

ANALECTA ISISIANA
LXX

EVANGELIA BALTA

OTTOMAN STUDIES
AND ARCHIVES IN GREECE



2005

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THE ISIS PRESS
ISTANBUL





ANALECTA ISISIANA LXX



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Published by
The Isis Press
Şemsibey Sokak 10
Beylerbeyi, 34676 Istanbul
Tel.: (0216) 321 38 51
Fax.: (0216) 321 86 66
e-mail: isis@tnn.net
www.theisispress.com

First edition 2003

ISBN: 975-428-223-4



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Born in 1955 in Kavala (Greece), graduated from the University of Thessaloniki, Ph.d. (Paris 1-Sorbonne); Research Director at the National Hellenic Foundation for Scientific Research (Athens) since 1987.

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- *La découverte de la Cappadoce au dix-neuvième siècle*, Istanbul 1994 (avec la collaboration d'Ilias Anagnostakis);
- *Les vakıfs de Serrès et de sa région (XVe et XVIe s.). Un premier inventaire*, Athènes 1995;
- *Karamanlidika. Nouvelles Additions et Compléments I*, Athènes 1997;
- *Peuple et production : Pour une interprétation des sources ottomanes*, Istanbul 1999;
- *Greek Orthodox Communities of Cappadocia. The district of Prokopi (Ürgüp). Sources in the General State Archives and the Centre for Asia Minor Studies*, Athens 2001 (in Greek, with the collaboration of Matoula Kouroupou).



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INTRODUCTION

This book is a collection of texts that comment on issues of Ottoman/Turkish Studies in Greece. They are classed in two units: the first unit, 'Archives', comprises texts relating to the history and the organization of the surviving Ottoman Archives; the second, 'Historiography', includes texts discussing the formation process of this critical field of historical studies in Greece. Both units articulate what we call Ottoman/Turkish Studies in Greece, a relatively recent discipline which is endeavouring to define and to consolidate its domain, both in the body of Neohellenic Studies and in that of Ottoman Studies at an international level.

If we subscribe to the view of history expressed by Jacques Le Goff in his book *Histoire et Mémoire*, namely that 'it constitutes an adjustment of the past and is subject to the social, ideological and political structures in the framework of which the historians live and work', then the belated appearance in Greece of Ottoman Studies as a discipline is a good example of what the above can mean. Since I believe that things are not always self-evident, and that answers are not single or one-sided, in the texts that follow I posit certain problems, not necessarily to resolve them myself as much as to stimulate dialogue by presenting doubts and thoughts. These texts are either approaches to processes of perception, organization and expedience of Ottoman/Turkish

Studies or concern demands and desiderata of research. In other words, they are approaches to individual facets as well as generalizing proposals for understanding overall situations. My concerns were the horizons and changes in the course (practices) of Neohellenic historiography, the ontological dimensions (the events themselves) as well as constraints, conscious and unconscious, of historical memory and historical knowledge about what is Ottoman Occupation/Ottoman period, Asia Minor refugees, Turcophone Cappadocians/Karamanli population, Pomaks, Turks/Muslims in Thrace. I would like to think that in presenting my positions, I have tried in my turn to constrain the subjectivity as well as to avoid the delusion of historical objectivity, *That Noble Dream*, to borrow the title of a book.¹ Because I am fully aware that my interpretations, determined historically by the context of my time, the infrastructure, my convictions and lived experiences, inevitably also become object in the framework of the analytical process.

All the texts in the book correspond to the themes of certain conferences, at which they were presented as papers. One text was written in collaboration with the anthropologist Akis Papataxiarchis, who shared with me the responsibility for a joint presentation of folklore, ethnological and anthropological studies in Greece, which have Turks as their subject. The oral style characteristic of

¹ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession*, Cambridge 1988.

conference papers has been kept intentionally in this publication, precisely because I wanted to convey the conjuncture under which they were written and delivered. The texts are brief and accompanied by a very limited documentation. My decision to publish them in a book was guided by the fact that they have a unity and cohesion, and can inform anyone interested in the subject of Ottoman Studies in Greece and their interconnection with Neohellenic historiography. On re-reading these texts several years later, I realize that they trace my personal progress in the field I chose to serve and my hope is that they be appreciated as cogitations of a labourer/professional historian who has the habit of reflecting on her daily toil.

The texts in the book owe much to my friend Ilias Anagnostakis, who for many years now has been sharing my cares about Ottoman Studies. His presence at my side bolstered my stamina. The idea of the book emerged, like all good things, from the warmth of friendship. It was an initiative of my friend Sinan Kunalp. I persist in believing friendship and its importance, particularly today in these petty and self-seeking times when all sense of collective solidarity that gives meaning to human life is being crushed.

Evangelia Balta



OTTOMAN STUDIES IN GREECE*

This paper is preliminary in character. The strictures of time and the epistemological nature of the subject limit me to but a brief presentation of some basic points. I hope to return with a more extensive study on the history of Ottoman Studies in Greece¹, from their inception to the present day, examining in detail the inertia and delays that have existed and the reasons for these. Such a study should, of course, be accompanied by a bibliography of works relating to Ottoman Studies, by Greek scholars. I begin my discussion of the subject by clarifying the content of the term "Ottoman Studies". In my opinion Ottoman Studies subsume

* Paper read in Section I "Osmanlı Historiografisi" of XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 4-8 Ekim 1999, *Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, I. Cilt, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 2002, 243-248. The text of the paper was published in Greek, in the journal *Ta Historika* 16/31 (Dec. 1999), 455-460.

¹ Earlier contributions on the same issue: E. Rossi, «Gli studi orientalistici in Grecia», *Oriente Moderno* 21 (1941), 538-547. P. Chidioglou, «Greco-Turkish. II. On the need for the cultivation of Turkish Studies in Greece» (in Greek), *Mnemosyne* 2 (1968-69), 303-308; I. G. Yannopoulos, «The development of Turkish Studies and the need to cultivate these in Greece» (in Greek), *Mnemon* 1 (1971), 5-22; I. Theocharidis, «The development of Turkish Studies in Greece» (in Greek), *Dodone* 17/1 (1988), 19-60. I. Theocharides - Th. Stavrides, «Yunanistan'daki Osmanlı Çalışmalarının Gelişimi», in: *Yeni Türkiye. Türkler* (eds.) H. C. Güzel ea. (Chief of the Editorial Board) Prof. Dr. Y. Halaçoğlu, (Editorial Advisor) Prof. Dr. H. İnalcık, Ankara 2002, t. 15, 99-104.

on the one hand the institution of organized courses or studies in universities and the work produced by specialist Ottomanists in research foundations, and on the other, the production of works concerning the Ottoman period of Greek history. So, my exposition will revolve around these two poles, which in Greece at least do not necessarily coincide, but both together comprise the discipline known there as Ottoman Studies. The one-sided presentation of them would be erroneous and the picture given misleading. Ottoman Studies have only recently been included in the Greek educational system. Over the past decades, in several universities, Ottomanists have been teaching Ottoman history, or more correctly, the history of the Greek nation during the Ottoman period, within the departments of Modern Greek History. Only in 1980, was a department of Ottoman Studies set up in the newly-founded University of Crete. Why were there no specialist departments of, or courses on, Ottoman Studies, and Oriental Studies in general, in the Greek higher education system? It would be extremely simplistic to attribute the reasons to the traumatic experience of bondage which the 1821 War of Independence and the founding of the Greek State came to terminate temporarily, or to attribute them to the ideology of irredentism which ended in the 1930s with the fixing of national boundaries. The reasons should be sought mainly in the turn of the newly-founded Greek State to the West, to its choice of belonging there and to its cultural values, essentially continuing the tradition of the

Enlightenment. And it was only natural that the intellectual activities of the new state fell in line with this particular ideological orientation. Furthermore, the conjunctures of the period did not help in the quest for other directions. The contemporary theories of Fallmerayer on Greco-Slavs consumed generations of scholars in the study of medieval Hellenism. The conflicts and rivalries that sprung up in the Balkans with the creation of the new nation-states, and the changes in ecclesiastical structures became the pretext for the intelligentsia of Greece to turn its attention to the study of ancient Greek civilization, in order to promote the fact that among the peoples of the Balkans, the Greeks had the longest historical past.

In the educational system the historiographical line of Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos was adopted, as defined in his opus vitae, *A History of the Greek Nation*. A contemporary of his at the University of Athens was Pavlos Karolidis, from Cappadocia, an orientalist, who knew not only Turkish but several other Oriental languages. But the viewpoint of the Karamanli Karolidis was alien to the ideological inquiries of mid-19th-century Greece. Paparrigopoulos was very much a man of his day and he served its purpose well. His influence lasted a long time, until the restoration of democracy, after the fall of the Junta, in the 1970s, with some luminous exceptions of course, which, as always, prove the rule¹. It should be noted that this

¹See the interesting remarks and comments by Stephanos Pespatozoglou on Greek Historiography, in the Postscriptum entitled "Turkey, Europe and Greece: preliminary thoughts on certain preconditions for understanding the triptych", with which he concludes his two-volume work: *Ideology and Rhetoric. The concepts of the Turkish political forces on the European Community 1957-1993*, vol. II, Athens, Themelio-Foundation for Mediterranean Studies, 1993, 381-400.

retardation also applies to very important periods of Greek history, such as for example Byzantine times and the period of Latin rule. Organized university departments and research centres for Medieval Hellenism were late in coming and only established in the middle years of the 20th century. Consequently, the delay in the sector of Ottoman Studies follows this more general trend. Another reason why Ottoman Studies were far from the priorities of scholarship was the volume and wealth of the Greek sources themselves for this period. It is obvious that the 'home products' are studied first and then the others. I assure you that even today the amount of unpublished and unstudied Greek sources for the Byzantine and the Ottoman period is enormous.

No research centres for Ottoman Studies, like those in the other Balkan countries, were established in Greece. And if I may be permitted to make a parenthesis: I am most curious to learn what is the "Atina'daki Osmanlı Araştırmaları Enstitüsü", to which the journalist Taha Akyol refers in the newspaper *Milliyet* (11.9.99). To return, however, to the subject in hand, the backwardness does not just concern Ottoman Studies; it concerns the development of scholarship and research as a whole in Greece. Nevertheless, within this climate the Institute of Balkan Studies was established in the 1960s. Its aim was to study the Slav peoples of the Balkan Peninsula, and the Turkish language was included in the curriculum of its school. In my opinion no corresponding centre of Ottoman Studies

or Turcology was created in Greece because, first of all, there was no political goal. As historians we know, better than anyone else, I think, that organized studies have a political aim and are, to a considerable degree, instruments of propaganda of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs or a Ministry of Defence. In countries where Ottoman Studies have developed, the political interest preceded the purely scientific. Diplomats were the first Ottomanists. Examples abound in each country, from past to present. The Greek-Turkish rivalry in universities in the USA in the 1980s is telling in this respect¹. With this awareness, it is interesting to examine why there was no political incentive in Greece to create a research centre for Ottoman and Turcological Studies. It is clear that after the Second World War and the painful Civil War that followed, the foreign policy of Greece focused on her northern neighbours. Greece and Turkey became members of the same alliance, NATO, while the other Balkan countries joined the rival camp. In my view this counter-alignment defined Greek foreign policy in the Balkans until the time when the relationship of alliance between Greece and Turkey was disrupted by the Cyprus Question.

¹Sp. Vryonis, «Stanford and Ezel Kural Shaws' History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, vol. II, A Critical Analysis», *Balkan Studies* 24/1 (1978), 163ff; idem, *The Turkish State and History. Clio Meets the Grey Wolf*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki 1991. Feroz Ahmad, «La politique étrangère de la Turquie dans les années 80», in: Paul Dumont — François Georgeon (éds.), *La Turquie au seuil de l'Europe*, éd. L'Harmattan 1991, 219-238.

In addition to the above reasons, however, which are the obvious ones, I should mention some others, which I believe were perhaps more substantial as far as the non-creation of research centres and the non-existence of Ottoman and Turcological Studies in Greece are concerned, whereas these appeared from quite early on in the other Balkan states. The principal reason is that in whatever hostilities there were between Greece and Turkey throughout the 19th century, there was always migration of the minority populations. The Lausanne Conference, with the exchange of populations between the two countries, finally cleared the landscape, leaving a numerically small Muslim/Turkish population in Western Thrace, which is in no way comparable to the corresponding one in Bulgaria or in the former Yugoslavia. In these countries, with a Socialist, centralizing state, it was logical to establish centres for research on the minority Turkish populations, with all that this might entail¹. In other words, by and large enlisted research which quite often tampered with scientific results. One of the many examples that

¹Recent important contributions to the Bulgarian and the Romanian historiography of the Ottoman period, which describe the change in the approach to Ottoman history that has taken place in these two countries since the collapse of Socialism: Maria Todorova, «Bulgarian Historical Writing on the Ottoman Empire», *New Perspectives on Turkey* 12 (Spring 1995), 97-118; M. Miroiu, «Changing Attitudes Towards the Ottoman Historiography», op. cit., 119-128 and B. Murgescu, «Byzantine and Ottoman Studies in Romanian Historiography», in: *Clio in the Balkans. The Politics of History Education*, ed. Christina Koulouri, Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, Thessaloniki 2002, 148-162.

could be cited is the famous — *islamizatsia*¹ of the Bulgarian production, in which there is ideological abuse of the phenomenon of Islamization in order to explain the existence of the Muslims in Bulgaria. Heaven forbid that in saying this I should be misconstrued as wishing to reduce to the same level the contribution of these Balkan Research Centres to Ottoman Studies. This would be untrue and unjust for the contribution of the institutions themselves, and even more so for the scholars who worked in them.

Greece may have entered the field of Ottoman Studies late, but surely no one can doubt that it entered only with scientific desiderata. Essentially, Ottoman Studies appeared in Greece in the 1960s, not because the state created the preconditions for some short-term or long-term projects, but because the inevitable pressures of scholarship stimulated some persons to specialize in Turcology for the needs of the National Foundation for Scientific Research and the Historical Archive of Macedonia, a large Ottoman archive in Thessaloniki. In the late 1960s Elizabeth Zachariadou, Vasilis Dimitriadis and Pavlos Chidiroglou² published their first works, the quality of which is eloquent testimony to the difference

¹For the discussion of the Islamization, see S. Dimitrov, «Ottoman Studies in Bulgaria after the Second World War», *Études balkaniques* 2000, no 1, 29-58.

²See P. Hidiroğlu, «Yunan Türkoloji ve Türk Grecografyası Işığında Yunanlar ve Türkler», *XI. Türk Tarih Kongresi'nden ayrışım*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 1994, 2011-2020. P. Chidiroglou records his scholarly output together with critical evaluation of specialists, see idem, *Turkish Studies. A Personal Declaration*, (in Greek), Apostrophos editions, Corfou 1994.

between the work of a specialist and a non-specialist scholar. To the above founders of Ottoman Studies in the strict sense of the term, we add John Alexander and John Theocharidis, who presented works of analogous content.

I spoke just now about the difference between the work of the specialist and the non-specialist scholar. I refer to translations of sources that were published after 1930 and mainly after the Second World War, by erudite Greeks from Asia Minor and Constantinople, who spoke the Ottoman language. They continued essentially the work of Greek men of letters in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. The majority refugees, they are the same people as served the translation needs of the Greek state for many years. From among their circle was the group employed by I. Vasdravellis to translate the *kadi sicilleri* of Karaferya (Veroia) and of Thessaloniki. The Smyrniot, Nikolaos Stavriniadis, a civil servant in the translation bureau of the Ministry of Justice in Crete, has bequeathed us a splendid five - volume oeuvre with translations of the documents of the *kadi* of Candia (Herakleion). Much of Greek historiography is based on the fundamental work of these pioneers of Ottoman Studies in Greece, using, in parallel, Greek and foreign (mainly Western) sources from the Ottoman period of Greek history.

It would, I believe, be a dreadful mistake for us to regard Ottoman Studies as confined to knowledge of the Turkish Ottoman language and of all the

technical knowledge surrounding this, of palaeography, diplomatics, etc. At the beginning of my presentation, when I spoke of the content of the term "Ottoman Studies", I distinguished two categories. In the second I classed the production of studies on the Ottoman period of Greek history. This is a rich production, of excellent quality in recent decades, in which, through consulting published Greek, Western and Ottoman sources, new themes are studied or old ones approached by applying new methods and inquiries generated by the development and progress of historical disciplines in recent years. The works by Michalis Sakellariou on the Peloponnese in the second period of Ottoman rule, by Nikolaos Svoronos on trade in 18th-century Thessaloniki, by Spyros Vryonis on Hellenism in Asia Minor, the research by Spyros Asdrachas and others, have opened up new horizons for Ottoman Studies in Greece. For some sectors, such as the functioning of the communities, the processing of registers of various communities in the Ottoman period has given remarkable results, shedding light on the operation of this institution and its relations with the Ottoman authorities. Some may counter-argue that if the Ottoman source of an official chancellery is not used, then the product should not be included among Ottoman Studies. To which I hasten with the rejoinder that the study and processing of a Greek register kept by the council of elders (*demogerontes*) for its own needs, constitutes a mirror of the official Ottoman register and is very often a more fruitful source for illuminating issues such as the taxation potential of the population or the distribution of tax within the communities.

