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Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey

WIESBADEN 1989  
DR. LUDWIG REICHERT VERLAG

# Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey

compiled and edited

by

Peter Alford Andrews

with the assistance of

Rüdiger Benninghaus



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*Bu kitabı  
Türkiye toplumunun  
birbirine olan sevgisine  
ithaf ediyorum*

*This book  
is dedicated to  
the mutual affection  
of the peoples of Turkey*



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## Note on Transcription

Where accepted English spellings for the names of ethnic groups already exist, these have been used, especially if the group concerned is of other than Turkish origin: thus Chechen, Ingush, or Hemshinli are used, rather than their equivalent Turkish spellings, though the latter are listed in the catalogue (section B). Similarly English spellings are used for religious denominations, as in Shii or Chaldean.

Otherwise all Turkish words, including the names of ethnic groups, personal names, and place names, have been given in the standard Turkish alphabet and spelling. Exceptions have been made, however, for Istanbul and Izmir, whose pronunciation is so well known to the Western reader that the dot on the initial I seems superfluous. Turkic words are treated similarly.

Non-Turkish names have been given in the usual Tübingen transcription system, where appropriate (see Arbeitsheft Nr. 15). Otherwise they have been taken from standard works such as GEIGER *et alii*. In the case of Kurdish, there may be some inconsistency in the vocalisation, since most of the sources are Turkish, and reflect a Turkicised pronunciation: the names of tribes and places have generally been spelled with the vowels as originally recorded, and the editor asks to be excused for his inability to provide more authoritative transcriptions.

## Note on Listings

In the arrangement of the towns and villages listed, the usual Turkish order has been followed, ranked according to province, sub-province, and district (*il, ilçe, bucak*, or in the old parlance *vilâyet, kaza, nahiye*). The villages then follow in alphabetical order. Spellings of place names are as given in the *Genel Nüfus Sayımı* (census) for 1975, and *Köylerimiz* 1981. Map 2 in this volume shows these divisions for the period ca. 1962.

Ethnic groups are listed in the catalogue (section B) and the village lists (section D) according to the numeration given on the map, but with the addition of some sub-numeration.

Provincial centres are referred to, particularly in the lists, as cities, and sub-provincial centres as towns, regardless of size, in order to avoid the confusion arising from the dual use of *il* and *ilçe* in Turkish.

## Note on Abbreviations

The abbreviations used in section B, Catalogue of Ethnic Groups, are listed at the beginning of the section; similarly those used in section D, Ethnic Groups listed by Villages, are given at the beginning of that section.

Those for section E, Essays, and section F, Bibliography, are listed at the beginning of the bibliography.

TAVO designates the Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, or Tübingen Atlas of the Middle East, the series to which this book belongs, issued by the *Sonderforschungsbereich 19* of Tübingen University.

## The Map

The map which this book explains and enlarges upon is TAVO Nr. A VIII 14, *Republik Türkei: Ethnische Minderheiten im ländlichen Raum* (The Republic of Turkey: rural ethnic minorities), in two sheets, east and west, by P.A. Andrews (Wiesbaden, November 1987).





# A. Introduction

## 1. Aim

The object of this series of maps and handbooks is to represent the present state of knowledge about ethnic groupings in the countries concerned. This volume on Turkey, and the two maps which accompany it, are thus part of a general enquiry into the whole of the Middle East,<sup>1</sup> and have no political purpose. The intention is rather to provide data in a convenient form for those working on the ethnology of the country, or on related topics, and to indicate the need for such work as can be done in the future. Such data can only be as good as the sources from which they are drawn, and as clear as the information on ethnicity is explicit.

The questions must therefore be raised immediately as to what ethnicity means in this context, and to what extent facts are available to satisfy the criteria upon which the study is based. Detailed discussion of the intricacies of the first question is to be found in other volumes in this series.<sup>2</sup> The subject is by no means a simple one, and a considerable literature has been devoted to it in the course of the last fifteen years. For present purposes two working definitions can be cited, as posited for the work on this series.

By ethnicity we understand the concepts, sentiments, and actions which characterise ethnic groups. They define these in contradistinction to other, comparable groups within a state.

Ethnic groups are generally endogamous groups, whose criteria for cultural self-definition are common traditions selected from the past.

We are concerned, then, with the nature of group identity, that is with the image by which the group is identified, and in terms of which the

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<sup>1</sup> The TAVO maps of ethnic groups, compiled at Cologne University: A VIII 13 The Middle East, by E. Orywal (with book); A VIII 14 The Republic of Turkey, by P. A. Andrews (with book); A VIII 15 The Southern Levant, by K. Hackstein (with book); A VIII 16 Afghanistan, by E. Orywal (with book); A VIII 17 Migrant Workers in the Persian Gulf, by P. A. Andrews; A VIII 18 Iran, by E. Orywal.

<sup>2</sup> In E. Orywal's book *Die ethnischen Gruppen Afghanistans: Fallstudien zu Gruppenidentität und Intergruppenbeziehungen*. TAVO Beiheft Reihe B Nr. 70 (Wiesbaden 1986), pp. 73–86, and in K. Hackstein's book on ethnic groups in the S. Levant, *Ethnizität und Situation: Ğaras, eine vorderorientalische Kleinstadt*. TAVO Beiheft Reihe B Nr. 94, (in press).

group can be recognised as reproducing itself in successive generations, as distinct from other, usually neighbouring groups. In this sense ethnicity is *not* to be confused with nationality. In the context of Turkey it is particularly important to emphasise this difference, since the ethos upon which the Republic is based has, since its earliest years, incorporated use of the word *Türk* in an ethnic, as well as a national sense, without any very clear distinction between them, and with a tendency to ignore the misunderstandings which arise from this ambiguity. The implications of the overlap between ethnicity and nationalism, or ethnic group and state, have been explored elsewhere, notably by \*KEDOURIE, SMITH and TACHAU.<sup>3</sup> A responsible ethnologist cannot, of course, ignore this distinction, and is bound to examine the situation as it really is, rather than as it is officially claimed to be.

The popular view in Turkey is in fact quite realistic: *Türkiye' de yetmiş-iki buçuk millet var*, goes the saying, "in Turkey there are seventy-two and a half peoples". The word *millet* here is the old Ottoman denomination by which the semi-autonomous minorities were known, rather than 'nation' in the modern sense. Practical sense demands recognition, even in the complex urban society of Istanbul, that the housekeeper's mother is a Yörük, that the sailor down the road is a Laz, the tailor an Armenian, and the household 'help' a Kurd; indeed none of them has any hesitation in saying so. They have a sense of their place in society, as Turkish nationals, but also a strong sense of their own group identity in a particular locality. So long as they are recognised for what they are, and can co-exist, there is no reason for tension. In many cases these groups are so closely integrated with the Turkish Sunni majority that they may justly be regarded, as MAGNARELLA has the Georgians of Hayriye,<sup>4</sup> as having *partial ethnic identity*. It should be understood that in this book, and on the maps, terms used for ethnic groups are intended in a local sense: thus the Kurds referred to are the Kurds of Turkey, *Türkiyeli Kürtler*, without reference to Kurds elsewhere, and their nature as a group is considered in the context of Turkey alone. The same is true of all other groups, such as Georgians and Circassians, of whom an appreciable number may live abroad, sometimes in their own nation-state. At the same time no attempt is made to condone the fiction by which it is pretended that these groups are ethnic Turks, e.g. *Dağ*

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\* As elsewhere in this book, with the exception of the individual essays, the authors' names cited in notes should be located in the main bibliography for the full reference to each work. Those designated *mez.tez.* may be found in the list of unpublished works consulted.

<sup>3</sup> KEDOURIE, E. 1984; SMITH, A.D. 1984; TACHAU, F. 1962-63.

<sup>4</sup> MAGNARELLA, P.J. 1979: 116.

*Türkleri* or *Kürt Türkleri*, who have somehow confused their identity. There are of course instances in which groups have assumed the identity of their neighbours, as ZIYA GÖKALP explained long ago.<sup>5</sup> This work, however, concentrates on the *present* perception of identity by the groups concerned, and although historical factors, particularly recent ones, cannot be entirely ignored, it would be impossible to take adequate account of all the shifts of this kind which must have occurred in the history of Anatolia – shifts which would for the most part be unknown to the present descendants, and irrelevant.

## 2. Ethnicity in the Turkish Context

The definition of a group is a process in the course of continuous adaptation, in response to both external and internal changes of conditions. In fact, as SVANBERG has pointed out, the question should be not so much *what* an ethnic group is, as *when* it exists,<sup>6</sup> that is under what conditions. Influenced as it is by a range of factors, all in delicate and frequently changing balance, and of which none is indispensable, ethnicity must be a flexible concept without rigid parameters. Practical experience shows that as soon as one definition is proposed, several exceptions can be found which contradict it. Nor can the definition of an ethnic group, even in these flexible terms, be taken as permanent. Groups which once possessed considerable power, such as the Hittites or the Huns, can disappear from the world scene so effectively that their origin and their dissolution remain obscure, or (in the case of the Huns) their ethnic classification itself is in doubt. New groups can equally come into being, either spontaneously by re-arrangement, like the Mongols, or artificially by deliberate stimulation, as in the 'Assyrian' movement now altering the self-image of some eastern Christians.<sup>7</sup>

There are three fundamental aspects to ethnicity: the *emic*, that is the internal view of a group, the *etic*, that is the view of it taken by those outside the group, and the *mediating*, that is the effective balance established between the other two.

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<sup>5</sup> GÖKALP, Z. 1959: 130.

<sup>6</sup> SVANBERG, I. 1985: 8.

<sup>7</sup> See ANSCHÜTZ in this volume.

### a. The Emic View

Self-definition itself is not a constant quantity, and a gamut of degrees can tentatively be distinguished in order of emphasis, as for instance:

- a. Inevitable self-definition.
- b. Deliberate self-definition.
- c. Restricted self-definition.

Each of these functions through characteristic justifications; thus inevitable self-definition may be occasioned by:

- a 1 Conviction, as resulting from a belief in a minority religion which precludes intermarriage with those of other creeds. *E.g.* the Christians in their various denominations, the Jews, or the Yezidis.
- a 2 Imposition, as resulting from a juxtaposition which the group could not avoid. *E.g.* the Circassians exiled from their homeland in the Caucasus by foreign intervention.
- a 3 Tradition, in which a group which belongs broadly within the same category as a majority has come to be separated by a combination of religious differentiation, occupation, and locality. *E.g.* the Alevi Türkmen, or the Tahtacı among other Turks, or the Alevi Kurds among Shafii Kurds.

Deliberate self-definition may arise

- b 1 When a group seeks to accentuate its identity as a response to a perceived threat from the outside. *E.g.* the Sunni Turkish majority during the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the founding of the Republic of Turkey.

Restricted self-definition may result from:

- c 1 The inheritance of cultural features which distinguish a group from the majority, though it holds others in common with it. *E.g.* the Laz, with a quite distinct language but general bilingualism, or on a lesser scale those Crimean Turks whose language is little more than an Ottoman dialect.
- c 2 Custom, by which a group otherwise little different from the majority habitually maintains a distinct pattern of culture. *E.g.* the Yörük, in their migration between two territories, and their tribal structure.

Such degrees are naturally variable, and do not form closed categories. A group may move from one to another. For example the Pamir Kırgız who fled from the Russians as they invaded Afghanistan may be regarded as possessing an inevitable, imposed self-definition with respect to the Turkish majority, but their insistence on remaining together as a tribal unit on Turkish soil, as a condition of their immigration, has a deliberate character.

The feature which is inherent in all these degrees of self-differentiation is *endogamy* as the means of self-reproduction, and of intended (though not actual) self-replication. This varies between being an absolute requirement, as among the Arabic-speaking 'Alawi (Nuṣairī), and being a preferred practice, as among the Circassians, the Laz, or the Yörük.

Group identity is recognisable principally in language, religion, and tribal organisation (or at least claims of common descent). Occupation, though not usually a distinguishing factor on its own, can be effective in combination with one or more of the main factors. These can be seen in a variety of combinations. The role of territory, though fundamental, is ambivalent, and being less constant than these factors requires consideration apart.

Thus a group may sustain its identity:

- i. by language, but not religion. *E.g.* the Muslim Georgians, or the Laz.
- ii. by language and tribal organisation, but not religion. *E.g.* the Circassians and Abkhāz.
- iii. by religion but not language. *E.g.* the Alevi Turks, or the Arab Christians (with respect to the majority of Arabs in Hatay).
- iv. by religion and tribal organisation. *E.g.* the Alevi Türkmen.
- v. by language and religion, but not tribal organisation. *E.g.* the Jews, Armenians, Greek Christians, and some Syrian Orthodox Christians (but not all).
- vi. by language, religion and sometimes tribal organisation. *E.g.* Shafii and Alevi Kurds.
- vii. by tribal organisation but not language or religion. *E.g.* Sunni Türkmen and Yörük.

Language and religion are not of course ethnic determinants *per se*. Language may not even appear particularly important emically, in relation to less measurable cultural features: a young Circassian may not feel himself less Circassian from having, through no fault of his own, learned Tur-

kish rather than his inherited tongue. Nevertheless these two are the clearest outward and visible signs of ethnic difference, and often an important part of the social mechanisms by which ethnic identity is maintained and assimilation resisted.<sup>8</sup> BRYER has recorded that religion, in the face of assimilation, has generally proved the more enduring of the two: he refers to the Turkish-speaking Greek Christians of Anatolia.<sup>9</sup> There appear, however, to be exceptions, such as the Greek-speaking Muslims of Tonya.<sup>10</sup> In some cases one or another of these factors appears to have been chosen deliberately, or adopted by general consensus to preserve identity. For example though most of the Kurds in Turkey are Sunni, most are of the Shafii rather than the usual Hanefi school, and this has become characteristic of them to the extent that enquiries about one's *mezheb* can be an oblique method of establishing ethnic background.<sup>11</sup> The differentiation is subject to degrees: some Kurds have become Alevi, and are thus a remove further from the majority culture. There is evidence that in Dersim some Armenians became Alevi to preserve their identity while camouflaging their race; indeed BRYER has suggested that a relatively loose movement between Christianity and Alevilik may have been quite frequent in the Pontic region for the same reason,<sup>12</sup> and the 'Alawi in Hatay have frequently preserved their identity, while concealing it from outsiders, by taking refuge among the Christian communities there.<sup>13</sup>

Tribal organisation is undoubtedly in a state of progressive decay in Turkey. Its disintegration seems, paradoxically, to be manifested in two ways. Either the smaller descent group is forgotten, and only membership of the largest denomination is acknowledged, as among the Türkmen of Emirdağ and Edremit, or else membership of small, independent descent groups is acknowledged while the sense that these groups may be derived from an ancestor common to all has been lost, as among the Yörük or Aydınli. The first of these processes seems the more characteristic in the urban setting. The second may be to some extent illusory: there is a suspicion that some Yörük may regard themselves as Türkmen now only because educated Turks have so identified them. Some at least may represent vestiges of earlier, differing Anatolian groups which have survived in this differentiated form. Some justification for this view may be found in the fact that although much valuable work has been done by SÜMER<sup>14</sup> and

<sup>8</sup> Cf. SAUL, M. 1983: 345.

<sup>9</sup> BRYER, A. 1975: 143, referring to Vryonis.

<sup>10</sup> BRYER, A. 1975: 143, and 1970: 40.

<sup>11</sup> See VAN BRUINEN in this volume.

<sup>12</sup> BRYER, A. 1975: 142; cf. 1970: 48.

<sup>13</sup> NESİL, F. 1972: 8. *mez.tez.*

<sup>14</sup> SÜMER, F. 1967.

others on the identification of present nomads with ancestral Türkmen in Khurasan, a large number of the present tribal names, such as Bahşış and Honamlı, appear to have no parallels there. That there can, in fact, be a contradiction between historical reality and the group identity current at a particular moment is clear from the well-known phenomenon of fictive ancestry. CUISENIER gives an unusually ingenuous example of this, in which a group of Turkic descent, the Pirömerler, and a group of Arabs from Iraq, the Taşesikliler, are each claimed to be descended from one of two brothers.<sup>15</sup> The constant readjustments of tribal units have been graphically described by CLAUSON,<sup>16</sup> and many examples in the Turkic milieu are given by KRADER.<sup>17</sup> When such units can be shown historically to have been building blocks to be rearranged to suit the circumstances, then it is only the *present* self-identification of a group which can be valid for us in defining ethnic groups. The extent to which identity can be affected by almost fortuitous external manipulation is illustrated in the explanation of the difference between Yörük and Türkmen as based on Ottoman fiscal categories.<sup>18</sup> Endogamy is essential to the maintenance of such a descent group, within its own chosen parameters, even if a remarkable degree of exogamy is permitted, as JOHANSEN indicates for the Yörük. In this respect tribal endogamy is somewhat different from that among religious groupings, where the restriction of partners to the group is limited by the presence of other groups whose beliefs, being incompatible, allow no further movement. In some cases, and particularly among the 'Alawi of Hatay, these two aspects of endogamy can be combined: here a strictly defined doctrine operates in a tribal context, but prevents marriage even with other Alevi on the grounds that they lack the truth.

Where tribal organisation still remains an important factor of identity, as in Eastern Anatolia, its effectiveness in uniting a group appears to depend upon the presence of a chief, and his ability to create and maintain relationships both within and without the tribe (see YALÇIN in this volume). In the modern context it is clear that chiefs have learned to work through the administration for political and economic influence, with the tribal membership dependent upon their support, but are reciprocally dependent upon tribal solidarity and approval of the advantages gained. Organisation thus not only defines the inner structure of a group, or parts of a group, but articulates its relationship to the outside world.

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<sup>15</sup> CUISENIER, J. 1975: 128.

<sup>16</sup> CLAUSON, Sir G., *Turkish and Mongolian Studies* (London 1962): 11-12.

<sup>17</sup> KRADER, L., *Peoples of Central Asia* (Bloomington and The Hague 1966).

<sup>18</sup> GOKALP, A. 1980: 50.

While territory is the most immediately recognisable attribute of a group as seen from the outside, its ambivalence as a factor in identity lies in its dispensability. Some Georgians may regard Artvin province as the most civilised part of Turkey, and be identified with it by those who have been there, but they are no less Georgian when they live and work in Kocaeli or Sakarya. They can carry their identity with them. Though exiled identity can be strengthened by the establishment of sub-groups on a local base, it is ultimately by reference to the home territory and those who live on it that these define themselves. The reference can be very remote, as in the case of the Circassians, deported in 1864, of whom it might be claimed that their identity depends in part on their *not* having an accessible territory, while in another sense it depends upon the maintenance of tradition in each of hundreds of villages scattered throughout Western and Central Anatolia. In other cases it is assiduously maintained through periodic visits and family ties, or the retention of land. Territory can be dual, in the summer and winter quarters of nomads, and it may be acquired, as in the island of Haymana Kurds in Central Anatolia. An old territory may be perceived as so untenable that a mass exodus occurs, as happened with the Syrian Orthodox Christians, identity being modified, but not lost.

The characteristic occupation of a group may reinforce this range of differences, or even be the main means of sustaining them. Nomadism, in particular, can do much to enhance the group-consciousness upon which tribal identity depends: the coherence of the group in a succession of different settings, the co-operation inherent in camp life and migration, a common dependence upon natural conditions in several territories, and in the case of pastoralists, the distribution of grazing rights in summer and winter pastures, can all contribute towards it. Again the definition of specific aspects of these patterns of movement, and rights associated with them, may help to sustain the differences between smaller nomadic groupings.<sup>19</sup> This is not, however, to say that such differences disappear once a group ceases to migrate. There are many instances of Kurds, Türkmen, or Yörük who continue to maintain their identity as village communities once they have settled: one may cite the Çepni described by GOKALP, who maintain their kinship system although they are no longer nomadic, and are also aware of Çepni in far-distant provinces (see his article in this volume). Conversely, it is much easier for a Kurd, a Türkmen or a Yörük to abandon his traditional identity once he has ceased to migrate, especially in the cities. Groups may come to regard particular occupations as their special

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<sup>19</sup> Cf. the careful delineation of migration routes by HÜTTEROTH in 1959, map.



domain. Thus Gypsies characteristically work as travelling smiths, basket-makers, sieve makers, musicians and bear-trainers to the extent that they may even adopt the name of their trade for self-definition, as *kalburcu*, *elekçi*, *kalayçı*, *pallaçı*, or *mutrib* (see SVANBERG in this volume). In the case of certain Yörük tribes, such as the Yüncü and the Yağcibedir, names of specialist activities have actually survived the activities themselves.

In this connection the definition of the Yörük is a particularly difficult marginal case, since they satisfy only partially the criteria for ethnic definition: they are tribally organised, but recognise no apical ancestor; they have been treated as distinct for centuries, but speak Turkish and are mostly Sunnis; they have been handled administratively as a class, but have no unifying organisation other than occupation; finally they can settle and lose their nomadic ethos, but still be regarded as Yörük by those around them. It appears that the consciousness of tribal descent, even without an overall common ancestry, is strong enough to define not only each group, but even the whole, in distinction to the majority, and that the memory alone of a nomadic occupation and the economic antagonism of the past is enough to sustain this for a century or even more, now sharpened by resentment at the greater access to power of the older villages.

Most groups, however, can no longer be said to have a characteristic occupation: this is particularly the case with the many immigrant groups who have had to adapt to the conditions of their adopted country as best they could, even where they may have begun with an attempt to continue their former way of life, as did the horse-breeding Noğay of Stavropol who came to the Konya Plain. Exceptions can be found in this category where immigrants have been able to use a particular skill to occupy an hitherto empty, or at least uncrowded niche. Thus the Daghestanis in Kars province continue their metal-working tradition in the winter, and the Altay Kazak were able to develop a trade in sheepskin coats as an initial foothold in the Turkish economy.

A further emic factor which conspicuously affects some of these immigrant groups is a common sense of exile, or expulsion from their rightful homeland. This affects both immigrants from the Crimea or the Caucasus and those from Turkistan. Here their willingness to integrate in the adopting country appears to be modified by their unwillingness to relinquish the sense of identity invested in their collective memory. The sense of grievance and anger evident in works written by newly-immigrated Turkistanis, such as *Altaylar'da Kanlı Günler* (Bloody Days in the Altay) or *Türkistan'dan Türkiyeye* (From Turkistan to Turkey),<sup>20</sup> is still recognisable, after

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<sup>20</sup> GAYRETULLAH, H. 1965 and ÖZGEN, T. n.d.

a century's gradual assimilation, in articles published by Circassians. Furthermore, if limits are seen as being imposed on the maintenance of such an essential ethnic marker as language, such resentment can be turned against the authorities responsible.<sup>21</sup>

Although there can be no doubt that a group may also identify itself through many aspects of material culture, from cooking to folk-music, these are generally less easily identifiable by external observers, require more patient documentation, as yet generally lacking, and tend at present to be given only minor importance. Such factors can in fact be very important to the morale of a group. The collapse of group identity in one Circassian village was attributed in retrospect to a wedding at which a group from Istanbul played modern dance music instead of the traditional dances. Whether the incident was really a cause, or only a symptom of the decay, is less significant than the fact that it was regarded as the cause by the villagers themselves. The example serves to emphasise the principle that ethnic markers function to the exclusion of other, comparable markers used by other groups; to the extent that blending occurs, that aspect of identity is weakened in the group as a whole, though not necessarily in the individual.

As can be seen, each of these various factors of language, religion, organisation, occupation, exile and material culture has its own validity, and whereas it can combine with other factors to define a stronger or a weaker identity, the factors are not in any sense interchangeable. The most that can happen is that, at moments favourable to the growth of group identity, an idea may be introduced which is then adopted as an additional marker, sometimes with the effect of modifying existing markers. Thus as the religious organisation of the Alevis in Tunceli has weakened, some younger members of the community have tended to identify their religious image of a commonweal with the political structure of communism (see BUMKE in this volume). Similarly in the disruption caused by invasion, displacement and persecution, some younger members of the eastern Christian communities have found new morale in the quite false idea that they have inherited the culture of the Assyrians (see ANSCHÜTZ in this volume), even at the expense of causing a rift within the church itself. Such ideas do not necessarily originate within the group. The Assyrian role was in fact proposed by the Englishman, Layard. (Even as powerful and universally recognised a symbol as the Scottish kilt, as it is now worn, could be a foreign invention – this time by an English Quaker in 1727<sup>22</sup>.)

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Ö..., Yismeyl 1975: 29ff.

<sup>22</sup> TREVOR-ROPER, H., "The Highland Tradition in Scotland", in HOBBSAWM, E., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge 1983): 21: the small kilt was introduced by Thomas Rawlinson to the MacDonells.

## b. The Etic View

In comparison to the sensitivity to slight nuances of self-definition inherent in the insider's view, the outsider's view in general is necessarily coarse in its formulation, as it is based on the recognition of qualities which are unfamiliar, that is markers which differ from his or her own. There are of course exceptions, when a outsider learns a language, or understands a religion well enough to call it his own, but the general view of an ethnic group is rarely based on such well-informed private appreciation. This is particularly the case when a powerful majority group views a small minority to which it attaches little importance. Conversely a small group well integrated into a majority, on the understanding of which it may depend for its survival, may come to know it very well, as in the case of the Circassians, the Georgians, or the Laz.

Such generalised perceptions tend to be formulated first at a regional level. MEEKER has drawn attention to this process in the case of the Laz: as a category used by Anatolian Turks, it is not reserved only for the ethnic Laz, but often refers to all the Black Sea population of Turkey, particularly those living along the eastern shoreline. In his words "the ethnic Lazi are therefore only one variety of Laz for Anatolians". Furthermore the Black Sea Turks themselves employ the term in a rather different way. Meeker cites the people of Ereğli as rejecting the term for themselves, but considering those to the east of Zonguldak as Laz. Yet even further east, the people of Of still reject the term for themselves, but regard those to the east of Pazar as Laz, this time with some accuracy. In each case the community views those to the west as having customs similar to its own, and those to the east as having different and inferior ones.<sup>23</sup> He also notes the similarity of this to the frequent categorisation by Western Anatolians of all those living east of the line through Sivas, Kayseri and Adana as being 'Kurds': this "regardless of the language they speak or any other single characteristic".<sup>24</sup> In both these categories, the region is regarded as having a recognisable culture: the view is a comprehensive one encompassing a variety of factors which, in NESTMANN's phrase, generate a synergy of their own, through which one or another factor may come to the fore in establishing an awareness of cultural difference (see her contribution in this volume).

Immigrants tend also to be classed together, without any precise etic sense of their origin or identity. Broadly speaking, those known to have

<sup>23</sup> MEEKER, M. E. 1971: 321.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*: 322. Cf. GÖKALP, Z. 1959: 43.

entered the country before 1939 tend to be known as *Muhacir*, and those who came since as *Göçmen*, both meaning “migrant”. These terms are used popularly, regardless of locality, and reflect the official classification of the time: although they are applied primarily to immigrants from the Balkans, they can also include Caucasians. Similarly the term *mülteci* “refugee” has recently been used to encompass all the Turkic immigrants from Afghanistan. *Muhacir* can thus designate refugees from the Balkan Wars, speaking Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, Albanian, Bulgarian and Greek, the one unifying factor being their Muslim faith (and even this was divided, some being Alevi). It can also mean those involved in the population exchanges following the War of Independence. *Göçmen* from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece attracted attention by their numbers and the suddenness of their arrival. Though there had been a steady flow of immigrants since the foundation of the Republic, with a total of 877,209 arrivals from the Balkans between 1923–49, 286,430 arrived between 1950–58, of whom 154,393 came in two years, 1950–51, expelled from Bulgaria.<sup>25</sup> The rate in 1951 had in fact risen to three times the annual average of immigration.<sup>26</sup> The advent of 150,000 in two years, destined to be re-established in settlements throughout western and central Anatolia, necessarily provoked a specific attitude towards the minority, a combination of sympathy for the victims of Cold War politics and determination to surmount an attempt to embarrass the Turkish economy.<sup>27</sup> Notwithstanding the fact that these immigrants spoke Turkish little different from Anatolian dialects, and practised if anything a stricter form of Islam than their new neighbours, assimilation has been far from immediate, and *Göçmen* villages are still readily identified as such today. A somewhat similar reaction has greeted the Turkistani *Mülteci*, irrespective of their being Özbek, Türkmen, Kazak or Kırgız. Popular sympathy has been somewhat disconcerted by the realisation that these “brother Turks” speak languages often barely comprehensible to the native population, and that they are much more Asiatic in appearance than the Anatolians had been prepared for. There can thus be a contrast between the theory by which Turkey is proclaimed as the homeland of Turks in general, and the actuality in which Turkic immigrants are found to be far from identical with Anatolians themselves.

Caucasians, as ÖZBEK shows in this volume, are subject to the same crude categorization: the term *Çerkez* is used indiscriminately, in popular usage, for true Circassians, quasi-Circassians (*Abkhāz* and *Ubıkh*), Chech-

<sup>25</sup> AKÇAY, N. 1968: 3 and 6 mez.tez.; ULUSOY, M. 1971: 11 mez.tez.; TANOĞLU, A. 1955: 5.

<sup>26</sup> GERAY, C. 1962: 7: a total of 52,185 for 1950 and of 102,240 for 1951.

<sup>27</sup> KOSTANICK, H.L. 1957: 66–7, 120–1 etc.

ens and Ingush, Ossetes, Karaçays, Lezgis and other Daghistanis. It is likely that this attitude was originally derived from an inability to understand the newcomers' language, and thereby to grasp their own ethnic designation; it may in part be due to the complexity of tribal and national divisions in Caucasia. It would be interesting to establish, however, how far these groups are really perceived as having cultural features in common. In this, as in so many aspects of ethnicity in Turkey, our present knowledge is quite inadequate.

A modification of generalised definition occurs when it incorporates a negative or pejorative attitude. Settled people often class all nomads and peripatetics in this way (see SVANBERG in this volume), irrespective of whether they are Gypsies (*Çingene*), Abdals, Geygelli smiths, or even true Yörük: *Çingene* suffices to stigmatise a group seen as socially so distant as to be undesirable, and applies a stereotype of parasitic and untrustworthy character which precludes any attempt at real insight into its nature. MAGNARELLA gives the example of basket-makers in Susurluk whose seasonal appearance is dreaded by villagers who regard them as notorious thieves.<sup>28</sup> Conversely, he describes how three households of Gypsies in the same town have made themselves more acceptable to the non-Gypsy population not only through success in their smithing business, but by a deliberate effort to conform to orthodox Muslim observances in prayer, fasting and even the pilgrimage to Mecca, while their women cover themselves and avoid public contact with strange men.<sup>29</sup> It appears in this case that the Gypsies concerned have virtually abandoned their own ethnic markers in favour of those of the majority, though since it is said that these form the top sub-group in the Gypsy hierarchy, it would be interesting to know in what respects they are recognised by other Gypsies as still being members of the community. Another particularly widespread example is the stigmatisation of Alevis, regardless of whether they be Türkmen, Kurds, Zazas or 'Alawi Arabs, with the same accusations of incest and orgies in darkened rooms (*mum söndü*), a calumny which dates back at least to the XVIth century, serving to polarise the Sunni and Alevi communities to such effect that, for example, the mere mention of an origin in Tunceli is enough to prevent a man from gaining employment (see GOKALP and BUMKE in this volume). In the Aegean area this prejudice is so strong that the Alevi Türkmen are not even accepted as being Turks by their neighbours.<sup>30</sup> Such negative definition creates difficulties for the ethnologist, since it frequently hinders him in establishing the real identity of a group, in confus-

<sup>28</sup> MAGNARELLA, P.J. 1974: 40.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*: 39.

<sup>30</sup> Conversation with S. Tansuğ, 28.7.85.

ing one with another, and leads the group itself to avoid close contact with outside enquiry.

A further danger of such categorisation is that it can so easily lead to misattribution. The authorities responsible for the population exchanges based on the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 made religion the sole criterion for the allocation of communities, with absurd results. Greeks in Turkey who had become Protestant or Catholic were denied permission to leave, on the grounds that they were not Orthodox, while a group of Orthodox Arabs in Cilicia was expelled to Greece; long negotiations were required to prevent the mass deportation of Albanian Muslims from Greece, and of Orthodox Rumanians, Bulgars and Yugoslavs from Turkey.<sup>31</sup> LEWIS has even suggested that as a consequence of this view the exchange was "no repatriation at all, but two deportations into exile - of Christian Turks to Greece, and of Muslim Greeks to Turkey".<sup>32</sup>

Such stereotypes can be seen as an attempt to formulate a complex reality so subtle as to be undefinable; they can be compared to our attempts to describe or characterise individuals we know. They may be based on generalised physical attributes: that Kurds are swarthy and have aquiline noses, or that Georgians are more European than usual, with light hair and blue or green eyes.<sup>33</sup> More typically they combine a number of unusual features: the Laz is seen as a somewhat absurd figure with a funny accent, a quick temper, and a close association with the sea; neighbours who know him better notice that he ploughs tiny, steep fields by hand, lives in scattered hamlets, eats bread made from maize instead of wheat, and consumes large numbers of tiny fish. Some features of the stereotype may even be contradictory: the Laz is seen as dim-witted, but known to be resourceful and successful in business, or as hard-working and ambitious, but unwilling to do menial work. Careful analysis of such traits can show how far they are based on reality in the actual social context, as MEEKER has demonstrated.<sup>34</sup> At the same time it can be recognised that the stereotype varies with familiarity, and the interest of the observer, so that it may even result in a multiple identification (see BENNINGHAUS in this volume). The value-judgement inherent in such definitions can also change: a dramatic example is the decline in status of the Armenians, known to the Ottomans as the "loyal people", *millet-i şadiqa*, for their service to the government, through rebellion and persecution to expulsion as enemies of the

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<sup>31</sup> PLANHOL, X. de 1968: 260.

<sup>32</sup> LEWIS, B. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (New York and Oxford 1961): 348 ff.

<sup>33</sup> MAGNARELLA, P.J. 1979: 118.

<sup>34</sup> MEEKER, M.E. 1971: 320, 323-6.

state, and their present survival as just one of several minorities active in city business.

However crude or over-generalised the understanding of other groups may be, the knowledge of their whereabouts is usually precise. Most Turkish subjects have no reservations about recognising the existence of ethnic groups other than their own, and almost any villager can give the names of at least half-a-dozen villages in his district which he regards as being in some way different, besides those which he regards as being the same. Those who have done military service or welfare work in other regions also remember the differences they have seen. Practical sense, it seems, can turn a deaf ear to propaganda. In my own experience it is usually people from the intellectual class who prefer not to talk about ethnicity, either because they have persuaded themselves that the differences should no longer be of any importance, or because they are afraid of being quoted. It is interesting in this respect that the propaganda process can be used in reverse. I have met Kurds who refused to discuss the position of non-Kurdish minorities because their existence might weaken Kurdish claims to territory. Similarly there has been a strong tendency for Kurdish groups outside Turkey to try to dismiss the very obvious difference between the Zaza and Kurmanci languages. These are, again, "intellectual" preoccupations. It is largely to the knowledge of the ordinary Turk, and his uninhibited view of the subject, that this map and this book owe their existence.

Manipulation of the ethnic view is not, then, necessarily effective at the popular level; nevertheless it affects the policies and decisions of the administrative personnel, and in this respect plays an important rôle in the phenomenon of ethnicity as a whole. Yet this modern view of Turks as the heirs of the Ottoman administration seems to have been born outside Turkey: according to LEWIS (1953: 220-1) the notion of the Turks and the notion of Turkey itself arose under Western influence, and in particular through the growth of Turcological knowledge among European scholars in the course of the XIXth century. The subsequent adoption of these notions for the formation of a new nation, and their successive adaptation for the formation of a new ethos by Mustafa Kemal, have altered the very basis for the government of the minorities.

### c. Balance

Despite their sweeping generalisations, the categories based on regional and cultural classification cannot simply be dismissed as inadequate popular explanations. They can and do have a practical effect, albeit largely an

unconscious one, on the treatment of those so labelled by their neighbours and by the majority population. They reflect the complexity of ethnic interrelationships, and an appreciation that these may operate in relatively restricted contexts through which a local equilibrium can normally be maintained. This balance can be recognised as the third, dynamic aspect of ethnicity, affecting both positive and negative relationships. The definition of ethnic groups by mutual exclusion is arrived at through adjustment by all the parties concerned, and equally, in changed circumstances, it is by consensus that they integrate. In terms of balance, definition is effective not so much at the centre of a group's internal affairs, as at peripheral points where it impinges upon other groups or the majority, where cultural markers help to form a contour. The scale at which these indices operate can vary considerably. At its smallest it can isolate a few individuals, as has repeatedly happened in the remnants of West Syrian Christian populations among Kurdish Muslim majorities in Mardin in recent years. It may be seen dividing a village, as in several cases in the Aegean region, where Alevi and Sunni communities live side by side, but remain blind to each other's practices, never mixing even at weddings or funerals. It is not unusual to come upon accounts of avoidance practised by one village against another. Thus the inhabitants of a village in Kayseri province, apparently *yerli* (i.e. indigenous), avoid a settlement of *Göçmen* from Bulgaria placed only some 5 km away, though they accept contact with a Türkmen village at about the same distance.<sup>35</sup> In cases where immigrants have settled in an already occupied village, different groups may respond differently. In the Özbek Tatar village of Böğrüdëlik a group of some four households of Kurds from the Van region who arrived during World War I have by now undergone marked assimilation in speech and culture; a second, and larger group of Kurds settled in 1968 are apparently in the process of similar assimilation, though they are at present distinct from both the Tatars and the earlier Kurds. A small group of *Bulgaristan Göçmenleri* settled in 1952-54 have, however, very little contact with the others in work, finance, or property, although they have, in part, learned to speak Tatar. As all three groups are Hanefi Muslims, there is no major barrier to integration; given the Turkic speech of the *Göçmen*, one might have expected the reverse of this situation to have developed.<sup>36</sup> Such cases plainly require careful study to reveal the reasons for acceptance or rejection. At times the discrimination can be based on historical differences which appear out of place in Turkey. The Noğay Tatars and the Crimean

<sup>35</sup> Musaşeyh Köyü, Karacaören and İğdecik Köyü: see ERSOLAK, M. 1971-2: 1 mez.tez.

<sup>36</sup> KLÄY, E.J. 1974: 191, 193, 195-6.



Tatars immigrated from the same general region; the Noğay are inclined to claim a relationship with the Crimeans, even regarding their speech as the same, yet the Crimeans reject not only the Noğay, as primitive nomads, but also the name Tatar as used for themselves<sup>37</sup> – this though the Noğay have not been nomads for 150 years!

The dissolution of markers to allow at least partial integration can, as well known, be a response to a perceived threat to common existence. Some Kurdish nationalists in Western Europe, for example, have made common cause with the Yezidi refugees, claiming their religion as the historic, national religion of the Kurds in general. The effect may be only temporary. The Nestorian Arameans joined the Kurds in their struggle against the Iraqi government in 1961, but afterwards their old animosity reappeared.

At the larger scale of the juxtaposition of a minority to the Turkish Sunni majority, some confusion in definition arises from the present concept of Turkishness, as perceived by the Government authorities. It will be noted that our definition of ethnicity refers to ethnic groups within the state, making it clear that membership of an ethnic group, and citizenship of a political entity are two different and complementary positions: they are by no means mutually exclusive. It has often been claimed that the position of minorities in Turkey was more secure under the Ottoman administration than it is under the Republic. The security afforded through the autonomy of the *millet* system applied, however, only to non-Muslim minorities, and autonomy was accorded on religious grounds. Thus the Greek, Armenian and Jewish communities were left to manage their own affairs, and were later joined by such recognised offshoots as the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the Armenian Catholic Church. Heterodox Muslims, like the Alevi and Nusairi, or those identified as heretic Muslims, such as the Yezidi, had no such liberty, and learned to survive under frequent repression. A forcible attempt to convert the Yezidi, accompanied by a massacre, was undertaken as late as 1892.<sup>38</sup> The relationship of such heterodox groups to the majority was in fact determined by the fact that the Sultan was also Caliph, and as defender of the Sunni faith headed a government and a nation, *ümmet*, defined by that faith, and therefore by necessity intolerant of deviation so long as the form of religion remained paramount. It was on a comparable basis that the non-Muslim minorities were guaranteed equality of civil and political rights with the Muslims in article 39 of the Treaty of Lausanne. Other minorities

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*: 213; WENZEL, H. 1932: 55–6.

<sup>38</sup> JOSEPH, I. 1919: 156, 208; cf. 205–7.

were not mentioned, the official position being that they were completely satisfied with their existing statutes.<sup>39</sup>

Republican Turkey was established as a laic state, and this gave the Alevi in particular hope that their position would rapidly improve. In reality this was not to be the case. The great majority of the population remained true to their religion, and from the administration of Menderes onward some of Mustafa Kemal's measures affecting religion were reversed, notable those limiting the education of imams. The *ümmet*, in fact, still exists, albeit a smaller, headless one, and Sunni Islam remains the quasi-official religion of the State. The State can thus express its disapprobation of heterodoxy by building mosques in Alevi villages: the gesture is seen as an encouragement towards unity, but is perceived by the Alevi as extremely offensive.<sup>40</sup>

Similar difficulties have arisen with regard to language, especially the written word. Nominally, according to the constitution of 1961, all are equal before the law, irrespective of speech, race (*ırk*), sex, political conviction, philosophy, or religion; no privilege may be granted any person, family, group or class.<sup>41</sup> A further clause guaranteed freedom of expression, whether written or spoken.<sup>42</sup> Under normal circumstances, then, the use of language should not be a contentious issue. It is, apparently, with the expectations of normality that friction is generated. Members of the Muslim, non-Turkish-speaking minorities naturally assume from this that they have the right to full use of their languages outside official contexts. In practice, however, the use of these languages is not only not permitted for official use, including education, but their publication in written matter (and even gramophone records or tape) is prohibited.<sup>43</sup> This ambiguity is compounded in the new constitution of 1982, where the clauses cited above are effectively repeated, but with the proviso that no language forbidden by law may be used for publications.<sup>44</sup> What such languages may be is not specified, though article 3 states that the language of the Republic is Turkish. The position adopted officially seems to ignore the fact that a balance exists: it arrogates all rights in the printed word to the majority, and thereby prevents any minority which may be specified from

<sup>39</sup> ALTUÇ, Y. 1957: 104, citing the minutes of the conference.

<sup>40</sup> E.g. ROUX, J.-P. 1970: 111.

<sup>41</sup> *Anayasa* 1961, paragraph 12.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, paragraph 20.

<sup>43</sup> By an act of Parliament passed in 1930, and promulgated under the motto "*Vatandaş Türkçe konuş!*"

<sup>44</sup> *Anayasa* 1982, articles 10 and 26. German translation published in full in *Orient* 24: 2 (1983): 316 ff., and English translation published in Ankara as *The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey*, 1982.

achieving the same standard of literacy in its own language. As KINROSS had already noted in 1954, the elimination of a minority language such as Kurdish from the educational system inevitably inhibits progress in regions such as Van and Hakkari,<sup>45</sup> and the unwillingness of a relatively strong minority (that is proportionally, for the district) to accept education in a language other than its mother tongue may result in a prolongation of its underprivileged position. It may also result in a deliberate accentuation of identity by refusal to teach young children anything but the minority language at home: this reaction was already noticeable in Hakkari in the late 1960s. NESTMANN has argued (in this volume) that the removal of this legal barrier is an essential step towards the balanced integration of minorities into the Republic.

The dangers of a confusion of ethnicity and nationality had been foreseen by the advocates of Anatolianism, in 1924–25. Within the context of the new Republic, they asserted that the concept of a Turkish nation was contradictory in so far as “Turk” was not, as they saw it, the name of a nation, but of a race with a variety of homelands and local cultures, some well beyond the frontiers. Furthermore it could not, as such, apply to the ethnic minorities. What was needed, they claimed, was an identification with the homeland itself: “We are Anatolians, Anatolia is our homeland, our nation is the Anatolian nation.”<sup>46</sup> The subject also occasioned lively debate within the *Türk Ocakları* (“Turkish Hearth”) movement in the 1920s.<sup>47</sup> In the circumstances, however, the need for renewed self-assertion among the Turkish, Sunni majority, following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the struggle to free Turkey from the occupying powers, proved paramount. It was made more urgent by the abolition of the Caliphate and the ensuing Kurdish rising of 1925. *Türk* came to replace *Osmanlı* as Mustafa Kemal wished, but without any very clear definition. In the 1982 constitution this position is maintained in article 66: “a Turk is someone associated with the Turkish State by the ties of Nationality”. The ethnic connotations of the term are disregarded, as potentially dangerous and divisive. Yet, as they affect language, and even the recognition of non-Turkic groups, they remain a source of friction. The whole of the constitution is aimed at preserving national unity, yet the unity envisaged by Z. GÖKALP, as achieved by common education, lan-

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<sup>45</sup> KINROSS, Lord, *Within the Taurus* (London 1954): 111, 126. Cf. JAFAR, M. R. 1976: 115 notes.

<sup>46</sup> HALİL, M. “Milliyetperverliğin Manası” in *Anadolu Mecmuası* nos. 9, 10, 11 (Dec. 1924, Jan.–Feb. 1925): 315–6, cited in TACHAU 1962–3: 167–8.

<sup>47</sup> TACHAU 1962–3: 170–3.

guage, morality and aesthetics,<sup>48</sup> is an abstraction which has, up to the present, failed to engage a considerable proportion of those living in Eastern Anatolia.

As a consequence of this confusion, some representatives of the Government, and even academics, have assumed that ethnic minorities have no inherent right to existence in their own emic terms, and have sought to remove the markers which define them through legislation, common education, or deliberate re-definition. The prohibition of publications in certain languages is the clearest example of such coercion. In the past, groups have also been transported to other parts of the country in order to break their association with a particular territory, prevent contact with the main body of the ethnic minority, and accelerate the formation of a new, national identity. Re-definition may even go so far as the denial that certain groups exist (see VAN BRUINEN in this volume). It ranges from the pejorative definition of a group in an official dictionary<sup>49</sup> to attempts to manipulate historical data to “prove” that non-Turkic groups are really Turks – even a group so obviously non-Turkic as the Molokan<sup>50</sup> (cf. BENNINGHAUS on the Laz in this volume). Recently a barrage of printed matter of this kind has been published to demonstrate that the Kurds and Zazas are ethnically Turkic peoples.<sup>51</sup> It need hardly be said that the arguments employed are no more acceptable to the world of responsible scholarship than the excesses of the Turkish History Thesis or the Sun Language Theory in the 1930s. Carried through with full effect, this attitude may be expressed, as VAN NIEUWENHUIJZE has claimed: “adjust or be eliminated”.<sup>52</sup>

Such attitudes may be regarded as symptoms of a disturbance in the ethnic balance. Mustafa Kemal had himself informed Parliament in 1920 that “not only Turks live in Turkey, but Circassians, Kurds, Laz and Arabs too, and the Turkish nation consists of these Muslim peoples”. The essential condition for equitable co-existence among different ethnic groups is plainly mutual recognition, irrespective of size. Changes in the ethnic

<sup>48</sup> In *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (Istanbul 1952): 15 (first publ. 1923); cf. GÖKALP, Z. 1959: 137.

<sup>49</sup> See *Kürt* in *Türkçe Sözlük*, Türk Dil Kurumu (Istanbul 1944–5): *Çoğu dillerini değiştirmiş Türklerden ibaret olup bozuk bir Farsça konuşan ve Türkiye, Irak ve İranda yaşayan bir topluluk adı ve bu topluluktan olan kimse*.

<sup>50</sup> F. KIRZIOĞLU in the Kars Halk Evi Konferanslar, 1939, cited with details in TÜRKDOĞAN, O. 1970: 2 note 2. KIRZIOĞLU has also attempted to prove that Kurds, Lurs, Laks, Laz, and Hemşinli are ethnic Turks!

<sup>51</sup> Issued notably by the Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, Ankara: fifteen titles of this kind between 1982–4.

<sup>52</sup> VAN NIEUWENHUIJZE, C.A.O., *Sociology of the Middle East* (Leiden 1971): 346, cited in JAFAR 1976: 59, 115 notes. It is interesting that the loyalists supporting this view cannot see that the Bulgarian treatment of Turks in 1985 is almost identical.

markers defining their relative positions can result in an effective lack of recognition. Thus the Circassians reacted violently to the laicisation of the State, since their presence in Turkey was justified only, in their eyes, by its rôle as the land of the Caliphate.<sup>53</sup> The balance can only be preserved, in a setting where the government is dominated by one majority group, by an awareness of these sensitive markers. It can be argued that these are particularly important in Turkey where, because of the country's geographical position between Asia, the Caucasus, and Europe, and the ethnic affinities which can thereby be engendered, the relationship between nation and territory is inherently unstable. Under such conditions the strength of the factors defining nationalism may be emphasised, and the participant ethnic groups may be subordinated in time to minor niches, as they have been, for example, in Germany. Turkey may be regarded as in a state of transition between the polyethnic Ottoman Empire, united by religion, and a modern state united by political consensus. Recognition requires adaptability. It may appear unexpectedly, as in the admission of Kurdish interpreters to the law courts when no other means of examination is possible. It may also be limited, as in Hakkari as described by YALÇIN in this volume, where contact between Kurds and the Turkish administrators exists only at an official level, and social contact is unthought of. It calls for an appreciation of differences in scale, when distinctions exist at a local level, as between Kurd and Zaza, or Alevi and 'Alawi (Nusairi) which are barely discernible to a westernised urban society in Ankara (thus in the Köy Envanteri, Alevi are confused with Caferis - properly Shiis - and Yezidis are apparently confused with both Alevi and Christians). It also calls for an honest appraisal of past history.

NESTMANN, noting the cyclical nature of friction, dissidence, and suppression, proposes the means of reducing antagonism in the context of Eastern Anatolia. Her observations on the inevitably negative reaction to suppression are confirmed by VAN BRUINNESSEN: it can, indeed, lead to re-invention of symbols of group identity in, for example, adoption of the Iraqi "uniform", and even to attempts to overcome internal barriers by establishing a common Kurdish terminology understandable to all Kurds irrespective of their regional origin.

The ineffectiveness of repression as a response to the assertion of identity by ethnic minorities is easily confirmed by reference to experience elsewhere, as in the 900 year history of dissidence in Ireland. It can also be seen that changes in economic and social circumstances can bring about a profound readjustment of emic and etic definition in a relatively short

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<sup>53</sup> KLÄY 1974: 172; also 1983, *passim*.

time. Thus the act of 1747 banning the use of Highland dress and music in Scotland remained in force for only 35 years, and once the clansmen were seen as “combining the romance of a primitive people with the charm of an endangered species” these markers were rapidly readopted, even by the English monarch himself.<sup>54</sup> What is of particular significance in both these cases is that the continuing sense of identity of these groups no longer depends upon language, for only a small proportion still speak a Celtic tongue (in spite of educational programmes and broadcasts in Erse and Gaelic):<sup>55</sup> both have been effectively anglicised, yet remain proud of their separate origin. Furthermore in only one case, that of Ireland, is religion a dominant factor in determining identity. It is plain that, in spite of very widespread assimilation in material culture and language, people *want* to retain their ethnic identity. Association with a territory and a dialect of the majority language are, apparently, enough to sustain it. It should be expected, then, that similar group loyalties will be effective for centuries to come in Turkey.

### 3. Assimilation

Under these circumstances, assimilation, like ethnicity, must remain a relative concept. It can take place at different scales, and can affect different factors in a group’s sense of identity to a differing extent at differing rates. Assimilation can take place within an ethnic group. Thus the Ubi<sup>kh</sup> have been absorbed into other Circassian peoples, to the extent that their language is all but extinct.<sup>56</sup> Among the Jews of Istanbul the initially smaller Sephardic community assimilated the earlier Gregos and Romaniotes within 200 years of their arrival (see EPSTEIN in this volume); the Crimean Karaites were also to be assimilated in language. The capacity of the majority to assimilate those who, if Turkish is not their mother tongue, are bilingual, such as the Laz, Georgians or Circassians, is proportionately greater, but the speed of assimilation is markedly faster in the urban setting than in country villages, as though the synergy of ethnic definition were dissipated to a large extent in so confused a setting. In this respect the internal migration to the cities now so characteristic of rural Anatolia

<sup>54</sup> TREVOR-ROPER, *op. cit.*: 24–5, 29ff. The Disarming Act forbade the use of the bagpipe.

<sup>55</sup> Only 1.64% of the Scots speak Gaelic, and 19.04% of the Welsh speak Welsh, according to the 1981 census.

<sup>56</sup> It is already extinct in the Caucasus. For the situation in Turkey see DUMEZIL 1959 and 1960 (material collected 1955–9); it is now spoken fluently by only one man, 82 year old Tevfik Esenç, of Tepelik Hacı Osman Köyü, Bandırma.

is, for practical purposes, a voluntary if unconscious form of assimilation for one's children and one's children's children (see map by GREIF<sup>57</sup>). This process, however, is relative to the importance attached to identity. Even in West Germany I have met "guest workers" of long standing – fourteen years or more – who take care to teach their children not only Turkish but Circassian or Arabic, as the case may be; some deliberately return to their home towns and villages as their children approach adulthood, to avoid their assimilation. The frequent retention of a rural base by urban migrants, and their periodic visits to it, may thus be seen as a guarantee against complete assimilation, rather than a simple reliance on land for security.

The principal agents for assimilation, apart from this economic one, are education and military service, as the Government has long recognised. The *Türk Ocakları* had functioned principally as a means of imparting the sense of nationality to the people.<sup>58</sup> The heightened awareness of the role of such preparation in effective citizenship is evident in the immediate training given to the Turkic *Mülteci* from Afghanistan in 1982. Not only does a centrally imposed curriculum (and a standard but remarkably outdated uniform) provide an unvarying basis for education in Turkish throughout the country, and a means of instilling nationalism, but it may, with the almost unconscious participation of some teachers, subvert some aspects of identity. MAGNARELLA gives the example of a Georgian schoolmaster in Susurluk convinced that Georgians are really Caspian Turks speaking a Turkish dialect which they should now replace with standard Turkish.<sup>59</sup> One might be justified in questioning whether such education were really a service! The effectiveness of this nationalised schooling depends of course upon the frequency of schools, sadly deficient in the east of the country, and the standard reached; when only elementary schools are available in villages, the availability of roads and transport to the schools in town decides its impact. The importance of military service for those in outlying regions is described by YALÇIN (in this volume) as the only type of contact with the wider national community that is available to most of the male peasantry. She indicates, however, that their understanding of life in Western Turkey, as seen from the barracks, is inadequate, resulting once more in little more than a set of stereotypes for other ethnic groups. It is, however, noteworthy that even in this setting of impersonal discipline and exposure to propaganda, they become aware of the ethnic

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<sup>57</sup> GREIF, F., TAVO map A VIII 5.1: Turkey, Internal Migration.

<sup>58</sup> TACHAU 1962-3: 170-5.

<sup>59</sup> MAGNARELLA 1979: 117.

plurality of Turkey. The foreigner is not the only one to whom this appears as one of the country's most striking characteristics.

A counterpart for the economic factor in assimilation is the need for opportunity. If this is absent, full integration may be delayed in a rural setting, or migrant groups may find themselves stranded, impoverished and embittered, in one of the big cities, as the Süryani were in Istanbul.<sup>60</sup> The outcome may be further migration to a wider field of employment abroad. This can, however, distort the sense of group identity and even nationality in an unexpected way. A recent study of the effects of emigration from the town of Kulu (in Konya province) to Sweden, points this up very clearly. ALPAY and SARIASLAN observe not only that migrants are very uncertain as to whether they are going to return or not, but that young people in Kulu, especially those from high school, were dominated by the desire to migrate to Sweden, feeling that the future in Turkey held no promise for them.<sup>61</sup> When, among the town's most gifted children, the image of future well-being is so firmly anchored outside the country, one may ask just how long the group can continue to regard itself as Turkish. The syndrome of "belonging nowhere" is all too common among migrant workers, and especially their children; religion alone is an effective emic barrier to their integration in the host country, and leads inevitably to a sense that the spiritual centre lies at home, regardless of affluence.

The territorial base in this sense provides the ultimate justification for ethnicity, as the place to which one belongs with one's own kind. It can, nevertheless, be very tenuous, and can be displaced. The Circassians have preserved their identity, with little more than a memory of expulsion from their homeland, for 120 years, and despite their dispersal in Anatolia. For the great majority, those settlements are now their permanent home, and Circassia is no more than an improbable dream. The Turks themselves consider themselves no less Turkish for having migrated from Central Asia to another land, and largely assimilated its former inhabitants. On the contrary they identify much more strongly with their present country than with any historical homeland. It is this capacity for identification which is recognised in the popular, etc, view of ethnicity as inherently associated with territory. That is an important part of the truth, but not the only one.

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<sup>60</sup> STOL, A. 1979: 105 claims that of 17,000 Syrian Orthodox Christians who migrated to Istanbul, 13% were adequately provided for, 16% could just meet their needs, and 70% lived in dire need.

<sup>61</sup> ALPAY, Ş. and SARIASLAN, H., *Effects of Emigration* (Stockholm 1984), Swedish Commission for Immigrant Research, EIFO: 23, 37.



#### 4. Unity

It is in the nature of this project that ethnic distinctions should be identified and discussed for the whole of the Middle East. In the hypersensitive context of the national ethos in Turkey, this may be misunderstood as divisive. It should, therefore, be stated clearly that the editor, and to his knowledge all who have contributed to the work, recognise the territorial integrity of the Turkish State, and have no political interest whatsoever in separatist movements of any kind. To a large extent the population of Turkey does form an effective whole today, and it is to be hoped that, in suggesting a basis for the better understanding of its constituent ethnic groups, this study may contribute to its common good.

The main effort of ethnic speculation inside Turkey has been directed towards the definition of an effective Turkish ethnos for political unity. As such it can be seen as a process of renovation, as sanctioned by official doctrine (cf. SMITH 1984): the term "Türk", formerly used pejoratively, is now promoted through a process of historicism, applied linguistics, myth, and occasional falsification. The effect has been to gloss over, or distort other historical realities in order to arrive at a simple view. This mobilisation of opinion has been partly successful, but it is precarious, and provokes doubts in many who have grown up among ethnic minorities, and know they exist.

The past populations of Turkey did not, of course, disappear. Some were absorbed, while some persisted and adapted themselves. Multiple ethnicity is thus inherent in the country. This is not a regrettably negative state of affairs, but a reality. The Ottomans, on a larger scale, were ready enough to accept it, and curiously enough the Turks themselves have been quick to recognise a parallel situation in a neighbour, Bulgaria, as soon as a policy of assimilation was put into effect to reduce the identity of its Turkish minority in 1985. The Ottomans could to a large extent achieve unity, despite diversity, through their religious commitment to *vahdet*. A popular longing for this still exists, as shown by the recent rise to importance of Muslim fundamentalists in reaction to excessive cultural change in Egypt, Iran, and now Turkey. They are, in fact, concerned with the re-establishment of markers which exclude those sections of the population perceived as having lost their place in a real Muslim society through excessive Westernisation. There seems, indeed, to be an increasing schism between those who perceive their identity through the full gamut of ethnic markers, and those who, like the fashionable young people in the smart quarters of Istanbul, have become so much part of a Westernised Mediterranean culture that their local identity has been reduced to little more than

nationality and language. There is little sympathy, and little understanding between the two extremes. Since it may well be from among these same young people that the decision-makers of the future may be drawn, it is alarming that for many of them the very existence of a rural, traditional, peasantry is something best ignored, and any sense of ethnicity other than their own, compromised one is regarded as an embarrassing survival.

As a counterpart to the promotion of the Turkish ethnos, the interest in ethnic minorities has on the whole been ignored or discouraged. The officially-defined religious minorities have to some extent been left to their own devices. Of those who are not so defined, some, such as the Circassians, have at times been allowed to express themselves and assert their identity. Others, like the Alevi, have preferred to remain out of view; others still, like the Kurds and Yezidis, have been prevented from drawing attention to themselves. The question must remain as to how the existence of these groups can be equitably recognised within a national commonwealth. This can come about once it is officially recognised that ethnic plurality, as we so clearly see in the case of the United States, can be a source of cultural enrichment for a nation.

## 5. The Map

The accurate mapping of ethnic groups presents particular problems in Turkey. The present state of knowledge, when compared to that for, say, Iran and Afghanistan, is remarkably poor. The existence of most of the groups is well enough known, but in contrast to Iran and Afghanistan, where between about 1965 to 1980 large numbers of anthropologists, linguists, and geographers were at work, both Western and indigenous, very little research of an ethnic kind has ever been allowed in Turkey. Such work as has appeared in the Western press has been largely restricted to local studies, often inclining to sociology rather than ethnology, and has been generally based on fieldwork done in the 1960s or earlier: one may cite that of BENEDICT, CUISENIER, EBERHARD, EGGELING, JAHN, MAGNARELLA, MEEKER and VAN DE WAAL, to mix the disciplines. In a few cases it has extended to wider regions, as that of ASWAD, DE PLANHOL, and SOYSAL. Studies of specific ethnic groups, or of regions inhabited by specific groups, are however all too few: BATES and JOHANSEN on the Yörük, BUMKE on the Kurdish Alevi, GOKALP, KEHL, and ROUX on the Turkish Alevi, KLÄY on the Tatars, or HÜTTEROTH and VAN BRUINSEN on the Kurds. Nor have Turkish researchers fared much better, as published in Turkey. There are again local studies, such as those by AKKAYAN, ERDENTUĞ, and SORAN; and

regional ones by, for example TUNÇDİLEK and ÜLKEN. Again there are few works on specific groups: apart from the now classic studies of GÜNGÖR and YALGIN, we have NACI KUM (ATABEYLİ) on the Türkmen, Yörük, and Tahtacı, BAYATLI and ERÖZ on the Alevi, ÖZBAYRI on the Yörük and Tahtacı, ÖZBAŞ, ŞAHİN, TANYOL and others on the Barak Türkmen, TÜRKDOĞAN on the Molokan, and YETİŞEN in an unparalleled series of articles on the Tahtacı. None of these, it will be noted, deals with non-Turkic groups except that of TÜRKDOĞAN; most of these studies can be seen, by an outside observer, to be concerned with providing documentation for the new republican ethos based on Turkishness, for this was a neglected commodity under the Ottoman administration: the very word Türk was used pejoratively for a country bumpkin, or a boor. ERÖZ, it is true, has written on the Kurds (1982), but to prove that Kurds and Turks are one and the same. SEVGİN has written short but useful articles on the Zaza, Yezidi, and "Hakkari", but the only Turkish anthropologist to have published a full study of Kurdish groups, BEŞİKÇİ, was imprisoned for his pains.

A start had been made at the Universities of Ankara and Istanbul, in the departments of anthropology and ethnology, on the documentation of villages throughout Turkey as an exercise for students. Naturally this led in some cases to interesting studies of minority villages, and in a few exceptional instances to studies of entire tribes.<sup>62</sup> However, by a tacit agreement, a stop was put to studies of an ethnic nature from about 1970, and most serious work in these departments is now directed towards internal migration and urban squatters. A similar fate was to befall the nationwide survey of villages conducted by the Ministry of Works and Settlement, and after 1963 by the Ministry for Village Affairs, Ankara,<sup>63</sup> under the title of the Village Inventory, *Köy Envanteri*. Although data had been collected, when available, on the distribution of languages among the villages of each province, as well as the distribution of religion, they were published for only one province, Bingöl. After this volume had appeared, instructions were apparently given to suppress the data on language in future volumes of the series, and after this even the data on religion were frequently

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<sup>62</sup> The most remarkable of these are: (all mez.tez.) AKTEMEL, S. 1969 (Ankara) on an Alevi village in Yozgat; KARTAL, B. 1971 (Istanbul) on the Birukan Kurds; MÜKÜS, B. 1970 (Istanbul) on the Ertuş Kurds; NESİL, F. 1972 (Istanbul) on the Hatay 'Alawi; ÖZTÜRK, S. 1972 (Istanbul) on the Alevi of Tunceli; TEKİN, M. E. 1970 (Istanbul) on the Beritan Kurds. There are reputed to be other such studies in the private archives of a professor at Ankara, but I had no access to these.

<sup>63</sup> The İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı, Toprak ve İskân Genel Müdürlüğü, and the Köy İşleri Bakanlığı.

not published in full, that is with details of sect. The material remains unpublished to this day.<sup>64</sup> It happened, however, that in the early 1960s Prof. NESTMANN, who was then living in Ankara, had access to the files for her studies at the time, and was able to copy out some of the more important information relating to language and religion: she worked under difficult conditions, and her lists are sometimes unclear, but they represent an important corpus of data which we have done our best to present in its correct form.<sup>65</sup> They represent the only systematic record of religious and linguistic differentiation available, and cover much of Eastern Anatolia.

Although some of the local and regional studies already mentioned contain maps showing the ethnic distribution in particular areas, these are relatively small when compared to the area of Turkey as a whole. Furthermore, the information given is generally in terms of individual villages. No maps of a more general nature were available, however, with the one exception of SARAÇOĞLU's useful map of Yörük migration routes in the Toros (1968). When there are 40,000 registered villages in Turkey, and perhaps twice that number if hamlets are included, the mapping of ethnic groups by villages is plainly far from the ideal method; even if one were able to organise a comprehensive survey from one end of Anatolia to the other, it is likely that by the time one had finished the first data would be out of date. Since, however, the published information is of this kind, one is constrained to use it. So far as Western Anatolia is concerned, it is in fact hard to see how any other method could be used, for there are a very large number of villages with minority populations scattered throughout the area, and these are so intermixed that one cannot, in general, denote districts as inhabited by any one group. When this is the case, it can be understood that the usual indigenous perception of population differences is in terms of villages, and it has been found that informants who provide oral evidence on the whereabouts of groups they know invariably give it in this form. Most of the earlier maps which convey ethnic information acknowledge this state of affairs. The dearth of published information led me to rely considerably upon such oral evidence, most of it collected among the large community of Turkish citizens living in Cologne. I was helped a great deal by the generous readiness of other researchers to share their findings, which were often the product of several years' steady work. Among these contributions were surveys of particular groups conducted by ANSCHÜTZ for the Syrian Orthodox Arameans, DANIELSEN for the

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<sup>64</sup> An exception is the material on Erzincan province published in Germany by BOYNUKALIN, I. 1975, tab. 26-7: 111-2, apparently drawn from this source.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. NESTMANN's contribution to KÜNDIG-STEINER, W. 1974, especially the map on p. 94.

Greek-speaking Cretan Muslims, ÖZBEK for the Circassians (based on AYDEMİR's earlier survey), and TIETZE for the Abdal. In addition BENNINGHAUS, POWELL, and SVANBERG all furnished a wealth of details on many different groups. ÖZBEK's list, in its extent, was outstanding, and with additions it now stands at some 891 villages. Thus force of circumstances led inevitably to the mapping of Western Anatolia at the village level. The decision to proceed in this way was taken in the knowledge that such data could not, within the time available, be complete; it is hoped that, nevertheless, it is at least representative and balanced. Some 4,000 villages have in fact been mapped.

The case for Eastern Anatolia was somewhat different, for here some degree of regional mapping was possible from KÖY ENVANTERİ data, and the nature of the population distribution was different: instead of scattered, intermixed villages, the minority groups tend to occupy concentrated blocks of territory. To supplement this regional mapping, and to fill in the lacunae in the Village Survey, other, more local information was added. Thus ASWAD's map of Hatay province was combined with NESİL's map of the 'Alawi in the same area, ANSCHÜTZ's map of language groups in Tur 'Abdin has been combined with data from HARMAN, JASTROW (1978), RITTER and SASSE, and TANYOL's map of Nizip has been compared with other sources on the Barak Türkmen. The maps from BEŞİKÇİ, DERSİMİ, ERDOST, HÜTTEROTH (1959) and YALÇIN have been used to check the distribution of Kurds and Zazas in various areas, as were some helpful sketches of the general distribution provided by VAN BRUINESSEN. Other sources provided information on the distribution of specific groups, such as RITTER for the Yezidi, JASTROW for the Arabs of Kozluk and Sason, and MORVARIDI for the Azeri. These additions were the more important since the data in the Village Survey, as shown in NESTMANN's lists, are not specific to individual villages, but give only the number of villages of a particular religion or language in a given area; at best these areas are the local districts (*bucak/nahiye*), but often only the sub-provinces (*ilçe/kaza*). Of these, some villages may be of more than one religion or language group. The boundaries for these groups are therefore somewhat loosely defined, especially where the density of differing groups is rather high, as in Mardin province. Further information was added for those provinces not covered by the available Survey data, notably for the northeastern seaboard, where private material on the position of the Greek-speaking Muslims, the Hemşinli, the Laz and the Georgians was kindly provided by BENNINGHAUS and others, again at the village level. Since the Survey does not list distinctions in Turkic languages, the position of the Azeri and Kapapağ had to be established from elsewhere.

Wherever possible the information from private sources has been checked against that from other informants, and every effort has been made to exclude politically biased claims. In the only case where tendentious material has been accepted, that of DERSİMİ, it has been used only to the extent that it conforms to what is known from other sources. The village lists provided in this volume give a key to the sources for this aspect of the maps. It should be said that most Turks are remarkably ready to provide information of this kind; so many have done so, in fact, that it is not practical to list them by name.

No comparable map could be used as a basis for the present attempt. The only detailed one generally available, that by BRUK and APENCHENKO, has appeared in two versions, an earlier one in *Narodni Peredney Azii* (1957) and a fuller one in *Atlas Narodov Mira* (1964). Unfortunately no details of the provenance of the material are given here, so they could not be used as source material, except as a general guide in checking the progress made on the new map. In general the new findings agree quite closely with the Russian ones, though I believe that an advance has been made with the smaller groupings and especially with the material at village level, which can be represented only on the larger scale of the TAVO map. The TAVO map of language distribution in Turkey is now in draught,<sup>66</sup> but became available too late to affect the ethnic map: there is in general an acceptable level of agreement. The maps of LEJEAN (1861), VON DIEST and ANTON (1895 and 1898), VON GROTHE (1906-07) and especially PHILIPPSON (1919) carry ethnographic notation, but antedate the population exchanges that followed World War I, and are thus of historical interest only. The Berlin map based on Turkish provincial statistics for 1935 is more comprehensive,<sup>67</sup> but is still too early to be used for anything but comparison.

The general policy for the series of ethnological maps is that they should make use only of material published after 1950, and this has been followed in the present case. The period represented has, however, been further restricted by a combination of circumstances to an effective range of 1960 to 1970. The reasons for this are as follows. Firstly the series of population movements which characterise Turkey as a country of refuge had largely come to an end by this time, with the influx of *Bulgaristan*

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<sup>66</sup> TAVO map series A VIII 10, Vorderer Orient, Languages and Dialect Groups, by BEHNSTEDT, P.

<sup>67</sup> Ethnographische Karte der Türkei (1:2500 000), Vilayet Darstellung der amtlichen Türkischen Statistik 1935. Presse E. Zanger, Berlin n.d. A small amount of information relating to the area on the Iranian frontier is also carried in the Prussian reworking of Russian material on Azerbaijan published in 1918 (Kartog. Abt. Kgl. Preuß. Landesaufnahme).

*Göçmenleri* in 1950–54, and the Altay Kazak in 1952–69. Since the refugees from Afghanistan who arrived in 1982 were taken to transit camps before their permanent settlement, it was not possible to include them. Then, as already mentioned, almost no work on ethnic groupings has been allowed in Turkey since 1970. The last figures on the distribution of language to be published in the national census (GENEL NÜFÜS SAYIMI) are those from 1965: in subsequent editions they have not appeared. The Village Survey was carried out between 1960 and 1968. Thus few valid data are available from after 1970. Furthermore a limitation of the range at this date has the advantage that it eliminates the effects of the massive internal population movements of the last fifteen years, which has changed the whole composition of the population near urban centres, and depopulated many villages (see TAVO A VIII 5.1, GREIF).

The data from the Village Survey were transferred onto a map showing the administrative divisions of the same period kindly provided by Prof. PLANCK; these boundaries have subsequently been changed. The villages named by informants were first identified by district in the Census listings, and then established by their geographical coordinates in the index of the YENİ TÜRKİYE ATLASI (1977), which shows perhaps one village in three, and thus represents a considerable improvement upon the official maps hitherto available. When villages did not appear in this index, they were searched for in the larger scale, but older maps of the CODEX KULTÜR ATLAS (1965), and their coordinates were read off. All but a few villages were found by these means. After the submission of the draught to the cartographers, some provincial maps became available which were useful in completing the lists.<sup>68</sup>

So, by one means or another, forty-seven different ethnic groups have been mapped, as against the eighteen registered on the earlier Russian maps. This, it must be admitted, falls short of the seventy-two-and-a-half popularly supposed to exist! The “half” here, incidentally, is taken to represent the Gypsies: these have in fact been very difficult to trace and record because of their very nature as small itinerant groups disregarded by the general population. Two other groups, related to one another, have been shown only tentatively on the map: the Abdal, and those Alevi not specified as Türkmen. Both have proven elusive through their own habitual (and self-protective) reticence. After the submission of the draught, I heard of Prof. TIETZE’S survey of Abdal villages which, though he pro-

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<sup>68</sup> Tokat İl Haritası and Yozgat İl Haritası (post 1983?) apparently derived from the maps in the İl Yıllıkları (1973); and the Yol Su Elektrik Müdürlüğü map of Bursa İli (1980). Also the series of maps issued by Yurt Ansiklopedisi (1982–4).

tested it was far from complete, he was kind enough to place at our disposal for this volume. The unspecified Alevi must, however, remain a case for future documentation, and an important one, for their numbers are variously estimated at between 30 and 40 percent of the total population of Turkey. There are undoubtedly concentrations in Central Anatolia of which we know nothing.

No attempt has been made to represent individual tribes, of whatever ethnic composition. Where, however, information on these has been readily available, as in the case of some of the Avşar Türkmen, this has been registered in the lists. The maps of KARABUDA, which are at a tribal rather than an ethnic level, have for this reason not been used, interesting though they are.

It will readily be appreciated that, given the flexibility of ethnicity as a concept, a great deal of detailed information is ideally required for the adequate definition of an ethnic group. The amount of serious ethnological work accomplished in Turkey is proportionately so small that this ideal can very rarely be met. The alternative sources consulted have varied from the work of linguists to essays on folklore. A sincere effort has been made to use every source which has genuine relevance. Only historical sources, such as SÜMER's monumental study of the Oğuz, have been set aside, as ethnicity, of its nature, is concerned with the *present* image of a group. The emergent image is thus primarily an etic one, that is of groups as defined from the outside. It is relatively rare that a coherent emic view is presented by a member of a group in print, since group identity is so often taken for granted, even where, as with the Caucasians, the groups themselves have published material: one can at best infer it from the sum of what is written. Nor have many ethnologists been given the opportunity to determine the emic view for themselves. The map can only be presented in full acceptance of these limitations, as the current state of knowledge. Even from an etic point of view the definition may be far from clear. In Mardin province, for example, it is reported that there are Kurdish villages where Arabic is normally spoken, and at least one Arab village which speaks Kurdish; there are also groups of both types which are bilingual in Kurdish and Arabic.<sup>69</sup> Under these conditions only careful inquiry could establish what identity means to such groups, and this cannot, at present, be done *in situ*: the activities of the linguists themselves have been

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<sup>69</sup> In Gercüş, Hasankeyf Bucağı there are Muslim Kurds who speak Arabic; in Midyat, Merkez Bucağı, Mercimekli Köyü (Hapinas) are Muslim Kurds who speak Arabic; in Midyat, Merkez Bucağı, Eğlence Köyü (Zinol) are Muslim Arabs who speak Kurdish. Also in Midyat, Merkez Bucağı, Pelitli (Barbanus) are Muslim Arabs who speak both Kurdish and Arabic (inf. B).



restricted.<sup>70</sup> This is, to be sure, an extreme example, but an enormous amount of work remains to be done on the group identities of the communities in Turkey. It is to be hoped that the Turkish authorities will come to understand, like those of us who view the country from the outside, that this ethnic diversity is an asset, a matter to be enjoyed and celebrated. For the present we can at least learn from the very considerable number of Turks working in the West: the information cannot any longer be concealed.

## 6. The Handbook

The material for this book is arranged under five categories. Firstly, in conformity with the pattern already established in the handbook on ethnic groups in Afghanistan (ORYWAL, 1986), it contains a concise catalogue of all the groups represented on the map, plus some others. Secondly it includes the survey material already referred to, by ANSCHÜTZ, AYDEMİR, and NESTMANN (from the Köy Envanteri), with some other tables, and an administrative map of ca. 1962 as a key. Thirdly there is a group of essays by individual contributors. Fourthly, a series of lists of villages for each ethnic group represents the detailed raw material from which the map was compiled. Finally there is a bibliography of relevant sources.

The village lists are introduced separately. They have been included because the large number of individual villages cannot be named on a map of this scale. Since the names and the coordinates had been established in the course of work on the map, it was thought it might be useful to publish them in this way for future researchers, even though they are certainly incomplete. This also has the advantage of giving some indication of the sources from which the map has been drawn.

Given the inadequate state of ethnological research in Turkey, it has not been possible to provide a comprehensive series of definitions for these groups as perceived emically, that is by themselves. In many cases only etic, external descriptions are available. The material in the catalogue and the essays thus represents a compromise between the ideal presentation of the emic view, and the reality of the information at hand. There is at present a hiatus between the former, partial state of research before 1970, largely before the present understanding of ethnicity had been elaborated,

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<sup>70</sup> Sasse's research on the Mhallamiye and Thordarson's on the Ossetes were stopped peremptorily, and Brendemoen had even to defend a court action as a result of his researches. MacKenzie has never been allowed to work in Turkey.

and the onset of a dissolution of ethnicity with the growth of national consciousness, economic pressure towards assimilation, and urban migration. It appears that future clarification of traditional ethnicity is likely to be more effective the further its subject lies from urban centres.

Authors for the essays were chosen, so far as possible, to represent a variety of ethnic groups with differing criteria for self-definition, and at different scales. The numerical importance of the Kurds justifies the inclusion of two essays, one of a general nature, and one on a restricted area. Otherwise overlaps have been avoided. Unfortunately an intended article on the Yörük has failed to appear. The practical limitation on the number of contributions precludes all forty-two of the groups being represented. The importance, however, of including an introduction to the Christian and Jewish minorities, even though no ethnological work on them has been found, is recognised in the contributions by non-ethnological specialists. Furthermore the importance of providing an expert definition of the Kurdish language in this context led to the inclusion of a linguist's view of the matter. The editor is deeply grateful to all those who, through their contributions, have made this coverage possible. In his own contributions he has presumed to draw upon published material by others in order to emphasise certain aspects of ethnic interaction in a suitably concise form.

None of the authors concerned is, of course, responsible for the views of another in this book, nor for those of the editor. The editor, for his part, has attempted to present a balanced assessment of the ethnic reality in Turkey today, but beyond this has allowed the contributors to express their views in their own way.

Historical material has only been included when it helps to explain the presence or the emergence of an ethnic group at the present time. The salient criteria for ethnicity are those perceived now, even if they may draw upon certain aspects of the past. Arguments concerning the historical identity of a group, and its affinities by race or language, as drawn from external, written sources, are irrelevant unless they are comprised in the group's own sense of identity today. In this sense the whole debate about Kurdish origins now being carried out in the Turkish press can be discarded, since it is not recognised by the bulk of the group concerned.

Enumeration of the ethnic groups has been particularly problematic, and a variety of sources is often cited here to show the disparities in figures available. A number of writers have commented upon the evident unreliability of official census data on the minorities. In recent years these could only be inferred from the figures on mother tongues, and these have not been published since 1965. MAGNARELLA (1979: 115), commenting on this situation, cites the President of the Turkish State Institute of Statistics

as admitting that tests showed census forms to have been answered incorrectly. It seems that where language is concerned the tendency to omit information on non-Turkish speech is particularly strong (see NESTMANN and ÖZBEK in this volume). The published census (*Genel Nüfus Sayımı*) figures thus show marked undercounts of the minority populations. This practice differs from the Ottoman one, in which, as demonstrated by MCCARTHY, there was a tendency to overestimate the minority figures at the expense of the Muslim majority. Furthermore the figures on mother-tongue only showed speakers of non-Turkic languages; no figures at all are given, therefore, for the Turkic minorities. The only numbers generally available for these groups are the counts of immigrant groups on arrival in Turkey. In the catalogue, official figures are given first, followed by other estimates in chronological order.

Since the 1980 census was not available when the work was begun, the listings presented here are based on the 1975 version, with its allocation of villages to districts, sub-provinces, and provinces. In some instances the boundaries have subsequently changed: the difficulties arising from this are discussed in the introduction to the lists themselves.

The most significant omission from these lists is the Yörük. Although data for their distribution have been collected, both in terms of district and by tribe, their analysis requires more time than is at present available. This is complicated by the process of sedentarisation, and the tendency of a group which is already Turkish-speaking and predominantly Sunni to be assimilated once its occupational markers have been removed. It is to be hoped that this material may be published subsequently. A simplified version of SARAÇOĞLU's map is included, to indicate the characteristic pattern of distribution between summer and winter quarters (Map 1).

The importance of tribal organisation among the Kurds (see VAN BRUNESSEN and YALÇIN in this volume) should also justify the inclusion of tribal listings, but the fact remains that no comprehensive listing has been attempted since SYKES (1908) and this is clearly too early to be included here without extensive revision. Although some local studies, such as those of BEŞİKÇİ, HÜTTEROTH, or DERSİMİ, have included more recent listings, and some usable material has also appeared in books primarily concerned with the Kurdish controversy, such as ERÖZ (1982), these sources are as yet insufficient to allow a revision on the scale required.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Purported extracts from secret Government lists of Kurdish tribes have recently been published in *İkibin'e Doğru*, 13-19 December 1987, yıl 1, sayı 51, pp.8-19, and are now the subject of a court action in Turkey.

It may be thought that some of the distinctions made between groups are tenuous, if not arbitrary. They do, however, follow the material available. In one case, the division of Alevi into Alevi Türkmen and Tahtacı is tentative, since the designation as Tahtacı is essentially occupational, but it appears so regularly in the literature that it can scarcely be avoided without justification based on extensive research which is not, at present, available. Similarly the precise nature of the relationship between the Abdal and other Alevi remains to be investigated; on the basis of present evidence, they are placed in a separate category. Even the distinction between Alevi Turks and Alevi Türkmen is uncertain, since in Eastern Turkey the word Türkmen tends to mean Alevi, though in Western and Central Anatolia it does not necessarily have this connotation. When the percentage of Alevi among the population is estimated as high as 30–40%, their comprehensive documentation represents too lengthy a task to succeed. A general list, besides lists of those designated as Türkmen or Tahtacı, Nalcı, Sıraç etc. has been compiled here, but the attempt is, no doubt, woefully incomplete.

Even among Sunnis, the designation Türkmen is understood emically as distinct from the majority population of settled, Sunni Turks. Thus the Türkmen in the north of Kayseri province regard the population of Kayseri city with some distaste, as they do the neighbouring *yerli* (indigenous) villages. Although the Avşar regard themselves as Türkmen, quite justifiably, these Türkmen again note that some of their customs are different, and do not readily mix with them. The visible ethnic markers upon which this distinction might rest, such as marriage customs, costume, and the characteristic felt tent, have by now worn remarkably thin, but the difference is still maintained largely, it seems, as an historical inheritance, though the Türkmen have now had a permanent winter settlement in the Akkışla region for some 230 years.

Yet in this same community, besides the political factionalism which is typical of so many Turkish villages, a new distinction is prominent: that between the “guest workers” from Germany, and those who stayed behind. With their fine houses and their Mercedes, the guest-workers certainly form a new class – they are even charged different prices in the shops. Their designation as *Almancı* means more than mere money, however: their culture has been transformed into a materialism and a contempt for the traditional Türkmen values which is regarded by the others as having a disastrous effect on their life as a whole. How this conflict, being enacted with variations in countless corners of Turkish society, will be resolved will determine the future of ethnicity itself. Of one thing we may be sure: the concepts will not remain static.

## B. Catalogue of Ethnic Groups

### Explanation and key to abbreviations

The catalogue follows the same numeration as the groups entered on the TAVO map, for easy cross-reference, though in several cases a sub-numeration has been introduced to allow the inclusion of categories which it was not possible to map as separate entities.

The headings in the catalogue always follow the same order. Designations are given in English, German, and Turkish at the head of each entry, because in a few cases they are sufficiently different to be a possible source of confusion.

The numbers given for each group always begin with any figures available from the official census. In practice this means the figures for mother tongue listed in the census for 1965, since this was the last year in which language distinctions were entered. For reasons explained in the introduction, these official figures are frequently undercounts. It is plain from the tables that in many cases members of ethnic groups have preferred to give their mother tongue as Turkish, while reserving their own as "second language". The figures for second language have therefore been cited where appropriate, and added to give a total. The official figures are then followed by any others available, in chronological order. It should also be noted that some additional confusion is created by incorrect classification: thus the census lists Kirmanca and Kurdish in adjacent columns, when for Turkey these should be one and the same language. Similarly Serbian and Croatian are listed separately. The *Köy Envanter Etüdleri*, sometimes cited as a second official source, also confuses religious distinctions, by classifying Alevi as Caferis (i. e. Shii Muslims) on occasion. As far as these oversights can be corrected with confidence, this has been done.

Cross-references within the catalogue are given in terms of the entry number. The same numeration is also used for the lists of villages with a distinct ethnic population, as given later in the book. References to source material for further consultation are given in an abbreviated form, the bibliography providing the full reference. The abbreviation *mez. tez.* refers to the bibliography of unpublished sources. Where reference is made to

contributions to this book by other authors, these are cited simply as "in this volume".

The following abbreviations are used in this section:

A-K. J.	Alt-katholisches Jahrbuch.
CENSUS or G.N.S.	Genel Nüfus Sayımı.
Ds A	Arbetsmarknads-Departementet: Utvandringen.
EI 1	Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1 <sup>st</sup> edition ( <i>Ger.</i> : German).
EI 2	Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition.
IA	Islam Ansiklopedisi.
K. E. E.	Köy Envanter Etüdleri, published series.
K. E. E. N.	Köy Envanter Etüdleri, as recorded by L. Nestmann from the Ministry files (see survey 1).
mez. tez.	Mezuniyet tezi or other academic study: see bibliography, unpublished sources.
ts.	typescript: ditto.
T. T. B.	Türkiye'de Turizm Beldeler: Siirt. Yıl 5, sayı 57, 5 Kasım 1985.
W. D. R.	Westdeutscher Rundfunk, television documentary.

## 1. Turks: Sunni

### Designation:

Turks; *Ger.* Türken.

### Self-designation:

Türk(ler).

### Secondary self-designations:

Yerli, Manav, Pallık (in parts of Artvin province), Dadaş (in Erzurum), Efe (in the Aegean), etc.

### Numbers:

CENSUS 1965: 28,289,680 persons speaking Turkish as mother tongue, but this includes persons speaking Turkic languages other than Turkish (no distinction being made), and those ethnic groups not listed by mother-tongue in the Census. It also allows no distinction for religious difference,

and thus, for example, includes the Alevi Turks (see 2 below) in very large numbers.

Later census results give no classification by mother-tongue.

**Distribution:**

throughout Turkey, but in varying concentrations. In the provinces furthest east, such as Hakkari and Van, the available figures show the Turkish population as almost entirely located in the towns and cities (provincial centres). The same is true of provinces further west with a strong non-Turkish component, such as Tunceli or Adiyaman. Western and Central Turkey are largely Turkish-populated except for enclaves such as Haymana or Hatay, and individual villages with a non-Turkish or mixed population. (See NESTMANN'S contribution in this volume for a discussion of the eastern provinces, and the Village Survey). Assimilation in the western and central areas is being accelerated by internal migration.

**Language:**

Turkish (*Türkçe*) in some seven principal dialects (CAFEROĞLU 1959: 239), besides the standard educated Turkish of Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir. Turkish is a language of the southwestern, or Oğuz group (with Türkmen, Azeri, Gaşgayı etc.) in the Turkic branch of the Altaic family.

**Religion:**

Sunni Islam: Hanefi. Some affiliation to dervish orders (Rufa'i, Mevlevi, Kadiri, Halveti, Bektaşî, Nakşbendi, etc.) still persists, with a tendency to endogamy within these groups, though this affects only a minority.

**Group identity:**

based on the combination of language and religion, the theoretical ethos of the Turkish Republik as established by Mustafa Kemal, and the reality of a cultural inheritance from the Ottoman state. Since the foundation of the Republic, a new sense of identity based on Turkish language and history (rather than on unity through religion and loyalty to the Ottoman sultans as caliphs) has been deliberately moulded by the state, through an ideology fostered by Kemal, and propagated through education with the object of unifying the population. In practice this gives rise to some contradictions: although much historical emphasis is placed on the origin of the nation from among nomadic Türkmen invaders in the early Selcük period, few urban or even village Turks care to associate themselves with the remaining nomads, whether Türkmen or Yörük. Nor is any allowance made for the assimilation of the earlier population (the

Turkish History Thesis claiming that the Hittites, among others, were early Turks has largely been discarded). The ideology is at present encapsulated in the widely promulgated quotation from Mustafa Kemal: "*Ne mutlu Türküm diyene*" "How happy to the able to say - I am a Turk". Most Turks are well aware of the smaller ethnic groups in the population, and can often say very precisely where these are to be found, thus defining themselves in contrast to these groups, even though their existence may be officially denied, or deliberately ignored by the State. Secondary designations tend to be used at a local level, both emically and etically, in contradistinction to such groups, e.g. *Yerli* in contrast to *Türkmen*, or *Manav* in contrast to *Yörük*, both with the connotation of "indigenous"; such terms are current in villages rather than towns, and indicate reference to local historical tradition and a sequence of settlement for self-definition. Differentiation is generally of lesser importance in towns and cities, where such definitions operate at the level of the individual rather than the group, except in those cases where specific quarters (*mahalle*) tend to be dominated by one group.

A popular re-affirmation of the religious basis for identity can be recognised in the growth of such sects as the Nurcu and Süleymancı.

## 2. Turks: Alevi

### Designation:

Alevis, Kizilbash; *Ger.* Alewiten, Kyzylbasch; *Tk.* Alevî(ler), Kızılbaş, Türkmen (E. Anatolia).

### Self-Designation:

Alevî.

### Secondary self-designations:

Nalcı (in Ordu), Sıraç (in Tokat); otherwise traditionally divided into Elçi, Tahtacı, Çepni, Abdal, Kızıldeli, Talibi, Arapkirli etc. (SEVGEN 1951); Amuca (from Bulgaria). See also: 6 a. *Türkmen Alevi*; 6 g. *Tahtacı*; 6 h. *Abdal*, below.

### Numbers:

CENSUS: not listed.

The estimates made are given for Alevis as a whole, presumably including the Alevi Kurds and Zazas, and the 'Alawi Arabs. Thus:



GÖKALP 1980: 14 10,000,000

ROUX 1970: 85 10% of population as a minimum, with claims of 30–40%, i.e. from 4,500,000 to 18,000,000 in 1980.

DsA. 1982 8,000,000 Alevi total (includes Kurds).

