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# ADALYA

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for Mediterranean Civilizations

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## The Social and Economic Status of the Rum (Greeks) of Antalya in the First Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

Güven DİNÇ\*

### Introduction

As well as Muslim communities of different races, there were also non-Muslim communities of various races, religions, and sects living within the Ottoman State<sup>1</sup>. Their legal status within Ottoman society and state life, in accord with Islamic Law<sup>2</sup> was that of *dbimma*<sup>3</sup>. A distinctive *millet* (community) system was created, together with the legal status of *dbimmis* (non-Muslim subjects) being put into practice in the Ottoman State. *Millet* means a people living within the Ottoman State defined by their religion. In accord with the *millet* system, non-Muslims (*dbimmis*) were divided into separate groups, known as *milletler*, according to the state recognized religions and the sects of which these people were members<sup>4</sup>.

There can be no doubt that Christians formed the largest group of non-Muslims within the Ottoman State with about twenty different groups, and the group with the largest population among the Christians were the Rum (*Millet-i Rum/Greeks*)<sup>5</sup>.

The Turkish word *Rûm*, which derives from “Rome”, was employed to characterize both the geographical region and the Christian Orthodox people in the Seljuk and Ottoman periods<sup>6</sup>. Most of these people had been speaking Greek for over five hundred years before the Eastern Roman Empire came into being. With this meaning, it characterized the local people who became Christians and whose languages were Greek under the rule of the Eastern Roman Empire before the Seljuk Turks arrived in Anatolia. During the Ottoman period the Turkish word used for Rum mostly referred to the subjects of the state who were Christians and who spoke Greek, and the vast majority of these were members of the Orthodox Church<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Ercan 1999, 197.

<sup>2</sup> Bozkurt 1996, 19-20.

<sup>3</sup> Kaya – Hacak 2013, 424; Cahen 1986, 566.

<sup>4</sup> Braude 1982, 69-70.

<sup>5</sup> Ercan 1999, 198-199.

<sup>6</sup> Babinger 1964, 766.

<sup>7</sup> Avcı 2008, 225.

While Orthodox Christians were present throughout almost all of Ottoman territory, they were concentrated in the Morea, Thessaly, Aegean islands and along the Mediterranean coast. In Antalya the relationship between the Muslims (Turks) and non-Muslims (Orthodox Christians)<sup>8</sup> began when the city came under Seljuk rule on 5 March 1207 during the reign of the Seljuk Sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhusrev I<sup>9</sup>. As the non-Muslims attempted to eliminate the Muslims who had settled in the city following its conquest, the settlement areas in the city were segregated, with the inner city walls built to segregate the different religious neighborhoods following the re-conquest of the city on 22 January 1216, with the Christians inhabiting the eastern part of the city, the Muslims the west<sup>10</sup>.

The famous Arab traveler, Ibn-i Battûta, recorded this segregation in Antalya when he visited the city in 1332, as is recorded in the book of his travels<sup>11</sup>:

“...each section of the inhabitants lives in a separate quarter. The (Latin Catholic) Christian merchants live in a quarter of the town known as the Miná (The Port), and are surrounded by a wall, the gates of which are shut upon them from without at night and during the Friday service. The Greeks, who were its former inhabitants, live by themselves in another quarter, the Jews in another, and the king and his court and mamlúks in another, each of these quarters being walled off likewise. The rest of the Muslims live in the main city. Round the whole town and all the quarters mentioned there is another great wall...”

This type of urban segregation recorded by Ibn-i Battûta was maintained in the Ottoman period. A German traveler who came to Antalya at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century had observed that the Christians, Jews, and Muslims lived in the city, and that they were segregated by walls, which gave the city an atmosphere of actually being three separate cities<sup>12</sup>. The Frenchman Paul Lucas, who came to Antalya in 1706, also recorded that the city was separated into three different areas, almost as if it had been established by the integration of three different cities, and that there were walls and large iron gates separating them. Paul Lucas also observed that all of the gates were closed between twelve and one on Fridays, due to a belief that the Rum would take over the city in the course of the Muslim Friday prayers<sup>13</sup>.

The censuses conducted by the Ottoman State also reflect the segregation of the city. The city was recorded in these censuses as divided into religious communities. For example, the Muslims, Christians, and Jews were recorded into separate sections in the 1530 and 1568 censuses<sup>14</sup>.

In this study, what is understood by the term the Rum of Antalya are those Rum who were settled in the center of the town (*nefs-i Antalya*). Those Rum who resided in the different

<sup>8</sup> From the start of Turkish history in Antalya, the vast majority of the Muslim population within the city were Turks. While the expression “Muslim” is employed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century records, it is known that what is implied by the Muslims in Antalya in the 19<sup>th</sup> century is the Turks, and similarly, that the dhimmis (non-Muslim subjects) referred to in the documents are the Rum (Greek).

<sup>9</sup> Turan 2005, 305-307.

<sup>10</sup> Durukan 1998, 28.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn Battuta 2005, 124-125.

<sup>12</sup> Buch 1982, 532.

<sup>13</sup> Dörtlük – Boyraz 2008, 34.

<sup>14</sup> Karaca 2002, 118-121. It is the rule in the early censuses to count separately the Muslims and the non-Muslims, since the non-Muslims are recorded for other kinds of taxes.

towns of the region, and who only came to the city temporarily for the purposes of trade, visits, etc., are not included within the scope of this study.

To date there has been no independent academic studies made concerning the Rum of Antalya. While information concerning the Rum is provided in certain parts of the doctoral thesis prepared by A. Doğan<sup>15</sup>, it is insufficient because no use was made of the Antalya Court Registers<sup>16</sup>, apart from a few journals which were translated, the poll-tax registers, and one independent journal where the census counts in connection with the economic status of the non-Muslims was conducted. And, according to Doğan, the population register for 1840, when the Rum population was subjected to a census for the first time, was not open to research in the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office, and therefore could not be utilized. Moreover, there are no studies which reflect the social and economic status of the Rum community of Antalya in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Consequently, this study has been undertaken based upon the relevant Ottoman archive documents.

In this study for the first time, seven Antalya Court Registers – journals dating from the first half of the century – were examined in detail by scanning all of the judgments. One hundred of the Antalya Court Registers, with the first dated to the initial years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century have reached our day. The number of records pertaining to the Rum prior to the 1830s in the first seven journals is low. And as far as can be understood, the Rum were very cautious about making applications to the court for judgments in the course of the first thirty years of the century. From the records, while there are only seven<sup>17</sup> applications made directly by the Rum in the first thirty years of the century, the number reaches fifty-six<sup>18</sup> by 1850<sup>19</sup>.

Numerous sources containing extensive data, both in terms of the history of Antalya and the Rum, have been employed in detail in this study. One of these is the Rum population census registers dated 1831<sup>20</sup> and 1840<sup>21</sup>. Another series of journals, which were assigned only for the non-Muslims of Antalya, are the poll-tax registers – and these have also been examined

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<sup>15</sup> Doğan 2012, 230.

<sup>16</sup> Historically, the shari'a court registers of Antalya (AŞS), which have reached our day, are those from the period after the ending of the Tekelioğlu rebellion; see Tızlak 2002, 244. Due to the fact that most of the subsequently placed page and judgment numbers in the shari'a court records of Antalya were incorrect, our own numbering system has been used for these records. That is because some pages were omitted when numbering them, and there are also certain errors in the numbering of the judgments. Consequently the pages have been renumbered by us, starting from the first pages of the journals. Their sequence on the page, which was determined as the judgment number, was taken as the basis in order to prevent any confusion.

<sup>17</sup> AŞS., 1/2-4; AŞS., 1/2-5; AŞS., 1/4-2; AŞS., 1/10-1; AŞS., 1/24-2; AŞS., 2/38-2; AŞS., 2/93-1. There was a council which consisted of notables of the Rum of Antalya, and this assembled every Sunday. Questions between Rum were settled in the council. When the defendant and counter-plaintiff were reconciled, the decision was registered in the book of the community. The clerk recorded the witnesses, and at the end of the council the plaintiff and counter-defendant received a copy of the decision. When the question could not reach a settlement, either party could bring it to the Muslim Court (Shari'a Mahkama); see Danieloğlu 2010, 142-143.

<sup>18</sup> AŞS., 1/2-4; AŞS., 1/2-5; AŞS., 1/4-2; AŞS., 1/10-1; AŞS., 1/24-2; AŞS., 2/38-2; AŞS., 2/93-1; AŞS., 3/127-2; AŞS., 5/3-2; AŞS., 5/3-3; AŞS., 5/20-2; AŞS., 5/32-1; AŞS., 5/62-2; AŞS., 5/66-1; AŞS., 5/67-1; AŞS., 5/74-2; AŞS., 5/77-3; AŞS., 5/77-4; AŞS., 5/82-1; AŞS., 5/86-4; AŞS., 6/10-1; AŞS., 6/13-2; AŞS., 6/13-3; AŞS., 6/14-1; AŞS., 6/21-4; AŞS., 6/25-1; AŞS., 6/30-1; AŞS., 6/30-2; AŞS., 6/33-3; AŞS., 6/38-3; AŞS., 6/43-2; AŞS., 6/43-4; AŞS., 6/47-2; AŞS., 6/48-2; AŞS., 6/48-3; AŞS., 6/48-4; AŞS., 6/49-1; AŞS., 6/51-4; AŞS., 6/61-1; AŞS., 6/65-1; AŞS., 6/71-3; AŞS., 6/72-2; AŞS., 6/77-3; AŞS., 6/88-1; AŞS., 6/89-3; AŞS., 6/92-2; AŞS., 6/99-1; AŞS., 7/4-1; AŞS., 7/10-2; AŞS., 7/11-2; AŞS., 7/30-2; AŞS., 7/52-1; AŞS., 7/64-2; AŞS., 7/65-1; AŞS., 7/66-1; AŞS., 7/69-1.

<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that the Tanzimat reforms were effective in increasing the number of non-Muslims applying to the Muslim Court and associating with the state.

<sup>20</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3203.

<sup>21</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206.

in detail for the first time. The poll-tax registers dated 1831 (1246)<sup>22</sup> and 1843 (1259)<sup>23</sup>, from among these registers, were fully utilized. The revenue census (*temettuât*) relating to non-Muslims for the year 1840<sup>24</sup> has also been utilized in a significant manner in this study. In addition to these series of journals, a large number of archive documents and works of research, found to be related to the subject, also enabled a better understanding of the subject.

## The Living Area of the Rum of Antalya

Living area is one of the most important factors in the shaping and determining of the status of a person or community in social, economic, cultural, and other aspects. Numerous differences arising from their living spaces emerge between those people who live in the city centers and those living in rural areas. In addition, differences in numerous areas – such as the interaction between communities in economic activities, in the performance of customs and traditions, in the issues which are faced in daily life, etc. – are also present among different ethnic and religious communities that are more dispersed or more concentrated. Therefore, the living area is a primary subject for examination in order to discover the social and economic status and context of a community.

The most important feature of Ottoman cities was that they were divided into neighborhoods in a physical and social manner. This division was generally formed in accord with ethnic and religious differences<sup>25</sup>. Therefore, a neighborhood in an Ottoman city was a location comprising a community (*cemaat*) containing individuals who know each other as a social and physical unit. They are, to a certain degree, responsible for the behavior of each other and in social cohesion with each other. And, as a result of this, it is an area of the city where a community with the same religious beliefs resides together with its families. In this context, an Ottoman neighborhood is also defined as the name given to a community that lives in the same location<sup>26</sup>. In certain cities Muslim and non-Muslim people preferred to live in separate neighborhoods, in line with this definition<sup>27</sup>. Residing in a separate neighborhood was generally something that was chosen by Ottoman non-Muslim subjects. This could sometimes arise from their desire not to intermingle with Muslims and to perform their own religious traditions more comfortably<sup>28</sup>. However, this was not an absolute rule. Different communities could live within the same neighborhood while at the same time having their own religious sites<sup>29</sup>. Under these circumstances, while it may have seemed that religious communities were living side by side within the same neighborhood, there were always invisible walls which separated and defined them. Until recently, there was no settlement organization based upon wealth or class within the community, with the integrity of the community maintained. The rich and the poor were together in the same neighborhoods where everyone lived together<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> BOA., D.CRD.d., 39886.

<sup>23</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.CMH.d., 171.

<sup>24</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.TMT.d., 9665. This date was not shown on the book originally, and the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office have noted it as the Hijri year 1260-1261 (1844). However, from the contents of the register, it is understood to belong to the year 1256 (1840-1841).

<sup>25</sup> Kuban 1995, 166; Duben – Behar 1996, 43.

<sup>26</sup> Ergenç 1984, 69.

<sup>27</sup> Özdemir 1992, 154.

<sup>28</sup> Ortaylı 2010, 27.

<sup>29</sup> Kuban 1995, 166; Ergenç 2012, 1.

<sup>30</sup> Ortaylı 2010, 42.



Until the creation of neighborhood units, the heads of the Muslim neighborhoods were the imams, and the heads of the non-Muslim neighborhoods were the priests and rural officers. While the administration of Muslim neighborhoods passed to the *mukhtarlar* on the establishment of the neighborhood units, the control of the priests and officers (*kocabaşılar*)<sup>31</sup> in the non-Muslim neighborhoods continued during the era of Tanzimat reform<sup>32</sup>.

The Ottoman neighborhood structure, and its operation described above, was also valid in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century for the city of Antalya. Within this structure the Rum of Antalya lived in the center of the town (*nefs-i Antalya*) and in the Baba Doğan, Makbûle (Makbûl Ağa)<sup>33</sup>, and Cami-i Cedid neighborhoods within the city walls (*derûn-ı kal'a*). All of the Rum who were born in Antalya or who came to settle in Antalya inhabited these three neighborhoods. All the registers regarding the Rum show these same areas as inhabited by the Rum<sup>34</sup>.