In the past decade, post-graduate lectures and seminars have been given on Ottoman subjects in some universities, the "National Hellenic Foundation for Scientific Research" (Athens) and the "Mediterranean Studies Foundation" (Rethymno), and post-graduate dissertations and doctoral theses have been prepared. Concurrently, young scholars continue to study and be trained, as always, in foundations abroad. So, as the 20th century draws to a close, alongside the handful of second generation Ottomanists, and with the active presence of the trailblazers of the first, a group of young scholars is taking shape. Motivated by personal interests, they are endeavouring to acquire the profile of the Ottomanist. After all, any advances in Ottoman Studies in Greece, so far, are due to the fervent interest and ongoing struggles of a few individuals. The efforts of the researchers in the Centre for Asia Minor Studies and the Ottoman Archive of Thessaloniki, who are cataloguing archival material and producing knowledge, are a case in point. The population and economy of various Greek regions, from the sources of the Ottoman registers; the topography and history of towns during the Ottoman period; the issue of *kanunnames* concerning the Greek lands; the regime of the Orthodox Church and the Patriarchate of Constantinople; the international symposia and conference proceedings published by the department of Turcological Studies in the University of Crete; the compiling of a bibliography of *Karamanlidika* printed texts: these are just some of the recent output of Ottoman Studies in Greece.

The ball is now rolling, the scientific needs are pressing and precious time could be gained by both Greece and Turkey if there were collaboration in an institutional framework between the two countries, which would support educational or research programmes of common scientific interest and exchanges of scholars. The profit will be great for both sides, as I have argued many times, and as has been demonstrated in the very few instances where the opportunity has arisen.

Always from the standpoint of Ottoman Studies, allow me, please, to ask a few questions. Without the help of Greek Studies, could the institution of the *Rum millet*i ever be studied? Could the Greek archival material in the Ottoman and other archives of Turkey ever be catalogued? And last, does involvement with the Rum communities in the Ottoman period come under the discipline of Greek Studies or Ottoman Studies?

The testimonies of sub-groups shed light on large groups, because most times they are disputatious, and therefore essential and enlightening for the behaviour and the institutions of the ruling power.



OTTOMAN STUDIES IN MODERN GREEK HISTORIOGRAPHY*

I

I should clarify from the outset that I have chosen to use the term *Ottoman Studies* instead of the term *Turkology*, because the Turkology that emerged from Oriental Studies was not and is not an exclusively historical discipline. Its principal subject was the language and literature of Turkish and other Turkic tongues, in parallel with study of the culture of the peoples speaking these languages. Proof of this is the fact that in Turkish universities today, Turkology is part of the discipline of Linguistics. In universities and research foundations in Europe and in the United States of America and Canada, the situation is rather more complex. Turkish/Ottoman Studies, being outside the body of the national history of the countries in these continents, constitute separate sections in the departments of 'Middle or Near

* The paper is published exactly as it was delivered orally on 29 October 2000, at the IVth International Congress of History 'Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Greece, 1833-2002', (Athens, 29 October — 3 November 2002), with the addition of relevant footnotes explaining and commenting on certain points which it was impossible to include in the body of the paper then, due to the strictures of time.

Eastern Studies'.¹ There the study of Turkic languages coexists with the study of the history of the corresponding tribes and peoples, the history of the Ottoman Empire, of Atatürk's Turkey and of the Modern Turkish State.² Very often the aforesaid subjects are also co-examined by the political and social sciences, that is the said Departments or

¹See the *Proceedings of the XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (1999), dedicated to Ottoman historiography, where Heath W. Lowry and Gilles Veinstein sketch respectively Ottoman Studies in North America and in France over the past fifty years. H. W. Lowry, «The State of the Field: A Retrospective Overview and Assessment of Ottoman Studies in the United States of America and Canada, 1949-1999», in *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara, 4-8 Ekim 1999), Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, I Cilt, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 2002, 1-59, and G. Veinstein, «Fifty Years of Ottoman Studies in France. An Essay of Thematic Bibliography», op. cit., 61-84. See also the review article of E. Toledano, «What Ottoman History and Ottomanist Historiography Are, Or Rather Are Not», *Middle Eastern Studies* 38/3 (July 2002), 195-207. In this study Ehud Toledano mentions as the main issue the lack of satisfactory intergration among the various sub-fields in Ottoman history. "Generally speaking", he notes, "our work has been revolving around at least four foci: central imperial history; Arab provincial history; Anatolian provincial history; and Balkan provincial history. And beyond this we have to study social, political, economic, cultural and other approaches as well, with some hyphenated combinations of two or more of these. A chronological division completes the diversified picture of Ottoman historical studies, through I am sure we could add a few more sub-sections of specifications».

²In 1971, I. Yannopoulos envisaged a similar centre of Turkish Studies in Greece, implying that Ottoman Studies, being included in Faculties of Letters, should not be restricted to serving the needs of our national historiography: 'Turkish Studies as such or Arabic Studies cannot flourish in the Faculties of Letters, which have another mission. Greece today needs a new university department or an independent university foundation, which will reconnect our country with the other peoples and in which the student will focus in his studies on the language and culture of his interest. Such institutions exist in many other countries, in which virtually all the languages of the world are taught', I.G. Yannopoulos, «The Development of Turkological Studies and the Need to Cultivate These in Greece», *Mnemon* 1 (1971), 5-22 (in Greek).

Studies Programmes are staffed by political scientists, international relations specialists, economists, anthropologists, ethno-linguists, art historians and so on, confirming what is known from the nineteenth century, that Turkological studies, as traditionally all Oriental Studies, are linked directly with political-strategic and economic interests.¹

II

The purpose of the foregoing remarks on *Turkology*, *Turkish*, *Ottoman Studies* was to underline indirectly the specific differences in the content of the terms, their use and their perception in Modern Greek historiography. They describe an exclusively historical discipline which examines, as is ascertained, the period of Ottoman sovereignty in Greek lands,² as these were inherited from the Byzantine Empire. It is precisely for this reason that I decided to use the term Ottoman Studies. In Greece, the terms *Turkology*, *Turkish*, *Ottoman Studies*, have a prescribed and prescriptive content. Here, Ottoman

¹See indicatively the programme of papers presented on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of operation of the Institute of Turkish Studies in Washington (11-12 October 2002). Under the title 'The State of Research in Turkish Studies 1982-2002', the programme included papers on Ottoman art and architecture, history, archaeology, social sciences, language and anthropology.

²For the term 'Greek lands' in the work of Paparrigopoulos, the geographical continuum that functions as a canvas for the romance between the Greek nation and time, see Sp. Karavas, «Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos and the national claims (1877-1885)», *O Politis* 104 (October 2002), 19-23 (in Greek).

Studies deal with the period of Ottoman rule in the Hellenic world, primarily in Greece and to a lesser extent in Asia Minor and the Balkans. It is therefore no accident that the very few Ottoman specialists in Greece work in departments of Modern Greek history in universities and research foundations. This is due to the fact that the subject of these studies in Greece is a long period of the country's recent history, that which is referred to in the scheme of national history as the Ottoman Occupation (*Turkokratia*). There are various chronological *termini* for this period. The appearance of the first Turkic tribes in Asia Minor, the founding of the Ottoman Empire and, last, the break up of the Byzantine Empire with the Fall of Constantinople, which was adopted mainly by Balkan historiography, are considered *termini post quem* for the Ottoman period. Several watershed events are given as *termini ante quem* too: the Greek War of Independence in 1821, the annexation of the New Territories or the Asia Minor Catastrophe in 1922, which also brought national consolidation, mark the end of Ottoman rule in Greece. The constant and incontestable factor is that the Ottoman Empire 'is studied' exclusively in relation to the needs of investigating or devising the *ad hoc* narrative of Greek history and the *ad hoc* chronological limits of the Ottoman period constitute each time a conjunction of these needs.¹

¹In Greek historiography, the Ottoman Empire and Turkey appear exclusively in articulation with the needs of narrating Greek history, and the turning points are counter-determined by those moments in the history of Hellenism that are considered marginally positive or disastrous for the Turks.' See St. Pesmatzoglou, *Europe – Turkey. Reflections and Refractions. The Strategy of the Texts*, Book I, publ. Themelio – Foundation of Mediterranean Studies, Athens 1993, 91 (in Greek).

III

After this first elucidation, that Ottoman Studies in Greece are almost exclusively a historical discipline which was incorporated in the body of our national history, as and when it was incorporated – issues I have discussed elsewhere¹ –, I pass to the second elucidation. I must clarify what Ottoman Studies I am talking about. And so I declare right away that I do not include in Ottoman Studies the total of Modern Greek historiography that has dealt with the Ottoman Empire or with the Ottoman period in Greek history. The Ottoman Studies that will concern us here do not derive from Kritoboulos, nor is their starting point K. Sathas's book '*Tourkokratoumeni Hellas*' (*Ottoman-held Greece*), since this, in terms of period at least, is inscribed in the historiography of recent and Modern Greece.² It becomes apparent that the Ottoman Studies that concern us here were imported relatively recently from the West into the scholarship of Greece, instituting a new autonomous field in

¹Evangelia Balta, «Ottoman Studies in Greece», *Ta Historika* 16/31 (Dec. 1999), 455-460 (in Greek). The English translation of this article was published in *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara, 4-8 Ekim 1999)*, op. cit., 243-248.

²I. Theocharides, «The Development of Turkological Studies in Greece», *Dodoni. Epistemonike Epeterida tou Tmematos Historias kai Archeologias tes Philosophikis Scoles tou Panepistemiou Ioanninon* 17/1 (1988), 19-60 (in Greek). I. Theocharides – Th. Stavrides, «Yunanistan'daki Osmanlı çalışmalarının Gelişimi», in *Yeni Türkiye. Türkler* (eds) H.C. Güzel et alii, (director of editorial committee) Prof. Dr. Y. Halaçoğlu, (editorial adviser) Prof. Dr. H. İnalcık, Ankara 2002, vol. 15, 99-104.

historical disciplines. Thus, I include in these Ottoman Studies, first the institution of the relevant undergraduate and postgraduate lecture courses or seminars that are organized in universities and scientific foundations, and second the historical knowledge produced by Ottoman specialists as well as historians who approach the Ottoman period with common problems and historiographic terms. In the last few decades there has been a rich historiographic output of high quality, which, drawing on already published Greek, Western, Balkan and Ottoman sources, studies new subjects or negotiates old ones by applying new methods and approaches generated in European historiography and in the sector of Ottoman Studies internationally. In order to explain exactly what I mean when I say that 'they approach the Ottoman period with common problems and historiographic terms', I shall give an example. I have argued elsewhere about the significance of the community registers as a source for understanding community solidarities, product *par excellence* of coercion in a conquered society in which there is collective responsibility for paying tax. It is clear that the community register is just as much an Ottoman source as is the fiscal register of the State Treasury. Thus the validity of an hypothesis on the manner of distribution of the taxes in the interior of the communities, based initially on study of two Ottoman registers of Santorini, of 1670, was confirmed subsequently by the testimony of a community

register of Andros, of 1721.¹ I cite the example of the Ottoman registers of Santorini and the community register of Andros, in order to show that the common problems considered and the common manner of approaching sources of more or less the same kind but in other languages, as well as the common methods and common tools employed, constitute the criteria which class in Ottoman Studies both the Ottoman specialist and the historian specialized in Modern Greek History. These same criteria designate as primary concern examination of the function of the community institution in the context of the conquering society, and as secondary the provenance and the language of the source, that is knowledge of the Turkish Ottoman language, Arab script and all the technical know-how surrounding this.

IV

The need to define the space and the content of Ottoman Studies in Modern Greek historiography has brought us to discussion of the essence of the subject, before touching on certain other issues.

¹Evangelia Balta, «Le rôle de l'institution communautaire dans la repartition verticale de l'impôt: l'exemple de Santorin au XVIII^e siècle», in the volume *Problèmes et approches de l'histoire ottomane. Un itinéraire scientifique de Kayseri à Eğriboz*, Istanbul 1997, 97-109. D. Dimitrakopoulos, «Family and fiscal registers in the Aegean islands during the Ottoman period», *Ta Historika* 14 (1997), 335-352 (in Greek).

— Ottoman Studies in Greece go back to the 1960s, a decade that was evidently crucial for Greek historiography. It was then that the first historians who are considered to represent Ottoman Studies in Greece studied in European universities,¹ published their first articles or completed their doctoral dissertations, which were published in the following decade. It is not fortuitous that Ottoman Studies in Greece date back to the 1960s. It was in this decade that the Royal Research Foundation (today, National Hellenic Foundation for Scientific Research) was set up and scholarships were awarded for studies abroad, in sectors that did not yet exist in Greece and ought to be created. Recognition of the needs of research had preceded.

— However, in order to put aside the ideological constraints and to take the first steps towards creating the preconditions for Ottoman Studies in Greece, more than two decades had elapsed. In 1939, in the preface to his study on the Peloponnese, Michalis Sakellariou had defined the Ottoman Studies that

¹These are Elizabeth Zachariadou, Vasilis Dimitriadis and Pavlos Hidioglou. The first, a fellow at the Royal Research Foundation was awarded a scholarship to study Turkology in London, in order to cover the needs of the newly-instituted Foundation in this sector. V. Dimitriadis and P. Hidioglou were sent to Britain and Germany respectively, and after their studies were appointed directors of the Ottoman archives in Thessaloniki and Herakleion. It is indicative that Ottoman Studies were initiated with the aim of covering needs in the research sector. It is still too early to introduce this discipline into the curriculum of Greek universities.

historiographic inquiries demanded.¹ And when he returned to this issue later, he stressed that 'lack of specialist knowledge burdened and burdens the historical synthesis of the Ottoman period, the study of which did not manage to acquire autonomy, but emerged from the disposition of introduction to the War of Independence'.² His underlining of the need to study the Ottoman period in its own right and not as a prelude to the 1821 War of Independence, that is his awareness of the need to organize a new field of scholarship, makes Sakellariou a precursor of Ottoman Studies. He had proved himself in his doctoral thesis on the Peloponnese. It is no coincidence that this thesis did not get the reception it deserved, but was only 'discovered' in 1978, when the timeliness of the problems considered coincided

¹ 'Except the paramount need for the proliferation of specialist scholars who will undertake the very important task of exploring the *terra incognita* of our historical past – on the one hand the confrontation of theoretical, methodological and organizational problems, on the other the systematization and organization of the future work in a manner pertinent and efficacious, capable of leading more directly to the comprehensive conception of the history of our nation during the Ottoman period', see M. V. Sakellariou, *The Peloponnese During the Second Period of Ottoman Rule (1715-1821)*, Athens 1939, v (photocopy reprint: Hermes Publ., Athens 1978) (in Greek). See Ch. Hatziossif, «Nikos Svoronos' contribution to Greek historiography. Fifty years of divergence and convergence», *Syghrona Themata* 38 (May 1989), 26 (in Greek).

² M. Sakellariou considers that 'Paparrigopoulos simply shifted his view from the Fall of Byzantium to the Revolution of 1821, and saw the whole of the Ottoman period from the perspective of the War of Independence, and ordered the events of the Ottoman period in such a way as to answer a particular problem: how was the Revolution possible and successful?', see *idem*, «Modern Greek Studies. Historical and Critical Planning. Third Period», *Nea Hestia* 33 (1943), 438 (in Greek). Also, Antonis Liakos, «The structuring of national time in Greek historiography», *O Politis* 124 (1993), 30 (in Greek).

with the historiographic inquiries of the post-dictatorship years, and it was reprinted by Hermes Publications. 1939 was too early for acceptance of a thesis in which, in the author's words 'all the local data of production, taxation, landholdings, administration, self-government, population are investigated and exposed'. For at that time the sector of historiography of the Ottoman period was monopolized by studies on the revolutionary movements of the Greeks against the Turks.

I also include Apostolos Vakaopoulos among the forerunners of Ottoman Studies in Greece, because in the vertical juxtaposing of events, in his '*History of Modern Hellenism*',¹ he uses systematically the existing international bibliography of Ottoman Studies, with special emphasis on the Balkan and Turkish. Concurrently, he utilizes Ottoman sources, published as well as unpublished, which Turkish-speakers translated for him. He is the first to draw methodically on the hitherto dormant translated Ottoman archival material. However, it should be noted that the translated Ottoman material for Northern Greece, which A. Vakaopoulos mainly processed, had been chosen for translation on the criterion of specific ideological directions, namely the quest for the identity of Hellenism. The tracing of Ottoman-held Macedonia in the scattered Ottoman sources of the various Greek state services was done with sole aim of finding proof of the 'Greekness' of

¹A. Vakaopoulos, *History of Modern Hellenism*, E. Sfakianakis & Sons, Thessaloniki ²1974-1988. (in Greek).

the northern region.¹ Nevertheless, we should acknowledge that in the positivist conception of national historiography, that A. Vakalopoulos served, this is the first time cracks can be discerned in the exclusivity of the use of Greek sources. The transcendence has, therefore, taken place.