K. E. E\*. 1982 Some figures published up to 1966, by provinces, giving number of villages for Bingöl, Hatay, Mardin, Maraş, and Tunceli; of these, however, those in Hatay are mainly 'Alawi, and the rest Kurds or Zazas (*q. vv.*).

### Distribution:

inadequately documented, but widespread throughout Central, Western, and Northern Anatolia, notably in Sivas, Tokat, Yozgat, Nevşehir, Çorum, Amasya, K. Maraş, and Erzincan.

### Language:

Turkish, Anatolian dialects.

### Religion:

Alevi Muslims, (*Alevîlik*).

### Group identity:

by esoteric religion, and resultant endogamy. The Alevi are inadequately documented, probably as a result of their own reticence or dissembling (*takiya*) before strangers, as formulated by Genci Abdal: "*gördüğün ört, görmediğin söyleme*" "veil what you have seen, do not say what you have not seen". The distinction between Alevi Turks and Alevi Türkmen such as the Çepni and Tahtaci is by no means clear. The difference in religious organisation between the members of the Bektâşi order (nominally Sunnis) and the Alevi is also obscure (cf. MELIKOFF 1982), though for practical purposes those in towns may be regarded as Bektâşi, and those in villages as Alevi (FİĞLALİ 1983: 191). The common belief is in sharing a way of truth unavailable to the uninitiated:

*Bu yol hak Muhammad Ali yoludur Kırkların binası ulu yoludur*

This way is the way of truth, of Muhammad and Ali

It is the great way of the house of the 'forty'.

The tradition was, and to some extent still is, maintained by the authority of a network of "guides", *pir*, *dede*, and *baba*, at different levels in the community, and is accessible to men and women equally. The Alevi do

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\* See NESTMANN's survey (1) from the K. E. in this volume.

not intermarry with Sunnis, and their religious ceremonies (*âyın*) are closed to all but the initiated. Nevertheless, Alevilik is not a sect, *mezhep*, in itself, but rather the strongest instance of the Sufi current inherent in Turkish Islam (FIĞLALI 1983: 189 ff.). Furthermore it undoubtedly incorporates various pre-Islamic practices and beliefs within an Islamic framework (ERÖZ 1977: 203). It is incorrect to identify it with Shiism or to call its adherents Caferi, as some Turkish officials have done (cf. K. E. E. Bingöl, 1963) (FIĞLALI 1983: 106 ff.). A long history of pejoration and contempt exhibited by the Sunni majority has, however, led the Alevi to withdraw into a series of closed communities, characterising the Sunnis as *Yezid*, or at worst *Ağzı Kara*, "Black Mouths", in reference to the slander.

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 GÜLSAN, H. 1975 (Bektaşî and Alevi)  
 MELIKOFF, I. 1975 (historical)  
 MELIKOFF, I. 1982 (historical)  
 NOYAN, B. 1984 (ritual)  
 OYTAN, M. T. 1949 (Bektaşî)  
 PLANHOL, X. DE 1958 (Antalya) p. 356 ff.  
 SA'ID, B. 1926-7 (general series)  
 ŞIKTAŞ, F. 1964 (Kars: Kağızman)  
 ÜLKÜTAŞIR, M. Ş. 1976 (ritual)  
 YÖNETKEN, H. B. 1962 (Ordu, Tokat, and Yozgat)  
 ZİYA, Y. 1928-31 (general series)

See BODROĞI in this volume.

### 3. Turks: Sunni: Yörük

#### Designation:

Yörüks, Yürük; *Ger.* Jürüken; *Tk.* Yörük(ler).

#### Self-designation:

Yörük, Aydınlı (east of Adana).

**Numbers:**

CENSUS: not separately listed, since they speak Turkish.

No modern estimates available for all Yörük.

SVANBERG 1985: 16 50,000 “semi-nomads” in W. Anatolia at end of 1950s.

**Distribution:**

primarily along the Toros Mountains from Western Anatolia to Maraş, where their migration routes have traditionally led from winter quarters (*kışlak*) in the coastal plain up to summer quarters (*yayla*) in the mountains (cf. SARAÇOĞLU, 1968, map). At some points the movement up the valleys was carried further, notably in the route from the Gulf of Antalya up to the *yaylas* on Sultan Dağ. In the west the migration pattern is similar as far along the coast as Söke at least, but some groups remain further inland, such as that around Denizli (GUNGÖR 1941: map). In many cases the Yörük use modern transport; those from Akbük, for example, take the train to Afyon to reach a *yayla* in Ak Dağ. Others still migrate with camels, such as those moving between Ortaklar and the Çıvrıl Ovası along the Büyük Menderes. Considerable numbers are now settled throughout this region, and also in the provinces of Manisa, Balıkesir, Kütahya and Eskişehir in particular. The largest group still migrating is the Saçıkıralı, with *kışlaks* spread out along the route from Antakya to Maraş, and *yaylas* in Pınarbaşı, Sarız and Tomarza sub-provinces (139 tents). Considerable numbers of Yörük were moved to European Turkey and the Balkans during the Ottoman expansion (see ÇEVİK, GÖKBİLGİN, GÖKÇEN and MERCAN); most of those remaining in Rumeli are settled. See map 2.

**Language:**

Turkish, various dialects.

**Religion:**

Islam, Sunni, Hanefi (but some Alevi, see 4 below).

**Group identity:**

by tribal organisation, endogamy, and occupation. The definition by tribal organisation is anomalous in that no common genealogy, and no sense of an apical ancestor, exists for the Yörük as a whole. Nevertheless the identification with being Yörük, *yörükçülük*, is strong, and is maintained in both nomadic and village life through patrilineal descent in one of a large number of tribes, *aşiret*. 87 of these were listed by TSAKYROGLOU (1891). Agnatic descent is defined more closely in terms of fixed maximal

lineages, *kabile*, lineages, *sülale*, and family, *aile*; the segments are named. Women do not lose their natal affiliation with marriage. Camping groups, however, are not named. The lack of genealogical structure is also repeated at the tribal level, where the connection between all *kabile* is not demonstrable, and external descent groups can join an *aşiret* without difficulty, acquiring its name and culture, by "following" a *kabile*. Obligations and rights are evident only within true lineages. This organisation is reflected in the lack of paramount chiefs or political structure, though respected men may come to be regarded as lineage leaders, *ağa*. All lineages are effectively equal. Property is held only by the household, as vested in its head, and thus plays no role in identity. Among settled Yörük this pattern may be modified by the presence of named factions of various kinds (BATES 1973: 35 ff.). In most cases the Yörük assume a common Turkic origin in Central Asia, without, however, being able to demonstrate it.

Endogamy is marked at all levels of lineal segmentation. Thus in one study 59% of Yörük were found to marry women from the same *kabile*, 31% from outside it but within the same *aşiret*, 7% from other Yörük *aşiret*, and only 3% from non-Yörük communities. The preference for patrilineal first cousin marriages was realised in 22% of cases, other first cousin marriages in 19%, and other cousins for 21%; the ideal pattern is modified by the frequency of elopement, and occasional extensions of the range within the tribe (BATES 1973: 59 ff.).

The importance of nomadic pastoralism to the group image is disputed. Some maintain that it is essential to group identity, being all that separates this Sunni, Turkish-speaking group from the sedentary Turkish majority, and that, once sedentary, Yörük quickly become assimilated. Others state that tribal or Yörük identity is definitely not dependent upon whether the subjects are nomads or villagers (BATES 1973: 35). There are undoubtedly many cases in West Anatolia where Yörük identity has been preserved after settlement for a century or more, as seen both emically and etically. It appears to be maintained through the importance of kinship in financial transactions and in residence patterns. Tribal territory can, however, be changed as a response to external pressures, as in the case of the Saçıkıralı who moved from Aydın to Finike, Yozgat, and Hatay, apparently within the last hundred years. Economic antagonism with the settled population is also an important factor in maintaining distance from the majority.

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 BATES, D. 1973 (Hatay, Gaziantep, Maraş, Kayseri)  
 BATES, D. 1974 (Gaziantep, settlement)  
 BATES, D. 1980 (ditto)  
 ÇEVİK, H. 1971 (Tekirdağ, settled)  
 DÖNMEZ, Y. 1964 (Karasu, settled)  
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 EREN, N. 1979-80 (migration routes)  
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 GÖNEY, S. 1977-8 (ditto)  
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 GÜRDAL, M. 1976 (Antalya)  
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 YURTSEVER, C. 1981 (Kadirli)

See map 1.

#### 4. Turks: Alevi: Yörük

##### Designation:

Alevi Yörük; *Ger.* Alevitische Jürüken; *Tk.* Alevî Yörük(ler).

##### Self-designation:

unknown.

##### Numbers:

CENSUS 1965 not separately listed.  
No other information available.

##### Distribution:

recorded only in Afyonkarahisar, Emirdağ, and in Bilecik, Bozüyük, in seven localities, but reputed to be scattered elsewhere in the Taurus, besides Yozgat, Merkez.

##### Language:

Turkish, in Anatolian dialects.

##### Religion:

Alevi Muslims (*Alevilik*).

##### Group identity:

no information available, but presumably first by religion, secondarily by tribal structure, and third by occupation. *Cf.* 2. Turk, Alevi; 3. Turk, Sunni, Yörük; and 6. Türkmen, Alevi. KOŞAY (1954: 117), writing from notes made in about 1930, records the villages of Sazdere, Bahadır and Kozluca in Manisa, Alaşehir, and Alemşahlı in Manisa, Sarıgöl as both Alevi and Yörük, in contradistinction to both Tahtacı and Çepni, but without further explanation. There may be some confusion, however, with Alevi Türkmen. The historical or present connection with Yozgat appears to be important.

##### Bibliography:

- AKTEMEL, S. 1967 mez. tez. (village in Yozgat)  
KOŞAY, H.Z. 1954 (Manisa, Akhisar and district)  
ÖZDOĞAN 1967 mez. tez. (village in Afyon, Emirdağ)  
ÖZDOĞAN 1969 mez. tez. (village in Afyon, Emirdağ)

## 5. Türkmen: Sunni

### Designation:

Türkmen, Turcomans; *Ger.* Turkmenen; *Tk.* Türkmen(ler).

### Self-designation:

Türkmen(ler).

### Secondary self-designations:

tribal names, e.g. Avşar, Çepni, Bekdik, Hotamış.

### Numbers:

CENSUS: not separately listed, since they speak Turkish.  
No estimates available.

### Distribution:

Widespread in Western and Central Anatolia. Much of the Turkish population is claimed to be of Türkmen origin (SÜMER, 1967: *passim*), now settled and de-tribalised, but in this case the majority are aware of the connection only through education, and cannot be included here. Of those who still acknowledge being Türkmen, the most notable groups are in Afyon, Emirdağ; in Kayseri, Akkışla and in Sivas, Gemerek; in Konya, Bor, Ereğli and Niğde (Bekdik); in Konya, Kadınhan and Sarayönü (Haremeyn?); in Konya Karapınar and Çumra (Hotamış); and those within the Kızıl Irmak bend, once centred on Yozgat. Thus in northern Konya, all Türkmen are Haremeyn, Karabağ, or Tahtasız. The most extensive single group is probably the Avşar settled in 1865 in Kayseri, Pınarbaşı, Sarız and Tomarza (Uzunyayla). The Çepni said to be centred on Trabzon, Vakfıkebir, have in practice proven difficult to identify. It has been pointed out that the characteristic positions for Türkmen winter settlements were highland basins in the Interior of Anatolia (HÜTTEROTH, 1982: 203-4, citing PLANHOL).

### Language:

Turkish, Anatolian dialects.

### Religion:

Sunni Islam: Hanefi.

### Group identity:

Based on common descent from Oğuzhan, by tradition the first Muslim chief of the Türkmen in Khurasan, and his tribes. The descent is essen-

tially patrilineal, derived from his six sons and his twenty-four eponymous grandsons, as divided into two equal confederations, the Boz Ok and the Üç Ok, both of which are represented in Anatolia. The genealogy, however, can in most cases no longer be demonstrated. Although many of the tribes are represented in the history of Anatolia, (SÜMER, 1967: *passim*), notably the Kınık, in the Selcük dynasty, and the Kayı, in the Ottoman, the sense of primary tribal identity has been preserved in only a few cases, particularly the Avşar and the Çepni, both among the 22 tribes already listed by Kāşğarī in the XI<sup>th</sup> century. These are subdivided into exogamous, patrilineal clans. Tribal affiliation is seen to be more important than sectarian distinctions in the case of the Çepni, whose western components are Alevi (see GÖKALP in this volume), while those in Trabzon are Sunni. Identity is maintained by a high degree of endogamy within the tribe or group. The Avşar still retain sub-tribal divisions such as Kılılı, Deller, Kekeç, Torun, and Kocanallı, each of which formerly had its own *yayla*. The Bekdik/Bektik for the most part comprise lineages which can only be traced for a few generations, and only one, the Budak, which extends much further, allowing a link with the name Bekdik itself. Two lineages at least, the Halaş and the Avşar, appear from their names to be fractions of other Türkmen tribes which have affiliated themselves to the Bekdik. (CUISENIER 1975: 130-2). In these respects the tribal structure studied resembles that of the Yörük. Endogamy, however, is recorded at a lower level, possibly due to long settlement and a strong commitment to agriculture: 27%, of which 14% are first cousin marriages, though patrilineal preference is only just discernible (CUISENIER 1975: 248).

The distinction between Türkmen and Yörük is confused, since many if not most Yörük appear to be of Türkmen origin, and Türkmen can on occasion be called Yörük, in at least an occupational sense (GÖKALP 1980: 33, 57), though many Türkmen reject any relationship. The most convincing explanation is that these denominations reflect neither tribal nor religious loyalties, but are derived from a former Ottoman classification, under which various Türkmen tribes (*ulus* or *el*) were under the direct jurisdiction of the Sultan or his family, whereas the Yörük were not. Among the Türkmen this led to the disappearance of intermediate levels of organisation between minimal lineages and the whole unit (GÖKALP 1980: 32-6, 46). The distinction between acknowledged Türkmen and villagers or townspeople in the process of assimilation has until recently depended upon the maintenance of a semi-nomadic pastoral life, but as markers are eliminated, it relies increasingly on a sense of history.

Traditions of tribal history are preserved only by a few individuals, and are hard to establish. The Hotamış (Otamışlu) were a part of the Beg-Dili,



though when they arrived in their present habitat from Aleppo, they say they were called Tazıcılar. The Akkısla Türkmen have traditions of having come from Amık in Hatay; the Emirdağ Türkmen have a vague tradition of coming from Mosul (as Muslucalılar); the Bekdik similarly recall having come from Maraş. In most cases these movements occurred several hundred years ago. The groups are now effectively endogamous, through their isolation. Even where groups are relatively close, no intermarriage occurs: the Akkısla Türkmen have little to do with the Avşar in the same province. Nevertheless one group at least, the Hotamış, has assimilated two Kurdish sections in its total of six.

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 DEMİRTAŞ, F. 1949 (historical)  
 GÖKÇEN, İ. 1946 (Saruhan, historical)  
 GÜNDÜZ, İ. 1980 (Hotamış)  
 HÜTTEROTH, W. D. 1968: 90 (Konya: Haremeyn: map)  
 IŞIK, M. 1963 (Avşar, historical)  
 ORHONLU, C. 1963 (history of settlement)  
 REFIK, A. 1930 (historical lists)  
 SÜMER, F. 1967 (history)  
 SÜSLÜ, M. Y. 1942: 34 (Konya: Haremeyn etc.)  
 ŞAPOLYO, E. B. 1954 (Beydilli, Ankara)  
 UĞUR, A. n.d. (post 1979) (Akkısla)  
 YALĞIN, A. R. 1931-39 (tribes in S. Anatolia)  
 YALĞIN, A. R. 1934 (brands and tribes in Turkey)  
 YALĞIN, A. R. 1940 (villages in G. Antep)  
 YALĞIN, A. R. 1947 (Emirdağ Türkmen)  
 YALĞIN, A. R. 1949 (Kozandağ Türkmen: Avşar etc.)  
 YURTSEVER, C. Z. n.d. (ca. 1980) (Karatepe) mez. tez.  
 YURTSEVER, C. Z. 1981 (Avşar)

## 6 a-f. Türkmen: Alevi

### Designation:

Alevi Türkmen; *Ger.* Türkmenische Alewiten; *Tk.* Türkmen(ler), Alevi(ler), Kızılbaş(lar).

### Self-designation:

Türkmen(ler), Aşiret (Sıraç), Gavum (Nalcı).

**Secondary self-designations:**

tribal or local names, e.g. Çepni, Adalılar, Üsküdarlı, Sıraç, Nalcı.

**Numbers:**

CENSUS: not listed separately.

The only estimates available are those for the Alevi as a whole:

GÖKALP, A. 1980: 14 10,000,000.

ROUX, J.P. 1970: 85 10% of total population as a minimum, with claims of 30–40%, i.e. from 4,500,000 to 18,000,000 in 1980.

**Distribution:**

inadequately documented, but widespread in Western and Central Anatolia, as far east as Nizip in Gaziantep, and as Divriği. Groups of villages are known to exist in the provinces of Kars, Sivas, Yozgat, Tokat, Ordu, Çorum, Balıkesir, Manisa, İzmir and Muğla. Of those listed by AKAY for Balıkesir (1935: 22–3), some are no longer Türkmen. Substantial clusters still exist near Edremit, Bergama, Akhısar, Turgutlu, Tire, Söke, Şarkışla, Gemerek, and Nizip. These are frequently in somewhat inaccessible 'refuge' areas. The Nalcı appear to be concentrated in Ordu, Ünye; the Sıraç are found in Tokat, Artova, Turhal and Zile, and in Yozgat, Çekerek and Sorgun.

**Language:**

Turkish, Anatolian dialects. Turkish is characteristic also of the religious ritual.

**Religion:**

Alevi Muslims.

**Group identity:**

Primarily through a sense of common Türkmen descent, and an origin in Khurasan; secondarily by religion. Identity is reinforced by endogamy. Awareness of tribal affiliation is in some cases strong, as among the Çepni or Barak, and elsewhere weak, or even non-existent, as among the Türkmen of Edremit. Where it exists, it may transcend sectarian differences (see GOKALP in this volume). A variety of quasi-tribal emic classifications exist besides, such as the Adana Işıkları, Adalı Türkmenler, Üsküdarlı, Arapgir and Araplar (sic) on the Aegean coast. It is not clear whether the Nalcı regard themselves as Türkmen rather than Alevi Turks: they have been included here on the basis that they refer to themselves as

*gavum* (*kavım*) thereby acknowledging tribal origin. The Sıraç are Türkmen and Bektaşî, referring to themselves as *aşiret*.

Endogamy maintains integrity at the tribal level, but patrilineal clans are exogamous, or require no closer marriage than five degrees of relationship (*kuşak*); some adjustment of clan structure can be made, however, to suit new circumstances (*ibid.*).

The tradition of *takiya*, the licence to conceal one's faith from non-Alevi outsiders at discretion, may cause confusion. Thus the Barak are described as Alevi in some reports (KUMAHMETOĞLU 1947: ii, 6), and this is confirmed by their close association with Abdal (*q. v.* 6 h) but other studies have presented them only as somewhat lax, unorthodox Sunnis (TANYOL 1952: i, 93; 1953: ii, 127). Internal unity is established through communal recognition of the authority of a *dede*, or *ocak-zade*, the titular head of a particular "hearth" of spiritual activity (e.g. the Bozgeyik dedeleri of the Barak), who, however, may live at some distance. The local community is headed by an hereditary "father" *baba*, under whom a series of specific internal bonds are set up (*eş tutma*) between pairs of married couples, who are then wholly responsible for one another. The community regulates misdemeanours itself through a court, *sorgu ayını*, which precedes the annual gathering, *âyın-ı cem*, in the presence of the *dede*. The ease with which such an intimate, closed, and secretive society can be misunderstood has given rise to etic stereotypes of the Alevis as heretics practising incest or adultery in communal orgies "*mum söndü*": a calumny already current in the early XVIth century (MELIKOFF 1975: 55 note 1). This attitude has, in turn, resulted in an Alevi stereotype of the Sunnis as *ağzı kara*, black-mouths, and bigots. The polarity strengthens the Alevi sense of community. The change from the designation *Kızılbaş* to that of *Alevi* in the XIXth century has failed to weaken the stereotype, since *Alevi* has now acquired much of the odium associated with the former.

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- See also TÜRK: ALEVI above (2) and TAHTACI (6g) below.

## ii. Barak

- AKSOY, A. 1978 mez. tez. (village study)  
 (ATABEYLİ), N. Kumahmetoğlu 1947-8 (origins, belief, traditions)  
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 YALGIN, A. R. 1931-9 vol. i (tribes of the south)  
 YALGIN, A. R. 1934 (brands and tribes of Antep)  
 YENER, Ş. S. 1960 (İlbeyli tribe in Gaziantep)

See GOKALP in this volume.

## 6g. Tahtacı: Alevi

### Designation:

Tahtacı; *Ger.* Tachtadschi, Takhtadji; *Tk.* Tahtacı(lar).

### Self-designation:

Türkmen; for their trade, Tahtacı, or *kesim işci*.

### Secondary self-designations:

Çaylak(lar), Aydınlı(lar)

**Numbers:**

CENSUS: not listed.

ÜLKÜTAŞIR, M.Ş. 1968: 100,000 in 20,000 households, estimate.

**Distribution:**

in forested parts of the Toros range, from İzmir, Manisa, and Aydın provinces in the west, through Muğla, Denizli, Burdur, İsparta, Antalya, İçel and Adana as far as Maraş and Gaziantep in the east (SEVGEN 1951: 304; ÜLKÜTAŞIR 1968: 840). Groups have traditionally migrated to areas where forestry work is available, withdrawing to village quarters nearer the coast in winter, and following predictable routes on their way up to the forests in summer (ÖZBAYRI 1972: 12-13; JAHN 1970: 37-41, 72-3 and map 8) where they work from March to mid-November as directed by the forestry office, always in small family camps. It is not clear whether the woodsmen in Çanakkale and Balıkesir provinces should be called Tahtacı or Alevi Türkmen (6 a-f above). Much settlement has now taken place. Narlıdere near İzmir was a cultural centre (YILMAZ 1948: 10).

**Language:**

Turkish, Anatolian dialects. Those in Manisa, Akhisar, for example speak in the Akhisar dialect (KOŞAY 1954: 112). There is some evidence of those in Aydın speaking an as yet unidentified language (CAFEROĞLU 1954: 41-56), though caution is required here.

**Religion:**

Alevi Muslims, somewhat more committed than other Alevis.

**Group identity:**

based on the combination of esoteric religion, occupation, and patrilineal descent groups. The *Alevilik* of the Tahtacı appears to be little different from that of other Alevis (*q. v.*) except that they pay particular respect to trees, making a sacrifice before they begin to fell those marked, and taking care to preserve others. Their occupation as sawyers and lumberman appears to ensure their religious isolation in lonely, unfrequented areas. Both men and women work together. The designation Tahtacı appears to be an etic one: it is, however, so widely used that the separate classification of the group under this name appears to be justified until contrary evidence is available. The Tahtacı generally regard themselves as Türkmen, and in some areas, such as Balıkesir province, the Alevi lumbermen definitely call themselves Türkmen or Çetmi (for Çepni) rather than Tahtacı.

The Tahtacı are divided into two principle sections, *aşiret*, in the Aegean area, called the Çaylaklar and the Aydınlılar, each frequenting specific regions. The Çaylaklar are located in the Karaman Ovası, Mut, Finike and Fethiye, and the Aydınlılar in Adana and Mersin, Antalya and İzmir. The Çaylaklar are divided into three smaller groups, the Üstürgeli, Samaslı and Cingözler (ÖZBAYRI 1972: 1) and the Aydınlılar in the east appear to have similar divisions, Ağaçeri and Karakaya (EBERHARD 1953-4: 56). These divisions, however, require further study (cf. ROUX 1970: 30-1, listing Çaylak, Göğçeli, Danabaş, Eşeli, Aydınlı, Cingözler and Kabakçı, for the Toros area, but Aydınlı, Çavlak. Kardeşli and Enseli for Serik district alone). According to other accounts there are fourteen tribes, variously listed.

The working unit is the *oba* of between 10 and 30 families led by a *keye* (= *kâhya*, steward). Relations between these groups are maintained despite their isolation, and the Tahtacı are endogamous (29%, married to relatives, mostly in paternal line, on sample of 123 families - BAŞOĞLU 1973: 28) not marrying other Alevis.

Religious bonds are established through periodic visits by the *dede* (see Türkmen Alevi 6 a-f above). The Tahtacı seem to be subject to the "*mum söndü*" calumny even more than other Alevis, and are thus separated from the Sunni majority by suspicion on both sides.

The Tahtacı were registered as a separate *cemaat* under the Ottoman administration from the XVI<sup>th</sup> century onwards (SÜMER 1962: 528).

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- SÜMER, F. 1962 p. 528 (origins)  
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 ÜÇYILDIZ, C. N. 1979 (Silifke region, customs)  
 ÜLKÜTAŞIR, M. Ş. 1968 (general)  
 YETİŞEN, R. 1950–78 (İzmir region, traditions)  
 YETİŞEN, R. 1953–4 (İzmir region, traditions)  
 YILMAZ, A. and KAYGISIZ, K. 1948 (history, customs)  
 ZİYA, Y. 1928–31 (Alevi and Tahtacı)

## 6 h. Abdal: Alevi

### Designation:

Abdal, Abtal; *Ger.* Abdal; *Tk.* Abdal, Abtal, Carcar etc.

### Self-designation:

Abdal

### Secondary self-designation:

Teber, Tencili, Fakçılar, Begdili etc.

### Numbers:

CENSUS: not listed.

No modern estimates available except

KÖPRÜLÜ 1935: 47 ca. 500 Abdal formerly among Elbeyli Türkmen.

GÜZELBEY 1972 290 tents among Barak in Gaziantep.

### Distribution:

throughout Western and Central Anatolia, from Bolu, Eskişehir, and Denizli in the west through Ankara and Konya to Antalya, Adana and Gaziantep in the south, with Nevşehir, Kayseri, Sivas, Tokat and Yozgat in the centre and Sinop and Çorum in the north, as provinces in which individual villages with an Abdal community have been registered. The name occurs, unconfirmed, in a wide range of villages (see survey 7).

### Language:

Turkish, in Anatolian dialects. They also use a “secret” language, in which Turkish grammar is used to articulate a variety of unfamiliar words. The most recent analysis of 86 of these words shows (TIETZE 1983) a majority to be Iranian, either from New Persian or Kurdish, a few to be

loans from Romany, and some to be of unknown origin; among the latter are words also recorded among Abdal in a wider region extending to East Türkistan. Abdal in K. Maraş province speak Kurdish.

### Religion:

Alevi Muslims

### Group identity:

by a combination of esoteric religion, an itinerant occupation, and tribal organisation, reinforced by endogamy, and the use of a peculiar argot. Their *Alevilik* appears to be no different from that of other Alevis, and according to some sources intermarriage can take place. Their occupation of marginal niches in society, primarily as bards and musicians, but also as tanners, basket-makers, sieve-makers, *sünnetçi* etc. sets them apart from sedentary society, and places them, from an etic point of view, close to the Gypsies. In the past they appear to have had a client relationship with certain groups of nomadic Türkmen, and this is still maintained among the now sedentary Barak Türkmen of Gaziantep. Nothing appears to be recorded about the nature of their tribal organisation, beyond the division of the Gaziantep branch of those who call themselves Teberci into six components, *oymak*, (see survey in this volume) totalling 290 tents, one section, the Kara Hüseyinler, having 200 of these. Nor is it known at what level endogamy is maintained.

The client relationship with a larger community, and the use of an obscure argot, together with an itinerant pattern of life seem to be common to all Abdal, including those in Syria and Central Asia. They regard themselves as Türkmen, and in the case of the group among the Barak, have a tradition of common origin in Khurasan. They are also active, however, among the Kurds, to whom they are known as Gäwändä.

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 KILIÇKIRAN, M. N. 1977 (Kilis)  
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TIETZE, A. 1982 (language study)

ÜLKÜTAŞIR, M.Ş. 1968 (general)

YALGIN, A.R. 1931-9 i, p. 18 (Southeast Anatolia)

See ANDREWS in this volume, and TIETZE survey, No. 7.

## 7. Azerbaijani Turks: Shii

### Designation:

Azerbaijanis; *Ger.* Azerbaidshaner; *Tk.* Azeri.

### Self-designation:

Azerbaycanlı(lar).

### Secondary self-designation:

Karabağlılar, Şirvanlılar.

### Numbers:

CENSUS: not listed, as they speak Turkish.

HÜTTEROTH, W.D. 1959 5,000 Azeris from Iran settled in Van İli.

KIRZIOĞLU, M.F. 1963 25,000 Azeris from exchange in Kars İli.

### Distribution:

primarily in the eastern provinces, near the Soviet border, where they were settled after the population exchanges. Thus the great majority are in Kars, especially in Iğdır sub-province, followed by Ağrı, Taşlıçay and by Erzurum, Şenkaya. Amasya city is largely populated by Şirvanlılar, refugees from the Kazağ district of Soviet Azerbaijan who came after 1908, and after 1945; a related village also remains in Kars. An earlier tribal group of immigrants from Karabağ inhabit a group of villages south of Afyon, Emirdağ, with a related group remaining in Kars, Iğdır (CAFEROĞLU 1959; YALGIN 1955). Some 5000 Turks from Iranian Azerbaijan were also said to have settled on unused land in Van, Başkale and Muradiye (HÜTTEROTH 1959: 143). An early group of immigrants has spread as far as Bursa.

### Language:

Azeri Turkic, one of the southwestern (Oğuz) group, and very close to East Anatolian dialects.

### Religion:

Shiite Islam.

**Group identity:**

primarily by religion, and secondarily through their history as refugees. The impossibility of intermarriage with the surrounding Sunni population leads to endogamy in the eastern provinces, and a polarisation against Shafii Kurds in particular. The latter has recently led to a closer relationship with Sunni (Hanefi) Turks. It is not known whether those in Amasya have remained Shii. Those in Afyon have been largely assimilated in religion and speech, though local Türkmen still recognise them as distinct.

**Historical note:**

The Karabağlı Türkmen appear to have fled from Karabağ in 1813 at the time of the Russo-Persian war and the Treaty of Gülistan (YALGIN 1955); according to another source they returned to Turkey after having fought for Özdemiroğlu Osman Paşa in the Caucasus in 1578 (CAFEROĞLU 1959: 178). The refugees from Kazağ arrived following the revolution of 1905–8. Those in Kars appear for the most part to be the Turkish population expelled from Soviet Armenia following the exchanges of 1918–25. The group around Bursa came from Shahi after 1863. See also Karapapağ (8) below.

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 HÜTTEROTH, W. D. 1959 pp. 143, 154 (Azeri Turks in Van province)  
 KIRZIOĞLU, M. F. 1963 (population exchange from Erivan)  
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 SARAN, N. 1984 (village study, Amasya, Suluova)  
 TURAN, C. 1970 mez. tez. (village study, Afyon, Bolvadin)  
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**8. Azerbaijani Turks: Karapapağ****Designation:**

Karapapak, Karapapakh; *Ger.* Karapapachen; *Tk.* Karapapak, Karapapah(lar), Terekeme, the former sometimes confused with Karakalpak.

**Self-designation:**

Karapapağ, Terekeme.

**Numbers:**

CENSUS: not listed, as they speak Turkish.

AŞIKOĞLU 1963 114 villages in Kars province.

BARTHOLD/WIXMAN 1978 (EI) 15% of total population of Kars province, (i. e. 106,000 in 1975), if the proportion is still relevant after population exchanges and boundary changes. (39,000 in 1910).

From village population 1965 Çıldır and Arpaçay only: ca. 68,000.

**Distribution:**

principally in Çıldır sub-province in Kars, where the local population claim that all the villages are Karapapağ or Terekeme, mixed, with the next-largest concentration in Arpaçay sub-province, where they form more than half of the village population (ARSLAN 1977). Others are found in the Central subprovince of Kars, and in Selim and Kağızman sub-provinces. (According to the Kavkazskiy Kalendar of 1910, p. 546, there were then 99 Karapapağ villages, of which 63 were in Kars district, 29 in Ardahan, and 7 in Kağızman).

A second group is settled in Muş province, first at Malazgirt, and now in the village of Yoncalı, as well as in the sub-provincial town of Bulanık (CAFEROĞLU 1959a: 179). Further villages in Sivas province and in Tokat, Zile, were apparently established when the Karapapağ withdrew to the region during the Russian occupation of Kars from 1877: one of them, Acıyurt, was already Karapapağ in 1293/1877 (KAYA 1974: 20). Two villages are also recorded in Kayseri, Pınarbaşı and Sarız.

The Karapapağ and Terekeme in Çıldır and Arpaçay send their herds with shepherds to the *yaylas* west and east of Çıldır Gölü, where they maintain stone cottages, but other villagers remain at home (SÖZER 1972: map 7).

**Language:**

originally Karapapağ, one of the Western (Oğuz) Turkic languages close to Azeri. In Turkey it has apparently assimilated to East Anatolian dialects (GEIGER et al. 1959: 54), though it still shows strong Azeri characteristics (KAYA 1974: 20). The Karapapağ claim that the Terekeme dialect is coarser than their own.

**Religion:**

Islam. The Karapapağ are Sunni (Hanbali). The Terekeme are said by them to be Shii, but appear to be of a particular sect, resembling the Alevi in some respects. The only available figure, for 1883, gives 11,721 Sunnis

and 9,931 Shiis for the areas, including Kars province, then under Russian control.

### Group identity:

Karapapağ and Terekeme share a common sense of origin in the Caucasus, and the Karapapağ regard their name as an inclusive one which, in the larger sense, covers both groups, though the Terekeme are distinct in religion and speech. Each group is largely endogamous. The difference appears to antedate their arrival in Turkey, being attributed to migration from different areas.

The term *Terekeme* (Arabic plural of *Türkman*) suggests recognition of a Türkmen origin, though a local folk-etymology derives it from *terk etmek* "to leave", claiming that the tribes originally lived near Mekka and Medina, but left them for Turkey: this may perhaps contain a memory of the classification of some Türkmen tribes as Haremeyn (SÜMER 1967: 225). The other designation, *Karapapağ* ("black cap") has led to a theoretical association with the Karakalpak ("black-hat"), a Kıpçak people now on the Amu Darya (TOGAN, cited in ARSLAN 1977: 39).

Etically it is clear that the Terekeme are distinguished by their neighbours by stereotypes both of a sturdy physique and a particular psychology: they are characterised as gauche, remarkably simple-minded, unpredictable, and quick to take offence, to the extent that a whole genre of Terekeme stories has grown up around them locally. Their lack of respect for the ordinary forms of religion also seems to set them apart. It is, however, through their everyday interaction with the neighbouring population that these stereotypes have come into being, and the Terekeme themselves are given to exaggerating events so as to lend colour to them (ARSLAN 1977: 38).

Both groups remain to be studied adequately.

### Historical note:

the Karapapağ (and Terekeme) in Çıldır and Ardahan originally lived in northern Azerbaijan, in the region along the Debed and Borçalı rivers, in the Kazah and Borçalı regions of the Kazah-Şemsettin Khanate. They left after the Treaty of Türkmençay in 1828, part emigrating to Kars, and part to the Sulduz area of Iranian Azerbaijan, east of Ushnu. According to another report, the Terekeme lived in the plain extending from Gamri Uzun to Derbent, on the shore of the Caspian, in the Kaytak-Tabasaran district of Daghistan. (AYDIN 1984: 89).

A group of 90–100 Terekeme households applied for permission to settle in Turkey in 1904: they came to Kars (then in Russian hands) and part

then went on to Ağrı, Tutak, and Eleşkirt, others to Adana, where one village remains, and the remainder through Malzgirt to the villages of Tutmaç, Büyükköy and Kurdoğlu in Sivas, in 1914. At least one village in Sivas, however, had already been founded in 1293/1877 (CAFEROĞLU 1983: 69; ARSLAN 1977: 39; AYDIN 1984: 92-3).

Others came to Kars in 1921, after the Russian withdrawal, as part of the population exchange from the areas ceded in the Treaty of Gümrü, notably the district of Akbaba, Tiflis, Borça and Kazah.

The difference in designation may be due to the Russian use of "Karapapağ" to refer to those who came, partly from the Caucasus and partly from Iran, to settle in the former district of Aleksandropol, near Akhaltsike and Akhalkalaki in present-day Georgia, though these are referred to in general terms as Gürcistan Terekeme, in contrast to the Akbaba Terekeme (ARSLAN 1977: 39 citing CAFEROĞLU 1942: xiv).

Before the Russian occupation, Von HELLWALD (1878: 99) reported that there were 29,000 Terekeme or Karapapağ in 105 villages already in Ottoman territory.

### **Selected bibliography:**

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 CAFEROĞLU, A. 1959 a (immigration)  
 CAFEROĞLU, A. 1983 p.69 (general history)  
 GEIGER, B et al. 1959 pp.53-4 (general in Caucasus)  
 KAYA, D. 1974 (Sivas, as Karakalpak)  
 SÖZER, A. N. 1972 map 7 (nomadic movement)

See also Ajerbaijani Turks (7) above.

## **9. Uygurs**

### **Designation:**

Uyghurs, Uigurs, Taranchi; *Ger.* Uiguren; *Tk.* Uygur(lar).

### **Self-designation:**

since 1921, Uyğur; formerly Kâşkarlık, Turpallık, Komulluk etc. after localities.

**Numbers:**

CENSUS: not listed, as they speak a Turkic language.

SVANBERG (this volume) ca. 700 individuals in 1980.

**Distribution:**

Istanbul, Adana, Izmir and Kayseri. In Istanbul some 50 families live in the Kazak settlement at Safraköy, and others at Örnektepe. The largest single group of about 100 families is in Yenimahalle, Kayseri, among other immigrants.

**Language:**

Uygur or East Turkish (*Türki, Uyğur Tili*), one of the Eastern Turkic group of the Turkic family, divided into two main dialects (North and South), and four rather different "isolated" dialects.

**Religion:**

Sunni Islam: strict Hanefi.

**Group identity:**

no information available. The strictness of their religious observance, in which women remain in seclusion, is likely alone to set them apart from the rest of the community; they retain their language for use amongst themselves.

**Historical note:**

a first group arrived from Sinkiang via Pakistan in the 1950s; a second came *via* Afghanistan in 1968.

**Bibliography:**

nil.

See SVANBERG in this volume.

**10. Kırğız****Designation:**

Qırğız, Kirghiz; *Ger.* Kirghisen; *Tk.* Kırğız(lar).

**Self-designation:**

Kırğız(dar).

**Numbers:**

CENSUS: not listed, as they speak a Turkic language.

SVANBERG (this volume) ca. 20 families of former immigrants.

TÜRENÇ 1983 197 families of recent immigrants at Karagündüz Köyü, Van, 1983.

DOR 1981 some 1,200 fled from the Wakhan.

FISHLOCK 1982 1,100 individuals, recent immigrants.

MİLLİYET 1982 1,137 individuals, recent immigrants, in 310 families.

This last figure represents appreciably less than the 469 households formerly in the Wakhan Corridor of Afghanistan (DOR 1975: 80), though least 100 individuals died *en route*: only the Teyit left, the Kesek remaining in the Great Pamir (DOR 1981: 24).

**Distribution:**

a. former immigrants: 12 households at Akıncöy in Ankara province, Şereflikoçhisar, and 4 households at Cihanbeyli town in Konya province; a few others dispersed to Ankara and Adana.

b. recent arrivals (1982): 197 families together at Karagündüz Köy in Van province, Erçek district (TÜRENÇ 1982), now due for transfer to permanent quarters at Altındere Harası, Erçiş (HÜRRİYET 8.2.86 p.5), in 298 families. Other families elsewhere?

**Language:**

Kırğız (*Kırğız tili*, *Kırğızca*), one of the Central or Aralo-Caspian group of Turkic languages.

**Religion:**

Sunni Islam: Hanefi. Some residue of shamanist practices remains, particularly in relation to the cult of ancestors' souls, *avrak*.

**Group identity:**

primarily by a defined position within a common Kırğız genealogy: secondly by language and custom, in this case accentuated by the newness of the larger group's arrival in Turkey; thirdly by the circumstances in which the entire (recent) group left Afghanistan under the single leadership of Rahman Kul, to evade the Russians. This group also came from Pakistan to Turkey on the specific understanding that it should be allowed to remain together as a unit in a highland region similar to its former habitat in the Wakhan. Its coherence therefore seems assured, with the same pastoral livelihood.

These Pamir Kırğız constitute a single unilineal descent group, the İçkilik, which is subdivided into four patrilineal maximal lineages (*zor uruk* or *çonñ*) derived from four brothers: in order of size the Teyit, Kesek, Nayman and Kıpçak. The chief, *han*, belongs to the Teyit. Formerly marriage was only permitted between members of the Teyit and Kesek, or between the Nayman and Kıpçak. These lineages are further subdivided: the Teyit and Kesek into eight sub-clans each, the Nayman into two, and the Kıpçak into three (DOR 1975: 79–80). The earlier immigrants to Turkey comprised a second main descent group, the Otoñul, besides the İçkilik (SVANBERG, this volume). This earlier group has allowed marriage with other Turkistanis, presumably to avoid inbreeding, and in doing so shows discrimination in favour of groups perceived as closer than the native Anatolian population (this may correspond to an earlier preference, in out-marriages, for Uyğur, Kazak, Özbek and Türkmen, cf. DOR 1975: 120). A few Kalmak (Western Mongols), now Kırğızicised, probably remain from a group of former prisoners annexed to the Kırğız in the Wakhan (DOR 1975: 80).

Religion clearly plays an essential rôle in their identity, for although they left their tents and trappings at Gilgit, they took some fifty religious texts all the way from the Wakkan to Turkey (N. SHAHRANI).

#### Historical note:

the Kırğız had begun to move into the Wakhan Corridor by the beginning of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century, but did not finally settle there until ca. 1876–78. The Wakhan was formally defined as a buffer zone in 1895, and in the period between the World Wars became a refuge from both the Russian and the Chinese hegemonies nearby. The Nayman seem to have fled there from Chinese territory after the communist takeover in 1949 (DOR 1975: 76 and DOR/NAUMANN 1978: 46–8). The earlier emigrants left for Turkey in 1953. The second wave moved out of the Wakhan in 1978 following the communist takeover in Afghanistan, driving 200 yaks and 10,000 sheep to Gilgit. They arrived in Turkey in August 1982 (without their herds), having failed to emigrate to Alaska (DENKER 1983: 95).

#### Selected bibliography:

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- DOR, R. 1975 (Wakhan Kırğız, monograph)
- DOR, R. and NAUMANN, C. M. 1978 (Wakhan Kırğız)
- DOR, R. 1979 (exodus)
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- DOR, R. 1986 (Kırğız in Turkey)



- FISHLOCK, T. 1982 (exodus)  
 PAKSOY, H. B. 1985 (refugees in Turkey)  
 POGROM 1983 (conflict of interest with Kurds)  
 THOMSON, A. 1982 (exodus)  
 TÜRENÇ, P. 1983 (new life in Karagündüz)  
 See SVANBERG in this volume.

## 11. Kazaks

### Designation:

Qazaq, Kazakhs, Kazaks; *Ger.* Kasachen; *Tk.* Kazak(lar).

### Self-designation:

Kazak(tar).

### Numbers:

CENSUS: not listed, as they speak a Turkic language.  
 Kazak Türklerin Kültür Derneği, Köln, 1985 5000 persons.  
 SVANBERG\* 1980 700 households.  
 Refugees from Afghanistan 70 households.

### Distribution:

now principally in Istanbul (some 60% = 420 households), in Manisa province at Salihli, Altay Mahallesi and Kurtuluş Mahallesi (60 households), and in Konya, Ulukışla, Altay Köyü (65 households). There are small groups in Konya, İsmil, Altay Mahallesi (25-30 households), in Ankara, Aktepe Mahallesi (15 households), in Niğde, Aksaray, Sultanhanı (10 households), and İzmir, in the suburb of Balçova (10 households). Those in Istanbul live mainly in Küçükçekmece, Zeytinburnu, Güneşsitesi (Kazakkent) (160 households), and Safraköy (25 households). The figures given are for 1980.

### Language:

Kazak (*Kazakça/Kazak tili*), the principal member of the Central or Aral-Caspian group of Turkic languages. Altay Kazak belongs to the east-

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\* See contribution in this volume.

ern dialects. The immigrants from Afghanistan speak Kazak strongly influenced by Özbek.

**Religion:**

Sunni Islam: Hanefi. Some shamanist practices still observed (ORALTAY 1976: 35).

**Group identity:**

primarily by a defined position in a common Kazak genealogy; secondly by language and custom; thirdly by a common sense of history as refugees from Turkistan under extremely hostile conditions. The Kazak from East Turkistan (Altay/Sinkiang) all belong to three tribes, the Kirey, Nayman, and Uwak, of the six which constitute the Orta Jüz (Middle Horde). Within these tribes, a person is defined according to the maximal patrilineal lineage to which he or she belongs: these lineages are still exogamous, proscribing marriage within seven degrees of relationship. Some still have chiefs, *taji*, though these are now nominal, having lost all power. The immigrants from Afghanistan similarly share a common genealogy in the Kişi Jüz (Little Horde). Efforts made by the community to preserve their own culture include several publications, some in Turkish and some in Kazak, and an active interest in folk music, fostered in a recent effort to counter acculturation in Turkey. The efficiency of group bonds can be seen in the extent of communal, rather than individual, choice of work, and in the tendency to live in distinct quarters. The preference for marriage to other Turkistanis, when not to Kazaks, also shows a sense of separateness.

**Historical note:**

the earliest group of Kazak to come to the Republic were refugees from the Soviet Union who escaped through Afghanistan and arrived as independent immigrants in 1952. The settlement initially established for them at Ceylan Pınarı in Urfa province was not suitable, and they dispersed elsewhere (GENCER 1982). The second group, who had fought their way from the Altay through Tibet to Kashmir, were accepted by Turkey between 1953 and 1958; the last of them joined the others in 1969. These were settled in Niğde, Kayseri, Konya and Manisa provinces. A third group, among the refugees who fled from the Russians in Afghanistan to Pakistan, arrived in August 1982. The Kazak did not view themselves as a single nation until the end of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century (KREINDLER 1983: 99 citing Radlov). *N. b.* This group should not be confused with the immigrants from the district of Kazah in Azerbaijan: see Azeri: Shii (7) above.

**Selected bibliography:**

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 ENGIN, M. 1969 mez. tez. (Kazak in Turkey)  
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 GAYRETULLAH, H. 1977 (Altay Kazak and their exodus)  
 KONUKÇU, E. 1970 (first exodus 1940–53)  
 KRADER, L. 1963 ch. iv (social organisation)  
 KREINDLER, I. 1983 (national consciousness of Kazaks)  
 LIAS, G. 1956 (exodus of Kazak from Altay)  
 MUSABAY, İ 1969 (struggles with Russia)  
 ORALTAY, H. 1961 (struggles and exodus)  
 ÖKTEM, N. 1959 (immigration)  
 TÜRKDOĞAN, O. 1971 d (settlement in Salihli)

See SVANBERG in this volume.

**12. Özbeks****Designation:**

Uzbeks, Uzbegs, Uzbak; *Ger.* Usbeken; *Tk.* Özbek(ler).

**Self-designation:**

Özbek.

**Numbers:**

CENSUS: not listed, as they speak a Turkic language.

SVANBERG\* 1980 ca. 330 households.

The majority of the 4,351 Turkic refugees from Afghanistan allowed to enter Turkey in 1982 were Özbek, but no numbers are given.

**Distribution:**

Istanbul, Ankara, Adana and İzmir. Some 280 households in all live in Istanbul, 5–6 in Ankara, and 45–50 in Adana.

**Language:**

Özbek (*Özbekça*), one of the eastern group of Turkic languages, with strong Iranian influence in the town dialects west of Tashkent.

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\* See SVANBERG's contribution in this volume.

**Religion:**

Sunni Islam: Hanefi.

**Group identity:**

This differs between two groups. The first, of about 100 families, which came from the Soviet Union to Germany during World War II, and thence to Turkey, have now been largely assimilated, though they are often still noticeable, etically, by their strong accent and asiatic appearance. The second, of de-tribalised, urban Özbek, came from Afghanistan in 1952: these still maintain some internal bonds. The fact that marriage partners are exchanged with other Turkistani immigrants shows that a secondary factor in their sense of identity is a common sense of Central Asiatic origin. This group has now been augmented by the recent influx of Turkic refugees from Afghanistan (1982) of which the majority were Özbek. In the absence of information on kinship ties, it appears that the strongest factor in identity is a combination of language and custom.

**Historical note:**

one small group, in three villages near Tarsus, centred on the Türkistan Tekkesi set up for pilgrims as early as 781/1379, was identified by JARRING in 1938. They were said to have been founded by immigrants some three hundred years earlier. It is not known whether these still exist.

**Bibliography:**

JARRING, G. 1983 Özbek at Tarsus.

See SVANBERG in this volume.

**13. Özbek Tatars****Designation:**

Özbek etc. Tatars; *Ger.* Usbek-Tataren; *Tk.* Tatar.

**Self-designation:**

Özbek, Özbek-Tatar; (for Turks) Tatar.

**Former designations:**

*Russ.* Sibirek, Bukhartsui, Bukharist; *Tatar.* Buğarlık

**Numbers:**

CENSUS: not listed, as they speak a Turkic language.

KLÄY 1974: 197 ca. 700 persons in 1970 (excluding strangers).

**Distribution:**

in a single village, Böğrüdilik in Konya, Cihanbeyli Merkez. By 1970 some had already moved off to work in Cihanbeyli, Konya, and Ankara, and about 80 persons were working in Europe.

**Language:**

West-Siberian Tatar, in the Uralian sub-group of the Western group of Turkic languages.

**Religion:**

Sunni Islam: Hanefi. The group had a strong religious tradition as they originally moved to Siberia to proselytise.

**Group identity:**

based on language, culture, and a common sense of history, sustained by a high degree of endogamy (ca. 90%). They still speak the Tatar dialect which they adopted (instead of Özbek) in the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century. They have their own literary tradition, centred on a chronicle (partly published by KLÄY) and a lively tradition of music and verse. In contrast to other immigrant Turkic groups, endogamy is normal here, and 10% of marriages are to cross- or parallel cousins. The kinship terminology has been preserved intact. The sense of community is reflected in a highly co-operative society, and a strongly patrilocal pattern of residence.

**Historical note:**

the group claims descent from two Özbek seyyids who migrated from Bukhara to the Tobolsk region in the XVI<sup>th</sup> century. In 1907 about 100 families left their villages for Turkey, later being joined by another 30 families, and founded the present village, originally called Özbek.

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See ANDREWS in this volume.

## 14. Crimean Tatars

### Designation:

Crimean Tatars/Tartars; *Ger.* Krimtürken, Krimtataren; *Tk.* Kırım Tatar(lar).

### Self-designation:

Kırım Türk(ler)

### Secondary self-designations:

formerly subdivided into:

- a. *şähär häm taw halkı* "town and mountain people", on the coast and centre of the peninsula.
- b. *çöl halkı* "steppe people" in the northwest and east.

### Numbers:

CENSUS: not listed, as they speak Turkish or a Turkic language.

No data available, except KLÄY 1975: 272 500 at Kalecikkaya in Çorum. Gradual assimilation has undoubtedly absorbed many immigrants into the majority population in the course of the last 200 years.

### Distribution:

primarily in Eskişehir province (about 36 villages), Ankara province (about 4 villages), and Adana province (about 3 villages); others probably scattered throughout Anatolia.

### Language:

now divided into three groups. Those from the south coast of the Crimea spoke Crimean Ottoman, a branch of the southwestern (Oğuz) group of Turkic languages. Those in the centre around Bahçesaray (Bakçisaray) spoke central Crimean Turkic, one of the western (Kipçak) group, and those from the steppe spoke Crimean Tatar, also in the western group (both being in the Ponto-Caspian sub-group). Crimean Jews spoke either Karaim, in the same sub-group, or if not, the dialect of their particular district. Karaim is no longer represented in Turkey, the Karaites (see 41 Jews, below) having spoken Crimean Tatar in recent times. It is not known how far these varieties in language remain distinct in different villages.

### Religion:

Sunni Islam: Hanefi. Also some Jews (Karaim or Kırımçak) of a particular sect (*q. v.*).

**Group identity:**

now maintained by endogamy, though affiliation to the Hanefi school of Islam should allow exogamy with the Turkish majority. Other identifying markers are much weakened by assimilation. Crimean Turkish (from the south coast) was so similar to Ottoman that it allowed an easy transition to Anatolian usage, and is now spoken only by older people. The retention of Crimean Tatar is probably stronger. The special bonds represented by kinship terminology are also weak, and this has now become fragmentary (KLÄY 1974: 246-9). Efforts made to sustain Tatar music and dances through a cultural centre have only a marginal effect on the sense of identity among young people. The social structure was effectively destroyed by the Russians by 1800.

**Historical note:**

the immigration has occurred in successive waves since 1783, though many Crimeans first emigrated to settle in Dobruja and other parts of the Balkans, and did not move into Anatolia until forced out by the Balkan Wars of 1877-8. Thus 8-10 villages in Eskişehir province were allocated to Tatars by 1860, and a further 14 by 1874 (TUNÇDİLEK 1959: 133).

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See ANDREWS in this volume.

**15. Noğay Tatars****Designation:**

Noghay, Noghai; *Ger.* Nogaj-Tataren; *Tk.* Noğay(lar), Tatar(lar).

**Self-designation:**

Noğay; (for Turks) Tatar.

**Secondary self-designations:**

Ak Noğay and Kara Noğay.

**Numbers:**

CENSUS: not listed, as they speak a Turkic language.

No data available except:

AYDEMİR\* 1973-5 221 persons in Çorum province only out of the 39 provinces surveyed.

**Distribution:**

of the villages known, 3 are in Ankara, Şereflikoçhisar, 1 in Gaziantep, İslahiye, 1 in Konya, Akşehir, 4 in Konya, Kulu, 1 in Sivas, Yıldızeli, and 1 in Tokat, Turhal. The present status of the large number of Noğay villages established in Adana, Ceyhan, is unknown. See survey 2a.

**Language:**

Noğay (*Noğayşa*), one of the central (Aral-Caspian) group of Turkic languages, allied to Kazak, Kıpçak Özbek, Karakalpak and Kırğız. The three principal dialects are Ak Noğay, Kara Noğay, and Central Noğay. The Noğay who first emigrated to the Dobruja, and those from the Northern Crimea have tended to assimilate towards North and South Crimean Turkic respectively.

**Religion:**

Sunni Islam: Hanefi.

**Group identity:**

based primarily on a defined position in a common Noğay genealogy, and secondarily on language and custom. The Noğay in Konya belong to two tribes, the Cemboyluk (Cambuluk) and the Cetsan (Yedisán); it is not known whether the third tribe, Yetişkul (Yediçkul), is represented elsewhere in Turkey. The settlements in Ceyhan (1850 or 1855) were originally founded by individual clans (EBERHARD 1953: 53-4). Kinship terminology is now only partially preserved, and strongly intruded on by Turkish, reflecting the state of the language still spoken (KLÄY 1974: 246-9). The Noğay are still endogamous within the community, despite the demands of a strongly-marked tradition of tribal exogamy. Occasional outside marriages are made for preference with Kazak, Kırğız, or Özbek

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\* See survey 2a in this volume.



partners, with whom they perceive a relationship. Their sense of relationship with their former neighbours, the Crimean Tatars, however, has been repudiated by the latter.

**Historical note:**

the emigration of Noğays from the Pontic Steppe began in 1783, with further waves following the Crimean War (1853–6) and the Russian conquest of the Caucasus (1859–64). Many of the earlier emigrants first moved to the Dobruja, but these were obliged to move again following the Balkan Wars of 1877–8. Those settled in the Çukurova seem to have suffered an exceptionally high mortality (EBERHARD 1953: 55).

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See ANDREWS in this volume.

## 16 a. Balkar and Karaçay

**Designation:**

Balkar, Balqar; *Ger.* Balkaren; *Tk.* Malkar(lar), Balkar(lar).

Karachay, Qarachay; *Ger.* Karatschaier; *Tk.* Karaçay(lar).

**Self-designation:**

Bolkar(lar), Malkar(la), Malkarlı; Karaçay(la).

**Numbers:**

CENSUS: not listed, as they speak a Turkic language.

AYDEMİR\* 1973–5 3,917 persons altogether, in the villages of the 39 provinces surveyed, excluding urban population.

**Distribution:**

according to AYDEMİR's survey of provincial villages, the largest number (mixed) were in Konya province (2000 persons), followed by Eskişehir (1081), Tokat (651), Istanbul (120), and Kayseri (65). Other villages exist

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\* See survey 2 a in this volume.

in Afyon Karahisar. The villages listed as specifically Balkar are in Tokat, Erbaa; those given as Karaçay are in Konya. ÇORA (1970) gives the population of Konya, Sarayönü, Başhöyük as 2607 in 1960. See survey 2a

**Language:**

Balkar and Karaçay (both *Tawlu* = mountain speech), two very similar dialects of a language in the western (Kıpçak) group of Turkic languages, in the Ponto-Caspian sub-group, influenced by Ossetic, Kabard, Chechen and Abaza.

**Religion:**

Sunni Islam: Hanefi.

**Group identity:**

no information recorded. That of the two groups, from the same region of the Caucasus, and sharing a common history, is certainly closely connected; the Karaçay are rather more numerous. The Balkar formerly shared the material culture and feudal structure of the Kaberdey, their overlords since the XVI<sup>th</sup> century. In the only village described, Başhöyük in Konya, it appears that the village forged its own unity by its will to survive, winning the respect of its neighbours: it adheres closely to traditional Karaçay customs, and retains its own music and dances, having formed a local cultural society for their preservation.

**Historical note:**

most of the Karaçay in Konya arrived from the Teberda region in 1905, and were settled by 1910. They were later joined by those who had escaped the Russian deportation of 1944-58 by remaining with the Germans.

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## 16 b. Kumuk

### Designation:

Kumuk, Kumyk; *Ger.* Kumüken; *Tk.* Kumuk(lar).

### Self-designation:

Kumuk(lar).

Not to be confused with Gazi-Kumuk, a Lak province of Daghistan, sometimes used as an ethnic designation for Lak (see 19, Daghistani).

### Numbers:

CENSUS: not listed, as they speak a Turkic language.

No data available except:

AYDEMİR\* 1973-5 1,703 persons in the villages of the 39 provinces surveyed, excluding the urban population.

### Distribution:

to judge from AYDEMİR's survey of provincial villages, most are in Tokat province (807 persons), followed by Sivas (654) and Çanakkale (242). In 1972 80% of the population of Üçgözen Köyü (total 680 persons), now a mahalle of Şenyurt in Tokat, was Kumuk, i. e. 544 persons. Some also live in Yalova sub-province, Istanbul. Aydemir's figures are probably confused by the inclusion of the imprecise category "Dağistanlı", and may show an undercount for this reason. See survey 2 a.

### Language:

Kumuk (*Kumuk til*), one of the western (Kıpçak) group of Turkic languages in the Ponto-Caspian sub-group, together with Balkar, Karaçay, Karaim, and Crimean Tatar. In Daghistan there are three dialects: H̄aydak, Boynak, and in the north H̄asar-yurt (or Aksay). The language is still a *lingua franca* for the peoples of Northern Daghistan, the Avars, Chechen, and others.

### Religion:

Sunni Islam: Hanefi. There are some Shafiis under Nakşbendi influence in Yalova sub-province (GÜLER 1982: 28).

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\* See survey 2 a in this volume.

**Group identity:**

insufficient data available. It appears from the only example available, that of Üçgözen, that the Kumuk have strengthened their sense of community by the usual immigrants' determination to survive, and that the advances achieved are a matter of pride for the whole village. Some Caucasian customs have been retained, notably those concerned with respect and affection, and with cleanliness. The villagers retain their own music and folk-dances, especially for use at weddings. They also express great regret at having lost contact with those who remained in Caucasia.

**Historical note:**

a group of Kumuk left their homeland at Borgan Yurt near Temirhanşura in 1861 to escape Russian oppression. They came to Tokat by way of Samsun. Others arrived in the next three years.

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*This group is entered as Daghistani on the map (19).*

**17. Muslim immigrants from Bulgaria****Designation:**

Bulgarian immigrants, Muhacir, Göçmen; *Ger.* bulgarische Einwanderer, Muhadschir; *Tk.* Bulgaristan muhacirleri/göçmenleri, Pomak.

**Self-designation:**

Türk, Muhacir, Göçmen(ler)

**Secondary designations:**

Pomak/Ahriyan (Muslims of Slavonic stock); Tatar (see 14 and 15); a few Gagauz/Sorguç/Surguç (Christians). Dobruja Turks were sometimes called Gacallar by Deliorman Turks; Çitak was also used as a pejorative, especially for Gerlovo Turks. Amuca designates certain Alevi (see 2), or Bektaşî.

**Numbers:**

CENSUS	1965	23,138	declared persons speaking Pomak
		<u>4,088</u>	declared persons speaking Bulgarian
		<u>27,226</u>	registered by mother tongue
		27,010	speaking Pomak as second language
		47,092	speaking Bulgarian as second language
		<u>74,102</u>	registered by second language
		thus total 101,328	registered by language alone

but many immigrants were Turkish-speaking, therefore not listed.

SALCI 1943 ca. 15,000 Amuca

**REGISTERED IMMIGRANTS:**

LADAS 1932 1921-28 463,534

KOSTANICK 1957 1934-39 85,000

but:

GERAY 1962 1935-40 95,511

KOSTANICK 1955 1940-51 209,885

but:

GERAY 1962 1923-60 374,478

AKÇAY 1968 1950-58 154,448

MANGO 1981 1923-80 488,000 (Director-General of Security)

**Christians:**

BARRETT 1982 1,000 Bulgarian Congregational Church

2,200 Bulgarian Orthodox Church

**Distribution:**

the immigrants have deliberately been scattered throughout Western and Central Turkey by government policy, to allow better integration with the existing population. The new rural settlements were intended to correspond with the regions from which they had come. The migrants were in fact settled in 44 of the then 63 provinces (for lists see KOSTANICK 1957: 119, 123 and ADATEPE 1959: 192-5). Eastern Anatolia was not included in the programme "for security reasons", but this happened to coincide with the immigrants own preference for a milder climate and more easily workable land (KOSTANICK 1955: 49). Less than 50 villages were founded *de*

*novo* for this purpose in the 1950s: the remainder of the refugees were settled in existing villages, often sparsely, and often with earlier immigrants as neighbours. The immigration of 1921–28 was handled similarly. For maps of both immigration plans see KOSTANICK 1957: 92 and 124, and TANOĞLU 1955. In spite of the investment in rural settlement, much of the provincial part of this population has now dispersed to the towns. The distribution was planned from the beginning of the 1950 immigration as densest (50,000 refugees) near the western coasts or in Thrace (20,000), not far from Istanbul, or not far from Ankara (40,000). This has undoubtedly aided the subsequent migration.

*Distribution of immigrants from Bulgaria 1945–55*

Marmara region	66,104
Aegean region	24,707
Northern region	8,227
Southern region	12,926
Central region	37,445
Eastern region	946
Southeastern region	<u>92</u>
Total	<u>150,447</u>

(from Toprak ve İskân Başmüşavirlik ve İstatistik Şubeleri.)

**Languages:**

1. Turkish, dialects of Ottoman, in the southern (Oğuz) group.
2. Bulgarian spoken by Pomaks (about 25%).
3. Tatar (*q. v.* 14, 15 above).
4. Gagauz Turkish, an Ottoman dialect showing strong Slavonic influence.

**Religion:**

1. Sunni Islam: Hanefi.
2. Alevi Islam.
3. Orthodox Christian among Gagauz, and some Congregationalists, both in West Turkey.

**Group identity:**

despite the subdivisions evident in language and religion, the immigrants have been shown as a single group on the maps because they have to a large extent been handled as such by the Turkish administration, and

no data on the present distribution of these sub-groups is available. Such data as have been obtained are extremely fragmentary. This comprehensive treatment is to some extent justified by the attitude of the native population in Turkey, which generally calls the newcomers *muhacir*, or the more recent (1950) wave *göçmen* (both meaning migrant), adding at the most a country of origin as qualification.

In practice the usual polarity between Sunni and Alevi existed in Bulgaria. While the population of Deliorman, for example, referred to itself as *Türk*, the Alevi among them were referred to by the Sunnis as *Kızılbaş*, which they readily accepted themselves (BOBÇEV 1940: 139, 144); *Alevi* and *Aliyan* were also in currency in the area. Although some wholly *Kızılbaş* villages were scattered there, the two populations were generally mixed (*ibid.* 143) The subdivision should not, therefore, be expected to take a physical form in Turkey. The patterns of Sunni and Alevi identity correspond to those already described for native Turks. In 1940 both still regarded their culture as *Osmanlı*, in spite of the change of attitude in Turkey itself, which they tended to reject (*ibid.* 139; KOSTANICK 1955: 43; ORHONLU 1966; 683). The position of the Bektaşî is unclear in relation to Alevilik: the *Amuca*, for example, are of Alevi origin (KISSLING 1953).

The name *Çitak* was in general use for all village Turks. *Gacal* was a term used less often, and apparently in a pejorative sense; thus the Deliormanlı Turks, while calling themselves *Tahtakülâh*, spoke of the Dobruja Turks as *Gacallar*. The Bulgars of Shumen and Razgrad similarly referred to all Turkish villagers as *Gacal* or *Çitak* (BOBÇEV 1940; 138-9). The *Pomak*, speaking a dialect of Bulgarian, are generally considered to be Slavs converted to Islam in the XVIIth century (BAJRAKTAREVIČ 1936: 1161; KOSTANICK 1957: 72). Although this view is disputed by some Turkish writers who see them as descended from Turkish tribes who reached the Balkans before the Ottoman expansion (EREN 1963), the local Turks do not appear to regard the Pomaks as Turks, even though they share their religion (KOSTANICK 1957: 79). The *Gaganz* speak an Ottoman dialect strongly Slavicised in syntax and vocabulary; they share much of Turkish culture, but are Greek Orthodox Christians (they are included here as their numbers in Turkey hardly warrant a separate category). Some are reported as living in and near Edirne (SVANBERG 1984 citing R. Grulich 1976; MENZEL 1927). The *Amuca* were a Turkish-speaking group who were obliged to leave their homes on the Turko-Bulgarian border following the Balkan Wars; most of them settled in Kırklareli, where 24 villages are listed (see 2. Turk: Alevi for list), though they spread as far south as Hayrabolu and Tekirdağ. Here they are recognised as *Kızılbaş*. They are attributed a specific origin as the followers of Şeyh Bedreddin, who

attracted many followers in their original territory in 1416; these survived his overthrow in 1420 (SALCI 1943). In certain religious practices they were said to resemble the Bektâşîs, whom they joined in 1893; they are also remarked on for their work-ethic and honesty. Since KISSLING's report in 1953 it is not known whether they still retain a separate identity. The self-image of none of these groups appears to have been recorded. Their relative proportions in Bulgaria in 1950 were: Turks 683,000, Pomaks 123,000, Tatars and Gagauz 10,000. The Gypsies who in 1950 entered Turkey with the other migrants were unacceptable, and even those who were Muslim were returned to Bulgaria KOSTANICK 1955: 45; 1957: 69).

Despite their advantage of speaking Turkish, and often of practising Sunni Islam, and notwithstanding the deliberate policy of settlement in existing villages, the fact that these settlers are still readily identified thirty years after the mass expulsion of 1950-51 shows that assimilation is far from complete. In a few cases definite avoidance of the new community has been recorded (ERSOLAK 1971: 1; KLÄY 1974: 195-6).

The identity of the Pomak still appears to be based on language: thus in a village in Istanbul province 100% of all Pomak families still spoke Pomakça in 1975 (KIVRIKOĞLU 1975: table F. 9) even though they were mostly born in Turkey (80%). Conversely, Turks coming from the same villages as Pomaks in 1912 still allow no confusion over nomenclature (ULUŞÇU 1981: 29). Elsewhere dialects are strongly marked (KURŞUN 1973; KURT 1972).

Distinctions of religion have not always been preserved: ERÖZ (1977: 29) provides an example of a village, Ertuğrul Köyü, in which "93" *muha-cir* from Bulgaria decided collectively to become Sunni.

In the two cases recorded, endogamy is prevalent; in one, an Alevi village (Amuca?), marriage is permitted only within the *kabile* (KURHAN 1955-6 a and b).

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 YÜCEL, E. 1969 (Edirne, Uzunköprü)

*These are entered as one group on the map.*

## 18. Muslim immigrants from Balkan Countries (except Bulgaria)

### Designation:

Balkan immigrants, Muhacir, Göçmen; *Ger.* Einwanderer vom Balkan.  
*Tk.* Muhacir, Göçmen(ler); Boşnak, Hersek, etc.

### In Balkans:

- a. Pomak, Aħryan/Agaryan
- b. Torbeši, Poturi, Kurki (for Serbs)
- c. Čitak, pl. Čitaci
- d. Gagauz (for a few Christians)

### Self-designation:

Türk, Muhacir, Göçmen(ler).

### Secondary self-designations:

- a. Pomak (of Slavonic origin)
- b. Čitak (of Serbian and Macedonian origin, and Turks)
- c. Vallachades and Karadjovalides (of Vlach origin)
- d. Boşnak, Hersek, etc. after region.

### Numbers:

CENSUS 1965 registered by language:

- 17,627 declared persons speaking Bosnian (*sic*)
- 45 declared persons speaking Croatian
- 406 declared persons speaking Rumanian
- 6,599 declared persons speaking Serbian
- 37,237 speaking Bosnian as second language (*sic*)
- 1,264 speaking Croatian as second language
- 6,962 speaking Romanian as second language
- 59,578 speaking Serbian as second language

*N. b.* many immigrants were Turkish-speaking, therefore not listed.

in addition: 48,096 declared persons speaking Greek, but this includes  
Christians (35) and Pontic Greeks (36).

### REGISTERED IMMIGRANTS:

ENCYC. BRIT.: Macedonia 1970	1912-3	100,000 from Macedonia
ENCYC. BRIT.: Macedonia 1970	1923 ff.	375,976 Turks from Macedo- nia
ZAIM	1958 1950-58	104,372 Turks from Yugoslavia

GERAY	1962	1923-60	121,351 from Rumania 10%
GERAY	1962	1923-60	269,101 from Yugoslavia 22.4%
GERAY	1962	1923-60	407,788 from Greece 33.9%
GERAY	1962	(1923 ff.	383,728 from Greece 94.1%)
GERAY	1962	(1945-50	7,753 from Greece)
GERAY	1962	(1953-60	151,812 from Yugoslavia 56.4%)
GERAY	1962	(1934-38	80,092 from Rumania 66.0%)
AKÇAY	1968	1950-58	5 from Rumania
AKÇAY	1968	1950-58	120,182 from Yugoslavia
AKÇAY	1968	1950-58	11,797 from Greece
ÖZAKDAĞ	1969	1946-67	175,392 from Yugoslavia
MANGO	1981	1923-80	303,000 from Yugoslavia
MANGO	1981	1923-80	122,000 from Rumania

Mango's figures were provided by the Directorate General of Security. In Geray's figures, the percentages given are the proportion of the total number of immigrants for 1923-60; the figures in brackets are calculated for shorter periods from the percentage he gives of the total immigration from the country concerned for 1923-60. Although Geray's sources, from official archives, are carefully documented, it may be noted that Akçay's contradictory figure for Greece is, like his others, given independently by ULUSOY (1971: 11).

### Distribution:

like the Bulgarian immigrants, these have been deliberately dispersed by government policy, with some attempt made to settle them in areas matching their former environment and way of life. The different groups were frequently mixed together in new settlements. The original distribution was biased heavily towards Thrace and Western Anatolia. Edirne province received (GERAY 1962: 30) 84,946 immigrants between 1923 and 1960 (9.6% of the total), Tekirdağ 83,329 (9.4%), Istanbul 80,721 (9.1%), Kırklareli 69,402 (7.8%), Bursa 63,057 (7.1%), Balıkesir 50,065 (5.6%), Kocaeli 39,118 (4.4%), Manisa 31,098 (3.5%), Samsun 29,978 (3.4%), Niğde 28,032 (3.1%), Çanakkale 26,116 (2.9%), Seyhan (Adana) 25,260 (2.8%), Kars 21,449 (2.4%), İzmir 19,996 (2.2%), Kayseri 17,790 (2.0%), Çorum 17,174 (1.9%), Konya 16,338 (1.8%), Yozgat 15,815 (1.8%), Sivas 15,496 (1.7%), Eskisehir 15,099 (1.7%), Aydın 12,495 (1.4%), Ankara 10,560 (1.2%), Diyarbakir 10,273 (1.2%), and Tokat 10,037 (1.1%), the remainder receiving less than 10,000 each. These figures, with a total of 889,042, apparently include all immigrants, but since this falls short of the registered immigra-

tion of 1,204,205 in the same period, it must exclude those who remained in the cities. Of these, those from Bulgaria (31.1%), Rumania (10%), Yugoslavia (22.4%), and Greece (33.9%), formed the great majority (97.4%), and these Balkan immigrants (including Bulgarians) were distributed primarily in the Marmara region (56.7%), the Aegean region (21.3%), and Central Anatolia (11.7%) (GERAY 1962: 34).

With the exception of Samsun, Niğde, Seyhan and Kars all the provinces which received more than 20,000 are thus in the west, and of these Kars is atypical in being mainly for the settlement of Azeri (*q. v.* 7.) refugees. By contrast most eastern provinces were undisturbed by this immigration: Adıyaman, Bingöl, Bitlis, Hakkari, Mardin, Rize, and Siirt received no migrants at this time; Çankiri, Çoruh (Artvin), Erzurum, Gümüşhane, Hatay, Malatya, Trabzon, Tunceli, Urfa and Uşak received less than 1000 each.

Figures for the distribution by ethnic sub-group or former nationality are not available, apart from those for immigrants from Bulgaria (*q. v.* 17). The 1965 census figures for mother tongue, which almost certainly represent an undercount, still follow roughly the same pattern. Those above 300 are as follows:

<i>Bosnian</i>		<i>Pomak</i>	
Adana	312	Balıkesir	1,707
Balıkesir	319	Çanakkale	3,673
Bursa	1,169	Edirne	10,324
Çanakkale	516	İzmir	1,289
Edirne	334	Kırklareli	3,375
İstanbul	3,072	Kocaeli	381
İzmir	2,349	Samsun	319
Kırklareli	1,148	Tekirdağ	<u>1,632</u>
Kocaeli	3,827	Total	23,138
Kütahya	373		
Sakarya	2,899	<i>Bulgarian</i>	
Sivas	<u>515</u>	Balıkesir	916
Total	17,627	İstanbul	1,168
		İzmir	560
<i>Serbian</i>		Kocaeli	342
İstanbul	2,104	Manisa	<u>321</u>
İzmir	2,609	Total	4,088
Manisa	394		
Sakarya	<u>303</u>		
Total	6,599		

Of these, "Bosnian" and Serbian should probably be counted together with Croatian (of which only 45 speakers are registered); Pomak and Bulgarian should also be counted together. Only 406 speakers of Rumanian are registered, of which 90 were in Ankara, 194 in İstanbul, and 45 in Tekirdağ.

Not all the settlements were successful: TANOĞLU reported already in 1955 that the agricultural areas, especially those in the west, were completely saturated with farming populations (1955: 32). Others, such as those in Urfa, were found to be too dry. In consequence considerable movements of the immigrant population had already taken place by 1955, some 16,000 shifting from the centre and south to the Aegean and Marmara regions (GERAY 1962: 38). These movements, reflected in the provincial figures given above, have subsequently been augmented by urban migration.

#### Languages:

1. Turkish: dialects of Ottoman among migrants from Serbia, Macedonia, and the Dobruja.
2. Pomak, a dialect of Bulgarian, among migrants from Macedonia.
3. Serbo-Croatian among migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Boşnak* and *Hersek*).
4. Greek among migrants from Thessaloniki (Selanik): ca. 80% "Patriot Greek".

Many Turks from Macedonia, Rumania, and Greece were bilingual.

#### Religion:

1. Sunni Islam: Hanefi.
2. Alevi Islam among Kızılbaş, Amuca.  
Affiliation to the Bektâşi order is common.
3. Christian, Serbian Orthodox Church (3,000 BARRETT 1982).

#### Group identity:

these immigrants are treated as a single unit for want of more exact data. The criterion for division of the population in the exchanges of 1921-8 was religious only, regardless of speech, and administrative procedures have tended to perpetuate this attitude (KOSTANICK 1957: 93 and KLÄY 1974: 107 note 2). It is clear that in practice they are subdivided by language and/or religion, but beyond the statistics given, little information is available.

Bosnians (*Bošnjak*) and Muslims from Herzegovina (*Hersek*) spoke Serbo-Croat in common with their Christian neighbours, sharing a strongly orientalist urban culture with them; they had both secular and religious literary traditions. They were sometimes known as *Potur* in Serbo-Croat, and later in Ottoman. The majority of Muslims avoided declaring themselves as either Serbians or Croats, as this division corresponded to Christian denominations. There were, however, some exceptions.

*Čitak* (pl. *Čitaci*) from southern Serbia and Macedonia spoke Serbian, Macedonian, or Albanian (ELEZOVIČ 1929); only those from Strumica spoke Turkish. They are reported as members of the Bektāši order, which may thus have provided a unifying medium. FILIPOVIČ (1954) refers to three Bektāši villages in Strumica where the retention of Christian practices is marked. Although probably of South Slavonic stock, they regard themselves generally as Turks. Serbian Muslims were known to their Christian neighbours in Western Macedonia as *Torbeši* (sing. *Torbeš*), *Poturi*, and occasionally as *Kurki* (Srb-Cr. *po-turčiti* = to Turkicise).

Turkish speaking immigrants came from roughly the same region of Yugoslavia, both from the towns and as peasants from Kosovo (S. Serbia) and Macedonia. Some of these too were known as *Čitak* (VASILEVIČ 1924: 34; cf. BAJRAKTAREVIČ 1936: 1159b).

The *Pomak*, another group of Muslims of Slavonic origin, spread southward from Bulgaria (*q. v.* 17.) during the siege of Pleven, and from 1885 began to take refuge in Turkey. Many are settled still near the border. The extent of their former distribution is confused by the Bulgarian use of *Pomak* to designate Serbian-speaking as well as Bulgarian-speaking Muslims. Under the Ottomans the Pomak appear not to have distinguished nationality from religion: they were thus regarded as Turks by the Christian Bulgars (BAJRAKTAREVIČ 1936: 1161), though not by those Turks who were their neighbours. They are, it is said, physically distinct from the Turks, and this fact, together with their religiously conservative reaction against the reforms of Mustafa Kemal, is claimed to have been exploited by officials seeking to create a rift within the Muslim community in Greece (ORHONLU 1966: 683).

The term *Agarēnos*, meaning "hagarene, Muslim" was used by the Greeks first for the Turks, and subsequently for local converts to Islam. By the early XV<sup>th</sup> century its Bulgarian form *Ahryan* had been adopted by the Ottomans as *Ahryan* for Balkan converts, or simply anyone of Balkan stock (MÉNAGE 1969: 206–7). It has subsequently been used for the Pomak, in particular those from the central Rhodope massif, who accepted it themselves (EREN 1963: 39).

Turkish-speaking immigrants from the Rumanian area of the Dobruja arrived in 1934–39 as a result of the movement of some 77,800 away from a region disputed between Rumania and Bulgaria (KOSTANICK 1957: 79). They appear mainly to have been Sunnis, but may have included some Alevi like the population in Bulgaria. They may also have included some of the Christian *Gagauz*, who are reported as being in Edirne, though most of them now live across the border, particularly in Alexandropolis (GRULICH 1976: 42–6). These Rumanian immigrants also settled mainly in Thrace.

Among the Muslims expelled from Greece were Vlachs: *Karağiovalides* (Meglen Vlachs) and *Valaḥádes* (see Greek-speaking Muslims). Those *Valaḥádes* recorded speak Greek, though the Vlachs as a whole are considered to be the descendents of Roman settlers, and still maintain identifiable Roman traditions. The Meglen Vlach, cut off from the main body of Macedonian Vlachs in a mountainous region, are reputed to have become Muslims in the XVIIIth century (CAPIDAN 1937: 11).

A once widespread population of *Yörük* in the Balkans has also been absorbed in Turkey through migration from Yugoslavia and the population exchanges with Greece after 1923. They retained a Turkish dialect (HAZAI 1960). These appear to have settled with the other immigrants in Thrace or Southwest Anatolia.

Village studies carried out up to about tend 1970 to show some retention of group identity among these individual groups, at the village level, or occasionally in groups of neighbouring villages. This is due primarily to a sense of common historico-geographical origin, and secondarily to the retention of language differences among the older generation. Thus in a wholly *göçmen* village near Büyükçekmece, Istanbul, a language other than Turkish was spoken in 34% of all homes, and of these 97% spoke Greek: the inhabitants had come between 1922 and 1927, and had thus preserved their language for at least forty years in a highly accessible region where assimilation might have been expected to be rapid (COŞKUN 1968: 109). Comparable results were obtained among Yugoslavian (Bosnian) immigrants who arrived in 1957–9 or after 1963: 94.2% of the sample had not spoken Turkish on arrival, and by 1971 48.5% still did not do so, even though they lived at Kartal in Istanbul (ULUSOY 1971: 20). In another group in the same area, of mixed Yugoslavian origin, of whom 72% had not spoken Turkish on arrival, 31% still did not do so (ÖZAKDAĞ 1969: 28). MAGNARELLA (1974: 35) found that the position of women among Balkan refugees in Balıkesir, Susurluk was markedly more conservative than among the local population (Manav) in both male avoidance and subordination to men.

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(see also GREEK-SPEAKING MUSLIMS (36) and ALBANIANS (30) below).

*These are entered as one group on the map.*



## 19. Muslim immigrants from Daghistan

### Designation:

Daghistanis, Avars, Dargwa, Gazi Kumuk/Lak, Kaitak, Lezg(h)i(ans); *Ger.* Daghestaner, Awaren, Darginer, Gasi Kумыken/Laken, Lesgier; *Tk.* Dağistanlı(lar).

### Self-designation:

- a. (*in Turkish*) Dağistanlı/Lezgi (for all groups), Kara Lezgi (for Avars), Beyaz Lezgi/Gazi Kumük (for Lak), Esas Lezgi (for Tsezibi/Dido).
- b. (*in own languages*) Ma'arul mats' (Avar), Tsedeğ (Dargwa), Tsumtal (Tsezibi/Dido), Lak, Haidaq (Kaitak), Lezgiar (Lezghi).

### Numbers:

CENSUS: not listed by languages.

AYDEMİR* 1973-5	Dağistanlı 1966
	Lezgi <u>3257</u> (but see note below)
	5223 in villages only of the 39 provinces surveyed.
	Other groups not listed.
K. E. E. N.** 1960-70	Avar 2 villages in K. Maraş, Göksun

### Distribution:

according to AYDEMİR's survey of villages, primarily in Balıkesir (1482 persons combined), Denizli (942), Tokat (904), Istanbul (753), Muş (351), Kars (300), K. Maraş (283) and Sivas (208), but also represented in Adana, Bursa, Çanakkale, and İzmir provinces. Of these, the individual Daghistani peoples and their allocation are confused by the use in Turkey of *Lezgi* to denote not the Lezghi proper, but all those speaking Daghistani languages. Thus although AYDEMİR enumerates "Lezgi" separately, as living in the provinces of Balıkesir (935 persons), Tokat (652), Istanbul (528), Muş (351), Kars (300), K. Maraş (283) and Sivas (208), MOOR has found on investigation that the villages concerned were inhabited by Avars, Dargwa, Dido and Lak; true Lezghian villages were found only in Balıkesir (Ortaca and Yayla), and in İzmir (Dağistan) (1985: xxii). Otherwise, those known to be Avar are found in Bursa, Istanbul, K. Maraş, and Muş, with a few in Sivas and Tokat. Dargwa are known in Istanbul. There is

\* See survey 2 a in this volume.

\*\* See survey 1 in this volume.

some doubt about the distribution of the Lak (formerly Gazi Kumuk), since the latter name, properly the name of a Caucasian province, is popularly confused with that of the Turkic Kumuk (*q. v.* 16 b), also from Daghistan. These groups generally live in isolated villages; occasionally clusters of villages occur, as in Istanbul (Yalova), Kars, Sivas and Tokat. See survey 2 a.

**Language:**

from three distinct language-groups within the Northeast Ibero-Caucasian family:

- a. Avar (*Ma'arul mats'*), Andi (*Quanab mitsi*), and Dido (*Tsetzias mets*), from the north of Daghistan.
- b. Lak (*Laku matz*), and Dargwa (including the Kaitak dialect) from the west-central mountains of Daghistan.
- c. Lezghian, in the Samurian division, from southern Daghistan.

**Religion:**

Sunni Islam: Hanefi and Shafii.

**Group identity:**

apparently based increasingly on the sense of exile from a homeland, as indicated by the general adoption of the designation "Lezgi", rather than on membership of one of the small Daghistani peoples. Some of the younger generation in the Yalova villages are thus able to speak a Daghistani language without being aware that it is Avar. This is probably due in most cases to the original lack of clear self-designation (*e.g.* among the Avar, *maharul mats'* - simply means "mountain language"), coupled with the inability of the neighbouring Turks to recognise the significance of such small groups as Andi and Dido, or their even smaller derivatives. The exile antedated the nationalism fostered by Lenin in the Caucasus itself. The existing village studies thus emphasise Daghistani origin, and even list the villages from which the inhabitants came, but rarely mention language or group affinities. These villages have in some cases attracted further waves of immigrants (*e.g.* Izmir, Dağistan Köyü in 1291/1874 and 1310/1892), or re-established ties with Daghistan in recent times. Nothing is said in these studies about the retention of former structures of village organisation (*cf.* EREL 1972). It appears that in the more accessible villages, such as Dağistan, the use of language has suffered from exposure to outside influence, and the younger generation no longer speak it, whereas more isolated villages are depleted by emigration. Though in two three

Lezghian villages studied Lezghi is still the only language for ordinary conversation, its conservation is now threatened after 120 years, and with it Lezghian culture. Turkish is used for writing (MOOR 1985: xxiii).

Some distinctive features also survive in material culture. Those immigrants settled in Kars are still remarkable for the agricultural techniques they brought with them (1865) and for maintaining their metal-working traditions in the winter. In Sivas a crop brought from Daghistan is still cultivated, and in general traditions of cooking seem to be maintained most tenaciously as part of an ethos of hospitality regarded as particularly Caucasian. Interest in the ethnic background of these small communities has been fostered by societies, and until recently by their publications, notably *Kuzey Kafkasya*.

Until ten years ago, in the only sample available (GÜLER 1982: 40) marriage with other Daghistanis was considered of primary importance; increasing contact with the outside world is causing this preference to break down.

Although these groups should properly appear as separate entities on the map, they have been treated as one unit for want of exact information. In many cases villages are inhabited by more than one group of Caucasians, and in others the designation remains unknown.

(For the Turkic KUMUK see 16 b above)

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*All Daghistanis, including the Kumuk, are entered as one group on the map.*

## 20. Sudanese

### Designation:

Sudanese, Negroes; *Ger.* Sudaneser; *Tk.* Arap, Kürt (*sic*) in Adana.

### Self-designation:

unknown.

**Numbers:**

unknown. On the strength of the former villages, perhaps 5,000.

**Distribution:**

principally in the towns and some villages of the south and southwest coasts. Thus DE PLANHOL (1958: 349 and 406) reported half the population of Büyük and Küçük Kundu, at the mouth of the River Aksu, as negroid at least in part, together with some further inland at Kargın in Korkuteli. Others have been noted in Ayvalik, Izmir, Antalya, Selçük, and around Mersin and Tarsus. EGGELING has reported two villages with similar populations, Yeniçiftlik and Tulum in the Küçük Menderes valley (1973:21). There were formerly many in the town of Torbalı nearby (PHILIPPSON 1911: 30). Further north some are to be seen in the neighbourhood of Adapazarı, and in Istanbul. The villages in the Yüreğir Ovası southwest of Adana, Forlar, Asmalı, Sağdıçlı (Büyük Araplar), and Paşaköy (Küçük Araplar) have now largely dispersed to Karataş and Adana, and remain at best as minorities in a replacement population.

**Language:**

Turkish.

**Religion:**

Islam; Alevi?

**Group identity:**

distinguished by strong racial characteristics (colour) and a sense of separate origin, strengthened until recently by endogamy. Those in the southern ports appear to be the descendants of slaves brought by sea from Egypt (DE PLANHOL 1958: 349). Those in the Yüreğir Ovası are known to have been brought to the region from the Sudan by İbrahim Paşa during his rebellion and occupation of Adana in 1833: they remained after his retreat in 1834, and were settled in three villages, which still had an isolated, closed character at the beginning of this century, living by agriculture. At that date some Sudanese customs, including the drinking by men of maize beer (*boza*), were still kept up (SCHAFFER 1903: 141). From 1946 these Sudanese provide an example of purposeful assimilation, by movement to the towns and out-marriages, preferring to marry whites. In Adana they came to be known as *Kürt* (= Kurd!), apparently through confusion with later village settlers from the east (KARADENİZ 1971). In the Küçük Menderes region, however, Eggeling found no evidence of half-breeds, and found that mixed marriages, though not forbidden, were not

considered desirable by either side (1973: 21). No more definite information on the origins of this group appears to be available, though the possibility of more than one origin is indicated by a report that at Akçaşar village in İsparta the "Araplar" were brought back by the ağas from the pilgrimage to Mecca (ANON. 1969).

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## 21. Estonians

### Designation:

Estonians, Esthonians; *Ger.* Esten; *Tk.* Eston(lar).

### Self-designation:

Mā mēs.

### Numbers:

- CENSUS: not registered by language.  
 TÜRKDOĞAN 1975 40-50 persons in 8 families.  
 ROOS 1975 A few dozen.

### Distribution:

the single village of Karacaören (originally Novo-Estonskoye) in Kars province, Merkez İlçesi, where they lived with German speaking Molokans since 1886, when 300 Estonians founded the village during the Russian occupation. Most later returned to Russia. In 1972 a group left to work in Germany.

### Language:

an archaic dialect of Estonian, the principal language of the southern branch of the Balto-Finnic division of the Finno-Ugrian family.

**Religion:**

Christian: Evangelical Church.

**Group identity:**

based on religion, language, and distinct culture sustained by endogamy. The diminution of the population through flight, return to the Causasus, and emigration has led to the choice of marriage partners among Molokans, Germans, and Poles (*q. vv.*) showing that religion is the primary ethnic factor. Two girls were also allowed to marry Muslim partners. Young people can now speak only broken Estonian in most cases.

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 See JOHANSEN in this volume.

**22. Kurds: Sunni****Designation:**

Kurds; *Ger.* Kurden; *Tk.* Kürt(ler).

**Self-designation:**

Kurd, Kirmāṅġ (Kurmāṅġ).

