou, "Πότε και πως ετουρκοφώνησεν η Καππαδοκία" [When and How did Cappadocia Become Turkish-speaking, *Ανατυπο απο τα Μικρασιατικα Χρονικα* 14 (1976). Regarding the *devşirme,* see Quataert, *Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (2005), 30-31.

20 Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism* (1971), 230-32.

During this time, taxes were particularly low and consequently cannot explain the concurrent conversion rate. On the other hand, the decreasing presence of Christian clergymen can be correlated with the increase of the conversion rate. In the 1490s, in the region of Trabzon, there was one clergyman for forty households. Less than fifty percent of the population was Muslim, while in the second part of the sixteenth century, the proportion of Muslim population increased to fifty-four percent. The number of local Christian clergymen slumped to only one for every 480 households.[21] Equivalent evolutions occurred in most Anatolian dioceses up until the end of the sixteenth century, which was characterized by a renewal of the Orthodox Church.

The conversion phenomenon needs also to be put into perspective with the urbanization of the Christian population linked to migration from the countryside to provincial urban centers. In sixteenth-century Cappadocia, this population movement was directed towards towns such as Kayseri, Aksaray, and Niğde. According to Molly Greene, the new town dwellers appeared to convert to Islam more easily than people remaining in villages, these urban conversions being isolated individuals or sometimes families, but not entire communities. Greene explained this situation by the fact that urban life gave individuals new areas of social change, conversion to Islam brought them new opportunities especially in the economic field.[22] It can also be connected to the fact that in the urban environment, the religious administration (for Muslims as well as for non-Muslims) was more present and better controlled their flocks than in villages where the religious practices of the faithful were less supervised. Especially in religiously-mixed contexts, villagers were likely to practice "hybrid rites" instead of officially converting.[23]

Mass conversions to Islam are a well-known leitmotiv in the narrative traditions of minorities of the Ottoman Empire. In popular stories, mass conversions are more or less synonymous with compulsory conversion. Numerous hagiographies of Anatolian saints from the late Byzantine or Ottoman periods

21 Molly Greene, "1453: How Important Was It?" (Paper presented at the The 32nd Annual Walton Lecture in honor of Gennadius Librarian Francis R. Walton, Gennadius Library, Athens, October 30, 2012).

22 Ibid.

23 Regarding "hybrid" or "shared" rituals, see Chapter 10.

take part in this tradition. But as a literary genre, there are intellectualized, religiously institutionalized legends about failed attempts of forced conversion to Islam or, rather, failed attempts of compulsory apostasy from Christianity.[24] In the OTA, informants who talked about forced or mass conversions situated their narrative in the times of their grandparents (corresponding to the early decades of the nineteenth century) or in a distant, unknown past. According to these stories, apostasy from Christianity was forced by the Turks (whether the local population or state representatives) but was sometimes simply the consequence of fear of the Turks.

> The Turks said that, in the past, their village [Eskigümüş, Niğde] was a Rum village. But they did not know when it had been Turkified. In Eskigümüş, there was a cave church. I did not know its exact location, but the Turks knew it and told me.[25]

When they talked about the "time of their grandparents," informants insisted that attempts of forced Turkification were in vain or at least only partially successful.

> My grandfather escaped from Burunguz and settled in Ağırnas because his village had been Turkified and he did not want to become a Turk.[26]
>
> My father did not experience it, but my grandmother said it happened when she was a child. The sultan proclaimed a decree announcing that Christians had to Turkify or be beaten. Turks came to Misti and found nobody because the inhabitants were hidden in caves where, apparently, there was no access to water. Actually, Mistiotes had access to water on account of deep wells. The Turks tried to lower buckets, but each time, the Mistiotes cut the ropes. After passing through five or six rooms, there was a door blocked by a millstone. The Turks waited next to the door for one or two days and then broke camp

24 For an analysis of hagiographic literature in Anatolia, see Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism* (1971).

25 "ΚΠ 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, ΚΠ205: L. Koupelis.

26 "ΚΠ 49-52 Agirnas," 1950s, ΚΠ49: E. Ananiadi.

> because they could do nothing. The Mistiotes went out to load supplies and retrieve their livestock and then went back to their hiding place. Later, when the Turks dropped the decree, the inhabitants left their caves.[27]

Often, the Turkification of a village is the topic of local legends relating to how and when the forced conversion of the community happened. In Rum communities, it also enables people to explain the origins of the community they belonged to and to prove that their ancestors were good Christians who refused to commit apostasy. Thus, within a community forced to Turkify, there were those who decided to stay and, consequently, to convert, and there were those who preferred to leave rather than commit apostasy:

> There was an ancient Greek village, near Aravissos [Arapsun], called Saranda. Christians of this village, to avoid Turkification, came to İncesu and built their houses here. It was in 1666. Forty Christians of Saranda became the martyrs of Kara Mustafa Paşa.[28]

Turkification of entire communities was nevertheless not presented only as the result of pressure. The story of the Turkification of the cillage of Citlavik, near Zincidere, is interesting because it tells how the community decided, as a whole, to voluntarily convert to Islam because of discord with the Metropolitan of Kayseri:

> Christians of the village of Citlavik had Turkified. Greeks of Citlavik were farmers. They worked hard to cultivate and harvest lentils. 100-150 years earlier they went to the *despot* [metropolitan bishop] to give him their crop and offer him milk, but he refused the gift. A significant part of the inhabitants was outraged and went to the *müfti* to convert to Islam. The *müfti*, pleased and flattered, converted them for their wellness and for the exemption of taxes on pairs of oxen. Those who

27 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ242: M. Damianoglou.

28 "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, ΚΠ78: G. Sahnidis. In this story, the mythic, mystical aspect of Turkification of the village is apparent in the name of the village itself – "Saranda" – which means "forty" in Greek. The number of Christian martyrs mentioned in the story is 40. Coincidence?

> did not convert settled in Tavlosoun, in Germir, and in its surroundings. Among the descendants of the Christians of Citlavik who settled in Tavlosoun was the politician Emmanouilidis.[29]

Another informant from Germir explained that the inhabitants of Citlavik attacked the Christians of Germir in 1896 with the intention of killing all the Christians, but were stopped by the Muslims of Germir.[30] Does this suggest that the former Rum population that had converted to Islam in an earlier period became more ferocious than other Muslims (or Turks) of the region? Of course, we cannot answer this question without more detail. On the other hand, in contemporary Kayseri, popular narratives and local history buffs claim that inhabitants of the former village of Citlavik (which is today a district of the city of Kayseri) were actually sedentarized Turkmens and do not mention the presence of a former Rum community. Even though it remains difficult to confirm, the story narrated by Bostanzioglou on the mass conversion of Citlavik's Rum*s* is interesting not for its veracity but for the surprising reason given for the conversion: vexation with the Metropolitan of Kayseri rather than pressure by Muslim authorities or the surrounding populations. Moreover, if we assume that this story was told within the Rum communities of the Kayseri region in the early decades of the twentieth century, the fact that Emmanouilidis is presented as an heir of one of the families that preferred to leave rather than convert to Islam can be interpreted as highly symbolic. At the time the latter was a well-known politician of the Rum community who

29 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ86: N. Bostantzioglou. The politician mentioned by Bostanzioglou was Emmanouil Emmanouilidis, a lawyer practicing in Izmir before entering the Young Turk assembly in 1908. Vangelis Kechriotis' study on Emmanouilidis confirms that he was born in 1867 in Tavlosoun to a family of landowners. See Kechriotis, "Atina'da Kapadokyalı" (2015); Vangelis Kechriotis, "On the margins of national historiography: The Greek Ittihatçı Emmanouil Emmanouilidis – opportunist or Ottoman patriot?" in *Untold Histories of the Middle East: Recovering Voices from the 19th and 20th Centuries*, eds. Amy Singer, Christoph K. Neumann, and St. Aksin Somel (London: Routledge, 2011).

30 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ8: Christomos Pehlidis.

supported the Committee of Union and Progress and opposed Greek interference in the socio-political life of Ottoman Rums.[31] Being from a family that had refused religious conversion and also being on the side of Ottoman authorities, Emmanouilidis in a way represented archetypal narrative of the Karamanlı Rum who either considered himself a Greek, nor a Turk.

The last cases of forced conversion of entire communities in the region of Cappadocia apparently took place in the 1840s. Between 1840 and 1842, in reaction to the creation of the *bedel-i askeriye* military exemption and to the better welfare of non-Muslims compared to that of Muslims more generally, assassinations of Christians and forced conversions took place in different parts of Anatolia. According to Apostolos Vakalopoulos, three villages in the region of Kayseri, were forced to change their creed at that time, while some families of these communities secretly decided to keep their original faith. However, we neither found evidence of any of these cases, in the BOA, nor in Karamanlidika and Greek publications of the 1850-1920 period, nor in the OTA.[32] The forced conversions in the 1840s, which potentially occurred in Anatolia following the declaration of the Gülhane Edict, needs to be the focus of more detailed study.

When the time of confusion created by the 1839 declaration passed, and especially after the Hatt-i Hümayun decree of 1856 which granted freedom to worship both inside and outside the church, it seems that cases of mass and forced conversion ceased. However, here and there, a few cases of attempted forced conversion targeting isolated individuals can be encountered in

31 Kechriotis, "Atina'da Kapadokyalı" (2015): 41. Kechriotis pointed out that in Izmir, Emmanouilidis had played a central role preventing citizens of Greece from taking part in the administration of Rum communities in the Ottoman Empire, attracting the wrath of Greek politicians but the favors of the Young Turks and the support of both Rum and Muslim voters in the 1908 and 1912 elections of the *Meclis-i Mebusan* (Chamber of Deputees).

32 Apostolos E. Vakalopoulos, *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού* [History of Neo-Hellenism], X vols., I: Αρχές και Διαμόρφωσης (Thessaloniki, 1961), 100-07. Mordtmann also mentioned his meeting with crypto-Chritsians when he visited Cappadocia (in the 1850s) but did not specify the exact location. Andreas D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien: Skizzen und Reisebriefe aus Kleinasien (1850 - 1859)* (Hannover: H. Lafaire, 1925), 123-24. We can suppose that villages on the periphery of Kayseri, such as Kiranardi, Büyükbürüngüz, and Citlavik which were the last examples of mass conversion in the region, but we found no archival records to support this idea.

different sources. A document of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Hariciye Nezareti*) dated 1850 mentions a Rum man who filed a complaint against the *Kadı* of Kayseri who apparently tried to force him and his wife to convert to Islam.[33] In response to the complaint, the ministry blocked the kadı, insisting that forced conversion was unacceptable and that conversion has to be an act committed "of the free will and conscience" [*bit'av ver'-rıza*]. These kinds of complaints were rare but show that Christian subjects knew they could appeal to the rights provided by the Tanzimat State for their own interests.[34] In case of any doubt or complaint, the ministry ordered investigations to understand if conversions were obtained by force or were sincere.[35]

9.1.1 *Apostasy from Islam: An Impossible Choice?*

According to the sharia, apostasy from Islam was subject to death penalty. Usually, cases of apostasy encountered in the BOA occurred among Christians or Jews who had initially converted to Islam, but then decided to return to their former faith rather than among Muslims "from birth." In 1843-44, a debate took place following the execution of an Armenian shoemaker of Istanbul who had converted to Islam and then reverted to Christianity. Accused of apostasy, the shoemaker was executed on August 23, 1843. Following the execution, protests multiplied and, under pressure of British Ambassador Sir Stratford Canning, the Porte finally decided to appoint of a committee of *ulema* to debate the issue.[36] After this apostasy crisis, the Sublime Porte softened its position by announcing in 1844 that the application of the death penalty for apostates would be postponed (*tehir)* – since it is not

33 BOA, HR.MKT 33/62 (1266-C-23/06.05.1850).

34 Milen V. Petrov, "Everyday Forms of Compliance: Subaltern Commentaries on Ottoman Reform, 1864-1868," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46, no.4 (2005).

35 See for instance, BOA, HR.MKT 202/47 (1273-Z-27/18.08.1857); BOA, HR.MKT 284/45 (1275-N-8/11.04.1859).

36 Regarding the proliferation of protests, see BOA, HR.SFR.3. 5/70 (1259-Ş-23/18.09.1843). Regarding the Apostasy crisis in general, see Selahittin Özçelik, "Osmanlı İç Hukukunda Zorunlu bir Tehir (Mürted Maddesi)" [An obligatory postponement in Ottoman domestic law (The Apostasy Matter)], *OTAM* 11 (2000).

possible to revoke a sharia rule.[37] However, Deringil noted that up to 1856 and the Reform Edict, "the feel of the documents leads one to the impression that there was continuous pressure on non-Muslims to convert, and a continuing danger that apostates would be put to death."[38]

All the documents we found in the BOA about apostasy from Islam in the region of Cappadocia concerned cases of former Christians who had converted to Islam and who finally decided to return to their original religion. For instance, a Rum from Talas had become Muslim, but after not being able to marry a Muslim woman he decided to return to Orthodoxy to marry a Rum woman of the village of Çiftlik near Silifke (in the region of Mersin). However, according to a report sent by the Assembly of Kayseri to the Porte, his request for apostasy was refused by the *naib* of Kayseri.[39] Similarly, in 1856, Nikolaos, a Rum from Nevşehir, decided to return to Orthodoxy a short time after having converted to Islam (and before being circumcised). Because he was not acting as a Muslim, being drunk to the point of losing his head and acting badly, Nikolaos was said to be mentally unbalanced and not able to clear-sightedly express his real religious feelings. It was thus decided that he should be returned to his former faith.[40]

Considering the limited occurrence of this kind of record, especially after 1856, we can suppose that cases of apostasy from Islam were rare. Furthermore, it was even more seldom among women. We found a unique case registered in 1912 in which, according to the allegations of several members of the Muslim community of İncesu, the daughter of Anastasios, a Rum inhabitant of the burg, had converted to Islam and married a Muslim of İncesu but eventually returned to her former confession. An investigation led by local authorities finally concluded that she had fled from her alcoholic husband but that she had finally returned to him and that they were leaving İncesu for Kayseri together.[41]

37 Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy* (2012), 69-74.

38 Deringil, ""There is no Compulsion" (2000): 556.

39 BOA, A.MKT.UM 19/53 (1266-Ş-9/20.06.1850).

40 BOA, A.MKT.UM 259/92 (1273-Ra-29/29.11.1856). A copy of the document is in Appendix D4.

41 BOA, DH.İD 116/44 (1330-N-6/19.08.1912).

Apostasy from Islam by "formerly non-Muslim Muslims" can be easy to explain. Often, the convert was not necessarily welcomed with open arms by their new community. The return to their original faith was prompted by a wish to reincorporate into their former community rather than by spiritual motivations: to be able to marry a non-Muslim girl, to flee an alcoholic husband, or simply to return to a previous way of life were down-to-earth, intelligible motivations. On the other hand, for "real Muslims" or "Muslim by birth," there was actually no real interest in converting to one of the Christian faiths expect religious enlightenment, revelation, or love! However softened the position of the Porte on the issue, apostasy from Islam continued to be considered negatively by the State and among Muslims. It was a risk for the apostate. As Bulliet noted, "leaving aside ecstatic converts, no one willingly converts from one religion to another if, by virtue of conversion, he markedly lowers his social status."[42] It was for instance inconceivable that a Muslim girl with convert and marry a Christian man. In this situation, it was better for the couple to elope. The only example encountered in the sources occurred in the village of Akso in 1912 and was narrated by the informant Prodromos Ezderidis:

> In 1912, a cousin of mine abducted a Turkish woman of our village. They left the village and settled in Kyrgia Drama [in contemporary northern Greece]. The brothers of the Turkish woman went in their pursuit and wanted to take back their sister, furious ath her having been left in the hands of a Christian. My uncle Hacibalis said that we should also leave Akso because the news had spread around. My cousin lived well in Kyrgia with his Turkish wife who, incidentally, had been baptized and was more pious than other Christians.[43]

Similarly, an informant of the village of Germir near Kayseri stated:

> During the Young Turk period, a Turk of the village called Can Bey always repeated "My God, why did You not made me Christian?" He finally emigrated to Istanbul and married a rich Rum woman. The

42 Richard W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: an Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 35.

43 "ΚΠ 207-215 Axo," 1950s, ΚΠ207: P. Ezderidis.

> latter kept her religion and regularly went to church. However, he did not officially convert to Christianity. He and his wife each had their own religion; they also had a civil marriage in which some members of our community who lived in Istanbul participated.[44]

Regarding the risk of attracting the wrath of local population, it was hazardous for a Muslim to apostatize or even to marry a Christian without her conversion. As a result, Christian clerics did not dare help Muslims who wanted to convert to Christianity. For instance, according to an informant from İloson, during World War I, a Muslim man of a neighbouring village, after having seen a vision of a man who he thought was St. Nicholas whom he recognized from the icon he had seen at the church wanted to convert to Christianity.[45] He came to the village priest, asking to become Christian and be baptized. The priest of İloson refused for fear of the problems he could have with administrators and local Muslims.[46]

The same restraint can be seen among Western missionaries who proudly reported their success in converting Armenians and Rums but, on the other hand, were far more discomforted when "the revelation" concerned a Muslim. In the *Annual Report of the Caesarea Station for the year 1904*, Henry Wingate, on behalf of the mission of Talas – where the American Board had established its head station for the region of Cappadocia – described an interesting anecdote about the wish of a Muslim of Kayseri to convert to Protestantism.

> Last fall a Turk named Ahmet, a town watchman about thirty-five years old, was badly wounded in the arm in trying to separate two men who were fighting. Prompt care stopped a dangerous hemorrhage and saved his life. After he had been coming to the dispensary for dressings for some days he told me privately that he wanted to become a Christian, that he believed in Jesus Christ as his Savior, and was ready to give up all for Him. He had already been a patient in the hospital three months previously totally blind from cataract. The operation done

44 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ87: P. Kirelitzoglou.

45 In Iloson there was a church dedicated to St. Nikolaos that was frequented by Muslims as a thaumaturgical place, especially for the treatment of madness. See Chapter 10.

46 "ΚΠ 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, ΚΠ233: K. Papadopoulou.

> then had restored to him the ability to support himself, and while in the hospital he had been an earnest inquirer. But we found that his interest had begun further back than that. When the hospital was being built in 1900 he was one of the strong hamals for carrying the heaviest stones, taking loads weighing for 600-700 pounds up ladders and to the top story. When the front pillars were to go up onto places these hamals asked for a bakshish, and a Bible was given to each, that being what they especially asked. Ahmet had been reading his these four years, not only to himself but to others, and we found that he was beginning to be called "Protestan Ahmet." All this had been going on without any knowledge on our part. Now he is coming to us regularly for instruction several times a week, bringing also his wife and mother, attends meetings constantly, has joined in prayer with us in private, praying directly to the Lord Jesus as his Savior. He asks for baptism but we are putting him off for much more instruction. This is the kind of fruit above all else that we hope for from the hospital work.[47]

Wingate obviously celebrated the mysterious power of God who succeeded in attracting the attention of Muslim and his family to Protestantism, "all this [going] on without any knowledge on [his] part." However, because the local Turks nicknamed Ahmet "Protestant Ahmet", the risk of attracting the attention and wrath of Muslim *ulema*s remained in the mind of the missionaries.

On the other hand, in the BOA, Catholic missionaries active in the region of Kayseri seemed to have been far more discreet in terms of proselytism than the Anglo-Saxon Protestants. However, the archives of the University of Saint-Joseph in Beirut maintain documents on the missions in Kayseri that actually show intense activity, especially through schools and itinerary medical care given to the poorest individuals. The anonymous diary of one sister (possibly Thérèse Xavier, whose name appears regularly in other documents of the same period) written between 1905 and 1914 shows that medical care was also a way to convert ill people, generally on their deathbed. Among these very ill patients, the diary regularly suggests that Muslims, who are generally presented as the poorest population in the region, were particularly

47 Henry K. Wingate, "Annual Report of Cesarea Station for 1904" (ABCFM, April 5, 1905), 6-7.

numerous. The sister desrcibes, for instance, how she baptized a young Muslim man and kept it secret from his parents, just before his death, as she did with other men and women on their deathbeds tuberculosis.[48] Voluntary conversion? An act of desperation before death? Simple fantasy and wishfull thinking on the part of a Catholic nun who wanted to see in the last actions and words of her patients their enlightenment by the Catholic faith? It is difficult to say. In any event, if the patients were really apostates from Islam, at least they did not risk being recorded as such. Their burial could provide some clues, but the diary does not give details about this issue. However, other documents in the archives of the Jesuit mission of Kayseri actually mention more regular conversions by Rums and Armenians than by Muslims

The rare examples of apostasy from Islam we found in mission reports, letters, diaries, and testimonies and the way they were treated in these various documents actually show that apostasy from Islam was extremely rare in Cappadocia and probably throughout Anatolia. Despite the softening of the state position vis-à-vis apostasy, it continued to be viewed negatively by local Muslim populations. As a result, when a case of apostasy from Islam occurred, in most of cases it clearly could not open the way for new kinship or social links between communities; the apostate's only chance was often to leave the territory to which he or she belonged.

9.1.2 *The "Apparition" of Crypto-Christians in Nineteenth Century*

Following the announcement of the end of death penalty for apostates, in the 1850s, cases of converts to Islam who wanted to return to their previous creed occurred throughout Anatolia, especially in the area of Pontus.[49] There, in 1856, a Rum who had converted to Islam confessed to his boss, the Italian Consul Fabri, his secret faith. On May 14, he was officially recognized as a Chris-

48 "Césarée de Cappadoce. Journal personnel d'une soeur de Saint Joseph de Lyon - 4 C 4" (*Archives de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth,* 1905-1914), 2-3.

49 Among the main works about the crypto-Christians of Pontus, see the studies of Tzedopoulos, "Public Secrets" (2009); Türkyılmaz, "Anxieties of conversion" (2009); Bryer, "The Crypto-Christians" (1983); Yorgos Andreadis, *Pontos'taki Evim* (Istanbul: Belge, 2007).

tian by Ottoman authorities, an event that opened the way for numerous converts who publicly declared their real belief.[50] In a report in 1857 addressed to his ambassador, British Sub-Consul Stevens stated that 9,535 Muslims, 28,960 Christian Greeks, and 17,260 crypto-Christians resided in the fifty-five villages of the district of Kromni in Pontus. Concerning the latter, he noted that he considered them as liars and opportunists trying to escape military service after the closure of local mines.[51] In the period from 1857-1860, several decrees were sent to the provinces to strengthen the procedures concerning conversion to Islam by Rums that mentioned recent cases of apostasy by crypto-Christians as a reason to be more attentive to potential converts.[52]

A step forward was made with the constitution of 1876 which resulted in equality of rights among all citizens regardless of religious affiliation. In the region of Akdağ Maden, Rums of the Stavriote communities who had apparently long led a double life – being Christian in private and Muslim in public – because bold enough to publicly declare their Christian creed, celebrating Easter in 1877.[53] However, Ottoman authorities put an end to their conciliatory position after the 1897 Greco-Turkish War, and persecutions of Rums began in the Pontus region.[54]

The novelist Yorgos Andreadis, born in 1936 in a district of refugees in Kalamaria (in the region of Salonica) to a Pontic family, often took up his pen to describe the crypto-Christians of the Black Sea.[55] In the novel *My House in*

50 Savvas Ioannidis, *Ιστορία και στατιστική Τραπεζούντος και της περί ταύτης χώρας* [History and Statistics of Trebizond and its country] (Constantinople: I. A. Βρετού, 1870), 144.

51 Ibid., 145. Recall that Christian miners enjoyed exemptions from taxes and when they were Muslims miners from compulsory military service. This is also the hypothesis propounded by Parcharidis and Tzedopoulos. See Athanasios I. Parcharides, *Ιστορι α της Κρω μνης* [History of Kromni] (Trebizond: Σερα ση), 1911, 49-50; Tzedopoulos, "Public Secrets" (2009): 176.

52 See for instance BOA, MVL 316/60 (1274-Ra-27/15.11.1857); BOA, HR.SYS 121/30 (1275-Ş-16/21.03.1859); BOA, HR.MKT 311/53 (1276-R-04/31.10.1859).

53 Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy* (2012), 124-41.

54 Türkyılmaz, "Anxieties of conversion" (2009).

55 The father of Yorgos Andreadis, Kyriakos Andreadis, was a member of the "National Assembly of the Greek Pontic," which had been created by the Central Association Committee of Pontic Rums exiled in Russia. It acted as a government in exile to guarantee the rights of Pontic

Pontus (Το σπίτι μου στον Πόντο/Pontos'taki Evim), he recalled his grandmother regularly explaining him how her great-great-grandfather (born in 1760) was at the same time the *hoca* of the Muslim community and the priest of the crypto-Christian families of their village.[56] Andreadis claimed that it was not uncommon in remote villages of the region for an Orthodox crypto-Christian priest to also act as the *mullah* of the Muslim community because he was the only literate individual. The narrative of Andreadis' grandmother also shows that the life of crypto-Christians was divided between different rituals practiced outwardly or in the privacy of the home. As a result, everyday life was said to consist of perpetual tricks and fear of being discovered by Muslim villagers. Tzedopoulos, on the other hand, pointed out that the double-dealing was hardly secret, since "nobody was really surprised when some 17,000 Kromlides declared their Christianity in 1857." He claimed that secrecy of crypto-Christianity was legend –perfectly adapted to discourse of Greek nationalism.[57]

Anthony Bryer wrote in his study of 1983:

> Nineteenth century accounts of the crypto-Christians after they had emerged have the air of well-worn anecdote, but are consistent. They had held double names, Christian and Muslim (where Mehmet or Ali was avoided). They were baptized and kept fasts, but underwent sünnet [circumcision] and had two marriages, with a Christian koumbaroz and a Muslim master of ceremonies. Their daughters did not marry out and Muslim brides brought in were secretly baptized. They went to mosque in Ramadan, sometimes they were buried in a Muslim cemetery even – but with simultaneous Christian service.[58]

Under these circumstances, it could hardly be supposed that crypto-Christians would succeed in keeping the secret of their double religiosity over the course of generations.

Greeks after the collaspe of the Ottoman Empire. Eftihia Voutira, *The 'Right to Return' and the Meaning of 'Home': A Post-Soviet Greek Diaspora Becoming European?* (Münster: Lit, 2011), 93.

56 Andreadis, *Pontos'taki Evim* (2007).

57 Tzedopoulos, "Public Secrets" (2009): 168-69.

58 Antony Bryer, "The Crypto-Christians of the Pontos and Consul William Gifford Palgrave," DKMS 4 (1983): 21.

Whether a well-kept or an open secret, the so-called crypto-Christians are evidence of the fluidity of religious borders. For Cappadocia, crypto-Christianity has not been as-well studied as it has for the Pontus region, almost certainly because the phenomenon was not as widespread. Nevertheless, a few testimonies show that, apparently, Christians and Muslims often knew of or at least suspected crypto-Christian families. For instance, Kostas Papazoglou of Keçiağaç explained his nocturnal visit to a Muslim family secretly practicing Christian rites in a carved chapel at the rear of the house.

> My grandfather was the priest and judge of our village. He resolved disagreements among members of our community. […] One time, a Turk came from a neighbouring village, in the middle of the night, to call on my grandfather because one of their cows was ill. My grandfather and I went to their home to help them, and there I saw women who prayed (what I am saying is that they prayed as Christians). In a corner at the back of this house there was a carved room where a small cave chapel was located. I also accompanied my grandfather once or twice for his blessings in Muslim homes. […] My grandfather also said that they came fetch him when they needed a priest.[59]

Numerous refugees, when they talked about conversion to Islam, regularly implied that converts – most of the time women and sometimes families – actually maintained their Christian creed in the privacy of their homes and sometimes even outside, making use of the night to secretly go to a church. Here again, secrecy was relative since neighbours and relatives were often aware of what happened in the surroundings. Two informants from Çukur told two versions of the same story:

> Formerly, Christians inhabited Turkish districts. Then they settled in other areas. A Greek girl of the community was Turkified and settled in a Turkish district. There was an agiasma near the oven of her house. One day, people saw that she went to the ayasma with incense. After)

59 "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ236: K. Papazoglou.

> that time, the Turks of the village looked after the ayasma and kept its water clean.[60]

> In the Turkish district, there was a Turk who converted a Christian girl and married her. He was a good man and let his wife go to and keep clean the *agiasma* near their home. She went downstairs with candles. Christians of the village also went there for sanctification.[61]

These kinds of stories are frequent in refugees' testimonies in addition to those describing Muslim women making the sign of the cross or lighting candles in cave churches. These were signs, according to most of them, of the Christian roots of these Muslims, whether themselves converts or the daughters or descendants of converts. However, no obvious evidence allows us to connect these practices to crypto-Christianity. What is more, unlike communities of the Pontus region which openly returned to Christianity in the course of the nineteenth century, we have found no record of cases of apostasy from Islam to return a former profession of faith among Cappadocians. The supposed crypto-Christianity might rather be forms of "religious hybridization" that we analyze in the last chapter of our study.

9.1.3 *Within the Borders of Christianity*

Conversion from one Christian confession to another was particularly rare between Eastern churches. The unique example we found occurred during the First World War and, more precisely, during the notorious year 1915. An Armenian of the village of Uludiğin had fled massacres and settled among the Rums of Çukur in 1913. He converted to Orthodoxy in 1915 to marry a woman of the community. We already quoted a part of the testimony of his wife, Sofia Koutlidou in the chapter about local administration. She had explained how the Turkish muhtar of Çukur saved her husband from the massacres of Armenians in 1915. In the following excerpt, she explained how he converted to Orthodoxy before their wedding:

60 "ΚΠ 394-397 Tsoukour," 1950s, ΚΠ395: St. Zournatzi.

61 Ibid., ΚΠ395: I. Haïtoglou.

> Each day, we saw this [Armenian] man with a Turk who walked across our mahalle. The Turk told him: "They will not give their daughter to you because you are not of the same faith. She is Greek, and you are Armenian." Thus the Armenian converted to Orthodoxy and sent his Turkish friend to my father who said: "My daughter is still a child: I cannot give her to him. I will wait for her to be sixteen years old." When I celebrated my sixteenth birthday, he was still waiting for me. My father went to the *despot vekili* to decide what to do. The latter said that because the man was baptized, he could marry me. Thus, on the condition that the Armenian converted to Greek Orthodoxy and took his father-in-law's name, my father agreed to marry me to him. We married in 1915.[62]

When, as in this example, conditions were fulfilled, the newcomer's baptism was entered into the parish's codex under a Greek name. However, things did not always going smoothly. In 1898, in Misti, an Armenian impregnated a Rum widow of the community. The words of the main Mistiote informant of the OTA, Makarios Damianoglou, are typical of narratives describing these kinds of issues:

> Once, there was in our village an Armenian whom a widow of our community took care of as her own son. He was lame and he made her pregnant. This became known throughout our village and even in Niğde. In Misti, it was so strange to have an Armenian that we did not kill him, but we considered him as a foreigner! People of Niğde made fun of us. A Turk, that was annoying… but an Armenian, we could not swallow it! The Armenian settled in a *misafir odası* [visitor room] and paid his taxes but the Mistiotes finally asked him "What do you want? Are you Rum? Liar!" He stayed one night and then we asked him again. The next day, he woke up and left the village.[63]

Still, the same informant claimed that during the massacres of the Armenians his village hid some of them undergrounds in their village:

62 Ibid., КП394: St. Koutlidou.

63 "КП 241-250 Misti," 1950s, КП244: M. Damianoglou.

> During massacres, we hid Armenians in Misti. When the convoys passed, they hid and were scattered among various villages to save their lives. However, we did not talk to them. We had no such relations.[64]

In the narratives of refugees, it appears that Rums and Armenians were often suspicious of each other. Nevertheless, according to the words of Damianoglou, Mistiotes, who were renowned for their virulence against Turks (to the point of wanting to kill any Turk who passed through their village), spared the Armenians. But still, they did not welcome them with open arms, especially when one had an amorous liaison with a woman of the community!

From the mid-nineteenth century, western missionaries and especially American Protestants succeeded in converting a few Orthodox Christian individuals and sometimes families. The Karamanlidika author, Ioannis Kalfoglou, noted for instance that some Rums of Çeltek (in the region of Gelveri) belonged to the Evangelical Protestant movement, the result of proselytism practiced by missionaries. At that time, a dozen of families had converted to Protestantism, but before the exchange, the number was down to three.[65] The Orthodox Çeltekiotes called them "the Protestants" and seemed to no longer consider them as Rums.[66] In Talas, the American School for Boys registered eight Protestant Greek pupils, seven Orthodox Greek pupils, thirty Protestant Armenians, thirty Gregorian Armenians, and one Turk.[67]

Among Rums, reactions to missionaries and also converts issued from their own communities were virulent. We already mentioned in the first chapter the retort of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople and the hostility that the written works of Rums showed in the face of the actions of

64 Ibid., ΚΠ242: M. Damianoglou.

65 Kalfoglou, *Ζιντζίντερε καργεσινδέ* (1898), 586. In 1905-1906, Levidis wrote a series of articles in the periodical *Xenofanis* on the various propaganda practiced in Cappadocia by Protestants, Catholics, and especially Jesuits. See for instance, Levidis, "Συμβολαί είς την Ιστορίαν" (1905-06).

66 Petropoulos and Andreadis, *Vie religieuse* (1970), 27.

67 Wingate, "Annual Report of Cesarea Station for 1904" (April 5, 1905). Around 350 Protestants were settled in Talas. Pupils were from Talas and also from other settlements. Around the half of the seventy-six students registered in 1909 were boarders.

Western missions in Anatolia, especially in the fields of education.[68] Locally, the masses guided by their priests were often no more friendly. Visiting Cappadocia in the 1880s, John Otis Barrows, an American pastor, narrated the persecutions by Greeks against those who had converted to Protestantism in Ürgüp.

> As they were Greeks and had dared to forsake the 'orthodox' church; they had been treated by their neighbors and old friends in a most shameful manner. They had been anathematized, and declared to be unfit to have any part in social life. The Greek priests had forbidden their people having anything to do with the contemptible little band of heretics called Protestants. They were not to speak to them when they met them; they were not to enter their houses nor their shops; they were to buy nothing of them, and to sell them nothing; they were not to receive their children to the schools; in short they were to have no business relations with them; they were not to show them any respect, or treat them as if they had any rights. […] Even the preacher who had been sent to labor in Urgup had been compelled to flee. His life had been threatened and the brethren themselves urged him to leave.[69]

In Cappadocia as in other parts of Anatolia, conversions to Catholicism or Protestantism in the nineteenth century usually affected Armenian rather than Rum communities. Without enough data on Armenian communities to prove the following assumption, we can hypothesize that Armenian ecclesiastical control and supervision over provincial and especially rural communities were more slack than that exerted by Rum authorities. Many cases of conversion to another Christian denomination were a family decision, namely couples and, if applicable, children who converted all together. Rare cases of inter-denomination marriages are present in the archives, such as the union of the daughter of Eftim, an Orthodox tobacco merchant from Enehil (north of

68 See Chapter 2.2.

69 Barrows, *On Horseback* (1884), 141.

Çamardı) to Nicholas, a Catholic merchant coming from Aleppo.[70] But this appears to be a unique case in the BOA documentation. Another case, presented in the diary of the Jesuit nun mentioned earlier, is particularly interesting because of the family environment of the convert, an Armenian woman with tuberculosis. The latter was the wife of a servant working for the Jesuits who had already converted to Catholicism, and she was the daughter of a couple who had converted to Protestantism. She decided, on her deathbed, to convert to Catholicism.

> The father and mother of our patient have long embraced Protestantism, but apparently Santough never consented to renounce her religion. [She has the] same tenacity as her husband when he began to work as a domestic for the Jesuit Fathers and embraced Catholicism.[71]

After much persistence, the nun succeeded in convincing her to convert to Catholicism just before her death and administered the Sacrament of Extreme Unction.[72] The descriptions given by the nun shows that the woman was hesitant but finally ceded in the face of persuasion by the nun. This reluctance that makes the nun even more deserving since her diary shows that she was successful in persuading the woman where others had failed. The case of conversion described in this diary, as with the examples of Muslim converts to Catholicism that we mentioned earlier, are problematic since, surprisingly – or conveniently –, all the individuals the nun converted to Catholicism were about to die. Consequently, we cannot say if they converted because of religious conviction, because of pressure by the nun, or even if they actually converted. Nevertheless, other documents of the Jesuit mission of Kayseri show

70 BOA, MVL 711/97 (1282-S-22/17.06.1865). This document is the result of an investigation led by the Metropolitan of Niğde to verify iwhether the marriage contradicted the customs of the Orthodox Church. It concluded the marriage was valid.

71 "Césarée de Cappadoce. Journal personnel d'une soeur de Saint Joseph de Lyon - 4 C 4" (*Archives de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth* 1905-1914), 97. Original Text: "Le père et la mère de notre malade ont embrassé le protestantisme depuis longtemps; mais il paraît que Santough n'a jamais voulu consentir à abjurer sa religion. Même ténacité lorsque son mari, entré comme domestique chez les Pères Jésuites embrassa le catholicisme."

72 Ibid., 96-105.

that conversion to Catholicism was, if not frequent, at least not so rare among Rums and mostly Armenians of Cappadocia. For instance, a letter written in 1889 by the superior of the Pères Jésuites de Césarée, Thomas Baudouin, announced the conversion to Catholicism of a Rum priest called Basileios Serafeimidis. His letter is followed by a translation of Serafeimidis' written commitment to the Catholic Church.[73] A few other examples involving Armenians of villages on the close periphery of Kayseri are also available in the same archive.

The individuality of isolated cases and their scattering among various archives prevent a quantitative comparison of conversions between Christian denominations and conversions to Islam. However, the cases of conversion to Islam documented in archives allow us to highlight a different picture from cases of conversions to Protestantism or Catholicisim documented in the reports, letters, and diaries of missionaries. At least in peacetime, conversion to Islam was a far more individual, gendered practice occurring almost exclusively among socio-economically low groups in the situation of a marriage between a Christian woman and a Muslim man. To better understand this situation, it is useful to first focus on traditional matrimonial strategies within the Rum community before trying to analyze religious exogamy or, more rightly, marriages leading to the conversion to Islam of Christian women.

§ 9.2 Matrimonial Strategies: Forms of Endogamy and Exogamy

We already noted that the household was the space *par excellence* of privacy. Most Cappadocian households (regardless of religious affiliation) consisted of nuclear families (a couple and its children) and could include a few members of the extended family (a widowed grandparent, a sister, or in wealthy families, one or several servants). In accordance with the traditional segregated organization of Ottoman society, households were in keeping with religious division. Within the borders of a religious community, marriage was generally the result of matrimonial strategies led by two families and including a series of social and economic elements aiming to strengthen socio-economic

73 "Césarée de Cappadoce, Divers I -15 D 19" (*Archives de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth* 1889-1914). The announcement and the commitment are reproduced in Appendix D2.

positions and ties between individuals of the same religious community. As a result, to seal a marriage was a "collective decision" that took into account the particular husband- and wife-to-be but also (and maybe mostly) their respective families. At least in the case of the Cappadocian Rums, matrimonial strategies often reflected affinities and animosities that existed between Christian communities of different villages.

On the other hand, when it came to intercommunal marriage or rather to marriage involving a religious conversion, which will be our main topic, strategies appeared quite different and far more individual – in the sense of "isolated" – than in the case of "intra-communal" or religiously endogamic marriages for which, most of the time, families gave consent. Even though theoretically a marriage between a Muslim man and a non-Muslim woman was possible (the converse was forbidden by Islamic law), in practice, almost all non-Muslim women in this "in-between" situation converted to Islam either before or after their marriage, and the household thus created retained an (apparent) religious homogeneity. Consequently, this would be, at first sight, a perfect counter-example to the idea of intercommunal relations. And yet, although it was an individual decision, conversion not only committed the one who converted. It extended family ties (or in the biological sense of blood ties) over religious borders. As a result, could converts be considered a potential bridge between two communities? We develop several cases to further analyze the reactions and positions of converts and their relatives during and after the conversion process. But, first let us look at endogamic matrimonial strategies.

9.2.1 *Territorial Endo- and Exogamy*

In our context, endogamy and exogamy need to be understood variably, as social, religious, and geographical notions. Ordinarily, matrimonial strategies answered first to the logic of religious, but also often of social, endogamy. Geographically, however, situations were far more variable, since the couple-to-be could be from families living in the same village or, on the other hand, from different local communities. Nonetheless, the large majority of weddings sealed in Cappadocian Rum communities involved couples coming from towns or villages of the nearby region. As a result, we can deal with regional

endogamy, which can be divided between local endogamy and local exogamy – the former being weddings between members of the same community (in a village or a town) and the latter being between individuals living in different settlements (and consequently from different parishes). In the testimonies of informants, local exogamy was generally expressed by the idea of "taking" or "giving" girls to or from other local communities. Biographical information available in the OTA allows a general but not systematical postulate about the matrimonial practices of those who married in Cappadocia. It consequently includes emigrants who were born in Cappadocia, lived in Istanbul or elsewhere, returned to their village to marry before going back. Among biographies we have analyzed and which contain information about informants' marriages (about a hundred weddings) contracted between 1890 and 1920 in Cappadocia villages and towns, local exogamy represents around forty percent of the total. From settlement to settlement, large variations are discernble. For instance, in Ereğli, where a large part of the Rum families came from other communities in Cappadocia and settled there after the closure of mines in their previous villages, most weddings involved a spouse coming from another community.[74]

On the other hand, in the village of Misti, exogamy – especially religious but also local – was considered degeneration. Endogamy was a rule scrupulously followed by inhabitants. According to the Western traveler Hamilton, Mistiotes also used to work in mines (in the region of Maden Dagh, distant five or six hours from Misti), but when mining activity ceased, unlike other miner communities, they neither left the village in search of employment, nor married outsiders.[75] A refugee from Misti also explained to his interviewer the extreme – and intentional – reclusion of Mistiotes:

> Generally, we did not take women from other villages but it sometimes happened if they were pretty and hard-working. Incidentally, it was better to increase than to decrease the village's population. However, there were other reasons explaining why we did not marry women from outside. Sometimes, they [the women] did not want us because

74 "ΚΠ 231 Eregli," 1950s.

75 Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, II (1842), 296.

> we were clumsy men, and, at the same time, the women of other villages did not know how to work on a farm. In some villages, such as in Akso, the women wore breeches and spoke differently. If you took a woman from there, everybody made fun of you. "You call that a woman?" they laughed. To avoid that, we searched for a wife elsewhere. We also gave women, from Misti to Gölcük [Limni], but it was particularly humiliating for the woman because in Gölcük, they spoke Turkish and the women of Misti were unable to speak Turkish. But also, for a good family, it was a dishonor to give a daughter to another village; it was as if the family had not succeeded in marrying their daughter inside the community. Once, we were not able to marry one of the young men of our village. He was twenty but nobody agreed to give him a daughter; after one year, he had to marry a widow.[76]

As with economic inter-village networks, most geographically exogamous marriages occurred between communities settled within a limited perimeter. In Cemil or in Aï Kösten, for instance, villages mentioned as "wife-giver" or "wife-receiver" were, for the former, Sinasos, Potamia, Suvermez, Akso, Eneği, Sylata, and to a lesser extent, the town of Ürgüp, and for the later İncesu, Talas, Endürlük, and Stefana. All these settlements were located within a radius of about fifty kilometers from Cemil and Aï Kösten, respectively.[77] Informants from Fertek talking about matrimonial agreements, mentioned villages no more than ten kilometers from their village (İloson, Aravani, and Delmason).[78] Of course, this does not mean that there were no marriages contracted between individuals living in places further apart; however, it appears clear in the testimonies that families preferred to marry their daughters in nearby settlements – if not in their own village – since geographical exogamy represented an important percentage of marriages but not the majority.

In terms of linguistic belonging, the testimony of Makarios Damianoglou transcribed above gives an idea of the role mother tongue had in matrimonial strategies. The list of villages mentioned by informants of the Hellenophone

76 "КП 241-250 Misti," 1950s, КП243: M. Damianoglou.

77 "КП 340-342 Tzalela," 1950s, КП395: I. Misailidis; "КП 137-138 Aï Kösten," 1950s, КП138.

78 "КП 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, КП299: P. Prodromos, St. Papadopoulou.

community of Cemil only included Greek-speaking communities, with the exception of Ürgüp, which while known as being inhabited by a Turkish-speaking Rum community actually also accommodated a certain number of Greek-speaking families from the surrounding villages. Similarly, refugees from the Turcophone community of Aï Kösten only mentioned Turkish-speaking communities as their main partners in matrimonial agreements. It is difficult to claim, however, that this linguistic closeness is the result of a thought-out strategy of linguistic endogamy or merely coincidence due to the fact that Greek-speaking communities were generally located in adjacent villages. The case of Fertek is interesting in this respect, since, at the beginning of the twentieth century – the period discussed by the refugees – the community of Fertek was shifting from a local Greek dialect to Turkish. Villages mentioned as main matrimonial partners are either Turcophone (İloson) or Hellenophone (Aravani, Delmason). The latter two spoke, according to Dawkins, different dialects that were, compared to Fertekiote dialect, free from the influence of Turkish.[79] This linguistic variety can thus be analyzed as a criterion confirming the primacy of geographical proximity. Moreover, looking at the particular situation of a Rum community in Fertek that was evolving from a Greek- into a Turkish-speaking community, we can also hypothesize that diversification of matrimonial choices in the late nineteenth century was a consequence of the "turcophonization" of Fertekiote households.

On the other hand, in the largest towns of the region, the balance between endo- and exo-gamy seemed to shift far more dramatically towards geographical and a fortiori linguistic endogamy, even though, as in Ürgüp, the community of Nevşehir was composed of households that came from various villages of Cappadocia, which could have originally been Hellenophone or Turcophone.[80] Marriages registered in the Panagia Theotokou parish in Nevşehir between 1857 and 1862 show, for instance, that more than eighty percent of them concerned two persons already living in Nevşehir with their

79 Dawkins, *Modern Greek* (1916), 13-14.

80 Rural exodus from villages to local towns generally led to the Turcophonization of migrant households.

respective familes. Among the latter, thorty-seven percent were even sealed between individuals from the same quarter.[81] Rare cases of geographical exogamy included marriages between individuals from Arapsun, Akso, Eneği, Delmason, Niğde, and Gelveri – namely settlements located relatively far away from one another. In terms of language (and more specifically mother tongue), it seems that exogamy occurred generally when "the outsider spouse" came from a Greek-speaking community (as in the case of Arapsun, Akso, Eneği, and Delmason). We can thus suppose that marrying an outsider was a choice especially made by the Hellenophone Rums of Nevşehir, which were far fewer in number in Nevşehir than Turcophones. The Nevşehir register of marriages from 1857-1862 is exceptional because each record specifies the town, village, and even the quarter where spouses lived before their marriage, while wedding records in other Orthodox parishes of Cappadocia only mentioned the filiations (and not the living places) of spouses. As a result, comparison with the matrimonial strategies of other large towns such as Kayseri and Niğde is impossible. Nevertheless, we can say from the OTA that inhabitants of burgs located around Kayseri (Talas, Zincidere, Germir, Endürlük, Tavlosun, and Ağırnas) hardly ever sought partners in the city, while on the other hand, marriages among residents of these burgs happened. We can thus suppose that Rums of the city Kayseri, as in Nevşehir, married within their community.[82]

Little information is available about the role of social status in matrimonial strategies in oral archives, biographies published in the nineteenth-century,[83] and communal codices. Nevertheless, a general picture of "social isogamy" can be postulated: matrimonial choices maintained a relatively equal social status with spouses' original households. First, inhabitants of large towns

81 "Codex α/α 109 Nevşehir, Κατάστιχο εκκλησίας Παναγίας Θεοτόκου Νεβσεχίρ (Book of the Church of the Virgin Mary] (1850-1868)," in Codices of the Exchange (Athens: GAK), 16-79.

82 "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, ΚΠ72; "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ86; "ΚΠ 49-52 Agirnas," 1950s, ΚΠ50; "ΚΠ 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, ΚΠ59.

83 Biographies of a number of local leading figures (mainly intellectuals and wealthy merchants) can be found in Greek and Karamanlıdika publications, especially almanacs but also works on local history. However, these biographies focus on education and professional career and rarely providing details about private life, except, sometimes the origin of a figure's parents. See for instance Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί*, 1896; "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' - 1913″ (1912); "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' - 1914″ (1913).

rarely married people of villages and vice versa. Recall that the few cases of geographical exogamy in Nevşehir were restrained to other towns (Niğde and Arapsun) or at least to large Rum communities such as Gelveri, Eneği, Akso, and Delmason which each had, in the middle of the nineteenth century, more than 1000 members and were prosperous. Secondly, in small villages (such as Keçiağaç, Uluağaç, İloson, Semendire, Matala, Dila, Potamia, and small communities in the region of Farasa), isogamy was the rule, which can be easily understood by the fact that the range of social classes remained limited – the peasantry form the majority of communities. Even in cases of geographical exogamy, villagers generally found partners in equivalent communities in terms of size and the social distribution of its people. In larger settlements, the wider range of social groups made "hypergamy" (when the wife comes from a household with a lower social status than that of her husband) or "hypogamy" (when the wife has originally a higher social status than her husband) possible, both of which notions have been gathered by Lévi-Strauss under the notion of "anisogamy."[84] In his study of Sinasos, Hadziiossif explained how the symbolic abduction of women by their future husband was part of local ritual within the community – that women were perceived as capital and had value that could be bought or stolen.[85] In fact, it seems that the abduction of wives-to-be occurred in the community when the husband belonged to a lower social class. This kind of abduction – even when symbolic – can be slain as a way to transcend customary bans, confirming the idea that isogamy was a rule among Rum communities of Cappadocia, anisogamy being considered by higher classes to be as harmful as religious exogamy.

We already mentione changes in matrimonial strategies in relation to emigration, especially the exogamous strategies of numerous male migrants who married in their adopted cities and often settled in their in-laws' homes.[86]

84 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* (Paris: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002 (1969)). 278.

85 Hadziiossif, *Σινασός, ιστορία ενός* (2005), 78; "Codex α/α 140 Sinasos, Κοινότητα Σινασού [Community of Sinasos] (1844-1869)," in Codices of the Exchange (Athens: GAK), 153. "ΚΠ 332-339 Sinasos," 1950s, ΚΠ335: A. Kopanidou.

86 Anastassiadou, "Greek Orthodox Immigrants" (2009): 159. See also Chapter 6.2.

Emigration also had consequencess for unions sealed in Cappadocia. First, because of the social and economic rise of a substantial part of emigrants and the correlative development of local economy, new strategies were gradually put in place. For instance, in Sinasos and Cemil, according to Hadziiossif, the wife-to-be traditionally only received from her parents a humble wedding trousseau and from her parents-in-law a symbolic sum as "probable survival of woman buy-back custom."[87] From the mid-nineteenth century, families enriched by revenues from migration progressively turned this buy-back into a way to assert the social status and economic success of the family by increasing the sum given to their future daughter-in-law.

In 1857, the Metropolitan of Kayseri, Paisos, drew the attention of the demogerontia of Sinasos to the problem of inequality, particularly obvious during the organization of weddings and in light of the increasing amounts of the buy-back.[88] As a consequence, wealthy families of Sinasos and other villages of Cappadocia began to establish a dowry of high value (often including real estate).[89] According to Hadziiossif:

> The buy back of a woman is a peasant custom with ostentatious characteristics while the transactions concluding the dowry are realized out of the sight and immediate perception of the village community, especially when they involve emigrants living and working in Constantinople. One can suppose that the custom of endowing wives came from the capital and became widespread with the increase of the commercial nature of local society.[90]

In the face of this evolution, communal administrators of several villages of Cappadocia (in Sinasos, Cemil, Vekse, and Skopi, for instance) tried to supervise the transactions linked to weddings to limit excessive disparities

87 Hadziiossif, "Dimensions culturelles" (1998): 196.

88 "Codex α/α 140 Sinasos, Κοινότητα Σινασού (1844-1869)."

89 In Sinasos, the first document that included the term of "dowry" (προίκα) was recorded in 1868. "Codex α/α 142 Sinasos, Κοινότητα Σινασού" (1862-1889), in Ταμείο Ανταλλαξίμων, GAK, 123. Sarantidis, *Η Σινασός ήτοι θέσις* (1899), 78. See also the detailed analysis of Hadziiossif, *Σινασός, ιστορία ενός* (2005), 81-83.

90 Hadziiossif, "Dimensions culturelles" (1998): 196.

between families. In Vekse, for instance, a regulation published by the demogerontia in January 1872 included several articles explaining the rules to follow in matters of dowry and the celebration of weddings to avoid ostentatious practices that would create social imbalances between households. Similarly, in Skopi, a regulation enacted in 1878 forbade wedding banquets, luxurious ceremonies, and orchestras, as well as gifts to spouses, invoking the fact that poor families would not be able to organize such festivities.[91]

9.2.2 *Religious Exogamy and Conversion*

Through the examples of territorial endogamy and exogamy, we see that matrimonial strategies were, most of the time, the result of collective decisions. Families, whether "wife-givers" or "wife-receivers," negotiated the union and took into account a series of criteria (settlement of origin, social and economic status, and mother tongue). On the other hand, unlike religious endogamy, religious exogamy – which often led to the conversion of one of the spouses – was the result of individual (instead of collective) matrimonial strategies, the most frequent case being the remarriage of widowed or divorced Christian women (sometimes with children) who married Muslim men and converted to Islam.[92]

According to Pitsakis, in the vocabulary of the Orthodox Church, a mixed marriage was theoretically always a marriage between Christians – a Greek Orthodox and a Christian from another denomination. Unions between a Christian and a non-Christian were strictly proscribed, since, as an indivisible sacrament, marriage can only be administered to baptized individuals. The Orthodox Church traditionally aimed to avoid mixed marriages, but in practice, "in the face of realities and the necessities of existence and, above all,

91 "Codex 3/17 Vexe (1859-1920)," in community registers and codices of parishes (Athens: CAMS), 95-97; "Codex 19/14 Skopi (1856-1923)," 336-34.

92 In these cases of conversion, the issue of children born from an earlier union is particularly confused and is raised in the course of the following paragraphs. There was no single resolution. Both boys and girls, especially when young at the moment of their mother's conversion, generally accompany her to her new household, but this did not necessarily involve a shift in their religious affiliation.

the acceptance of mixed marriages in general consciousness, the Greek Church had often to accept, *de facto* or *post factum* the practice of mixed marriages between Christians."[93] As for mixed marriages between Muslims and Christians – if they concerned a Christian woman and a Muslim man – the theoretical prohibition was bypassed by the possibility of performing a *nikâh* (Muslim marriage) before the kadi. Pitsakis claimed that the church simply ignored these cases, deplored them, and sometimes tried to opposed them by complaining to the state or its local agents.[94]

It should be recalled that Islamic law allows a Muslim man to marry a non-Muslim woman without the latter converting to Islam. On this issue, the observation of Krstic' is accurate:

> Unlike the religious laws of Christianity and Judaism, which did not tolerate interfaith marriages, Muslim law stipulated that it was allowable for Muslim men to marry non-Muslim women, or more precisely, women of the Book (*Kitabı*). […] It posed a great challenge to the guardians of the Christian moral community's boundaries, and women who crossed the religious divide through permanent (*nikâh*) or temporary (*kebin*) marriages, even without explicitly converting to Islam, quickly found themselves outside the bounds of "orthodoxy." However it does not mean that they necessary stopped considering themselves Christian and it is important to consider their role in the context of the discussion on syncretism and conversion.[95]

93 In 1671, the Ottoman state, at the request of the Orthodox Patriarchate, forbade access to the kadı court to Christians who wanted to contract marriage with another Christian (whether from the same or a different denomination). However, instances of *nikâh* between Rums and Armenians were contracted before a kadı after this date. On the other hand, until the 1870s, the Patriarchate regularly reiterated its interdiction against performing marriages involving non-Orthodox Christians to its bishops. By the late 1870s, however, though mixed marriages were still officially condemned, the position of the Patriarchate was far more flexible in practice. Constantinos G. Pitsakis, "Les mariages mixtes dans la tradition juridique de l'Église grecque: de l'intransigeance canonique aux pratiques modernes," *Etudes balkaniques* 10 (2003): §34-47.