While the principal aim of these registers was related to finance, it could be thought that the Rum had come together for practical purposes in certain neighborhoods to be recorded. Indeed, in the Ottoman bureaucracy individuals were defined according to their neighborhood, due to the relationship between communities and neighborhoods, and the neighborhoods were characterized as financial units. Therefore, even if they did reside in different locations, communities such as the Rum, the Armenians and the Jews could have been shown as if they were living together within a single neighborhood<sup>35</sup>.

The answer to this question can be obtained from the court records containing a large network of data in respect to the neighborhoods. In research conducted on the Antalya Court Registers from the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, we found these same locations recorded as the neighborhoods where the Rum lived. Not only did the Rum inhabit the Cami-i Cedid, Makbûle and Baba Doğan neighborhoods, but also these were where most had their places of work. It is therefore evident that in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Rum of Antalya lived within the city walls on the eastern side of the city within a narrow area in these three neighborhoods adjacent to each other. When it is considered that there were in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a total of forty-one<sup>36</sup> neighborhoods in Antalya, thirteen of which were within the city walls, the narrowness of the living area of the Rum can be better understood.

Evlîya Çelebi in the 17<sup>th</sup> century recorded that the Rum of Antalya lived in four independent neighborhoods (without naming them)<sup>37</sup>. This number had fallen to three by the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The reasons for this change can be listed as: Muslim migration to the city, the inability of the Rum population to be fed from outside the city, and possible conversions<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> For example, the 1843 poll-tax census was conducted in the trust of the *Kocabaşı* of Antalya – Hacı Pavloz and *İstirati*, who was the deputy of the Metropolitan of Pisida; see BOA., *ML.VRD.CMH.d.*, 171, 33.

<sup>32</sup> Çadırcı 1970, 411.

<sup>33</sup> While the name of this neighborhood was referred to as “Makbûl Ağa” in the first parts of the century, it took the name of “Makbûle” towards the middle of the century, and continued to be referred to by this name. Its name has been used as Makbûle in this study.

<sup>34</sup> BOA., *D.CRD.d.*, 39886; BOA., *NFS.d.*, 3203; BOA., *NFS.d.*, 3206; BOA., *ML.VRD.TMT.d.*, 9665; BOA., *ML.VRD.CMH.d.*, 171, 2-24.

<sup>35</sup> Ergenç 2012, 1.

<sup>36</sup> AŞS., 4/16-2; AŞS., 4/29-2; AŞS., 6/79-2.

<sup>37</sup> Çelebi 2005, 147.

<sup>38</sup> Concerning the matter of conversion, we do not possess any data as to Rum of Antalya converting to Islam before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, from the court records, it is understood that the number of conversions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was almost nonexistent. One of the conversions that could be determined – Hatice from the Baba Doğan neighborhood – continued to live in the same neighborhood, and later suffered inheritance issues with her siblings

Among these it is certain that, although Antalya is a port city, the Rum rarely immigrated to the city. Although Antalya is a port city, it did not allow immigrants. The region with which the Rum of Antalya were mostly in communication was Cyprus, and the small number of Rum settlements in Antalya had mostly come from Rum formerly living on the island of Cyprus<sup>39</sup>.

If it is considered that the Rum of Antalya were living in three neighborhoods inside the city walls, it can be said that they preferred to inhabit an urban environment as their living area. This means that one can state that the Rum did not settle in the rural areas of Antalya. This was in fact a historic continuation of their segregated life in the city, which began in the Seljuk period, which has been described above. The settlement in these urban locations became a rule over time, and the Rum were not permitted to settle anywhere outside of these neighborhoods<sup>40</sup>. As well as being a tradition centuries old, this was also a consequence of their economic activities. As can be seen from their economic activities examined below, the Rum were mostly traders and craftsmen, and involved in commerce.

In 1840 the Rum resided in 225 household units in the Cami-i Cedid neighborhood, in 175 units in the Baba Doğan neighborhood, and in 152 units in the Makbûle neighborhood<sup>41</sup>. The number of Muslim household units within these three neighborhoods in the same year were respectively: 24, 31, and 88<sup>42</sup>. These numbers show that these neighborhoods can be construed as being the Rum neighborhoods. There were also some Armenians within the *Baba Doğan* neighborhood alongside the Rum and Muslims<sup>43</sup>.

These three neighborhoods were more populated than the others, as the Rum were concentrated within these neighborhoods, and Muslims were also present in them. Therefore, the tax burden on these neighborhoods was also higher. The population rates of these neighborhoods can be seen clearly in the allocation records of the property and land reflected as large neighborhoods coverage fees and other taxes of the *Rûz-ı Hızır* installment issued in 1834 on the basis of population ratios. In terms of the taxes paid, the Makbûle and Baba Doğan neighborhoods were also classified. The amount of the tax burden on these three neighborhoods (4.727 piastres) was the equivalent of around 25% of the total tax installments of the 41 neighborhoods (18.912 piastres) in Antalya<sup>44</sup>.

Even though both Muslims and Rum were present in these three neighborhoods, these residential areas were still segregated. The only area where the Muslims and Rum were actually living together was near the city wall at the end of the Makbûle neighborhood<sup>45</sup>. There are registration records which show this. For example, in the Makbûle neighborhood the house

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after her father died; AŞS., 5/74-2. Another of the conversions recorded is dated 8 March 1830 (13 Ramadan 1245), with a woman named Sizen (daughter of Yorgi) taking the name Zehra and becoming a Muslim; see AŞS., 3/127-2.

<sup>39</sup> In 1685 it was recorded that twenty-eight of the Rum who had come from the island of Cyprus and settled in Antalya forty to fifty years ago were still alive; see BOA., *İE.ML.*, 21/2002 (5 February 1685); BOA., *İE.DH.*, 6/545 (5 February 1685). A large section of those who came from other cities to settle in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were also Cypriots. According to the registration journal dated 1840, there were twenty-one Cypriots and seven people from Alaiye. There were also Rum from Damascus, Isparta, Jaffa, Kastellorizo, and Chios; see BOA., NFS.d., 3206.

<sup>40</sup> BOA., *İ.HR.*, 2/51 (30 January 1840); BOA., *A.MKT.*, 132/18 (3 July 1848); BOA., *A.DVN.*, 40/7 (6 September 1848).

<sup>41</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 1-70.

<sup>42</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3205, 5-6, 23-29.

<sup>43</sup> BOA., *ML.VRD.TMT.d.*, 9744; BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 80.

<sup>44</sup> AŞS., 4/16-2.

<sup>45</sup> BOA., *A.MKT.*, 46/12

of Sarı Simon, the house of locksmith Filyo and son of Emirza were around the house of Mehmet<sup>46</sup>. Again in the same neighborhood, the homes of the Rum named Karayazıcı, Mumcu, and Kalaycı bordered the home of a Muslim<sup>47</sup>. However, there were still instances during this period and subsequently when the Muslims and the Rum in this neighborhood were registered separately in the records. This can be seen in the extraordinary tax and the *bedel-i nüzul* tax records for the township of Antalya dated 1819. The Makbûle neighborhood had been divided into “Makbûle” and “Makbûle-i Zimmiyân” in these records<sup>48</sup>. With the extension of the neighborhood, when we reach the final quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Rum and the Muslims constituted two separate neighborhoods that were known as the “Rum Makbûle” and “İslâm Makbûle”<sup>49</sup>.

The fact that the Rum lived in areas close to each other, in three quarters neighboring each other, naturally resulted in their relating mostly to each other. In the first seven journals of the court records, which cover the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, fifty-six court records of people living in these neighborhoods were found. Only eight of them were in connection with incidents which had taken place between non-Muslims and Muslims<sup>50</sup>. Seven of these cases were related to issues of inheritance, divorce, and of sales deeds with Muslims<sup>51</sup>. All of the remaining records relate to matters within the Rum community, and only one of them was an action related to severe animosity<sup>52</sup>. The others concerned issues of inheritance, the purchase of property, and commercial matters.

On the other hand, the fact that the Rum lived within a narrow area does not mean that they led their lives within a closed box, remaining only within these neighborhoods. As will be seen below, due to the fact that a large section of the Rum were traders, craftsmen, and involved in commercial activities, they were in a position to cater to the whole of the city. The occupations undertaken by the Rum ensured that they maintained a relationship with the Muslims. In addition to this, many Rum were horticulturalists, having gardens and orchards outside the city walls. Moreover, the Orthodox Church Cemetery was also beyond the city walls – in the Sheikh Sinan neighborhood<sup>53</sup> (today the flower garden of Antalya’s Metropolitan Municipality)<sup>54</sup>. This area became one of the new living areas of the Rum in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

As is examined in detail below, in reference to the population there was a large demographic increase in the Rum community towards the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Consequently, it became mandatory for several families to live together within one unit, and this situation had become widespread. The number of persons aged above twenty, which were registered in the same unit in the population census of 1840<sup>55</sup>, indicate several families were living together. There was more than one family living in twenty-seven of the units comprising the Cami-i

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<sup>46</sup> AŞS., 5/77-1.

<sup>47</sup> AŞS., 5/77-1.

<sup>48</sup> AŞS., 2/9-2.

<sup>49</sup> Çetinkaya 2012, 279, 312.

<sup>50</sup> AŞS., 5/74-2; AŞS., 6/14-1; AŞS., 6/25-1; AŞS., 6/71-3; AŞS., 6/88-1; AŞS., 6/89-3; AŞS., 7/64-2; AŞS., 7/65-1.

<sup>51</sup> AŞS., 5/66-1; AŞS., 5/67-1; AŞS., 5/77-3; AŞS., 6/10-1; AŞS., 7/30-2; AŞS., 7/52-1; AŞS., 7/66-1.

<sup>52</sup> AŞS., 6/13-2.

<sup>53</sup> Taşbaş 2007, 420.

<sup>54</sup> Çimrin 2017, 170.

<sup>55</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 1-70.

Cedid neighborhood, in sixteen units of the Baba Doğan neighborhood, and in thirty units of the Makbûle neighborhood. However, among them, there were units composed of four to five houses<sup>56</sup>. In consequence, with this population increase the Rum who were becoming cramped in their own locations began to search for other places to live<sup>57</sup>. This was initially possible through the purchase of the homes of Muslims living in these neighborhoods. As they became more and more cramped, the Rum used their economic power to purchase the houses of the Muslims<sup>58</sup>. For example, there were three Muslim homes, including that of the *imam* of the neighborhood, bordering the house that was purchased by *İstirati* from a Muslim in the Cami-i Cedid neighborhood in 1836<sup>59</sup>.

We have also another document which indicates that the Rum purchased the houses of the Muslims in three neighborhoods. The number of households of the non-Muslims was recorded in the poll-tax census books. According to 1846 (1262)<sup>60</sup> poll-tax census, the number of household of the Rum was 583. The number of those in 1251-1852 (1267) was 606<sup>61</sup>.

The priests and administrative representatives (*kocabaşlar*) of the Rum community came to court in January 1840 to voice their problems through a petition seeking a solution to this problem. They stated that two and sometimes three families were being forced to live in one unit, and that there were concerns that they would be unable to obtain the additional units they needed. As a solution, they requested several things: 1) that a sufficient number of houses be built on the vacant land belonging to the Pandelli Foundation situated outside the city walls, 2) that they be allowed to settle there, 3) that the rundown church known as *Kilisecik* be renovated for their religious ceremonies, and 4) that a gate through the city wall be opened to make it easier for them to travel there and back. When the petition was forwarded to Sultan Abdulmecid, the latter took a positive view of the request, and firstly ensured that an engineer was appointed to measure the new gate and bridge and to check on the status of the old church<sup>62</sup>.

It was not possible to solve the problem addressed in these proposals within a short time because, in principle, the construction of a new church was prevented. Therefore, the Rum continued to purchase the homes of the Muslims in these neighborhoods<sup>63</sup>. As the neighborhood where they were most cramped was the Makbûle neighborhood, the largest number of houses that changed hands was also in this neighborhood. The Muslims who became disturbed by this went to the Governor to complain, and the Governor requested and warned the Rum not to settle in areas close to Muslim dwellings. Despite this, however, some Rum continued to settle close to Muslim units. In 1848 persons named Mustafa, Salih, Mehmet, Süleyman,

<sup>56</sup> For example, there were five people registered over the age of twenty in Hacı Pavloz's household in the Makbûle neighbourhood; see BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 28.

<sup>57</sup> BOA., İ.HR., 2/51 (30 January 1840); BOA., A.MKT., 132/18 (3 July 1848); BOA., A.DVN., 40/7 (6 September 1848).

<sup>58</sup> "As the population of the Christian community (*rayab*) grew and they became more and more cramped, they offered double the value for the Muslim-owned houses around their areas to purchase them"; BOA., MVL., 700/6 (17 February 1865). For the house purchase deeds of the Rum, see AŞS., 5/74-2; AŞS., 6/14-1; AŞS., 6/25-1; AŞS., 6/71-3; AŞS., 6/88-1; AŞS., 6/89-3; AŞS., 7/64-2; AŞS., 7/65-1.

<sup>59</sup> AŞS., 6/88-1.

<sup>60</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.CMH.d., 682, 2-30.

<sup>61</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.CMH.d., 1251, 2-26.

<sup>62</sup> BOA., İ.HR., 2/51 (30 January 1840); BOA., MVL., 22/345 (14 June 1840).

<sup>63</sup> A study concerning Damascus between the mid-18<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries highlighted that houses purchased by Christians was mostly in the Christian neighborhoods; see al-Qattan 2005, 18-19.

and Veli sold their houses near the mosque and the neighborhood school to a Rum named Mihail, the brother of the soup seller Kostanti, the son of Sarı Simon, and Kara Yorgi the son of Koç. According to the allegations, these purchases had not even been witnessed at court. Despite the fact that this situation had been notified to the *naib* (judge), it could not be prevented. Finally, the situation was addressed through a petition to the Sultan, and his assistance was sought. The decision made by the Sultan was that the court should prevent the Rum from purchasing houses and land in the neighborhoods where the Muslims lived. If a Muslim were to sell a house or land, Muslims should buy it. But this did not mean there should be any intervention concerning those houses and land that was already owned by the Rum<sup>64</sup>.