**Secondary self-designations:**

in some areas (Van and Hakkâri) the peasantry are called *Kirmāṅġ* in opposition to the nomads, referred to as *aşîrat*. The latter call themselves Kurd.

**Numbers:**

CENSUS 1965	2,219,502	declared persons speaking Kürtçe
	<u>45</u>	declared persons speaking Kırmanca ( <i>sic</i> )
	<u>2,219,547</u>	registered by mother tongue
	1,752,858	speaking Kürtçe as second language
	<u>313</u>	speaking Kırmanca as second language
	<u>1,753,161</u>	registered by second language

K. E. E. N. 1960–70 see Village Survey (Survey 1)

REPORT 1987? 1,996,972 tribal speakers of Kirmāṅġi and Zaza

## Estimates:

BIRGE	1949: 33	1,480,246 referring to 1935
NIKITINE	1956: 42	4,500,000
BRUK	1958: 30	2,500,000
KINNANE	1964: 2	2,500,000
GHASSEMLOU	1965: 23	4,900,000
AREA HANDBOOK	1970: 76	1,500,000
VANLY	1970: 30	6,600,000
VANLY	1971: 7	6,750,000
EDMONDS	1971: 92	3,200,000
KERIMLİ	1974: tab.	7,637,000 for 1970
SHORT & McDERMOTT	1977: 6	3,200,000
VAN BRUINESSEN	1978: 21-2	7,500,000 for 1975, calculated
CHALIAND	1978: 72-3	8,500,000 based on 1970 census
ANDREWS, F. D.	1982: 20	3,800,000
CHALIAND	1984: 84	6,200,000 based on 1970 census, but excluding diaspora

*N. b.* Some confusion arises from the frequent inclusion of Zazas (25-6) in these figures. Furthermore Kurdish Sunnis and Kurdish Alevis are usually treated as one. Sunnis 70% of total? JAFAR (1976: 94) has pointed out that the number of Kurds in Turkey given by a writer generally tends to perform the function of an indicator that reflects the writer's attitude towards the Turkish authorities. Vanly and Kerimli are Kurdish nationalists. VAN BRUINESSEN (1979: 20-1) reports that persons are registered for the census as using Kurdish as their mother tongue only when they speak no Turkish at all, the others being registered as Turks.

## Distribution:

principally in the provinces of Hakkâri, Van, Ağrı, Siirt, Bitlis, Muş, Diyarbakir and Urfa; in lesser concentrations in Kars, Mardin, Bingöl, Erzurum, Elazığ, Tunceli, Erzincan, Adıyaman, Malatya, Gaziantep, K. Maraş, and Hatay. For the number of villages with a Kurdish-speaking population in these provinces see the KEE survey (1) in this volume. Further colonies exist in the Central Anatolian sub-provinces of Cihanbeyli, Haymana and Kırtoğlu, and the provinces of Çankiri, Sivas and Tokat, besides large populations of migrant workers in urban centres (see village lists and survey 5 for tribes in Hakkâri).

Some 700,000 Kurds were resettled throughout western Anatolia as far as Tekirdağ after the Russian invasion of World War I, and possibly a million in the winter of 1926-7 after the Kurdish uprising of 1925 (CHALIAND

1978: 73 note), though amnesties allowed many to return. Thus some three million may now live outside the provinces listed above. In the latter, some 72% were still villagers (including nomads) in 1965. Chaliand (1978: 74) estimated that of these some 30,000 were semi-nomadic in 1978, but the number of full nomads has fallen to a small minority.

### Language:

*Kirmānġi* (Tk. *Kurmancı/Kırmanca*), a group of dialects in the Northern Kurdish group of the Iranic languages, with Arabic and Turkish loans. The analysis of the latter, to the exclusion of the Iranic element, has led to the mistaken claim that Kurdish is a Turkic language (cf. GÜLENSOY 1984 and MİRŞAN 1983). Also known as *zimanē Kurdî*. A *Kirmānġi* dialect called *Sorānî* is spoken in Silvan and Siverek sub-provinces (in Silvan by Şeyhbızın Kurds); the language of Haymana, also Şeyhbızın, is somewhat difficult for other *Kirmānġi*-speakers to understand. *Kürtçe* (Tk.), as given in the census, is to be taken as identical with *Kırmanca* (*Kirmānġi*).

See MacKENZIE in this volume.

### Religion:

Sunni Islam: characteristically Shafii (70% or more), but some Hanefi in Urfa (ATEŞSAL 1974), Siirt and Diyarbakır. Membership of Sufi *taraiik* is important: thus in Özalp sub-province, Van, both the Kadiri and the Nakşbendi orders exist, and in Şemdinli sub-province, Hakkâri, 90% of the population is said to be Kadiri, under the leadership of Şeh Reşîde Lölân in Iraq.

*N. b.* Some Kurdish-speaking Christians are Aramean (*q. v.* 42,43) or Armenian (28) in origin. Other Kurds are Alevi (23) or Yezidi (24), *q. vv.*

### Group identity:

primarily through language (see MacKENZIE), and secondarily through maintaining a difference in *mezhep* (Shafii or Alevi) from the surrounding Turks (Hanefi). Further local religious identity is fostered by dervish shaikhs, notably in the Kadiri and Nakşbendi orders. In some cases tribal genealogies and social structure still reinforce local identity (*e. g.* the Birukân, Beritân, Ğelâlî and Ertüş). Thus in Van, Özalp, there are four *aşîrat*: Mîlân, Mukrî, Takurî and Şemsikân. The larger tribal groupings may be subdivided into units that may be taken as tribes in themselves. Thus the Ertüş are divided into Şerefâ, Şidâ, Âlâ, Gewdâ, Mamġorâ, Mahmetpirâ, Êzdinâ, Žirkî, Ğelilâ, Ğawuşâ, Qeşurâ and Zêwkî. Confusion may also be occasioned by synonyms, or tribal names given to territories. Some tribal groups gain additional cohesion through continuing a nomadic or semi-



nomadic way of life. There is, however, no genealogy common to all tribes, nor a single apical ancestor from whom descent is claimed (*cf.* 3. Yörük). On the contrary, according to one myth, the Kurds are descended from a number of children saved from the tyrant Zahak: possibly an admission of plural Iranian origin. There are also said to have been two primordial tribes, the Mīlān and Zilān, from whom the Kurds derive: the chief of the Mīllī still received widespread respect only 80 years ago (SYKES 1908: 470).

Endogamy is preferred, but mixed marriages occur quite frequently, especially amongst townspeople, with other Sunnis. First-cousin marriages are common, and even a prerogative.

Many villages still have a social organisation that is clearly tribal, and it is still possible to list many of these for a given area (*cf.* ÖNDER 1954 b, or survey 5 in this volume). Since fractions of a tribe often happen to have settled in places hundreds of kilometres apart, the overall pattern is confusing to the outsider, and requires detailed study. Earlier attempts to compile tribal lists and maps by BLAU, Z. GÖKALP, and particularly SYKES, have yet to be brought up to date on a comprehensive scale, though the work of BEŞİKÇİ, KARABUDA, and HÜTTEROTH shows what can be done for individual regions (see survey 5 for tribes in Hakkâri). Specimens of lists claimed to be from a secret Government source have recently been published in *İkibin'e Doğru* (13–19 Aralık 1987, yıl 1, sayı 51).

Certain groups gain additional definition through their speech: for example the Şavak, a culturally distinct, seminomadic people in Dersim (Tunceli) speak a variety of Kirmāngî which is not fully understood by other Kirmāngî speakers, even by those whose dialect is closest (GÜL 1976). Others have assimilated foreign elements and their culture: the great Mīllī tribe have become Arabicised in this way, but remain Kirmāngî speakers. Still others, now Kurdicised, remember or can be assigned a former Turkish identity (*cf.* TANYOL 1954: iii, 96; ERÖZ 1966 and 1982 *passim*). Cases of the Turkicisation of Kurds are also documented (*e.g.* TANYOL 1964–6: 41) and this process can be observed in some areas now (GÜL 1976: 6).

The pattern of some general customs, particularly those concerned with marriage, differs in important respects from the Turkish. Music, epic song, and dance are also distinct.

The present prohibition of the official use of Kurdish, or of publications and even recordings in Kurdish, appears to indicate an etic recognition of its importance for group identity, albeit negatively. The Turkish government places great importance on the education of children in Turkish. As a corollary, however, Kurds in remoter areas, disenchanting with

what they perceive as official neglect, have in some cases refrained from teaching their children Turkish. The attitude of the Turkish government has not been consistently negative: in the 1960s some Kurdish publications were allowed to appear, and moves were even made towards the academic study of the Kurds and their language. The historical and philological argument that the Kurds represent an early group of Turkish settlers, first advanced by the ex-Kurdish nationalist Şükrü SEKBAN in the 1930s, and the Alevi Kurd M. Şerif FIRAT (1945), then systematised by Edip YAVUZ in *Türk Kavimleri* (1960), has been given much emphasis since 1978 (RİŞVANOĞLU); a spate of at least twenty publications on this theme since 1981 has tended to ignore the competing emic view of Kurdish identity. The alternatives being offered by this particular aspect of emic response, now widely encouraged as an official etic view, are that the Kurds are either a Turkish tribe, or a basic element in Turkish culture, or the population of a particular region, but in any case to be studied in every respect as Turks, *Kürttürk* being compared to *Azeri Türk* or *Özbek Türk* (letter from the Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1985). The tribal emic view is presented by BEŞİKÇİ, while the political repercussions of both emic and etic attitudes are documented by KÜCHLER (1978). The present situation is summarised in the *Kurdish Times* (N.Y. vol.2, no.1 Dec. 1987). Both the etic and the majority emic view strongly identify the Kurds with eastern Anatolia, ignoring the dispersion in the west.

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See VAN BRUINSEN and YALÇIN in this volume; also survey 5.

## 23. Kurds: Alevi

### Designation:

Alevi Kurdeş, Kurdish Alevi; *Ger.* Alewitische Kurden; *Tk.* Alevî Kürt.

### Self-designation:

a. Alevî b. Kurd.

### Numbers:

CENSUS: not separately listed.

K. E. E. N. See Village Survey for eastern provinces (survey 1).

No estimates are available, but on the basis of the popular estimate that 70% of all Kurds in Turkey are Sunnis, most of the remaining 30% should be Alevis, after the exclusion of the Yezidis (ca. 10,000?).

CHALIAND 1978: 76 supposes that there are "several hundred thousand".

BOYNUKALIN 1975: 109 assumes that the Alevi in Erzincan are all of Kurdish origin, that is 84,467 villagers (44%) in 1965. Cf. surveys 1 b, 1 c.

**Distribution:**

principally in the provinces of Bingöl (especially Karlıova and Kiğı sub-provinces), Tunceli, Erzincan, Sivas, Yozgat, Elazığ, Malatya, K. Maraş (especially in Elbistan and Pazarcık), and Kayseri (Pınarbaşı, Sarız and Tomarza), with an outlying concentration in Çorum (Alaca). These populations are mainly in villages not very far apart. Other scattered occurrences are recorded for Adıyaman, Gaziantep, Hatay, Kırşehir, Nevşehir, Samsun, and Tokat provinces. For Erzincan see surveys 1 b, 1 c.

**Language:**

*Kırmāngî*, as Sunni Kurds. Turkish for liturgical use.

**Religion:**

Alevi Muslims (*cf.* 2, 6 and 26).

**Group identity:**

primarily through religion, secondarily through language, and thirdly by tribal definition. Affinities with other, Turkish- or Zaza-speaking Alevi are perceived as being greater than those with Sunni Kurds, permitting occasional intermarriage, and substantiated through a set of ritual practices carried out with a Turkish liturgy. The same polarity between Alevi and Sunnis exists among the Kurds as among the Turks, as was demonstrated when Sunni Kurds helped the Turks suppress the Alevi revolt in Dersim (1916). Tribal genealogies are differentiated into Seyyid and non-Seyyid, certain Seyyid families having established the customary right to provide religious leaders: they must ideally be endogamous to maintain this status. The remaining population is bound to them by a declaration of faith, as *tālîp*, "aspirants", through a Seyyid *rehber*, "guide", who is responsible in turn to a *pîr*, "elder". Those Kurdish Alevi living outside Tunceli are guided by a *rehber* living in the neighbourhood, who nevertheless originates in Tunceli, and thus forms part of the same network. This recourse to the *Evlâd-i Resûl*, "descendants of the Prophet" thus serves to unite the group, and replaces a common tribal genealogy. Tribal allegiances formerly demonstrated by tribute to an *aşiret reisi*, "chief", have now weakened through the loss of these leaders' political authority, though tribal differences are still celebrated in an epic tradition. The close ties between religious and temporal authority have led to a disaffection of the younger generation from the religious hierarchy, with a concomitant readjustment of religious commitment within the community towards an egalitarian

brotherhood. They find, however, that this is repudiated by outsiders who, from a Sunni point of view, still regard them as deviants. Tunceli (Dersim) appears to play a role in identity as a refuge region. (Cf. 26, Zaza Alevi below.)

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see BUMKE in this volume.

## 24. Kurds: Yezidi

### Designation:

Yezidis, Yazidi; *Ger.* Jezidi; *Tk.* Yezidi(ler); pejorative Şeytan-perest, Halta, Saçlı Kürt, Sekiz bıyıklı; *Ar.* Dasnâyē (in Syria); *Neo-Aram.* Çelkoye (pejorative).

### Self-designation:

Azidi, İzidi, İzedi, İzdi; Dāsin, Dasnī, Dasenī (pl. Dawāsin, Dawasenī, Dawāšim).

### Numbers:

CENSUS: not listed separately, since they speak Kurdish.

SCHNEIDER 1984: 14 20,000 in Turkey

(total of 100,000 in Iraq, Iran, Syria, Turkey, and the USSR). About 3,300 of those from Turkey are now refugees in the Federal Republic of Germany (*ibid.* 99).

K. E. E. N. 1960-70 37 villages recorded by NESTMANN (see Survey 1) but some entries are confused with Alevis.

T. T. B. 1985: 71 5,853 in Siirt, Beşiri sub-province.

GUEST 1987 10,000 remaining in Turkey

150,000 total in Middle East.

**Distribution:**

mainly in the frontier provinces bordering on Syria and Iraq: Mardin (ca. 25 villages), Urfa (24 villages), Siirt (14 villages), Diyarbakır (4 villages), Gaziantep (4 villages), and Adiyaman (2 villages).

Considerable numbers of villages are claimed by the Yezidi Verein in Hannover as having been destroyed or taken over by Muslims in the recent past: they list 121 of these, stating that another 48 are still inhabited by the Yezidi.

**Language:**

*Kirmāngî* Kurdish; those in Mardin are said to have a recognisable pronunciation. Arabic is used for religious ritual.

**Religion:**

Yezidi. A syncretic religion probably originating from the Ḥawārīg sect of schismatics early in the history of Islam, and having features in common with Alevi and Nusairi practices. It also incorporates Judaic, Christian, and pre-Islamic pagan elements.

**Group identity:**

primarily through religion, and secondarily as Kurds with a tribal organisation. Their position is maintained by strict endogamy. As adherents of a religion not accepted by Muslims as “people of the book” they have been particularly isolated, maintaining their existence in the face of prolonged persecution. The religious hierarchy (*rūhān*, *kahana*) is clearly stratified, led by an hereditary shaikh (*mīr-i šeyhān*) claiming descent from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and residing at Laleš near Mosul, under whose jurisdiction there are seven district *šeyhs* and a number of *pīrs*, some fifty *qaw-wāls*, and *faqīrs*. There are also recognised *kōčaks* or soothsayers, and *mollās*. Besides these there is a secular head of all the Yezidi, an hereditary emir (*mīrzā*) formerly resident at Bā‘adhūrī, and claiming descent from Yezīd, responsible for negotiating on behalf of his people with the governors of the countries they live in. Marriage is also restricted within the hierarchy, the *šeyhs* and *pīrs* being endogamous as classes, though *qaw-wāls* and *faqīrs* can intermarry with commoners (*murīd*). Religious unity was formerly assured by the obligation to visit the shrine of Šeyḥ ‘Adī once a year, more especially for baptism into the community, and also by visits from the district *šeyḥ* twice a year. A number of other obligations make the community closely interdependent, notably the bonding of each individual with a “brother” and a “sister of the next world” and a partic-

ular *šeyh* or *pîr*. Proscriptions prevent any close contact with Muslims or their prayers. Deviants are ultimately threatened with anathema.

Descent is claimed from Adam alone, giving the Yezidi a position apart from the rest of mankind, held to be descended from Adam and Eve. Membership of the Yezidi is thus by birth alone, and they are bound not to mix with others. Loyalties are to family rather than tribe. Nevertheless there are clearly-defined patrilineal tribal descent groups. Thus in the Midyat region there are two major tribes, the Čelka and the Ĥalta. The Čelka *ašîret* is subdivided into the Daseka, Keleka, and Šemika; these smaller *ašîret* are also divided into *qabîlet*, the Daseka forming the Revena, Buzera and Bınoka. The Ĥalta are the largest tribe in Turkey with their centre in Diyarbakır and Siirt provinces (and a branch in Kars?). The Viranşehir region is dominated by the Šerkiān and the Duna (information from the Yezidi Verein, 1985). Much of the persecution endured has been at the hands of Muslim Kurds, notably at Koyuncuk (Niniveh) in 1832; there is therefore little sense of common interest between them. Polarisation from the orthodox also led to religious coercion by the Ottoman government, as recently as 1892 under Ömer Paşa, and the difficulty of obtaining recognition from Sunni officials still endangers the Yezidis' position despite constitutional guarantees. Continuing pressure has led them to claim recently that they represent an original, Zoroastrian, religion of the Kurds, apparently so as to effect a *rapprochement* with the latter.

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## 25. Zazas: Sunni

### Designation:

Zazas; *Ger.* Zaza; *Tk.* Zaza; *Kurd.* Zaza, Zaz.

### Self-designation:

a. Zaza b. Dimili (not in Erzincan, Kiğı, or Mutki areas).

### Numbers:

CENSUS 1965 150,644 declared persons speaking Zaza, total:  
*ca.* 140,000 of these in the Sunni areas.  
 112,701 persons speaking Zaza as second language.  
 K. E. E. N.\* 1960-70 619 villages total:  
 465 villages in the Sunni areas.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 1977: 3 2,000,000 Zaza speakers total.

The general census count is certainly too low as excludes all but 7 (*sic!*) persons in Tunceli. Confusion arises in these and other lists from the inclusion of Zazas with Kurds in total figures.

### Distribution:

in two main groups and several smaller ones. The main Sunni groups are:

1. In the mountains south of the Murad Suyu from Genç to Palu and Lice, and northwards to Bingöl, reaching apparently as far east as Solhan (K. E. E. N. some 345 villages).
2. The semi-nomadic Dimilî of the lower-lying areas, living in the hills between Karacadağ in Urfa and Derik in Mardin, apparently extending northward to Çüngüş and Çermik in Diyarbakır (K. E. E. N. some 72 villages).

In addition to these, there are some smaller groups in:

3. Mutki (Bitlis), apparently extending to Baykan (Siirt) (K. E. E. N. 11 villages).
  4. Varto (Muş) (K. E. E. N. 37 villages).
- Others are reported at:
5. Pütürge (Malatya).
  6. Hınıs (Erzurum).

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\* See survey 1.

7. The CENSUS 1965 lists 992 persons speaking Zaza in Kars, but these do not appear in the K. E. E. N. They are known locally as Zaza Türkmen, and are said to live in Selim and Ardahan.
8. A further group of 16 villages is reported in Niğde, Aksaray.

**Language:**

various dialects of Zaza (*Zaza*, *Zazaki* or *Dimlä*), an Iranic language, related to Gorani, but already distinguished from the Kurdish language by O. MANN in 1909. See MacKENZIE in this volume. Zaza and Kurdish are not mutually comprehensible.

**Religion:**

Sunni Muslim: Shafii.

**Group identity:**

effectively by language, though, as emically seen, by religion which, like that of the Kurds, is generally differentiated from the Hanefi *mezheb* of the Turkish Sunni majority as the Shafii *mezheb*, and seen in sharp opposition to Kurdish or Zaza Alevilik (23, 26). It is noteworthy that the Zaza are not usually distinct in religion from the Kurds in the same region; Varto seems to be an exception. The language is sufficiently different from Kurdish to prevent effective communication between the two groups, except among well educated people. In spite of this, many Zazas now regard themselves as Kurds (see above, 22, 23), and have long done so. Tribal organisation is still recognised, and lists are given by DERSIMI (1952: 57) for Kiği which apparently extend to many of the Zazas in Bingöl, though no details are given for the more southerly Zaza. Of those listed (Porikan, Maskan, Maksudan, Lertigan, Kureyšan, Bamasuran, Čekan, Čarekan, Gutan) however, some (the Maskan, Kureyšan, Bamasuran and Čarekan) are known to be Alevi. Etically some confusion has arisen from, on the one hand, efforts by Kurdish nationalists to swell their numbers by claiming the Zaza as their own, and on the other, semi-official propaganda which treats the Zazas and the Kurds as part of the same "problem" (BAŞBUĞ 1984 a and b; GÜLENSOY 1983 and 1984 b). The Sunni Zazas have in the past felt themselves sufficiently distinct from the Alevi Zazas to attack the latter at the behest of the government following the rising in eastern Dersim in 1916; this is characteristic of the complete lack of solidarity between them. Sunni Kurds are aware of a set of cultural and even physical traits which set Sunni Zaza apart from themselves, though not so far as the Alevis. For their Kurdishness see MacKENZIE and VAN BRUINSEN in this volume.



- the south (K. E. E. N.; SEVGEN 1950: 411). Some migrate to yaylas in summer.
2. Along the right bank of the Euphrates (Firat) from the Bingöl Dağları to the Malatya plain.
  3. An extension of this group includes the Zaza element among the Koçgiri (Koçkiri) tribes in Sivas, in the sub-provinces of Zara, İmranlı, Kangal and Divriği (districts of Bulucan, Beypınarı, Kavak, İmranlı Merkez and Karacaören). This comprises the Çarekan and Giniyan tribes (DERSİMİ 1952: 61-3; SEVGEN 1950: 411).
  4. A further extension into Erzincan and further east into Erzurum includes the Kureyşan tribe in the northeast of Erzincan Merkez sub-province (Merkez and Tanyeri districts), and Çayırılı sub-province (Merkez and Başköy districts) (DERSİMİ 1952: 67-8).
  5. A group in Diyarbakır, Hani sub-province (K. E. E. N.).

**Language:**

as Zaza Sunnis, but Turkish is used by some (not all) groups for religious ceremonial. Now threatened by exodus of population and education of younger generation in Turkish.

**Religion:**

Alevi Muslims. *Cf.* Nos. 2, 6, and 23.

**Group identity:**

through a combination of language, the endogamy inherent in Alevilik, and the closed, esoteric nature of the cult itself. Tribal divisions were still apparent in the 1970s (*cf.* DERSİMİ 1952: 43-69; ÖZTÜRK 1972: 43 ff., esp. 46), each evoking strong loyalties both to the group and its leader. Tribal land is owned to a large extent by hereditary chiefs (*reis*) who may control many villages. A further loyalty is traditionally due to cult leaders at three levels, *pir*, *mürşit*, and *rehber* (*dede*, *baba*) who formerly visited the towns and villages in a prescribed circuit, and at regular intervals, to direct worship, and in return receive donations in cash and kind as an established right, though no more than the expression of respect and spiritual dependence among their followers. The religious authority of the *dede* is formalised through genealogies derived from the Prophet's family (*Ehl-i Beyt*), through one of the twelve imams. The tribes are consequently divided into those (*seyyid*) associated with these genealogies, and those who are not, accepting an inferior standing. As with the Alevi Kurds, reference to descent from the Prophet's family has fulfilled the need for a common tribal

ancestor. The bond between the two levels of tribes is dependent upon the *ikrar bend*, the Alevi confirmation of faith, which is binding for life. Within the *seyyid* tribes are specific families whose long cultural standing enables them to provide most of the *dedes* for both groups. *Dedes* remain responsible for any part of their tribal following which changes location. Group unity is reinforced by the freely-entered bond of *müsahtiplik* between individuals.

As an external element, the inaccessibility of Tunceli has both protected these tribes and isolated them, strengthening their identity as a group. It still remains the centre for loyalties among the outlying groups, even though the traditional organisation has been rejected among the younger generation (see BUMKE in this volume).

Language appears to be secondary to *Alevilik* in identity: a group of Zaza in Sivas, Zara, living among Alevi Kurds now consider themselves Kurdish even though some of the elder members still speak Zaza. Close and cordial relationships are maintained with Alevis in other areas, such as Malatya and Maraş, and *dedes* exchange visits. Some intermarriage occurs, despite the tendency towards tribal endogamy. The usual polarity between Alevi and Sunni, however, is extended to Shafii Zaza and Kurds.

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See BUMKE in this volume.

## 27. Ossetes

### Designation:

Ossetes, Ossetians; *Ger.* Ossen, Osseten; *Tk.* Osetin, Asetin, Kuşha(lar).

### Self-designation:

Iron (s.), Irättä (pl.), Ir (collective); also Dıgur, Dıguron/Dıguran, Dıgur (collective); and Tuallag, Tuallägtä (pl.).

**Numbers:**

CENSUS: not listed by language.

AYDEMİR\* 1973-5 8,943 persons in the villages of the 39 provinces surveyed.

THORDARSON 1971 4000 to 5000 guessed by informant.

**Distribution:**

according to AYDEMİR's incomplete survey of villages, (1973-5) the largest number were in Kars province (4330 persons), followed by Yozgat (1626), Muş (1440), Bitlis (487), Tokat (438), Sivas (272), Kayseri (200), and Erzurum (150) with a few in Niğde. These figures apply to villages only, but are probably reflected proportionately in the respective provincial centres. There may also be some Ossetes in Siirt province. THORDARSON confirms their presence in Kars, Yozgat, Muş, Sivas, and Erzurum. Only nine village names are known at present. See survey 2 a.

**Language:**

Ossetic (*Ironau, Iron avzäg*) belonging to the northeastern division of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. It is now giving way to Turkish in the single area so far studied (Sivas: THORDARSON). All in Turkey probably speak the Iron, or eastern dialect.

**Religion:**

Sunni Islam. (Only the Digor, speaking the western dialect, now remain Muslim in the Ossetian Republic.)

**Group identity:**

no information available, but presumed to be based on language and sense of origin in the Caucasus. The language is reported as being likely to disappear in Turkey within a few decades, since many young people do not know it as well as Turkish, if at all (THORDARSON 1971: 146).

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THORDARSON, F. 1971 (Sivas, philology)

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\* See survey 2 a in this volume.

## 28. Armenians

### Designation:

Armenians; *Ger.* Armenier; *Tk.* Ermeni.

### Self-designation:

Հայ (pl. Haik).

### Numbers:

CENSUS:	1965	33,094	declared persons speaking Armenian.
		23,282	declared persons speaking Armenian as second language.
		<u>56,286</u>	total speaking Armenian.
CENSUS:	1965	69,526	declared Gregorian Christians.
		66,177	of these in towns of over 10,000.
		3,349	of these in places with smaller population.
SAGHANIAN	1978	60,000	in diocese of Istanbul.
		10,000	in provinces.
BÄRRETT	1982	80,000	Gregorians affiliated
		8,300	Uniate Catholics (6,000 in Istanbul).
DsA	1982	45,000	Gregorians.
		5,000	Uniate Catholics.
ARCHIMANDRITE OF W. GERMANY	1982	40,000	Gregorians.
		1,000	Protestants.
ANSCHÜTZ*	1984	7,000–10,000	Catholics.

### Distribution:

primarily, and increasingly, in Istanbul where the administration and patriarchate of the community is based at Kumkapı, with a further vicariate in the suburb of Rumelihisar. Apart from this, vicariates were still maintained in 1978 at Kayseri, Diyarbakır (including Derik), and İskenderun (including Vakıflı) (HEYER 1978: 219–20). The community in Kayseri is now reported to have dispersed. There are still about seven villages with an Armenian population in Hatay, Şamandağı and four in Bitlis, Mutki; a few appear to subsist in Kastamonu, Azdavay. Single villages are registered in the Village Inventory (K. E. E. and K. E. E. N.) for Bingöl and

\* See contribution in this volume.

Elazığ; others are privately reported in Siirt and Tunceli. Of the provincial figures numbering over a hundred (CENSUS 1965), Istanbul was highest (29,479 persons) followed by Kastamonu (849), Bolu (488), Hatay (376), Sinop (228), Sivas (217), Amasya (216), Malatya (148), Diyarbakır (132) and Yozgat (118) for Armenian as mother tongue. There is some evidence that former Armenian communities have become Alevi in the region of Tunceli, while others have remained as Muslims in the provinces of Erzurum, Kars, and Siirt: 600 in Siirt are reported to have converted in one village in 1983 (HOFMANN 1985: 144). Others have left for the security of the cities: thus a community of about forty households is said to have left Körahmet Mahallesi of Yaylalar köyü in Artvin Province (Yusufeli: Sarigöl) in 1952–3. The Gregorian community in Ankara has grown through influx from the provinces, and now numbers about 1000 (GÖCKENJAN 1981: 118).

The Armenian Catholic Uniates are also concentrated in Istanbul, with parishes in Ankara, Diyarbakır, Malatya, Mardin and Sivas. The Protestants form a small community in Ankara.

#### Language:

Armenian (*Hai lezu*); the western dialects of the language, which is a separate branch of the Satem group of the Indo-European family, with its own Mesopian script.

#### Religion:

Christian, in three separate churches:

1. The Armenian Apostolic Church (Gregorian Orthodox), a monophysite church independent since 451 A. D., now directed by the Catholics of Echmiadzin, through the patriarchate at Istanbul.
2. The Roman Catholic Church, uniate since 1830: Armenian rite.
3. The Protestant Church.

#### Group identity:

derived from an eponymous ancestor, Haik, and maintained by language and religion through a culture established in Transcausasia for more than 2000 years, and in Anatolia for 1000. The sense of national identity has been tempered by a continuous struggle for survival against more powerful neighbours and invaders. The *millet* system allowed the Armenians a relatively well-integrated position under the Ottomans, with a high degree of autonomy; under this they achieved the status of *millet-i şadiqa*, "the faithful people", in recognition of their services to the State,



until the rise of nationalism disturbed the balance in the XIXth century. Their present position derives from this, with the continuation of a patriarchate, trusts for welfare, special schools, and freedom to use and print the Armenian language, as the privileges of an officially-recognised minority.

The former agricultural way of life in Central and Eastern Anatolia has almost entirely disappeared, and has been replaced by the urban, largely Westernised, attitudes of the prosperous middle class in Istanbul, where traditional cultural values can be maintained without danger, and a well-integrated commercial life maintained. This special position, however, now causes them to be regarded as a foreign element by Muslim Turks. The links inevitably maintained with the diaspora, and the frequently hostile attitude of the latter towards the Turkish Republic, cause the Turks to react with suspicion towards the Armenian community, and officials have occasionally restricted its freedom. It is reported that parents find it hard to register their children as Armenian, as required for their independent schooling (LIBARIDIAN 1979: 44), and obstacles are reported to have been placed in the way of the schools themselves, especially for migrants (GÖCKENJAN 1981: 118). The community in Turkey tends to regard the catastrophe of events at the turn of the century as past history (and in 1978 the Patriarch issued an appeal to Armenians elsewhere to take the same view); it is now more interested in peaceful co-existence with the Muslim majority.

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 GUNTER, M. M. 1983 (political)  
 HÜTTEROTH, W. D. 1959 pp. 142–7 (economic rôle in E. Anatolia)  
 JAKOB, X. 1978 (Gregorian Church)  
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 LEHMANN-HAUPT, C. 1910–31 iii (general)  
 LIBARIDIAN, G. J. 1979 (Armenians in Turkey)  
 MCCARTHY, J. 1983 pp. 47–88 (Armenian population in Ottoman Turkey)  
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See ANSCHÜTZ in this volume.

## 29. Hemshinli

### Designation:

Hemshin, Khemshin; *Ger.* Chemschinli; *Tk.* Hemşinli; *Laz.* Armeni.

### Self-designation:

Homşetsi (H̄omşetsi) in east; Hemşinli in west.

### Numbers:

CENSUS: no indication.

From village population 1975 ca. 24,000 Armenian-speaking.  
ca. 15–20,000 Turkish-speaking.

### Distribution:

in two well-defined groups.

1. The western group, Baş Hemşin, live in Rize province in villages along the Büyükdere, Ortaköy, Fırtına, Piskale and Abiviçe rivers, in compact valley settlements extending well up into the Pontic mountains.
2. The eastern group is found in Artvin province, on the river systems flowing through Hopa and Kemalpaşa, and apparently limited to the east by the Çoruh river.

Many also live in the towns and cities associated with these areas. Besides this, as part of a more general westward migration from the eastern Black Sea provinces, many Hemşinli now live in villages in Bolu and Sakarya provinces, and in the great cities.

### Language:

in the eastern group, Armenian, western dialect, and Turkish. In the western group, Turkish only, though Armenian place-names are retained. The Armenian spoken is in at least two dialects, and probably varies from village to village, with astonishing archaisms, changes in the sound system, and many Turkish loans (DUMÉZIL 1964: 6).

### Religion:

Sunni Islam: Hanefi, with some deviant practices: BRYER (1975: 142) reports the recent survival of baptism in at least one area.

### Group identity:

inadequately recorded. It appears now to derive primarily from language in the eastern group, though this does not imply acceptance of

Armenian origin. Some, at least, are unaware that they are speaking Armenian (DUMÉZIL 1964: 6). The western group, now thoroughly Turkicised, deny Armenian origin for themselves, but are still referred to as *Armeni* by the neighbouring Laz, or even as “*kalın kaburgalı Ermeni*”, “thickribbed Armenians”. Both groups have little social contact with the Laz, and the western Hemşinli feel themselves culturally superior to them (see BENNINGHAUS in this volume). As with other communities on the northern slopes of the Pontic mountains, the terrain of the region has helped to maintain relative isolation, though those of the eastern group are frequently engaged in the transport business, and those in the west have travelled and become renowned outside the region for their particular skill as pastry-cooks.

The Hemşinli were attracted to Islam from the XVth century (BRYER 1975: 142), or converted later, ca. 1700 (DUMÉZIL 1964: 5). Those who remained Christian left the region of Hemşin (*Arm. Hamşen*) for Trabzon, or went further west to Samsun and even Adapazarı: these later left for Armenia at the time of World War I.

BENNINGHAUS (in this volume) has drawn attention to an at present anomalous relationship between the two groups. The western group have a strong sense of identity, and foster it through social activity when outside their territory; some even celebrate a once-Armenian festival, yet they deny Armenian origin, apparently seeking a safer identity as Muslims. The eastern group, still speaking Armenian, appears to be excluded from this social activity. More research is required to show whether the exclusion is deliberate.

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 DUMÉZIL, G. 1964 (language)  
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 WIXMAN, 1979 EI2 (general note)

See BENNINGHAUS in this volume.

### 30. Albanians

**Designation:**

Albanians; *Ger.* Albanier/Albaner; *Tk.* Arnavut.

**Self-designation:**

Shqiptarë.

**Numbers:**

CENSUS 1965	12,832	declared persons speaking Albanian
	40,688	declared persons speaking Albanian as second
		language
	<u>53,520</u>	

**Distribution:**

widespread in Western Anatolia, and in Central Anatolia in Samsun, Tokat, and Yozgat provinces. The 1965 CENSUS shows the majority of Albanian-speakers in Istanbul province (4,341 persons), followed by Bursa (1,928), Izmir (1,265), Tokat (964), Ankara (833), Sakarya (794), and Samsun (610), with smaller groups in Adana, Amasya, Aydin, Kayseri, Kırklareli, Manisa, etc. The great majority of those in Istanbul, Bursa and Ankara are urban. Those in Adana, Amasya, Kayseri, Sakarya, Samsun and Tokat live for the most part in localities with a population of less than 10,000. Three quarters of those with Albanian as a second language are urban. The communities in Yozgat appear to have escaped the census.

**Language:**

Albanian (*Arbëresë* or *Shqipe*), one of the Satem division of the Indo-European family. Two chief dialects: *Geg* and *Toskë*.

**Religion:**

Islam. About three quarters are orthodox Sunni (Hanefi), and the remainder belong to the Bektaşî *tarikât* (nominally Sunni).

**Group identity:**

no adequate information available. Apparently based primarily on language. There is no information on the survival of the tribal and clan system of Albania among the diaspora in Turkey. In the one case recorded (MAGNARELLA 1974: 37), all but the elderly are reported as being completely Turkicised. The rôle of language is complicated by the fact that in

Yugoslavia, where Albanians are said to have formed 70% of the Turkish-speaking minorities, they widely adopted Turkish as their language in order to improve their social standing, and pass themselves off as Turks – a choice which led ultimately to their expulsion to Turkey (EGGELING 1973: 23).

**Bibliography:**

EGGELING, W.J. 1973 p. 23 (Küçük Menderes region)

İNALCIK, H. 1960 EI 2 (general, under Arnawutluk)

MAGNARELLA, P. 1974 p. 37 (Susurluk)

NÉMETH, J. 1961 (re-emigration to Albania)

### 31. Kuban Cossacks

**Designation:**

Cossacks; *Ger.* Kosaken; *Tk.* Kazak (beware confusion with Central Asian Kazak, 11), Kozak (beware confusion with Kozak in Bergama).

**Self-designation:**

unknown.

**Numbers:**

CENSUS 1960 667 declared persons in Balıkesir province with Russian as mother-tongue.

HİNÇER 1962 1,100 persons recorded as leaving Turkey.

ÜLKEN 1955 170 families then living at Kocagöl.

A few remaining?

**Distribution:**

in one village only, Kocagöl (Kazaklar), Balıkesir province, on the southwest corner of Manyas Gölü. Another settlement, also called Kazaklar, was later founded ca. 1900 in Central Anatolia between Akşehir and Ilgın Gölü in Konya province (WENZEL 1932: 55), but is no longer mentioned. Other colonies were formerly reported near Samsun, and at Bolat (LEJEAN 1861: 30). PHILIPPSON (1910) refers to a settlement, Yeni Kazaklar, on the north shore of Manyas Gölü, but this is no longer listed.

**Language:**

Russian, in the Slavonic branch of the Satem division of the Indo-European family. An archaic dialect.

**Religion:**

Christian: Russian Orthodox. They left Russia after a rebellion in 1683, to protect their beliefs, including the right not to cut their beards. They were *Starověrtsui* or "Old Believers". Two churches represented two sects at Kazaklar; a third sect lived at Yeni Kazaklar.

**Group identity:**

by language and religion, reinforced by consequent endogamy. The Cossacks were originally of composite ethnic origin, including Turkic components; it is evident that these were thoroughly Slavicised. The economy, based on sweet-water fishing in the Manyas lake, and on small farming, allowed the community to be self-sufficient: 70% were landowners. According to PHILIPPSON (1910: 43-4) fishing had been their occupation in their homeland, too: in this, as in costume, buildings, and language, they were fully conservative. Endogamy, however, led to an extensive inter-relatedness, and a progressive reduction in the genealogical distance between marriage partners required by religion, until it reached five degrees of relationship in 1961. In 1962 1,100 Cossacks left for Russia in order to correct this situation, since no other suitable marriage partners were available in Turkey. The decision caused considerable disagreement within the community, but it appears to have left, nevertheless, *en bloc*, following a young priest, Ilya Baran.

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 PHILIPPSON, A. 1910 (conservatism)  
 ÜLKEN, H. Z. 1955-6 b pp. 146-51 (Gönen region)  
 ÜLKEN, H. Z. 1955-6 c pp. x-xiii (Gönen region)  
 WENZEL, H. 1932 p. 55, map (Konya)  
*N. b.* This group left Turkey on 19.9.1962.

**32. Russians: Molokan****Designation:**

Molokans; *Ger.* Molokanen; *Tk.* Molokan, (in Kars) Malakan.

**Self-designation:**

Molokanui.

**Numbers:**

CENSUS	1960	1343 declared persons in Kars province with Russian as mother tongue.
TÜRKDOĞAN	1969	1518 persons in 166 families in 3 villages ca. 1600 persons total.

All but a few scattered families left Turkey in 1962. Some remain.

**Distribution:**

mainly in three villages in Kars province: Yalınçayır (Zöhrap) and Atçılar (Ardcılar) in Arpaçay sub-province, Merkez, and in Çalkavur (now amalgamated with Çakmak) in Kars Merkez, with populations of 693, 625, and 200 respectively in 1962. Some spread of population beyond these is attributable mainly to the demand for Molokan expertise in running mills, lately electric ones (TÜRKDOĞAN 1969: 9 and 1971: 38). Small communities are reported to have existed in Ardahan sub-province, at Sulakyurt (Sarzep) and Tepeler (Konk). Single families used to work in Ağrı and Erzurum provinces.

**Language:**

Russian (Ukrainian?).

Also some German reported at Karacaören, probably as a result of intermarriage with German settlers there (*cf.* 21. Estonians).

**Religion:**

Christian, with specific additional elements, arising from the movement towards "spiritual Christianity" in Russia during the XVIIIth century, in dissent from the Orthodox Church. There were two principal sects in the Turkish community, the Postoyannaie and Pruigunui, co-existing in the same villages.

**Group identity:**

by religion and language, reinforced by endogamy. The reformist nature of the religion and the utopian view of the community resulted in a closed group, cut off by reaction from the general society of both Russia and Turkey. The colonists in Turkey, who arrived in 1876-7, founding 35 villages, were, as Russians, regarded with antipathy by the indigenous population in a province which has suffered repeated invasions from Russia. The Molokans reacted by showing suspicion towards outsiders, and an unwillingness to communicate with them (TÜRKDOĞAN 1969: 3); at the

same time the Molokan were not prejudiced against urban life (*Idem* 1971: 130). Community feeling was strengthened by self-regulating religious institutions, based on the *sobranie* or meeting for worship, separate for the two sects (*ibid.* 102–6), and the selection of elders.

The self-image of an egalitarian, highly moral community was eroded firstly by the stratification into different social levels through economic success, and more seriously by the recent reaction of young people against the traditional authorities, as a result of increased contact with outsiders through education and military service.

As among the Cossack community (see above), marriage with relatives closer than the 7th or 8th degree was regarded as incestuous, but increasing inter-relatedness forced the Molokan to allow closer unions, and to seek partners among the Estonian and German communities of Christians, showing that religion was the primary ethnic marker. In 1962 they felt obliged to return to Russia to seek a larger pool of their own sect.

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 TÜRKDOĞAN, O. 1971 b (general, social organisation)  
 TÜRKDOĞAN, O. 1971 c (comparison of social groups)  
 TÜRKDOĞAN, O. 1975 (ethnic groups in Kars)

See ANDREWS in this volume.

*N. b.* this group left Turkey in 1962, but for a few.

## **33. Poles**

### **Designation:**

Poles; *Ger.* Polen; *Tk.* Polonez, Leh(ler).

### **Self-designation:**

Polacy.



**Numbers:**

CENSUS	1965	66	declared persons speaking Polish in Istanbul.
		38	declared persons speaking Polish in Ankara.
		397	declared persons speaking Polish as second language.
		<u>501</u>	total
CENSUS	1975	196	population of Polonezköy.
SOEGTIG	1951	170	at Polonezköy.
SVANBERG	1984	250	at Polonezköy maximum.
WDR	1986	15	families still in residence.

**Distribution:**

primarily in one village, Polonezköy (Adampol) in Istanbul province, Beykoz sub-province. This was founded in 1839 after an abortive revolution in Poland in 1830–1. A large section of the younger generation are now in Istanbul or abroad, leaving only some 80 inhabitants in the village.

**Language:**

Polish, *Polski*, in the Slavonic family of the Satem division of the Indo-European family.

**Religion:**

Christian: Roman Catholic Church.

**Group identity:**

by religion and language, reinforced by endogamy and a common sense of history. The community was founded with a group of political refugees by Prince Adam Czartoryski (hence Adampol) in 1839–42, under the protection of the Sultan and the French Lazarists. It preserved its identity at first as a patriotic community abroad, most settlers sharing a peasant origin; the school language was Polish, and this was enhanced by the efforts of the priests, usually Poles, to preserve the culture, even to the extent of bringing girls for marriage from Poland. Under Czartoryski's Act of 1858 participation in the community council was based on having lived in Poland, and on being Catholic. It was effectively protected from taxation, first by its patronage by the Lazarists, and after 1883 by the tenure of the Czartoryski family. Its identity has subsequently been weakened, first by the obligation to assume Turkish nationality in 1935 and the replacement of Polish tuition by Turkish, then by heavy taxation in 1942, and finally by the renunciation of property rights by the Czartoryskis in

1968: although the villagers then became owners of their land, they began to sell it. Shortage of land also led many to emigrate, and Turks moved in. Although Polish was still being taught to children by their parents in the 1950s, the tradition has now ended. The effects of economic integration into the Turkish community are now limited primarily by religion, centred on a small church built in 1912–14. Relatively good communication with the outside world has allowed some marriage with women from Poland to continue, though some brides have also been found among the Greek and Armenian communities, and even the Estonians (21) in Kars; in 1951 only two Polish girls had married Turks, and left the village (SOEGTIG 1951: 472). Relations with neighbouring villages are reported as being good, though an important element in the economy, pig-rearing, is bound to confirm the separateness of this minority (SVANBERG 1984).

**Historical note:**

there were originally only twelve settlers on five farms, but others soon joined them, including freed slaves, some of whom had been Polish soldiers, but others of different nationality. A further 38 Poles from Zamoycki's division joined the community after the Crimean War. The Czartoryskis had envisaged an eventual return to Poland once it was freed from Russian domination; their patronage determined both the community's survival and its patriotic character.

**Bibliography:**

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 SOEGTIG, G. 1951–2 (article on village, general)  
 SVANBERG, I. 1984 (summary)  
 WDR 1986 (TV documentary, 4.11.86, W 3)

### 34. Gypsies

**Designation:**

Gypsies, Gipsies, Romany; *Ger.* Zigeuner, Rom; *Tk.* Çingene, Kıptı, (E. Anatolia) Poşa, Mutrib, Arabacı, Köçer, (official) Esmer Vatandaş; *Kurd.* Gâwândi, Motrib, Qaraçi, Krişmal.

**Self-designation:**

Rom, Gurbati, Garaci, Dum, Cuki, Mutrib/Mıtrıp/Midreb, Arabacı, Poşa (in Northeast Anatolica); Christian Gypsies: Balamoron (= "Greek Gypsies").

**Numbers:**

CENSUS not listed.

K. E. E. 1960-70 10,633 registered peripatetics (*göcebe ve gezginci Çingeneler*), but some provincial statistics are unclear, and Istanbul, which has traditionally had a large Gypsy population, is omitted. See survey 6.

**Distribution:**

probably throughout Turkey, though difficulties of nomenclature and definition leave their presence in some areas uncertain. In some cases they are established in specific quarters of cities and towns (e. g. at Istanbul in Kasımpaşa-Çürüklük, Küçükbakkalköy, Sulukale, and Üsküdar-Selâmsız, or at Edirne in Kum Mahallesi). Certain settlements are of long standing: Gypsies have inhabited Balat in Istanbul since the conquest. Some of these are sedentary. The nomadic groups tend to leave their urban winter quarters to follow predictable itineraries from spring to autumn. Thus those who winter in Adana regularly visit Niğde and Konya. The choice of itinerary is governed by occupation. Other communities are partly parasitic on nomad Yörük camps, following the same migration routes: thus PLANHOL (1958: 372-3) notes those who winter near the cotton farms of the Aksu Plain and Serik, ascending to the Anamas yaylas in summer in small groups, and assembling near Eğridir Gölü in autumn before moving down to the plain again. The range of some travellers has been extended by the use of cars: in 1978 one group in Antalya came from Zonguldak, and another from Denizli; in 1979 one came from Uşak (Svanberg, letter of 28. 3. 82). There has traditionally been a strong Gypsy presence in Rumeli, and particularly near Istanbul. Mıtır (or Mıtırp/Mıtırıp) communities are found in the southeastern region, in the provinces of Hakkâri, Mardin (Cizre), Siirt, and probably southern Van: they also form settled groups in Ağrı. See survey 6.

**Language:**

Romani (*Romanes*) has been recorded in Rumeli (PASPATI 1870), Üsküdar (ARNOLD 1967), and among the Poşa of the Van region (LEHMANN-HAUPT 1913, FINCK 1907). Paspati's study shows some regional variation, Turkish loan-words being prevalent in Anatolia, but no Greek, whereas Greek loans were prevalent in Rumeli (1870/1973: 15-6). There is evidence of widespread assimilation in peripatetic groups in Anatolia, where Romani words are found together with Turkish, Kurdish, and Persian, sometimes compounded into "secret languages" by the use of pre-

fixes and suffixes (see SVANBERG in this volume for references). The Gypsy dialect of Armenia, spoken by the Poşa in East Turkey, is distinct. A Thracian dialect is still spoken in Samsun. Romani belongs to the Indo-Aryan (Satem) division of the Indo-European language family, being related to the general state of development of Indian languages shortly before the Christian era. There are three main dialects: Asiatic, Armenian, and European.

### Religion:

most nomadic Gypsies are at least nominally Muslim, while most settled Gypsies in the past were Christian (PASPATI 1870/1973: 11, 13). Nevertheless they appear to have retained religious customs of their own, notably the great spring festival and sacrifice of *Kakkava* in the first week of May (ÖNDER 1975: 24–5). The Poşa in Van were reported as Muslim (BLACK 1912–13: 328), but those in Tokat appear in some cases to have been Christian (PASPATI 1870/1973: 17). Cuki beliefs in the southeast appear to be closer to 'Alawi or Ismā'īlī ones (*cf.* HALEBI 1983). Some Mıtır̄b at least are Shafii Muslims.

### Group identity:

by tribal affiliation, peripatetic occupation, language, and endogamy. The information on Turkish Gypsies is quite inadequate. Nevertheless it is clear that Romani is still spoken at least in Rumeli and Western Anatolia. The preference for marginal, nomadic subsistence as musicians, fortune-tellers, herbalists, bear-leaders, basket-makers, sieve-makers, smiths, coppersmiths and tanners, flower-sellers and horse-traders is characteristic of the Gypsies elsewhere, though it is now supplemented by petty-trading in clothes, bedding, etc.

Tribal organisation is matriarchal, but few details are available. Endogamy appears to be maintained at a tribal level (MAGNARELLA 1974: 38), based on return to fixed community winter-quarters, and is matrilineal (GÖKBİLGİN 1945: 422). Groups are stratified by occupation, but in common occupy niches regarded by others as degrading.

Paspati reported mutual dislike and suspicion between nomadic and settled groups (1870/1973: 13). This is mirrored in the terms of contempt by which the nomads designate the settled: *kalp çingene*, *kalpazan çingene*, *reâya çingenesi*, and *velakhos* as given in Turkish (GÖKBİLGİN 1945). The Poşa are aware of their separate, primarily nomadic, identity, though they have limited opportunity for contact with other Gypsies.

Etically the Gypsies in all groups are regarded as ritually unclean, and stigmatised by "normal" Turkish society in a comprehensive way which causes difficulties in identifying groups more closely. The word *Çingene*, avoided by the Gypsies themselves, is popularly used in a series of pejorative expressions such as *Çingene düğünü*, "Gypsy wedding" (an occasion where nothing is done properly), *Çingene kavgası*, "a Gypsy quarrel" (for a violent, immoderate dispute), *Çingene borcu*, "a Gypsy debt" (accrued by continual scrounging), or *Çingene çalar, Kürt oynar*, "if the Gypsy plays, the Kurd will dance" (when the wrong person is in charge, things will get out of hand) (GÖKBİLGİN 1945). *Poşa* (Boşa) also carries a similarly pejorative colouring, and is used by Istanbul Armenians to denote Armenians from Taşköprü and Boyabat, though these are not, apparently, Gypsies at all. The prejudice is encapsulated in a phrase *esmer vatandaş*, "swarthy citizen" formerly used for Gypsies in their pass books, which, as a result, they found they must lose if they were to obtain a job (MAGNARELLA 1974: 38). In towns the more socially acceptable Gypsies such as smiths can improve their status by following orthodox Muslim behaviour (*ibid.* 39). Gypsies define non-Gypsies as *Khorakhai*. Religion appears to be very loosely maintained, though distinct customs are still maintained for weddings at least (ERGİN 1959, TUNARA 1961). The *Mıtrıp*, a class of musicians, live in close association with the Kurds, whose language they also know. Thus it seems that all the drummers and shawm-players (*davulcu, zurnacı*) in Hakkari are *Mıtrıp*. Some of those in Cizre, where they are particularly numerous, are said to originate from Deştan in Iraq. The *Mıtrıp* are distinct in in so far as the *Karaçi* Gypsies and the *Mıtrıp* there do not intermarry, though marriages between *Mıtrıp* and Kurds do occur. In Ağrı settled Gypsies are termed *Mıtrıp*, in contrast to the wandering *Poşa*.

### Historical note:

it is established from linguistic evidence that the Gypsies originated in India, and at some time lived in the N.W. They left before A.D. 800. It is known that they had reached Greece *via* Anatolia by ca. A.D. 1300. It appears from the large number of Greek loan-words in the European dialects of Romani that they must have remained in the Eastern Empire a long time before moving further westward. There has apparently been some movement back from Thrace into Anatolia in recent years, but the Turkish Government refused to accept 360 Gypsies from Bulgaria who arrived at the frontier among the Turks expelled in 1950 (KOSTANICK 1955: 44). The Gypsies in Samsun say they came from Selaniki-Draman some 60 years ago.

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See also SVANBERG in this volume.

**35. Greeks: Christian****Designation:**

Greeks; *Ger.* Griechen; *Tk.* Rum, Yunan, Yunanlı.

**Self-designation:**

Romiós or Roméos.

**Numbers:**

CENSUS	1965	48,096	declared persons speaking Greek as mother tongue.
		82,144	declared persons with Greek as second language.
		73,725	declared Orthodox Christians.
A-K.J.	1975	80,000	Greek Orthodox believers in Turkey.
BARRETT	1982	65,000	Greek Orthodox believers in Turkey.
ANSCHÜTZ*	1984	10,000	Greek Christians of all denominations.
HOFMANN	1985	5,000	Greeks (Christian) in 1984.
GÖCKENJAN	1981	50	families of Uniate Catholics.

\* See contribution in this volume.

*N.b.* The census figures for Greek-speakers include Muslims and Greek-speaking immigrants; that for Orthodox Christians includes Arabs.

**Distribution:**

primarily in large cities, especially Istanbul. Thus according to the 1965 figures, 35,097 Greek-speakers were registered in Istanbul, 898 in Izmir, and 164 in Ankara (but *cf.* the much lower estimates made recently, above); of those in Izmir province, most are probably Cretan Muslims (see below, 36) since only 262 were registered as Orthodox Christians in the same census. Of the Orthodox Christians registered in Istanbul (47,207) the majority appear to have been Greek: of those in Ankara (734) only a minority, the rest being Arabs. The Greek-speakers in the remaining provinces may be assumed to be Muslims (see entries 18 and 36), especially the large number in Trabzon.

The Greek Christian community in Istanbul is centred on the Galata side of the Golden Horn, particularly around Beyoğlu, and many have houses for the summer on the Princes Islands, on Burgaz, Büyük Ada, and Heybeli. Another group lives on Gökçe Ada and Bozcaada in the Dardanelles. (14,000 BARRETT 1982).

**Language:**

a regional version of Standard Modern Greek, an Indo-European language in the Centum division, spoken in various dialects of the northern group, and including Turkish loan-words (*cf.* DAWKINS 1910 and 1937, BRYER 1975: 140). The Istanbul dialects played an important rôle in the formation of Standard Modern Greek.

**Religion:**

Christian: Greek Orthodox Church (Orthodox Catholic Apostolic Eastern Church) under a Patriarchate at Istanbul, in Fener; membership estimated in 1974 as 100,000, and 80,000 in 1975 (A-K.J.). Also 82 Greek Catholics (Uniate) of the Byzantine rite, and 200 protestants of the Greek Evangelical Church (BARRETT 1982).

**Group identity:**

by the combination of language and religion, confirmed by endogamy, and based on the sense of historic continuity in the community since before the conquest. The Greek community, formerly one of those recognised as of *millet* status under the Ottomans, was as such allowed a con-

siderable degree of autonomy; since the Treaty of Lausanne it has, though much reduced in number, been recognised (with the Jews and the Armenians) as one of the minorities (*azınlık*) entitled to free conduct of speech and religion, and has thus been able to maintain its institutions and schools. The sense of community is strongly reinforced by its concentration on business activity, so that, for example, a large proportion of the shops and businesses in the commercial centre of Beyoğlu are still run by Greeks. Mixture through marriage with the Turkish majority is considered impossible, and the group remains self-contained. Though the antagonism between the Turkish and Greek governments has occasionally provoked open hostility, as in the riots of 1955, the Greek community has on the whole been able to coexist peacefully among the Turks. The confrontation of Turks and Greeks in Cyprus, however, led to restrictions on the community in Turkey; in 1963 the church press was banned, and the operation of the theological college was curtailed. The sense of insecurity inherent in such a minority, and the lack of commercial prosperity, has led to a further depletion through emigration to Greece and elsewhere, especially among the younger generations (ca. 9% p. a.).

The Pontic community centred on Trabzon had a somewhat distinct identity due to its different history of prolonged symbiosis with the Türkmén and the more dynamic nature of the church in the region (BRYER 1970: 36 and 1975: 141). There is a Muslim remnant (see 36 below: historical note).

The self-designation as *Romiós*, as opposed to *Ellinas*, corresponds to the Turkish distinction between *Rum* (as a Turkish subject) and *Yunan* (as a Greek subject), thereby obviating any political implication.

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See also ANSCHÜTZ in this volume.



### 36. Greek-Speaking Muslims (other than Balkan immigrants)

#### Designation:

Greek-speaking Muslims, Islamicised Greeks; *Ger.* Griechisch-sprechende Muslimer; *Tk.* Rum; *Gk.* Donmédés?

#### Self-designation:

- a. (Pontic) *Türkös*, *Oflıs*; (*Tk.* *Türk*, *Oflu*)
- b. (Cretan) *Kritikós*; (*Tk.* *Giritli*)
- c. (Cypriot) unknown; (*Tk.* *Kıbrıslı*)

#### Numbers:

CENSUS 1965 4,535 declared persons speaking Greek as mother-tongue in Trabzon province, of whom the majority are probably Muslim.

Other scattered communities, mainly of Cretan origin, have not been estimated, but:

CENSUS 1965 ca. 2,600 declared persons speaking Greek as mother tongue in provinces where Cretans have been recorded, but 262 of the 898 in Izmir were Christian.

CENSUS 1965 ca. 900 declared persons speaking Greek in other inland provinces, probably Muslim.

#### Distribution:

the largest concentrations are of those speaking Pontic Greek in Trabzon province, consisting of some half-dozen villages around Tonya, and forty or fifty settlements in the upper Solaklı and Gürçay valleys south of Of, around Çaykara and Köprübaşı. There are at least two migrant outposts of these communities in Sakarya province.

The settlements of Cretan Muslims are almost entirely along the Mediterranean coast, from Hatay to Çanakkale, continuing along the south coast of the Sea of Marmara to Istanbul (*cf.* survey 4).

One group of Greek-speaking Cypriots is noted in a village near Antalya.

#### Language:

Modern Greek, in different dialects, with some admixture of Turkish loans.

- a. Pontic Greek (*Romaiká*), an archaic dialect with some affinities to Cappadocian Greek (now probably defunct in Turkey);

- b. Cretan Greek, *Kritiká*, in the South-Aegean group of dialects;
- c. Cypriot Greek, *Chipriótika* or *Chipréika*, in the southeastern group of dialects, as spoken by Christians.

### Religion:

Muslim. The Pontic communities are strongly Sunni. Some of the Cretans appear to be Bektaşî (Danielsen, letter of 2.6.83 citing K. Özbayrı); others are reported only as Sunni, Hanefî (TÜTENGİL 1954: 46). Some Greeks were crypto-Christians (DAWKINS 1933).

### Group identity:

through language and custom. The status of the Pontic communities is hard to define, and has been inadequately studied. They deny being anything but Turks, yet speak Greek, and retain some Greek customs. The designation of their own language as *Romaiká* corresponds to Turkish *Rumca* (from *Roméos* = Roman) in contradistinction to *Yunanca*, the language of Greece, or *Elleniká*, the old name of Pontic Christian Greek. Nevertheless they distinguish Greeks (Christians) as *Oroméos*. BRYER has suggested a state of flux between Alevî and Christian belief in the area (1970: 48 and 1975: 142) and has also pointed to the dominance of the Greek language in the XIXth century (1970: 40). He has also drawn attention to the historical anomaly of their position, and the need for further study (1970: 45–6). It seems that among them Greek is recognised as a Christian language (1970: 45 note 45), yet they are said to have become Muslim in about 1700. Their retention of language rather than religion is an exception to the process observable elsewhere in Anatolia. The dialect is still thriving, and spoken fluently even by the younger generation. Many women seem fully competent only in Pontic Greek (MACKRIDGE 1987). No information on the Cretan communities appears to be available.

### Historical note:

there is some doubt as to what extent the Pontic communities really represent converted Greeks, or rather Turks who became assimilated to Greek language and culture (UMUR 1951). The Muslims from Crete arrived in Antalya ca. 1900 after the Greek occupation of the island in 1897; some settlements were founded later, in 1913, with the grant of a house and land (TÜTENGİL 1954: 37–8; PLANHOL 1958: 353). Further immigration followed the population exchange of 1923. The single group of Greek-speaking Cypriots recorded arrived in Antalya in 1936 (PLANHOL 1958: 354).

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see DANIELSEN's survey, No. 4.

**37. Germans****Designation:**

Germans; *Ger.* Deutsche; *Tk.* Alman(lar), (Kars) Nemis.

**Self-designation:**

Deutsche.

**Numbers:**

CENSUS 1965 21 declared persons speaking German as mother tongue in Kars.

TÜRKDOĞAN 1975 25 Germans from Ardahan alone left to work in Germany in 1972.

**Distribution:**

in Kars province, according to TÜRKDOĞAN (1975) scattered in Zavot, Arpaçay, Karacaören and Kars itself besides Ardahan: it is not clear whether the towns or the sub-provinces are intended, and there are three villages named Karacaören in Kars, though that in Kars Merkez is probably meant (*cf.* 21. Estonians).

**Language:**

German.

**Religion:**

a. Christian; Protestant; b. Muslim by intermarriage.

**Group identity:**

no information available, but apparently by religion and language, and secondarily by a specialised occupation in dairy produce. The few families noted by NESTMANN in the 1960s (in this volume) appear to have survived until at least 1975, scattered, but notable as the best cheese-makers in the province, though the women, remarkably, are said to weave carpets, thus indicating assimilation in material culture (TÜRKDOĞAN 1975). Others at the same date are recorded as having allowed girls to intermarry with the local Muslim population, presumably through lack of available marriage partners among the Christian communities, though their presence in Karaçören probably permits intermarriage with Molokans as well as Estonians (*q. vv.* 32 and 21).

**Historical note:**

a hundred families each of Germans and Swiss were settled in Kars province by the Russians in 1876-7. Both were occupied in dairy farming. The local designation *Nemis* is derived from Russian *nemets* = German. Nothing has recently been recorded about the Swiss group.

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**38. Arabs: Sunni****Designation:**

Arabs, Beduin; *Ger.* Araber; *Tk.* Arap(lar).

**Self-designation:**

‘Arab.

**Numbers:**

CENSUS 1965	365,340	declared persons speaking Arabic as mother tongue
	179,309	declared persons speaking Arabic as mother tongue in provinces known to have Sunni Arab population.
	ca. 30,000	possible in Hatay
	ca. <u>3,000</u>	in other provinces
	ca. <u>212,000</u>	
in addition	357,058	persons speaking Arabic as second language.

**Distribution:**

the largest groups are in the provinces of Mardin (79,687 in 1965 census by mother tongue), Urfa (51,090), Siirt (38,273), and possibly Hatay (ca. 30,000? See below). Smaller groups exist in Muş (3,575), Bitlis (3,263), Diyarbakır (2,536) and Gaziantep (885). The religious affiliation of the Arabic-speakers in other provinces is uncertain, including those in Istanbul (2,843), Ankara (814), and Van (557); smaller numbers appear throughout Turkey from Edirne (104) to Ağrı (105).

Those in Mardin are primarily in the southwest of *Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, west of the road from Midyat to Nusaybin, and south of the road from Midyat to Savur; north of this they are mixed with Kurds (map in ANSCHÜTZ 1984). The *Köy Envanteri* (see Survey 1) records a relatively small proportion of the villages as Arabic-speaking in the sub-provinces of Mardin, Gercüş, Kızıltepe, Midyat, Nusaybin and Savur. Those in Urfa province are primarily concentrated in the Harran Ovası, thus the K. E. records half the villages as Arabic-speaking in Urfa sub-province, almost all those in Akçakale, the majority in Viranşehir, and some in Hilvan and Siverek. Those in Siirt province are in small clusters in the Central sub-province (6 villages), Kozluk (15 villages), and Sason (34 villages) (JASTROW 1978: i: map; cf. K. E. E.). In Muş province they are found in the Central sub-province; in Bitlis in Mutki sub-province; in Diyarbakır in Çınar sub-province; for Gaziantep no information is available.

The majority of Arabic-speakers in Hatay province are Nusairi (see below, 39), as are those in Adana and İçel. Some are also Christian (40). There are, however, numerous Sunni villagers, former immigrants from Syria, in the Amık Plain (ASWAD 1971: 15).

About half of the Arabic-speakers in Istanbul, Ankara, and the remaining provinces are probably Sunni.

**Language:**

Arabic, one of the Semitic family of languages, in several dialects. Thus JASTROW (1978: i: 5) distinguishes six dialects in Mardin province, of the North-Mesopotamian *Qiltu* group within a general Mardin sub-group, other sub-groups being named after Diyarbakır, Kozluk-Sason, and Siirt (1973: 3). The dialect of the Christians is scarcely distinguishable from that of the Muslims in Mardin. The dialect of Diyarbakır was spoken only by the Christian and Jewish (*sic*) minorities, and has now practically died out. The dialects of Kozluk-Sason and Siirt are now spoken exclusively by Muslims; that of Sason extends into the Muş plain. The dialect of Bitlis (Mutki) is as yet undocumented.

Two other dialect types are represented in Turkey: settled Syrian/Lebanese in Hatay, and Bedu Syrian in Urfa, on the Harran Plain.

**Religion:**

Muslim: Sunni: mainly Shafii.

**Group identity:**

little information available. Apparently by language and endogamy, often sustained by a relatively isolated environment, and distinct occupations. In religion, however, these Arabs seem in general to be of the Shafii school common among the surrounding Kurdish community, though distinct from the Hanefi school of the Turks.

Some at least of those in the Harran Ovası in Urfa province still recognise tribal descent, though no genealogies have been published. Thus the inhabitants of Küçük Duzluk (Camia), wholly Arabic-speaking, are a branch of the Sıyalı tribe who came there from Syria some 150 years ago, and they still maintain contact with the main body of the tribe in Syria (NAHYA 1967: 4). Yediyol (Resmenhamar) was also founded at about that time by a group of tribal chiefs in revolt, who came from Yamaçaltı (Telbağdat): in this case, some claim Kurdish descent, but all are Arabised (ERGIN 1966: 2, 5). In both cases the community has a distinctly Arab material culture, and remains partly pastoralist. The Arabs speaking the Sason dialect all belong to a particular descent group, with tribal divisions (JASTROW 1978: i: 20). In the case of the Sunni Arabs of Hatay, a sense of affinity to a larger group is also preserved: thus those in Mağaracık, Samandağ, claim an origin in Lāzkīye in Syria (ATALAY, n. d.: 1) and others from Ğazīra and Hama (ASWAD 1971: 15).

In some areas a community can dominate an area, as for example those speaking the tribal *Mħallami* dialect in 40–50 villages between Savur, Midyat, and Ömerli in Mardin; in other cases it may preserve its identity despite isolation, as in the case of Yayvantepe (Qarṭmīn) in a region speaking Kurdish or Tūrōyo, with its own peculiar dialect (JASTROW 1969: 684). The significance of language as a marker varies: in Mardin the use of Arabic is not exclusively Muslim, and the dialect of İdil (Āzıḫ) is spoken only by Christians (JASTROW 1970: 31). Nevertheless in Siirt, Kozluk, and Sason it is now spoken by Muslims only. The use of Arabic also varies: in the city of Mardin it remains the principal daily language, but in Siirt it is gradually being replaced by Turkish (JASTROW 1978: 7, 16), as it is, too, in Hatay, initially among the men (ÇİNÇİN 1975: 20).

CUISENIER (1975: 127–9) gives examples of groups in the Konya Ereğli region which, although they recall their Arab origin, have been assimilated to the Turkish population; in one case, a group from Tarsus, the assimila-

tion is so complete that a false genealogy has been devised to link the Arabs to a Türkmen group, by fictive descent from two brothers: a good example of the difficulty of applying fixed criteria to ethnic definition. ASWAD (1971: 15) also refers to Arabicised Kurds in Hatay, in the plains and the Afrine Valley.

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See map in JASTROW 1978.

## 39. Arabs: Nusairi (21c blz 379)

### Designation:

Nusairi, Ansari; *Ger.* Nusairier; *Tk.* Nusayri, Arap Uşağı (Adana region)

### Self-designation:

‘Alawi (Kızılbaş accepted from Turks).

### Numbers:

CENSUS 1965 148,072 declared persons speaking Arabic as mother tongue in Hatay, of whom most are Nusairi (but cf. 38 for second language).  
 22,356 in Adana  
 9,430 in İçel  
 ca. 3,000 in Istanbul, Ankara, and other provinces  
 ca. 183,000

\* This thesis is remarkable for discussing the population of the Harran Ovası for 63 pages without once referring to its being Arab.

- NESİL 1972 40% of Muslims in Hatay, *i. e.* of 97% of whole population.  
*i. e.* ca. 290,000 in Hatay  
 ÇİNÇİN 1975 29.2% of Hatay population declared as Arabic-speaking in 1965 census, and 98.3% as Muslim (mostly Shi'î and Alevî, *i. e.* 'Alawî)  
 SVANBERG 1985 ca. 200,000

### Distribution:

primarily in Hatay, with secondary groups in Adana and İçel provinces. The population in Hatay is concentrated mainly in the coastal strip south of, and in lesser numbers north of İskenderun, around Samandağı, and in the region of the Aksu river between Samandağı and the Amık Gölü. Throughout these areas the settlements are formed of loosely organised villages. A few villages also exist around Altınözü and Kırıkhan. The secondary groups are found in the Çukurova to the south of Adana, from Yumurtalık to Mersin: many Nusairî migrate there from Hatay as seasonal labourers (NESİL 1972: 26), sometimes migrating twice a year for the cotton and the orange harvests, returning in between. The Nusairî see their location among Christian communities as a deliberate choice, allowing them to conceal their identity among a relatively sympathetic congregation.

### Language:

- a. Arabic: Syrian/Lebanese settled dialect related to the dialects of Ğebel Anşariye in Syria. The elder generation are largely literate in Arabic script.
- b. Turkish, known principally to the younger generations born since the incorporation of Hatay as a province of Turkey in 1939. There is a tendency for townspeople to take up Turkish as their first language; at present they speak a mixture of Arabic and Turkish.

### Religion:

'Alawî Muslims, differing from Turkish and Kurdish Alevis largely in the extent of their doctrinal organisation, and the emphasis placed on the divine nature of 'Alî.

### Group identity:

by esoteric religion and language, reinforced by tribal structure and endogamy. The term Nuşairî (Nusayrî) is on the one hand said to be a pejorative one used by outsiders only, and on the other claimed to be derived from the founder of the sect, Muḥammad ibn Nuşair (WOLFF



1849: 308 and MÜLLER 1967: 54). The group call themselves ‘Alawī, and see themselves as differing from Turkish and Kurdish Alevi only in being doctrinally better-informed, and therefore more enlightened: they refer to these other Alevi as being “blind”, *‘ami*. An important behavioural difference, however, is that ‘Alawī women are not permitted to take part in religious meetings, and do not share the initiation into their secrets.

The use of Arabic is important as the language of instruction in which a series of books defining belief are written. Entry to the sect is allowed only at the age of responsibility, and is governed by initiation through a *šaiḥ*, who examines the candidate in a catechism in three stages (WOLFF 1849 *passim*). Guidance is maintained through the *šaiḥ* and a older *ḥay al-ahira*, or “brother of the next world”, who assumes responsibility for the new member. Similarly, accountability to the community is ensured by a senior married couple (Ar. *iğibin*; Tk. *sağdiç*) who assume responsibility for a newly-married pair. Offenders against the community can ultimately be punished by expulsion, *teğrit*, or even death (FIĞLALI 1983: 167). Considerable emphasis is placed on the mastery of a complex exegesis, which is disseminated by the *murşid* or senior *šaiḥs* to the *ṭālib* or initiates. *Murşid* exchange visits periodically with *šaiḥs* from other regions, thus consolidating the wider community: the ‘Alawī believe themselves responsible for the proselytisation of groups throughout Turkey.

The religious hierarchy of *šaiḥs* is drawn primarily from families considered as noble, *ḥawāss*, and thus better educated. These can only be installed at a mature age (about 40): religious leadership is thus hereditary. Endogamy is stricter for women than for men: initiated men may marry women from other Alevi groups if these are considered suitable after examination. Women can only marry men from the ‘Alawī community, and then preferably from their own circle. Marriage with Sunni Muslims would not be contemplated.

Internal differences are maintained in a temporal and a spiritual sense. Temporal differentiation is by descent groups forming tribes, *‘aşīrat*, such as the Raihānī, Bedīr, and Zubārī, between which marriage can take place. Clans form four confederations, the Kalbiya, Hayyatin, Haddadin and Matawira (SVANBERG 1985: 41). Spiritual differentiation is found in religious orders, *ṭariqat*, of which the most important are the Haydarīya and the Kilāzīya.

Sunnis are regarded as inveterately hostile; Christians are seen as more sympathetic, and the ‘Alawī share some of their festivals. The Sunni caluminate the ‘Alawī like other Alevi.

Some of the Arabs in Mersin, probably ‘Alawī, are peasants, *fellāḥ*, who came from what is now Syria and Jordan in the time of İbrahim Paşa and

were settled there; later arrivals from the same regions are distinguished from them as *ʿArab*, and follow distinctive occupations as fishermen and clerks. They thus form a sub-group within the same category of language and religion (KUTLAY 1969: 1, 7). Of the *ʿAlawī* in the Çukurova, some were also settled in ca. 1845 by Mısırlı İbrahim Paşa, having come from Aleppo; they marry among other *ʿAlawī* from surrounding villages and towns; in this case Arabic as an ethnic marker is losing importance, being spoken mainly by old women and those not at school (YERDAŞ 1973: 3, 8, 27).

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 See map in ASWAD 1971.

## 40. Arabs: Christian

### Designation:

Christian Arabs, Melchites, Melkites; *Ger.* arabische Christen, Melkiten; *Tk.* Nasrani.

### Self-designation:

Naşrānī; (Orthodox) Ṭāʿifat ar-rūm al-ortōdoks al-ʿarabīya.

### Numbers:

CENSUS	1965	No means of distinguishing these from other Orthodox or Catholic groups.
A-K.J.	1975	5,000 Orthodox believers in patriarchate of Antioch.

GÖCKENJAN (1981)	13,000	Syrian Melkite believers in 1977. 500 Uniate Catholic Melkites in 1977.
HOFMANN (1985)	4,000	Arab Orthodox in 1979.
BARRETT 1982	2,000	Arab Orthodox affiliated in S. Turkey. 450 Uniate Catholic Melkites.
YONAN 1983	10,000	Arab Christians in Hatay, maximum.
ANSCHÜTZ* 1984	7,000	Arab Christians, Orthodox and Catholic Uniate.

ARAB-GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH 1983 ca. 900,000 world total of whom  
2,000 from Turkey now in Germany.

### Distribution:

Orthodox Arabs live mainly in Hatay province, in the cities of Antakya and its environs (9,000 GÖCKENJAN 1981: 119 citing JACOB 1977: 212), İskenderun (2,000 *ibid.*) and Mersin (1,000 *ibid.*), in the towns of Samandağı (2,500) and Uluçınar (Arsuz), and in the villages of Sarılar, a quarter of Altınözü (3,000), Tokaçlı (1,230), and Yayladağı. Sarılar and Tokaçlı are almost wholly occupied by Orthodox Christians, but Yayladağı by 4-5 households only.

Arab Uniate Catholic communities exist in Antakya, İskenderun and Mersin, with colonies in Adana, Ankara and Istanbul.

### Language:

Arabic: Syrian settled dialect, though differing somewhat from Nusairi speech. Arabic has been accepted as the liturgical language of the Orthodox church since the XIXth century, having replaced Greek. The liturgy of the Catholic Melkites is also in Arabic, having been retained from the Byzantine rite. The Christian Arabic dialect of Diyarbakır is no longer spoken there (JASTROW 1978: 3-4).

### Religion:

Christian: a. Greek Orthodox (Holy Orthodox Catholic Apostolic) Church, Arab branch, based on a patriarchate of Antioch (Antakya), though the patriarch now resides in Damascus. b. Uniate with the Roman Catholic Church, though still known as Melkites (from Aramean *malkā* = king, denoting former loyalty to the Byzantine Church), and using a Byzantine liturgy in Arabic; they are based on a patriarchate of Antioch (Antakya) though the patriarch is resident at Ain Traz in Lebanon.

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\* See contribution in this volume.

**Group identity:**

by religion and language, with consequent endogamy, and reinforced by a connection with a particular province, and the earliest developments of Christianity, as represented by the (Uniate) Church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Antakya. Endogamy was formerly the rule in each denomination, but in the last decade marriage between them has become increasingly common, as the number of adherents decreases through emigration. The Arabic language was adopted by these congregations after the Muslim conquest, instead of Greek and Aramean; religion is thus the principal marker separating the communities from the Arab Muslim majority in the province. The Arab Orthodox Church, which still had some 300,000 members in the region in the 1930s, remained unharmed throughout the first half of this century, as it did not engage in any political activity. Nevertheless, many of its members left for Syria and Lebanon, particularly after the Turkish acquisition of Hatay in 1939, seeking security under the remaining French Mandate. Since then it has come under increasing pressure from the Turkish authorities in an effort to Turkicise a predominantly Arab area: Arabic could no longer be taught at school, and subsequent generations have grown up illiterate in their own culture. Turkish surnames were substituted for Arabic ones. The resultant loss of confidence has affected both Muslim and Christian Arabs, and the Arab population has been drastically reduced. The former bishoprics of Erzurum, Mersin, Diyarbakır and Antakya fell vacant; the religious aspect of identity has thus been reduced to what can be maintained at a parish level. Most of the Christians now live in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Israel, but further instability in these countries has led to emigration to the West, and even Australia. The depletion of the community has contributed to the sense of insecurity amongst those in Hatay. Nevertheless, their group identity remains strong, and some of those in Europe continue to return to the province, preferring to bring up their children there. There is some sympathy between the Christian and 'Alawī communities, both feeling themselves at risk.

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See also ANSCHÜTZ in this volume.

## 41. Jews

### Designation:

a. Jews, b. Judaeo-Spaniards, Ladinos (for Sepharadim), c. Ashkenazim, d. Karaits;

*Ger.* a. Juden, b. Spanioles, c. Aschkenazim, d. Karaimen, Karaiten; *Tk.* a. Musevi, Yahudi (somewhat pejorative). *Kurd.* (in Başkale) Ğuhu.

### Self-designation:

a. Cud, b. Españoles, c. Lehli (for Ashkenazim), d. Karay(lar), Kara'im (fem. Karayka), Banikara.

### Numbers:

CENSUS 1965	38,267	persons of declared Jewish religion.
	2,791	declared persons speaking Spanish as mother tongue.
	4,435	declared persons speaking Spanish as second language.
	9,981	declared persons speaking "Jewish" ( <i>Yahudice</i> ) as mother tongue.
	3,793	declared persons speaking "Jewish" as second language.
BARRETT 1975	22,000	or more.
Official 1984	25,000	agreed by Turkish and Jewish authorities.
EPSTEIN 1984*	500	maximum of these are Ashkenazim, probably only 2-300.
	250,	or 50 families are Karaites (half of them of Crimean origin).

### Distribution:

now primarily the great cities: most are in Istanbul (18,000 SVANBERG 1985: 39), Izmir (1,600 *ibid.*; ca. 1000 EPSTEIN 1982), Ankara (40 families SVANBERG 1985: 39; ca. 100 persons EPSTEIN 1982), and Bursa (100 families SVANBERG 1985: 39). A few are still scattered elsewhere, in centres such as Çanakkale (10 families *ibid.*), Edirne (5 families *ibid.*), and possibly Diyarbakır. Those in Istanbul tend to live in the smarter, more westernised quarters such as Nişantaş and Şişli, or Suadiye on the Asian side. The Princes Islands of Burgaz, Heybeli and Büyük Ada have a considerable Jewish population, especially in the summer. Trading also tends to be cen-

\* Personal communication.

tred on more westernised areas, notably Beyoğlu. The decline in population since 1965 (then 37,716 registered in towns or cities of over 10,000 inhabitants) is explained by emigration to Israel.

The Jews who formerly lived in the eastern provinces of Urfa (Urfa and Siverek), Diyarbakır (Diyarbakır and Çermik), Mardin (Nusaybin and Cizre), Van (Başkale), and Hakkari (Yüksekova), and tended to be associated with Kurdish culture, practically all left for Israel in the early 1950s (SABAR 1982 and EPSTEIN 1981). Those from Nusaybin had already moved to Qamişli by the 1940s. Those from Başkale (Kale Mahallesi) left for Istanbul between 1960–67.

Nearly all the Anatolian communities disintegrated at the same time, half going to Israel, and half to Istanbul. The same is true of Thrace: thus of 2,100 Jews at Tekirdağ who took over Greek and Armenian properties after the War of Independence, only one family remained in 1979 (TOLUN 1979).

The Karaite community has now dispersed, following the fire which destroyed its former quarter at Hasköy in 1918, though the synagogue there still stands; their administrative office is still in their oldest settlement at Karaköy (= Karay Köy) (ŞIŞMAN 1971: 12). Karaites are now to be found in Galata and near the Arpacı Mosque in old Istanbul. The great bulk of their population, however, is now in Israel (34,000).

### Language:

1. Judaeo-Spanish or Ladino (*Español* or *Espaniól* or *Judió*; *Tk. Yahudice*), spoken by 77% of the community, an archaic form in two dialects based on late XVth century speech in a. Castille, and b. Northern Spain and Portugal, the latter coming from Rumeli. The written form is called Ladino, for which the modern Turkish alphabet is now used: it differs in spelling from Spanish, though now hispanicised in style.

2. French (*Tk. Fransızca*), spoken by 96%.

3. German (*Tk. Almanca*), spoken by 31%, including the Ashkenazi.

4. Hebrew (*Tk. Ibrani*): only 8%.

5. Turkish: all groups, 100%.

These figures are taken from a sample survey of 20 households conducted by GLAZER in 1961 (cited in SAUL 1983: 347 and NATHAN 1964: 183–4). With foreign language comprehension at 48% for English and 33% for Greek, many Jews were plainly multilingual, though the figure for Hebrew here is considered too high by Saul.

The Crimean Karaites spoke Crimean Tatar in recent times.

The Jews formerly in Diyarbakır, Çermik, Siverek and Urfa spoke *qiltu* Arabic (Diyarbakır sub-group, see JASTROW 1978: 3–4); those in Nusaybin

and Cizre spoke it too, but in the Mardin sub-group of dialects (JASTROW 1986b). The Jews in Başkale and Yüksekova spoke Neo-Aramaic (GARBELL 1965), or Kurdish.

### Religion:

Judaism in three rites:

1. Sepharadic, 2. Ashkenazic, 3. Karaite.

The Crimean Jews were formerly divided into Karaite and Talmudic Jews (Kırımçak).

### Group identity:

primarily by religion and consequent endogamy, and secondarily by language. The latter is now in a state of transition. The religious bond was initially the paramount factor uniting the disparate elements of the community: native, Greek-speaking Romaniotes and Greek-speaking Karaites with Spanish-, Portuguese-, and Italian-speaking Sepharadim immigrants, Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim, and finally the Karaites speaking their own form of Crimean Turkish. Religious identity is based on the family, rather than on the synagogue, which as an institution is post-biblical. Nevertheless the three rites, which are very different in formal structure as well as in style and cantilation, have remained separate, and the congregations never mixed – in fact the Sepharadim regarded the Ashkenazi ritual as so odd that they referred to their synagogues as “*el kal de los lokos*” “the synagogue of the crazy” (SAUL 1983: 353 n.9). The names Sefaradi and Eşkenazi are not, though, used to designate the two communities as societies, for which *Spañoles* and *Lehli* serve instead. Later, as the Sepharadim absorbed the other groups by the end of the XVIIth century, Judaism came to be associated with the use of Judaeo-Spanish, to such an extent that even at the beginning of this century all Spanish-speakers tended to be regarded as Jews (SAUL 1983: 327). The unifying force of this language has been weakened by the rise from 1863 onwards of education in French, as fostered by the Alliance Israélite Universelle, which became identified with the westernisation and rise to prosperity of the community (*ibid.* 332 ff.). As a result French became dominant among cultured people. This weakening of the rôle of language has allowed the more effective dissemination of Turkish since 1900, to the point where 84.5% of young Jews now use Turkish as their chief language (Glazer cited *ibid.* 347). Spanish still plays a rôle, however, in the identity of middle-aged Jews, and is even inserted, idiomatically, into Turkish on occasions where restriction of comprehension by outsiders, or assertion of group identity is an advantage, though the same tactic of “code-switching” is avoided in wholly Jewish

contexts (*ibid.* 346). The reform of the Turkish alphabet in 1928 led to a gradual transition to this spelling in Ladino, representing an approach to Turkish usage, and the surviving Ladino newspaper, *Şalom*, now appears in a mixture of Judaeo-Spanish and Turkish.

The sense of Hispanic origin was still strong enough in 1982 for the community to celebrate the fifth centennial of its migration to Ottoman territory.

The position of the Jews within the state has been weakened since the establishment of the Republic by their designation as a minority (*ekalliyet*, later *azınlık*), when they lost official positions, and even their preeminence in trading, in favour of Muslim Turks. Lack of commercial opportunity has subsequently accelerated the exodus to Israel and elsewhere. Thus while gaining recognition, and the right to maintain their own institutions, they have effectively lost security in proportion to the accelerating exodus. The diminution in numbers has also led to a reduction in the availability of marriage partners, and a subsequent increase in cross-denominational marriage.

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See also EPSTEIN in this volume.



## 42. Arameans: Syrian Orthodox Christian

### Designation:

Arameans, Jacobites, Assyrians, West Syrians; *Ger.* Aramäer, Jakobiten, Assyrer, Syrer, Westsyrer; *Tk.* Süryani.

### Self-designation:

Suryōyo (pl. Suryōye); Şūrōyo (pl. Şūrōye) in a more general sense for "Christian".

### Numbers:

CENSUS	1965	not listed by language (Ṭūrōyo) or by religion.
ANSCHÜTZ	1968	50,000 Orthodox West Syrians.
A-K.J.	1975	35,000 Orthodox West Syrians in Turkey.
BARRETT	1982	30,000 Orthodox West Syrians. 1,300 Uniate Catholics.
DSa	1982	40,000 Orthodox West Syrians. 2,000 Uniate Catholics.
ANSCHÜTZ*	1984	40,000 Orthodox, Uniate Catholics and Protestants.
HOFMANN	1984	27,000 Orthodox West Syrians.

### Distribution:

primarily in some 33 villages on Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, a plateau in the province of Mardin (ca. 15,000 persons), centred on Midyat, with a few remaining on its periphery, as in Mardin city, Savur, Killit, İdil, and Nusaybin (see survey 3 in this volume). Now, however, the majority of those from the sub-province of Mardin and many others have migrated to Istanbul (total there now 12,000 of whom 4,000 arrived since 1980, SVANBERG 1985: 38). Very large numbers of these Christians now live in exile in West Germany, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Austria, and the U.S.A. There are small communities elsewhere in Turkey, at Ankara (150), Diyarbakır (1000), Elazığ (100), Malatya (100), and the city of Adıyaman (350) (*ibid.*). In Istanbul there are communities in Kurtuluş Mahallesi, in Beyoğlu, in Kumkapı and Samatya. According to local data, there were only 1–2,000 left in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in 1988.

### Language:

primarily Ṭūrōyo (*Ar.* Ṭōrānī), a language of the Eastern Aramean division of the Neo-Aramaic branch of the Semitic languages (the term neo-Syriac is incorrect). The liturgical language is Syriac (*Sūrōyō*), an archaic

\* See contribution in this volume.

and academic language written in the western type of script, known as *lišono ktobonoyo*, "book language". In 1967 RITTER estimated that 20,000 people spoke *Ṭūrōyo*. The Uniates also retain the Syriac liturgy.

Communities in the western Ṭūr 'Abdīn plateau spoke the *Qiltu* dialect of Arabic (see 38. Arab: Sunni above); Arabic written in Syriac script, used in parts of the liturgy, is called *Karšūni*. Some villages also adopted Kurdish. Both cases represent assimilation to regional majorities. The priests in Kerburan also write Kurdish in Syriac script. Now however Turkish is becoming ever more widespread. A distinct Neo-Aramaic language, *Mlahsō*, was spoken in a single village, Melahim, near Lice, but is now almost extinct (JASTROW 1986).

### Religion:

Christian: Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) Church (*Tk.* Sūryani Kadim Kili-sesi = The Old Syrian Church), a monophysite church as reformed by Yaqob Baradai (d. 578). The terms monophysite and Jacobite, though widely used by others, are not accepted by the West Syrian Church itself. The patriarchate of Antioch is now based in Damascus.

A few members of this church were won over by the Roman Catholic Church, as uniates, in the XVIIth century (patriarch in Antioch), and by Anglo-American missionaries as protestants in the XIXth.

### Group identity:

primarily by religion and consequent endogamy. The religion is defined by the use of a specific liturgical language (Syriac). Vernacular language as a criterion of ethnicity is still predominant as *Ṭūrōyo* in Ṭūr 'Abdīn itself, though now threatened by Turkish. The sense of locality arising from the concentration of the Church and its monasteries in a clearly-defined geographical area, in which it has survived opposition for some 1,500 years, is clearly an important factor, though now weakened by the exodus of large numbers of adherents to the West. It has also been suggested that the archaic agricultural way of life is an integral part of Aramean culture (POIZAT 1973-9: 355, and ANSCHÜTZ 1984: 160).

The Ottoman government granted the community *millet* status in 1882, but this has not been sustained by its recognition as a minority under the Republic. The continuous threat to the community by the surrounding (Kurdish) Muslim population, which persisted until the restoration of order under the present military government in 1980, has strengthened its self-sufficiency, but the failure of the government and local officials to protect it has led to a loss of confidence in their good will, and to emigration. The antagonism of the Kurds appears to have been provoked not

only by religious differences, but by the relative prosperity of the community, even though it embraces all social levels (see ANSCHÜTZ in this volume).