94 Ibid., §35.

95 Krstić, *Contested Conversions* (2011), 66.

A Christian woman who married a Muslim man could convert to Islam but maintain religious and everyday practices and beliefs closer to Christianity than to Islam. As Michel Balivet noted for the early centuries of the Ottoman conquest of Anatolia, *"islamization* 'à *l'ottomane'* was certainly not a case of religious or even cultural uniformity since many converts kept links to their former environment and even preserved an important part of their cultural heritage influencing their ways of life and choices throughout the course of their lives.[96] In more recent centuries of the Ottoman Empire, as apparent in the examples developed in the rest of this chapter, even though they were certainly a minority, some Christian women who married Muslims obviously kept their Christian faith or at least continued to practice Christian rituals even after officially converting to Islam. The following paragraphs analyze and explain cases of interreligious marriages as well as the feminization of the conversion process.

Given the equality before law of all subjects that Muslims and non-Muslims alike were guaranteed in 1839 (and particularly after its confirmation in 1856), one might think that there would be no more interest in conversion to Islam. In practice, conversions did not stop, but the profiles of converts significantly changed.[97] In the second half of the nineteenth century, at least among Rums of Cappadocia, conversion to Islam became an almost-exclusively female phenomena, the crossing of religious boundaries going hand-in-hand with marriage. In fact, in earlier centuries, non-Muslim women already used religious conversion as a tool to improve their situation. Marc Bear noted for the seventeenth century that:

> The change of women's religion is significant for illustrating the flexibility of the theoretically firm categories that bound people in Ottoman Istanbul. Accounting for the experiences of boundary crossers il-

96 Michel Balivet, *Romanie byzantine et Pays de rûm turc: Histoire d'un espace d'imbrication gréco-turque* (Istanbul: Isis, 1994), 191-93.

97 It is impossible to establish figures to quantitatively compare the rates of conversion over different centuries, even though some centuries are known to have experienced more intense periods of conversion.

> lustrates the ways in which the social hierarchy's ability to shape people's daily lives is not diminished, as it would appear at the outset, but strengthened and reinforced. Conversion offered women a partial and a momentary amelioration in their social circumstances. By converting, free women […] were liberated from problematic Christian or Jewish husbands, and were immediately able to remarry.[98]

All cases of female conversions we encountered in the sources occurred in the context of an interreligious marriage, but all interreligious marriages did not necessarily lead to conversion. Socially speaking, women who crossed communal boundaries – whether only by marriage or by marriage and conversion together – were mostly of modest social backgrounds and often from landless peasant families. For a significant part of them, it was their second marriage, either because their first husband had died or disappeared without a trace (generally after having migrated) and, it goes without saying, without leaving any means of support. If they already had children from their first marriage, both boys or girls generally accompanied their mother to her new household but their situation was another form of "in-between" with various denouements.

Some questions that we answer in the subsequent paragraphs are: How did the process of conversion take place and what was the situation of these women in both their former and new communities? What were the reasons that incited Orthodox Christians and especially women to convert to Islam and marry Muslim men? Was conversion (and marriage) a definitive rupture with their former life, family, and community? What were the attitudes of relatives (from both communities) towards converts? And finally, can conversion be considered a way of forging links between religious communities and therefore producing locality?

Everyone knew to which community he or she belonged and that the conversion process marked a distinct rupture from one religious group in favor of the other since the convert ceased to be Christian and began to be Muslim through a formal ritual, the apex of which is the dogmatic recitation

98 Baer, "Islamic Conversion Narratives" (2004): 427.

of the *shahada,* the most basic Islamic profession of belief in a single God and the prophecy of Mohammed.[99] Notwithstanding, religiosity often transcended dogmatic borders, and religious identities were not as obvious as one might think. Especially in the rural context where religious authorities did not necessarily have a strong presence and where shared practices and beliefs were common, beyond the rites of passage, the clear definition and boundaries of religious practices were not so obvious. However, it remains difficult to imagine to what extent Christians – especially women – knew, before converting, the specificities of Islam and with what kind of existential changes they had to experiment after their conversion.

The difference between public and private forms of religiosity is an important aspect to take into consideration. Christians, especially in rural environments, certainly had sufficient knowledge of the pulic, Muslim religious identity including the social and cultural features of being a Muslim. However, they might not be aware of the private sides of the practice of Islam. Recall, for instance, that Christians were not allowed to enter a mosque, even though Muslims were allowed to visit churches. Nevertheless, for female Muslims – whether converts or Muslims by birth –praying in a mosque was anyway not a regular practice. Islamic individual rites took place at home, which is why Islam as practiced by women appeared far more private than Islam as practiced by men, the latter largely founded on the publicity and communality of rites. However, the privacy of "female Islam" does not mean that Christians, especially in religiously-mixed villages, were unable to be knowledgeable of rituals practiced at home.

Recall that, despite religious differences, women could cross the thresholds of private homes more freely than men. They could visit each other and sometimes prepared meals together on particular days. In large settlements, some Muslim women worked as housemaids in Christian households, especially when Christian men had emigrated and the women remained at home alone.[100] Young Christian girls, at least in some families, were also authorized to visit their Muslim friends at home. For instance, Maria Papas,

99 Coope, "Religious and Cultural Conversion" (1993): 56.

100 Dawkins, *Modern Greek* (1916), 14.

who was born in Keçiağaç, had memories of childhood in her village and recalled that her parents let her go to the [Turkish] mahalle of Çay where she went to the house of Bekir Ağa to play with his daughters, who were her friends.[101] Through these kinds of situations, Christian women had the possibility to see (at least some) aspects of Muslim women's private lives, including their religious practices.

Does this mean that Christian women who converted to Islam, made their decision with full knowledge of their future life and especially of the realities of the practices of Islam? Probably not. After their conversion, they had to be initiated into their new faith, generally by their new female relatives and other coreligionists. In this respect, it is frequently accepted that the religious re-orientation implied by conversion was often accompanied – in order to be and to feel more rapidly integrated into their new community – by overinvestment of new converts in their (new) religion and religious fervor to the extent of turning against their community of origin. The Jesuit Henry Binard de la Boullaye claimed that religious conversion was "a total change [which] should obviously affect the understanding through the acceptation, definitive in the intention, of a code of thought (beliefs or dogmas), and the wish through a similar acceptation of a code of conduct."[102] Conversion as an active event could be considered the trigger of a process of radicalization and overinvestment that can be momentary or lasting. In a way, the wish to be considered by new coreligionists as a perfect believer might incite converts to zeal. This can explain the epigraph of this chapter which mentions that a female convert's grandchildren threw stones at the church and had been taught to completely deny the religious past of their grandmother.

> Eighty years earlier, a Christian woman converted to Islam with her child because she married a Turk. Her grandchildren became the worst

101 "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ236: M. Papas.

102 Henry Pinard de la Boullaye, "Conversion," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*(Paris: Beauchesne, 1953).

> Turks. They grew stones at the St. George Church adjoining the Turkish quarter.[103]

According to the notions proposed by Nathalie Clayer, by contrast, conversion was often a "being imperfectly," a "being both or neither, nor" or a "doing as," rather than a real "becoming."[104] We already noted that conversion of a woman who married a Muslim man was not compulsory even though, in practice, conversion to Islam was the custom. The following testimony shows, however, that conversion was often a relatively limited change in terms of religiosity and that despite an official crossing of borders between religious groups, the convert did not necessarily experience an unequivocal rupture from Christianity.

> In the Turkish mahalle, there was a Turk who converted a Christian woman to Islam and married her. This Turk was a good man. He sent his wife to clean our *agiasma* (sacred spring) and she went with candles.[105]

Did this man send his wife to clean the fountain, out of pure kindness towards her and tolerance for her former – and maybe still secret – faith? Was cleaning y a pretext to allow his wife to practice Orthodox worship in secret, keeping it from the Muslim community of the village? It is difficult to answer, just as it is difficult to say if the husband was really aware of the real faith of his wife. To go to church and light candles were widespread practices among Muslims of Cappadocia, especially among women, so it would be wrong to unequivocally connect this ritual to a secret Christian worship. Notwithstanding, the question must be raised: converts who maintained Christian practices did not constitute the exception. Furthermore, some practices continued for generations. From mother to children, beliefs and specific practices were reproduced, if only by imitation, so that after a generation or two the

103 "KΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, KΠ75: H. Palazoglou.

104 Nathalie Clayer, "Religious Pluralism in the Balkans during the late Ottoman Imperial Era: Towards a Dynamic Model," in *Imperial Lineages and Legacies in the Eastern Mediterranean. Recording the Imprint of Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman Rule*, ed. R. Murphey (New York: Routledge, 2017), 101-14.

105 "KΠ 394-397 Tsoukour," 1950s, KΠ395: I. Haïtoglou.

signification of these practices were no longer known. Most of these practices were common, sometimes everyday gestures with apotropaic value. Unlike crypto-Christianity – because they do not imply a secret performance of Christian worship – these apotropaic signs joined the long list of popular beliefs and superstitions commonly routed in areas with ancient and close interreligious relations. In a sense, they entered into the "being imperfectly" notion suggested by Clayer.[106] The most basic apotropaic gesture was certainly the sign of the cross.

> The Turkish women of our village made the sign of the cross on their children or on dough, and when we asked them why they did it, they answered: "We learned it from our grandmother."[107]

> When a Turkish woman prepared dough, she let it ferment and thus obtained bread. With her hand, she made the sign of the cross. But she did not know what the signification of this gesture was; she did not know that it was the sign of the cross of the Christians. She made it unconsciously; she repeated the gesture that her grandmother and great-grandmother had made before her.[108]

In Cappadocia, these apotropaic signs were even common and continue to be woven into on carpets and *kilims*. In public and also private spaces, the beliefs and practices of Islam and Christianity were so interlocked, especially through popular cults and beliefs, that religious conversion seemed not to be, in terms of spirituality and religiosity, a particularly radical change. Consequently, while there is no doubt about the enthusiastic religiosity of most converts, those who decided to convert to Islam only on account of a strong religious conviction resulting from revelation about the rightness of the faith were rare.

The idea that conversion to Islam was often not the result of religious conviction is supported by the fact that most converts were women who crossed religious borders not because of a wish to embrace Islam but rather a wish to marry outside their original religious group. Among most important

106 Clayer, "Religious Pluralism" (2017).

107 "ΚΠ 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s, ΚΠ178: K. Papakonstantinos.

108 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ270: I. Goulanoglou.

reasons, though unimaginative romanticism should be avoided, love matches should not be put aside or underestimated. The lyrics of the *türkü* song of the region of Nevşehir, recorded by Avanoslu Selahattin (1910-1973), remind us that love had no religious borders!

> Aman vardım kiliseye de baktım haçına (gelin gelin)
> Aman alayım gideyim İslam içine (yandım anam)
> Aman vardım kilise mumları yanar (annem annem)
> Oturmuş dikiş işler bekarlar evine (aman annem)
> Sallanı sallanı da suya gidersin
> Urum kızı sen
> Su değirmenin yanında da firar idersin.[109]

Conversions resulting from love were certainly more frequent than those that issued from religious revelation. However, it often remained only a wish rather than an effective conversion. Most of the time, such conversions and unions were prevented by the families. In northeastern villages in the region of Niğde, a story, known to all the inhabitants, tells of the misfortune of a young couple. A Christian girl from Delmason feell in love with a Turk. She wanted to marry him and thus converted to Islam. The Turk, with the help of his male relatives, abducted the girl and took her to his home. Then the girl went to the local parish of Misti to announce her conversion to the priest. As she did not return, her husband set out to find her. He dared to go to Misti.[110] Mistiotes killed him and no one ever learned what happened to the girl who disappeared that same day.[111] This story has interesting points. First, the girl is presented as having felt the necessity to inform a cleric of her conversion. For that purpose, she

109 Yavuz İşçen, *Avanos Halk Bilim Araştırmaları ve Avanoslu Selahattin* (Nevşehir: Avanos Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2011). Translation: I came to the church and looked to its Cross (bride, bride)/ I should take [her] and go into Islam (I am burning o Mother)/ I came to the church, the candles are lit (mother, mother)/ She is sitting down, sewing, at the home of the spinsters (o Mother)/ You will go to the fountain leisurely walking/Rum girl, close to the water mill, you will escape.

110 In the OTA, there are several accounts of the murders of Turks by Mistiotes that are narrated not only by Rums of the surrounding villages but by Mistiotes themselves.

111 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ270: G. Papavasileiadis.

went to Misti to announce her conversion even though she was from Delmason, which is a quite surprising detail. One can easily understand why she did not go to the priest in her own community since she had been (voluntarily?) abducted. However, the fact that she went to the priest of the village of Misti – a community famous in the region as hostile to Muslims – is disconcerting. We can assume that the scheme behind this legend was to frighten Rum girls, to prevent them from running away with a non-Orthodox, and also to bolster the image of the community of Misti and its intransigent conservatism in matters of religious belonging. We found a few other stories of this kind, mainly in the OTA files, concerning villages in the area of Misti and Limni relating the misfortunes of young girls abducted and raped (or on the verge of being raped) by Muslim men or fleeing with Muslim beloveds. These were told in many Rum communities of Cappadocia.[112] The villages of Misti or Limni, from which the informants telling these kinds of stories mainly came, were located in an area with a low-population density and, relative to other parts of Cappadocia, a high concentration of Rum mostly Greek-speaking communities (though, as in the case of Limni, some had recently become Turcophone by the turn of the twentieth century). Consequently, we can assume that these stories were the result of the fear of the unknown and of entrenchment in a context where intercommunal relations were more limited than in other areas. As a consequence, Rums were scared of Muslims and Muslims of Rums (especially in the case of the Rums of Misti).

In the reality of the late nineteenth century, instead of young girls, most Rum women marrying Muslims and converting to Islam were in fact poor, widows, and women marrying for a second time. It was, in the words of Derange, a "practice of quotidian survival for women."[113] Economic reasons were obvious. At that time, in Cappadocian communities, philanthropic activities were developed thanks to the income of migrants. They particularly aimed to help the poorest families and especially women who were alone, with or without children. However, some women, who were not sufficiently financially and emotionally supported by their relatives and by their parish decided to quit

112 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s; "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s; "ΚΠ 207-215 Axo."; "ΚΠ 295-297 Tsarikli," 1950.

113 Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy* (2012), 57.

their community and marry Muslims. The pattern proposed by Anastassiadou about the "daughters of Abdullah" in nineteenth-century Salonica showed that, with increases in the degree of wealth, the percent of women converting to Islam decreased.[114] This general pattern is confirmed in the villages of Cappadocia. We can actually add that women who converted to Islam belonged to the lowest economic strata of Rum communities, while those having a small but steady income generally did not convert, at least not for economic reasons.

In her study of Salonica, Anastassiadou noted that many "daughters of Abdullah" died without marrying Muslims after their conversion.[115] In the documentation we analyzed for Cappadocia, on the other hand, conversions of women to Islam were, in most cases, directly connected to marriage to a Muslim. Examples of females with low social backgrounds and often without personal revenue who married to Muslims and converted specifically for this matrimonial purpose are common. In Limni, for instance, most Rum women who decided to convert to Islam were peasants working as farmhands or sometimes as domestic servants. For many, thy worked the lands of Turkish neighbours and generally married a Muslim for a better alternative life.[116]

The lack of resources of these women can be partially explained by the evolution of the transmission of property among Orthodox Christian communities in Cappadocia over the second half of the nineteenth century. Traditionally, on questions of inheritance, they followed Byzantine law (according to which descendants of both sexes inherited equal shares). But in many Rum communities of Cappadocia, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the transmission system progressively moved in line with Islamic law in order to avoid the fragmentation of the estate. As a result, the introduction of the dowry was a way to exclude daughters from their share of the family estate. According to Hadziiossif, this custom – which already existed in many regions

114 Méropi Anastassiadou, "Des musulmans venus d'ailleurs. Les fils d'Abdullah dans la Salonique du XIXe siècle," *Anatolia Moderna - Yeni Anadolu* 9 (2001): 140-41. Anastassiadou began her study of the kadı registers of the deceased noting that the name Abdullah, meaning "Servant of God", used as the patronymic name generally established a fictive line to converts to Islam.

115 Ibid., 141.

116 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ218: A. Prodromou.

of Greece and Anatolia – entered Cappadocian communities through the intermediary of migration and "spread as the commercial nature of local societies assert itself."[117] In most humble families, this inheritance system allowed the family to not divide already modest properties, explaining why some women remained without property or resources. Moreover, female (future) converts without resources did not interest prospective spouses among the Christians, who were anyway fewer in the region as more and more got married in the city where they lived as migrants. As a result, conversion to Islam and the possibility of marrying a Muslim was the last or only solution for some of the poorest women. Muslim men who took Christian wives were not necessarily "a good match," since most of them were also modest farmers with few or no properties, and could not find a spouse among women who were Muslim by birth.

While conversion to Islam or interreligious marriages concerned mostly women from modest backgrounds, most had already first married a Rum before remarrying a Turk. They were thus widows, or their first husbands had disappeared (often after having emigrated), or he did not meet his family's needs. The fact that Christian women decided to marry Muslims for their second marriage can also be explained by the rigidity of the Orthodox Church concerning remarriage. Marriage was considered a blessed and indissoluble sacrament, and divorce and remarriage were regulated by the Orthodox Church. While remarriage of widows was acceptable, remarriage after divorce was considered a deviation from "the ideal of the unique wedding."[118] As a result, remarrying after a divorce was a more delicate issue and depended on the reasons for the divorce (the spouse declared at fault was theoretically banned from the institution of marriage, at least within the Orthodox community).[119] Nevertheless, in general, Rum authorities were less timorous than

117 Hadziiossif, "Dimensions culturelles" (1998): 196.

118 Athenagoras (Mgr) Peckstadt, "Mariage, divorce et remariage dans l'Eglise orthodoxe: économie et accompagnement pastoral," in *Mariage, divorce et remariage* (Leuven Facultés de théologie des Universités catholique de Leuven et de Louvain-la-Neuve, 2005), 8.

119 Méropi Anastassiadou, "Divorce," in *Dictionnaire de l'Empire ottoman,* eds. F. Georgeon *et al.* (Paris: Fayard, 2015).

the Armenian hierarchy in matters of divorce and the *millet-i Rum* was actually the non-Muslim Ottoman group within which individuals most divorced.[120] However, in many Rum communities of rural Cappadocia, divorce, especially when requested by the female spouse, was frowned upon. An informant from Misti claimed, for instance, that nobody in his parish had ever obtained a divorce.[121]

Up to 1860, with respect to marriages and divorces, non-Muslims of the Ottoman Empire could theoretically either go through their ecclesiastical administration or go before the Muslim kadı court. With regard to the late seventeenth century, Baer noted:

> Christian and Jewish women took advantage of the more generous aspects of Islamic law. They registered marriage and divorce in the shari'ah court, so that in the future they could avail themselves of Islamic rules. So many Orthodox Christians were divorced at the shari'ah courts during the 1660s and 1670s that in 1672 Patriarch Dionysius IV asked to have an imperial warrant (*berat*) issued stating that the patriarch had exclusive jurisdiction to grant divorces between Christians. One reason Christians favored settling at the shari'ah courts was because, according to Orthodox Christian law, when a marriage was annulled the husband did not return to his wife the drahoma, the premarital donation given by the prospective bride's family to the prospective groom. She did receive her marriage portion, but this was usually substantially less than the drahoma. This contrasted with the rights of a woman who was married and divorced according to Islamic law. A Muslim woman collected the premarital donation or prompt

120 Ibid.

121 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ243: G. Karagiannis. The same informant even mentioned the case of a man from Misti who, after the death of his first wife, remarried – twice – first with a Mistiote and then (without getting divorce) with a woman in Russia where he had migrated. Even after the discovery of his polygamy, his divorce was not pronounced by the clergy of Misti.

dower (*mehr-i muaccel*) upon marriage, and received a marriage portion or deferred dower when the marriage dissolved because of death or divorce (*mehr-i müeccel*).[122]

Given the problems caused by this double jurisdiction, the Patriarchate requested in October 1860 that an imperial *berat* be given to Patriarch Ioakeim II to set up a new system granting "to the Patriarch and to his bishops the exclusive jurisdiction in matters of affairs involving family law and concerning exclusively members of the *millet*-i rum."[123] It denoted the end of the choice between ecclesiastical and kadı courts for divorce judgments. From this date forward, Orthodox Christians were henceforth compelled to go to their own ecclesiastical courts for divorce issues.

It is the absence, at least in the parish registers we studied, of divorce cases that incites us to think that, for the local, Christian faithful of Cappadocia, whether before or after 1860, divorce remained rare.[124] At least, if a divorce was performed it did not occur in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. A detailed study of kadı court records analyzing cases of Christian divorce pronounced in the context of the Islamic law would help to confirm or contest whether Christians sought divorce before the kadı courts. The few *şeriye sicils* we accessed did not include cases of Christian divorces. Nevertheless, the BOA and the OTA documentation confirm that Rum women of Cappadocia could remarry to Muslims. As a result, we can only hypothesize that provincial and local clergy were reluctant to perform the second marriages of women, especially when they had sought divorce before the kadı court.[125] We can also assume that it would be easier for these woman to remarry outside rather than inside the Orthodox community, and correlatively to convert to Islam.

122 Baer, "Islamic Conversion Narratives" (2004): 434.

123 Anastassiadou, *Grecs d'Istanbul* (2012), 116.

124 Such divorce records are available for the same period in the parish registers of the communities of Thrace, Macedonia, and the Aegean islands. According to the work of Sofia Iliadou-Tachou, divorces were rare in these parishes as well – less than one case per year in the parishes of Macedonia, Mytilene, and Edirne. See Sofia Iliadou-Tachou, "Negotiating Boundaries: Gender and social identities in the Ottoman Christian communities: the case of divorces (1647-1923)," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 5, no.22 (2014).

125 A Christian woman could actually remarry to a Muslim by converting to Islam without even first officially breaking with her Christian husband.

In 1959, during his fieldwork in Zincidere, the collaborator of the CAMS, Emmanouil Tsalikoglou, whose family came from this village, met a Turk named Kadir who claimed to be his cousin. Kadir was the descendant of one of the Rum families of Zincidere. The story of his family was set down on paper by Tsalikoglou.

> He [Kadir] introduced himself: "I am the grandson of Katir Baba, and the son of Osman Cavoul Katir. We are cousins. On our grandfather's side we are descended from the Pinyatoglus and on our grandmother's side from the Karakasoglus in our village" […] Katir Baba was born in 1825, in the time of the janissaries. His tragic story is known to all Christians. [Descended from two great families], he lost his father when he was little and his mother married a Turk from our village and converted. She kept the boy with her. He grew up as a Muslim and was circumcised. But he knew about his Christian origins. It was not possible for him to revert to Christianity on pain of death…. The rich Pinyatoglus regarded him as one of their own. They helped him financially. When they came back to the village from trips abroad, they remembered him. They brought him presents… The Pinyatoglus had made the Muslims of the village an offer: they would keep the son of the converted mother and would buy him by paying his weight in gold. The janissary did not accept their offer, saying that when he grew up, he could earn more gold than Pinyatoglus were offering. Young Katir (therefore) called me his cousin. […] Today, more than ten of the forty Muslim families in Zincidere are of Greek origin. The third generation does not hide the fact.[126]

According to the narrative of Kadir, the mother of his grandfather was from a wealthy family of Zincidere; consequently, we can suppose that despite her

126 Emmanouil I. Tsalikoglou, "Αποστολή μου στη Μικρά Ασία" (Athens: CAMS,1959), file no OD 56, p.125-28. The English translation of this extract comes from the article of Maria Couroucli, "Saint George the Anatolian: Master of Frontiers," in *Sharing Sacred Spaces in the Mediterranean. Christians, Muslims, and Jews at Shrines and Sanctuaries*, eds. A. Dionigi and M. Couroucli (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 123-24. This story is also recorded in the Zincidere file of the OTA ("ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s.). Zincidere was one of the rare villages for which Turkish informants were also interviewed by the CAMSt.

widowhood, she would have been supported financially by her family and did not need to remarry. And yet, she decided to marry again and furthermore with a Muslim. We do not know the context of her choice, but two hypotheses can be proposed: she might have fallen in love with her second husband-to-be and consequently remarried and converted to Islam or she might have wanted to remarry but, in the face of general disapproval by her coreligionists, decided to marry outside the Orthodox faith. We noted that Cappadocian Rums frequently went before the Ottoman court and that the state administration regularly reminded its local agents not to interfere in the management of matrimonial issues concerning Christians.[127] We can thus suppose that the mother of Katir Baba chose this solution.

Furthermore, it seems that some of these second marriages occurred without a pronouncement of divorce from the first husband. According to Islamic law, women could avoid the divorce procedure applied by – but particularly difficult to obtain from – the Orthodox clergy through conversion to Islam. This situation occurred especially when the first husband was a migrant and did not meet the needs of his family or when he had simply disappeared without a trace. For example, in 1854 in the village of Sarımsaklı near Kayseri, local representatives started an inquiry to find Bodos, the Christian husband (living in Istanbul) to inform him of the conversion and remarriage of his wife, who was renamed Ayşe, who had complained about the lack of support of her first husband.[128] Similar cases are recorded in the OTA. An informant from Kenatala, for instance, told the story of a girl from Gelveri who lived in the village of her husband who had emigrated :

> Anastasia, a girl from Gelveri came as a bride to Kenatala. After her marriage she gave birth to a boy. Her husband emigrated to Istanbul and took their boy with him. Anastasia remained alone in Kenatala. She met a Turk from the village of Melendiz. He was a well-educated man. They had a secret liaison and finally Anastasia married Hasan

127 BOA, C.ADL 5/5135 (1248-S-21/20.07.1832); BOA, A.DVN 65/23 (1267-M-10/15.11.1850).

128 BOA, MVL 254/81 (1269-R-03/14.01.1853).

and left Kenatala to live in Melendiz with her new husband. Then she converted to Islam.[129]

Needless to say, this kind of circumstances often caused sensitive situations! In 1849, a woman from Talas converted to Islam and remarried with a Muslim. She also pressed charges against her first (Christian) husband who, out of revenge, had seized her goods.[130] It was common that a first husband would lodge a complaint against his wife when he heard about her remarriage. Another interesting case occurred in 1891 in Develi. Eva, an Armenian woman who had converted to Islam and married a Muslim called Ali was accused several years earlier by her husband to have illegally remarried an Armenian called Karabet. In the beginning of October 1891, Ali consequently requested that his wife be banished from his district. Two weeks later, it was officially decided that, because Eva had first converted to and then committed apostasy from Islam, she would be exiled and that her children would stay with their father (that is to say, with Ali).[131] This example, however, remains an exception. The more typical situation was when a Christian woman married in her community, then converted to Islam, and then remarried to a Muslim, instead of the other way around.

Nevertheless, the displacement of a convert (or apostate), whether male or female, from his or her original living place to another was a decision frequently taken by local or central authorities, especially when a convert had economic difficulties or problems with family members. But it mstly concerned men rather than women, since women mostly converted in the framework of marriage and were consequently automatically integrated into a Muslim household, while men could remain isolated, often not considered by Muslim co-religionists to be true believers. Consequently, they were not considered a potentially good alliance for Muslim women.[132]

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129 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ27: O. Moumtzoglou.

130 BOA, A.DVN 54/24 (1265-Z-29/15.11.1849).

131 BOA, DH.MKT 1887/5 (1309-R-07/11.10.1891); BOA, DH.MKT 1892/30 (1309-R-19/23.10.1891).

132 Recall the case of the man from Talas, who, because he was a convert, was unsuccessful in marrying a Muslim woman. See BOA, A.MKT.UM 19/53 (1266-Ş-9/20.06.1850). Other examples show that Ottoman authorities came to the assistance of new converts by helping them

Christian relatives of women who married a second time and converted to Islam generally seemed not to oppose (except for the first husband, if there was one, and if he cared about it). However, when the case concerned a maiden or a child, most of the time parents neither deemed her conversion to Islam nor her marriage to a Muslim opportune. On this issue, many petitions by parents but also by demogerontes on behalf of the faithful can be found in the BOA. Most of these petitions claim the woman converted to Islam unwillingly, that she was frail and of unsound mind, or that she was still a virgin. For instance, in 1859, following the conversion to Islam of Despina, a young woman of the Rum community of Niğde, the demogerontes sent a petition to the central administration claiming that the girl was still a virgin and thus could not convert. However, the objection of the demogerontes was rejected, and Despina left her community of origin.[133] The particular attention given to young converts is understandable since it means a "loss" for the whole community of one of its young members: a potential wife and mother of future generations. On the other hand, older women who had already been married and had children, but whose husbands had died or did not meet their families needs, might have been considered burdens on the rest of the community. Nevertheless, when a Christian woman left her community to marry a Muslim, she often also took her children with her, though the conversion of the children to Islam was not automatic. Besides, the example of Kadir in Zincidere who "grew up as a Muslim and was circumcised," shows that his Rum relatives tried to "buy back" the child but were not particularly interested in the idea of getting back his mother! It seems that, from the point of view of the community being forsaken, the "loss" of a maiden or a child – more so than that of a widow or a divorced woman – was considered as "de-nationalization," in Deringil's terms, namely "the loss of a soul and of body from an increasingly 'nationally imagined' community. This loss was also seen

settle in other regions, by looking after destitute converts (in institutions such as *darül'aceze*, namely poorhouses), or simply by supporting them financially. BOA, DH.MKT 1507/73 (1305-Ş-28/10.05.1888); BOA, DH.MKT 211/53 (1311-Ş-23/01.03.1894); BOA, DH.MKT 1271/32 (1326-C-21/21.06.1908); BOA, DH.MKT 1288/12 (1326-Ş-4/01.09.1908).

133 BOA, HR.MKT 241/45 (1275-Za-2 /03.06.1859).

as a symbolic rape of the community's honor if the convert/apostate was a woman or a child."[134]

In other contexts, different and far more extreme reactions could occur. For instance, for the Rum community of Misti – in mind that Misti was an unusual case among Cappadocian villages – the loss a female to the Muslims was a question of dishonor, whether a maiden or a widow! A refugee from Misti told how, one day, a simple-minded young widow of his community (called Deli Eremia), was abducted (apparently with her consent) by a Turk of a neighbouring village. When she was around twenty years old, she had been married to an old man, with whom she had a son, but six months after her wedding, her husband had died and she was left alone with her child. But she was from a large family of Misti, so when news of her abduction came, all her male relatives took part in the search for her and her abductor.[135] The informant did not tell the end of the story, but we can suppose that, as with many stories about Mistiotes, the end was gruesome, at least for the abductor! Abduction of women is one of the *topoi* of refugee stories that generally contain a fictional aspect, sometimes including the power of the divine protecting young females of the flock from attacks by infidels.[136] A common feature is that the abductor was always a man from another village. In villages with pluri-religious populations, Turks never abducted Christian girls from their own village. On the contrary, Muslims of the village and even nearby, neighbouring settlements were generally described as the protectors of Christian families, especially when male members were emigrants and females and children were left alone in the village.

Dealing with the conversion of Christians of Syria in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Bernard Heyberger rightly asked the question of the integration of converts into their new religious community and answered that it depended on their social condition and also on the reaction of Muslims and Christians living nearby. The place where the convert lived and also the way

134 İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat'tan Sonra Mahalli İdareler (1848-1878)* (Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası, 1974), i.

135 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ249: M. Damianoglou.

136 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ29: A. Ampouroglou.

he or she hed left his or her former community and arrived in the new one are points to take into account.[137] Among the cases encountered in our various sources, some show that converts had to leave their former living places to begin a new life in a new place, sometimes with the support of state authorities that helped those who had been disowned by their relatives. Christian women who married Muslims and converted to Islam generally left their villages or at least their districts to settle in the village or district of their husbands. Does that mean that these women were disowned by their original community or no longer had relations with their former environment?

In fact, women often did not move far away. For instance, in the late nineteenth century a woman from Endürlük settled with her Muslim husband in the nearby village of Kiranardi (only three kilometers away);[138] similarly, several women of Limni settled in Alay, Ediği, and Kiledere (no more than twenty kilometers away).[139] Even though these distances were not significant, the move could still be synonymous with a clear break from the previous life. For instance, a woman called Laurentia from the Piniatoglou family in Zincidere (like Katir Baba) married a Turkish man from the village of Akçakaya just 2 kilometers away. They had a son, but her husband died and she remained alone with her son. One day, a young man came from Akçakaya to Zincidere and gave the village doctor a letter for Laurentia's sister. But the sister had died a few months before and never saw the letter. Her neighbour – an informant of the OTA, Eleona Isaakidou – had occasion to read it and recalled what Laurentia had written as follows: "I write you to ask your forgiveness after twenty-eight years without having given any news. My son does not work. Nobody here wants to give him a job because his mother has not changed her name. We suffer a lot." According to Eleona, the woman made clear that she wanted to return to her family and asked for a job for her son.[140] On one hand, the informant neither mentioned whether Laurentia had converted to Islam or had remained Christian after her wedding, nor if her

137 Bernard Heyberger, "Se convertir à l'Islam chez les chrétiens de Syrie XVIIe - XVIIIe siècles," *Deimensioni e Problem della Ricerca Storica* 2 (1996): 142.

138 "ΚΠ 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, ΚΠ59: I. Karamanoglou.

139 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ218: A. Aktsiglou

140 "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, ΚΠ75: E. Isaakidou.

son finally found a job. On the other hand, the story of Laurentia is an example of clear rupture: the woman waited almost thirty years to renew contact with her relatives.

It is difficult to say if the case of Laurentia was representative. Obviously, women who converted to Islam, because they moved to another settlement and were certainly unable to continue to regularly see their Christian family, even if they lived a few kilometers away. But the situation of women married to Christian men from another village was similar since, according to tradition in rural households, the wife would leave her community for that of her husband. This did not mean that they definitively broke with their original environment. The few details we can find about everyday lives of the female converts or Christian women married to Muslims are insufficient to suggest a clear tendency. In fact, the main clue came out without warning in 1923 when the Commission for the Exchange came to villages to prepare the departure of Christians and the resettlement of Muslims from Greece.

§ 9.3 Conversion and Converts in Troubled Days

From the end of the nineteenth century a new period of intense conversion began. With the Armenians' massacres of 1894-95, numerous Armenians tried to convert to Islam to save their lives. Selim Deringil called these conversions "survival" or the "fallout of massacre."[141] This new, mass phenomenon was suspiciously observed by the Ottoman state, which feared that conversions served foreign powers claiming that converts had been converted by force.[142] In the same fateful period, despite tensions, the Rums of Cappadocia apparently did not feel insecure enough to try to convert as some Armenians did from the mid-1890s onwards. Actually, the area of Cappadocia was well out of the way of the most tragic events, which remained in the west of Eastern Anatolia (or Ancient Armenia), where Armenians were massacred between 1894 and 1915, and in the south of the Black Sea region, where Pontic Greeks met a similar, grievous fate between 1916 and 1923. Moreover, the Rums of Cappadocia did not directly experience the same acts of violence as those in Western

141 Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy* (2012), 197, 219.

142 Ibid., 198.

Anatolia who, after the retreat of the Greek Army in 1919, were attacked by the Turks and considered to have committed treason by supporting the advance of the occupying army. Nevertheless, in this time of war, Cappadocia was not completely spared. Especially in the east, in and around the town of Kayseri where the Cappadocia's Armenians were settled, they experienced the dramatic events of 1896 and 1915 and Rum communities witnessed it.

In this tense atmosphere, conversion became a means of survival but also a new pressure on Christian communities. Many informants described the Young Turk period as the moment when cohabitation between Turks and Rums deteriorated and the number of conversions to Islam increased for fear of retribution. This increase, especially among the Armenian population, is apparent in Ottoman state archives. Many informants recall assaults against Christian communities in this context – against Rums but also and mainly against Armenians:

> In 1907, for the Feast of the Glorious Cross [September 14], when all the Christians of Enehil were in the Church of Saint Pachomios, the Turks rushed into the church shouting insults and beating all the Christians they saw. In the next days, to avoid Turkification, a young recently-married woman decided to leave the village. […] Other women were Turkified but most of the men preferred to flee and go abroad.[143]

Most of the time, however, before 1918, Orthodox Christians of Cappadocia were not the direct victims of these assaults, but they witnessed Turkification of Armenians trying to save their own lives.

> In 1915-16, after the Armenian massacres, many young Armenian children came to our village. Until 1916, things went along well, but then more and more Armenians came, settled in our village, and became Turk [converted to Islam].[144]

143 "KΠ 230 Enehil," 1950s, M. Avraamidis.

144 "KΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, KΠ78: K. Antoniadou.

> The Turks of İncesu, when they saw Armenian girls, said "See, they will Turkify."[145]

In these times of war and intercommunal tension, people who hd recently converted were seen as enemies who could jeopardize the whole communities. Rumors were spread about converts who helped the Turks and betrayed their former community. Many of these events are said to have occurred in 1915. One of them, narrated by informants of different villages of the region south of Kayseri described how an Armenian who had recently converted to Islam helped the Turks massacre the members of his former community:

> There was in Efkere an underground cavern where Armenians hid and which Turks tried to penetrate. The Turks brought water from Taxiarkon to Efkere to inundate the tunnels, but it was not possible to fill them because they were deep and extensive. The Turks thus sought other ways to drive the Armenians out. They found an Armenian who had recently Turkified. Apparently, he succeeded in convincing the people and they went out. All of them were then taken outside the village and massacred. It was around 1915.[146]

The Ottoman State also looked suspiciously on these new converts, and the multiplication of reports and telegrams between the capital and the provinces after 1908 shows that authorities kept those volunteering to convert and recent converts under suveillance, whether male or female, including all Armenians. Between 1908 and 1918, numerous notifications about the conversion of Armenians were exchanged between the capital and the *mutasarrıfs* of Kayseri and Niğde. For instance, in 1915 and 1916, Armenians of the *Amele Taburu* (Labor battalions) in Kayseri and Niğde wanted to convert to Islam together with their families.[147] Several other documents dealt with female converts. Some of them tried to run away from their Muslim husbands or the Muslim community into which they had entered after their conversion. Others

145 Ibid., КП78: G. Papagrigoridis.

146 "КП 49-52 Agirnas," 1950s, КП49: A. Avraamidis.

147 BOA, DH.ŞFR 483/71 (1331-Te-28/10.08.1915); BOA, DH.ŞFR 667/24 (1331-Ke-24/06.01.1916).

decided to commit apostasy from Islam.[148] Facing questions from local administrations about the conversion of Armenian women and their marriage with Muslims, the Directorate of Public Security (*Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti*) answered that conversion to Islam cannot be considered a reason for postponing deportation (*teb'id*) (Kayseri, July 1915), that Armenian women could only convert to Islam if they married Muslims (Niğde, August 1915), that conversions to Islam could be authorized in the context of marriage with Muslims, but abuses had to be prevented (Niğde, August 1915), and later, that the wives of Armenian men converted to Islam and had decided to remain Muslim should neither be separated from their (Muslim) husbands nor sent into exile (Kayseri, August 1919).[149]

It is difficult to say if the increase in archival documents for this period represents either a real augmentation of the number of conversions among Armenians or the intensification of their surveillance. Certainly both. Conversions as the "fallout of massacres" and simply out "of fear" are understandable in the context of war, and the position of the Young Turks regarding Armenian communities is well-known. However, by contrast, very few documents concern the conversions of Rums over the same period. Does this mean that Rums in Cappadocia did not experience the same fear, or that authorities were not as attentive or suspicious of Rums as Armenians?

While archives in war years do not particularly clarify the situation of Rums vis-à-vis conversion to Islam, the period of the exchange and the cases that confused the Commission for the Exchange are more revealing of the vagaries religious conversions deatl to community borders. According to some informants, the announcement of the departure incited a few people to convert to Islam in order to stay in their native land. Even today, some inhabitants of Ortahisar claim that the Rum community of a hamlet close to their village decided all together to convert to Islam when they heard about

148 BOA, DH.MKT 2791/57 (1327-Ra-19/10.04.1909); BOA, DH.İD 116/15 (1329-R-12/12.03.1911); BOA, DH.İD 116/44 (1330-N-06/19.08.1912); BOA, DH.ŞFR 72/187 (1335-R-15/08.02.1917); BOA, DH.ŞFR 81/24 (1336-M-18/03.11.1917).

149 BOA, DH.ŞFR 54/427 (1333-N-01/13.07.1915); BOA, DH.ŞFR 484/29 (1331-Ağ-02/15.08.1915); BOA, DH.ŞFR 55/92 (1333-L-07/18.08.1915); BOA, DH.EUM.2.Şb 74/28 (1334-Z-25/23.10.1916); BOA, DH.ŞFR 97/117 (1337-C-09/12.03.1919); BOA, DH.ŞFR 102/172 (1337-Za-20/17.08.1919).

the exchange decision, but this story seems to be a legent since neither archival documents nor the narratives of Rum informants confirm it.[150] However, isolated cases can be identified, most of them concerning Christian women who had converted to Islam months or years earlier, but requested to leave Turkey for Greece along with their "former" community.

It would be difficult to offer an exact proportion of women who had married Muslims but nevertheless decided to leave with the other Christians on a lengthy journey that would take them to their new fatherland. Administrative documents and testimonies show that a significant part of these women, decided at the last moment to leave with their (former) Christian communities rather than to remain with their Muslim families. The issue of the children of these women also poses an interesting question about intercommunal relations, especially since the destiny of these women and their children would not necessarily follow the same route. Let us look at some examples.

A first one took place in Endürlük, where a young woman called Makrina, who had married a Turk a short time before notification of the exchange but apparently did not convert to Islam. Though she was not Muslim – and consequently not considered a Turk by the rules of the exchange – Makrina announced that she wanted to stay in Turkey. Her story was narrated by another refugee from Endürlük:

> A young woman called Makrina, daughter of Euthokias, loved and married a Turk, one of the brothers of the great local Turan family. She left Endürlük and settled with her husband. She became like a Turk, she dressed like Turkish women. When the Commission [of the Exchange] came to announce that we would have to leave, she told our council that she did not want to leave her husband.[151]

150 There is no trace of this community in nineteenth-century publications about the settlements in Cappadocia. However, it seems that propositions were made to exempt some Rum communities. In November 1924, for instance, a deputy from Niğde proposed a motion to exempt the Rum community of Eminik, a village located in the kaza of Bor. It was rejected and the last Rum households of Eminik emigrated to Greece in 1924-25. BCA: 6396 FK. 30..10.0.0, Y. 6..38.13 (1924-11-4); "ΚΠ 305 Eminik," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS).

151 "ΚΠ 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, ΚΠ61: A. Arapoglou.

Another case, with the opposite denouement, is narrated by an informant from Ürgüp. The woman in question had converted to Islam but changed her mind just before the departure of her former coreligionists.

> Two or three years before the exchange, a Greek woman from our village called Eleni converted to Islam. She decided to be renamed Ayşe. The *meclis idare* (the kaymakam, his council, the *hoca,* and the *despot vekili*, Haralambos Averkiadis) and also the census taker [*nüfus katibi*] got together. The kaymakam asked to the despot vekili what he thought about her conversion and the latter said: "If she is determined, we do not want to hold her back. We do not want to put psychological pressure on her. Nevertheless, when it was been the time for us to go, several [Turkish] men came with her and brought her to the priest. She wanted to tell the priest that she had finally decided to leave, too, with the Greeks, and she came with us to Greece.[152]

While, in the first example, we cannot clearly assume that Makrina had converted to Islam (the informant said she was "like a Turk," but not that she converted), in the second, Eleni had converted and had taken a Muslim name. Notwithstanding, in 1924, Makrina decided to stay and Eleni to leave. By contrast, many women in the same situation as Eleni decided to stay. Melpo Merlier noted that one of her collaborators, Andreadis, who visited the village of Halvadere in 1952, met several Rum women who had stayed there because they were married to Muslims (and thus, in the words of Merlier, "Turkified").[153]

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152 "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, ΚΠ317: E. Hatzieuthiliadis.

153 Petropoulos and Andreadis, *Vie religieuse* (1970), 26. Merlier, in her introduction, wrote: "A Greek woman, Marina, married to a Turk, and thus Turkified, ensured the cleanliness of the St. Nicholaos Church and lit candles until her death. Other Greek women, also Turkified through marriage, still lived in Halvadere when M. Hermolaos Andreadis visited the village in 1952." Original text: "Une grecque, Marina, mariée à un Turc, donc "turquisée," entretenait la propreté de l'église [Saint-Nicolas] et y allumait, jusqu'à sa mort, les veilleuses. D'autres Grecques, elles aussi " turquisées " par mariage, vivaient encore à Halvadéré lorsque M. Hermolaos Andréadis visita le village en 1952." Merlier seemed to consider that conversion to Islam (or "Turkification") was automatic in case of marriage to a Muslim.

Concerning another village, Limni, OTA informants established a list of fourteen women who had married Muslims and decided to stay in Turkey. For many of them, it was their second marriage. This list is particularly interesting because it also mentions, for several of them, the choices of the children they had from their first union to stay or leave.

- Triantafyllia (from the Gesthemanis family) and her two daughters: She married [as a second marriage] a poor Turk and lived in the village of Alay.
- Maria (from the Andriadis family): She was a beautiful woman but she married an Afshar Turk from the village of Alay, a poor man. She had five children.
- Maria (from the Topalazaris family): she married a Turk from Alay and lived in poverty.
- Klimatiani (from the Kafouran family): She married a poor man of our village.
- Theognosia (from the Arapis Kiali family): She married a Turk from Kilidere. Her son from her first marriage (with a Rum) came to Greece in 1923.
- Makrinitsa (daughter of Theodoros): She married a Turk.
- Makrinitsa (from the Papazatorounos family): She married a Turk.
- Anastasia (from the Tsapalin family): She was fourty-five years old when she married [for the second time]. From her first marriage with a Christian, she had two daughters who decided to leave and come to Greece in 1923.
- Koula (from the Zamipour Basili family): She married Bayram, a Turk from Limni.
- Pelagia (daughter of Leontinis): She was the widow of a Rum who remarried to a Turk.
- Euthima: She married a *hoca*.
- Marina.
- Klimatiani: She married a Turk of Edii.
- Maria: She married Hasan of the village.[154]

Among them, four clearly had a first marriage to Christians and then remarried to Muslims. The informant emphasized the poverty of these women several times, as though a consequence of their union with a Muslim. Beyond the fact that females who crossed the borders of religious communities generally did it because of their precarious situation, this commentary needs

154 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ218: A. Prodromou.

to be considered in the context of general economic considerations that can be read throughout refugee testimonies which highlight the economic successes of Rum vis-à-vis the poverty of Muslim villagers. However, it is doubtful that these women would have had an economically better life if they had remained single or had remarried to Christians. We can suppose that, because they belonged to lowest social strata of their community, they would have had a life just as insecure, if not more so, as their actual life.

It is interesting to note that three of these women had children from their first marriages and that the children decided differently in the face of the exchange of populations. Among the five, two decided to stay with their mother (the daughters of Triantafylia), the others (the son of Theognosia and the daughters of Anastasia Tsapalin) left Turkey together with the Rum community of Limni. Anastasia was already forty-five when she remarried; consequently, her daughters were certainly already young women at the time. The choice to go abroad made by the son of Theognosia and the daughters of Anastasia show that they, and maybe their mothers, continued to have relations with Christian relatives; otherwise, why would they have decided to leave their environment to settle in an unknown place, with people they do not know?

In an article about conversion to Islam as a way of avoiding the exchange of populations, Fahriye Emgili gives several examples throughout Anatolia showing that conversion and marriage with Muslims were strategies tempted by Rum women to stay in Turkey in the years 1923-1925.[155] For our part, we found no case of conversions that could be said to have occurred as a pretext to stay in Cappadocia. In the examples given above, the women had already converted to Islam and/or then married to Muslims for a while before the announcement of the exchange. However, their situation and that of their children show how thorny the exchange was for these "in-between" people. In fact, several decrees by the new Republic of Turkey, which reveal that the situations of these women were apparently a typical, treated the "last-minutz"

155 Fahriye Emgili, "Mübadeleden Kurtulma Çabası Olarak: İhtidâ" [Conversion to Islam as an effort to be exempt from the exchange of populations], *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 28, no.45 (2009).

conversions or marriages of Christian women as a particular issue that the state should prevent. On January 20, 1924, a first decree announced that foreign (*yabancı asıllı*) converts (without precision of gender) who had married a Muslim would be exempt from the exchange.[156] This did not concern Anatolian Rums since the latter were not yet classified as foreigners. However, the same day, in order to avoid hasty weddings, another decree forbade Christian – namely Rum – women who were already registered on exchange lists from marrying Muslims.[157] Several months later, on July 27, 1924, a new decree confirmed that women with "Rum origins and who were already married to a Muslim Turk" [*Müslüman Türklerle evlenmiş Rum asıllı kadınlar*] would not be ad by the exchange process. Finally, after one year, a new decree repeated the same formulation but this time it did not concerned "Orthodox women married to Muslims Turk," but to Rums not subject to the exchange [*mübadele sözleşmesinden önce mübadeleye tabi olmayan gayri müslim*] – for instance the Rums of Istanbul – or to "non-Muslim men" [*gayri müslimlerle evlenen ortodoks kadınlar*], which is to say, a non-Orthodox, non-Muslim man (Armenian, Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish).[158] There are however no details in the Ottoman or Republican archives regarding women who, like Eleni/Ayşe from Ürgüp, in spite of their marriage to Turks and even in spite their conversions to Islam, asked to leave with the rest of the Rum community. Similarly, we found nothing in official decrees concerning the situation of sons and daughters by a first marriage.

§ 9.4 Conclusion

In the second half of the nineteenth century and up to the 1920s, conversions to Islam among Rums was limited and involved almost exclusively women in the framework of marriage to a Muslim man. Through matrimonial strategies taking place within the Rum community, we have seen that bridges between Christian communities of different collectivities were practiced mostly by

156 BCA: 205, FK. 30..18.1.1, Y. 8.49..9 (1924-01-20).

157 BCA: 213, FK. 30..18.1.1, Y. 8.49..17 (20/1/1924).

158 BCA: 732, FK. 30..18.1.1, Y. 10.36..9 (27/7/1924); BCA: 2407/102-62 FK. 30..18.1.1, Y. 15.54..1 (1925-8-24).

women who left their community to settle in that of their husband. A few cases show crosses in the other direction, by men who settled in the villages of their wives. However, in the case of bridges between religious communities, except for very rare exceptions, they were crossed exclusively by Christian women and were religiously unidirectional (from Christianity to Islam).

In the BOA and the kadı registers, cases of Rums who converted to Islam were much scarcer than conversions of Armenians, which were already few. However, in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, especially after 1908, and even moreso after the beginning of World War I, an increase in the number of documents in state archives dealing with conversions and converts to Islam is obvious and can be explained by the fact that Armenians and, to a lesser extent, Rums decided to convert for survival. The increase is certainly also because the Ottoman state, in time of war was more closely monitoring conversions and converts that it considered with suspicion.

We deliberately waited until the end of our analysis of the different examples of interreligious marriage and unions implying a wife's conversion to Islam to raise the role of language in these crossings of religious boundaries. In fact, an overwhelming majority of the cases we encountered in documents dealing with female converts to Islam and, to a lesser extent, with interreligious unions, concerned women who issued from Turkish-speaking Christian communities.[159] By contrast, Greek-speaking communities appeared only in unsuccessful attempts to convert to Islam or in interreligious unions in which the family and sometimes the whole community of the faithful managed to prevent the union in one way or another.[160] Moreover, Turkish-speaking communities in which we found cases of female conversion to Islam and/or marriage to a Muslim were all in mixed settlements. Actually most Rum women who married a Muslim did not marry within their own

159 A list of the Turkish-speaking Christian communities mentioned in this chapter from which women who converted to Islam and/or married a Muslim originated includes: Talas, Çukur, Endürlük, and Develi in the east and Niğde, Nevşehir, Incesu, Prokopi, Gelveri, Kenatala, Halvadere, and Limni in the west.

160 The rare cases of women of Greek-speaking communities who decided to convert to Islam and to marry a Muslim were encountered in Misti and in Delmason. Recall the case in Akso, where of a Christian man and Muslim woman who married and then ran away in order to avoid revenge of Muslim relatives.

collectivity, but their communities of origin had everyday relations with Muslim neighbouring villages. We can thus assume that these relations made the possibility of interreligious unions easier or at least made them more tolerable to local Christians and especially relatives. We should recall that, in intra-religious unions, geographical as well as linguistic endogamy corresponded to the narrow majority of marriages in villages and the large majority in urban spaces. In a way, for the matrimonial choices of Rum families and individuals, geographical and linguistic proximity were the basic bridges between settlements. Similarly, but to a lesser extent, in the case of interreligious marriages and conversions linked to such a union, religious boundaries were more frequently crossed in case of linguistical proximity. As for geograhical proximity, it appears to have been a criterion in the matrimonial choices of converts and their husband, but being too close to the family and the community of origin of the convert was avoided. Most Rum female converts married a Muslim living in a nearby village, but not in the same village as their own community. Nevertheless, remaining relatively close to the community of origin was a way to keep relations but also, more pragmatically, a result of the "market of potential spouses" with a small perimeter of activity.

Generalizations are unrepresentative. We have tried to show that each case of conversion or interreligious marriage was caused by special situations. Similarly, they had various consequences, sometimes leading to a family breakdown between the female convert and her Christian relatives, sometimes going well, with the conversion being accepted by the relatives of the convert. At first sight, conversion to Islam seemed to produce a distance or removal from the Christian community from which the convert was officially excluded (or rather, by which the convert was henceforth ignored) and an entrance into a Muslim community by which the convert was sometimes suspected to not be a "good believer." Some cases presented in this chapter have showed that conversion also produced proximity and created links between families and a fortiori between communities. Other cases showed that, to the contrary, the convert could be isolated from both her former and her new community. Conditions and reasons for the conversion as well as the socio-economic situation of the convert (before and after conversion) were major variables working for or against the convert and her relational environment. In religiously-mixed

collectivities where religious communities were continually, necessarily in a state of being intertwined , interreligious relations resulting from (but also causing) the act of conversion were more frequent. In this particular context, the convert and the "interreligious kinship relations" implied by her crossing over, strengthened connections that already existed between religious local communities due to everyday relations and geographical proximity.

The moment of the exchange of populations brings out an interesting point about the issue of "intercommunal" marriage and religious conversion. It reinforced the idea that we cannot have an unequivocal approach to questions of conversion and interreligious unions. Facing an almost-Cornelian dilemma between a community "of origin" forced to leave and an "adopted community" staying at home, the range of choices made by women and by their children highlight how variously intercommunal and interreligious relations could be experienced by each individual. It is difficult to say if those who finally decided to leave made that decision because they did not really feel integrated into the Muslim community, or if those who decided to stay had already broken ties to their Christian families before making their choice. In both situations, we can at least observe that marriage, with or without conversion to Islam, was a crossing of boundaries between religious communities. It created bonds between two groups defined by their religious belonging through the widening of kinship relations beyond the borders of religion. In a way, conversion and interreligious marriage imply that individuals participated in the production of an "encompassing locality" by using their *liminality* to connect religious communities with each other and thus to create a form of *communitas.* Turner defined the *communitas* – in opposition to the social structures of society – as an anti-structure revealed by liminal individuals who have an in-between position assigned and arrayed by social structures, as "an unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated *comitatus*, community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders."[161] In our context, this "unstructured" form of community transcended the specific stage of the rite of passage (or of conversion) since it was implemented over time, in the everyday lives of converts and their relatives. The

161 Turner, *Ritual Process* (1969), 96.

idea of a "collectivity" based on geographical and linguistic proximity certainly strenghtened this unstructured *communitas,* which overcame but also divided religious communities that were the basis of the structure of the Ottoman society.