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was decided to solve the problem of the cramped living quarters of the Rum of Antalya who had been living within the city walls from “primeval” times by settling a part of the community outside the city walls. With this aim, it was thought to settle some of the Rum – at their own request – in a new neighborhood to be established outside the city walls. However, this plan could not be immediately implemented, and therefore in the second half the century the Rum continued, as their population increased, to purchase the homes of Muslims within the city walls. On the other hand, they also began to settle without permission in the neighborhoods outside the city walls. In a letter written by the district governor’s office to *Sadaret* (the Sublime Porte), dated 17 February 1865, several things were stated: 1) that the Rum were continuing to purchase houses of the Muslims within the city walls, 2) that the Muslims whose homes had been purchased were settling in other houses outside the city walls, 3) that a significant number of Muslim homes had been transferred to non-Muslims in the last five to ten years, 4) that, as a result, a large mosque, two primary schools, and several prayer rooms had been left idle, and 4) that some non-Muslims had started to rent Muslim units outside the city walls, to purchase land there, and to build shops<sup>65</sup>.

The Rum who settled outside the city walls brought new problems with them. As a new church had not been planned for them, it was necessary to create a new gate in the city walls so that they could go to their old churches. However, as it was deemed to be ill-advised for a new gate to be opened in the city walls, this was not permitted in the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>66</sup>. The Reform Edict of 1856 (*Islahat Fermanı*), which proclaimed the equality of all Muslim and non-Muslim alike, provided freedom for the restoration and building of churches for the non-Muslims subjects. After the issuance of the 1856 Edict, one of the most visible signs of the improved status of the non-Muslims was the increase in the numbers of their churches and synagogues. Accordingly, this issue was resolved through the approval for the construction of a new church and hospital to be built by the Greek Cemetery, with an imperial decree dated March 1865<sup>67</sup>.

However, it only became possible for the Rum to settle in a new neighborhood outside the city walls in a systematic manner following the building of more than 300 houses around Yenikapı from the beginning of the 1880s. This new neighborhood was given the name

<sup>64</sup> BOA., A.DVN., 40/7 (6 September 1848); AŞS., 3/116-1.

<sup>65</sup> BOA., MVL., 700/6 (17 February 1865).

<sup>66</sup> “As the non-Muslim population of Antalya could not fit into their own areas, they requested that a neighborhood be built for them outside the city walls and that a gate be opened in the walls and a bridge be built over the ditch in order for them to be able to go to their churches”; see BOA., A.MKT., 125/81.

<sup>67</sup> BOA., C.ADL., 21/1266 (27 March 1865). Besides this, in 1863 another church which was in a very poor state was restored through the favor of the Rum of Antalya. Today this church comprises a section of the Kaleiçi Museum which is a part of Koç University Suna & İnan Kiraç Research Center for Mediterranean Civilizations (AKMED).

“Rağbetiye” in 1884<sup>68</sup>. In the next two decades, this new neighborhood enlarged, and it embraced the Sheikh Sinan neighborhood.

## The Rum Population of Antalya

As stated above, the Rum at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century lived in a cramped area within the city walls in three neighborhoods. However, the population was undergoing a large increase in numbers. That epidemics such as the plague and cholera struck the city from time to time and did not affect the Rum population as much as other communities was an important factor in this population increase.

The Rum population was one of the least affected by the outbreak of plague in the 1830s<sup>69</sup>, which spread throughout the Mediterranean and Anatolian region in the 1830s<sup>70</sup>. The Rum believed that they were protected from the plague because they went to their churches, prayed twice a day, and washed with holy water<sup>71</sup>.

One of the reasons for the increase in the population numbers of the Rum was immigration. In 1850, 78 non-Muslims, with the great majority consisting of Rum, settled in Antalya for several years and became inhabitants<sup>72</sup>.

Knowledge of the size of the Rum population in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century can be obtained from the observations of travelers and from the official Ottoman records. But it should be noted that the information provided by the travelers has no objective value, based only on observation and unofficial information. Consequently, there are large differences between the figures provided by these travelers. For example, William Martin Leake<sup>73</sup>, who came to Antalya in 1810, stated the town was crowded, without providing clear information as to the numbers of the populations. Francis Beaufort came to Antalya two years later in 1812, and basing his estimate on his observations, stated that the population of the town did not exceed eight thousand people and that one in three of these were Rum<sup>74</sup>. According to John Lewis Burckhardt, who came a few years after Beaufort, more than half the population of the city were Rum<sup>75</sup>. Joseph Wolff, who came to Antalya in February 1831, recorded that 1,500 Rum lived in Antalya<sup>76</sup>. T. A. B. Spratt and E. Forbes, who came to Antalya towards the middle of the century, stated that the population of the city was around thirteen thousand and claimed that three thousand of these were Rum<sup>77</sup>. Charles Texier, who also came to the town around the middle of the century, mentioned a population of around fifteen to eighteen thousand from his observations<sup>78</sup>.

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<sup>68</sup> BOA., ŞD., 302/40 (10 July 1884).

<sup>69</sup> Panzac 1997, 262.

<sup>70</sup> “As the epidemics experienced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had more impact on the poor, the Rum, whose economic status was better than the Muslims, suffered less from these diseases”; see BOA., A.MKT.MHM., 554/73 (14 October 1894).

<sup>71</sup> Wolff 1837, 18.

<sup>72</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.CMH., 1251, 25-26.

<sup>73</sup> Leake 1824, 133.

<sup>74</sup> Beaufort 2002, 129.

<sup>75</sup> Burckhardt 1819, XIII.

<sup>76</sup> Wolff 1837, 17.

<sup>77</sup> Spratt – Forbes, 1847, 211.

<sup>78</sup> Texier 2002, 443.



This information concerning the size of the Rum population recorded by travelers who came to Antalya was not based on any objective data and is largely far from the actual figures. It is necessary to use the objective records to determine the size of the Rum population. There are three types of records through which the number forming the Rum population in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century can be determined. These are: the population, the revenue, and the poll-tax censuses. Of these, the population censuses and the poll-tax records have the direct aim of determining the size of the non-Muslim male population. In this period, the aim of the population censuses and the poll-tax records were the same. On the other hand, the revenue census books were known as a taxation census and employed the household units as its basis. However, it is also possible to determine population size from these censuses<sup>79</sup>.

In the Ottoman state, the conduct of a population census in the modern sense, and the keeping of census records for economic and military reasons, came on the agenda in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first population census in the Ottoman State – not based on a count of the units of land – took place in 1246 (1830-1831). With this census, the Ottoman government aimed to determine the number of the Muslim and non-Muslim subject populations, thus establishing the numbers of the Muslim male population eligible to be drafted into the army (which could be used in the army newly formed to replace the Janissaries), and the number of the non-Muslim population who were obliged to pay the poll-tax<sup>80</sup>.

According to Karal, there is no data recorded concerning the non-Muslims of Antalya in the first population census conducted by the Ottoman State<sup>81</sup>. But, in fact, the non-Muslims of Antalya were recorded in the book of the census numbered 3203.

The census of 1831 was conducted from 15 December 1830 (23 Cumada'l-ahir 1246), and it recorded a total population of the Rum (male) of Antalya of 1093 in the three neighborhoods, 444 in the Cami-i Cedid neighborhood, 337 in the Baba Doğan neighborhood and 312 in the Makbûle neighborhood<sup>82</sup>. The Makbûle neighborhood had the lowest population of the three<sup>83</sup>.

Fig. 1 Numbers of Rum of Antalya according to the Census of 1831

Neighborhood	Population (Male)	Estimated Total Population*	(%)
Cami-i Cedid	444	888	40.62
Baba Doğan	337	674	30.83
Makbûle	312	624	28.55
Total	1,093	2,186	100

Source: BOA., NFS.d., 3203; 1-64.

\* In order to determine the estimated total Rum population, it is necessary to multiply the male Rum population by two. As can be clearly seen in the later population censuses where women were also counted, the numbers of men and women among the Rum of Antalya was very close to each other: 3,475 males (48.79%) and 3,648 females (51.21%) were counted in the 1915 population census; see Ak 2014, 314-316.

<sup>79</sup> Kütükoğlu 1995, 395-418.

<sup>80</sup> Shaw 1978, 325-326.

<sup>81</sup> Karal 1943, 122.

<sup>82</sup> BOA.NFS.d., 3203, 1-64.

<sup>83</sup> Apart from the three neighborhoods, there were eight Rum in Mandırla Farm and fifteen Armenians in the Baba Doğan neighbourhood; see BOA.NFS.d., 3203, 37, 67.

As recorded above, in Antalya there were 2,879 male Muslims in the city center and 1,963 male Muslims in the sub-districts and villages<sup>84</sup>. When the sixteen Armenian males residing in the city center neighborhood are added to this<sup>85</sup>, there were 3,988 males in the center of the town, and an estimated total population including the women of 7,976. According to this, 27.40% of the population of the center of the town were Rum. The number of households of the Rum was not registered in the censuses.

The next census in Antalya was conducted in 1840<sup>86</sup>. The register in which the Rum were recorded in this census was the *Medîne-i Antalya'da mütemekkin ehl-i zimmet re'âyânın nüfus defteridir*<sup>87</sup>, which was the population census book containing the non-Muslims in Antalya. The Rum population recorded in the Cami-i Cedid, Baba Doğan and Makbûle neighborhoods within the city walls recorded in this register is as follows:

Fig. 2 Number of Rum of Antalya according to the Census of 1840

Neighborhood	Numbers of Household Units	Male Population	Average per Unit	Estimated Total Population
Cami-i Cedid	225 (40.76%)	505 (39.99%)	2,24	1,010
Baba Doğan	175 (31.70%)	361 (28.58%)	2,06	722
Makbûle	152 (27.54%)	397 (31.43%)	2,61	794
Total	552	1,263	2.28 (Average)	2,526

Source: BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 1-72.

Different figures were recorded for the Rum of Antalya in the census survey register, which is understood to have been kept this year. In fact, it was also clearly stated that all of the population and households registered in this journal were Rum<sup>88</sup>.

The Rum male population of Antalya at the 1840 census was 1,263. The most crowded neighborhood was Cami-i Cedid with 225 households and 505 males. This was followed by Makbûle with 152 households and 397 males, and Baba Doğan coming last with 175 households and 361 males. What stands out is that, despite the larger number of households in the Baba Doğan neighborhood, the population of the Makbûle neighborhood was higher. As a result, the highest number of males per household was in the Makbûle neighborhood (2.61). A total of 1,584 Muslim and Rum males were recorded in this census in the three neighborhoods where the Rum lived. This equals 36% of the total male inhabitants in the center of the town.

In the same census the Muslim population in the thirty-five neighborhoods in the center of the town was 3,132 males, an estimated 6,264 people in total. Together with the Rum, the total population reached 8,790 people. When the twenty males and estimated forty Armenians in the place termed Acemhane in the Makbûle neighborhood is added to this figure<sup>89</sup>, the total estimated population in the center of the town reaches 8,830. As the total estimated Rum population has been calculated as 2,526 people, this means that the ratio of the Rum in the population of Antalya was 28.60%.

<sup>84</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3190, 29. A total of 35,839 Muslims (males) were registered in the region as a whole.

<sup>85</sup> BOA.NFS.d., 3203, 67-68.

<sup>86</sup> Karal 1943, 9.

<sup>87</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206.

<sup>88</sup> BOA., CRD.d., 853, 8.

<sup>89</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 78.



Fig. 3 Population of the Neighborhoods according to the Census of 1840

Neighborhood	Numbers of households and Muslim – Rum Ratios within the Neighborhood		Male Population and Muslim – Rum Ratios within the Neighborhood	
	Muslim	Rum	Muslim	Rum
Cami-i Cedit	24 (9.64%)	225 (90.36%)	56 (9.98%)	505 (90.02%)
Baba Doğan	31 (15.01%)	175 (84.95%)	62 (14.66%)	361 (85.34 %)
Makbûle	88 (36.67%)	152 (63.33%)	203 (33.83%)	397 (66.17 %)
Total	143 (20.58%)	552 (79.42%)	321 (20.27%)	1,263 (79.73 %)
Total	695		1.584	

Source: BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 1-72 (Rûm); BOA., NFS.d., 3205, 5-6, 23-29 (Muslim).

The Rum population of Antalya had increased by an estimated 340 people (male+female) in the ten-year period 1831-1840 following the 1831 census, a 15.55% increase during this period. This also statistically confirms the fast pace of increase in the Rum population in Antalya towards the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In addition to this, while the Makbûle neighborhood had the lowest population in the 1831 census, it had overtaken the Baba Doğan neighborhood in 1840. In fact, the fastest pace of increase was seen in the Makbûle neighborhood, around 27.24%, followed by the Cami-i Cedit neighborhood with around 13.73% and the Baba Doğan neighborhood with around 7.12%. These rates of increase clearly show the issue of cramped accommodation faced by the Rum described above, and the reason why most of the houses they purchased from the Muslims were in the Makbûle neighborhood.

Fig. 4 Comparison of the 1831 and 1840 Population Censuses

Neighbourhood	1831 Census	1840 Census	Amount of Increase	Annual Average Percentage Increase in 10 Years
Cami-i Cedit	444 (40,62 %)	505 (39,99 %)	61 (13,73 %)	1,37%
Baba Doğan	337 (30,83 %)	361 (28,58 %)	24 (7,12 %)	0,71%
Makbûle	312 (28,55 %)	397 (31,43 %)	85 (27,24 %)	2,72%
TOTAL	1.093 (100 %)	1263 (100 %)	170 (15,55 %)	1,55 (Average)

Source: BOA., NFS.d., 3203; 1-64; BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 1-72.

Another source through which the Rum population of Antalya can be determined is the registers of their revenue censuses. There are four registers on economic status in this sense. The revenue census register taken as the basis in this study is the register dated 1840, in which all of the non-Muslim population was recorded<sup>90</sup>. One of the characteristics of this register was that, while it was kept on the basis of household units, the number of the male population in a household was also counted. Therefore, by using the censuses related to economic status, there is no need to use a coefficient (which is classically five persons per household) in order to find the estimated population of the household. The Rum population was recorded as follows in this census conducted in 1840:

<sup>90</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.TMT.d., 9665.