Nikos Svoronos belongs without doubt among the ranks of precursors, as author of *Commerce de Salonique*² and as protagonist in setting up the department of Oriental and African Studies at the University of Crete. In 1980, as President of the Board of that University, he organized the institutional framework of the department, in accordance with international models.³ Neither the visionary personality nor the choice of a newly

¹ This is expressed overtly time and again in the prefaces of published volumes of Ottoman sources: 'From all these documents emerge more generally the following: a) the incontestable strength and vitality of Macedonian Hellenism and the continuous propensity towards national liberation, and b) that nowhere do Slavs appear in these documents, see *Historical Archive of Veroia. Selections*, ed. I.K. Vasdravellis, Thessaloniki 1942, iii (in Greek), and *Historical Archives of Macedonia. I Archive of Thessaloniki 1699-1912*, ed. I.K. Vasdravellis, Thessaloniki 1942, I (in Greek). It is obvious that the Ottoman sources translated were chosen with the aim of showing first the participation of the northern Greek region in the 1821 War of Independence — therefore the Greek morale was as developed there as in 'Old Greece' — and second of supporting the absence of a Slav element — therefore to prove the Greekness of the region. I believe that inquiries of this type in the approach to the Ottoman sources demonstrate that the demands of the day were different and the ideological orientations of recent Greek historiography were robust, under the dictate of the political expediencies of the period.

² N.G. Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIII^e siècle*, préface Ernest Labrousse, Editions PUF, Paris 1956.

³ Elisabeth Zachariadou and Vasilis Dimitriadis were engaged by the University of Crete, where they taught for about two decades.

founded university is fortuitous. Nikos Svoronos also tutored the group of young historians who were sent to study in France in the 1960s. There they opted to deal with subjects of the Ottoman period in their doctoral theses. Their personal inquiries, determined by *desiderata* of Modern Greek historiography, were fermented and formulated in the fertile climate of the currents of the *Annales* and the Braudelian tradition. They published studies, translated seminal articles into Greek, taught in university seminars in France, supervised dissertations of younger colleagues and when they returned to Greece after the fall of the Junta, they helped transfuse these new historiographic trends into the country.¹ Their enormous contribution to expanding the historiographic horizon of Modern Greek and contemporary history with new subjects, new tools, new interpretative models, will surely be discussed at this conference. I do not want to give the erroneous impression that I confine this contribution only to the sector of Ottoman Studies. Nevertheless, it is an undeniable fact that the personal historiographic output of these scholars lies mainly in the domain concerning the affranchisement of the mechanisms of the rural economy of the conquered, the organization of the settlement pattern, the demographic values and population movements

¹They are Spyros Asdrachas, Vasilis Panayotopoulos and Philippos Iliou, representatives of the 'new history' in Modern Greek history, in the period after the restoration of Democracy (1974). Eleni Antoniadis-Bibikou, settled in Paris in the same period as N. Svoronos, also soon turned to the study of recent and Modern Greece, and through her seminars in the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales shaped a host of young historians specialized in Modern and Contemporary Greece.

in Greece during the years of foreign domination, the study of craft industry, trade and communications in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as of the War of Independence, and so on. Their personal output and the influences they exerted contributed the leaven to the study of economic and social history and the history of ideas during the Ottoman period, directing interest to those sectors in which there was *par excellence* the possibility of examining collective phenomena and behaviours.

V

Ottoman Studies in Greece acquired substance in the decades 1980-2000. It is difficult to speak about trends or directions when the historiographic output still derives from an extremely small group of specialists. The subjects are determined by the narrow choices of priorities placed each time by the historiographic interests and the equipment of specific persons. The list of subjects which concerned Ottoman Studies in these twenty years includes: populations and economy of regions of Greece with source the Ottoman registers, topography and history of towns, publication of legislation on fiscal issues, the status of the Church and the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the reality of the new society, the history of monasteries and convents, the study of Greek communities. The subjects of the international meetings organized by the Turkish Studies Programme of the University of Crete were also

varied. Concurrently, some classic historiographic works were translated, translations of Ottoman chronicles with commentary were published, etc. Principal trait of the above is the destructuralist historiographic endeavour motivated, as I would like to believe, by the criterion of creating infrastructures for a future synthesis. This is one version. There is of course the other version, which is equally applicable, in conjunction with or independent of the previous one; the conscious choice to omit an overall view of Ottoman times as our history, as well as of the common Ottoman heritage in the Balkans.¹ As far as I know, only the theory of the Intermediate Region was proposed in Modern Greek historiography, a scheme that, beginning from the existence of a common Greek-Turkish space in the Byzantine-Ottoman past, maintained that the Ottoman Empire was not only the cultural but also the political expression of Hellenism.² In corresponding sectors, however, Balkan historians have distinguished and distinguish themselves with various 'explanatory schemes' that change depending on the political

¹I consider the main reason for avoiding comprehensive reviews of our Ottoman past is the fact that the basic axes of the dominant national ideology concerned this period and that there were numerous ideological conflicts and contradictions around these. Thus, the observed 'silence' should perhaps be interpreted as a refusal to adopt myths and stereotypes of Modern Greek ideology. Moreover, it should be noted that Ottoman Studies in Greece were not required to serve political dictates of the state machine, which fact protected them from various 'hermeneutic schemes'. As I have pointed out elsewhere, Greece may have entered the arena of Ottoman Studies late, but it cannot be doubted that it entered it solely with scholarly *desiderata*.

²The theory was postulated by D. Kitsikis, *History of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1924*, Athens 1988 (in Greek).

expediencies they serve.¹ The above remarks do not constitute evaluations or are not intended as evaluations. Nonetheless, a conspectus of the twenty-year output of Ottoman Studies in Greece is bound to note certain characteristic points. To me the most basic of these is the absence of involvement with the Ottoman historical phenomenon. In other words, after the oppression of Modern Greek historiography by ethnocentrism, dominant element in which was the quest for the Greek identity through its resistance during the whole of the Ottoman period, Ottoman Studies appear reluctant to grapple with fecund general assessments of a period that spans four, five or more centuries in some areas of Hellenism. Elli Skopetea's studies on the nineteenth century constitute an exception.² The fact that no systematic studies existed in this sector is an indirect indication of the strength and resilience of the dominant opinions. The exorcism by procrastinating, silencing

¹Bulgaria is a case in point. After the collapse of the Zivkov regime, the theory of 'islamizatsia' was rescinded and the 'vizroditelen protses' was condemned as abhorrent. In 'islamizatsia' the phenomenon of Islamization, forced or voluntary, had been mobilized to explain the existence of Moslems in modern Bulgaria and to support *a priori* their Bulgarian origin. The 'Renaissance' programme — which what 'vizroditelen protses' means — is the name given to the political act of changing the Muslim names of the inhabitants of Bulgaria. See Maria Todorova, «Bulgarian Historical Writing on the Ottoman Empire», *New Perspectives on Turkey* 12 (Spring 1995), 97-118.

²Elli Skopetea summarized the romantic historiographic approach to the problem of the Ottoman legacy in her book *The Twilight of the East. Images from the end of the Ottoman Empire*, Athens 1992 (in Greek); idem, «Turks and Balkans», in *The Balkans Yesterday – Today* (21 and 22 February 2000), publ. Society for Studies of Modern Greek Culture and General Education [Athens n.d.], 143-155 (in Greek).

and committing of subjects of this type to the Greek calends showed results when, in the 1990s, after the awakening of nationalisms in the Balkans, research and studies on ethnic groups and minorities in the Balkans were given precedence,¹ making them a popular historiographic field, under the political commands of the European Union and American globalization. Subjects then associated with processes of forming national ideologies, political and ethnic conflicts of the Balkan states seek interpretations and evidential material of necessity in the Balkans' common Ottoman past. But the basic researches did not exist, nor had processing of schemes other than comments on and analyses of the Paparrigopoulou view been made, both in Greek historiography and in the wider context of international interest in Greek history. Furthermore, the methodological tools for the study of the subject had not been developed.² So, in the absence of historiographic proposals, the political and social sciences undertook to handle the

¹Angeliki Konstantakopoulou described appositely the disturbance of the collective image and memory, as well as the metamorphoses in research and the production of historical memory in the Balkans after perestroika. See Angeliki Konstantakopoulou, «Postwar Balkan Historiography in the Present Turning Point», in *Septième Congrès International d'Etudes du Sud-Est Européen* (Thessalonique, 29 août – 4 septembre 1994), Athens 1994, 801-818; idem, «Balkan Historiography Yesterday – Today», in *The Balkans Yesterday – Today* (21 and 22 February 2000), publ. Society for Studies of Modern Greek Culture and General Education [Athens n.d.], 107-141 (in Greek).

²The interest in the last decade of the 19th century should be noted. A fertile example of the historiography of that period is the book by P. Matalas, *Nation and Orthodoxy: The adventures of a relationship. From the 'Helladic' to the Bulgarian schism*, Crete University Press, Herakleion 2002 (in Greek).

issue. Thus certain paradoxes are frequently observed, which could well be characterized also as anachronisms, since we observe issues of the present, which reflect very specific political-ideological problems, projected into the past. In the mayhem created by the awakening of Balkan ethnicity, the multinational Ottoman Empire emerges today as the paradise of religious tolerance, harmonious and peaceful coexistence of the Balkan peoples. Such views do not differ from that of the Ottomans' lenience towards the subject *millet*s, or correspondingly from that which systematically uses the characterization Ottoman minorities when referring to the millets, and indeed for years before 1869, which are promoted in a Turkological bibliography.¹ The significations are obvious, yet I still believe that it is the historian's duty to underline anachronisms of this type, wherever and whenever he/she locates them. According to Eric Hobsbawn, in most cases, the ideological abuse of history is based rather on anachronisms than on lies.²

So, the lacuna of the historiographic approach of Greece's Ottoman past occupies a manifoldly ahistorical conspectus with nonetheless scientific specifications. In the proposed analyses, the space or the economy predominates. Historical time is

¹S.R. Sonyel, «The Role of Christian Minorities in Efforts by the Great Powers to Dismember the Ottoman Empire», *Bulleten* XLIX, 42, 657-665 and idem, *Minorities and the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire*, publ. Turkish Historical Society, Ankara 1993.

²Eric Hobsbawn, *On History*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London 1997.

abolished, as is the institutional and human environment which constitutes the essential precondition for its constitution.¹ Last, studies of a new genre of historiographic discourse, grafted with post-modern approaches of synchronic character, which use – to cite and example once again – the term ‘terrorism’ for the liberation movements of peoples of the Ottoman Empire,² should be regarded more as a source or testimony for studies dealing with the embracing of history by politics, than as historiographic approaches *per se*.

To recapitulate: The Ottoman Studies to which we have referred had made the transcendence in the historiographic data of the period by studying Hellenism in the framework of the Ottoman Empire.³ Furthermore, the fields of Modern Greek historiography were widened with the appearance and the treatment of Ottoman documentary sources that were until recently unknown or inaccessible.

¹ E.g. G. Prévélakis, *Les Balkans. Cultures et géopolitique*, publ. Nathan, Paris 1994, 43. At the opposite end of this spectrum is Nikos Svoronos, who, without overlooking the important role of geography, bases his Marxist analysis of the ties of the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula, on their historical dimension, see N. Svoronos, «The historical substrate of inter-Balkan relations», *Annals of Modern Greek History and Historiography*, Themelio, Athens 1982, 259-274 (in Greek).

² J. J. Reid, ‘Terrorism in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Greece 1821-1878’, *Journal of Modern Hellenism* 12-13 (1995-1996), 57-93.

³ Again, I give some examples in order to make clear what I mean. The role of the Patriarchate is examined in the reality of the new society that was created after the Fall of Constantinople and not in the now outdated conception of the continuation of a Byzantine tradition. The economic situation of the Rums, which was determined by the *zimmi* regime to which they belonged, is examined in relation to the general conditions of economic life in the Ottoman Empire.

Moreover, the new subjects and the new problems that arose and arise from the dialogue with an international bibliography – we should not forget the international character of Ottoman Studies – in which Greek scholarship is of necessity engaged, are gradually reforming the previous historiographic view of Ottoman times. Ottoman Studies reform Greek historiography not only as concerns specific subjects but also methodology. In my view, the most important contributions of Ottoman Studies to Modern Greek historiography are the breaches caused to the prevailing ethnocentric irredentist view, which was concerned exclusively with studying Hellenism's resistance to the Ottomans, the doubts created in the until recently crystallized view of intransigent taxation oppression of the subjects by the Ottoman fiscal system, the debunking of the myth that insisted that with the Ottoman conquest the subject peoples sought refuge in the mountains. There can be no doubt that the first steps have already been taken, none the less many more steps will be required if we are to speak of Ottoman studies converging with Modern Greek historiography.



DEALING WITH CULTURAL
DIFFERENCE:
“ASIA MINOR REFUGEE” AND
“MUSLIM MINORITY”
FOLKLORE STUDIES IN GREECE

Evangelia Balta – Eftymios Papataxiarchis*

Introduction

This paper is a response to an invitation to address the issue of “Turkish folk culture studies in post-war Greece”. This general topic, however, is a kind of a paradox. For more than a century, since the middle nineteenth century, folklore studies in Greece were constructively involved in the process of ethnogenesis by showing that the Greek people (*laos*) belong to the Hellenic nation (*ethnos*¹). Cultural homogenisation was achieved either through the suppression of cultural difference (into silence) or, alternatively, through its imaginative reconstruction into similarity. According to the nationalist ideology it seems that only the folk who belong to the hegemonic national group deserve to have their lore formally acknowledged and studied. Folklore as an

*The paper is published in *VI. Milletlerarası Türk Halk Kültürü Kongresi. Son Elli Yılda Türkiye Dışındaki Türk Halk Kültürü Çalışmaları Seksiyon Bildirileri*, Ankara 2002, 38-53.

¹See, Herzfeld 1981.



academic discipline has to voice the hegemonic nation. The rest, and particularly the groups whose cultural identity is under the patronage of another state, are left without recognized folklore. As an effect, in this project no room is left for minorities. Turks in Greece have not been an exception. Strictly speaking Turkish folklore studies in Greece do not exist because they are a contradiction in terms.

This could have been the conclusion of an exceptionally brief paper. Yet, we decided to extend our study beyond the strict confines of the term "Turkish". In any case, terms that connote ethnic or national identities are part and parcel of our cultural subject matter rather than a straightforward, objective criterion of its classification. To decide the content of such terms we are left with options that are often polarised in pairs of opposites, such as subjective vs objective, indigenous vs analytical or people vs state definitions¹. As it will become evident in this paper we adopt an eclectic and dialectic view, one that keeps the balance between those alternative options by stressing the socio-politically conventional and historically variable character that the term "Turkish" has in the context of modern Greek state and society. On this basis we include in our analysis, primarily for reasons of comparison, two categories of people: "Anatolian refugees" and members of the "Muslim minority". Both categories historically emerge in the course of the 1920's and in the context

¹See Danforth 1995, Trumbeta 2001: 19-24.

of the Treaty of Laussane (1923) that provided the legal framework for the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey¹.

First, we are going to consider, primarily, folklore and, secondarily, anthropological studies of people who originate from the Anadolu, what is today Turkish Anatolia, or Asia Minor as it is known in Greece. These are the almost 1.200.000 Greek-speaking or Turkish-speaking Christians with a Greek national consciousness who came to Greece as refugees after the Greek-Turkish war of 1919-22, the so called "Asia Minor Disaster", and the exchange of populations. Anatolian refugees have experienced a longer symbiosis with ethnic Turks in the Ottoman context than the rest of Greeks. They are not Turks, yet because their Greek national consciousness has been shaped in the context of late Ottoman empire they are marginal to what may be called post-Ottoman studies.

Second, we are going to consider studies of what is officially known as the "Muslim Minority" of Thrace. The term includes Turkish-speaking, Pomak speaking and Rom Muslims, citizens of the Greek state, who have a long history of settlement in Ottoman Thrace and have been treated (together with the ethnic Greeks of Istanbul, Imvros and Tenedos) as "non-exchangeable" by the Lausanne

¹This paper is not an exhaustive review of the literature on these populations. Yet, we cover most of the works that employ anthropological and folklore perspectives.

Treaty. The historically flexible connection between religion and ethnic identity, that draws upon the system of *millet* classification, is the basis of their inclusion in our review. Far from being self evident, their inclusion in Turkish studies proper is further supported by the fact that a number of them are self-presented today as "Turks". On the other hand, it is complicated by the flexibly negotiable and historically varying character, both of their ethnic categorisation (and allegiances) and of the corresponding state categories of ethnic identification.

This paper surveys the broad spectrum of approaches to the study of culture and society (which we consider as two alternative ways of looking at the same "subject matter"), including more "modern" anthropological, geographical and social historical ones. More particularly it is a critical evaluation of folklore studies from an anthropological perspective. We are interested in depicting alternative folklore methodologies and assessing the contrasting ways in which folklore studies have been used in the management of cultural difference. The comparison between the "Asia Minor refugees" and the "Muslim Minority" studies is not only suggestive of the varying content of cultural identifications but also of the historically shifting strategies that contribute to their construction.

II. Anatolian Greek refugees and "Asia Minor Studies"

a. Introductory remarks

The post-war study of social and cultural arrangements among Anatolian refugees in Greece, often in connection with the study of their Anatolian homelands, has evolved in two places. The first phase is a continuation of internal developments in Greek folklore and lasts till the mid-seventies. During this period, which could be described as the apex of the so-called "Asia Minor folklore studies", the research focuses on the first generation refugees, the survivors of the so-called "Exodus" from Anatolia and primarily deals with their oral traditions and testimonies about life in their homelands. The second phase, which is connected to the post-war development of sociology and, latter, anthropology in Greece, starts in the seventies and goes on till today. The more recent wave of research shifts the emphasis to the historical present and situates the refugees in their current socio-economic and cultural context.