Nevertheless, forms of proximity other than religious affiliation did not somehow mean that bonds they created were necessarily permanent or cordial. As in relations occurring between relatives of the same faith, family life could be punctuated by definitive or temporary ruptures, moments of tension, conflict, and quarrels, as well as by reconciliation. Interreligious marriages as well as religious conversions can thus be seen as individual practices that overstep religious boundaries in an active or latent way, whether they were actively, passively, or secretly experienced in everyday life.

10

Religious Boundaries are Blurred. Shared Beliefs, Rites, and Spaces of Worship

> *In this church both Christians and Turks perform their religious duties, each after his manner, strange to say without the least friction. There are in it nine pictures (eikones) representing St Mamas, Sts Constantine and Helen, and the Virgin.*
>
> – Symeon Farasopoulos (1895)[1]

When Farasopoulos noted his astonishment at the absence of tension in the practice of religious duties of Christians and Muslims in the same place of worship, the author of *Ta Sylata* was obviously writing under the influence of national discources based on ethnoreligious definitions of nations that swayed many intellectuals living in late nineteenth-century cities. The accounts of Ramsay and, after him, Hasluck demonstrate the fluidity and porosity of religious and ethnic identities in Ottoman society; however, this society did not match with the historical teleology presupposed by nationalistic ideologies according to which pre-modern, imperial, pluri-etnic, and pluri-religious societies were only a provisory stage on the way to ethnic consciousness and the eventual advent of national plenitude. Ramsay, for

1 Farasopoulos, *Τα Σύλατα*, 1895, 74.

instance, exposed the example of Omar, a Muslim living in a village near Kayseri who had visited several Christian places of worship:

> In 1884 we had a man from a village east of Kaisari in Cappadocia. His name was Omar; and he usually answered to the name of Hadji. But his pilgrimage had not been to Mecca; he had merely visited some Armenian sacred place, which I forget; and that in itself is a remarkable fact. There is a certain awe attached even among the Moslem peasantry to the old holy places of the Christians; and they believe that some supernatural power resides in them, and some merit is gained by visiting them.[2]

Mixed or shared places of worship and rituals have remained, according to Maria Couroucli, largely ignored by anthropologists, who have focused more on "normal" (rather than "marginal") traditions, thus reinforcing national discourses about the homogeneous character of the societies they are studying.[3] What is more, historians have neglected the question of the sharing of places of worship and rituals, including it – without really questioning it – under the catch-all notion of syncretism.

Paschalis Kitromilides considered that nationalism concerns the role of violence and its impact…

> … not only in effacing traditional syncretism and pluralism but also in bringing it about. Conventional wisdom usually regards the role of violence as connected to the leveling of social pluralism, but things work the other way around as well: violence can initiate dislocations and relocations that result in the emergence of pluralism.[4]

In the Cappadocian context, these dislocations and relocations, which include geographical moves, migration, and religious conversions by individuals or groups, occurred throughout the centuries and continued to occur in the course of the long nineteenth century. In practice, pluralism needed the

2 Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey* (1897), 46.

3 Couroucli, "Chthonian Spirits" (2012), 56.

4 Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "F.W. Hasluck and Christianity and Islam under the Sultans," *British School at Athens Studies* 17 (2009): 104.

coexistence of various groups but also a consciousness of being in the presence of different groups – consciousness which has to be shared by institutions as well as by individuals of society. Nevertheless, this consciousness of pluralism can be experienced in various ways. Although pluralism could be understood as mixture of various ethnic, cultura, and linguistic groups, from the point of view of the state, traditionally, the main criterion for group identity and, consequently, for the elements of pluralism in the Ottoman social order was religious belonging. Religions constitute the central social marker that defined the place of each community within the social order. In the course of the nineteenth century, this criterion progressively turned into ethnic and national identification but religious belonging remained in the background such that it was the only criterion applied in 1923-24 for the population exchange. However, religious division did not necessarily mean different ways of belief or a different religiosity.

To understand the elementary pair formed by religiosity and religious pluralism, one must return to its constitutive element: belief. Read from the perspective of a historicized multi-religious society like the Ottoman Empire, the work of Michel de Certeau on belief as a social practice is particularly interesting. De Certeau defined belief in conceptual terms without directly linking it to religiosity. Rather he identified it as "social practices of difference."

> Believing [*le croire*] means sometimes to trust someone or something, sometimes to believe in reality or in what we see, sometimes to rely on what is said. […] In all three aspects, it always involves the support of the other, which is that on which we must rely. […] Believing therefore stands between the recognition of alterity and the establishment of a contract. It disappears if one of the two conditions fails. […] Believing appears as an interlacing of operations, a combination of credit and debts, a network of recognitions. It is primarily a web organizing a social fabric.[5]

5 Michel de Certeau, "Une pratique sociale de la différence: croire," in *Faire croire. Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XVII au XVe siècle. Actes de table ronde de Rome* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1981), 363-64.

The notion of believing [*le croire*] developed by de Certeau is used in contrast to the notion of belief [*croyance*]. In that sense, the former belongs to the sphere of religiosity and the latter to that of religions (understood as structured and often institutionalized systems of belief and ritual). In the particular case of multireligious societies, the individual – the believer – is permanently, but in a temporalized and evolving relation, set before the alterity of *another* (whose faith is considered as being the same as him) but also before the alterity of *the other,* the one who belongs to the other faith which is incumbent upon a community to which the believer does not belong – upon the other religion in which the believer does not believe.[6] Even when the interlacing of operations do not cross the boundaries of religious communities, belief is continually challenged by the existence of the other's belief. As a result, alterity is, de facto, recognized: the contract needs to be established not only among believers of the same faith but more largely among all believers – regardless of their religious community – to make everyday life viable in the context of plurireligosity. Because believers are continually put before the religious alterity of the other and, subsequently, before their own alterity in the face of the other, a "strategy of communication" between communities is necessary to find a common area of believability (or of religiosity), making coexistence possible. This area is a part of the daily practices and relations that belong to a "system of expectations," putting daily relations in a time-related perspective. According to de Certeau:

> Daily practices come under systems of expectation that refer to a "legitimate order of beliefs concerning life in society". Expectations are based on beliefs. A system of believing binds present behaviors to a future that eludes them. Thus gestures of support, hospitality, and politeness lead to the right to expect something in return.[7]

In the pluri-religious context, the connection between present behavior and an expected future cannot only be internal to each religious community but

6 The distinction between *another* and *the other* is central. The former corresponds to another believer who belongs to the same religious community while the latter is the believer of the utmost other – the other who is defined and recognized as such, especially by institutions.

7 De Certeau, "Une pratique sociale de la différence" (1981), 366.

has to enter the larger sphere of religiosity as a whole, including not only institutionalized religions but also popular beliefs and practices that often go unseen, or at least uncontrolled, by central authorities. It needs, at least partly, to cross boundaries formed by religious belonging. In this context, de Certeau presented institutions as the organizers of a field of social reliability. He opposed Foucauldian structuralism according to which individuals and their actions were under the thumb of panoptical institutions controlling and disciplining them. Foucault, in his last work on "disseminated technologies," conceded the existence of paltry resistances by individuals in the face of institutions; de Certeau valorized these resistances in the context of daily practices he defined as tricks and diversions in the face of the structures imposed by institutions.[8] If de Certeau minimized their organizing role, for all that, he does not exclude the participation of institutions in everyday life. In relation to believing, he described their role as determining an area of believability:

> Institutions carbe out a place in the field of social reliability of a time. They reclassify elements, they change their proportions, they organize them into articles. In short, they make them undergo a series of treatments to treat their beliefs as an arrested and usable reliability. But this in turn also imposes constraints, even if they are not sharp. […] Being gradually drawn away from popular beliefs to be socially and intellectually conform to the group supporting them, institutional beliefs lose their strength, and leave the orbit (se désorbitent) of believability.[9]

Consequently, institutionally-structured beliefs only rarely square with the realities of the daily practice of believing. In the Ottoman context, where the institutional and social structures of society were built on a division based on religious – and a fortiori ethnoreligious – alterity, a discrepancy between institutionalized beliefs, which supposedly organized the social order, and the realities of everyday practices and religiosity appeared. Part of everyday religiosity was actually outside institutionalized beliefs and consequently

8 Eric Maigret, "Les trois héritages de Michel de Certeau. Un projet éclaté d'analyse de la modernité," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 55e année, no.3 (2000): 526.

9 De Certeau, "Une pratique sociale de la différence" (1981), 382.

outside religions. This is what James Grehan, working on everyday religion in Ottoman Syria and Palestine, observed through the framework of "agrarian religion," namely religious beliefs and practices, that remained outside institutional religions. It consisted of "indifferently blurred sectarian divisions" and was "as much urban as it was rural, was the expression of an entire social and economic order whose rhythms were tied to the slow turnings of seasons, finely attuned to the vagaries of earth, sky, and environment."[10] In light of this framework, shared practices and interpenetration of beliefs are no longer strange or surprising. Mixed places of worship or mixed rituals belonged to the sphere of religiosity but not to that of religions. On one hand, they generally occurred in the context of one religion but were considered as a form of heterodoxy because of the participation of outsiders and on the other hand, as for the religion of the outsiders, they were considered superstitions that had no place in the institutionalized form of their religion.

In a way, there is no certainty in believing – this is the basic difference between "to believe" and "to know." As a result, while recognition of the belief of *another* allows the believer to confirm that his belief may be legitimate, recognition of the belief of *the other* is insurance taken out against skepticism introduced by the daily experience of the other's belief. Because many others ("anothers") have the same faith and many others ("the others") have another faith, it is reasonable to assume that, somewhere, there is something that will lead to what one is waiting for. Through belief in the other's belief, intercommunal communication is possible, opening the way to the potential production of other forms of relation and communication. It appears to be a precondition of daily cohabitation.

Believing in the other's belief has often been, interpreted as the "hybridity" of belief (in our case, a collectivity of the practices between Christians and Muslims) or as syncretism, namely a kind of religiosity which belongs simultaneously to at least two formal religions and consequently belongs to neither of them. Borrowing and interpenetration have thus been deemed part

10 James Grehan. *Twilight of the Saints: Everyday Religion in Ottoman Syria and Palestine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 15-16.

of the very nature of culture, and syncretism describes the process by which cultures constitute themselves at any given point in time.[11] In the words of Edward Said: "All cultures are involved in one another; none is simple and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated and unmonolithic."[12] Syncretism is, in its most symbolic evocative expression, a religious phenomenon resulting from hybridity and intermingling, but it also involves social and cultural order. Long considered a phase of "de-purification" of a formerly pure, authentic culture that has entered into contact with external elements (from other cultures), the notion of syncretism possesses a negative connotation that remains in place especially when applied to religious topics, where it often becomes synonymous with superstition, heterodoxy, and even heresy.[13] Moreover, it generally implies that individuals practicing hybridity are not necessarily aware of their "anormalous" religiosity and consequently that there are "normal" (or "pure") and "anormal" (or "unpure") practices of believing.[14] As a result, we have decided not to use either hybridity or syncretism in our conceptualization of intercommunal religiosity as it was realized in nineteenth-century Cappadocia.

In his work to conceptualize contemporary cases of shared places of worship, Hayden proposed to see in them an *antagonistic tolerance*, which is to say that the acceptance of others is "a pragmatic adaptation to a situation in which repression of the other group's practices may not be possible."[15] Sharing of sacred spaces is considered a temporary manifestation of a competitive tolerance of the other occasioned either because the other is too weak to be dangerous or because the balance of power between the two groups is too close to allow one to expel the other. As a result, the antagonism that underlies all

11 Nestor Garcia Canclin and Renato Rosaldo, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity. Foreword* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), xv; Charles Stewart, "Syncretism and its Synonyms: Reflections on Cultural Mixture," *Diacritics* 29, no.3 (1999): 41.

12 Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1993), xxv.

13 Stewart, "Syncretism and its Synonyms" (1999): 46.

14 Krstić, *Contested Conversions* (2011), 18.

15 Robert M. Hayden, "Antagonistic Tolerance. Competitive sharing of Religious Sites in South Asia and the Balkans," *Current Anthropology* 43, no.2 (2002): 219.

sharing would inevitably – if the balance of power were to be disrupted by political changes – lead to the violent expulsion of one of the groups and, in most cases, the disappearance of all signs of its previous presence.[16] We might be tempted to observe the case of nineteenth-century Cappadocia through this specter of "antagonistic tolerance." However, whether in the 1850s or in the first decades of the twentieth century, sharing places of worship and rituals rarely happened in the context of violence. Even when the political decision to expel the Rums was experienced as a violent uprooting, locally, the departure of the "weak" Christian other did not occur in an atmosphere of violence, at least not like it occurred in the same period in other areas of Asia Minor (consider the Rums of Pontus and the Aegean areas as well as Armenians in Anatolia).

If the notion of tolerance seems more accurate than syncretism or hybridity, in the following chapters, we prefer to deal with the idea of a "necessary" rather than "antagonistic" tolerance. The use of the word "tolerance" rather than "toleration" is not arbitrary. Both terms are often used imprecisely, leading to conceptual confusion. Andrew R. Murphy clarifies the ambiguity by using "toleration" to refer to social or political practices and "tolerance" to refer to attitudes:[17]

> Religious toleration is a governmental response to religious dissent or diversity in society that refrains from punishment and provides legal guarantees to those engaging in such activities. […] Tolerance is an attitude or disposition, […] a willingness to admit the possible validity of seemingly contradictory viewpoints, a hesitancy to pass value of "truth" judgments on individual or group beliefs.[18]

16 Glenn Bowman, *Sharing the Sacra: the Politics and Pragmatics of Intercommunal Relations around Holy Places* (Oxford Berghahn, 2012); Robert M. Hayden, Hande Sözer, Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir and Aykan Erdemir, "The Byzantine Mosque at Trilye: A Processual Analysis of Dominance, Sharing, Transformation and Tolerance," *History & Anthropology* 22, no.1 (2011).

17 Andrew R. Murphy, "Tolerance, Toleration and the Liberal Tradition," *Polity* 29, no.4 (1997): 595.

18 Ibid., 599-600.

In our particular context, we examine religious tolerance, a fact of individuals and of locally-defined communities on an everyday basis. In other words, tolerance is a necessary attitude of people vis-à-vis others who share the same territory but live another faith. In her work on "Chthonian Spirit and Shared Shrines," Maria Couroucli describes mixed religious practices as part of a long tradition of cultural pluralism characterized by the coexistence of more than one symbolic system within a relatively loosely organized society – a social order maintained for centuries over vast territories – rather than as the result of any top-down "tolerant" or "multicultural" ideology or policy.[19] According to this view, tolerance is a phenomenon defined by its locality and by the intrinsic nature of cohabitation habits rather than by an institutional order controlled and supervised by an omnipotent power.

By "necessary" instead of "antagonistic," we want to emphasize that shared places of worship and practices were concrete aspects of intrinsic tolerance experienced through everyday relations between members of different religious communities which, in our view, had not (yet) crossed the threshold of nationalized ways of identification. In this local context, the other is a neighbour, a member of the same locality with whom interactions and relations occur on a daily basis for all kinds of purposes. Otherness is thus experienced in a shared space and a shared temporality, and tolerance as an attitude vis-à-vis the other's belief – in other words, belief in the believability of other's belief – is a primary criterion making cohabitation possible. In that regard, shared worship practices are the basis of the production of a local belief (the combination of different forms of interpenetration) which, in turn, produce locality by creating networks between local religious communities. Within this produced locality, shared places of worship and practices are experienced and understood by locals (or insiders) who take part in this sharing or at least witness them. Outside the locality (or from the perspective of outsiders), they are no longer significant.

Maybe because of the absence of signification from outside, European travelers were particularly interested in Ottoman toleration and the phenomena of religious and cultural tolerance. Because their narratives would pique curiosity of readers (who are also outsiders), they were tempted to

19 Couroucli, "Chthonian Spirits" (2012), 45.

describe popular, local practices they encountered during their travels as "hybridity" or "syncretism." Like Europeans, contemporary Greek and Rum intellectuals, curious about the "cultural monuments of Anatolia," also collected information about local, popular and often, "agrarian" rites, and beliefs in Greek as well as in Karamanlı-Turkish literature. For the preparation of this chapter, Hasluck's *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans* has been a useful point of departure that we have rounded out with aforementioned sources, and first and foremost with the testimonies of the OTA which give unique, detailed pieces of information on such phenomena, especially for the region of Cappadocia. On the other hand, the official archives of the Ottoman state are silent. These shared practices certainly did not match the institutionalized religious and social order, but also, as tricks and diversions, they may have been realized in ways that the state and other institutions were not able to perceive and counteract. In the same way, parish registers are silent on this topic. Maybe the central archives of the Patriarchate of Constantinople could provide another view on the issue, but unfortunately we have not been able to access them.

From the OTA testimonies, we can perceive that necessary tolerance occurs particularly through the interpenetration of worship and more precisely through the sharing of specific, communal features of belief that may be combined – or not – and that vary from one place to another. These features can be classified in three forms:

- A shared or mixed place, corresponding to spatially shared worship. This includes *exopraxy* 1) in mixed sanctuaries (mostly "natural") that did not clearly belong to one or the other religious group but were visited occasionally by members of either religious community, and 2) in sanctuaries (mostly "built" or "artificial") that were visited by "outside worshippers" though they were formally assigned to the religion of the other. In the second case, the Foucauldian notion of *heterotopia* is applicable. Foucault uses this notion to describe concrete spaces (as places of worship) that can be defined by a double use, one governed by the rules of the society (for instance, a church being structurally and institutionally the place of worship of Christians), the other depending on other rules, which turn these real spaces into spaces of otherness (for instance, a church, when visited by a Muslim, becomes a space of otherness).

- A shared time, corresponding to temporalized shared worship: for instance, a celebration occurring on a specific date or at a particular time of life (holy days, but also ceremonies linked to the main stages of life). In this case, the members of a community who participate in the celebrations of the other community are performing *temporal exopraxy*. When participants experience a rupture with the time and temporality of their own religious group, temporal exopraxy resembles the notion of *heterochronia* proposed by Foucault.
- A shared ritual performed by members of both communities for private or common purposes, either during intercommunal worship or at different times and in different places. In some cases, the ritual is the same for all believers (*isopraxy*) and cannot be directly connected to the structural rites of one of the religious groups. In other cases, the ritual is part of the tradition of one religious group but is performed by members of the other faith (*heteropraxy*), as well.

Shared worship in natural or artificial sanctuaries does not necessarily mean that the same rite was being performed simultaneously by members of the religious communities sharing the place. Through the examples in the following paragraphs, we demonstrate that different beliefs and forms of worship can be linked to the same space in line with three alternate situations:

- The place was considered sacred by both communities, but only one of the religious groups actively performed a ritual there.
- The place was visited by both Muslims and Christians but involved different practices and different times of worship.
- The sacredness of the place was recognized and revered in a similar way or simultaneously by Muslim and Christian believers.

These three features of sharing were rarely combined. Only a very few examples combined these aspects, and these were linked to particularly difficult contingencies during which both religious communities (and generally both "clergies") carried on intercommunal rites simultaneously in the same space in the face of an extreme necessity affecting the whole collectivity. In this chapter, we first focus on shared places, then on shared time, and finally on shared rituals and the rare examples of joint combined shared place of worship, liturgical time and ritual.

These different forms of worship sharing can be seen as short moments interrupting the traditional, structural, and institutional religious practices of believers. These believers were neither converts nor crypto-believers, who practiced a religion publicly and hid their real faith in the private sphere. Nevertheless, considering the large number of shared and mixed places and rituals that we have been able to note, we assume these forms of sharing were not exceptional or unusual practices, but a core part of the everyday religious lives of locals. In this context, we wonder if otherness – central in all these forms of sharing – remained unchanged, if sharing actually blurred the boundaries between religious groups, or if itstrengthened them.

§ 10.1 The Space of Sharing[20]

The presence of shared or mixed sanctuaries – sacred spaces where various religious groups performed devotional practices, sometimes simultaneously, sometimes successively – is a well-established phenomenon in Cappadocia as elsewhere in the Mediterranean world where, in urban as well as rural areas, collectivities often involved two or more religious groups. Maria Couroucli accurately notes that "mixed practices do not constitute a single model; they are symbolically and practically complex activities, and their variations can be traced to political, demographic and social conditions prevailing at the time of observation, as the relative importance of the religious communities concerned is changing over time."[21] The adjectives "shared" and "mixed" are often used interchangeably. Bowman writes that he has tended "to term these shrines 'mixed' rather than 'shared' because 'shared' connotes an amity [that] one cannot presuppose."[22]

For our own part, we propose to use both adjectives but with a different nuance:

- The expression *mixed sanctuaries* concerns the use of a space considered sacred by Christians and Muslims in a similar way, with a similar frequency.

20 Shared or mixed worship places that we have been able to localize are represented on the map "Main Shared or Mixed Worship Places in Cappadocia (1900s)" in Appendix A12.

21 Albera and Couroucli, *Shared Sacred Space* (2012), 5.

22 Bowman, *Sharing the Sacra* (2012), 3, n.5.

That is to say, it is a natural or built space that is not regularly used by one or the other group but is visited for particular purposes by members of the Christian as much as by members of the Muslim community. This is particularly discernible in the case of natural places believed to be sacred (trees, hills, stones, caves, springs, and fountains) as well as of ancient or medieval religious edifices, especially ruined Byzantine chapels no longer used as a regular spaces of worship by the Christians. In this sense, a mixed sanctuary can be a space of exopraxy for members of either religious group since it is not (or is no longer) considered as a place of regular worship by either of them. This situation differs from what Hasluck called "transference," which implies the clear appropriation of the place by one group over the other.

- On the other hand, we define *shared spaces* as places known by locals to be clearly affiliated to one faith. These places are thus "owned" by either the Christian or the Muslim community who use it as a regular, consecrated place for collective and individual prayers and rituals. In this context, the sanctuary is shared by the "owning" community with the "visiting" community. Visiting or outside believers practice exopraxy here since the rite is performed outside their institutional worship spaces.

This distinction between, mixed places and shared places is appropriate for the case of Cappadocia where a significant part of the large number of natural or artificial sacred places were used by Christians and Muslims in common with various degrees of regularity.

In the middle of Anatolia, far from imperial borders and from the state's priorities, Cappadocia is certainly one of the best examples of the Ottoman religious plurality and of its consequences for mixed and shared forms and practices of spirituality and worship. The landscape, with its succession of mountains, plains, valleys, polychrome cliffs, and fairy chimneys conducive to imagination, is the locus of numerous myths and the theater of countless legends. Having inspired belief and faith for centuries, it has also been propitious to religious interpenetration. Hayden proposes the concept of "religioscape" to refer to "the distribution in spaces through time of the physical manifestations of specific religious traditions and of the populations

that build them."[23] Byzantine churches come to mind first when one thinks about Cappadocia's sacred places. However, the Cappadocian religioscape also includes religious monuments of pre-Christian times, Muslim sanctuaries (mosques, *tekke,* and *türbe*), recently built churches, and natural sanctuaries such as springs, trees, and mountains.[24] Hasluck indexed many of the most significant mixed and shared sanctuaries of Cappadocia, but the OTA testimonies allow the list of shared and mixed sanctuaries to be filled out (although not exhaustively). They especially allow a deeper look at local cases, few of which are otherwise documented.

Before getting to the heart of the topic, it is important to note that many religious edifices and the remains of sanctuaries were no longer used as worship spaces in the latter decades of the Ottoman Empire, much less as spaces of mixed or shared worship.[25] Even when known by locals, many rock-cut and underground chapels were no longer visited for the purpose of worship and were, in a way, desacralized in the eyes of locals. The words of one informants from Andaval are representative of this situation, showing that many ruins, especially when located outside of settlements, were no longer sacred:

23 Robert M. Hayden and Thimoty D. Walker, "Intersecting Religioscapes: A Comparative Approach to Trajectories of Change, Scale, and Competitive Sharing of Religious Spaces," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 81, no.2 (2013): 1.

24 Hasluck clearly distinguishes natural from artificial sanctuaries. He defines natural sacred spaces as places of worship with no "owner," while the artificial sanctuaries are edifices with religious purposes that belong to a "host" religious group and may be visited by members of other religious groups as "guests". In churches and chapels, Christians were the hosts and Muslims the guests, while in *türbes* (tombs or cenotaphs), or in *tekkes* (Muslim monasteries), the situation was reversed. The issue was more complex in the case of churches converted into mosques, but in Cappadocia, this was rarely the case before the founding of the Turkish Republic. Even in that situation, a church converted into a mosque listed of its Christian ornaments (frescoes, altar, etc.) and adorned with Islamic attributes in such a way that it unequivocally became a Muslim sanctuary. Nevertheless, this chapter shows that some of these places were whared, indicating that the issue was not always so clear.

25 Many cave churches were discovered in the twentieth century and were unknown by local populations.

> On the land of Kaleli, there were ruins everywhere that travelers sometimes used as shelter for the night. […] There were on this site many underground tunnels and rooms. When you entered in, you came to an arched church. The ceiling was vaulted and there were paintings on the walls. I did not know to which saint it was dedicated. We did not give much importance to old churches.[26]

The remoteness of some of these places was a first problem: far from settlements, on summits, dug into the rock, or sometimes located at the end of many meters of cramped tunnels, their access was difficult or impossible. Moreover, the profusion of Byzantine chapels made it impossible to practice rituals in each of them given only 365 days in a year. Besides, many of these chapels, especially those dug into the rock high above or below the ground level, were not even known by locals. On the other hand, except for few cases of transference, Islamic edifices were less numerous and easier to access because they were built systematically rather than carved.[27]

The absence of regular worship in an old sanctuary did not signify the absence of a belief connected to them. Many remains of sanctuaries were known by locals who nonetheless believed in their sacredness but performed no rituals there. As noted by Nicholas Doumanis, "sacred sites were particularly vital to local mental mapping"[28] and locality was defined by knowledge of these places which served as landmarks of geography and local belonging, but also as interfaces between local communities and the mystical world. When informants of the OTA were asked to locate notable places in their environment, they generally used natural or artificial sacred places as bearings. As a result, geography, because it was shared, was necessarily a place of intercommunal interactions that often led to joint traditions and beliefs.

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26 "ΚΠ 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, ΚΠ204: H. Paschalidis.

27 In Cappadocia, Muslim religious edifices (mosques and other shrines) built during the Turkish period were all of dressed stone (see, for instance, the complex of Hacı Bektaş). Some shrines of Muslim saints were dug into the rock, but were the result of transference from the pre-Islamic period (consider the cases of Gül Baba or Babayani *türbes*).

28 Doumanis, *Before the Nation* (2013), 123.

10.1.1 *Natural Sanctuaries*

The rural landscape was fully integrated into local beliefs and rituals. In the minds of people, topography bore the marks of miracles and strangeness to such an extent that any natural feature (a hill, cave, stone, spring, or isolated tree) could turn into a place of worship. In this sacred landscpae, because of "their inheritance of sanctity, proved or possible,"[29] mountains were predisposed to be places of cults and, in a multireligious context, of mixed cults.[30] Hasluck noted three main beliefs linked to mountains:

- "The god controlling the weather and especially rainfall was best propitiated on mountain-top where clouds gather."
- The mountains were the "abode of ascetics," who were often weather-prophets and rain-makers, both in Islam and Christianity.
- The mountains were considered, according to "secular and 'folklore' conceptions," the grave of a gian – a kind of "saint of superhuman proportions."[31]

In Cappadocia, the volcanic specificity of mountains (mainly the Erciyes Dağ near Kayseri, the Hasan Dağ and the Melendiz Dağ near Niğde) is another aspect to be taken into account. Since volcanoes, which breathe fire, possessed a particular mythical characteristic in most poly- and monotheistic traditions.

Natural spaces such as mountains often brought together various traditions that could have been influenced by each other but gave rise to distinct forms of worship. Two well-known examples recorded by Hasluck are the Hasan Dağ (Niğde) and the Ali Dağ (Kayseri). Regarding the former,

29 Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), 119-20.

30 Regarding sacred mountains, see the case of Muztagh Ata Mountain (in Central Asia) –considered sacred in Shamanic, Buddhist, Hindu, and Islamic local traditions – studied by Thierry Zarcone. See Thierry Zarcone. "Légendes d'Asie centrale sur un royaume caché dans les confins turco-tibétains: la montagne Muztagh Ata," *Politica Hermetica. Images et représentations du centre* 22 (2008): 84-104); or the case of the Mount Tomor (in Albania), place of pilgrimage for Christians and Bektashis, studied by Nathalie Clayer. See Nathalie Clayer, "The Pilgrimage to Mount Tomor in Albania: A Changing Sacred Space in a Changing Country," unpublished paper presented in the project *The New Religiosities in Turkey: Reenchantment in a Secularized Muslim Country?* (Istanbul: October 2015).

31 Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, I (1928), 119-20.

Hasluck noted that "it has on its summits (1) a ruined Christian chapel and (2) a *türbe* associated with the sheikh Tur Hasan Veli, who can boast a respectable cycle of tradition. He represents, in all probability, a tribal eponymous hero, and may even be historical."[32] Despite the presence of a ruined chapel, Christians did not perform worship in this place. In testimonies, the Hasan Dağ's summits are only described as a passage place.

The Ali Dağ had similar characteristics. The place was connected with Ali in local Islamic legends and with St. Basil in Christian belief.[33] However, while the chapel ruins on the Hasan Dağ were no longer a place of worship for Christians, on the St. Basil/Ali Dağ, a Christian worship was still performed in the early twentieth century. During Pentecost, Christians of the surrounding villages ascended the summit with incense and made a sacrifice (*kurban).* This celebration is described by the OTA informants and mentioned by Bernardakis in 1908. According to various sources, Muslims did not participate in these celebrations but came to the summit to perform prayers, especially for rain.[34]

Near to (and sometimes on) mountains, springs and trees were also frequently the subjects of local belief, often connected to a Christian and/or Muslim saint. Reverence for water and trees had a particular significance in a region like Cappadocia where drought was frequent and greenery scarce.[35] Lack of water and greenery was often mentioned by informants as a great difficulty of everyday life. In this context, many springs were believed to have supernatural powers. Sacred springs were especially renowned among locals – regardless of their religious affiliation – for their therapeutic qualities. The

32 Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, I (1928), 121.

33 According to Hasluck "on one of the two conspicuous summits are remains of a Christians church, on the other, the Moslems have built a place of prayer." Ibid.

34 Gregorios Bernardakis, "Notes sur la topographie de Césarée de Cappadoce" *Échos d'Orient* (1908): 22-24; Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, I (1928), 121; "ΚΠ 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, ΚΠ60: K. Kioseoglou;

35 As noted in a previous chapter, Ottoman archives contain many complaints by villages concerning the sharing of running water with neighouring communities. There are numerous petitions in the BOA of villages complaining about the monopolization of water resources by a neighboring village. For Cappadocia, these complains often originated in the north-eastern region of Niğde. See Chapter 7.2.

Greek word *agiasma* was also used in Turkish (*ayazma)*. In Gelveri, Ilisu, Everek, Zincidere, Çeltek, and numerous other areas, *agiasmas* were deemed to heal one of various ailments, to protect people and animals, or to bring abundance.[36] Often, religious edifices stood next to these natural sanctuaries (churches, *tekkes*, or tombs) which were generally built on a sacred peak, next to a thaumaturgical spring, or next to a wishing tree to welcome worshippers. The edifice was the consequence rather than the reason for the sanctity of the spaces.[37]

10.1.2 *Shared and Mixed Beliefs Linked to Artificial Sanctuaries*

In the second half of the nineteenth century, following the announcement of the Tanzimat and on account of revenues brought by migrants , many Christian parishes of Cappadocia built new, larger churches that were more appropriate for welcoming all the members of their flocks than the old churches. These new churches were generally located in the center of villages (in Christian but sometimes also in Muslim mahalles) and used for everyday liturgy, official services, celebrations, and feasts guided by clerics. Old churches became spaces for occasional (often individual, sometimes collective) celebrations. For Muslims, the space of "official" Islam was the mosque, generally built on central squares of mahalles, sometimes in a building that combined religious and non-religious functions. Unlike churches converted into mosques available in various regions of Anatolia and especially in the successive Ottoman capitals, the mosques of rural Cappadocia were rarely former churches or chapels. On this issue, an informant from Keçiağaç answered his interviewer:

> The mosques of the Turks were not built in place of churches. We never heard of Turks converting churches into mosques. It only happened in places like Istanbul or Izmir, never in Cappadocia.[38]

36 Petropoulos and Andreadis, *Vie religieuse* (1970), 29. "Codex 1/2 Aï Kösten (Everek) (1853-1924)," 317; "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, ΚΠ75: M. Papadopoulou.

37 Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam,* I (1928), 124.

38 "ΚΠ 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, ΚΠ235: St. Topsakal.

However, cases of mosques built on the site of and with the materials of a former church are frequent. In the city of Kayseri, an important center of Eastern Christianity in Byzantine times, Bernardakis noted, in a 1908 article on the topography of the city, that the Grand Mosque (Cami-i Kebir) and its *medrese* were constructed by Seljuks with the material of a church which was formerly on the same site. Capitals with acanthus leaves and decorated with crosses were still visible in the mosque. He added that locals claimed that other mosques of the intramuros city were actually former churches, but he found no traces of Christian architecture on those sites. For instance, two mosques were called (but not visited) by the Christians of Kayseri: "St. Daniel Mosque" and "St. Basil Mosque." Similarly, though no trace of Christian architecture was visible, the Hunad Hatun Mosque was considered to have been built (in 1328) in place of a former church in Christian as well as in Muslim tradition. This church was where the Archibishop of Caesarea, St. Leontius (257-331), would have consecrated St. Gregory the Illuminator, the first official head of the Armenian Church, in 315.[39] In this case, which is described by Bernardakis, the Seljuks used stones of a church but did not converted the edifice into a mosque, maybe because churches were destroyed during the conquests.

In villages, mosques were often small buildings for which it is difficult to observe any trace of Christian architecture. However, as in cities, it was not surprising to see stones from former Christian edifices in the walls of any religious or civil building. In mixed villages, the main mosques and churches were often close to each other on the central square of the settlement.[40] Unlike mosques which were strictly forbidden to non-Muslims[41], churches could theoretically be visited by non-Christians. However, instances of Muslim visiting central (generally newly built) churches were rare. These buildings were spaces of regular, formal worship (daily mass and large celebrations) and were consequently more under the watch of the clergy than older peripheral

39 Bernardakis, "Notes sur la topographie" (1908): 22-24.

40 This is still clearly visible for instance in Suvermez/Floïta.

41 A refugee who was able to return to Cappadocia decades after the exchange was particularly surprised to be able to visit mosques into which he could never formerly enter. "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ270: I. Goulanoglou.

chapels. As a result, as with mosques, central and new churches often remained free from heterotopia.

Sanctuaries located in the peripheries, at the edge of a village, in fields, in valleys and on hills were often spaces for more informal rituals.[42] Believers, often female, occasionally left their village to perform rites for specific –private prayers and thaumaturgical invocations – without the intercession of a clergyman. More rarely, generally on the day of a chapel's or church's saint, collective celebrations were also performed at these peripheral edifices. For instance, young Christian women of Nevşehir made a pilgrimage once a year to the church of the Panagia Dağ (Oyludağ, three kilometers to the southeast). This place was also frequented by sick persons, but only by Christians. An informant described the rites as follows:

> Many [Christian] girls went there. They came to pray for their fate, to ask whether their futures would be good or bad, if signs would come quickly. Sick persons also went there to get better. But it was far away and we feared the Turks, so we never went there alone. The priests never came; we women went. We walked down the stairs… who knows how many steps! The steps were small and carved into the rock – just space for one hand and one foot. Then we had to go down with a rope for several meters.[43]

As the Panagia dağ, the spring of Unus Pınar, near Nevşehir was also frequented only by Christians. For at least, the Rum informants of the OTA never saw Muslims to this place for ritual purposes. Water of this spring was believed to have therapeutic power. Sick people (or their relatives) brought clothes that they would leave there, saying "Panayam, sen iyiliğini ver, hastalığı burda kaslın" ["Dear Panagia, bring us your kindness, let the ailment remain

42 Serafeim Rizos called peripheral churches that were visited more or less regularly: "Annex churches." In Sinasos, the main church on the main square of the village was the Church of Constantine and Helen, which was restored and enlarged in the early 1840s. There were about twenty churches, chapels, or groups of chapels in the surroundings of Sinasos, five of which were shared with Muslims for their thaumaturgical power. Rizos, *Η Σινασός (1952)*, I (2007), 99-154.

43 "ΚΠ 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s, ΚΠ144: M. Treflopoulou.

here"]. Visits could occur regularly. According to Athina Ankaraloglou, the place was particularly crowded on Sundays, but Muslims never participated in this form of worship.[44] The non-participation of Muslim visitors was often explained by a legend known to the whole of the local population. It generally took the form of a miracle, a retribution (from the Christian point of view), or a malediction (from the Muslim point of view) that had happened in this place. As a consequence of this legend, Turks were said to respect and to stay away from the place for fear of divine reprisal.[45] Concerning the Panagia Dağ, Marika Treflopoulou continued her description as follows:

> Older women who came with us told that, in the past, a Turk had set fire to the local church and was the victim of the malediction of the Virgin who caught and attacked him. While he cried and asked for help, a Turkish shepherd asked, saw him, and said "What did you do? There was a church here." And he understood that the man was the victim of a malediction. To help him, he brought a bag of oil for the forgiveness of the pour soul.[46]

Another similar legend was spread among villagers of Çarıklı and Karaatlı. It concerned a chapel dedicated to St. John, about two kilometers from Çarıklı. From the testimonies of several refugees, the tale can be reconstructed as follows: After a dream in which she saw a saint showing her a place to pray, a Christian woman discovered, at the place indicated by the saint, an icon of St. John.[47] After this discovery, Christians of the region built a church there, and since that time, girls and women would go there with oil, candles, and incense to make wishes. One day, a Turk entered the church and stole a bottle of oil that he used, rubbing it on his oxen, which all died the following night. The

44 The site was also used as place of gathering for Christians about to migrate, who would go there with their families to enjoy the last moments before their departure. Ibid., ΚΠ144: A. Ankaraloglou.

45 "ΚΠ 340-342 Tzalela," 1950s, ΚΠ340; "ΚΠ 295-297 Tsarikli," 1950, ΚΠ295; "ΚΠ 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s.

46 "ΚΠ 143-146 Neapoli," 1950s, ΚΠ144: M. Treflopoulou.

47 Regarding the importance of visions and dreams in agrarian religion, see Grehan, *Twilight of the Saint* (2014), 156-161.

Turk understood that the death of his animals was the consequence of his theft, the "*God of the Gâvurs*" [miscreants] having decided to punish him. Thus the villager took the rest of the bottle back and no more oxen died the next night. Since that day, Turks of the region never approached the church.[48] The tale does not mention if the Turk stole the oil because he considered it sacred. However, since he used it on his oxen, we can suppose that he believed in the sanctity of the place and that the oil would bring divine protection to his animals.[49] Similarly, in Fertek, an informant narrated how, when he was a child, a Muslim of the neighbourhood had had his hand paralyzed because he removed stones from the ruins of the ancient church of St. John Chrysostom. The man promised to rebuild the church if he healed, and he finally regained the use of his hand and the church.[50] Many other stories of theft from or destruction of Christian sanctuaries (with happy or unhappy endings) were told throughout the region with the common feature of the misfortune of Muslims who had lashed out against these sacred places. For instance, Christians and Muslims of the region of Gelveri believed that anyone who touched the Church of St. Panteleimon – one of the rare built Byzantine churches of Cappadocia with free cross plan and a cupola known today as Kızıl Kilise, would lose their hand. According to Nicole Thierry, this explains why the church remained in good condition while other churches with similar architecture (the Church of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste and the Panagia Church of Tomarza) no longer exist.[51] These stories were told among Christians and Muslims of the region.[52] As a result, Muslims never came to

48 "ΚΠ 295-297 Tsarikli," 1950, ΚΠ296: A. Karalis, St. Hoursanidis, M. Bilika, E. Zourboglou

49 The oil and water used for light in the sanctuaries were considered to have therapeutic virtue. They were used by Christians and Muslims for sick people but also to protect animals from evil and badness.

50 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ299: T. Tsaloglou.

51 Nicole Thierry and Michel Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1963), 25 n.28. Regarding the dedication of the Kızıl Kilise, see "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ26; Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* (1908), 278-82; William M. Ramsay and Gertrude L. Bell, *The Thousand and one churches* (London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1909), 376-82.

52 According to the few interviews I made with inhabitants of villages like Gökçe, Soğanlı, Derinkuyu, and Güzelyurt (between 2013 and 2016), these kinds of legends are still known to the

perform rites, precisely because they considered these places as sacred and as protected by mystic forces, and they preferred not to provoke supernatural wrath. Through these different examples, it is important to understand that the people of the region, Christians as well as Muslims, believed in these legends and acted accordingly. Which is to say, Christians venerated these sanctuaries as places of miracles and Muslims respected and stayed away from these places of malediction. Reciprocally, we can suppose that Christians avoided some sacred places visited by Muslims on account of similar legends, but the OTA informants do not mention such places.

10.1.2.1 Christian Places of worship Shared with Muslims

While rare or nonexistent in the principal religious edifices of each community, sharing was frequent in old, peripheral sanctuaries. Looking at the specific case of shrines to St. George, Maria Couroucli claims that:

> Shrines that attract mixed pilgrims in the Balkans and in Anatolia are usually outside towns and villages, on hilltops or in the woods, next to springs and crevices. There are liminal places inhabited by chthonian or other spirits on the frontier between the earth and the underworld.[53]

This observation is particularly valid for the Cappadocian case in which locals believed that many sanctuaries in the region – often underground (or *katachthonian*) and troglodyte (carved into the rock but remaining mostly above ground) possessed special forces in terms of their thaumaturgical power that were believed to be superior to those of sanctuaries on the surface. The following examples of mixed and shared places of worship however, show the complexity of understanding which kind of alterity – of otherness and of sameness – was experienced and produced locally.

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oldest generations of Muslims who, for the most part, were not born before 1923 but heard them from their parents and grandparents.

53 Couroucli, "Chthonian Spirits" (2012), 47. The term chthonian involves the one who comes from the ground (*chthon*), not to be confused with the one who comes from agriculture or from the nourishing earth (*gaia*). Chthonian spirits have a special relation with autochthony of men and women.

Believers often visited sanctuaries with the expectation of a peaceful and abundant future. If their wishes transpired, they came back and prayed to thank the saint; if not, they tried another sanctuary.[54] Many churches and chapels were believed to have healing power. Some were built next to a sacred spring or tree; others were troglodyte or underground. These built or carved shrines were dedicated to a saint who was considered wonderworker and healer with a general "field of competence" according to his or her hagiography. For instance, St. Makrina the Younger, the sister of Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa, was known as healer of eyes; St. Mamas was a healer of infertility and insanity and a protector of shepherds and their herds. Holy Unmercenaries (in Cappadocia, St. Panteleimon, St. Kosmas, and St. Damian in particular) were believed to heal pilgrims from all kind of disease.

Water was symbolically linked to abundance and fertility. It is thus unsurprising that many *agiasmas* and nearby religious buildings were believed to cure the problem of infertility in humans as well as in animals. For instance, shepherds in Fertek (who were predominantly Muslims) brought their cattle to the fountains of St. Panteleimon and Sts. Anargyres, making them take a turn around both *agiasmas* in expectation of abundance. Moreover, people who bathed in the cold water of the St. Panteleimon *agiasma* were believed to be cured of malaria. The Turkish-speaking local population called the water of the fountain "*Doktor Panteleimon'un suyu*."[55] Another sacred fountain in Kemerli (east of Kenatala) that was dedicated to St. George, was the place of rituals for abundance and fertility performed by Muslims and Christians. People went to the fountain with earthenware pitchers used for milking that they filled with the fountain's water and shook from left to right to insure an abundance of milk and dairy products, and also a rich harvest in the future. The water of the fountain was also believed to cure human sterility.[56] In Ilisu,

54 Stamatopoulos, "Everyday Life in Sinasos" (1985), 65.

55 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ299: T. Tsaloglou, K. Kallidou, P. Tsormpatzoglou, E. Tsagka.

56 Petropoulos and Andreadis, *Vie religieuse* (1970), 24. There were actually three fountains in the same locality called Kemerli, all dedicated to St. George. The second *agiasma* was used for thaumaturgy, especially by Muslims who came to performe ablutions in the fountain's water. And the third, next to a ruined church, was the place of a procession and sacrifice on St. George's Day as well as for prayer for rain. See Section 3 of this Chapter. Ibid., 30.

near Gelveri, the *agiasma* of St. Barbara was regularly visited by couples who had not succeeded in having a child and who had to bathe separately in the spring to solve their infertility. This form of worship practiced by couples was specific to this place – in other sanctuaries known for their power over infertility, rituals were practiced by (barren) women alone.[57] For instance, in Selime, (ten kilometers from Gelveri) a small troglodyte chapel called *Yedi Evliyalar* (Seven Saints) was visited by barren women and by the sick.[58] The ritual was the same for all worshippers. In the chapel, a reliquary covered with a green cloth contained the relics of seven saints. Worshippers covered their shoulders with the cloth and hung an item of their own clothing in or in front of the church.[59] Similarly, St. Mamas was believed to help women without children. In Cappadocia, the main chapel dedicated to this saint was located near Gelveri, was discovered by a Muslim peasant in the early nineteenth century, and was integrated into the site of a Bektashi *tekke* a few years later. The dervishes of the *tekke* used to distribute grains and lentils to women who wanted children: For a boy, they gave wheat, for a girl lentils. According to the the local tradition, families conceiving a boy under the influence of athe magic wheat had to baptize their child with the name "Mamas," but we should admit that we found almost no men called Mamas in the archives concerning settlements of the region![60] Another chapel dedicated to St. Mamas was located close to Sinasos, next to an *agiasma*. In this chapel, the other attribution to Mamas, namely his role as patron saint of shepherds and herds, was regularly invoked by shepherds of the surroundings who came to the chapel to water their cattle at its *agiasma*, especially when they had sick animals.[61]

57 Ibid.

58 Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, I (1928), 260-61; Anastasios M. Levidis, *Αἱ ἐν Μονολίθοις Μοναί τῆς Καππαδοκίας καί Λυκαονίας* (Constantinople, 1889). According to descriptions, this place seems to correspond to the present-day chapel called *Alakilise.* For more detail, see Section 3 of this Chapter and the photos in Appendix E1. (photo 7).

59 Petropoulos and Andreadis, *Vie religieuse* (1970), 30

60 Anna Marava-Chatzinikolaou, *O Agios Mamas* (Athens: IFA, 1953), 40-41.

61 Rizos, *Η Σινασός (1952)*, I (2007), 151.

Rituals linked to fertility, pregnancy, and childhood were widespread throughout the region and could be addressed to various saints. Near Sinasos, on the site of Gorgoli, another chapel dedicated to St. Eleftherios was believed to protect pregnant women.[62] Throughout Cappadocia, after the birth of a child, mothers would continue going to the sanctuaries to ask for the benediction of saints and, when necessary, for his or her help. Thus, near Endürlük, a sacred fountain devoted to St. Thomas was especially visited by mothers with insufficient breast milk. They washed their breasts with spring water or drank it.[63] The underground Church of St. John the Theologian in Germir, which was called *Yanni Dede* or *Aï Dede* by the local population, was visited by mothers who brought their older children when the latter were mute or had speaking or walking disabilities. The interior of the church, as with most underground churches, was neutral. There were no crosses or icons. Visitors had to go downstairs and entered into a large cave without a door. Here, they left their children on the floor for some time. As with other sanctuaries, this church was also a place of worshipfor for healing other kinds of disease and for granting wishes.[64]

As with the underground church of Germir, many sanctuaries, whether natural or built, were visited for multiple therapeutic purposes. Fertility and childbirth were among the main demands formulated to the saints, but thaumaturgical places were rarely believed to be devoted only to these specific purposes. In rural areas where physicians, doctors, and dispensaries were scarce and epidemics and outbreaks of various diseases were frequent, belief in the thaumaturgical virtue of saints was often the only, or at least the last, hope of villagers. Some saints were more regularly invoked. In addition to infertility issues with which we have already dealt, paralysis, fever, skin diseases, illnesses of the mind were the most frequent reasons for worship with thaumaturgical motivations. Throughout Cappadocia, different churches and *agiasmas* of St. Panteleimon were deemed to heal one from disease. The Church of St Panteleimon (*Kızıl Kilise*) was also regularly visited by Muslims

62 Stamatopoulos, "Everyday Life in Sinasos" (1985), 63-77.

63 "ΚΠ 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, ΚΠ58.

64 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ86: N. Bostantzoglou, M. Trifonidou, and M. Kosmidou.

and Christians who met at its entrance, near the *agiasma,* and entered together in hope of being cured from various ailments. The saint's day (27 July) attracted a great number of worshippers from both communities.[65] Near Kenatala, several places of worship were famous for curing fever and diseases such as malaria while in Çukur, the Panagia Church healed paralysis. The Churches of St. Kyriaki and St. Makrina in Fertek and Akso, respectively, were for eye diseases.[66] The latter, however, had a broader spectrum of supposed power. According to Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, the church was a place of pilgrimage attracting both Christians and Muslims from Niğde, Kayseri, Adana, and even Konya:

> Although the feast of the saint is celebrated on January 25 (? v.s.) (sic), in the middle of winter, it does not fail to attract a broad number of pilgrims from Konieh, Adana, Césarée and Nigdé. It brings to Hassa-Queui [Akso] all the sick people. It is not unlikely to meet Ottomans there driving their sick camels, oxen, and horses. The pilgrims walk around the tomb of St. Macrina located inside the church three times.
>
> When a person or animal gets sick, the pilgrim must make a vow to St. Macrina, and by this vow, he or she promises a sum of money or a donation in cash. […] The sick people and those who have made vows spend the night in the interior of the church where they sleep as quietly as in their own homes. Saint Macrina visits the most pious pilgrims while they are sleeping. Those honored by this visit are healed of their diseases or have their wishes transpire. […]
>
> It is assured that during the feast and for a few hours, the tomb of St. Macrina sweats. Pilgrims dip there a corner of their handkerchiefs. These tissues are then preserved and are said to cure all kinds of disease.[67]

65 Petropoulos and Andreadis, *Vie religieuse* (1970), 27.

66 Ibid., 24. "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ26: St. Ampouroglou; "ΚΠ 394-397 Tsoukour," 1950s, ΚΠ295: T. Zilfaridou; "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ299: I. Polyheni.

67 Original text: "Bien que la fête de la sainte se célèbre le 25 janvier (? v.s.) en plein hiver, elle ne manque pas d'attirer un grand concours de pèlerins venus de Konieh, d'Adana, de Césarée et

Nights were clearly conducive to worship for thaumaturgical and magic purposes. Moreover, underground sites were places of particular veneration when coupled with nocturnal rituals, as though the darkness of night combined with darkness of the underground brought about a more propitious circumstances for miracles. For instance, the underground Church of St. Panteleimon in Zincidere attracted the local population which came at nights with hopes of being cured. Each week, the church was opened on Thursday night to wespecially welcome sick Muslims who would stay underground the whole night.[68] Christians sold water and dust from the church to Turkish women because they were believed to have therapeutic virtues. Moreover, on Thursday nights, each visitor had to pay one *kuruş* to have the right to stay in the church for the whole night. The money collected was used for the maintenance of the church and Rum schools. According to one informant from Zincidere, sometimes up to seventy people would pay to stay in the church.[69] Staying the whole night in a thaumaturgical place was a relatively frequent form of worship, especially in underground sanctuaries.

The underground Church of the Anargyres in Malakopi was also occupied during the nights by people from both religious communities, especially to cure illnesses of the mind. Chains used to confine insane people who did not

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de Nigdé. Elle mène à Hassa-Queui toutes les personnes souffrantes. Il n'est pas rare d'y rencontrer des ottomans qui y conduisent leurs chameaux malades, ou leurs bœufs ou leurs chevaux. Les pèlerins font par trois fois le tour du tombeau de sainte Macrine qui se trouve à l'intérieur de l'église. Lorsqu'une personne ou un animal tombe malade, il faut faire un vœu à saint Macrine, par ce vœu on promet soit une somme d'argent, soit une valeur en nature. […] Les malades et ceux qui ont fait des voeux passent la nuit dans l'intérieur de l'église où ils dorment aussi tranquillement que chez eux. Saint Macrine visite les plus pieux des pèlerins endormis. Ceux qui sont honorés de cette visite sont guéris de leurs maladies ou voient leurs souhaits accomplis. […] On assure que lors de la fête et durant quelques heures, le tombeau de sainte Macrine se met en sueur. Les pèlerins y trempent un coin de leurs mouchoirs. Ces mouchoirs sont conservés et passent pour guérir de toutes sortes de maladies". Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Traditions populaires* (1889), 204-09. See photos of the church and the tomb in Appendix E3 (picture 8).

68 "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, ΚΠ76: H. Halazoglou, N. Pervanidis. "ΚΠ 30-33 Sivrihisar," 1950s, in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ31.

69 "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, ΚΠ76: N. Pervanidis.

want to stay in the church for their cure were affixed to the walls of the church near the icon of the Anargyres.[70] Similarly, in the St. Mamas Chapel of Gelveri, the mentally ill had to sleep in the shrine to get better, while in other places, the sick had to stay underground several days and nights if they wanted a miracle to happen.[71]

10.1.2.2 Muslim Sanctuaries Shared with Christians

Informants of the CAMS as well as Western ethnographers emphasized the large number of Christian shrines shared with Muslims. Cases of Muslim sanctuaries shared with Christians are far less elaborated on these sources. In Cappadocia, in view of the high concentration of Byzantine churches, this may be the result of a real imbalance between the number of Christian and lower number of Muslim shrines locally available. Nevertheless, we can also suppose that Christian informants (as well as ethnographers more often knowledgeable of Christian than Islamic traditions) were particularly pleased by the great numbers of churches and chapels visited by Muslims. They could use it as a proof of the "higher power" of Christian saints and shrines and consequently of their religion compared to the religion of their Muslim neighbours (and correlatively the religion of the state dominating them), which was apparently too weak to fulfill their wishes. However, even though examples are fewer, there are cases Muslim shrines shared with Christians in Cappadocia.

Cases of transference – to use the notion proposed by Hasluck – from one religion to another (from the Christian to the Islamic, and before that from pre-Christian and pagan traditions to the Christian tradition) are numerous in Anatolia. Local Muslim legends are often stories of chthonian heroes and saints who already existed, under another name, in Christian legends. Rather than a juxtaposition of distinct legends, in many locations in Cappadocia, transference led to the superimposition and interpeneration of Christian and Muslim legends even up to the identification of characters of both traditions. Even when a Christian shrine was replaced by a Muslim one, these places sometimes continued to be considered sacred by the local Christian

70 "ΚΠ 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s, ΚΠ175: M. Parara.

71 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ244: M. Damianoglou.

population. As already mentioned, before 1923 the conversion of churches into mosques was a rare phenomenon in Cappadocia, but sites of old chapels and churches could enter in Muslim tradition by becoming *türbe* and *tekke,* especially those linked to Bektashism.[72] If crossing the threshold of a mosque was forbidden to non-Muslims, Christians were welcomed in other – often called heterodox – Muslim shrines. However, Christian informants did not generally emphasize their participation in worship realized in shrines "owned" by Muslims and more specifically by the Islamic religious orders.