Until recently differences of doctrine and language separated the Western and Eastern Syrian Churches, but a recent movement to establish a common "Assyrian" identity have disturbed this, especially in the exiled communities.

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See also ANSCHÜTZ in this volume, survey 3, and map in ANSCHÜTZ 1984.

## 43. Arameans: East Syrian Christian

### Designation:

a. East Syrians, Chaldeans, Syro-Chaldeans; *Ger.* Ostsyrer; *Tk.* Keldani.

b. Nestorians, Assyrians, Aysors; *Ger.* Nestorianer, Assyrer; *Tk.* Nas-turi/Nesturi; *Russ.* (< *Azeri*) Aysor.

### Self-designation:

a. Kaldaya (pl. Kaldaye), Kaldānī, Āsūri. b. Sūraʿī, Aturaya (pl. Aturaye).

**Numbers:**

CENSUS	1965	not listed by language or religion.
V. FRANCKENSTEIN	1979	2,000 Chaldeans in Hakkari alone.
GÖCKENJAN	1981	9,000 Chaldeans 1,200 Nestorians in 3 Hakkari villages 1967.
BARRETT	1982	8,000 Chaldeans 1,000 Nestorians
DsA	1982	2,000 Chaldeans 2,000 Nestorians
ANSCHÜTZ*	1984	7,000 Chaldeans, Nestorians and Protestants.

**Distribution:**

Chaldeans are found in ever decreasing numbers in the region just north of the Iraqi/Syrian border, in Mardin province (İdil and Silopi sub-provinces), Hakkari (Uludere and Beytüşşebap), and Siirt (Pervari and Şirnak). There are also communities in the town of Midyat, and the cities of Mardin, Diyarbakır, and Istanbul. A small group of Protestants remains in Istanbul. See survey 3 for Chaldeans in Mardin.

Nestorians are said still to live in a few villages in Van and the mountains of Hakkari: three villages were identified in 1967 (GÖCKENJAN 1981: 120). They are reported at Gezna in Beytüşşebap.

**Language:**

*Sūriṭ*, the most widely-spoken language in the eastern branch of Neo-Aramaic, in the Semitic family, in dialectal variations of *Fellīḫi*, as spoken beyond the border. As a liturgical language the Chaldeans use Syriac, like the West Syrians, though they use a different, eastern, type of script. *Sūriṭ* is referred to as *lišana ḫata* (new language), *suwadaya*, or *lišana dhamzemta* (spoken language) in contradistinction to Syriac, known as *lišana 'atiqa* (old language) or *lišana sepraya* (literary language).

The Nestorians use a literary language developed from the Urmia dialect of *Sūriṭ* in the XIXth century, known as *lišana aturaya*, which, as the only modern written language of the group, has won them cultural prestige among the Arameans; their liturgy is Syriac.

A distinct dialect formerly found in several villages in Siirt (Pervari) is now confined to a single village (JASTROW 1971).

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\* See contribution in this volume.

**Religion:**

Christian. a. The Chaldeans belong to the East Syrian Church, united with the Church of Rome in three stages, in 1553, 1681, and 1830, now with an archbishopric in Istanbul (nominally Diyarbakır) and a patriarchate at Mosul. Many of the Chaldeans live in Iraq. Contact with the patriarch has been curtailed by the closure of the frontier. b. The Nestorians (or Assyrians) belong to a separate diophysite church, the Apostolic-Catholic Church of the East (East Syrian Church), which was united with Rome only for three generations in the XVIth century. It is now represented chiefly in Iran and Iraq or abroad (especially in the USA and Canada), with a patriarch, entitled Mar Šimun, in San Francisco. Their liturgy is similar.

Some 5,000 Chaldeans in twelve villages in the Bohtan Massif are now in the pastoral care of the W. Syrians, for lack of their own priests since the 1923 ban on missions (GÖCKENJAN 1981: 119).

The Chaldean Church represents the Nestorians and the West Syrians as heretics, and *vice versa*. The term Chaldean is geographical; Nestorian and Assyrian are, strictly speaking, incorrect.

**Group identity:**

the Chaldean and Nestorian Christians are dealt with together here because the information available on their distribution tends to treat them as one unit. In reality, however, they are as distinct from one another as each is from the West Syrian Church. The common feature of identity which they share is the use of Sūriṭ as a language, and Syriac for the liturgy. The schism between the two churches, originating in the Vth century, became formal in 1662, and now forms only one aspect of a complex of cultural distinctions which have far greater importance in the emic view than the outsider can imagine (POIZAT 1973-9: 366). Though none of the Eastern Churches any longer proselytises, the Nestorians (who now call themselves Assyrians) are politically much more active than the others, who prefer to restrict their activities to the religious field alone. The fictive Nestorian image of an Assyrian nation (actually conceived by the English archaeologist Layard) has nevertheless caught the imagination of some Chaldeans and West Syrians, especially in the younger generation. It is rejected by the more conservative leaders of these groups, and by those who emphasise their Aramean origin. In view of the fact that the schism which led some of the Nestorians to become Catholic is relatively recent, it has been argued that both groups should be treated as a single ethnic and cultural unit (CHEVALIER 1985: 10).

The Nestorians, isolated in the mountains, differed from the Chaldeans in the lowlands in maintaining a tribal organisation under hereditary princes, *malik*, or chiefs, *raīs*, and maintaining a warlike parity with the surrounding Kurds (*ibid.* 218 ff.). It is not known to what extent remnants of this structure may survive since the exodus of the Nestorians in 1915. Some 15 households of converts to Islam live in Beygir Mahallesi in Kavak Köyü (Hakkari, Geçitli bucağı).

Both groups, like the West Syrians, have suffered from the antipathy of the surrounding Kurds; even though the Nestorians made common cause with the Kurds in their war for independence against Iraq in 1961, their historic opposition has reappeared. It is uncertain how far these events are reflected in Turkey. In general their means of subsistence is reported as similar to that of the Kurds.

Endogamy naturally results from, and perpetuates these closed communities, though in recent years many mixed marriages have taken place between West Syrians, Chaldeans, and Nestorians, with equal ease for both sexes.

The opposition between West Syrian and Chaldean Christians can be classified as a. geographical: west/east; b. linguistic: *Ṭūrōyo/Sūriṭ*; c. doctrinal: monophysite/diophysite; d. nationalistic: Aramean/Assyrianism (cf. STATENS INVANDRARVERK, *passim*).

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See also ANSCHÜTZ in this volume.

## 44. Circassians and Related Groups

### Designation:

a. Circassians, Cherkes; *Ger.* Tscherkessen; *Tk.* Çerkes(ler), Çerkez(ler).

b. Abkhaz, Abkhazian, Abazinian, Beskesek (Beshkesek) Abaza, Ubykh; *Ger.* Abchase(n), Abase(n), Ubych; *Tk.* Abaza, Ubih.

### Self-designation:

a. Adıge, b. Aapswa, Ubiğ.

### Numbers:

CENSUS	1965	a.	58,339	declared persons speaking Circassian as mother-tongue.
		a.	55,030	declared persons speaking Circassian as second language.
		b.	4,563	declared persons speaking Abkhaz as mother tongue.
		b.	7,836	declared persons speaking Abkhaz as second language.
AYDEMİR*	1973-5	a.	172,498	Circassians in the villages of 40 out of 67 provinces.
		a.	587,000	Circassians in towns and villages of 40 out of 67 provinces.
		a.	1,000,000	Circassians in all provinces.
		b.	30,503	Abkhaz in the villages of 39 out of 67 provinces.
		b.	9,069	Ubykh in the villages of 40 out of 67 provinces.
		a + b.	1,100,000	Circassians and related groups.
ÖZBEK**	1984	a + b.	897	villages with Circassian and related groups in population.
ÖZBEK***	1985	a + b.		

### Distribution:

the two groups are frequently mixed, and are therefore dealt with together here. They are settled (see list no.44) in villages primarily in

\* See surveys 2 a and 2 b in this volume.

\*\* See contribution in this volume.

\*\*\* See list no.44 in this volume.

Western and Central Anatolia. These can be allocated roughly to five regions (see surveys 2a, 2b):

1. Sakarya province (71 villages recorded) and Bolu (69) with Kocaeli (14) and Istanbul (6);
2. Bursa (32), Bilecik (14), Balıkesir (82), and Çanakkale (15);
3. A looser group from Eskişehir (39) and Kütahya (4) through Ankara (6) to Konya (21);
4. Scattered settlements near the southwestern coast, including Manisa (4), Izmir (6), Aydın (10), Denizli (2), Afyon (4), and Antalya (2);
5. A broad band stretching from Sinop (25) and Samsun (120) in the north through Çorum (34) and Amasya (16), Tokat (66), Yozgat (22), Sivas (34), Kayseri (66) and K. Maraş (24) to Adana (17) and Hatay (3).

The greatest concentration is thus in this fifth band; it is explicable partly in terms of Ottoman settlement policies, notably on Uzun Yayla, and partly by the practical need to land large numbers of refugees by sea. Of the few villages in East Anatolia, some are there as a result of exile following dissidence in the early years of the Republic.

As with other well-integrated minorities (e.g. Georgians and Laz), there has been a considerable movement in the last twenty years from villages to towns, and thence to the big cities in the west. Circassians are well-represented among the guest-workers in Germany.

### Language:

a. Circassian (*Adigèbze*), a polysynthetic language which, together with Abkhaz and Ubykh belong to the Northwestern group of the Caucasian family. The two principal dialect groups are classed as Upper Circassian (including Kabardey and Besleney), and Lower Circassian (*k'ah*) (including Bjeduḥ, Temirgoy, Şapsug, and Abadzeh), following tribal sub-divisions. Each of the two groups now has its own status as a literary language in the USSR, with a Cyrillic alphabet since 1935-8, but knowledge of these is very limited among Turkish Circassians.

b. Abkhaz (*Abḥāz*), a related language now written in an enlarged Georgian alphabet. Ubykh (*Ubiḥ*), another related language, is no longer spoken in the Caucasus, and is almost extinct in Turkey. Abaza is sometimes classed as a language in this group, but sometimes as only a dialect of Abḥāz; it has Kabardian features.

Some Circassian villages, such as those in the İslahiye region, now speak Turkish only.

All Circassian men, and most women in the Republic are otherwise bilingual, speaking Turkish; many of the younger generation, especially those in the towns, can only speak Turkish, and this is the normal form



for written communication. Some efforts are now being made to propagate use of the Cyrillic alphabet among the expatriate community in Germany (cf. LANDMANN, A. 1981: 32), as they were earlier in Israel, Jordan and Turkey itself.

### Religion:

Sunni Islam: Hanefi. Islamicisation was only completed in the Caucasus in about 1700, replacing Christianity and animism.

### Group identity:

by descent group and language, with preferred endogamy at the tribal level, and supported by a common memory of exile. Although the Adıge, Abkhaz and Ubykh are clearly defined groups, they are treated together here because, as etically perceived, they are all Circassians, and thus have often been allotted common settlements by the Ottoman authorities. They share the same history of expulsion from the same general region of the Caucasus, and in the formation of cultural organisations this appears to have been of greater importance than parity of language, especially when the communities have felt themselves under threat, and combined as a broadly-defined unit.

There is little general agreement as to whether the major categories should be regarded as distinct peoples, or merely as tribes. The true Circassians (*Adıge*) are usually given the following classification:

#### *Western Adıge*

Abadzeḥ / Abzaḥ

Şapsug

Natkuāḡ / Natuḥay

Moḥoš

Temirgoy / K'emirgoy / Kemguıy / Čenguıy

Ḥatükay

Bžeduḥ

Besleney / Besney

#### *Eastern Adıge*

Kabardey / Kabard

Those who are strictly-speaking non-Adıge, but assimilated in custom to the Circassians (i. e. related groups) are:

Abḥāz

Abaza / Besekekek Abaza / Bešekesekek Abaza

Ubiḥ

Of these the Abadzeḥ were the largest people or tribe, and together with the Šapsug and the Natkuāḡ formed 90% of the Western Adige population in the Caucasus until 1864. Linguistically the Besleney, the easternmost of the Western Adige, have much in common with the Kabardey. Such divisions, acknowledging a common ancestor, are known as *šepq* among the Western Adige; they were further divided into exogamous patrilineal descent groups, *pšapkua*, of the same class. The former, highly-stratified social structure has now been largely abandoned in Turkey, though the terminology survives. It is at its strongest among the Kabardey (who formerly had up to 13 classes) and to a lesser extent among the Bžeduḥ and the Abḡāz (where it was marked, though less strict). Among the "democratic" Western Adige, such as the Abadzeḥ and the Šapsug, where free peasants predominated, it has disappeared almost without trace. Where it does survive, it is evident mainly in the selection of marriage partners, thus governing endogamy, and in the patriarchal nature of community life. Endogamy is further restricted by a prohibition on marriage within seven ascending or descending generations. The classification in descent groups, as listed above, is still well recognised in Turkey.

This strictly regulated internal order has been disturbed by the social changes brought about by education. Since Circassian women have for long been regarded by the Turks as particularly refined brides, and since no religious barriers exist to inhibit mixed marriages, the community has become increasingly integrated in Turkish (urban) society.

Language as a criterion of ethnicity has been increasingly eroded by mass-media and education in Turkish, especially in towns and cities; the musical tradition has similarly been intruded upon. In some cases internal assimilation of one group by another has taken place, notably among the Ubykh who have mostly adopted the language of the Circassian majorities. Circassian societies have been active in trying to maintain these traditions, and form centres for lively, though not exclusive social contact, with occasional use of traditional costume, dance, and food. This activity is still sustained by the common sense of exile, though not otherwise politically directed (except by a minority of the expatriate community).

Etic understanding of Circassian identity is limited by language to the extent that all Circassians and related groups, together with other Caucasian groups such as the Chechen, tend to be regarded as one and the same. There is a general awareness that these groups have a particularly demanding code of honour, especially in relation to hospitality and women, based on the *ʿadat* or unwritten code of law. On the negative side the predatory behaviour of some Circassians when they first arrived a century ago is still remembered, and engenders some mistrust (MAGNARELLA

1974: 36). Officially there has been a failure to grasp the fact that the sole reason for the Circassians' presence in Turkey, as the former land of the Caliphate, is a religious one, and it was insensitive handling of this question, at the foundation of the laic Republic, which caused dissension.

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See also ÖZBEK in this volume, and AYDEMİR, SURVEYS 2 a, 2 b.

## 45. Chechen and Ingush

### Designation:

- a. Chechen; *Ger.* Tschetschenen; *Tk.* Çeçen.
- b. Ingush; *Ger.* Inguschen; *Tk.* İnguş.

### Self-designation:

a. Naḥçuo (pl. Noḥçiy)/Naḥçu; b. Ğalğai, Lamur; also Veynaḥ; the Karabulak call themselves Aršte.

### Numbers:

CENSUS: not listed by language.

AYDEMİR\* 1973/5 8,998 in the villages of 39 provinces (*cf.* survey 2 a in this volume); other provinces and urban population uncounted. Chechen only are listed.

Nearly 40,000 emigrated to the Ottoman Empire in 1865 (BENNIGSEN 1965); more than 20,000 deported to the Ottoman Empire in 1865, of whom the majority were destined to die out (Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, 1st Edn.)

### Distribution:

from AYDEMİR's survey of provincial villages, mostly in Mardin province (3000), Sivas (2356) and Muş (1961), followed by K. Maraş (930), Yozgat (316), Kayseri (250) and Erzurum (60). Others are known to live in the provinces of Adana, Balıkesir, Eskişehir and Kars, mainly in isolated villages or towns. The Ingush are reported to have no villages of their own, but live in small numbers in Istanbul. See survey 2 a.

### Language:

Chechen (Naḥçüi muot<sup>ç</sup>), which with the closely related Ingush, Kistin and Bats constitute the Veynaḥ group of the Northeast Caucasian family. A distinct dialect is spoken by the Karabulak, all of whom emigrated to Turkey. Chechen and Ingush were initially given separate status as written languages (in Latin characters), but they were united as Chechen-Ingush (in Cyrillic) after the amalgamation of the two Caucasian regions in 1934, within the USSR.

### Religion:

Sunni Islam: Hanefi.

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\*See survey 2 a.

**Group identity:**

no information on the communities in Turkey appears to have been published. It seems that both emic and etic distinctions now arise firstly from language, and secondly from a vivid awareness of the circumstances of their deportation after a century of armed resistance to the Russians. Popular identification with the main leader of this resistance, Shaikh Shamiĭ, is so strong that some claim him as a Chechen, though he was in fact an Avar (TARIKAHYA 1976). The identity of the Chechen originally rested on a common genealogy derived from a legendary hero, Turpal Noĥĉou, though the designation Chechen itself was first applied to this grouping of clans and tribes by the Russians in 1732. Since the social structure of the Chechen survived in the Caucasus until 1917, it is likely that traces of it remain among the communities in Turkey. It was based on patriarchal families of 40 to 50 individuals, and strictly exogamous clans, *taipa*. There were, however, no classes as all regarded themselves as nobles.

**Historical note:**

like the Circassians they arrived in Turkey in two waves, the first in 1865, *via* Kars, and the others in 1876 following the Balkan Wars, coming from the former Ottoman provinces. In 1926 in the home republic, 58% of the population were Chechen, and 13% Ingush: the proportion in Turkey may be similar; for Soviet maltreatment of these see CONQUEST 1970: 22-47, 84-94, 102-4, etc..

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**46. Georgians****Designation:**

Georgians; *Ger.* Georgier, Grusinier; *Tk.* Gürcü(ler).

**Self-designation:**

Kartveli, Kartvel-ebi (pl. Kartvelni).

**Numbers:**

CENSUS	1965	34,330 declared persons speaking Georgian as mother-tongue.
		48,976 declared persons speaking Georgian as second language.
		<u>83,306</u> persons probably of Georgian descent.
MAGNARELLA	1979 over	60,000 Georgians in Turkey.
BARRETT	1982	60,000 Georgians in Turkey.

**Distribution:**

according to the 1965 census, most Georgian-speakers listed were registered in Artvin province (7,698 persons), followed by Ordu (4,815), Sakarya (4,535), Bursa (2,938), Kocaeli (2,755), Samsun (2,350), Giresun (2,029), Bolu (1,543), Amasya (1,378), Balıkesir (1,281), Sinop (1,144), Istanbul (849), Tokat (412) and elsewhere. Although these figures are almost certainly undercounted, their relative proportions may be correct. The population has evidently spread along the Black Sea coast from Artvin to Giresun, Ordu, Samsun and Sinop, with some ramification inland to Amasya and Tokat, and a further movement to the western provinces comparable to that of the Hemşinli (no. 29) and Laz (no. 47).

**Language:**

Georgian (*Kartuli-ena*), the main language of the Southern Caucasian (Ibero-Caucasian or Kartvelian) family, whose other components are Svanetic, Mingrelian, and Laz. In the two cases documented in Western Anatolia, the inhabitants of Hayriye in Bursa province read no Georgian, although it is the normal language of the village (MAGNARELLA 1979: 117) in the Acar (Gurian) dialect; on the other hand many read Turkish. Of the inhabitants of Mana in Balıkesir, few of the middle-aged and almost none of the younger Georgians still speak the language fluently (MAGNARELLA 1976: 43). The Muslim Acars, who lived in the Batumi region, shared the Gurian dialect in the western dialect group.

**Religion:**

Sunni Islam (Hanefi). Some 10,000 Georgian Orthodox Christians also said to remain without organisation (BARRETT 1982: 683).

**Group identity:**

based on descent claimed from an eponymous ancestor, Kartlos, reinforced by language and preferred endogamy, and formerly by religion (as distinct from the Christian majority of Georgians in Georgia). Many Mus-

lim Georgians shared a common territory as Acars (Adzhars) in the region of Batum, and hence a common sense of exile; there is still a tendency to regard Artvin province as "the most civilised part of Turkey", being part of this homeland, though it is now recognised as an integral part of Turkey, the land of this group's citizenship (MAGNARELLA 1979: 118), and many thousands in fact died in 1915 supporting Turkey against Russia. Endogamy is limited by a strict ban on marriage between bilateral first cousins, and dislike of matches between more distant bilateral kin (MAGNARELLA 1976: 38-9). This leads to intermarriage with Georgians in other villages. The preference for maintaining large extended families over several generations leads to the building of large houses when circumstances permit (MAGNARELLA 1976: 38). Recently marriage with non-Georgians has increased; the physical attractiveness of Georgians, with their light complexions, have been an important factor here (*ibid.* 42).

Georgian still seems to be widely used, with Turkish reserved for contacts with the outside world, including schooling. Those in cities are more quickly assimilated to the majority language. Language therefore functions as a symbol of identity in the private setting of family life. Almost all Georgians in Turkey are bilingual, even if they speak Turkish with a recognisable accent (MAGNARELLA 1979: 117).

Close contact with the Turkish majority is also facilitated by the common Hanefi denomination in religion, though under some circumstances (perhaps density of population) the two communities may still worship in separate mosques (MAGNARELLA 1976: 38 and 42). Their close contact through language, religion, and citizenship leads Magnarella to assign the Georgians "partial ethnic identity" (1979: 116).

Some internal differentiation persists. The Georgians now in Meydancık (Imerhev) Bucağı, Şavşat sub-province, Artvin, claim a different origin from those in the Borçka area: it is said they are from eastern Georgia (Kakheti), and speak a dialect distinct from that of Borçka. Not all who live in Artvin, or Turkey as a whole, consider themselves to be Acar: those in Meydancık (Imerhev) reject the designation, as do those in Borçka. In this case the Acar may constitute only part of the Georgian community in Turkey. They are regarded by the others as *pis* "dirty", and *dağlı* "mountain folk", *i. e.* rustics.

#### Historical note:

only the Acar in the west of Georgia and part of the Ingilo in the east were Muslims, the population having been converted from Christianity under Ottoman control in the XVIth to XVIIth centuries. The principal migration took place at the end of the Turco-Russian war of 1877-8,

when thousands of Muslim Georgians fled from the region of Batum, then newly ceded to the Russians, to escape possible Russian reprisals. These reprisals were realised along the Çoruh valley up to Artvin after the Turkish raid on Batum in 1915, when only 7000 are said to have survived from a population of 52,000 (MAGNARELLA 1979: 16 citing Lang).

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## 47. Laz

### Designation:

Laz; *Ger.* Lasen (sing. Lase); *Tk.* Laz(lar); *Georgian:* Č'an.

### Self-designation:

Lazi.

### Numbers:

CENSUS 1945 46,987 declared persons speaking Laz.  
 CENSUS 1965 26,007 declared persons speaking Laz as mother tongue.  
 59,101 declared persons speaking Laz as second language.

From village population 1975 *ca.* 90,000 in NE Anatolia.  
*ca.* 25,000 in W Anatolia.

FEURSTEIN 1983 250,000 Laz-speakers (*sic*).

### Distribution:

originally in extreme northeastern Anatolia, in the provinces of Rize (*ca.* 57,000 based on village populations in 1975) and Artvin (*ca.* 33,000), in villages, towns and cities along the Pontic coast; there, in the northern mountain valleys, the proportion of the population speaking Laz ranges from *ca.* 50% in Pazar sub-province in the west, through *ca.* 80% in Ardeşen, *ca.* 45% (?) in Çamlıhemşin, *ca.* 80% in Findıklı, *ca.* 100% in Arhavi, and *ca.* 50% in Hopa to *ca.* 5% (?) in Borçka. Migration has brought large numbers of Laz westward to settlements and towns on the



coast such as Akçakoca (1,200 Laz) and villages further inland in Bolu, Bursa, Istanbul, Kocaeli, Sakarya and Zonguldak provinces.

### Language:

Laz (*Lazuri nena*), classed with Mingrelian in the Zan or Colchian branch of the Kartvelian or South Caucasian languages, and thus related to Georgian and Svan. Laz and Mingrelian are mutually comprehensible. Those in Arhavi and further west speak one group of dialects, and those in Hopa and the USSR another. The language is not as yet widely written, though an alphabet has been introduced by "FAHRI LAZOĞLU" (1984) based on the phonetic Turkish alphabet and DUMÉZIL's transcription system. Georgian is used instead as the literary language in the USSR. In spite of the lack of written records, there is a local tradition of Laz poetry. Almost all Laz are now bilingual, and the language is threatened by the spread of the Trabzon dialect of Turkish. Laz contains many Turkish loans, besides fewer Greek ones connected with the sea and agriculture (MINORSKY 1936: 21).

### Religion:

Sunni Islam: Hanefi, to which the formerly Christian Laz were converted after about 1580 (BRYER 1966: 181).

### Group identity:

by language and origin in a remote locality, reinforced by occupation. The etic understanding of the Laz is particularly imprecise, being applied by the majority in Western Turkey to any inhabitant of the Black Sea coast eastward of Sinop (see BENNINGHAUS in this volume). Closer enquiry shows that while the inhabitants of such a locality, say Sinop, deny being Laz, they regard those to the east of themselves as being Laz, and this process continues eastwards until the area of those who actually speak Laz is reached at Pazar (MEEKER 1971: 321). In this sense the external perception is concerned principally with a broad geographical region, the remarkably fertile, but often very steep coastal strip, which with its characteristic but unusual crops of maize, hazelnuts and tea, has its own cultural pattern. The perception of language is less important, and is apparently confused by the recognition of Black Sea dialects of Turkish, little distinction being made between the Trabzon patois and Laz itself; the understanding of Laz is so vague that it is sometimes regarded as a kind of Greek (an historical confusion also reflected in the labelling of Pontic Greeks as *Lazoi* in Greece). The peculiar pronunciation of Turkish is taken as a basis for stereotypes of such "Laz" as comic and somewhat inept. The Black Sea

Turks of this generalised region, sensitive to the implication that they are somehow less than real Turks, prefer the designation *Karadenizli* (Black Sea people) (*ibid.* 322).

Language, however, remains the real emic criterion, and this is predominant in the smaller region from Pazar to Hopa, identified as the Laz homeland, as well as some western colonies. Patrilineal descent groups extending to hundreds of households are an important aspect of social structure, but no details are as yet available (*ibid.* 328). They appear to be connected with the broken nature of the terrain, and the relative isolation of scattered hamlets. The Laz traditionally followed a transhumant pattern of life, taking their animals up to very high *yaylas* as the snow cleared. At the same time they have for long been associated with seafaring, and although only a small part of the population is engaged in this, it has come to be regarded by outsiders as characteristic; a small fish, *hamsi*, forms an important element in the local diet. The material culture is distinct enough to have merited a special study (FEURSTEIN 1983). Like the Hemşinli, the Laz have also established a widespread reputation as pastry-cooks.

In religion the Karadenizli in general, including the true Laz, are regarded as devout to the point of narrow-mindedness, and they have widespread influence in the capacity of imams and *müftü* (MEEKER 1971: 325). In this respect they are all well integrated with Turkish society. Endogamy is not prerequisite for Laz identity, except where it results from an emphatic concern with the chastity of women, and where this is reflected in the definition of female activity within small settlements, and their consequent inviolability (*ibid.* 330).

Given the almost complete bilingualism of the Laz (FEURSTEIN 1983: 26), their religious integration with the Turks, and the frequency with which they travel and work in other parts of Turkey, they may be regarded, like the Georgians and the Circassians, as a people with partial ethnic identity.

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See also BENNINGHAUS in this volume.

## C. Surveys

### Survey 1.a.

#### Villages in Eastern Anatolia by Language and Religion

extracted from the records for the Köy Envanteri (Village Inventory) by Liesa Nestmann (1960-68). (The population in any village may be of more than one group.) For abbreviations see introduction to section D, Key 1 and Key 3.

Province Sub-Province District (former names from KEE in brackets)	Total No. of Villages	Language No. of villages with mother-tongue				Religion No. of villages with population of								
		Turk	Arab	Zaza	Kurd	other	Hanefi	Shafii	Shii	Alevi	Caferi*	Yezidi	Chris- tian	
<b>Adiyaman</b>														
<i>Merkez</i>	84	2			82		60				49			
<i>Besni</i>	70	40			35		63				11			
<i>Çelikhán</i>	16	1			16		15				3			
<i>Gerger</i>	44						44				-			
<i>Gölbasi</i>	30						30				-			
<i>Kâhta</i>	78						64				1			1?
<i>Samsat</i>	17						17				1			

In view of the fact that twenty years have passed since these figures were copied, it has been thought best to publish them as they stand, rather than attempt any revision or correction.

Figures entered against a *Sub-Province* represent the totals from its Districts.

\* This category appears to be erroneous. Properly speaking, *Caferi* means Shii. Here it appears to be used as a euphemism for Alevi.



Province Sub-Province District (former names from KEE in brackets)	Total No. of Villages	Language No. of villages with population of				Religion No. of villages with population of							
		Turk	Arab	Zaza	Kurd	other	Hanefi	Shafii	Shii	Alevi	Caferi*	Yezidi	Chris- tian
Bingöl	87	1		78	14		16	82					
Merkez	65	-		65	-		-	65					
Genç	6	-		6	-		-	6					
Merkez	32	-		32	-		-	32					
Servi (Sivan)	11	-		11	-		-	11					
Söğütlü (Valir)	9	-		9	-		-	9					
Yayla	7	-		7	-		-	7					
Yenişu (Canut)	39	-		1	39		25	26			6		
Karlıova	28	-		1	28		22	15			5		
Merkez	11	-			11		3	11			1		
Göynük	112	16		2	101		73	22			34		
Kığı	25	9		2	17		18	4			7		
Merkez	39	5			37		20	16			14		
Adaklı (Hösnek)	26	-			26		25	-			1		
Yayladere (Cönek)	22	2			21		10	2			12		
Yedisu (Çerme)	22	-		22	-		-	22			-		
Solhan	9	-		9	-		-	9			-		
Merkez	13	-		13	-		-	11			-		
Yenibaşak (Ardüşin)		-			-		-				-		



Province Sub-Province District  (former names from KEE in brackets)	Total No. of Villages	No. of villages with population of				Religion								
		Turk	Arab	Zaza	Kurd	other	Hanefi	Shafii	Shii	Alevi	Caferi*	Yezidi	Chris- tian	
<b>Diyarbakır</b>														
<i>Merkez</i>	118	11		2	115						44	80		2
<i>Bismil</i>	87	11			78						12	73		1
<i>Çermik</i>	66	4		47	17						66			
<i>Merkez</i>	46	-		40	5						46			
<i>Yogun</i>	20	4		7	12						20			
<i>Çınar</i>	49	7	1		45						2	48		1?
<i>Merkez</i>	39	3	1		38						2	38		1?
<i>Kilvan (Aşağı Hanık)</i>	10	4			7						-	10		
<i>Çüngüş</i>	33	13		20	1						33			
<i>Dicle</i>	35	-		33	13						3	35		
<i>Ergani</i>	71	4		9	61						62	27		
<i>Merkez</i>	61	3		9	52						53	20		
<i>Ahmetli (Güran)</i>	10	1			9						9	7		
<i>Hani</i>	17	-		13	8						2	17		
<i>Hazro</i>	21	-			21						-	21		
<i>Kulp</i>	48	-		9	39						-	48		
<i>Merkez</i>	17	-		1	16						-	17		
<i>Ağaçlı (Cıksı)</i>	15	-		8	7						-	15		
<i>Akçasır</i>	5	-		-	5						-	5		
<i>Hamzalı (Bahemdan)</i>	11	-		-	11						-	11		
<i>Lice</i>	54	-		27	19						1	54		1
<i>Merkez</i>	35	-		20	16				1 Syr?		-	35		1
<i>Kayacık (Hezan)</i>	19	-		7	3				1 Syr?		1	19		
<i>Silvan</i>	64	-			64						-	64		
<i>Merkez</i>	40	-			40						-	40		
<i>Bağdere (Başnik)</i>	11	-			11						-	11		
<i>Çatalköprü (Malabadi)</i>	13	-			13						-	13		

Province Sub-Province District (former names from KEE in brackets)	Total No. of Villages	No. of villages with population of				No. of villages with population of					Christ- ian		
		Turk	Arab	Zaza	Kurd	other	Hanefi	Shafii	Shii	Alevi		Caferi*	Yezidi
Elâzığ**	157	105		11	62		146				38		
Merkez	33	28			10		32				7		
Merkez	33	8			26		33				1		
Hankendi (Hanköy)	21	18			4		18				8		
Harpüt	14	11			3		9				5		
Hıdırbaba (Balıbey)	17	11		11	6		17				7		
İçme	19	15	1		7		18	2			7		
Mollakendi	20	14			6		19				7		
Poyraz	18	18			1		17				3		
Ağın	62	26			60		60						
Baskil	27												
Merkez	12												
Aydinlar (Muşar)	23												
Kuşsaray (İzolu)	87	8		7	71		62	23			21		1
Karakoçan	29	6			26		24				6		
Keaban	42	4		x			x						
Maden	141			74	63		122	84?					
Palu	60	1		26	33		46	36?			5?		
Merkez	25			25			42	25?			5?		
Ancak (Karabeyan)	33				30		33						
Çaybağı (Karaçor)	23	3		23?			1	23?					
Gökdere	51	12		9	21		51						
Sivrice	28						28						
Merkez	23						23						
Gözeli (İringil)													

\*\* The figures for Elâzığ province appear to be confused.

x Present, but numbers unknown.





Province Sub-Province District  (former names from KEE in brackets)	Total No. of Villages	Language No. of villages with population of				Religion No. of villages with population of							
		Turk	Arab	Zaza	Kurd	other	Hanefi	Shafii	Shii	Alevi	Caferti*	Yezidi	Chris- tian
<i>Horasan</i>	69	40	-	-	36	-	66	31	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Merkez</i>	40	37	-	-	9	-	39	9	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Aras</i>	29	3	-	-	27	-	27	22	-	-	-	-	-
<i>İspir</i>	138	5	-	-	-	-	138	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Karayazi</i>	72	5	-	-	72	-	26	71	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Merkez</i>	15	-	-	-	15	-	5	15	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Elmalidere</i>	23	2	-	-	23	-	3	23	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Göksu</i>	20	2	-	-	20	-	8	20	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Söylemez</i>	14	1	-	-	14	-	10	13	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Narman</i>	42	42	-	-	-	-	42	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Merkez</i>	33	33	-	-	-	-	33	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Kışlaköy</i>	9	9	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Olut</i>	62	57	-	-	5	-	62	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Olur</i>	40	38	-	-	2	-	38	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Pasınler</i>	79	70	-	-	12	-	71	19	-	-	4	-	-
<i>Merkez</i>	56	50	-	-	5	-	51	9	-	-	2	-	-
<i>Çobandede</i>	23	20	-	-	7	-	20	10	-	-	2	-	-
<i>Şenkaya</i>	71	55	-	-	17	-	68	-	-	3	-	-	-
<i>Merkez</i>	11	9	-	-	2	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Akşar (Kosor)</i>	25	22	-	-	3	-	24	-	-	-	1	-	-
<i>Gaziler (Bardız)</i>	14	12	-	-	2	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Kömürlü</i>	21	12	-	-	10	-	19	-	-	2	-	-	-
<i>Tekman</i>	70	3	-	-	69	-	24	57	-	10	-	-	-
<i>Merkez</i>	43	3	-	-	42	-	17	38	-	5	-	-	-
<i>Gökoğlan</i>	27	-	-	-	27	-	7	19	-	5	-	-	-
<i>Tortim</i>	67	67	-	-	-	-	67	-	-	-	-	-	-



Province Sub-Province District (former names from KEE in brackets)	Total No. of Villages	Language No. of villages with population of				Religion No. of villages with population of																
		Turk	Arab	Zaza	Kurd	other	Hanefi	Shafii	Shii	Alevi	Caferi*	Yezidi	Chris- tian									
<b>Hatay</b>	78																					
<i>Merkez</i>	43		x								42	14		44**								1
<i>Altınözü</i>	21	21	x		x					1 Cret	37	28		6**								
<i>Döryol</i>	26		-								20	2		2								
<i>Hassa</i>	55	53	10							1	26	-		1								1
<i>İskenderun</i>	22	22	-		24?						43?			20**								
<i>Merkez</i>	11	11	10		6						19			6**								
<i>Belen</i>	22	20	-		1						11?											
<i>Uluçınar (Arsuz)</i>	53	48	17		17						13											1
<i>Kırıkhan</i>	44	43	1		6						51	15							1**			
<i>Merkez</i>	9	5	16		2						44	12		-								
<i>Yalankoz</i>	33	26	21		4						7	3		-								
<i>Reyhanlı</i>	19	12	16		3						32	23										
<i>Merkez</i>	14	14	5		3					18	18	13										
<i>Kumlu (Hamam)</i>	31	10	23		-						14	10										
<i>Samandıra</i>	15	5	11		1						10	-										1
<i>Merkez</i>	16	5	12		1						5	-										1
<i>Karaçay</i>	31	5	12		-						5	-										
<i>Yayladağı</i>		x			x						31	3										

\*\* The Alevi and Caferi villages recorded in Hatay must include Nusairis.

Province Sub-Province District (former names from KEE in brackets)	Total No. of Villages	Language No. of villages with population of				Religion No. of villages with population of						
		Turk	Arab	Zaza	Kurd	other	Hanafi	Shafii	Shii	Alevi	Caferi* Yezidi	Chris- tian
<b>Kars</b>												
<i>Merkez</i>	41	25			23	-	36	8				
<i>Aralık</i>	6	3			3	-	1	5		3		
<i>Ardahan</i>	62	38			24	1 Ge	62					
<i>Merkez</i>	24	21			3		24					
<i>Hasköy (Hoçuvan)</i>	21	1			20	1 Ge	21					
<i>Yalnızçam</i>	17	16			-		17					
<i>Arpaçay</i>	89	79			6		77	9	26?			
<i>Merkez</i>	41						38	3	5?			
<i>Akyaka (Kızılcakçak)</i>	23						19	1	7?			
<i>Bağgedikler</i>	25						20	5	14?			
<i>Çıldır</i>	44	42			-		44	-	-			
<i>Digor</i>	38	6			33	-	14	26	2			
<i>Göle</i>	56	22			36	-	51	2	3			
<i>Merkez</i>	30	12			20	-	28	2	-			
<i>Çayırbaşı (Okam)</i>	26	10			16	-	23	-	3			
<i>Hanak</i>	44	39			1	-	29		11			
<i>Iğdır</i>	53	37			29	-	6	25	32†			
<i>Merkez</i>	42	27			26	-	5	24	22†			
<i>Taşburun</i>	11	10			3	-	1	1	10†			
<i>Kağızman</i>	59	17			32	-	26	42	1			
<i>Merkez</i>	36	5			31	-	10	28	1			
<i>Kötek</i>	23	12			1	-	16	14	-			

† These should probably be Shii.

Province Sub-Province District  (former names from KEE in brackets)	Total No. of Villages	Language No. of villages with population of					Religion No. of villages with population of					
		Turk	Arab	Zaza	Kurd	other	Hanefi	Shafii	Shii	Alevi	Caferi* Yezidi	Chris- tian
<i>Posof</i>	49	39			1	-	49	-	-	-		
<i>Sarıkamış</i>	61	33			34	{ 1 Laz? 1 Circ	47	30	-			
<i>Merkez</i>	14	13			5	{ 1 Laz? 1 Circ	14	6	-			
<i>Karakurt</i>	30	7			24	-	18	20	-			
<i>Kararağın</i>	17	13			5	-	15	4	-			
<i>Selim</i>	52	40			16	-	52	9	-	2		
<i>Susuz</i>	31	14			18	-	29	3	4			
<i>Tuzluca</i>	79	48			35	-	1	38	39			
<b>Malatya</b>												
<i>Merkez</i>	113						97	-		20		
<i>Akçadağ</i>	73						46	-		19		1
<i>Arapgir</i>	39						26			16		
<i>Arguvan</i>	43						32			15		
<i>Darende</i>	51	46			4		45			15		
<i>Doğanşehir</i>	31	24			1		18			4		
<i>Hekimhan</i>	68						43			(24)		
<i>Pötürge</i>	72						70	3		3		
<i>Yeşilyurt</i>	20	7			14		11			10		



Province Sub-Province District (former names from KEE in brackets)	Total No. of Villages	Language No. of villages with population of				Religion No. of villages with population of							
		Turk	Arab	Zaza	Kurd	other	Hanefi	Shafii	Shii	Alevi	Caferi*	Yezidi	Chris- tian
<b>Mardin</b>	60	1	13		51	2 Syr	21	52					4
<i>Merkez</i>	40	1	5		36	1 Syr	8	36					
<i>Merkez</i>	20	-	8		15	1 Syr	13	16					
<i>Akincı (Kasır)</i>	27	-			26	1 Syr	-	26					1
<i>Cizre</i>	9	-			8	1 Syr		8					1
<i>Dicle</i>	18	-			18			18					-
<i>Derik</i>	57	-			57	-	9	56					-
<i>Gercüş</i>	87	-	6		82	1 Syr	1	87					3
<i>Merkez</i>	41	-	2		39	1 Syr	-	41					3
<i>Hasankeyf</i>	28	-	1		28	-	1	28					-
<i>Kayapınar (Habezbeni)</i>	18	-	3		15	-	-	18					-
<i>İdil</i>	70	-	3		67	6 Syr	-	67					6
<i>Merkez</i>	28	-	3		28	3 Syr		28					3
<i>Haberli</i>	24	-			21	3 Syr		21					3
<i>Oyalı (Alyan)</i>	18	-			18			18					-
<i>Kızıltepe</i>	96	3	12		91	1 Syr	17	95					1
<i>Merkez</i>	79	2	10		74	1 Syr	15	78					1
<i>Senyurt</i>	17	1	2		17		2	17					-
<i>Mazıdağı</i>	50	1			50	-	5	45					-
<i>Midyat</i>	80	-	15		65	11 Syr	1	74				5	18
<i>Merkez</i>	48	-			34	8 Syr	1	43				5	11
<i>Dargeçit (Kerburan)</i>	32	-			31	3 Syr	-	31					7
<i>Nusaybin</i>	68	-	8		63	8 Syr	2	60				4	15
<i>Merkez</i>	15	-	1		15	-	-	15					1
<i>Akarsu (İstiiil)</i>	26	-	2		26	-	-	26					-
<i>Girmeli</i>	27	-	5		22	8 Syr	2	19				2?	14
<i>Ömerli</i>	40	1	5		38	1 Syr	1	40					1





Province Sub-Province District (former names from KEE in brackets)	Total No. of Villages	Language No. of villages with population of				Religion No. of villages with population of								
		Turk	Arab	Zaza	Kurd	other	Hanefi	Shafii	Shii	Alevi	Caferi* Yezidi	Chris- tian		
<b>Siirt</b>														
<i>Merkez</i>	26	-	6		20		-							
<i>Merkez</i>	20	-	2		18		-							
<i>Aydınlı (Tillo)</i>	6	-	4		2		-							
<i>Batman</i>	23	-			23		-							
<i>Baykan</i>	25	1		4	22		-							
<i>Beşiri</i>	33	1	1		33		2							4
<i>Ernh</i>	93	-			92?		-							
<i>Merkez</i>	33	-			32		-							
<i>Bağgöze (Lodi)</i>	37	-			37?		-							
<i>Fındık</i>	23	-			23		-							
<i>Kozluk</i>	43	2	12		28		43							1
<i>Kırtalan</i>	64	1			63		-							
<i>Pervari</i>	51	-			51		-							1?
<i>Sason</i>	28	-	12		20		-							4?
<i>Şimək</i>	38	38?			36		-							1
<i>Şirvan</i>	48	-			48		-							
<b>Tunceli</b>														
<i>Merkez</i>	35	-			35		-							
<i>Merkez</i>	3	-			3		-							34
<i>Çiçekli (Türüşmek)</i>	9	-			9		-							3
<i>Kocakoç (Pah)</i>	13	-			13		-							9
<i>Sütüce (Kahmut)</i>	10	-			10		-							13
<i>Çemişgezek</i>	51	41			12		-							9
<i>Merkez</i>	23	20			5		37		19					
<i>Akçapınar (Vaskovan)</i>	11	4			7		6		6					

Province Sub-Province District (former names from KEE in brackets)	Total No. of Villages	Language No. of villages with population of				Religion No. of villages with population of										
		Turk	Arab	Zaza	Kurd	other	Hanefi	Shafii	Shii	Alevi	Caferti*	Yezidi	Chris- tian			
Gedikler (Germili)	17	17			-					16	-					
Hozat	42	1		35	7					1	-					
Merkez	26	1		21	5					1	-					
Çağlarca (Amutka)	4	-		4	-						-					
Geyiksu (Sin)	12	-		10	2						-					
Mazgirt	79	10			71					6	1					
Merkez	25	1			24					1	-					
Akpaazar (Çarsacak)	22	9			15					5	1					
Darikent (Muhundu)	32	-			32					-	-					
Nazimiye	33	5		13	15					-	-					
Merkez	13	-		7	6					-	-					
Büyükyurt (Hakis)	13	-		5	4					-	-					
Dallıbahçe (İresi)	7	5		1	5					-	-					
Dallıbahçe (İresi)	7	5		1	5					-	-					
Ovacık	61	-		53	8					-	-					
Merkez	41	-		41	-					-	-					
Karaoğlan (Kabil)	8	-		-	8					-	-					
Yeşilyazı (Havaçor)	12	-		12	-					-	-					
Pertek	49	5			46					13	-					
Merkez	9	2			8					4	-					
Akdemir (Şavak)	10	-			10					5	-					
Dere	10	-			10					-	-					
Pınarlar (Vazgirt)	20	3			18					4	-					
Pülümür	64	6		46	16					1	-					
Merkez	9	4		5	1					1	-					
Balpayam (Deşt)	9	-		9	-					-	-					
Dağyolu (Şeteri)	12	-		7	6					-	-					
Kırmızıköprü (Danzik)	24	2		22	2					-	-					
Üçdam (Eşil)	10	-		3	7					-	-					



Province Sub-Province District (former names from KEE in brackets)	Total No. of Villages	Language No. of villages with population of					Religion No. of villages with population of							
		Türk	Arab	Zaza	Kurd	other	Hanefi	Shafii	Shii	Alevi	Caferi* Yezidi	Chris- tian		
Çaylarbaşı	6	-	-	-	-	-	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dağbaşı	7	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Karacadağ	14	-	-	-	-	-	14	8	-	-	-	-	-	-
Karakeçi	4	1	-	-	-	-	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Şekerli	6	2	-	-	-	-	6	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sürüç	71	1	-	-	70	-	71	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Merkez	53	1	-	-	52	-	53	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mürşitpınar	18	-	-	-	18	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Viranşehir	38	-	24	-	x	-	35	34	-	-	-	-	7	-
<b>Van</b>														
Merkez	101	22	-	-	82	-	16	97	-	-	-	-	-	-
Merkez	23	6	-	-	17	-	6	22	-	-	-	-	-	-
Erçek	20	1	-	-	19	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gümüşdere (Edremit)	12	4	-	-	8	-	3	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
Timar	46	11	-	-	38	-	7	45	-	-	-	-	-	-
Başkale	62	-	-	-	62	-	1	62	-	-	-	-	-	-
Merkez	40	-	-	-	40	-	1	40	-	-	-	-	-	-
Albayrak	22	-	-	-	22	-	-	22	-	-	-	-	-	-
Çatak	26	-	-	-	26	-	-	26	-	-	-	-	-	-
Erciş	82	12	-	-	73	-	20	78	-	-	-	-	-	-
Merkez	40	11	-	-	31	-	13	36	-	-	-	-	-	-
Deliçay (Kertis)	12	-	-	-	12	-	3	12	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kocapınar	30	1	-	-	30	-	4	30	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gevaş	32	-	-	-	32	-	-	32	-	-	-	-	-	-

Province Sub-Province District (former names from KEE in brackets)	Total No. of Villages	Language				Religion											
		No. of villages with population of				No. of villages with population of											
		Turk	Arab	Zaza	Kurd	other	Hanefi	Shafii	Shii	Alevi	Caferi*	Yezidi	Chris- tian				
<i>Gürpınar</i>	67	-	-	-	67	-	-	-	-	-	1	67	-	-	-	-	-
Merkez	13	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	-	-
Güzelsu (Hoşap)	28	-	-	-	28	-	-	-	-	-	1	28	-	-	-	-	-
Kırkgeçit (Kasnik)	12	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-
Yalınca (Norduz)	14	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Muradiye</i>	100	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	4	100	-	-	-	-	-
Merkez	36	-	-	-	36	-	-	-	-	-	1	36	-	-	-	-	-
Çaldıran	64	-	-	-	64	-	-	-	-	-	3	64	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Özalp</i>	76	4	-	-	76	-	-	-	-	-	5	76	-	-	-	-	-
Merkez	26	1	-	-	26	-	-	-	-	-	3	26	-	-	-	-	-
Dorutay (Taşrumi)	24	2	-	-	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	-	-	-	-	-
Saray	26	1	-	-	26	-	-	-	-	-	2	26	-	-	-	-	-

## Survey 1. b.

## Villages in Erzincan Province by Language and Religion

As given by İbrahim Boynukalin from his own village survey 1965. Source: Boynukalin 1975.

Province <i>Sub-Province</i>	Total No. of Villages	Language No. of villages with population speaking			Religion No. of villages with population of			Inference Apparent minimum no. of villages ALEVI speaking Kurdish
		Turkish	Kurdish	Mixture	Sunni	Shii	Mixture	
<b>Erzincan</b>	559							
<i>Merkez</i>	118	98	20	-	31	67	20	47
<i>Çayırli</i>	64	54	7	3	16	46	7	39
<i>İliç</i>	58	58	-	-	39	17	-	17
<i>Kemah</i>	71	57	13	1	44	25	13	12
<i>Kemaliye (Egin)</i>	61	61	-	-	51	6	-	6
<i>Refahiye</i>	119	92	27	-	74	45	27	18
<i>Tercan</i>	68	15	45	8	14	46	45	1
<b>Total</b>	559	435	112	12	269	252	112	140

Notes:

1. By the designation Shii the author apparently means Alevi.
2. In general he assumes that all Alevi ("Shii") are of Kurdish origin (BOYNUKALIN 1975: 113).

## Survey 1. c.

## Village Population in Erzincan Province by Language and Religion 1965

As Given by İbrahim Boynukalin from own village survey. Source: BOYNUKALIN 1975.  
*N. b.* some discrepancies in totals and percentages have been left as originally printed.

Province Sub-Province	Total Population	Language		Religion	Number of Shii (Alevi)	%
		Turkish	Number speaking Kurdish			
<b>Erzincan</b>						
<i>Merkez</i>	57,330	49,547	7,883	26,462	30,868	57.3
<i>Çayırlı</i>	26,363	23,412	2,951	9,070	17,293	65.4
<i>İliç</i>	15,379	15,379	—	11,228	4,151	27.0
<i>Kemah</i>	20,980	17,433	3,547	14,217	6,733	32.4
<i>Kemaliye (Egin)</i>	12,651	12,651	—	10,670	1,981	15.6
<i>Refahiye</i>	34,033	27,412	6,216	22,763	10,270	31.5
<i>Tercan</i>	34,453	11,996	22,457	11,322	23,131	67.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>201,189</b>	<b>158,135</b>	<b>43,054</b>	<b>116,722</b>	<b>84,467</b>	<b>44.0</b>

## Notes:

1. By the designation Shii the author apparently means Alevi.
2. In general he assumes that all Alevi are Kurdish in origin (BOYNUKALIN 1975: 113).



Survey 2. a.

Caucasians Living in Villages, by Province and Ethnic Group

after İ.Aydemir (1973-75) (only 39 provinces surveyed from the total of 67).

Province	Adıge	Abkhaz	Chechen	Ossete	Karaçay-Balkar	Lezgi	Daghistani	Kumuk	Noğay	Total village population
Adana	2 254	200								2 579?
Afyon Karahisar	1 455	60								1 455
Amasya	4 073									4 133
Ankara	801									801
Antalya	884									884
Aydın	4 672									4 672
Balıkesir	18 592					935	547			20 074
Bilecik	2 362	678								3 040
Bitlis	603			487						1 090
Bolu	10 351	9 116								19 467
Burdur	887									887
Bursa	5 458?	1 408								6 866?
Çanakkale	6 082							242		6 324
Çorum	8 002	484							221	8 707
Denizli	110						942			1 052
Erzurum	4 366	1 131	60	150	1 081					210
Eskişehir	513									6 578
Gümüşhane	600									513
Hatay	543	1 250				528	225			600
İstanbul	1 577			4 330		300				2 666
İzmir			250	200						1 577
Kars		1 652			65					4 630
Kayseri	20 072									22 239

Province	Adige	Abkhaz	Chechen	Ossete	Karaçay-Balkar	Lezgi	Daghistani	Kumuk	Noğay	Total village population
Kırşehir	500									500
Kocaeli	3 169									3 169
Konya	2 436				2 000					4 436
Kütahya	560	467								1 027
Manisa	490	142								632
Kahramanmaraş	4 379		930			283				5 592
Mardin			3 000							3 000
Mersin	257?		1 961	1 440		351				257?
Muş										3 752
Niğde	350?									350?
Sakarya	7 672?	8 720								16 392?
Samsun	31 238?	1 593								32 831?
Sivas	3 056?	1 517	2 356	272		208		654		8 063?
Sinop	7 317	797								8 114
Tokat	23 425			438		652	252	807		26 225
Yozgat	2 561	1 288	316	1 626						5 791
Total	181 567? (181 621)	30 503	8 998	8 943	3 917	3 257	1 966	1 703	221	241 075? (241 014)

*Note:*

The table is taken from: İzzet AYDEMİR: Türkiye Çerkesleri (9) in: Kafkasya (Kültürel Dergisi) year 11, no. 47 (Oct.-May 1975), pp. 39-48, Ankara.

These figures were provisional at the time of printing in 1975: AYDEMİR drew attention to their incompleteness in his article.

The groups listed do not represent all those of Caucasian origin in Turkey: the Georgians, for example, are omitted from AYDEMİR's list.

Furthermore "Dağıstanlı" designates emigrants from a multi-ethnic geographical region, which includes Lezgi, Noğay and some Kumuk, although these are listed separately. This overlap apparently reflects some vagueness in self-designation when the list was compiled. Avar and Dargi, for instance, are presumably entered as Dağıstanlı.

The totals marked with a question mark are reproduced as originally printed, although these do not, in fact, correspond to the total of the other figures concerned: we are not in a position to judge where the error has occurred. In certain cases a question mark indicates a lack of correspondence between the two tables. The figures within brackets represent corrections that appear to be appropriate.



Province	Abz	Sp	K	Bje	Kha	Bes	Bra	Mokh	Tem	Üb*	village population	Total in provinces
Kayseri	1 096		14 111		4 865						20 072	35 000
Kırşehir	3 013					500				156	500	1 000
Kocaeli	2 186		250								3 169	15 000
Konya	260	300									2 436	12 000
Kütahya	260	490									560	3 000
Manisa	2 084		2 295								490	2 000
Kahramanmaraş											4 379	9 000
Mardin												3 000
Mersin	350		257								257?	500
Muş												4 500
Niğde						379	1 084				350?	1 500
Sakarya	1 200	4 061	247					290		949	7 672?	35 000
Samsun	17 321	12 519	3 056							861	31 238?	51 000
Sivas											3 056?	17 000
Sinop	5 832	1 485									7 317	10 000
Tokat	16 088		7 337								23 425	33 000
Yozgat	578	1 968	15								2 561	7 000
Total	72 875 (72 975)	49 035	32 879	6 082	5 244	4 040	1 369	290	638	9 069	181 567? (181 621)	587 500 (589 700)

## Note:

The Übhü (marked with an asterisk) are treated by AYDEMİR as being true Circassians (Adige), and are therefore retained in this table, though strictly speaking they are outside the main Circassian group. The number of true Circassians living in villages in the 40 provinces should thus be 172,498. The totals marked with a question mark are reproduced as originally printed, although they do not, in fact, correspond to the total of the other figures concerned: we are not in a position to judge where the error has occurred.

The figures are taken from: İzzet AYDEMİR: Türkiye Çerkesleri (9)

in: Kafkasya (Kültürel Dergisi) year 11, no. 47 (Oct.-May 1975), pp. 39-48, Ankara.

Those figures within brackets represent corrections that appear to be appropriate.

For key to abbreviations see introduction to section D, Key 2.

### Survey 3.

#### Syrian-orthodox Population in Mardin Province by Village and Town

Classified according to province, sub-province, and district. Figures according to Ritter (1967) and Anschütz (1981 and 1984). (For further data refer to their lists under the number given below.) Data on languages from Ritter.

Province	sub-Province	District	Christians			Languages				
			No.	Anschütz (families)	1981	Ritter (persons)	Turoyo	Kurdish	Arabic	
Mardin	Merkez	Merkez	91	60 (mixed: + Chal., Cath., Arm., Prot.)	60	2	1100*			1100
		Deir ez-Za'faran Monastery	97	a few nuns, 5 monks, 10-15 boys						
		Bülbül (Benabil)	89	30	30					
		Eskikale (Kalitmara)	90	1	1					
		Göllü	93	4	?					
		Yeşilli (Rişmil)	95	?	?					
Mardin	Cizre	Merkez	96	?	?					
		Cizre town								
Mardin	Gercüş	Merkez	38	3* (+Cath., Chal.)	0	5	90		90	
		Gercüş town	18	60 (1975?)	25	8	720	720		
		Arıca (Kefri)	36	15	15	10	125			125
		Çukuryurt (Binkelp)	37	30	30	9	110*			110
		Yamanlar (Erdi)								

Province sub-Province District	Christians				Ritter (persons)		Languages		
	Anschütz (families)		1981		No.	1960* or 66	Turoyo	Kurdish	Arabic
	No.	1978* or 80							
<b>Mardin İdil</b>									
İdil town (Hazak)	35	120	120	31	1225		1225		some
Üçok (Bebek)**	43	} only a few families	0	-	-				
Yarbaşı (Hespest)									
<b>Mardin İdil</b>									
Haberli									
Haberli (Basbirin)	15	60	60	26	900		900		
Öğüdük (Midin)	16	118	130	29	1000		1000		
Sarıköy	17	15	20	28	180		180		
Uçarlı (Temerzi)	44	(5 Chal.)*	0	30	26		26		some
<b>Mardin Midyat</b>									
Merkez									
Midyat town	A	1500* (mixed)	n.a.	1	5000		5000		
Altuntaş (Keferzi)	24	30	30	17	775		775		some
Bağlarbaşı (Arnas)	20	28	28	15	390		390		some
Bardakçı (Bati)	2	25	25	7	552		552		some
Baniştepe (Salhi)	26	15	15	6	230		230		some
Doğançay (Mizizah)	25	42	42	23	724		724		some
Elbegendi (Harapkefri)	21	30	45	33	310		310		some
Gülgöze (Aynvert)	1	90	90	22	1150*		1150		
Güngören (Keferbi)	23	15	15	25	115?				115
Mercimekli (Hapisnas)	22	30	30	4	380		380		some
Narlı (Halah)	39	4* (+Cath.)	6	16	30		30		30
Yemişli (Enhil)	3	120	120	32	1306		1306		
*Derömer Monastery	79	10 nuns, 40 school-boys, some monks, 1 family		24	55		55		

Province sub-Province District	Christians				Languages		
	Anschütz (families)		Ritter (persons)		Turoyo	Kurdish	Arabic
	No.	1978* or 80	No.	1960* or 66			
<b>Mardin Midyat</b>			1981				
Dargeçit							
Dargeçit (Kerburan)	30	10*	0	14	875	875	
Alağöz (Bakısyarı)	4	25	25	20	620	620	620
Alayurt (Arbay)	27	15*	0	13	215	215	215
Anıtlı (Hah)	29	60	60	19	475	some	some
Çatalçam (Dersalip)	28	30	30	12	180	some	some
İzbirak (Zaz)	6	50	50	11	515	some	some
Ortaca (Heşterek)	40	2* (+Cath.)	0	18	25		
*Dırkup	5	10*	10	21	95		
<b>Mardin Nusaybin Merkez</b>							
Nusaybin town	41	3 (post 1945)				some	some
<b>Mardin Nusaybin Girmeli</b>							
Girmeli (Girmira)	32	25	25	40	225	some	
Dağıcı (Harapmişki)	10	15*-30	30	39	394		
Dibek (Badip)	8	9	9	38	410		
Günyurdu (Merhap-Haktanır)	12	35	35	41	410		
İkiztepe (Tezharap)	-	?	5	-	-		
Odabaşı (Gündükşükrtü)	14	65	65	43	600		
Söğütü (Giribiya)	33	ca. 30 (1968)	?	44	140	some	
Taşköy (Arbo)	7	30	30	36	304		
Üçköy (Harapali)	9	100	100	34	950		
Üçyol (Sidere)	13	30	30	37	287		
*Baminin	42	?	?	27	37		

Province	sub-Province	District	Christians				Languages		
			Anschütz (families)		1981	Ritter (persons) No.	Turoyo	Kurdish	Arabic
			1978* or 80	No.					
<b>Mardin</b>	<i>Nısaybin</i>	Girmeli	31	10*	0-10		10 fam.		
	*Balaban (Birguriya/Birigirya)		80	1 + 1 monk	0				
	*Deir Mar Malke		34	?	?	42	35		
	*Gündük		11	5	?	35	130		
	*Güzelsu (Habap)		—			45	26		
	*Giremara								
<b>Mardin</b>	<i>Ömerli</i>	Merkez	47	3*	3				3 fam
	Ömerli town (Maserti)								
<b>Mardin</b>	<i>Savur</i>	Merkez	46	3*	2				2-3 fam.
	Savur town		19	50	60	3	600*	600?	?
	Dereçi (Killit)		45	4	4				4 fam.
	Kayadere (Bafova)								
<b>TOTALS (families):</b>				ca. 3,100		ca. 1,520			
<b>TOTALS (persons, 5 per family estimated):</b>				15,500		7,600		ca. 24,041	
									+ Midyat

*Note:*

The village with two asterisks (Üçok) was inhabited by Christians until 1967 as mentioned in: Otto JASTROW: Die Mesopotamisch-Arabischen Qeltu-Dialekte, vol.1 (Abhandlungen f.d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol.43,4) Wiesbaden 1978.

There is, in addition to these parishes, a very large community in Istanbul (ca. 12,000; in Kurtuluş Mah. in Beyoğlu, Kumkapi, and Samataya) and several other smaller groups in Ankara (several hundred), Diyarbakır (1000), Elâzığ (100), Malatya (100), and the city of Adıyaman (350) (Svanberg, 1985: 38).



## Survey 4.

## Cretan Muslim Settlements (1981)

by E. Danielsen

Following the Anatolian coastline from west to east.

Province	Sub-Province	District		
Settlement	Density	Distinct Quarter?	Source	Other notes
<b>İstanbul</b>	<i>Merkez</i>			
1 İstanbul city	unknown		Dan	
<b>Bursa</b>	<i>Gemlik</i>			
2 Gemlik town	imp. min.		rept	
	<i>Mudanya</i>			
3 Mudanya town	imp. min.		rept	
<b>Balikesir</b>	<i>Bandırma</i>			
4 Bandırma town	unknown		rept	
	<i>Erdek</i>			
5 Erdek town	50% +		rept	
	<i>Erdek</i>	Marmara		
6 Marmara	maj.		Dan	
<b>Çanakkale</b>	<i>Merkez</i>			
7 Çanakkale city	some fam.		rept	
	<i>Ayvacık</i>	Küçükkuyu		
8 Küçükkuyu	50%		Dan	village divided in halves
<b>Balikesir</b>	<i>Burhaniye</i>			
9 Burhaniye town	imp. min.		rept	
	<i>Ayvalık</i>	Merkez		
10 Ayvalık town	imp. min.		Dan	
11 Alibey Adası (Cunda)	maj.		Dan	
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Dikili</i>			
12 Dikili town	50%		rept	
	<i>Merkez</i>			
13 İzmir city	unknown	yes	Dan	
	<i>Çeşme</i>			
14 Çeşme town	50%		rept	

Province	Sub-Province District			
Settlement	Density	Distinct Quarter?	Source	Other notes
<b>Aydın</b> 15 Kuşadası town	<i>Kuşadası</i> imp. min.		Dan	
16 Söke town	<i>Söke</i> imp. min.	yes	Dan	
<b>Aydın</b> 17 Davutlar	<i>Kuşadası</i> Davutlar maj.		Dan	
<b>Muğla</b> 18 Milas town	<i>Milas</i> imp. min.		rept	
19 Bodrum town	<i>Bodrum</i> imp. min.	yes	Dan	
20 Muğla city	<i>Merkez</i> some fam.		Özb	
21 Marmaris town	<i>Marmaris</i> imp. min. +		rept	
22 Fethiye town	<i>Fethiye</i> some fam.		Özb	
<b>Antalya</b> 23 Finike town	<i>Finike</i> some fam.		Özb	
24 Antalya city	<i>Merkez</i> unknown		Dan	
25 Ahmediye Akkınlar (Kadriye)	<i>Serik</i> Merkez maj.		rept rept	de Planhol 1958: 353, 363.
26 Selimiye (Side, Eskiantalya)	<i>Manavgat</i> Merkez 50%—		Dan	Built by Cretans, but now tourism has led to fall in proportion.
27 Alanya town	<i>Alanya</i> some fam.		Özb	
<b>İçel</b> 28 Silifke town	<i>Silifke</i> some fam.		Özb	
29 Mersin city	<i>Merkez</i> unknown		Dan	
30 İhsaniye (Melemez)	<i>Tarsus</i> Merkez maj.		Özb	
31 Tarsus town	unknown	yes	Özb	

Province	Sub-Province		District	
Settlement	Density	Distinct Quarter?	Source	Other notes
<b>Adana</b>				
32 Adana city	<i>Merkez</i> unknown	yes	rept	quarter occupied many years ago.
33 Kozan town	<i>Kozan</i> imp. min.	yes	Dan	
34 Ceyhan town	<i>Ceyhan</i> imp. min.		Özb	
35 Osmaniye town	<i>Osmaniye</i> imp. min.		Özb	
<b>Hatay</b>				
36 Dört Yol town	<i>Dört Yol Merkez</i> imp. min.		Dan	
37 Altınçağ (İcadiye)	maj.		Dan	
38 Kırıkhan town	<i>Kırıkhan</i> some fam.		Dan	

*Key:*

Dan	personal visit by E. Danielson.
Özb	information from K. Özbayrı, from Tarsus.
rept	report from Cretans in other places, checked against other reports.
maj	majority of population in town or village Cretan.
50%	approximately half of the population Cretan.
imp. min.	important minority of the population Cretan.
few fam.	a few families Cretan.

*Note:*

In a few places, such as Gemlik, Erdek, Burhaniye, Milas, Alanya, Ceyhan and Osmaniye, E. Danielsen visited the spot, but circumstances prevented him from making proper enquiries.

## Survey 5.

### Tribal Groups in the Province of Hakkâri (1984)

By Lâle Yalçın

According to the provisional results of the national census (GENEL NÜFÜS SAYIMI) in 1980, the province of Hakkâri has a population of *ca.* 180,000. Of this, *ca.* 64,000 live in the sub-provincial centres (*ilçe/kaza merkezleri*), that is in the city of Hakkâri itself and the towns of Beytüşşebab, Çukurca, Şemdinli, Uludere, and Yüksekova. In general it can be said that the inhabitants of the city and towns belong to mixed language groups, whereas those in the villages, numbering nearly 114,000, belong to a single language group: that is, they speak Kurdish. The languages of the city and towns are Turkish, Kurdish, and Arabic. There may be a small number who speak languages other than these, such as Persian, Sûriç, or Armenian, for I was told of such groups, as in a few villages in the sub-province of Çukurca. The local urban population is mixed with a largely transient component of civil and military officials from the Turkish-, Kurdish-, Laz- or Arabic-speaking parts of Turkey. There are also some settlers in the towns, notably in Hakkâri and Yüksekova, from other provinces such as Siirt, Van, Gümüşhane, Diyarbakır or Erzurum. These permanent settlers are generally bilingual, or in the case of those from Siirt even trilingual, speaking Arabic, Kurdish and Turkish. In Yüksekova they trade, and conduct religious services in many villages.

The towns I have visited convey different impressions as to the ratio of people who speak one language rather than the other. In Hakkâri and Şemdinli, for example, Turkish seemed to be spoken more than Kurdish (or Arabic), whereas in Yüksekova it was Kurdish which dominated conversation. This probably reflects the proportion of "outsiders" to the indigenous population. It should be noted, however, that central Hakkâri is quite limited in area, as its neighbourhoods (*mahalle*) are scattered on hills and in valleys, and that Şemdinli is a very small town. Yüksekova, on the other hand, having ample space to expand on the flat Gewer plateau, appears the richest town in the province, with many shops and a lively market with competitive prices, and hence attracts more of the indigenous population. In the course of my fieldwork I have not encountered any purely Turkish-speaking groups as pockets within the primarily Kurdish-speaking rural population, nor have I found any reference to groups of this kind in my historical reading.

Turkish is spoken as a second language in many villages, and in almost all those settlements with primary schools. Groups using Turkish as their first language are thus confined to the urban population.

Tribal groupings are difficult to demarcate with any precision as the information is complicated by various factors:

1. Names of places (villages, rivers, mountains etc.) are usually tribal names.
2. This tendency is more strongly marked in areas where pastures were divided, formally or informally, on a tribal basis.
3. Because of various population movements, migrations, the closure of national borders, and the pressure brought about by a high increase in population over the last decades, a situation has developed where tribal pastures and the corresponding winter settlements may be in quite different areas, so that it is harder to define a specific area as tribal land.
4. Not all the population is tribal, nor are all tribal people equally strong in their tribal loyalties: confederational, tribal, clan, and lineage divisions have been blurred by political and economic changes in the region.
5. Tribal membership itself is a highly charged concept with its own ideology, as discussed separately (see YALÇIN in this volume).

So far as these difficulties allow, I have demarcated some parts of the province as being populated largely by recognised tribes, without entering on the complications of defining these as tribes or tribal sections. In the list given below, arranged according to the present administrative divisions, villages are listed under both their new and their old names, and the tribes which live there are noted.

Name of subprovince (ilçe)	Name of town or village, new and old in Turkish	Name of tribe	Source of information	Notes
Hakkâri Merkez	Hakkâri/ Çölemerg	mixed: Ertuş (Gewdan, Girawi, Žirki) + Pinyaniš + non-tribal people	JABA: 5; SYKES: 462 own notes	This is the subprovincial centre as well as the provincial centre. Throughout the sub-province the Ertuş with their subdivisions are dominant.
	Çanaklı/Baz	Ertuş (Žirki)	CUINET: 651; RHEA: 119	Historical sources refer to the Nestorian tribes who lived here. Now apparently Ertuş.
	Kırkdag/Gelazo	Žirki (subtribe of Ertuş)	CUINET: 651 own notes	This was an ex-Nestorian village, settled very recently by a group of the Žirki who had left Beytüşşebap because of a bloodfeud.
	Konak/Koçannes	Çallı (subtribe of the Pinyaniš)	CUINET: 730; SYKES: 461; NIKITINE: 991 own notes	Formerly the village seat of the Nestorian archbishop, much mentioned in historical sources. Now owned by a Çallı family and rented to Mam- huran.
	Otluca/Hananis	Silawi (subtribe of the Pinyaniš) + Gewdan (Ertuş)	own notes	
	Işıklar/Pirkanis Geçitli/Piyanis	Pinyaniš Girawi (subtribe of the Ertuş) + Silehi (Pinyaniš)	own notes JABA: 5, 53 own notes	Previously referred to as in Sivelan district.
	Kavaklı/Maronis	Mamhuran (sub- tribe of the Ertuş)	own notes	This and the following village also have non-tribal populations.
	Yoncalı/Anitos	Mixed: see Hak- kâri Merkez	own notes	See above. These are the Kirmāng of Maronisi.

Name of subprovince (ilçe)	Name of town or village, new and old in Turkish	Name of tribe	Source of information	Notes
Beytüşşebap (Elki)	Beytüşşebap/Elki	Ertuş (Žirki + Girawi + Mam-huran)	CUINET: 717, 755; MAUNSELL: 129, 133; SYKES: 460 own notes	Now the sub-provincial centre. Historical sources state that Elki was wholly Nestorian.
	Doğanyol/Varihokan	Gewdan	MAUNSELL: 124, 133 own notes	This is an area famous for its pastures, called Farāşin.
	Güneyyaka/Bate	Žirki		The village of the famous Melayê Batê, the imam who wrote the Kurdish Mevlut.
	Mutluca/Kespiyaniş	Žirki		
	Pirinçli/Çemhaski	Žirki	own notes	The same group who migrated to Kırıkdağ in Hakkâri Merkez, see above.
	Tuzluca/Nêrketik	Žirki		Home of the Ağa Tâhir of the Žirki.*
Çukurca (Çel)	Çukurca/Çel	Pinyaniş (+ Ertuş + Nestorians?)	CUINET: 479; RHEA: 118 own notes	Sub-provincial centre.
	Çağlayan/Erbuş Kavuşak/Belican	Ertuş Belican (subtribe of the Pinyaniş)	CUINET: 651, 717 JABA: 5	Historical sources refer to its Nestorian past. Written sources also refer to this tribe as residing to the north of the Gewer plain.
	Üzümlü/Deştan	Pinyaniş?	CUINET: 749	Historical sources refer to a Nestorian population in the past.
	Çığlı/Aşut	Kaşuri	CUINET: 751 own notes	An old Nestorian village now on the Iraq border.

\* Information from R. B.

Name of subprovince (ilçe)	Name of town or village, new and old in Turkish	Name of tribe	Source of information	Notes
Şemdinli (Şemdinan)	Şemdinli/Navşar	Zerzan, Humaru, mixed tribal and non-tribal + outsiders	ERDOST: 184 own notes	Sub-provincial centre
	Alan/Helena	Zerzan	NIKITINE: 303 own notes	A border village with many links to Iran.
	Ayranlı/Bedav	Herki	NIKITINE: 303; CUINET: 756; JABA: 70; DICKSON: 372; MAUNSELL: 139; ERDOST: 167, 185 own notes	A village on the Iraq border, with relatives living on the other side.
	Bağlar/Nehri	Zerzan + Humaru	ERDOST: 185 has Humaru; NIKITINE: 303 also.	Previously a sub-provincial centre and residence of the then ruling Sadate Nehri; the land was confiscated by the central government after the expulsion of the last Shaikh from Turkey. It is now inhabited by a totally unrelated (Kirmānğ) family.
	Bembo/Bembo	Humaru + Hani	own notes ERDOST: 184 own notes	
	Çevre/Bay	Humaru	ERDOST: 184	CUINET mentions that the inhabitants of this village belong to the original Hakkâri tribe, and are related to those in the other Bay village near the city of Hakkâri.
	Gelişen/Gerdi-Şepatan	Gerdi	ERDOST: 167; DICKSON: 371; NIKITINE: 303	



Name of subprovince (ilçe)	Name of town or village, new and old in Turkish	Name of tribe	Source of information	Notes
	Kayalar/Kotuna	Zerzan	ERDOST: 184 own notes	ERDOST among other mentions this as a Seyyit village; I have met the present Seyyit there, who is descended from the Sadate Nehri ( <i>i. e.</i> of the Seyyit lineage of Nehri).
	Meşelik/Herki	Herki	as Ayrıanlı	One of three villages on the Iraqi border, with Herki relatives on the other side.
	Ortaklar/Besusin	Gerdi + Begzade	as Gelişen; own notes ERDOST: 167, 191	ERDOST states that the Begzade are a branch of the Gerdi. <i>Begzade</i> means "those of noble lineage", and some sources mention them as "Mir" lineages. I have met them in various parts of the province. (They are also a branch of the Herki in Iran - Ed.).
	Öveç/Surunis	Humaru	ERDOST: 184	This is another Seyyit village inhabited by another branch of the Sadate Nehri lineage. Cf. Kayalar.
	Soğuksu/Deman	Humaru	ERDOST: 184 own notes	This must be a village east of Navşar on the Iranian border. Some sources mention this tribe in eastern Başkale, as well as east of the Gewer plateau.
	Mağaraönü/Şikeftan	Şikefti (subtribe of the Zerzan)	ERDOST: 184; CUINET: 717, 735; JABA: 5, 68; SYKES: 461	
	Tütünlü/Avilian	Humaru	NIKİTINE: 303; CUINET: 717, 743	
	Uğuraçan/Beitkar	Herki	as Ayrıanlı	
	Üzümkuran/Deh	Herki	as Ayrıanlı	As Meşelik and Ayrıanlı.

Name of subprovince (ilçe)	Name of town or village, new and old in Turkish	Name of tribe	Source of information	Notes
Uludere	Uludere/ Güyan Hilal İspirte/İspirte	Goyi Goyi Sipa'ırti	SYKES: 460 own notes JABA: 5; SYKES: 459 own notes	A tribe (?) which has other sections in the Silopi sub-province of Mardin, and in Siirt province. It also has a few villages within Beytüşşebap sub-province.
Yüksekova (Gewer/Diza)	Yüksekova/ Gewer Adaklı/Alakan Büyükçiftlik/ Hırvata Yoncalık/ Pirzalan Urşe/Orişa Dağlıca/Oramar Dilekli/Şuke Gürkavak/ Şagulturt	mixed tribal and non-tribal Oramar + Dorski + Pinyaniş Pinyaniş Diri + Pinyaniş Pinyaniş Oramar Oramar Dorski	JABA: 5 own notes own notes JABA: 5 own notes MAUNSELL: 130 own notes own notes CUINET: 717, 757; DICKSON: 367 own notes own notes own notes	Sub-provincial centre. The town, an old settlement, now has a population of 14,000. Previously a Nestorian village.  The village is owned by the Ağa of the Pinyaniş.  A well-known former district centre, composed of many hamlets, and residence of the late Ağa of the Oramar tribe. Most of the Oramar border villages were previously either wholly Nestorian, or mixed. Many of the villages south of the Gewer plain and the northern Oramar Su valley are Dorski.

Name of subprovince (ilçe)	Name of town or village, new and old in Turkish	Name of tribe	Source of information	Notes
	Kardeşler/Biri	Oramar	own notes	One of two villages on the border of Çukurca sub-province.
	İkiyaka/Sat	Sat (subtribe of the Herki?)	NIKITINE: 303; DICKSON: 367-74; MAUNSELL: 139 own notes	Although some sources cite the Sat as Herki, they are now considered a sub-tribe of the Dorski, related to the Oramar.
	Pirinçeken/ Kinyaniş	Oramar	own notes	See Kardeşler.
	Tuğlu/Hacıyan	Dorski	JABA: 5; MAUNSELL: 130 own notes	See Gürkavak
	Üçkardes/Zeri	Oramar	JABA: 5	JABA mentions this as Jilu. See Dilekli.
	Yesiltaş/Ijtazin	Oramar	CUINET: 717; MAUNSELL: 139 own notes	Previously a mixed population of Nestorians and Muslim Kurds; now all Muslim Kurds.
	Esendere/ Bajirge/Sahi- Güvenli	Diri + Girawî	CUINET: 717; RHEA: 119 own notes	A border town. The rest of the tribe live on the Iranian side, and trade a great deal.

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## Survey 6.

### Gypsies: Apparent Distribution by Province

The following list is compiled from the Köy Envanter Etüdləri (1963-71), where in less than half of the 67 provinces a table somewhat ambiguously entitled "Göçebe ve Gezginci Çingeneler" ("nomads and travelling gypsies") was published. The grounds for assuming that the people listed are really gypsies lie in the statistics on their economic activities, i.e. low ownership of land or flocks (sheep and goats) or cattle as against the presence of beasts of burden (camels, horses, donkeys). Only these are listed here. It is possible, however, that among the land- or live-stock-owning nomads represented in the Köy Envanteri tables, there were some gypsies, who have inadvertently been omitted here.

Province Sub-Province	Number of villages with assumed gypsy population	Number of gypsy families	Number of people	Number of landless families	Number of stock: sheep, goats, and cattle	Number of beasts of burden
<b>Adana</b> <i>Merkez</i>	5	21	102	21	57	27
<b>Adiyaman</b> Adiyaman city Besni town <i>Gölbasi</i>	1	21 15 5	140 100 32	21 15 5	- - -	98 13 -

Province Sub-Province	Number of villages with assumed gypsy population	Number of gypsy families	Number of people	Number of landless families	Number of stock: sheep, goats, and cattle	Number of beasts of burden
<b>Afyon Karahisar</b>						
<i>Merkez</i>	3	3	16	3	-	-
<i>Dinar</i>	14	75	432	75	-	10
Dinar town		7	47	7	-	-
<i>İhsaniye</i>	1	4	16	4	-	4
<i>Sandıklı</i>	1	14	104	14	-	48
<i>Sincanlı</i>	8	11	121	11	-	-
Sincanlı town		6	68	6	-	-
<i>Şuhut</i>	-	12	86	12	-	50
<b>Amasya</b>						
<i>Merzifon ?</i>	-	4	7	4	-	10
<b>Ankara</b>						
Altundağ town		12	59	12	-	22
Altundağ villages	2	17	99	17	-	32
<i>Ayaş</i>	2	29	158	29	-	54
<i>Yenimahalle</i>	1	15	117	15	20	40
<b>Artvin</b>						
<i>Merkez</i>	6	80	445	80	363	-
<i>Ardanuç</i>	15	93	938	71	197	92
<i>Borçka</i>	8	27	258	27	349	1
<i>Hopa ?</i>	3	3	61	3	-	-
<i>Şavşat</i>	21	74	785	74	-	207

Province Sub-Province	Number of villages with assumed gypsy population	Number of gypsy families	Number of people	Number of landless families	Number of stock: sheep, goats, and cattle	Number of beasts of burden
<b>Burdur</b>						
<i>Merkez</i>	3	16	152	16	-	-
<i>Bucak</i>	2	9	47	9	-	20
<b>Çankırı</b> (statistics unclear) in city and towns (total) in villages (total)	- 1	75 27	381 280	75 27	- -	3 87
<b>Denizli</b>						
<i>Acıpayam</i>	1	1	7	1	-	-
<i>Çivril</i>	1	40	200	40	-	130
<b>Elâzığ</b>						
Elâzığ city		40	208	40		2
<i>Baskil</i>	2	12	48	12	-	12
<i>Karakoçan</i>	1	2	12	2	-	6
Karakoçan town		22	133	22	-	25
<b>Erzincan</b> in province	-	21	89	21	-	39
<b>Eskişehir</b>						
Eskişehir city		121	494	121	-	-
Çifteler town		17	84	14	-	-
Mahmutiye town		10	55	10	1	24
Mihalıççık town		50	282	45	-	88
<i>Sarıcakaya</i>	1	15	105	2	10	26

Province Sub-Province	Number of villages with assumed gypsy population	Number of gypsy families	Number of people	Number of landless families	Number of stock: sheep, goats, and cattle	Number of beasts of burden
<b>Isparta</b>						
<i>Merkez</i>	1	55	361	53	-	140
<i>Eğirdir</i>	1	42	204	38	-	75
<b>Kastamonu</b>						
<i>Azdavay</i>	2	24	123	24	1	45
<i>Taşköprü</i>	4	7	88	7	-	14
<i>Tosya</i>	1	3	29	3	-	8
<b>Kırklareli</b>						
<i>Vize</i>	-	1	5	1	-	4
<b>Kocaeli (statistics unclear)</b>						
?	7?	18?	115?	18?	-	63?
<b>Kütahya</b>						
<i>Altıntaş</i>		35	201	30	2	74
<i>Emet</i>	14?	14	130	14	-	-
<i>Simav</i>		18	490	18		
<b>Muğla</b>						
<i>Fethiye</i>	5?	5	20?	5	-	-
<i>Milâs</i>	1	11	54?	10	2	2



Province Sub-Province	Number of villages with assumed gypsy population	Number of gypsy families	Number of people	Number of landless families	Number of stock: sheep, goats, and cattle	Number of beasts of burden
Niğde Bor	1	3	10	3	—	—
Tekirdağ Merkez	1	18	87	18	—	28
Malakara ?		130	917	130	80	182
Saray ?		1	5	1	—	5
Tokat (statistics unclear) total in province		110	724	110	17	115
Trabzon (statistics unclear) total in province		12	80	12	—	—
Yozgat Merkez	1	5	25	5	—	16
Zonguldak Çaycuma	6	20	123	—	28	19
Devrek	3	10	68	6	14	3
Totals	151?	1,568	10,633	1,488	1,141	1,963

## Survey 7.

## Provisional List of Abdal Villages in Turkey

Collected by A. Tietze - classified and located by P. A. A.

## a. Villages listed by an Abdal informant.

This information is recent, (1983) but has not been checked personally.

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates
<b>Adana</b> Adana (as Seyhan Kazası)	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	37.00 35.20
<b>Adana</b> Armağanlı (Şiyhşamlı) Azaplı Çiğcik (as Cıçık) Düğenli (Araplı) Elbistanlı (as İlbustan) Hardallık Kızılömerli Mehmetli Öksüzlü Sıtr	<i>Kadırlı</i>	Merkez	37.28 36.03 37.23 36.02 37.18 36.06 37.27 36.02 37.28 36.09 37.17 36.07 37.24 35.59 37.29 36.03 37.20 35.58 37.24 35.55
*Bin boğa unidentified (possibly K. MARAŞ: Afşın) *Elvanlı unidentified *Emirler unidentified (possibly K. MARAŞ: Andırın) *Evciler unidentified			37.28 36.27
<b>Adana</b> Bucak	<i>Kozan</i>	Merkez	37.28 35.54
<b>Adana</b> Osmaniye	<i>Osmaniye</i>	Merkez	37.05 36.15
<b>Adana</b> Toprakkale	<i>Osmaniye</i>	Toprakkale	37.04 36.09
<b>Ankara</b> Ankara - Çinçin Bağları (Teber Mahallesi)	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	39.57 32.52
<b>Ankara</b> Gökçeyurt (Nenek)? (as Denek in Haymana)	<i>Çankaya</i>	Merkez	
<b>Ankara</b> Soğulcak	<i>Çankaya</i>	Gölbaşı	39.32 32.52

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates
<b>Ankara</b> Bala	<i>Bala</i>	Merkez	39.33 33.08
Koçayla (Ebülhas) (as Abiles in Haymana)			39.27 32.59
<b>Ankara</b> Çubuk	<i>Çubuk</i>	Merkez	40.15 33.02
Demirci			40.20 33.13
<b>Ankara</b> Elmalı	<i>Delice</i>	Merkez	40.01 33.54
<b>Ankara</b> Yeniköy	<i>Haymana</i>	Merkez	39.27 32.35
<b>Ankara</b> Çekirge	<i>Haymana</i>	Yenice	39.10 32.32
Yurtbeyli (Köseabdullah/Köseaptal)			39.11 32.35
<b>Ankara</b> Keskin	<i>Keskin</i>	Merkez	39.41 33.37
<b>Ankara</b> Altınbaşak (Kürtü)? (as Kürtköyü in Kırşehir)	<i>Şereflikoçhisar</i>	Merkez	
<b>Antalya</b> Antalya	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	36.53 30.42
Antalya: Zeytin Köyü (now part of town) "Many villages"			
<b>Bolu</b> *Kırkpınar (unidentified)	<i>Düzce</i>		
<b>Çorum</b> Çorum	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	40.33 34.57
<b>Çorum</b> Mecitözü	<i>Mecitözü</i>	Merkez	40.31 35.18
<b>Çorum</b> Yaylacık (Göpsen)	<i>Ortaköy</i>	Merkez	40.17 35.06
<b>Çorum</b> Sungurlu	<i>Sungurlu</i>	Merkez	40.10 34.23
*Pöhrek (unidentified)			
<b>Çorum</b> Gölpınarlar (as Gölpınar)	<i>Sungurlu</i>	Boğazkale	40.07 34.41
<b>Denizli</b> Horasanlı (Bereketli)	<i>Tavas</i>	Merkez	37.25 29.03
<b>Eskişehir</b> Sarıkavak? (3 of this name in Eskişehir)	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	39.40 30.54

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Oğuzeli</i>	Merkez	
Oğuzeli (Büyükkızılhisar)			36.58 37.31
Beşdeli			36.53 37.27
Çatalı (Arkık)			36.52 37.25
Çaybaşı (Çağdın)			37.01 37.30
Sergili (Beledin/Belediçin)			36.55 37.38
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Oğuzeli</i>	Elbeyli	
Akçaağıl (Bakit) (as Bekit)			36.48 37.26
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Oğuzeli</i>	Doğanpınar	
Demirkonak (Barna)			
<b>Kayseri</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	
Kayseri			38.44 35.29
<b>Kayseri</b>	<i>Bünyan</i>	Merkez	
Bünyan			38.51 35.52
<b>Kayseri</b>	<i>Sarız</i>	Merkez	
Sarız			38.29 36.30
<b>Kırşehir</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	
Kırşehir (many)			39.09 34.10
Kırşehir: Bağlarbaşı Mahallesi			
Kırşehir: Denek Mahallesi			
Karalar			39.05 33.59
Kortolu? (as Kırtıllar)			39.05 34.01
*Aşıkpaşa (unidentified)			
*Çukurçayır (unidentified)			
*Kürtköyü (in Ankara? q. v.) (unidentified)			
<b>Kırşehir</b>	<i>Kaman</i>	Merkez	
Kaman			39.22 33.43
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Ermenek</i>	Göktepe (Fariske)	
Çukurbağ			36.34 32.38
<b>Nevşehir</b>	<i>Hacıbektas</i>	Merkez	
Hacıbektas			38.57 34.33
*Gonur (unidentified)			
<b>Sinop</b>	<i>Gerze</i>	Merkez	
Abdaloğlu (Ahmetoğlu)			41.48 35.12
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Gemerek</i>	Merkez	
Eskiyurt (Alakilise)			39.23 36.09
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Kangal</i>	Merkez	
Abdaloğlu			39.22 37.31

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates
Sivas Yukarıkale	<i>Koyulhisar</i>	Merkez	40.16 37.53
Sivas Suşehri	<i>Suşehri</i>	Merkez	40.10 38.06
Tokat Niksar	<i>Niksar</i>	Merkez	40.35 36.57
Yozgat Kuzan (unidentified)	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	
Yozgat Sarıminören (Sarıminviran)	<i>Merkez</i>	Osmanpaşa	39.34 35.01
Yozgat Yenikışla	<i>Boğazlıyan</i>	Merkez	39.24 35.22
Yozgat Çukurören	<i>Çayıralan</i>	Merkez	39.28 35.44
Evciler			39.28 35.43
Gülderesi			
Karaazap (Evciler area)			
Kurtderesi			39.29 35.42
Ortaköy			39.29 35.43
Yozgat Yerköy	<i>Yerköy</i>	Merkez	39.39 34.28
(Aşağı?) Elmahacılı			39.39 34.33

These villages are of course limited to those known to the informant.

## b. Villages listed by Güzelbey for Gaziantep 1972

Teberci, of six tribes (*oymak*) marked as follows:

Papırlar	P	20 tents (+ 30 in Syria)
Maya Sekenler	MS	30 tents
Kara Hacılar	KH	20 tents
Kurular	KU	
Kuyucular	K	20 tents
Kara Hüseyinler	K Hüs	200 tents

Places marked T are confirmed by A. Tietze's informant.