This schematic periodization sheds light upon a historical succession of two rather disconnected research paradigms, which are respectively inspired by folklore and social anthropology. Yet it should not be taken to suggest an absolute boundary in time: Asia Minor folklore studies, particularly those of an extra-academic character, are still a productive field. Yet as we shall see their institutional framework changed its character and gradually declined.

b. 'Asia Minor folklore studies': The Centre of Asia Minor Studies and the Refugee Associations

Asia Minor folklore studies evolved around two institutional poles, both of which were placed outside the Greek University and, therefore, were marginal to mainstream academic Greek folklore. On the one hand, it is the Centre of Asia Minor Studies (CAMS), a private but highly influential research centre which was founded in the early 1930s in Athens by an ethnomusicologist with strong French connections, Melpo Merlier. On the other hand, are the Refugee Associations (*Sylogoi*) which proliferated in the inter-war period in the major cities of Greece. Established by the urbanised and educated elites of the refugee population, these Associations capitalised on the civic spirit that was so prominent among Anatolian Greeks to provide the necessary social and intellectual environment for the reproduction of Greek Anatolian culture in the form of a discourse about 'the lost homelands' (*chamenes patriðhes*). Both projects had a powerful historical antecedent in the systematic attempt of the Greek Philological Association of Constantinople to collect elements of ethnic Greek popular culture in late 19th century Ottoman Empire¹.

¹The so called "Asia Minor Folklore Studies" initially focused on Ottoman Cappadocia and its ethnic Greek inhabitants. They emerged as a response to A. D. Mordtmann's view that the Greek language has never been the language of the Cappadocian people. See Anagnostakis and Balta 1994: 29. Also Balta and Kouroupou, 1997.

and, particularly, to prove the Greekness of Ottoman Cappadocians¹.

Merlier started her project in the form of an 'Association' (*Syllogos*) for the collection of songs and music of refugees from Thrace and Anatolia. Yet, soon after, in 1933, the folklore material that was necessary in order to put songs in context turned into an autonomous research objective, the objective of the 'Archive of Asia Minor Folklore', later called 'Centre of Asia Minor Studies' (1949)². The Centre of Asia Minor Studies was particularly interested in collecting and studying the oral testimonies of refugees³.

Merlier reproduced the research model that the founder of Greek folklore studies, N. Politis, initiated in the context of the so-called Folklore Archive (1918). She privileged a philological (rather than an ethnomusicological) model of documentation, which is reflected in the mode of collecting, through standard questionnaires, classifying and storing evidence. She further applied a tripartite division of

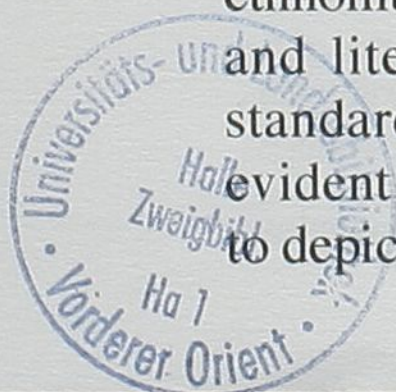
¹The most systematic attempt to prove the Greekness of Ottoman Cappadocia has been made by the Greek Philological Association of Constantinople in the course of the last half of the 19th century. The Association made a plea to priests, teachers and doctors to collect the "living monuments" that proved the Greekness of Cappadocia.

²See Merlier 1948 and 1951. The very interesting and useful works of I. Petropoulou (1995, 1998) and P. Papelia (2000) have been a valuable source for the construction of the interpretive framework which we present here. Also see Kitromilides 1996 and Yannakopoulos 1993.

³See the collections of oral testimonies edited by Ph. Apostolopoulos (1980) and Y. Mourellos (1982).

research labour. At the upper level, in full command of the research and writing up process was Melier herself and a group of distinguished, Greek and foreign, scholars from a number of disciplines: folklore, history, literature. Among them were distinguished Asia Minor specialists such as R. Dawkins, distinguished writers such as Nobel Prize winner G. Seferis, folklorists such as D. Petropoulos and D. Loukatos or philologists as N. Andriotes. At the middle level there was a large group of more than 30 amateur researchers, who handled the questionnaires, producing in the course of 40 years 150.000 handwritten pages of material on the oral tradition of refugees. At the bottom of this research hierarchy were the refugee informants. More than 5.000 refugees from 1375 Anatolian settlements (out of a total of 2163) collaborated in this project. The outcome was really impressive: An 'archive about archiving', as it has been accurately described (Papaelia 2000), the CAMS contains, besides the material from interviews, a rich collection of biographical notes about the informants, and also extremely interesting material on the researchers' itineraries.

Merlier's methodological borrowings from 19th century folklore were mixed with influences from ethnomusicology as well as from geographical history and literary modernism. The questionnaires were standardised and applied to all cases despite the evident cultural heterogeneity. A main concern was to depict the cultural similarities between Anatolian



and mainland Greeks¹. More emphasis was given to religion², as a lower and more basic, common denominator of cultural identity. Language³ was also an important concern.

What is particularly interesting is the shaping influence of geography in Merlier's methodology. Merlier was not primarily interested in the cultural idiosyncrasy of the refugees, nor was she inclined to consider the context of their current settlement in Greece. Instead, she gave special emphasis on the geographical details of the Anatolian landscape and the microtopography of settlements. Merlier rested on Roman geographical terminology and on the symbolic standing of particular refugees for particular places. The massive material that was collected by the assistants was classified in geographical terms, according to the Roman (rather than Ottoman, official Turkish or unofficial, 'vernacular' Greek)

¹This accounts for an undercurrent of theoretical tensions and contradictions in the CAMS project. In the 1950's Merlier was referring with respect and admiration to the 'new science of ethnography' or was envisioning a collaboration with Ottoman and Turkish studies. Yet, in a review of the work that has been accomplished in the study of Cappadocia she does not hide her enthusiasm for "attributing to Cappadocia her 'Greekness'" (Petropoulou 1995: 463).

²The publications of the Centre include the work of distinguished folklorists of the time, such as Loukopoulos and Petropoulos (1949). Petropoulos and Andreades (1971), who focused on religious aspects of life in Cappadocia, employing the archival material of the Centre. Also see Marava-Hadjinikolaou (1953).

³The publications of the Centre also include the work of philologists such as Nikolaos Andriotes (1948, 1961), Kessisoglou (1951) and Kostakes (1964, 1968) on linguistic idioms employed by the refugees. Also see Bouyoukou-Moussaiou (1961, 1976), Caratzas (1954), Loucopoulos and Loukatos (1951) and Mavrochalividis and Kessisoglou (1960).

classification of Anatolia, a classification that of course had to be enriched since not every settlement could be traced in Roman times. These places were symbolically resurrected through the mediation of actual persons. Having lived in these places, and via the medium of orality, the refugee informants were symbolically borrowing their actuality to the taxonomy, they were filling the maps with 'real life', thus turning the place-names into a sort of actual places¹.

It is in the context of these methodological strategies (and stratagems) that the ideological dimensions of the Centre's objective to 'resurrect' the homeland of the refugees become transparent. The researchers actual work was to transplant the refugee settlements of origin on the Greek ground using informants' narratives as the raw material for this transplantation. Thus Anatolia was reborn as a homogeneous Greek space, it was reconstructed as a place of Greek loss, not of Turkish presence. This further accounted for a greater Hellenism, which was incorporated within the Greek national narrative, an ideological recuperation of the plan that has politically (and military) failed.

Side by side to the Centre the refugees themselves started publishing their memoirs, first in refugee newspapers and latter in books. This intellectual and publishing activity gradually became

¹On this point see the very interesting analysis of P. Papaelia (2000: 78-137).

anchored to the Refugee Associations that proliferated in various parts of Greece. One of the primary objectives of the so called *Syllogoi*, the most prominent and well organised of which are those of Smyrna and Pontos, was to 'conserve' the history and oral tradition of the 'lost homelands'. Some of the *Syllogoi* had libraries and kept archives of their own, published newspapers, journals, often of a scholarly nature¹, as well as monographs on Anatolian villages, towns or whole regions². Despite the fact that most Associations worked more with the logic of the museum rather than the archive, and they functioned as social clubs, they contributed to the scholarly production of very rich material on refugee language and folklore (songs, proverbs, tales etc.)³.

Given the scope, the wide breath and the participatory structure of the Associations' activity one could think that they acted as competitors of the Centre of Asia Minor Studies. In fact they functioned more in a complementary manner within a quasi-institutional hierarchy. The Centre exercised a powerful hegemony over its more amateur institutional co-sociates and partners in a common project of 'salvaging' the refugee oral tradition. The Associations contributed to the education, not to say enculturation, of the refugee elite in the research

¹The most distinguished of these journals are *Mikrasiatika Chronika* and *Archeion Pontou*. Also see: *Pontiaki Hestia*, *Pontiaki Stoa*, *Pontiaka Chronika*, *Pontiaka Fylla*, *Mikrasiatiki Echo*, *Mikrasiatiki Hestia* and *Prosphygikos Kosmos*.

²See for example the work Eupraxiades (1988) on Prokopi/Ürgüp.

³For a survey see Meliones (1975) and Hatzimoïsis (1981).

methodologies and literary styles of presentation proposed in practice by the Centre. However, the extensive activities of the Refugee Associations are particularly suggestive of the politics of memory that shaped Asia Minor Studies. In the pages of the many journals and books, where the refugees speak themselves about themselves and their places of origin, the rhetoric of remembering, as it relies on the nostalgic contrast between a glorious past and a miserable, thus silenced, present, becomes a powerful reminder of the huge predicament that the refugees faced during the first decades of settlement in the Greek mainland and the islands. As we move from top to bottom, to the refugees themselves, Asia Minor (folklore) studies turns into a huge political project in search for the symbolic means to deal with displacement and marginalisation, a project in search for recognition. It is in this context, in the context of the trauma of displacement to the socioeconomic and political margins of the Greek state that the imaginative reconstruction of 'lost homelands'¹ functions as a means of empowerment and reworking the present in terms of the past. The politics of remembering are the other side of the politics of forgetting.

The gradual development of the social sciences in post-war Greece marked the emergence of a new paradigm in the study of the Asia Minor refugees, a

¹This reminds the telescopic ethnicity of Macedonian *gastarbeiter* in Australia (Danforth 1995) or the great symbolic value attributed to 'villageness' among internal migrants in Greece (see Papataxiarchis 1990).

paradigm that shifted the emphasis to the historical present and placed the refugees in their current context of settlement. Sociological, geographical and anthropological studies of refugee economic, social and cultural patterns of accommodation in their new environment went beyond the historically prevailing folklore tradition that has been shaped around the politics of remembering¹. Aspects of refugee culture were particularly approached not as mere indexes of past ethnic identity but in the context of a "whole" way of life, in connection to gender and family arrangements². These studies systematically described the socioeconomic predicament facing the refugees. They also registered the cultural differences between the refugee populations and the mainland Greeks³.

III. Muslim minority

a. Introductory remarks

According to the Treaty of Lausanne, religion is the defining characteristic of the minority in Thrace. The 'Muslim minority', as it is widely known, is constituted by a majority of Sunni Turkophones but also by a considerable number of Sunni or heterodox Pomak speakers, and a number of Rom (Gypsies)⁴.

¹For example see Sandis 1973 and Gutenschwager 1971.

²A good example is Hirschon 1989.

³For an interesting comparative comment on the implication of forced migrations see Loizos 1999.

⁴For a geographical overview see Dalègre 1997. Also see Andreades 1956.

Academic scholarship concerning these populations, and particularly studies in folklore, ethnology and comparative linguistics, are inextricably involved in the political management of the minority issue through the production of the necessary 'evidence' for the support of political and ideological strategies that fluctuate in time. The historically latent and today more manifest politicisation of this scholarship, have turned Muslim minority studies into a ground of contestation between competing theoretical paradigms. As we shall see, side by side with the militant ethnocentrism of the more traditional folklore studies recently develops a new current of mostly anthropological, sociological and social historical studies of cultural identity which are inspired by social constructionist perspectives.

However, the most striking feature of the literature on the Muslim minority is the differential treatment of its ethnic components. The segment of the minority that is conceived, because of its cultural characteristics, as being culturally affiliated with the neighbouring Turkish State is mostly covered by academic silence¹. Turkophone Sunnies are thought to be under Turkish patronage, and, therefore, their study should be a Turkish and not a Greek concern (Trubeta 2001: 82-83). They are very few exceptions to this predominant view². Pomaks and Gypsies, on

¹A characteristic example are the Proceeding of the First Symposium on the Folklore of Northern Greece (including Thrace), organised by the Institute of Balkan Studies in 1974.

²See the musicological study by Empeirikos and Mavrommatis 2000.

the other hand, and despite the fact that their education is specially regulated according to the Lausanne Treaty, because they are considered by many as not 'disposing' a national state with which to preferentially associate, have been a popular 'object' of study by Greeks, Turks and Bulgarians¹.

b. Pomaks and Rom folklore and anthropological studies

The cultural identity of Pomaks, the Slav speaking Muslims of Thrace is an amalgam of characteristics that from the viewpoint of the dominant national ideologies are considered to be contradictory. This has invited a lot of attention to the Pomaks. From a Bulgarian perspective and on the basis of their language they are considered as islamised Bulgarians². From a Greek perspective they are represented as an ancient Thracian tribe, the original inhabitants of Thrace. Finally, from a Turkish perspective they are viewed as descendants of Turkoman tribes that settled in the Balkans in the 11th century. A number of important studies³ have recently shown how Pomak identity is constructed and reconstructed in the course of this century and in the context of the changing landscape of inter-state

¹One particular aspect that has attracted considerable attention is heterodox Islam. For example see Popovic 1994a, 1994b and Zengin 1988 and 1991.

²See Angelov, 1948, 1950; Boev, 1972; Apostolov, 1996; Karagiannis, 1997.

³See Tsibiridou (2000) and Trubeta (2001).

relations in the wider region. These studies also suggest that the inclusion of the Rom population of Thrace in the Greek ethnocentric discourse about the region has been constrained by the fact that the discussion of their origins could not merge with the trajectory of "ancient Greek ancestry"¹.

During the last two decades, the Pomaks, together with other ethnic groups, are being 'rediscovered'. On the one hand, the changing strategies of the Greek state and the wider interest in ethnic diversity created an environment that encouraged the study of cultural 'others'. For example, programs of intercultural education in Thrace provided a context for a rigorous critique of ideological and methodological ethnocentrism². On the other hand, and probably as a reaction to these developments, Pomak studies turned also into the site of the revival of most conservative forms of folklore. In this literature the Pomaks (sometimes with the Rom population) are depicted as the cultural other to the Turkish-speaking Sunnis, as the 'most Greek' (and in logical juxtaposition, as the 'less Turk') of the Greek Muslims.

¹Trubeta, 2001: 193. On the Rom population see Lithoxoou 1991, Zengin 1994 and Yannakopoulos 2000.

²See Fragoudaki and Dragona 1997. Also see the work done by KEMO. On education among the Pomaks see Frangopoulos 2000.

A number of these folklore studies apply 19th-century folklore methodologies, often in a 'modern' disguise¹. Aspects of the Pomak social and cultural life, with a special emphasis on religion and music, are depicted primarily through the use of standardised questionnaires. The collected material is cited in an additive fashion and without reference either to the wider context or to the context of the research itself. Thus material that is collected in different periods is grouped together. The resulting image is placed within the wider comparative frame of Greek folklore proper, so as to suggest similarities between the Pomaks and Christian Greeks. Studies on Islam are selectively used to contextualise aspects of Pomak life that are considered as indicative of cultural underdevelopment (e.g. low position of women). And the Pomaks themselves are either kept into silence or their voices are selectively and carefully edited.

On the other hand, we have a growing anthropological and sociological literature, which is committed to an anti-essentialist programme. Here we can distinguish two categories of studies. First, we have mainly anthropological studies, which have a narrow focus on a particular community. These studies apply the methodology of participant observation and the holistic approach in order to analyse the complex interconnections and linkages between spatial arrangements, kinship and the

¹For example see Varvounis 1996, 1997. On Pomak folklore also see Mitsakis 1970, 1983 and Theocharidis 1995.

family¹, gender, economic, and social and religious practices², all set within the wider context of Pomak cosmology. Some of these studies analytically conceive culture as 'being everywhere'. Others adopt a more sociocentric view and give lesser attention to culture. Second, we have mainly sociological studies that analyse the construction of Pomak identity in its historical context, giving special emphasis to the role of the state and thus privileging methodologically 'a view from above'³.

IV. Conclusion: time, space and the 'other' in Greek folklore studies

As an academic discipline, but also as popular practice, folklore has been historically involved in the treatments of cultural difference. More particularly, in the Balkan case folklore assumed the status of a state discipline because it was directly involved in the process of national formation. Folklore studies historically served the cause of national homogenisation by furnishing the cultural materials, which were necessary in order to 'prove' the essential identity of the nation. Yet this was done in a variety of ways. The case of 'Turkish folk culture studies' in Greece is highly suggestive of this variation. In this concluding section we would like to

¹See Tentokali (1988), Tsibiridou (1986, 1994, 1998). For an earlier example see Vernier 1981. Also see Yannopoulou-Roukouni 1983.

²See Fragopoulos (1994).

³An excellent example is Trubeta (2000).

pursue further the comparison of the two fields, 'Asia Minor' and 'Muslim Minority' studies, giving a special emphasis to the contrasting ways in which folklore is implicated in the management of cultural difference.