The role of the Bektashi Sufi order in Anatolia, in towns as well as in rural areas, was particularly important to the development of shared worship throughout the centuries following the Turkish conquest. Charles MacFarlane, who travelled in Turkey between 1847 and 1848, assumed that "a Christian or an Israelite was admissible in their ranks, and was to be treated as a brother if his conduct proved him to be a true Bektash." He actually met a Christian Rum who claimed to be a Bektashi leader (*Bektaşi Başı*) revered by Muslims.[73] In Cappadocia, according to the mapping by Faroqhi for the eighteenth and early ninetheenth centuries, *tekkes* were concentrated in the western half, between Kırşehir and Nevşehir, around Aksaray, Niğde, and Develi. No *tekke* was reported in the region of Kayseri. Compared to other regions of Anatolia (especially Western Anatolia and the area north of the Kızılırmak river around Yozgat, Merzifon, and Sivas), they are few in number in Cappadocia. In 1899, however, the Ottoman administration of the kaza of Aksaray complained to the central state about the spreading influence of a Bektashi group on Muslim villages in the area.[74]

Several decades earlier, in 1826, the dissolution of the Janissary corps by Sultan Mahmud II strongly affected the Bektashi order, which had been closely linked to the corps since the fifteenth century. Simultaneous with the abolishment of the military corps, the sultan banned the religious order.[75]

72 Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, II (1929), 456.

73 Charles MacFarlane, *Turkey and Its Destiny: The Result of Journeys Made in 1847 and 1848 to Examine Into the State of that Country* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1850), 496-97.

74 BOA, Y.PRK.UM 46/44 (1317-M-17/28.05.1899).

75 J.W. Crowfoot, "Survivals among the Kappadokian Kizilbash (Bektash)," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 30, no.3 (1900): 310. Faroqhi, however, argues that the connection

Cemal Kafadar, however, explained that while the "Event of 1826" marked the end of the Janissary Corps and a permanent end to its affiliation with the Bektashi Order, it did not spell the disappearance of the Sufi Order.[76] According to Hasluck "the Janissaries were permanently broken, the Bektashi only crippled."[77] Rather than supporting the Janissary Corps during the conflict with the sultan, Bektashi leaders preferred remain passive, a choice which, according to Faroqhi, saved them. In the period post-1826, some of their *tekkes* were closed, their sheikhs were exiled to cities where *ulema*s were firmly rooted (as they were, for instance, in Kayseri),[78] and religious affairs in those *tekke*s that remained opened were delegated to sheikhs of other orders, especially the Naqshibendis.[79] However, after a few years of practicing in secret, the Bektashis were reestablished with considerable strength by the mid-nineteenth century. By late 1840s, they had largely recovered and began to have "a considerable influence over the laymen affiliated to them, especially in out of the ways parts of Asia Minor (Cappadocia, Lycia and Kurdistan)."[80]

Kizilbash communities, closely linked to Bektashism, were concentrated to the north of Kırşehir, mostly between Ankara, Sivas, and Merzifon.[81]

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between the Janissary Corps and Bektashi Order was not necessarily felt in rural areas. Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik* (2003), 161.

On July 8, 1826, a ferman ordered the closing of all corrupted Bektashi tekkes. See BOA, *Cevdet, Adliye*, no. 1734, cited in Hür Mahmud Yücer, *Osmanlı Toplumunda. Tasavvuf (19. Yüzyıl) (*Istanbul: Insan Yayınları, 2003), 467.

76 Cemal Kafadar, "Yeniçeri-Esnaf Relations: Solidarity and Conflict" (McGill University: Unpublished MA, McGill University 1981), 117-18.

77 Hasluck, "Ambiguous Sanctuaries" (1914): 97.

78 Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik* (2003), 173.

79 İlber Ortaylı, "The Policy of the Sublime Porte Towards Naqshbandis and Other Tariqas in the Tanzimat Period," in *Naqshbandis in Western and Central Asia. Change and Continuity*, ed. E. Özdalga (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute, 1999), 67,70.

80 Hasluck, "Ambiguous Sanctuaries" (1914): 97. For a detailed analysis of this recovery, see Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (1965), 79.

81 Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, 2003, 287-308. While Kizilbashes were broadly considered a branch of Shia Islam, Irène Mélikoff claimed that Kızılbashism was originally a Turkmen system of belief that turned into a Sufi, Shi'i form of Islam under the influence of the Safavid propaganda. It actually fit easily into a Sunni-majority environment since it had no overt aspects of heterodoxy. Mélikoff, *Uyur İdik Uyardılar* (1994), 56-57.

Crowfoot visited two Kizilbash villages (Haidar-es-Sultan and Hassan-dede) in 1900 which he described as Cappadocian settlements but are actually located beyond the limits of Cappadocia as we have defined it.[82] In our region of interest, delimited by the towns of Kayseri, Nehşehir, Aksaray, Niğde, and Develi, it is difficult to clearly know if there were Kizilbash communities for where they were located. Ottoman administrative archives, Greek and Karamanlı publications, and the narratives of the OTA informants that we have analyzed concerning villages of Cappadocia rarely distinguish Muslims between Sunni and Kizilbash Muslim groups. Some European travelers, who participated in the creation of an ethnoreligious typology, tried to analyze the populations they met in towns and in the countryside during their travels. Hamilton, Ramsay, Hasluckm and Crowfoot are some of these authors.[83] In 1914, for instance, Hasluck noted the closeness of Anatolian Bektashism to Christianity:

> [The Bektashis] have not laid claim to Christian sanctuaries, but have also in return thrown open the doors of their own to Christians. This is the more remarkable since Christians in Turkish lands are much less protected by public opinion than are orthodox Moslem sects like Nakshbendi.[84]

Ramsay, in 1916, noted a distinction between Shias and Sunnis (including Kizilbashism within Shia Islam), but admitted the limits of his analysis by leaving out the religious aspect:

> While Sunni and Shiya are enemies, disliking and despising one another, they are held together by a certain unity of common ritual; and in so far as religious consciousness is roused by pressure from without against Islam in general, Sunni and Shiya may, for a temporary purpose, be unified. […] The truth is expressed, as I think, by a good observer. "The spiritual unity of Islam is a great reality, and acts as a powerful promoter of vital religious forces throughout all its branches"

82 Crowfoot, "Survivals" (1900).

83 Georg Jacob, *Die Bektaschijje in ihrem Verhältnis zu verwandten Erscheinungen* (München: K.B. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1909), 33-39.

84 Hasluck, "Ambiguous Sanctuaries" (1914): 100.

> (Vital Forces of Chr. and Islam: Oxford, 1915). But in that sentence you cannot substitute 'political' for 'religious' and retain any truth. […] On the other hand, I doubt much whether there is any vital unity between Sunni and the other heterodox sects of Islam, apart from Shiya, so far as they are found in Asia Minor. These heretic sects are so few in numbers, that they hardly attain to independent recognition, but are slumped all together as Shiya, or designated by some epithet of opprobrium, which Sunni apply to any and every heterodox sect.
>
> Though the interrelation of racial and religious factors can never be in practical life safely dissociated, yet in theoretical and abstract contemplation of the problem, as contemplated in this paper, the religious factor will receive little notice, except in this general warning that in practical affairs it can never safely be left out of consideration.[85]

In the OTA, mentions of Kizilbashism are scarce, as are distinctions between Sunni and Kizilbash Muslims. Does that mean there were no Kizilbash communities in environment nearby the Rum communities settled in Cappadocia? A refugee from Potamia claimed that the Kizilbash of the region of Nevşehir believed that Agios Haralambos (which is to say, Hacı Bektaş Veli) cured the plague.[86] While talking about Turkmen tribes, an informant from Zincidere suggested that they were Kizilbash or even Christian because they ate during the Ramadan and did not make sacrifices for the *Kurban* feast.[87] Such remarks were extremely rare, however. We can consequently suppose – as is partially confirmed by the current distribution of Alevi villages in Anatolia – that sedentary Kizilbash communities were particularly rare in Western Cappadocia (despite the location of the *türbe* of Hacı Bektaş, considered the heart of Bektashism and Anatolian Kizilbashim). They were a bit more present in the region of Kayseri.[88] However, in terms of belief and religious practice, especially when one looks to the question of shared and mixed shrines, it would be wrong to consider Sunni and Kizilbash

85 Ramsay, "The Intermixture of Races" (1915-16): 46-47.

86 "ΚΠ 320-331 Potamia," in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ326.

87 "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, ΚΠ75: K. Piniatoglou.

88 In fact, Cappadocia was bordered to the east by regions with higher concentrations of Kizilbash villages (the present-day regions of Yozgat, Tokat, Sivas, and Kahramanmaraş).

communities are as categorically different. In the rural context of everyday relations with other religious groups, Kizilbashs and people close to the Bektashi Order visited the same *türbe*s as the Sunni population and Christians simply on account of local, popular belief. In the Anatolian context, the "certain unity of common ritual" noted by Ramsay, the adaptation of Islam by Sufi leaders "to the socio-cultural structure of Turkish tribes" noted by Ocak,[89] and "the absence of obvious heterodoxical practices" by Kizilbashs noted by Mélikoff[90] can be seen as reasons why Sunni Islam in Cappadocia was, in practice, close to Bektashism and Kizilbashism. As a result, Muslim villagers of the region could participate, without little introspection, in ritual practices that were closer to Bektashi, Kizilbash, and Christian rites than to orthodox forms of Sunni Islam.

The most famous, studied case of Muslim shrines visited by Christians in Anatolia was directly connected to Bektashism: the *türbe* of Hacı Bektaş, along the road connecting Kırşehir to Nevşehir. Hasluck explained that the shrine was probably a transference from Christianity to Islam. According to Levidis, the *tekke* was considered to have formerly been the place of a Christian monastery.[91] Concerning worship practices of the local population, there are too few comments by refugees about Christian pilgrimages in Hacıbektaş to contribute to this particular case, which is anyway outside the area we have fixed for this study. The *tekke* was located fifty-two kilometers northwest of Nevşehir and more than 60 kilometers of Ürgüp. Nevertheless, testimonies of refugees from İncesu and Ürgüp mention the village of Hacıbektaş, but as a commercial center rather than as a place of pilgrimage.[92]

The hagiography of Hacı Bektaş Veli, the *Velâyetname*, includes, however, an episode that takes place in the village of Sinasos. The mystic realized is said to have realized a miracle helping the Christians of Sinasos. The miracle would have been the basis of pilgrimage by Sinasiotes to the *türbe*. Michel Balivet describes the event and the ensuing pilgrimage:

89 Ocak, "Un Aperçu général" (1997), 200.

90 Mélikoff, *Uyur İdik Uyardılar* (1994), 56.

91 Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, I (1928), 109; Levidis, *Αἱ ἐν Μονολίθοις Μοναί* (1889), 97.

92 "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, ΚΠ312; "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, ΚΠ78: N. Yiementzoglou.

> The Master [Hacı Bektaş], on the road between Kayseri and Ürgüp, came to a Christian village called Sinasos. The Christians had baked rye bread. Among them, a woman carried this bread in a basket on her head. When she saw the Master, she put down the basket and said "O dervish, please, take a piece. Wheat does not grow in our terroir. Do not embarrass us [by refusing us]." Hearing these words, the Master said, "Let us sow rye and abundantly harvest wheat. Let us make a small quantity of dough and obtain a lot of bread." Still now, in this village, they sow rye and harvest wheat. They prepare small quantities of dough, put it in the oven, and take out big loaves of bread. For this reason, Christians of this village make a pilgrimage to the Master. They gather each year to go [to the *türbe* of Hacı Bektaş], bringing offerings and ex-votos and making celebrations.[93]

Testimonies of Sinasiotes, including the detailed written work of Serafeim Rizos, do not mention this pilgrimage for the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. After the persecution of the Bektashi Order in 1826, the *türbe* was delegated to a Naqshibendi sheikh who, emphasizing the Sunni version of Hacı Bektaş Veli, built a minaret on the central *tekke* and quartered on the community for the performance of services.[94] From 1852, however, the *postnişin* (head office) position of the *tekke* was restored and returned to a Bektashi sheikh,[95] but we can assume that the events in the period from 1830 to 1850 were the origin for the loss of prestige, among Christians, of the pilgrimage to the *türbe*.

Nevertheless, several authors in the 1890s qnd later claimed that Christians still visited the *türbe* at time. Vital Cuinet noted indeed that the shrine was enclosed by a hall and a series of rooms provided for visitors,

93 Michel Balivet and Perihan Yalçın, "Hacı Bektaş et Yunus Emre ou l'universalisme turc médiéval," *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi* 4 (2010): 149.

94 Hasluck, "Ambiguous Sanctuaries" (1914): 99; Hasluck, "Geographical Distribution" (1916): 86-87. Ortaylı, "The Policy of the Sublime Porte" (1999), 68.

95 Mustafa Alkan, "Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli Tekkesine Nakşibendi bir Şeyhin Tayini: Merkezi bir Dayatma ve Sosyal Tepki," *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi* 57 (2011): 218. Ortaylı, "The Policy of the Sublime Porte" (1999), 71.

Muslim as well as Christian, "who came to venerate the shrine of the founder Hadji-Bektach-Véli, considered by indigenous Christians as being the same character as saint Haralambos. [Christian pilgrims], on entering the mausoleum where Hadji Bektash lies, make the sign of the cross, while Muslim pilgrims went to the adjacent mosque to make their namaz."[96] Hasluck, echoing Levidis[97] and basing his claim on that of the archbishop Kyrillos (1815), refuted the popular identification of Hacı Bektaş with Haralambos, connecting the Muslim saint rather to St. Eustathios:

> The identification has probably grown up owing to some legendary intervention of Hadji Bektash at a time of plague, such intervention being characteristic of St. Charalambos. That the identification is not of great antiquity seems proved by the account of the archbishop Cyril (1815), who equates Hadji Bektash not to St. Charalambos but to St. Eustathius. The latter is connected in the Synaxaria with Rome, not Anatolia, and is by no means a prominent saint in the Eastern Church. His link with Hadji Bektash is probably to be found in the incident, regularly figured in his eikons, of his conversion while hunting, by the apparition of a stag with a cross between its horns, which cried out with a human voice, 'Why pursues thou me? I am Jesus Christ.' The Christian story is really pointless and was probably an importation from the East, where the idea of the Unity of Nature with God is widespread. Deer have, moreover, a special connection with dervishes, and are respected on that account.[98]

In fact, the issue of the identification of Christian with Muslim saints and vice versa interested historians, theologians, and ethnographers more than the local population who, for the most part, deferred to with the most widespread

96 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, VI (2001 (1895)), 71. The adjacent mosque mentioned by Cuinet was built in 1834 during transformations made by the Naqshbandi order that took charge after the closing of the Bektashi *tekke*.

97 Levidis, *Αἱ ἐν Μονολίθοις Μοναί* (1889), 97.

98 Hasluck, "Ambiguous Sanctuaries" (1914): 102-03.

legends. According to Boura, the identification with Haralambos was so common that many Christians of the region believed that the tomb of Hacı Bektaş was actually the tomb of Saint Haralambos.[99]

Only a few Christian informants mentioned the *türbe* of Hacı Bektaş. The lack of comments about the Christian pilgrimage to Hacı Bektaş in the OTA narratives may be meaningful *per se,* but it does not allow us to venture into explanations, but only assumptions. With the passing of time before their interviews in the 1930s and 1950s, in their new environment – a Greek kingdom emptied of its Muslim inhabitants –, the OTA informants were discreet about visits to the *türbe* of Hacı Bektaş by Christians, just as they were generally reluctant to speak about sharing Muslim places of worship, but happy to claim the visits of Muslims to Christian shrines. *Heterotopia* was certainly not a point of pride for the refugees who were often considered as the "seeds of Turks." Nevertheless, the open-minded approach of interviewers generally allowed expressions of countercurrent narratives. As a result, we can assume that the limited details in the OTA on such topics can be explained by the fact that informants spoke more naturally about the close nearby environment that they knew better, but also by the fact that their responses were steered by the specific questions asked by interviewers who were focused on local topography. Hacıbektaş was far from the villages of Cappadocia, and informants' narratives consequently focused on local shrines that they frequented more regularly.

Locally, an important place of shared worship was the *Tekke*/Church of St. Mamas, thirty kilometers northwest of Gelveri. Informants from the region of Gelveri, Niğde, Nevşehir, and Ürgüp as well as Rum and European authors of the late nineteenth century onwards frequently mentioned this shrine and the fact it was shared. The maintenance of the name of the Christian saint by the dervish lodge that settled at the location of a former church certainly explains this broadly shared place of worship, as well as the fact that informants were less reluctant to speak about this place than about other Muslim sanctuaries.

99 Katerina Boura, "Οι Μπέκταση δερβίσηδες: Μερικές πτυχές συνύπαρξης μεταξύ Ελλήνων και Τούρκων στη Μικρά Ασία 1826-1922" [The Bektashi order of dervishes: a link between Greecs and Turks in Asia minor 1826-1923], *DKMS* 3 (1982): 189; "ΚΠ 1-6 Aksaray," in Oral Tradition Archives (Athens: CAMS), ΚΠ2; "ΚΠ 49-52 Agirnas," 1950s, ΚΠ55.

In comparison with the *türbe* of Hacı Bektaş, in the case of the Mamas, the transference from Christianity to Islam was far more obvious. Hasluck considered the place as "possibly the most extraordinary case of an ambiguous cult in Asia Minor." Particularly interesting is the fact that, despite the lack of information available about many aspects of the shrine, we can, nonetheless, trace its situation from its discovery up to the present day. Following from the descriptions of Carnoy and Nicolaides, Levidis, and Farasopoulos, Hasluck takes up story of its discovery and the origin of the worship:

> The site was apparently an outhouse and was formerly used as a barn, but it was found that hay kept in it caught fire. As a stable it proved equally unlucky, the horses kept in it dying one by one. These warnings finally induced the Turkish owner to excavate, very possible in the hope of findings the 'talisman' which bewitched the building. A rock-cut Christian church and human bones were then discovered, the church being attributed to St Mamas.[100]

Refugees narrated variations in the story. For instance, a Mistiote presented it as follows:

> There was no church, only a cave. A Turk penned his cows in it because the weather was cold and the cave remained warm. But each year, one or two cows died, and the Turk decided to no longer leave his cattle in the cave. Then he used the cave as a warehouse for his straw because in winter, there was a lot of snow. Thus, during his sleep, the saint of the cave appeared to him in a dream and ordered him to empty the place if he did not want to see people dying around him. The Turk thus cleared the place and Turkish dervishes settled there to assist the poor and destitute […] People said that [when you went to St. Mamas], you should not travel on a wain loaded up with straw because it could catch fire.[101]

100 Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, I (1928), 43-44.

101 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ244: M. Damianoglou.

Saint Basil of Caesarea presented Mamas as a local, martyred saint and a worker of wonders who helped the flock for various needs, healed diseases, came to assistance of barren women, and even restored the lives of dead children.[102] But in nineteenth-century Cappadocia, the saint was especially renowned for his power to heal illnesses of the mind, and worshippers came from a large perimeter to visit the saint and aske his assistance, either in the *tekke*/church in the region of Gelveri or to a lesser extent in St. Mamas Chapel near Sinasos. In the case of the *tekke*/church, according to Makarios Damianoglou, the same entered the cave and slept there there for two or three days. To the question "was the cure successful?" he was unshakeable: "Of course they get better. If not, why would so many people travel such a long way! Not only Rums, but also Turks visited the place."[103]

The discovery of relics, and with it the belief in their miraculous power, is thought to have happened around 1810-1820.[104] The place was early visited by Christians and Muslims of the area and, while it was clearly identified as the ruins of a Christian shrine, dervishes settled at the site around 1860.[105] This is certainly the main particularity of this mixed place of worship. As soon as it was discovered, it became a mixed place. In other examples encountered in Cappadocia, sharing followed a period of worship practice affiliated with one of the other religion. In St. Mamas, although the site formerly depended on Christianity, its sharing was concomitant with its discovery.

Two distinct kinds of worship were performed here: individual worship for thaumaturgical purposes and also weekly public services on Fridays for Muslims and Sundays for Christians. The presence of nine icons of the saint, of the Virgin Mary and of Sts. Constantine and Helen in the prayer room is

102 Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles* (Bruxelles: Eugène henry Fricx, 1732), 359.

103 "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s. ΚΠ244: M. Damianoglou.

104 The Archbishop Cyril neither located the sanctuary on his map of 1812 nor dealt with it in his work of 1815. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, I (1928), 83.

105 The publication by Rizos in 1856 does not mention the presence of the shrine of St. Mamas; however, it appears in all publications from the 1880s onwards. Rizos, *Καππαδοκικα, ήτοι δοκίμιον* (1856); Levidis, *Αί ἐν Μονολίθοις Μοναί* (1889), 126-30; Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Traditions populaires* (1889), 193-95; Farasopoulos, *Τα Σύλατα* (1895), 74.

related by several authors. Based on a description by an informant from Talas, Hasluck claimed that the icons were turned around during Muslim prayer, but there are no other sources to confirm this.[106] In fact, many points remain unexplained, and data are lacking to more precisely describe the organization of rites in this *tekke*/church. There is, for instance, no information about the way weekly public prayers were organized – whether Christian clergyman came to the *tekke* for the service.[107] Moreover, we do not know if the worship of the thaumaturge was individual or whether it was guided by a priest or dervish of the lodge. In the same way, there is no specific indication that dervishes of the St. Mamas *tekke* belonged to a Betkashi lodge. According to the chronology, the place was turned into a *tekke* after the 1850s, namely at the time when the Bektashi Order had reestablished itself in Anatolia.[108] Moreover, the tendency of Bektashis to participate in shared worship, at least more than other orders, the proximity of the *tekke* to Hacıbektaş and its influence in the region suggest that the *tekke* of St. Mamas was affiliated with Bektashism, but nothing in the various archives we studied clearly indicates the affiliation of the dervish lodge.

Among locals, the site was known by various names. In spite of the dervish lodge, the shrine kept the name of the Christian Saint Mamas. The village where the relics were found was called Mamasun even before their discovery. In fact, the attribution of the relics to St. Mamas probably came on account of the antecedent name of the village which, itself, probably came from the time of Byzantium. Among Muslims, however, the place was known simply as the *tekke*/*kilise* but also as the *Erenler tekkesi* – meaning "the monastery of the

106 Levidis, *Αἱ ἐν Μονολίθοις Μοναί* (1889), 126; Farasopoulos, *Τα Σύλατα* (1895), 74; Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896). The organization of prayer days was explained to Hasluck by a man from Talas (Mr. Sinirides) who was visiting the sanctuary. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, I (1928), 84.

107 We however know that the sanctuary was under the double shared supervision of the dervish lodge and of the parish of Gelveri. Its maintenance and its revenues were also shared among this both entities. Consequently, we can hypothetize that the Orthodox clergy of Gelveri was potentially in charge of the Sunday prayer in the St. Mamas Church. See the following paragraphs on the maintenance of sanctuaries.

108 Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (1965), 79.

saints" – the saints being the dervishes rather than the saint represented by the bones![109] As its various names suggest, the site had a double affiliation with Islam (through the dervish lodge) and the Orthodox parish of Gelveri, which managed the shrine in collaboration with the dervishes. However, according to Hasluck, unlike most Christian saints who were often identified with a Muslim saint – such as St. George with Hıdır (or Khidr) –, "Mamas had no Moslem affinities." Not until the first decades of the Republic of Turkey is a Muslim saint identified with the shrine of Mamasun. In the present day, the relics preserved in this shrine are considered by locals to belong to a Muslim saint called Şammas Baba or Pir Şambaz, a local hermit who taught Christian catechism during the day and Muslim catechism at night and lived at the time of Battal Ghazi, helping him in the war against Byzantium (in the eighth century). The oldest reference dealing with Şambaz Baba is in an encyclopedic work on the region of Aksaray published in 1974 by İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı.[110] It seems that this identification appeared after the closing of the *tekke* in 1925.[111]

The identification of *Hıdırellez* with St. George and the Prophet Elijah is certainly one of the most obvious examples of transference and convergence

109 "Erenler" is a common mode of address among dervishes. Hasluck writes that the place was locally known as "Ziaret kilise," but this name is not encountered in the OTA for this particular sanctuary. In testimonies, the term "ziyaret" was largely used as a generic name for a place (a church, hill, or cave) without a clear dedication to a particular saint. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, I (1928), 83.

110 İ.H. Konyalı, *Âbideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Niğde Aksaray Tarihi* (Istanbul: Fatih Yayinevi Matbaasi, 1974), 1915-16; Thierry and Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres* (1963), 27. Petropoulos and Andreadis, *Vie religieuse* (1970).

111 At the closing of the tekke in 1925, the relics, which according to villagers, were plated with silver, were taken away to Ankara. When they were brought back several years later, the silver plating had disappeared. The village of Mamason was incidentally renamed Gökçe in the 1950s, but the lake and its dam built in 1960 still bear the name Mamasın Barajı. According to a villager we met in September 2015, the shrine is still visited by Turks but mostly by Christians, especially but not only Greeks. The room prayer is still used as a mosque by the congregation of Gökçe, but only occasionally. The shrine is still open to visitors seeking good health. The floor of the small rooms are lined with mattresses and pillows for those who would like to stay more than a few minutes, and at the entrance, there is a large room for families waiting for the recovery of their relatives.

of Christian and Muslim belief. All Christians of Cappadocia were aware that their Muslim neighbors believed in the same saints but by different names.[112] An informant from Delmason explained, for instance, how the priest of the parish described the icons of their church to the *mutasarrıf* during a visit to the community:

> When the mutasarrıf came to Delmason with his colleagues, they entered the church, curious to observe the religious service. Then they approached the icons and asked the priest: "Who is your Peygamber?" because we venerated Jesus Christ as our prophet. Then they looked at each icon one by one and asked "Who is this one? Who is this one? And this one?" And Father Simeon answered "Here, this is Hazreti Yahya, there Hıdırellez, here Hazreti Ilias…"[113]

According to Hasluck, this transference of St. George to the Muslim tradition under the name Hıdırellez (a combination of Khidr and Elijah) was made possible through "the idea of metempsychosis which is often implies by 'identification'" and to which Sufi Orders, especially Bektashism, widely appealed. In different areas, the identification of Christian and Muslim saints varied. Thus, in the region of Dersim, Kurds and Armenians identified Khidr with St. Sergius while among Greek populations in the West, Khidr was identified with St. George and St. Elijah. In Cappadocia, this "religious fusion under Bektashi auspices" systematically connected Hıdırellez to St. George and barely to the Prophet Elijah.[114]

Most small sanctuaries were only known to people from the surrounding villages. Actually, we can suppose that most mixed and shared places of worship were small shrines visited by only a few worshippers coming from nearby villages. Because of the geographic limits of their reputation, most of these places are not mentioned in nineteenth-century publications and are

112 "КП 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, КП205: A. Athanaasoglou; "КП 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, КП60: O. Zaharidou; "КП 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, КП301: I. Polyheni; "КП 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, КП233: A. Delloglou; "КП 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, КП79: Papa Grigoris; "КП 235-236 Kitsiagats," 1950s, КП236: K. Papazoglou; "КП 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, КП270: I. Goulanoglou.

113 "КП 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, КП270: I. Goulanoglou.

114 The identification of Khidr with St. George is also noted in Syria. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, II (1929), 458-59.

only described by inhabitants of the area. One of these small, shared spaces was a *türbe* in Antrolos (today's Hacıabdullah). Testimonies suggest that Christian witnesses were often unsure of the name they should give the Muslim sanctuaries they visited. They often used indistinctly Turkish words *tekke*, *türbe* and *ocak* without distinction. Furthermore, when they talked about one of these places, they always called it by the name of the village in which it was located or by the name of ots *hoca*, but never by the name of the saint to which it was dedicated. In the village of Antrolos, for instance, a Muslim shrine frequently visited by Christians for therapeutic purposes was described as follows by Neophytos Apostolidis: "The ocak that we called *türbe* was a sacred place. There was a monastery, an agiasma, and an ocak."[115]

The small place was visited by Christians and Muslims who believed in the therapeutic power of the *hoca* who healed fever, eye diseases, and headaches by reading and writing a short charm on a small fabric that he put in a capsule and gave to his visitor. In exchange, the *hoca* received money or gifts. The *ocak* of Antrolos had a local range of activity that did not extend further than the villages located between Malakopi and Niğde. Another small *ocak*, in the village of Babayani (today's İbrahimpaşa), was also visited by Christians who came to be healed by the *hoca*. The rite was described similarly by several informants: the *hoca* (in some testimonies accompanied by his wife) used a knife and pretended to "cut the ache" as he read sacred words.[116] This place attracted people from a wider area and had a broader reputation than the *ocak* of Antrolos. It was known in the whole of Cappadocia, and visitors from the area of Niğde would walk more than fifty kilometers to meet the *hoca* and be healed in Babayani. The contemporary inhabitants of İbrahimpaşa are able to locate the former *ocak*, which has been destroyed; moreover, the village is still inhabited by several healers, mostly women, who are said to be daughters and granddaughers of former healers of the village.

115 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ216: N. Apostolidis. In this village, which today called Hacıabdullah, there is neither a trace or mention of this sanctuary nor survival of this kind of practice.

116 Ibid., ΚΠ216: N. Apostolidis, K. Serafeimidis; "ΚΠ 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s, ΚΠ177: H. Kanakis.

As in the case of the tombs of Hacı Bektaş and Mamas, refugees explained the enthusiasm of Christians towards the Muslim sanctuaries , in Antrolos and Babayani by the fact that these places were former Christian places. Transference of the sanctuary served as justification for Christians who went to these places for worship.

> When we went to Antrolos, our hoca had a türbe. There was neither a cross, nor other images, but the place looked like a monastery. When we asked the hoca what the place was, he answered: "We have had this place since [the time of] our grandparents. Before them, it may have been a [Christian] monastery.[117]

> In the *ocak* of Babayani, the hoca read prayers. When the village was Turkified, a hoca settled in the house of the priest. We say that at this time, someone became sick and went to the house of the hoca where he drank water and ate as the hoca read prayers, and he felt better.[118]

Actually, many of the *türbe* consecrated to Muslim saints or *ocak* held by *hoca*s, whether transferred from Christian tradition or not, were visited only by the local Muslim population. Thus, in Güllÿce near Niğde, the tomb of Güllü Baba – a local saint who, according to different legends, helped the Seldjuk army or the Sultan Murat IV long the way of the conquest of Baghdad (1623-1639) – was a place of pilgrimage for Muslims who came each year from the surrounding villages to make their *namaz* and pray for rain.[119] Cults

117 "КП 215-218 Limni," 1950s, КП216: K. Serafeimidis.

118 Ibid., КП216: N. Apostolidis.

119 The legend situates Güllü Baba during the Seljuk period. He was an old Türkmen man who welcomed the sultan and his army by giving soup to the troops. To thank him, the sultan offered him a gold bowl that the old man refused. Then, in the middle of the winter, the latter gave the sultan a freshly picked rose. Thus, the Sultan said to the old man: "Now, your name is Güllü Baba". Another version traits Güllü Baba in the 1600s. The old man gave the sultan and his army bulghur to eat and straw for their horses. Except for these few differences, the tale is otherwise the same. "Niğde," in *Yurt Ansiklopedisi (*1983), 6227. "КП 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, КП205: M. Karadagli. This pilgrimage continues to be performed today, on May 22 and is accompanied by the distribution of *bulgur pilavı.* This figure should not be confused with Misail Gül Baba whose *türbe* is in Istanbul.

consecrated to local saints such as Güllü Baba were very localized and often did not extend beyond a radius of ten or fifteen kilometers. Even though they did not participate in the pilgrimage, Christians believed in Güllü Baba's capacity to make it rain.

The maintenance of these different shrines is an interesting issue to point out how shared or mixed they were and how they were considered by local populations. Whereas most of these sanctuaries were known as churches, Muslims actually looked after many of them. The aforementioned Anargyres Church of Malakopi was, for instance, taken care of by a Muslim woman who lived in the house adjacent the entrance to the underground church. After worship, she gathered up the old candles and cleaned the place up.[120] Similar situations are mentioned for Limni, where a Turkish woman took care of the church of St. John the Baptist,[121] or for Halvadere, where a woman, who had newly converted to Islam after marrying a Muslim of the village, tidied up the church and kept the candles lit.[122]

St. Mamas was presented as a church, used as a *tekke,* and protected by a dervish lodge. In fact, it had a complex way of administration. According to Petropoulos and Andreadis who worked on refugee testimonies and made research trips to Cappadocia on behalf of the CAMS, the St. Mamas shrine was actually administered jointly by the dervish lodge mentioned by Hasluck and the ecclesial committee of Gelveri. Thus, the donations made by visitors were shared in three parts: for the maintenance of the church and assistance given to its pilgrims, for the maintenance of the dervish lodge, and for the maintenance of the churches and Greek schools of Gelveri.[123] As a result, it was a mixed rather than a shared sanctuary since, even though the dervish lodge occupied the place, the sanctuary was actually under a double supervision. Manoël Pénicaud noticed that "every pilgrimage apparently arises from a founding event, a miracle, an apparition or the presence of a holy person, but there has always, watermarked, a figure or institution which

120 "ΚΠ 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s, ΚΠ175: K. Papakonstantinos.

121 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ215: K. Serafeimidis.

122 Petropoulos and Andreadis, *Vie religieuse* (1970), 26. On the link between mixed places of worship and conversion, see Section 3 of this Chapter.

123 Ibid., 32.

actually develops it."[124] The cult of St. Mamas in the village of Mamason was certainly developed by the dervish lodge that quickly settled next to the shrine after the discovery of ruins and relics, but it was simultaneously supervised by the Christian clergy of Gelveri. Even though the Muslim lodge was located on the site, the spiritual property was shared with the clergy of Gelveri which organized the masses on Sundays and received part of the income generated by visitors.

Before getting to the second point of this chapter focusing on times of sharing, as a transitional conclusion to the spatial perspective, we should revisit the main points that one can observe in examples of mixed and shared places of worship in Cappadocia. First, in many cases, worship in shared or mixed spaces was an individual issue. People came to practice a ritual or read a prayer for a particular purpose that concerned the worshipper himself (or more often, herself) and his or her close family. There is no example of worship practiced by a whole community. The aim was to cure a disease, to have a child, to realize a wish. But in every instance, the request was singular and did not extend beyond the limits of close family members. Thus, praying for a cure, binding pieces of cloth, lighting candles, and drinking or bathing in sacred waters were individualistic practices that answered private issues which did not involve the broader community. In Christian spaces, Muslims directly addressed their prayers to God and his saints without the assistance of an "earthly" intercessor, while in Muslim spaces, Christians were often assisted by a *hoca* who had the role of intercessor between the visitor and the divine power – equivalent to the unction sacrament performed by clergyman for the benefit of the sick in the Christian tradition.

Heyberger noted that cases of Muslims visiting Christian religious buildings were more numerous throughout the Mediterranean world than cases of Christians visiting Muslim places of worship.[125] This "imbalance" is confirmed in the Cappadocian example, but can be nuanced. Among Muslim shrines, entry into mosques was clearly forbidden to non-Muslims, but *türbes,*

124 Manoël Pénicaud, "L'«hétérotopie» des Sept Dormants en Bretagne," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 155 (2011): 132.

125 Bernard Heyberger. "Pratiques religieuses et lieux de culte partagés entre islam et christianisme (autour de la Méditerranée)," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 149 (2010): 274.

tekkes, and *ocak*s (namely places without direct connection to rigorous Sunni Islam) were frequently visited by Christians. Among Christian sanctuaries, places shared with Muslims almost exclusively dated from ancient times – often from Byzantium or the beginning of the pre-Ottoman and Ottoman periods – and were in most of cases underground or troglodyte sanctuaries. Some had been rebuilt or restored by contemporaries (as, for example, the Church of St. George in Kenatala, which was restored in the 1870s, or the Church of St. Makrina in Akso, which was restored in 1843),[126] but the majority were not formally maintened and were only visited for a specific day of the calendar year and, for some of them, in case of thaumaturgic expectations. This relation between mixed worship and the ancientness of the sanctuary can be explained first by the fact that worship linked to thaumaturgical belief needed a tradition of miracle-working sufficiently far back to prove the "effectiveness" of the rite. This tradition could of course be invented. In this regard, the cult of the St. Mamas *tekke/kilise* is an interesting case since the cave and relics of the saints were supposed to be ancient, but the cult *per se* only dated from the recent discovery of the sanctuary at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the St. Mamas shrine, mixed worship was not only dependent on the space but also on the saint to whom it had been devoted. Most therapeutic rites were addressed to specific saints. A supernatural event linked to the place where the bones of a Christian saint were discovered by a Muslim man seems to have been a sufficient basis for a tradition of worship. As for sanctuaries linked to Muslim belief, they are more complex: some clearly resulted from the transference of Christian shrines to the Muslim tradition, but except for famous mausoleums, there is often too little data to date the shrines and the beginning of the related worship tradition.

On the other hand, as with mosques and Christians, the numerous new churches built in the second part of the nineteenth century did not become places of Muslim exopraxy. The absence of sharing in these recent buildings

126 Levidis, *Αἱ ἐν Μονολίθοις Μοναί* (1889). Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* (1908), 290. In the case of the St. Macrina Church for instance, the community of Akso received a ferman in 1843 authorizing the restoration of the Byzantine building. The new building of 1843, built around the Byzantine *naos*, looks like many other churches (re)built in nineteenth century over the ruins of former churches (for instance, those in Sinasos, Cemil, and Suvermez).

can be explained by a wish of detachment from the "regular" practice of religions. Rum communities built these new monuments because former churches were too small and inconvenient for the whole community, but mostly to express the grandeur of their faith after centuries of restrictions due to their status of *protégés*. Recent churches were thus used on a daily basis by Christians for services. In parallel, they largely abandoned their older churches which they henceforth used only for particular occasions (a saint's day, for Easter celebrations) or for individual worship. As a result, for Christians as well as for Muslims, these ancient shrines dropped away from "official Christianity" and entered an area of popular religiosity based on local, territorial rather than religious belonging.

When we look at the various testimonies and mentions of shared and mixed worship, the extreme locality of these practices is obvious. Except for famous sanctuaries such as the St. Mamas *tekke* or the Babayani *ocak*, shared and mixed worship spaces are often known only by populations living in a radius of ten or a maximum of fifteen kilometers. In the local context, Muslims and Christians intentionally disregarded their religious belonging in the instant of worship, believing in the supernatural power of shrines belonging to their geography but not necessarily their religious community. Bowman noted that in interactions in shared shrines in contemporary Palestine and in Macedonia that "the focus of their interest, nominally various wonder-working elements contained within the sites, seemed for the most part to be the pleasure of communal mixing per se."[127] However, exopraxy also had a utilitarian purpose. Instead of simple curiosity or syncretic tradition, believers performing prayers, invocations, or litanies in a sacred place that did not belong to their own religion had come there with specific intentions in the hope (or belief) of receiving a positive, miraculous answer to their expectations (a cure, the birth of a child, a good harvest, abundance). Through the sharing of sanctuaries, members of both communities marked their belonging to a shared locality. In a way, these shrines entered a local, joint heritage becoming the place of "lay" worship, inasmuch as they were visited

127 Glenn Bowman, "Orthodox-Muslim Interactions at 'Mixed Shrines' in Macedonia," in *Eastern Christians in Anthropological Perspective*, eds. C. Hann and H. Goltz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 196.

by people from both faiths, often without the interaction or even the presence of a clergyman from either community. Or it might be more accurate to see in this sharing the fact that, actually, mixed sanctuaries no longer belonged to one or the other community, but to a communal locality produced by interpenetration, convergence, intrusion, and reciprocal identification of beliefs on a local basis. The organization of the maintenance of shared sanctuaries supports this idea. This applies to natural sanctuaries and ancient chapels, but also to most shared *türbe*s or *ocaks* that appear to be result of transference.

To say that shared and mixed spaces of worship implies a unity of place is certainly a truism. However, to remark that this unity of place is rarely coupled with a unity of time is even more interesting. Hayden claims that studies of mixed and shared worship have paid little attention to the element of time, especially because "the earlier history of the site generally remains either unexplored or is said to be irrelevant."[128] For our part, we observe temporality of worship practices not though the exploration of the earlier history of sanctuaries, but though the study of shared celebrations and moments that happened throughout the year. We have already given a glimpse of this issue of time by noting that in many cases, worship in mixed shrines was practiced at different times by Christians and by Muslims. In St. Mamas, for instance, time-sharing was modeled according to a classical form (Fridays for the Muslim *Namaz* and Sundays for the Christian Mass). In Malakopi and Zincidere, thaumaturgical worship was organized on separate days for Muslims and Christians in such a way that worshippers of both faiths were rarely in contact within the shrine at the same time. In the next part of this chapter, we study specific moments of sharing, especially days of celebration taking place on the Christian and Muslim calendars as well as celebrations marking the main stages of life (birth, marriage, and death). We particularly ask if we can deal with a shared (or mixed) worship time as with a shared or

128 Hayden and Walker, "Intersecting Religioscapes" (2013): 400. Hayden and most specialists working on shared and mixed sacred spaces are anthropologists working on present-day issues or those of the recent past, especially the era of nationalism in the geographies of Eastern Europe and the post-Ottoman Mediterranean world.

mixed worship space. Do worship time and space occurred simultaneously or separately?

§ 10.2 The Time of Sharing

Muslims and Christians had their everyday life punctuated by the passing of seasons and by two different calendars that organized the religious year for each community. Especially in mixed settlements, the most important dates on both calendars were actually experienced and often celebrated by members of both faiths. Christian celebrations could be the occasion of what we can call "temporally-defined" sharing (in comparison with the "spatially-defined" sharing described in the previous chapter) with Muslims. The oral sources are, again, almost the unique archive allowing the reconstruction of these religious (and social) exchanges and collective experiences. Concerning aspects of shared belief and worship practices, the testimonies remain partial, commenting largely on the participation of Muslims in Christian celebrations but being vague and fragmentary regard to the reciprocal form of this sharing. Respondents were embarrassed to admit any interest in Islam in the context of Greece in the 1930-60s. Commentary on this topic by an informant from Fertek is particularly meaningful. Talking about the Church of St. Panteleimon in his village, he said:

> We only went on July 27. The Turks came, too, but with their sick animals which they made to walk around the church three times and then around the agiasma of Kosmas and Damian. The Christians did not have such a superstition. By the way, they did not have animals either. Turks and Christians, when they were ill, came to the church and bathed in the cold water of the agiasma. It gave you chills and your disease passed.[129]

In this case, it was apparently not the absence of superstition but rather the absence of animals that was the reason for the differing rituals practiced by Muslims and Christians. As in this example, many refugees were not ready to openly admit some of their former worship practices, especially when they

129 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ299: T. Tsagloglou.

could be perceived as superstitions or (worse still) as rituals of Islamic origin. But only few clearly claimed that they did not participate in or give importance to Muslim celebrations.[130] As a result, a disequilibrium between the number of examples of Christian and Muslim celebrations is evident in the following paragraphs. However, the lack of information concerning the participation of Christians in Muslim celebrations does not apply that participation in the celebrations of the other faith was a unidirectional process. The few testimonies about involvement of Christians in Islamic feasts show that this was also an aspect of local sharing even though it is difficult to say if it occurred to the same extent as Muslim contributions to Christian festivities. As a result, refugee testimonies supported by bits of information scattered throughout travel accounts and studies by nineteenth-century Greek intellectuals show how Christian, and to a lesser extent Muslim, religious celebrations punctuated the routines of villagers. In this way, they produced a locality which was based – if not on shared practices – on shared knowledge of local religious practices.

It is important to note that it would be impossible to present each of the religious celebrations. First, if one counts the number of Christian and Muslim celebrations in one year, the total is considerable. Second, we have too little information about local celebrations of Muslim *bayram*s and minor Christian feasts. And third, there are so many variations from one settlement to another that a single, homogeneous picture would misrepresent local specificities. Religious festivities such as *Kurban bayramı,* St. George/Hıdırellez day, and the celebrations of Easter, despite a common basis, were celebrated differently from one village to the next, especially with respect to the participation of "the other" community. Just the fact of religiously mixed and homogeneous settlements is a first distinction. Sharing celebrations in mixed villages was of course more common than in homogeneous villages. However, to live in a homogeneous village did not signify that celebrations were not shared. Moreover, a particular celebration could be shared by Muslims and Christians in one village, while in the next settlement the same celebration took place strictly within the borders of the religious community. In some places, Muslims only looked on at Christian celebrations as outsiders, while in others

130 "ΚΠ 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, ΚΠ232: A. Delloglou.

they participated actively in the preparations. As a result, rather than studying each religious feast and its local specificities, we paint a broader picture of celebrations according to the different kinds of sharing. We focus on the main moments of the Christan and to a lesser extent the Muslim liturgical year, in order to study, first, celebrations where Muslims and Christians had a shared ritual and, then, celebrations for one community during which members of the other group participated in festivities through what we call "passive and peripheral practices."

10.2.1 *Shared Celebrations, Passive and Peripheral Participation in Celebrations of the Other Religion*

Testimonies show that sharing of celebration times happened according to two forms. On one hand, celebrations were experienced by both communities in a (quasi-)equivalent way. This was particularly the case for certain saint days, especially for the St George's, St. Mamas', and St. Basil's Days. On the other hand, when members of one community celebrated their feast, members of the other group experienced it through passive or peripheral practices, by receiving donations, attending services, observing processions, and participating in preparations.

Shared celebrations with joint rites were limited in Cappadocia. Participation by Muslims in Christian religious feasts and the reciprocal was rare and most of the time only involved some women and children and rarely of men. One can observe communal rites at a specific time only for few saint days, and even in this case, not everywhere. Saints, especially local ones deemed to have particular powers, were venerated throughout the year by local populations and were subject to particular rites. As we noted in the previous chapter, when it happened in a shared place, thaumaturgical worship was often practiced at different times by Muslims and Christians. However, a saint day was considered a time of greater curative power. Consequently, on this particular day, members of both religious communities would visit a space dedicated to the saint at the same time. St. Mamas' Day (September 2) was one such moments of shared worship in the region of Gelveri. Mamas – or more accurately his relics – was one of these local saints venerated massively by Muslims, Orthodox Christians, and also Armenians. The *tekke* of St. Mamas

was the meeting place for pilgrims coming from a large region, sometimes making a trip of forty or fifty kilometers to pray before the relics of the saint and participate in the ceremonies organized for his day. A sacrifice in the name of the saint was also made on the occasion.[131]

On a more local scale, the Day of the Holy Unmercenaries (November 1) was the occasion for many sick persons to come to the eponymous Church of Gelveri and stay overnight. According to the rite, on this night those who would be cured would have a dream in which the saints passed by their body and in the morning they would wake up cured.[132] Still in Gelveri, St. Basil' Day was also a moment of communal worship. Children of both communities went door to door through the village collecting gifts. In Endürlük, on the same day, children did not roam the streets, but Christians gave gifts to their Muslim neighbours.[133] In Ürgüp, where St. John the Russian was the patron saint, his saint day (May 27) was a significant moment for inhabitants as well as for people from surrounding settlements (Cemil, Potamia, Malakopi, Eneği, and İncesu) who made the pilgrimage. The day was celebrated fervently and Muslims participated, too. The church of Ürgüp was the only building in Cappadocia dedicated to St. John the Russian. The relics of the saint were conserved there. They were thought to have thaumaturgical powers and especially on the saint day, the sick came to pray before them.[134]

131 Marava-Chatzinikolaou, *O Agios Mamas* (1953).

132 Petropoulos and Andreadis, *Vie religieuse* (1970), 42.

133 Ibid., 43-45. "ΚΠ 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, ΚΠ60: P. Karamanoglou.

134 "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, ΚΠ78: E. Sofoulis; "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, ΚΠ317: E. Hatzieuthiliadis. John the Russian was an officer of the Russian army who was taken prisoner during the war of 1672. Captured by the Tatars, he was sold to a Turkish officer of the Ottoman army who took him to Cappadocia. The Turk tried to make him abjure but John refused. The relics of the neomartyr were protected in the church of Prokopi. With the exchange of 1923, the community brought the relics to Euboea island where a new church of St. John the Russian was erected. According to Hasluck, "As regards the real date of St. John, it is probably about a century later than the traditional. […] He is not mentioned by the Archbishop Cyril, who described Ürgüp in 1815. […] Kinneir who passed through Yozgat in 1813 found there a considerable number of Russian prisoners from the war of 1807-8, who had renounced their faith, like St. John's companions, married Turkish women and settled down in the country. It seems highly probable that the neo-saint of Ürgüp is to be referred to the same period. That is, he

> The Turks brought kaymak and beeswax to donate to the saint. They called him "Köle Yuvan" because he was Russian and had fallen prisoner to the Turks during the Russo-Turkish war [1672-1681], in the time of Peter the Great.[135]

Worship of St. John the Russian was relatively recent. A monumental church dedicated to the neo-martyr was built between 1885 and 1892 to enshrine his relics.[136] The history of the shared cult of St. John the Russian is similar to that of St. Mamas since both began at approximately the same time, in the first half of the nineteenth century. According to Hasluck, the first miracle linked to St. John's relics dated from 1837 "when his body was preserved intact in a fire." Then, in the 1860s, the saint "is said to have appeared to a woman who had lost her child and to have revealed to her that he had been murdered and by whom."[137] The power of these relics was well known over a large region and among different communities. In the *Imerologion "O Astir"* of 1914, the institutor Georgios St. Anastasopoulos noticed that the miracles and thaumaturgical power of the saint was known in the eparchies of Ikonium and Ankara from which people came to see the relics (the right arm of the saint). Ten rooms had been built to receive the pilgrims in the hall of the church, and in the 1890s, new rooms were constructed next to the church to respond to growing needs. Anastasopoulos added that the pilgrimage to St. John the Russian was also performed by Armenians and Muslims who participated in the saint day festivities and came throughout the year for his thaumaturgical abilities.[138]

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may have refused to renegade with his companions and may have been popularly canonized accordingly." Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, II (1929), 363.

135 "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, ΚΠ317: E. Hatzieuthiliadis.

136 Neither the Archbishop Cyril (1815) nor Rizos (1856) mentions any relics of this saint. However, several authors wrote about worship at the end of the 1880s. Farasopoulos, *Τα Σύλατα* (1895), 72 & 95; Ioannidis, *Καισαρεία Μητροπολιτλερί* (1896), 77. "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' - 1914" (1913), 117.

137 Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, II (1929), 362.

138 "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' - 1914" (1913), 118. The rite performed by Muslims and Armenians is not mentioned by Farasopoulos (*Τα Σύλατα* (1895), 72, 95). However, the latter

The cult of St. John the Russian was particular to Ürgüp. In most settlements of Cappadocia, the most important joint celebration was St. George's Day on April 23. Despite local variations, a common feature in many settlements was the sacrifice of an animal by both Christians and Muslims on this specific day. The rite of the *kurban (*or *kourbani* in Greek*)* was widespread among the Christian and Muslim communities of Anatolia and was accomplished at different periods of the year for various purposes.[139] The St. George's Day, however, was, in several villages, the only jointly-practice celebration in which both communities made a sacrifice together. The main part of the celebrations took place outside, generally near a church, chapel, or fountain dedicated to the saint. For instance, in Kenatala and Andaval, Muslims and Christians went outside the village near the ruins of St. George Chapel (at Ziyaret tepesi for Kenataliotes and Keldağ for Andavaliotes). They performed the sacrifice of a white lamb and celebrated the day together with dance and song. The meat was distributed among both communities. The case of Andaval is interesting because it was a homogeneous Christian village, but on April 23 they would met in Keldağ with the Muslims of the village of Eskigümüş with whom they incidentally had many other – especially economic – relations.[140] In Fertek, too, the sacrifice ritual involved both communities, but other rites were only realized by Muslims. According to the informant Ioannidis Poluheni, on this day Turkish shepherds would prepare butter in clay pots that they shook to extract buttermilk (*yayık*).[141] In several villages, both communities would make a sacrifice on the same day but in two separate places while in other villages, only Muslims performed sacrifices to celebrate Hıdırellez.

Except for some saint days, most religious celebrations were experienced differently by Christians and Muslims. In mixed settlements, everybody knew when the festivals of the other community took place, but rarely actively participated in the festivities, especially not in prayers and other "purely"

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wrote that the community of Prokopi had sold the right hand of the saint to Russian monks of Mount Athos in order to finish the construction of the building.

139 On the *kurban* ritual among Christians and Muslims, see Section 3 of this Chapter

140 "ΚΠ 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, ΚΠ204: A. Athanaasoglou.

141 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ301: I. Polyheni.

religious performances that concerned the other religion. However, passive participation occurred most of the time. It could take the form of a simple, respectful "*Bayramınız mübarek olsun*" ["May your bayram be a blessed one"] addressed to a neighbour or friend of the other faith.[142] The reciprocity of this sign of respect is regularly noted by informants:

> For Christmas and Easter, the Turks came to our house to visit us. They warmly held our two hands and said "Bayramın mübarek olsun." And we did the same for Kurban Bayramı or Ramazan Bayramı. If we were in their house and night fell, they did not let us go and gave us food and a room to sleep.[143]

Days of celebrations were thus often an occasion to take time to visit neighbours (even those not celebrating the feast) and enjoy good times with them. Everyday life was thus punctuated by these festivities, and even though each community had its own calendar, people anticipated holidays celebrated by the community of the other.

> Before Easter, the Turks asked us "*Bayramınız ne zaman geliyor? Kızıl yumurtanın kabuğu yere düşmezse yaz gelmez*" [When will your holiday take place? If the red eggshells (of painted Easter eggs) do not fall to the ground, summer will not come]. But bad Turks also said spitefully "*Yine bunun (sic) küfür günleridir*" [Again their impious days].[144]

For main religious dates, Christian communities performed processions through the village. They walked around the village as well as through Muslim districts. Muslims often watched the parade but rarely participated in it. Informants always insisted on the respectful attitude of Muslims at the procession, but from person to person, the indicator of respect is described differently:

142 "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, ΚΠ317: E. Hatzieuthiliadis; "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ87: A. Aspostolidou; "ΚΠ 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, ΚΠ232: K. Delloglou.

143 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ216: K. Serafeimidis.

144 "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, ΚΠ317: E. Hatzieuthiliadis.

> For the Quadragesima [first Sunday of Easter], we [the Christians] took out the icon of the Madonna and Child and performed a procession around the village. The Turks respected our icons and they stood up when the cortege went through their district.[145]

> During the procession for the day of the Resurrection, when we went through the Muslim district, the Turks sat and looked at us. Two years after Kemal [1921] the Turks were worried for us and thought that we were sick because we did not perform the procession.[146]

In the narrative of Kostas Papakostantinou, standing up was clearly considered a sign of respect, while Minas Haïtoglou gave a glimpse of the curiosity and interest the religious celebration of the other could hold. However, other examples exposed further show that some specific processions were performed by whole villages, Muslims and Christians together.

Another form of passive participation was receiving the donations made on the occasion of a celebration by members of the other community. Many refugees from various settlements explained that Christians offered their Muslim compatriots meat and the dishes they had prepared for their celebrations, and also that Muslims shared the meat of their *Kurban bayramı* with their Christian neighbours.[147] For instance, for Easter and Epiphany, the Rums of Endürlük offered food to the Turks and, for the Kurban and Şeker Bayramı, Turks offered food to the Rums. A refugee from Limni recalled that one of his Turkish friends offered him money the day of the Epiphany. Meat and pastries (*börek, çörek,* and *baklava*) were the most common donations, particularly delivered to the poorest villagers, whatever their religious affiliation.