Fig. 5 Rum Population of Antalya according to the Revenue Census (Temettuat) of 1840

Neighborhood	Number of Households	Male Population	Estimated Population	Average Number of People per Household
Cami-i Cedit	225 (40.76%)	505 (39.98%)	1,010	4.48
Baba Doğan	175 (31.70%)	361 (28.58%)	722	4.12
Makbûle	152 (27.54%)	397 (31.43%)	794	5.22
Total	552 (100 %)	1,263 (100 %)	2,526	4.57

Source: BOA., ML.VRD.TMT.d., 9665, 2-103.

The figures revealed in the censuses related to economic status equal to those obtained in the population census of the same year. The reason for this was that they were carried out at the same time. Again, according to the economic status and population censuses, the total estimated average number of people per household in the Rum community of Antalya was 4.57.

In later periods it was possible to obtain information from the poll-tax registers related to the Rum population of Antalya. Since the poll-tax registers record all non-Muslim males, they are able to provide detail information. The poll-tax registers of the non-Muslim of Antalya that which have been found cover the period from 1843 to 1852. Due to the fact that it takes into account the entire male population, the 1843 poll-tax census has been taken as the basis in this study. As this register consists of the whole male population, it can be said to be a type of "population census book". The other poll-tax registers made in the period under study only counted the taxpayers; children under the age of fourteen were not recorded<sup>91</sup>.

As the purpose of the poll-tax census was to determine the population required to pay tax, the existing population of the city was taken into account in its calculations. Some poll-taxpayers who were in the other cities at the time of the census could obtain their poll-tax payer documents at that location. Such taxpayers were recorded in the census, but they were not shown among those who had an obligation to pay the tax. The numbers of the Rum population of Antalya in 1843, excluding those who had died and those out of the city, were as follows:

Fig. 6 Rum Population in Antalya according to the 1843 Poll-Tax Census<sup>92</sup>

Neighborhood	Population (Male)	Estimated Total Population
Cami-i Cedit	510	1,020
Baba Doğan	359	718
Makbûle	393	786
Total	1,262	2,524

Source: BOA., ML.VRD.CMH.d., 171, 2-24.

The fifty-seven people who were in other cities during the poll-tax census of 1843 were included in these figures. In addition to this, it is recorded that three people from the Cami-i Cedit neighborhood had left the city, but the reason for this was not known. The most

<sup>91</sup> For example, see BOA., ML.VRD.CMH.d, 1251.

<sup>92</sup> The total numbers in the poll-tax registers are incorrect. The data is the result of our own calculations.

crowded neighborhood was Cami-i Cedid (510), while the Makbûle neighborhood (393) was more crowded than the Baba Doğan neighborhood (359). As the poll-tax census only took into account the male population, it is once again necessary to double the figures in order to arrive at an estimated total Rum population of 2,524 according to the 1843 poll-tax census<sup>93</sup>.

When the population census of 1840, the revenue census of 1840, and the later poll-tax census of 1843 are taken into account, it can be seen that the results revealed by all three are consistent.

Fig. 7 Estimated Total Rum Population according to Population, Revenue, and Poll-Tax Censuses

Neighborhood	Population Census (1840)	Revenue Census (Temettuat) (1840)	Poll-Tax (1843)
Cami-i Cedid	1,010	1,010	1,020
Baba Doğan	722	722	718
Makbûle	794	794	786
Total	2,526	2,526	2,524

Source: BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 1-72; BOA., ML.VRD.CMH.d., 171, 2-24; BOA., ML.VRD.TMT.d., 9665, 2-103.

As a result, all the principal sources show that the population of the Rum in Antalya in the first half, and towards the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, totaled around 2,500 people, forming approximately 28-30% of the whole population in the town center.

### The Age, Birth-Death Status of the Rum Population

Knowledge of the age ratios of a community is important in order to show details related to the sustainability, ability to work, births, deaths, etc. of that community. In the period investigated, it is possible to determine the ages of the Rum population from the poll-tax and population censuses.

We have two censuses in which the demographic structure of the Rum community can be determined: the 1831 and 1840 censuses. Since the 1840 census contained more detailed information, it has been analyzed in this study.

From the ages recorded in the population census of 1840, the average age in the Cami-i Cedid neighborhood where 505 males were counted was 22.9; the average age in the Makbûle neighborhood where 397 males were counted was 21.9; and the average age in the Baba Doğan neighborhood where 361 males were counted was 21.4. The distribution of the age groups in these neighborhoods was as follows:

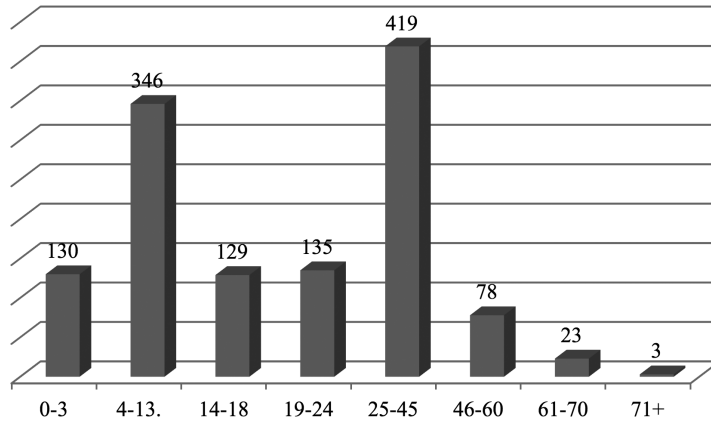
<sup>93</sup> It is understood that the 1843 poll-tax census book was based on the 1840 population census book. For this reason, the population registered in the book dated 1843 may not reflect the actual population. Even so, since the demographic changes in the Rum community were recorded in the book, some data are evaluated. The reason why the 1840 population and the 1843 poll-tax censuses are close is that the poll-tax census was based on the 1840 population census.

Fig. 8 Ages of the Rum of Antalya according to the 1840 Population Census<sup>94</sup>

Neighbor- hoods	0-3		4-13		14-18		19-24		25-45		46-60		61-70		71+		Average Ages
	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	
Cami-i Cedid	49	9.7	134	26.53	53	10.50	44	8.71	175	34.65	32	6.34	18	3.56	0	0	22.9
Baba Doğan	35	9.7	104	28.81	28	7.76	44	12.19	132	36.57	17	4.71	1	1.02	0	0	21.4
Makbûle	46	11.59	108	27.20	48	12.09	47	11.84	112	28.21	29	7.30	4	1.01	3	0,76	21.8
Total	130	10.29	346	27.40	129	10.21	135	10.69	419	33.17	78	6.71	23	1.82	3	0,24	21.7

Source: BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 1-72.

Fig. 9 Age Distribution Graph of the Rum of Antalya



As can be seen in the table, the Rum of Antalya possessed quite a young population: 58.67% of the population was under the age of twenty-five. Around 28% of these were babies or children. The 25-45 age group, one of the most productive age groups in the employment period, was also among the large sections of the population. On the other hand, there were only twenty-six people above the age of sixty, with the oldest being ninety-three<sup>95</sup>.

When the birth rate of the Rum population is considered, it can be seen that there was an increase towards the middle of the century. Together with the completion of the first census of 1831, a registrar (*nüfus nazırı* or *mukayyid*) was appointed to the centers of each of the districts to ensure that population affairs were better organized in subsequent periods<sup>96</sup>. The incidents of birth and death in Antalya were recorded every six months, due to the population minister present in Antalya. The children born were registered in the same census book with their date of birth. The children born in the period between 1831 and 1837 are given below:

<sup>94</sup> The reason for the population divided into age groups in the manner shown in the table is that those in the range between 0-3 were deemed babies and children between 4-13 were exempt from the poll-tax. Those in the 14-18 (young/*şâb-ı emred*) and 19-24 (very light moustache) age groups were the youth groups of the population, while the 25-45 age range constituted the most appropriate age for employment and productivity.

<sup>95</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 56.

<sup>96</sup> Çadırcı 1970, 232.

Fig. 10 Numbers of Births of the Rum of Antalya from 1831 to 1837

Years	Cami-i Cedid	Baba Doğan	Makbûle	TOTAL
1831 (H.1247)	18	8	4	30
1832 (H.1248)	20	12	7	39
1833 (H.1249)	31	13	11	55
1834 (H.1250)	6	0	9	15
1835 (H.1251)	23	30	4	57
1836 (H.1252)	14	9	16	39
1837 (H.1253)	10	8	9	27
Average	17.42	11.42	8.57	37.42

Source: BOA., NFS.d., 3203; 1-64.

As shown in the figures above, the Rum community had the highest number of births in 1835, while the lowest number of births was in 1834 (fifteen males). The average number of births in these seven years was 37.42 (males).

We also have the book recording the incidents of birth and death, dated 1836 (1252). According to the book there were eighteen births in the six-month period between the 18 April 1836 and 11 October 1836<sup>97</sup>.

According to the population census of 1840<sup>98</sup>, there were twenty-one children aged one or less, and according to the poll-tax census of 1843<sup>99</sup>, there were forty-nine children aged one or less. The number of these children indicates the birth rate of the Rum community in the previous year. When girls are added to the figure obtained from the poll-tax census, we can estimate that forty-two children were born in 1840, and ninety-eight were born in 1843, evidence of a rapid increase in the birth rate of the population.

The determination of the death rate, alongside the birth rate, indicates the true rate of the increase of the population and the date of death. Therefore the rate of the Rum from 1831 onwards is recorded in the census book.

Fig. 11 Numbers of Death according to the Census of 1831

Year	Cami-i Cedid	Baba Doğan	Makbûle	Total
1831 (H.1247)	6	2	0	8
1832 (H.1248)	20	23	13	56
1833 (H.1249)	4	5	7	16
1834 (H.1250)	2	5	0	7
1835 (H.1251)	3	2	4	9
1836 (H.1252)	6	1	2	9
1837 (H.1253)	3	1	5	9
1831 (H.1247)	1	2	0	3

Source: BOA., NFS.d., 3203, 1-64.

<sup>97</sup> BOA., D.CRD.d., 40481, 2-3.

<sup>98</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 1-70.

<sup>99</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.CMH.d., 171.

The largest number of deaths in the Rum community occurred in 1832. This was due to a cholera epidemic in 1831 in the Mediterranean basin. The cholera epidemic came with returning pilgrims from the Hedjaz<sup>100</sup>. The Antalya Court Register numbered 5 shows that many pilgrims coming to Antalya died in the city, especially in the khan called *Mehmed Aga*, as well as on their ships<sup>101</sup>. Although these deaths were not registered in the 1831 census book, it is understood that the cholera epidemic began the year before.

It is also possible to obtain death figures from the book of incidents of birth and death dated 1836 (H.1252) and from the poll-tax censuses. According to the book of incidents of birth and death, there were twenty deaths in the six-month period between 18 April 1836 and 11 October 1836 in the Rum community. While six of the births had been in Cami-i Cedid, six in Makbûle, and six in the Baba Doğan neighborhoods, four of the deaths had occurred in Cami-i Cedid, seven in Baba Doğan, and nine in Makbûle. Fifteen of those who had died were not obliged to pay the poll-tax. The others were said to be of moderate means and obliged to pay accordingly<sup>102</sup>.

The 1843 poll-tax census records that a total of fifty-five Rum had died in the three neighborhoods. While seventeen of these were below the age of five, only eight were at the age of one. This means that eight of the forty-three boys born in 1843 had died, the equivalent of a high rate of infant mortality among one-year old males, while more than 16% of those who died were over the age of fifty.

However, it should also be stated that, while it is definite that the deaths of these one-year old children took place in 1843, there is no certainty that all of the other deaths actually occurred in 1843. The fact that the figure is high when compared to other recent years raises doubts. For instance, in the book dated 1846 (H.1262) recording only tax-payers<sup>103</sup>, thirteen deaths were registered. The number of those in the count dated 1843 was thirty-two. This indicates that the fifty-five deaths in 1843 probably did not all occur within the same year, but that this figure covered several years<sup>104</sup>. As no other poll-tax censuses could be found with recent data before 1843, there is no possibility of comparing it with earlier dates.

## The Physical Status of the Rum Population

It is possible to obtain the physical characteristics of the Rum of Antalya, from the population censuses. For example, physical characteristics such as height, type and color of beard-moustache, and disability were recorded.

A total of 741 people had either a beard or a moustache in the population register dated 1840. The recording of the physical status in the registers was valid for anyone aged thirteen or over. The status as to whether the individual had a beard was shown at the age of thirteen at the earliest, with the statement “*şâbb-ı emred*” (“no beard as yet”). However, there are also those above the age of thirteen for whom no indication was given concerning beards, moustaches, or height. In the 13-18 age group, the beard-moustache position was mostly stated as

<sup>100</sup> Kunalp 1996, 503-504.

<sup>101</sup> Exp. AŞS., 5, 40/-1; AŞS., 5, 40/-2.AŞS., 5, 40/-3; AŞS., 5, 41/-1; AŞS., 5, 42/-2.

<sup>102</sup> BOA., D.CRD.d., 40481, 2-3. In addition to this it is also recorded that an Armenian named Todorus, son of Kiryako, had also died.

<sup>103</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.CMH.d. 682.

<sup>104</sup> As 1843 poll-tax census was based on the 1840 population census, it can be taken as the birth and death numbers for three years.

“*şâbb-ı emred*”; for those aged eighteen as “with a light moustache”. But the heights of these individuals were rarely shown. There are no individuals for which both a beard and moustache were recorded at the same time. According to this, the beard-moustache characteristics of the Rum community were as follows:

Fig. 12 Physical Characteristics of the Rum according to Type of Beard (B.) or Moustache (M.)