Nineteenth and early twentieth-century Greek folklore dealt with the popular culture of diverse groups who lived within the Greek state. The places where these groups lived, Roumeli, Peloponnese and the islands were firmly established as Hellenic since they were under the sovereignty of the Greek state. What was at stake were the Hellenic origins of their inhabitants. The task of cultural homogenisation was accomplished by folklorists with arguments about cultural continuity and a methodological emphasis on time and origins. In 20th-century Greek Anatolian folklore, what was at stake is primarily space. As we saw, the massive project directed by Merlier was organised in the form of a huge call: numerous settlements, villages and towns declared their presence through the voice of particular individuals who came forward and with their energetic memory filled the gap. The work of memory symbolically reappropriated the lost space, turned Turkish Anatolia into Hellenic Asia Minor and offered the refugees a firm basis for identification with the rest of the Greeks.

Put otherwise, the folklore of Anatolian refugees was in the usual business of cultural homogenisation. Yet the exceptionally participatory structure of their

massive project, its marginality within the academia plus its merging with the Refugee Associations created a tension between means and ends. This tension accounts for an eventually differentiating outcome of the whole project. In refugee folklore studies considerable room was left for refugee voices. These voices increasingly registered difference within similarity thus undermining the objective of homogenization. This trend became more marked after the seventies, when the Centre's hegemony declined and decentralised, non-academic forms of folklore developed in connection to a resurgence of localism.

The liberating potential of the Centre's archival practices, that strongly anticipates the reflexive turn in anthropology as well as 'demotic' forms of folklore that flourished after the 1970s, strongly contrasts with the methodologically archaic and politically suppressive overtones of more recent Pomak folklore. At first sight, Muslim minority folklore seems to be a unique departure from the homogenisation project. (Turning Muslims into Christians seems to be an extreme, not to say impossible task, even for folklorists!) Indeed, what is at stake here, at least in programmatic terms, is the demonstration of difference. Yet that difference is tailored in accordance with the bipolarity between an essentially Greek and an essentially Turkish identity. The rigid, intellectually authoritarian character of this project, the use of archaic, 19th-century methodologies that favor 'a view from above' and

deny space (and voice) to the Pomak eventually cancel any attempt to systematically study Pomak otherness. The depiction of cultural difference with ethnocentric means is a contradiction in terms. This contradiction totally undermines the scientific credibility of this project and reveals the political and ideological agenda to which it is committed.

If refugee folklore started as a process of cultural homogenisation to end as a process of differentiation, the opposite is true about Pomak folklore that through a rhetoric about difference came to serve the programme of homogenisation and suppression of otherness. The way out of the methodological predicament that Pomak folklore studies confront lies in the adoption of more reliable methodologies. It also rests in the capacity of scholars, folklorists, anthropologists and other students of culturally constructed identities, to keep their distance from state ideologies and projects and, why not, try to be critical and reflective.

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YUNANISTAN'DA TÜRK ARŞİVLERİ*

Türk Hükûmetinin Ermeni Sorunu dolayısıyla Osmanlı arşivlerini yeniden düzenleme yolundaki girişiminin güncelleştiği şu sıralar, yurt dışındaki Türk arşivlerinden Yunanistan'dakiler hakkında bilinmesi gerekli bazı noktalar ve düşünceler.

Yunanistan'da bulunan Türk arşivlerinin çağdaş Yunan (ve Türk) tarihi için çok önemli bir kaynak olduğu sık sık tekrarlanmaktadır.¹ Yunanistan'da tarihle ilgilenenler bu arşivlerin ulusal benliğin aydınlanması yönündeki önemini de her fırsatta belirtmekle birlikte, Yunanistan'daki Türkoloji çalışmalarıyla bu arşivlerin ilişkisi tam olarak değerlendirilmemiştir.² Oysa Türk arşivlerinin değerlendirilmesi Türkoloji eğitimiyle doğrudan ilişkilidir. Ya da başka türlü söylersek, bu arşivlerin bugünkü durumu, Yunanistan'daki Türkoloji çalışmalarının düzeyini yansıtmaktadır.

* Bu yazının aslı, "Sinhrone Temata" dergisinde (35-36-37) Aralık 1988 tarihinde yayınlanmıştır.

¹ "Osmanlı arşivi" herhalde daha doğru bir terimdir. Ancak "Türk arşivi" çok kullanılmış olduğundan biz de burada, Türk elyazmaları, Türk idaresi gibi terimleri kullanmaya devam edeceğiz.

² İ. G. Yanopulou, "Yunanistan'da Türkoloji eğitimi ve gerekliliği" (Yunanca) *Mnimon* 1 (1971) s. 16-22.

Bu arşivlerle ilgili konuları şöyle sıralayabiliriz:

1 - Türk arşivleri Yunanistan'da nasıl bulunmuştur ve şu anda nerededirler?

2 - Osmanlı Devleti'nin yönetim sisteminin yapısı neydi ve bu soruya bağlı olarak, bu arşivler neyi içermektedirler ?

3 - Kaynak olarak, çağdaş Yunan tarihi için önemleri nedir ?

4 - Bugüne dek bu arşivler nasıl değerlendirilmişlerdir ve bundan böyle Yunan tarihçiliği nasıl bir yaklaşım izlemelidir ?

5 - Bugün bu arşivler nasıl düzenlenebilir ?

Son iki nokta, yani Osmanlı idaresi süresindeki çağdaş Yunan tarihçiliği açısından Türk arşivlerinin önemi, bu arşivlerin değerlendirilmesi ve kapsadıkları konuların ortaya çıkarılması, üzerinde durulması gereken önemli iki konudur.

Bugünkü Yunanistan uzun bir süre Osmanlı Devleti'nin bir parçasıydı. Bu Osmanlı idaresi kaçınılmaz olarak geride arşivlerini de bırakmıştır. 1821 tarihinde ayaklanıp bağımsızlık kazanmış olan yörelerde, herhalde uzun süren bağımsızlık savaşları nedeniyle, genellikle önemli arşivler bulunmamıştır. Devrim sonrası kuşakların ilgisizliği ve Osmanlı yönetimiyle ilgili her kalıntıya karşı gösterilen

küçümseme yüzünden bu arşivlerin yakımı daha da köklü olmuştur.¹

Ayrıcalıklar ve vergi indirimleri sağlayan az sayıda berat ve fermanlar büyük manastırlarda bulunmuştur. Bu tür idarî dökümanlar Yunan elyazmaları arasında adalarındaki cemaatlerce saklanmış ve korunmuşlardır.² Mora ve Karayunanistan'ın arşivleri geniş çapta zarara uğramışlardır. Aile arşivlerinde saklanmış ve sonra da devlet arşivlerine aktarılmış belgeler günümüze varabilmişlerdir. Böylece bugün Tarih ve Etnoloji Kurumu'nda, Ulusal Kütüphane'de, Benaki Müzesi'nde ve Devlet Arşivleri'nde yüzlerce Türk belgesi bulunmaktadır.

Ama 1912 yılında bağımsızlığını kazanmış olan yörelerde arşivler korunmuştur. Böyle arşivler Girit'te, Sakız'da, Kastorya'da, Yanya'da, Kozani'de, Veria'da ve Selânik'te bulunmuştur. Bu arşivlerin tümü bugün elimizde değildir, çünkü bunların bir bölümü Balkan Savaşları sırasında bir bölümü de Alman işgali ve İç Savaş sırasında yok olmuşlardır.

¹Mih. V. Sakelariou, "Yeni Yunanistan Tarihi'nin Kaynakları", (Yunanca) *Nea Estia*, 39 (1946), s. 106-108, 156-158. Aynı yazar, "Yeni Yunanistan Tarih Çalışmaları", *Near Estia* 33 (1943), s. 811.

²D. A. Zakintinos, "Kiklad adalarında eski yazıların incelenmesi" (Yunanca *Epitiris Eterias Kikladikon Meleton* 5 (1965) s. 715-736. Kiklad adalarındaki bu Türk arşivi *Etniki Trapeza* Bankası'nın Tarih ve Arşiv İdaresi tarafından mikrofilme alınmıştır.

Genel bir biçimde özetlersek bugün elde bulundurulan arşivler şunlardır:¹

1 - Girit'in Hanya kentinde bulunan Tarihî Arşiv²

2 - Girit'in İraklion (Kandiya) kentinde bulunan Tarihî Arşiv³

3 - Veria Arşivi⁴

4 - Kozani Tarihî Arşivi⁵

5 - Onikiada Arşivi

6 - Selânik'teki Makedonya Tarihî Arşivi.⁶

Bir dereceye kadar düzenlenmiş bir Türk arşivinin neleri içerdiğini göstermek için bu son arşiv ile ilgili birkaç noktaya değinip genel sınıflandırılmasını göstereceğim. Makedonya Tarihî Arşivi şunları içermektedir :

¹Burada bütün olarak incelenmiş arşivler gösterilmektedir. G. S. Plumidis, *Yeni Yunan tarihçiliğın kaynaklarına bir şema* (Yunanca) Noti Karavias kitaplığı, 1977.

²N. V. Tomadakis, *Girit tarih arşivinin ve öteki maddelerin dökümü* (Yunanca) Hania, 1933. N.I. Papadakis, "Girit Tarihi Arşivinin Görevi", Hania, 1934. Aynı yazarın "Girit Tarih Arşivleri 1204-1915" (Yunanca) *Deltion İstorikis ke Etnografikis Eterias* 8 (1922), s. 333-367.

³N. S. Stavrınidis "Girit tarihiyle ilgili Türk arşivinden çeviriler" (Yunanca) cilt 1-4, (1975-1984).

⁴I. Vasdravelis, *Veria Tarihi Arşivi ve Makedonya Tarih Arşivleri* (Yunanca) Selânik 1943 ve 1954.

⁵A. Sigalas, *Makedonya cemaatlerinin fikir yaşamından* (Yunanca) Selânik 1939, s. 89-93, 101-108.

⁶I. K. Vasdravelis, *Veria Tarihi Arşivi ve Makedonya Tarih Arşivi* (Yunanca), Selânik 1952 ve *Makedonika* dergisi 2 (1941-52) s. 89-128.

A - Selânik ve etraf kazalarla (Kilkis, Katerini, Kasandra) ile sicil defterleri arşivi. Selânik'in sicil defterleri arşivinden elimize 1694-1912 yıllarının 337 elyazması varmıştır.

B - 19'uncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısını kapsayan mahkeme arşivi.

C - Selânik vilâyetinin ve öteki kazalarının idarî arşivi.

D - Makedonya vakıflarının yönetimiyle ilgili defterleri de kapsayan tapu ve vergi arşivleri.

Bu Makedonya Arşivi'nden de anlaşılacağı gibi Yunanistan'daki Türk arşivleri Osmanlı Devleti'nin idarî mekanizmasıyla doğrudan ilişkilidirler. Her sancağın başkentinde, kadı ve sancak beyi Bâb-ı Âli'nin ve Sultan'ın emirlerini uygulayan kimselerdir. Merkezden emirler önce onlara varır ve geçerli sayılmaları için zabıtlara geçirilirdi.

Yunanistan'da bulunan Türk arşivleri — eğer tapular gözönüne alınmazsa genelde "siciller"den oluşmaktadır. İki kategori elyazması görüyoruz:

1 - Halka duyurulmak üzere kadıya ve öteki idarî mercilere gönderilen merkezî idarenin emirnameleri (fermanlar, beratlar, buyurultular). Bunlar kimi zaman özel yöresel konularla ilgiliydiler (vergi ayarlamaları, üretimin ve nüfusun sayımı gibi), kimi zaman ise daha geniş konularla ilgili emirlerdi

(seferberlik, savaş ilânı gibi). Bu kategoriye özel kimselerin ya da cemaatlerin şikâyetlerine ve isteklerine merkezin verdiği cevapları da katmak gerekmektedir.

2 - İkinci kategori, ceza medenî kanunla ilişkili kararları ve çeşitli toplumsal ve özel kişileri ilgilendiren kadı yargılarını kapsamaktadır. Bunların içinde bir hakemi gerektiren her türlü ekonomik, toplumsal ya da kişisel sorunları görebiliriz; özellikle medenî yargıyla ilgili protokolleri, satışları alışverişleri, kira anlaşmaları, aile düzenlemelerini, servetlerin sayımını, cinayetlerin ve hırsızlıkların muhakemesini buluyoruz.

Bu çok önemli ve çok geniş bilgi kaynağını yeterince tanımıyoruz. Hatta daha nelerin var olduğunu ve nerede bulunduğunu da bilmiyoruz. Bu Türk arşivlerinin gene! durumunu biliyoruz yalnız; bu yüzden de daha kapsamlı bir biçimde nasıl yararlanabileceğimizi söyleyecek durumda da değiliz.

Yunan tarihçiliği bu arşivleri gözönünde almadan ilerlemiştir. Osmanlı süresiyle ilgili bilgiler Yunan tarihçiliğine çok kısıtlı birkaç istisna dışında Yunan arşivlerinden, gezginlerden, Yunanlı ve Batılı anılardan, sefirlerin yazışmalarından ve Batı'daki arşivlerden aktarılmıştır. Ve bu uygulama yalnız gerekli özel bilgilerin eksikliğinden (yani Türkçe'nin ve eski yazının bilinmemesinden) doğmamıştır, ama daha çok bu konularla ilgili problematiğin gelişmemiş olmasından süregelmiştir. Örnek olarak da İ.

Vastravelis'in ve N. Stavrinidis'in çevirmiş oldukları elyazmalarını gösterebilirim.¹ Birkaç istisna dışında Yunan tarihçilerince değerlendirilmemişler ve yeni çeviriler ortaya çıkması için çağrılar duyulmamıştır.

Ayrıca çeşitli dergilerde yayınlanan elyazmalarının kısıtlı konularına da dikkati çekmek istiyorum. Sık sık bir kilisenin kuruluşuyla ilgili bir fermanı, ya da bir metropolitin tayini ya da bir aile reisinin durumunu gösteren bir beratı vb. görüyoruz. Bunlar kuşkusuz bir tarihçi için önemli bilgilerdir. Ancak bu kaynaklarla ilgili konu seçimi ve uygulanan metod yeterli değildir. Türk arşivleri "yeni tarih" için, ortalama ve günlük yaşam için eşi bulunmaz bir kaynaktır; ve bu yönde değerlendirilmelidirler.

Sicillerin kapsadığı konuların çeşitliliği, bize kopuk bir biçimde ve parça parça varan bilgilerin bütünleşmesini sağlayacak, toplumsal ve ekonomik ilişkileri açığa çıkaracak ve genel eğilimleri ve kıyaslamalı incelemeleri sağlayacak düzeydedirler.

Bu arşivin egemen gücün — olayları doğrudan kaydeden idarî mekanizmanın — arşivi olması değerini daha da yüceltmektedir; çünkü Yunan kaynaklarında ya da yabancı elçilerin kaynaklarında görülen dolaylı yansıma bu arşivlerde sözkonusu olmamaktadır.

¹bak. not. 3, 4 ve 6 (s. 76).

Yani Yunanistan'daki Türk arşivleri, istisnalarla ve yüzeydeki konularla değil, temel konuları içeren olaylarla ilgili yeni bir yaklaşımı başlatacak düzeydedirler. Bu arşivler bizlere ziraî üretimle, mülkiyet ve toprağın dağılımıyla, toprak gelirleriyle, vergilemeyle ve nüfusla ilgili çok değerli bilgiler vermektedirler. Bizlere pazarların, esnafların, ticaretin, para ilişkilerinin vb. araştırılabilmesi için olanaklar sağlamaktadırlar. Bu arşivler kurumların (loncalar, cemaatler vb.) yaşamlarının ve işleme mekanizmalarının da bir numaralı kaynağı sayılabilirler. Sicil defterlerinin incelenmesiyle cemaatin ekonomi ve hukuk alanındaki etkisi de araştırılabilir.

Vergileme konularındaki şikâyetlerden ve cemaatlerin merkezî idareye karşı isteklerinden, kişi ya da toplum olarak vergilenenlerin durumu incelenebilir ve nüfus değişiklikleri, sömürü, din değişiklikleri gibi konulara ışık tutulabilir.

Emlâk alış verişlerini kaydeden defterler, servetlerin kayıtları, miras kayıtları vb. kent halklarının mesleklerini ve toplumsal hareketliliğini ortaya çıkarabilir. Bu tür arşivlerden yararlanarak Balkan kentlerini incelemiş tarihçilerden N. Todorov ve S. Faroqui'yi örnek olarak gösterebiliriz.

Kilise tarihiyle ve egemen idare ile reaya arasındaki adalet konularının düzenlenmesiyle ilgili bilgiler de çok ve önemlidirler. Ama bu arşivler olayların gelişimine de ışık tutmaktadırlar. 17. yüzyıl sonundan 1912'ye kadar süregelen Balkan savaşlarını ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun öteki savaşlarının yankılarını bu arşivlerde bulabiliyoruz.

Yunanistan'daki Türk arşivleri ve İstanbul'daki ve özellikle Ankara'daki (çünkü bu arşivlerde merkezî idarenin yayımladığı siciller ve emirler bulunmaktadır) Türk arşivleriyle birlikte, Osmanlı idaresindeki Yunan yöresiyle ilgili bilgiler tamamlanmaktadır.

Yunanistan'daki Türk arşivlerinin bugünkü durumunu üç büyük grup içinde görebiliriz: a) Hanya (Girit), b) Kandiya-İrakliyon (Girit) ve c) Selanik, ki bu son arşiv en iyi düzenlenmiş olanıdır.