145 "ΚΠ 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s, ΚΠ176: K. Papakonstantinou.

146 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ27: M. Haïtoglou.

147 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ87: H. Postantinou; "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ301: I. Polyheni; "ΚΠ 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, ΚΠ60: K. Kioseoglou; "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ218: K. Serafeimidis.

> On the eve of Christmas and the new year, we prepared desserts, put them on a plate, and sent them to the poorest people of our mahalle, but also to Turks who needed help.[148]

> For Easter, we sent *çöreks*, *köftes,* and red eggs to Turkish houses. They also came to us and wished us a blessed Easter.[149]

> Our priest often said: "If we massacred as many Turks as they eat our red eggs, we will end up being as numerous as them. "[150]

In these narratives, donations were given by members of the community celebrating its holiday. That is why we define those who received the gifts as passive participants. On the other hand, gifts of food could also occur in the opposite direction, from those who were not celebrating a holiday to those who celebrated were. In this case, rather than passive, we describe this as peripheral participation. Christian holidays were actually a time of peripheral participation for many Muslims and the reciprocal was also the case. By peripheral participation, we mean that individuals did not participate in the "holy part" of the day as such, but in the more "secular part" of the festivities. For instance, for the Annunciation, Christians would eat fish or shrimp. On this day, Muslim men went to rivers to fish and brought their catch to the Christians. Apparently – though not clearly, systematically expressed –, this help in the preparations for the day was self-interested since they sold their catch.

> For the Evangelismos, we ate shrimp and pastries. My mother used to say: "If you have no shrimp for the Evangelismos, go to the street, find shells and chew them without swallowing." The Turks knew that we ate shrimp on this day and they brought freshwater shrimp and sold them to us for the occasion.[151]

148 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ87: H. Postantinou.

149 "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, ΚΠ317: E. Hatzieuthiliadis.

150 "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, ΚΠ79: E. Stefanidou-Papazoglou.

151 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ86: P. Kirelitzoglou.

> The Turks knew that on this day we ate fish. They offered us fish that they brought from the surrounding villages. They did not eat fish because the large fishbone had a cross shape.[152]

> There were many fish in the rivers. Because a bone in their head had a cross shape, the Turks did not eat the fish and used to say "*Hac var başında*" [There is a cross on its head]. However, they knew which days we used to eat fish and brought *kefal* [mullet] or *yayın* [catfish] from Avanos.[153]

Similarly, for Transfiguration Day (August 6) in Malakopi, Muslim men from surrounding villages brought grapes to the Christian community and came to the church to distribute it to the Christian flock. Here, it is clearly described as a donation. According to the narrative of Despina Feidopoulou, the Turks expected this donation would give them a good harvest in the following days.

> For the day of the Transfiguration of Jesus, we used to eat grapes. Turks from the surrounding villages brought us two sacks of grapes and distributed them at the church. Then, they began to pick grapes for their own consumption.[154]

Peripheral participation mostly concerned women who anticipated the holiday of the other community, prepared food for their neighbour, and help them in various preparations.

> During Easter, for Holy Thursday, one of my neighbors, a Turkish woman called Fadime, came to me each year and said "Take these bags and take them to your church." She put salt, bulgur, butter, and eggs in the bags but the eggs were not painted red.[155]

The Theophany (January 6) was one of the particular celebrations in which Muslim women commonly participated peripherally by giving their Christian

152 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ27: M. Haïtoglou.

153 "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, ΚΠ316: I. Kasnaktoglou.

154 "ΚΠ 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s, ΚΠ175: D. Feidopoulou.

155 "ΚΠ 230 Enehil," 1950s, ΚΠ20: T. Paraskeui.

neighbours milk, butter, and especially water for the traditional ceremony of the benediction of water. Among Christians, this donation of water often spurred amazement and rumors that these women may have Christian origins. A well-known tale was narrated among Christian communities throughout the region but with variations. The main character was a woman said to have been a young Christian girl in some versions, and a Turkish woman in others. Carnoy and Nicolaïdes mention a woman, without specifying her religious affiliation, while informants from İncesu and Endürlük clearly allude to a Turkish woman:

> It is claimed that at midnight (on the night of January 5) the plants incline their stems and the trees their branches to worship Jesus Christ. (The next day, Epiphany, the day when Jesus was baptized by John, would be celebrated.) It is said that a woman had witnessed this phenomenon several times. One night, she managed to tie a kerchief to the top of a tall poplar when the tree was in adoration. The next day the kerchief was seen on the highest branch of the poplar, which fully convinced the skeptics.[156]

> There was a Turkish woman [Τουρκάλα/Tourkala] who brought us milk, butter, and other things for Theophany. She also went fetch some water at the fountain in Kuzuncaklı Mahalle because she knew we needed it for the ceremony. The moment she filled her bucket everything was fine; then the poplars around the fountain started trembling as in an earthquake and bowed as we had never seen. Thus, she said to herself "Today it is the holiday of the Gâvur and the trees have bowed

156 Original text: "On assure qu'à l'heure de minuit, [in the night between 5 and 6 of January), les plantes inclinent leurs tiges, les arbres leurs rameaux, pour adorer Jésus-Christ (le jour suivant, on fête l'Ephiphanie, jour où jésus fut baptisé par jean). On raconte qu'une femme fut témoin plusieurs fois de ce dernier prodige; une nuit même, elle réussit à attacher son mouchoir à la cime d'un grand peuplier, au moment où l'arbre était en adoration. Le lendemain on retrouva le mouchoir à la plus haute branche du peuplier, ce qui convainquit pleinement les incrédules." Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Traditions populaires* (1889), 295.

> down." Thinking that no one would believe her, she dropped her headscarf off at the top of a poplar before returning home and telling everybody what she saw. The next day, Muslims and Christians came to see the poplars of Kuzuncaklı and they saw the headscarf of the woman at the top of the poplar.[157]

> There was a Turkish woman [Τούρκισσα/Tourkissa] who went fetch some water the eve of Theophany. She went to the river at night and was filling her buckets, prostrated like the Christians. At that time, poplars begin to tremble and bow and because she thought nobody would believe her, the woman dropped a kerchief off on the top of one of the trees. The next day, in the morning, the Turks came to see the kerchief and, amazed, said "There is the celebration of the Gâvur and the trees have leaned over.[158]

While the version published by Carnoy and Nicolaides did not specify the religious affiliation of the female witness to this miracle, the versions narrated by the OTA informants from various villages all mention a Turkish woman. We can assume that, for the Rums of Cappadocia among whom this legend was narrated, the claim that the witness was a Muslim was mainly a way to demonstrate that their own religion and belief were so strong that it even reached the Turks. The use of the term *gâvur* [miscreant] to designate the Rums reinforces this idea: it highlights the point of view of the Muslims concerning the "unbelieving" the Rums in the context in which a Muslim woman experienced a miracle she directly connects to the Christian faith.

The Theophany (or Epiphany) appears throughout the testimonies to be one of the principal holidays in which Muslims often participated. The blessing of water performed on this day was adhered to by many Muslims in various settlements. The custom was to make a procession to a river or sacred fountain and to throw a cross into the water. In Halvadere and Kenatala, for instance, Muslims took part in the procession. Men and women drank the water blessed by the priest, and shepherds made their cattle drink from the

157 "ΚΠ 57-62 Andronikı." 1950s, ΚΠ60: K. Kioseoglou.

158 "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, ΚΠ79: P. Skenteroglou.

source where the cross had been immersed.[159] In Germir, they did not participate in the procession to bless the water, but they asked Christians to bring them the water and bread that had just been blessed during the ceremony.[160]

In Cappadocia, more so than Theophany itself, its eve (January 5) known by the name "Saya" (Σάγια) was, in mixed settlements, the most important moment of intercommunal sharing. This celebration, which is thought to have pre-Christian origins, lasted the whole day. According to Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, it was celebrated only by households in which a member had died within the last year.[161] We can partially confirm this point by the fact that, according to several informants in different villages, each household buried its deceased in a family tomb carved underground in the floor of houses before, three years later, their remains would be moved to a communal cemetery called "*kemiklik*" ("place for bones"). Moreover, informants described the *Saya* as a "spirit" or "shadow," so we can hypothesize that the *Saya* was the spirit of recently (in the last one to three years) deceased family members buried in the caves. Most informants, however, claimed that all households of their village celebrated the *Saya* every year on January 5, without necessarily having had a loss in their family over the course of the previous year.[162]

In the morning, Christians went to the church for a "small blessing" (or, according to Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, to the cemetery to cry for the recently deceased). Then children formed groups and went door to door to sing carols, while someone in the village was chosen to play the role of the *Sayacı*. The principal moment of the day would happen in the evening. In the afternoon, villagers, especially children, collected wood and twigs for a bonfire the village would lit in the evening. An auction was begun by the priest and the highest

159 Petropoulos and Andreadis, *Vie religieuse*, 1970, 44. "КП 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, КП28: A. Loukidis, A. Ampouroglou.

160 "КП 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, КП87: A. Apostolidou; "КП 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, КП59: P. Karamanoglou.

161 Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Traditions populaires* (1889), 293-95.

162 "КП 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, КП86: H. Pantoteino; "КП 215-218 Limni," 1950s, КП216: A. Prodromou; "КП 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, КП314; "КП 57-62 Androniki," 1950s, КП60: M. Pazantzoglou; "КП 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, КП70: A. Symeonoglou.

bidder had the privilege to set fire to the wood pile. The aim of this fire might originally have been to free the village of bad goblins and other spirits. When the fire died down, people jumped over it to symbolically liberate their spirits from the devils. Then, each family took embers to light their homes.

On this day, in mixed settlements, Muslims peripherally participated in the different stages of the feast, but their role varied from one village to another. In Kenatala, for instance, Muslims used to attend the feast from the blessing in the morning to the auction to the blazing bonfire. However, they did not take active part in the auction, only stood in the audience.[163] According to Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, only Turkish children dressed as *Sayacı* (with large trousers, bells going up to the neck, and horns on the head), would go in front of the Greek houses and recite nursery rhymes. Then, they threw themselves on the floor and waited until the mistress of the house offered them dried fruit or coins.[164]

In most settlements, the bonfire was prepared with wood and twigs collected by Christians: An informant from Kenatala explained, for instance, that the villagers chose who would have the honor to prepare the fire by incrementally raising the stakes (beginning at one Turkish lira). Only Rums took part in the auction, but Muslims of the village were spectators.[165] However, in other mixed villages, Muslims took an active part in this preparation. For instance, in Germir, after children collected money by knocking on the doors of both Christian and Muslim households and saying "*Sayalığımızı ver*" [Give us our Saya], the collected money was used to pay a Turk of the village to prepare the bonfire:

> "*Saya geliyor*" [the Saya is coming], said the Turks of our village. They knew it because some days earlier our children collected money to buy wood. We thus prepared the fire for the eve of the Theophany. We collected money from everybody – Christians and Muslims – and the children said "*sayalığımızı ver*" [Give us our saya]. Then a child counted the collected money and when they had enough, they said to

163 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ27: O. Moumtzoglou.

164 Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Traditions populaires* (1889), 294.

165 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ27: O. Moumtzoglou.

> the Turk "Mehmet, we have many kuruş, bring us twigs for the Saya." Each mahalle prepared a bonfire on the intersections and lit it at night. When we danced around the fire, we heard the sound of the burning twigs: 'tsat tsat'.[166]

Traditionally, a man or a child was designated as the "Saya," disguised for the occasion, and visited each house for a particular ceremony. Though in most settlements the *Sayacı* was a Christian, in İncesu, the role was played by a Muslim:

> On the eve of the Theophany, at night, a group of young Turks disguised themselves so you could not recognize them and went into Christian homes. The leader of the group hung a bell on his clothes to make noise and had blackened his face. He was called the Sayacı. The group knocked on the door of Christian homes singing several couplets beginning with "*Saya geldi sakindi. Demir dümür takirdi.*"[167] Then they entered into the house. The leader sowed chaos and made noise. Then, one of the others told the head of the household that if he promised to give money he would calm him. The head of the household promised, the Sayacı calmed down, and the group, of generally three or four persons left the house to go to another Christian home. […] With World War I, the custom continued for a few years, but it later stopped with the emigration of most Christians and with the Young Turk movement which changed the relations between the Hellenes and Turks of İncesu.[168]

The Saya traditionally finished with the practice of jumping over the fire. While the practice was widespread throughout Cappadocia villages, it was taken more or less seriously in different places. Some informants claimed that only children did it as a game;[169] others describe it as a fully-fledged part of

166 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ86: P. Kirelitzoglou.

167 Meaning of this sentence remains obscure. We propose the following translation: "Saya has come, carefully (sakindi?). He has brought (takirdi = getirdi?) iron."

168 "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, ΚΠ79: I. Sahinidis.

169 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ86: H. Postantinou.

the ceremony, telling that men and women jumped over the fire just as the embers were about to go out.[170] In that respect, several aspects of the ceremony of the Saya are similar to Nevruz festivities.[171]

If, on many occasions, Muslims participated in the festivities organized for Christian holidays, it is more difficult to determine if they attended Mass. Christian informants from different villages paint various pictures, but in many mixed settlements, the main Christian holidays, like saint days, were thought to have a thaumaturgical power which inspired Muslims, especially women, to attend. Several testimonies describe how sick people of both communities participated in the festivities by attending Mass in the church.

> During the Holy Week, we read the Gospels and the Turks came and tried to understand us, but they did not participate in the worship. Sick Turks were the first to enter because they believed that listening to the Gospels would cure them. The church was crowded. The Turks, especially the ill and the elderly, made their ablutions before entering and lay down on the church carpets. Then the Christians came and often had to stand outside the church.[172]

The visiting of churches on Christian holy days by Muslims had not only a thaumaturgical purpose. Several descriptions show that often a few Muslim women would attend the service and participate peripherally in the festivities as cooks, suppliers, consumers, and, in some cases, as believers. As for Muslim men, very few informants mentioned their presence. At the most, they listened to the Mass from outside the church.

> Once, at Easter, we saw several Turkish women enter the Church of St. John . They brought us food that they had prepared at home. There were not only wonderful red eggs but several dishes. They stood up quietly in the church during the service, looked away when we made

170 "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, ΚΠ70: A. Symeonoglou.

171 The *Saya* festival is still organized in Greece, in several villages where 1923 Exchangees have settled.

172 "ΚΠ 230 Enehil," 1950s, ΚΠ230: M. Avraamidis.

> our sign of the cross and they made the sign that Turks made. They did not say a word and we did not understand why they had come.[173]

> During the Holy Week, we went to the church for night Masses. […] The Turks came in the churchyard and listened to the Psalms from outside.[174]

On the afternoon of Easter Sunday, it was custom among Orthodox communities to read Gospels in as many languages as they could manage to show the universality of the Resurrection. In the biggest congregations of Cappadocia, such as in Gelveri and Ürgüp, the reading would be made by several priests in Greek, Turkish, Armenian, Russian, Arabic, French, and English.[175] In Greek-speaking communities, on this particular day, part of the Gospels were read in Turkish.

> During the Holy Week, Turkish women came several times to the church. They entered and observed the ceremonies. It was not forbidden, neither for us nor for the Turks. […] Sometimes we even read the Gospels in Turkish to them.[176]

Presence at the Mass did not signify that Muslims were participating actively. Most of the time, they only observed the celebration and, at most, made invocations or litanies while in the church. The attendance at church services was believed to bring about cures and blessings. It was an occasion to make a vow or invocation, but not to perform the ritual prayer (*namaz*). The quest for blessing (*bereket*, as the Turkish word is often transliterated in the OTA) was the main reason for this particular way of participating in worship – attending the celebration without taking part in its most sacred part. To receive or make donations, to be blessed by a priest, or to take food that was blessed inside the church were all ways of participation in celebrations that were not at the heart of the holiness of the day.

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173 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ218: E. Alexidiou.

174 "ΚΠ 232-233 Iloson," 1950s.ΚΠ232: A. Delloglou

175 Petropoulos and Andreadis, *Vie religieuse* (1970), 48. "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, ΚΠ317: E. Hatzieuthiliadis.

176 "ΚΠ 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s, ΚΠ178: K. Papakonstantinou.

10.2.2 *Celebrations Linked to Rites of Passage (Baptism, Circumcision, Wedding, Burial…) and Intercommunal Conviviality*

In addition to the celebrations linked to the liturgical calendar of each community, in Christianity as well as in Islam other ceremonies marked the stages of life of each individual: baptism for Christian children, circumcision for Muslim boys, weddings, and burials. Not all but some ceremonies and everywhere but in some settlements, these ceremonies were moments of intercommunal conviviality. For instance, according to testimonies, Christian baptisms and Muslim circumcisions did not appear to have occurred in presence of members of the other community; on the other hand, in many settlements, weddings (regardless of the community to which the bride and groom belonged) and burials were often times of sharing. Informants often only mentioned the attendance of Muslims at Christian weddings and burials or, reciprocally, their attendance at ceremonies organized for their Muslim neighbors. Most of the time, transcriptions from the OTA are limited to basic assertions such as:

> We went to their weddings; they came to ours. We cried when of one of them died; they cried for our dead.[177]

Several more detailed descriptions, however, allow us to observe some of the aspects of sharing during wedding ceremonies. Incidentally, weddings are among the rare examples of Muslim ceremonies described by Christian refugees, often emphasizing the many points of similarity between Christian and Muslim versions. An informant from Fertek explained that during Christian weddings, the Turks of the village participated on certain days, especially in banquets, but not for the duration of the festivity, and especially not on the day of the religious ceremony.

> We began the preparations one week earlier. The first day, we prepared a big table that we shared with the Turks. The latter were only invited for this day and then for the third, fourth, and fifth days. The day of the religious ceremony (on Sunday), there were only Christians. We

177 "ΚΠ 230 Enehil," 1950s, ΚΠ230: H. Paraskeui.

> offered gifts […], we danced, we drank and in the end the Turks came back and we made a sacrifice and cooked it with pilaf.[178]

> For the wedding, on Saturday, we set tables and benches for the whole village on the central square. Generally, the Turks came and drank wine and ouzo with us. After the banquet, we offered gifts to the couple in the presence of the priest.[179]

Similarly, in Germir, Muslims only participated in a part of the festivities. Local tradition gave one Turk a particular role during the wedding.

> On Saturday, the gifts and the dowry were sent separately by the family of the bride to the house of the groom. The trousseau chest (*çeyiz*) was carried by a Turk, and before him, a Christian boy brought the keys of the house. Together they went to the groom's house and the latter gave one lira to the boy and one mecidiye to the Turk.[180]

On the other hand, Christians also sometimes had particular roles in Muslim weddings. For instance, according to Eustathios Hatzieuthiliadis, a refugee from Ürgüp, the Muslim community in his town called on Rum musicians to play during their wedding because there were no Muslim musicians in the area.[181]

A common feature is that compatriots from the other religious community, women as well as men, were only present at the outdoor celebrations and never at ceremonies and festivities taking place in the church or even in the bride or groom's houses. Very few examples are at odds with this generalization, and these are most of the time explicitly described as exceptional or unusual situations. An anecdote from İncesu confirms this situation. The informant narrates the traditional visit of the barber to the groom and his close male relatives on the eve of the wedding ceremony. One day at the beginning of the twentieth century, in an exceptional circumstance,

178 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ310: I. Polyheni.

179 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ216: N. Apostolidis.

180 "ΚΠ 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, ΚΠ86:H. Postantinou.

181 "ΚΠ 312-319 Prokopi," 1950s, ΚΠ317: E. Hazieuthimiadis.

a groom hired a Muslim barber. But the situation opened the way for problems:

> In 1904 or 1905, Chrysanthos, the priest of the Church of St. Eustathios was forced to take several restrictive measures regarding the Christian women of the village. For weddings, accordingly to the tradition, the haircut of the groom was made in the presence of all his relatives and men of the community. According to the tradition, all the men had to have the same haircut as the groom on this day at the expense of the latter. Once, the groom called on a Turkish barber because the Christian one was sick. The Turkish barber, a young and good-looking man, came and began meticulously cutting the hair of each Christian man. After their haircuts, the Christian men went one by one to the next room where the festivities and dances were taking place with the women of the community. The barber told what he saw and heard in the other room to other Turks, and gossip began to spread among the Muslims until it reached the ears of the Christians. The latter were outraged by denigrating rumors spread among Muslims about Christian women. Immediately, the priest Chrysanthos announced the threat of excommunication [*απειλή αφορισμού/apeili aforismou*] for those who henceforth got a Turkish barber for the traditional wedding haircut. Moreover, he told women to cover their faces with a kerchief when they went outside to avoide the gaze of young Turkish men. With the application of this decision, many women began to write letters to their families in Istanbul asking them to send a silk shawl.[182]

The deviation from the usual situation – the hiring of a Muslim instead of a Christian barber – appears to have had far-reaching consequences for the whole community. This kind of problems during weddings could occur in other villages. To avoid tensions, informants of villages of eastern Cappadocia usually noted that for weddings, Christians did not dance outside the house

182 "ΚΠ 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, ΚΠ278: I. Sahnidis.

but inside, out of sight.[183] On the other hand, in western villages such as Kenatala, Limni, Fertek, and Malakopi, informants claimed that both Christians and Muslims, separately or together, had festivities with dance and song outdoors without having any problems with members of the other community.[184] A contrast between Western and Eastern Cappadocia seems to arise with respect to this question of participation in indoor and outdoor festivities. While in eastern villages, Christians made their festivities out of the sight of Muslims – in their houses rather than outdoors – in western settlements, especially around Niğde, inhabitants did not seem encumbered by this kind of restriction – neither Muslims nor Christians. This difference is confirmed by comparing the communal registers from various settlements. In several registers from the villages of Eastern Cappadocia (Vekse and Skopi, for instance), the minutes of the demogeronte meetings document restrictionss placed on weddings in the 1870s. We already mentioned them in Chapter 8, but recall that in the minutes of a meeting of 1872 in the community of Vekse and in those of another meeting that took place in 1878 in the community of Skopi (both villages on the periphery of Kayseri), it was announced that luxurious ceremonies, with dance, orchestral music, and gifts were forbidden so that poor families could organize celebrations without having to spend large amounts of money.[185] If this decision is explained by the wish that personal wealth not be flaunted in front of poor Rums, it might also be explained by the necessity, in these mixed settlements where Muslims were the majority, of avoiding problems with Muslim neighbours and especially the envy of others. It is interesting that these kinds of decisions were not encountered in the available registers of the Rum communities of Western Cappadocia. Informants of Kenatala, Limni, and Fertek clearly evoke dances and music played outdoors together with Muslims. Does this mean that

183 See for instance "КП 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, КП85: P. Kirelitzoglou; "КП 49-52 Agirnas," 1950s, КП51: A. Avraamidou. Informants were asked if they and the Muslims used to dance outside in the threshing yard. Transcription of the response of refugees coming from the area of Kayseri and from Eastern Cappadocia more broadly show that they were particularly surprised by the question, saying that nobody danced in the threshing yards.

184 See for instance "КП 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, КП26; "КП 215-218 Limni," 1950s, КП216; "КП 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, КП299; "КП 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s, КП174.

185 "Codex 19/14 Skopi (1856-1923)," 334-36. "Codex 3/17 Vexe (1859-1920)," 95-97.

communities living in the mixed settlements on the periphery of Kayseri (where the population density and especially the Muslim population was higher) experienced more tense relations with members of other religious groups? It is difficult to answer.

> We met on the Aï Paraskeui square, a large square with three or four stores, for celebration days. We danced there for Easter, Christmas, and other festivities. And the Turks came to dance, too. Turkish women were around and men in the center. In our villages, Turkish women did not hide their faces. They were uncovered only in areas such as ours; Hellenes and Turks danced together.[186]

> The Turks and the Hellenes had celebrations at the Ziaret tepesi together; they sand, danced, and played music together.[187]

> During a [Christian] wedding week, Turks participated in the dances of the Christians next to the church or in the houses.[188]

The informant relating this last excerpt continues with an anecdote about the wedding of a rich Muslim of Enehil (also located in Western Cappadocia) that shows that ceremonies such as weddings clearly did not provoke tensions among the communities living in this area. Mihail Avraamidis narrates the strange wedding of Hacı Halim, a Muslim lawyer who lived in Enehil who organized his marriage ceremony in one of the local churches.

> And once, a Turkish lawyer called Hacı Halim, even married in the underground Church of St. Pachomios, and all the Turks went down into the Christian church with candles and said aloud "O, St. Pachomios, we bring you candles." However, they did not make the sign of the cross. […] Then, after the ceremony, his new wife came to

186 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ216: K. Serafeimidis.

187 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ26: M. Haïtoglou.

188 "ΚΠ 230 Enehil," 1950s, ΚΠ230: M. Avraamidis.

> his house and there they received gifts of money. The Turkish hosts offered large amounts of money.[189]

For funerals, as for weddings, the same West-East distinctions seem plausible, but this topic is less developed by informants and consequently cannot be studied in as much detail as weddings. Participation by members of the other community in Muslim or Christian funeral rites is only briefly described by some informants from Fertek, Limni, and Enehil and does not appear in the OTA for settlements that we studied in the east. This silence could be the consequence of an absence of relations during funerals.[190] Even though a West-East distinction may appear in the way of celebrating weddings and other festivities – especially concerning the place given to members of the other community during these celebrations – an generalization remains difficult and would erase local specificities. Nonetheless, we can say that when moment of sharing occurred on particular days of the liturgical calendar or for life celebrations such as weddings or burials, the participation of members of the other community remained limited to peripheral festivities (banquets, distributions of gifts, dances, etc.), most of the time outside of religious and private buildings and not at the time of the most sacred moments of celebration.

We can also translate this difference in terms of popular (or local) belief and formal religious practice. Popular belief goes hand in hand with locality since it is most of the time attached to particular spaces or rites that are only practiced in a specific place. Consequently, it does not occur in spaces which are the place of formal religious practice (the mosque or the main church of a parish), but in secondary spaces such as *türbe* and ancient churches that are no longer used for formal, daily services. This local, popular belief is generally shared intercommunally. On the other hand, formal religiosity is practiced in spaces that are not at all (the case of mosques) or rarely (in the case of churches built during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) visited by people who do not "formally" belong to the flock.

189 Ibid.

190 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ216: A. Prodromou; "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ301: I. Polyheni; "ΚΠ 230 Enehil," 1950s, ΚΠ230: T. Paraskeui.

§ 10.3 Shared Rites and Intercession of the Other

The main ritual practices or gestures shared by members of two religious communities were – we already mentioned some – "binding," performing sacrifices, lighting candles, and participating in various thaumaturgical rituals linked to a particular space or a particular time (bathing, pilgrimage, etc.). Benoît Fliche calls *heteropraxies* practices and gestures that are considered divergent from the *doxa* (formal Christianity or formal Islam).[191] To perform a ritual connected to another faith that has no meaning in one's own religion – for instance, lighting a candle for a Muslim – is in that sense heteropraxy.

In the last part of this chapter, we focus on examples of rites shared by Muslims and Christians and ask if similar rites or ritual gestures necessarily imply common belief. Most of the examples of shared rites took place without the intercession of men of religion. In a way, the widespread cults of saints were already a form of intercession between God's power and the believer in which worshippers performed rituals they already knew and directly addressed the saints without need for the help of a priest, imam, *hoca,* or dervish. However, in particular cases, these earthly men of religion could also be addressed to serve as intercessors. Since, we already mentioned in the first two parts of this chapter various shared rites that solicited the intercession of saints, in this third and last part, we quickly review shared rites that were performed individually and then focus our investigation on rites involving religious men who represented the power of the other religion.

10.3.1 *Shared Rites*

Various rites were practiced in shared worship spaces. Prayers, processions, sacrifice, candle lighting, and cloth binding were certainly the more widespread examples of shared rituals in Cappadocia and in Anatolia more broadly. Cloth binding was a common practice. Linked to a wish, it was typically practiced in natural sanctuaries, on wish trees, that could be visited without being consecrated to a specific saint. For instance, near Çeltek, there

191 Benoît Fliche, "Ethnographie d'une pratique de l'indifférence. Les écritures votives de l'église de Saint- Antoine à Istanbul," *Ethnologie française* 44, no.2 (2014): 328.

was a wild pear tree on which Christians and Muslims attached tatters of the clothes belonging to sick people;[192] in Malakopi, a tree on a nearby plateau was famous for curing rheumatism;[193] in Kenatala, pieces of clothers were attached to an oak tree and bushes next to the Church of St. Nicholas for being healed from various pains and diseases.[194] This ritual of hanging pieces of clothes was not only realized on trees or outdoors. In İloson, for instance, inhabitants made the same ritual within the Church of St. Nicholas, next to the bema (the platform which comprises the sanctuary of the church on which the altar is located), the most sacred location of a church.[195] In churches, this practice went hand in hand with the lighting of candles.

As with binding cloth to wish trees, the ritual of the sacrifice (*kurban* in Turkish *kourbani* in Greek) is also often linked to therapeutic expectations. In both religious communities, the two sacrificial rites differ not in their proceedings, but in their purposes: on one hand, the performance of a sacrifice can have private purpose such as a blessing or a wish. On the other hand, the sacrifice can address a public concern and is thus performed in the name of the whole community.[196] As Altan Gökalp noted, private and public, sacrifices are, like binding of pieces of cloth, "always associated to a 'numinous topos,'

192 Petropoulos and Andreadis, *Vie religieuse* (1970), 28.

193 "ΚΠ 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s, ΚΠ175: M. Psylligou. The spring was located on an eastern plateau called Sivritepe in Turkish and Hagia Laura in Greek. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 1908, 287. Ainsworth also mentioned a village called Kaiserköy "with a ruined church and some other relics of ancient times, but now inhabited by but few Greeks." Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I (1839), 207. This village was no longer inhabited in the second part of the century.

194 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ25: St. Ampouroglou.

195 "ΚΠ 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, ΚΠ233: E. Nikolaidis.

196 On the *kourbania* practice among Greek orthodox communities, see Stella Georgoudi, "L'égorgement sanctifié en Grèce moderne: les "Kourbania" des saints," in *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*, eds. M. Détienne and J.-P. Vernant (Paris: Gallimard, 1979). The rite itself is not described in the testimonies we studied, but a description in the article by Georgourdi depicts a rite similar to the sacrifice performance in Islam. Except by mentioning the etymology of the name "kourbania," the author does not draw parallels between the sacrifice practiced by the Greek Orthodox and the one performed by Muslims. She explains it as a legacy of pagan Hellenistic rites.

[…] a place invested with a spirit master of the place."[197] Moreover, the sacrifice takes place in a strategy of expectation and the *kurban* has the role of intercessor between the human beings performing the rite and the saint to which it is dedicated, and through him or her, God. In the descriptions we found, sacrifice as a private rite was only practiced in the name of a specific saint and never in a sacred place that was not specifically so dedicated. As a communal rite aiming the protection of the whole community, Muslim communities performed sacrifices during the *Kurban bayramı,* of course, but also for other celebrations. As with Christians, the sacrifice was a common rite during religious celebration, too. In Endürlük, for instance, the community went to the Mount of St. Basil on Pentecost to perform a *kourbani.*[198]

As an intercommunal rite, the kourbani or *kurban* (of a lamb or sometimes a rooster) could be sacrificed communally by Muslims and Christians on a specific saint day as well as when protection against curses, epidemics, and natural disaster – especially drought – was sought. The main moment of public sacrifice that included the participation of both religious communities was St. George's/Hıdırellez Day. As already noted, few testimonies mention communal sacrifices. According to several informants, when a shared practice was involved, Muslims and Christians (from the same village as well as from neighboring settlements) met before a chapel dedicated to St. George close to a spring and located outside the village.[199] There, the sacrifice was made and villagers would then bring the *kurban* to a pasture where running water was available. The pasture was the place of festivities, music, song, and dance.[200] On the other hand, in other localities, sacrifices on April 23 were performed

197 Altan Gökalp, "Le sacrifice dans les traditions turques," in *Sacrifices en Islam. Espaces et temps d'un rituel*, eds. P. Bonte, A.M. Brisebarre, and A. Gökalp (Paris: CNRS, 1999), 276.

198 "ΚΠ 57-62 Andron iki," 1950s, ΚΠ60.

199 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ25: A. Ampotzoglou; "ΚΠ 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, ΚΠ204: A. Athanaasoglou; "ΚΠ 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, ΚΠ233: K. Papadopoulou. Petropoulos and Andreadis, *La vie religieuse*, 1970, 24. Stella Georgoudi mentions St. George as one of the main saints to receive sacrifices in Greece. Georgoudi, "L'égorgement sanctifié" (1979), 279. The same claim can be made for Cappadocia, though the sacrifice to the saint is performed by both Christians and Muslims.

200 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ25: M. Haïtoglou, D. Symeonidou; "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ299: I. Polyheni.

only eother by Muslims or Rums, but the meat was shared with people of the other faith. Stella Georgoudi explained the importance of the sacrifice rite on this day not by the fact that the sacrifice was dedicated to St. George (or Hıdırellez for Mulisms), but because of the particular situation of the day in the seasonal calendar:

> April 23 is the day which inaugurates the most important season in pastoral life; it is on this day that shepherds left for the pasturelands. It is on this day that, conventionally, a series of important activities linked to the world of livestock farming were organized.[201]

On the same day, Muslims shepherds, believing in the quality and power, of the *agiasma*'s water, prepared *yayık* or yeast from it which was in turn used for the preparation of yogurt throughout the year. This custom seems to confirm the link suggested by Georgourdi between pastoral life and April 23. It also explains why, in Cappadocia, the day was often celebrated with more fervor by Muslims than by Christians since the latter, from the mid-nineteenth century, had largely withdrawn from livestock farming and were consequently no longer so involved in this celebration.

Worship in a shared place or at a shared time, however, does not necessarily imply shared practices. If binding pieces of cloth, sacrifices, and the lighting of candles were common to Muslims and Christians, the ways of performing worship remained different from one community to the other. Muslims visiting churches to ask for a cure, a benediction, or the fulfillment of a wish, generally prayed as they were accustomed to do when they made an invocation (*dua*) – turning their palms to the sky and running their hands over their faces, and sometimes by performing their *namaz*.[202] In Kenatala, according to an informant from there, a Turkish woman named Kerzi regularly came to the Church of St. Nicholas to perform her namaz. Sofia Ampouroglou recalled that Kerzi, "because she came frequently, never provoked divine wrath. She came so regularly that in the place where she knelt

201 Georgoudi, "L'égorgement sanctifié" (1979), 278.

202 The difference between invocation (*dua*) and *namaz* is particularly important in the context of exopraxy.

during her namaz the floor of the church was worn."[203] On the other hand, informants regularly noticed that gestures belonging to Christian tradition were practiced by Muslim women, too. The issue of conversion, of course, hovers in the background of these heteropraxies, but it would be wrong to suppose that all Muslim women who visited Christian shrines were converts. The idea that family traditions and especially heteropraxies such as lighting candles or making the sign of the cross entered Muslim families via the conversion to Islam of someone in some former generation (a grandmother or great-grandmother) is a more plausible hypothesis. Many Christian informants regularly noticed that Muslim women often made the sign of the cross but never in a church. They did it outside as an apotropaic sign claiming that they did not know why but that they had learned it from their grandmother.[204] They made this sign over their children and over bread to protect them from the evil eye (*nazar).* It was an individual practice that was not reiterated in the context of communal or intercommunal worship. While it could be performed in an ancient chapel known for its thaumaturgical power, it was especially not executed by Muslim women who attended religious Services during Christian celebrations.

10.3.2 *Intercessors: Priests and Hocas*

Despite differences in the conceptualization of the relation between human and divine orders, in Christianity as well as in Islam, ritual practices aim to mediate between human beings and God or his saints. Cloth binding and sacrifices were practices that allowed believers to transmit messages to the divine.[205] If the *kurban* or the ribbon bound to a wish tree are symbolic intercessors in the quest for divine protection or for a thaumaturgical miracle, propitiatory intercessors could also be men of religion, mostly priests or *hoca*s. For Muslims and Christians, the quest for protection from *nazar* (the evil eye*)*

203 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ25: St. Ampouroglou.

204 "ΚΠ 230 Enehil," 1950s, ΚΠ230: M. Avraamidis; "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ218: E. Alexidiou; "ΚΠ 173-178 Malakopi," 1950s, ΚΠ175: K. Papakonstantinou; "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ270: I. Goulanoglou.

205 Pierre Bonte, Anne-Marie Brisebarre, and Altan Gökalp, *Sacrifices en islam. Espaces et temps d'un rituel* (Paris: CNRS, 1999), 39.

was a central idea to which people – especially women – gave great importance in everyday life. The main aim was to protect the family from disease, shortages, and other bad events. For this expectation of a peaceful future, all means were permitted and, as such, people regularly asked for the intercession of men of religion but especially those of the other religion. A main difference was that Muslims would call the priest to their homes to bless their families and food supplies – particularly bread, salt, and water – as well as in the case of the disease of a family member. They rarely asked for a blessing at the church. On the other hand, Christians also asked for the help of *hocas,* but they went to the latter's abode instead of calling him to their home. *Hoca*s are always described as owners of an *ocak,* and the owners of which could be either male or female. As for Christian healers, far fewer details are available. Only one informant mentioned a female, Rum healer who had settled in Germir after the Turkification of her village (Citlavik). According to the OTA informant Nikolaos Bostanizoglou, she cured diseases of the eyes by performing a rite using water from an agiasma.[206] Among the testimonies we studied, it is the only mention of a Christian who cured diseases with a ritual other than simple recitation of prayer.

Most settlements had no doctors. The latter were mostly located in the largest towns of the region, and villagers consequently rarely had occasion to see them. Incidentally, doctors were often described as ineffective. As a result, in villages, the main healers and protectors against disease were priests and *hoca*s. On the request of a Muslim, a priest could bless children, sick people, and houses by reciting an invocation that he concluded by blowing three times either on the individual or in his mouth to transmit the breath of the Holy Spirit.[207] This "intercommunal blessing" practice did not only occur in mixed settlements. Priests of Zincidere were often called by Muslim women of the village of Akçakaya, for instance, to bless the salt and bread in their homes. Similarly, people of the Muslim village of Eskigümüş regularly asked for the

206 "КП 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, КП87: N. Bostanizoglou.

207 "КП 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, КП75: B. Papadopoulou; "КП 237-240 Matala," 1950s, КП239: A. Athanasiadis; "КП 215-218 Limni," 1950s, КП218: St. Savvidis; "КП 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, КП202: P. Papadopoulos, A. Tsamptzoglou; "КП 85-88 Kermira," 1950s, КП87: N. Bostanizoglou.

help of Andaval's priest.[208] In Matala, people from surrounding Muslim villages (Arloson, Balisa, and Güllüce) came to the church to be blessed by the priest. This is incidentally the only example we encountered of a blessing of Muslims occurring inside a church rather than outdoors or in private houses.[209]

On the other hand, Christians also regularly asked for the intercession of *hocas* for therapeutic purposes or for blessings. Rituals performed by *hoca*s are meticulously described by informants, even though some claimed that Christians preferred to visit their own priest rather than go to an *ocak*:

> We sometimes went to the hoca, but only those who did not have faith. The hoca wrote something that we did not understand on a piece of sheet. It was his secret. We rarely went to the *hoca*. There were neither doctors nor hospitals so we went to priest, too.[210]

Nevertheless, when it came to health problems, locals were not particularly selective in the religious belonging of their healers. Christians as well as Muslims knew where they had to go for their ailments. Each *ocak* was renowned for a particular cure, and the therapeutic power of *hocas* remained in families and was handed down from generation to generation, regardless of gender. An informant from Çarıklı gave instructive information on this issue:

> In many villages there were ocaks where Turks knew and healed ailments. The Christians and Turks visited them when they were sick, but we never paid money. Only if the Turks healed us, were they paid. We knew each ocak by the name of its owner. We said we went to the ocak of Ali or the ocak of another Turk. When the owner died, his son or daughter, if he had one, took his place because generally he had already taught his knowledge to his child. In all the villages, sick people were healed in ocaks. In Araplı, they cured blindness, eye diseases, and also fever. In Enehil and Niğde, they treated the ailment we called *küpleme* [apparently excess fluid in the abdomen] and in Ediği *sarılık* [jaundice]. In our village there was no doctor. We went to the priest

208 "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, ΚΠ75: V. Esirimidou; "ΚΠ 204-206 Andaval," 1950s, ΚΠ204.

209 "ΚΠ 237-240 Matala," 1950s, ΚΠ239: A. Athanasiadis.

210 "ΚΠ 295-297 Tsarikli," 1950, 395: St. Koutlidou.

> and he read a prayer to cure us or we went to the ocak. You brought the hoca one egg and forty grains, he read a prayer, put a small piece of sheet in the pocket of his visitor and you get better. The daughter of the hoca took over from her father when he died.[211]

The OTA informants regularly emphasized the fact that, in *ocaks*, the rite could be practiced by a man or a woman or even by a couple. The rituals associated with the therapeutic power of the *hoca*s was accentuated through detailed descriptions of rites presented as closer to sorcery and magic than formal religious practice. Prayers and invocations were generally accompanied by gestures such as the *hoca* writing words on a small paper placed in a talisman, using a knife to cut out evil, or using stones, water, and dirt.[212] An informant from Misti described his own experience in two different ocaks as follows:

> When I was seventeen, I got sick. My father took me to a hoca who answered that he did not know what I had and that we should go to Akso. The next day, we went to Akso to the woman who owned the ocak. […] The woman saw me and made me vomit two, three, five times. She sent my father to find *pekmez* [grape molasses] and prepared a small cup for me. My body began to swell. She brought two heavy, egg-shaped, stones and used them to spread *pekmez* on my legs, face, and hands. She told me that I would get better within twelve days, and five or six days later I was well.[213]

> Once, in the heart of winter, we went to Sihlar with my brother to buy a cow for the Christmas celebration. On the way back, I got sick. I had fever, I began to swell up like a watermelon, and I was going insane. Thus, a group of Turks from Zamzama saw me. They brought a knife,

211 Ibid., KΠ296: E. Zourboglou.

212 The rites performed by the *hocas* of the *ocak* of Babayani and at the *türbe* of Antrolos are described in the first section of this chapter.

213 "KΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, KΠ243: M. Damianoglou.

> killed one of their sheep and their hoca, wrapped me in the sheep leather. Slowly I felt the pain and contusions disappear.[214]

Recall that the inhabitants of Misti (a homogeneous Christian village) were known for their violence against the Turks. Surprisingly, refugees from Misti were nonetheless among the most talkative informants when it came to health issues and visits to *hoca*s. Their testimonies as well as those of refugees from other Cappadocia settlements clearly show that, when it concerned health, locals did not pay attention to religious affiliation. What is more, healing performed by a *hoca* was often described by the Christians as more effective than a prayer by a priest. Reciprocally, Muslims seemed to strongly believe in the power of the prayer of the priests.

Invocations and litanies were at the heart of rites practiced by priests and *hoca*s. Generally recited by priests but both recited and written by *hoca*s, the prayer of the other (the representative of the other religion) was believed to potentially have greater power. This belief may be connected to the language of the prayer. In their testimonies, refugees insisted on the fact that they did not understand the prayer read or written by the *hoca*. In the same way, they emphasized that Muslim women who listened to prayers recited by priests also did not understand a word. This inability to understand the meaning of the prayer is key to the choice of intercessor for two reasons. *Hoca*s recited in Arabic while priests read in biblical Greek. Accordingly, their visitors were faced with a rite, the mystery of which was conserved – it sounded like a magic formula. The issue of the mystery of the rite resulting from the inability to understand the language used by the intercessor is thus fundamental. However, people only accepted not understanding the rites and prayers linked to beliefs they affiliated with the religion of the other – which did not belong to their own religion. They wanted to understand everything in their own liturgy. We should recall that for Turkish-speaking Orthodox communities, the main parts of the liturgy were read in the Turkish language.[215] Even in communities speaking a Greek dialect, the flock, especially the elderly, did not

214 Ibid., КП243: M. Damianoglou.

215 "КП 77-80 Incesu," 1950s, КП78: G. Savvaïdis; "КП 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, КП26: O. Moumtozglou.

understand biblical Greek. They regularly complained when the priest read in Greek and asked for liturgy in Turkish, a language that, unlike liturgical Greek, they were able to understand.[216]

In the previous examples, priests and *hoca*s were involved as intercessors for private issues, and most cases of shared worship or exopraxy studied up to now have implicated individual issues. One of the scarce "public" purposes (maybe the only one) involving a shared rite practiced similarly and simultaneously by both religious communities was linked to drought and rain expectation. In many mixed settlements, rainmaking rites were common to both religious communities, and in a rural region where summers were particularly dry, rain was an issue of survival. It made no distinction among religious belongings. All inhabitants, from the Muslim shepherd to the Christian craftsman, were concerned by these kinds of natural issues. Consequently, religious communities joined forces to generate rain. Common processions, often lead by a priest and a *hoca* together, were the main form of rainmaking rites. But they could also take the shape of rites involving skulls. Before dealing with processions, let us first have a look at rituals are mentioned by informants from the areas of Gelveri and Limni.

In Selime, the relics preserved in the Chapel of the Seven Saints (that we already mentioned as a shared place for healing infertility) were also used in a rite of rainmaking. Levidis mentioned the presence of these relics and the fact that the cult was performed by both communities.[217] To obtain rain in times of drought, inhabitants of local settlements together, took the relics (seven skulls) from the reliquary, put them in a bag, and plunged the bag into the river. After some times, rain began and the relics were put back in the chapel.[218] A very similar rite had been performed by the inhabitants of Limni during a particularly difficult drought:

216 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ270: I. Goulanoglou; "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ299: P. Papadopoulos; "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ215: Th. Sofronidou; "ΚΠ 241-250 Misti," 1950s, ΚΠ242: G. Karavelidis.

217 Levidis, *Αἱ ἐν Μονολίθοις Μοναί* (1889), 118. Regarding the infertility rite, see the Section 1.1 of this Chapter.

218 Petropoulos and Andreadis, *Vie religieuse* (1970), 30.

> When the crops dried up and it did not rain for several months, life became very hard. We said that God was punishing us because some Christians had converted to Islam. Neither the earth nor the sky gave water. Men were forced to go on the roads to buy food in other villages. Everybody cried and prayed, the Turks too. […] The wind was blowing hard. And one day, someone said we should hang the skull of a dead priest up to the mill to make the rain come and the wind stop. So, during the night, the elders of the village went to the cemetery, opened three tombs of priests, and took their skulls. They went to Hasaköy [Akso] and Tirhan and took the skulls of four priests that they got to Gölcük [Limni]. Here, they put the seven skulls in a bag and hung it up on the mill and water rapidly began to seep from the bag. The inhabitants left the bag at the mill the whole night, and in the morning it began to rain. The wind stopped and the inhabitants thanked God for his help. Thus, the elders took the skulls down and reburied them in tombs from which they had taken them.[219]

In Limni as in Selime, the rite was performed in the presence and withthe prayers of Rums and Muslims. Merlier noticed that the rite of plunging the skull of a dead priest into water was widespread throughout Cappadocia but the cases of Selime and Limni are particularly interesting because not one but seven skulls are used for the rite.[220] The chapel in Selime was carved into the rock (a symbolic cavern) while in Limni, the exhumation of the seven skulls of priests (and not of laymen) may be understood as a symbolic representation of the Seven Saints. Exclusively choosing skulls belonging to priests and not "ordinary" laymen shows that even in death, clergymen were considered to have a power of intercession that the pious layman having crossed the threshold of the hereafter could not possess. Because rainmaking rituals performed in Selime and Limni involved the use of seven skulls, we can hypothesize that this propitiatory rite was linked to an archaic belief in the Seven-Sleepers as it also existed in Ephesus. According to descriptions, the sanctuary in the area of Selime seems to match the church today known as Alakilise

219 "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ216: A. Prodromou.

220 Petropoulos and Andreadis, *Vie religieuse* (1970), 39.

where a representation of the Seven Sleepers has been noted by Nicole Thierry.[221] Another representation of the Seven Sleepers in Cappadocia – in a church of Soğanlı today called Tahtalı Kilise – indicates that the cult of these saints, who woke up from a sleep of 309 days, was an active one in Byzantine Cappadocia. As a result, the rites performed in Limni and in Selime could have been a revival of this cult. Transference of the legend of the Seven Sleepers into Islam as the Companions of the Cave (*As-hab al Kahf*) is also well-known.[222] However, there is not enough evidence to definitively claim that these rainmaking rituals were linked to belief in the Seven Sleepers. The only connection found between these saints and rain is a popular German belief according to which, if it rains on the day of the Saints of Ephesus (June 27), it will rain for the next seven weeks.

The most frequent rainmaking rite in Cappadocia was the performance of processions in which together, in mixed villages, Christians and Muslims participated, often accompanied with their cattle and livestock. The villagers of Potamia mentioned, for instance, a place called "Hıdırellez tepesi" (Hill of Hıdırellez) to which villagers processed in times of drought. There, litanies and prayers for rain were recited by Rums and Muslism in a chapel dedicated to the Prophet Ilias.[223] In the case of Hıdırellez tepesi, we do not know if the processions were led by clerics of one or of both communities. In other examples, however, processions were clearly guided by a priest, a hoca or both. In İloson, for instance, at the request of the villagers or of the Muslim community of the neighbouring village of Adirmoson, the prayer would be performed by the priest.[224] In Kenatala, if it did not rain on May 21, Christians

221 Thierry and Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres* (1963), 198.

222 On the Seven Sleepers legend and its transferrence from Christianity to Islam, see Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, I (1928), 259-65; Manoël Pénicaud. *Le réveil des Sept Dormants. Un pèlerinage islamo-chrétien en Bretagne* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 2014); Petropoulos and Andreadis, *Vie religieuse* (1970), 39.

223 "ΚΠ 320-331 Potamia," 1950s, ΚΠ326. The informants mention a hill close to a village named Karahisar, but we have not located this village, which seems to have been abandoned. However, in the north and east of Potamia, there are many ruins located on the hills, which could be former sanctuaries.

224 "ΚΠ 232-233 Iloson," 1950s, ΚΠ233: N. Delloglou.

and Muslims performed separate prayers for rain.[225] An informant recalled a difficult and long period of drought from 1908 to 1910:

> I recall that in 1910 it did not rain for two or three years and everything was very dry. We, the whole village, went with the priests, the banners, and [the icons] of Angels. And the Turks of the village came with us for the prayer. Everybody prayed aloud. We prayed to God that he send rain. […] The Christians and the Turks agreed upon the necessity of praying to God to ward off evil. Thus we went all together to the agiasma of St. George. There, our priest Ieremias performed the service and collected donations. After the service, the Turks and their imam took water from the fountain and made their abdest [ablution], laid a kilim on the ground, knelt down, and performed their namaz. I remember that some Turkish women came, too, and gathered in the meadow. They remained close to us [Christian women] because their religion did not allow them to stay next to the men. When the celebrations ended, a torrential rain began. Everybody was so happy that no one wanted to take refuge in their houses. Everybody stayed under the rain, and only after some time, we began to go home.[226]

In Zincidere, the procession was performed by both communities together and was guided jointly by a priest and a *hoca*. One informant, Achille Simeonoglou, recalled that rain once began when the *hoca* began to cry![227] In Fertek, both communities first agreed on a time to pray for rain. The Christians went to the Church of the Prophet Elijah for their service while Muslims went to the mosque to pray for rain. After the prayers, a procession guided by the priest went around vineyards and fields.[228]

Through these examples, one can see that processions and prayers for rain generally took place on specific saint day, especially during the rainy season (in April and May) and at the heart of summer when drought was the worst.

225 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ25: M. Haïtoglou; O. Moumtzoglou.

226 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ25: O. Moumtzoglou.

227 "ΚΠ 70-76 Zincidere," 1950s, ΚΠ75: A. Symeonoglou.

228 "ΚΠ 298-303 Ferteki," 1950s, ΚΠ299: T. Tsagloglou, K. Zampoglou.

Thus, St. George's (April 23) and St. Constantine's (May 21) Days as well as the day of the Prophet Elijah (July 20) were traditional times of processions and invocations for rain.[229] However, in times of exceptional drought, villagers would perform processions outside these dates but generally dedicate them to one of these three saints. The goal of these processions was to unite bring the force of prayer together at the same time. Many informants' descriptions of processions included a successful outcome and the beginning of rain, strengthening the idea that the communion of the faithful – regardless of religious belonging – was more efficient than the prayer of only the Christian or only the Muslim community. To have a true faith was considered more important than to belong to the same religion.

Using examples from various areas of Asia Minor, Doumanis saw in refugee testimonies about the celebration of St. George/Hıdırellez nostalgia for a spirit of intercommunality and harmony as well as a deep but lost religious piety. "They believed that they had led more pious lives in Anatolia, and the fact that the Turks did so as well was no coincidence. While living side by side, the two communities believed they lived closer to God."[230] When looking at joint (or simultaneous) rainmaking processions, we can add that this deep religious piety was also experienced through the belief in the "believability" of the other's belief. This implied, in a way, that the believer trusted in the faith of the members of his community but also in the faith of the other, the one who belonged to otherness. In such intercommunal practices, individuals experienced pure belief regardless of denominational differences. Rituals could be different; ultimately, Christians and Muslims believed in the same omnipotent high power, as the one and only God. Practices belonging to "formal Islam" or "formal Christianity" were only seen as means to reach God and did not call into question his uniqueness. As a result, in this multireligious context, people admitted sharing the same faith through different rituals. And in cases of extreme difficulties that jeopardized the whole popula-

229 "ΚΠ 26-27 Kenatala," 1950s, ΚΠ25: A. Ampouroglou; "ΚΠ 215-218 Limni," 1950s, ΚΠ216: K. Serafeimidis.

230 Doumanis, *Before the Nation* (2013), 127.

tion, belonging to different religious communities became strength. The decision to practice simultaneous rituals for rain was a way to maximize the chances of divine mercy.

§ 10.4 Conclusion

About rural worship practices, Hasluck wrote that the "vital and positive religion is bound up with the cult of the saints and demands concrete objects of worship, especially graves and relics, and above all miracles, to sustain faith."[231] On his side, de Certeau noted that tricks to divert structures of control and supervision were especially applied in rural communities where "[r]ural 'believers' evade the fatality of the established order" by using what central religious authorities called superstitions "and always suspected, rightly, to challenge the hierarchies of power."[232] In the various Cappadocian examples we offered in this chapter, these two observations can obviously be combined; the numerous cases of shared places of worship and practices taking place around objects of worship (sacred fountains, trees, tombs, and relics) were, from the perspective of religious authorities, closer to superstitions than to any official form of religion. Even the priests, *hocas,* and dervishes who were involved in these "superstitions" and "agrarian religiosity" were generally natives of the region. They participated in these shared local rites, being locals before being representatives of central religious authorities.

At the heart of shared beliefs and rites were issues linked to health, blessing, and abundance. These three aspects are the basis of everyday life or, to be more precise, everyday survival. Disease, epidemics, and natural disasters like drought were routine matters that jeopardized the whole population of the region. Consequently, to reach God – often via saints – was a daily necessity to receive answers to expectations. In this context, visiting a church or a *türbe* was not an obstacle as long as it was efficient. However, the sharing of worship space, time, and practices almost never occurred simultaneously. "Otherness" was at the heart of most forms of shared religiosity, as demonstrated by the fact that these three aspects never took

231 Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, II (1929), 457.

232 De Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien* (1990), 34-35.

place at the same time. Otherwise they would have led to a fusion of religious groups. In reality…

- when spatial and temporal sharing were combined, the rituals practiced by Muslims and Christians were different;
- when the same rite was performed in the same place, it took place at different moments for each community;
- when the same rite took place simultaneously among Muslims and Christians, it took place in different places.