Neighborhood	White B.	No B.	Light M.	White M.	Thin M.	Dark M.	Grizzly/ White M.	Light Brown M.	Blonde M.	Very Light M.	Little M.
Cami-i Cedid	1	1	25			64	51	53	46	68	1
Baba Doğan			13	4	1	41	17	52	36	45	
Makbûle	1		24		1	35	27	51	30	47	6
Total	2	1	62	4	2	140	95	156	112	160	7

Source: BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 1-72.

If the *şâbb-ı emred* (adolescents, no beard as yet) are excluded, the number of people clearly stated as having beards is low. Physical descriptions focused on the moustache in the great majority of cases. This shows that most people grew moustaches but shaved their beards. According to this, the number of individuals with light beards can be considered high. This is a natural outcome when the density of the young Rum population between the ages of 19-24 is taken into account. Among people with moustaches, those with light-brown moustaches are also substantial in number. However, what stands out is that people with dark (black) moustaches are considerably more than those with blonde moustaches: 140 Rum with black and 112 Rum with blonde.

Another physical characteristic of the Rum population which was recorded was height, recorded as tall, medium, or short. There is no doubt this was a visual estimate rather than a measurement. According to the data of the population census, the Rum population was mostly of medium height – a ratio of approximately 63% – with the ratio of short individuals around 15%.

Fig. 13 Height of the Rum of Antalya

Neighborhood	Tall	Medium	Short
Cami-i Cedid	53	190	27
Baba Doğan	38	113	27
Makbûle	43	85	41
Total	134 (21.72%)	388 (62.88%)	95 (15.40%)

Source: BOA., NFS.d., 3206,1-72.

The last kind of physical characteristic of the Rum population that was recorded was the presence of disabilities which had an effect upon the individual’s ability to work. The reason for recording this was to determine whether there were any circumstances which could prevent the payment of the poll-tax obligations of the Rum. Both the population and the poll-tax censuses provide data concerning the disabilities of individuals. The most common disabilities were illnesses related to the eyes. Ten individuals in the population census of

1840<sup>105</sup> and fourteen in the poll-tax census of 1843<sup>106</sup> were recorded as having only one eye or were blind. However, the physical disabilities recorded among the Rum in the period studied were not only eye-related illnesses since, although only rarely, there were also cases of physical handicap<sup>107</sup> and paralysis<sup>108</sup>. Based upon the appearance of the face, the height, and the disability status, it can be said that the Rum population of Antalya, from a physical point of view, was quite healthy.

### The Names and Nicknames Used by the Rum

The names used by the Rum of Antalya can be determined from various sources. The names of the men can be obtained from the population, economic status, and poll-tax census registers. Individuals were recorded in these registers were done so together with the names of their fathers and any titles or nicknames they had. As no women were recorded in these sources, obtaining the names of women in the most complete manner must come from the court records.

According to the 1840 census where the names used by the male Rum living in Antalya are recorded, typical Orthodox names are foremost. The most widely used names and their numbers are as follows<sup>109</sup>: Yani 132, Yorgi 96, Nikola 77, Vasili 73, Kostanti 72, Pandelli 62, İstirati 58, Dimitri 54, Anastas 44, Mihail 42, Ligori 35, Kireyi 33, Todorus 32, Aton 30, Yordan 26, Sava 24, Hralanbos 22, Kiryako 20, İstefan 18, Atnaş 14, Simon 13, Luka 13, Baris 12, Leyas 12, İstavri (İstavroz) 10, Esir 10, Anaştaş 8, and Yuriyi 8.

The female names are only those which could be determined from the court records and are as follows: Marleni<sup>110</sup>, Kire<sup>111</sup>, Aniye<sup>112</sup>, Mezrin<sup>113</sup>, Sizen<sup>114</sup>, Marya<sup>115</sup>, Katerina<sup>116</sup>, Despina<sup>117</sup>, Eleni<sup>118</sup>, Şahasdi<sup>119</sup>, Marfe<sup>120</sup>, Senne<sup>121</sup>, Anastasya<sup>122</sup>, and Laydin<sup>123</sup>.

It is certain that there were many other different names for the Rum women. However, as stated above, the court record concerning the Rum was limited in the period under study, and in consequence the information obtained is also limited.

<sup>105</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 1-70.

<sup>106</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.CMH.d., 171, 2-24.

<sup>107</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.CMH.d., 682, 21.

<sup>108</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.CMH.d., 682, 14.

<sup>109</sup> There could be differences between the real names and those recorded in the documents. The names given here could be the way they were stated.

<sup>110</sup> AŞS., 1/4-2.

<sup>111</sup> AŞS., 1/10-1.

<sup>112</sup> AŞS., 1/10-1.

<sup>113</sup> AŞS., 1/10-1.

<sup>114</sup> AŞS., 3/127-2.

<sup>115</sup> AŞS., 5/3-2.

<sup>116</sup> AŞS., 7/10-2.

<sup>117</sup> AŞS., 7/10-2.

<sup>118</sup> AŞS., 7/11-2.

<sup>119</sup> AŞS., 7/52-1.

<sup>120</sup> AŞS., 7/52-1.

<sup>121</sup> AŞS., 7/52-1.

<sup>122</sup> Beden 2004, 333.

<sup>123</sup> Beden 2004, 333.



Nicknames were one of the important identifiers which enabled people to be recognized in Ottoman society, where surnames were not used. Nicknames played an important role in the determination of the status of individuals, occupations, and other similar matters within the demographic status. The court records and the population, revenue, and poll-tax registers show that the use of nicknames among the Rum of Antalya was not widespread. However, certain names of families, vocations, hometowns, and the nature of any physical disabilities were used for nicknames. The nicknames established in the Rum community were:

*Kötürüm* (crippled), *Sağır* (deaf), *Şabin* (hawk), *Karagöz* (with black eyes), *Karagözoğlu* (son of the man with black eyes), *Çakal* (jackal), *Çakaloğlu* (son of jackal), *Arslan* (lion), *Çil* (freckled), *Arab*, *Kara* (dark), *Akoğlu* (son of light-skinned man), *Küçük* (small), *Kel* (bald), *Çakır* (with greyish-blue eyes), *Çolak* (one-armed), *Topal* (lame), *Tavil* (tall), *Taviloğlu* (son of a tall man), *Karaoğlan* (dark boy), *Köseoğlu* (son of a beardless man), *Sallabaş* (involuntarily shaking his head), *Yanbastı* (stepping with his feet outspread), *Saçlıoğlu* (son of a hairy man), *Sarıkhöğlu* (son of a man wearing an imamah), *Keçi* (goat), *Karakaçan* (donkey), *Baş Tavşan* (like a rabbit's head), *Leblebici* (chickpea seller), *Çömlekçioğlu* (son of a seller of pottery), *Manavoğlu* (son of a greengrocer), *Kâhya* (butler), *Kâhyaoğlu* (son of a butler), *Peksimetçioğlu* (son of a biscuit seller), *Muallim* (teacher), *Yazıcıoğlu* (son of a writer), *Tuzcuoğlu* (son of a salt seller), *Sandıkçioğlu* (son of a chest seller), *Mumcuoğlu* (son of a tallow chandler), *Sekbanoğlu* (son of a soldier), *Ozan* (poet), *Keman* (violin), *Üçkızlaroğlu* (son of a man with three daughters), *Pandellioğlu* (son of Pandelli), *Bamyaoğlu* (son of okra), *Büberoğlu* (son of pepper), *Burguroğlu* (son of bulgur), *Zanailoğlu* (son of Zanail), *Papaoğlu* (son of a pope), *Palasoğlu* (son of Palas), *Tomazoğlu* (son of Tomaz), *Baltaoğlu* (son of a woodcutter), *Elemoğlu* (son of an anguished man), *Turnaoğlu* (son of a crane), *Cerkoğlu* (son of Cerko), *Hoşafı* (with compote), *İkiz* (twin), *Köstekli* (with a watch chain), *Moskof* (man who likes Muscovites), *Taşkıran* (stone crusher), *Mısırhoğlu* (son of an Egyptian), *Yafaloğlu* (son of a man from Jaffa).

Some of these nicknames could be given to all of the male members of a family. For instance, the nickname *Zanailoğlu* (*Zanailzade* -son of *Zanail*), dated back to *Zanail*<sup>124</sup>, the banker of the Tekelioğlu family at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and was used by all the male members of this family in subsequent years<sup>125</sup>.

## The Family of the Rum in Antalya

In Ottoman society an individual became a part of the community that he or she was born into. He or she was obliged to abide by the rules of community life and the suggestions of the religious leaders. Within this context an ethnic, religious, and legal connection was created between the family and the neighborhood or the village community. For this reason, the family was the principal and only organization through which the links of the individual would never fade throughout his or her life. Irrespective of religion, care was taken to ensure that the family did not disintegrate. There were differences in Ottoman family types (households) in the cities and in rural areas based on religion. For example, there are similarities between Turkish, Armenian, Rum, and Jewish families to a degree which cannot be compared with any other communities, sharing the concepts of patriarchy, chastity, and virtue<sup>126</sup>.

<sup>124</sup> BOA., AE.SABH.I., 28/2145 (23 December 1779).

<sup>125</sup> AŞS., 90/114-2 (1904).

<sup>126</sup> Ortaylı 2010, 18, 39-40.

In fact, the *millet* system impeded people from different religions coming together through marriage and establishing family ties. However, cultural interaction and partnership in the fundamental courses of life were at high levels. As in many traditional societies, marriage between people of different religions was not widespread in Ottoman society. While Islamic provisions gave Muslim males this right, when the matter is looked at from the perspective of non-Muslims, it can be seen that there was strict opposition to this<sup>127</sup>. Therefore, even if it is considered that the Rum of Antalya could – theoretically – marry Muslims, it is clear that they did not look warmly upon this. Indeed, there are no indications of any marriages between the communities among the documents investigated. On the other hand, it was also not a requirement to register the marriage ceremony – the start of married life – in the court. It was just a type of contract with the approval of the community, of which the relevant individuals were members. There are no registrations of marriages of the Rum in the Antalya Court Registers dating from the first half of the century. This leads to the conclusion that the Rum performed their own marriages within their own community through the churches.

As the court records also provided information about the women, it is possible to obtain information which is related to the wider masses in connection with the numeric data concerning the family. In this context, the inheritance records in the registers possess a great data potential. However, the inheritance records, through which family information can be reached, are only available in the Antalya Court Registers from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Records relating to the Rum in the first half of the century are generally in the form of deeds of purchase and the sale of property. Therefore, the information concerning family data in these records is really quite limited. This study has researched the population registers due to the shortage of data reflecting the family structure of the Rum in the court records in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As women were not counted in the population censuses, it should also be specified that the data only covers the male population.

Fig. 14 Kinship Status in the Population Census Dated 1840

Neighborhood	Son	Stepson	Grandchild	Sibling	Step-sibling	Nephew	Son-in-law / Father-in-law	Brother-in-law	Orphan
Cami-i Cedid	217	5		48	4	4	1	7	1
Makbûle	156	9		70		7	6		1
Baba Doğan	129	4	1	48		3	4	10	
Total	502	18	1	166	4	14	11	20	2

Source: BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 1-72.

As can also be seen from the table, the status of whether the family had a son was the most recorded matter in the population registers (502). The number of siblings is also quite high (166). However, it is necessary to look at the number of sons to determine the actual number of children in a family. According to this, it was recorded that there were a total of 502 male children – 107 in the Cami-i Cedid neighborhood, 71 in the Baba Doğan neighborhood, and 79 in the Makbûle neighborhood. The intent here when referring to male children is those which were recorded as “sons”, irrespective of age.

<sup>127</sup> Ortaylı 2010, 105.

The registration of 502 sons is from among a total of 257 families. According to this the average is 1.96 male children per family. When the estimated number of female children is also included in this figure, this gives an average of 3.90 children per family. Together with the inclusion of the mother and father, this figure reaches 5.90.

This figure is not the average number of persons in one household as some of these individuals who are recorded as “sons” are adults and may be living in other households. Therefore, it is misleading to interpret the number of sons as the number of children in a household. This figure reflects the average number of individuals within a family, at the level of kinship connections. Moreover, as stated above, due to the limited space in the neighborhoods, at times more than one family could be living in one household.

In the first decade of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, according to the Antalya Shari’a Court Registers, the average rate of children for non-Muslims<sup>128</sup> was 2.92<sup>129</sup>. Thus it can be seen that the results obtained from the population censuses and the court records are equivalent. It can be deduced from this that the nuclear family was widespread in the Rum community. One of the indicators of this is the average age, which has been stated above. Life was short, and the low number of members of the aged population was the most important factor preventing three generations being together. Therefore, the nuclear type of family comprised of mother, father, and their children was widespread.

One of the conspicuous characteristics related to bearing children was the practice of having children at a later age. For example, the 65 year-old Todorus from the Cami-i Cedid neighborhood had five children aged 25, 23, 18, 12, and 9<sup>130</sup>. Again in the Cami-i Cedid neighborhood, the only son of the 60 year-old Pano was the 8 year-old Todorus<sup>131</sup>, while the only son of the 60 year-old Dimitri was the 44 year-old Kireyi<sup>132</sup>. In the Baba Doğan neighborhood, the 60 year-old Vasili had four children aged 30, 20, 12, and 8<sup>133</sup>. It is possible to provide further examples of this.

Another matter which needs to be stated concerning the structure of the family is the children who were orphans. While only three children – aged 2, 3, and 5 – are shown as orphans in the population census, a total of thirty-two children between the ages of 6-19 have been shown in twenty-one households, without any record of their fathers. This raises the possibility of the number of orphans being higher, but because some of the children in this age range were able to make their own living, they may not have been recorded as orphans.

In terms of kinship connections, “brothers-in-law” and “sons-in-law” were also recorded in the population censuses. However, it is also seen that not all of these were recorded. The large majority of those recorded as “brothers-in-law” lived in separate households. However, there were also examples of them living in the same household, such as Vasiliv, Kazak<sup>134</sup>,

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<sup>128</sup> It should be noted that the vast majority of the data concerning the non-Muslims in the relevant period belonged to the Rum.

<sup>129</sup> Dinç 2005, 117.