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	
Karaçomak	KH		36.54 37.24
Kerer (CKA Kerrer)	KH		36.53 37.24
Körkün (as Görkün)	KH		36.57 37.25
Yağdöven (Küçükmasere)	KH		36.56 37.24
Zeytinli (Ulumasere)	KH		36.55 37.23
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Kilis</i>	Merkez	
Bozcayazı (Zabaran)	P		36.43 37.20
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Oğuzeli</i>	Merkez	
Town (Büyükkızılhisar)	MS	(T)	36.58 37.30
Belören (Tilbaşarmezrası)	MS		36.52 37.34
Beşdeli	KH	(T)	36.53 37.27
Çatalsu (Arkık)	KH	(T)	36.52 37.25
Çaybaşı (Çağdın)	MS	(T)	37.01 37.30
Dokuzyol (Uruş)	K		36.54 37.39
Dutluca (as Tutluca)	K		36.54 37.36
Ekinveren (Tilsevet)	K		36.53 37.39
Gündoğan (Tilbaşar)	MS		36.53 37.32
İkizkuyu	KH		36.53 37.30
Sazgın (as Sezgin)	KH		36.56 37.27
Sergili (Belediçin - Beledin)	K	(T)	36.55 37.38
Taşyazı (Hengirmen)	KH		36.54 37.26
Tınazdere (Hülümen)	K		36.56 37.37
Uğurova (Aş. Rumevlek)	K		36.53 37.38
Yakacık (Ziranba)	MS		36.55 37.32
Yazılı (as Tünk, Tümp, Tünp)	KH		36.51 37.27
Yeşildere (Hacar-Gürsü)	MS		36.59 37.29
*Yenice	MS		36.52 37.36
*Dehebi	MS		36.52 37.31
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Oğuzeli</i>	Elbeyli	
Akçağıl (Bakıda) (as Bekit)	KH	(T)	36.48 37.26
Çangallı	KU		
Geçerli (Kumsurun)	KU		
Günece (Havarin-Aktepeköyü) (as Güneyşe)	MS		36.44 37.27
Karacurun	KU		
Selmincik	KU		36.44 37.30
Yağızköy (Vahvin) (Varlanos) (as Vafyanız)	K		36.50 37.41
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Oğuzeli</i>	Doğanpınar (Haral)	
Doğanpınar (Haral)	KU		36.51 37.37
Akçakoyunlu	KU		36.45 37.40
Arslanlı (Şıhbilecen) (as Şeyh-bilecen)	KU		36.45 37.31

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates
Asmacık (Tilhalit)	KU		36.46 37.38
Demirkonak (Barna)	KU		
Dibecik (Vasili)	KU	(T)	36.49 37.39
Güveçli (Germik) (as Gemrik)	K		36.51 37.40
Hatunlu	KU		
Hötoğlu	KU		
Karacaören (?) (as Derokaca- caören)	KU		
Karadibek (Harnuba)	KU		36.51 37.35
Kılavuz	KU		36.48 37.37
Kuruçay (Kerfersarı)	KU		
Sevindi	KU		36.48 37.31
Sütlüce (Kürtosman)	MS		36.51 37.32
Tüzel	MS		36.49 37.30
Üçdamlar (Kandevir)	KU		
Üçkubbe (as Üçkuppe)	KU		36.43 37.34
<b>Kahraman Maraş</b>	<i>Pazarcık</i>	Merkez	
Pazarcık	K Hüs	(T)	37.29 37.18

\* Not listed in GNS.

Source:

GÜZELBEY, C. C.: Abdallar, in: Folklor 3, 25/5 (1972), pp.21-25.

### c. Village names collected from written sources

There is no guarantee that these villages still contain an Abdal population. Some are taken from village lists (TMYK 1946 and Köylerimiz 1981). Others are traced from listings of words known to be part of the Abdal vocabulary (D.S.), mostly gathered in 1931.

Province	Sub-Province	District	Source
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	
Boynuyuşun			D.S. kuynu
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Karataş</i>	Merkez	
Sırkenli (Yürük?)			D.S. gerez
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Kozan</i>	Sırkıntı (?)	
Abdalören			CKA
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Osmaniye</i>	Toprakkale	
Abtalpınar (now Arslanpınar)			TMYK 1946

Province	Sub-Province	District	Source
<b>Afyonkarahisar</b> Dereçine (Dere-sinek)	<i>Çay</i>	Merkez	D.S. geben
<b>Afyonkarahisar</b> Dinar sub-province	<i>Dinar</i>	?	Köprülü 1935
<b>Amasya</b>	?	?	Köprülü 1935
<b>Amasya</b> Merzifon sub-province	<i>Merzifon</i>	?	Köprülü 1935
<b>Ankara</b> Abdalan (near Hüseyin Gazi Tekkesi, Hüseyin Gazi Dağı)	?	?	Kâtib Çelebi Cihannüma, p.633 (Tanyu p.87)
<b>Ankara</b> Abdal villages	<i>Çubuk</i>	?	Tanyu, p.110 cit. Y.Ziya 1928
<b>Ankara</b> Haymana sub-province (all sünnetçi from north of Ankara hence)	<i>Haymana</i>	?	Go 428
<b>Ankara</b> Abdallı (now Göktaş)	<i>Keskin</i>	Merkez	Köylerimiz 1981
<b>Antalya</b> Elmalı sub-province	<i>Elmalı</i>	?	Köprülü 1935
<b>Antalya</b> Serik (two mahalle, on edge of town)	<i>Serik</i>	Merkez	G
<b>Antalya</b> Gebiz (Macar)	<i>Serik</i>	Gebiz	G
<b>Aydin</b> Yeniköy (which one of 8 villages?)	?	?	D.S. cıvır
<b>Balikesir</b> Balya sub-province	<i>Balya</i>	?	D.S. geder
<b>Bingöl</b> Abdalan (now Sırmalıoşa)	<i>Genç</i>	Servi	Köylerimiz 1981
<b>Bolu</b> Akpınar Aptalgideni (now Esençam) Çam ("Gypsies")	<i>Düzce</i>	Merkez	C 1951, p.xx C 1951 (introduction) C 1951, p.xx



Province	Sub-Province	District	Source
<b>Bolu</b> Abdallar Köy (now Elmacıkdere?)	<i>Mudurnu</i>	Merkez	TMYK 1946
<b>Bursa</b> Abdal Mahalle (in the town)	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	TMYK 1946
<b>Çorum</b> Aptalata (Abdalata) Aptalbodu (now Yenihayat)	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	TMYK 1946 TMYK 1946
<b>Çorum</b> İskilip sub-province	<i>İskilip</i>	?	Köprülü 1935
<b>Çorum</b> Osmancık sub-province	<i>Osmancık</i>	?	Köprülü 1935
<b>Denizli</b>	?	?	Köprülü 1935
<b>Denizli</b> Abdal	<i>Sarayköy</i>	?	TMYK 1946
<b>Diyarbakır</b> Abdalan (now Kaygısız)	<i>Dicle</i>	Merkez	Köylerimiz 1981
<b>Elazığ</b> Abdalan mezraa of Okcıyan (now Okçular) village	<i>Karakoçan</i>	Merkez	TMYK 1946
<b>Erzurum</b> Abdalcık	<i>Aşkale</i>	Kandilli	TMYK 1946
<b>Erzurum</b> Abdalan Köy (now Alikırı)	<i>Hınıs</i>	Merkez	TMYK 1946
<b>Eskişehir</b> Koşmat (now Yayıklı)	<i>Merkez</i>	Alpu	D.S. civir, gerez, kuynu
<b>Eskişehir</b> Sivrihisar sub-province	<i>Sivrihisar</i>	?	D.S. kuynu
<b>Gaziantep</b> Karaburçlu	<i>İslahiye</i>	Fevzipaşa	L, Ali Rıza 4, 79 ff.
<b>Giresun</b> Piraziz (Eren), Abdal Mahalle	<i>Bulancık</i>	Piraziz	TMYK 1946
<b>Gümüşhane</b> Yakupaptal	<i>Bayburt</i>	Demirözü	TMYK 1946
<b>Hatay</b> Aptalhüyük Köy (now Gazimürseltepesi?)	<i>Reyhanlı</i>	Merkez	TMYK 1946
<b>Isparta</b> Yenice, Abdalyurdu Mahalle	<i>Gelendost</i>	Merkez	Isparta ili yer adları 1936, p. 19

Province	Sub-Province	District	Source
<b>Isparta</b> Uluborlu sub-province	<i>Uluborlu</i>	?	Hasluck 2, 476
<b>İçel</b> Anamur town or sub-province	<i>Anamur</i>	?	D.S. kuynu
<b>İçel</b> 2 villages near the town	<i>Mut</i>	Merkez	Soylu 7703
<b>İçel</b> Saribucak (now Göcekler?)	<i>Mut</i>	Sarıkavak	Soylu 7702
<b>İçel</b> Silifke town: one mahalle	<i>Silifke</i>	Merkez	Soylu, 7703
<b>İçel</b> Abdal Kuyusu (now Yeşilkuyu)	<i>Tarsus</i>	Merkez	TMYK 1946
<b>Kars</b> İrişli (now Göldalı)	<i>Çıldır</i>	Doğruyol	D.S. kirtmek
<b>Kars</b> Bayburt	<i>Selim</i>	Merkez	D.S. kirtmek
<b>Kastamonu</b> Körşiş (now Karabükü), Abdal Mahalle	<i>Azdavay</i>	Pınarbaşı	TMYK 1946
<b>Kastamonu</b> Abdal Hasan Köyü (Abdal Hasan Türbesi) Aptalköyü (now Şahinçatı?)	<i>Taşköprü</i>	Merkez	Tanyu, 259 TMYK 1946
<b>Kayseri</b> Koyunabdal	<i>Bünyan</i>	Merkez	TMYK 1946
<b>Konya</b>	?	?	Go
<b>Konya</b> Konya town, Abdallar Mahallesi according to Go also Dervişler Mahallesi or Ceran (Ceyran) Mahallesi	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	Konya ili, köy ve yer adları 23
<b>Konya</b> Karaman sub-province	<i>Karaman</i>	?	Köprülü 1935
<b>Manisa</b> Borlu district: a Yörük tribe called Abdal	<i>Gördes</i>	Borlu	Tsakyroglou, 343
<b>Muş</b> Abdalbayazıt	<i>Bulanık</i>	Erentepe	TMYK 1946
<b>Niğde</b> Abdallar Köy	<i>Aksaray</i>	?	according to Salname 1894, no. 695 (?), Konyalı 1974, 104

Province	Sub-Province	District	Source
Niğde Künbet (Kümbet)	<i>Ortaköy</i> (former haunt of the Carcar)	Balcı	Go
Samsun Havza sub-province	<i>Havza</i>	?	Köprülü 1935
Samsun Karaaptal (Karaabdal)	<i>Lâdik</i>	Şeyhli	TMYK 1946
Sivas	?	?	Köprülü 1935
Sivas Abdallı	<i>Şarkışla</i>	Merkez	TMYK 1946
Sivas Karayakup	<i>Suşehri</i>	Gölova	D.S. bacey
Tokat Abdaldamı (now Güzelyayla) Aptalkolu (Abdalkolu)	<i>Niksar</i>	Merkez	Köylerimiz 1981 TMYK 1946
Tokat Abdallar (now Selamet) (now probably Sunni)	<i>Zile</i>	Merkez	Köylerimiz 1981
Trabzon Abdallı (now Yeşilköy)	<i>Vakfikebir</i>	Beşikdüzü	TMYK 1946
Tunceli Şampaşakaraderbendi, Abdalan mezraa	<i>Pülümür</i>	Üçdam	TMYK 1946
Urfa Birecik sub-province	<i>Birecik</i>	?	D.S. bacey
Urfa Abdallo (now Mezrea?)	<i>Birecik</i>	Merkez	TMYK 1946
Van Abdalmezreası	<i>Erciş</i>	Kocapınar	TMYK 1946
Yozgat Kırksoku	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	T
Zonguldak Aksu	<i>Devrek</i>	Eğerci	C 1951, p. xx
Zonguldak Helkeme (now Üçsaray), Aptaloğlu Mahalle	<i>Ulus</i>	Kumluca	TMYK 1946

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*Note:*

Please note that the spellings Abdal and Aptal are interchangeable; though Köylerimiz (1981) prefers the latter, the Genel Nüfus Sayımı does not necessarily follow.

**d. Village names collected from other informants**

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Isparta	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Gölbaşı		(+ Gyp)	37.51 30.25	B
Kırşehir	<i>Mucur</i>	Merkez		
Gümüş- kümbet?			39.10 34.21	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Kulu</i>	Merkez		
Kulu town, Abdal Mahallesi			39.06 33.05	B
<b>Kahraman- maraş</b>	<i>Pazarcık</i>	Merkez		
Aşıklar?			37.27 37.21	B
Tetirlik			37.32 37.17	B
<b>Nevşehir</b>	<i>Gülşehir</i>	Gümüşkent		
Şahinler (Kırıklı)			38.52 34.24	B
Yeşilli (Kazıklı)			38.51 34.26	
<b>Nevşehir</b>	<i>Kozaklı</i>	Merkez		
Beekli		(+ TkSu)	39.12 34.43	B
Doyduk			39.11 34.46	B
Karasenir		(+ TkSu)	39.17 34.53	B
<b>Nevşehir</b>	<i>Kozaklı</i>	Karahasanlı		
Karahasanlı (Sadıkali)		(+ TkSu)	39.18 34.44	B
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Şarkışla</i>	?		
*Yeşiloymak				B
<b>Uşak</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Gögen		(+ TkSu)	38.43 29.34	B

Source:

R. Benninghaus, oral information.



## D. Ethnic Groups Listed by Villages and Administrative Districts

### 1. Introduction to Village Lists

#### a. Aim

The following lists represent much of the information compiled in the course of working on the ethnic map. They include the basic material for Western, Central, and North-Eastern Turkey. Some of the data, however, became available after the draft of the map was completed, and to that extent they may serve to augment it. This information is drawn partly from the published sources, and partly from a wide variety of personal ones, ranging from anthropologists and ethnographers to linguists and Turkish-speaking travellers; a great deal of it has been gathered from Turks living in Europe. Wherever possible such personal information has been checked through other informants. In one case, the list of Circassian villages, very substantial work had already been carried out by its author, Dr. Özbek, before he kindly made it available. Professor Tietze, too, has been most generous in allowing us to publish his provisional lists of the Abdal, which appear among the surveys.

The editor is well aware that such lists are, given the method of compilation, bound to be incomplete. So far as he knows, however, no similar body of information has been published for Turkey before, and he offers them in the hope that they may be of use as a basis for future, and more comprehensive, work on the many fascinating aspects of ethnic life which Turkey has to offer. Unlike the map, they contain data on town populations.

Regrettably the full data from the survey carried out by the Ministry for Village Affairs have never been published, and particularly not those concerning the distribution of language and religion which most concern us here. To attempt a comparable survey would of course require an expenditure of time and resources beyond the capacity of the present project; there are, to begin with, some forty thousand villages to cover.

In these circumstances one should, perhaps, be thankful for what information one has, however inadequate. At a time when Turkey is undergoing rapid social change, and when both rural and urban populations are affected by extensive migration in search of work, any precise locations

given for an ethnic group should be treated with some reserve. There is always a danger that the information may be out of date. Much of the published information relates to the period from 1960–70; the personal information is on the whole from the last five to ten years, but in some cases lists have been compiled in the course of repeated visits to Turkey, and in others data have been gathered from Turkish subjects who have been living and working in Europe for as long as ten to fifteen years, and have maintained only loose contact with their home territory. Nevertheless we believe that the impression conveyed by the lists is in general a true one.

### b. Scope

As the range of the present lists depends naturally upon the interests of the individuals who compiled them, their total scope is inevitably somewhat arbitrary. Whenever feasible, data from different sources are combined to yield the most comprehensive list possible. Even so some groups, such as the Albanians, are barely represented for want of information. In general, figures on the actual numbers of an ethnic group in particular places are unobtainable, and in any case so rare that no attempt has been made to include them. Exceptions are to be found in Anschütz's work on the Christians in Mardin, and in Aydemir's reports on the Circassian villages in each province, though the latter vary in detail. The former are reproduced separately in the survey section above (No. 3), and the latter are available in the ten articles in *Kafkasya*, though also summarised among the surveys (Nos. 2 a–b).

Since Nestmann's material from the Turkish Government survey was available for mapping the population of Eastern Anatolia, it was not considered necessary to devote time to gathering additional lists for this area. Where such information has become available, it has, quite properly, tended to confirm her data. Nor did it appear sensible to attempt complete lists of villages in areas dominated by large minorities, as Eastern Turkey is by the Kurds. Instead we have concentrated upon those areas where an attempt at a comprehensive listing appeared at least possible, as with Haymana and its Kurdish population.

As it happens, most of the information offered has been for areas outside the provinces covered by Nestmann's data. The notable exceptions are the work by Anschütz and Ritter on Mardin, and by Yalçın on Hakkari; their findings are given separately among the surveys. Jastrow's invaluable information on the Arabs, and Ritter's on the Yezidis have, however, been incorporated in the lists.



A shortcoming of Nestmann's material, as drawn from the *Köy Envanteri*, is that no distinction is made for the various types of Turkic speech. Thus information on the Karapapağ, an important component of the population in Kars province, or on the Azeri Shii immigrants in Iğdır sub-province, has had to be found from other sources. Similarly data on the Türkmén of Gaziantep province has been taken from published sources, fortunately prolific in this respect.

### c. Contents

Although villages may be populated predominantly by one ethnic group, this is by no means always the case. Indeed it has in some instances been deliberate Government policy to establish newly-arrived or displaced minorities (*e.g.* Kurds or Circassians) in existing villages of a different, usually Turkish, population. It should be assumed that in most cases part of the village population is Turkish, usually Sunni, often "Yerli".

Wherever possible the mixtures of population are indicated by abbreviations for ethnic groups placed in the left hand column of the list; these are placed in round brackets, preceded by a + when different from the main subject of the list.

When meaningful distinctions can be made within a general ethnic group, these are indicated in the same way; tribal divisions are given within square brackets. The most important instance of this is the Circassian list, divided into the different tribes, which can also be seen as language groups. Here, too, more than one group may occupy a village.

Where the information available is contradictory, a question mark is set against the entry concerned, or an alternative group is given in brackets: the source for the contradiction is also entered in brackets..

In some cases, notably that of the immigrants from the Balkans, the documentation is insufficient to allow proper distinctions to be made between such groups as Pomak or Bosnian.

Notes on difficult cases are given at the foot of the list concerned.

Where an ethnic minority is entered against a town or city, it may be assumed that at the most a quarter (*mahalle*) or two are occupied by it. Such quarters are named whenever known.

The abbreviations are explained in Key 1.

### d. Order

The lists follow the general order and numeration of the legend on the map, arranged primarily by language family, and secondarily by religion. Some subdivisions are made which could not appear on the map.

### e. Sources

Sources for the designation of each village are indicated by abbreviations in the right hand column of the list.

In many cases informants have offered data on more than one ethnic group. Their names, with the appropriate abbreviation, are given in Key 3.

The published sources referred to in this key are listed in full in the main bibliography. Notes on particular circumstances are given at the end of the list concerned.

It has not been thought necessary to cite more than two or three sources for any one entry.

### f. Administrative Divisions and Identification of Villages

The administrative divisions given are based on the village listings of the census of 26.10.1975, the *Genel Nüfus Sayımı* (Ankara 1977), under province (*il/vilâyet*), sub-province (*ilçe/kaza*), and district (*bucak/nahiye*), arranged alphabetically. As in the census, Kahraman Maraş is listed under M.

The villages cited are listed in the order given in the census, which is usually alphabetical.

In cases, where villages or hamlets cited are not listed in the census, they are marked by an asterisk to the left, and listed below those given in the census. They therefore depart from the regular alphabetical sequence.

The village and town names given are the official modern ones, with the previous name given afterwards in brackets. Provincial centres are referred to as cities, irrespective of their size.

Some difficulties in identification arise from the official changing of village names, sometimes on more than one occasion. The population of a village, regardless of official intentions, tends to continue to use the former name, and many of the villages collected were cited in this way. Most of these older names could be found in the comparative lists in *Köylerimiz* 1981 (Ankara 1982), but the discrepancy in date between this and the census also creates a few contradictions when names have changed recently. Wherever possible these are resolved in favour of the census of 1975, as the fixed point of reference. Other older names were traced through the maps in the *Codex Kultur Atlas* (Gundholzen 1967).

Problems in identification have also arisen from the frequent changes in administrative boundaries. Informants may have given villages under the designation familiar to them, but now out of date. In most cases these could be identified by the combination of *Köylerimiz* and the census, but a

few may have escaped us through the discrepancy in date, or for other reasons.

A further difficulty in identification arises from the repeated use of the same name for different villages in the same province. Thus, for example, there are seven villages named Karacaören and five named Kavak in Sivas, or eight named Yeniköy in Aydın. Unless more precise directions are given, identification under such circumstances must be tentative, and a note of caution is given by the question mark placed against the coordinates.

### g. Coordinates

The coordinates of latitude and longitude given in the right hand column are primarily those from the index to the *Yeni Türkiye Atlası* (Ankara 1977). Where a village is not indexed there, or, as is sometimes the case, the coordinates are obviously erroneous, they have been supplied by searching the *Codex Kultur Atlas* for the village, and then measuring them off to the nearest minute. The coordinates for provincial cities have been omitted, as unnecessary. A question mark against the entry indicates uncertainty of identification, as explained above.

### h. The Circassian List

The list of Circassian settlements is based largely on that compiled by B. Özbek, which he has generously allowed us to use. He drew this up relying primarily on personal inquiries among Circassians from the different provinces, and secondarily on the literature available.

His own research on the subject dates back to 1967, when he carried out his survey among the "guest workers" of Circassian origin in the Federal Republic of Germany. For this he used a questionnaire printed in a standard format. To his astonishment he found that the forms returned to him provided copious material within a remarkably short time. The oldest of his literary sources was the work of the German geographer Hugo von Grothe, who noted the Circassian villages in the region of Maraş (now Kahraman Maraş) during his expedition of 1906-7, and indicated them in clear detail on his map. Comparative modern material was yielded by the magazines published by Caucasian immigrants in Turkey (whose editors were mostly of Adıghe origin): *Kafkasya*, *Kuzey Kafkasya*, *Yeni Kafkasya*, *Nartların Sesi*, and *Yamçı*. The most valuable information was undoubtedly given in the survey published by İ. Aydemir in *Kafkasya* (1973-5) and in the list of Abkhaz settlements drawn up by Ş. Terim (1976, pp. 263-70).

Özbek's data were thus gathered from a variety of sources, and from informants of differing ages and origin. A particular difficulty he has had to deal with is the confused use of the term Circassian itself (see his article in this volume), whereby it often designates other Caucasian groups, such as Chechen, Ossetians, and even Daghistanis. So far as it was within his means, he has eliminated all but true Circassian villages from his list. He arranged these according to provinces, and where possible by district, encountering the usual trouble in allocating them correctly, since most of his informants were unaware of recent boundary changes.

The editor has categorised Özbek's material further, by province, sub-province, and district, to conform with the other lists, and added the coordinates necessary for establishing these settlements on the map. Despite his best efforts, however, a few of the villages named remain unidentified. He must bear full responsibility for any errors in these aspects of the list. He is equally responsible for the additions made to the list, both from the personal sources available to him, and from a few more publications. These are indicated by the abbreviations for sources given in the right hand column; in many cases these confirm Özbek's findings. He has also added abbreviations to indicate the published sources, notably Aydemir and Terim, where this was appropriate. Finally he has, whenever possible, given the individual Circassian groups, abbreviated in the left hand column. The abbreviations, as before, are explained in Key 2 and Key 3.

#### **i. Relationship of the Lists to the Map**

The scale of the map does not permit the use of individual village names. Since much of the data had been assembled from lists of villages, it was thought useful to present these, together with their coordinates, as a more detailed source of information for those who require it. In certain categories, such as the immigrants from the Balkans and from Daghistan, the quality of the data available did not justify an attempt to represent exact distinctions between their different ethnic components on the map; the nature of the lists, however, allows these distinctions to be made when the information is available. Similarly, separate lists are given for Türkmen groups which appear to be self-contained, and the Tahtacı are listed on their own, since most written sources make a distinction between Tahtacı and Alevi Türkmen, even though its validity may be questioned.

Very large estimates have appeared for the Alevi population of Turkey, but the secrecy surrounding these communities has made it difficult to represent them adequately. We believe that we now have enough data to

give an impression of the distribution which is not wholly misleading. In some cases, such as the Nalçı and Sıraç, it is not known whether the group should be considered as Alevi Türkmen, or simply as Alevi Turks. They have been classed, provisionally, according to the little information available. One group, the Karaçadırlı, has been included in the lists (as Azerbaijanis), but not on the map, since there is little to indicate how it should be classified (see BENNINGHAUS in this volume).

No attempt has been made to give full listings of all Kurdish villages, since the distribution of the population in Eastern Anatolia is adequately covered, in most provinces, by NESTMANN's data from the Köy Envanteri (survey No. 1). Instead, lists have been given, as far as possible, for those communities lying outside the area covered by this survey, or for those areas in which the survey data is weak. The same is true for the Zaza groupings. The lists thus correspond to the policy followed in the map.

The classification of the Yörük presents particular problems, since the transition from nomadic to settled existence is so difficult to establish, and the change of identity from settled Yörük to settled Turk so fluid. Useful listings should also include tribal designations, and it is doubtful whether the present data are sufficient to substantiate these. Although the Yörük appear on the map, undifferentiated, they have, with regret, been omitted from the lists. It is to be hoped that this omission can be repaired when more time is available.

Whereas the data our informants provided on villages were precise enough, so far as they went, those for the population in towns and cities were plainly incomplete. On the maps, undesignated villages could simply be omitted, but not so the towns. Rather than show large numbers of towns in which only part of the ethnic population could be represented, or at the other extreme to show the presence of all of the ethnic groups in Istanbul, it was thought better to omit the town populations altogether, and so avoid misrepresenting the conditions there. This decision reflects the tendency for ethnic groups to become lost in mixed urban populations, and the confusion added by increasing urban migration. The map is therefore of rural minorities only, though town and city populations do appear in the lists, so far as data are available.

For general convenience the legend on the maps, and the related sequence of the lists, had to be arranged according to some easily recognised pattern. It appeared that language groups, being generally known, could best provide this. The ethnic groups identified are therefore subordinated primarily to language families, and secondarily to a religious classification within each family. An intermediate class is used to contain less clearly defined groups, such as immigrants from the Balkans or from Daghistan, amongst which several different languages are spoken.

**Key 1: Abbreviations for Ethnic Groups etc.**

Ab	Abaza (Abkhaz)
Abd	Abdal Türkmen
Af	Afşar (Avşar) Türkmen
Al	Alevi Turk
Alb	Albanian Muslim immigrant
Ar	Arab
ArChr	Arab Christian
ArNu	Arab Nusairi ('Alawi)
ArSu	Arab Sunni
Arm	Armenian
Av	Avar (Daghistani)
Az	Azeri (Azerbaijani)
Ba	Bashkir (Başkirt)
Bal	Balkar
Bo	Bosnian (Boşnak) Muslim immigrant
Bu	Bulgarian Muslim immigrant
Chal	Chaldean (East Syrian Aramean)
Che	Chechen
Circ	Circassian (general)
Cos	Cossack (Russian)
Cret	Cretan Muslims (Greek-speaking)
CrTat	Crimean Tatar
Da	Daghistani (general)
Dar	Dargwa (Daghistani)
Est	Estonian
Ge	Georgian (Gürcü)
GrOrth	Greek Orthodox
GrMs	Greek-speaking Muslim
Gyp	Gypsy (general)
Hem	Hemshinli
Jew	Jewish
Kar	Karaçay
Kaz	Kazan Tatar
Kç	Karaçadırlı
Kır	Kırgız
Kk	Kazak
Kp	Karapapağ
Ku	Kurd
KuAl	Kurd Alevi
KuSu	Kurd Sunni
Kum	Kumuk
Laz	Laz
Lk	Lak (Gazikumuk) (Daghistani)
Lz	Lezghian (Daghistani)
Mol	Molokan (Russian)
Ms	Muslim
Mu	Muhacir (refugee, migrant), sometimes called göçmen

Nest	Nestorian
Noğ	Noğay Tatar
Öz	Özbek
Öz-Tat	Özbek-Tatar
Os	Ossete
Po	Pomak Muslim (from Bulgaria)
Pol	Polish
Prot	Protestant
Pş	Poşa (Bosha) Gypsy
Rm	Rumanian Muslim immigrant
Sd	Sudanese
Slk	Selanikli Muhacir (refugee from Salonika)
Syr	Syrian (West Syrian Aramean)
Tah	Tahtacı Türkmen
Tat	Tatar (general)
Tk	Turk (Yerli, <i>i. e.</i> local Turk)
TkAl	Turk Alevi
TkSu	Turk Sunni
Tkm	Türkmen
TkmAl	Türkmen Alevi
TkmSu	Türkmen Sunni
TkmTah	Türkmen Tahtacı
Tst	Turkistani (general)
Uy	Uygur
Yez	Yezidi Kurd
Yö	Yörük
Yug	Yugoslavian Muslim immigrant
Za	Zaza
ZaAl	Zaza Alevi
ZaSu	Zaza Sunni

## Key 2: Abbreviations for Circassian Sub-Groups

		Turkish spellings:
Ab	Abhāz (Abkhaz)	Abaza
Abz	Abadzeḡ	Abzah/Abzeh
Bes	Besleney	Besney
Bje	Bžeduḡ	Bjeduḡ
Bra	Brakey	Brakey
K	Kabardey	Kabardey/Kabartay
Kha	Ḥatükay	Hatkuay/Hatuhuay
Mokh	Mohoş	Mehoş/Mohoş
Sp	Şapsug	Şapsıḡ
Tem	Temirgoy	Temirgoy, Kemguy
Ub	Ubiḡ (Ubykh)	Vubih/Ubih

*Note:* Villages are not necessarily inhabited by only one group: combinations are indicated where known.

**Key 3: Abbreviations for Sources of Ethnic Lists**

A	P. A. ANDREWS
Ab	N. ABLAY n. d. (mez. tez.)
Ac	B. ACAR
Ad	G. ADATEPE 1959
Ak	S. AKTEMEL 1969 (mez. tez.)
Ak '67	S. AKTEMEL 1967 (mez. tez.)
Am	A. ATAMAN 1966 (mez. tez.)
An	H. ANSCHÜTZ 1984 and personal information
Arch	Armenian Archimandrite of North Germany
Arp	O. ARPACIOĞLU 1971 (mez. tez.)
Ars	A. A. ARSLAN 1977
At	N. K. ATABEYLİ 1940
Ay	İ. AYDEMİR 1974/75
Ayd	M. AYDIN 1984
Ayt	Ş. AYARTEPE 1976
B	R. BENNINGHAUS
Ba	D. G. BATES 1973
Baş	A. E. BAŞOĞLU 1975 (mez. tez.)
Bay	O. BAYATLI 1957
Be	P. BENEDICT 1974
Bil	D. BİLGİLİ 1981 (mez. tez.)
Bry	A. BRYER 1970
C	A. CAFEROĞLU 1959
Coş	N. COŞKUN 1968 (mez. tez.)
Cu	J. CUISENIER 1975
Çap	M. ÇAPAN 1969 (mez. tez.)
Ço	A. ÇORA 1970
D	G. DUMÉZIL 1968
D '59	G. DUMÉZIL 1959
Dan	E. DANIELSEN
Dem	M. G. DEMİRAY 1977
deP	X. DE PLANHOL 1958
Der	M. N. DERSİMİ 1952
Di	W. DIETRICH
Din	S. DİNLER 1968 (mez. tez.)
Din 1969	S. DİNLER 1969 (mez. tez.)
Do	W. DOSTAL 1971
Dp	B. DEMİRPOLAT n. d. (mez. tez.)
Du	A. DURUSOY 1976 (mez. tez.)
Dur	Y. DURUL 1956
E	W. EBERHARD 1953/54
Eg	W. J. EGGELING 1973
Eğ	A. EĞİTER (AYTER) 1972/73 and personal information
EM	M. M. ERGİN 1966 (mez. tez.)
En	M. ENGİN 1969 (mez. tez.)
Eo	M. EROL 1973 (mez. tez.)
Er	Z. EREN ca. 1970 (mez. tez.)



Erg	O. ERGİN 1959
Erp	M. ERPOLAT 1980
Ers	M. ERSOLAK 1972 (mez. tez.)
Ez	M. ERÖZ 1977
Ez (Ân)	M. ERÖZ 1977 citing V. ÂSAN 1954
Ez '63	M. ERÖZ 1962/63
F	E. FRANZ 1969 and personal information
FD	Folklorla Doğru 1977
Gç	İ. GÖÇEN 1950-53
Gen	A. GENÇLER 1978
Go	P. GOLD 1972
Gö	M. GÖKHAN 1967 (mez. tez.)
Gök	A. GÖKALP 1980
Gök (Ak)	A. GÖKALP 1980 citing I. H. AKAY 1935
Gök (Sü)	A. GÖKALP 1980 citing F. SÜMER 1967
Gös	S. GÖKSU 1974 (mez. tez.)
Gü	E. GÜLER 1982 (mez. tez.)
Gün	Y. GÜNAŞTI 1974 (mez. tez.)
Gy	S. GÖNEY 1977/78
H	W.-D. HÜTTEROTH 1968
H '59	W.-D. HÜTTEROTH 1959
Har	Y. HARMAN
Hı	B. HINÇER 1962
Hj	J. HJARNØ 1971
Ho	T. HOFMANN 1985
Hür	HÜRRIYET (newspaper) 8.2.1986
İp	H. İPEKÇİYAN 1981 (mez. tez.)
İpk	L. İPEKKAN 1976 (mez. tez.)
İş	U. İŞÖZEN 1970 (mez. tez.)
J	U. JOHANSEN
Ja	O. JASTROW 1978
Ja '71	O. JASTROW 1971
Jar	G. JARRING 1983
Jn	G. JAHN 1970
K-a	Y. KURHAN 1955/56 a
K-b	Y. KURHAN 1955/56 b
Ka	D. KAYA 1974
Kah	I. H. KARAHAN 1951
Kar	A. KARADENİZ 1971 (mez. tez.)
Kb	B. KARABUDA 1960
Kek	O. KEKLİK 1968 (mez. tez.)
Kır	M. F. KIRZIOĞLU 1964
Kıv	F. KIVRIKOĞLU 1975 (mez. tez.)
Ki (Sal)	H. J. KISSLING 1953 citing V. L. SALCI 1943
KK 5	Kuzey Kafkasya, year 5 (1974)
KK 6	Kuzey Kafkasya, year 6 (1976)
KK 7	Kuzey Kafkasya, year 7 (1976)
Kl	E. J. KLÄY 1974
Kl (1975)	E. J. KLÄY 1975

Kos	H. L. KOSTANICK 1955
Koş	H. Z. KOŞAY 1954
Kum	N. KUMAHMETOĞLU (ATABEYLİ) 1947/48
Kut	N. KUTLAY 1969 (mez. tez.)
La	U. LANDMANN 1981
Lev	J. DE B. LEVY 1952
Mag	P. J. MAGNARELLA 1974
Mag 1976	P. J. MAGNARELLA 1976
Me	H. MEHN
Mil	Milliyet (newspaper) 21./22. 4. 1983
Mill	Milliyet (newspaper) 21. 9. 1983
Mo	B. MORVARIDI
Moo	M. MOOR 1985
N	L. NESTMANN 1960-65, copy of Köy Envanteri
Nah	O. NAHYA 1967? (mez. tez.)
Nes	F. NESİL 1972 (mez. tez.)
Ol et al.	
Oy	A. OY 1961
Öa	İ. ÖZALP 1971 (mez. tez.)
Öe	B. ÖZERTUĞ 1967 (mez. tez.)
Özb	K. ÖZBAYRI 1972
Özd	A. ÖZDOĞAN 1969 (mez. tez.)
Özd '67	A. ÖZDOĞAN 1967 (mez. tez.)
Özt	M. ÖZTAŞ 1967 (mez. tez.)
P	J. POWELL
Pa	C. PARIS 1974
Po	B. POIZAT 1973-79
R	
Rey	A. B. H. S. REYHÂNI EL EKBER
Ri	H. RITTER 1967
Ro	J. P. ROUX 1970
S	M. SOYSAL 1976
Sa	H. J. SASSE 1971
Sch	W. SCHIFFAUER 1983
Schw	G. SCHWEIZER 1980
Sev	N. SEVGEN 1951
Soe	G. SOEGTIG 1951/52
Sv	I. SVANBERG
Sv 1981	I. SVANBERG 1981
Şen	F. ŞENTÜRK 1971
Şı	F. ŞIKTAŞ 1964
Şip	S. ŞİPAL 1979
T	Ş. TERİM 1976
Ta	R. TARHAN 1974
Tan	C. TANYOL 1961
Tan 1952	C. TANYOL 1952
Tew	L. G. TEWARI n. d. record: Turkish Village Music. N. Y.
Tho	F. THORDARSON 1971
Tk	E. TARIKAHYA 1976 (mez. tez.)

Tn	İ. TAN 1974 (mez. tez.)
Ts	S. TANSUĞ
Tu	C. TURAN 1970 (mez. tez.)
Tun	N. TUNÇDİLEK 1959
Türk	O. TÜRKDOĞAN 1971 c
Türk b	O. TÜRKDOĞAN 1971 b
Tüt	C. O. TÜTENGİL 1954
Ul	S. ULUSÇU 1981 (mez. tez.)
Üç	D. ÜÇALAN n. d. (mez. tez.)
Üçy	C. N. ÜÇYILDIZ 1979
Ül	H. Z. ÜLKEN/A. N. TANYELİ 1955/56 b
Ül c	H. Z. ÜLKEN 1955/56 c
vB	M. VAN BRUINESSEN
vF	A. FRHR. VON UND ZU FRANKENSTEIN
Vy	Verein der Anhänger der yesidischen und zaraturistischen Religion Deutschland [ <i>sic.</i> ]
Wo	B. WOLBERT
Y	H. B. YÖNETKEN 1962
Yal	A. R. YALGIN 1955
Yer	S. YERDAŞ 1973 (mez. tez.)
Yet	R. YETİŞEN 1950-78
Yıl	A. YILMAZ/K. KAYGISIZ 1948
Yo	G. YONAN 1978
Yok	C. YOKSUL 1987

mez.tez. references are to be found in the bibliography of unpublished sources.

## 2. Lists of Selected Groups

### 2a Turks: Alevi (General)

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Adıyaman	Gölbası	Merkez		
Gölbası town		(+ others)	37.47 37.38	B
Adıyaman	Gölbası	Belören		
Belören (Belveren)		(+ TkSu)	37.38 37.35	B
Aşağıkarakuyu		(+ TkSu)	37.42 37.40	B
Çatalagaç		(+ KuSu + TkSu)	37.39 37.29	B
Çelik		(+ TkSu)	37.42 37.34	B
Gedikli		(+ TkSu)	37.38 37.39	B
Haydarlı			37.35 37.28	B
Kösüklü (Kabalar/Karalar?)			37.31 37.42	B
Yukarınasırlı		(+ TkSu)	37.39 37.37	B
Adıyaman	Gölbası	Harmanlı		
Harmanlı (Büyükperveri)		(+ TkSu)	37.50 37.45	B
Amasya	Merkez	Merkez		
Uygur			40.34 36.00	B
Amasya	Göynücek	Gediksaray		
Başpınar (Başermeni)			40.27 35.44	FD
Amasya	Merzifon	Merkez		
Merzifon town		(+ others)	40.52 35.28	B
Hırka		(+ TkSu)	40.54 35.29	B
Karamağara			40.53 35.24	B
Kayadüzü (Belvar)			40.54 35.36	B
Ortaova (Alala)		(+ others)	40.49 35.31	B
Sarıköy			40.52 35.24	B/Er
Sazlıca (İlemi)		(+ TkSu)	40.50 35.27	B
Şeyhyeni		(+ TkSu)	40.52 35.31	B
Amasya	Merzifon	Alıcık		
Bulak		(+ TkSu)	40.48 35.18	B
Demirpınar (Şamba)		(+ TkSu)	40.45 35.19	B
Amasya	Merzifon	Sarıbuğday		
Alışar			40.42 35.31	B
Balgöze (Emert)			40.41 35.21	B
Gümüştepe (Harız)		(+ TkSu)	40.41 35.30	B
Hacıyakup (Göller)			40.44 35.21	B
Oymağaç			40.40 35.24	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Ankara	<i>Ayaş</i>	Merkez		
Bayat		(+ TkSu)	40.11 32.26	B
Ankara	<i>Çubuk</i>	Akyurt		
Kızık (Ravlıkızığı)			40.07 32.07	İp
Ankara	<i>Gündül</i>	Merkez		
Afşar?		(+ TkSu)	40.09 32.14	B
Çorum	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Büget (as Büvet)			40.37 35.01	Yok
Palabıyık			40.34 35.06	A
*Hadırdede (Hızırdede)			40.39 35.04	Yok
Çorum	<i>Alaca</i>	Merkez		
Akçaköy (Manişar)		(+ TkSu)	40.01 34.50	B
Akören (Akveren)			40.07 34.58	B
Akpınar		(+ KuAl)	40.15 34.59	B
Büyükşöğütözü			40.07 34.41	B
Çomar			40.07 34.43	B
Değirmendere			40.07 34.48	B
Eskiyapar			40.09 34.47	B
Gökören (Gökveren)		(Çk)	40.13 35.01	B
Harhar			40.17 34.47	B
Haydar			40.05 34.48	B
Hışır			40.13 34.52	B
Hüyük (Alacahüyük)			40.14 34.42	B/Koş '51/Do
İbrahimköyü			40.13 34.49	B
İmat (İmathüyüğü)			40.13 34.41	B
Kayabüget			40.06 34.53	B
Kıcılı		(+ KuAl)	40.09 34.44	B
Kuyumcusaray (Kuyumcuviran)			40.04 34.53	B
Külah			40.08 34.41	B
Küre?			40.17 34.49	B
Yeniköy			40.07 35.04	B
*Kaypak?				A
Çorum	<i>Sungurlu</i>	Merkez		
Akçalı (Ağcalı)			40.13 34.25	B
Akpınar			40.07 34.11	B
Alembeyli			40.03 34.13	B
Arifgazili (Arifgazili)			40.13 34.32	B
Aşağıbeşpınar			40.09 34.14	B
Aydoğan (Mıhmandı)			40.08 34.12	B
Bağdatlı			40.16 34.03	B
Beylice (Esipkıran)			40.13 34.37	B
Beyyurdu (Hamalltürk)			40.11 34.35	B
Çavuş			40.12 34.30	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Çiçeklikeller		(+ TkSu)	40.00 34.17	B
Çiftlik			40.15 34.36	B
Çukurlu			40.04 34.22	B
Denizli			40.10 34.09	B
Dertli			40.17 34.17	B
Gökçam			40.08 34.36	B
İmirli			40.16 34.18	B
İnegazili			40.14 34.01	B
Kamışlı			40.07 34.30	B
Kemâlli		(+ TkSu)	40.06 34.21	B
Körkü			40.06 34.29	B
Mahmatlı (Mehmetali)			40.15 34.21	B
Şekerhacılı			40.10 34.36	B
Turgutlu				B
<b>Çorum</b>	<i>Sungurlu</i>	Boğazkale		
Sarıçiçek			39.57 34.34	B
Yanıçak			40.07 34.35	B
Yazır			40.01 34.38	B
<b>Denizli</b>	<i>Çal</i>	Bekilli		
Bekilli		(+ others)	38.14 29.25	B
Bükrüceköyü		(+ others)	38.14 29.28	B
Çoğuşlı		(+ TkSu)	38.15 29.21	B
Gömce		(+ others)	38.14 29.32	B
Kutlubey (Moraca)		(+ TkSu)	38.17 29.21	B
<b>Edirne</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Eskikadın (Kadınköy?)		(+ TkSu)	41.42 26.28?	B
Hıdıragâ		(+ TkSu)	41.44 26.40	B
<b>Edirne</b>	<i>Meriç</i>	Merkez		
Nasuhbey?		[Bektaşî]	41.13 26.20	
Umurca?		[Bektaşî]	41.12 26.21	
<b>Edirne</b>	<i>Uzunköprü</i>	Kırcasalih		
Yeniköy			41.21 26.45	B
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Kızılcaören				B
Sepetçi?			39.55 30.50	B
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Alpu		
Başören?			39.58 30.58	B
Sarıkavak?			39.40 30.54	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>İslahiye</i>	Merkez		
Kabaklar			37.02 36.34	B
Kazıklı			36.51 36.42	B
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>İslahiye</i>	Sakçagöze		
İncirli				B
Şatırhüyük		(+ KuSu)	37.14 36.58	B
<b>Isparta</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Aliköy			37.49 30.37	B
Gönen		(+ others)	37.58 30.31	B
Güneyce		(+ others)	37.40 30.45	B
Koçtepe (Fandaş)		(+ TkSu)	37.51 30.28	B
Senirce		(+ TkSu)	37.53 30.32	B
Yakaören (Lağus)		(+ TkSu)	37.46 30.29	B
<b>Isparta</b>	<i>Keçiborlu</i>	Merkez		
Gümüşgün (Baladız)			37.54 30.25	B
<b>Isparta</b>	<i>Senirkent</i>	Merkez		
Senirkent town		(+ TkSu)	38.06 30.33	B
Esendere (Büyükkabaca)		(few)	38.11 30.38	B
Uluğbey		[Bektaş]	38.08 30.33	B
Yassıören (Yassıviran)		(+ TkSu)	38.06 30.36	B
<b>Isparta</b>	<i>Yalvaç</i>	Merkez		
Eğirler		(+ TkSu)	38.12 31.06	B
Körküler		(+ TkSu)	38.24 31.03	B
Terziler?		(+ TkSu)	38.22 31.06	B
Tokmacık?		(+ TkSu)	38.14 31.00	B
<b>Kayseri</b>	<i>Felahiye</i>	Merkez		
Acırlı			39.02 35.27	B
<b>Kırklareli</b>	<i>Lüleburgaz</i>	Merkez		
Yenibedir		[Amuca?]	41.22 27.25	B/K-b
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Beyşehir</i>	Merkez		
Şamlar			37.55 31.41	Sv
<b>Malatya</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Bahçebaşı (Orduzu)		(+ TkSu)	38.23 38.22	B
<b>Malatya</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Eskimalatya		
Atabey		(+ TkSu)	38.29 38.26	B
Boran		(+ TkSu)	38.29 38.23	B
<b>Malatya</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Yazihan		
Yazihan		(+ others)	38.37 38.10	B
Ambarcık		(+ KuSu)	38.35 38.19	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Balaban		(+ KuAl)	38.34 38.18	B
Bereketli (Çermiğe)			38.31 38.10	B
Boyaca		(+ others)	38.37 38.15	B
Dedekargın		(+ KuAl)	38.30 38.20	B
Eğribük?		(KuAl?)	38.33 38.21	B
Fethiye			38.38 38.08	B
Karaca			38.39 38.13	B
Koruçak			38.37 38.04?	B
Tecirli		(+ KuSu)	38.30 38.18	B
<b>Malatya</b>	<i>Arguvan</i>	Merkez		
Arguvan town			38.47 38.16	B
Akören (Akviran?)			38.51 38.15	B
Armutlu (Arpayazı-Kuşu)			38.51 38.11	B
Asmaca			38.47 38.13	B
Aşağısülmenli			38.44 38.16	B
Bozan			38.50 38.14	B
Çavuş			38.49 38.14	B
Çevreli (Musu)				B
Doydum (Toydum)			38.46 38.27	B
Ermışli (Germişi)			38.50 38.23	B
Eymir			38.52 38.14	B
İsaköy			38.45 38.20	B
Karahüyük			38.49 38.19	B
Kışla		(+ KuAl)	38.43 38.12	B
Kızık (Kınık)			38.52 38.14	B
Konakbaşı (Abbasi)			38.55 38.21	B
Koyuncu (Gürge)			38.55 38.22	B
Kuyudere (Mimayık/Mineyik)			38.51 38.20	B
Morhamam			38.41 38.23	B
Tarlacık (Ektir)				B
Yukarısülmenli			38.45 38.15	B
<b>Malatya</b>	<i>Hekimhan</i>	Merkez		
Ballıkaya (Mezirme/Nezirme)			38.51 38.07	B
Başkavak (Mihail)			38.50 38.05	B
Beykent (Ardahan)			38.51 37.53	B
Boğazgören (Şırzı)			38.53 37.55	B
Budaklı (Yukarıbudaklı)			38.51 37.58	B
Çanakpınar			38.53 38.00	B
Çulhalı			38.54 37.56	B
Dereköy			38.54 37.51	B
Güvenç			38.54 37.57	B
Hacılar			38.52 37.52	B
İğdır			38.51 38.04	B
Kozdere			38.54 38.04	B
Salıcık			38.51 38.00	B



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Malatya</b>	<i>Hekimhan</i>	Hasançelebi		
Hasançelebi			38.57 37.53	B
Akmağra (Akmağara)			39.02 37.49	B
Bahçedamı			38.56 37.48	B
Basak			38.56 37.58	B
Başkınık			38.58 37.56	B
Köylüköyü		(+ KuAl)	39.00 37.55	B
Yeşilkale		(+ others?)	39.00 37.45	B
<b>Kahraman</b>	<i>Pazarcık</i>	Narlı		
<b>Maraş</b>				
Çiçek+			37.19 37.08	B
Eğlen+			37.20 37.08	B
Emiroğlu (Araplı)		(+ KuAl + TkSu)	37.20 37.04	B/P
Hanobası+			37.19 37.08	B/P
Kadıncık+			37.23 37.09	B
Karaçay+			37.21 37.07	B/P
Karahüyük+		(+ TkSu)	37.16 37.02	B
Kumçatı (Amıklı)+			37.24 37.01	B
Navrızlı (Nevruzlu)+				B
Osmandede+			37.20 37.06	B/P
Ördekkede+			37.18 37.06	B/P
Pınarhüyük (Çelebilifanfas)+			37.24 36.58	B
<b>Kahraman</b>	<i>Türkoğlu</i>	Merkez		
<b>Maraş</b>				
Dedeler		(KuAl?)	37.24 36.56	B (P)
Kuyumcular			37.26 36.53	B
<b>Nevşehir</b>	<i>Avanos</i>	Özkonak		
Ayhan (Ayhanlar)		(+ KuAl)	38.50 34.44	B
Küçükayhan (Ayhanlar?)			38.50 34.44?	B
<b>Nevşehir</b>	<i>Hacıbektaş</i>	Merkez		
Hacıbektaş town		(TkmAl + KuAl + TkSu)	38.57 34.33	B
Aşağıbarak			38.55 34.42	B
some more villages (unidentified)				B
<b>Niğde</b>	<i>Aksaray</i>	Merkez		
Akmezar (Akköy)			38.28 34.19	B
Delihebil			38.30 34.18	B
Saratlı		(+ others)	38.27 34.14	B
Süleymanhöyüğü			38.30 34.20	B
<b>Niğde</b>	<i>Aksaray</i>	Acıpınar		
Baymış		(+ others)	38.30 33.54	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Akkuş</i>	Merkez		
Çaldere		(+ TkSu)	40.48 37.01	B
Çamlıca		(+ TkSu)		B
Çavdar		(+ TkSu)	40.45 36.55	B
Çayıralan		(+ TkSu)	40.50 37.04	B
Çukur		(+ TkSu)	40.47 36.58	B
Damyeri (Tamyeri)		(+ TkSu)	40.49 37.06	B
Düğencili		(few, + TkSu)	40.45 37.02?	B
Gökçebayır (Tifi)		(few, + TkSu)	40.45 37.01	B
Karaçal		(+ TkSu)	40.44 37.06	B
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Aybastı</i>	Merkez		
some villages (unidentified)				B
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Mesudiye</i>	?		
some villages (unidentified)				B
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Ulubey</i>	Merkez		
some villages (unidentified)				B
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Ünye</i>	Merkez		
Çiğdem			41.02 37.18	B
Keşkøy (Keş)			41.02 37.23	B
Kuşçulu			41.02 37.18	B
Kuşdoğan (Kuşluğan)				B
Nadırlı			41.05 37.14	B
Sarıhalil			41.01 37.22	B
Yavı (Yavköy)			41.03 37.10	B
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Ünye</i>	Çaybaşı		
Çaybaşı (Cilâder)		(+ others)	41.02 37.06	B
Göksu (Asak)?			40.57 36.59	B
İçeribükü			40.59 37.07	B
İkicze (Lalelimabeyceli)			41.03 37.05	B
Kurudere			41.03 37.07	B
Yağmurtepe (Göçet)			41.02 37.09	B
Tekkeköy			41.00 37.05	B
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Ünye</i>	Tekkiraz		
Uğurlu (Kavraz)			41.00 37.08	B
Yenikızılcakese (Fenariskızılcakese)			40.57 37.09?	B
<b>Samsun</b>	<i>Havza</i>	Merkez		
Aşağısusuz			40.56 35.43	B
Yukarısusuz			40.56 35.45	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Sivas	<i>Divriği</i>	Merkez		
Akmeşe (Ziniski)?		(KuAl?)	39.28 38.02	B
Avşarcık			39.16 37.51	B
Bayırüstü (Timisi)?		(KuAl?)	39.15 38.10	B
Çukuröz (Tülünk)?			39.14 38.08	B/Tew
Demirdağ (Purunsur)			39.25 38.07	B
Eskibeyli (Norşun)?		(KuAl?)	39.30 38.04	B
Güneş			39.23 37.53	B
Güneyevler (Erşün)			39.19 38.03	B
Kayacık (Murmana)		(+ KuAl)	39.26 38.06	B
Kevendüzü (Anzahar)			39.13 38.07	B/Tew
Olukman			39.14 38.07	B/Tew
Oyuktepe (Kömüşfenk)			39.24 38.09	B
Sivas	<i>Divriği</i>	Danişment		
Beldibi (Livanlı-Karameşe-Ceroğlu/Yukarı & Aşağı-Livanlı)			39.10 38.16	B
Handere (Abuzeroğlu)				B
Sivas	<i>Divriği</i>	Gedikbaşı		
Gedikbaşı (Karageban)		(+ TkSu)	39.30 38.16	B
Aydoğan (Örenik)			39.36 38.19	B
Çitme			39.31 38.14	B
Kaledibi			39.36 38.08	B
Mademli (Hinora)?		(+ Mu)	39.28 38.18	B
Yozyatağı (Buzyatağı)			39.41 38.06	B
Yürketaşı (Marendi/Merendi)			39.36 38.16	B
Sivas	<i>Divriği</i>	Mursal		
Bahtiyar			39.15 38.00	B
Gökçebel (Bahtiyarfengi)			39.13 37.58	B
Sivas	<i>Gemerek</i>	Merkez		
Eskiyurt (Alakilise)			39.23 36.09	A
Karaözü			39.12 35.57	A
Saraç			39.20 36.12	A
Sivas	<i>İmranlı</i>	Karacaören		
Akoluk (Türkyenice)?		(TkSu?)	39.44 38.15	B
Avşar			39.43 38.12	B
Boğanak			39.43 38.14	B
Darıseki			39.40 38.19	B
Erdemşah		(+ TkSu)	39.45 38.18	B
Güven (Matı)		(+ TkSu)	39.42 38.21	B
Söğütlü?			39.41 38.15	B
Yağmuralan (Bahdiyar)?		(TkSu?)	39.44 38.16	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Şarkışla</i>	Orta		
Ortaköy			39.25 36.14	A
Hüyük (Emlekhüyük)			39.25 36.12	A
Sarıkaya (Kürtaraposman)			39.24 36.11	A
Sivrialan			39.27 36.11	A
*Topaç		(+ Circ + Ku)	39.23 36.16	A
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Yıldızeli</i>	Direkli		
Kıvşak			39.39 36.28	A
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Yıldızeli</i>	Yavu		
Kadıköy			39.45 36.20	B
Şeyhhalil?			39.51 36.09	B
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Zara</i>	Merkez		
Girit			39.44 37.53	B
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Zara</i>	Bulucan		
Akdede (Cimilti)?			39.43 37.47	B
<b>Tekirdağ</b>	<i>Hayrabolu</i>	?		
some villages? (unidentified)				B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Ahmetalan			40.20 36.41	B
Çerçi		(+ Circ?)	40.19 36.25	B
Çöreğibüyük			40.23 36.45	B
Döllük			40.21 36.40	B
Hasanbaba (Kırkorus?)		(+ Circ?)	40.20 36.37	B
Kızılköy			40.23 36.41	B
Killik			40.11 36.35	B
Nebiköy			40.21 36.43	B
Şenköy			40.24 36.40	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Çamlıbel		
Kargıncık (Karkıncık)			40.02 36.35	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Gökdere		
Acıpınar			40.28 36.48	B
Karakaya			40.25 36.43	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Almus</i>	Merkez		
Çamdalı (Mineğir)			40.22 37.07	B
Durudere (Filtise)			40.21 37.09	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Artova</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Aktaş (Ayzama)			40.11 36.14	B
Bayırlı (Heris)			40.10 36.09	B
Büget			40.02 36.19	B
Dağlacık			40.03 36.15	B
Evlidere			40.10 36.12	B
Gazıpınarı (Tilkipınarı)			40.11 36.13	B
Karaoluk			39.59 36.23	B
Kunduz			40.03 36.08	B
Sivri			40.00 36.22	B
Tanyeli (Fecirgen)			40.09 36.09	B
Tuzla			40.03 36.19	B
Ulusulu			40.09 36.11	B
Yağmur			40.04 36.16	B
Yenice (Ayazmayeni)			40.11 36.18	B
*Gümüşyurt (İsbolos)			40.10 36.10	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Artova</i>	<b>Sulusaray</b>		
Beyazıt			39.55 36.07	B
Çime			39.58 36.05	B
Selimiye			39.58 36.00	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Reşadiye</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Beşdere			40.23 37.11	B
Ceget			40.16 37.11	B
Çatköy			40.20 37.14	B
Çiftlikköy		(+ TkSu)	40.15 37.13	B
Dereköy			40.20 37.10	B
Dolay			40.22 37.13	B
Döllük			40.21 37.14	B
Gökköy			40.22 37.10	B
Sazak			40.20 37.16	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Turhal</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Ayrınpınar (Vazanya)			40.19 36.05	B
Derebentçi		(+ Circ?)	40.28 36.09	B
Samurçay			40.28 36.00	B
Sütlüce (Kımıza)		(+ TkSu)	40.26 36.08	B
Yağlıalan			40.28 36.12	B
Yeşilalan (Arhoy)			40.26 36.22	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Turhal</i>	<b>Pazar</b>		
Çayıraltı (Koruk)		(+ TkSu)	40.14 36.07	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Zile</i>	Merkez		
Çapak			40.13 36.02	B
Emirören (Emirveren)			40.19 36.00	B
Kırlar (Kırklar)		(+ TkSu)	40.18 36.00	B
Küçükkarayün (Yukarıkarayün)			40.15 35.48	B
Ütük			40.15 36.01	B
Yeniköy		(+ Tkm)	40.18 35.58	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Zile</i>	Boztepe		
Alibağ			40.12 36.01	B
Armutalan			40.12 36.03	B
Belpınar			40.11 35.59	B
Çakırcalı			40.11 36.03	B
Elmacık (Endürüzlü)			40.13 36.00	B
Göçenli			40.11 36.04	B
Karabalçık			40.11 36.06	B
Salur			40.10 35.42	B
Temecik			40.09 36.03	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Zile</i>	Iğdır		
Ağcakeçili			40.11 35.39	B
<b>Uşak</b>	<i>Ulubey</i>	Merkez		
Küçükkayalı		(+ TkSu)	38.17 29.15	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Osmanpaşa		
Kaşkişla			39.30 35.07	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Akdağmadeni</i>	Merkez		
Bozhüyük			39.36 36.04	B
Çağlağan (Maşlahlı)			39.34 36.07	A
Çerçialanı			39.33 36.05	A/B
Kızılcaova			39.31 36.02	A
Yazılıtaş			39.37 36.09	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Akdağmadeni</i>	Karamağara		
Karamağara (Saraykent)		(+ TkSu)	39.41 35.26	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Boğazlıyan</i>	Merkez		
*Sokutaş			39.18 35.27	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Çayıralan</i>	Merkez		
Çukurören			39.28 35.45	B
Karaazap			39.28 35.41	B
*Kurtderesi Köyü			39.29 35.42	B
*Ortaköy			39.29 35.43	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Çekerek</i>	Merkez		
Çakır			39.58 35.35	Ak
Kalederesi			39.59 35.37	B
Kamışcık			40.06 35.39	B
Tipideresi?		(TkSu?)	39.58 35.25	Ak (B)
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Sorgun</i>	Merkez		
Araplı		(+ TkSu?)	39.50 35.26	B/Ak
Babalı		(+ TkSu)	39.48 35.05	B
Bağlarbaşı (Kötüköy)			39.51 35.15	B
Bahadın			39.40 35.19	B
Büyükkışla			39.52 35.15	B
Çamurlu			39.37 35.09	B
Çavuşlu?			39.44 35.25	B
Çiğdemli (Sorgun)		(+ TkSu)	39.49 35.19	B
Doğankent (Peyik)		(+ TkSu)	39.41 35.26	B
Faraşlı?		(+ TkSu?)	39.51 35.30	B/Ak
Garipler		(MuBuAl)	39.56 35.06	B
Gümüşkavak (Pöhrenk)			39.40 35.17	B
İdrisli			39.44 35.05	B
İsafakılı		(+ TkSu)	39.56 35.03	B
Karaabalı (Karabağlı)			39.52 35.13	B
Karakocaoğlukışla			39.43 35.03	B
Muğallı			39.46 35.21	B
Ocaklı?		(TkSu?)	39.50 35.13	B
Sivri			39.35 35.13	B
Sorguntatlısı (Tatlı)			39.43 35.18	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Sorgun</i>	Eymir		
Aşağıemirler			40.00 35.19	B
Tulum			40.00 35.11	B
Yaylalık (Eyirkürtköyü)			40.03 35.14	B
<b>Zonguldak</b>	<i>Ereğli</i>	Alaplı		
Gömeli?				B

*Note:* The inhabitants of villages marked + (in Maraş-Pazarcık-Narlı) are of Kurdish origin, but the great majority now speak Turkish only, rather than Kurdish.

2b **Turks: Alevi: Amuca**

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Edirne</b>	<i>Keşan</i>	Merkez		
Gündüzler?			40.47 26.27	Ki (Sal)
<b>Kırklareli</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Deveçatağı			41.35 27.19	Ez
Kızılcıkdere			41.41 27.19	Ez
Yörükbayırı (Yürüklerbayırı)			41.50 27.20	Ez
<b>Kırklareli</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Dereköy		
Düzorman		(TkAl)	41.51 27.22	Ez/(K-b)
Kapaklı			41.54 27.21	Ez
Koruköy			41.51 27.19	Ez
<b>Kırklareli</b>	<i>Babaeski</i>	Merkez		
Osmaniye (Büyük- & Küçük Osmaniye)			41.27 27.09	Ez
<b>Kırklareli</b>	<i>Kofçaz</i>	Merkez		
Ahlatlı		(TkAl)	42.05 27.14	Ez/(K-b)
Ahmetler		(TkAl)	42.02 27.13	Ki(Sal)/Ez/(K-b)
Aşağıkınara				Ez
Beyci (Peyço?)?				Ez
Devletliagaç			41.59 27.01	Ez
Karaabalar				Ki (Sal)/Ez
Kocatarla			41.57 27.03	Ez
Malkoçlar		(TkAl)	42.03 27.01	Ez/(K-b)
Tatlıpınar		(TkAl)		Ez/(K-b)
Topçular				Ki (Sal)/Ez
Yukarıkanara				Ez
<b>Kırklareli</b>	<i>Lüleburgaz</i>	Merkez		
Çeşmekolu			41.32 27.17	Ez
Eskitaşlı		(TkSu?)	41.30 27.24	Ez (K-a)
Umurca			41.25 27.26	Ez
Yenibedir		(TkAl)	41.22 27.25	Ez (K-b)
Yenitaşlı			41.29 27.23	Ez
<b>Kırklareli</b>	<i>Pınarhisar</i>	Merkez		
Karıncaç			41.40 27.24	Ez
<b>Tekirdağ</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Kılavuzlu			41.03 27.33	Ez
<b>Tekirdağ</b>	<i>Muratlı</i>	Merkez		
Arzulu			41.13 27.26	Ez

*Note:* These villages seem last to have been recorded as Amuca in 1943. It is not certain that their inhabitants, if still there, are regarded as Amuca, or simply as Alevi or Bektaşî. The term Amuca appears no longer to be in general currency in Thrace.



## 4 Turks: Yörük: Alevi

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Afyon Karahisar	<i>Emirdağ</i>	Merkez		
	Çatallı		38.56 31.08	Özd '67
	Tezköy		38.57 31.09	Özd
	*Yozgat Mah.?		39.05 31.05	Özd
Bilecik	<i>Bozüyük</i>	Merkez		
	Çaydere		39.52 29.57	
	Kapanalan		39.51 29.57	
	Kızılcapınar		39.53 29.55	
	Kuyupınar		39.50 29.57	
Tekirdağ	<i>Şarköy</i>	Merkez		
some villages (unidentified)	(so-called Mayadağlı)	[Bektaş]		Gç/B
Tekirdağ	<i>Şarköy</i>	Mürefte		
some villages (unidentified)	(so-called Mayadağlı)	[Bektaş]		Gç/B
Yozgat	<i>Merkez</i>	Osmanpaşa		
Büyükincirli?		(KuAl?)	39.38 34.55	Ak '67
Lökköy?		(KuAl?)	39.38 34.52	Ak '67

## 5 a Türkmen: Sunni: Unspecified

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Afyon Karahisar	<i>Merkez</i>	Çobanlar		
		Çobanlar	38.42 30.47	A
		Akkoyunlu (Azabale)	38.48 30.53	A
		Cebeler (Cebeciler)	38.46 30.45	A
		Değirmendere (Ümraniye/Kumralı)	38.38 30.48	A
		Göynük	38.47 30.51	A
		Işıklar	38.39 30.42	A
		Kaleköy	38.49 30.53	A
		Kocaöz (Feleli)	38.44 30.51	A
		Sülümenli (Beşkuyu)	38.44 30.44	A
Afyon Karahisar	<i>Merkez</i>	İscehisar		
		İscehisar	38.52 30.45	A
		Akhisar	39.04 30.43	A

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Cevizli			38.51 30.45	A
Çatağıl (Eynihançatağıl)			38.59 30.47	A
Konarı (Eynelik)			38.52 30.52	A
Olukpınar (Tokaz/Eynihantokaz)			38.57 30.44	A
Seydiler			38.53 30.50	A
<b>Afyon Karahisar</b>	<i>Bolvadin</i>	Merkez		
Dişli			38.47 31.01	A
Hamidiye			38.42 30.54	A
Kemer kaya(Çoğu)			38.53 31.04	A
Kurucaova			38.45 30.56	A
Özburun			38.50 31.00	A
Taşagıl			38.48 31.06	A
<b>Afyon Karahisar</b>	<i>Çay</i>	Merkez		
Kadıköy			38.39 30.55	A
Orhaniye (Bodrum)			38.29 30.54	A
<b>Afyon Karahisar</b>	<i>Dinar</i>	Dombayova		
Afşar (Afşar)		(TkmSu?)	38.13 30.11	Ac
Kazanpınar		(TkmSu?)	38.11 30.12	Ac
<b>Afyon Karahisar</b>	<i>Dinar</i>	Haydarlı		
Haydarlı (Çölovası)		(TkmSu?)	38.16 30.23	Ac
<b>Afyon Karahisar</b>	<i>Emirdağ</i>	Merkez		
Emirdağ town			39.01 31.09	A
Adayazı (Firikli)			39.04 31.16	A
Ağılıcık			39.02 31.12	A
Alibeyce			39.07 31.07	A
Aşağıkurudere (Kurudereköy?)			38.57 31.04?	A
Balcam (Balcamsultan)			38.57 31.12	A
Başkonak (Kolanşam)			38.59 31.06	A
Beyköyü			39.07 31.03	A
Çatalı			38.56 31.08	A
Çiftlikköy				
Dağlıgan			39.03 31.13	A
Dereköy			38.58 31.11	A
Elhan			39.02 31.11	A
Emirinköyü				A
Gökçeyaka (Geynik)			39.06 30.46	A
Gömü			39.04 31.05	A
Güneysaray			39.00 31.03	A
Hamzahacılı			39.03 31.18	A
İkizce (Ekizce)			39.03 31.15	A
Karaağaç			39.04 31.09	A

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Karacalar			38.59 31.14	A
Kılıçlı (Kavlaklı)			39.08 31.03	A
Kuruca (Lütfiye)			39.06 31.11	A
Kurudere (Yukarıkurudere/Kurudereköy?)			38.57 31.04?	A
Salihler (Ömerhacı/Zant)			39.03 31.22	A
Sığracık			39.05 31.03	A
Soğukkuyu			38.59 31.13	A
Suvermez			39.02 31.14	A
Tabaklar			39.03 31.04	A
Tezköy			38.57 31.09	A
Türkmenakören (Akviran)			39.04 31.13	A
Veysel			39.06 31.24	A
Yarımca (Tevfikiye			39.05 31.09	A
Yavuz (Horan)			39.00 31.13	A
Yenikapı (Pörnek)			39.04 31.19	A
Yüreğil			39.02 31.02	A
<b>Afyon Karahisar</b>	<b>Emirdağ</b>	<b>Bayat</b>		
Bayat (Hambarcın)			38.59 30.56	A
Akpınar			38.51 30.57	A
Aşağıçaybelen (Aşağımaçaklı)			38.51 30.56	A
Çukurkuyu			39.04 30.53	A
Derbent			38.56 30.59	A
Eskigözü			39.04 30.59	A
Güney			39.08 30.59	A
İmrallı			38.53 30.55	A
İnpınar			38.52 30.54	A
Muratkoru (Holuz)			39.07 30.58	A
Sağırılı				A
<b>Afyon Karahisar</b>	<b>Emirdağ</b>	<b>Davulga</b>		
Çaykışla			38.54 31.18	A
Demircili			38.58 31.17	A
Güvenci			38.54 31.18	A
Türkmenköy			38.56 31.18	A
<b>Afyon Karahisar</b>	<b>Emirdağ</b>	<b>Ümraniye</b>		
Ümraniye (Batık)			39.11 31.14	A
Arsanlı			39.12 31.02	A
Bağlıca			39.10 31.04	A
Burunarkaç			39.12 31.03	A
Gedikevi			39.09 31.03	A
Gözeli (Manahoz)			39.11 31.09	A
Kırkpınar			39.12 31.07	A
Kuyruklu			39.11 31.00	A

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source	
Afyon Karahisar	<i>İhsaniye</i>	Merkez			
			Döğer	39.08 30.24	A
			Gazlıgöl (Akviran)	38.56 30.30	A
Ankara	<i>Yenimahalle</i>	Merkez			
			Yaprakcık	39.52 32.35	Öa
Ankara	<i>Yenimahalle</i>	Sincan			
			Yukarıyurtçu (Balayurtçu)	39.50 32.33	Öe
Eskişehir	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez			
			Akçakaya	39.36 30.28	Tun
			Akkaya	39.37 30.19	Tun
			Aşağıçağlan	39.41 30.29	Tun
			Harmandalı	39.38 30.52	Tun
			Karatepe	39.41 30.51	Tun
			Türkmentokat (Karatokat)	39.41 30.47	Tun/B
			Yahnikapan?	39.37 30.49	Tun
		(Yö?)	Yörökkırka	39.37 30.25	Tun/B
			Yukarıçağlan	39.40 30.30	Tun
Eskişehir	<i>Merkez</i>	Alpu			
		(TkmSu?)	Bahçecik	39.39 30.53	B
Eskişehir	<i>Mahmudiye</i>	Merkez			
			Doğanca (Çönger)	39.33 31.02	Tun
			Mecidiye (Tokatmecidiye)?	39.25 30.53?	Tun
			Topkaya (Şevkiye)	39.38 31.01	Tun
Eskişehir	<i>Seyitgazi</i>	Merkez			
			*Şahdan	39.35 30.45	Tun
Eskişehir	<i>Sivrihisar</i>	Merkez			
		(+Tk)	İlören	39.40 31.47	Ac
		(+Tk)	Yenidoğan (Tatar)	39.11 31.41	Ac
Eskişehir	<i>Sivrihisar</i>	Günyüzü			
			Günyüzü (Kozagaşı)	39.23 31.49	Dur
			Kayakent (Holanta)	39.18 31.48	Dur
Eskişehir	<i>Sivrihisar</i>	Kaymaz			
			Yaverören (Yaverviran)?	39.27 31.13	Ac
Gaziantep	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez			
			Battal (Batal)	37.07 37.39	A

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Kayseri Kavak	<i>Pinarbaşı</i>	Kaynar (+ Circ)	39.01 36.22	B
Kayseri Karakoyunlu	<i>Sarız</i>	Merkez	38.18 37.23	B
Konya Kavak	<i>Merkez</i>	Hatunsaray (+ Tk)	37.34 32.27	Ac
Konya Kayaagzı Kızılöz	<i>Bozkır</i>	Belören (+ Tk)	37.09 32.40 37.11 32.41	Ac Ac
Konya Avcıtepe Gürağaç (Armasun/Elmasun)	<i>Çumra</i>	Dinek (+ Yö) (+ Yö + Mu)	37.17 32.41 37.16 32.44	Ac Ac
Konya Atlandı (Dokuzatlı)	<i>Kadınhan</i>	Kurthasanlı	38.26 32.10	H/A
Konya Akçaşehir (Ağdışar)? Ekinözü (Aşırın)?	<i>Karaman</i>	Merkez	37.27 33.30 37.19 33.23	B B
Konya Dinek? Eğilmez? Karacaören (Karacaveran)? Kaşoba Kisecik? Madenşehir? Ortaoba Süleymanhacı? Üçkuyu (Değle/Deyle)? Yuvatepe (Mercik)?	<i>Karaman</i>	Kılbasan  (+ Mu)	37.23 33.16 37.32 33.11 37.28 33.15 37.25 33.01 37.23 33.01 37.26 33.11 37.27 33.03 37.27 33.05 37.25 33.07 37.17 33.09	B B B B B B B B B B
Konya Gözlü Özkent (Zengen)	<i>Sarayönü</i>	Merkez	38.26 32.20 38.27 32.32	H H
Manisa Sazoba	<i>Akhisar</i>	Merkez	38.48 27.48	Koş
Nevşehir Üçkuyu	<i>Avanos</i>	Topaklı	39.03 35.00	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source	
Nevşehir	Hacıbektaş	Merkez			
			Büyükkişla?	38.53 34.42	B
			Hıdırlar	38.56 34.40	Üç
Nevşehir	Kozaklı	Merkez (Tk?)			
			Abdiköy?	39.06 34.49	B
			Akpınar	39.07 34.57	B
			Büyükyağlı	39.14 34.56	B
			Gerce?	39.07 34.48	B
			Hacıfakılı	39.14 34.54	B
			Kalaycık	39.09 34.45	B
			Kanlıca	39.17 34.54	B
			Kapaklı	39.06 35.00	B
			Karayanalak	39.06 34.46	B
			Kuruagıl	39.07 34.54	B
			Küçükyağlı	39.13 34.56	B
			Merdaneli	39.07 35.00	B
*Buruncuk	39.13 34.52	B			
Sivas	Merkez	Merkez			
			Eskikızılcakışla?	39.37 36.53	P
			Kızılca	39.53 37.07	P
Sivas	Merkez	Kayadibi			
			Hanlı	39.28 36.40	P
			Kızılcaova (Kızılova)	39.30 36.39	P
			Kızılöz	39.30 36.37	P
Sivas	Gemerek	Merkez (+ Af) (+ Mu)			
			Ağcaşar	39.15 35.57	Dem
			Arpaözü	39.17 35.54	Dem
			Deliler	39.09 36.16	Dem/A
			Eğerci	39.14 35.58	Dem
			Ekizce	39.13 36.10	Dem
			Hacıyusuf	39.08 36.10	Dem
			Karaagıl	39.11 36.15	Dem
			Karagöl	39.17 36.11	Dem
			Kartalkaya (Mudasarın)	39.09 36.14	Dem
			Kocaoğlu	39.07 36.11	Dem/A
			Köseli (Rahli)	39.13 36.15	Dem
			Küçüktuzhisar (Küçüktuzasar)	39.06 36.19	Dem/A
			Seydinali	39.07 36.15	Dem
			Sızır	39.19 35.51	Dem
Talazoğlu	39.12 36.12	Dem			
Yeniköy (Hinzırı)	39.07 36.22	Dem/A			

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Şarkışla</i>	Merkez		
Kızılcakışla?			39.18 36.20	P
Samankaya (Ebesili)?		(Yö?)	39.13 36.37	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Boğazlıyan</i>	Merkez		
Çokumağıl?		(Tk?)	39.09 35.09	B
Devecipınar?		(Tk?)	39.08 35.23	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Boğazlıyan</i>	Fakılı		
Üçobalar (Yılanlı)			39.21 34.58	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Çayıralan</i>	Çandır		
Çandır?		(Tk?)	39.15 35.31	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Sarıkaya</i>	Merkez		
Koççağız?		(Tk?)	39.35 35.26	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Sarıkaya</i>	Hasbek		
Karaelli?		(+ Circ)	39.36 35.30	B
Ürkütlü?			39.34 35.31	B

Note: See also the adjoining lists for particular sub-groups.

### 5b Türkmen : Sunni : Avşar

Province	Sub-Province	District [Tribe]	Coordinates	Source
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Tufanbeyli</i>	Merkez		
Doğanlı (Doğan)			38.15 36.08	P
<b>Bolu</b>	<i>Gerede</i>	Merkez		
Birinciafşar (Afşarevvel)			40.45 32.18	A
İkinciafşar (Afşarsani)			40.45 32.18	A
<b>Çankırı</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Kızılırmak		
Kuzeykışla			40.22 34.04	A
<b>Çorum</b>	<i>Alaca</i>	Merkez		
Kuyuluş			40.08 34.56	Özt
<b>Isparta</b>	<i>Gelendost</i>	Merkez		
Afşar			38.08 30.59	B

Province	Sub-Province	District [Tribe]	Coordinates	Source
İçel Baharlı	Tarsus	Merkez		Gün
Kars some villages?	?	? [İmamlu, Bayatlar]		F
Kayseri Gömürgen	Bünyan (+ Tkm)	Akkışla	39.02 36.14	R
Kayseri Avsarpotuklu	Pınarbaşı	Merkez	38.44 36.22	B
Bahçecik			38.40 36.17	B
Büyükgürleyen		[Deller]	38.40 36.21	B/P
Büyükkaramanlı			38.37 36.16	B/P
Büyükkaramıklı			38.38 36.21	B
Büyükkömarmut			38.37 36.19	B
Demircili	(+ Mu)		38.36 36.20	B/P
Emeğil				B/R
Fakiekincili?			38.45 36.17	B
Gölcük			38.37 36.25	B
İğdelipayaslı (Payaslı)			38.39 36.16	B
Karahacılı?				B
Kızılhan			38.40 36.15	B
Köşkerli			ca. 38.44 36.13	B
Küçükkömarmut			38.38 36.19	B
Küçüktatıklı				B
Pulpınar			38.37 36.15	B
Solaklar		[Kocanallı]	38.41 36.22	B/R/P
Taşlıoğlu			38.38 36.20	B
Yusuflar			38.44 36.18	B
Kayseri all villages only Pazarören town + Mu	Pınarbaşı	Pazarören		B/P B
Kayseri Sarız town	Sarız (+ Ku)	Merkez [Torun]	38.29 36.30	P/R
Akoluk (Çürük)		[Torun]	38.33 36.45	P
Altınsöğüt		[Koçgirli, Kocanallı]	38.27 36.27	P
Ayrınlık (Deliküçükler)		[Kocanallı]	38.25 36.27	P
Büyüksöbeçimen (Afşar)		[Torun]	38.31 36.38	P
Çavdar		[Torun]	38.40 36.41	P
Çörekdere (Haciveliler)		[Kıllı]	38.29 36.28	P
Damızlık		[Torun]	38.36 36.44	B/P
Dayoluk	(+ Ku)	[Kocanallı]	38.20 36.28	P



Province	Sub-Province	District [Tribe]	Coordinates	Source
İncedere		[Kocanallı?]	38.30 36.30	P
İncemağara	(+ Ku)	[Kocanallı]	38.24 36.29	P
Karapınar	(+ Yö)	[Torun]	38.37 36.36	P
Karayurt		[Kocanallı]	38.24 36.26	P
Kamer		[Kocanallı]	38.21 36.26	P
Kıskaçlı		[Torun]	38.35 36.29	P
Kuşçu		[Killı]	38.30 36.31	P
Mirzaağa		[Torun]	38.24 36.19	P
Mollahüseyinler		[Kocanallı]	38.21 36.24	P
Oğlakkaya		[Kocanallı]	38.24 36.25	P
Ördekli		[Koçgirli]	38.23 36.30	P
Sancakağı (Sancakağılı)		[Koçgirli]	38.27 36.31	P
Yalakköy	(+ Ku)	[Kocanallı, Torun]	38.18 36.26	P
Yaylacık (Esirik)		[Killı, Torun]	38.31 36.31	P
Yedioluk	(+ Circ + Yö)	[Torun]	38.34 36.27	P/B
*Şarлак		[Torun]	38.40 36.40	P
<b>Kayseri</b>	<i>Tomarza</i>	<b>Toklar</b>		
Toklar		[Recepli]	38.25 36.01	F
Arslantaş (Kokarköyü)			38.23 36.08	B
Büyükcanlı (Kürkler)		[Recepli]	38.21 35.58	F
Göktepe (Madrasan/Madırhasan)		[Arap Hasanlar]	38.30 36.05	F
İcadiye (Karakilise)		[Arap Hasanlar]	38.29 36.11	F/B
Karamuklu		[Arap Hasanlar]	38.27 36.08	F/B
Kesir		[Recepli]	38.19 35.58	F
Köprüküy (Keprin)		[Recepli, Arap Hasanlar]	38.25 35.58	F
Özlüce (Taf)		[Arap Hasanlar]		F
Tahtakemer		[Arap Hasanlar]	38.17 35.57	F
Üçkonak (Zelhin)		[Arap Hasanlar]	38.24 36.04	F
<b>Kahramanmaraş</b>	<i>Göksun</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Bozhüyük			38.09 36.30	P
Büyükkızılıcık? (two villages named Kızılıcık)			38.12 36.43	P
Kanlıkavak			38.07 36.37	P
Karahmet? (Karamek?)				P
Kavşut			38.12 36.34	P
Yeniyapan			38.09 36.38	P
*Kayancık				P
*Ken				P
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Şarkışla</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Cemal			39.19 36.28	B
Kapaklıpınar	(+ Circ)		39.09 36.37	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	<b>Çamlıbel</b>		
Avşarağızı			40.03 36.24	B

**5 c Türkmen: Sunni: Bekdik**

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Ereğli</i>	Merkez		
Akhüyük			37.36 34.04	P
Çiller (Çigiller)			37.38 34.05	P/Cu
Kamışlıkuyu			37.41 34.07	P
Kuskuncuk			37.33 34.11	P
Sazgeçit (Hertu/Hortu)			37.36 33.56	P/Cu
Servili (Selvili/Halaçlı)			37.34 34.04	Cu
Türkmen			37.35 34.04	P
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Ereğli</i>	Çakmak		
Çakmak (Cedidiye)			37.37 34.17	P
Acıkuyu			37.43 34.17	P/Cu
Aşağıgöndelen			37.43 34.11	P
Aziye (Aşağıçayhan)			37.39 34.16	P/A
Bulgurluk			37.36 34.12	Cu
Çayhan (Yukarıçayhan)			37.33 34.18	P
Yeniköy			37.43 34.19	Cu
Zengen			37.50 34.15	P
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Karapınar</i>	Gölören		
Gölören (Beyören)			37.51 33.51	P
<b>Nevşehir</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Nevşehir city				Cu
<b>Niğde</b>	<i>Bor</i>	Merkez		
Çukurkuyu			37.52 34.20	Ac
Kıcalca			37.51 34.21	P/A

(Another branch of the Bekdik is said to exist in Kırşehir, but is unidentified - Ac).

**5 d Türkmen: Sunni: Çepni**

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Giresun</b>	<i>Görece</i>	Merkez		
Bayazıt			40.55 39.08	B
Beşirli (Beşir)			40.56 39.07	B
Çalış			40.58 39.06	B
Çatak (Çatakaralıkuz)			41.00 39.05	B
Çatakkırı (Çatakkırıklı)			40.57 39.08	B
Çavuşlu?			41.03 39.05	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Hamzalı			40.55 39.07	B
İnancı (İmatlı)			40.58 39.00	B
Kırıklı (Nefsikırıklı)			40.59 39.05	B
Koyunhamza (Hacılı)			40.58 39.07	B
Tekgöz			40.59 39.04	B
<b>Giresun</b>	<b>Görece</b>	<b>Çanakçı</b>		
some villages (unidentified)				B
<b>Trabzon</b>	<b>Vakfikebir</b>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Vakfikebir town			41.03 39.17	B
<b>Trabzon</b>	<b>Vakfikebir</b>	<b>Beşikdüzü</b>		
Ağaçlı (Kancuma)			41.01 39.13	B
Ağılbağı (Korkudan)			41.01 39.12	B
Aksaklı			41.03 39.10	B
Ambarlı			41.02 39.11	B
Ardıçatak			41.01 39.09	B
Bozlu			40.59 39.13	B
Çakırlı				B
Dolanlı (Aroz/Arus)			41.01 39.08	B
Kalegüney			41.01 39.10	B
Kutluca (Huplu)			41.02 39.11	B
Resüllü			41.02 39.08	B
Şahmelik			41.02 39.10	B
Türkeli			41.02 39.09	B
Yeşilköy (Apdallı)			41.02 39.13	B
<b>Trabzon</b>	<b>Vakfikebir</b>	<b>Şalpazarı</b>		
Şalpazarı (Kireç)			40.56 39.12	B
all its 24 villages				B

Note: See also: Türkmen Alevi: Çepni (6 d),

## 5e Türkmen: Sunni: Çönalı, İğbeyli, Kuzugüden, Şahramani

Province	Sub-Province	District [Tribe]	Coordinates	Source
<b>Kayseri</b>	<i>Bünyan</i>	Merkez		
Bünyan town (+ Az + Mu)			38.51 35.52	A
Gigi			38.54 36.02	A
İğdecik			38.56 35.59	Ers/A
Kahveci			38.54 35.59	A
Koyunabdal		[Kuzugüden]	38.57 36.02	A
Musaşeyh (+ MuBu)			38.56 35.56	A
Pirahmet			38.55 36.01	A
Sultanhanı			38.58 35.54	A
Yağmurbeyli (as Yaymurbeyli)		[Çönalı]	39.00 35.49	A
<b>Kayseri</b>	<i>Bünyan</i>	Akkışla		
Akkışla (Kuzugüden)		[Kuzugüden]	39.00 36.10	A
Alevkişla (Alöğöncöyü)		[Kuzugüden]	39.01 36.07	A
Ganişeyh (Avanoğlu)			39.00 36.14	A
Girinci		[Kuzugüden]	38.56 36.07	A
Gömürgen		[İğbeyli]	39.02 36.13	A
Keklikoğlu (Büyükhanifli)		[İğbeyli]	39.04 36.10	A
Kululu			38.59 36.08	A
Ortaköy		[Şahramani]	39.04 36.16	A
Sofumahmut (Küçükhanifli)		[İğbeyli]	39.04 36.11	A
Uzunçayır (Manavuz/Man- agas)		[Kuzugüden]	38.57 36.08	A
<b>Kayseri</b>	<i>Sarıoğlu</i>	Merkez		
Akın (Karabekirli)		[Kuzugüden]	39.00 36.08	A
Düzencik		[Kuzugüden + İğbeyli]	39.03 36.06	A
Gölova (Palas)		[Çönalı]	39.02 35.52	A
Ömerhacı		[Çönalı]	39.03 35.48	A
Üzerlik		[Çönalı]	39.05 35.51	A
Yıldırım		[Kuzugüden]	38.59 35.59	A
*Cavlak		[Çönalı]	39.01 35.48	A
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Gemerek</i>	Merkez		
Çiçekoğlu		[Şahramani]	39.07 36.13	A
Deliler		[Şahramani]	39.09 36.16	A/Dem
Durgunsu (Kilise)		[Şahramani]	39.10 36.18	A
Kırıklı (Tatlıpınar)		[İğbeyli]	39.06 36.09	A
Kocaoğlu		[Şahramani + İğbeyli]	39.07 36.11	A/Dem
Küçüktuzhisar (Küçüktuzasar)		[Şahramani]	39.06 36.19	A/Dem
Yeniköy (Hınzırı)		[Şahramani]	39.07 36.22	A/Dem

Note: Some of the villages listed under Türkmen Sunni (General) for Sivas-Gemerek may belong to this same sub-group: see 5a.