In most cases, sharing was indeed only partial. In many shared spaces (natural sanctuaries, whether Christian or Muslim shrines), rites and visits often occurred at different times for Muslims and for Christians, while in times of sharing (Christian and Muslim celebration days), the space is delimited since members of the other community are often not invited to participate in the heart of celebrations in churches or in private houses. Of course, counterexamples combining shared space and shared time are numerous. Some of them have been discussed, such as the visits of Muslims to Christian houses or to churches for particular celebrations or the intercommunal celebration of St. George's Day in particular settlements. However, they are mostly few and individual or particular to a settlement. In the majority of the cases studied, the combination of unity of space and unity of time does not happen.

Studies on shared or mixed worship spaces have been and continue to be accurately carried out by anthropologists working on the Mediterranean world and the Balkans of the twentieth and twenty-first century, namely territories in which the creation of nation states and ethnoreligious wars and conflicts often put an end to everyday interactions of ethnoreligious communities through massacres or displacement of populations. Opposite points of view have been expressed. For instance, Hayden claimed the "incommensurability of cultures," while Bowman thought in terms of "moments of amity" testifying that "boundaries are variously reinforced, opened and transgressed." Their opposition (which represent the two main ways of analyzing the sharing of worship places) show that interactions between groups, especially when it comes to religiosity, can be interpreted with variable

degrees of porosity – that changes depend on a series of various factors according to the place and time, but also on the one who is analyzing them.[233]

If shared sacred spaces and practices can still be observed in contemporary Turkey, the Middle East, or the Balkans, in most cases, they take place outside the framework of daily interactions between people with different religious affiliations. Studying current-day wishes written and dropped off by Muslims in the Church of St. Anthony in Istanbul, Benoît Fliche saw in this rite performed in a shared worship space a "practice of indifference."[234] Most of the Muslim worshippers are not in contact with Christian (or other non-Muslim) populations in their daily routines. In nineteenth-century Cappadocia, it would thus be difficult to think shared religious practices in terms of indifference precisely because of the daily interactions of communities clearly defined by their religious differences. In such circumstance, exopraxy and other shared worship practices are not indifferent but, on the contrary, based on the conscious knowledge of difference. As in St. Anthony, how many Turkish Muslim worshippers going to the Church of St. George for the April 23 pilgrimage on Büyükada (Istanbul) have a Christian neighbour or meet Christians in their everyday life? Even in Istanbul, a city which has continued to be a multireligious space, few inhabitants actually experience a multireligious environment in daily life. It would thus be wrong to compare today's situation to the shared worship practices occurring before the end of the Ottoman Empire. Shared worship practices in the nineteenth century occurred on the background of local territorial sharing (including social, economic, political, and other aspects of everyday life), while today's religious sharing occurs in a local context of territorial "not-sharing." The persistence of particular pilgrimages or rites in shared sacred spaces such as in the Church of St. Anthony of in Beyoğlu or the Church of St. George on Büyükada are exceptions or even curiosities in the framework of "nationalized religions." Seeing a priest wearing black cassocks and visiting Muslim homes for blessings or just walking in streets amidst Christian and Muslim villagers

233 Bryant, *Post-Ottoman Coexistence* (2016), 5; Albera and Couroucli, *Shared Sacred Space* (2012).

234 Fliche, "Ethnographie d'une pratique de l'indifférence" (2014).

was certainly a far more routinely picture in the mixed settlements of nineteenth-century Cappadocia than today in the same locations.

Did the religious homogenization of local populations erase shared (or formerly shared) worship practices? Hayden described the conversion of one of the main churches of Derinkuyu into a mosque in 1950 as a "syncretism without sharing [correlated] with a lack of need to show dominance symbolically, since the group that had lost the shrine had been displaced as a group."[235] Moreover, it is interesting to note that despite the conversion of the building, Christian imagery was left in plain sight for over thirty years until it was covered in 1982, "only after complaints from a visitor from Adana, who felt uneasy about his prayers under Christian imagery and wrote to a columnist, asking for guidance."[236] The situation of the building between 1923 and 1950 is unclear. Sacit Pekak and Robert Hayden claimed that it was used to store grain until the late 1940s,[237] but the conservation of the iconostasis and ambo – two large wooden sculptures in the middle of the building (the iconostasis creating a separation inside the largest room of the building) – seems to suggest other possible uses.[238] Even though we already noted that churches built in the late nineteenth century were not generally places of shared worship, it is not disconcerting, especially in a place like Malakopi/Derinkuyu where there was no large mosque, that, after the departure of the Rums, their large church would have been informally taken over by Muslim villagers as a religious building. This could also explain why, even after the official conversion of the building into a mosque, locals performed their religious duties without being disturbed by the icons. More research with the contemporary inhabitants of Derinkuyu and in the Republican archives would be needed to make

235 Robert M. Hayden, Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, and Aykan Erdemir, "The Iconostasis in the Republican Mosque: Transformed Religious Sites as Artifacts of Intersecting Religioscapes," *IJMES* 46 (2014): 507.

236 Hayden *et al.,* " Iconostasis in the Republican Mosque" (2014): 499.

237 Sacit Pekak, "Kappadokya'da Post-Bizans Dönemi Dini Mimarisi (1)," Arkeoloji ve Sanat 83 (1998): 15.

238 We did not find other examples of wooden iconostasis preserved in abandoned churches of Cappadocia after 1923. Only the Church of St. Gregory has partially kept these wooden pieces, but unlike the Taxiarchs' Church of Derinkuyu, its early conversion into a mosque (in 1924) and restoration in 1935 can explain this particularity.

the situation clear and determine the use of the building between 1923 and 1950.

Describing the post-1950 use of the Church of the Taxiarchs of Derinkuyu as "syncretism without sharing" implies that forms of sharing that occurred before the displacement of the Christians were "syncretism with sharing." However, instead of syncretism, we prefer to describe the shared practices taking place in nineteenth-century Cappadocia as aspects of a "pragmatic religiosity." Through different examples, we saw that the purpose of intercommunal religious sharing was to look for answers to expectations, wether privately or collectively. With shared thaumaturgical rites, blessings, processions, sacrifices, and cloth binding, locals believed that they would be more likely to ensure a successful result (a cure, protection, abundance, birth, rain, etc.) if they multiplied their ways of calling on the mercy of God and the help of the saints, regardless of the religious affiliation of the place or the intercessor helping them. For instance, a villager (often a female) who visits a church to cure an ailment may visit a *türbe* the next week if he or she did not receive the expected benefits. Similarly, being blessed by a priest did not preclude asking for the help of a *hoca* and vice versa. The purpose was to receive an answer to an expectation in one way or another. In this context, the sharing of sacred space, propitiatory and apotropaic rituals was not experienced by local population as an offence to their own religion but as common, utilitarian, and pragmatic practices that were parts of their routine. They were considered useful, often on account of a series of stories of miracles of which only locals had knowledge.

Despite their limits already noted at various points in our study, the testimonies of the Oral Tradition Archives are unique documents for perceiving the details of everyday life, especially when they concerned religiosity and intermingled beliefs. The multitude of cases throughout Cappadocia, both their similarities and their local differences, demonstrate that refugees' narratives about shared worship and beliefs are not merely the result of nostalgia for a lost homeland and interreligious harmony. By analyzing the details of these practices, one can conclude that shared worship practices that are often described as syncretism or tolerance were actually pragmatism. Belief is a state of mind, which, by definition and contrary to knowledge, is subject – even if unconsciously – to uncertainty. Doumanis

accurately writes that "each religious community believed its members enjoyed the special favor of God by virtue of the claim that they observed the true religion."[239] However, an everyday interreligious context put individuals before this uncertainty. Paradoxically, it incited the crossing of religious boundaries in order to seek solutions on the other side of the border albeit without having to definitively leave one's own side. As a result, seeking a blessing or healing in the space of the other or from the hands of the other was neither an issue of tolerance nor even of syncretism. It was a question of belief and expectation, an issue of the means to reach supernatural power, an issue of "just in case," an issue of "you never know." In that sense, it should not be seen as skepticism vis-à-vis Islam or Christianity or as an attempt to merge them. It was only a way to double one's chances of success: ordinary people's pragmatism vis-à-vis everyday life.

239 Doumanis, *Before the Nation* (2013), 89.

11

Conclusion: Doing, Undoing, and Redoing Groups in the Ottoman Countryside

> *One of my Turkish friends read a lot. He regularly told me: "Iordanis, you know, the border separating the Christians from the Turks is thinner than cigarette paper."*
>
> – Iordanis Goulanoglou, refugee from Delmason[1]

In the traditional archives of the historian of the Ottoman Empire, what bears the traces of intercommunal relations, or, in other words, what traces of groupness are based on criteria other than religious affiliation? Asking the question in these terms allows an essential issue be grasped: except in cases of intergroup and interpersonal conflict, relations between individuals belonging to different communities (namely the *millet* in the Ottoman sense or the *cemaat* defined by the religion) are only marginally discernible on paper. We thus must seek them elsewhere…

The primary sources that we have studied throughout this work include parish registers, the OTA, Greek, and Karamanlidika publications, and also, to some extent, Westerners' narratives and reports focused mostly on Christian groups. Where intercommunal relations are concerned, these sources

1 "ΚΠ 258-271 Telmisos," 1950s, ΚΠ270: I. Goulanoglou.

mainly describe interactions from the perspective of Christians and often give the impression of a rural society dominated, at least economically, by Christians, wherein Muslims were passive. The BOA documents balance this perspective out, but only from an administrative point of view, as the voices of Muslim town-dwellers and villagers are only accessible through their petitions and complaints addressed to state offices.

Less than a decade after the disappearance of most Armenian communities of Central Anatolia, the convention of Lausanne and the decision to displace Orthodox Christians to Greece, drew a final line on Christian/Muslim coexistence in Cappadocia. Yet, decades earlier, the Tanzimat era had brought reforms that had instead opened the door to a radical remodeling of the Ottoman society, even if in the provinces and especially in Central Anatolia, the practical application of reforms took place with less diligence. New legal statuses, especially concerning the rights of non-Muslim communities, reconfigured and maybe intensified relations between Muslims and Rums.

However, reforms undertaken and political positions supported by the bureaucrats of the Tanzimat, by the Hamidian regime, and finally by the Young Turks were not the only drivers of change. Emerging ideologies of nationalism, the integration of Anatolia into the world economy, as well as development of new technologies and infrastructures – especially in terms of transportation and communication – were other factors that combined with the Ottoman reforms, creating a new background for the Ottoman society in which interdependence between communities seems to have increased.

Doumanis claimed that Christian and Muslim communities of Anatolia "tried to behave as one community and that this 'behaving as if they were one community' was fundamental to intercommunality." He added further:

> Being like a community without being a community promoted solidarity for the purposes of social order and security, while at the same time ensuring that the distinctions remained intact. The purpose of loving one's neighbour was to keep that neighbor firmly at bay.[2]

In a way, this confirmed the concepts of the "incommensurability of cultures" and "antagonistic tolerance" that Hayden developed in the context of post-

2 Doumanis, *Before the Nation* (2013), 78.

Ottoman states. On the other hand, also dealing with post-Ottoman territories, Bryant described intercommunal relations as "the labor of peace" – namely the management of both sociality and tension, which included conflicts, the mechanisms to resolve conflicts, as well as all kinds of everyday practices that necessitated interaction between communities or their members. In that sense, she considered this labor of peace as agonism instead of antagonism – as accommodation instead of enmity:

> Neighborliness is not only about living with the Other but is equally importantly about the ways that one becomes a person in the other's eyes. It is also to recognize that the intertwining of Other and Self entails a ritualized sociality and forms of exchange that simultaneously bind persons and families together and create their difference.[3]

For our part, because most conceptualizations proposed by anthropologists seem not to fit the nineteenth-century Ottoman context, we have chosen to deal with two different concepts – communities, which are primarily religiously-defined, and collectivities, which are locally- or spatially-defined groups – to speak about locals' practices of everyday life and their ways of negotiating and identifying self and otherness. Collectivity neither erases community nor vice versa. The community never completely blends into the collectivity, but finds in it the way to solve economic, cultural, or even religious shortcomings for which the community itself is not a sufficient framework in the face of the challenges of everyday life – its instability and even its insecurity. In that sense, notions of peaceful coexistence or tolerance aside, communities that actually never lived without one another basically practiced and locally produced collectivity in the same way they locally produced their community. Adapting to local conditions and changing structures, the ways of belonging fluctuate. Through the principle of communicating vessels between the community and collectivity, which sometimes strenghtened the community and sometimes the collectivity, communities finally triumphed – having in the meantime become the miniatures of nations – and compelled the collapse of collectivities.

3 Bryant, *Post-Ottoman Coexistence* (2016), 18-19.

In a recent article, Nathalie Clayer noted that the spread of nationalism impacts the consideration of religious boundaries:

> The late Ottoman period was a period of confessionalization, of strengthening of religious frontiers, because of the Ottoman and Western imperial policies, and because of the missionary and reformist activities of religious actors, all these actors being helped by new communication tools

Relying on cases observed at the Western fringe of the Ottoman Balkans, she concluded that the "strengthening of boundaries [did] not totally erase moves, contacts, interactions and ambiguities" that took place through dynamic forms of interaction.[4]

Our analysis of Rum-Muslim interactions in nineteenth-century Cappadocia corroborates this dynamic model and takes the idea further that the strengthening of community boundaries not only did not eliminate intercommunal interaction, but reinforced them. In conclusion, we suggest that the strengthening of boundaries between religious (and progressively national) groups, combined with changing legal and economic conditions, have paradoxically encouraged intercommunal interactions in rural areas where the remoteness from political, administrative, and economic centers slowed the penetration and reception of new ideas, sometimes deforming or distorting them. Without a comprehensive study of previous periods, it would be unfounded to assert that intercommunal relations were more numerous or more important from the mid-nineteenth century onwards vis-à-vis previous centuries. However, we have showed that the context of the nineteenth century created new conditions for communal identities. It would be impossible to make this assertion without inferring the ways that communities interacted, either positively (cordially or constructively) or negatively (adversely or conflictingly).

We have emphasized that, from the early nineteenth century with the rise of nationalisms, a whirlwind of ideas and thoughts about the ways to identify, count, administer, control, and categorize territories, people, and resources influenced the ways that ordinary people identified themselves and the other

4 Clayer, "Religious Pluralism" (2017).

– that is, how they defined sameness and otherness. As a consequence, these changing forms of identification and definitions of groups have created a context that induces the reconfiguration, or at least adjustment, of intergroup relations. We do not claim that this movement was unprecedented, since such reconfigurations of relations, at different scales, in different periods, and with various causes and consequences may be a regular if – not perpetual – mechanism, especially in multireligious, pluriethnic, and plurilinguistic geographies. We hold, however, that in the nineteenth century, political and ideological changes; the ways that the Ottoman state, the Church, and elites identified individuals and groups; how ordinary people identified themselves and others; and a series of other circumstantial factors all involved changes in the interactions among individuals and changes in the configurations of space sharing.

Our study has aimed to combine different levels of observation, analyzing how the Ottoman state, the representatives of the communities and ordinary people themselves but also foreigners (mostly Western scientists, travelers and missionaries) identified and experienced groups and forms of belonging to groups. The way of naming groups and individuals and physically sharing territory have been studied to question the superimposition of different definition of groups, based on various religious, linguistic, and territorial criteria. We have highlighted that the religious criterion, in some contexts, was transcended by linguistic and/or by territorial criteria. Turcophony stimulated relations between Turkish-speaking Rums and Muslims, as well as limited relations with Greek-speaking communities. Meanwhile using the same Greek dialect strengthened links between neighbouring Rum communities, but created obstacles to relations with Turkish-speaking Rum communities. Even though bilingualism was widespread in these rural communities, the main language of individuals' communication played a role in the choice of the networks activated in daily exchanges or in matrimonial strategies involving negotiations between families. Similarly, to live in the same village, and a fortiori in the same mahalle, was the basis for another form of grouping – a collectivity the territorial boundaries of which gathered local religious groups together.

By moving away from and returning to Cappadocia in our analysis of migration that intensified in the last third of the nineteenth century, we discuss

the role of this migration process for the reorganization of intergroup relations. In the late nineteenth century, migrants became the main intermediaries connecting the urban world of littoral cities (especially the capital) to the rural world of Cappadocia. They disseminated the ideas and ideologies prospering in urban centers through the Anatolian countryside. Especially through literature, the press, and campaigns to fund schools, networks of migrants broadened the intellectual frontiers of their compatriots who stayed in the countryside and attempted to develop a strong sense of communal belonging and connection to a Rum if not a Hellene nation. Among the Rums of Cappadocia, the success of this Hellenization effort remained elusive both politically and ideologically.

The Hellenization movement may have spread in Cappadocia too late to have consistent results among locals. While the first schools to teach Greek (among other languages and disciplines) to Rum children of Cappadocia opened in the 1820s (even before the *Megali Idea* and the beginning of the following Hellenization process), the Hellenization movement never took political hold settled in the region. Ideologically, some among the migrants were certainly a vehicle of Hellenization; moreover, the Greek Patriarchate acted in favor of the Hellenophonization and standardized confessional practices – the opening of the Theological School of Zincidere in the heart of Cappadocia being its principal and most successful action in that regard. On the other hand, Greece was the main – if not only – political actor of the Hellenization process, relying on a few but not all Ottoman Rum political actors. In the 1900s, it engaged in impromptu actions: the first visit by a Greek diplomat to Anatolia in 1901 and the establishment of a permanent consulate in the Anatolian inlands in 1908. But the continuation of this active process was interrupted by the World War I in 1914 even as the war (and for men, the conscription experience) influenced the ways that Rums and Muslims internalized forms of sameness and otherness. Finally, in the Cappadocian context, the Hellenization movement was definitively interrupted in 1923 by the exchange of populations after having been counterbalanced by opposing movements. In the years leading up to the exchange, turcophonization on a linguistic level and Ottomanism – later, Turkish nationalism – on a political level took the form of a Turkish-Orthodox ideology developed by Papa Eftim and a small number of his followers. The long process of integration into the Greek

society (especially on the linguistic level) that Karamanlı exchangees underwent after their arrival in Greece was a main clue of this incomplete, indeed nascent, Hellenization movement among Anatolian Rums.

A minority of Cappadocian Rums, mostly migrants involved in political, economic, and intellectual activities, participated in this project of Hellenization, and some had already settled in Greece before 1923. More numerous were those who can be considered the more-or-less unconscious agents that introduced, albeit in a limited way, the standardized Greek language (of Istanbul) to Cappadocian communities. Locally, it seems that Turkish – the language spoken by the majority of the Rums – created a counterweight offsetting the capacity to adhere to the construct of "Hellenness" instead of the traditional religious construct of "Rumness" and territorial construct of "Anatolianness." Instead of declining under the educational efforts by Rum communities, the Karamanlı "linguistic anomaly" – which was considered a problem even by some among the Karamanlıs themselves, but mostly by the ideologists of Hellenization (ecclesiastical and lay elites of the Ottoman Empire and the political elites of Greece) – remain the ordinary language of most locals, including some of the Greek-dialect-speaking communities that underwent turcophonization.

The linguistic aspect is a good criterion to monitor local situations vis-à-vis the nationalizing of the *millet-i Rum*. While generalization must be avoided, the situation of Greek-dialect-speaking villages was slightly different from that of Turkish-speaking communities. Three villages (Sinasos, Fertek, and Misti) are representative of the three main ways Cappadocian Greek-speaking settlements evolved through the long nineteenth-century. In Sinasos, the feeling of belonging to the nationalizing Rum *millet* became prevalent early in the nineteenth century through education and the activities of mercantile Sinasiotes in Istanbul, who were knowledgeable of the production systems and consumption patterns of Greece and Western Europe via the Ottoman tradition. On the other hand, turcophonization of the Rum community in Fertek shows greater integration of Fertekiotes to the Anatolian market and looser connection to the nation. Fertekiotes were specialized in the production and sale of alcoholic beverages (consumed exclusively – or at least mainly – by non-Muslims of the empire), and this area of commerce remained

strongly linked to their homeland. Sinasiotes rapidly converted their professional activities into specialties that were unrelated to their village. The turcophonization of Fertekiotes at the turn of the twentieth century and the contemporary standardization of the Greek spoken in Sinasos are proofs of two different models. The former reinforced their role in local markets, while the latter provide on the strength of their position within the Rum community in the capital. Finally, as a third example, the village of Misti maintained its linguistic specificity as a symbol of the ardent religious belonging of its inhabitants. Rather than strengthening bonds with Greece or the urban Rum populations of Istanbul or Izmir, the villagers of Misti looked to Orthodox Russia. It was one of few communities not to have opened a school before 1910, having concentrated up on developing the church and other religious activities of the village. The religiously homogeneous village of Misti thus remained isolated from both Greek and Turkish sentiments of belonging. The war and forced conscription in the 1910s, more so than the Hellenization process, triggered the rallying of Mistiotes to the Greek cause.

In Karamanlı communities, situations were variable, as well. In addition to the migration of inhabitants, the size and economic potential of the community were central to the way locals participated or remained outside the ideological movements of their time. In the largest communities (Gelveri, Zincidere, Endürlük, Nevşehir, and Niğde, for instance), the process of nationalization of identities took place naturally since some migrants living in Istanbul were actively involved in the animated political and intellectual debates taking place in the capital and shared their views in newspapers, almanacs, and other publications. Migrants from smaller communities were mostly involved in odd jobs and rarely occupied political, economic, or intellectual positions. They participated in the economic development of their native land, but less so in the political investment of their compatriots. Nevertheless, generally-speaking, the process of the reconfiguration of identities among Rums and Muslims of both large and small communities in Cappadocia did not cause – at least until the 1910s – the deepening of the gap between communities that continue to define themselves (and the others) according to religious affiliation rather than any sort of national identity. The local communities of Rums maintained their former ways of identification even when their economic, cultural, and educational developments were successful. They focused

on their belonging to the Orthodox Christian faith, which did not involve any particular form of nationalization. Most of the time, Hellenization remained in the background.

At the local level, we attribute the late nationalization of the identity of Cappadocian Rums – whether Greek- or Turkish-speaking – to the rise of Turkish nationalism, especially after the 1908 Young Turk revolution and the wars of the 1910s-1920s (even though the territories of Cappadocia were not affected by these military conflicts). In that sense, the Cappadocian case is an exception. While in other Rum communities of Asia Minor (especially in Aegean and Pontic towns) Turkish nationalism has been triggered by the rise of nationalism in the Rum millet, in Cappadocia it has preceded and prompted the nationalization of the identity of local Rums. In the east of Cappadocia, the Armenian massacres of the late 1890s and especially the genocidal deportations of 1915 generated "awareness" of the dangerous of being considered "the others." However, to claim that for most locals this otherness was defined by a national rather than a religious sense of belonging at that time would be discordant with the results of our archival analysis.

Beyond the (limited) political investment of Cappadocian Rums in national and nationalist debates, we have highlighted the central role of migrants in the local economy. Migratory movement to coastal cities and the development of networks of compatriotism engendered the economic rise of Rum communities and, locally, the reconfiguration of economic relations between the Rums and Muslims of Cappadocia. We have argued that local conditions and the lack of infrastructure to integrate Cappadocia into the world market were the main reasons that encouraged locals to migrate and motivated their involvement in the economic development of their native land. Their impact on the everyday life of Rums who remained in local towns and villages is indubitable. On the other hand, in proportion to their demographic prevalence, Muslims of Cappadocia were relatively less involved in economic migration than their Rum compatriots. Though we have not precisely analyzed the situation in previous centuries, the massive migration movements of Rums created new contexts for the development of formal and informal structures that boosted, especially in villages, the economic relations between Christian and Muslim communities. The former relied on the latter to work their lands and to protect real estate and families remaining in the villages. Reciprocally, the

latter benefitted from the salaries but also from the infrastructure developed by Rum communities. Through the cultural and economic support that Rum migrants brought back to their homelands – and despite the gradual demographic decline of their communities – the migrants increased the local influence of Rums and their role in the production of locality.

In this context, the practice of everyday life constantly involved a collective production of locality dependent on the necessity of seeking the aid of the other, on the complementarity of the abilities of each community in terms of professional, economic, and investment capacities, and also on the number of workers locally available. Routinely, interpersonal interactions transcended but also strengthened communities. Boundaries between religious groups were more and more asserted by authorities, but through the practice of everyday life, collectivity did not erase communities but combined them, creating complementarity in terms of local organization. Through the momentum created by the emigration of Rums, Christian communities gave a boost to their whole collectivity, including Muslim members. A form of economic interdependence (investment capability vis-à-vis labor force) gradually settled in the second half of the nineteenth century, balancing the relations between communities in an encompassing collectivity. Moreover, at the different levels of the province (vilayet, kaza, nahiye, and köy), the decision-making process remained in the hands of the state and ecclesiastical administration (and consequently were based on categories defined by religion). But especially in smaller units, public agents had to deal with the muhtar, who generally represented a community but in smallest, mixed villages could also represent a collectivity. Moreover, in mixed settlements, muhtars and their assemblies would also meet to debate about issues concerning the whole village.

Paradoxically, borders between communities seemed to be most blurred in matters of culture and religion – not permanently but at specific moments in everyday life. If complementarity is easily understandable in economic and professional matters, it also appears to be the case for beliefs and ritual practices. If religious conversion was a way to definitively cross boundaries (at least theoretically, except in the case of a second conversion or subsequent apostasy), sharing of beliefs and places of worship, participation in celebrations affiliated with the other faith, and seeking the intercession of the men of religion representing the other faith were ways to temporarily cross religious

boundaries. Whether definitively or temporarily, these forms of crossing were directly connected to the practice of religiosity. When conversions had reasons that were more economic or social than religious, the result of a conversion was the transfer of converts from one community to the other. However, this did not necessarily mean a rupture with the former community. Similarly, for those we call "crypto-believers," it did not even mean a rupture with the beliefs and religious practices of the former religion. This notion of crypto-believer, however, needs to be rethough. We doubt that most of those today described as "crypto-Christians" would identify themselves as such, even if they are conscious of their hybrid situation. Reciprocally, crypto-Christians, who are defined by a hidden practice of Christianity and consequently a dishonest or counterfeit practice of Islam, are set in opposition to those assumed to be "real converts." In fact, it is equally problematic to suppose that these "real converts" neither believed in nor practiced the rites connected to their former religious any more. This dualism also often constitutes a numerical question. Crypto-Christians are often described as entire families – or even communities of a whole village – living their religion in secret over several generations, while converts are mostly isolated individuals, especially Christian women who converted to Islam (sometimes with their children) upon marrying Muslim man. The communal or family aspect of crypto-Christianity is generally described as necessary for the maintenance of secret beliefs and rites, while the isolation of a converted woman is generally the basis for presupposing that it is easier for her to integrate into the new group and abandon former rites and beliefs. However, we show that isolated converts who entered Muslim families could continue to practice rites they had learned in life before conversion – sometimes secretly, sometimes even publicly. On the issue of conversion we consequently conclude that, although it would appear an a priori, definitive crossing of religious boundaries, converts often lived "on the boundaries" rather than "on the other side" of the religious border. In that sense, converts, whether "crypto-believers" or "real converts" softened religious borders by living their religiosity astride former and present experiences and by teaching the religious practices to their children.

Similarly, the sharing of worship places, beliefs, and practices was common and ordinary in villages where Muslims and Christians interacted on an everyday basis. While this is observed today as a form of tolerance vis-

à-vis the religion of the other, visiting the place of worshipof the other or seeking the blessing of the other's clergy was certainly not there tolerance. To cross the borders of religion for prayer, a blessing or spend a night in the shrine of the other was a solution (especially when it concerned thaumaturgy) or a guarantee to ensure one's personal, family, or collective future. These temporary crossings (by Muslims to Christianity but also by Christians to Islam) were "normal" practices that neither attracted the wrath of state and ecclesiastical authorities, nor the anger of local people. They only attracted the amazed interest of Westerners.

As in the case of conversions to Islam, these religious crossings were more often acts of women than of men. Sources suggest that the latter appeared far less engaged in these practices than women; however, there is also no suggestion that men were hostile towards these kinds of religiosity. In fact, although we have not studied interactions among religious groups from the perspective of gender studies, gendered forms of interaction, sharing, and crossing have become apparent in different chapters. Locally, through religious conversions and "worship crossings" – but also through their practices in private, communal, and public spaces, and even, to a lesser extent, through their professional activities (in the fields or in local factories) – women were certainly the main producers and practitioners of rural, collective locality.

§ 11.1 Epilogue

September 2015, Nevşehir. The Rum quarters of the old city of Nevşehir are about to disappear. The *Meryem Ana* church, which was renamed *Cezaevi Kilise* when it was transformed into a prison from 1953 to 1983,[5] holds on, almost alone, behind a mountain of concrete housing estates – a dozen floors high – that line the Nevşehir-Niğde road. The houses of the nineteenth century have almost entirely been razed. As a consolation, an underground city with frescoes on the walls has been discovered during the construction of

5 Aude Aylin de Tapia, "La Cappadoce chrétienne ottomane: un patrimoine (volontairement) oublié?" *EJTS* 20 (2015): §42.

these buildings' foundations. Elsewhere in the Cappadocian landscape, especially in villages, the traces of the Rum presence of the late Ottoman period are still evident. The churches, but also civilian architecture –especially houses and schools, sometimes abandoned, sometimes restored – are themselves in situ archives of the Rum past. But the intercommunal relational aspect is not so obvious.[6]

In August 2015 the annual festival of Greek-Turkish friendship, initiated a dozen years earlier, did not take place. The economic crisis in Greece obliged descendants of Rum exchangees to cancel their trip. The festival was a way to reactivate the local culture and traditions of the late Ottoman Empire and along with them, the relationship between Rums and Muslims who coexisted in the villages throughout the whole region of Cappadocia until 1923. Since the exchange, those who stayed, those who left, and those who have newly arrived, keep the memory of their past alive. Some even pass it down to their descendants, including their recollections of the everyday relations between Christians and Muslims, who in the meantime have become Greek and Turkish citizens respectively. The festival did not take place in 2015, but the municipality of Güzelyurt decided in March 2016 to reclaim its former name, Gelveri (which was changed in 1965), recreating a symbolic link not only with the past of the village but with its former inhabitants, the Rum Gelveriotes who, when they settled in Greece, founded the village of Nea-Karvali, "the New Gelveri."[7]

Village and city districts formerly housing Rums and Armenians are now inhabited by Muslim-Turks. "Non-Muslims" in the Republican Cappadocia are no longer Rums and Armenians but French, German, Italian, British, Japanese, and Americans. In Uçhisar, Ortahisar, Sinasos, and Göreme, Europeans – especially French – have settled, opened hotels and guesthouses, or simply enjoyed spending their summers in houses they have bought and restored.

6 To become a memory of intercommunal relations, monuments need to receive, retrospectively, a symbolic and quite artificial significance. For instance, after being reconstructed, the Mostar Bridge became a symbol of intercommunal coexistence among Bosnians following Yugoslav war. See Robert M. Hayden, "Moral Vision and Impaired Insight: The Imagining of Other Peoples' Communities in Bosnia," *Current Anthropology* 48, no.1 (2007): 108.

7 Güzelyurt Belediyesi, "Güzelyurt Asıl İsmi Gelveri'ye Dönüyor," http://www.guzelyurt.bel.tr/haber/14_guzelyurt-asil-ismi-gelveriye-donuyor- (last connection: 10.08.2016).

Few Greeks are among these seasonal Cappadocians. The Greeks instead prefer to come for a few days as tourists or pilgrims, visiting the area. Especially for those who have family origins there, they visit the village of their grandparents. For a few decades now, the touristic Cappadocia has indeed again become, at least in summer, a place of "intercommunal," or rather "inter-national," interactions. Tourism is a good reason to interact.

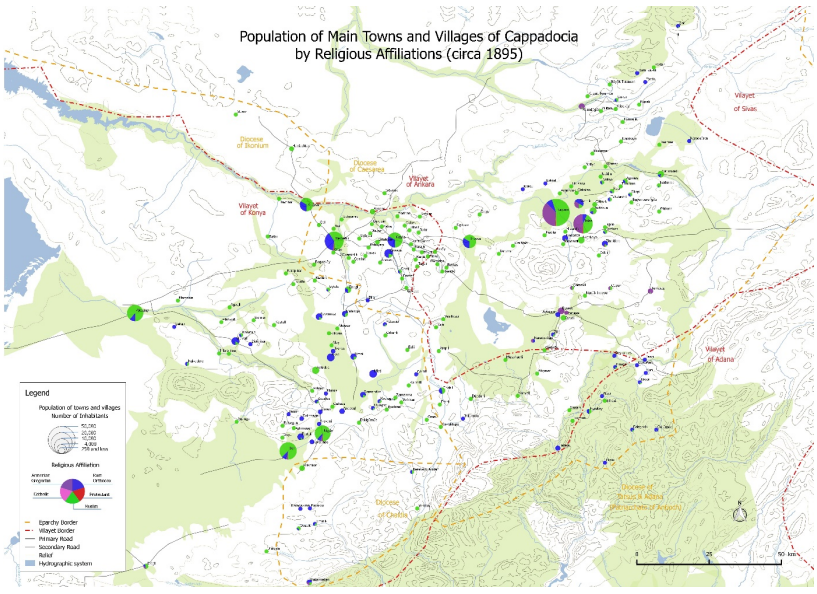
Appendices

A Maps
B Biographies
C Additional Tables
D Written Primary Sources
E Photos

Appendix A1 Population of Main Towns and Villages of Cappadocia by Religious Affiliations (about 1895)

This map has been realized by cross-referencing of various archives' including the memoirs and reports of Western travelers, Greek and Karamanlı publications of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries about Cappadocian villages, BOA documents, and information given by some informants of the Oral Tradition Archives. It does not include all villages of the region. We tried to represent all settlements with a Rum community. However, a some Muslim and/or Armenian settlements are missing since we prioritized places about which we had sufficient data and the settlements mentioned in our sources as having relations with the Rum communities of their surroundings.

We decided not to give fixed figures in the tables, only proportions. First, statistics of the time are not sufficiently accurate and details about each village are not available in the censuses, but also figures and ways of collecting them are problematic. Instead of painting a precise statistical picture of the populations, the aim of this map is to more or less precisely locate the towns and villages, to gain an idea of the distances and topography of the region. Moreover, circle diagrams presented on this map are, to our mind, the least bad solution to give a general idea of the way populations of various religious affiliations shared this space. However, we assume that the reliability of this document remains limited.



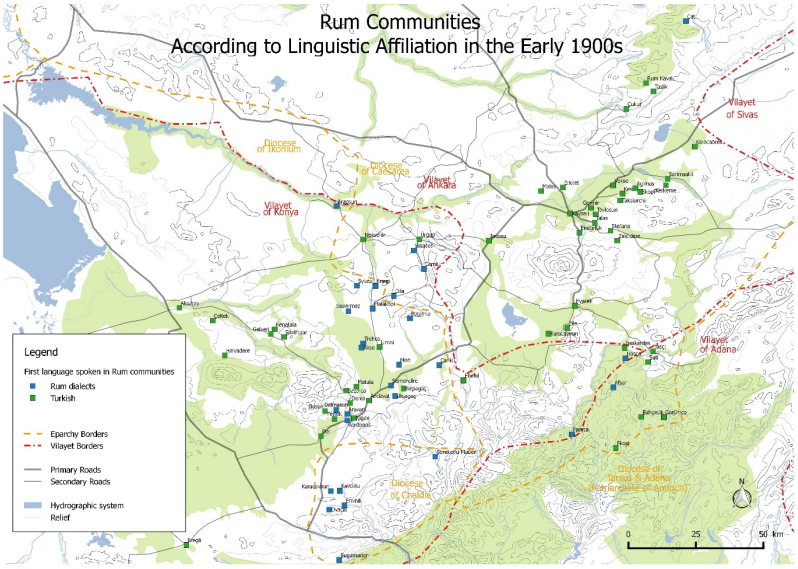
Author: A.A. de Tapia

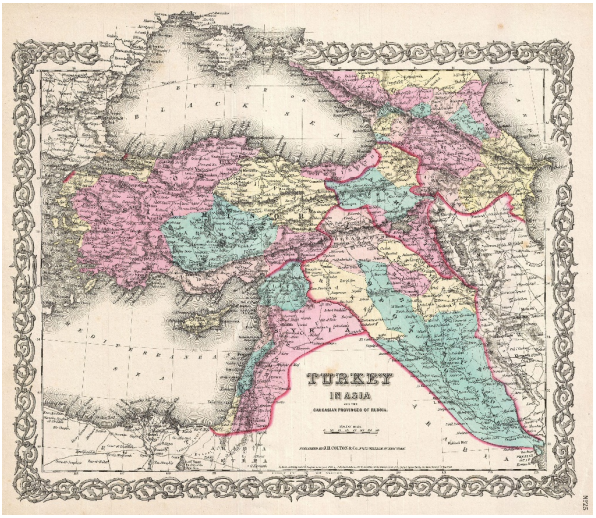
Appendix A2 Rum Communities According to Linguistic Affiliation in the Early 1900s

If the localization of settlements according to the religious affiliations of their inhabitants is problematic because of the unreliability of available figures, focusing on the linguistic affiliation of villagers is more difficult because of the lack of primary sources. Language was not an official way to categorize people in the Ottoman Empire. On one hand, the BOA archives or *kadi* registers are generally mute concerning the languages spoken by the Rums of the region. On the other hand, primary sources of the *millet-i Rum* are more expressive. For instance, statistics from 1905 published by the Patriarchate of Istanbul about the dioceses of Ikonium and Caesarea made a distinction between Turkish-speaking and Greek-dialect-speaking communities. Similarly, Karamanlı and Greek publications about Cappadocian settlements systematically document the language spoken by each Rum community. As for parish and communal codices, used language(s) could be a clue to understand the language spoken in the community; however, they were generally written by priests or teachers who may have come from other villages and consequently wrote in a different language than that of the community where they were working.

Studies completed by linguists of the late Ottoman period or later by specialists of Anatolian Greek dialects have allowed us to understand that Greek-speaking communities of Cappadocia had actually different dialects more or less close to standard Greek spoken in cities such as Istanbul, but also included Turkish vocabulary and grammatical forms. However, because we do not have enough data, but also because languages were changing over time and such changes are impossible to follow through primary sources, we have not been able to clearly map each local dialect. Moreover, we need to keep in mind that diglossia and the mostly Greek/Turkish bilingualism escribed in Chapters 2 and 3 were widespread among Christians (but also Muslims) of the region, limiting the value of the following map. Nevertheless, given that languages are a central issue when studying Karamanlı and Greek publications of the late Ottoman period or reading the files of the OTA, we have considered that it was necessary to propose a general overview of Greek- and Turkish-speaking communities.

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A.A. de Tapia





Appendix A3
Anatolian *Eyalets* (1855, Before the Vilayet Regulation of 1864).

Source: Turkey in Asia and the Caucasian Provinces of Russia, J.H. Colton & Co., 1855.

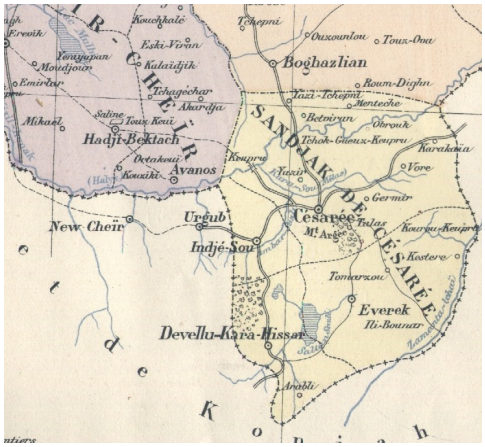
Appendix A4
Anatolian Vilayets in 1891 (1/4.000.000)

Source: BOA HTR.h.0003, Hicri 1309



Appendix A5 *Sancak* of Kayseri (*Vilayet* of Ankara) and *Sancak* of Niğde (*Vilayet* of Konya) in 1895

Source: Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie: géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie-Mineure*, 1895.

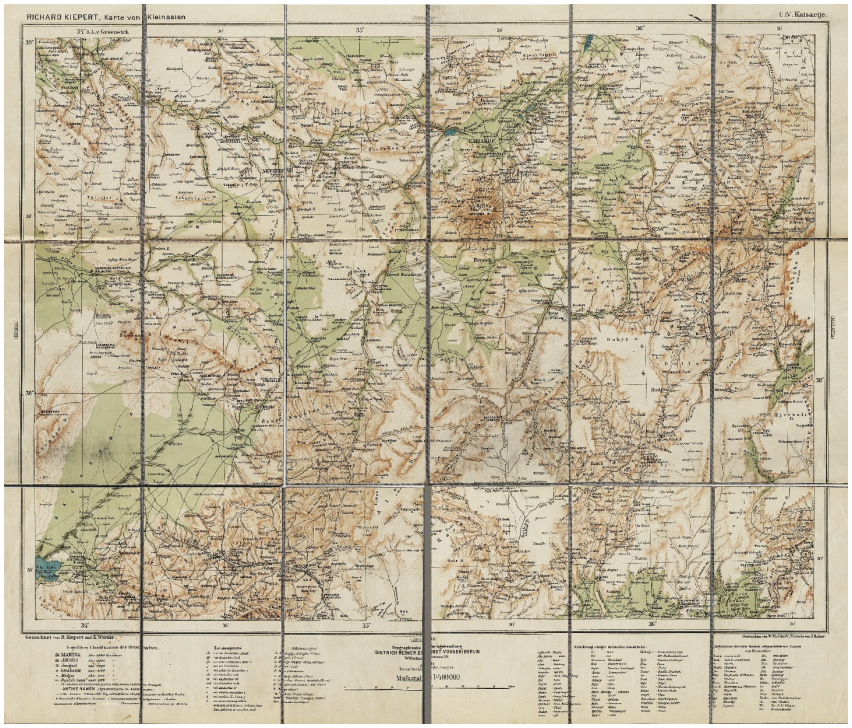


a. *Sancak* of Niğde in the *Vilayet* of Konya



b. *Sancak* of Kayseri in the *Vilayet* of Angora

Appendix A6 Region of Kayseri by Richard Kiepert (1902-1906)



Source: R. Kiepert, "Karte von Kleinasien, 1/400.000" 1902-1906

Appendix A7 Region of Kayseri (1912-1913) (H.1331), 1/400.000

Source: BOA, HRT.h.496. The map includes the borders and headquarters of *sancaks* and *kazas* as well as roads already built or under construction.



Appendices A8 Region of Ürgüp according to Ottoman Maps of 1869-1871 (Region between Çalış in the North of the Kızılırmak, Enehil and Dündarlı in the South)

a. Source: BOA, HRT.h. 595. (H.1286)

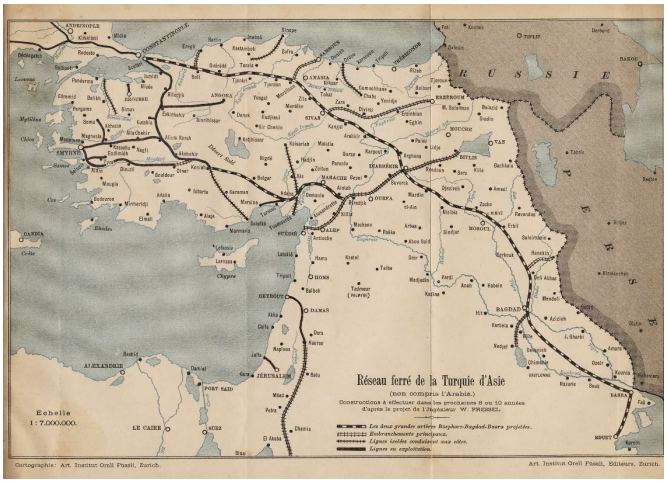


b. Source: BOA, HRT.h. 596. (H.1287)



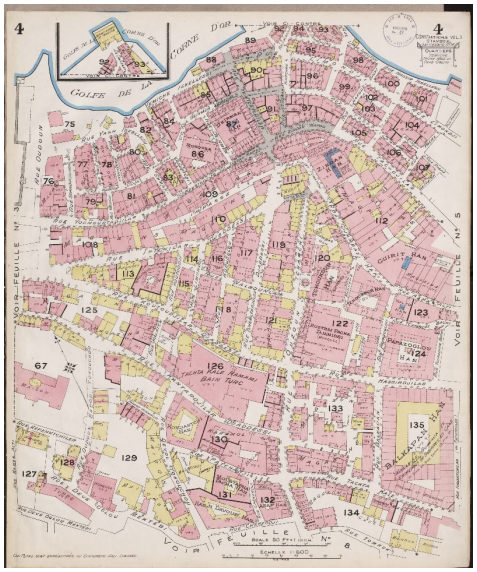
Appendix A9 Railway Network Built (Solid Black Lines) and Projected (Others Lines) in 1900 by Wilhelm Pressel

Source: *Réseau Ferré de la Turquie d`Asie (non compris l`Arabie). Constructions à effectuer dans les prochaines 8 ou 10 années d`après le projet de Wilhelm Pressel* (1902).



Appendices A10 Some Districts of Residency or Professional Activities of Cappadocian Rums in Istanbul According to Insurance Maps

Source: E. Goad, *Plans d'assurances. Vol I. Stambul.* Istanbul, 1904 (districts of the Golden Horn, Sirkeci).



a. Planche 4. Sector of Tahtakale (Eminönü)

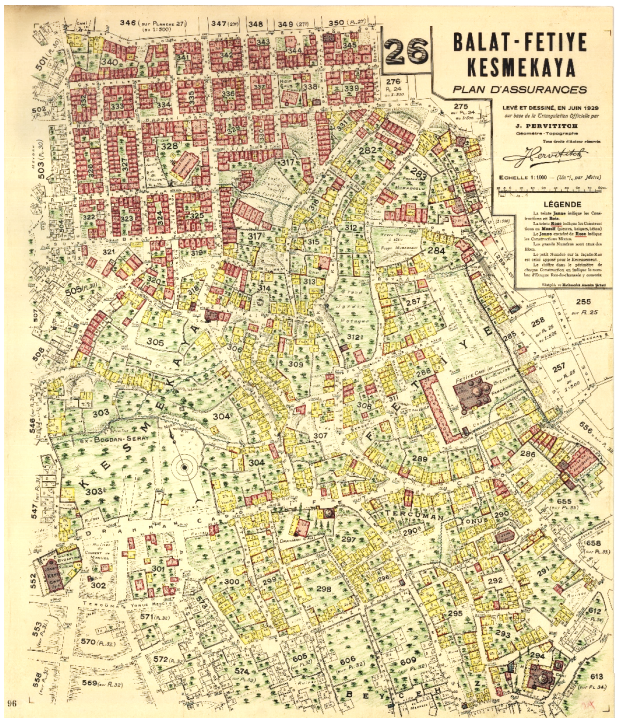


b. Planche 5. Eminönü and Egyptian Bazaar



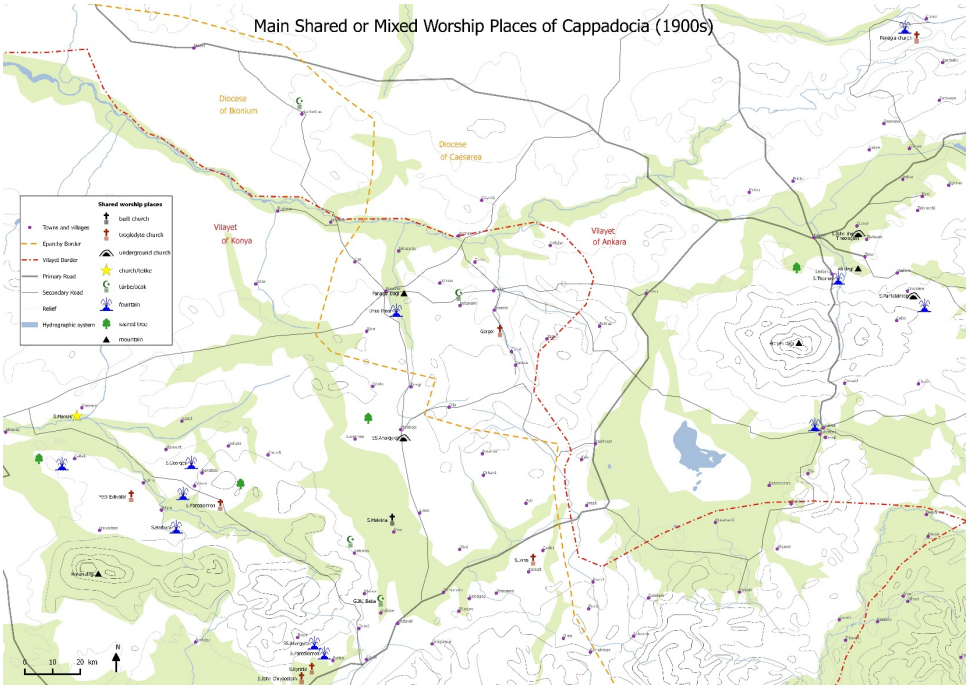
c. Planche 7: Sector of Sirkeci

Appendix A11 Area of Balat Where Some of the Cappadocian Rums Immigrated to Istanbul Lived and Worked According to Insurance Maps



Source: J. Pervititch, *Plans d'assurances*, 1929. Planche 26: Sector of Balat, Fetiye Kesmekaya (Orthodox church of the Taxiarchs)

Appendix A12 Main Shared or Mixed Places of Worship in Cappadocia (1900s)



Author: A.A. de Tapia

Appendix B Biographies of Main Informants by Their Settlements of Origin

AĞIRNAS (INFORMANTS INTERVIEWED IN THE 1950S-60S)

- **Ananiadou, Evlou**. Born in 1880. She married a young man from Çukur who immigrated to Istanbul where he worked as a craftsman. He died in Istanbul before the exchange. Evlou left her village in 1924.
- **Avraamidis, Isaak.** Born in 1876 in Ağırnas. He was seventy years old in 1937. […] Orphaned very young, he had been brought to the monastery of Taxiarkon where numerous orphans found refuge at that time. There, he met director Kaivareias Ioannis who gave him a scholarship to go to the ecclesiastical school (seminary) of Zincidere. At twenty, he became a school teacher in Zincidere but left his position to go to Skopi for four years and later to Greece for two years. Before the beginning of the Turkish War of Independence, he came back to Cappadocia and settled in Vekse. Because the village had no priest, the metropolitan bishop of Kayseri ordained him priest As a result, Isaak Avraamidis became simultaneously the priest and the teacher of the village of Vekse. He lived in this village at the moment of the exchange.
- **Avraamidis, Avraam**. Born in 1878 in Ağırnas. He went to Samsun at twelve or thorteen years old. He came back to Ağırnas after five years in Samsun. In his village he lived with his mother and then immigrated to Istanbul. He came back to Ağırnas in 1906 and in 1914. He was one of the best teachers of Turkish grammar in his school. His wife came from his same village and did not know the Greek language at all. Abraham, however, spoke Greek with difficulty.
- **Avraamidou, Anastasia**. Wife of Abraham. She was sixty-six in 1948. The village of origin of her parents was Bürüngüz.
- **Avraogloou, Sultane**. Born in 1893, she married at the age of twelve. She came to Greece at the age of twenty-six. She has three children, two daughters and a son. The girls are both single; the boy is married. Sultane never went to school. She wove carpets in her village and earned a living here and there. Her husband was from the same village. She was indifferent when asked about her village.
- **Kaiseroglou, Eleftheria.** Born in Ağırnas in 1890. She went to school four years and then married at seventeen with Kostas Kaiseroglou, who came from

the same village and was twenty-nine. They had two children, a boy and a girl. Their son was killed by the Germans when he was seventeen. Their daughter married in Kokkina (a district of Athens). Eleftheria and her family left Ağırnas with her own parents during the exchange. Her father and mother died from illness during compulsory quarantine for those who came from Turkey.

- **Kaiseroglou, Kostas**. Born in 1878. He went to school during five or six years. At thirteen, he went to Istanbul where he worked as *boyacı*. He became a soldier during the war, but he deserted and went to Salonica where he opened a coffeeshop in the district of St. Dimitri, Egnatia street. It is at the same time that Venizelos came and Kostas went to Paris with 150 other men. In Paris, he worked in an aircraft factory and learnt a bit French. His job was to clean metal sheets. He worked in Paris for fourty years. In 1938, he went back to Greece where his wife was waiting for him.
- **Kalathopoulou, Marika**. Born in 1887. She married at fourteen. Her husband was from Vekse and made felt fabric that he sold in Kayseri. They went together to Istanbul and came back to Vekse after four years. They left for Greece from Vekse. They had seven children.
- **Karapotosoglou, Antiopie**. Born in 1886. She went to school for six years and then married. Her husband was from Rum Kavak. They had four children.
- **Kiremitzoglou, Despina**. Born in 1887. Her father was Ioannis Teperoglou and was a rich man. He was a doctor/bonesetter and he taught his techniques to his daughter. Despina married at seventeen. Her husband was thirsty-one and was a painter. He worked in Istanbul for Sultan Abdülhamid and in private houses. They had five children. The father of Despina sold all his goods to Turks before leaving Ağırnas.
- **Kouloglou Ananiadis, Nikodimos.** Born in 1879. At nineteen, he immigrated to Istanbul. His wife was from Vekse. In Istanbul, he worked with his father in a construction business. Then he opened his own store and later went to Greece in 1933. In Istanbul he was the muhtar of his district.
- **Papadopoulou, Paulina.** Born in 1892. She only speaks Turkish, but does not know how to read Karamanlı. Her father, Kostas Arapoglou, was a farmer in Ağırnas, but he was also a traditional healer and transmitted his knowledge to his daughter. Their house was an *ocak evi* and had inscriptions in unreadable Arabic characters over the front door. There, sick people – Greeks as well as Turks – came and she healed them as her father had taught her. On his death

bed her father transmitted his secret to her. A Turkish informant has confirmed this story. The husband of Paulina was in Istanbul; he returned to Ağırnas every three or five years.

- **Poliknia, Makridou**. Born in 1895. Her father was from Çukur. She was illiterate.

AKSO (1940S-50S)

- **Ezderidis, Prodromos**. Born in 1902. His uncle, Hacibalis, pointed out to him that it would be wise to leave Akso because one of his cousins had left the village to settle in Drama in Greece in 1912 after having abducted a Turkish girl. The brothers of the girl had followed them in order to bring their sister back to Turkey, furious that their sister was in the hands of a Christian. The news had spread around that the cousin lived very well in Drama with his wife who, incidentally, had been baptized and was more bigoted than other Christians. The father of Prodromos settled in Crete where he had received land.

CEMIL (1940S-1950S)

- **Angelidis, Prodromos.** Born in 1897 in Cemil. After a few years away, he came back to his village in 1916 and stayed until 1918, when he went to Istanbul where he stayed until 1924. He went to primary school, speaks Turkish but not fluently. He married an inhabitant of Cemil. They have no children.
- **Basileos, Marigi**. Born in 1889 in Cemil. After a few years migrating with her parents, she came back to Cemil and married a man of Floïta. Her husband died as a soldier during the Balkan wars and her only child died when he was twelve. She left the region with the exchange.
- **Kermilidou, Makrina**. Born in 1878 in Cemil. She married a man from Germir, which is why her last name was Germilidou. Her husband immigrated to Istanbul and they left together for Greece at the exchange. They had six children. Among them, some lived in the village and others emigrated.
- **Efragidopoulou, Theodora.** Born about 1880. When she was twenty-six, her husband immigrated to Partheni where he sold poultry for a few years. She left Turkey in 1923 and speaks Greek very well.
- **Trifoniou, Evangelia.** Born in 1889 in Cemil. She married very young when her father decided to give her to a man of their village. She then went to America where she lived for eighteen years before going to Greece after 1923.