<sup>130</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 29-30.

<sup>131</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 38.

<sup>132</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 40.

<sup>133</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 3.

<sup>134</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 13.

İstoki, Legondi<sup>135</sup>, Penako, and Nikola<sup>136</sup>. Similarly, the son-in-laws of the family could live in the same household. Some examples are Yani, Pandelli<sup>137</sup>, Petro, Salamon<sup>138</sup>, Ligori, and Pavli.<sup>139</sup>

## The Religious Beliefs of the Rum of Antalya

The Rum of Antalya in terms of religion were members of the Orthodox Church. The Orthodox Church in Antalya was within the area of jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Pisidia affiliated to the Rum Patriarchate in Istanbul. Appointments to the Metropolitan Offices were performed by the Patriarchate. The center of the Metropolis since 1661 was Isparta during the winter and Antalya in the summer. The Metropolitan Bishop of Antalya (known as "Psidya Metropoliti") had taken the title of the Exarch (Representative of the Patriarch) of Side, Demre, and Antalya in 1575<sup>140</sup>. In the early 1830s it is known that there were 11,150 people affiliated to the Metropolitan Office and who spoke Turkish but wrote in Greek letters<sup>141</sup>.

The priests appointed to the Metropolitan Bishopric of Antalya (and Isparta) could take on this duty by paying the customary donation (*âdet-i pişkeş*) to the state treasury. For example, in 1827 the priest named Samuel had paid 1240 coins (*Akçes*). Great powers were given for the religious administration of the members of the community under the Metropolitan Bishoprics in the appointment orders<sup>142</sup>.

On the other hand, some Metropolitan Bishops were removed from their duties due to certain behavior and actions with which the Rum of Antalya were unhappy. One of them was the priest named Yerasimos, who was exiled to the island of Cyprus in 1827, after being relieved of his duties due to his activities which were not in accord with the religious ceremonies<sup>143</sup>. He was replaced by another priest named Samuel who had worked previously in Plovdiv<sup>144</sup>. As the arrival of the new bishop was in winter (26 January 1828), and as the center of the Bishopric was Isparta at that time, Samuel arrived in Isparta and was met there<sup>145</sup>.

In 1830 Samuel also acted in contradiction to the religious ceremonies and treated the Rum of Antalya unfavorably. The Rum of Antalya notified the Rum Patriarchate of Istanbul. When this was confirmed with the judgments obtained from the court, Samuel was expelled from the priesthood and exiled to the monastery in Aynaroz in November 1830<sup>146</sup>.

In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Rum of Antalya had three churches for their religious services. The churches of each of the three neighborhoods where the Rum lived were separate, with the residents of each neighborhood officially subjected to the church of

<sup>135</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 27.

<sup>136</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 44.

<sup>137</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 10.

<sup>138</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 38.

<sup>139</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 59.

<sup>140</sup> Kechriotis 2010, 43-44.

<sup>141</sup> Wolff 1837, 17.

<sup>142</sup> AŞS., 3/91-1.

<sup>143</sup> BOA., C.ADL., 68/4068 (22 September 1827).

<sup>144</sup> AŞS., 3/91-1 (30 September 1827).

<sup>145</sup> BOA., C.ADL., 36/2142 (26 January 1828).

<sup>146</sup> BOA., C.ADL., 80/4839 (21 November 1830).

their own neighborhood. The Alyon Church (Aya Alipios Church) was in the Baba Doğan neighborhood<sup>147</sup>, the Ruz-ı Kâsım Church (Aya Dimitrios Church) in the Cami-i Cedid neighborhood<sup>148</sup>, and the Church of the Virgin Mary (Aya Panaya Church)<sup>149</sup> in the Makbûle neighborhood<sup>150</sup>.

Following the request of the Rum in the neighborhood, the Church of the Virgin Mary was renovated in 1834. According to the order sent for the renovations, the dimensions of the church were 26 *zira* in width, 21 *zira* in length, and 14 *zira* in height<sup>151</sup>. It also had four rooms for the priest<sup>152</sup>.

The Rum of Antalya were free to perform the religious requirements of the Orthodox Church. They would also take most issues which arose within their own communities to the bishops<sup>153</sup>. There was no pressure or intervention by the Muslims in this respect, and there are no witnesses or archive documents reflecting any incident to the contrary.

### Languages of the Rum of Antalya

Another important characteristic of the Rum of Antalya concerns the language they spoke. All the Rum of Antalya spoke Turkish during this period. Their native tongue was Turkish rather than Greek. However, they wrote Turkish in the Greek alphabet, and this was already the case in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, according to the observations made by Evliya Çelebi<sup>154</sup>.

The Christian Orthodox living in the adjacent region of Konya, Nevşehir, Niğde, and Kayseri, like the Christian Orthodox of Antalya, were Turkish-speaking. They were generally called the *Karamanlılar*, and their literary productions/heritage in Turkish written in the Greek script is called *Karamanlıdika*<sup>155</sup>. According to Balta, the *Karamanlılar* had a different status from all other communities in the Ottoman State. *Karamanlılar* are distinguished from Muslims because they are Christian and distinguished from Catholic and Protestant because they are Orthodox. They are distinguished from the Greeks of Greece because they lived in Anatolia and spoke Turkish<sup>156</sup>. The Rum of Antalya formed a part of this group.

This linguistic characteristic was also observed by travelers to the city. According to Beaufort, as the Rum of Antalya did not speak any language apart from Turkish, some of their prayers were translated into Turkish, although the principal parts of their religious ceremonies were spoken in Greek by the priest. Just like their communities, the priests did not know the meaning of the liturgy which they conducted in Greek<sup>157</sup>. Some priests were dismissed

<sup>147</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 1. The Alyon (Aya Alipios) Church was built in 1744 through the favor of some notables of the Rum community; see Çimrin 2017, 164.

<sup>148</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 25. The Ruz-ı Kasım (Aya Dimitrios) Church was burned in the great fire of 1895 in Antalya; see Çimrin 2017, 149.

<sup>149</sup> BOA., NFS.d., 3206, 55. According to some travelers, there were a total of seven churches in the city, some of which dated from ancient times; see Spratt – Forbes 1947, 211

<sup>150</sup> Danieloğlu 2010, 141.

<sup>151</sup> 1 *zira* is the equivalent of 68 cm.

<sup>152</sup> AŞS., 5/58-1.

<sup>153</sup> Wolff 1837, 17.

<sup>154</sup> Çelebi 2005, 147.

<sup>155</sup> Balta 2000, 467; Eckmann 1950, 165-199; Sertkaya 2004, 1-21.

<sup>156</sup> Balta 1990, 18.

<sup>157</sup> Beaufort 2002, 129. The Greek language used in religious ceremonies was not the Greek spoken in the 19<sup>th</sup> century but archaic, liturgical Greek that most people did not actually understand. Often the priests recited the Gospels

because their services were inconsistent with the religious service of the community. Their failure to hold the service in Turkish resulted in enmity with the Rum community.

Translators were present at court in different regions across the empire for those communities who did not speak Turkish<sup>158</sup>. However, as all the Rum in Antalya were able to speak Turkish, the Rum of Antalya did not feel the need to use translators in court.

It has been asserted that the Rum of Antalya learned Greek due to the immigrants from the Morea who were Muslim but spoke Greek. This triggered an ethnic consciousness among the Rum of Antalya, and Rum schools were opened in Antalya after these immigrants came to the city<sup>159</sup>.

### The Appearance and Clothing of the Rum of Antalya

One of the important matters that reflect the social structures of communities is clothing, dress, and appearance along with the goods employed on a daily basis. These were determined by religion, cultural structure, cultural interaction, economic position, and manners and customs. In traditional societies it cannot be expected that people wore any clothing or used any daily goods beyond those worn within their own communities.

In the Ottoman State the Muslim and non-Muslim communities (*milletler*) largely had an influence upon each other in connection with the clothing that was worn and the goods that were used. Therefore, there was no great difference between Muslim and non-Muslim communities in terms of clothing. The difference in appearance and clothing between Muslims and non-Muslims was not one of form, but had more to do with quality and color<sup>160</sup>.

We have not been able to obtain data directly for the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, concerning the goods in use and the clothing worn by the Rum in Antalya. The content of last testaments and wills that recorded these types of cultural artefacts were only included in the court records from the second half of the century onwards, and therefore, we can only present data from that period. As there was no rapid change in the goods in daily use and the clothing worn during this period, it can be argued that the goods and clothing used in the second half of the century were much the same as those used fifty years earlier.

The goods and clothing used by the Rum in the 19<sup>th</sup> century entirely reflect the traditional characteristics of the society of which they formed a part. The goods used by Rum men were no different from those used by the Muslims. The most frequently seen items among men's clothing were vests, loose robes, shirts, short and long furs, wool robes, shalwar trousers, fez, and belts. Shalwar trousers, shirts, short and long robes, furs, and belts were also used by almost all of the Rum women. These articles of dress were very similar to the clothing worn by Muslim women. The most important difference separating Rum and Muslim women was the valuable jewelry, such as gold, pearls, earrings, pearl necklaces, diamond rings, gold earrings, gold rings, and bracelets worn by the Rum women<sup>161</sup>. This was largely the result of the economic difference between the two communities.

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and the prayers in liturgical Greek but explained in Turkish the meaning of the Mass because the flock did not understand liturgical Greek; see Balta 2000, 118.

<sup>158</sup> Çiçek 1996, 47.

<sup>159</sup> Dayar 2015, 45-46.

<sup>160</sup> Ercan 2001, 292.

<sup>161</sup> Dinç 2005, 126.

The goods found in the homes of the Rum, were almost the same as those used by the Muslims. The goods in daily use were rugs, mattresses, sackcloth, cushions, quilts, cauldrons, trays, saucepans, frying pans, plates, copper pots and pans, cups, kettles, washing baskets, handkerchiefs, bath bowls, tassels, pitchers, candlesticks, chests, and mirrors<sup>162</sup>.

As can be understood from this, if religious beliefs are placed to one side and if the language, appearance, clothing, and the goods employed are taken into account, the Rum community of Antalya had a great many similarities with the Muslim community.

### The Economic Status of the Rum of Antalya

In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Ottoman economy was primarily dependent upon agriculture. The Ottoman State was slow to adapt to the swift industrialization of 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe, and the rising volume of trade which accompanied this. The Ottoman State continued to be an agriculture-based community. Non-agricultural production was generally carried out by tradesmen and craftsmen<sup>163</sup>. Trade could not develop further due to the lack of a railway network in the empire and the inadequacy of its ports. In addition to this, the uprisings within the Empire, such as the Serbian and Greek rebellions and the rebellion of Mehmet Ali Pasha, the Governor of Egypt, and the interventions of the European powers in these conflicts, deepened still further the economic development<sup>164</sup>.

As the prohibition on wheat exportation was abolished with the 1838 Anglo-Turkish Convention (*Balta Liman* Commercial Agreement), the trade volume through the port of Antalya increased. Muslim, non-Muslim, and European merchants in Antalya made a lot of money in the wheat trade, but farmers were overburdened with taxation<sup>165</sup>. When evaluating the economic status of the Rum community of Antalya in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this general situation cannot be ignored.

It is possible to obtain information on the economic status of the Rum of Antalya from various sources. The most important of these are the revenue censuses (*temettuatlar*). The revenue census of 1840 (H. 1260) provides detailed information concerning the financial position of the Rum of Antalya. This census was conducted by household, with the values of the fields, vineyards, orchards, shops, houses, and livestock held by the households and the profits (dividends) obtained from these being counted. Also, the annual taxes paid based on these were recorded. The numeric data related to the Rum of Antalya from this count is as follows:

Fig. 15 Data concerning the Rum of Antalya in the Revenue Census (1840)

Tax			Income			Assets		
Cami-i Cedid	Baba Doğan	Makbûle	Cami-i Cedid	Baba Doğan	Makbûle	Cami-i Cedid	Baba Doğan	Makbûle
6,213	4,347	3,874	167,459	147,465	157,575	83,196	127,136	136,673
14,434			472,499			347,005		

Source: BOA., ML.VRD.TMT.d., 9665.

<sup>162</sup> Beden 2004, 88, 121, 258, 331, 333, 375, 379, 395, 413.

<sup>163</sup> Pamuk 2005, 124-127.

<sup>164</sup> Among these, the Mehmet Ali Pasha Rebellion had a direct impact on Antalya, and for a short time the city was ruled by a governor (*mütesellim*) appointed by Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mehmet Ali Pasha; see Dinç 2016, 875.

<sup>165</sup> Syrett 1992, 99-105. Competing for wheat among traders led to a disturbance in Antalya in 1853; see Dayar 2015, 92.



As can be seen from the table, the taxes paid annually by the Rum are in proportion to the population of the neighborhoods. It can be said that a similar proportion is also present in the income values. However, the asset figures are inversely proportional to the population. The main reason for the asset value in the Makbûle neighborhood being high is that three of the households in this neighborhood possess an asset value of more than sixty-three piastres<sup>166</sup>.

When the distribution of assets is looked at, it cannot be said that there was a balanced position. According to the recorded asset values, the wealthiest person was the Europe merchant (*Avrupa Tüccarı*) Pavloz of the Makbûle neighborhood, with an asset value of 34,648 piastres<sup>167</sup>. The asset holder closest to this in value was another Europe merchant, Hoca *İstirati* from the Baba Doğan neighborhood, with an asset value of 26,750 piastres<sup>168</sup>. In third place was another Europe merchant named Oram, again from the same neighborhood with an asset value of 25,360<sup>169</sup>.

The five households with an asset value of ten thousand piastres possessed a total value of 115,111 piastres, which was the equivalent of 33% of the total asset value of the three neighborhoods. On the other hand, 372 of the 552 households in the three neighborhoods had no assets at all, indicating there was no balanced distribution of wealth and assets among the Rum of Antalya.

There was also no balanced distribution in the annual income (dividend) data, but the results here were more proportionate when they are compared to the asset values. Only 28 of the 552 households had no income.