Bunlardan ayrı, doğal olarak, belediye ya da başka yöresel idarelere bağlı daha sınırlı arşivler de vardır ; örneğin Veria, Kozani, Nausa, Onikiada, v.b. gibi. Bu küçük arşivlerin varlığını 1940 öncesi birkaç tarihçinin yayınlarından öğreniyoruz.¹

Ayrıca kütüphanelerde, müzelerde, Atina'da ve başka kentlerde bulunan kimi kurumlarda, manastırlarda,² Yunanistan'ın çeşitli cemaatlerinde ve özel kişilerde bütünüyle araştırılmamış ve içeriği bilinmeyen zengin arşivler bulunmaktadır.

Bu Türk arşivlerinin düzenlenmesi ve kaydedilmeleri Yunan ulusal tarihçiliğinin programına alınmalıdır. Çünkü böyle bir çalışma "bir bütünlüğü ortaya çıkaracak kaynakların saptanmasını, kaydedil-

¹ bak. not 2, 3, 4 (s. 76).

² Manastır arşivleri için bak: I. K. Vasdravelis *Vlatadon Manastırı Arşivi (1446-1839)*, (Yunanca) Selanik 1955 ve E. A. Zaharriadis, "Güneydoğu Ege Tarihine Bir Katkı", (Yunanca) *Simmikta* 1 (1966) s. 184-232.

melerini, sıralanmasını ve incelenmesini önermektedir. Tarih araştırmasında ulusal bir program da zaten bunu gözetmelidir."¹

Bugünkü duruma bakıldığında ilk elde yapılması gerekenin bu arşivlerin kurtarılması, kaybolmamalarının sağlanması ve kaydedilmesi olduğunu görüyoruz. Bu demek değildir ki Osmanlı dönemi tarihinin yeniden yazılması için, önce bütün bu arşivlerin kaydedilip çevrilmeleri gerekecektir. Birkaç çaba ve çalışma aynı anda ve bir araya yürütülmelidir:

1 - CIBAL² ve Türkiye tarafıyla bir işbirliğini sağlayacak katalogların yayınlanmaları.

2 - Tüm Balkan ülkelerinde olduğu gibi bu yayınları içeren bültenlerin çıkması.

3 - Türk arşivlerine dayanan incelenmelerin yayınlanması.

4 - Yunanistan'daki Türkoloji çalışmalarını kapsayacak bir derginin yayınlanması.

¹Sp. I. Asdrahas, "Bir Tarihi Araştırmalar Merkezi için genel öneriler" (Yunanca), *Zitimata İstoias*, Temelyo s. 257.

²Conseil du Centre International d'Information sur les Sources de l'Histoire Balkanique et Méditerranéenne. Bak, V. Hristov, "IVème Session du Conseil du CIBAL " ve ayrıca "Programme des activités de CIBAL pour la période 1986-1988", *Etudes balkaniques* 23/2 (1987), s. 133-135 ve 135-138.

Bütün bu çalışmalar Türkoloji çalışmalarının gelişmesini öncelikle gerekli kılmaktadır. Ama bu çalışmalar, gelecek bir tarihte bu arşivleri araştırarak bir kuşağa yabancı bir dil öğretmek biçiminde gelişmemelidir. Böyle bir yaklaşım Türk arşivlerinin incelenmesini belirsiz bir zamana bırakmak anlamına gelmektedir. Gerekli olan şu anda ülkede varolan güçlerin yapıcı bir koordinasyonu ile yukarıda işaret ettiğimiz adımların atılmasıdır.¹

Bu yol seçildiğinde Türkoloji eğitiminin örgütlenmesi sorunları da çözülmüş olacaktır. Türk arşivlerinin incelenmesine koyulacak olan yeni araştırmacılar zamanla gelecekteki Türkologları da ortaya çıkaracaklardır. Her şeyi öğrendikten sonra işe koyulmak gibi bir anlayış pratikte zaten uygulanamaz.

¹Yeni Yunanistan Araştırmalar Kurumu/EIE bir altyapı oluşturma çalışmaları çerçevesi içinde, başka kurumlarla da işbirliğine girerek (Akdeniz Araştırmalar Enstitüsü, Yanya Üniversitesi vb.) Türk arşivlerinin saptanması ve kataloglarının oluşturulması yönünde bir çalışmaya girmiştir.

OTTOMAN ARCHIVES IN GREECE*

I shall begin my paper with a clarification. When talking of Ottoman archive material in Greece — material inherited from four centuries of Ottoman rule — we should not omit to include material written in the Turkish language but in Greek characters. Consequently, in addition to the large archive collections that have survived down to the present-day in Greece, and which had a direct link with the workings of the provincial administrative machine of the Ottoman Empire, we also need to include archive material that was brought to Greece by Turkish-speaking refugees from Asia Minor with the Exchange of Populations in 1924, since this was broadly similar in kind to the Greek material. I shall take a look at both these archival groups after first outlining how these documents first came into being.

*This paper is published exactly as it was delivered at the seminar «Turkish Documents in the Monastery and City Archives of Italy and Cities and the Balkans» organised by Türk Tarih Kurumu (Ankara, 16 - 17 November 2000). Only essential footnotes, all of which refer to publications based on or dealing with Ottoman archive material located in Greece, have been added. See *Balkanlarda ve İtalya'da Şehir ve Manastır Arşivlerindeki Türkçe Belgeler Semineri* (16-17 Kasım 2000), Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 2003, 15-24.

I. How and why the archives were first created?

Ottoman archival material in Greece stems from official, administrative operations of two sources of authority:

1) The Ottoman government, both central and provincial, which left a series of *kadı* registers, tax registers, *mefkufat defterleri*, *firmands*, *berats*, and so on.

2) self-government, including bodies run by the Greek subjects, such as the Church and local communities¹.

Church archives. It is easy to explain the variety and wealth of ecclesiastical archive material dating from the period of Ottoman rule. Following the Ottoman conquest, the Church was recognised by the Ottoman state as being responsible for the political organisation of its community of Christian subjects². The range of its powers and activities was large, since

¹Helen Lykouri-Lazarou, *Archives in the Modern Greek State up to the founding of the General Archives (1821-1914)*, Athens ²1998, 99-103, 193-197 (in Greek).

²M. Gedeon, *Official Turkish documents concerning our Ecclesiastical Law*, Constantinople 1910 (in Greek); C. Papadopoulos, *Les privilèges du Patriarcat Œcuménique dans l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1924; Th. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination*, Brussels 1952; N. Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula during Ottoman Rule*, Thessaloniki 1967; J. Kabrda, *Le système fiscal de l'Eglise orthodoxe dans l'empire ottoman*, Brno 1969; Elizabeth Zachariadou, *Ten Turkish documents concerning the Great Church, (1483-1567)*, Athens 1996 (in Greek); P. Konortas, *Ottoman Views concerning the Oecumenical Patriarch, Berats concerning the leaders of the Great Church, from the 17th century to the beginning of the 20th century*, Athens 1998 (in Greek).

it covered the greater part of the relations of Christian subjects with the state. It was involved in the private life of Christians, in their dealings with one another, and took part in or, indeed, led various initiatives, such as the foundation and maintenance of schools and hospitals. Consequently, the Greek community was principally the recipient of documents from the provincial and central powers of the Ottoman Empire, which notified the community of what was required of it or of the Ottoman response to the community as petitions and requests, whether for tax allowances, building and repair permits for churches, and other such matters. And, naturally, these documents were carefully kept and stored by their recipients, since they comprised official confirmation of privileges granted or recognition of the terms of ownership of land that was under dispute, and so on and so forth.

Community archives. Throughout the long Ottoman rule, secular community powers acted in parallel with the ecclesiastical power as a form of self-government. The islands' practice of keeping community and notarial archives is due to Western rule; a practice that did not exist in the rest of Greece and which was maintained in the islands throughout the subsequent Ottoman Occupation¹. The communities, while not defined or established by law, differed from place to place and did not take on a uniform character, being rather the result of local needs. The most important service which the

¹Sp. Asdrachas, «Island communities: tax collection, I», *Ta Historika* 8 (June 1988), 3-36; the second part of this study is published in the fasc. 9 (Dec. 1988), 229-258 (in Greek).

communities offered was the collection of taxes. The community leaders, or elders, were responsible for the redistribution of tax that the community had to pay internally, as well as for the collection and rendering of taxes to the Ottoman authorities. They are documents of singular demographic, economic and social significance, yielding information that enhances the stratification of the societies to which they refer. Thus, as a political body responsible for the collection of taxes, the communities acquired all those powers – executive, legislative and judicial – that were necessary to achieve their basic *raison d'être* as local tax collector. The communities, therefore, also created archives, since they not only received and produced documents, but were also required to preserve such documents in order to perform their tasks.

Very frequently Ottoman documents maintained in monasteries, ecclesiastical sees, or in community archives have a short translation of their content written on the verso, and sometimes this was recorded in special books, or registers. Not infrequently it is thanks to such record books containing these short translations that we learn about the existence of original archival documents that have since been destroyed.

II. An overview of Ottoman archival material in Greek lands

During the long period of Ottoman rule, archive material suffered various changes. The ravages of

time unavoidably led to damage, as well as the effects of fire, dampness and other natural phenomena. The worst period for the fate of the archives was during the revolutionary period in Greece. From 1821 onwards, with the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence, which lasted for nearly ten years, incalculable damage was inflicted on archives and public records by Turks and Greeks alike. Paper, the raw material of archives and libraries, was useful for the production of cartridges. And it is for this reason that in those regions which raised the banner of rebellion in 1821, and where fighting was particularly intense, such as in the Peloponnese and Central Greece, very few archives survived. Further destruction was also inevitable when such material as had survived no longer served a useful administrative purpose, becoming, as it were, obsolete and superfluous, while for a long time the Greek state appears to have had no archival policy whatsoever. It is worth noting, for example, that the modern Greek state only set up a public records office in 1914, a full 70 years after its creation.

As noted above, in those regions which comprised the modern Greek state in 1830, no archive collections have survived on account of the hostilities between the Greeks and Turks. However, some Ottoman documents, such as *berats*, *firmands*, and *hüccets* granting privileges or tax exemptions of one kind or another, did survive in monasteries, which tended to be located far from the main lines of communication or in remote coastal areas. Similar

Ottoman records were saved in the island communities, among Greek codices and documents; others survived because they found their way into family archives, which later were given to large public collections. Today, therefore, from the early Greek state we have several hundred Ottoman records. Let me add in parentheses that, here, I am talking of big *collections* of records rather than scattered and isolated documents and papers. These are to be found in the following collections: Firstly, the Historical and Ethnological Society, which contains the Peroukas Collection¹. This includes records relating to Argos dating from the second half of the eighteenth century to the eve of the Greek Revolution, and contains the Londos archive². Secondly, the Benaki Museum, which contains the Benaki family archive, which was consulted by Gilles Veinstein for his study of the *çiftlik*s of Panayotis Benakis³; and, thirdly, the State General Archives.

While few Ottoman archives survived from the earliest Greek territories, precisely the opposite was the case in Macedonia and Northern Greece. The rapid arrival of the Greek army in the region during the Balkan Wars meant that the Turkish archives of various Macedonian cities, such as Thessaloniki,

¹Helen Lykouri-Lazarou, *op. cit.*, 71.

²D. Angellatos, «Archive of Andreas Chr. Londos (1811-1881)», *Tetradia Ergasias*, t. 8 (1986), 39-77 (in Greek).

³G. Veinstein, «Le patrimoine foncier de Panayotis Benakis, kocabaşı de Kalamata», in: *Raiyyet Rusumu. Essays presented to Halil İnalcık on his Seventieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students* [*Journal of Turkish Studies* 11 (1987)], 211-233.

Veroia (Karaferiye) and Kastoria (Kestriye), were left undisturbed. There had simply not been time to move them elsewhere, in contrast with the earlier experience of Larissa and other towns and cities in Thessaly, whose archives were moved north to Kozani during military operations. Unfortunately, the invaluable archive of Kozani was largely destroyed by fire in 1912, while other archives were destroyed later. The Kastoria archive was destroyed in the conflagration that consumed the law courts of the town in 1943. Likewise, few Ottoman documents survived in Western Thrace. Vasilis Dimitriadis believes that, probably, either the Turks took their archives with them when leaving Thrace, or the two World Wars and the occupation of the area by foreign armies are the cause¹. I should add that the Ottoman records of Eastern Macedonia (i.e. Kavala, Drama and Serres) were the victims of other troubles in the region. Eastern Macedonia and Thrace suffered Bulgarian occupation: Serres, for instance, was put to the torch by the Bulgarians in 1912 before the city was surrendered to the Greek army; collections of Greek manuscripts from the old monasteries of Kosinitsa in Drama and St John the Baptist of Serres are now in the possession of the Dujcev Institute in Sofia².

¹V. Dimitriadis, «Ottoman Archive Materials in Greece», in: *Die Staaten Südosteuropas und die Osmanen*, ed. by Hans-Georg Majer, Munich 1989, 179.

²V. Atsalos, *The manuscripts of the Monastery of Kosinitsa (Eikosifoinitsa) of Mount Paggaion*, Drama 1990 (in Greek); Actes de la table ronde: «Principes et méthodes du catalogage des manuscrits grecs de la Collection du Centre Dujcev», Thessaloniki 1992; Axinia Dzurova – Kr. Stancev – V. Katsaros – V. Atsalos, «Checklist» de la collection de manuscrits grecs conservée au Centre de Recherches Slavo-Byzantines «Ivan Dujcev» auprès de l'Université «St. Clement d'Ohrid» de Sofia, Thessalonique 1994.

III. The large collections of Ottoman records

The two principal collections of Ottoman archive material in Greece are today held in the Historical Archive of Macedonia in Thessaloniki, and in the Vikelaia Municipality Library in Herakleio, Crete. Smaller collections are to be found in Veroia, Kozani, Chania and Samos.

a. I shall spare you a detailed account of the dates and contents of these archives. However, it is worth pointing out that the Historical Archives of Macedonia contains around 300 *kadı sicils* dating from the period 1694-1912, which principally concern Thessaloniki, though also the nearby *kazas* of Avret Hisar (Kilkis), Katerini and Pazargiah (Kassandra)¹. There are also juridical and notarial documents, the administrative records of the *vilayet* of Thessaloniki and its neighbouring *kazas*, and the land and tax registers that are still in use since the national cadaster is still incomplete. It is on the basis of the registration and recording of transferrals of land made during the nineteenth century that title

¹V. Dimitriades, «The Turkish Archives of the Historical Archive of Macedonia and their significance for the history of the Ottoman period», in: *New Trends in Modern Greek Historiography*, (eds.) A. Lily Makrakis, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros (Modern Greek Studies Association Series; 6), 1982 (in Greek); Kirki Georgiadou, «The inventory of the kadi registers of Salonica», *Epetirida ton Genikon Archeion tou Kratous: 1990*, Athens 1991, 65-68 (in Greek).

deeds are still issued today¹. An important part of archival material held in the Historical Archives of Macedonia is comprised of registers drawn up by the administration of the *vakıfs* in Macedonia; no less than 111 of these concern the *vakıfs* belonging to Evrenos Bey².

Selections of the *kadı sicils* were published in Greek translation by Ioannis Vasdravellis in 1952³. Vasilis Dimitriadis made use of the cadasters relating to the city of Thessaloniki for his work *The Topography of Thessaloniki during Ottoman Rule, 1430-1912* (Thessaloniki 1983). Dimitriadis also recently published the register of the Greek population of Thessaloniki that was drawn up in the census of 1831⁴. Meropi Anastasiadou also used this material for her doctoral research⁵. The greater part

¹K. Giantzis, «The Ottoman Land Register», *Epetirida ton Genikon Archeion tou Kratous: 1990*, Athens 1991, 69-72 (in Greek).

²On the Ottoman Archives of Salonica, see Kirki Georgiadou, «Les archives ottomanes conservées aux "Archives Historiques de Macédoine" à Salonique», in: *La transmission du savoir dans le monde musulman périphérique* no 11 (mars 1991), 39-41, and Amalia Pappa-Karapidaki, «The Ottoman Archives of "Historical Archives of Macedonia"», *Epetirida ton Genikon Archeion tou Kratous: 1990*, Athens 1991, 55-64 (in Greek).

³I. Vasdravellis, *Historical Archives of Macedonia, I. Archive of Salonica, 1695-1912*, Thessaloniki 1952 (in Greek); idem, «Historical Archives of Macedonia. I. Kadi sicils of Salonica», *Makedonika* 2 (1941-1952), 89-128 (in Greek).

⁴V. Dimitriadis, *Salonica in decline. The Greek Community of Salonica during the decennary of 1830 according to an Ottoman Population Register*, Herakleio 1997 (in Greek).