- **Tzobanoglou, Eleni.** She was born in Cemil and went to school in Kayseri. She then stayed in Cemil for seven years and married in 1909 with Aristidi Tzobanoglou who was from Sylata. They immigrated to Istanbul and left for Greece in 1923.
- **Kermidis, Ioannis.** Born in 1900. His father was from Germir, which is why his last name was Kermidis. His father had left Germir for Istanbul where he had married a woman from Cemil. After several years in Istanbul, they settled in Cemil, the village of his wife. That is how Ioannis and his family came to be recorded as inhabitants of Cemil during the exchange of 1923. Ioannis had immigrated to Istanbul at eleven to work with his father in their *helva* shop. In 1920, he came to Cemil with his parents. He married there and then went back to Istanbul.

ÇUKUR (1940S-50S)

- **Haïtoglou, Iakovos.** Born in 1897.
- **Karatzoglou, Savvas**. Born in 1900. Turcophone, but he knows Greek. He left his village in 1924 and married a woman from his village.
- **Koutlidou, Sofia**. Born in 1900. Her parents had thirteen children, only three of which survived. She explained: "Once, I felt sick too. I was ten. I said tomy mother that if I would have to sleep in the Turkish cemetery, I did not want to be sick anymore. She told me that there, in the cemetery, slept a saint and that those who were buried there accompanied this saint and did not go to hell. Thus, I embraced my mother and she had a dream. From up there, she was told 'Your child will sleep in the Turkish cemetery'. My mother brought me and my little sister to the cemetery and I was healed." Sofia never went to school. She married and began to work very early. She worked at home and never in the fields. "When I was thirteen, a *marangoz* came to our village to work. He was an Armenian. I did not understand. We saw him everyday walking across the mahalle with a Turkish friend. The Turk had told him, 'They would never give their daughter to you because you are not of the same faith, she is Greek, and you are Armenian.' Thus the Armenian converted to orthodoxy and sent his Turkish friend to my father to arrange a marriage. My father said 'My daughter is still a child; I cannot give her to him. I will wait for her to be sixteen years old.' My husband was from Umurtioum, a Turco-Armenian

village of the region of Boğazliyan (five hours from Kayseri). When I celebrated my sixteenth anniversary, he was still waiting for me. My father went to the *despot vekili* in order to decide what to do. The later said that because the man was baptized, he could marry me. My mother agreed. My father was sick, he suffered a lot. We thus married and fifty days later, the Turks began to kill the Armenians. A Turk came to my father with a captain. They wanted my husband. My mother ran through the village for alerting our neighbors, Christians and Turks. The Turkish *muhtar* of our village, Hüseyin Efendi, came and told the Turk: 'You certainly have come here without orders; there are only Greeks here. If you want to find Armenians, go elsewhere. We do not go onto your land or to your houses to kill Armenians.' The Turk [to the *muhtar*]: 'What do you want? What do you want for the Armenians? That one, he's not a Greek.' The *muhtar*: 'He has been baptized as a Greek and has married a Greek woman 3 years ago.' Actually, we did not married three years before but only fifty days earlier. But the *muhtar* lied to protect my husband, but also because he was afraid since he himself hid Armenians in his house."

- **Lamerou, Giannis**. Born in 1892. Farmer. His wife is from Zincidere.
- **Misailidis**, **Kostas.** Born in 1874. Turcophone, but he speaks a little Greek. He went to school at six and never emigrated.
- **Papadopoulos, Ioakeim**. Born in 1888. Soldier for five years in the Turkish army between 1913 and 1918. He left his village in 1924.
- **Paskalidis, Anastasios**. Born in 1888. Turcophone, but he knows Greek. He went to school and then worked as *marangoz* (carpenter), but also earned a living from agriculture. He left his village in 1924.
- **Sountoglou, Nicolas**. Born in 1875. He never left the village before 1923. Farmer. He speaks a little Greek.
- **Tsitoglou, Ioannis**. Born in 1883. He never went to school. His father was a farmer. He was a shepherd and took livestock to pasture. He participated in the war in the Turkish army as a soldier for ten years, in the Balkans between 1912 and 1922. He fought in Macedonia. In 1922, he came back to his village and left permanently in 1924.
- **Zournatzi, Sofia**. Born in 1901. She never went to school. She left the village in 1924.

- **Apostolidis, Simeon**. Born in 1894. He went to school in his village and then went to Adana, to be with his father who owned a hotel there. He completed Turkish high school. He was in Adana during the massacres of Armenians. He then went to Istanbul where he worked in various jobs. During the war, he was a conscript in the Turkish army for four years and came back to his village before settling in Adana in 1924.
- **Araboglou, Anastasia**. Born in Endürlük, she married at seventeen. Her husband was marangoz. They immigrated to Istanbul together.
- **Karamanoglou, Isaak.** Born in 1891 in Endürlük. He went to school in Zincidere and married a girl of his village.
- **Karamanoglou, Penelopi**. Born in 1899. Spouse of Isaak.
- **Kioseoglou, Kalliopi**. Born in Zincidere in 1869. When she was eight, her father immigrated to work in Konya. She and her mother joined him for a few years and they then settled in Endürlük. Kalliopi never went to school but she knew how to read a little. She married in 1889. Her husband was from Talas and lived in Ankara where her uncle, the Metropolitan bishop Gerasimos Kioseoglou, lived, too. When the metropolitan died, they left Ankara and settled in Endürlük.
- **Kouzinopoulos, Giannis.** Born in 1901. Son of Anastasia. He lost his father just after the war.
- **Kouzinopoulou, Anastasia**. Born in 1879. She married in 1899 and went to Samsun, then to Smyrna, with her husband. During the war, while her husband was conscript, she went with their child, to Amasya for two years and returned to Kayseri where she found her husband who died shortly after their reunion. In 1922, she went to Samsun with her son and later to Greece.
- **Palatzoglou, Andronikos**. Born in 1890. He went to school in the village and then, when he was thirteen, joined his father who had stores in Samsun and Amasya.
- **Palatzoglou, Maria**. Born in 1873. Wife of Andronikos. Her father worked in Istanbul. She went to school but did not learn Greek. She married a man of her village and had five sons. One of them worked in Samsun with his father.
- **Papazoglou, Elizabet.** Born in 1900. Her father was a merchant in Smyrna. He died young. She went to school and knows a little Greek.

- **Sahivonoglou, Eleni**. Born in 1891. She went to school and married in1913.
- **Skenteroglou, Anastasia**. Born in 1907.
- **Skenteroglou, Evanthia.** Born in 1890. Her husband was from a wealthy family of Smyrna.
- **Tsourouktsis, Giannis**. Born in 1896. His father was in Istanbul. He went to school in the village and to high school in Zincidere before going to Istanbul. He then registered at the University of Athens and came back to Istanbul as a professor of physics in the schools of Zografeion and Zappeion. He made his family come to Istanbul where they settled and remained after 1923. They left Istanbul in 1952. He married in Greece with a woman from the Cappadocian village of Akso.
- **Tsourouktsoglou, Abraham.** Born in 1884. He immigrated to Smyrna in 1896 and worked in the store of his parents. He married in Smyrna.
- **Zahariadou, Ourania**. Born in 1874. She married in 1888 with the only son of a wealthy family. Her husband died early and she remained alone with their daughter. In 1901; she went to Istanbul and returned in 1905 to stay until 1924. She married her daughter at fourteen to Giorgi Hastaoglou. The mother and daughter began to live with the bridegroom but the latter immigrated to Adana six months after the wedding. In Adana, he had a workshop where he produced mirrors that he had taken over from an Armenian. He also imported foreign goods to Smyrna or to Adana through Smyrna.

EREĞLI (1940S-50S)

- **Antoniadis, Prokopios.** Born in 1882 in Germir. When he was two, his family left and settled in Ereğli where his father had an import store. He went to high school in Zincidere and at eighteen, began working in the store of his father. He mostly sold fabrics. Between 1914 and 1918, he worked as an *Aza* in the Assembly of the *kaymakamlık* of Ereğli. He is Turcophone but knows Greek. His wife is from Niğde. In 1918, he settled in Istanbul with his family but left Turkey in 1924 with the exchange.
- **Gkontzoglou, Sofia.** Born in 1891 in Ereğli. Her father was from Germir. She speaks Turkish but knows Greek. She went to primary school for only six months.
- **Pokanidis, Simeon**. Born in 1873 in Germir. He arrived in Ereğli at the age of sixteen, with his father.

- **Antoniadis, Ioannis.** Born in 1906. He went to Istanbul in 1922 and completed his education there
- **Lampsidis, Haralambos**. Born in 1880. In 1902, he went to Mersin where he stayed one or two years and then went to Istanbul for three years before coming back to Fertek. Between 1910 and 1924, he lived in Niğde where he worked.
- **Nicolaïdou, Kleoniki**. Born in 1900. She remained in the village until 1914, when she married Kostas Nicolaïdou and went with her husband who owned a shop and a taverna in Aksaray.
- **Papadopoulos, Prodromos**. Born in 1907. He went to Mersin where he owned a *bakkal.*
- **Papadopoulou, Sofia.** Born in 1890. Her father was the belediye reisi (mayor) of Fertek. She married at sixteen with Prodromos.
- **Tsagloglou, Tayit**. Born in 1892. In 1905, he went to Istanbul.
- **Tsogka, Evanthia.** Born in 1880. In 1898 she married a teacher, Hristos Tsogka. In 1914 they went to Kayabaşı where her husband had been transferred.
- **Tsormpatzoglou, Anestis.** Born in 1889. He went to Mersin at sixteen and worked in the shop of his uncle. He returned to Fertek in 1916 and married in 1918 before going back to Mersin six months later. In 1920, he went to Istanbul.
- **Tsormpatzoglou, Efraim**. Born in 1882. He completed four classes in Fertek and then went to Mersin to work in the store of his father. They traded cereals, sugar, and shrimp. He married in 1906 in his village and went back to Mersin after four years.
- **Tsormpatzoglou, Pipina.** Born in 1888. Her father lived in Istanbul and was *sarraf*. She was fourteen when she married Efraim.
- **Zaferiou, Gesthimani**. Born in 1894.
- **Zampoglou, Eleni**. Born in 1898. She went to school in their village. She lost her husband in 1919, shortly after their wedding. She went to Greece in 1924.
- **Zampoglou, Katina**. Born in 1882. At nine, she went to Istanbul with her mother to join her father. She and her mother stayed six years before coming back to Fertek. She married at sixteen in Fertek and spent her next fifteen years in the village (until 1912). Then she went to Mersin to join her husband who was a trader there.

- **Apostolidou, Anastasia**. Maiden name: Gildigoglou. Born in 1891 in Germir, her parents being from the village. She is Turcophone and barely speaks Greek. She went to primary school and married at eighteen. Her husband immigrated to Uşak where he worked as *sarraf*. He then went to Istanbul, but Anastasia never joined her husband there. She arrived in Greece in 1924 with the exchange. She is assertive, but her understanding of the region is limited.
- **Kazazoglou, Georgios.** Born in 1887 in Germir. He grew up in the region, his father owning large tracts of land in the region of Boğazliyan where he worked as a miller. As a child, he spent several months each year at Boğazliyan, but he studied at the school of Germir. He does not remember the Greek language he was taught at school even though he finished the primary level. As a young man, he went to Mersin and Adana where he looked after the marketing of his father's production. In 1914, he came back to his village and married a woman from Tavlosoun with whom he settled in Kayseri. His wife was a teacher who had studied in Zincidere and worked in the *Rum* primary school of Kayseri. At the beginning of the war, he was conscribed into the Turkish army, but not as a soldier. He was appointed director of a factory in Boğazliyan where he worked on behalf of the Turkish authorities. He came back to Kayseri after the end of the war and was reunited with his family (his wife and his parents) who remained there during the war and even earlier when he worked in Adana. They all left Kayseri together in February 1924.
- **Bostanizoglou, Nicolas**. Born about 1880 in Germir. He studied at the Rum school of the village. Later, he began to work with his father and his brother who sold the grain they harvested to surrounding villages, especially to the villagers of Koumerli. They also trade carpets, which they sold in the market of Kayseri. In 1924, he fled the village and settled in Kayseri where he kept working but left a few months later. He married Herakleia, a woman from the village of Endürlük, and they have children.
- **Kazazoglou, Osia.** Born in 1868 in Germir. In 1918, she fled with a daughter to Adana and from there to Greece with the exchange of population in 1924. On account of a Turkish woman who worked in a factory in Adana, she was able to earn a living as worker in the same factory.

- **Kiziridis, Ioannis.** Born in 1894. At twelve, he went to Istanbul where he worked in the store of a compatriot.
- **Kiremitzoglou, Paisios**. Born in Germir in 1886. His parents were from the village. He studied in the village primary school and left Germir at fourteen to go to Istanbul. Twenty years later, after an accident and a leg injury, he was obliged to come back to his village for his convalescence and left Germir in 1924 with the exchange.
- **Kiremitzoglou, Iordannis**. Born in 1894 in Germir. He finished school and left Germir at fourteen to join his father in Ikonium. He accompanied his father to the villages of Ikonium where they sold goods. But one day they participated in a murder and fled to Adana. He spent the years of the war in Istanbul.
- **Hatzianestoglou, Angeliki.** Born in 1867 in Karaman. His parents were from Germir.

İLOSON (1940S-50S)

- **Avramidis, Papa Leontios.** Born in 1876 in Iloson. He went to school in the village. In 1888, he left for Istanbul and spent one year at the St. Nicholas School in the capital where he also began to work in the store of his father and brother. After nine or ten years, he came back to Iloson and married and left once again for Istanbul after one or two years.
- **Avraamidou**, **Rahil.** Born in 1890. Spouse of Papa Leontios. She is Turcophone.
- **Delloglou**, **Nicolas.** Born in 1897, he went to primary school in the village and then to the Seminary in Zincidere. At fourteen, he immigrated to Istanbul.
- **Delloglou, Aikatharini.** Born in 1901, she attended the village primary school.
- **Papadopoulou, Kleio.** Born in 1882. Her husband was from the same village. She married in Istanbul in 1900 and stayed there three or four years before returning to Iloson.

İNCESU (1940S-50S)

- **Antusiadou, Katina**. Born in 1891 in İncesu. Her father was from Prokopi but married and settled in İncesu. She lived in İncesu until 1919, married a man of

the village, and had a daughter. She lost her husband early but never remarried. In 1919, she left İncesu and settled in Prokopi. It was easier for her to live in Prokopi because she was able to earn a living through carpet weaving. She speaks Turkish and Greek. She arrived in Greece with the exchange.

- **Giemeutzoglou, Nicolas**. Born in 1900 in İncesu. Turcophone, but he knows Greek. He went to the primary school of İncesu and for two years went to the high school of Zincidere. His father had a *bakkal* in Kasımpaşa in Istanbul. In 1917, he migrated to Istanbul to join his brother who had taken over their father's business. They went to Greece in 1924. He is married and has children.
- **Iliadou, Gesthimani**. Born in 1895 in İncesu. Turcophone, but she knows Greek. She went to the primary school of İncesu and married in 1911. After six months of marriage, her husband went to Istanbul where he had a *bakkal*. They had a son. She left İncesu in 1923 with her son. She remained without news from her husband who had been taken prisoner by the British army in about 1915 during World War I in Çanakkale. They met by chance in Kavala in 1924 where they settled until 1931 before moving to Piraeus.
- **Iordanidou, Sofia**. Born in 1894 in İncesu. As a young orphan she settled in Talas with her big brother where they worked as servants in the houses of wealthy Greek families. They then settled in Zincidere and left in 1924. She speaks Greek well and can read Karamanlidika. She never married. Together with her brother, she lived in Larissa.
- **Marnidis, Mihalis**. Born in 1887 in İncesu. He studied in Zincidere and was appointed teacher in villages of the Pontos region. He left Pontos with the exchange.
- **Neapolitakis, Maurikis**. Born in 1883, he went to Istanbul in 1897. He came back to his village in 1903. He became engaged and stayed until 1906, when he went back to Istanbul. The same year, he returned one last time to İncesu and settled definitively in Istanbul the following year. He left Istanbul with the exchange
- **Oikonomidis, Papa Eugenios**. Born in 1885 in İncesu. He was the son of a priest called Papa Chrysathou, who was known in İncesu as a priest and a teacher. Eugenios did not complete seminary, became a teacher, and was eventually obliged by his father to become a priest. In 1914, in order to avoid being a conscript, he agreed to become priest in İncesu. He left İncesu in 1924 with the exchange.

- **Papagrigoriadis, Papa Grigoris.** Born in 1886. His father was a theologian and he himself studied in the seminary of Zincidere to become a priest. In 1905, he became an ordained deacon by the metropolitan Gervasios at the same time as the priest Isaak in Vekse (See Isaak Avraamidi from Ağırnas). He worked at the St. Eustathios church in İncesu. In 1923, because he was a follower of Papa Eftim who had been betrayed by the Kemalists, another priest, the old imerologion Synegios Oikonomides, was appointed to the village. Papa Grigoris was arrested, imprisoned for two months in Kayseri with several other followers of Papa Eftim, and then acquitted before the tribunal. He left his village with the exchange.
- **Papadopoulos, Prodromos**. Born in 1882. He left his village early and studied pharmacy in Istanbul. He never came back to İncesu.
- **Savvaïdis, Giannis**. Born in 1899. Both his parents were from İncesu and he went to school there before migrating to Istanbul in 1918, never to come back. In Istanbul, he worked as an employee in the tramway company and later, with other compatriots of İncesu, opened a distillery. He left Istanbul in 1925 with his entire family and settled in Nea Smyrni. He is Turcophone, but speaks and writes Greek well.
- **Sahinidis, Ioannis**. Born in 1892. He migrated to Istanbul early. Little by little, he earned money through odd jobs and finally opened his own *bakkal*. At the beginning of the World War I, he returned to his native land to become a conscript and married after the war with a young woman of his village. They lived in İncesu until the exchange.
- **Skenteroglou, Pelagia**. Born in 1870. When she was seven or eight – she does not remember well – she went to Istanbul with her family and completed primary school in Yeniköy. At fourteen or fifteen, she returned to İncesu and after a short period of time married a compatriot. Her husband stayed one year and migrated to Istanbul where he owned a *bakkal*. She remained in İncesu until 1918 when she joined her husband in Istanbul. In 1925, because of a dispute during which Rums attacked a mosque and that Turks avenged by attacking Christians, she and her husband fled to Batum. They then decided to go to Greece with their parents and other compatriots.
- **Sofoulis, Euthimos**. Born in 1881. He went to the primary school of the parish of St. Dimitri but never completed his education. He migrated to Istanbul and came back to his village to marry. His wife was from Prokopi. They settled in

Prokopi and he became a *sarraf,* trading wine grapes and cheese produced in the villages of the valley and especially in caves in the vicinity of Göreme. He travelled a lot extensively to surrounding villages to carry on business with local producers, and he said he was fascinated by the frescoes he saw in their caves. He also had the opportunity to visit the houses of Turkish villages that had been established in former churches with frescoes or high-relief crosses painted on their vaults cut from the rock. He married in Prokopi and returned to İncesu, which was a rich village. Later, he settled in Kayseri to work as a *sarraf.* During the war, he again settled in İncesu with his parents in order to protect them. They left Turkey in 1923.

- **Hristofi, Sofia**. Born in 1887. She went to school in the village and completed her primary education before marrying. She had a daughter and a son. The family migrated to Istanbul a few months before the beginning of the war. They remained in Istanbul until 1926 and finally went to Greece to join her brother, who had left in 1924. Her husband had a large bakkal where they worked as a family. Her daughter died of typhus in 1919, and her alcoholic husband made her life miserable so she decided to leave him. She opened her own store where she sold new things and printed textiles while her son was still a baby. She left Istanbul for Greece with her son in 1926 and remarried there. Her second husband was from Istanbul.

KEÇIAGAÇ (1935-1950S)

- **Topsakali, Maria**. Born in 1891 in Keçiağaç. She never left her village before 1924 and the exchange. Her husband, Savvas Topsakali, was a farmer. She has two sons and one daughter. She is Turcophone, does not speak Greek and is illiterate.
- **Topsakali, Savvas.** Born in 1861. He is Turcophone and does not speak a word of Greek. By age twenty-two, he had only left his village two times: when he was conscribed into the Ottoman army and when he left because of the exchange.
- **Topsakali, Fevronia**. Born in 1903 in Keçiağaç. She spent her entire childhood in her village and married in 1917. In 1919, she immigrated with her husband to Istanbul. They arrived in Greece in 1922.
- **Topsakali, Basileos**. Born in 1902. He married in 1917 to Fevronia and immigrated to Istanbul in 1919. They arrived in Greece in 1922.

- **Tsolakidis, Moïse**. Born in 1900. He studied at the village primary school before immigrating to Istanbul in 1914.
- **Papazoglou, Kostas.** Born in 1908. He first met his father when he was four when the later, who had migrated to America came back for a few months in 1911. Kostas himself immigrated first to the burg of Bor and then to Niğde where he bought cereals that would sell in surrounding villages – especially in Badana, Zamzama, Aï Thiras, Karatli, Çarikli, Enehil, Sulucova, and from there to the southern periphery of Kayseri. Because there were many bandits on the roads, he frequently experienced fear, but he traveled extensively and knew many places. With the money he earned from selling cereals and fruits, he took care of his family. He became blind because of an illness, not because of having been wounded by the Turks. He was simply a robust man who became sick. He had good relations with Turks, who were his main customers and who welcomed him when he went through their villages. After his recovery, he went to Istanbul to study at Galata School for one year and then found a job in the vegetable market of Unkapanı. He worked there for four years.
- **Kekili, Iosif**. Born in 1915. His mother was a niece of the Topsakali family. His father had immigrated to Istanbul where he owned a small lemonade business. He maintained the same line of work together with his son when they settled in Kavala. Iosif does not remember his village well, but he read many historical books on the topic.
- **Limnidou, Despina.** Born in 1886 in Keçiağaç. Her mother and father were from the same village. She studied for a short period of time at the village's primary school and married at twenty.

LIMNI/GÖLCÜK (1940S-1950S)

- **Aktsoglou, Anastasia**. Born in 1890. She never emigrated. Her husband, Basileos, was from the same village. They have five children. She is Turcophone and does not know Greek.
- **Alexiadi, Eleutheria.** Born in 1886. She never went to school. "There were many children," she said, "but also a lot of work to do, thus I never went to school." She knows how to read Karamanlidika however.
- **Aleziadis, Basileos,** was called **Aktsoglou** in the village where he was born in 1898. He studied at the primary school of Limni, and then went to Mersin

where he worked with his compatriots. With the French occupation in 1921, he went to Izmir by boat, then to Istanbul.

- **Aleziadis. Aimitrios**. He left the village at nine. He was a barber.
- **Apostolidis, Kyriakos**. He was a teacher in Limni, after having studied in Nevşehir. During the Sefeberlik, the government closed the school of Zincidere, so he was not unable to continue high school. He married in Limni with Herakelia Tsormpazoglou. They have 4 children.
- **Apostolidis, Neophytos**. Born in 1891. He finished primary school in 1909 and went to Samsun where he worked in a canteen until 1914. In 1914, he was conscripted as a soldier and was sent to Sivas. Where he stayed for six months. He was there when the Armenians were deported. From Sivas, he was sent to the desert and went through Ankara. He remained a soldier for three months but then fled and went to Istanbul after the deportation. He worked in an ouzo distillery, but was caught by the army in 1916 and placed on a military vessel under the supervision of a German colonel who appointed him as a sergeant. He was particularly happy when he received this promotion. The colonel taught him. After the war, he settled to Istanbul where he married.
- **Iordanidis (Karloglou), Nikiferos.** Born in 1906, he never emigrated. He married a woman from Uzunköprü. They have 2 children. He went to school but for a short period. He owned a *bakkal* in the village.
- **Karolidis, Karolos**. Born in 1867. In Limni, there was a district of twenty to fifty houses that bore the name of his family. Karolos is Turcophone and never learned Greek. He was a farmer in the village and was a cook for five years in Cilicia, where he first went in 1904. He left Limni permanently in 1924.
- **Prodromou, Anastasia.** Born in 1896. She did not go to school. Actually, she went for one day, but on this first day, a female teacher slapped her. After that, she decided to never go back to school. Her father had worked hard to save money for the school. The whole family worked in fields. She has eight children. With her husband, she went to Mersin for one month and to Ikonium in 1923. She is not Turcophone. She speaks Greek and understands it well.
- **Savviadis, Savvas**. Born in 1899. He finished primary school in his village. Later, he participated in the war on the Erzurum front in 1922 and came back in 1923 before being exchanged in 1924.

- **Serafeimidis, Kosmas**. Born in 1892. He went to school in his village and married in 1909. In 1910, he immigrated for the first time to Samsun and was conscripted in 1914 into the Turkish army. He returned to Limni in 1919 before going to Mersin after one year. In 1920, he was stuck in Mersin because of the headway of the Kemalists. He decided to go to Mytilene to to volunteer for the Greek army in Izmir, but because he was Turcophone and that the Turkish-speakers were not allowed to join the Greek army, he decided to re-enlist in the Turkish Army and was sent to Izmir. In the army he worked in a wagon used for transporting supplies. With this train, he went to Uşak, and to Afyonkarahisar, participating in the different fronts. He witnessed the Great fire of Izmir and claims "we did it as a grudge against the Turks." He went to Drama where many inhabitants of his village had settled.
- **Stefanidis, Antonios**. Born in 1905. He never emigrated. His wife was from Samsun.
- **Tekesavvas, Mihail Savvadis.** Born in 1884. His father lived and owned an bakery in Samsun. He returned to Limni every two years. In 1900, he joined his father in Samsun where he completed school and learned Greek. When he was about twenty-one to twenty-four, he came back to Limni and married Herakleia Prodromou. He was conscripted at the beginning of the Balkan wars and came back in 1920. After two years spent in Limni, he went to the Caucasuses and then to Greece in 1922.

MALAKOPI (1950S-60S)

- **Glikidis, Stefanos**. Born in 1902 in Malakopi. He studied four years at the primary school of the village and began working while he did not yet fully recognize the letters of the alphabet. He decided to go to Istanbul and, in 1916, went to the capital to work with an uncle who owned a restaurant. He worked there as waiter, returning each year to Malakopi for a few months. In 1922, he left Turkey for Greece and began to work as waiter in Athens. In 1924, he found his parents who were in quarantine on the island of St. George.
- **Grigoriadis, Prodromos**. Born in Malakopi in 1893. In 1904, he immigrated to Istanbul where he went to one of the French high schools for four years. He came back to Malakopi in 1912 and stayed one year. In 1914, in order to avoid conscription into the Turkish army, he left the country for Greece where he remained in 1919. He came back to Malakopi where he stayed until 1923, and

he then took refuge in Istanbul. He arrived in Greece a few years after the population exchange.

- **Kesisoglou, Theano**. Born in 1894. When she was a young child, her father, M. Ananiadis, was director of the Post Office of Malakopi because he had studied at the Turkish school and knew Turkish well. Later, a Turkish director was appointed in his stead. Theano married at eighteen to Giannis Kesisoglou, who came from the village of Talas. She settled with her husband in Nevşehir, but they returned each year to Malakopi – generally in May when the weather was pleasant as well as for celebrations and feasts like marriages or funerals. They left for Greece in 1924. In the beginning, her husband sold eggs. By the 1950s, he owned a factory and had several employees.
- **Pantelis, Hatzifopadi**. Born in 1882 in Malakopi. He finished the seminary in Zincidere, continued his studies for two years in one of the French schools of Istanbul, and settled in the district of Galata. In 1906, he returned to Malakopi and married. After the birth of his first child, he went back to Istanbul for two years from 1912-1914, finally settling in Malakopi where he opened a small store selling cereals. He arrived in Greece with the exchange in 1924.
- **Papakonstantinou, Kostas**. Born in Malakopi in 1874. He studied in the school of his village until fourteen and worked there for two years as a primary school teacher, but he decided to immigrate to Istanbul and work with his brother who had a dry goods store. After seven years, he returned to Malakopi for two years, married, and went back to Istanbul. When he heard about the death of his father, who was the priest of Malakopi, his mother and brothers advised him to become a priest and replace his father. He was thus ordained as a deacon at the age of twenty-seven by the metropolitan Ioannis Athanasios at the Panagia church of Galata. One week later, he was ordained a priest but sent to a St. Nicolas parish (outside Cappadocia) where he served for nine years before finally being sent to his native village where he was appointed priest of the parish of the Taxiarchs. There was an underground chapel in his parish dedicated to the Anargyres.

MATALA (1950S)

- **Athanasiadis, Athanas**. Born in 1879 in Matala.
- **Stephanos Houskanidis. Ioannidis**, Born in 1885. He learned Greek at school. His father did not know Greek. In their village, generally only the

priest was able to read in Greek and interpret the Gospel into Turkish. All the songs they sang were in Turkish.

MISTI (1950S-60S)

- **Haïtanidis, Simeon**. Born in 1894 in Misti. He never left his village, except in 1924. He does not know how to write.
- **Giagtidis**, **Haralambos.** Born in Misti in 1894. He does not know how to read or write.
- **Damianidis, Makarios,** or **Damianoglou,** as he was called in the village. Born in 1888. His parents were both from Misti. His father was *keçeci* (a maker of felt fabric and carpets) and he himself took up this activity. Makarios knows Turkish and how to read a little.There was no teacher in his village, only a man who knew how to read and who taught the children. When he was ten, a school was opened in Misti between December and May. He used to go from village to village to sell his *keçe*. He sold it especially to Turkish villagers in the region of Konya (Seydişehir, Beyşehir, and Bozkır) and in the Turkish villages of the region of Aksaray.
- **Karagianni, Giannis**. Born in 1895. He never went to school and never performed his military service in the Turkish army. He made *keçe* for the Turkish villages of the mountainous areas around Konya, Ankara, and Adana, going further up to Smyrna.
- **Keramidis, Minas**. Born in 1899. He went to the village school, but lasted only three months each year.
- **Mouladiou, Elizabet**. Born in 1892.
- **Skenderidou, Eleutheria**. Born in 1908.
- **Hatzifotiou, Nicolas.** Born in 1878. He made *keçe* that he sold in the villages of Asia Minor. He does not know how to read. His wife is from the same village.
- **Efraimidis, Apostolou H.** Born in 1905.
- **Georgios, Karavelidis**. Born in 1883. At eighteen, he went with his father to the villages of the region of Ankara to sell their *keçe*. They would leave their village for three months, from August to November. He married in Misti and participated in the First World War in the Turkish Army, as did many men of his village.

(List of biographies published in Balta, Evangelia. *Sinasos. Mübadeleden önce bir Kapadokya Kasabası*, Istanbul: Bir Zamanlar, 2009, p.225-227.)

- **Dimitrakopoulos, Avraam.** Born about 1885. He migrated to Istanbul while he was still young and arrived in Greece in 1924.
- **Farasou, Kleopatra**. Born about 1880.
- **Hacıiosif Mihail**. Born in 1861 in Sinasos. He went to Istanbul in 1878 and stayed until 1927, working with his father in a caviar store. Then he settled in Piraeus.
- **Hacıtheofani, A. Statiça**. Born in 1875. She went to Istanbul twice in 1905 and 1911. At the moment of the exchange, her husband was the president of the local Commission of the Population Exchange. They stayed on the island of Hydra three years before settling in Piraeus.
- **Hounapoulou, Maria**. Born in 1880. She lived in Sinasos until 1924.
- **Hourmouziyadi, Anastasia**. She married a man from Anakou [Eneği] and settled in the village of her husband until the exchange.
- **Hrisokerou, Makrina**. Born in 1882.
- **Hristidou, Angeliki**. Born in 1900 or 1906 in Istanbul. She was the daughter of Prokopili Nikolaos Hristidis.
- **Isopoulou, Maria**. Born in 1886. She married a Sinasiote with whom she had three boys and two daughters. Her husband died from an epidemic in Istanbul during the World War I.
- **Kondopoulou, Eleni**. Born about 1870. She was already a widow when she arrived in Greece in 1924. Her children stayed in Istanbul where they had stable jobs.
- **Kürcoglou, Despina**. Born in 1858. She settled in Istanbul in 1923 but stayed only eight months. She came back to Sinasos before being exchanged in 1924.
- **Papadopoulos, Vasilios**. Born in 1870. He migrated to Istanbul where he opened a *bakkal*. He left in 1924.
- **Papagrigoriou, Efsevia**. Born in 1875.
- **Papaioannou, Efsevia**. Born in 1885 and died in 1945. She had two children.
- **Pepes, Mihail**. Born in 1910. He married with a woman from Sinasos living in Istanbul and they had three children. They left Turkey in 1924.
- **Persidou, Despina**. Born in 1880. She was a relative of Father Vayianis.

- **Rizos, Kostis**. Son of Nikolaos Rizos, the author of a book about Cappadocia and the twin brother of Serafeim. Born in 1882, he studied eight years at the Sinasos school for boys, settled in 1897 in Istanbul, and returned every two or three years to his village. He married in 1910 to Katina Senioglou. He was conscripted during the World War I and felt seriously ill. Between 1918 and the exchange, he stayed in Sinasos and looked after the administration of the community, as a member of the committee administering the schools and the Monastery of St. Nikolaos. In 1924, he helped more deprived Sinasiotes to move to Mersin before leaving Turkey himself. He died in Albania during the World War II.
- **Rizos, Serafeim**. Son of Nikolaos Rizos, the author of a book about Cappadocia and the twin brother of Kostis. Born in 1882, he studied at the seminary school of Zincidere, at the Rum school of the Phanar in Istanbul, and at Galatasaray High School. Between the beginning of the World War and the exchange, he had a central role in the administration of the community and was also a school teacher. He was progressive in matters of education and supported the teaching of dimotiki Greek. After the exchange, he looked after his compatriots and played a central role in the decision to create Nea Sinasos in its current location. He died in 1969 after having prepared a monograph on the village of Sinasos.
- **Semendrelis, Toma**. Born in 1903. He was six when he left the village. The name Semendrelis came from his grandfather who was from the village of Semendire.
- **Takadopoulos, Lazaros**. Born in 1897. He studied at the Sinasos school for boys and was then a boarder at the Seminary of Zincidere. After his graduation, he came back to Sinasos where he was appointed teacher between 1915 and 1920 before being appointed to the school of Prokopi between 1920 and 1923. He was the last director of this school. He left Turkey in 1924.
- **Takadopoulou, Anna**. Born in 1873. In 1909, she went to Istanbul for six months but then returned to Sinasos, and remained there until 1924.
- **Teperidis, Minas**. Born in 1878. He studied seven years at the school of Sinasos and then went to Istanbul where he traded in butter. He came back to Sinasos for the first time thirteen years later and married the daughter of Konstantinos Kairis. They had a son and a daughter. During the World War I, he was conscripted to work in a lignite mine. He fled and secretly returned to his

village. In 1917 or 1918, he settled in Istanbul and arrived in Greece in 1930 to find his family. He settled in Piraeus and continued his butter trade.

- **Teskeropoulou, Despina**. Born in 1880. She lived in Sinasos until the exchange.
- **Theofanidou, Magdalini**. Born in 1869. She settled in Istanbul in 1907and in Greece in 1919.
- **Touleyeri, Varvara**. Born in 1884. She studied four years and married at fifteen. When her husband went to Istanbul, she stayed with her daughter. She did not remarry after the death of her spouse. She left in 1924.
- **Triandafilidis Kostandinos**. Born in 1880. He settled in Istanbul at twelve or thirteen, but came back regularly to his village. He lived a total of thirty-five years in Istanbul and left in 1924.
- **Vayianis, Prodromos**. Born in 1864. He studied in his village and at thirteen migrated to Istanbul where he worked in Torosis' naval materials shop. He returned regularly to Sinasos and stayed several years before laving. He married the daughter of Torosis in 1893 and they had seven children. They moved to Greece in 1902, and he helped the Sinasiotes to find a place to settle in 1924.
- **Vornika, Eleni**. Born in 1889 in Sinasos. She studied at the village school for girls. She married in 1908, and while her husband was in Istanbul, she remained in the village until 1924. With the exchange, they travelled separately and met in Piraeus. Her husband died in 1931.
- **Yordan**. Born in 1890. At fourteen, he migrated to Istanbul but could not bear the difficult life of an exile and soon returned to Sinasos. In Sinasos, he was shoemaker but also played *Zurna* in the group of Theodors Takas. He became blind at twenty or twenty-five and left the village with his compatriots in 1924.
- **Yordanidis, Pavlos**. Born in 1874. For thirty-five years, he was a teacher in different schools of Cappadocia – for three years in Sinasos and later in Arapsun, Cemil, Limni, Semendire, Niğde, Eneği, Ürgüp, and Nevşehir. After the exchange, he first settled in Nea Sinasos but as he could not bear the humidity, he moved to Piraeus.

ULUAĞAÇ

- **Athanasiadou, Anastasia.** Born in 1880 in Bereketlü Maden (Çamardı). She arrived in Uluağaç when she was still young. She speaks Greek and never went to school.

- **Basileiadou, Despina.** Born in 1898 in Istanbul. Prematurely orphaned, she lived with her relatives and married at fifteen with a merchant from Uluağaç, where they then settled.
- **Basileiadou, Maria**. Born in Uluağaç in 1875, her father was a farmer. She went to school one year and married at twenty-three.
- **Bouloglou, Iordanis.** Born in 1868. He went to school. His father was a farmer. In 1884, at sixteen, he left his village and went to Istanbul where he was a cook. He came back four times between 1884 and 1923 and married in the village.
- **Demirtzidou, Anastasia.** Born in 1879, she was fourty-five in 1924. Her husband died in Istanbul where he worked as a *manav* (greengrocer).
- **Gaïretoglou, Georgios.** Born in 1896. He followed his father and immigrated at sixteen after having completed school. He married at nineteen and completed his military service, during which he worked on the construction of the Belemedik Tunnel in Adana – a railway tunnel built by the Germans between 1900 and 1920. In 1920, he returned to Uluağaç for one year, but the war resumed and he was sent as a soldier to the Caucasuses. In 1923, he came back one last time before being exchanged in 1924.
- **Gaïretoglou, Katerina.** Wife of Georgios Gaïretoglou.
- **Georgiades, Georgios.** Born in Uluağaç in 1902. He immigrated early to Istanbul.
- **Kesisoglou, Kyriakis.** Born in 1887. He is from Bereketlü and is Hellenophone but knows Turkish. He went to school and joined his father in Smyrna where the later worked as an agent of the French Company of railways. Between 1911 and 1917, he made his family live in Smyrna, but he then went to Istanbul and sent his family back to the village.
- **Penloglou, Iordanis**. Born in 1872. He first went to Istanbul where he worked as a cook in 1886.
- **Tsaloglou, Isaak.** Born in 1884; He went to Istanbul with his parents and worked in their store.
- **Zaferidou, Evanthia**, daughter of Kyriakis Kesisoglou, was born in 1907. She went to school. In 1911, with her mother and her sister, she went to Smyrna to join her father. They returned to Uluağaç in 1917 and stayed until 1924. She married a man from Deneï.

(List of biographies published in Balta, Evangelia. *Prokopi, Ürgüp, Istanbul: Bir zamanlar*, 2010, p.162-164.)

- **Aslaniglou, Aikaterini**. Born in 1869. Turcophone. She came to Greece in 1928 from Istanbul where she had been living since 1908. In her village, she had been a housewife. She married Vasilis Aslanoglou and bore him two children.
- Anastasoglou, Ioannis. Born in 1883. Merchant and *sarraf* in Ürgüp. He is Turcophone but knows Greek. He married Eleni Kaptasoglou. They have three children.
- **Isaakidis, Georgios**. Born in 1892. He immigrated to Istanbul in 1918, from where he came to Greece in 1936 to open a commercial office. A graduate of the Hieratic School of Caesarea, he is Turcophone but knows Greek. He married Despina Kalavustoglou from Nevşehir and the couple has one daughter.
- **Isaakidou, Elisavet.** Born in 1889. She came to Greece in 1924. She finished the elementary school in Ürgüp. A Turcophone, she understands Greek. She has travelled to Kayseri, Nevşehir and Niğde. She married Efthymios Isaakidis and the couple has five children.
- **Istilloglou, Vasileios**. Born in 1890. He came to Greece with the exchange in 1924. She finished primary school in Ürgüp. He is Turcophone and did his military service in the Turkish Army from 1914 to 1917. He worked as a blacksmith in Ürgüp, but later, in Greece, became a farmer. He has four children.
- **Melitopoulos, Hadji Pavlos**. Born in 1884. He finished fifth grade of the elementary school. He was a merchant and worked in partnership with a Turk. Involved in the community affairs of Ürgüp, he became president of the ecclesiastical commission of Hosios Ioannis the Russian in Neo Prokopi after the exchange.
- **Papadopoulos, Ioakeim**. Born in 1883. He came to Greece with the exchange. He finished primary school in Ürgüp. A Turcophone, he knows Greek. He migrated to Constantinople but later settled as a merchant o, Ürgüp before becoming a grocer in Greece. He married Magdalini Kuskusoglou and the couple has three children.

- **Papadopoulou, Despina**. Born in 1870. She came to Greece with the exchange. She is a Turcophone and illiterate. She married Georgios Papadopoulos and they had one child.
- **Pikoglou, Hadji Vasilis**. Born in 1880. He is a Turcophone with a little knowledge of Greek. He settled in Istanbul between 1895-1908 and worked in the money-changing business of the Prokopiote *sarraf* Hadji Alexandros Iordanidis. Upon returning to the village, he became a *sarraf* himself. He married Gethsimani Abarzoglou and the couple has three children. They came to Greece with the exchange.
- **Sotiriadis, Theodosios**. Born about 1875. He was a carpenter in Ürgüp and, upon coming to Greece, opened a small tobacco shop.

ZINCIDERE (1935-1950S)

- **Athanasiadou, Annika**. Born in 1889.
- **Deligiamidis, Georgios.** Born in 1860 in Zincidere. He went to school and studied medicine.
- **Dervisoglou, Isaak.** Born in 1867.
- **Georgantzoglou, Hristos**. Born in Kayseri. He studied in Zincidere. He knows Kayseri and Zincidere well, but not the surroundings.
- **Halazoglou, Heraklis** Born in 1887. He studied in a seminary (in Athens?) where his professors came from Sinasos, Çorum, and Soungkouplou. He stayed there a while and learned French before coming back to Turkey to become a French teacher. He settled in Istanbul before coming back to Zincidere in1916, and taught French at the Seminary.
- **Haritonidis, Nicolas.** Born in 1872. His last name on his Turkish identity card was Saroumsakolgou. His grandfather was from the village of Saroumsakli and settled in Zincidere. On his and his father's identity card, the place of origin was recorded as Saroumsakli. He said that the Greeks renamed them Agianikafoglou – "the son of the architect Agia" – because his father was a sculptor in the palaces of Istanbul. His father had married in Zincidere. Nicolas went to school in Zincidere for twelve years and then went to Istanbul. He married in 1896 at twenty-four in Istanbul, just after the massacre of the Armenians. His wife was from Zincidere. She was born and had grown up in their village, but her parents hailed from Talas. They spoke Turkish at home; they had

learned Greek only at school. She added "our Bible was in Turkish as you can see."

- **Isaakidou, Eleona**. Born about 1890.
- **Kalfoglou, Despina**. Born in 1900. She married in 1918 and went to Adana.
- **Kyriakopoulou, Despina**. Born in 1891.
- **Lazaroglou, Elizabet**. Born in 1884.
- **Levidis, Mihalis.** Born in 1897. He wanted to follow in the footsteps of his father (Anastasios Levidis?) and studied at the University of Istanbul and then at the University of Athens.
- **Paimenidis, Menelaos**. Born in 1900
- **Palazoglou, Hristos**. Born about 1900.
- **Papadopoulou, Basileos**. Born about 1900.
- **Pervanidis, Nicolas**. Born in 1871
- **Pinatoglou, Katina**. Born in 1897. She studied at the school for young girls and became a primary school teacher.
- **Piniatoglou, Kali.** Born in 1872.
- **Seirinidou, Victoria**. Born in 1889.
- **Serafeimidou, Elena**. Born in 1877. Her father, Kyriakos Hatzisavvas, was a tobacco retailer in Amiso [Samsun]. After her wedding, she settled in Amiso with her husband.
- **Serafeimidis, Serafeim**. Born, in 1909.
- **Serafeimidou Olympia**. Born in 1878. Mother of Despina Kalfoglou
- **Simeonoglou, Achillos**. Born in 1875.
- **Slitheriadou, Maria.** Born in 1880. She married a man who worked in Adana.

Turkish informants:

- **Akman, Ali.** Teacher at the primary school of Zincidere. He talked with love about the Greeks of Zincidere. He is the son of Efe Souleymanoğlu, and his family is from Zincidere.
- **Kadir Ağa.** He has Rum origins since he is a distant relative of Emmanouil Tsalikoglou. His grandfather and grandmother were *Rums* from the Piniatoglou and Karakasoglou families, respectively. The grandfather of Kadir Ağa was orphaned early. His mother remarried with a Turk, which is how the grandfather of Kadir became a Turk. His mother died in 1916. Kadir Ağa appeared to be a good man. He talked with love about the Greeks of Zincidere.

Appendix C1 Former and Current Names of Towns and Villages Mentioned in the Study (the Names of Which Changed or Have Various Versions)

Ottoman (Greek or Turkish) name (with various spellings)	Current name	Current Region
Fkosi	Mansurlu	Adana
Görümce	Gürümze	Adana
Çeltek, Tselteki	Çeltek	Aksaray
Gelveri, Karvali, Kervali	Güzelyurt	Aksaray
Halvadere, Halvandere	Helvadere	Aksaray
Kenatala	Agaçlı	Aksaray
Mamasun, Mamasın, Mamason	Gökçe	Aksaray
Afşar	Yeniköy	Kayseri
Arguncuk	Argıncık	Kayseri
Bereketlü Maden, Çamardı	Çamardı	Kayseri
Beşkardeş	Gümüşören	Kayseri
Cirkalan	Çırgalan	Kayseri
Çukur, Tsoukouri	Özvatan	Kayseri
Endürlük, Androniki, Enderlik	Endürlük	Kayseri
Everek	Develi	Kayseri
Farasa	Çamlıca	Kayseri
Fenese	Develi	Kayseri
Germir	Konaklar	Kayseri
Isbidin	Bağpınar	Kayseri
Kayseri, Caesarea	Kayseri	Kayseri
Kerkeme	Doğanlar	Kayseri
Kesi, Gesi	Balagesi	Kayseri
Kiranardi	Kıranardı	Kayseri
Kiska	Yaylacık	Kayseri
Kliseköy	Aşağı Boğaziçi	Kayseri
Molos, Molou	Molu	Kayseri
Ören	Kızılören	Kayseri
Rum Kavak	Kavaklı	Kayseri
Rumdügün, Rumdiğin	Felahiye	Kayseri
Sarımsaklı, Saroumsakli	Bünyan	Kayseri
Sazahi	Sazak	Kayseri
Sihlari	Şıhlı	Kayseri
Skopi	Subaşı	Kayseri
Stefana, Reşadiye	Reşadiye	Kayseri
Sulucova	Sulucaova	Kayseri

Talas, Moutalaski	Talas	Kayseri
Taşlık	Taşlıkköy	Kayseri
Tavlosun	Tavlusun	Kayseri
Taxiarchi	Yanartaş	Kayseri
Tikmani	Dikme	Kayseri
Timidere	Turan	Kayseri
Vekse	Özlüce	Kayseri
Zincidere, Flaviana	Zincidere	Kayseri
Antrolos, Andulus	Hacıabdullah	Nevşehir
Arapsun, Aravisos, Arabison	Gülşehir	Nevşehir
Aravani	Kumluca	Nevşehir
Babayani	İbrahimpaşa	Nevşehir
Bektaş	Başköy	Nevşehir
Çat, Tsat	Çat	Nevşehir
Cemil, Tzalela	Cemil	Nevşehir
Dila, Zile	Tilköy	Nevşehir
Eneği, Anakou, Anaku	Kaymaklı	Nevşehir
Floïta, Flogita, Suvermez	Suvermez	Nevşehir
Malakopi, Melekopi, Melegob	Derinkuyu	Nevşehir
Matyan, Martchan	Göreme	Nevşehir
Nevşehir, Neapoli	Nevşehir	Nevşehir
Potamia	Dereköy	Nevşehir
Sylata, Zila, Zile	Özlüce	Nevşehir
Sinasos	Mustafapaşa	Nevşehir
Sorsovu	Sofular	Nevşehir
Tatlar	Tatlarin	Nevşehir
Ürgüp, Prokopi	Ürgüp	Nevşehir
Ereğli, Herakleia	Ereğli	Niğde
Adirmoson	Koyunlu	Niğde
Akçaşar	Ağçaşar	Niğde
Akso, Aksos, Naksos, Hasaköy, Hasanköy	Hasaköy	Niğde
Alay, Alaï	Alayköy	Niğde
Andaval, Andavalis	Aktaş	Niğde
Anduğu	Altunhisar	Niğde
Arluson	Yaylayolu	Niğde
Basdana	Değirmenli	Niğde
Bor, Poros	Bor	Niğde
Buğamaden, Metalleio, Bugamaden, Bulgar Maden	Madenköy	Niğde
Çarikli, Çarıklı, Tsarikli	Çarıklı	Niğde
Delmason, Dermason, Dilmoson, Telmisos	Hançerli	Niğde
Dündarlı, Toundarli	Dündarlı	Niğde

Enehil, Enegil	Dikilitaş	Niğde
Eskigümüş	Gümüşler	Niğde
Fertek, Ferteki	Fertek	Niğde
Frenk	İçmeli	Niğde
Gölcük, Limni, Limnai	Yeşilgölcük	Niğde
İloson, İlison	Küçükköy	Niğde
Karacaviran	Karacaören	Niğde
Keçiağaç, Kestiagats, Kitsagats, Akrontis	Yeşilova	Niğde
Kordonos, Gurdonos	Hamamli	Niğde
Matala, Madala	Ballı	Niğde
Misti, Misli, Misthi	Konaklı	Niğde
Sazalca	Tepeköy	Niğde
Semendire, Sementra, Semendere, Sendermek	Ovacik	Niğde
Teneï, Denei	Yesilburç	Niğde
Trohos	Tirhan	Niğde
Tyana, Klishisar	Kemerhisar	Niğde
Yerhisar	Yarhisar	Niğde
Zamzama	Çavdarlı	Niğde

Appendix C2 "An Average from the Last Five Years [1875-1880] of the Imports and Exports of Kaisarieh, Furnished by One of the Leading Merchants," in Turkish Liras (£t).

Source: "The Social, Economic and Administrative Situation in the Sanjak of Kayseri in 1880: The Report of Lieutenant Ferdinand Bennet, British Vice-Consul of Anatolia (october 1880)," edited by Kemal Karpat, *IJTS,* 107-125, 1980.

Exports			
Description of Goods	Quantity	Value on spot (£t)	Observations
Yellow berries	250,000 okes	15,000	
Kitri (gum tragacanth)	70,000 ok.	16,800	
Wool	30,000 ok.	1800	
Goat Skins	20,000 skins	2400	
Sheep skins	20,000 skins	1300	
Hare skins	60,000 skins	1500	Chiefly exported to Marseilles
Fox skins	8000 skins	800	Chiefly to Russia
Polecat or weasel skins	1200 skins	800	Chiefly to Russia
Beaver skins	200 skins	100	
Lynx skins	25 skins	50	
Mohair	5000 ok.	1000	
Goats' hair	6000 ok.	1000	
Beeswax	3000 ok.	500	
Apricot stones	30,000 ok.	1200	
Salep	3000 ok.	400	
Cat-gut	50,000 pcs	400	
Opium	200 ok.	400	
Narcotic of hemp or bang	200 ok.	400	To Egypt
Drugget	1500 pcs	3000	To Europe & Egypt
Tobacco, manufactured	27,306 ok.	8192	
Salt	61,824 ok.	772	
Cow hides	90,000 ok.	9000	To Constantinople
Pasterma (jerkes meat)	320,000 ok.	21,600	To Constantinople
Morocco leather	10,000 ok.	5000	To Izmir & Constantinople
Wheat and barley	1,000,000 ok.	10,000	To Mersin & Samsun for export

Appendix C3 Details of the Division of Labor in the City of Kayseri by Religious Affiliation According to the *Temettü Defteri* of 1834 and the *Cizye Defteri* of 1843.