Fig. 16 Income distribution of the Rum of Antalya<sup>170</sup>

Neighborhoods	Income Distribution (Piastres)/Number of Households				
	No Income	Less than 500	500-1500	1501-2250	More than 2251
Cami-i Cedid	7	97	107	10	4
Baba Doğan	13	76	79	2	5
Makbûle	8	42	78	12	12
Total	28 (5%)	215 (39%)	264 (48%)	24 (4%)	21 (4%)

Source: BOA., ML.VRD.TMT.d., 9665, 2-103.

<sup>166</sup> These households were as follows: Hoca Pavloz in unit 1 (twelve people were recorded in this household); Karayazıcıoğlu *İstirati* in unit 76 (three people were recorded in this household); Levas in unit 122 (two people were recorded in this household).

<sup>167</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.TMT.d., 9665, 80.

<sup>168</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.TMT.d., 9665, 2.

<sup>169</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.TMT.d., 9665, 3. Danielloğlu observed that the Christians of Antalya desired more possessions towards the 1850s; Danielloğlu 2010, 152.

<sup>170</sup> The reason for the income distribution table being presented in this way is due to the revenue censuses. The poll-tax obligations of the Rum were registered in the 1840 revenue census. With this purpose, people were marked with signs signaling low-income level (*ednâ*), middle-income level (*evsat*), and high level (*âlâ*) according to their income status. While there were exceptions, in general those with an income up to 500 piasters were marked as middle-class, those between 500 and 1500 piasters as middle-income, and those above this as *âlâ*. In addition, to show those who were wealthier, those with incomes above 2,250 piasters have been evaluated as a separate group in this study.



As can be seen from the table and the graph, 48% of the Rum of Antalya possessed a medium level of income. When those without any income are included, the lower income group was 44%, while the higher income group was just 8%. However, with a total income of 118,660 piastres, this group had 25% of the total income, indicating an unbalanced distribution of income.

The most important area of activity where the Rum of Antalya earned their income was commerce. According to the revenue census of 1840, a total of 345 households obtained an income from commerce: 136 in the Baba Doğan neighborhood, 89 in Cami-i Cedid, and 120 in Makbûle. The sum of 114,766 piastres was earned through commerce in the Baba Doğan neighborhood, with 66,250 being earned in Cami-i Cedid and 118,645 in Makbûle. This was the equivalent of 40% of the total income earned in the Cami-i Cedid neighborhood, 78% in the Baba Doğan neighborhood, 75% in the Makbûle neighborhood making 63% in total.

Indeed, in line with the general structure of the Rum in Ottoman society and their living spaces in Antalya, the occupations from which the Rum earned their income were mostly trade<sup>171</sup> and craftsmanship. There are also some households without an income and some for which a vocation was not specified in these revenue censuses. These number 61 households, with the remaining 491 households of the 552 households in total earning their living from the following vocations:

Fig. 17 Occupations of the Rum according to the Revenue Census of 1840

Builder	63	Coppersmith	5
Tailor	59	Haberdasher	5
Merchant	57	Porter	4
Horticulturalist	32	Saddle Maker	4
Barber	28	Writer	4
Carpenter	27	Cook	3
Tinsmith	24	Tobacconist	3
Miller	23	Doctor	3
Road Builder	19	Courtier	3
Trader	17	Fisherman	2
Boat Maker	10	Aba Seller	2
Jeweler	10	Painter	2
Farm Hand	7	Ironmonger	2
Locksmith	6	Shopkeeper	2
Scarf Seller	6	Caner	2
Laborer	5	Coffee Maker	2

<sup>171</sup> The Rum merchants mostly exported wheat collected from the district of Antalya and its hinterland to European merchants. One of them who had large farm, Zanoiloğlu Yorgi, was *sarraf* of the tax-farmers; see BOA., MVL., 593/81 (8 September 1859); BOA., MVL., 445/153 (25 July 1865). From the port of Antalya wheat, barley, and lumber were mainly exported to the Aegean Islands, Smyrna, Crete, Europe, and Alexandria while iron, soap, rice, and coffee beans were imported from Beirut, Alexandria, and Syria; see Danieloğlu 2010, 150-151.

Oil Lamp Maker	2	Silk Merchant	1
Tiler	2	Butler	1
Fan Maker	2	Scaler	1
Teacher	2	Traveling Salesman	1
Water Bearer	2	Kebab Maker	1
Plasterer	2	Sheep's Head Cook	1
Bath Attendant	2	Shoemaker	1
Salt Seller	2	Furrier	1
Quilt Maker	2	Chick Pea Seller	1
Herbalist	1	Innkeeper	1
Wax Maker	1	Priest	1
Draper	1	Biscuit Maker	1
Peddler	1	Ploughman	1
Bonesetter	1	Rowboat Maker	1
Tobacco Pipe Man	1	Chest Maker	1
Jug Maker	1	Greengrocer	1
Cobbler	1	Leech Collector	1
Bread Maker	1	Tanner	1
Animal Breeder	1	Land Worker	1
Halva Maker	1	Oil Seller	1
Servant	1	Total	491

Source: BOA., ML.VRD.TMT.d., 9665.

As can also be seen from the table, the income of most of the Rum of Antalya came from trade and craftsmanship: 12.8% were builders, 12% tailors, 11.6% merchants, 6.5% gardeners, 5.7% barbers, 5.5% carpenters, 4.8% tinsmiths, 4.6% millers, and 3.8% road builders. These eight vocations comprised close to 68% of the seventy-three types of vocations from which the Rum population of Antalya earned their living.

Builders and tailors were the occupations which the Rum of Antalya preferred the most as these two occupations accounted for 25% of the occupations of the Rum. Another occupation which stands out is horticulture. Horticulture was principally the occupation of the Rum who lived in the Cami-i Cedid neighborhood with twenty-eight of the thirty-two horticulturalists living in this neighborhood. The others lived in the Baba Doğan neighborhood, while no horticulturalists were recorded in the Makbûle neighborhood. This was due to the settlement area being more congested in the Makbûle neighborhood. However, this data does not mean that no one had orchards or that no one earned a living from this, apart from those people who were recorded as horticulturalists. Many Rum earned money by selling the fruits and vegetables grown in their own orchards, but whose principal occupations were different.

Ten houses in the Cami-i Cedid neighborhood, thirteen in Baba Doğan, and nine in Makbûle had orchards, despite the fact that their principal occupation was not horticulture and that they earned money from this. On the other hand, there was nobody else involved in agriculture apart from the horticulturalists in the Rum community.

There were also apprentices (*şakird/çırak*) and master-builder (*kalfa*) workers among workers. Without doubt, it was not possible for there to be a master – apprentice relationship in every occupation. This relationship was more valuable in particular for those occupations requiring craft skills. Apprentices and master-builders who have been identified confirm this. There are three tailor's apprentices, three builder's apprentices, one builder's pupil, one tinsmith's apprentice, one jeweler's apprentice, and one doctor's apprentice recorded in the revenue census of 1840. These apprentices were important for maintaining sustainable vocations.

Another noteworthy matter concerning the Rum of Antalya relates to livestock breeding. There was nobody whose occupation directly involved livestock breeding. However, there were people who bred livestock and earned money from this as a secondary occupation. The numbers of these having 5 or more bovine and ovine animals were 23 in the Cami-i Cedid neighborhood, 13 in the Baba Doğan neighborhood, and 18 in the Makbûle neighborhood (54 in total). It cannot be said that the people who owned a few bovine and ovine animals relied upon these to earn a living, as they were only meeting their own needs. There was at least one animal in 30 households of the 225 households in the Cami-i Cedid neighborhood, at least one animal in 22 of the 175 households in the Baba Doğan neighborhood, and at least one animal in 24 of the 152 households in the Makbûle neighborhood.

This livestock was mostly not kept with the aim of earning an income. The distribution of horses between the households confirmed this. Horses were mainly used for transport, rather than for income, like sheep and cattle. There were 141 horses in a total of 76 households.

When the Rum household and population numbers are taken into account, the number of animals can be considered low. According to these numbers, livestock breeding as a vocation did not exist among the Rum of Antalya. This was both the habit of many years and the result of living within the city walls.

Fig. 18 Livestock Breeding among the Rum of Antalya

Neighborhoods	Ovine (Sheep, Goats)	Water Buffalo	Camels	Colts	Cattle	Mules	Donkeys	Horses	Oxen	Bees
Cami-i Cedid	149	1	-	13	208	3	50	43	24	20
Baba Doğan	305	7	-	17	24	1	12	26	6	-
Makbûle	636	8	2	30	164	1	16	72	17	95
Total	1090	16	2	60	396	5	78	141	47	115

Source: BOA., ML.VRD.TMT.d., 9665.

While livestock breeding was not widespread among the Rum of Antalya, the animals that were mostly preferred were ovine animals (sheep and goats). As can be seen from the table, the people with the most numerous livestock lived in the Makbûle neighborhood. The merchant Karayazıcıoğlu *İstirati* from this neighborhood had 248 ovine animals, water buffalo, 41 cattle, 1 ox, 25 horses, 18 colts, 9 donkeys, and 1 camel<sup>172</sup>,

<sup>172</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.TMT.d., 9665, 90.

while Tuzcuoglu Luka from the same neighborhood had 272 ovine animals, 1 ox, and 1 horse<sup>173</sup>. These two individuals owned more than 80% of the ovine animals in the Makbûle neighborhood and close to half the ovine animals within these three neighborhoods. If the livestock owned by these two individuals is set aside, the livestock belonging to the Rum of Antalya is a very low figure.

Another characteristic which reflects the economic status of the Rum community is the poll-tax (*cizye*). In the Ottoman state the poll-tax is the name given to the tax collected from the non-Muslim subjects within the community in return for ensuring the security of their lives and property<sup>174</sup>. This tax was paid annually by males who had reached the age of majority – those aged 14-15 and over – and was therefore also referred to as the “Head Tax”. Women and children as well as the elderly, servants, the chronically ill, and beggars were exempt from this tax. On the other hand, priests were also exempt if they earned their livelihood from donations. But if they were rich and lived in wealthy monasteries, they were obliged to pay the tax<sup>175</sup>. The tax rates were four, two, and one based upon the income status of the taxpayers, a tax dating from the first years of Islam. The community was divided into three groups: *âlâ*, *evsat*, and *ednâ*, and this was also implemented in the Ottoman State<sup>176</sup>.

It is possible to make deductions concerning the social and economic status of the Rum from the poll-tax censuses<sup>177</sup>. There are records which show the poll-tax obligations of the Rum of Antalya from the period of this study. The total poll-tax composition of the whole district in 1809 (H. 1224)<sup>178</sup> and 1812 (H. 1227)<sup>179</sup> was 55 *âlâ*, 390 *evsat*, and 60 *ednâ* documents. While it is not known how much of this was from Antalya’s town center, it is understood from later dated poll-tax distributions that the vast majority of it came from the Rum inhabiting the center<sup>180</sup>.

In the poll-tax census, which was conducted at the same time as the population census of 1831, the Rum with an obligation to pay poll-tax in Antalya were: 25 *âlâ*, 425 of *evsat*, and 211 of *ednâ*. A total of 661 poll-tax payers were registered, while the number of children at an age where they would not yet be taxpayers was 432<sup>181</sup>. In 1833 (H. 1249), on the other hand, there were a total of 782 poll-tax payers (31 *âlâ*, 477 *evsat*, and 274 *ednâ*)<sup>182</sup>.

<sup>173</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.TMT.d., 9665, 95.

<sup>174</sup> Ercan 1991, 371-381; Nedkoff 1944, 599-652; İnalçık 1960, 562.

<sup>175</sup> Nedkoff 1944, 608-611.

<sup>176</sup> Ercan 1991, 373.

<sup>177</sup> Özel 2000, 36-48.

<sup>178</sup> AŞS., 1/21-1; Moğol 1991, 88.

<sup>179</sup> AŞS., 1/21-5; Moğol 1991, 88.

<sup>180</sup> For example, approximately 85% of the non-Muslims in the region were living in the center of Antalya from the distribution of poll-tax in 1835-1836; see AŞS., 5/86-2.

<sup>181</sup> BOA., D.CRD.d., 39886, 15.

<sup>182</sup> AŞS., 4/34-3.

Fig. 19 Poll-Tax of the Rum of Antalya (1831)

Neighborhood	<i>Âlâ</i> (High Level)	<i>Evsat</i> (Middle-income Level)	<i>Ednâ</i> (Low-income Level)	By declaration	Not by Possession but by right	Small Children	Total
Cami-i Cedid	10	183	22	47	14	168	444 (40.62%)
Baba Doğan	6	125	12	42	16	136	337 (30.82%)
Makbûle	9	117	5	36	17	128	312 (28.55%)
Total	25	425	39	125	47	432	1,093 (100%)
	1,093						
Estimated Population	2,186						

Source: BOA., D.CRD.d., 39886, 15.

The position that the Ottoman State found itself in the 19<sup>th</sup> century along with the foreign interventions resulted in some changes in the practice of the poll-tax. The first changes were made concerning the poll-tax in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were in the reign of Sultan Mahmut II. In order to eliminate any misconduct in respect to the collection of the poll-tax, the amounts of the tax were reset on 26 April 1834 (16 *Dbu al-Hijab* 1249). According to this, the *âlâ* was set as 60, the *evsat* at 30, and the *ednâ* at 15 as piastres<sup>183</sup>. As a result of this new practice, the distribution of the poll-tax documents sent to the center of Antalya in the poll-tax order of 1835-1836 (H. 1251) was as follows: 31 *âlâ*, 468 *evsat*, and 322 *ednâ* (total 944 taxpayers). This meant there were 162 more poll-tax payers than the previous year. A total revenue of 23,985 piastres was expected from the 944 taxpayers. Of this 20,730 piastres was from the center of Antalya, with the rest being from Elmalı (2,880 piastres), Kalkan (180 piastres), Kaş (135 piastres), and Finike (60 piastres)<sup>184</sup>.