⁵Meropi Anastasiadou, *Réaménagement du cadre urbain et changement social dans l'Empire ottoman à l'âge des Réformes. Le cas de Salonique, 1830-1912*, Paris 1995. It was published with the title: *Salonique 1830-1912. Une ville ottomane à l'âge des Réformes* [The Ottoman Empire and its heritage, 11], Brill, Leiden-New York-Köln 1997.

of this archive has been catalogued, but unfortunately the catalogues have not yet been published. Some of these, such as the catalogue of *vakif* registers, are exceptionally detailed and it would be a great benefit to the academic community if they were to be published.

b. The other large Ottoman archive — i.e. the Herakleion archive — contains 166 *sicils*, cadasters pertaining to various districts of Crete, and the records of three Turkish notaries of Herakleio. The principal researcher into these archives was the Smyrna-born scholar Nikolaos Stavriniadis, who worked on the records from 1931 until his death, at the age of 92¹. He published five volumes of translations of records from the *kadı* registers of Herakleio², which then formed the raw material for further research by scholars, such as Yolanda Triandafyllidou-Baladié on Cretan trade, Vasilis Kremmydas on the Cretan soap industry and Molly Green³, to take just three examples. Stavriniadis himself wrote a multitude of studies on the history of

¹Th. E. Detorakis, «Nikolaos Stavriniadis (1895-1987)», *Kritika Chronika* 28-29 (1988-1989), 387-391 (in Greek).

²N. Stavriniadis, *Translations of Turkish Documents concerning the History of Crete*, vol. I (H. 1067-1082/1657-1672), Herakleion of Crete 1975; vol. II (H. 1083-1105/1672-1694), 1976; vol. III (H. 1105-1127/1694-1715), 1978, vol. IV (H. 1127-1165/1715-1752), 1984; vol. V (H. 1165-1179/1752-1765), 1985 (in Greek).

³Yolanda Triandafyllidou — Baladié, *Trade and the Economy of Crete, 1669-1795*, Herakleion of Crete 1988 (in Greek); V. Kremmydas, *The soap factories in Crete in the 18th century*, Athens 1974 (in Greek); Molly Green, *A Shared World. Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Princeton, New Jersey 2000.

Crete and was a member of a wider group of scholars and intellectuals on the island¹. Allow me to relate my own personal experience of Stavriniadis. I met him in the summer of 1980 when I was invited by the Herakleio City Council to conduct research in the city, and had the good fortune to work by his side for 50 days. He was a man of great knowledge, a master of many languages, and a tireless worker, who, even at the age of 87, would work from morning till night 'for the sake of History', as he himself said. He was one of the last of a generation of great scholars. The vast number of unpublished translations that he left behind,² as well as 37 codices held in the archive, are being catalogued by the Institute for Mediterranean Studies of the University of Crete, and it is to be hoped that we shall soon see this material published. It needs also to be recalled that in Herakleio and other Greek cities, such as Thessaloniki, Veroia, and elsewhere, where Ottoman *kadı* registers had survived, up until the Second World War special government 'Translation Bureaux' operated, whose task was to issue official translations for citizens and state alike. Stavriniadis was an employee at one such office in Herakleio. The translations of employees at the Translation Bureau of Thessaloniki and Veroia were edited by Ioannis Vasdravellis in his editions of the respective archives.

¹Th. E. Detorakis, «Three Eminent Scholars of Cretan History. N. Stavriniadis, St. Spanakis, El. Platakis», *Amaltheia*, fasc. 50-51 (Jan-Jun.1982), 1-16 (in Greek).

²Stavriniadis' translation work includes 2,840 translations of state and private documents covering the first one hundred years of Turkish rule on Crete, until 1764. See *ibid.*, 388.

In Chios, Christos Mavropoulos, who translated all the surviving Ottoman documents of Chios, was employed as an interpreter at the magistrate's court¹.

c. A smaller archive, though extremely important, is to be found in Veroia, containing 130 *sicils* that date as far back as the early seventeenth century. Panayotis Zepos in 1944 and Ioannis Vasdravellis in 1954 published in translation a selection of documents from this archive², whose microfilms are today stored in the Historical Archives of Macedonia in Thessaloniki. Material deriving from the *kadı* registers of Veroia was used by Antonis Anastasopoulos for his doctoral research at Cambridge (*Imperial Institutions and Local Communities: Ottoman Karaferye, 1758-1774*, 1998).

In the archive of Kozani there are just thirty-nine surviving codices containing *kadı* registers and other cadasters³. Eight of the codices pertain to the area of Servia (Serfiçe), and the remaining thirty-one to Thessaly. Other archives, such as those of Chania,

¹ Ch. Mavropoulos, *Turkish Documents on the History of Chios published by the Municipality of Chios*, Athens 1920 (in Greek).

² P. N. Zepos, «Unknown Turkish documents from the Archives of Veroia and Thessaloniki», *Archeion Idiotikou Dikaiou* 11 (1944), 49-91 (in Greek); I. K. Vasdravellis, *Historical Archives of Macedonia, II: Archive of Veroia – Naoussa, 1589 – 1886*, Thessaloniki 1954 (in Greek); idem, *Historical Archive of Veroia*, Thessaloniki 1942 (in Greek).

³K. Kambouridis, «The Historical Archive of Kozani and its Ottoman documents», *Epetirida ton Genikon Archeion tou Kratous: 1990*, Athens 1991, 73-76 (in Greek).

Samos¹, and the Dodecanese (in Rhodes) have not yet been properly ordered and catalogued. The *kadı* registers of Chania were unfortunately lost in the fire of 1898, which destroyed the General Administration building of Crete, then located in Chania².

I have presented a broad outline of the Ottoman archives whose function was to serve the administrative operations of the State General Archives. Besides this material, however, there are also other Ottoman archives that require mention. On Mount Athos, for instance, alongside the Byzantine chrysobulls and the Greek, Serbian, Romanian and Russian archives, there are also Ottoman documents in all 20 of the main monasteries and in the administrative centre – the Protaton – at Karyes. Ottoman archives of Mount Athos have been edited and published by Paul Lemerle and Paul Wittek, Elizabeth Zachariadou, Vasilis Dimitriadis (who is currently preparing a catalogue of the archives of a number of the monasteries), Yannis Alexandropoulos, Vanco Boskov, H.-G. Majer, and, most recently,

¹Ch. Landros, «The Archive of Samos: Its contents», *Epetirida ton Genikon Archeion tou Kratous: 1991-1992*, Athens 1993, 182-196 (in Greek).

²Evangelia Balta, «Olive Cultivation in Crete at the time of the Ottoman Conquest», *Journal of Ottoman Studies / Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 20 (2000), 150.

Aleksander Fotic¹. There is also an archive in the stavropegiac monastery of Vlattades in Thessaloniki. In 1955, Ioannis Vasdravellis edited fifty-two translated documents in this archive². Some of the Ottoman records held in the monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos were published by

¹P. Lemerle – P. Wittek, «Recherches sur l'histoire et le statut des monastères athonites sous la domination turque», *Archives d'histoire du droit oriental* III (1948), 411-472. G. K. Papazoglou, *Turkish Documents translated in Greek concerning the metoch "Orphani" of the monastery Dionysios of Mount Athos, 1535-1733*, Kavala 1987 (in Greek). V. Dimitriadis, «Athonite Documents and the Ottoman Occupation», in: *Mount Athos in the 14th-16th Centuries*, Athens 1997, 41-67; idem, «Ottoman documents of Mount Athos», in: *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, Thessaloniki 1997, 474-483 (in Greek); V. Boskov, «Aus Athos-Turcica: Eine Urkunde Şehab ed-Din Şahin Paşa's des Wezirs und Statthalters von Rumelien, aus dem Jahre 1453», *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 76 (1986), 65-72; idem, «Ahd-nama Murata III stanovnicima Bara iz 1575. godine», *Godisnjak Drustva istoricara Bosne i Hersegovine* XXVIII-XXX (1977-1979), 279-285. For a comprehensive Bibliography of Boskov's work concerning Mount Athos, see A. Fotic, *Mount Athos and Hilandar in the Ottoman Empire, 15th-17th Centuries* (in Serbian), Beograd 2000. J. C. Alexander (Alexandropoulos), «The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away: Athos and the Confiscation Affair of 1568-1569», in: *Mount Athos in the 14th-16th Centuries*, Athens 1997, 149-200. H.-G. Majer, «Some remarks on the document of Murad I from the Monastery of St. Paul on Mount Athos (1386)», in: *Mount Athos in the 14th-16th Centuries*, Athens 1997, 33-39. Ph. P. Kotzayorgis, *The Monastery of St. Paul on Mount Athos during the Ottoman period*, Thessaloniki, University Studio Press, 2002. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, «Ottoman Documents from the Archives of Dionysiou (Mount Athos) 1495-1520», *Südost-Forschungen* 30 (1971), 1-35; idem, «Some Remarks about Dedications to Monasteries in the late 14th Century», in: *Mount Athos in the 14th-16th Centuries*, Athens 1997, 27-31; idem, «The Worrisome Wealth of the Celnik Radic», in: *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. by C. Heywood and C. Imber, Istanbul (Isis Press) 1994, 383-397.

²I. K. Vasdravellis, *Historical Archives of Macedonia, III: Archive of the Monastery of Vlattades, 1466-1839*, Thessaloniki 1955 (in Greek).

Elizabeth Zachariadou¹, and Evgenia Kermeli has also studied the same archive. It is to be hoped that this important archive will one day be published, since it is of great interest not only for the history of the old monastery on Patmos, but also for the history of south-eastern Aegean.

Besides these large monasteries whose archives either have been or continue to be studied systematically, scattered archive material has survived in various larger or less well-known monasteries of mainland and insular Greece. Since 1978, the Historical and Palaeographical Archive of the Educational Foundation of the National Bank of Greece has systematically recorded and photographed a wealth of archive material that was previously unknown, as well as Byzantine manuscripts. The work of the Foundation is invaluable because, first, the archive material is less likely to be lost as it exists in a copy; second, the publication of even brief descriptive catalogues at least alerts the academic community to the existence of the archive and its contents²; and, third and most

¹Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, «Contribution to the History of the Southeastern Aegean, based on the firmans of Patmos for the years 1454-1522», *Symmeikta* 1 (1966), 184-230 (in Greek). The monastery's archives were photographed in the 1960s by the Center for Modern Greek Research of the National Foundation for Scientific Research, see Vasilis Panayotopoulos, «The Archives of the Monastery of John the Theologian on Patmos. Classification and photographing», *O Eranistis* 3 (1965), 145-156 (in Greek).

²*Educational Foundation of the National Bank of Greece, Historical and Palaeographical Archive. The Microfilming of manuscripts and archives*, Athens 1978-1988, 4 fascs (in Greek).

important, the archive is made easily accessible to those interested in studying it. To take an example, in 1983, when I was examining the microfilms of the archive of the Catholic bishopric of Santorini, whose new catalogue indicated that it included Ottoman material, I was able to identify the tax register of Santorini, dated 1731, which I then published¹.

VI. The archive material of the communities of Asia Minor

As I mentioned at the beginning of this presentation, there is a further body of Turkish archive material². This material, of course, does not concern Greece *per se*, but rather the Turkish-speaking Orthodox communities of Asia Minor that came to Greece as refugees following the Asia Minor Disaster. In accordance with article 8 of the Treaty of Lausanne (30.1.1923), the refugees were allowed to take with them the movable property of their communities. The Turkish archive material of the Greek world of Asia Minor is composed of *firman*s,

¹Evangelia Balta, «Du document fiscal à l'économie agricole: les cultures à Santorin au XVIII^e s.», in: *Problèmes et approches de l'histoire ottomane. Un itinéraire scientifique de Kayseri à Eğriboz*, Analecta Isisiana XXVIII, Istanbul 1997, 67-96.

²For the bibliography of this Turkish archive material, see Evangelia Balta, «Archives ottomanes en Grèce. Perspectives de la recherche» in: *Problèmes et approches de l'histoire ottomane. Un itinéraire scientifique de Kayseri à Eğriboz*, Analecta Isisiana XXVIII, Istanbul 1997, 272-275; idem, «Les sources pour une histoire des populations à échanger de Cappadoce. Nécessité d'une vision d'ensemble», *op. cit.*, 287-292.

hüccets, *berats*, title deeds and codices. When the material comprises official documents of the Ottoman administration, it is written in the Ottoman script and when it comprises documents concerning local administration, it is written in Turkish with Greek characters. All of these were deposited with the Exchangeable and Public Benefit Property Fund. Today, many remain in the hands of the communities, associations and societies that were set up by the refugees when they settled in Greece. Some still belong to private individuals, judging by the codices donated by individuals to the Centre for Asia Minor Studies. When the Fund for Exchangeable Property ceased to hold archive material, it was transferred to the State General Archives. *Berats* from the Asia Minor metropoleis, as well as manuscripts, were deposited with the Benaki Museum. I myself produced a detailed descriptive catalogue of the Turkish-language codices held in the Centre for Asia Minor Studies. I am currently carrying out the same task, with the help of a colleague, for the codices from Cappadocia, which are held in the State General Archives. The first volume, which deals with the codices of Sinassos (Mustafapaşa), Procopi (Ürgüp) and the surrounding region was published¹. I should underline that the bulk of the archive material relating to Asia Minor is composed principally of codices that were in the

¹Matoula Kouroupou – Evangelia Balta, *Greek Orthodox communities of Cappadocia. The district of Prokopi (Ürgüp). Sources in the General State Archives and the Centre for Asia Minor Studies*, Athens 2001 [in Greek].

possession of the local churches and councils. They date mostly from the nineteenth century down to 1924. There are only a very few that date to the eighteenth century. As you can appreciate, this material gives us valuable insights into the Greek Orthodox communities of Asia Minor during this period.

I must confess that when I came to this meeting I was unsure of the results that it would produce. In 1987, a society of young historians, of which I was a member, organised a symposium on Syros on the subject of archives in Greece, in the hope of producing various proposals regarding the state and organisation of these archives. At the symposium I spoke about the Ottoman archives in Greece. This paper was published in Greek and was subsequently translated into Turkish and Bulgarian¹. You now have a copy of the Turkish text in your hands, and, as you can see, I made a number of proposals regarding co-operation between the various countries in the regions that possess Ottoman archives. Now, so many years later, I need to repeat this hope for co-

¹Evangelia Balta, «Turkish Archives in Greece» (in Greek), *Synchrona Themata* 35-36-37 (1988), 140-143; in Turkish: «Yunanistan'da Türk Arşivleri», *Tarih ve Toplum* 67 (Temmuz 1987), 42-44 and in Bulgarian: «Osmanskite arhivi v Gratsjia», *Istoritcheski Pregled* 48/4 (1992), 109-112.

operation in the field¹. But I feel I must add a further proposal. We must draw up a protocol that sets out the commitments and obligations of the academic community and staff of the archives so as to ensure that the former can obtain unhindered access to the archives and the latter can be certain of their role and place in historical research. To many this may sound utopian. But it is not. Historical research, and, what is more, archival research, have unfortunately been considered the handmaids of political exigencies, and this will continue to be the view as long as we do nothing about it. If we agree that this situation must change, then we simply need to make our position clear. Let us, therefore, draw up such a protocol and sign it. I feel that it is only by making a statement of this kind that, our presence here can produce results of any real substance. Indeed, I would like to be even more categorical. We are historians, and it is our duty to defend the autonomy of our science. Otherwise, we shall all become participants in games of political expediency.

¹Andreas Tietze wrote in 1969: «Especially, more cooperation and coordination of the research activities among the Balkan states and a closer cooperation with Turkey seems to me a sine qua non. As a practical proposal I would suggest a joint institute of the academies of these countries in Istanbul backed by fellowships to scholars and students. The scholars of the Balkan countries are faced with a common issue; in order to tackle it they have to break down their isolation and have to join in a large, imaginative common effort». See A. Tietze, «The Balkans and Ottomans Sources - Ottoman Sources and the Balkans», in: *Aspects of the Balkans. Continuity and Change*. Contributions to the International Balkan Conference held at UCLA, October 23-28, 1969, ed. H. Birnbaum and Sp. Vryonis, Jr., 294.



EPITOME PRACTICES ON OTTOMAN ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

Any reference to the Ottoman archival material in Greece leads inevitably to discussion of the state of Ottoman Studies and what these entail. In other words, we are obliged to reiterate once more that in Greece the discipline of Ottoman Studies, which would take the lead in organizing scientifically the material existing in archives and libraries — that is in the way this is done in Balkan countries at least, to confine ourselves to our neighbours — does not exist. Fifteen years ago, in a paper I presented on the Ottoman archives in Greece, I had said that their state reflected the fate of Ottoman Studies in our country and any utilization of Ottoman archival material would be dependent on the development of these and related disciplines.¹ My view has not changed, which is why I was initially reluctant to accept the invitation

* Text published in: *Méthodologie d'édition, état et perspectives de la recherche des archives post-byzantines, II: Nécessité et technique des régestes* (Venice, 7-8 déc. 2001), 57-72 (in Greek).

¹ That paper was presented at the colloquium «Archives and Archival Policy», organized by the Society for the Study of Modern Hellenism «Mnemon», at Hermoupolis on Syros, in July 1987, and repeated in Athens (National Hellenic Foundation for Scientific Research), in November of the same year. The paper, entitled «Turkish Archives in Greece», was published in Greek in *Synchrona Themata* 35-36-37 (1988), 140-143, and translated into Turkish [«Yunanistan'da Türk Arşivleri», *Tarih ve Toplum* 67 (Temmuz 1989), 42-44] and Bulgarian [«Osmanските архиви в Гартсija», *Istoricheski Pregled* 48/4 (1992), 109-112].



to attend this workshop. It is absurd to speak about epitomes — and even more so epitome rules — when you know that the Ottoman material has not even been rudimentarily catalogued.