Profession (maker or seller)	Muslims (1834)	Armenians (1843)	Rums (1843)
Alcohol	0	1	0
Baker/Oven owner	26	5	0
Daily worker/Porter	8	12	1
Entertainment and services	48	33	3
Farmers	10	0	0
Groceries	15	0	2
Handicrafts	177	292	71
Health and education services	4	5	2
Insurance/banking/trade (other than agricultural products)	26	77	5
Livestock and processed animal products	24	30	2
Peddlers	0	86	6
Shoes	47	43	0
Textile trader	32	48	8
Trade (agricultural goods)	51	6	9
Wood/Charcoal	3	3	0
Abacı (coarse woolen cloth)	-	5	1
Arpacı (barley)	8	-	-
Aşçı (cook)	1	1	-
Attar (perfumer)	1	6	6
Bağcı (grape grower)	-	2	-
Bakkal (grocer)	15	-	2
Bahçeci (gardener)	13	-	-
Bakırcı (coppersmith)	6	1	-
Balıkçı (fisherman)	-	3	-
Baltacı (axes)	6	1	1
Basmacı (printer)	-	12	4
Bekereci (pulleys)	10	-	-
Berber (Barber)	27	8	1
Bezzaz (Cloth)	-	28	7
Bıçakçı (cutler)	5	3	-
Boğçacı (woman peddler)	-	16	2
Boyacı (painter)	5	5	1
Bozacı (Boza seller)	-	1	-
Camcı (Glass)	-	2	1
Cambaz (horse dealer)	1	-	-
Cerrah (surgeon) or hekim (doctor)	1	3	2
Cevherci/Kuyumcu (jeweler)	-	46	3
Ciğerci (liver cook)	1	-	-

Çadırcı (tentmaker)	-	2	-
Çakmakcı (flint seller)	-	1	-
Çalgıcı (musician)	-	2	-
Çanakcı (potter)	6	-	-
Çaycı (tea)	-	2	-
Çerçi (peddler)	-	70	4
Çizmeci & nalçacı (boots)	27	2	-
Çiftci (farmer)	10	-	-
Çilingir (locksmith)	3	2	-
Çubukçu (pipes)	-	1	-
Dellal (town-crier)	-	1	-
Demirci (ironworker)	20	9	-
Deveci (camel owner)	7	-	-
Duhancı (tobacconist)	15	2	9
Debbağ (tanner)	19	-	-
Düğmeci (buttons)	-	3	-
Dülger (carpenter)	-	16	3
Elekci (sieve-maker)	2	8	-
Eskici (cobbler)	18	41	1
Ekmekçi (baker)	24	5	-
Fişekci (cartridge)	2	-	-
Fırıncı (oven owner)	2	-	-
Göncü (leather-worker)	13	-	-
Haffaf (cheap shoes)	3	3	-
Hallaç (cotton or wool fluff)	8	1	-
Hamal (porter)	8	1	-
Hamamcı (bath worker)	5	2	-
Hasırcı (mat)	9	1	3
Hızarcı (pit sawyer)	13	-	-
Hizmetkâr (server)	-	6	1
Irgat/Rençber/Amele (day labourer)	-	11	1
İğneci (needles)	-	2	-
İmameci (amber mouthpieces for pipes)	-	1	-
İncirci (fig producer)	-	1	-
İplikçi (yarn)	-	11	4
Kahveci (coffee)	-	1	-
Kalaycı (tinsmith)	12	13	-
Kalemkâr (engraver)	-	1	-
Kaliçeci (rug)	-	2	-
Kaltakçı (saddle)	-	4	1
Kapçı (vessel)	-	3	3
Kasap (butcher)	15	25	-
Kasarcı (laundryman)	-	4	-
Katırcı/merkebci (muleteer)	5	1	-
Kavcı (cave owner)	-	3	-
Kavukçu (turban)	11	-	-

Kazgancı (cauldron)	-	22	2
Kazzaz (silk manufacturer)	-	14	-
Keçeci (felt)	22	-	-
Kemancı (violin player)	-	1	-
Kendirci (Hempen cloth)	-	1	-
Kebapcı (cook)	9	-	-
Keşkekçi (cook)	-	1	-
Kibritçi (matchstick)	-	1	-
Kirişci (catgut seller)	3	-	-
Kitapçı (book)	-	1	-
Kömürcü (charcoal)	3	-	-
Körükcü (bellows)	7	-	-
Kundakcı (gunstock)	1	1	-
Kutucu (box)	5	4	-
Külahçı (caps)	-	4	-
Kürkcü (furrier)	5	10	6
Lüleci (pipe bowls)	-	1	-
Leblebici (chickpeas)	7	-	-
Mestci (sock)	14	-	-
Meşinci (leather)	3		
Meyhaneci (innkeeper)	-	-	1
Mıhçı (nail)	2	-	-
Muallim (teacher)	-	1	-
Mumcu (candle)	2		
Muytab (spinner)	5	5	6
Müderris (professor)	2	-	-
Mürekkebci (ink)	1	-	-
Müstecir (tenant)	-	1	-
Pabuççu (shoe)	3	38	-
Palancı (saddle)	2	5	-
Pastırmacı (Pastırma)	-	4	2
Pekmezci (Pekmez)	6	-	-
Penbeci (cotton cloth)	-	7	-
Perdahcı (polisher)	14	-	-
Peynirci (cheese)	2	-	-
Poliçeci (insurance)	-	4	-
Postalcı (leather shoe)	4	-	-
Rakıcı (rakı)	-	1	-
Saatçı (clock)	-	3	-
Sabuncu (soap)	1	-	2
Salcı (raft)	-	1	-
Samancı (straw)	2	-	-
Sebzeci (vegetable)	1	-	-
Semerci (packsaddle)	2	1	-
Sıvacı (plasterer)	-	13	1
Simsar (commissioner)	-	5	2

Tacir (merchant)	2	21	2
Taşçı (stonemason)	-	14	6
Tellak (masseur)	-	1	-
Tenekeci (tinsmith)	-	3	1
Terzi (tailor)	-	46	2
Tüfekçi (gun)	5	4	-
Tuzcu (salt)	1	-	-
Turşucu (pickle)	1	-	-
Uncu (flour)	3	-	-
Urgancı (rope)	-	1	5
Üsküfcü (bonnet)	1	1	-
Yapıcı (builder)	16	-	-
Yorgancı (quilt)	4	1	-
Yazıcı (scribe)	1	-	-
Zenneci (women's clothes)	1	-	-

Appendix C4 Professions and Religious Affiliation in Niğde and Nevşehir, According to the *Annuaire oriental* of 1912 (p.1649-1653)

Profession	Nevşehir			Niğde		
	Muslim	Rum	Armenian	Muslim	Rum	Armenian
Allumettes	-	-	-	3	4	2
Assurances	0	1	0	0	8	0
Avocats	3	1	1	1	4	1
Banquiers	0	3	0	4	3	0
Bestiaux (négociant)	6	1	0	-	-	-
Bijoutiers	0	1	1	0	3	1
Bois de construction	2	0	0	4	3	0
Bouchers	1	3	0	8	0	0
Boulangers	2	1	0	5	0	0
Boyaux salés	1	1	0	-	-	-
Cafés	1	2	0	4	0	0
Casinos	-	-	-	1	2	0
Céréales	8	5	0	3	5	1
Changeurs de monnaies	0	2	0	-	-	-
Cognac	0	1	0	-	-	-
Coiffeurs	0	2	0	0	2	0
Commissionnaires	0	3	9	0	2	0
Confiseurs	2	0	0	0	1	0
Cordonniers	0	3	0	7	1	2
Cordages	4	2	0	-	-	-
Cotons	3	1	0	1	0	1
Couleurs et vernis	-	-	-	0	2	1
Courtier	1	0	0	-	-	-
Cuirs	0	4	0	2	1	1
Cuivres	2	0	1	-	-	-
Denrées coloniales/Epiciers	6	5	0	8	6	1
Dentiste	1	0	0	0	1	0
Farines	0	1	0	-	-	-
Fers (négociants)	4	3	0	2	2	0
Fils de coton	0	4	0	-	-	-
Forgerons	1	3	0	-	-	-
Gomme adragante, grains pour teinture (export)	-	-	-	0	3	2
Graines de vers-à-soie	4	2	0	1	5	0
Horlogers	0	1	1	0	1	1
Machines agricoles	2	0	0	0	1	0
Machine à coudre	-	-	-	0	0	1
Manufactures	2	9	0	1	12	9
Maçons	-	-	-	1	3	0

Médecins	0	2	0	1	5	0
Menuisiers	1	1	0	0	7	0
Modistes	0	1	0	-	-	-
Moulin hydraulique	0	1	0	0	2	0
Négociants	3	6	0	-	-	-
Obligations à lots	-	-	-	0	1	0
Orfèvres	-	-	-	0	1	1
Papier à cigarette	-	-	-	1	3	4
Peaux	3	6	1	0	1	1
Peintres	0	2	0	-	-	-
Pelletier	0	1	0	-	-	-
Pharmacien	0	1	0	0	4	0
Quincailleries	0	9	5	2	3	4
Photographes	-	-	-	0	3	1
Restaurants	-	-	-	1	1	0
Sage-femme	0	1	0	0	3	0
Selliers	2	0	0	2	0	0
Tailleur	0	1	0	1	5	0
Tanneries	-	-	-	0	2	0
Tapis	3	0	0	0	1	2
Vins et Mastic	0	2	0	0	4	0

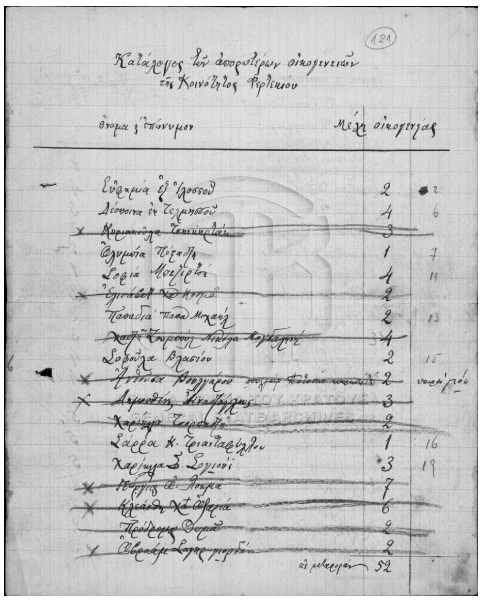
Appendix C5 Occupational Groups in Different Regions of Cappadocia According to Registers of Population Exchange (1924)

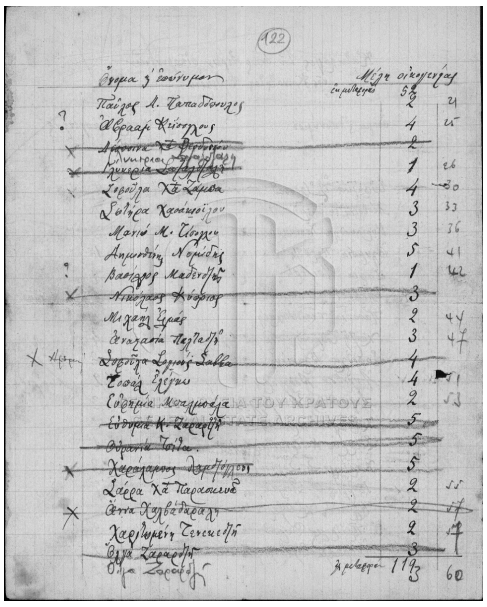
Source: Panayotopoulos, Alkis J. "On the Economic Activities of the Anatolian Greeks, Mid-19th century to Early 20th," *DKMS*, vol.4 (1983), p.122

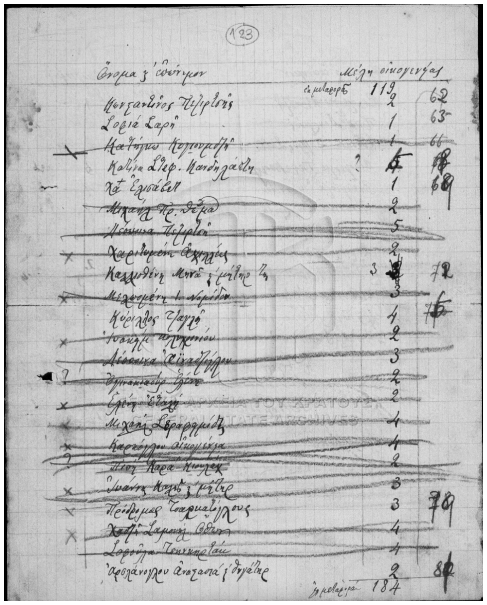
Professions	Gelveri	Kayseri	Nevşehir	Niğde	Ürgüp	Farasa	Total	%
Farmers	268	604	663	2044	137	483	4199	54.5
Merchants	41	144	124	197	53	3	562	7.3
Artisans	8	43	19	3	449	-	522	6.8
Grocers	11	27	81	83	52	9	263	3.4
Workers	6	23	31	60	26	18	164	2.1
Porters	2	13	20	112	5	5	157	2.0
Priests	2	29	18	28	9	13	99	1.3
Teachers	3	24	22	28	19	-	96	1.2
Landowners	5	12	16	47	4	10	94	1.2
Employees	2	9	16	50	16	-	93	1.2
Barbers	-	11	10	34	7	-	62	0.8
Coffeehouse Proprietors	4	3	13	19	7	-	46	0.6
Church Chanters	1	7	13	18	2	-	41	0.5
Butchers	-	4	12	13	7	-	36	0.5
Shepherds	2	3	-	20	2	5	32	0.4
Moneylenders	17	4	3	4	2	-	30	0.4
Bakers	-	-	10	11	5	-	26	0.3
Hawkers	7	5	11	2	-	1	26	0.3
Medical Doctors	-	1	6	8	4	-	19	0.3
Pharmacists	1	1	1	5	2	-	10	0.1
Attorneys	1	1	1	5	1	-	9	0.1
Mechanics	1	-	3	2	-	-	6	0.1
Cooks (Innkeepers)	4	2	4	22	13	45	-	0.6
Other	4	38	72	74	24	8	220	3.0
Total	451	1105	1352	3070	1126	603	7707	100

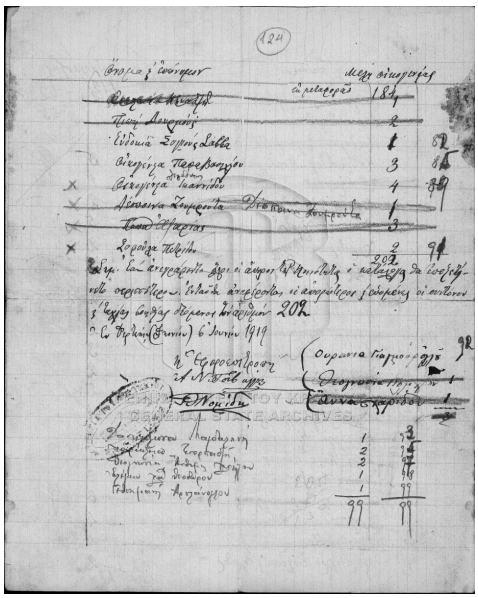
Appendix D1 Codex α/α 337 of the Eforia of Fertek (1911-1924) - GAK

Catalog of the most destitute families of the community of Fertek compiled by the central committee (in Istanbul) and the local committee of the *Rum* community of Fertek to organize financial support (quoted in chapter 6.2) First list, p.121-124.

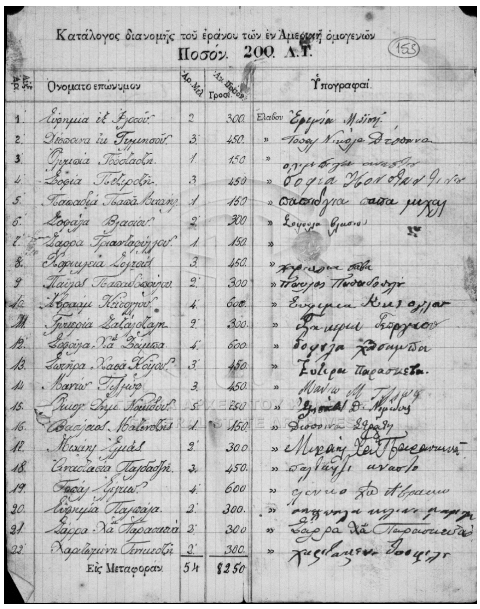


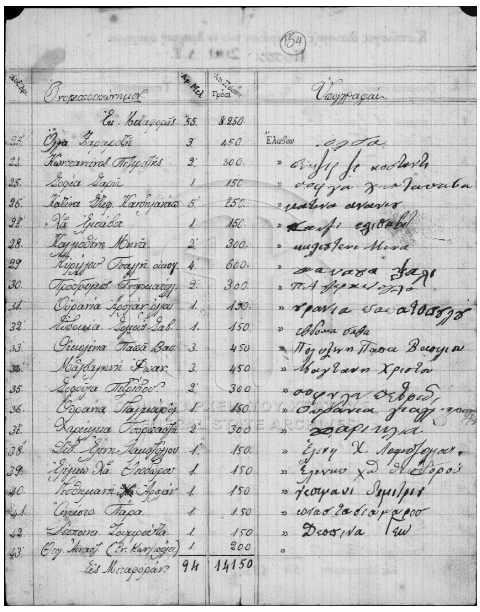


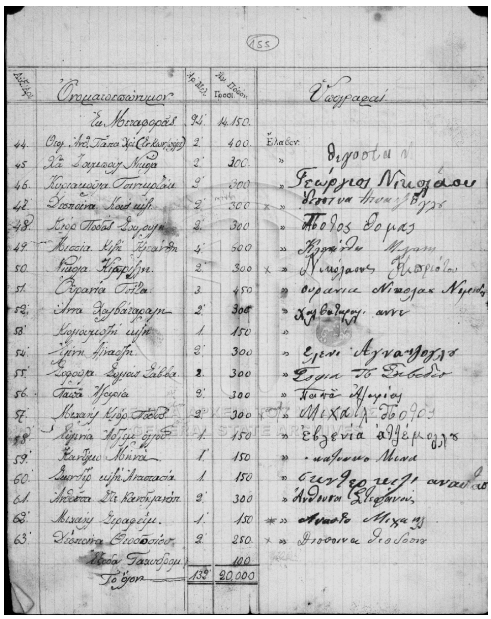


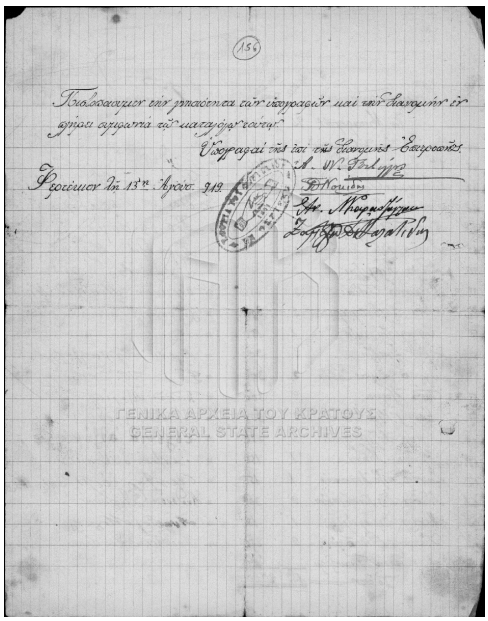


Final list. Distribution of the money collected from Fertekiote living in America to destitute families living in Fertek, with the signatures of recipients (p.153-156)



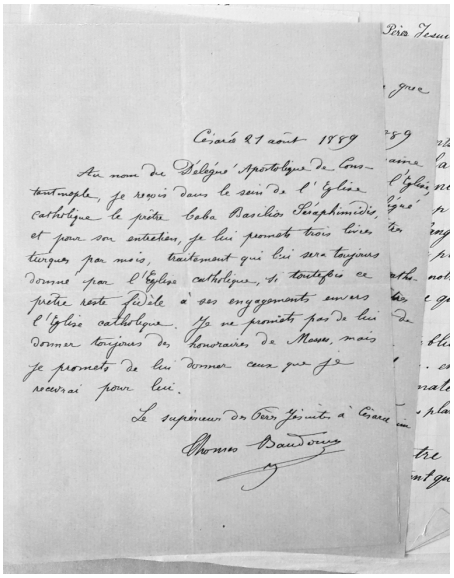






Appendix D2 Jesuit Missions' Archives

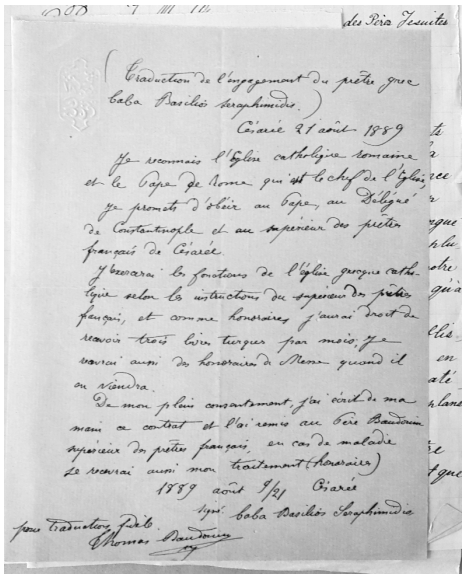
Letter of Thomas Baudouin, Superior of the Pères Jésuites de Césarée about the conversion of a Rum priest to Catholicism (Kayseri, August, 21, 1889)



Césarée 21 août 1889

Au nom de Délégué Apostolique de Constantinople, je reçois dans le sein de l'Eglise catholique le prêtre baba Basilios Séraphimidès, et pour son entretien, je lui promets trois livres turques par mois, traitement qui lui sera toujours donné par l'Eglise catholique, si toutefois ce prêtre reste fidèle à ses engagements envers l'Eglise catholique. Je ne promets pas de lui donner toujours des honoraires de Messe, mais je promets de lui donner ceux que je recevrai pour lui.

Le supérieur des Pères Jésuites à Césarée
Thomas Baudouin



(Traduction de l'engagement du prêtre grec baba Basilios Seraphimides.)

Césarée 21 août 1889

Je reconnais l'Eglise catholique romaine et le Pape de Rome qui est le chef de l'Eglise, je promets d'obéir au Pape, au Délégué de Constantinople et au supérieur des prêtres français de Césarée.

J'observerai les fonctions de l'Eglise grecque catholique selon les instructions du supérieur des prêtres français, et comme honoraires j'aurai droit de recevoir trois livres turques par mois. Je recevrai aussi des honoraires à Messe quand il en viendra.

De mon plein consentement j'ai écrit de ma main ce contrat et l'ai remis au Père Baudouin supérieur des prêtres français, en cas de maladie je recevrai aussi mon traitement (honoraires)

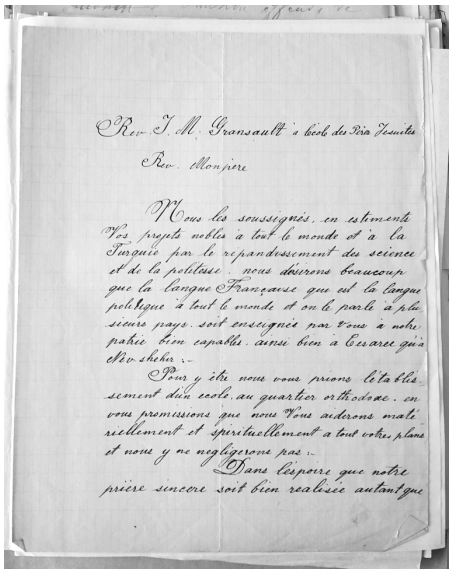
1889 août 9/21 Césarée

Sign: baba Basilios Seraphimidis

pour traduction fidèle
Thomas Baudouin

French translation of the commitment of the Greek Priest Baba Basilios Serafeimidis (Kayseri, August 21, 1889)

Letter of the Rum community of Nevşehir to the Jesuit mission of Kayseri (1906)



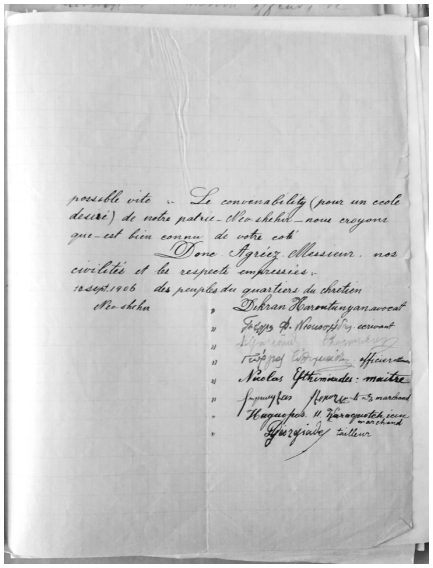
Rev. P. M. Fransault à l'école des Pères Jésuites

Rev. Monsieur

Nous les soussignés, en estimant vos projets nobles à tout le monde et à la Turquie par le répandissement des sciences et de la politesse, nous désirons beaucoup que la langue Française qui est la langue politique à tout le monde et on le parle à plusieurs pays, soit enseignée par vous à notre patrie bien capable, aussi bien à Césarée qu'à Nev-shehir.

Pour y être nous vous prions de l'établissement d'un école au quartier orthodoxe, en vous promissions que nous vous aiderons matériellement et spirituellement à tout vos plans et nous y ne négligerons pas.

Dans l'espoire que notre prière sincère soit bien realisée autant que



possible vite. Le convenability (pour un école désiré) de votre patrie Nev-shehir nous croyons que est bien connu de votre esté

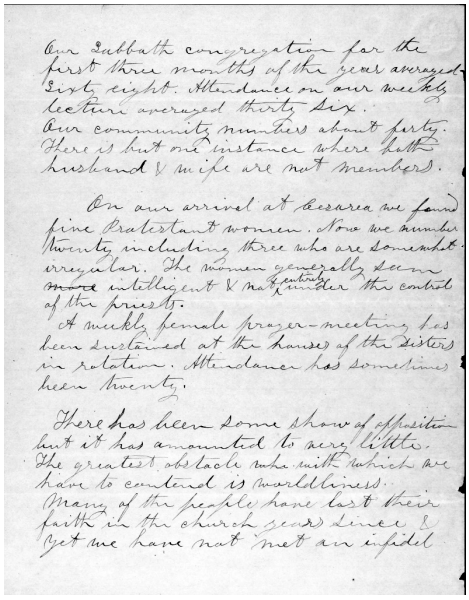
Donc Agréez Monsieur, nos civilités et les respects empressés.

12 sept 1906 des peuples des quartiers des chrétien

Nev-shehir
" Dikran Karentanyan avocat
" Filippos S. Nousoff avocat
" [illegible] officier
" Nicolas Efthimiadis maître
" [illegible]
" Hagopos H. Karaguetch [illegible]
" Hagopos [illegible] tailleur

Appendix D3 Abstracts of Mission Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

Abstract of the May 1855 report of Caesarea Station by C.N. Ball (p.4-6)

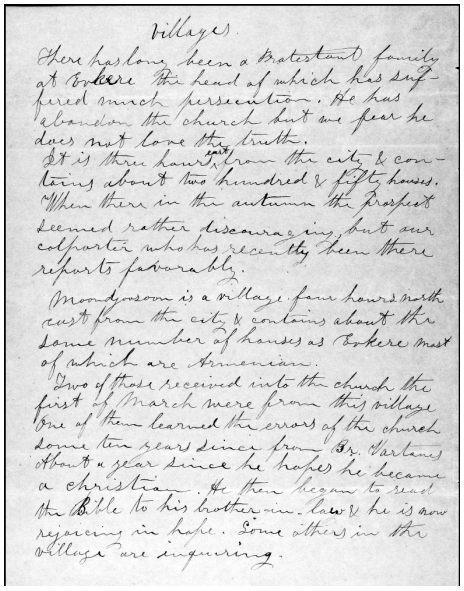


Our Sabbath congregation for the first three months of the year averaged sixty eight. Attendance on our weekly lecture averaged thirty six. Our community numbers about forty. There is but one instance where both husband & wife are not members.

On our arrival at Cesarea we found five Protestant women. Now we number twenty, including three who are somewhat irregular. The women generally seem more intelligent & manly under the control of the priests.

A weekly female prayer-meeting has been sustained at the houses of the sisters in rotation. Attendance has sometimes been twenty.

There has been some show of opposition but it has amounted to very little. The greatest obstacle we with which we have to contend is worldliness. Many of the people have lost their faith in the church years since & yet we have not met an infidel.



Villages.

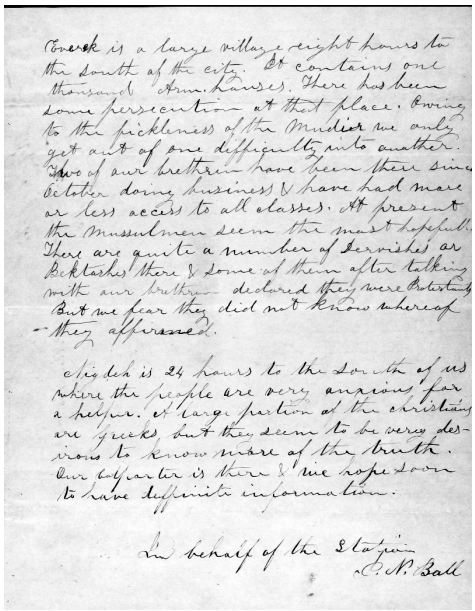
There has been a Protestant family at Bokere the head of which has suffered much persecution. He has abandon the church but we fear he does not love the truth.

It is three hours from the city & contains about two hundred & fifty houses. When there in the autumn the prospect seemed rather discouraging, but our colporter who has recently been there reports favorably.

Mondyosom is a village four hours north east from the city & contains about the same number of houses as Bokere most of which are Armenian.

Two of those received into the church the first of March were from this village one of them learned the errors of the church some ten years since from Br. Partens about a year since he hopes he became a christian. He then began to read the Bible to his brother-in-law & he is now rejoicing in hope. Some others in the village are inquiring.

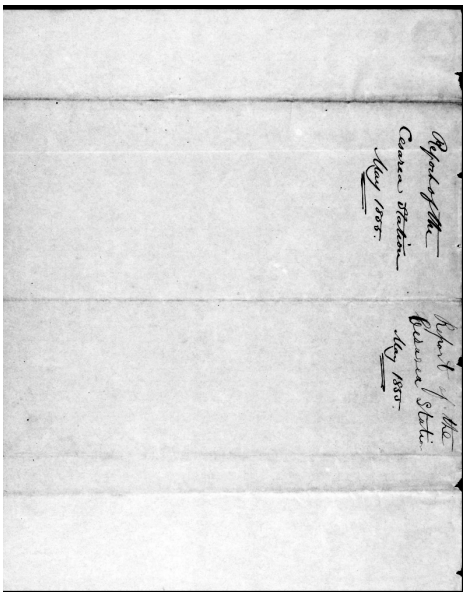
Annual Report of the Cesarea Station for 1904 by Henry K. Wingate (Talas April 5, 1905, p.6-7 – Story of the Turk Ahmet who wanted to convert to Protestantism)



Everek is a large village eight hours to the south of the city. It contains one thousand Arm. houses. There has been some persecution at that place. Owing to the fickleness of the Muslim we only get out of one difficulty into another. Two of our brethren have been there since October doing business & have had more or less access to all classes. At present the Mussulmen seem the most hopeful. There are quite a number of Bektashis there & some of them after talking with our brethren declared they were Protestants. But we fear they did not know whereof they affirmed.

Sivrihisar is 24 hours to the south of us where the people are very anxious for a helper. A large portion of the christians are Greeks but they seem to be very desirous to know more of the truth. Our colporter is there & we hope soon to have definite information.

In behalf of the Station
C.N. Ball



Report of the Cesarea Station May 1855.

Report of the Cesarea Station May 1855.

expenditure $701,a net gain of $304.

But more than the importance of these figures we have to report a spiritual work and awakening among the hospital nurses and servants which is perhaps as good proof of the influence that is being exerted on the patients as any any more direct evidence could be. This awakening is a part of the similar great work going on in Talas,and it has affected in more or less degree every one of our force,nurses,cooks,servants,washer-women. Some very stubborn hearts have we believe,been truly converted,and those who were Christians have entered on a fulness of life very different from their former mode of living and working.That the hospital shall be a center of evangelistic and spiritual power for the town and country is our most earnest desire.

One instance may be given that has no connection with the present revival work,Last Fall a Turk named Ahmet,a town watchman about 35 years old,was badly wounded in the arm in trying to separate two men who were fighting.Prompt care stopped a dangerous hemorrhage and saved his life.After he had been coming to the dispensary for dressings for some days he told me privately that he wanted to become a Christian, that he believed in Jesus Christ as his Savior,and was ready to give up all for Him He had already been a patient in the hospital three months previously totally blind from cataract.The operation done then had restored to him the ability to support himself,and while in the hospital he had been an earnest inquirer.But we found that his interest had begun gurther back than that. When the hospital was being built in 1900 he was one of the strong hamals for carrying the heaviest stones,taking loads weighing form 600 -700 pounds up ladders and to the top story.When the front pillars were to go up into place these hamals asked for a bakshish,and a Bible was given to each,that being what they especially asked.Ahmet had been reading his these four years,not only to himself but to others,and we found that he was

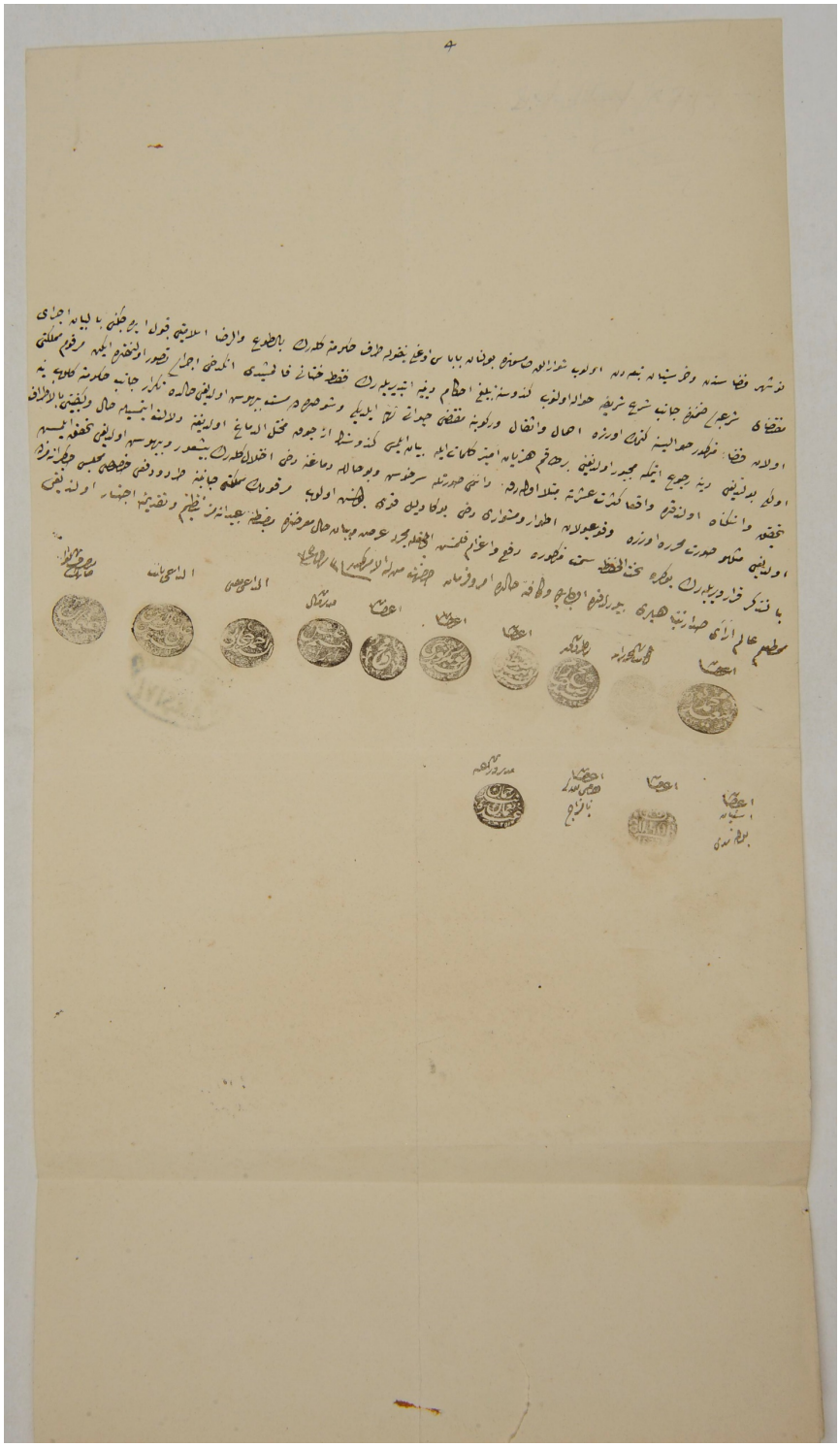
beginning to be called "Protestant Ahmet".All this had been going on without any knowledge on our part.Now he is coming to us regularly for instruction several times a week,bringing also his wife and mother, attends meetings constantly,has joined in prayer with us in private, praying directly to the Lord Jesus as his Savior.He asks for baptism,but we are putting him off for much more instruction. This is the kind of fruit above all else that we hope for from the hospital work.

WOMEN'S WORK.

We have long felt that the work of a Bible woman and the qualifications necessary for this most important work have not been thoroughly understood in our field. Poor preachers eager to eke out their meagre salaries often plead to have their wives employed under this name. Any pious deserving widow whatever her qualifications or training might be was considered a fit candidate for the position. For"if you use her you will save a soul"was said to us again and again.Sometimes it was doubtful whether saving that soul would be the means of saving other souls. We decided this fall to start a training class for Bible women.Miss Cushman who has charge of that department,chose an earnest Christian widow and for the last four months has been giving her weekly lessons in physiology,in mothods of Christian work,in Bible study,and in personal Christian living. Miss Cole once a week gives her simple lessons in the care of the sick. Her afternoons are spent with the out-patients in the dispensary,with the women in the women's ward,or else holding cottage prayermeetings in the town,or visiting from house to house. Just now she is with Miss Cushman helping in the revival work lately sprung up in Eilenje. After six months of training we hope she will be an earnest,consecrated Bible reader. She seems ready to do what Christ wants her to do,and to go where Christ wants her to go. This is only a humble beginning of a work

Appendix D4. *Mazbata* Concerning the Situation of a Rum of Nevşehir Trying to Apostatize after Having Converted to Islam.

Source: BOA, A.MKT.UM 259/92, H.1273/1856



Appendix E1 Photos of the Region of Gelveri-Aksaray

1 Church of St. Gregory of Nazianzos in Gelveri

Source: Ramsay, William M., and Gertrude L. Bell. *The Thousand and one churches*, London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1909 (p.425)



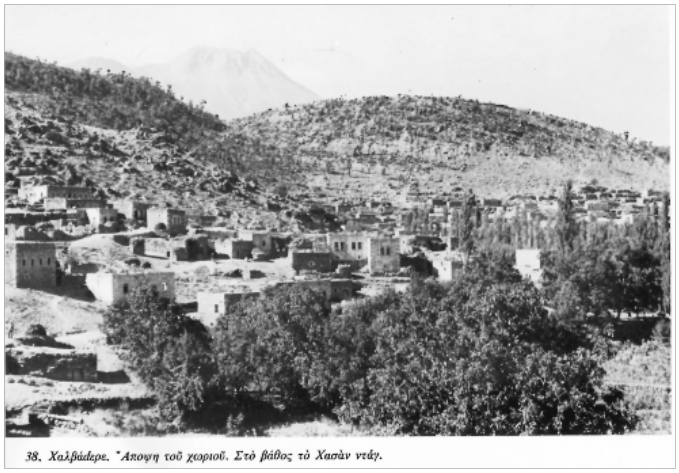
2 Inhabitants of Gelveri in 1914 in front of the Girl's Rum School

Source: CAMS Photographic Archives



3 Village of Halvadere with the Hasan Dağ in the background

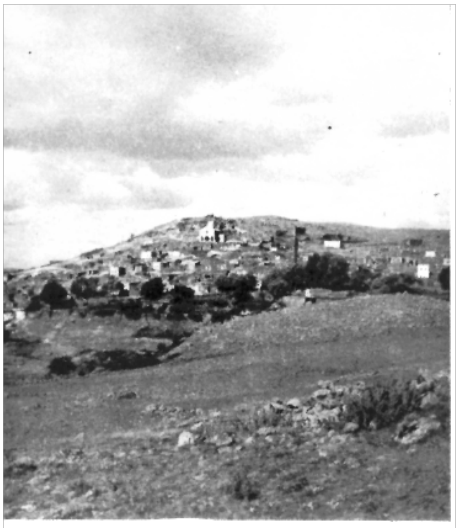
Source: D. Petropoulos & H. Andreadis. *La vie religieuse dans la région d'Akséray-Ghelvéri* (*Avant-propos par M. et O. Merlier*), 1970 (p.32).



38. Χαλβάδερε. Ἄποψη τοῦ χωριοῦ. Στὸ βάθος τὸ Χασὰν ντάγ.

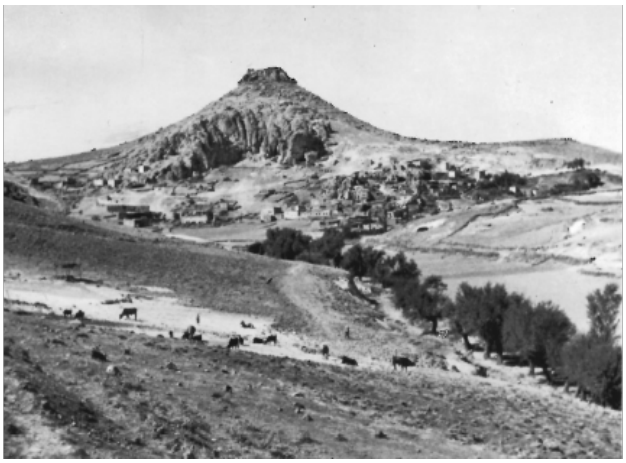
4 View of the village of Kenatala

Source: D. Petropoulos & H. Andreadis. *La vie religieuse dans la région d'Akséray-Ghelvéri* (*Avant-propos par M. et O. Merlier*), 1970 (p.24)



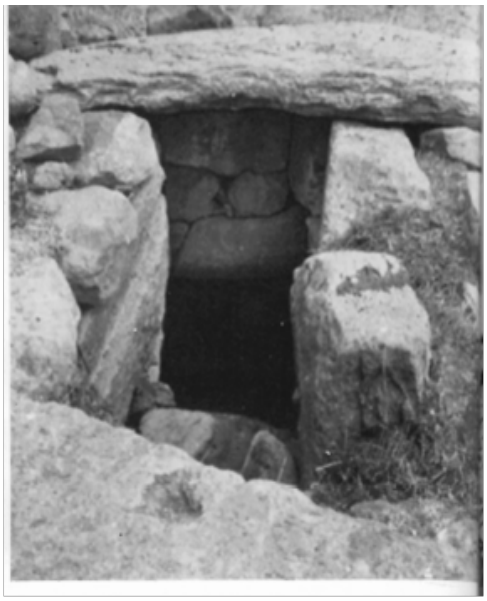
5 View of the village of Sivrihisar

Source: D. Petropoulos & H. Andreadis. *La vie religieuse dans la région d'Akséray-Ghelvéri* (*Avant-propos par M. et O. Merlier*), 1970 (p.25).



6 *Agiasma* of St. Panteleimon in the area between Kenetala and Sivrihisar

Source: D. Petropoulos & H. Andreadis. *La vie religieuse dans la région d'Akséray-Ghelvéri* (*Avant-propos par M. et O. Merlier*), 1970 (p.33).



7 Exterior of the Chapel of the Seven Saints in Selime where relics were located

Source: D. Petropoulos & H. Andreadis. *La vie religieuse dans la région d'Akséray-Ghelvéri* (*Avant-propos par M. et O. Merlier*), 1970 (p.51).



8 Village of Mamasın (today Gökce), circa 1960 where the St. Mamas tekke/church is located

Source: D. Petropoulos & H. Andreadis. *La vie religieuse dans la région d'Akséray-Ghelvéri* (*Avant-propos par M. et O. Merlier*), 1970 (p.51).



9 St. Mamas tekke/church circa 1960

Source: D. Petropoulos & H. Andreadis. *La vie religieuse dans la région d'Akséray-Ghelvéri* (*Avant-propos par M. et O. Merlier*), 1970 (p.49).



10 St. Mamas tekke/church, today a secondary mosque and *türbe* of Şambaz Baba







Author: A.A. de Tapia, 2015

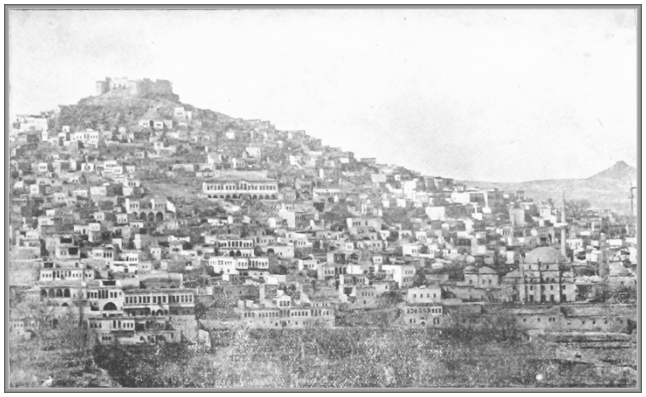
Entrance of the room where sick people were locked up (to the left of the tomb)



Appendix E2 Photos of the Region of Nevşehir and Ürgüp

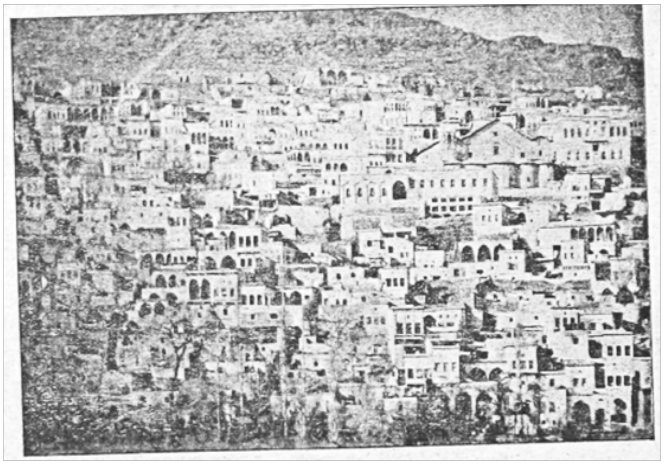
1 The castle and a section of the Muslim districts in the late nineteenth century.

Source: "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' – 1913" (p.112)



2 The central part of the Rum districts of Nevşehir (with the Panagia church on the right)

Source: Post card, reproduced in I. Georgios, "Νέβσεχιρ Μεκτεπλερινίν Δερσααδέτ Εφορείασηνην γιουζουνδζού σενέϊ δεβριεσί 1820-1920,"1920 (p.23)



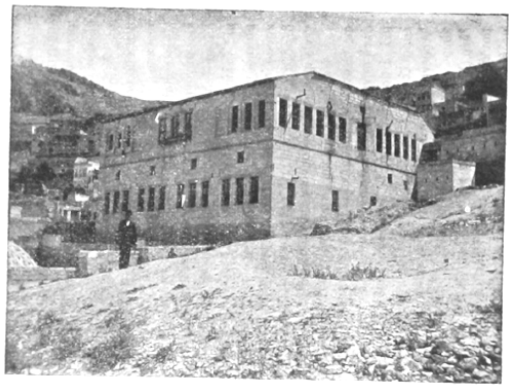
3 Religious ceremony (possibly the Rum community of Nevşehir in front of the Panagia church, n.d.

Source: CAMS Photographic Archives (ΦΜΣ III-202)



4 Rum Primary School of Nevşehir

Source: "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' – 1913" (p.115)



5 The *hamam* built by the *Rum* community of Nevşehir in 1892

a.

Source: I. Georgios, "Νέβσεχιρ Μεκτεπλερινίν Δερσααδέτ Εφορείασηνην γιουζουνδζού σενέϊ δεβριεσί 1820-1920,"1920 (p.23)



b.

Source: Yavuz Işçen, "Nevşehir Rum mahallesi," *Cappadocia Explorer*, May 2010 (http://www.cappadocia explorer.com)



6 Fountain of St. Elijah (built after 1812) in Nevşehir

Source: I. Georgios "Νέβσεχιρ Μεκτεπλερινίν Δερσααδέτ Εφορείασηνην γιουζουνδζού σενέϊ δεβριεσί 1820-1920," 1920 (p.35)



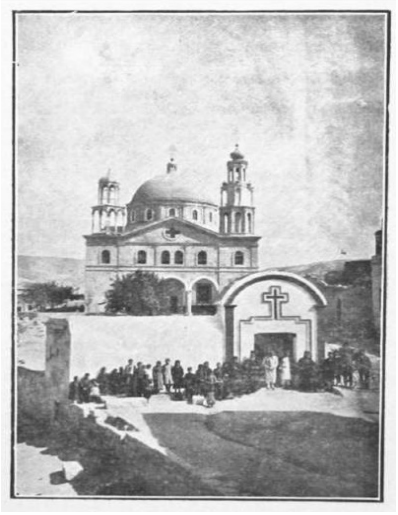
7 Church of St. Basil (destroyed in the 1950s) in Ürgüp

Source: "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' – 1914" (p.115)



8 Church of St. John the Russian (destroyed in the 1950s)

Source: "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' – 1914" (p.117)



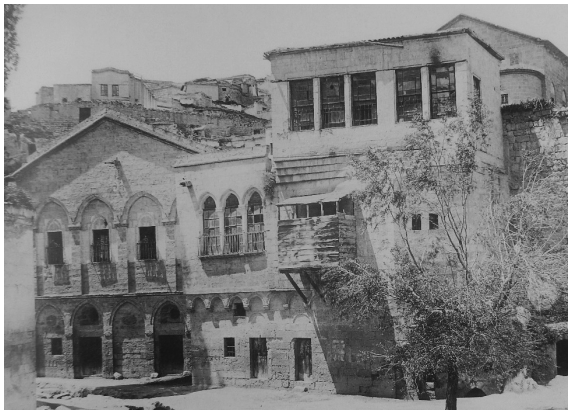
9 Courtyard of the Boys' School built in 1895 in Sinasos

Source: Pantazidis & Sons, 1924. Reproduced in E. Balta, *Sinasos. Mübadeleden önce bir Kapadokya Kasabası*, 2009 (p.103).



10 Girls' School in the Yeni mahalle of Sinasos.

Source: Pantazidis & Sons, 1924. Reproduced in E. Balta, *Sinasos*, 2009 (p.111).



11 The pupils and teachers of the elementary schools of Sinasos. In the middle, from left to right are the Turkish teacher Ioannis Papadopoulos, Lazaros Takadopoulos, Serafeim Rizos, Pantzos Iordanidis, and Vasilis Touloumbatzis.

Source. Pantazidis & sons, 1924. Reproduced in E. Balta, *Sinasos*, 2009 (p.104).



12 The west side of the site of Gorgoli (near Sinasos)

Source: Pantazidis & Sons, 1924. Reproduced in E. Balta, *Sinasos,* 2009 (p.111).



13 Sinasiotes at one of the summer feasts in 1913

Source: A Papadis Archives. Reproduced in E. Balta, *Sinasos,* 2009 (p.194).



14 View of the village of İbrahimpaşa (formerly Babayani)

Author: A.A. de Tapia, 2015



Appendix E3 Photos of the Region of Malakopi

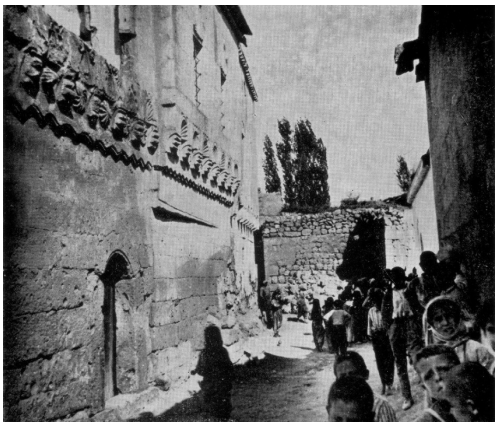
1 Costumes of the Rums of Eneği according to Charles Texier's description

Source: C. Texier, Asie mineure: description géographique historique et archéologique, 1863.



2 Eneği in the 1950s

a.
Source: CAMS Photographic Archives



b.
Source: CAMS Photographic Archives



3 Wedding of Prodromos Grigoriadis in Malakopi, in front of the Taxiarchon church (1913)

Source: CAMS Photographic Archives



4 Anastasis Day procession in Malakopi (n.d.)

Source: CAMS Photographic Archives



5 Farming activities in the fields of Malakopi (a) and on a threshing floor (b)

a.
Source: CAMS Photographic Archives (before 1923)

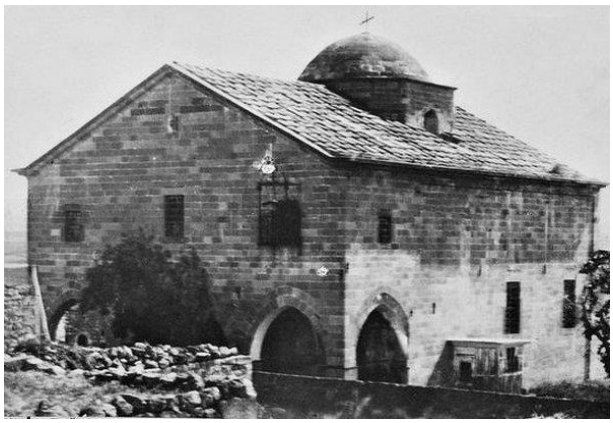


b.
Source: CAMS Photographic Archives (before 1923)



6 Church of the Taxiarchs before 1923

Source: CAMS Photographic Archives



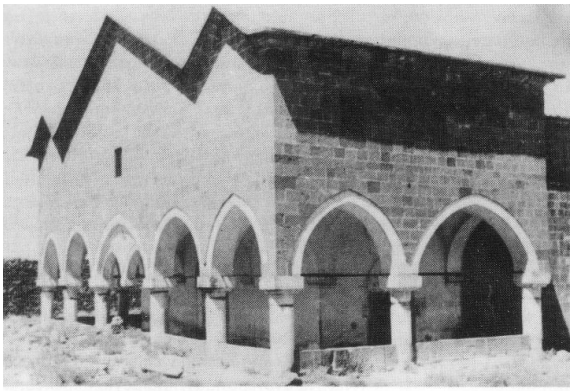
7 Church St. Theodoron Trion before 1923

Source: CAMS Photographic Archives



8 Makrina Church of Akso

a.
Source: CAMS Photographic Archives, 1955



b.
Author:
A.A. de Tapia, 2014



c.
Author:
A.A. de Tapia, 2014



9 Inhabitants of Misti (circa 1913)



Source: "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' – 1914" (p.244)

10 St. Basil church of Misti



Author: A.A. de Tapia, 2014

Appendix E4 Photos of the Region of Niğde

1 St. Nikolaos church of İloson

a.

Source: CAMS, ΕΚΘ 74/59/7, 1951



b.

Author: A.A. de Tapia, 2014



2 Church of Matala

Author: A.A. de Tapia, 2014

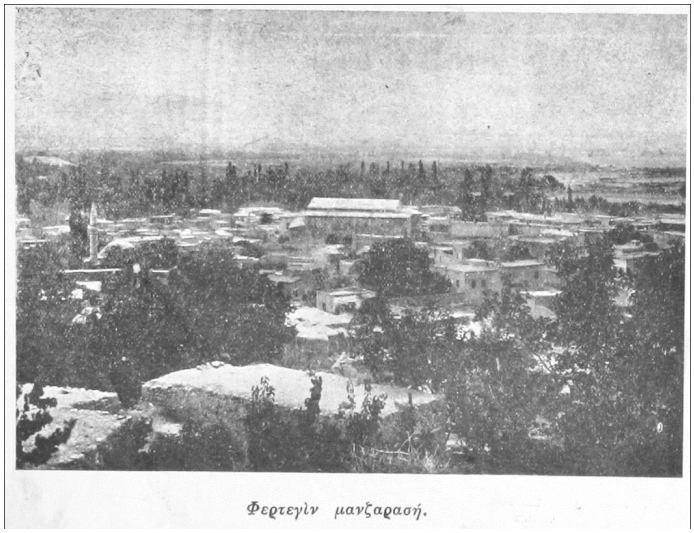


3 A Rum family of Delmason (before 1924)

Source: CAMS Photographic Archives (n.d.)



4 Fertek Overview



Source: "Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον ο 'Αστήρ' – 1914," p.249

5 Hamam built by the Rum community of Fertek in 1852-53



Source: Türkiye Kultur Portalı, Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2009

Appendix E5 Photos of the Region of Kayseri

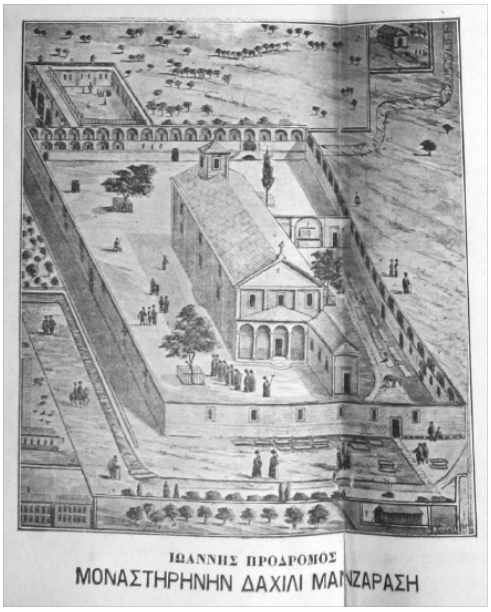
6 Burial in Zincidere (n.d.)

Source: CAMS Photographic Archives, ΦΜΣ 123.



7 Ioannis Prordromos Monastery in Zincidere

Source: I. Kalfoglou, *Ζιντζίντερε καργεσινδέ πουλουνάν Ιωάννης Πρόδρομος Μοναστηρή γιαχόδ Μονή Φλαβιανών*, 1898 (p.177)



8 Zincidere's main water mill

Source: I. Kalfoglou, *Ζιντζίντερε καργεσινδέ πουλουνάν Ιωάννης Πρόδρομος Μοναστηρή*, 1898 (p.46)



9 Staff and students of the Rum Seminary, 1911-1913

a.

Source: CAMS Photographic Archives ΦΜΣ 1689.



b.

Source: CAMS Photographic Archives, ΦΜΣ 1694.



10 Panagia Church of Germir

a.

Source: CAMS, ΕΚΘ 74/59/7, 1951



b.

Author: A.A. de Tapia, 2014



11 Wedding of Nicolas and Herakleia Bostanizoglou in Germir (1902)



Source: CAMS Photographic Archives ΦΜΣ II-119

12 *Bezirhane* in Germir (today Melikgazi mahallesi)



Author: A. A. de Tapia, 2014

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