5 f **Türkmen: Sunni: Hotamiş**

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Çumra</i>	Merkez		
Büyüktaşlama (Büyüktaşılama)			37.39 33.08	Ac
Sürgüç			37.35 33.06	Ac
Taşağıl (Taşavıl)			37.32 32.59	Ac
Türkmencamili (Camilimescit)			37.32 32.55	Ac
Türkmenkarahüyük			37.37 33.02	Ac
Üçhüyükler (Üçhüyük)			37.34 32.58	Ac
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Karaman</i>	Kılbasan		
Burunoba			37.27 33.21	Ac
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Karapınar</i>	Merkez		
Akçayazi (İldanlı)			37.42 33.15	Ac
Sazlıpınar (Rakka)			37.41 33.12	Ac
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Karapınar</i>	Hotamiş		
Taşpınar			37.38 33.20	Ac
Kayacık (Kavacık)			37.36 33.13	Ac
Küçüktaşlama (Küçüktaşılama)			37.37 33.09	Ac
Şabanlı (Hotamiş)			37.38 33.19	Ac
Yenikuyu			37.30 33.22	Ac

6 a **Türkmen: Alevi: Unspecified**

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Ankara</b>	<i>Keskin</i>	Merkez		
some villages? (unidentified)				Ac
<b>Balıkesir</b>	<i>Burhaniye</i>	Merkez		
Tahtacı			39.25 26.59	A
<b>Balıkesir</b>	<i>Edremit</i>	Merkez		
Çamcı			39.37 27.03	A
Çıkrıkçı			39.33 26.59	A
Güre (Gürre)			39.37 26.54	A
Hacıaslanlar (Hacıhasanlar)			39.39 26.55	A
Mehmetalanı			39.38 26.57	A
Zeytinli			39.37 26.57	A
*Akçay			39.35 26.55	A
*Sarıköz			39.41 26.52	A
*Yassıçalı			39.37 26.52	A

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Balikesir</b>	<i>Edremit</i>	Altinoluk		
Avcılar (Arıtaş)			39.35 26.49	A
Doyuran (Sebedanisanı)			39.35 26.42	A
Kavaklar			39.35 26.50	A
Tahtakuşlar			39.36 26.51	A
<b>Çanakkale</b>	<i>Ayvacık</i>	Merkez		
Ayvacık town			39.36 26.24	A
*Midilli				A
<b>Çanakkale</b>	<i>Biga</i>	Balıkçeşme		
Kemer (Kemerderesi)			40.25 27.04	A
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Tokdemir (Tuhtamur)			37.11 37.35	A
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>İslahiye</i>	Sakçagöze		
Sakçagöze (Keferdiz)?			37.12 36.36	B
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Bayındır</i>	Merkez		
Turan			38.12 27.41	Eg
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Bergama</i>	Merkez		
Kapıkaya			39.10 27.09	Ts
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Bergama</i>	Kozak		
Aşağibey			39.15 26.58	Bay
Aşağıcuma			39.16 27.01	Bay
Demircidere		(Tah?)	39.16 26.55	Ts
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Bergama</i>	Turanlı		
Karalarbaşı			39.19 27.17	Bay
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Bergama</i>	Zeytindağ		
Sarıdere				Bay
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Dikili</i>	Çandarlı		
Çandarlı?			38.56 26.56	Bay
Deliktaş			38.57 26.56	Bay
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Ödemiş</i>	Merkez		
Kayaköy			38.13 27.49	Ts
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Ödemiş</i>	Birgi		
Büyükovlucak (Büyükavlucak)			38.14 28.03	Eg

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Ağadeve			40.23 42.59	B
Hacıhalil		(+ Az or Kp)	40.27 43.09	B
Karacaören (Karacaviran)			40.34 43.05	B/Kır
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Hanak</i>	Merkez		
Çat			41.18 42.41	Kır
Çavdarlı (Virankale/Virana-Nakalaköy)			41.17 42.46	Kır
Çiçeklidag (Fayathı)			41.18 42.43	Kır
Çimliçayır			41.17 42.46	Kır
Güneşgören (Kerkeden)			41.14 42.44	Kır
İncedere (Piklop)			41.15 42.46	Kır
Koyunpınarı (Saskara)			41.15 42.47	Kır
Serinkuyu (Danidan)			41.17 42.44	Kır
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Hanak</i>	Damal		
Damal			41.21 42.50	B/Kır
Aşağıgündeş			41.22 42.49	Kır
Burmadere (Sors)			41.18 42.47	Kır
Dereköy			41.20 42.48	Kır
Eskikılıç (Kirpeşen)			41.19 42.51	Kır
Kalkandere? (Kalender Deresi?)			41.21 42.50	Kır
Obrucak (Çikora)			41.21 42.52	Kır
Otağlı (Ercede)				Kır
Seyitören (Seyitveren)			41.24 42.48	Kır
Tepeköy			41.21 42.47	Kır
Üçdere (Samuthev)			41.21 42.53	Kır
Yukarıgündeş			41.23 42.49	Kır
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Kağızman</i>	Kötek		
Böcüklü			40.16 43.03	Kır/Şı
Çukurayva (Purut)		(few)	40.15 42.55	Kır
Kömürlü (Gümürlü)			40.17 43.01	Kır/Şı
Paslı			40.17 42.57	Kır/Şı
Yalnızagaç (Yalağuzagaç)			40.16 42.59	Kır/Şı
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Sarıkamış</i>	Merkez		
Alisofu			40.21 42.41	B
Asboğa (Asbuğa)			40.24 42.53	B/Kır
Aşağısallapınar (Aşağısalut)			40.28 42.37	Kır
Yağbasan			40.24 42.39	B
Yukarısallapınar (Yukarısalut) (+ others)			40.26 42.37	B/Kır
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Sarıkamış</i>	Karakurt		
Akkozyaylası			40.08 42.45	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Selim</i>	Merkez		
Akpınar			40.25 42.50	Kır
Akyar (Ağyar)			40.28 42.50	B/Kır
Alisofu			40.27 42.51	Kır
Aşağıkotanlı			40.28 42.54	Kır
Büyükdere (Tiknis)			40.22 42.53	Kır
Cavlak			40.26 42.47	Kır
Çaybaşı (Süphanazat/Sıpanazat)			40.27 42.56	Kır
Dölbentli			40.25 42.52	Kır
İğdir			40.26 42.55	Kır
Karaçayır			40.26 42.52	Kır
Katranlı			40.29 42.42	Kır
Laloğlu?			40.29 42.40	Kır
Mollamustafa			40.21 42.51	Kır
Oluklu			40.29 42.50	Kır
Tozluca (Tuzluca)			40.30 42.49	Kır
Yamaçlı (Sipkor)			40.22 42.51	Kır
Yeşiltepe (Karnağaz/Kırbıyık)			40.23 42.51	Kır
Yukarıkotanlı		(+ few TkSu)	40.28 42.53	B/Kır
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Susuz</i>	Merkez		
Kalecik			40.51 43.12	B
<b>Manisa</b>	<i>Akhisar</i>	Merkez		
Beyoba			38.48 27.46	Koş
<b>Muğla</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Göktepe		
Günlüce (Zara/Zağra)			37.22 28.34	Ts
<b>Muğla</b>	<i>Bodrum</i>	Karaova		
Kum			37.04 27.34	Ts
<b>Muğla</b>	<i>Milas</i>	Merkez		
Koru			37.13 27.42	Ts
*Kızılağaç				Ts
<b>Nevşehir</b>	<i>Hacıbektaş</i>	Merkez		
Kayı			38.56 34.29	Er
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Gemerek</i>	Merkez		
Çepni			39.18 36.04	Dem
Eşikli			39.22 35.58	Dem
Karaözü			39.12 35.56	Dem
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Şarkışla</i>	Merkez		
Hüyük (Merkezhüyük)			39.22 36.28	A
Kaymak			39.26 36.21	A



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Sivas	<i>Sarkışla</i>	Akçakışla	39.35 36.19	A
Hocabey			39.38 36.18	A
İğdecik			39.36 36.22	A
Kümbet			39.36 36.16	A
Sarıtekke			39.37 36.13	A
Yahyalı				

Note: In Kars the Türkmen-Alevi villages of Kağızman and Sarıkamış listed by Kırzioğlu do not correspond with the figures in the Köy Envanteri, where no Alevi are registered. Besides this the latter gives many fewer Alevivillages for Hanak and Selim than Kırzioğlu.

### 6 b Türkmen: Alevi: Avşar

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Kayseri	<i>Tomarza</i>	Toklar	38.23 36.00	F
Küçükcanlı (Aliağalar)		[Halilpaşausağı]	38.28 36.02	F
Melikören (Melikviran)		[Halilpaşausağı]		

### 6 c Türkmen: Alevi: Barak

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Gaziantep	<i>Nizip</i>	Merkez	36.54 37.45	Kum/Tan 1952
Akkuyu (Ağkuyu)				Tan 1952
Aşağıbayındır			36.59 37.51	Tan 1952
Baglıca (Kupbin)			36.57 37.52	Tan 1952
Bozalıoğlu			36.56 37.46	Kum/Tan 1952
Çakmaktepe (Torunkersentaş)				Tan 1952
Dazhüyük			ca. 36.53 37.45	Tan 1952
Doğrular (Keferşih)			37.00 37.50	Tan 1952
Dutlu (Kefertut/Torunmahmut)			36.50 37.44	Kum/Tan 1952
Düzbayır (İzan)				Tan 1952
Eskikonak (Güveyli/Düveyli?)			36.55 37.51	Tan 1952
Gevence			36.53 37.42	Kum/Tan 1952
Gökçeli (Kürap/Kürep)				Tan 1952
Gölkaya (Hümevli)			37.01 37.55	Tan 1952
Günaltı (Tilmiyen)			36.59 37.54	Tan 1952
Güzelköy (Tabya/Tayyiba)			36.58 37.55	Tan 1952
Hancağız (Dıbişoğlu)				Tan 1952
Hazımoğlu				

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
			36.52 37.46	Kum/Tan 1952
			36.57 37.57	Tan 1952
			36.51 37.43	Kum/Tan 1952
				Tan 1952
			36.58 37.47	Tan 1952
				Tan 1952
				Tan 1952
			ca. 36.58 37.59	Tan 1952
			ca. 37.02 37.58	Tan 1952
			36.55 37.40	Tan 1952
			36.45 37.41	Kum/Tan 1952
			36.56 37.43	Kum
				Tan 1952
			36.59 37.51	Tan 1952
			36.58 37.56	Tan 1952
				Kum
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Nizip</i>	Barak		
		town (Kargamış) and all villages		Kum
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Oğuzeli</i>	Merkez		
		(+ Abd)	36.54 37.30	Kum
		(+ Abd)	36.54 37.28	Kum
		(+ Abd)	36.53 37.38	Kum
		(+ Abd?)		Kum
		(+ Abd)	36.53 37.38	Kum
				Kum
				Kum
				Kum
				Kum
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Oğuzeli</i>	Elbeyli		
		(+ Abd)		Kum
		(+ Abd)	36.44 37.27	Kum
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Oğuzeli</i>	Doğanpınar		
			36.51 37.37	Kum
		(+ Abd)	36.50 37.55	Kum
			36.45 37.44	Kum
			ca. 36.47 37.42	Kum
			36.45 37.31	Kum
			36.49 37.42	Kum
			36.51 37.42	Kum
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Bayındır</i>	?		
		some villages (unidentified)		Tan 1952

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Nevşehir	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	38.28 34.45	B
Kaymaklı (Enegi)*				
Nevşehir	<i>Merkez</i>	Acıgöl	38.38 34.27	B
Bağlıca*				
Nevşehir	<i>Avanos</i>	Topaklı		B
Paşalı*				
Nevşehir	<i>Kozaklı</i>	Merkez	39.12 34.41	B
Çayıçı (Pinili)*				

*Note:* Those villages in Nevşehir province marked with an asterisk after the name are reported to have a population called Barak which is not, however, recognised as Türkmen, in contrast to other Türkmen villages in the area. The status of these villages is therefore uncertain.

#### 6 d Türkmen: Alevi: Çepni

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Aydın	<i>Söke</i>	Bağarası (few)	37.42 27.30	Gök
Burunköy			37.39 27.35	Gök
Sofular			37.38 27.32	Gök
*Helvacılar			37.39 27.34	Gök
*Terziler				
Balıkesir	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	39.45 27.46	Gök (A)
Deliklitaş				Gök (Ak)
İnkaya (Sazcılar)			39.38 27.48	Gök (Ak)
Ortamandıra			39.42 27.50	Gök (Ak)
*Söğüt kırnı				
Balıkesir	<i>Merkez</i>	Ertuğrul	39.33 27.42	Gök (Ak)
Bahçedere			39.36 27.46	Gök (Ak)
Çoraklık (Çimleralanı)			39.34 27.45	Gök (Ak)
Çukurhüseyin (Ayvakışığı)			39.33 27.48	Gök (Ak)
Karamanlar			39.37 27.43	Gök (Ak)
*Dübecik				
Balıkesir	<i>Merkez</i>	Konakpınar	39.26 27.54	Gök (Ak)
Kuşkaya				

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Balıkesir Gökçeören	Merkez	Yeniköy	39.46 28.06	Gök (Ak)
Balıkesir Kocabük	Balya	Merkez	39.38 27.34	Gök (Ak)
Balıkesir Değirmendere	Balya	Danişment	39.55 27.35	Gök (Ak)
Balıkesir Dedeçinar	Bigadiç	Merkez	39.27 28.04	B
Dikkonak			39.26 28.00	B
Doğançam (Alabarda)			39.31 28.14	B
Elyapan (İlyapan)			39.26 28.00	Gök (Ak)/B
Kozpınar			39.26 28.02	Gök (Ak)/B
Yumrukluçetmi			39.26 28.11	Gök (Ak)/B
Balıkesir Akyar	Bigadiç	Çağış	39.28 28.01	Gök (Ak)
Başçeşme			39.28 27.59	B
Çiftlik				Gök (Ak)
Güvençetmi (Güvençetmi)			39.31 28.04	Gök (Ak)/B
Yeşildere (Kanlıkavak/Kanlıkavakçetmi)			39.28 27.58	Gök (Ak)
Balıkesir Soğanbükü	İvrindi	Gökçeyazı	39.38 27.35	Gök (Ak)
Balıkesir Armutlu	Kepsut	Merkez	39.45 28.08	Gök (Ak)
*Koru				Gök (Ak)
*Söğütlü			39.46 28.05	Gök (Ak)
Balıkesir Kapaklı	Manyas	Merkez	40.01 27.58	Gök (Ak)
Balıkesir Hamamlı	Manyas	Şevketiye	40.06 27.54	Gök (Ak)
Kalebayırı			40.05 27.54	Gök (Ak)
Balıkesir Kocasinan (Cehennemderesi)	Sındırgı	Merkez	39.19 28.12	Gök (Ak)
Balıkesir Danaveli	Susurluk	Ömerköy	39.47 28.06	Gök (Ak)/Mag

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Gaziantep Köseler	Nizip	Merkez	37.15 37.48	Kum/Tan 1952/A
Gaziantep Akçaköy (Ağcaköy)	Nizip	Barak (few)	36.50 37.52	Kum
Gaziantep Aşağıkayabaşı Göcmez (Milelis) Kuzuyatağı (Miseyri/Gözübüyük) Sarılar Şenlikçe (Şendikçe) *Hasanoğlu *İneköy *Kayabaşı *Urumanlı	Yavuzeli	Merkez  (Tah?)	 37.21 37.46 37.17 37.46 37.19 37.50 37.20 37.42	 Kum Kum Kum Kum/A Kum Kum Kum Kum Kum
İzmir Pınar Tepeköy (Karadere/Tepe) Yalnızev (Petmi/Yalnız)	Bergama	Merkez	39.06 27.03 39.05 27.07 39.06 27.08	Bay Bay Bay
İzmir Çayırılı (Çetmi)	Tire	Merkez	38.04 27.39	Gök
Kars Boyalı	Sarıkamış	Merkez	40.27 42.35	Kır
Manisa Sarıçalı	Akhisar	Merkez	38.49 27.53	Gök
Manisa Çepniharmandalı (Yobazharmandalı) Çepnimuradiye Tirkeş	Sarıhanlı	Merkez	38.50 27.40 38.50 27.41 38.49 27.40	Gök (Sü) Gök (Sü)/Koş Gök (Sü)/Koş
Manisa Çepnibektaş Çepnidere Gökgedik *Hamzababa (Yatır) *Zeamet some more villages (unidentified)	Turgutlu	Merkez	38.26 27.42 38.28 27.40 38.25 27.44 38.25 27.43 38.25 27.42	Gök (Sü)/Koş Gök/Koş Gök (Sü) Gök (Sü) Gök (Sü) Koş
Muğla Gökova	Ula	Merkez	37.01 28.20	Be

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Trabzon</b> Eskiköy?	<i>Akçaabat</i>	Merkez	41.04 39.26	B
<b>Trabzon</b> Yavuz? Yeniköy?	<i>Vakfikebir</i>	Çarşıbaşı	41.00 39.25 40.59 39.26	B B

Note: See also: Türkmen Sunni: Çepni (5 d)

### 6 e Türkmen: Alevi: Nalcı

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Ordu</b> Ünye town Cevizdere (Denizbüküncalı?) Çatak Erenyurt (Fartıl) Göbü (Gübüköy) Gübüncalı Gölcüğez (Gölceğiz) Gölevi Gürecili Hızarbaşığınlük (Günlük?) Hızarbaşıkumarlı (Kumarlı?) Sarıhalil Üçpınar *Akçay *Dallık (Ballık)	<i>Ünye</i>	Merkez (few) (TkSu?) (+ others)	41.08 37.18 41.06 37.20 41.04 37.06 40.59 37.20 41.08 37.13 41.08 37.12 41.03 37.23 41.08 37.16 41.04 37.11 41.04 37.16 41.00 37.21 41.01 37.18 41.08 37.10 41.00 37.15	B/Y Y(B) B Y B B/Y B B Y Y Y Y

### 6 f Türkmen: Alevi: Sıraç

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Tokat</b> Bebekderesi İncetenli (Mertekli) Poyrazlar (Poyrazalan)	<i>Artova</i>	Merkez	40.08 36.14 40.08 36.07 40.04 36.15	B B B
<b>Tokat</b> Karagözüöllüalan Seküce (Sekücek)	<i>Artova</i>	Sulusaray	39.57 36.15 39.58 36.13	B B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Turhal</i>	Merkez		
Çaylı			40.22 36.10	B
Ulutepe (Kelit)			40.25 35.54	Y/Ts
Yeniceler (A. Geyran)			40.27 36.03	Y
Yenisu (Serpın)			40.29 36.22	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Turhal</i>	Pazar		
Dereçaylı			40.13 36.18	B
Tepeçaylı			40.14 36.17	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Zile</i>	Merkez		
Çayır			40.21 35.47	B
Kervansaray			40.25 35.49	B/Y
Yaylayolu (Bacul)			40.24 35.51	B/Y
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Zile</i>	Boztepe		
Çamdere (Mancı)			40.09 36.05	B
Gölcük			40.09 35.59	B
Güzelbeyli (Silis)		(+ others)	40.09 36.00	Y(B)
Kuruçay			40.07 36.02	B
Uçkaya			40.07 35.51	B
Yaylakent (Gedirik)			40.08 36.05	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Zile</i>	İğdır		
Acıpınar			40.07 35.35	Y
Acısu			40.10 35.37	B
Alihoca			40.08 35.31	B
İmirdolu (Emirdolu)			40.17 35.41	B
Karacaören (Karacaveran)		(TkAl?)	40.19 35.39	B(İpk)
Karşıpınar			40.17 35.39	B/Y
Kuzalan			40.22 35.40	B
Uzunköy (Büyük- & Küçük Bultu)			40.18 35.42	Y
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Çekerek</i>	Merkez		
Çürük			40.05 35.35	B
Demircialan		(TkAl?)	39.58 35.27	B(Ak)
İkizce (Ekizce)		(TkAl?)	39.35 35.34	B(Ak)
Ortaoba		(TkAl?)	39.35 35.31	B(Ak)
Sarıköy			40.05 35.38	B
Yukarıoba (Ölüsünözü)		(TkAl?)	39.53 35.28	B(Ak)
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Çekerek</i>	Aydıncık		
Kızılcakişla			40.09 35.22	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Çekerek</i>	Kadıışehri		
Yavıhasan (Yavasa)			40.03 35.45	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Sorgun</i>	Eymir		
Veliöldüğü			39.57 35.18	B

**6g Türkmen: Alevi: Tahtacı**

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Adana</b> Adana city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		Ez
<b>Adana</b> Kaşlıca (Nacarli)	<i>Merkez</i>	Yakapınar	36.52 35.36	E
<b>Adana</b> Doruk? Durhasandede Kurtkulağı? *Cebre *Tahtalıkuyu (Tahtalı) *Yeniköy-Nazimbey	<i>Ceyhan</i>	Merkez	36.53 35.46 36.53 35.44 36.56 35.53 36.55 35.51	E E/Koş E E E
<b>Adana</b> Nergizlik	<i>Karaisalı</i>	Merkez	37.19 35.02	Özb/Kehl
<b>Adana</b> *Akkaşa Çiftliği	<i>Kozan</i>	İmamoğlu		Ez
<b>Adana</b> Pozantı town	<i>Pozantı</i>	Merkez	37.25 34.52	E/Özb
<b>Adana</b> Yumurtalık (Ayaz Köyü?)	<i>Yumurtalık</i>	Merkez	36.46 35.47	E
<b>Adana</b> *Hacıkirı *Karapınar	?	?		Özb Özb
<b>Afyon Karahisar</b> Akkoyunlu	<i>Dazkırı</i>	Başmakçı	37.55 30.04	deP
<b>Ankara</b> Sorgun?	<i>Güdül</i>	Merkez	40.20 32.16	B
<b>Antalya</b> Antalya city, Kızıl Arık Mahallesi	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		deP/Ro/Ez
<b>Antalya</b> Çakırlar Hurma	<i>Merkez</i>	Çakırlar	36.52 30.34	deP/At At
<b>Antalya</b> Çaycuma (Ağva)	<i>Merkez</i>	Kemer	36.33 30.35	At



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Antalya</b>	<i>Elmalı</i>	Merkez		
*Çamçukuru*			36.36 30.05	Jn
<b>Antalya</b>	<i>Elmalı</i>	Akçay		
Akçainiş (Akçæeniş/Akçe)			36.37 29.50	Jn/Ro/Özb
*Çillikara*			36.30 29.50	Jn
<b>Antalya</b>	<i>Finike</i>	Merkez		
Alacadağ			36.23 30.04	At
Gökbük			36.26 30.07	Jn/At/Ez(Ân)
İncirağacı (Yeniköy)			36.20 30.12	Jn
*Çatallar			36.29 30.03	Jn/Ro
*Menevçelik?			36.20 30.08	Ro
<b>Antalya</b>	<i>Kumluca</i>	Merkez		
Beşikci (Baymak)			36.21 30.21	Jn/At/Ez(Ân)
Hızırkahya (Çalka)			36.20 30.16	Jn/Ro/Ez(Ân)
Karacaören (Kozagaçacı)			36.32 30.14	At
Toptaş				Jn/Ro
<b>Antalya</b>	<i>Kumluca</i>	Altınkaya		
Altınkaya (Gödenen)*			36.33 30.21	Jn
<b>Antalya</b>	<i>Manavgat</i>	Merkez		
Dolbazlar			36.51 31.25	deP
Ilıca			36.49 31.22	Ro
Sarılar (Yediyar?)			36.45 31.23	Ro
*Tahtacıköy				Ro
<b>Antalya</b>	<i>Manavgat</i>	Taşagıl		
Sağiran (Kepezsağırın)			36.55 31.37	Ro
<b>Antalya</b>	<i>Serik</i>	Merkez		
Çandır			36.57 31.02	deP
Kürüş			36.54 31.08	deP
Üründü			36.57 31.07	deP
<b>Antalya</b>	<i>Serik</i>	Gebiz		
Gebiz (Macar)			37.07 30.57	At
<b>Aydın</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Yılmazköy				Ez
<b>Aydın</b>	<i>Bozdoğan</i>	Merkez		
Bozdoğan town			37.40 28.18	Kehl
Alamut			37.49 28.18	Baş/Ez

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Aydın</b>	<i>Çine</i>	Merkez		
Camızağılı (Camuşağılı?)		(+ Tk)	37.33 28.00	B
Eskiçine		(+ Tk)	37.32 28.04	B
Karakollar		(+ Tk)	37.37 28.02	B
Topçam (Madran)		(YöSu?)	37.36 28.10	Ez(B)
**Koşarlı				Ez
*Rumalanı				Ez
<b>Aydın</b>	<i>Çine</i>	Karpuzlu		
Çobanisa		(few + Tk)	37.33 27.52	B
<b>Aydın</b>	<i>Germencik</i>	Ortaklar		
Ortaklar town (Pınarbaşı/Reşadiye)			37.54 27.30	Yıl
Kızılcapınar			37.54 27.32	Gö/Ez
<b>Aydın</b>	<i>Koçarlı</i>	Merkez		
Koçarlı town			37.46 27.42	Kehl
<b>Aydın</b>	<i>Söke</i>	Bağarası		
Güzeltepe (Asıltepe/Asıtepe)?			37.36 27.35	Ez
<b>Balıkesir</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Konakpınar		
Türkali (Türkeli)			39.29 27.51	Ez
<b>Balıkesir</b>	<i>Edremit</i>	Merkez		
Çamcı			39.37 27.03	Ez
<b>Burdur</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Burdur city, Yukarı Mah. Askeriye		(+ Tk)	37.45 30.21	Ez B
<b>Burdur</b>	<i>Bucak</i>	Merkez		
Karacaören			37.24 30.50	deP
<b>Burdur</b>	<i>Tefenni</i>	Merkez		
Hasanpaşa?			37.14 29.53	B
<b>Burdur</b>	<i>Yeşilova</i>	Merkez		
Niyazlar (Yaprakyazı)		(+ TkAl)	37.28 29.44	B
<b>Denizli</b>	?	?		
*Akkonak Köyü				Ez
<b>Denizli</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
some villages? (unidentified)				B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Denizli</b>	<i>Acipayam</i>	Merkez		
Acipayam town (one mahalle)			37.20 29.21	Ez
<b>Denizli</b>	<i>Çameli</i>	Merkez		
Akpınar (Akçapınar/Tahtacı)?			37.05 29.07	Özb
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>İslahiye</i>	Merkez		
Çerçili (Kevceliler)?			37.04 36.36	Koş
*Kalaklar (Kabaklar)?			37.03 36.34	Koş
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Yavuzeli</i>	Merkez		
Göçmez (Milelis)			37.21 37.48	Yıl
<b>Isparta</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Isparta city, Davrak & Turan Mahallesi				B/deP/Sev/Ez
Gönen	(few)	(mixed)	37.57 30.31	B
Güneyce	(few)	(mixed)		B
Küleönü	(few)	(mixed)	37.52 30.37	B
<b>Isparta</b>	<i>Atabey</i>	Aksu		
Bağlılı	(very few)	(+Tk)	37.46 31.02	B
<b>Isparta</b>	<i>Eğridir</i>	Merkez		
Eğridir town			37.52 30.50	deP
Bademli (Tahtacıköy)			37.50 30.46	deP
<b>Isparta</b>	<i>Yalvaç</i>	Merkez		
Hisarardı		(+ others)	38.18 31.13	B
<b>İçel</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Mersin city				Ez
Dalekderesi			36.55 34.35	Çap
Düğüdüören (Düdüveren)			36.51 34.33	Çap
<b>İçel</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Gözne		
Kızılkaya				Özb
<b>İçel</b>	<i>Anamur</i>	Merkez		
Bozyazı				Özb
Evciler			36.10 32.55	Ro
*Tahtacı			36.07 32.52	Ro
<b>İçel</b>	<i>Mut</i>	Merkez		
Kıravga (Kıravağa)			36.46 33.11	Ro
Köprübaşı			36.47 33.11	Üçy
Kumaçukuru			36.36 33.32	Üçy
*Sinamiş				Üçy

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
İçel	<i>Mut</i>	Sarıkavak	36.37 33.39	Üçy
Kayabaşı (Gür)?				
İçel	<i>Silifke</i>	?		Ez/Üçy
*Kırtıl (in Bahçe Ovası?)				
İçel	<i>Tarsus</i>	Gülek	37.12 34.49	Özb
Çamalan			37.09 34.47	Özb
Karburgediği				
İzmir	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		A
Gültepe		(+ others)		Yıl/Yet
Narlidere		(+ Tkm)	38.24 27.01	Yet
Uzundere		(+ Tkm)	38.22 27.06	
İzmir	<i>Merkez</i>	Buca		A
some villages (unidentified)				
İzmir	<i>Merkez</i>	Cumaovası		Yet
Cumaovası, Karakuyu Mahallesi			38.15 27.08	A
Bulgurca			38.09 27.09	Yet
Çamköy			38.09 27.05	
İzmir	<i>Merkez</i>	Güzelbahçe		Yet/A
Güzelbahçe (Kızılbahçe/Kilizman) Yaka Mah.			38.21 26.53	
İzmir	<i>Bayındır</i>	Merkez		Kehl
Bayındır town			38.13 27.39	Yet
Kızılcağağaç			38.12 27.32	
İzmir	<i>Bayındır</i>	Çırpı		A/Yet
Yakapınar (Uladı/Tolaz)			38.13 27.33	
İzmir	<i>Bergama</i>	Merkez		Ez
Kapıkaya			39.10 27.09	Yet
Tepeköy (Karadere/Tepe)			39.05 27.07	Ez
Yerlitahtacı (Yerli)			39.09 27.08	
İzmir	<i>Bergama</i>	Kozak		Yıl
Demircidere(si)			39.15 26.55	Yıl
*Bağyüzü			39.17 26.58	
İzmir	<i>Bergama</i>	Yuntdağ		A
some villages (unidentified)				
İzmir	<i>Bornova</i>	Merkez		Yet
Naldöken			38.28 27.17	

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
İzmir	<i>Karşıyaka</i>	Merkez		
Doğançay (Alurca)			38.29 27.09	Yet
İzmir	<i>Kemalpaşa</i>	Merkez		
Kemalpaşa town, Savanda Mahallesi & Çınar			38.26 27.25	Yet/Kehl
Asağıkızılca		(+ others)	38.24 27.31	Ts
Kızılızüm?			38.27 27.23	Yıl
Yukarıkızılca		(+ others)	38.23 27.30	Ts
İzmir	<i>Urla</i>	Merkez		
Bademler			38.16 26.50	Yet/Ez
Konya	<i>Ermenek</i>	Merkez		
Ermenek town (or sub-province?)			36.39 32.53	Üçy
Konya	<i>Karaman</i>	Bucakkışla		
Ada			36.54 32.54	B
Manisa	<i>Akhisar</i>	Merkez		
Hanpaşa?			39.03 28.07	Koş
Kobaşdere (Gubaşdere)			39.08 28.09	Ez
Kocakağan?			39.04 28.04	Koş
*Başdere?				Koş
*Gebeçinar			39.03 28.08	Ez
*Kocaova				Yıl
Manisa	<i>Kırkağaç</i>	Gelembe		
Çökçukur (Kökçukur)?			39.17 27.51	Koş
Fırdanlar?			39.17 27.53	Koş
Gebeler (Gebeçinar)?			39.10 27.49	Koş
Kocaiskan?			39.20 27.54	Koş
Manisa	<i>Kula</i>	Merkez		
Konurca (Gonurca)?			38.31 28.36	Ez
Manisa	<i>Salihli</i>	?		
*Albayrak				Ez
*Kasaba				Ez
*Şehirli				Ez
Manisa	<i>Soma</i>	Merkez		
Boncuklu?		(+ Yö)	39.20 27.31	Koş
Devlethan?		(+ Yö)	39.20 27.30	Koş
Menteşe?		(+ Yö)	39.20 27.28	Koş
Türkali?		(+ Yö)	39.26 27.32	Koş
Vakıflı		(+ Yö)	39.19 27.31	Koş

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Muğla</b> Muğla city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		Ez
<b>Muğla</b> Çukurincir	<i>Fethiye</i>	Eşen	36.24 29.18	Özb
<b>Muğla</b> Ortaca (Terzialalar) Fevziye (Tahtacı Dalaman) *Çakallık	<i>Köyceğiz</i>	Ortaca	36.50 28.46 36.46 28.46	Be/Ez Özb Ez
<b>Muğla</b> *Çörüş *Tahtacı	<i>Ula</i>	Merkez	37.00 28.28 36.59 28.29	Be Be

*Note:* Places marked with an asterisk *after* the name are known summer-quarters of the Tahtacı. The others are relatively permanent winter quarters or permanent settlements. The distinction between Alevi Türkmen and Tahtacı is not always clear. See also Türkmen: Alevi (6a).

### 7 a Azerbaijani Turks: Shii (Azeri)

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Ağrı</b> Yassiyaka (Hocik) Yukarı Taşlıçay *Aşağı Taşlıçay	<i>Taşlıçay</i>	Merkez	39.39 43.24 39.39 43.25	A A A
<b>Amasya</b> Ayrancı (Üyük)	<i>Suluova</i>	Merkez	40.47 35.39	Arp
<b>Erzurum</b> Şenkaya town	<i>Şenkaya</i>	Merkez	40.33 42.21	
<b>Kars</b> Eşmeyazı (Gürhane/Korhane?) (+ others) Karakaş Mağaracık Soylu (Daynalık/Danyalık/Dünyalık?) Tekneli Yolaçan (Komasor)	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez (+ Kp + Tk)	40.34 43.27 40.36 43.27 40.31 43.09 40.34 43.29 40.32 43.12 40.33 43.03	B B B B B B



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Kuzugüden		(+ Ku)	39.59 43.58	Mo/B
Küllük			39.59 43.55	Mo/B
Melekli			39.57 44.06	Mo/B
Necefali			40.01 44.05	Mo/B
Oba			39.57 44.00	Mo
Özdemir (Panık)		(+ Ku)	39.59 44.03	B
Sarıçoban			40.01 44.02	Mo
Sıçanlı		(+ Ku)	39.49 43.47	Mo/B
Tacirli		(+ Ku)	39.59 44.07	Mo/B
Taşlıca			39.50 43.48	Mo
Yaycı			39.57 43.58	Mo/B
Yukarıçarıklı		(+ Ku)	40.07 43.35	Mo/B
*Erhacı		(+ Ku)	39.52 44.04	B
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Iğdır</i>	<b>Taşburun</b>		
Taşburun town (Cennetabat)			39.59 44.15	Mo/B
Bayatdoğanşalı			40.00 44.11	Mo/B
Cennetabat			40.00 44.17	Mo/B
Gökçeli			40.00 44.11	Mo
Karakoyunlu			39.58 44.10	Mo/B
Kaçardoğanşalı			40.01 44.13	Mo/B
Koçkiran (Dize)			40.02 44.18	Mo/B
Şıracı (Şireci)			40.01 44.10	Mo/B
Yukarıalican?		(Ku?)	40.02 44.09	Mo/B
Zülfikar			39.59 44.09	Mo/B
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Tuzluca</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Akdiz			39.57 43.33	B
Akoluk (Tekaltı)			40.02 43.33	B
Alhanlı			40.03 43.33	B
Aliköse			39.53 43.37	B
Aşağıkatırlı			39.52 43.42	B
Bağlan (Gülabi/Gulahmet)			39.55 43.39	B
Buruksu (Sükü)			39.58 43.39	B
Çiçekli			39.57 43.35	B
Eğrekdere (Kâğın)			40.01 43.38	B
Elmalı (Elmalık)			39.59 43.34	B
Gedikli (Tavusgün)			39.52 43.31	B
Güllüce		(+ Ku)	39.54 43.39	B
Hadımlı			39.58 43.37	B
Hasankent			39.57 43.32	B
İnci (İnce)			39.54 43.38	B
Kamışlı			40.01 43.43	B
Karacaören			39.53 43.31	B
Karakoyun (Karakoyunlu)			39.52 43.38	B



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Kayakışlak			39.56 43.39	B
Kayaören (Kayaharabe/Harabekaya)			39.53 43.32	B
Kelekli			39.57 43.33	B
Köprübaşı (Cincavat)			40.03 43.44	B
Kumbulak			39.58 43.32	B
Kuru ağaç			39.55 43.35	B
Küçükova (Pırsak)			39.57 43.36	B
Ortabucak (Harabepercinis)			39.55 43.37	B
Sarıbdal			39.58 43.35	B
Turabi			40.05 43.46	B
Üçkaya (Ekerek)			39.58 43.39	B
Ünlendi (Demishan)			39.54 43.34	B
Yağlı (Gülahmet)?		(+ Ku?)	39.51 43.44	B
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Tuzluca</i>	<b>Gaziler</b>		
Gaziler (Pervanut)			40.05 43.27	B
Ağabey			40.07 43.31	B
Akdeğirmen (Harabekirempe)			39.59 43.30	B
Aşağıaktaş			40.05 43.31	B
Beyoğlu (Mirzehan)			40.02 43.28	B
Canderviş			39.56 43.31	B
Çıraklı			40.04 43.29	B
Kalaça			39.58 43.30	B
Karataş			40.00 43.30	B
Kılıçlı			40.04 43.32	B
Kırkbulak			39.58 43.30	B
Yukarıaktaş			40.02 43.27	B
*Aşağışami			40.03 43.27	B
*Başköy			40.08 43.31	B
*Yukarışami			40.02 43.29	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Zile</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Özyurt (Bildiş)			40.15 35.58	A
<b>Van</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Beyüzümü (Şahbağı)			38.31 43.22	B
<b>Van</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	<b>Erçek</b>		
Arıtoprak (Zeranis)*			38.33 43.45	B
Karagündüz*		(+ Kır?)	38.40 43.37	B
Karakoç (Limköy)		(+ Ku)	38.35 43.45	B
Ortanca (Siyavan/Seyvan)*		(+ Ku)	38.32 43.41	B
<b>Van</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	<b>Gümüşdere</b>		
Köprüler (Gemköy)*			38.19 43.18	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Van	<i>Merkez</i>	Timar		
Alaköy*			38.37 43.12	B
Kasımoğlu*			38.39 43.23	B
Mollakasım		(+ Ku)	38.36 43.08	B
Yumrutepe (Dirleşen)*			38.39 43.17	B
Van (unidentified)	<i>Başkale</i>	?		H'59
Van	<i>Erciş</i>	Merkez		
Erciş town, Şahbağ Mahallesi some more villages? (unidentified)			38.59 43.19	B B
Van (unidentified)	<i>Muradiye</i>	?		H'59

*Note:* The populations of villages in Van province marked with an asterisk after the place name have apparently immigrated from Iranian Azerbaijan and are recognised as such by the surrounding population.

### 7b Azerbaijani Turks: Karabağ: Sunni

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Afyon Karahisar	<i>Bolvadin</i>	Merkez		
Büyükkarabağ			38.36 31.14	C/Tu/A
Derekarabağ			38.43 31.12	C/Tu/A
Dipevler			38.44 31.07	A
Ortakarabağ			38.41 31.14	A
Afyon Karahisar	<i>Çay</i>	Merkez		
Karamık			38.28 30.53	A
Afyon Karahisar	<i>Emirdağ</i>	Davulga		
Davulga			38.59 31.22	A
Aşağalıçomak			38.57 31.42	A
Avdan			38.56 31.27	A
Bağdemli			38.56 31.25	A
Dağdalı (Daydalı?)			39.02 31.20?	A
Eşrefli			39.01 31.30	A
Gelincik (Vahdetiye/Mehmetalikuyusu)			38.56 31.30	A
İncik			38.59 31.19	A

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Karakuyu			38.59 31.21	A
Yeniköy			39.04 31.30	A
Yukarıaliçomak			38.57 31.42	A
<b>Afyon Karahisar</b>	<i>Sultandağı</i>	Merkez		
Yenikarabağ			38.38 31.19	A
<b>Afyon Karahisar</b>	<i>Şuhut</i>	Merkez		
Bağdemli			38.56 31.24	A
<b>Ağrı</b>	?	?		
some villages (unidentified)				Yal/C
<b>Kars</b>	<i>İğdir</i>	?		
some villages (unidentified)				Yal/A

### 8 a Azerbaijani Turks: Karapapağ (Terekeme)

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Ceyhan</i>	Merkez		
Erenler (Abidiye)			37.06 35.49	Ayd
<b>Erzurum</b>	<i>Pasinler</i>	Çobandede (+ Ku + Tk)		
Yağan			39.57 41.55	P
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Azat			40.32 43.06	B
Borluk			40.30 43.15	B
Çakmak			40.38 43.03	B
Dikmeköyü			40.30 42.58	B
Hacıhalil			40.27 43.08	B
Haciveli			40.35 43.24	B
Kümbetli (Ladikars/Vilâdikars)			40.33 42.58	B
Mağaracık		(+ Az + Tk)	40.31 43.09	B
Merkezkarakale (Karakale)			40.28 43.09	B
Mezrea			40.40 43.13	B
Tekneli		(Az?)	40.32 43.12	B
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Arpaçay</i>	Merkez		
Arpaçay town (Zarusat)			40.51 43.20	B/P/Ars
Atçılar?		(+ Tk)	40.46 43.21	B
Bardaklı			40.50 43.29	B/Ars

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Burcalı			40.55 43.15	B
Dağköyü			40.55 43.10	B
Gönülalan (İğnezor)			40.55 43.17	B
Hasançavuş			40.53 43.29	B
Karakale			40.53 43.28	B
Kardeştepe (Kemah)			40.55 43.12	B
Kıraç			40.56 43.30	B
Koçköyü			40.52 43.31	B/A
Kümbet			40.52 43.17	B
Polatköy			40.53 43.22	B/A
Taşbaşı			40.57 43.17	B
Taşdere (Sosgert)		(Az?)	40.52 43.35	Ars/P/A(B)
Tomarlı (Vanaza)			40.51 43.24	P
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Arpaçay</i>	Akyaka (Kızılçak- çak)		
Karahan			40.47 43.34	A
Sulakbahçe (Dilan)				A
Üçpınar (Möküz)			40.47 43.37	A
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Arpaçay</i>	Başgedikler		
Başgedik (Başgedikler)		(mixed)	40.38 43.26	
Ayakgedikler		(+ Az + Ku)	40.37 43.32	B
Bayraktar		(+ Az + Ku)	40.37 43.34	B
Hamzagerek			40.39 43.35	B
Kuyucuk			40.44 43.25	B
Küçükpirveli (Yenipirveli?)			40.41 43.39	B
Külveren (Gölveren?)		(+ Az)	40.38 43.29	B/Olet al.
Oğuzlu			40.39 43.32	B
46 villages in Arpaçay province claimed				A
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Çıldır</i>	Merkez		
All villages claimed				A
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Çıldır</i>	Doğruyol		
All villages claimed				A
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Kağızman</i>	Kötek		
Kötek			40.13 43.01	P
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Selim</i>	Merkez		
Benliahmet		(+ Ku)	40.29 42.54	P
Oluklu			40.19 42.53	P
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Susuz</i>	Merkez		
Susuz town				Ac

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Kayseri Kavak	<i>Pınarbaşı</i>	Kaynar	39.01 36.22	B
Kayseri Karakoyunlu	<i>Sarız</i>	Merkez	38.18 36.21	B
Muş Bulanık town	<i>Bulanık</i>	Merkez	39.06 42.16	C
Yoncalı			39.07 42.11	C
Sivas Sivas city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		A
Sivas Acıyurt Tutmaç	<i>Merkez</i>	Ulaş	39.17 37.02 39.31 37.10	Ka Ayd
Sivas Kurtuluş	<i>Kangal</i>	Kuşkayası	39.14 36.59	Ayd
Sivas Büyükköy	<i>Zara</i>	Beypınar	39.29 37.39	Ayd
Tokat Fatih	<i>Zile</i>	Merkez	40.14 35.54	B
Güngörmez		(mixed)	40.13 35.52	B
Süleymaniye		(mixed)	40.14 35.55	B

### 8 b Azerbaijanis: Karaçadırlı (Çadır Kürt, Laz)\*

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Artvin Artvin city, especially in Köprübaşı Mahallesi	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		B
Artvin Ardanuç town, Adakale Mahallesi	<i>Ardanuç</i>	Merkez	41.08 42.03	B
Harmanlı (Haravul) (few families)			41.10 41.57	B
Bursa Bursa city (very few)	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		B

\* For designation see article by BENNINGHAUS.

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Samsun</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
maybe some in		Tekkeköy (?)	41.13 36.29	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Tokat city				B
Dereyaka (Miskincik)			40.17 36.29	B
Taşlıçiftlik			40.20 36.29	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Niksar</i>	?		
some places in		Niksar (unidentified)		B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Turhal</i>	Merkez		
Gökdere		(+ KuSn)	40.25 36.04	B
Hacılar			40.25 36.05	B
Şenyurt, Asarcık Mahallesi		(mixed)	40.21 36.13	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Turhal</i>	Pazar		
Çayköy		(+ Circ)	40.15 36.08	B
Kaledere (Manastır)		(+ Circ)	40.14 36.10	B

### 9-13 Turkistanis: Uygur, Kırgız, Kazak, Özbek, Özbek-Tatar

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Adana city		Kır+Öz*+Kk		Sv/B
Karşıyaka Mahallesi		Kk		Kl
<b>Ankara</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Ankara city		Kır+ few Öz		Sv
Aktepe Mahallesi		Kk		Kl
<b>Ankara</b>	<i>Şereflikoçhisar</i>	Merkez		
Akın		Kır (+ Noğ)	39.08 33.15	Sv
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Çifteler</i>	Merkez		
Yazılıkaya (Midas)		Kk (or Az?)	39.12 30.43	Ac
<b>İçel</b>	<i>Tarsus</i>	Merkez		
Özbek (Kurtmusa)		Öz	36.58 34.57	Jar
two more villages (unidentified)				Jar

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>İstanbul</b>				
İstanbul city		Öz		Sv
Bahçelievler		Uy + Öz		B
Güneş Sitesi (Güneşliköy?, Kazakkent)		Kk		KI/A/B
Kocamustafapaşa		Uy		B
Merter		few Öz + Uy		B
<b>İstanbul</b>	<i>Bakırköy</i>	Merkez		
Bakırköy		Uy + Öz	40.59 28.53	B
Küçükçekmece		Kk	41.00 28.47	KI
Safra (Sefaköy)		Uy + Kk	41.01 28.47	Sv/B
<b>İstanbul</b>	<i>Kadıköy</i>	Merkez		
Kadıköy				
Örnektepe (Örnek Mahalle)		Uy + Kk		Sv/B
<b>İstanbul</b>	<i>Zeytinburnu</i>	Merkez		
Zeytinburnu		Kk + Uy	40.58 28.52	KI/A/B
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
İzmir city		Öz		Sv
Balcova Mahallesi		Kk		KI
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Urla</i>	Merkez		
Özbek		Öz	38.21 26.42	A
<b>Kayseri</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Kayseri city				
Yeni Mahalle		Uy (+ Mu)		Sv/B
Yenişehir Mahallesi		Kk		B
<b>Kayseri</b>	<i>Develi</i>	Merkez		
Develi town		few Kk, (now left?)	38.23 35.30	KI/B
*Sindelhöyük		Kk		KI
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	?		
*İsmil, Altay Mahallesi		Kk		KI
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Cihanbeyli</i>	Merkez		
Cihanbeyli town		(few Kır)	38.39 32.56	Sv
Böğüdelik (Reşadiye)		Öz-Tat (+Ku+Mu)	38.48 32.35	KI
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Ereğli</i>	Çakmak		
Zengen (Numunegöçmen?)		Kk	37.50 34.15	En/Du/Sv

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Konya Kırkkuyu	<i>Kulu</i>	Merkez (? + Noğ)	39.02 33.14	KI
Manisa Salihli	<i>Salihli</i>	Merkez		
	Altay & Kurtuluş Mahallesi	Kk	38.29 28.08	KI/A/B
Niğde Sultanhanı town	<i>Aksaray</i>	Sultanhanı Kk	38.15 33.33	KI
Niğde Altay	<i>Ulukışla</i>	Merkez Kk	37.40 34.27	KI/A
Tokat Tokat city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
	Fidanlık Mahallesi	Öz*? (+ Tkm* and others?)		B/A
Tokat Artova town	<i>Artova</i>	Merkez Tst*?	40.07 36.18	B
Van Karagündüz (reported to be moving to Erciş-Altındere in 1987)	<i>Merkez</i>	Erçek Kır* + others	38.39 43.39	Mil/Hür

Note: Groups marked with an asterisk are recent emigrants from Afghanistan, called *mülteci* (= refugees) in Turkish. Besides the places listed above, it was announced on their arrival in 1982 that Kazak, Kırgız, Özbek, and Türkmen refugees from Afghanistan were to be settled in Gaziantep, Hatay, Kayseri, Malatya, Sivas, and Urfa provinces.

#### 14–15 Tatars (Crimean, Noğay, Kazan) and Bashkir

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Adana Ceyhan town (3 quarters, most gone)	<i>Ceyhan</i>	Merkez Noğ? + Cr	37.02 35.49	E/KI/S
Ağaçpınar (Kürtköy/İlıcıpınar)		Noğ?	36.58 35.44	S/E
Altıkara		Noğ?	37.00 35.41	S
Büyükburhaniye (Yeşilhüyük)		Cr	37.03 35.43	S
Büyükmangıt		Noğ? (+ Ab)	37.02 35.46	S
Çakaldere		Cr	37.00 35.41	S
Çiftlikler (Çiftlikat)		Noğ?	36.59 35.53	S



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Çokcaşınar (Çokca)		Noğ (+ Circ?)	36.59 35.41	E
Hamitbey		Noğ?	37.07 35.48	S
İncetarla (Mercin/Hasanağa)		Noğ?	37.05 35.52	S
Kılıçkaya		Noğ?	36.53 35.42	S
Küçükmanğıt		Noğ (+ Circ)	37.04 35.46	S
Mercimek		Noğ?	37.06 35.48	S
Sirkeli		Noğ? (+ Mu)	37.00 35.43	E
Toktamış		Noğ?	37.00 35.45	S
Yellibel		Cr	36.52 35.44	S
Yılankale (Kümü)		Noğ?		S
*Adatepe		Noğ?		E
*Kıpçak		Noğ?		E
*Telemeti (Kelemeti)		Noğ?		S
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Yumurtalık</i>	Merkez		
Yahşiler (Yeşilli)		Noğ?		S
<b>Ankara</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Ankara city		Kaz (+ few Ba)		Kl
<b>Ankara</b>	<i>Çankaya</i>	Gölbaşı		
Ballıkşınar		Cr	39.44 32.43	Ab/Din
Gökçehüyük (Çerkezühüyük)		Cr	39.40 32.44	Din (1969)
<b>Ankara</b>	<i>Haymana</i>	Merkez		
Ahırlıkuyu		Cr	39.28 32.24	
<b>Ankara</b>	<i>Şereflikoçhisar</i>	Merkez		
Akın		Noğ (+ Tst)	39.08 33.15	Kl
Doğankaya (Abdülgediği)		Noğ	39.12 33.12	Kl
Şeker		Cr + Noğ	39.10 33.11	Kl
<b>Balıkesir</b>	<i>Manyas</i>	Merkez		
Manyas town		Cr? (+ others)	41.03 27.58	B
<b>Balıkesir</b>	<i>Susurluk</i>	Merkez		
Sultançayırı		Noğ + Cr (+ others)	39.52 28.09	Mag
<b>Çorum</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Cemilbey		
Yeşilyayla (Kuduzlar)		Noğ (+ Circ?)	40.19 35.06	Ay
<b>Çorum</b>	<i>Alaca</i>	Merkez		
Kalecikaya		Cr	40.07 34.42	Kl (1975)

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Eskişehir city		Cr (+ Kaz)		Kl/Tun
Çavlum		Cr	39.48 30.43	Tun
Doğankaya (Melemen)		Cr	39.39 30.36	Tun
Eğriöz		Cr	39.54 30.25	Tun
İmişehir		Cr (+ Circ)	39.41 30.46	Tun
Kalkanlı			39.38 30.45	B
Karaçay		Cr (+ Kar?)	39.46 30.51	B
Karahöyük		Cr	39.44 30.51	Tun
Kireçköyü (Çerkez-kireç)		Cr + Noğ	39.46 30.46	Tun/B
Lütfiye (Aşağıkalabak)		Cr(left?)	39.34 30.25?	Tun/B
Muttalip		mixed	39.50 30.33	B
Yassıhüyük		Cr	39.46 30.39	Tun/B
Zincirlikuyu (Hamidiye)		(+ Che + Mu)	39.48 30.28	B
*Aksaray		Cr	39.37 30.45	Tun
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Alpu		
Alpu			39.47 30.58	B
Aktepe (Rıfkiye)		Cr	39.42 30.59	Tun
Çardakbaşı		Cr + Noğ?	39.44 31.06	Tun/B
Esence (Yellice/Şefkatiye)		Cr	39.43 31.02	Tun
Fevziye		Cr	39.44 30.55	Tun/B
Güneli (Mamure)		Cr	39.43 30.56	Tun/B
Güroluk (Refahiye/Kızılsivat)		Cr	39.41 31.06	Tun
İşıkören (Aziziye/Arapkuyusu)		Cr	39.40 30.57	Tun
Karakamış		Cr	39.50 30.53	Tun
Osmaniye		Cr	39.50 30.55	Tun
Yeşildon		Cr	39.46 31.03	Tun
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Çifteler</i>	Merkez		
Çifteler town		Cr (+ Kar)	39.23 31.02	Tun/B
Osmaniye (Kuruhüyük)		Kaz	39.20 30.55	Kl
Saithalimpaşa (Mecidiye-köprüsü)		Cr	39.25 31.08	Tun
Zaferhamit		Cr	39.27 31.09	Tun
*Yaverören (Yağverviran)		Cr	39.27 31.13	Tun
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Mahmudiye</i>	Merkez		
Mahmudiye town		Cr	39.30 30.59	Tun
Fahriye		Cr	39.37 30.56	Tun
Güllüce (Hayriye)		Cr	39.36 30.47	Tun
Hamidiye		Cr	39.34 30.55	Tun
Şerefiye		Cr	39.35 31.02	Tun
Taşlıhüyük (Mesudiye)		Cr	39.32 30.56	Tun
Yeniköy		Cr (+ Circ)	39.29 31.04	Tun
Yeşilyurt		Cr	39.34 30.52	Tun

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Mihalıçık</i>	Beylikahır		
İkipınar		Cr	39.37 31.11	Tun
Parsibey		Cr	39.41 31.10	Tun
Uzunburun		Cr	39.41 31.07	Tun
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Seyitgazi</i>	Merkez		
Yenikent (Yeniköy/Hamidiye)		Cr (+ Circ)	39.34 30.44	Tun
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Sivrihisar</i>	Merkez		
Demirci			39.35 31.47	Ac
Ortaklar (Aziziye)		Cr	39.37 31.46	Ac
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Sivrihisar</i>	Kaymaz		
Karakaya		Cr	39.31 31.14	Tun
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>İslahiye</i>	Sakçagöze		
Noğaylar		Noğ (+ Yö)	37.14 36.52	Ba
<b>İstanbul</b>	?	?		
İstanbul city		Kaz		Kl
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Aşağıpınarbaşı		
Dokuz (Şadiye/Dokuzunderbent)		Cr	38.04 32.31	Kl
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Obruk		
Yağlıbayat (Mamuriye?)		Cr	37.58 33.07	Kl
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Akşehir</i>	Tuzlukçu		
Erdoğan (Erdoğan)		Noğ(few left)	38.23 31.39	Kl/Ba
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Cihanbeyli</i>	Merkez		
Böğürdelik (Reşadiye)		W. Siberian Tat + Öz-Tat (+ Ku+Mu)	38.48 32.35	Kl
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Çumra</i>	Merkez		
Beylerce (Batum/Atık)			37.32 32.46	H
Seçme			37.34 32.32	H
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Çumra</i>	Akören		
Süleymaniye (Susuz)			37.29 32.32	H
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Ereğli</i>	Ayrancı		
Ayrancı (Osmaniye)			37.22 33.41	H

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Konya</b> Demiryurt (Mondosum/ Mandasun)	<i>Karaman</i>	Kılbasan (+ Circ)	37.20 33.04	H
<b>Konya</b> Ağılbaşı (Mandıra) Boğazören (Köstengil) Kırkkuyu Seyitahmetli	<i>Kulu</i>	Merkez Noğ (+ TkSn) Noğ (+ Ku) Noğ (+ Tst) Noğ	39.09 32.59 39.08 32.55 39.02 33.14 39.11 32.55	KI/B KI/B KI KI
<b>Konya</b> Konar (Kırlıkuyu)	<i>Sarayönü</i>	Merkez Cr	38.15 32.29	KI
<b>Kütahya</b> Kütahya city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez (Astrakhan- Tat + Kaz)		KI
<b>Kütahya</b> Efendiköprüsü (Efenköprüsü Köyü)	<i>Gediz</i>	Merkez Kaz	39.08 29.32	KI
<b>Manisa</b> Gürsu (Karakova/Kürsü)	<i>Alaşehir</i>	Merkez Kaz	38.25 28.26	KI
<b>Nevşehir</b> Mahmattatar (Mahmatlar)	<i>Avanos</i>	Özkonak	38.53 34.58	B
<b>Nevşehir</b> Yeniyapan (Tataryeniyapan)	<i>Hacıbektaş</i>	Merkez	39.02 34.34	B
<b>Sivas</b> Yavu (Belcik)	<i>Yıldızeli</i>	Yavu Noğ (+ Kum)	39.47 36.13	B
<b>Tekirdağ</b> Karaağaç	<i>Çerkezköy</i>	Merkez (few Cr)	41.18 27.57	A
<b>Tokat</b> Kuşoturağı	<i>Turhal</i>	Merkez Noğ (+ Kum + others)	40.18 36.04	B
<b>Uşak</b> Uşak city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez Astrakhan- Tat + Kaz		KI/B
<b>Yozgat</b> Yozgat city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez Kaz		KI

## 16 Balkar and Karaçay

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Afyon Karahisar	Merkez	İscehisar		
Doğlat (Burhaniye)		Kar	39.00 30.48	B
Gökçeyayla (Kilise/Orhaniye/Kestanelik)		Kar	39.03 30.46	B
Eskişehir Karaçay?	Merkez	Merkez Kar (CrTat?)	39.46 30.51	Ay
Eskişehir Çifteler town	Çifteler	Merkez Kar (+Tat+others)	39.23 31.02	B
Belpınar		Kar (+Circ?)	39.19 31.05	KI/Ay
İstanbul Çiftlik	Yalova	Merkez Kar (few) (+Da)	40.40 29.19	Ay
Kayseri Eğrisöğüt	Pınarbaşı	Merkez Kar (+Os)	38.38 36.24	Ay
Konya Konya city	Merkez	Merkez Kar		KI
Konya Eşme (Mecidiye)	Kadınhanı	Merkez Kar	38.14 32.14	H
Konya Başhüyük (Imranihamidiye)	Sayrayönü	Merkez Kar (+Circ?)	38.17 32.29	B/KI/Ço
Tokat Arpacıkaraçay	Artova	Sulusaray Kar	40.05 36.02	B
Tokat Erbaa Tanoba *Osmanköy	Erbaa	Merkez Kar (+Circ) Kar (few) Bal (few)	40.40 36.34 40.39 36.25	Ay Ay Ay
Tokat Zoğalçukur (Zavallıçukur?)	Erbaa	Kozlu Bal (+others)	40.37 36.33	Ay
Tokat Çilehane (Çilhane)	Reşadiye	Merkez (KuAl?)	40.20 37.12	(Ay/B)

## 17-18 Muslim Immigrants from Balkan Countries

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Adana	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Hakkıbeyli (Handere)		(Bu)	37.10 35.34	S
Adana	<i>Merkez</i>	Yakapınar		
Akpınar			36.49 35.36	S
Belören (Belveren)			36.49 35.34	S
Cihadiye		(Bu + others)	37.03 35.34	S/Kos
Çelemlî			36.51 35.39	S
Ünlüce (Şevketiye)		(+ Circ)	37.04 35.40	S
Yarımca		(Bu)	37.03 35.33	Kos
Yeniayla (Sarıçam)			37.06 35.33	S
*Dedeler			37.03 35.33	S
Adana	<i>Ceyhan</i>	Merkez		
Çiçekli (Hilmiye)		(+ Ab)	37.04 35.41	S
Gündoğan (Gündoğdu/Hurşidiye)			36.54 35.39	S
Hamidiye		(+ Circ)	36.59 36.00	S
Kuzucak (Salihîye)		(+ Circ)	37.05 35.59	S
Narlık (Tahtalı)			36.55 35.51	S
Selimiye (Yapalak)			37.00 35.58	S
Sirkeli			37.00 35.45	S
*Kadriye			36.54 35.41	S
*Kokar Burhaniye			37.01 35.44	S
*Nuriye			36.53 35.41	S
Adana	<i>Ceyhan</i>	Kösreli		
Çataklı (Haliliye)			37.08 36.03	S
Dikilitaş			37.11 35.55	S
Ekinyazı (Sıddıkiye/İnceyer)			37.10 35.51	S
Günlüce (Şadiye/Karamezar)			37.11 36.04	S
Irmaklı (Mahmudiye/Yilkıbucağı)			37.08 35.53	S
Yenikent (Rumelişükriye/Muhacirhürüşah)			37.13 36.02	S
Adana	<i>Ceyhan</i>	Sağkaya		
Ağaçlı (Çeçenanavarza)		(+ Che)	37.15 35.54	S/E
Akdam			37.14 35.53	S
Sarıbahçe			37.10 35.49	S
Üçdut (Yeşilova)		(Bu)	37.14 35.45	S/Kos
Adana	<i>Karataş</i>	Merkez		
Karataş town		(Slk + others)	36.34 35.23	S
Bahçe		(Bu + others)	36.37 35.27	Kos
*Kınıklı			36.37 35.27	S

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Karataş</i>	Tuzla		
Hasırağacı		(left)		S
İnnaplıhüyüğü (Kumluhüyüğü)		(left)	36.40 35.10	S
Konaklı (Tapur/Kendinebey)		(left)	36.40 35.06	S
Sarımsaklı		(left)		S
Uğurkaya (Naşidiye/Hayriye)			36.42 35.04	S
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Kozan</i>	İmamoğlu		
Yazıltepe (İhsanülhamit)		(Bu)	37.18 35.38	Kos
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Osmaniye</i>	Tecirli		
Sakarcalık (Kabukluuşağı)		(Bu)	37.11 36.03	Kos
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Osmaniye</i>	Toprakkale		
Toprakkale town		(Bu + others)	37.04 36.08	Kos
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Yumurtalık</i>	Merkez		
Hamzalı			36.53 35.52	S
Kaldırım		(Bu)	36.42 35.32	Kos
Kalemli			36.47 35.46	S
Yeniköy			36.49 35.46	S
<b>Afyon Karahisar</b>	<i>Emirdağ</i>	Merkez		
Emirdağ town		(Bu + Rm)	39.01 31.09	Özd/Bil
<b>Amasya</b>	<i>Merzifon</i>	Merkez		
Ortaova (Alala)?			40.48 35.32	B
Yolüstü (Gör)		mixed	40.51 35.30	B
<b>Amasya</b>	<i>Taşova</i>	Tekke		
Ilıca		(Bu)	40.45 36.10	Ak
<b>Ankara</b>	<i>Çankaya</i>	Gölbaşı		
Gökçeşhüyük (Çerkezhüyük)		(Bu)	39.40 32.44	A
<b>Ankara</b>	<i>Haymana</i>	Merkez		
Devecipınar		(Bu)	39.11 32.29	H
*Micikoğlu		(Bu)	39.02 32.18	Kos
<b>Ankara</b>	<i>Yenimahalle</i>	Sincan		
Sincan		(Rm)	39.58 32.35	Bil
<b>Ankara</b>	<i>Yenimahalle</i>	Yenikent		
Yenikent		(Yug + Alb + Bu + Slk)	39.59 32.31	Bil

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Aydin</b> Aydın city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez (Bu)		Kos
<b>Balıkesir</b> Balıkesir city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez (Bu)		Kos
<b>Balıkesir</b> Ertuğrul	<i>Merkez</i>	Ertuğrul (Bu)	39.34 27.42	B
<b>Balıkesir</b> two villages (unidentified)	<i>Ayvalık</i>	? (Bo)		Dan
<b>Balıkesir</b> Gönen town Tuzakçı	<i>Gönen</i>	Merkez (Bu + others) (few Bu)	40.06 27.39 40.09 27.40	Ü1 B
<b>Balıkesir</b> Buğdaylı (Kavak)	<i>Gönen</i>	Buğdaylı (Bu + others)	40.13 27.46	B
<b>Balıkesir</b> Sarıköy Çifteçeşmeler Dereköy Gebeçınar (Hasanbeyçiftliği) Gelgeç Gündoğan? Hâfızhüseyinbey (Elbizlik) Havutça? Hodul Kavakalanı Kınalar? Körpeağaç Tahtalı Ulukır?	<i>Gönen</i>	Sarıköy (Bu + others) (Bu + others) (+ Circ) ?  (+ others) (Po)  (Po) (few Po + TkSu)  (+ TkSu)  (+ TkSu)	40.12 27.36 40.16 27.33 40.10 27.35 40.17 27.38 40.12 27.33 40.10 27.38 40.10 27.31 40.16 27.40 40.12 27.27 40.14 27.29 40.16 27.31 40.14 27.40 40.09 27.24 40.14 27.37	Ü1 Ü1 Ü1 Ü1 Ü1 Ü1 Ü1 Ü1 Ü1 Ü1 Ü1 Ü1 Ü1 Ü1
<b>Balıkesir</b> Karaçalı	<i>Kepsut</i>	Merkez	39.40 28.10	Bil
<b>Balıkesir</b> Manyas town Boğazpınar (Mürvetler) Çataltepe?	<i>Manyas</i>	Merkez (few Bu) (Bu + others) (Po?)	40.03 27.58 40.01 28.00	B B B
<b>Balıkesir</b> Çavuş Eskiçatal	<i>Manyas</i>	Merkez (Po + Bu + others) (Bu)	40.04 27.53 40.05 28.02	B B



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Haydar		(Bu + Circ)	40.04 28.01	B
Kızık		(few Bu + Po + others)	40.03 27.57	B
Kızılköy (Kızıksa)		(few Bu)	40.07 27.59	B
Kubaş		(Po?)	40.02 27.55	B
Kulak		(Bu + Po)	40.04 27.59	B
Tepecik (Dünbe)		(few Bu)	40.04 28.03	B
Yeniköy		(few Bu)	40.06 28.04	B
<b>Balikesir</b>	<i>Manyas</i>	Darıca		
Hacıyakup		(Bu + Circ)	40.02 27.52	B
Işıklar?		(Po?)	40.00 27.50	B
<b>Balikesir</b>	<i>Manyas</i>	Şevketiye		
Akçaova (Deydin)		(Po + Bu + others)	40.07 27.51	B
Kocagöl (Kazaklar)		(Cos till 1962)	40.09 27.50	B
<b>Balikesir</b>	<i>Susurluk</i>	Merkez		
Baba (Bozcabey)		(+ Tk)	39.48 28.09	Mag
Balıklidere		(+ Circ)	39.57 28.10	Mag
Bozen		(+ others)	39.49 28.14	Mag
Buzağılık (Hayriye)			39.54 28.10	Mag
Ekinlik (Filibeliler)			39.54 28.13	Mag
Gürece			39.53 28.15	Mag
İclaliye (Çobançalı/Keltepe)			39.58 28.05	Mag
Kalfa			39.53 28.15	Mag
Karapürçek		(+ Tk)	39.58 28.14	Mag
Kayıkcı		(+ Tk)	39.55 28.12	Mag
Kocapınar (Çirhkona)			39.53 28.12	Mag
Kulat			39.53 28.04	Mag
Kurucaoluk			39.55 28.04	Mag
Söğütçayırı		(+ Yö)	39.53 28.07	Mag
Sultançayırı		(mixed)	39.52 28.10	Mag
Tütünlük (Sultaniye)			39.54 28.15	Mag
Yağcı			39.58 28.09	Mag
Yahya		(Bu + Yö + Circ)	40.00 28.10	Mag/İş
Yaylaçayırı			39.52 28.17	Mag
Yıldız		(+ others)	39.48 28.11	Mag
<b>Balikesir</b>	<i>Susurluk</i>	Göbel		
Göbel			40.01 28.08	Mag
Ilıcaboğazı		(+ Circ)	40.05 28.08	Mag
Kepekler		(Bu + others)	40.05 28.10	İş
Muradiye (Mandır)		(+ Circ)	40.03 28.06	Mag
Okçugöl			40.04 28.10	Mag
Söve (Süveköy)		(+ Yö)	39.59 28.06	Mag
Ümiteli		(+ Tk)	40.02 28.09	Mag

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Balıkesir</b>	<i>Susurluk</i>	Ömerköy		
Ömerköy		(+ Tk)	39.50 28.04	Mag
Alibey		(Bo + Yö)	39.52 28.04	Mag
Asmahdere			39.50 28.02	Mag
Demirkapı (Hamidiye)		(+ Circ)	39.49 28.06	Mag
Eminpınarı			39.53 28.02	Mag
Gökçedere		(+ Yö)	39.50 28.02	Mag
Reşadiye (Güvem)			39.52 28.01	Mag
<b>Bilecik</b>	<i>Söğüt</i>	Merkez		
Doruk (Kamurantekke)			39.55 30.10	Tun
Düzdağ			39.56 30.07	Tun
Gündüzbey (Avcın)			39.57 30.13	Tun
Hayriye (Çamurlu)			39.56 30.11	Tun
Rızapaşa (Küçüğü)			39.55 30.14	Tun
Savcıbey (Aktaş)			39.57 30.11	Tun
<b>Bilecik</b>	<i>Söğüt</i>	İnhisar		
Çalkara			40.00 30.23	Tun
<b>Bolu</b>	<i>Düzce</i>	Çilimli		
Sarimeşe			40.53 31.06	B
*Vakıflar			40.54 31.05	B
<b>Burdur</b>	<i>Yeşilova</i>	Merkez		
Orhanlı (Orhaniye)		(Bu)	37.37 29.48	B
Ulupınar		(Bu + others)		B
<b>Bursa</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Bursa city, Hürriyet & İstiklâl Mahalle		(Bo + Bu)		B/Kos/Bay
<b>Bursa</b>	<i>İnegöl</i>	Merkez		
İnegöl town		(Bu + Po + others)	40.05 29.31	B
Cerrah		(Po + others)	40.05 29.27	B
Esenköy (Ruşentahtaköprü)		(Bu + Ge)		B
Fındıklı?		(Bo? + Ge + Circ)	40.07 29.36	B
İnayet (Tuzla)		(Bo)	40.01 29.25	B
Konurlar		(+ Ge)	39.59 29.55	B
<b>Bursa</b>	<i>Karacabey</i>	Merkez		
Hürriyet (Haydarçiftliği)		(Bu)	40.13 28.30	Ad
<b>Bursa</b>	<i>Orhangazi</i>	Merkez		
Ortaköy			40.33 29.20	B
Yeniköy			40.32 29.21	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Çanakkale</b> Yenice	<i>Biga</i>	Merkez (Yug + Gr)	40.13 27.15	Bil
<b>Çanakkale</b> Yeniköy	<i>Ezine</i>	Geyikli (Bu)	39.56 36.10	Ad
<b>Çanakkale</b> Koruköy (Diriköy)	<i>Gelibolu</i>	Bolayır	40.33 26.48	
<b>Denizli</b> Dayılar	<i>Çal</i>	Merkez (few + Tk)	38.05 29.32	B
<b>Denizli</b> Dağal	<i>Çal</i>	Baklan (+ Tk)	38.00 29.37	B
<b>Diyarbakır</b> Diyarbakır city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez (Bu)		Ja
Bağıvar (Kâbi)		(Bu)	37.52 40.15	Ja
Çarıklifabrikasıköyü?		(Bu)	37.50 40.14	Ja
Karabaş		(Bu)	37.55 40.19	Ja
*Kitibil (Küçük Kitibil?)		(Bu)	37.56 40.15	Ja
*Tilgaz		(Bu)	37.54 40.21	Ja
<b>Diyarbakır</b> Ambar (Anbar)	<i>Bismil</i>	Merkez (Bu + others)	37.51 40.32	Gen
<b>Diyarbakır</b> Çınar	<i>Çınar</i>	Merkez (Bu)	37.43 40.25	A
Beşpınar		(Bu)	37.46 40.22	A
Demirölçek (Kaleyizerzevan)		(Bu + Ku)	37.37 40.31	A
<b>Edirne</b> Edirne city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez (Bu + Po + Yug)		Kos/B
<b>Edirne</b> İbriktepe	<i>İpsala</i>	İbriktepe (Po)	41.01 26.30	B
<b>Edirne</b> Keşan town	<i>Keşan</i>	Merkez (few Po)	40.51 26.38	B
<b>Edirne</b> Uzunköprü town	<i>Uzunköprü</i>	Merkez (few Po)	41.16 26.41	B
<b>Edirne</b> Çöpköy	<i>Uzunköprü</i>	Çöpköy (Po + others)	41.13 26.50	B
Başağıl (Mandıra)?		(Po?)	41.15 26.48	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Elâzığ	Sivrice	Merkez		
		Alâattinköy (Yukarı- & Aşağı-Alâattin)	(+ KuSu)	38.22 39.19 B
		Aşağıçanakçı?	(+ KuSu)	38.21 39.17 B
		Uslu?	(+ KuSu)	38.23 39.09 B
		Üçlerce (Samili)	(+ KuSu)	38.22 39.21 B
Üğrük?		(+ KuSu)	B	
Elâzığ	Sivrice	Gözeli		
		Akseki?	(+ KuSu)	38.22 39.09 B
		Duygulu (Yukarıelkük)?	(+ KuSu)	38.21 39.01 B
		Kamışlık?	(+ KuSu)	38.25 39.08 B
		Kavakköy?	(+ KuSu)	38.25 39.10 B
		Yaruşağı?	(+ KuSu)	38.26 39.00? B
Yürekaya (Avsiye)?	(+ KuSu)	38.22 38.57 B		
Eskişehir	Merkez	Merkez		
		Eskişehir city	(Bu)	Kos/Tun
		Ahılar		39.51 30.41 Tun
		Alınca		39.52 30.27 Tun
		Aşağısöğütünü		39.48 30.26 B
		Behçetiye (Gümbürdeyik)		39.57 30.24 Tun
		Buldukpınarı		39.55 30.27 Tun
		Çamlıca (Sarıöküz)		39.33 30.22 Tun
		Çanakkıran (Orhaniye)		39.40 30.15 Tun
		Çukurhisar	(+ Ab)	39.51 30.59 Tun
		Doğankaya (Melemen)	(+ CrTat)	39.39 30.36 Tun
		Emiroğlu (Selimiye)		39.52 30.28 Tun
		Gökdere		39.49 30.41 Tun
		Gümele (Osmanlı)		39.39 30.27 Tun
		Hasanbey		39.47 30.37 Tun
		İncesu		39.36 30.16 Tun
		Kanlıpınar (Sultaniye)		39.44 30.40 Tun
		Karacaşehir	(+ Yö)	39.44 30.28 Tun
		Karaçobanpınarı		39.55 30.24 Tun
		Karagözler		39.47 30.25 Tun
		Karapazar		39.36 30.35 B
		Kayapınar		39.41 30.29 Tun
		Kızılınlar	(+ Yö)	39.43 30.24 Tun
Lütfiye (Aşağıkalabak)	(+ CrTat)	39.33 30.25 Tun/B		
Muttalip	(mixed)	39.50 30.33 B		
Satılmışoğlu		B		
Seklice?	(left?)	39.34 30.21 Tun		
Söğütcük		39.54 30.58 Tun		
Sultandere (Sultanönü)		39.44 30.36 Tun		
Takmak?		39.42 30.20 Tun		

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
			39.43 30.23	Tun
			39.32 30.24	Tun
		(+Tk)	39.45 30.22	Tun
		(+Circ + Tat + Che)	39.48 30.28	B/Tun
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Alpu		
		(+Tat)	39.46 30.58	Tun/B
		(+Tkm)	39.49 30.53	Tun/B
		(+CrTat)	39.50 30.53	Tun
		(+CrTat)	39.50 30.55	Tun
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Hekimdağ		
			39.53 30.36	Tun
		(+Circ)	39.54 30.29	Tun
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	İnönü		
		(+Circ)	39.42 30.09	Tun
		(+Circ)	39.41 30.08	Tun
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Çifteler</i>	Merkez		
		(mixed)	39.23 31.02	Ac
			39.24 31.05	Tun
			39.18 30.59	Ac
			39.14 30.53	Ac
		(+CrTat)	39.25 31.08	Tun
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Mahmudiye</i>	Merkez		
			39.30 30.59	Tun
			39.28 30.54	Tun
			39.29 31.07	Tun
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Mihalıççık</i>	Beylikahır		
			39.41 31.12	Tun
			39.41 31.14	Tun
			39.44 31.16	Tun
			39.42 31.15	Tun
		(+CrTat)	39.41 31.10	Tun
			39.46 31.12	Tun
		(+CrTat)	39.41 31.07	Tun
			39.44 31.19	Tun
			39.51 31.14	Tun
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Seyitgazi</i>	Merkez		
		(Bu)	39.14 30.42	Ac
			39.34 30.40	Tun

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Gümüşbel (Maabaşı/Hüsünabat)		(+ Circ)	39.27 30.49	Tun
Sarıcaılyas		(Bu)	39.21 30.40	Ac
Şükranlı (Belören/Şükraniye)		(Bu)	39.16 30.40	Ac
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Sivrihisar</i>	Merkez		
Ağaçköy			39.17 31.19	Ac
Aktaş			39.19 31.20	Ac
Aydınlı (Kanlıca)			39.06 31.43	Ac
Bahçecik (Eskibahçecik)			39.26 31.21	Ac
Benlikuyu			39.12 31.24	Ac
Benliyaver (Benliyaverviran)			39.12 31.20	Ac
Çandır (Hamidiye)			39.15 31.21	Ac
Gülçayır (Ümraniye)			39.15 31.24	Tun
Güvemli (Karagüvemli/Mahmudiye)		(+ CrTat?)	39.38 31.37	Tun
Hüdavendiğar (Kozcağız)		(Bo)	39.35 31.38	Ac/Tun
Kurtşeyh (Yukarıada)		(+ Tk)	39.11 31.34	Ac
Selimiye (Azmak)			39.22 31.18	Ac
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Sivrihisar</i>	Günyüzü (+ Tk + Ku + Circ?)	39.18 31.48	Ac
Kayakent (Holanta)				
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Sivrihisar</i>	Kaymaz		
Gerenli			39.24 31.15	Ac/Tun
<b>Hatay</b>	<i>Dört Yol</i>	Yeşilkent (Bu)		
Yeşilkent town (Erzin)			36.57 36.12	Kos
<b>Hatay</b>	<i>Kırıkhan</i>	Merkez		
Abalaklı?			36.32 36.27	B
Çataltepe?			36.32 36.25	B
Danaahmetli?			36.33 36.25	B
İlikpınar?			36.34 36.23	B
<b>Hatay</b>	<i>Kırıkhan</i>	Yalankoz		
Çamsarı			36.34 36.27	B
<b>Isparta</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Gönen		(few + others)	37.58 30.31	B
Kuleöntü		(few + others)	37.52 30.37	B
<b>İçel</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Menteş		(Bu + others)	36.49 34.36?	Kos

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
İçel Hamurlu	<i>Merkez</i>	Kazanlı (Bu)	36.51 34.47	Kos
İçel *Akkale *Kumcu	<i>Erdemli</i>	Merkez (Bu) (Bu)	36.31 34.14	Kos Kos
İçel Kurtuluş (Çetrevilli)	<i>Silifke</i>	Merkez (Bu)	36.20 34.00	Kos
İçel *Aynaz *Özelbahşiş	<i>Tarsus</i>	Merkez (Bu) (Bu)	36.47 34.55	Kos Kos/Ad
İstanbul İstanbul city	<i>Merkez</i>	? (Bu + others)		Kos
İstanbul Güneşli (Papazçiftliği)	<i>Bakırköy</i>	Mahmutbey (Bu)	41.01 28.51	Ad
İstanbul Akbaba Alibahadır Mahmutşevketpaşa	<i>Beykoz</i>	Merkez (+ others) (+ others) (Po + Slk + others)	41.09 29.08 41.11 29.12 41.09 29.11	B B B
İstanbul Cumhuriyet Paşamandıra	<i>Beykoz</i>	Mahmutşevket- paşa (mixed) (Slk + others)	41.08 29.16	B B
İstanbul Bahşayış Muratbey	<i>Çatalca</i>	Merkez (Bu + Po) (Bu + Po)	41.07 28.33 41.04 28.32	Gö Gö
İstanbul Ahmediye Güzelce (Çöplüce) Tepecik Türkoba	<i>Çatalca</i>	Büyükçekmece (Slk + Rm) (Slk + others) (Slk) (Slk + Rm)	41.06 28.31 41.00 28.31 41.05 28.31 41.02 28.32	Kek Kek/Coş Gö Kek
İstanbul Akören	<i>Silivri</i>	Merkez (Bu + Po)	41.12 28.20	Kıv
İstanbul Yeniköy	<i>Şile</i>	Merkez (Bo)	41.08 29.39	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>İstanbul</b>	<i>Yalova</i>	Merkez		
Elmalık			40.36 29.19	B
Hacımehmet			40.37 29.14	B
Kadıköy		(+ Laz)	40.37 29.12	B
Safran (Paşaköy)		(+ Laz)	40.36 29.15	B
Sugören (Çengiler)			40.34 29.21	B
<b>İstanbul</b>	<i>Yalova</i>	Çınarcık		
Koru			40.39 29.10	B
<b>İstanbul</b>	<i>Yalova</i>	Kılıç		
Dereköy		(+ Ab)	40.37 29.24	B
Laledere		(+ Tk)	40.37 29.22	B
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Bayındır</i>	Merkez		
Alan		(Bu)	38.18 27.38	Eg
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Bayındır</i>	Çırpı		
Osmaniye (Çınardibi/Kavakalan)		(Po)	38.17 27.31	B
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Karaburun</i>	Mordoğan		
Çatalkaya		(Bo + others)	38.29 26.36	Ts
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Kemalpaşa</i>	Merkez		
Aşagıkızılca		(mixed)	38.24 27.31	Ts
Bağyurdu		(Bo + others)	38.25 27.39	B
Bayramlı (Kadriye)		(Po)	38.19 27.32	B
Beşpınar		(Po)	38.31 27.28	B
Halilbeyli		(Bo)	38.26 27.40	B
Kamberler (Kanberli)		(Po)	38.20 27.35	B
Sarılar		(Bo)	38.25 27.39	B
Sinancılar		(Bo)	38.25 27.40	B
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Ödemiş</i>	Merkez		
Karakova (Boşnakköy)		(Bo)	38.11 27.57	Eg
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Selçuk</i>	Merkez		
Selçuk town		(Bu + others)	37.57 27.22	B
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Tire</i>	Merkez		
Akmescit		(Bu)	38.00 27.42	Eg
<b>Kastamonu</b>	<i>İnebolu</i>	Merkez		
Çamlıca (Ablados)		(Yug + Tk)		B



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Kayseri	<i>Bünyan</i>	Merkez		
Karacaören (Karacaviran)		(Bu)	38.58 35.57	Ers
Kayseri	<i>Felahiye</i>	Çukur		
Çukur (Hayriye)		(+ Tk)	39.07 35.43	B
Kavaklı (Rumkavak)			39.13 35.48	B
Taşlık			39.11 35.49	B
Kayseri	<i>Pınarbaşı</i>	Merkez		
Pınarbaşı town		(Bu + Circ + others)	38.43 36.24	Kos
Demircili		(+ Af)	38.35 36.20	B
Halitbeyören (Halitbeyviran)		(+ Circ)	38.49 36.28	B
Kayseri	<i>Pınarbaşı</i>	Kaynar		
Kaynar		(+ Circ)	38.54 36.27	B
Beserek		(+ Circ)	39.03 36.23	B
Kayseri	<i>Pınarbaşı</i>	Pazarören		
Pazarören		(+ Af)	38.41 36.10	B
Kırklareli	<i>Merkez</i>	İnce		
Dolhan		(Bu)	41.45 27.01	B
Kırklareli	<i>Merkez</i>	Üsküp		
Üsküp		(Po + Tk)	41.44 27.24	B
Kırklareli	<i>Babaeski</i>	Merkez		
Düğüncülü		(Bu + Tk)	41.22 27.10	B
Mandıra?		(Po)?	41.21 27.06	B
Kırklareli	<i>Demirköy</i>	Merkez		
Armutveren (Paspala)		(Po)	41.54 27.33	Dan
Kırklareli	<i>Demirköy</i>	İğneada		
İğneada		(Po + others)	41.53 27.59	Dan
Beğendik (Ayastafonos)		(Po)	41.58 28.01	Dan
Sisliova (Pilaca) area		(Po)	41.58 27.54	Dan
Kırklareli	<i>Lüleburgaz</i>	Merkez		
Lüleburgaz town			41.24 27.21	B
Kırklareli	<i>Pehlivan köy</i>	Merkez		
Pehlivan köy		(Po + Tk)	41.21 27.56	B
Kocaeli	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Sarımeşe (Sümbülemahmudiye)		(Bu)	40.45 30.04?	

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source	
<b>Kocaeli</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Derbent			
		Tepetarlar (Ramiye)	40.43 30.02	B	
		(+ Circ)	40.44 30.09	B	
<b>Kocaeli</b>	<i>Karamürsel</i>	Merkez			
		Ahmediye (Mecidiye)	(among others)	40.38 29.27	B
		Altınova	(+ Laz + others)	40.42 29.31	B
		Karaahmetli	(Bo)	40.39 29.34	B
		Karapınar (Şevketiye)	(Bo)	40.39 29.48	B
		Kaytazdere (Saracık)	(Bo + others)	40.41 29.32	B
		Oluklu	(Bo)	40.40 29.35	B
		Soğuksu (Ayazına)	(Bo)	40.40 29.31	B
		Subaşı		40.41 29.30	B
		Tepeköy (Ereğli Bala)		40.41 29.40	B
		Tokmak		40.41 29.33	B
<b>Kocaeli</b>	<i>Karamürsel</i>	Yalakdere			
		Hayriye (Karaova)	(Bo)	40.38 29.35	B
		İhsaniye	(Bo)	40.37 29.35	B
		İnebeyli	(Bo)	40.39 29.33	B
		Kızderbent		40.32 29.31	B
Semetler	(Bo)	40.37 29.30	B		
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez			
		Kaşınhanı	(Bu + Rm)	37.42 32.34	H
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Hatunsaray			
		Karaağaç	(Bu + others)	37.38 32.22	Ac
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Cihanbeyli</i>	Merkez			
		Hodoğlu	(Bu)	38.33 32.40	Kos/Kl
		Pınarbaşı (Yeniköy)	(Bu + Ku)	38.45 32.42	Kos/Kl
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Cihanbeyli</i>	Yeniceoba			
		Tüfenkçipınarı (Tüfenkçi)	(Bu + Ku)	38.56 32.29	Kos
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Çumra</i>	Merkez			
		Gökhüyük (Tımraş)	(Bu)	37.25 32.43	H
		*İstasyon (Çumra town?)	(Bu)	37.35 32.47	H
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Çumra</i>	Dinek			
		Gürağaç (Armasun)	(+ Tkm + Yö)	37.16 32.44	Ac
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Ereğli</i>	Merkez			
		Ereğli town	(Bo + others)	37.30 34.03	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Ilgın</i>	Merkez		
Orhaniye (Sivri)		(Bu)	38.18 31.59	H
Zaferiye (Balasan)		(Bu)	38.18 32.02	H
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Karaman</i>	Merkez		
Bölük yazı (Masara)		(Slk)	37.13 33.07	B
Göztepe		(Slk)	37.16 33.13	B
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Karaman</i>	Kâzımkarabekir		
Mecidiye		(Bu)	37.14 33.02	H
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Karaman</i>	Kılbasan		
Burunoba			37.27 33.21	B
Çoğlu			37.26 33.19	B
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Karaman</i>	Kızılyaka		
Ağaçoba (Durayda)			37.10 32.45	B
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Yunak</i>	Çeltik		
Doğanyurt (Meşrutiyet/ Kahveciören)		(Bu + Ku)	39.02 31.38	KI
<b>Kütahya</b>	<i>Simav</i>	Merkez		
Çamlık (Karacaören)		(Bu)	39.18 28.51	UI
<b>Manisa</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Manisa city		(Bu)		Kos
<b>Manisa</b>	<i>Akhisar</i>	Merkez		
Akhisar town		(Bu + others)	38.55 27.51	Bil/Kos
<b>Manisa</b>	<i>Salihli</i>	Merkez		
Salihli town		(Bu + Kk + others)	38.29 28.08	Kos
<b>Nevşehir</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Alacaşar		(Bu + Tk)	38.37 34.36	B
<b>Nevşehir</b>	<i>Avanos</i>	Özkonak		
Göynük		(Bu + Tk)	38.48 34.54	B
<b>Nevşehir</b>	<i>Gülşehir</i>	Merkez		
Gülşehir town		(Bu)	38.44 34.37	B
<b>Nevşehir</b>	<i>Hacıbektaş</i>	Merkez		
*Yukarıbarak		(Bu + TkAl)		B



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Samsun	<i>Havza</i>	Çakıralan		
Çamyatağı (Lerdüğe)		(mixed)	41.06 35.49	B
Samsun	<i>Kavak</i>	Merkez		
İlica		(Bu)	41.01 36.04	Kos
Sivas	<i>Gemerek</i>	Merkez		
Burhan		(Bo + others)	39.16 36.02	Dem
Dendil		(Yug + others)	39.18 36.00	Dem/A
Karagöl		(+ Tkm + others)	39.17 36.11	Dem
Tekmen		(Yug + Bu)	39.14 35.59?	Dem
Yeniçubuk		(mixed)	39.13 36.06	Dem
Sivas	<i>Suşehri</i>	Merkez		
Suşehri town		(Slk + Bu)	40.10 38.06	A
Sivas	<i>Zara</i>	Merkez		
Demiryurt (Tödürge?)		(+ TkSu)	39.49 37.37	B
Ekinli (Deveksi)		(Yug? + others)	39.52 37.41	B
Tekirdağ	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Tekirdağ city		(Yug)		A
Köseilyas		(Bu + others)	41.01 27.35	B
Seymenli		(Bu + Rm + others)	40.59 27.22	B
Tekirdağ	<i>Merkez</i>	Banarlı		
Ahmedikili		(Po + TkSu)	41.01 27.17	B
Bıyıkali (Boyalı)		(Slk + TkSu)	41.01 27.23	B
Doğruk (Karacamurat)		(Slk + TkSu)	41.03 27.17	B
Karacakılavuz		(Bu + others)	41.08 27.21	Oy/B
Kaşıkcı		(Bu + others)	41.02 27.14	Oy/B
Kazandere		(Po + TkSu)	41.02 27.13	B
Tekirdağ	<i>Merkez</i>	Barbaros		
Aşağıkılıçlı		(Bu + others)	40.56 27.22	B
Karahisarlı		(Po + TkSu)	40.57 27.24	B
Kumbağ		(Bu + Po + others)	40.52 27.28	Gös/B
Naipköy		(Po + TkSu)	40.53 27.25	B
Yayabaşı		(Bo + TkSu)	40.56 27.25?	B
Tekirdağ	<i>Merkez</i>	İncik		
İncik		(Bu + others)	40.56 27.17	B
Ahmetçe		(Bu + others)	40.53 27.13	B
Akçalhalil (Ağaççalı)		(Slk + TkSu)	40.55 27.13	B
Araphacı		(Rm + TkSu)	40.51 27.15	B
Dedecik		(Rm + TkSu)	40.58 27.10	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Evciler		(Rm + TkSu)	40.57 27.11	B
Ferhadanlı		(Slk)	40.59 27.19	B
Generli		(Slk)	40.59 27.09	B
Güvençli		(Slk)	40.58 27.21	B
Karaçalı (Fevzihürriyet)		(Slk)	40.53 27.18	B
Karansıllı		(Slk)	40.58 27.12	B
Kınıklar		(Slk)	40.55 27.10	B
Mahramlı		(Bu + others)	40.56 27.12	B
Semetli		(Slk)	40.51 27.17	Oy/B
Taşumurca		(Slk)	41.00 27.11	B
<b>Tekirdağ</b>	<i>Çerkezköy</i>	Merkez		
Çerkezköy town		(Bu)	41.17 28.00	A
Karaağaç		(Bu)	41.18 27.57	A
<b>Tekirdağ</b>	<i>Malkara</i>	Merkez		
Ahmetpaşa		(Po + TkSu)	40.54 26.50	B
Çavuşköy		(Slk + Bu)	40.53 26.59	B
Danişment		(Slk + Bu)	40.53 26.45	B
Deveci		(Slk + Bu)	40.49 26.50	B
Elmalı		(Slk + Bu)	40.46 26.57	B
Gönence (Kalivya)		(Slk + Bu)	40.55 26.56	B
Gözsüz		(Bu + others)	40.50 26.55	B
*Ovabey?		(Bu)		Oy
<b>Tekirdağ</b>	<i>Malkara</i>	Ballı		
Ballı		(Bu + others)	40.50 27.03	B
Alaybey		(Bu + Slk)	40.52 26.59	B
Balabancık		(Bu + others)	40.49 27.00	B
Çınarlıdere (Bunak)		(Bu)	40.47 27.05	B
Çimendere		(Slk + TkSu)	40.47 27.01	B
Deliller		(Slk + TkSu)	40.51 27.08	B
Kavalçeşme		(Bu + others)	40.52 27.02	B
<b>Tekirdağ</b>	<i>Malkara</i>	Yörük		
Dereköy		(Bu + others)	40.54 27.09	B
Develi		(Bu + others)	40.56 27.08	B
Hereke		(Bu + others)	40.54 27.06	B
<b>Tekirdağ</b>	<i>Şarköy</i>	Merkez		
Yeniköy?		(Gr)	40.39 27.00	Oy
<b>Tekirdağ</b>	<i>Şarköy</i>	Mürefte		
Mürefte?		(Gr)	40.40 27.15	Oy
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Artova</i>	Sulusaray		
İlıcak (İlca)		(Bu + others)	39.59 36.04	Ad

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Turhal</i>	Merkez		
Bahçebaşı		(+ Circ)	40.15 36.05	B
Kayacık		(Silk)	40.24 36.04	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Zile</i>	İğdır		
Karışeyh (Karatürbesi)			40.14 35.35	B
Yapalak			40.12 35.39	B
<b>Uşak</b>	<i>Ulubey</i>	Merkez		
Ulubey town		(mixed)	38.25 29.18	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Akdağmadeni</i>	Merkez		
Akdağmadeni town		(+ others)	39.40 35.53	B
Altılı (Zaingeçidi/Zağımgeçidi)			39.49 35.49	B
Bağcecik (Bahçecik)?			39.53 35.51	B
Yeniyapan			39.52 35.55	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Akdağmadeni</i>	Karamağara		
Abdurrahmanlı			39.42 35.38	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Boğazlıyan</i>	Merkez		
Çakmak		(+ Alb)	39.20 35.12	B
Uzunlu		(+ Tk)	39.15 35.25	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Yerköy</i>	Merkez		
Aydingün (Midilliçoğlu)		(Bu)	39.43 34.33	Ad
<b>Zonguldak</b>	<i>Ereğli</i>	Merkez		
Ereğli town, Göçmen Mahallesi		(Bu)	41.17 31.25	B

*Note:* The present list is presented as a general one for the Balkans as a whole, since more precise information on the origins of these immigrants is so often lacking. Particular designations are given wherever these are known. Even so it should be understood that designations such as *Boşnak* (Bosnian) or *Selanikli Muhaciri* (immigrants from Salonika) cannot always be taken literally: they are, rather, rough indications for immigrants from Yugoslavia or Greece respectively. Similarly the designations "*Bulgaristan Muhaciri*" or "*Bulgaristan Göçmeni*", referring to the first and second waves of immigrants from Bulgaria, may cover Muslim Bulgarians of Slavonic origin (i. e. *Pomaks*), earlier Turkish settlers from the area, and even Albanians. The Albanians (30) are listed separately, and do not, therefore, appear in this list. It is nevertheless possible that some of the unspecified villages listed here may house Albanians among others.