In the end, I decided to join this meeting, in order to share with you my cautious optimism. Because, despite the indisputable lack of systematic Ottoman Studies, which would provide persons with the specialist knowledge required for undertaking the task of cataloguing, I think I can see ways of compiling epitomes of the Ottoman archival material, that is essentially to catalogue our Ottoman collections, by using the means available to us, meager as these are. I stress from the outset, to avoid any misunderstanding, that for me epitome means the brief descriptive entry for a source that is catalogued. So I have come to this meeting to argue that, regardless of whether, in Greece today, we are or are not in a position to prepare epitomes of Ottoman archival material, these have in fact long existed and we all — Ottomanists and others — we all use them in our work. I am thus committed to speak about the existing epitomes of Ottoman archival material in Greece, while concurrently commenting on the practice and ethics that I see applied to the epitomes of organized archives in the Balkans and Turkey, or in specialist publications by Ottomanists worldwide.

This colloquium has given me the opportunity to air some personal views on the *idée fixe* that Ottoman Studies must be established in Greece

before we embark on any other endeavour in this sector. I believe that time is running out, that we can afford to wait no longer, particularly as no moves have been made to organize such studies. To wait simply means to postpone the problem indefinitely. We become ensnared in the trap of our own inertia, when there hovers vaguely in the distance the prospect of some future studies, which in the meanwhile have been reduced to the obligatory convention for undertaking research or setting archival policy. This belief does not mean that I do not consider the development of Ottoman Studies essential, nor that Ottoman Studies are not needed for cataloguing Ottoman archival material and so on. I am simply saying that those of us who are involved with Ottoman Studies and Turkish Studies should move today, without further delay, provided of course we have understood and agreed on the priority of getting to know and, primarily, making known, in all possible ways, the sources for this obscure period, this 'dark age', as it is wont to be called. I think that if this need is recognized, then ways of compiling preliminary catalogues or epitomes of the Ottoman material in Greece will be found. From now on, by citing certain examples, I shall try to show the prospect for cataloguing with the means available today.

Those of us who handle Ottoman documents are aware that on the verso of the overwhelming majority there is a summary description of their contents in Greek. 'Edict of Sultan Mehmed II

concerning our poll-tax. Date so and so', or '*buyrultu* concerning the renovation or the building of the X church. Date so and so'. Indeed, this is the norm for some collections, such as the collections of Ottoman documents in the major monasteries, which kept an archive for their own needs during the Ottoman period; in many cases this archive has survived intact to this day. Very often the protocol register, in which the documents were entered with a number and a brief description, is preserved too. The number and the indication of the content on the original scroll enabled the archive-keeper to find the document quickly. Today this note can constitute the catalogue material. For in my opinion, until the Ottoman collections are catalogued according to the precepts demanded by palaeography and diplomatics, it would be very useful to circulate a preliminary informative catalogue of these epitomes — I consciously characterize these notes as epitomes —, which would serve many purposes. First of all it publicizes a corpus of sources, thus covering, in a primary phase, immediate research needs, and second, through publicizing, it creates incentives for those dealing with a particular subject by challenging them to deal specifically with the given sources that were hitherto unknown.

It would be extremely useful to try this out, for example, for the whole of the Athonite Ottoman documents or in those monasteries where old

catalogues are preserved¹, such as that mentioned by Bosko Bojovic for the Chilandar monastery.² Indeed, if these epitomes could be accompanied by the publication of facsimiles of the documents, then this would be an ideal situation. A few years ago, while searching for certain documents in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, in Istanbul, I came across, completely by chance, the 1764 survey of the land property of the monasteries on the Athos peninsula.³ The existence of this census was known from the publication by Lavriotis,⁴ and more recently from the epitomes of the contents of a codex of 1808, published by Ch. Gasparis, who curated the cataloguing of the Postbyzantine testimonia in the

¹ All twenty Athonite monasteries and the central authority of the Protaton have their own archive. For the Ottoman documentation of Athonite monasteries, see Ph. P. Kotzayorgis, *The Athonite monastery of St. Paul during the Ottoman period*, University Studio Press, Thessaloniki 2002 (in Greek). Elias Kolovos in his Ph.D. presented in epitomes the Ottoman documents of the Monastery Xeropotamou, 1439-1800, see Elias Kolovos, *Peasants and Monks in the Ottoman Chalkidiki, 15th – 16th Centuries*, t. III, (unpublished Ph.D, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), Thessaloniki 2000 (in Greek). The Ottoman archive of Monastery of Simonopetra will be published soon by Vasilis Dimitriadis.

²B. Bojovic, «Les chartes slaves du Mont Athos et les Archives de Chilandar», in: *Méthodologie d'édition, état et perspectives de la recherche des archives post-byzantines, I: Problèmes de la publication des sources* (Venice, 3-4 November 2000), 130.

³Evangelia Balta, «Landed Property of the Monasteries on the Athos Peninsula and its Taxation in 1764», *Mélanges Prof. Machiel Kiel*, (éd.) Abdeljelil Temimi, Zaghouan 1999, 135-159; reprinted in: Idem, *Peuple et production. Pour une interprétation des sources ottomanes*, Analecta Isisiana XLI, Istanbul, Les éditions Isis, 1999, 179-207.

⁴A. Lavriotis (Lazaridis), «Mount Athos after the Ottoman conquest», *Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* 32 (1963), 258-260 [in Greek].

archive of the Protaton.¹ It is now certain that a copy of the original of the Ottoman census of 1764 exists in the archive of some Athonite monastery. But where is it? When will it come to light? *Allah bilir*. If the original census document had not been found in the catalogued archive of the central administrative service of the Ottoman Empire, in Istanbul, our knowledge would be confined to the translated description that is copied in the codex of 1808, about which the researcher learnt from the published epitomes of the contents of nineteenth-century codices. That is why I insist that it would be extremely useful to publish as epitomes the notes that exist on the verso of Ottoman documents in some collections, with the addition of certain data. If nothing else, they will enable us to form a picture of what exists in those documents accompanied by such notes, which, I should emphasize, were made by individuals who then knew Turkish.

I cite another example. Some of the Ottoman archives in Greece were inherited from the time of the Ottoman administration. I refer to the Historical Archive of Macedonia, in Thessaloniki, and the *kadı sicills* of Candia (Herakleio of Crete), in the Vikelaia Library. These were supported by the so-called Translation Services, in which Turkish-speaking Greeks from Istanbul, Smyrna and elsewhere had been engaged by the Greek Civil Service to translate

¹Ch. Gasparis, *Athonite Miscellanea 2. Archive of the Protaton. Epitomes of Postbyzantine documents*, Athens 1991, 203, codex 9 (4 with old numbering) [in Greek].

certain Ottoman documents from the archive, in order to facilitate the needs of private citizens. The translations issued were entered in special books, which as far as I know exist and are included in the body of their Ottoman collections. The late Nikolaos Stavriniadis states in the first volume of his work: "Kept in the Turkish Archive of Herakleion there are 37 voluminous tomes in which were copied the translations of private issues of current nature, made by the translators of the Translation Bureau. So far I have investigated up to the tenth book, and have ascertained that among these translations there are some of considerable historical significance".¹ Similar books of translations were also kept in the Historical Archive of Macedonia (Thessaloniki), by G. Kanakis, L. Mamzoridis, Th. Symeonidis, who also translated the material published by Ioannis Vasdravellis in the 1950s.² The publication of the epitomes of these translations, which remain inaccessible and inactive, buried together with the original Ottoman archive, would be a good start. It should be noted that the translations published by N. Stavriniadis and I. Vasdravellis are for the most part, in essence, epitomes. Very few Ottoman documents have been published in full. We observed that from most of those presented in extensive form, the prolix preambles, with all the specific ceremonial of the

¹N. Stavriniadis, *Translations of Turkish historical documents concerning the history of Crete. Documents from the period 1657-1672*, vol. I, Herakleion, Crete 1975, xxix [in Greek].

²I. Vasdravellis, *Historical Archives of Macedonia, I: Archive of Thessaloniki, 1695-1912*, Thessaloniki 1952 [in Greek].

addresses to the recipients of the document, are omitted. This in no way detracts from their usefulness or value.¹ They are uniquely precious sources for those of us studying the history of Greek regions during the period of Ottoman sovereignty. Moreover, we should not forget that the historian is interested primarily in information at source. And the fact is, alas, that there is no available and accessible historical material for the Ottoman period. That is where the roots of the reason for my reaction to the existing inertia lie: an inertia that is masked by projecting maximizing visions. I believe, furthermore, that the publication of this available epitome material or the publication of catalogues of some Ottoman sources is a priority from the viewpoint of scholarly policy too. By offering whatever is available at present, we create prospects for the future, for thus we generate interests and inquiries. The needs of research are recognized, which become levers for co-ordinating the human resources, which will organize Ottoman Studies as well. Personally, I see no alternative.

The term epitome has already been used many times. I consider that for all of us epitome is the rendering as succinctly as possible of the content of a source, whether that is a loose document or a codex. An essential convention is that the epitome be accompanied by certain specific data, at once giving

¹Ibidem, 513-564 includes summaries of the documents in the Archive of Thessaloniki for 1245-1326/ 1830-1912. Documents nos 7, 10, 13, in the *Historical Archive of Veroia, Selections*, ed. I.K. Vasdravellis, Thessaloniki 1942 [in Greek], are epitomes.

the information autonomy and providing a stimulus for further research. My experience from the years I spent working in two organized Ottoman archives, the 'Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi' in Istanbul and the Oriental Department of the 'Cyril and Methodius' National Library in Sofia, shows that both the card in the card index and the entry in the published catalogue of a collection is an epitome.

The classification number in the archival unit in which the source was found or placed, the date and the kind of source in diplomatic terms, the dimensions and number of folios or pages, are the first data in line at the top of the index card or the printed catalogue of the Ottoman archives, whether for a loose document or a codex. There follows the description of the content, where too we see that the following data are always given: the place name – recorded with its administrative inclusion in *kaza* and *sandjak*, the personal name as issuing authority, recipient or reason for issue, after which is a synopsis of the content in telegraphic form. I give an example of an epitome of a loose document, as entered in the catalogue of the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA):¹

HAT no 55588

1204 (1789-90)

takrir

Kaptan paşanın takriridir: Andıra ceziresi tarafında Karayani kaptanla yapılan mücadeleden merhumun öldüğüne ve kesilen başının gönderildiğine Kızılhisar kadısından gelen ilâmın takdim edildiği hakkında.

¹For the archival collections in this enormous archive, see *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi*, Istanbul ²2000.

With regard to epitomes of codices which are of different categories: When the codex is a fiscal register, first of all the kind of tax is denoted (*cizye*, *avarız*, *bedel-i askeri*, *mukataa iltizam* registers, etc.) and the period of time it spans, the first and the last date. Epitomes of codices of this type always note the administrative districts from which the tax is collected, always with their inclusion in the administrative centre higher up in the hierarchy. Rarely do we encounter, to give an example, the *kaza* of Talanti (Atalanti) without this being accompanied by the indication of its subordination to the *sandjak* of Eğriboz (Negreponte). This is the picture we see in unpublished and published catalogues of Ottoman sources.¹ If, on the other hand, it is a court register (*kadi sicilli*), this is noted — that is its kind — as well as the name of the town it concerns; the first and the last date are recorded, while there is rarely reference to the contents since these are more or less standard,

¹ Maria Mihailova, A. Velkov, P. Grouevski, St. Andreev, Mihaila Stainova, *Répertoire de registres de timars conservés dans le Département Oriental de la Bibliothèque Nationale "Cyrille et Méthode"*, (éd. Bistra Tsvetkova), Sofia 1970. A. Velkov, P. Grouevski, Stoianka Kenderova, Tsanka Nikolova, *Répertoire de registres de cizye conservés dans le Département Oriental de la Bibliothèque Nationale "Cyrille et Méthode"*, (éd. Bistra Tsvetkova), Sofia 1983. I. Theocharidis, *Répertoire de documents ottomans sur Chypre conservés dans le Département Oriental de la Bibliothèque Nationale "Cyrille et Méthode"*, Sofia 1984 and in Greek, *Catalogue of Ottoman documents of Cyprus from the archive of the National Library of Sofia (1571-1878)*, Nicosia 1984. A. Velkov, P. Grouevski, Svetlana Ivanova, Maria Mihailova-Mravkarova, N. Robev, Emiliya Silyanova, *Inventory of the Ottoman Turkish Documents on Trade and Crafts, 16th-19th c. Preserved in the Oriental Department of the St. St. Cyril and Methodius National Library*, Sofia 1993.

having the same basic traits. Court registers contain prices fixed for staple goods, wills, copies of firmans and other decrees dispatched by the Sublime Porte to local nobles, the issue and registration of deeds to immovable property, judgments of lawsuits, etc.). These data, that is kind, town, first and last date, sometimes some very typical documents, were included in the epitomes prepared in 1979-1980 by the team recording the court records in the Historical Archive of Macedonia (Thessaloniki), in order to create the first catalogue in the form of a card index.

Everything mentioned so far pertains to the preliminary cataloguing, the preliminary form of epitomes of loose documents and codices. There is, however, the second stage too, which concerns the epitomes of contents of codices that have been published. There are few such publications in Ottoman Studies, which fact confirms the difficulty of mastering the material they include. I give an example. Halit Ongan published the second earliest court register of Ankara.¹ He numbers the documents in the order they had in the pages of the codex and in a few lines gives their content and date. The entries in the index at the end of the volume refer to the serial number of classification of the documents.

¹H. Ongan, *Ankara'nın İki numaralı Şer'iyeye Sicili, 1 Muharrem 997- 8 Ramazan 998 (20 Kasım 1588-11 Temmuz 1590)*, Ankara 1970.

I shall now present the logic that I and Matoula Kouroupou followed in preparing the epitomes of codices and documents in a mixed archival material, Greek and Turkish (*karamanli* and *osmanli*), relating to four villages in the district of Ürgüp (= Prokopi) in Cappadocia,¹ and spanning the period from the late eighteenth to the first decades of the twentieth century. It derives from the General State Archives and the Centre for Asia Minor Studies.² The archival material in the volume published, as in the others that — God willing — will follow, was subjugated geographically: first according to administrative districts and second according to communities. I shall skip over the details concerning the description of the codex and confine myself here to outlining the rationale underlying the preparation of the epitomes, which — I stress — was dictated by common sense. I begin with the codices that are generically community, ecclesiastical or school or, most often, mixed. The contents of each codex were catalogued in units, the subject of which is described briefly and the date of compilation of the acts is given. To avoid

¹Matoula Kouroupou – Evangelia Balta, *Greek Orthodox communities of Cappadocia. The district of Prokopi (Ürgüp). Sources in the General State Archives and the Centre for Asia Minor Studies*, Athens 2001 [in Greek].

²The codices catalogued come from the General State Archives and the documents from the Centre for Asia Minor Studies. The content of the CAMS codices had been published earlier. See Matoula Kouroupou, «Grecophone codices in the Centre for Asia Minor Studies», *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* 2 (1980), 221-239 [in Greek], and Evangelia Balta, «Karamanli codices in the Centre for Asia Minor Studies», *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* 7 (1988-1989), 201-246 [in Greek].

the danger of fragmentation of the archival corpus, in the presentation of the epitomes, the sequence of the pages in the codex, on which the documents have been entered independently of their date, is followed.

For example:

pp. 1-37: baptisms in the years x-y and their number by year is noted, that is: Year 1888= 13 baptisms. Year 1889= 7, and so on.

pp. 38-58: minutes of the council of elders (May 1876). Noted are the subject of the session, the date and the names of the members of the council who sign each time.

In the epitomes of the codices we tried to salvage the maximum information for the researcher, recording personal names, place names, prices, measurements, terms and idiomatic words, whatever in our opinion could constitute a datum, a subject for research.¹

The epitomes of the five hundred documents in the Centre for Asia Minor Studies were classed by community and chronologically, without their distinction into Greek or Turkish documents or according to their kind, e.g. wills, tax receipts etc. In our view such categorizations would serve no purpose in the limited number of documents of each

¹The same logic had been followed in the cataloguing of the *vakıf* registers in the Historical Archive of Thessaloniki, twenty years ago. By pages I followed and annotated in unities the management of the properties of the various *vakıfs* during a period of time. Essentially in this way I made epitomes of the *vakıf defterleri* rather than a simple catalogue.

community. Those classifications made are presented in the index accompanying the volume. Noted in the epitomes, apart from the date and the content of the document, is its language; when it is Turkish, the script is noted, *karamanlı* or *osmanlı*, that is whether they were written in Turkish with the Greek or the Arab alphabet respectively. My purpose in referring to examples from our endeavour is not to promote a methodology, but to present for your judgement the steps we took in order to include in one corpus two of the largest archival units existing in Greece concerning Cappadocian Hellenism. And the steps are none other than those indicated by the material itself.¹

To summarize, I would like to repeat that in this short communication I have presented my experience from epitomes of archival material in organized corresponding archives outside Greece, and described the logic of my own endeavours in compiling epitomes. Furthermore, I have expressed my optimistic proposal that, despite the lack of specialist Ottoman/Turkish Studies in Greece, there is no reason why we cannot begin making epitomes of the Ottoman material available, and await your criticism of this. My proposal is, in a nutshell, that any existing processing or preliminary cataloguing should be formulated in accordance with elementary publishing rules, so that the sources can be publicized and cease to remain inactive, unknown to the scholarly community.

¹I should note that during the processing of the epitomes in the archival material for the *kaza* of Ürgüp, we consulted frequently the relevant notes compiled by the Turkish-speaking collaborators of Melpo Merlier, since preliminary work had already been done.





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