Another record from which the poll-tax obligations can be obtained is dated 1843. The number of taxpayers in the poll-tax census of this year was 859. According to the 1843 poll-tax count, which contains more detailed information, the poll-tax obligations according to income level of the Rum of Antalya were as follows:

Fig. 20 Poll-Tax according to Income Level of the Rum of Antalya (1843)<sup>185</sup>

Neighborhood	Class Type			Children	Exempt Individuals	Those Present in Other Cities
	<i>Âlâ</i> (High)	<i>Evsat</i> (Middle)	<i>Ednâ</i> (Low)			
Cami-i Cedid	20	168	142	138	11	29
Baba Doğan	13	97	120	102	8	15
Makbûle	25	127	105	108	15	13
TOTAL	58 (% 42.62)	392 (% 31.21)	367 (% 29.22)	348 (% 27.71)	34 (% 2.71)	57 (% 4.54)

Source: BOA., ML.VRD.CMH.d., 171, 2-24.

<sup>183</sup> Nedkoff 1944, 627.

<sup>184</sup> AŞS., 5/86-2.

<sup>185</sup> As the total number of the poll-tax payers in this register is different from our figures, ours have been used.

In general, the poll-tax was collected from male non-Muslims aged fourteen or over. However, Rum children aged nine could also be taxpayers in Antalya<sup>186</sup>. In the 1843 count, eighteen of the thirty-five children aged nine were registered as *ednâ*-class taxpayers<sup>187</sup>. In the same count, twelve people were exempt due to old age or from circumstances that prevented them from working.

When the poll-tax obligations of the Rum of Antalya are considered, it can be seen that the population was in the middle and lower classes from the economic point of view. The number of taxpayers with *âlâ* was low, and these were mainly European merchants with a high income.

## Conclusion

Even though the relationship between the Muslims (Turks) and Rum, which began under Seljuk rule, progressed in a negative manner in the initial periods, it continued with mutual interaction in later years. The Muslims and Rum lived in different locations within the same city. Following the example of the practice of centuries, in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Rum community lived in the Cami-i Cedid, Makbûle (Makbûl Ağa) and Baba Doğan neighborhoods. This spatial segregation was such that the difference in locations between the two communities at the neighborhood level never prevented them from interacting and communicating with each other.

The neighborhoods inhabited by Rum were at the same time residential areas of Muslims but, as in most cities, the Muslims and Rum in Antalya lived in a different area from each other within the same neighborhoods.

Due to becoming cramped – in particular in the Makbûle neighborhood – towards the middle of the century, the Rum began to purchase houses in the areas where the Muslims were present, and to settle in these areas. The reason for this development was the need for additional households resulting from the increase in the numbers of the Rum population. As it was prohibited for the Rum to settle outside the city walls, the Rum, who had lived in the same areas for hundreds of years, sought ways to extend their living areas by purchasing the homes of Muslims. However, this was not a definitive solution. These needs could only be resolved in the first decade of the second half of the century – firstly in an illegal manner and then through the state opening up new areas for settlement outside the city walls.

The Rum population of the district of Antalya (*nefs-i Antalya*) in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was around 2,500, forming approximately 27-28% of the entire population. While there were Muslims living in the three neighborhoods inhabited by Rum, the fact that the Rum were the majority in these districts with around 80% of the population indicates these neighborhoods can be classified as Rum neighborhoods.

The Rum of Antalya were completely free to practice their religious beliefs. As their native tongue was Turkish, their religious liturgies were also in Turkish. The household goods and clothing used by the Rum were no different than those of the Muslims (Turks) inhabiting the city.

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<sup>186</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.CMH.d., 171, 2.

<sup>187</sup> BOA., ML.VRD.CMH.d., 171, 2-24.

Similar to the other cities in the empire, the Rum community of Antalya mostly earned their living through commerce as traders and craftsmen. The number of Rum earning their living from the soil or from livestock was relatively low. Because most of the Rum of Antalya worked in commerce, trade, and craftsmanship focused on the local civic economy, they did not have high incomes. The economic record shows that most of the Rum had a medium or low level of income. The few Rum who were in the high-income group were those involved in international or inter-city trade, owned large farms, and were known as European merchants.

## Abbreviations and Bibliography

### Primary Sources

A.DVN	Sadaret Divan Kalemi
A.MKT	Sadaret Mektûbi Kalemi
A.MKT.MHM	Sadaret Mektûbi Kalemi Mühimme
AŞS.	Antalya Şer'iyeye Sicili (Antalya Court Register)
AE.SABH.I	Ali Emiri, Birinci Ahmed
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
C.ADL	Cevdet Adliye
CRD.d.	Ceride Defteri (Population Records Book)
HAT	Hatt-ı Hümayun
İE.ML	İbnü'l-Emin Maliye
İE.DH	İbnü'l-Emin Dahiliye
İ.HR	İrade-i Hariciye
ML.VRD.CMH.d	Maliye Nezareti Varidatı Cizye Muhasebesi Defteri (Poll-Tax Account Book)
ML.VRD.TMT.d	Maliye Nezareti Varidatı Temettuat Defteri (Revenue Census Book)
MVL	Meclis-i Vâlâ
NFS.d.	Nüfus Defteri (Population Census Book)
ŞD	Şûra-yı Devlet

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## Özet

### 19. yy.'ın İlk Yarısında Antalya Rumlarının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durumu

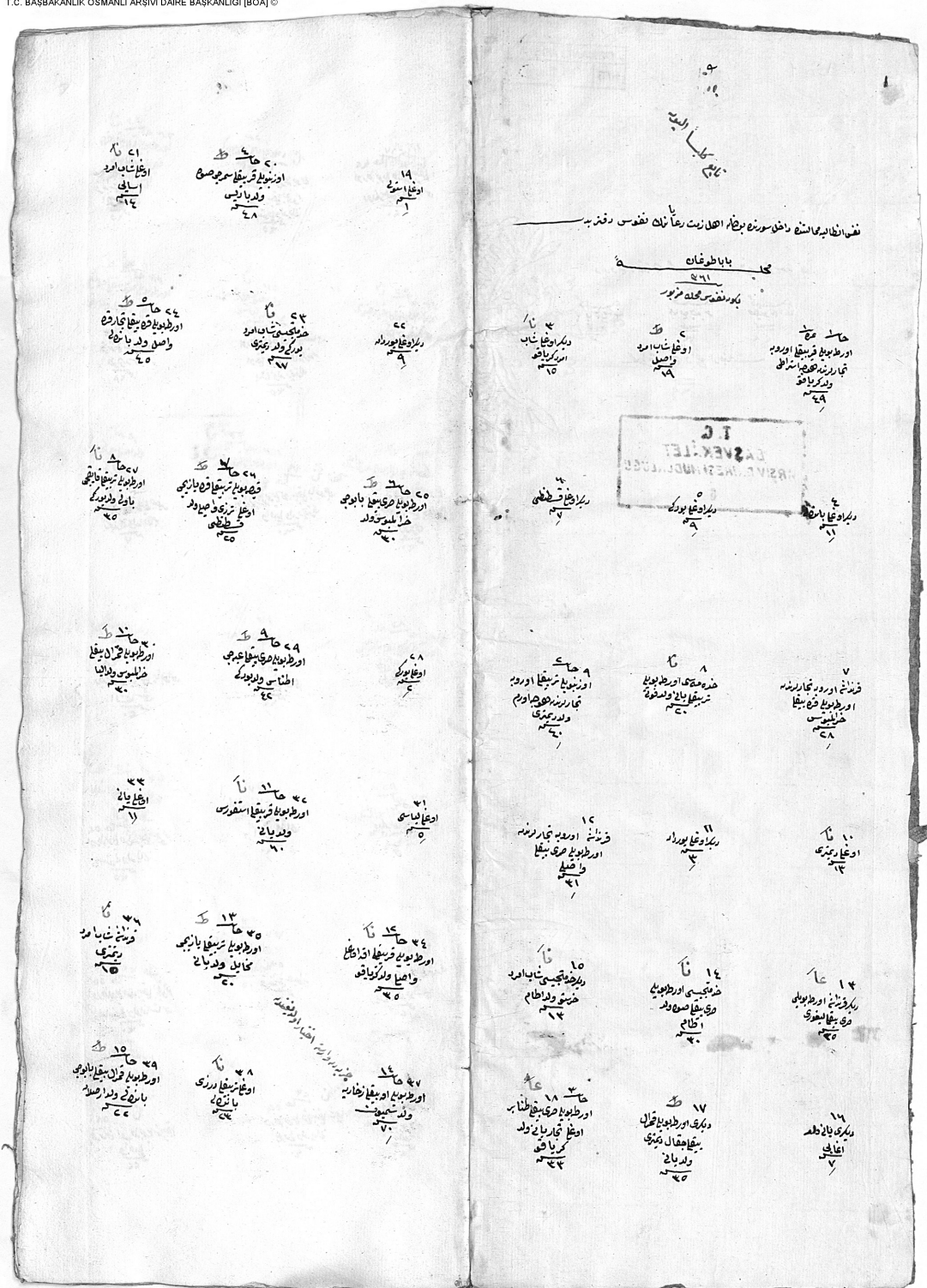
Bu çalışmada Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşiv Belgeleri ışığında 19. yy.'ın ilk yarısında Antalya Rumlarının sosyal ve ekonomik durumu incelenmiştir. Antalya şer'iyeye sicilleri, nüfus, temettuat ve cizye defterleri kullanılan temel başvuru kaynakları arasında yer almaktadır.

Antalya, XIX. yy.'ın ilk yarısında önemli miktarda gayrimüslim nüfusu barındırmaktaydı. Antalya gayrimüslimlerinin neredeyse tamamı yerli olup eskiden beri şehirde yerleşik olan Rumlardan oluşmaktaydı. Resmi Osmanlı arşiv belgelerine göre Rumlar Cami-i Cedit, Baba Doğan ve Makbûle (Makbûl Ağa) mahallelerinde yaşamakta ve bu mahalleler dışına yerleşmelerine izin verilmemekteydi. Yüzyılın ortalarına doğru hızlı bir nüfus artışına giren Antalya Rum cemaati yaklaşık 2.500 kişiydi. Bu ise Antalya şehir merkezinde % 27-28'lik bir orana tekabül etmekteydi. Rumların oturdukları üç mahalledeki oran ise % 80'e yakın bir çoğunlukla Rumların lehineydi. Bu ise üç mahallenin Rum mahalleleri olarak nitelendirilmesine yeterli olmuştur.

XIX. yy. ortalarına doğru nüfus artışı nedeniyle eskiden beri oturdukları üç mahallede sıkışan Rumlar, bu mahallelerdeki Müslüman evlerini satın alarak kendilerine yeni yaşam alanları yaratmaya çalıştılar. Bu gelişme Müslümanlar tarafından hoş karşılanmayınca kendilerine kale dışında yeni yerler aramaya koyuldular ki yüzyılın ikinci yarısında kale dışında yeni Rum yerleşimleri başladı.

Hristiyanlığın Ortodoks mezhebine mensup olan Antalya Rumlarının tamamının anadili Türkçe olup yazılı metinleri Yunanca (Karamanlıca) idi. Antalya Rumları âyinlerini serbest bir şekilde ve Türkçe yapabilmişlerdir. Geleneksel âyinlerine aykırı davranan papazlar cemaatin şikâyetiyle görevden uzaklaştırılmıştır.

Antalya Rumlarının kullandıkları adlar geleneksel Rum adları olup lakaplar içerisinde çok sayıda Türkçe isim bulunmaktaydı. Rumların giyim kuşamları Müslümanlardan (Türklerden) farklı değildi. Ekonomik olarak Müslüman ahaliden daha iyi bir seviyede olan Rumlar çoğunlukla esnaf, zanaat ve bunlara bağlı ticarî faaliyetlerden geçimlerini sağlamaktaydılar. Ancak bu, Rumların yüksek gelirlerle sahip zengin bir konumda buldukları anlamına gelmemektedir. Rumların büyük kısmı ekonomik açıdan orta ve alt gelir grubundaydı.



NFS.d. 03206

Fig. 21 Source: BOA, NFS.d., 3206, 1-2.





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لواء وفوده موجود ديغانك دفتري محاسب

	ص	ح	ط	ن	ج
محلّة جامع جديد	١٦٨	١٦	٢٧	٢٢	١٨٤
محلّة بابا طوغات	١٤٦	١٦	٢٢	١٢	١٤٥
محلّة نقبول اغا	١٤٨	١٧	٢٦	١٥	١١٧
مانرلا ورسنده بيابيم جي جيفلكنك	٢٤٤	٢٧	١٢٥	٤٩	٢٤٥
طائفه ارشيا	٠٠٤	٠٠	٠٠٠	٠٠	٠٠٨
نفس المالدّه طائفه دوم	٢٤٦	٢٧	١٤٥	٢٦	٢٤٨
الماليدّه ارشفي طائفه	٠٠٤	٠٠	٠٠٠	٠٠	٠١١
قضاء قلقات	٢٨٢	٥٧	١٤٥	٠٦	٢٤٩
قضاء قاضي	٠٠٠	٠٠	٠٠٠	٠٦	٢٩٨
قضاء ننگه	٠٠٠	٠٠	٠٠٠	٠٤	٠٠٦
درون اطفاله ده خانق دو كاتر سافه بخار و زيرين	٤٨٢	٥٧	١٤٥	٠٦	٥٠٥
المالي وضا سافه كنه كرايه جي و بونو	٢٨٢	٥٧	١٤٥	٠٦	٥٢٤
دوني برزن موجود	٠٠٠	٠٠	٠٠٠	٠٠	٠٢٢
	٢٨٢	٥٧	١٤٥	٦٩	٥٦٦
					٤٤

بکله  
صغيره  
٢٨٢      ٨٥٠

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صدا يافه لادن والدسا  
سما حال الصغار والعا  
هني  
وطني  
عمره  
المقصود  
ممدتہ ارضا  
المولحافه  
مدرس زمره الصدعده الصمد  
عمرها

١٤٤٢

١٤٤٢

١٤٤٢

١٤٤٢

Fig. 23 Source: BOA, D.CRD.d., 39886, 15.