## 19 Muslim immigrants from Daghistan:

## Avar, Dargwa, Kumuk\*, Lak/ Gazikumuk, Lezgi

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Adana</b> Beşkuyu (Naşidiye - Dağistan)	<i>Ceyhan</i>	Kösreli	37.07 35.57	S
<b>Balıkesir</b> Ortaca (Kirne)	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez (Lz)	39.45 27.51	P/Ay/Moo
<b>Balıkesir</b> Çamlı (Gurafa) Tepecik (Dünbe) Yayla (Dönberез)	<i>Manyas</i>	Merkez (Lz) (+ Mu + Circ) (Lz)	40.03 28.04 40.04 28.03	Türk/Ay/B B Moo
<b>Bursa</b> Yeniköy	<i>Gemlik</i>	Merkez (Av)	40.36 29.13	B
<b>Çanakkale</b> Akköprü Kalafat (Bozna)	<i>Biga</i>	Merkez (Kum, few) (Kum)	40.16 27.12 40.14 27.17	Ay Ay
<b>Çanakkale</b> Geyikkırı	<i>Biga</i>	Balıklıçeşme (Kum)	40.18 27.08	Ay
<b>Denizli</b> Akköy (Aziziye) Akhan	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez (few Da) (+ Circ) (+ others)	37.48 29.09	Ay Ay
<b>İstanbul</b> Çiftlik? Esadiye (Aşağı Köy) Güney (Reşadiye/Elmalı)	<i>Yalova</i>	Merkez (Av + Kar) (Av + Kum*) (Av + Dar + others)	40.40 29.19 40.35 29.18 40.33 29.17	B/Gü B/Gü/Ay B/Gü/Ay
Sultaniye		(now Tk?)	40.39 29.20	Ay
<b>İzmir</b> Dağistan (Mecidiye)	<i>Bergama</i>	Merkez (Lz)	39.08 27.18	Şen/Moo
<b>Kars</b> Kars city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez (Lk, few)		Eğ
<b>Kars</b> Sarıkamış town Hamamlı Yenigazi (Yenikilise)	<i>Sarıkamış</i>	Merkez (Lk, few) (Lk + others) (Lk + KuSu)	40.20 42.36 40.19 42.42 40.19 42.18	Eğ Eğ/B Eğ/Ay



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Sarıkamış</i>	<b>Karaorgan</b>		
Taşlıgüney (Küçükislamsor)		(Lz + Tk)	40.09 42.24	Eğ/B/Türk/Ay
Yeniköy?		(Lz + Tk)	40.19 42.18	B
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Selim</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Selim town		(Lz, few)	40.28 42.47	B
<b>Kahraman</b>				
<b>Maraş</b>	<i>Göksun</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Kireçköy		(Lz + Av + others)	38.09 36.19	A/B/Ay
Ortatepe		(Lz)	38.04 36.31	A/B
<b>Kahraman</b>				
<b>Maraş</b>	<i>Göksun</i>	<b>Çardak</b>		
Güçüksu		(Lz)		A
<b>Muş</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	<b>Mercimekkale</b>		
Aydingün (Şaşkan)		(Lz + Che)	38.58 41.36	Ay
Yağcılar (Evrans)		(Av + Ku + Tk)	38.56 41.27	B
<b>Muş</b>	<i>Varto</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Kayalık (Zirink)		(Av + Lz + others)	39.05 41.27	B/Ay
*Çalbur		(Av + others)		B
*Tepeköy		(Av + others)	39.05 41.31	B
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Akcamescit (Acemecit/ Ağcamescit)		(Lz)	39.36 37.16	Erp
Üçtepe		(Av)	39.36 37.11	Erp
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Hafik</i>	<b>Celallı</b>		
Süleymaniye?		(Av)	39.40 37.30	Erp
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Yıldızeli</i>	<b>Yavu</b>		
Yavu (Belcic)		(Kum* + Noğ)	39.47 36.13	B/Ay
Fındıcak		(Lz)	39.46 36.22	Ay
Yağlıdere (Yağköy?)		(Kum*?)	39.53 36.13	B
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Zara</i>	<b>Bulucan</b>		
Selimiye		(Av + others)	39.39 37.42	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Artova</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Artova town		(+ Circ)	40.07 36.19	Ay
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Artova</i>	<b>Sulusaray</b>		
Sulusaray		(+ Circ)	40.00 36.05	Ay
Alpudere		(+ Circ)	40.03 36.05	Ay

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Erbaa</i>	Doğanyurt		
Doğanyurt (Hayati)		(few Av + Lz)	40.41 36.44	Ay
Tandırılı (Varaza)		(few Kum)	40.48 36.47	Ay
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Erbaa</i>	Karayaka		
Karayaka (Ziğri)		(few Lz)	40.45 36.36	Ay
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Reşadiye</i>	Merkez		
Göltepe (Gültepe)		(few Da + TkSn)	40.15 37.26	Ay
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Turhal</i>	Merkez		
Turhal town		(+ Circ)	40.24 36.06	Ay
Bahçebaşı		(+ Circ + Mu)	40.14 36.05	Ay/B
Kuşoturağı		(Kum* + Circ + Os + Noğ + Ku)	40.18 36.04	Ay/B
Şenyurt, Üçgözen Mah.		(Kum* + others)	40.21 36.14	B/Ay
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Turhal</i>	Dökmetepe		
Akbuğday (Zamayır)		(Av + Lz)	40.21 36.17	B
Sarıççek		(Av)	40.24 36.22	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Turhal</i>	Pazar		
Pazar town		(few Da + Circ)	40.17 36.18	Ay
Bağlarbaşı (Farnı)		(Lz + Kum + Tk)	40.14 36.14	Ay/B
Balıca (Abayıl)		(Lz)	40.14 36.18	B
Doğançaylı (Armus/Harmus)		(Lz + Kum)	40.16 36.21	B/Ay
Ovacık (Abayılovacığı)		(Lz)	40.12 36.18	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Zile</i>	Merkez		
Zile town		(+ Circ)	40.18 35.54	Ay
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Zile</i>	Boztepe		
Yeniderbent		(Av + other Da)	40.11 35.57	Ay

*Note:* The Kumuk marked with an asterisk should be treated with caution: it is not clear whether they are true, *i.e.* Turkic Kumuk, or the Lak called Gazi-Kumuk (after the region so-named) who sometimes seem to call themselves Kumuk.

There is sometimes a similar uncertainty where the Lezgi are concerned: in many cases they are called Lezgi, though in fact Avar, Dargwa or Lak etc.: see MOOR 1985: xxii-xxiii. Those in Ortaca, Yayla, and Dağıstan are true Lezgi.

## 20 Sudanese

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Karataş</i>	Doğankent		
Paşaköy (Küçükaraclar)			36.49 35.24	S/Kar
(now majority Eastern Anatolians)				
Sağdıçlı (Büyük Araplar)		(mixed)	36.51 35.27	S
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Yumurtalık</i>	Merkez		
Asmalı		(mixed)	36.45 35.32	S/Kar
*Forlar		(mixed)	36.44 35.30	S/Kar
*Gebeören (Göbekören)		(mixed)	36.43 35.31	S
<b>Antalya</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Aksu		
Özlü (Kundu)				
(Büyük and Küçük Kundu)		(mixed)	36.53 30.52/55	deP
<b>Antalya</b>	<i>Korkuteli</i>	Merkez		
Kargın		(mixed)	37.05 30.21	deP
<b>Antalya</b>	<i>Manavgat</i>	Merkez		
Manavgat town			36.47 31.26	Sv
<b>Mersin</b>	<i>Tarsus</i>	?		
in some villages (unidentified)				Me
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Tire</i>	Merkez		
Yeniçiftlik			38.07 27.30	Eg
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Torbali</i>	Merkez		
Tulum			38.05 27.26	Eg
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
one village (unidentified)				P
<b>Balıkesir</b>	<i>Ayvalık</i>	Merkez		
Ayvalık town		(Greek-speaking, from Crete)	39.19 26.42	Dan

## 21 Estonians

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Karacaören (Karacaviran)			40.33 43.06	Roos

**22 Kurds: Sunni**

Marginal areas (for main concentrations see Survey 1)

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Adana</b> Yenice	<i>Karataş</i>	Merkez (+ Tk)	36.45 35.19	S/Sv
<b>Adana</b> Arslanlı?	<i>Kozan</i>	Merkez	37.19 35.48	B
<b>Adiyaman</b> Kâhta town Belenli (Pilot) Belören (Belviran) Boğazkaya (Hamşik) Bölükyayla (Mazil) Büyükbey (Kirbiz) Çakireşme (Kosan) Çaltılı (Selah/Salah) Çataltepe (Daragir) Çaybaşı (Bazük) Çıralık Çobanlı (Kayraş) Çukurtaş (Markik) Dut (Dot) Yelkovan (Hamzeyin) Zeytin some more villages (unidentified)	<i>Kâhta</i>	Merkez	37.47 38.37 37.39 38.43 37.37 38.36 37.53 38.31 37.52 38.29 37.41 38.34 37.36 38.41 37.51 38.31 37.43 38.36 37.40 38.32 37.47 38.33 37.47 38.36 37.51 38.35 37.43 38.32 37.49 38.33 37.45 38.33	P/B B B B B B B B B B B B B B B B
<b>Adiyaman</b> Kocahisar (Eskikâhta)	<i>Kâhta</i>	Damlacık	37.57 38.39	P
<b>Afyon Karahisar</b> Aşağıpiribeyli? Büyüktuğluk? Örenköy (Viran)?	<i>Emirdağ</i>	Davulga	38.55 31.37 39.00 31.34 38.51 31.35	A A A
<b>Amasya</b> Akpınar (Üskü) Çaybaşı (Löşdüğün) Kamışlı Kızıleğrek Kuyuköy Mahmutlu Pekmezci	<i>Merzifon</i>	Sarıbuğday      (+ Tk)	40.42 35.26 40.43 35.25 40.44 35.26 40.42 35.28 40.44 35.24 40.39 35.22 40.43 35.20	B B B B B B B
<b>Amasya</b> Çeltekmadeni (Çeltek Kömür Madeni)	<i>Suluova</i>	Merkez	40.52 35.39	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Ankara	<i>Çankaya</i>	Gölbaşı		
Karagedik			39.35 32.48	P
Ankara	<i>Haymana</i>	Merkez		
Karasüleymanlı			39.21 32.36	P
Şerefliğöküzü			39.18 32.36	P
Toyçayırı			39.03 32.27	P
Yamak			39.20 32.31	P
Yeşilyurt (Atkafası)?			39.29 32.29	P
Ankara	<i>Haymana</i>	Yenice		
Sındıran (Kürtgöküzü/Yenice)			39.17 32.41	P
Burunsuz (Bumsuz)			39.10 32.41	P
Çeltikli			39.13 32.39	P
Saatli			39.04 32.33	P
Sinanlı			39.10 32.37	P
Yukarısebil (Sebilibala)			39.10 32.44	P
Ankara	<i>Polatlı</i>	?		
some (unspecified)				B
Ankara	<i>Şereflikoçhisar</i>	Merkez		
Büyükkışla		(+ Tk)	39.12 33.16	KI
Artvin	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Artvin city		(few)		B
Çorum	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Değirmendere			40.41 35.06	Yok
Gemet			40.41 35.02	Yok
Arpalık	<i>Merkez</i>	Seydim	40.34 34.42	Yok
Erzincan	<i>Kemaliye</i>	Merkez		
Kemaliye town			39.15 38.31	P
Eskişehir	<i>Sivrihisar</i>	Merkez		
Buzluca			39.12 31.27	Ac
Göktepe			39.07 31.37	Ac
Kaldırımköy			39.06 31.35	Ac
Siğircık			39.09 31.29	Ac
Gaziantep	<i>Araban</i>	Merkez		
Başpınar			37.27 37.51	Tan
Karababa?			37.25 37.51	Tan
Yaylacık			37.30 37.45	B
*Tülecik				Tan

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>İslahiye</i>	Merkez		
Aşağibilenler (Aşağı Şerikanlı)			36.55 36.38	P
Bilenler (Şerinkanlı/Şerikhanlı)			36.57 36.38	P
Çubuk (Çıbık)				P
Değirmencik			37.02 36.36	B
Dolan			36.55 36.32	B
Güllühüyük (Belikanlı)			37.01 36.41	B
Hanağzı			37.05 36.36	B
Hasanlıök (Yukarı Kayabaşı)			36.56 36.30	B
İdilli			36.59 36.34	B
Kalaycık			36.58 36.39	B
Karacaören			36.59 36.54	B
Karakaya			37.01 36.47	B
Karapınar			36.58 36.38	B
Kerküt			36.58 36.33	B
Kırıkçalı			37.00 36.37	B
Ortaklı (Melikanlı)			36.57 36.46	B
Sulumağra			36.56 36.33	B/P
Yelliburun		(+ Ar)		B
Yesemek			36.54 36.45	B
Yolbaşı (Haydarkanlı)			36.51 36.39	B
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>İslahiye</i>	Fevzipaşa		
Gözlühüyük (Kemezanlı)			37.10 36.46	B
İncegedik (Kürdükanlı)			37.05 36.46	B
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>İslahiye</i>	Fevzipaşa		
Karaburçlu		(KuSu?)	37.10 36.40	B
Katrançı (Trunlar/Torunlar)			37.05 36.48	B
Kozdere (İntilli)			37.08 36.40	B
Kömürler		(+ Tk + Ar)	37.12 36.47	B
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>İslahiye</i>	Sakçagöze		
Belpınar (Tepkanlı)			37.14 36.47	B
Hisar			37.10 36.55	B
İçerisu		(KuSu? + Tk)		B
Kırışkal			37.16 36.51	B
Şatırhüyük		(+ TkAl)	37.14 36.58	B
*Sayburnu				Ba
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Kilis</i>	Merkez		
Çakallıpınar			36.48 37.06	Tan
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Kilis</i>	Musabeyli		
Musabeyli (Murathüyükü)			36.53 36.55	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Kilis</i>	Polateli		
Eğlen (Eylen)			36.48 37.04	Tan
Söğütlü			36.50 37.08	Tan
Ürünlü (Sabar)			36.51 37.06	Tan
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Nizip</i>	Merkez		
Alahacı			37.13 37.47	P
Aşağıcardak			37.07 37.50	Tan
Boyluca (Binanlı/Peşke)			37.12 37.40	Tan
Dayıdağ (Küçük Binanlı)			37.11 37.40	Tan
Duraklı (Tahtik)			37.15 37.45	P
Yukarıcardak			37.09 37.52	Tan
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Yavuzeli</i>	Merkez		
Bağtepe (Mandollu)			37.20 37.38	Ba
Ballık?			37.20 37.32	Ba
Karabey (Safkanlı/İbnizeyni)			37.17 37.34	Ba
Karahüseyinli			37.20 37.36	Ba
Küçükkarakuyu (Binanlı)			37.21 37.32	P
Saraymağara (Romanlı)			37.16 37.36	Ba
Süleymanobası (Silloobası)			37.15 37.33	Ba/P
<b>Gümüşhane</b>	<i>Bayburt</i>	Merkez		
Sancaktepe (Keleverek)			40.11 40.06	P
Taşocağı (Ergi)			40.19 40.03	P
<b>Gümüşhane</b>	<i>Bayburt</i>	Demirözü		
Yerpınar (Külürek/Pülürek)			40.12 40.00	P
<b>Hatay</b>	<i>İskenderun</i>	Merkez		
İskenderun town		(few)	36.35 36.10	B
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Kiraz</i>	Merkez		
Karaburç			38.14 28.18	Eg
*Kireli (Gireli)			38.05 27.51	Eg
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Tire</i>	Merkez		
Işıklar			38.06 27.32	Eg
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Arpaçay</i>	Merkez		
Carcı			40.47 43.27	B
Melikköyü (Yeni- & Eski Melik)			40.55 43.23	B
Taşagıl (Kürtköyü)			40.55 43.20	B
Tepeköy			40.53 43.33	B
Yalınçayır (Zöhrap)		(+ Mol till 1962)	40.49 43.19	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Arpaçay</i>	Başgedikler		
Başgedik (Başgedikler)		(few)	40.38 43.26	
Arazoğlu			40.33 43.33	B
Ayakgedikler		(few)	40.37 43.32	B
Bayraktar		(few)	40.37 43.34	B
<b>Kayseri</b>	<i>Yahyalı</i>	Merkez		
Dikme			38.01 35.32	Dan
<b>Kırşehir</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Çadırlıhacıyusuf			39.11 33.54	B
<b>Kırşehir</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Göllü		
Harmanaltı (Şuayıplı)			39.24 34.16	B
Taburoğlu			39.24 34.13	B
Tosunburnu			39.23 34.13	B
<b>Kırşehir</b>	<i>Çiçekdağı</i>	Merkez		
Çiçekdağı town			39.37 34.25	B
<b>Kırşehir</b>	<i>Çiçekdağı</i>	Akçakent		
Yeniyapan?			39.39 34.06	B
<b>Kırşehir</b>	<i>Kaman</i>	Merkez		
Kaman town		(+ KuAl)	39.22 33.43	B
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Cihanbeyli</i>	Merkez		
Cihanbeyli town		(+ others)	38.39 32.56	Kl
Böğrüdelik (Reşadiye)		(+ Öz-Tat)	38.48 32.35	Kl
Damlakuyu (Çorca/Carça)			38.46 32.55	Kl
Gölyazı (Dondurma/Helekanlı)			38.34 33.12	Hj/B
Günyüzü (Ketüde/Cütkanlı)			38.31 33.02	Hj/B
Kadioğlu			38.45 32.29	Kl
Kırkışla			38.31 32.51	Hj/B
Taşpınar			38.26 33.10	Hj/B
Yapalı			38.32 33.00	Hj/B
Zaferiye (Kayışlı/Kayısoğlu)			38.51 32.25	Kl
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Cihanbeyli</i>	Yeniceoba		
Yeniceoba			38.52 32.47	Kl/Hj/B
Bulduk			38.57 32.45	P/Hj/B
Büyükbeşkavak			38.57 32.36	Hj/B
Çimen			39.01 32.33	Hj/B
Çölyaylası			39.00 32.37	Hj
Kandil			38.58 32.31	Hj



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Kelhasan			38.54 32.35	KI/Hj/B
Kuşca (Hacılar)			38.50 32.41	KI/Hj/B
Küçükbeşkavak			38.57 32.39	Hj/B
Kütükuşağı			38.55 32.42	P/Hj/B
Turanlar			38.53 32.37	Hj
Tüfenkçipınarı (Tüfenkçi)			38.56 32.29	KI/Hj
*Suna				KI
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Ereğli</i>	Merkez		
Ereğli town		(few)	37.30 34.03	B
Bahçeli (Kızılyar/ İhsanihamidiye)		(+ others?)		B
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Kulu</i>	Merkez		
Acıkuyu			38.50 33.00	Hj/B
Altılar			39.12 32.58	KI/Hj/B
Arşınca			39.08 32.53	B
Beşkardeş			38.58 33.03	Hj/B
Boğazören? (Köstengil)		(+ Noğ)	39.08 32.55	KI
Bozyurt (Bunsuzşerefli)			39.05 32.41	P/Hj/B
Burunağıl			39.05 32.43	P
Celep (Sarısmaıloğlu)			38.59 32.56	Hj/B
Çöpler (Büyük Çöpler)			39.11 33.03	KI/Hj/B
Dipdede?		(Tk?)	39.12 32.54	Hj (B)
Gökler			39.15 32.54	B
Hisar			39.09 32.52	B
Karacadağ		(+ few Mu)	39.05 32.56	Hj/B
Kırkpınar			39.09 32.50	Hj/B
Kozanlı?		(Tk?)	39.04 32.49	Hj (B)
Şerefli (Bozyurt)?			39.05 32.51	B
Tavlıören (Tavlıviran)			39.13 32.58	P/Hj/B
Tavşancalı (Ömeranlı)			38.56 33.00	KI/Hj/B
Tuzyaka (Haramiçütkanlı)			38.57 33.14	Hj/B
Yeşilyurt (Atkafası)			39.03 32.43	P/Hj/B
Zincirlikuyu (Gündoğdu)			38.56 33.07	B
*Gölcük (? <i>illeg.</i> )			39.11 32.53	Hj
*Nallıtaş			39.10 32.46	Hj
*Sebilisula (? <i>illeg./Dikulag</i> )			39.09 32.45	Hj
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Sarayönü</i>	Merkez		
Boyalı			38.46 32.22	KI
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Yunak</i>	Merkez		
Ayrıtepe (Karapınar/Yörükmahallesi)			38.40 31.39	Hj
Böğrüderek			38.50 31.51	Hj

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Cebrail			38.42 31.37	Hj
Hacıfakılı			38.52 31.57	Hj
İmamoğlu			38.53 31.59	Hj
Karayayla			38.55 31.59	Hj
Kargılı			38.44 31.34	Hj
Koçyazı (Çıpkanlı/Aşağıtağzıaçık)			38.48 31.38	Hj
Kurtuşağı			38.54 31.42	Hj
Meşelik (Kafirusağı)			38.51 31.45	Hj
Saray			38.54 31.59	Hj
Yukarıtağzıaçık (Yeşilyayla)			38.50 31.39	Hj
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Yunak</i>	Çeltik		
Çeltik			39.02 31.47	Hj
Adakasım			38.57 31.54	Hj
Doğanyurt (Meşrutıye/ Kahveciören)		(+ Mu)	39.02 31.38	Kl
Gölpınar (Honanlı)			39.04 31.50	Hj
İshakuşağı			38.57 31.57	Hj
Küçükhasan			38.57 31.50	Hj
*Üçhüyük			38.59 31.50	Hj
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Yunak</i>	Sülüklü		
Sülüklü			38.53 32.21	Kl/Hj
Çayırbaşı			38.52 32.14	Hj
Hacıömeroğlu			39.00 32.20	Hj
Hatırlı (Katırlı)			38.56 32.20	Kl/Hj
Ortakışla			38.58 32.20	Hj
Sinanlı			38.57 32.15	Hj
<b>Malatya</b>	<i>Arapkir</i>	Merkez		
Arapkir town			39.03 38.30	P
<b>Malatya</b>	<i>Arguvan</i>	Merkez (KuAl?)		Sv
*Saridere				
<b>Malatya</b>	<i>Arguvan</i>	Çobandere (KuAl)		Sv
Siğirusağı (Siğiralar)			39.03 38.13	
<b>Malatya</b>	<i>Hekimhan</i>	Kurşunlu		
Kurşunlu (Kurşunlar Köyü)			38.40 37.51	P
Ağılbaşı (Baskıl)			38.33 37.51	P
<b>Nevşehir</b>	<i>Avanos</i>	Topaklı		
Kalaba (Karayusufhüyüğü)			38.58 35.00	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Niğde</b>	<i>Aksaray</i>	Merkez		
Ağzıkarahan?		(+ TkSu)	38.26 34.09	B
Akın			38.27 34.03	B
Alayhanı			38.32 34.20	B
Bebek			38.30 34.13	B
Dügüz			38.30 34.22	B
Ekecikşeyhler (Şıhlar?)		(+ ZaSu)	38.34 34.05	B
Göksügüzel (Karaahmetli)			38.31 34.10	B
Kelebalta (Kaleköy)			38.35 34.12	B
Pörnekler (Küçük- & Büyük Pörnek)			38.37 34.13	B
Sağırkaraca			38.32 34.05	B
Sağlık			38.19 34.04	B
Sarıağıl		(+ TkSu)	38.36 34.12	B
Susadı				B
Tepesidelik			38.29 34.05	B
Yalman			38.32 34.25	B
Yalnızceviz (Yalnızceviz)		(+ TkSu)	38.29 34.11	B
<b>Niğde</b>	<i>Aksaray</i>	Acıpınar		
Çavdarlılar			38.37 33.58	B
Çolaknebi			38.35 34.00	B
Fatmauşağı			38.36 34.00	B
Macarlı				B
<b>Niğde</b>	<i>Ortaköy</i>	Merkez		
Gökkaya (Sinandıgökkaya)			38.39 34.00	B
<b>Niğde</b>	<i>Ortaköy</i>	Balcı		
Reşadiye (Ziyaret)		(+ Tk)	38.48 34.13	B
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Akyazı</i>	Merkez		
Erdoğdu (Beydillismo/Caferanlı)			40.43 30.34	B
Karaçalılık (Kürtkuzuluk)?			40.40 30.37	B
Kazancı		(+ others)	40.42 30.34	B/Di
*Kurtlupınar			40.39 30.34	Di
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Akyazı</i>	Karapürçek		
Mecidiye		(+ others)	40.37 30.33	B
Potuklar				B
*Çeşmebaşı				Di
<b>Samsun</b>	<i>Bafra</i>	Merkez		
Dededağı			41.32 35.55	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Samsun</b>	<i>Havza</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Armutlu		(+ KuAl)	40.59 35.31	B
Çeltek		(+ Circ + KuAl)		B
Paşapınarı (Allahu)			40.56 35.39	B
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Gürün</i>	<b>Konakpınar</b>		
Eskibektaşlı			38.57 37.20	P
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Gürün</i>	<b>Yazyurdu</b>		
Akdere			38.36 36.54	P
Başören (Başveren)			38.37 36.58	P
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Kangal</i>	<b>Çetinkaya</b>		
Gürükbekir			39.18 37.32	
Sacayağı			39.19 37.37	
Sarıkadı			39.18 37.35	
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Zara</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Avşar?			39.59 37.46	B
Kayılıkaya (Kayalıkaya)?			39.59 37.44	B
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Zara</i>	<b>Şerefiye</b>		
some villages (unidentified)?				B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Söngüt		(+ TkSu)	40.19 36.24	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Artova</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Ahmetdanışment (Ziyaret)		(+ TkSu)	40.06 36.09	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Artova</i>	<b>Sulusaray</b>		
Alpudere		(+ Ab)	40.03 36.05	B
Çırdak		(+ Circ)	40.01 36.09	B
İlicak		(+ others)	39.59 36.04	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Turhal</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Gökdere		(+ others)	40.25 36.04	B
Kızkayası		(+ others)	40.22 36.06	B
Kuşoturağı		(+ others)	40.18 36.04	B
Sarıkaya		(+ TkSu)	40.26 35.59	B
Şatıroba (Yunusbeyçiftliği?)			40.17 36.08	B
Tatlıcak (Burga)			40.18 36.08	B
Uluöz		(+ TkSu)	40.24 36.04	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Turhal</i>	<b>Dökmetepe</b>		
Çarıksız			40.21 36.16	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Turhal</i>	Pazar		
Çiftlikköy (Dimorta Çiftliği?)			40.17 36.11	B
Ovayurt Geldigen/Kendigelen			40.18 36.12	B
Tatar		(+ Circ)	40.16 36.15	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Zile</i>	Boztepe		
Çiçekpınarı			40.08 35.51	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Akdağmadeni</i>	Merkez		
Evcı (Kurtini)?			39.43 36.00	B
Karadikmen?			39.46 35.46	B
Karapir?			39.41 35.57	B
Kayabaşı (Kılıpınar)?			39.55 35.53	B
Kılınçlı?			39.52 35.58	B
Kirsinkavağı?			39.47 35.48	B
Sarıgüney (Bahşayış-Çevirme)		(+ Circ)	39.49 35.59	B
Taşpınar (Taşpınar)?			39.52 36.01	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Akdağmadeni</i>	Karamağara		
Parmaksızkaçağı (Başpınar)?			39.42 35.35	B
Söğütlü?			39.51 35.35	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Boğazlıyan</i>	Merkez		
Karakuyu		(+ TkSu)	39.21 35.24	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Çekerek</i>	Merkez		
Başalan (Kötüköy)			40.08 35.27	B
İlbeyli (Elbeyli)			40.02 35.20	B
Kuzgun			40.03 35.21	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Çekerek</i>	Aydıncık		
Boğazkaya (Kürtbakırı)			40.10 35.16	B
Deveci			40.08 35.22	B
Üzümlük			40.12 35.21	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Sarıkaya</i>	Merkez		
Akbucak (Akköprü)			39.33 35.12	B
Bebek			39.37 35.24	B
Kayapınar?		(+ others?)	39.28 35.22	B
Söylemez?		(TkSu?)	39.36 35.22	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Sorgun</i>	Merkez		
Gökiniş			39.56 35.17	B
Keser (Keserderesi Köyü)			39.49 35.31	B
Sarıhamzalı		(+ others)	39.42 35.15	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<i>Sorgun</i>	Eymir		
Gököz		(+ TkSu)	39.58 35.16	B

## 23 Kurds: Alevi

Marginal areas (for main concentrations see Survey 1)

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Adiyaman	Gölbasi	Merkez (+ others)	37.47 37.38	B
Gölbasi town				
Adiyaman	Kâhta	Merkez		
Bağlar (Bizirin)			37.45 38.36	B
Ortanca (Susyan)			37.45 38.35	B
Çorum	Merkez	Merkez		
Büyükgülücek*?			40.21 34.46	Do
Eliceğ*?			40.19 34.47	Do
Küçükgülücek*?			40.22 34.47	Do
*Mıçıklar*?			40.31 34.49	Do
Çorum	Merkez	Cemilbey		
Düdüklük*?			40.18 35.01	Do
Gökçepınar*?			40.22 35.07	Do
Kadideresi*?			40.19 35.04	Do
Mustafaçelebi*?			40.19 34.59	Do
Çorum	Alaca	Merkez (+ TkAl)		
Akpınar			40.15 35.00	B
Belpınar*?			40.03 35.09	Do
Büyükcamili			40.15 34.51	B
Büyükeşlik (Büyükeşlik)			40.15 35.02	B
Çevreli (Alamaslı)			40.14 34.46	B
Çırcır			40.16 34.54	B/Do
Çikhasan*?			40.19 34.57	Do
Değirmenönü*?			40.15 34.54	Do
Dutluca (Tutluca)*?			40.15 34.56	Do
Kalınkaya			40.15 34.44	B
Karamahmut			40.13 34.44	B
Kılavuz			40.16 35.01	B/Do
Koçhisar			40.06 34.58	B
Koyunoğlu			40.18 34.54	B/Do
Kuşkışla*?			40.15 34.55	Do
Küçükcamili			40.15 34.52	B
Küçükdona?			40.09 35.09	B
Küçükkeşlik			40.15 34.39	B
Mazıbaşı			40.18 34.56	B/Do
Çorum	Ortaköy	Merkez		
Yaylacık (Göpsen/Köpsen)*?			40.17 35.06	Do

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Çorum</b>	<i>Sungurlu</i>	Merkez		
Balkaya (Büyük- & Küçük-Totan)*?			39.59 34.19	Do
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>İslahiye</i>	Sakçagöze		
Balıkan (Balıkanlı)			37.20 36.53	B
Çakmak (Muhacirincedit)?		(TkSu?)	37.12 36.51	P(B)
<b>Hatay</b>	<i>Hassa</i>	Merkez		
Arpalıuşağı (Araklıuşağı)?			36.46 36.27	B
Aşağıkarafakılı?			36.46 36.32	B
<b>Hatay</b>	<i>İskenderun</i>	Merkez		
İskenderun town			36.35 36.10	B
<b>Kayseri</b>	<i>Pınarbaşı</i>	Merkez		
Pınarbaşı town		(+ others)	38.43 36.24	B
Büyükkabaktepe		(+ Circ)	38.32 36.24	B
Eskiyassıpınar		(+ Circ)	38.46 36.37	B
Kızıldere			38.41 36.16	B
<b>Kayseri</b>	<i>Sarız</i>	Merkez		
Sarız town			38.29 36.30	B
Büyükörtülü?			38.32 36.42	P
Çağsak			38.26 36.33	P
Dallıkavak?			38.27 36.37	P
Darıdere?			38.26 36.29	P
Dayoluk?		(+ Af)	38.20 36.28	P
Gümüşali?			38.27 36.25	P
İncemağara?		(+ Af)	38.24 36.29	P
Kırkısrak			38.28 36.40	P
Küçükkabaktepe?			38.30 36.22	P
Küçükörtülü?			38.32 36.42	P
Küçüksöçüme?		(Za?)	38.29 36.36	P
Tavlaköy (Sinemili?)			38.24 36.31	P
Teknil (Deştiye)			38.34 36.33	P
<b>Kayseri</b>	<i>Tomarza</i>	?		
some villages (unidentified)				Ba
<b>Kırşehir</b>	<i>Kaman</i>	Merkez		
Kaman town		(+ KuSu)	39.22 33.43	B
<b>Malatya</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Gölpınar		(+ TkSu)		B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Malatya	<i>Merkez</i>	Kale	38.23 38.48	A
Kozluk				
Malatya	<i>Merkez</i>	Yazihan		
Yazihan		(+ others)	38.37 38.10	B
Balaban		(+ TkAl)	38.34 38.18	B
Boyaca		(+ others)	38.37 38.15	B
Dedekargın		(+ TkAl)	38.30 38.20	B
Eğribük		(TkAl?)	38.33 38.21	A(B)
Malatya	<i>Akçadağ</i>	Kürecik		
some villages (unidentified)				A/B
Malatya	<i>Arguvan</i>	Merkez		
Asar			38.42 38.10	B
Güngören (Kadabela)			38.53 38.15	B
Kışla		(+ TkAl)	38.43 38.12	B
Malatya	<i>Arguvan</i>	Çobandere		
Yoncalı (Birik)			39.01 38.16	B
Alhasuşağı			38.57 38.17	B
Çobandere (Şotik)			39.00 38.15	B
Göçeruşağı			38.59 38.14	B
Kömürlük			38.55 38.15	B
Kurutuş (Kuruttaşmezraalan)			38.53 38.12	B
Sığıruşağı			39.02 38.13	B
Malatya	<i>Hekimhan</i>	Hasançelebi		
Köylüköyü		(+ TkAl)	39.00 37.55	B
Sazlıca			38.59 38.04	B
Malatya	<i>Hekimhan</i>	Kurşunlu		
Ağılbaşı (Engüzek)			38.33 37.50	B
Nevşehir	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Göreme (Avclar)		(+ TkSu)	38.49 34.50	B
Nevşehir	<i>Avanos</i>	Özkonak		
Ayhan		(+ TkAl)	38.50 34.44	B
Nevşehir	<i>Gülşehir</i>	Merkez		
Dadağı			38.51 34.39	B
Nevşehir	<i>Hacıbektaş</i>	Merkez		
Hacıbektaş town		(+ TkAl+ TkSu)	38.57 34.33	B



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Samsun	<i>Havza</i>	Merkez		
Armutlu		(+ KuSu)	40.59 35.31	B
Çeltek		(+ Circ+ KuSu)		B
Sivas	<i>Divriği</i>	Merkez		
Divriği town			39.22 38.07	A
Kayacık (Murmana)		(+ TkAl)	39.26 38.06	B
Sivas	<i>Divriği</i>	Gedikbaşı		
Çamlık (Kürtarege)			39.34 38.07	B
Çayözü (Hamo)		(+ TkSu)	39.35 38.12	B
Yoncabayırı (Ekrekçimen)			39.39 38.17	B
Yozyatağı (Buzyatağı)			39.41 38.06	B
Sivas	<i>Hafik</i>	Merkez		
Adamlı		(+ others)	40.13 37.07	B
Asarcık (Yukarı- & Aşağı-Asarcık)		(+ others)	40.09 37.10	B
Sivas	<i>İmranlı</i>	Merkez		
İmranlı town		(+ TkSu)	39.53 38.07	A/B
Akkaya			39.43 38.19	B
Altınca (Cefolar)			39.54 38.09	B
Aşağıboğaz (Aşağıgirik)			39.53 38.13	B
Aşağıçulha (Çulhaizir)			39.54 38.07	B
Atlıca (Ağızgir)			39.49 38.20	B
Aydın (Kürtyenice)			39.49 38.26	B
Başlıca (Birikan/Pirikanlı?)			39.50 37.59	B
Becek			39.48 38.02	B
Beğendik (Yazıhacı)			39.53 38.03	B
Boğazören (Boğazveren)			39.49 38.10	B
Borular			39.57 38.06	B
Bulgurluk (Karlaş)			39.49 38.06	B
Çalıyurt			39.55 38.16	B
Çandır			39.49 38.00	B
Dağyurdu (Mistolar)			39.55 38.18	B
Delice			39.54 38.05	B
Dereköy			39.51 38.03	B
Doğançay (Yazıfat)			39.53 38.05	B
Ekincik (Kağnut)			39.48 38.25	B
Eskidere			39.48 38.07	B
Eskikapımahmut			39.57 38.10	B
Eskikeşlik			39.55 37.58	B
Gelenli			39.47 38.10	B
Gelintarla (Hoymeyik)			39.47 38.20	B
Gökçebel			39.55 38.14	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Gökdere?		(+ TkSu?)	39.50 38.19	B
Görünmez kale			39.53 38.20	B
Hasköy (İngürikmahmut)			39.48 38.15	B
Kabaktepeler (Kavaktepebala- Kavaktepezir)			39.49 38.00	B
Kapımahmut			39.54 38.12	B
Karacahisar			39.47 38.23	B
Karacaören (Kılıçlar)			39.56 38.11	B
Karaçayır			39.53 38.15	B
Karahüseyin			39.54 38.18	B
Karapınar			39.48 38.19	B
Karataş			39.59 38.08	B
Karlık			39.52 38.16	B
Kasaplar			39.50 38.27	B
Kemreli			39.51 38.15	B
Kerimoğlu			39.54 38.17	B
Kevenli			39.49 38.16	B
Kızılmezra			39.54 38.19	B
Kızıltepe			39.49 38.03	B
Koruköy (Gencolar)			39.56 38.10	B
Koyunkaya			39.50 38.19	B
Körabbas			39.48 38.06	B
Kuzköy			39.51 38.20	B
Maden			39.57 38.02	B
Merkezkılıçlar			39.53 38.00	B
Ortaköy			39.52 38.20	B
Piredede		(+ TkSu)	39.51 38.14	B
Sinek			39.46 38.23	B
Süvariler			39.56 38.12	B
Toklucak (Paccı)			39.51 38.17	B
Topallar			39.50 38.03	B
Toptaş (Kürtşeyhli)			39.47 38.13	B
Tuzözü?		(+ TkSu?)	39.43 38.21	B
Uzunteür			39.55 38.05	B
Yakayeri (Hindolar)			39.48 38.03	B
Yapraklıpınar (Balolar)			39.48 38.04	B
Yaylacık (Yazıfidey)			39.53 38.06	B
Yazıkavak (Kucur/Gucurlar?)			39.53 38.16	B
Yenikent (Kılıçköy)			39.52 38.00	B
Yukarıboğaz (Yukarıgirik/Girigibala)			39.54 38.14	B
Yukarıçulha (Çulhaibala)			39.54 38.07	B
Sivas	İmranlı	Karacaören		
Karacaören (Karacaveran)			39.44 38.08	B
Akçakale			39.45 38.10	B
Alacahacı			39.43 38.10	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Arık			39.45 38.04	B
Bağyazı (Bandıra)			39.41 38.20	B
Bardaklı (Harami)			39.44 38.13	B
Celaldamı			39.48 38.00	B
Cerit			39.47 38.06	B
Haliller (Aksu)			39.46 38.10	B
Kapıkaya			39.45 38.01	B
Kaşlı (Cogi Yünören/Yukarı- & Aşağı Çoğu)			39.42 38.00?	B
Kavalcık (Köndül)			39.47 38.03	B
Koçgediği (Gilicek)			39.43 38.14	B
Ortadaracık (Daracık)			39.40 38.13	B
Sandal			39.48 38.00	B
Sarıçubuk (Bahadun)			39.45 38.13	B
Taşdelen (Kusura)			39.43 38.19	B
Taşlıca (Tarbas-Araplar)			39.41 38.16	B
Yazılı (Kürtkömüşlük/Küçükkömüşlük)			39.46 38.01	B
Sivas	<i>Kangal</i>	Çetinkaya		
Çetinkaya (Çatinkaya)			39.15 37.36	Sv
Sivas	<i>Yıldızeli</i>	Yavu		
Katıralan			39.42 36.23	A
Sivas	<i>Zara</i>	Merkez		
Atkıran			39.48 37.53	B
Bağlama			39.48 37.50	B
Ballıklar (Aşağıballık/Ballıkzir, Ballıkbalı)			39.49 37.58	B
Bektaş			39.44 37.45	B
Cemal			39.46 37.54	B
Danışık			39.47 37.52	B
Deredam?		(TkAl?)	39.59 37.56	B
Dipsizgöl			39.44 37.58	B
Eymir?		(TkSu?)	39.58 37.40	B
Karahasan			39.46 37.51	B
Karaman			39.48 37.57	B
Kelhasan			39.46 37.53	B
Kızılkale			39.44 37.56	B
Kumoğlu			39.58 37.57	B
Kuzören (Kuzveran)			39.46 37.45	B
Sarıyusuf			39.44 37.36	B
Seten			39.46 37.56	B
Sorkun (Sorhon)			39.46 37.52	B
Söğütluğail			39.56 37.45	B
Üngür			39.47 37.45	B
Yarımkaya (Reşoğlu/Reşolu)? (TkSu?)			39.47 37.43	B
Yolören (Kürtkılavuz)			39.50 37.57	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Sivas</b>	<b>Zara</b>	<b>Bulucan</b>		
Emirhan			39.43 37.46	B
Alişanağlı (Alişanbeyağlı)			39.45 37.50	B
Aşağıçamözü <sup>+</sup>			39.39 37.45	B
Aşağıçamurcu <sup>+</sup>			39.36 38.02	B
Aşağımescit <sup>+</sup>			39.37 37.57	B
Atgeçmez <sup>+</sup>			39.39 37.51	B
Bulucan <sup>+</sup> (Bolucan)			39.41 38.00	B
Büyükkaya (Araplar)			39.40 37.49	B
Çaylıca (Kümsür) <sup>+</sup>			39.39 37.59	B
Çaypınar (Karaibo)			39.45 37.48	B
Çuhaali (Çulhalı)			39.39 37.47	B
Düzceli (Kırolar/Kerolar)			39.45 37.47	B
Evrencik (Kırıkizolu/İzol)			39.41 38.03	B
Kardere <sup>+</sup>			39.39 38.01	B
Karslılar (Garsılar)			39.40 37.45	B
Pazarcık <sup>+</sup>			39.40 37.50	B
Söğütözü <sup>+</sup>			39.40 38.03	B
Taşgöze <sup>+</sup> (Memgüzer/Mergüzer Mezrası)			39.38 37.53	B
Yeşildere (Kırkkilise)			39.37 37.51	B
Yoğunpelit <sup>+</sup>			39.41 37.47	B
Yukarıçamözü <sup>+</sup>			39.38 37.44	B
Yukarıçamurcu <sup>+</sup>			39.37 37.59	B
Yukarımescit <sup>+</sup> (Mescitli)			39.38 37.57	B
Zogallı			39.38 37.49	B
<b>Sivas</b>	<b>Zara</b>	<b>Şerefiye</b>		
Alişir			40.07 37.49	B
Armutçayırı			40.06 37.43	B
Beekli			40.06 37.50	B
Çevirmehan			40.07 37.51	B
Çorak			40.01 37.50	B
Göktepe			40.06 37.47	B
Güllüali			40.06 37.51	B
Pazarbeleni			40.08 37.52	B
Söğütlü			40.02 37.50	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<b>Reşadiye</b>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Çilehane			40.19 37.12	B
<b>Yozgat</b>	<b>Akdağmadeni</b>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Akdağmadeni town		(+ Mu)	39.40 35.53	A
Dayılı (Dayalan)?			39.36 35.37	A
<b>Yozgat</b>	<b>Sarıkkaya</b>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Çatak		(+ TkSu)	39.22 35.25	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Yozgat	<i>Sorgun</i>	Merkez		
Çavuşköy?		(TkSu?)	39.37 35.12	B
Çayözü (Merkezkürtköyü)			39.44 35.14	B

*Note:* The asterisk (\*) behind the place names in the Çorum area designates villages which are simply listed as Kurdish, without reference to their religious affiliation. Since several Alevi-Kurdish villages are known to exist in that area, it is highly probable that these others have the same population.

The plus-sign (+) behind place names in the Sivas-Zara area indicates villages inhabited by the Balician (Bilican, Bulucan) tribe which is of Zaza origin. Although some of these tribespeople still speak Zaza, they now consider themselves to be Kurds (Kurmäng) and are so listed here.

## 24 Kurds: Yezidi

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Adıyaman</b>	<i>Besni</i>	Çakırhüyük		
Yoldüzü (Mırhtılı)			37.35 37.55	A
one neighbouring village (unidentified)				A
<b>Diyarbakır</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Bahçecik			37.53 40.27	B
<b>Diyarbakır</b>	<i>Bismil</i>	Merkez		
Yasince		(left recently)	37.54 40.33	B
*Darakol		(left recently)	37.56 40.32	B
*Haydarkolu		(mixed)	37.54 40.32	B
<b>Diyarbakır</b>	<i>Cınar</i>	Merkez		
Gürses (Davudi)			37.40 40.21	B/VY
*Melekis (Melkiş)			37.43 40.16	VY
<b>Gaziantep</b>	<i>Nizip</i>	Merkez		
Güder (Kuştam, Küştüm)			37.10 37.46	A
Kızılin			37.09 37.49	Tan 1952/A
Tatlıcak (Cağut, Cavut)			37.08 37.45	A
<b>Mardin</b>	<i>Derik</i>	Merkez		
Ballı (Zorova/Zevra)?			37.21 40.10	VY
Bayraklı (Giresor/Giresiit)?			37.16 40.17	VY

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Mardin</b>	<i>İdil</i>	Haberli		
Mağara (Kivah)			37.16 41.34	B/Ri/Yo/ An/VY
<b>Mardin</b>	<i>Midyat</i>	Merkez		
Midyat town		(mixed)	37.25 41.20	B
Çayırılı (Kefnaz)			37.19 41.29	B/Ri/An/ Tn/VY
Güven (Bacin)			37.21 41.24	B/Ri/Yo/ Tn/VY
Oyuklu (Take)			37.23 41.27	Ri/Tn/B/VY
Pelitli (Barbanus)?		(Ar?)	37.20 41.23	Ri(B)
Yenice (Harabye)			37.22 41.30	B/Ri/VY
*Dirvan (Deyvan)			37.18 41.25	B/Ri/Tn/VY
*Göçan (Koçane)			37.20 41.27	B/Ri/Tn/VY
<b>Mardin</b>	<i>Nusaybin</i>	Girmeli		
Çilesiz (Mezri/Mezrimihoke)			37.06 41.32	B
Değirmencik (Kolikan)			37.09 41.39	B/VY
Dibek (Badip)		(majority Syr)	37.12 41.27	Yo
Güneli (Gelisoran)			37.07 41.30	B/VY
Kaleli (Efşi)			37.15 41.30	B/VY
Kayadibi (Memdikan)			37.07 41.20	B
Kocadağ (Mezrigelipira)		(+ KuSu)	37.12 41.39	B/VY
Yerköy (Binartke)			37.05 41.32	B
*Balaban (Birigirya)		(mixed)	37.07 41.30	Yo/VY
*Baminin		(mixed)	37.15 41.33	B/An
*Berak				VY
*Elin			37.15 41.31	An
*Fiskin		(left?)	37.09 41.36	Yo
*Ganik				VY
*Güzelsu (Habap)		(majority Syr)	37.14 41.28	B
*Kunar				VY
<b>Siirt</b>	<i>Batman</i>	Merkez		
Yolveren (Çineri)			37.47 41.17	B/VY
<b>Siirt</b>	<i>Beşiri</i>	Merkez		
Deveboynu (Geydük/Gedük)			37.51 41.18	B/VY
Kuşçukuru (Kerhök/Kelhük)			37.56 41.17	B
Uğrak (Tahari)			37.55 41.18	B/VY
Yolkonak (Hicri)			37.55 41.19	B/VY
*Şahsim				VY
<b>Siirt</b>	<i>Beşiri</i>	Beyçayırı		
Uğurca (Koruk)			37.58 41.19	B/VY

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Sürt</b>	<i>Beşiri</i>	<b>Oğuz</b>		
Oğuz (Şimiz)			37.49 41.22	B/VY
Kumgeçit (Bazivan/Baziranmağara Köyü)			37.49 41.29	B/VY
Üçkuyular (Fakiran)			37.48 41.19	B/VY
*Duşah (Duşa)			37.49 41.28	B/VY
<b>Sürt</b>	<i>Eruh</i>	<b>Bağgöze</b>		
Kılıçkaya (Divik/Devik)		(mixed)	37.46 41.57	B
<b>Sürt</b>	<i>Kurtalan</i>	<b>Beşpınar</b>		
Kurukavak (Hamdunan)			37.51 41.35	B
*Henap				VY
<b>Urfa</b>	<i>Viranşehir</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Altınbaşak (İşhanlar/İşgen)			37.18 39.53	VY
Burç			37.15 39.45	B/VY
Dinçök (Gedenosa)			37.15 39.55	VY
Konakyeri (Tilcafer)			37.17 39.45	VY
Oğlakçı (Olakçı)			37.14 39.47	B/VY
Yaban			37.10 39.55	B/VY
*Ağmazut (Büyük- & Küçük Akmazot)			37.17 39.48/49	VY
*Baluc (Baluca)			37.16 39.45	B/VY
*Çeçana				VY
*Fistek				VY
*Gede Osmo (Gedeosman)			37.14 39.57	VY
*Girbe Ariye				VY
*Girbe Belek				VY
*Hedşan (Atşan/Elgün?)			37.09 39.49?	VY
*Korye (Gori?)			37.15 39.53?	VY
*Kevirbel (Keferbel)			37.17 39.47	VY
*Kerme (Büyük- & Küçük Kerme)			37.12/14 39.51	VY
*Ketrü				VY
*Minminik (Menminek)			37.16 39.52	VY
*Mollagaco			37.17 39.53	B/VY
*Mozik				VY
*Suhaniye				VY
*Topezgol				VY
*Tiltirik			37.13 39.53	VY

## 25 Zazas: Sunni

Marginal areas (for main concentrations see Survey 1)

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Adıyaman	Gerger	Merkez		
Gerger town?		(ZaAl? few)	37.58 38.51	B
Kars	Ardahan			
Some villages (unidentified)				A
Kars	Selim			
Some villages (unidentified)				A
Kayseri	Sarız	Merkez		
Küçüksöçüme?		(KuSu?)	38.29 36.36	P
Niğde	Aksaray	Merkez		
Borucu			38.35 34.07	B
Cankılı			38.35 34.04	B
Çekiçler			38.36 34.06	B
Ekecikgödeler			38.36 34.03	B
Ekeciktol			38.30 34.07	B
Ekecikşeyhler (Şıhlar?)		(+ KuSu)	38.34 34.04	B
Ekecikyeniköy			38.32 34.08	B
Gökçe (Namasun)?		(TkSu?)	38.25 34.10	B
Karaçayır			38.34 34.07	B
Karakova			38.34 34.19	B
Karakuyu			38.31 34.17	B
Koyak			38.33 34.09	B
Salmanlı			38.35 34.09	B
Tabdik			38.34 34.09	B
Yağan?		(TkSu?)	38.32 34.03	B
Yanyurt (Yeniyurt)			38.36 34.08	B
Urfa	Siverek	Dağbaşı		
Dağbaşı (Karahan)			37.54 39.22	Kah
(Villages neighbouring Dağbaşı are also ZaSn)				Kah



## 26 Zazas: Alevi

Marginal areas (for main concentrations see Survey 1)

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Erzincan</b>	<i>Çayırlı</i>	Merkez		
Çamurdere			39.48 40.07	Der/Sch
Çayönü (Kelmizikomu/Gelmizekomu)?			39.46 40.02	Der
Çilligöl (Ekrek)?			39.48 39.59	Der
<b>Erzincan</b>	<i>Çayırlı</i>	Başköy		
Başköy?			39.52 39.50	Der
Ozanlı (Hayrani)?			39.50 39.56	Der
Sarıgüney (Semek)?			39.54 39.50	Der
*Apağ?				Der
*Çamucık?				Der
*Kahnut?			39.45 39.59	Der
*Komegolo?				Der
*Kurişli?				Der
<b>Erzurum</b>	<i>Tekman</i>	Merkez		
Çatkâle (Mergizer)	Beyhan		39.32 41.34	B
Dibekli	Beyhan		39.33 41.40	B
Erduran (Halefan)	Beyhan		39.33 41.42	B
Gülveren	Hıdanlı		39.36 41.42	B
Karataş	Beyhan		39.35 41.33	B
<b>Erzurum</b>	<i>Tekman</i>	Gökoğlan		
Çağlar (Tayyarkomu)	Hıdanlı		39.28 41.32	B
Çayırdığı (Alimor)	Hıdanlı		39.30 41.30	B
Gümüştük (İbrahimağakomu)	Beyhan		39.29 41.33	B
Kazancık (Memokomu)	Beyhan		39.28 41.33	B
Kuruca	Hıdanlı		39.32 41.28	B
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Kangal</i>	Kavak		
Çavdar(köy)			39.30 37.30	A
Dereköy			39.28 37.32	A
Gençali (Kellah)			39.27 37.31	A
Kavakköy			39.27 37.33	A
Sultanpınarı			39.26 37.33	A
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Zara</i>	Beypınarı		
Büyükköy			39.29 37.39	A
İğdeli			39.30 37.36	A
Kanlıçayır			39.30 37.36	A
Kuruköprü			39.29 37.36	A
Sancakkâle (Kâleisancak) (as Kâle)			39.29 37.35	A
*Tuzladeresi			39.29 37.39	A

Note: for Alevis of Zaza origin in Sivas-Zara-Bulucan district see Kurd, Alevi (23).

## 27 Ossetes

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Bitlis	<i>Ahlat</i>	Ovakişla		
Otluyazı (Hulik)		(+ others)	38.53 42.22	Ay
Erzurum	?	?		Tho
Kars	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Kars city				Eğ
Kars	<i>Sarıkamış</i>	Merkez		
Sarıkamış town		(few)	40.20 42.36	Eğ
Bozat		(+ others)	40.22 42.42	Eğ
Yukarısarıkamış		(+ Ku)	40.20 42.33	Eğ
Kayseri	<i>Pınarbaşı</i>	Merkez		
Eğrisöğüt		(+ Kar)	38.38 36.23	B/Ay
Muş	<i>Merkez</i>	Mercimekkale		
Mescitli (Kızılmescit?) (or Mescitli in Bulanık - Merkez?)			39.02 41.46	Ay
Muş	<i>Bulanık</i>	Karaağıl		
Karaağıl		(+ others)	39.09 42.07	Ay
Kurganlı (Simo/Simoçerkes)			39.13 42.05	Ay
Sarıpınar (Hamzaşeyh)			39.12 42.07	Ay
Muş	<i>Malazgirt</i>	Karahasan		
Yaramış			39.02 42.34	Ay
Muş	<i>Varto</i>	?		
some villages (unidentified)				B/Tho
Niğde	<i>Çamardı</i>	Merkez		
Orhaniye		(few)		Ay
Siirt	<i>Şirvan</i>	Cevizlik		
Kayahisar (İrun)?			38.10 42.14	Kb
Sivas	<i>Şarkışla</i>	Merkez		
Kahvepınar*		(+ Che)	39.28 36.27	B
Sivas	<i>Yıldızeli</i>	Merkez		
Konaközü		(+ others)	39.44 36.27	Ay
Sivas	<i>Yıldızeli</i>	Yavu (Belcik)		
Yeniköy		(+ others)	39.56 36.09	Tho/B/Ay

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Tokat Almus town	<i>Almus</i>	Merkez (+ Circ + others)	40.23 36.54	Ay
Tokat Gürpınar (Çengibağı)	<i>Reşadiye</i>	Merkez (few)	40.30 37.29	Ay
Tokat Kuşoturağı	<i>Turhal</i>	Merkez (+ Kum + Noğ + Ku + Circ)	40.18 36.04	Ay/B
Tokat Taşlık	<i>Turhal</i>	Pazar (few) (+ Circ)	40.17 36.20	Ay/B
Yozgat Poyrazlı*	<i>Boğazlıyan</i>	Merkez	39.23 35.08	B/Ay
Yozgat Boyalık*	<i>Sarıkaya</i>	Merkez	39.26 35.26	B/Ay/J
Karabacak*			39.29 35.12	B/Ay
Kayapınar*			39.29 35.22	Ay/B

*Note:* In a few cases villages can be classified in Ossetian sub-groups. Where so identified, Iron villages are marked \*, and Digur/Digor villages\*.

## 28 a Armenians: Christian

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Ankara Ankara city (community, about 1000 Protestants)	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		Sv/Arch
Bingöl 1 village unidentified	<i>Kiğı</i>	Adaklı (Hösnek)		N
Bitlis 4 villages unidentified	<i>Mutki</i>	Meydan		N
Diyarbakır Diyarbakır city (community)	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		Sv/vB
Elâzığ 1 village not identified	<i>Karakoçan</i>	Başyurt (Lahan)		N

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Hatay	<i>İskenderun</i>	Merkez		
İskenderun town (community)			36.35 36.10	Sv
Hatay	<i>Samandağı</i>	Merkez		
Eriklikuyu (Hacıhabibli)?		(left?)	36.11 35.59	D(B)
Hıdırbey		(left)	36.09 35.57	D(B)
Kapısuu (Kapusuyu)?		(left)	36.08 35.56	D(B)
Teknepinar (Botıayaz)		(left?)	36.05 36.01	D(B)
Vakıflı		(+ others)	36.08 35.58	D/Sv/B/Rey
Yoğunluk		(left)		D(B)
*Çevlik				D
İstanbul	?	?		
İstanbul city (patriarchate, communities, 30-40,000)				
İstanbul	<i>Bakırköy</i>	Merkez		
Küçükçekmece			41.06 28.47	Sv
Kastamonu	<i>Azdavay</i>	?		
in Azdavay town or sub-province				Sv
Kastamonu	<i>Taşköprü</i>	Merkez		
Kapaklı			41.24 34.19	B
*Belençayırı			41.25 34.20	B
*Tütenli			41.23 34.19	B
Kayseri	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Kayseri city (community)				Sv
Kayseri	<i>Develi</i>	Merkez		
Develi town (in the 1960's)			38.23 35.30	B
Kahraman	<i>Merkez</i>	Süleymanlı		
Maraş				
Süleymanlı town (Zeytin/Zeytun)			37.53 36.50	B
Mardin	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Mardin city (Catholic)				Po
Mardin	<i>Derik</i>	Merkez		
Derik town (community)			37.22 40.16	Sv/vB
Mardin	<i>Kızıltepe</i>	Merkez		
Kızıltepe town (community)			37.12 40.35	vB
Mardin	<i>Silopi</i>	Merkez		
Silopi town			37.15 42.29	vB

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Siirt Beşiri town	<i>Beşiri</i>	Merkez (now left)	37.55 41.17	B
Siirt Şirnak town	<i>Şirnak</i>	Merkez (now left or conv.)	37.31 42.48	vB
Siirt Şirvan town	<i>Şirvan</i>	Merkez	38.04 42.02	vB
Sinop in or near Boyabat town	<i>Boyabat</i>	?	41.28 34.46	vB
Sivas Zara town	<i>Zara</i>	Merkez (left?)	39.54 37.45	B
Tokat Tokat city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		B
Yozgat Boğazlıyan town	<i>Boğazlıyan</i>	Merkez	39.12 35.15	B

### 28 b Muslims of Armenian Origin

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Elâziğ Üğrük	<i>Sivrice</i>	Merkez (few + Ku + Mu)		B
Erzurum	?	?		vB
Kars	?	?		vB
Siirt Eruh town and district	<i>Eruh</i>	Merkez	37.45 42.11	vB
Siirt Acar (Herent)	<i>Sason</i>	Merkez (converted 1983)	38.18 41.16	Ho
Siirt *Erikli (Pişut)	<i>Sason</i>	?		Mill
Siirt Şirnak town	<i>Şirnak</i>	Merkez (few)	37.31 42.48	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Tunceli	?	?		vB
Tunceli	<i>Mazgirt</i>	Merkez	38.59 39.41	B
Ağaçardı (Şorda)				
Van	<i>Gevaş</i>	Bahçesaray		
Cevizbelen (Kisor)			38.02 42.54	B
Yaylakonak (Taramağ)			38.04 42.43	B

*Note:* An indeterminate number of Armenians appear to have become Alevi in the Tunceli region, and possibly elsewhere. Similarly, others have remained as Muslims near Erzurum, Kars, and in the neighbourhood of Eruh.

For another group of Muslims of earlier Armenian origin see Hemshinli (29 a-b).

## 29 a Hemshinli: Armenian-Speaking

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Artvin	<i>Borçka</i>	Merkez		
Çifteköprü		(+ Laz?)	41.23 41.34	B
Artvin	<i>Borçka</i>	Muratlı (Maradit)		
Güreşen (Beylevan)			41.27 41.39	B
Artvin	<i>Hopa</i>	Merkez		
Hopa town		(+ Laz)	41.24 41.26	B
Balikköy			41.22 41.28	B
Başoba (Higoba/Büyükbaşı)			41.25 41.29	B
Çavuşlu			41.24 41.30	B
Çimenli				B
Eşmekaya (Ardala)		(+ Ku?)	41.21 41.28	B
Güneşli			41.21 41.28	B
Hendek (Garci)		(+ Laz)	41.21 41.27	B
Koyuncular (Zalona)			41.24 41.32	B
Pınarlı				B
Yoldere (Zürbici)			41.23 41.28	B
Artvin	<i>Hopa</i>	Kemalpaşa		
Kemalpaşa town		(+ Laz)	41.29 41.32	B
Çamurlu			41.29 41.34	B
Karaosmaniye			41.27 41.31	B
Kaya (Şana)			41.30 41.34	B
Kazimiye			41.30 41.33	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Köprücü		(+ Laz)	41.28. 41.34	B
Osmaniye			41.28 41.33	B
Sarp		(+ Laz)	41.31 41.33	B
Üçkardeş			41.30 41.32	B
<b>Bolu</b>	<i>Akçakoca</i>	Merkez		
Karatavuk			40.59 31.01	B
<b>Bolu</b>	<i>Düzce</i>	Merkez		
Düzce town, Aziziye Mahallesi			40.50 31.10	B
<b>Bolu</b>	<i>Düzce</i>	Gümüşova		
Karadere		(? with others)	40.54 30.53	B
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Karasu</i>	Kocaali		
Açmabaş			40.59 30.53	B
Karapelit			41.00 30.53	B
Kestanepınarı (?mixed)			40.59 30.49	B
Koçukpelit(?)			40.59 30.52	B
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Karasu</i>	Ortaköy		
Lahana (Ortaköy/Yenidağ)		(+ Ge)	41.00 30.56	B
Aktaş		(? + Mu)	40.58 30.52	B

### 29 b Hemshinli: Turkish-Speaking

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Bolu</b>	<i>Düzce</i>	Gümüşova		
Karadere		(?with others)	40.54 30.53	B
<b>Rize</b>	<i>Ardeşen</i>	Merkez		
Armağan (Salıncık)		(+ Laz)	41.11 41.03	B
Beyazkaya (Serapı)		(+ Laz)		B
Yeniyol (Öce)			41.14 41.06	B/Ayt
Yurtsever				B
<b>Rize</b>	<i>Çamlıhemşin</i>	Merkez		
Çat			40.51 40.57	B
Güroluk (Çivikçakışlı)			41.05 41.02	B
Hisarcık (Kaleioba/Kaleibala)			40.49 40.57	B
Kaplıca (Holca)			41.03 41.04	B
Meydan			40.53 40.56	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
				B
				B
				B
				B
			40.55 40.57	B
			41.00 40.59	B
			40.58 40.57	B
			40.50 40.59	B
			40.49 40.58	B
			41.01 40.59	B
			41.05 41.03	B
			40.54 40.51	B
<b>Rize</b>	<i>Çayeli</i>	Merkez		
			41.04 40.49	B
				B
			41.05 40.48	B
				B
			41.06 40.48	B
			41.06 40.46	B
<b>Rize</b>	<i>Fındıklı</i>	Merkez		
			41.15 41.12	B
				B
			41.14 41.11	B
		(+ Laz)	41.11 41.10	B
		(+ Laz)	41.14 41.11	B
			41.10 41.13	B
			41.15 41.07	B
<b>Rize</b>	<i>Pazar</i>	Merkez		
		(Laz?)	41.05 40.57	B
		(+ Laz)	41.04 40.54	B
		(?)	41.05 40.56	B
		(+ Laz)	41.06 40.54	B
		(?)	41.09 40.50	B
		(+ Laz)	41.07 40.56	B
		(?)	41.07 40.51	B
			41.04 40.57	B
<b>Rize</b>	<i>Pazar</i>	Ortaköy (Hemşin)		
			41.00 40.53	B
			41.03 40.57	B
			41.01 40.55	B
			41.01 40.55	B
			41.04 40.54	B



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Sakarya Paralı	<i>Karasu</i>	Merkez (?)	41.00 30.41	B
Sakarya Kestanepınarı	<i>Karasu</i>	Kocaali (?) (mixed)	40.59 30.49	B
Koğukpelit		(?)	40.59 30.52	B
Sakarya Aktaş	<i>Karasu</i>	Ortaköy (?) (+ Mu)	40.58 30.52	B

## 30 Albanians

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Adana Hamitbeybucağı	<i>Ceyhan</i>	Merkez	37.07 35.49	S
Amasya Bayat	<i>Merzifon</i>	Merkez	40.56 35.37	B
Antalya Antalya city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		deP
Bahkesir Susurluk town	<i>Susurluk</i>	Merkez	39.55 28.09	Mag
Bursa Bursa city, esp. Yıldırım Mahallesi	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		B
Bursa Gemlik town	<i>Gemlik</i>	Merkez (few)	40.26 29.09	B
Bursa İnegöl town Yeniceköy	<i>İnegöl</i>	Merkez (few)	40.05 29.31	B B
Edirne Edirne city, Yeni Imaret Mahallesi	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		B
Edirne Uzunköprü town	<i>Uzunköprü</i>	Merkez (few)	41.16 26.41	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
İzmir Işıklar	<i>Tire</i>	Merkez (+ Yö)	38.25 27.14	Eg
İzmir Büyükale (Kadifeikebir)	<i>Tire</i>	Boğaziçi (+ Yö)	38.02 27.34	Eg
İzmir Gülbahçe	<i>Urla</i>	Merkez		A
Sakarya Ekinli (Çarkalütfiye) *Beşköprü	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	40.41 30.32 40.44 30.23	Di B
Samsun Koşuköy	<i>Bafra</i>	Merkez	41.43 35.58	Wo
Samsun Yenice	<i>Çarşamba</i>	Ayvacık (+ others)	41.03 36.39	B
Tekirdağ Barbaros (Banados)	<i>Merkez</i>	Barbaros (+ TkSu)	40.54 27.28	B
Tekirdağ İğdebağları (Araplı)	<i>Şarköy</i>	Merkez (+ others)	40.39 27.08	B
Yozgat Çakmak Güveçli	<i>Boğazlıyan</i>	Merkez (+ Mu)	39.20 35.12 39.14 35.21	B B
Yozgat Yenipazar (Keller)	<i>Boğazlıyan</i>	Yenipazar	39.28 35.06	B
Yozgat Sarıkaya, Domarca Mahallesi* Burunkışla Karayakup (Terzili)* Toprakpınar*	<i>Sarıkaya</i>	Merkez  (+ Tk)	39.31 35.19 39.27 35.14 39.33 35.22 39.29 35.16	B B B B

*Note:* It is possible that Albanians are to be found among the so-called Muhacir (refugees), where these are not otherwise specified (17-18).

\* The population of the three places marked with an asterisk after the name were called Kakavan. The meaning and origin of this designation could not be clarified, but it is likely that they form a sub-group of the Albanians (possibly from Bulgaria).

## 31-3 Slavs: Kuban-Cossack, Molokan, Polish

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Balıkesir Kocagöl (Kazaklar)	<i>Manyas</i>	Şevketiye (Cos, left in 1962)	40.09 27.51	Ül c /Türk b/ Ez '63/Hı
İstanbul Polonezköy	<i>Beykoz</i>	Merkez (Pol)	41.07 29.13	Soe/A
Kars Çakmak (with Çalkavur) Karaca	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez (Mol, left) (Mol, left; confu- sion with Est?)	40.39 43.03 40.33 43.05	Türk b B
Kars Sulakyurt (Sarzep)	<i>Ardahan</i>	Merkez (Mol, left)	41.10 42.38	B
Kars Tepeler (Konk)	<i>Ardahan</i>	Yalnızçam (few Mol, left)	41.04 42.34	B
Kars Atçılar (Ardcılar) Yalınçayır (Zöhrap)	<i>Arpaçay</i>	Merkez (Mol, left) (Mol, left)	40.47 43.22 40.49 43.19	Türk b/Ez'63 Türk b/Ez'63

*Note:* Single Molokan families used to live in Ağrı and Erzurum provinces, too, generally working in mills.

Most, if not all, Molokan left Turkey for the Soviet Union in 1962 (and 1955/56?). Several Molokan women who had married outside the Molokan community have presumably stayed in Turkey.

The Pomaks, Bulgarian-speaking Muslims of Slavonic origin, are to be found in the list of Balkan immigrants, as are some other groups such as Bosnians, the extent of whose Slavonic speech is uncertain (see 17-18).

**34 a Gypsies: unspecified***cf.* Survey 6.

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Adana</b> Adana city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		Sv
<b>Adana</b> Hamitbeybucağı	<i>Ceyhan</i>	Merkez (+ others)	37.07 35.49	E
<b>Adana</b> Osmaniye town	<i>Osmaniye</i>	Merkez	37.05 36.15	E
<b>Afyon Karahisar</b> Uyanık?	<i>Çay</i>	Merkez	38.35 31.03	A
<b>Afyon Karahisar</b> Dinar town	<i>Dinar</i>	Merkez	38.04 30.10	B
<b>Ağrı</b> Ağrı city, Boncukpınar (Mezarlık) Mahallesi	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		B
<b>Ankara</b> Yenidoğan	<i>Altındağ</i>	?	39.59 32.55	B
<b>Ankara</b> Nallıhan town, "Çingene Mahallesi"	<i>Nallıhan</i>	Merkez	40.11 31.21	B
Aşağıkavacık		(few, + TkSu)	40.11 31.14	B
Eymir		(few, + TkSu)	40.11 31.28	B
Meyilhacılar		(few, + TkSu)		B
Nallıdere		(few, + TkSu)	40.08 31.00	B
Nallıgölcük		(few, + TkSu)	40.16 31.33	B
Nallıkozlu		(+ TkSu)	40.04 31.20	B
Öşürler		(few, + TkSu)	40.06 31.04	B
Sarıyar		(few, + TkSu)	40.03 31.27	B
<b>Aydın</b> Nazilli town, esp. Aşağı Mahallesi	<i>Nazilli</i>	Merkez	37.55 28.19	B
<b>Balıkesir</b> Manyas town, "Çingene Mahallesi"	<i>Manyas</i>	Merkez (few)	41.03 27.58	B
Kızılköy (Kızıksa)		(few)	40.07 27.59	B
<b>Balıkesir</b> Susurluk town, Burhaniye & Kışla/ Sultaniye Mahallesi	<i>Susurluk</i>	Merkez	39.55 28.09	Mag

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Bitlis	<i>Tatvan</i>	Merkez		
Tatvan town, Kireçoçağı Mahallesi			38.29 42.18	B
Bolu	<i>Düzce</i>	Merkez		
Çam			40.53 31.09	B
Bursa	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Bursa city, Kanberler Mahallesi				B
Bursa	<i>Gemlik</i>	Merkez		
Gemlik town (few)			40.26 29.09	B
Bursa	<i>İnegöl</i>	Merkez		
İnegöl town, "Çingene Mahallesi"			40.05 29.31	B
Bursa	<i>Mustafakemalpaşa</i> ?			
many Gyp. in district?				B
Çanakkale	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Çanakkale city				B
Çanakkale	<i>Biga</i>	Merkez		
Biga town (one special quarter)			40.13 27.15	B
Denizli	<i>Merkez</i>	Honaz		
Kocabaş			37.49 29.20	B
Denizli	<i>Sarayköy</i>	Merkez		
Sarayköy town			37.55 28.55	B
Edirne	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Edirne city, esp. Kum Mahallesi				B/Sv
Edirne	<i>Havsa</i>	Merkez		
Havsa town, "Çingene Mahallesi"			40.58 35.40	B/A
Edirne	<i>İpsala</i>	Merkez		
İpsala town (few)			40.56 26.24	B
Edirne	<i>Keşan</i>	Merkez		
Keşan town (few)			40.51 26.38	B
Eskişehir	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Eskişehir city, Kurtuluş & Dekavil Mahallesi Muttalip (+ others)			39.50 30.33	B B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Giresun Giresun city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		B
Giresun some Gyp. in district or town?	<i>Alucra</i>	?		B
Isparta Gölbaşı	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez (+ Abd)	37.51 30.25	B
Isparta Balkırı (Cire)?	<i>Eğridir</i>	Merkez (+ others)	37.48 30.51	B
İstanbul İstanbul city:	?	?		Erg/Lev/B/Sv
	Ayvansaray-Molla Aşkî Mahallesi Kasımpaşa-Çürüklük and Hacı Künsner Mahallesi Sulukule Sultan Mahallesi Üsküdar-Selâmsız Kadıköy-Küçükbakkalköy Mahallesi			Sv
İstanbul Akbaba	<i>Beykoz</i>	Merkez (+ others)	41.09 29.08	B
İstanbul Ömerli	<i>Beykoz</i>	Mahmutşevket- paşa (+ others)	41.05 29.20	B
İstanbul Ağva (Yeşilçay)	<i>Şile</i>	Ağva (+ Tk)	41.09 29.51	B
İzmir İzmir city, esp. Gültepe Mahallesi, Kahramanlar, Tepecik/Kuruçay	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		B/Sv
İzmir *Pappas	<i>Karşıyaka</i>	Merkez		Lev
İzmir Selçuk town	<i>Selçuk</i>	Merkez	37.57 27.22	B
Kastamonu some Gyp. in district or town?	<i>Cide</i>	?		B
Kırşehir Kırşehir city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Kocaeli	<i>Kandıra</i>	Merkez (+ others)	41.04 30.09	B
Kandıra town				
Muğla	<i>Ula</i>	Merkez	37.02 28.21	Be
Gökova (one special quarter)				
Nevşehir	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		B
Nevşehir city, genel ev semti & around market-place				
Nevşehir	<i>Avanos</i>	Topaklı (+ others)	39.00 34.49	B
Topaklı				
Sakarya	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		B
Adapazarı city, esp. Şeker Mahallesi				
Sakarya	<i>Merkez</i>	Söğütlü (+ others)	40.56 30.29	B
Ferizli?				
Sakarya	<i>Akyazı</i>	Merkez	40.41 30.38	B/Di
Akyazı town, İnönü & Hastahane Mahallesi				
Samsun	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		B
Samsun city, Cezaevi Mahallesi				
Tekke town		(+ others)	41.13 36.28	B
Samsun	<i>Çarşamba</i>	Merkez	40.12 36.45	B
Çarşamba town, Songullu & Gölçeli Mezarlığı Mahallesi				
Tekirdağ	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		B
Tekirdağ city, Aydurdu Mahallesi				
Tekirdağ	<i>Hayrabolu</i>	Merkez	41.13 27.06	B
Hayrabolu town, Arnavut, Kahya & Koyunlu Mahallesi				
Tekirdağ	<i>Malkara</i>	Merkez	40.54 26.55	B
Malkara town				
Tokat	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		B
Tokat city				
Tokat	<i>Turhal</i>	Merkez	40.24 36.05	B
Turhal town				

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Uşak	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Uşak city,	Ağabey Mahallesi			B/Sv
Van	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Van city, Askeri Hastane Mahallesi, İskele Mahallesi, Kaledibi Mahallesi				B
Zonguldak	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Zonguldak city, Üçüncü Makaz Mahallesi				B
Zonguldak	<i>Merkez</i>	Kozlu		
Kozlu town		(few)	41.26 31.45	B
Kargalar		(few)	41.22 31.42	B
Zonguldak	<i>Ereğli</i>	Merkez		
Aydınlar		(few)	41.17 31.34	B
Hasbeyler		(few)		B
Ortaköy		(few)		B
Zonguldak	<i>Ereğli</i>	Ormanli		
Ovaköy		(few)	41.15 31.38	B

*Note:* Since none of these locations was collected directly from gypsies themselves, and the use of the designation "çingene" (i. e. gypsy) by outside observers is very variable, this information should be regarded as tentative.

### 34 b Gypsies: Poşa

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Artvin	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Artvin city				B
Artvin	<i>Ardanuç</i>	Merkez		
Ardanuç town, esp. Adakale Mahallesi			41.08 42.03	B
Artvin	<i>Arhavi</i>	Merkez		
Arhavi town			41.21 41.19	B
Artvin	<i>Borçka</i>	Merkez		
Borçka town			41.22 41.41	B



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Artvin</b> Göktaş (Murgul) town	<i>Borçka</i>	Göktaş	41.16 41.34	B
<b>Artvin</b> Hopa town	<i>Hopa</i>	Merkez	41.24 41.26	B
<b>Artvin</b> Şavşat town, Satlet Mahallesi Köprükaya (Söğütlü-Carat)	<i>Şavşat</i>	Merkez (+ Tk)	41.15 42.22 41.16 42.21	B B
<b>Artvin</b> Veliköy (Merya) Köprülü (Ökrebağet)	<i>Şavşat</i>	Veliköy (few) (few)	41.19 42.26 41.16 42.27	B B
<b>Artvin</b> Oba (Übe), Rabat Mahallesi	<i>Şavşat</i>	Meydancık (+ Ge)	41.20 42.15	B
<b>Erzurum</b> Erzurum city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		B
<b>Kars</b> Kars city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		B
<b>Kars</b> Visit villages	<i>Çıldır</i>			A
<b>Kars</b> İğdir town	<i>İğdir</i>	Merkez	39.55 44.02	B
<b>Kars</b> Alköy	<i>Posof</i>	Merkez (+ others)	41.29 42.46	B
<b>Kars</b> Sarıkamış town	<i>Sarıkamış</i>	Merkez	40.20 42.36	B
<b>Rize</b> Çayeli town	<i>Çayeli</i>	Merkez	41.05 40.44	B

*Note:* There are apparently more Poşa gypsies in some coastal towns in NE-Turkey and according to somewhat uncertain information also in Ağrı, Ağrı-Eleşkirt, Erzurum-Oltu and -Tortum, Gümüşhane, Gümüşhane-Bayburt, Kars-Kağızman, and Van.

**36 a Greek-speaking Muslims: Cretan, Cypriot, and others***cf.* Survey 4 for Cretans.

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Adana</b> Adana city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez Cret		Dan
<b>Adana</b> Geçitli (Havraniye)	<i>Merkez</i>	Yakapınar Cret	36.57 35.37	S
<b>Adana</b> Ceyhan town Kurtpınar	<i>Ceyhan</i>	Merkez Cret Cret	37.02 35.49 36.56 35.56	Dan S
<b>Adana</b> Kozan town	<i>Kozan</i>	Merkez Cret	37.27 35.49	Dan
<b>Adana</b> Osmaniye town	<i>Osmaniye</i>	Merkez Cret	37.05 36.15	Dan
<b>Adana</b> *Zeynepi (Pirinçlik)	<i>Yumurtalık</i>	Merkez Cret	36.43 35.34	S
<b>Antalya</b> Antalya city, Şarampol Mah.	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez Cret		Dan/deP
<b>Antalya</b> Cihadiye İhsaniye	<i>Merkez</i>	Aksu Cypr Cret	36.56 30.49 36.59 30.51	deP deP/Tüt
<b>Antalya</b> Döşemealtı (Kırkgöz/Yeniköy)	<i>Merkez</i>	Döşemealtı Cypr	37.03 30.36	deP
<b>Antalya</b> Alanya town	<i>Alanya</i>	Merkez Cret	36.33 32.00	Dan
<b>Antalya</b> Finike town	<i>Finike</i>	Merkez Cret	36.18 30.09	Dan
<b>Antalya</b> Selimiye (Eskiantalya/Side)	<i>Manavgat</i>	Merkez Cret	36.46 31.23	Dan/deP
<b>Antalya</b> Ahmediye Akkınlar (Kadriye)	<i>Serik</i>	Merkez Cret Cret	36.51 31.10 36.54 31.01	deP deP
<b>Aydın</b> Kuşadası town	<i>Kuşadası</i>	Merkez Cret	37.52 27.15	Dan

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Aydın Davutlar	<i>Kuşadası</i>	Davutlar Cret	37.44 27.18	Dan
Aydın Söke town	<i>Söke</i>	Merkez Cret	37.45 27.25	Dan
Balıkesir Ayvalık town	<i>Ayvalık</i>	Merkez Cret	39.19 26.42	Dan
*Alibey Adası (Cunda)	(also Greek-speaking Sd)	Cret	39.21 26.37	Dan
Balıkesir Bandırma town	<i>Bandırma</i>	Merkez Cret	40.21 27.58	Dan
Balıkesir Burhaniye town	<i>Burhaniye</i>	Merkez Cret	39.30 26.59	Dan
Balıkesir Erdek town	<i>Erdek</i>	Merkez Cret	40.24 27.48	Dan
Balıkesir Marmara	<i>Erdek</i>	Marmara Cret	40.35 27.33	Dan
Bursa Gemlik town	<i>Gemlik</i>	Merkez Cret	40.26 29.09	Dan
Bursa Mudanya town	<i>Mudanya</i>	Merkez Cret	40.23 28.53	Dan
Çanakkale Çanakkale city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez Cret		Dan
Çanakkale Küçükkuyu	<i>Ayvacık</i>	Küçükkuyu Cret	39.32 26.36	Dan
Hatay Dörtyol town	<i>Dörtyol</i>	Merkez Cret	36.51 36.13	Dan
Altınçağ (İcadiye)		Cret	36.54 36.13	Dan
Hatay Yeşilkent (Erzin)	<i>Dörtyol</i>	Yeşilkent	36.57 36.12	N
Hatay Kırıkhan town	<i>Kırıkhan</i>	Merkez Cret	36.30 36.21	Dan
İçel Mersin city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez Cret		Dan

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
İçel Silifke town?	<i>Silifke</i>	Merkez Cret	36.23 33.56	Dan
İçel Tarsus town İhsaniye (Melemez)	<i>Tarsus</i>	Merkez Cret	36.55 34.54 36.55 34.46	Dan Dan/deP
İstanbul İstanbul city	?	? Cret		Dan
İzmir İzmir city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez Cret		Dan
İzmir Çeşme town	<i>Çeşme</i>	Merkez Cret	38.19 26.18	Dan
İzmir Dikili town	<i>Dikili</i>	Merkez Cret	39.04 26.53	Dan
Konya Karaman town	<i>Karaman</i>	Merkez	37.11 33.13	Ac
Muğla Muğla city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez Cret		Dan
Muğla Bodrum town, Kumlubahçe Mah.(?)	<i>Bodrum</i>	Merkez Cret	37.03 27.26	Dan
Muğla Fethiye town	<i>Fethiye</i>	Merkez Cret	36.37 29.07	Dan
Muğla Marmaris town	<i>Marmaris</i>	Merkez Cret	36.51 28.16	Dan
Muğla Milas town	<i>Milas</i>	Merkez Cret	37.19 27.47	Dan
Niğde Yeşilburç (Denegi)	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez Cret	38.01 34.41	Sv 1981

*Note:* See also list of Muslim immigrants from Balkan countries, which includes mixed immigrants whose origin or language is not always clearly stated in the sources. It is difficult to make a clear distinction between Muslim immigrants from Greece (often called Selanikli Muhacir) and Greek-speaking Muslim immigrants. In the case of the Selanikli we cannot be certain that they are Greek-speaking; they therefore appear in the Balkan list (17-18). The Greek-speaking enclaves attested by Danielsen (Dan) are, without exception, of immigrants from Crete (see Survey 4).

## 36 b Greek-speaking Muslims: Pontic

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Hendek</i>	Karadere		
Dikmen			40.42 30.54	B
Göksu			40.41 30.50	B
<b>Trabzon</b>	<i>Çaykara</i>	Merkez		
Akdoğan (Yukarıhopşera)*			40.45 40.18	B
Aşağıkumlu (Aşağımimiloz)*			40.43 40.19	B
Baltacılı*			40.45 40.20	B
Çambaşı (Anoso)*			40.42 40.19	B
Eğridere (Gorgoras)			40.44 40.19	B
Kabataş (Fatinos)*			40.46 40.19	B
Karaçam (Yukarıogena)			40.36 40.17	B/Schw
Kayran (Limli)			40.44 40.20	B
Koldere (Vahtañç/Paçanvahtañç)*			40.43 40.19	B
Kökner (Aşağıogena)			40.37 40.13	B/Schw
Maraşlı (Nefsipaçan)*			40.43 40.19	B
Soğanlı (Aşağıhopşera)*			40.45 40.19	B
Şahinkaya (Şur)*			40.43 40.18	B
Taşlıgedik (Mezereipaçan)*			40.42 40.19	B
Taşeren (Zelek)			40.44 40.19	B
Uzuntarla (Alisinis)			40.38 40.15	B
Yeşilalan (Holaysa)			40.44 40.20	B
Yukarıkumlu (Yukarımimiloz)			40.43 40.19	B
<b>Trabzon</b>	<i>Çaykara</i>	Dernekpazarı		
Dernekpazarı (Kondu)			40.48 40.15	A
Çalışahlar (Kalanas)			40.47 40.13	B
Çayırbaşı (Fatrekan)			40.46 40.13	B
Günebakan (Zenozeno)			40.49 40.15	B
Ormancık (Mekidanoz/Holomaktanos)			40.45 40.15	B
Taşcılar (Fotgene)			40.44 40.12	B
Tüfekçi (Arşala)			40.46 40.15	B
Yenice (Zaimler)				B
<b>Trabzon</b>	<i>Çaykara</i>	Uzungöl		
Uzungöl (Şerah/Saraço)			40.39 40.19	B/Schw
Demirli				B
Derindere (Asafoliza)			40.39 40.12	B
Köseli			40.41 40.19	B
Şekersu (Sakarsu)			40.33 40.17	B
Taşkıran (Coroş)			40.41 40.19	B/Schw
<b>Trabzon</b>	<i>Maçka</i>	?		
some villages (unidentified)				B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Trabzon	<i>Of</i>	Hayrat		
Yeniköy			40.48 40.23	B
Trabzon	<i>Sürmene</i>	Merkez		
Dirlik (Zide)			40.52 40.08	B
Trabzon	<i>Sürmene</i>	Köprübaşı		
Büyükdoğanlı (Büyük Arhançilo)			40.46 40.07	B
Dağardı (Oksaho)			40.46 40.08	B
Konuklu (Halis/Halith)			40.50 40.03	B
Küçükdoğanlı (Küçükarhançilo)			40.46 40.07	B
Yılmazlar (Holomezrea)			40.45 40.06	B
Trabzon	<i>Tonya</i>	Merkez		
Tonya town, Büyükmahalle*			40.53 39.17	B/Bry
İskenderli (Kumyatak)			40.56 39.15	B
Kozluca*			40.57 39.14	B
Melikşah (Melikşe)			40.55 39.17	B/Bry
Sayraç			40.55 39.16	B
Turalı			40.55 39.14	
Yakçukur			40.55 39.15	B
Trabzon	<i>Vakfikebir</i>	Beşikdüzü		
Dağlıca (Mesopliya)			40.58 39.14	B

*Note:* \*(After village): knowledge of Greek poor (compared with neighbouring villages). Besides this, the knowledge of Greek differs from area to area, as well the dialect spoken. The Greek of the Tonya area is considered to be the "best" in Trabzon province. The Greek-speaking villages in Maçka sub-province are claimed to be relatively recent settlements of Greek-speakers from Tonya and the Of/ Çaykara area. The boundary between the sub-provinces of Of and Çaykara appears to represent the traditional division between mixed Greek-speaking and Turkish-speaking villages in the north, and wholly Greek-speaking villages in the south (MACKRIDGE 1987: n. 3).

### 38 Arabs: Sunni

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Adana	<i>Karataş</i>	Merkez		
Karataş town		(+ others)	36.34 35.23	B
Balıkesir	<i>Balya</i>	İlca		
Kayalar?			39.50 27.40	A

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Bitlis	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Bitlis city				B
Diyarbakır	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Diyarbakır city				
Gaziantep	<i>İslahiye</i>	Merkez		
Yelliburun		(+ KuSu)		B
Gaziantep	<i>İslahiye</i>	Fevzipaşa		
Kömürler		(+ Tk + Ku)	37.11 36.47	B
Gaziantep	<i>İslahiye</i>	Sakçagöze		
İkizkuyu			37.09 36.59	B
Gaziantep	<i>Nizip</i>	Barak		
Türkyurdu		(Tkm?)	36.48 37.54	Tan 1952
Hatay	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Antakya city				
Boşın (Buşın)			36.13 36.21	Rey
Suvatlı (Cuadiye)		(+ ArNu)	36.18 36.18	Rey
Hatay	<i>Merkez</i>	Hıdırbey		
Kavutcu (Karaksi/Karaksiye)		(+ ArNu)	36.18 36.06	Rey
Hatay	<i>Merkez</i>	Serinyol		
Serinyol (Bedirgeçerkes)		(+ others)	36.23 36.12	Rey
Arpahan (Araphan)			36.22 36.14	Rey
Hatay	<i>Altınözü</i>	?		
some (unidentified)				B
Hatay	<i>Kırıkhan</i>	Merkez		
Gölbaşı (Arapgölbaşı)			36.31 36.28	B
Kazkeli		(+ TkSu?)	36.24 36.22	B
Kodallı (Hamamgarbi)		(+ TkSu)	36.33 36.24	B
Muratpaşa			36.30 36.28	B
Muratpaşakızılkaya			36.28 36.28	B
Özkalkaya			36.27 36.29	B
Hatay	<i>Reyhanlı</i>	Merkez		
Cilvegözü			36.15 36.39	B
Çakaltepe			36.18 36.25	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Çakıryiğit (Mağaramsi/Mugruşems?)			36.17 36.37?	B
Davutpaşahüyüğü (Teldavutpaşa)			36.20 36.36	B
Karahüyük			36.20 36.28	B
Sıçanlı			36.16 36.26	B
Üçtepe		(+ TkmSu)	36.18 36.31	B
Varişlı			36.15 36.23	B
<b>Hatay</b> Vakıflı	<i>Samandağı</i>	Merkez (+ others)	36.08 35.58	Rey
<b>Hatay</b> some (unidentified)	<i>Yayladağı</i>	?		B
<b>Mardin</b> Mardin city	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		Ja
Eskikale (Kalitmara)			37.18 40.47	Ja
Kabala			37.23 40.45	Ja/Yo
Yalım (Mansuri Daşyan)			37.20 40.45	Ja
Yeşilli (Rişmil)			37.20 40.50	Ja/Yo
<b>Mardin</b> Arpatepe (Telşair)	<i>Merkez</i>	Akıncı	37.08 40.45	Ja
Boztepe (Buzkatrı/Bozkatır)			37.11 40.43	Ja
Çalışlı (Şağlan)			37.10 40.46	Ja
Hatunlu (Aşagımukbil/ Mukbiltatani)			37.08 40.48	Ja
Kumlu (Dükük)			37.10 40.44	Ja
Ortaköy (Gülharrin)			37.13 40.47	Ja
Yaylı (Kavus)			37.12 40.45	Ja
<b>Mardin</b> Yolağzı (Derindip)	<i>Gercüş</i>	Merkez (Ku?)	37.31 41.21	Ja/Sa (B)
<b>Mardin</b> Hasankeyf town	<i>Gercüş</i>	Hasankeyf	37.42 41.24	Ja/B
<b>Mardin</b> Kayapınar town (Ayinkef)	<i>Gercüş</i>	Kayapınar (Ku?)	37.33 41.09	Ja/Sa (B)
Sarıkaya (Haldah)		(Ku?)	37.31 41.08	Ja/Yo/Sa (B)
Yenice (Nunip)			37.31 41.11	Ja/Sa
<b>Mardin</b> Eskin (Telfaiz)	<i>Kızıltepe</i>	Merkez	37.13 40.41	Ja
Gökçe (Selah)			37.12 40.42	Ja



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>Mardin</b>	<i>Midyat</i>	Merkez		
	Midyat town, Estil Mah.		37.25 41.20	Ja/B/Sa
	Acırlı (Derizbin)		37.28 41.17	Ja/B/Sa
	Çalınar (Siti)		37.22 41.10	Ja/B/Sa
	Çavuşlu (Şorozbah)		37.30 41.15	Ja/B/Sa
	Düzgeçit (Zernoka)	(Ku?)	37.28 41.08	Ja/Sa (B)
	Düzoba (Riş)	(Ku?)	37.23 41.16	Ja/Sa (B)
	Eğlence (Zinol)		37.20 41.31	B
	Gelinkaya (Keferhavar)		37.25 41.15	Ja/B/Sa
	Harmanlı (Beydermemo)		37.25 41.07	B
	Kayalar (Keferzota)		37.22 41.14	Ja/Sa
	Mercimekli (Hapisnas)	(Ku? + Syr)	37.28 41.20	Ja/Sa (B/An)
	Ovabaşı (Kastolun)		37.27 41.08	Ja/Sa
	Pelitli (Barbanus)		37.20 41.25	B
	Söğütlü (Kindirip)		37.26 41.13	Ja/B/Sa
	Şenköy (Epsi)		37.28 41.11	Ja/B/Sa/Yo
	Yayvantepe (Kartmin)		37.18 41.31	Ja/B
	Yolbaşı (Keferallap)		37.23 41.19	Ja/B/Sa
	Ziyaret	(Ku?)	37.28 41.05	Ja/Sa (B)
<b>Mardin</b>	<i>Ömerli</i>	Merkez		
	Ömerli town (Maserti)		37.24 40.57	Ja/Sa
	Akyokuş (Hirbakermi)?	(Ku?)	37.24 41.08	Sa (B)
	Alıçlı (Hirbatova)	(Ku?)	37.27 41.04	Ja/Sa (B)
	Kayaüstü (Eydo)		37.27 40.55	Ja
	Mutluca (Gevriksindi/Bahtiyar)		37.25 41.02	Ja
	Taşgedik (Kefsanor)?		37.24 40.56	Sa
	Yaylatepe (Hirbatok)		37.26 41.00	Ja/Sa
<b>Mardin</b>	<i>Savur</i>	Merkez		
	Savur town		37.32 40.56	Ja/Sa
	Başagaç (Siçvan)?		37.37 41.01	Sa
	Başkavak (Ahmedi)		37.34 40.54	Ja/Sa
	Bengisu (Bengiri/Batuş)		37.30 41.06	Ja/Sa
	Dereçi (Killit)		37.33 40.58	Sa
	Gölbaşı (Hirbehacı)		37.29 41.04	Ja/Sa
	İçören (Teffi/Tafo)	(Ku?)	37.33 41.05	Ja/Sa (B)
	Kayadere (Bafava)?		37.27 40.54	Sa
	Kayatepe (Harisi)		37.31 40.56	Ja/Sa
	Koşuyolu (Erbil)		37.29 41.01	Ja/Sa
	Köprülü (Bakaysi/Bakisi)?		37.29 40.52	Sa
	Tokluca (Cevzi)		37.35 41.02	Ja/Sa
	Üçerli (Derteyyar/Deriyar)?		37.37 40.57	Sa
	Üçkavak (Raşidi/Busut)		37.30 40.57	Ja/Sa
	Yenilmez (Muhaşni)		37.30 41.00	Ja/Sa
	*Tiqid			Ja
	*Hirbit il-Gingres			Ja/Sa

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Muş	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Hasköy			38.41 41.42	Ja/A
some more villages? (unidentified)				
Siirt	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Siirt city				Ja/B
Bağtepe (Halenze)			37.57 41.59	Ja
Doluharman (Fiskin)			37.59 41.54	Ja
Siirt	<i>Merkez</i>	Aydınlar		
Aydınlar town (Tillo)			37.57 42.01	Ja
Çatılı (Sinep)			37.58 42.02	Ja
Dereyamaç (Fersaf)			37.58 42.01	Ja
İkizbağları (Tomköy)			37.58 41.58	Ja
Siirt	<i>Batman</i>	Merkez		
Batman town			37.53 41.07	B
Siirt	<i>Kozluk</i>	Merkez		
Kozluk town, Daragözü Mah., Ayinmaro Mah.			38.12 41.27	Ja
Alıçlı (Nurşen)			38.13 41.32	Ja
Armutlu (Harbak)			38.15 41.29	Ja
Bölükkonak (Hergemo)			38.14 41.16	Ja
Geçitaltı (Goh)			38.16 41.29	Ja
Geyikli (Mangik)			38.15 41.26?	Ja
Gümüşörgü (Tomuk/Timok)			38.16 41.24	Ja
İnişli (Balo)			38.15 41.30	Ja
Kayadibi (Papur)			38.16 41.27	Ja
Tosunpınar (Ayinras)			38.13 41.29?	Ja
Yazılı (Binik)			38.15 41.34	Ja
Yenidoğan (Asi)			38.16 41.34	Ja
Siirt	<i>Kozluk</i>	Tuzlagözü		
Tuzlagözü town (Melefan)			38.11 41.35	Ja
Akçakışla (Dergüç)			38.14 41.36	Ja
Kolludere (Navalon)		(two of this name)	38.11 41.33?	Ja
Siirt	<i>Sason</i>	Merkez		
Sason town			38.20 41.25	Ja
Acar (Herent)			38.18 41.15	Ja
Çakırpınar (Talisor)			38.28 41.32	Ja
Dağçatı (Çirtinik)			38.25 41.25	Ja
Dereköy				Ja
Derince (Kahkit)			38.28 41.29	Ja
Dörtbölük (Cemalen)			38.28 41.24	Ja

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
			38.22 41.26	Ja
			38.22 41.24	Ja
			38.25 41.30	Ja
			38.25 41.31	Ja
			38.26 41.35	Ja
			38.22 41.29	Ja
			38.19 41.23	Ja
			38.23 41.28	Ja
			38.25 41.29	Ja
			38.24 41.26	Ja
			38.22 41.26?	Ja
				Ja
				Ja
			38.22 41.28	Ja
				Ja
				Ja
			38.26 41.24	Ja
				Ja
				Ja
			38.30 41.36	Ja
			38.29 41.33	Ja
			38.31 41.33	Ja
			38.29 41.34	Ja
				Ja
Urfa	Merkez	Yardımcı		
			36.57 38.55	EM
			37.00 38.56	EM
			36.55 39.08	Nah
				Dp

## 39 Arabs: Nusairi

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Adana	Merkez	Merkez		
			36.56 35.24	
			36.53 35.09	Yer
			36.56 35.20	S/B
			36.51 35.15	S
			36.53 35.14	S

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Köklüce (İsmailiye)			36.56 35.25	S
Mürseloğlu			36.48 35.10	Yer
Salmanbeyli			36.50 35.13	S
Yalmanlı			36.53 35.19	S
*Dikköy?			36.54 35.19	S
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Karataş</i>	Merkez		
Karataş town		(mixed)	36.34 35.22	S/B
Bahçe		(mixed)	36.37 35.27	B
Yalnızca		(mixed)		
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Karataş</i>	Doğankent		
Havutlu (Havutlubucağı)			36.55 35.20	S/B
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Yumurtalık</i>	Merkez		
Kırmızıdam			36.43 35.30	S
Yeşilköy (Sadiye-Sakızağacı)			36.41 35.29	S
*Akkapı				S
*Cemilik				Yer
*Şeyhganem			36.45 35.31	S
<b>Hatay</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Açıkdere		(+ TkSu)	36.14 36.15	Rey
Apaydın (Ubeyduye)			36.15 36.19	Rey
Aşağıokçular (Belit-Fellit)				Rey
Bozhüyük			36.15 36.17	Rey
Demirköprü (Gısrihadit)		(+ TkSu)	36.16 36.20	Rey
Dursunlu (Dursuniye)			36.11 36.09	Rey
Hasanlı (Şeyhhasan)			36.18 36.12	Rey
Kuruyer (Kurye)			36.12 36.11	Rey
Küçükdalyan			36.16 36.12	Rey
Maşuklu (Maşukiye)			36.15 36.09	Rey
Narlıca			36.15 36.12	Rey
Suvatlı (Cuadiye)		(+ ArSu)	36.18 36.18	Rey
Üzümdalı (Sabunluk/ Sabuhiye)		(+ others)	36.15 36.16	Rey
<b>Hatay</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Harbiye		
whole district				Rey
<b>Hatay</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Hıdırbey		
Çekmece			36.14 36.08	Rey
Aşağıekinci (Aşağıaydı/Aynitehtani)			36.16 36.10	Rey
Büyükdalyan (Dalyanmazlumpaşa)			36.19 36.11	Rey
Güneysöğüt (Ziatiri)				Rey
Günyazı (Akıllı/Akidiye)			36.15 36.07	Rey

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Güzelburç		(+ ArSu?)	36.16 36.11	Rey
Kavutcu (Karaksı/Karaksiye)		(+ ArSu)	36.18 36.06	Rey
Koçören (Mengülü/Mengüliye)			36.12 36.07	Rey
Kuzeytepe (Tüylelikuzey)			36.17 36.09	Rey
Meydancık				Rey
Odabaşı (Kavaslı/Kavasiye)			36.15 36.09	Rey
Subaşı (Süseli/Süsiye)			36.11 36.07	Rey
Toygarlı (Tellikumbelek/Tüylelihumbeles)			36.14 36.04	Rey
Turunçlu			36.12 36.08	Rey
Yukarıekinci (Yukarıaydı/Aydıfevkani)			36.17 36.08	Rey
<b>Hatay</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Serinyol		
Serinyol (Bedirgeçerkes)		(+ ArSu + Circ)	36.23 36.12	Rey
Alazı (Ellezi)			36.20 36.09	Rey
Karalı			36.20 36.10	Rey
Oğlakören (Sunberi)			36.19 36.08	Rey
Üçgedik (Avaklı/Avakiye)			36.20 36.11	Rey
Zülüflühan (Zülüfkan)			36.22 36.13	B
<b>Hatay</b>	<i>Altınözü</i>	Merkez		
Altınözü town		(+ others)	36.07 36.15	B
Akdarı (Bayra/Boyra)			36.05 36.14	A
<b>Hatay</b>	<i>Altınözü</i>	Yığıtyolu		
Dokuzdal (Salık/Salkiye)		(mixed)		A
Gözcük (Fırlakgöz/Ayınfuar)				A
<b>Hatay</b>	<i>İskenderun</i>	Merkez		
Hatun (Karaağaçhatun)			36.34 36.07	B/A
Konarlı (Karaağaçfernek)			36.35 36.08	B/A
Nardüzü (Karaağaçnesli)			36.35 36.07	B/A
Övündük (Fahura)				B/A
Pirinçlik		(?) (+ TkSu)	36.32 36.05	B (A)
Şarkonak (Karaağaçbiryane)			36.35 36.07	B/A
<b>Hatay</b>	<i>İskenderun</i>	Belen		
Ötençay (Bakras)		(+ TkSu)	36.26 36.14	B
<b>Hatay</b>	<i>İskenderun</i>	Uluçınar		
Uluçınar (Kabevli)		(+ others)	36.25 35.53	B/A
Akçalı (Ağçalı)		(? Tk Su)	36.25 35.57	B (A)
Arpagedik		(? Tk Su)	36.23 35.53	B (A)
Avcıarsuyu			36.22 35.54	B
Beyköyü		(+ others)	36.24 35.58	B/A
Çetillik			36.23 35.52	B/A
Gökmeydan			36.26 35.56	Nes/B/A

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Gözcüler (Alakop)			36.24 35.55	Nes/B/A
Hacıahmetli			36.25 35.56	B
Kepirce (Çengen)		(?)(+TkSu)	36.31 36.01	B (A)
Madenli			36.29 35.59	B/A
Üçgüllük (Ekver)			36.28 35.59	Rey/A
<b>Hatay</b>	<b>Samandağı</b>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Çöğürlü (Sabunlucilli)			36.06 35.59	Rey
Koyunoğlu (Cerepderesi)			36.07 36.01	Rey
Kuşalanı (Mutayran)			36.06 36.01	Rey
Mağaracık			36.09 35.55	Rey
Meydan			36.04 35.58	Rey
Mızraklı			36.08 36.00	Rey
Nahırlı			36.07 36.03	Rey
Sutaşı (Sabunlumutayran)			36.06 36.01	Rey
Tekebaşı (Cilli)			36.04 35.59	Rey
Yeşilyazı				Rey
<b>Hatay</b>	<b>Samandağı</b>	<b>Karaçay</b>		
Karaçay (Küçük karaçay/Karaçaynehir)			36.10 36.03	Rey
Büyükçat (Binat/Minat)			36.08 36.04	Rey
Hüseyinli			36.11 36.06	Rey
Tavla			36.10 36.05	Rey
Tavuklu			36.09 36.06	Rey
Uzunbağ (Büyükdere/Rıdvanbüyükdere)			36.09 36.01	Rey
Yaylıca (Saylıca)			36.12 36.00	Rey
<b>Hatay</b>	<b>Yayladağı</b>	<b>?</b>		
some (unidentified)?				B/A
<b>İçel</b>	<b>Merkez</b>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Yakaköy			36.52 34.45	Kut
<b>İçel</b>	<b>Merkez</b>	<b>Kazanlı</b>		
Kazanlı			36.49 34.45	Kut/B
Karacailyas			36.51 34.42	Kut/B
*Karaduvar			36.48 34.42	Kut/B
<b>İçel</b>	<b>Tarsus</b>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Çataltepe (Çatalkeli)?			36.50 34.53	B
Deliminnet			36.51 34.51	B
*Eslambikeyf shrine (ziyaret) (Esbabı Kehef)			36.57 34.48	F

Note: Barbara C. ASWAD (Property Control and Social Strategies in Settlers in a Middle Eastern Plain, Ann Arbor 1971) provides a map showing the distribution of Nusairi, but without specifying individual villages.

## 40 Arabs: Christian

Province	Sub-Province	District	Denomination	Coordinates
Hatay	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Antakya city (Patriarchate)			Cath + Orth	36.12 36.10
Hatay	<i>Altınözü</i>	Merkez		
Altınözü, Sarılar Mahallesi Tokaçlı (Yonta-Cünte/Cüneydü)			Orth Orth	36.07 36.15
Hatay	<i>İskenderun</i>	Merkez		
İskenderun town			Cath + Orth	36.35 36.10
Hatay	<i>İskenderun</i>	Uluçınar (Arsuz)		
Uluçınar town (Kabevli)			Orth	36.25 35.53
Hatay	<i>Samandağı</i>	Merkez		
Samandağı town			Orth	36.05 35.58
Hatay	<i>Yayladağı</i>	Merkez		
Yayladağı town (very few only)			Orth	35.54 36.03
İçel	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Mersin city			Orth	36.48 34.38

Besides these, Arab Catholic communities exist in ADANA, ANKARA, and İSTANBUL.

*Note:* Certain of the Arabic-speaking villages in MARDİN province are inhabited by people of Aramean origin (Syrian-Orthodox). See Syrian-Orthodox list (Survey 3).

*Source:* P.A. ANDREWS (oral information, Köln).

## 43 Arameans: Christian: East Syrian (Chaldean)

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Diyarbakır	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Diyarbakır city (community)				Har
Hakkâri	<i>Beytüşşebap</i>	Merkez		
Cevizağacı (Gezna/Gezneh)		(+ Nestorians?)	37.36 43.06	vF/B
Kovankaya (Mihri/Mehri)			37.37 42.57	vF/B
Hakkâri	<i>Uludere</i>	Merkez		
Doğan (Bazyan/Baznayeh)		(now left)	37.29 42.43	vF/B/Har
Onbudak (Şi/İşşi/Şiköl/Şiyi)		(now left)	37.28 42.45	vF/B/Har
İstanbul	?	?		
İstanbul city (community)				
Mardin	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Mardin city (community)				Har
Mardin	<i>Gercüş</i>	Merkez		
Gercüş town (few, one church)				Har
Mardin	<i>İdil</i>	Merkez		
Yarbaşı (Hestpest/Afis/Esfes)		(none left)	37.23 41.52	Har
Mardin	<i>Midyat</i>	Merkez		
Midyat town (community)			37.25 41.20	Har
Mardin	<i>Silopi</i>	Merkez		
Aksu (Harbul/Herbol)		(now leaving)	37.20 42.38	Po/B/Har
Görümlü (Bespin)		(+ Ku Su)	37.21 42.34	Po/B/Har
Kösreli (Hassane)		(+ Prot + Syr)	37.20 42.26	Po/B/Har
Siirt	<i>Pervari</i>	Merkez		
Ekindüzü (Hertvinler/Artvan)			37.55 42.21	Har/Ja '71
Siirt	<i>Şirnak</i>	Merkez		
Şirnak town (community)			37.32 42.27	Har/vF
Siirt	<i>Şirnak</i>	Kızılsu		
Bağpınar (Cinit/Cennet)		(all left now)	37.28 42.12	Har/B
*Berinci				Har/Po
*Yukarı Diran		(now Syr, few)	37.27 42.11	B/Po



## 44 Circassians and related groups

by B. Özbek

enlarged and annotated, and coordinates established by P.A.A.

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Ceyhan</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Büyük Mangıt	Sp + Ab( + Noğ)	(T/S/Ay)	37.02	35.46
Çiçekli (Hilmiye)	Abz + K + Ab( + Mu)	(T/S/Ay)	37.03	35.41
Çokcapınar (Çokca)	Ub	(Ay)		
Hamdili (Hamdilli)	Ab + Abz	(T/Ay)	37.02	35.56
Hamidiye (Yarsuvat)	( + Mu)	(S)	36.59	36.00
Köprülü		(S)	37.06	35.55
Küçük Mangıt	Sp + Ab( + Noğ)	(S/T/Ay)	37.05	35.47
	<i>Ceyhan</i>	<b>Kösreli</b>		
Adapınar (Çerkeskaramazar)		(S/Ay)	37.09	35.51
Değirmenli (Şevkiye)	Ub	(S/Ay)	37.06	35.59
Dikilitaş		(E)	37.11	35.55
Günlüce/Gönlice (Sadiye-Karamazar)	Ab + Abz + K( + Mu)	(S/T/Ay)	37.11	36.04
	<i>Ceyhan</i>	<b>Sağkaya</b>		
Sarıbahçe	K + Sp	(E/Ay)	37.10	35.50
	<i>Kadırlı</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Kadırlı town		(La)	37.23	36.06
Çınar	K + Abz	(Ay)	37.25	35.58
	<i>Tufanbeyli</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Tufanbeyli town (Mağara)			38.16	36.13
Akpınar	Ab		38.14	36.11
İğdebel	Ab		38.16	36.22
Kayapınar (Çerkez-Kayapınar) K			38.20	36.16
Koçağız (as Koçağız)	Ab		38.17	36.08
Polatpınarı	Ab		38.17	36.17
*Karakoyun	K			
	<i>Merkez</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Adıyaman				
Uzunpınar (Çerkezibüyük/Büyük Çerkezi)			37.48	38.28
*Küçük Çerkezi			37.49	38.29
	<i>Bolvadin</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Afyon Karahisar				
Bolvadin town		(A)	38.43	31.03

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Akarca (as Alarca)	<i>Dazkırı</i> Sp	Merkez	37.58	29.51
Gençali (Genceli) Yapağılı	<i>Dinar</i> Sp	Merkez (Ay)	38.01	30.02
	Sp	(Ay)	38.09	30.05
Sarıcaova Yenice	<i>İhsaniye</i> Abz	Merkez (Ay)	39.09	30.31
	Abz + Sp + Bje	(Ay)	38.57	30.18
Başarap? (as Başara)	<i>Şuhut</i> Bje	Merkez	38.34	30.24
Amasya	Bes	D '59		
Musaköy	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez	40.28	35.45
	<i>Merkez</i>	Doğantepe		
Gözlek	Abz	(Ay)	40.32	35.41
İlgazi	Sp	(Ay)	40.38	35.33
Selimiye	Abz	(Ay)		
Yeşiltepe (Kürtlercerit)	Abz	(Ay)	40.31	35.43
Eskikızılcıca (Kızılcaiatik)	<i>Merkez</i>	Ezinepazarı		
	Abz	(Ay)	40.35	36.03
Konuralan Kutu Yeniköy	<i>Göynücek</i> Sp	Gediksaray (Ay)	40.28	35.37
	Sp	(Ay)	40.31	35.39
	Abz	(Ay)	40.26	35.37
Göçeri Hamamözü	<i>Gümüşhacıköy</i> Bes	Hamamözü (Ay)	40.45	35.02
	Sp + Abz	(Pa/Ay)	40.47	35.02
Aşağıbük (Şucaıye) Çayırköy Ortabük (Ferahıye) Yukarıbük (Kuşadiye)	<i>Merzifon</i> Bes	Merkez (Ay/B)	41.01	35.20
	Ab	(T/Ay/B)	40.52	35.34
	Bes	(Ay/B)	41.01	35.20
	Bes	(Ay/B)	41.02	35.20

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Esentepe (Yuvala)	<i>Merzifon</i>	Sarıbuğday	40.42	35.33
Yenice (Abazalar-Muhaciryenicesi)	Abz	(Ay)	40.46	35.31
<b>Ankara</b>	<i>Çankaya</i>	Gölbaşı		
Gökçehtyük	Bes	(Ay)	39.40	32.44
(Çerkezhüyük)			40.01	32.43
Hacımuratlı				
Bala town	<i>Bala</i>	Merkez	39.33	33.07
Karadana	<i>Çubuk</i>	Merkez	40.16	33.10
Bozca (Samut)	<i>Çubuk</i>	Akyurt	40.05	33.10
İkizce	<i>Haymana</i>	İkizce	39.05	32.40
	Abz	(Ay)		
Dağyaka (Teşrek)	<i>Yenimahalle</i>	Kazan	40.05	32.40
	Sp	(Ay)		
<b>Antalya</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Antalya town			36.53	30.42
Beşpınar/Başpınar	<i>Korkuteli</i>	Merkez		
(Yeleme)	Abz	(deP/Ay)	37.11	30.06
Bozova (Zivint)	<i>Korkuteli</i>	Bozova	37.13	30.17
	Abz	(de P/Ay)		
<b>Aydın</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Çeştepe	Sp (few)	(Ay)	37.50	27.51
Şevketiye	Sp	(Ay)		
Sınırteke	<i>Merkez</i>	İncirliova	37.51	27.40
	Sp (+ others)	(Ay)		
Osmaniye (Çerkesköy)	<i>Bozdoğan</i>	Merkez	37.46	28.18
	Sp	(Ay)		

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Tekeli (Tekelikahvesi)	<i>Koçarlı</i> Sp	Merkez (Ay)	37.45	27.38
Azizabat (Darıtepe)	<i>Kuyucak</i> Sp	Horsunlu (Ay)	37.52	28.34
Hamidiye	<i>Nazilli</i> Sp	Merkez (Ay)	37.49	28.21
Söke town	<i>Söke</i>	Merkez	37.45	27.25
Sazlı (Sökekemeri)	Sp (+ others)	(Ay)	37.47	27.27
Salavatlı	<i>Sultanhisar</i> Sp (few)	Merkez (Ay)	37.53	28.06
Direcik	<i>Yenişehir</i> Sp (few)	Merkez (Ay)	37.50	28.17
Balıkesir Ortaca (Kirne)	<i>Merkez</i> (only Da!)	Merkez (Ay)	39.45	27.51
Alacabayır	<i>Merkez</i> Sp	Şamlı (Ay)	39.53	27.54
Boğazköy	Üb	(Ay)	39.51	27.51
Yağcılar	Abz (few)	(Ay)	39.51	27.53
Yaylacık (Deliktaşyaylacığı)	Abz	(Ay)	39.33	27.46
Söbücealan	<i>Balya</i> Abz	Ilıca (Şifa) (Ay)	39.49	27.45
Bandırma town	<i>Bandırma</i>	Merkez	40.21	27.58
Emre	Sp	(Ay)	40.19	28.09
Erikli	Sp (few)	(Ay)	40.21	28.06
Yenisığircı (Sığircimecediye)	K	(Ay/A)	40.16	28.01
Yeniziraatlı	Sp	(Ay)	40.18	28.06
Aksakal (Sığircı) town	<i>Bandırma</i>	Aksakal (Sığircı)	40.09	28.07
Ergili	Sp (few)	(Ay)	40.08	28.04
Karaçalılık	Sp	(Ay)	40.06	28.04

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Cinge	<i>Bandırma</i> Ub (+ others)	Edincik (Ay)	40.18	27.52
Çaldere (Dereçerkez)	<i>Bigadiç</i> Sp (few)	Merkez (Ay)	39.32	28.11
Çamköy?	(+ TkSu)	(B)	39.28	28.11
Hamidiye (Çerkez Hamidiye)			39.22	28.00
Kargın			39.23	28.12
Orhanlı (Orhaniye)	<i>Bigadiç</i> Sp	Çağış (Ay)	39.30	27.58
Çınar	<i>Dursunbey</i>	Merkez	39.37	28.49
Dereköy	<i>Dursunbey</i> Abz + Sp	Gökçedağ (Ay)	39.30	28.59
Mahmudiye	<i>Dursunbey</i> Sp	Kavacık (Ay)	39.44	28.32
Gönen town	<i>Gönen</i>	Merkez	40.06	27.39
Balcıköy	Abz (+ others)	(Ay)	40.03	27.36
Bayramiç	Ab + Sp	(Ay)	40.06	27.48
Çalıoba	Abz	(Ay)	40.11	27.43
Ekşidere	Ub	(Ay)	40.02	27.35
Hacimenteş	Abz	(Ay)	40.09	27.46
Hacivelioba (Obaköy)	Abz	(Ay)	40.03	27.39
Karalarçiftliği	Ub	(Ay)	40.06	27.37
Keçeler			40.04	27.41
Köteyli			40.11	27.45
Muratlar	Ab	(Ay)	40.04	27.35
Ortaoba	Ab	(Ay)	40.00	27.29
Taştepe (Çalıoba-Çerkez)			40.11	27.43
Tuzakçı	Abz	(Ay)	40.08	27.40
Üçpınar	Abz	(Ay)	40.02	27.40
Armutlu (Sızıköy)	<i>Gönen</i> Ub	Sarıköy (Ay)	40.12	27.31
Ayvalidere	Abz	(Ay)	40.13	27.39
Çifteçeşmeler		(Ül)	40.16	27.33
Dereköy (Keçidere)	Ub	(Ül)	40.10	27.35

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Gökçeyazı (Ergama)	<i>İvrindi</i>	Gökçeyazı (Ergama)	39.38	27.38
Çarkacı	<i>İvrindi</i> Sp	Korucu (Ay)	39.29	27.24
Dereli	<i>Kepsut</i> Abz	Merkez (Ay)	39.46	28.16
Keçidere			39.43	28.13
Durak (Hamidiye)	<i>Kepsut</i>	Durak	39.42	28.16
Boğazpınar (Mürvetler)	<i>Manyas</i>	Merkez	40.01	27.57
Bölgeağaç	Ub	(Ay)	40.05	27.57
Cumhuriyet (Sultaniye)			40.01	27.58
Çamlı (Gurafa)?	(Da, Lz?)	(Ay/B)	40.03	28.04
Çavuş	Ub (few)	(Ay)	40.04	27.53
Dere (Aleksi)	Ub	(Ay)	40.04	27.53
Eskiçatal	Abz	(Ay)	40.05	28.01
Eşen	Abz + Ub	(Ay)	40.06	28.02
Haydar	Ub	(Ay)	40.04	28.01
Kızık	Sp + Abz	(Ay)	40.03	27.57
Kızılköy (Kızıksa)	Sp + Abz (+ others)	(Ay/B)	40.07	27.59
Kulak	Ub (few)	(Ay)	40.03	27.59
Soğuksu (Eskimanyas)	Ub + Sp	(Ay)	40.01	28.03
Tepecik (Dünbe)	Ub + Sp (+ Da + Mu)	(Ay/B)	40.04	28.03
Yeniköy	Ub	(Ay)	40.06	28.04
Darica	<i>Manyas</i> Ub	Darica (Ay)	40.01	27.50
Değirmenboğazı	Ub	(A/Ay)	39.59	27.50
Hacıosman	Ub	(A/Ay)	39.59	27.49
Hacıyakup	Ub	(A/Ay)	40.03	27.53
Işıklar	Ub	(Ay)	40.01	27.49
Çakırca	<i>Manyas</i> Abz	Şevketiye (Ay)	40.03	27.51
Dura	Ub	(Ay)	40.01	27.49
Salur	Ub	(Ay)	40.06	27.56
Süleymanlı	Ub	(Ay)	40.02	27.51
Mandıra	<i>Sındırgı</i>	Merkez	39.14	28.09

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
	<i>Susurluk</i>	Merkez		
Aziziye	Abz	(Ay)	39.51	28.10
Balıklidere	Sp	(Ay)	39.57	28.10
Kadıkırı	Abz	(Ay)	39.52	28.08
Karapürçek			39.58	28.13
Söğütçayırı	K	(Ay)	39.53	28.07
Sultançayırı	Abz	(Ay)	39.52	28.09
Sülecik	Abz	(Ay)	39.51	28.11
Yahya	(+ Mu + others)	(İş)	40.00	28.10
Yıldız	Abz	(Ay)	39.48	28.11
	<i>Susurluk</i>	Göbel		
Ilıcaboğazı	Sp	(Ay)	40.05	28.07
Kepekler	Sp (Mu?)	(Ay/Mag)	40.05	28.10
Muradiye	Sp + Abz	(Ay)	40.04	28.06
Ümiteli	Sp (few)	(Ay)	40.03	28.09
	<i>Susurluk</i>	Ömerköy		
Demirkapı (Hamidiye)	Sp + Abz	(Ay)	39.48	28.05
Gökçedere	Sp (few)	(Ay)	39.50	28.03
	<i>Merkez</i>	İlyasbey		
Bilecik				
Elmabahçe	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.08	29.48
Hasandere	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.08	29.47
Künceğiz (Küncez)	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.09	29.49
	<i>Bozüyük</i>	Merkez		
Akçapınar	Abz	(Ay)	39.57	30.04
Akpınar	Abz	(Tun/Ay)	39.52	30.04
Alibeydüzü	Abz	(Ay)	39.56	30.04
Karaağaç	Abz	(Ay)	39.50	30.01
Kovalıca (Kovalca)	Ab	(T/Ay)	39.51	30.03
Poyra	Abz/Kha(Sp?)	(Tun/Ay)	39.53	30.12
Yeniçepni (Çerkezçepni)		(Tun)	39.54	30.10
	<i>Bozüyük</i>	Dodurga		
Karaçayır	Bra	(Ay)	39.43	29.57
	<i>Pazaryeri</i>	Merkez		
Alınca (Çerkezalınca)	Abz	(Ay)	39.59	29.47
Sarıç	Abz	(Ay)	40.05	29.50
	<i>Söğüt</i>	Merkez		
Düzdağ	Abz	(Ay)	39.56	30.07
*Guyemcik	Ab			
*Kanlıkonak	Ab			
*Nanedere	Ab			

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
<b>Bingöl</b>	<i>Kiğı</i>	Adaklı		
Doluntekne (Yekmal)	Abz		39.08	40.39
	<i>Kiğı</i>	Yedisu		
Yedisu (Çerme/ Çermekarakol)	Abz		39.26	40.33
Eskibalta				
(Himsor/Humsor)	Abz	(Şip)	39.27	40.27
Güzgülü (Arnis)	Abz		39.26	40.29
Karapolat (Polatkan)	Abz	(Şip)	39.28	40.29
<b>Bitlis</b>	<i>Adilcevaz</i>	Merkez		
Yolçatı/Yolaçtı (Koğuş)	Sp	(Ay)	38.48	42.50
	<i>Ahlat</i>	Merkez		
Çukurtarla (Hanik)	Sp	(Ay)	38.55	42.32
Develik	Sp	(Ay)	38.54	42.29
	<i>Ahlat</i>	Ovakışla		
Akçaören (Ağcaviran)?	(Os!)		38.54	42.25
Yoğurtyemez	Sp	(Ay)	38.53	42.27
<b>Bolu</b>	<i>Akçakoca</i>	Merkez		
Akçakoca town	Ab		41.05	31.08
Esmahanım	Ab			
	<i>Düzce</i>	Merkez		
Ağaköy	Sp (few)	(Ay)	40.50	31.09
Aydınpınar				
(Sokuçhacıbrahim)			40.46	31.07
Balıca (Çerjezbakkıca)	Sp	(Ay)	40.47	31.06
Batakçiftlik			40.49	31.05
Beslambey (Akınlar)	Ub (few)	(Ay)	40.51	31.08
Bostanyeri (Arapçiftlik- Kazıkışak)	Sp	(B/Ay)	40.52	31.09
Büyükaçma (Efteni- yeaçma?)	Sp	(Ay)	40.46	31.00
Çakırlar	Ub(few)( + Ge)	(B/Ay)	40.53	31.13
Çam?	Sp? (Abd/Gyp)	(B/Ay)	40.53	31.11
Çınarlı (Melbuhoğlu)	Abz	(Ay)	40.45	31.10
Dağdibi				
(Girevlimustafağa)	Abz	(Ay)	40.46	31.13



Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates
Değirmenbaşı (Mehmetbey)	Sp	(Ay)	40.46 31.11
Develi (Develibesni)	Bes	(Ay)	40.47 31.09
Doğanalı (Civit)	Abz + Sp	(Ay)	40.48 31.14
Dolay (Derdin)	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.44 31.12
Esenköy (Mergiç)	Ub	(Ay)	
Gökçe (Naşhacıismail-Ortaköy)	Sp	(Ay)	40.49 31.13
Gülormanı (Hacı Musa)	Bes (few)	(Ay)	40.46 31.06
Gümüşpınar (Hacıatif)	Abz + Sp	(Ay)	40.49 31.14
Günlü (Aziziye)	Abz	(Ay)	40.51 31.09
Güven (Çapyakbey)	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.46 31.12
İstilli	Bes	(Ay)	40.50 31.06
Kaledibi (Cicubey)	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.46 31.00
Karaçalı (Hacıhasan-efendi/Çalıcuma)	Sp	(Ay)	40.44 31.11
Karahacımusası	Sp	(Ay)	
Kazıkoğlu (Akçaşehiraltı)	Sp	(Ay)	
Kızılıcak (Şuruhefendi)	Sp	(Ay)	40.48 31.08
Kirazlı (Siyokoğlu/Hacıismailoğlu)	Sp	(Ay)	40.48 31.13
Kiremitocağı (Hüseyinbey)	Ub	(Ay)	
Konaklı (Bayremzi)	Sp	(Ay)	40.47 31.08
Köprübaşı (Ömerfendi)	Tem	(Ay)	40.49 31.02
Kuşaçması (Hacıtalustabey)			40.48 31.06
Kutlu (Amcahasanbey)	Ub	(Ay)	40.46 31.09
Kuyumcuhacıali	Sp	(Ay)	
Küçükahmet	Sp	(Ay)	40.48 31.09
Küçükmehtmet (Sıracevizler)	Sp	(Ay)	40.49 31.09
Muncurlu Paşaormanı (İbrahimbey)	Ub	(Ay)	
Pınarlar (Hanpinas)	Sp	(Ay)	
Sarayyeri (Şapsığ)	Ub	(B/Ay)	40.53 31.09
Şıralık (Kasapköyü)	Sp	(Ay)	40.43 31.29
Taşköprü (Çerkeztaşköprü)	Sp (Abz?)	(Ay)	40.51 31.07
Uzunmustafa	Ab	(Ay)	40.50 31.10
Yayakbaşı	Sp	(Ay)	

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Yenikaraköy (Çerkezkaraköy)	Sp (few)	(Ay)	40.48	31.07
*Çakırlı			40.54	31.14
	<i>Düzce</i>	Çilimli		
Çalılık (Hacıhabek)				
	<i>Düzce</i>	Gölkaya		
Aksu (Elbüzbey/ Elbruzbey)	Ab	(T/Ay)		
Çay (Efteniçay)? (as Efteniye):				
4 with related names	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.45	30.57
Hacısüleymanbey	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.46	30.57
Kurak	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.47	30.59
Sarıdere	K (few)	(Ay)		
Zekeriya	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.47	30.57
	<i>Düzce</i>	Gümüşova		
Elmacık	Sp	(Ay)	40.50	30.59
Halilbey	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.50	30.54
Harmankaya	Ab(few)	(T/Ay)	40.57	30.57
Soğuksu	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.51	30.53
Yeşilyayla (Hüçaçbey)	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.48	30.53
Yongalık	Sp	(Ay)	40.50	30.56
	<i>Düzce</i>	Kaynaşlı		
Bıçkıyanı/Bıçkı	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.43	31.21
Çamoluk (Kasbeyköyü)	Ab(few)	(T/Ay)	40.45	31.20
Darıyerihasanbey	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.46	31.21
Muratbey/Muratlar	Ab(few)	(T/Ay)	40.44	31.20
Saz/Sazköy	Ab	(Ay)	40.45	31.16
Tavak	Ab (few)	(Ay)	40.44	31.18
Üçköprü (Darıyeri Süleymanbey)	Ab(Abz?)	(T/Ay)	40.48	31.15
	<i>Düzce</i>	Konuralp		
Aynalı (Çerkezaynalı)	Abz(few)	(Ay)	40.45	31.15
	<i>Gerede</i>	Merkez		
Nuhören (Nuhveran)			40.49	32.09
	<i>Yeşilova</i>	Merkez		
Burdur	(TkSu?)	(B)	37.32	29.52
Gençali?				
Hayriye	Sp		37.40	29.39

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Bursa	<i>İnegöl</i>	Merkez		
Boğaz			40.11	29.32
Fındıklı	Sp	(Ay)	40.07	29.36
Kastanealanı	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.01	29.30
	<i>İnegöl</i>	Tahtaköprü		
Güneykestane	Ab	(T/Ay)	39.56	29.43
Hacıkara	Sp	(Ay/Mag)	39.58	29.38
Mezit (Uzunbarış)	Ab	(T/Ay)	39.55	29.44
Osmaniye (Kanlıkönak)	Ab	(Ay)	39.57	29.41
Rüştiye	Ab	(T/Ay)	39.58	29.40
Sulhiye (Uzunbarış)	Ab(+Ge)	(T/Ay)	39.55	29.44
	<i>İznik</i>	Merkez		
Elmalı			40.31	29.53
	<i>Karacabey</i>	Merkez		
Karacabey town	Ub	(A)	40.13	28.22
Akçasusurluk	Abz	(Ay)	40.18	28.26
Cambaz	(few Circ)	(Ay)	40.12	28.21
Ekinli (Arapçiftliği)	Sp	(Ay)	40.22	28.30
Gömü	(few Circ)	(Ay)	40.07	28.17
Hayırlar (Hayırsız)		(Ay)	40.17	28.27
Uluabat	Ab + K	(T/Ay)	40.12	28.26
Yolağzı (Dümbe)	Abz	(Ay)	40.08	28.18
	<i>Mustafakemalpaşa</i>	Merkez		
Adaköy	Sp	(Ay)	40.01	28.12
Boğazköy (Eskimezarlık)	Sp		40.01	28.17
Bostandere		(Ay)	39.59	28.16
Güllüce			40.00	28.19
Karaorman	Abz + K	(Ay)	39.58	28.27
Ormankadı	Abz(few)	(Ay)	40.09	28.27
Taşköprü	Sp	(Ay)	39.59	28.13
Tepecik	K(few)	(Ay)	40.07	28.26
Yalıntaş (Mineviz)	Abz(few)	(Ay)	40.01	28.24
	<i>Mustafakemalpaşa</i>	Çaltılıbük		
Döllük	Abz	(Ay)	39.58	28.31
	<i>Mustafakemalpaşa</i>	Devecikonağı		
Güven	Abz	(Ay)	39.50	28.31
Soğucak	Abz	(Ay)	39.49	28.28

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Kadirçeşme	<i>Mustafakemalpaşa</i> Sp	Söğütalan (Ay)	40.05	28.31
Söğüt	<i>Orhaneli</i>	Merkez		
Kavaklı	<i>Yenişehir</i> Sp	Merkez (Ay)	40.19	29.31
<b>Çanakale</b> Akköprü?	<i>Biga</i> (few Kum)	Merkez (Ay)	40.16	27.12
Doğancı	Bje	(Ay)	40.16	27.10
İdriskoru	Bje	(Ay)		
Savaştepe (Lütfiye)	Bje	(Ay)	40.15	27.10
Bakacak (İpkaiye)	<i>Biga</i> Bje	Bakacak (Ay)	40.12	27.05
Cihadiye (Buzalık)	Bje	(Ay)	40.11	27.06
Dereköy (Şevketiye)	Bje	(Ay)	40.11	27.08
Kahvetepe (Şerefiye)	Bje	(Ay)	40.13	27.08
Geyikkırı	<i>Biga</i>	Balıklıçeşme	40.18	27.08
Aşağıdemirci (Çerkezdemirci)	<i>Biga</i> Bje	Gümüşçay (Ay)	40.14	27.22
Bahçeli (İhsaniye)	Bje	(Ay)	40.15	27.19
Emirorman (İhvaniye)	Bje	(Ay)	40.16	27.20
Hacıköy (Maksudiye)	Bje	(Ay)	40.15	27.20
Osmaniye	Bje	(Ay)	40.15	27.20
Tokatkırı (Ahmetpaşa)	<i>Biga</i>	Karabiga (Ay)	40.20	27.12
<b>Çorum</b>	Bes	(D'59)		
Ertuğrul	<i>Merkez</i> Abz	Merkez (Ay/Do)	40.23	34.40
Feruz (Feriz)		(B)	40.43	34.53
Gökdere	Bes	(Ay)	40.40	34.44
Kırkdilim	Bes	(Ay/Do)	40.43	34.54
Kuşsaray	Abz	(Ay)	40.36	35.08
Mecidiyekavak	Abz	(Ay)	40.28	34.41

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Osmaniye				
(Enbiyapınarı)	Abz	(Ay)	40.40	34.56
Sazdeğirmeni	Bes	(Ay/Do)	40.25	34.46
Yakuparpa/Yakupğa	Sp	(Ay)	40.41	35.01
	<i>Merkez</i>	<i>Cemilbey</i>		
Çorak/Cemilbey	Sp	(Pa/Do)	40.21	35.03
Elköy	K	(Ay)	40.23	35.07
Yeşilyayla (Kuduzlar)?	(Ku + Noğ!)	(B/Ay/Do)	40.19	35.06
	<i>Merkez</i>	<i>Laçın</i>		
Doğanlar (Hamidiye)	Sp	(Ay)	40.46	35.00
Yeşilpınar				
(Karapınarmuhacir)	Abz	(Ay)	40.45	35.00
	<i>Merkez</i>	<i>Seydim</i>		
Tozluburun	Bes	(Ay)	40.36	34.34
	<i>Alaca</i>	<i>Merkez</i>		
Altıntaş	K(+ Ku)	(B/Ay)	40.02	35.08
Gökören (Gökveren)	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.13	35.01
Kapaklı	K	(Ay)	40.15	34.58
Karaçal	Abz	(Ay)	40.02	34.53
Körpınar	Abz	(Ay)	40.09	35.02
Mahmudiye				
(Çerkezkalehisar)	Abz	(Ay/Do)	40.16	34.43
Seyitnizam	Abz	(Ay/Do)	40.05	35.06
Sincan	Sp(+ Ku)	(B/Ay)	40.03	34.55
Sultanköy	Ab	(T/Ay/Do)	40.13	35.03
	<i>İskilip</i>	<i>Merkez</i>		
Kavak			40.47	34.25
Saraycık	Bes	(Ay)	40.57	34.28
	<i>Mecitözü</i>	<i>Merkez</i>		
Fakiahmet	Sp	(Pa/Ay)	40.28	35.14
Söğütyolu (Zennun)	Bes	(D'59/Ay)	40.30	35.11
Vakıflar	Abz	(Ay)		
	<i>Ortaköy</i>	<i>Merkez</i>		
Oruçpınar	Abz	(Ay)	40.17	35.12
	<i>Sungurlu</i>	<i>Merkez</i>		
Gafurlu	Bes	(Ay)	40.14	34.36
Gökçeköy				
(Hamallıçerkez)	Abz	(Ay)	40.12	34.37

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Tuğcu	Sp	(Ay/Do)	40.19	34.08
Yeni hacılarhanı (Hacılarhanıçerkez)	Sp	(Ay)	40.17	34.36
Yenikadılı (Kadılıçerkez)	<i>Sungurlu</i> Abz?	Boğazkale (Ay)	40.05	34.32
Denizli Akköy (Aziziye)	<i>Merkez</i> Sp(few)(+ Da)	Merkez (Ay)	37.57	29.05
Siğma	<i>Sarayköy</i> Sp(few)	Merkez (Ay)	37.55	28.58
Eskişehir	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Ağapınar	Ab	(Tun/Ay)	39.48	30.46
Ahılar	Ab	(Ay)	39.51	30.41
Akpınar	Ab + Bes	(Tun/T/Ay)	39.40	30.33
Aşağıkartal (Çerkeskartal)	K	(Tun/Ay)	39.44	30.16
Cavlıum	K + Abz (+ CrTat)	(Ay)	39.48	30.43
Gökçekısıık	Bes	(Tun/Ay)	39.39	30.22
İmişehir		(Tun)	39.43	30.45
Karaalan	Ab	(Tun/T/Ay)	39.38	30.27
Karaçay?	Ab (Kar?)	(Tun/Ay)	39.46	30.51
Kızılcaören	Ab (few)	(T/Tun/Ay)	39.52	30.45
Kireçköyü (Çerkeskireç)	Bes (few)(+ CrTat)	(Ay)	39.46	30.46
Kozlubl (Margı)		(Tun)	39.55	30.54
Musaözü	Abz	(Tun/T/Ay)	39.41	30.21
Nemli	Abz + K	(Tun/Ay)	39.43	30.12
Sultandere		(Ay)	39.44	30.36
Uluçayır	Bje	(Tun/Ay)	39.38	30.24
*Ağalar	Abz			
Çukurhisar	<i>Merkez</i> Ab + Sp + Bes	Alpu (Tun/T/Ay)	39.51	30.59
Karacaören	Ab	(Tun/T/Ay)	39.44	30.44
Hekimdağ	<i>Merkez</i>	Hekimdağ		
(Taşköprü)	Ab(?)	(Tun/Ay)	39.55	30.34
Bektaşınarı	Ab	(Tun/T/Ay)	39.55	30.31
Sulukaraağaç (İmraniye)		(Tun)	39.55	30.29
Tandır	Ab	(Tun/T/Ay)	39.55	30.42

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
	<i>Merkez</i>	İnönü		
Kümbet		(Tun)	39.42	30.09
Kümbetakpınar/ Kümbetpınar	Bra	(Ay)	39.43	30.07
Kümbetyeni	Bra	(Ay)	39.41	30.08
Oklubalı	Abz + K (+ Bu + Ku)	(Tun)	39.49	30.15
	<i>Çifteler</i>	Merkez		
Ağlarca			39.11	30.47
Başaran/Başören			39.08	30.55
Belpınar?	(Kar?)	(Ay)	39.19	31.05
Hayriye	Ab	(T)	39.23	30.56
Yazılıkaya		(Ay)	39.12	30.44
	<i>Mahmudiye</i>	Merkez		
Yeniköy	Abz	(Tun)	39.29	31.04
	<i>Mihalıççık</i>	Beylikahır		
Akgüney (Rahmiye)	K + Bes	(Tun/Ay)	39.45	31.10
	<i>Seyitgazi</i>	Merkez		
Beşkışla/Beykışla		(Tun/Ay)	39.25	30.49
(Feyziabat/Çecengiş)		(Tun)	39.27	30.49
Gümüşbel (Maabaşı/Hüsnuabat)		(Tun)	39.34	30.44
Yenikent (Yeniköy/Hamidiye)		(Tun)		
	<i>Sivrihisar</i>	Merkez		
Ertuğrul (Yakapınar)		(Ay)	39.17	31.35
Nasrettinhoca (Bağbaşı/Hortu)			39.31	31.39
	<i>Sivrihisar</i>	Günyüzü		
Kayakent (Holanta)		(Ay)	39.18	31.48
	<i>Şiran</i>	Merkez		
Gümüşhane		(A)	40.11	39.08
Şiran town		(Ay)	40.11	39.02
Dumanoluğu	Abz	(Ay)	40.13	39.06
Günbatır/Günbatır	Abz	(Ay)	40.09	39.13
Sellidere	Abz	(Ay)		
	<i>Merkez</i>	Serinyol		
Hatay			36.22	36.13
Serinyol (Bedirgeçerkes)				
	<i>İskenderun</i>	Merkez		
İskenderun town			36.35	36.10

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Two villages, unidentified	<i>İskenderun</i>	Belen (Aswad)		
Reyhanlı town	<i>Reyhanlı</i>	Merkez		
Bayır Mahallesi	Abz + Sp		36.16	36.34
Yenişehir Mahallesi	Abz		36.15	36.34
Kavalcık (Karan/Havran)	Abz + Sp		36.14	36.37
<b>İstanbul</b>	<i>Şile</i>	Merkez		
Darlık	Ab	(T/Ay)	41.05	29.36
*Kuşbaşı/Kaşbaşı	Ab	(T/Ay)	41.05	29.35
Yeşilvadi	<i>Şile</i>	Yeşilvadi		
(Heciz/Hiciz)	Ab	(T/Ay)	41.07	29.29
Avcıkoru (Hamidiye)	Ab	(T/Ay)	41.08	29.27
Soğucak	<i>Yalova</i>	Merkez		
	Abz	(B/Ay)	40.36	29.17
Dereköy	<i>Yalova</i>	Kılıç		
	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.37	29.24
<b>İzmir</b>	<i>Bayındır</i>	Merkez		
Bayındır town			38.13	27.39
Buruncuk			38.12	27.43
Canlı (Hamidiye)		(Eg)	38.12	27.34
Arıkbaşı	<i>Bayındır</i>	Çırpı		
	Sp	(Eg/Ay)	38.11	27.30
İlkkurşun (Burhaniye/ Hacıilyas)	<i>Ödemiş</i>	Merkez		
	Sp	(Eg/Ay)	38.11	27.52
Ertuğrul (Çerkezköyü)	<i>Ödemiş</i>	Kaymakçı		
	Sp	(Eg/Ay)	38.10	28.04
Turgutlu	<i>Tire</i>	Merkez		
		(Eg)	38.08	27.39



Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
<b>Kars</b> Aydınlan (İslâmsor)	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez (Ay)	40.33	42.53
Sarıkamış town Yenigazi	<i>Sarıkamış</i>	Merkez (B) (Ay)	40.20 40.25	42.34 42.42
Karaorgan Taşlıgüney (Küçükislâmsor)	<i>Sarıkamış</i>	Karaorgan	40.15 40.09	42.17 42.24
<b>Kayseri</b> Kuşcu	<i>Merkez</i>	Erkilet		
Akpınar	<i>Pınarbaşı</i> K	Merkez (B)	38.42	36.16
Alamescit	K	(B/Ay)	38.52	36.34
Altıkeseek	Ab	(T/B/Ay)	38.50	36.29
Aşağibeyçayır	K	(B/Ay)	ca. 38.41	36.29
Aşağıborandere	K Ab(+ Che)	(B/Ay)	38.46	36.33
Aşağıkaragöz	K	(B/Ay)	38.46	36.29
Aşağıkızılçevlik	K	(B/Ay)	38.50	36.33
Avşarpotuklu?	(Af!)	(B)	38.45	36.18
Büyükgümüştün	K	(B/Ay)	38.43	36.27
Büyükkabaktepe	K	(B/Ay)	38.32	36.24
Büyükpotuklu	Ab	(T/B/Ay)	38.46	36.22
Eğrisöğüt?	(Os + Kar!)	(Ay)	38.38	36.24
Eskiyassınar	K	(B/Ay)	38.47	36.37
Gebelek	K	(B/Ay)	38.44	36.29
Halitbeyören (Halitbeyviran)	K	(B/Ay)	38.49	36.28
Karaboğaz (Çerkezkaraboğaz)	K	(B/Ay)	38.47	36.27
Kılıçmehmet	K	(B/Ay)	38.45	36.35
Kırgeçit	K	(B/Ay)	38.41	36.33
Taşoluk (Çerkeztaşoluk)	K	(B/Ay)	38.53	36.35
Yağlıpınar	K	(B)	38.49	36.24
Yukarıbeyçayırı	K	(B)	38.38	36.27
Yukarıborandere	K + Ab	(B)	38.46	36.32
Yukarıkaragöz	K	(B)	38.45	36.30
Yukarıkızılçevlik	K	(B)	38.50	36.36

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
	<i>Pınarbaşı</i>	Kaynar		
Kaynar	Kha	(B/Ay)	38.54	36.27
Akören (Akviran)	Kha	(B/Ay)	38.49	36.10
Aygörmez	Kha	(B/Ay)	ca. 38.49	36.12
Beserek	Kha	(B/Ay)	39.01	36.24
Cinliören (Cinliviran)	Kha	(B/Ay)	38.49	36.15
Çukuryurt	Abz + Sp	(B/Ay)	38.58	36.23
Demirciören (Demirciviran)	Kha	(B/Ay)	38.50	36.13
Devederesi	Kha	(B/Ay)	38.49	36.11
Hayriye	Ab(K?)	(B/Ay)	39.06	36.26
İnliören (İnliviran)	Kha	(B/Ay)	38.50	36.16
Kavak	Kha	(B/Ay)	39.01	36.22
Kuşçular (Çerkezkuşçu)	Kha	(B/Ay)	38.49	36.12
Malak	Kha	(B/Ay)	39.03	36.22
Panlı	Abz	(B/Ay)	38.46	36.08
Söğütlü (Çerkezsöğütlü)	Kha	(B/Ay)	38.51	36.14
Tahtaköprü	K	(B/Ay)	38.59	36.29
Tersakan	Kha	(B/Ay)	38.51	36.20
Yeniyaşpınar	K	(B/Ay)	38.57	36.25
	<i>Pınarbaşı</i>	Örenşehir		
Örenşehir (Viranşehir)	K + Ab	(B/T/Ay)	39.00	36.40
Dikilitaş	K	(B/Ay)	ca. 39.01	36.51
Hilmiye (Domuzdere)	K	(B/Ay)	38.56	36.31
Kaftangiyen	K	(B/Ay)	ca. 39.04	36.47
Karahalka	K	(B/Ay)	38.54	36.50
Karakuyu	K	(B/Ay)	38.55	36.44
Kazancık	Ab	(B/Ay)	39.04	36.34
Kırkpınar	K	(B/Ay)	38.57	36.47
Kurbagalık (Kurbalık)	K	(B/Ay)	38.59	36.43
Methiye	K	(B/Ay)	39.06	36.42
Olukkaya (Pöhrenk)	K	(B/Ay)	38.52	36.43
Pazarsu	K	(B/Ay)	ca. 39.07	36.40
Saçayağı (Beyazköy-Saçayağı)	K	(B/Ay)	38.59	36.45
Şerefiye	K	(B/Ay)	38.56	36.41
Taşlıgeçit	K	(B)	ca. 39.02	36.43
Uzunpınar	K	(B/Ay)	38.59	36.54
Üçpınar (Uyuzpınar)	K	(B/Ay)	38.59	36.37
Yahyabey	K	(B/Ay)	ca. 39.02	36.32

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
	<i>Sarız</i>	Merkez		
Altınsöğüt			38.27	36.27
İncemağara	Ab	(Ay)	38.24	37.28
Karakoyunlu	K	(P/Ay)	38.18	36.23
Yedioluk			38.34	36.26
	<i>Yahyalı</i>	Merkez		
Burhaniye	K	(P/Ay)	37.50	35.35
<b>Kocaeli</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Derbent		
Hikmetiye (Büyükderbent)	Ab(Abz?)	(T/Ay)	40.43	30.07
Acısu	Ab	(B)	40.43	30.07
Balaban	Ab(+ Ge)	(B)	40.41	30.06
Ketenciler	Abz + Sp	(B/Ay)		
Maşukiye	Ab + Ub + Sp	(T/D'59/B/Ay)	40.42	30.07
Uzuntarla	Abz(+ Mu)	(B/Ay)	40.44	30.09
	<i>Kandıra</i>	Merkez		
Karaağaç	(few Circ)	(Ay)	41.09	30.19
	<i>Karamürsel</i>	Merkez		
Aktoprak	Abz	(B/Ay)	40.35	29.29
Fevziye	Abz + Sp	(B/Ay)	40.37	29.28
Karadere (Pşit Hable)	Abz	(Ay)	40.38	29.28
Mahmudiye (Karapınar)		(Ay)	40.34	29.31
Örencik (Hamidiye)	Abz	(B)	40.36	29.27
Selimiye (Ayvalıca)			40.33	29.29
Tevfikiye (Çavuşköy)			40.36	29.28
<b>Konya</b>	<i>Akşehir</i>	Merkez		
Ulupınar	Abz	(Ay)	38.26	31.20
Yazla (Absarı)?			38.24	31.33
	<i>Akşehir</i>	Reis		
Yeşilköy (Yılanyusuf)			38.19	31.36
	<i>Ilgın</i>	Merkez		
Boğazkent (Reşadiye- Yuvabaltık)?			38.20	31.47
İhsaniye (Gaziler)	Abz	(H/Ay)	38.13	32.04
Olukpınar (Rüştüye/ Delihasantolu)		(H)	38.16	32.02
Orhaniye (Sivri)	Abz	(H/Ay)	38.18	31.59
Ormanözü (Şevketiye-Puhtu)	Abz	(H/Ay)	38.12	31.54

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Sebiller (Burhaniye)	<i>Ilgın</i> Abz	Argethanı (Ay)	38.14	31.46
Eşme (Mecidiye)	<i>Kadınhanı</i> (+ Kar)	Merkez (H)	38.14	32.14
Mahmudiye (Çerkezatlandı) Pusat/Pusad	<i>Kadınhanı</i>	Kurthasanlı (H) (H)	38.25 38.23	32.07 32.14
Gökçe	<i>Karaman</i> Abz	Merkez (H/Ay)	37.04	33.17
Göztepe/Göktepe	Abz	(H)	37.16	33.13
Demiryurt (Mondosum/ Mandasun)	<i>Karaman</i>	Kılbasan (H)	37.20	33.04
Eminler (Karadağ?)	Abz	(H/Ay)	37.20	33.06
Büyükgengi (Bakırpınar-Mesudiye) Başhüyük (İmranhamidiye) Ertuğrul (Çürüksu) Konar (Kırlıkuyu) Yenicekaya	<i>Sarayönü</i>	Merkez (H) (H) (H) (H) (H)	38.15 38.17 38.12 38.15 38.18	32.20 32.29 32.26 32.29 32.20
Kütahya Yenicekızılcaören	<i>Merkez</i> Ab	Sabuncu (T/Ay)	39.38	30.02
Aykırıkkçı	<i>Altıntaş</i> Ab	Merkez (T/Ay)	39.08	30.09
Yeniköy (2 of this name)	<i>Gediz?</i> Ab	Merkez	38.52	29.17
Kiçir	<i>Simav</i> Abz	Merkez (Ay)	39.14	28.42
Malatya *Çerkezören *Çerkezyazısı	<i>Darende</i>	Kuluncak (Ayvalı)	38.53	37.46

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
<b>Manisa</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Karaağaçlı	Sp(few)	(Ay)	38.41	27.31
Yenimahmudiye (Çerkezmahmudiye)	Sp + Abz	(Ay)		
	<i>Merkez</i>	<b>Üçpınar</b>		
Gülbahçe (Çerkeztevfikiye)	Ab	(T/Ay)	38.43	27.21
	<i>Saruhanlı</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Yeniosmaniye (Çerkezosmaniye/Tepeağıl)			38.46	27.27
<b>(Kahraman) Maraş</b>	<i>Afşin</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Deveboynu	K	(Ay)	38.10	36.48
Kaba ağaç		(Sv)	38.11	37.01
Karagöz			38.17	36.59
Yazıköy	Abz	(Ay)	38.11	36.47
*Aşağı Karabük (= Kargabük?)	K		38.09	36.49
*Yukarı Karabük (= Kargabük?)	K		38.10	36.51
	<i>Andırın</i>	<b>Çokak</b>		
Akifiye	Ub + Sp + Abz + K	(Ay)	37.42	36.21
Çiğsar	Abz + K	(Ay)	37.47	36.18
Yeşiltepe (Kavaklıtepe)	Abz + K	(Ay)	37.39	36.23
	<i>Elbistan</i>	<b>Güçük</b>		
Gözcik (Çerkezuşağı)			38.18	37.39
Soğucak	K(few)	(Ay)	38.08	37.26
	<i>Göksun</i>	<b>Merkez</b>		
Büyükçamurlu	Ub + Sp + Abz	(La)	37.54	36.23
Kaleköy (Kaleseğleğen)	K	(P/Ay)	38.03	36.36
Karahmet	K	(Ay)	38.02	36.35
Mahmutbey	Abz	(Ay)	38.07	36.29
Mehmetbey	Abz	(Ay)	38.06	36.28
Saraycık	K	(Ay)	38.02	36.34
Tahirbey	Abz	(P/Ay)	38.08	36.28
Yağmurlu (Azizin)	K		38.05	36.35
Yantepe (Yusufefendi)	K		38.03	36.33

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Çardak (Süleymanlı) Fındık Güçüksü Kamışcık Korkmaz/Kırmaz	<i>Göksün</i> (+ Che)	Çardak (B/Ay)	38.06	36.49
	K	(Ay)	38.05	36.44
	(+ Lez)	(P)		
	K(few)	(Ay)	38.07	36.53
	K	(Ay)	38.05	36.48
Göynük	<i>Pazarcık</i>	Merkez (B)	37.41	37.26
	<i>Pazarcık</i>	Narlı (B)	37.26	37.09
Eskinarlı (Narlıçerkezler)?				
<b>Mardin</b> Kızıltepe town	<i>Kızıltepe</i> (+ Che)	Merkez (B)	37.11	40.35
<b>Muğla</b> Dögüşbelen	<i>Köyceğiz</i>	Merkez (B/Be)	36.58	28.36
<b>Niğde</b> Orhaniye (Çerkesköyü)	<i>Çamardı</i>	Merkez		
	Abz + Sp + K(+ Os)	(Ay)	38.00	35.05?
<b>Sakarya</b> Adapazarı city Acıemalılık Adliye Ahmediye Akarca (İcadiye) Alancuma Çaybaşifuadiye Çaybaşiyeniköy (Açarkta) Çaykışla Emirler Harmantepe (2 so named) İkizce (Ekizcemüslim) Kayalarmenduhiye (Maan Yıkta) Kayalarreşitbey (Şakrıl Yıkta) Kemaliye Şükriye	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
	Abz	(Di)	40.47	30.45
	Abz + Sp	(Ay)		
	Sp	(Ay)	40.40	30.22
	Ab(Ub?)	(B/Ay)	40.40	30.22
	Abz + Sp	(Ay)	40.47	30.37
	Sp	(Ay)	40.43	30.26
	Sp	(Ay)	40.42	30.26
	Ab	(T)	40.41	30.27
	Ab	(B)	40.44	30.30
	Sp	(Ay)	40.42	30.27
	Ab			
	Sp	(Ay)	40.53	30.23
	Ab	(T/Ay/Di)	40.40	30.29
	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.41	30.28
Ab	(T/Ay)	40.40	30.25	
Ab	(T/Ay)	40.41	30.25	

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
	<i>Merkez</i>	Söğütlü		
Kurudil	Sp	(Ay)	40.53	30.30
Mağara	Sp(few)	(B)	40.55	30.36
Maksudiye (Çerkez- beylik-Kışlası)	Sp	(Ay)	40.52	30.32
Orta	Ab(+ Mu)	(B)	44.55	30.35
*Koyunağılı	Ab	(T/Ay)	41.01	30.33
	<i>Akyazı</i>	Merkez		
Alağaç (Mahmutsabit)	Ab(Bra?)	(B/T/Ay)	40.39	30.38
Batakköy	Ab	(B/Ay)	40.40	30.36
Bedilkadirbey (Balballı)	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.44	30.34
Bediltahirbey (Balballı)	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.45	30.34
Hasanbey	Ab(Bra?)	(T/Ay)	40.41	30.41
Kazancı			40.42	30.34
Kızılıcormanı		(Di)	40.45	30.35
Kuzuluk (Kuzulukaziziye)	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.38	30.39
Pazarköy	Ab + Abz	(T/Ay)	40.40	30.39
Salihli/Salihkiye	Ab(Ub?)	(B/Ay)	40.38	30.37
Taşburun	Abz(few)	(Ay)	40.37	30.38
Yağcılar	(+ MuBo)		40.41	30.39
Yeniormanköy (Osmanşevkiye)	Ab(Bra?)	(T/Ay)	40.46	30.35
Yongalık	Ab(Abz?)	(T/Ay)	40.36	30.41
*Bedil Kazana	Ab	?	40.44	30.34
*Beynevit-Yenikonak	Ab(Abz?)	(T/Ay)		
	<i>Akyazı</i>	Karapürçek		
Akbağlık (Akbalık)	Ab	(T/Ay)		
Bıçkıdere	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.37	30.35
Buğdaylı (İrfanisani)	Ab		40.41	30.34
Harmanlı (İrfanievvel)	Ab(Abz?)	(Ay)	40.40	30.35
Kepekli	Ab(Abz?)	(T/Ay)	40.41	30.34
Mesudiye (Tahirbey)	Ab		40.40	30.32
Tektabanlı (as Tektapanlı)	Ab	(B)	40.41	30.32
	<i>Geyve</i>	Merkez		
İhsaniye Köprübaşı	Tem		40.33	30.18

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Doğançay Çınardibi	<i>Geyve</i>	Doğançay		
	Ab	(T)	40.37	30.20
	Sp	(Ay)	40.40	30.24
Hendek town, Zörbek Mahallesi Akçayır (Şabatbey) Aktefek Beyköy (Punabey) Beylice (Hacıbatbey) Çakallık Eskibiçki (Biçkiatik) Hüseyinşeyh Kalaylık/Kalayık Karaçökek Kargalıhanbaba Örtaköy (Punaortu) Sarıyer Sivritepe Soğuksu Uzuncaorman Yarıca	<i>Hendek</i>	Merkez		
	Ab	(B/Di)	40.48	30.45
	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.49	30.50
	Ab(Abz?)	(T/B/Ay)	40.54	30.35
	Ab		40.45	30.41
	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.47	30.49
	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.45	30.44
	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.48	30.52
	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.48	30.48
	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.47	30.48
			40.48	30.50
	Ab(Bes?)	(B/Ay)	40.47	30.40
	Ab	(B)	40.44	30.40
			40.44	30.43
	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.50	30.39
Ab(few)	(B/T/Ay)	40.53	30.37	
Ab + Ub	(T/D/Ay)	40.46	30.39	
Ab(few)	(T/Ay)	40.46	30.48	
Karadere (Çığdere)	<i>Hendek</i>	Karadere		
	Ab	(T/B/Ay)	40.44	30.50?
Adatepe Karapınar Sinanoğlu	<i>Karasu</i>	Merkez		
	Ab(few)	(T/Ay)	41.03	30.35
	Ab	(T/Ay)	41.04	30.37
			40.58	30.32
Caferiye (Melen-Caferiye) Melen	<i>Karasu</i>	Kocaali		
	Ab	(T/Ay)	41.04	30.57
	Ab	(T/Ay)	41.03	30.58
Akçay Kırkpınar (Şadiye) Kurtköy Yanık	<i>Sapanca</i>	Merkez		
	Ub(few)(+Laz + Ge)	(B/Ay)	40.41	30.21
	Ub	(D'59/Ay)		
	Ab + Ub + Abz( +Laz)	(B/D'59)	40.41	30.13
	Ub(mixed)	(Ay)	40.42	30.12



Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
<b>Samsun</b>	<i>Alaçam</i>	Merkez		
Alaçam town		(A)	41.37	35.36
Karlı	Sp + Ub + Mokh	(A/Ay)	41.36	35.41
Soğukçam (Bedeş-Yukarıbedeş)		(B)	41.36	35.46
Yenice	Mokh	(Ay)	41.36	35.43
Zeytinköy	Mokh + Ub	(A/Ay)	41.36	35.42
*Sarılık		(A)	41.35	35.43
	<i>Bafra</i>	Merkez		
Bafra town			41.34	35.55
Balıca (Engiz)	Abz + Sp	(Ay)	41.30	36.05
Gazibeyli	Abz + Sp	(Ay)	41.29	35.53
Hariz		(A)	41.37	35.51
İlyaslı		(Ay)	41.29	35.46
Kalaycılı		(A)		
Karaburç/Karapurç		(A)	41.36	35.53?
KarıncaK/KağıncaK		(A)	41.40	35.56
Kaygusuz	Mokh	(A/Ay)	41.38	35.53
Keresteci	Mokh	(Ay)		
Koşu		(A)		
Kuşcular/Kurtcular		(A)	41.25	35.58
Lengerli		(A)	41.31	35.57
Sarıköy	(few Circ)	(A/Ay)	41.38	35.57
Türbe	(few Circ)	(A/Ay)	41.37	35.56
*Çamca		(A)		
*Sigara/Çigara		(A)	41.32	35.59
	<i>Bafra</i>	Boğazkaya		
Darboğaz	Sp	(B)	41.26	35.55
Dikencik			41.26	35.57
	<i>Çarşamba</i>	Merkez		
Çarşamba town			41.12	36.44
Aşağıdikencik	Sp	(Ay)		
Beylerce (Tekfurmeydan)	Sp(Abz?)	(B/Ay)	41.13	36.42
Bölmeçayır (Manamut)	Abz	(Ay)	41.14	36.38
Çerçiler		(A)	41.14	36.48
Durakbaşı (Alagir)	Abz	(Ay)	41.15	36.39
Hacılıçay	Sp	(B)	41.15	36.41
Karamustafalı	Sp	(Ay)	41.17	36.40
Kızılot	Sp	(Ay)	41.17	36.45

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates
Köklük	Sp	(A/Ay)	41.15 36.43
Kurtahmetli	Sp	(Ay)	41.07 36.43
Melik	Sp	(Ay)	41.13 36.41
Paşayazı (Cacil)	Sp	(Ay)	41.16 36.42
Sofalı (= Seyfeli?)	Abz	(Ay)	41.16 36.46
Tepealtı	Ab + Abz	(Ay)	41.07 36.48
Vakıfköprü (= Vakıfköy?)	Sp + Abz	(Ay)	41.17 36.41
*Aşağı Çerkezler			
*İnelik		(A)	
*Karakulak		(A)	
*Yukarıçerkezler		(A)	41.06 36.58?
	<i>Çarşamba</i>	Dikbıyık	
Dikbıyık	Ab(Abz?)	(B/A/Ay)	41.14 36.36
Aşıklı			41.12 36.37
Çelikli (Gömen)	Sp	(A/Ay)	41.13 36.40
Epçeli	Abz	(A/Ay)	41.15 36.37
Gölceğiz	Abz	(Ay)	41.12 36.31
Hamzalı	Abz + Sp	(Ay)	41.13 36.32
Irmaksırtı	Abz	(Ay)	41.14 36.36
Ortluk	Ab + Sp	(B/A/Ay)	41.11 36.39
Turgutlu	Abz	(Ay)	41.14 36.38
	<i>Havza</i>	Merkez	
Havza town, Mendü- hiye Mahallesi	Abz	(A)	
Cevizlik (Hurdaz)	Ab	(T/A/B/Ay)	41.02 35.44
Dündarlı (Dündardibi)	Abz	(A/Ay)	41.03 35.33
Gelincik	Abz(+ Tk)	(Ay)	40.56 35.34
Gürün	Ab	(T/Ay)	
Karabük	Sp	(Ay)	41.02 35.35
Karameşe	Ab	(T/Ay)	
Kıroğlu	Abz	(B/Ay)	
Kocapınar (Hilyas)	Ab(+ Tk)	(Ay)	40.57 35.46
Meryemdere	Abz(Bes?)	(B/Ay)	41.02 35.31
Orhaniye	Abz	(Ay)	41.01 35.32
Uluçal	Abz	(Ay)	40.56 35.46
Yukarıyavucuk	Abz(+ Mu)	(A/B)	40.58 35.43
*Daşoluk		(A)	
*Halbaba		(A)	
*İshakyeri		(A)	41.05 35.26

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
	<i>Kavak</i>	Merkez		
Kavak town		(A)	41.05	36.02
Bükçeğiz (Bekcivaz)	Ub	(A/Ay)	41.01	36.01
Çarıklıbaşı	Ab	(Ay)	41.03	36.05
Çataltepe (Çakıllımuhamacirleri)	Ub	(Ay)	41.25	36.05
Germiyan	Abz	(Ay)		
Kapıhayat	Ub	(Ay)	41.02	35.53
Karapınar/Karacapınar	Ub	(Ay)	41.01	36.05
Karlı	Ub	(A/Ay)	41.02	36.02
Sıralı	Ub + Abz	(A/Ay)	41.08	35.54
Yenitoptepe (Toptepemuhamacirleri)	Ub + Abz	(A/Ay)	41.01	35.56
	<i>Kavak</i>	Asarcik		
Biçincik	Sp	(Ay)	41.02	36.15
Hisariye	Abz	(Ay)	41.02	36.11
Sakızlık	Abz	(Ay)	41.01	36.12
	<i>Lâdik</i>	Merkez		
Lâdik town			40.55	35.54
Lâdik İstasyonu				
Ahmetsaray	Abz	(Ay)	40.59	35.53
Arslantaş	(+ Tk)	(Ay)	40.57	35.54
Hasırcı	Abz	(Ay)	40.56	35.57
Soğanlı	Abz	(Ay)	40.52	36.00
*Kızılsini			40.56	35.52
	<i>Lâdik</i>	Şeyhli (Şıhlı)		
Daldere (Kürtlü)	Abz	(Ay)	40.55	36.07
Hızarbaşı	Abz	(Ay)	40.56	36.05
	<i>Terme</i>	Merkez		
Terme town		(A/Ay)	41.13	36.58
Emiryusuf	Abz	(A/Ay)	41.18	36.50
Hüseyinmescidi	Abz + Sp	(Ay)	41.09	37.00
İmanalisi	Abz + Sp	(Ay)	41.15	36.53
Karamahmut	Abz + Sp	(Ay)	41.11	36.49
Kumcuğaz/Kumcağız	Abz + Sp	(Ay)	41.20	36.51
Ortasöğütlü (Ortagerfi)	Abz + Sp	(Ay)	41.14	36.53
Sancaklı	Abz + Sp	(Ay)		
Yenicami	Abz + Sp	(Ay)	41.11	36.54

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
	<i>Vezirköprü</i>	Merkez		
Vezirköprü town		(A)	41.09	35.27
Aşağınarlı			41.11	35.17
Başfakı/Başkafı	Abz	(Ay)	41.05	35.25
Bektaş	Abz	(Ay)	41.05	35.26
Çamlıkonak (Çersiyen)		(A)		
Çeltek		(A)	41.13	35.20
Doyran/Doyuran	Abz	(Ay)	41.07	35.29
Duruçay (Küyma)	K	(Ay)	41.03	35.17
İsakyeri/İshakyeri	Abz	(Ay)	41.05	35.26
Kaplıncık		(B)	41.04	35.33
Karabük (Çersiyenkarabük)	Abz	(B/Ay)	41.08	35.21
Kavakpınarı (Merkeppınarı)	Abz	(A/Ay)	41.06	35.26
Kületek	Sp	(Ay)	41.09	35.35
	<i>Vezirköprü</i>	Beşpınar (Çakal)		
Beşpınar (Çakal)		(A)	41.08	35.13
Bakla/Pakla	Abz	(A/Ay)	41.09	35.14
Halilbaba	Abz	(A/Ay)	41.07	35.17
	<i>Vezirköprü</i>	Köprübaşı		
Köprübaşı	(+Tk)	(A/Ay)	41.03	35.31
Ağcaalan	Ab + Abz	(Ay)	41.05	35.33
Alanbaşı	Abz	(Ay)	41.04	35.26
Kadıçayırı	Abz	(Ay)	41.04	35.27
Ortaköy (Köpek Göbek)				
Yarbaşı	Sp	(A/Ay)	41.03	35.31
*Tavşan Dağı (5-8 villages)		(A)		
	<i>Vezirköprü</i>	Mezrea		
Düzce (Alçaklı)	Sp	(A/Ay)	41.17	35.11
*Döşemedası		(A)		
*Eşboğ		(A)		
<b>Sinop</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Bektaşğa	Abz + Sp	(Ay)		
Çobanlar		(Ay)	41.59	34.59
Dibekli		(Ay)	42.02	35.01
Kızılabalı		(Ay)	42.02	34.59
Osmaniye			41.59	35.03
Sarıkum	Abz + Sp		42.03	34.54
Taşmanlı		(Ay)	41.54	35.04
Uzungürgen	Ab		41.56	35.02
*Kümesköy			41.56	35.03

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates
	<i>Merkez</i>	Kabalı	
Avdan		(Ay)	41.49 35.02
Erikli		(Ay)	41.48 35.00
Karapınar	Ab		41.49 34.58
Şamlıoğlu/Şamcıoğlu		(Ay)	41.49 35.09
Sarıdüz	Sp + Abz		41.49 35.01
	<i>Ayancık</i>	Merkez	
Ayancık town	Abz + Sp + Ub + Ab		41.57 34.35
Armutluyazı	Abz + Sp	(Ay)	41.52 34.33
Büyükdüz	Abz + Sp + Ub + Bje	(Ay)	41.53 34.31
Ömerdüz	Sp + Abz	(Ay)	41.53 34.32
	<i>Ayancık</i>	Yenikonak	
Gökçebel (Sakarabaşı)	Ab		
Yenice	Ab		41.55 34.37
	<i>Durağan</i>	Merkez	
Durağan town			41.25 35.03
Gökdoğan (Çerkezler)			
	<i>Durağan</i>	Çerçiler	
Ortaköy			41.27 35.05
	<i>Erefelek</i>	Merkez	
Dağyeri		(Ay)	41.53 34.55
İncirpınar	Abz + Sp	(Ay)	41.59 34.53
Soğuçalı? (as Soğucak)	Sp + Abz		41.51 34.55
Tekke (Karabağı)	Ab		41.56 34.56
*İncemeydan	Ab		41.55 34.55
	<i>Gerze</i>	Merkez	
Gerze town			41.48 35.12
Acısu		(Ay)	41.47 35.10
Tilkilik		(Ay)	41.38 35.06
	<i>Türkeli</i>	Merkez	
Alagöz (Sırtıvan)		(Ay)	41.55 34.18
Gökçealan (Cible)			
Tovca Mah	Abz + Sp	(Ay)	41.51 34.23
Kuzköy (Kuzuköy)	Sp + Abz	(Ay)	41.56 34.16

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates
	<i>Türkeli</i>	Helaldı	
Helaldı: Emreli Mahallesi	Sp + Abz		41.57 34.24
Kalasa (Direkli)	Ab		41.53 34.25
*Kocaköy	Sp + Abz + Ab		
<b>Sivas</b>	<i>Kangal</i>	Kuşkayası	
Aşağıhüyük (A. Sıçanhüyük)	K	(Ay)	39.03 37.00
Çamurlu (two so named)	K	(Ay)	39.11 36.58?
Tilkihüyük (Aşağıtilkihüyük)	K	(Ay)	39.08 36.56
Yukarıhüyük (Y. Sıçanhüyük)	(Che!)	(Ta/Ay)	39.04 36.57
	<i>Şarkışla</i>	Merkez	
Demirboğa	Ab	(T/Ay)	39.07 36.29
Kahvepınar?	(Che)	(Ay)	39.28 36.27
Kazancık?	(Che)	(Ay)	39.28 36.29
Kızıldon			39.35 36.34
Sultan/Sultaniye			39.29 36.33
Tavladere (= Tavlaköy?)	Ab	(T/Ay)	39.08 36.27
Yeniyapan	K	(Ay)	39.08 36.35
*Zehni/Zeyni			39.31 36.30
	<i>Şarkışla</i>	Akçakışla	
Bozkurt?	(Che)	(Ay)	39.31 36.23
Güdül (Canaptal)			39.39 36.16
İğdecik/Eğecik			39.31 36.24
Karacaören (Karacaveran) (seven so named)			39.31 36.19?
Kavak (five so named)			39.34 36.12?
	<i>Şarkışla</i>	Altınyayla	
Yassıpınar	K	(Ay)	39.20 36.46
	<i>Şarkışla</i>	Orta	
İlyashacı			39.28 36.21
	<i>Yıldızeli</i>	Merkez	
Cicözü/Cizözü	Ab	(T/Ay)	39.57 36.24
Ilıca	K	(Ay)	39.55 36.31
Kıremitli (Bibliyol)	K	(Ay)	39.46 36.27
Konaközü?	(Os)	(Ay)	39.44 36.27

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Çırçır Demirözü	<i>Yıldızeli</i>	Çırçır (T/Ay)	40.03	36.46
	Ab	(Ay)	40.11	36.49
Emirler Kadılı Kapaklıkaya Kayalıpınar	<i>Yıldızeli</i>	Direkli	39.40	36.35
			39.42	36.25
			39.40	36.29
			39.37	36.31
Belcik Eşmebaşı (Ağmı) Fındıcak Gündoğan (Bulamur) Halkaçayır Üyükaylası Yolkaya (Çakraz)	<i>Yıldızeli</i>	Yavu (Belcik)		
	(+ others)	(B)	39.48	36.16
	(+ others?)	(B)	39.45	36.08
	(+ others?)	(B)	39.46	36.22
		(B)	39.55	36.13
	Ab(+ Ku)	(T/Ay/B)	39.48	36.21
	K	(Ay)	39.52	36.19
	(B)	39.45	36.16	
Osmaniye *Yeniköy (five so named)	<i>Zara</i>	Merkez	39.49	37.50
				?
Tokat Alan Altıntaş Batmantaş Çerçi Gülpınar Hanpınar Hasanbaba (Hasanağa) Pınarlı (Kürtpınar) Sevindik (Odaba) Tekneli Uğrak (Eyrep) *Besniye	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
	Abz	(B/Ay)	40.15	36.26
	Abz	(B/Ay)	40.11	36.25
	K	(B/Ay)	40.10	36.40
	(+ TkAl?)	(B)	40.19	36.25
	Abz	(B/Ay)	40.18	36.24
	K	(Ay)	40.16	36.40
	(+ TkAl)	(B)	40.19	36.36
	K	(Ay)	40.22	36.44
	K	(Ay)	40.16	36.39
	Sp(K?)	(B/Ay)	40.11	36.31
	K	(B/Ay)	40.13	36.29
	Bes			
Çamlıbel (Çiftlik) İhsaniye Ortaören (Ortaviran)	<i>Merkez</i>	Çamlıbel		
	Abz (few)	(Ay)	40.05	36.29
	K	(Ay)	40.01	36.31
	K	(Ay)	40.01	36.28
Çamağızı (Cincife) Ortaköy (Estiğin)	<i>Merkez</i>	Gökdere		
	Abz	(B/Ay)	40.21	36.14

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Gömeleözü (Çerkeztomara)	<i>Almus</i> K	Merkez (Ay)	40.18	37.07
Arabacımusa Kavunluk Taşpınar Yağcımusa	<i>Artova</i> Abz + K(+ Tk) K K K	Merkez (Ay/B) (Ay) (Ay/B) (Ay/B)	40.00 40.02 40.09 40.11	36.12 36.21 36.20 36.19
Alanyurt Alpudere/Altuderesi Çırdak Doğanca (Çerkezdanışment) İlicak	<i>Artova</i> K + Abz Ab(Abz? + Da) Abz Abz(TkSu?) Ab(+ Ku)	Sulusaray (Ay) (Ay/B) (Ay/B) (Ay/B) (Ay/B)	39.59 40.03 40.01 40.03 39.59	36.00 36.05 36.09 36.14 36.04
İverözü Kızılçubuk	<i>Erbaa</i> Abz Abz	Merkez (Ay/B) (Ay)	40.37 40.45	36.36 36.31
Fındıcak (two so named) Gökbel (Çermik)	<i>Erbaa</i> Abz	Karayaka (Ay)	40.47 40.49	36.33? 36.39
Kozlu Canbolat Hacıali Kavalcık Meydandüzü/ Meydanözü Oğlakçı	<i>Erbaa</i> Abz + K Abz + K Abz Abz Abz Abz Abz	Kozlu (Ay) (Ay) (Ay) (Ay) (Ay) (Ay) (Ay)	40.36 40.33 40.34 40.35 40.32 40.36	36.28 36.38 36.35 36.37 36.36 36.36
Asar/Asarcık Camidere Hacılı Musapınar Şahnalan	<i>Niksar</i> Abz Abz K(few) K	Merkez (Ay) (Ay) (Ay) (Ay)	40.28 40.29 40.31 40.32 40.33	37.06 36.58 36.59 36.52 37.03



Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
	<i>Turhal</i>	Merkez		
Arzupınar	Sp	(B/Ay)	40.20	36.12
Ayranpınarı (Vazanya)	Abz + K(TkAl?)	(Ay/B)	40.19	36.04
Bahçebaşı	K + Abz(+ Mu + Da)	(B/Ay)	40.14	36.05
Derebentçi/ Derbent/Devrent	(now TkAl?)	(B)	40.11	35.57
Gümüştop (Dazya)	Abz	(Ay)	40.23	36.10
	<i>Turhal</i>	Merkez		
Hacılar	Abz(+ others)	(Ay/B)	40.25	36.04
Hamide/Hamidiye	Abz	(B/Ay)	40.22	36.04
Kayacık	Abz(+ Mu)	(Ay/B)	40.24	36.04
Kızıkyası	Abz(+ Ku + TkAl)	(Ay/B)	40.22	36.06
Kuşoturağı?	(Ku + Noğ + Kum)	(B)	40.18	36.04
Kuzalan		(B)	40.27	36.15
Şenyurt, Üçgözen Mahallesi	Ab + K(Ku)	(Ay/B)	40.21	36.14
Yeniköy		(B)	40.15	36.05
	<i>Turhal</i>	Dökmetepe		
Ovalı (Kalaycık- kırımkeri)	Abz	(Ay)	40.20	36.14
	<i>Turhal</i>	Pazar		
Çayköy	Sp(Abz?)	(B/Ay)	40.15	36.08
Kaledere (Manastır)	Abz	(B/Ay)	40.14	36.10
Menteşe	Abz(K?)	(B/Ay)	40.17	36.15
Taşlık	K(+ Os)	(B/Ay)	40.17	36.20
Tatar	Abz(+ Ku)	(B)	40.16	36.15
	<i>Zile</i>	Merkez		
Bağlarpınarı	Abz	(B/Ay)	40.19	36.01
Hasanağa	Abz	(Ay)	40.15	35.57
Uğurluören (Zelhad- din/Zehledin)			40.17	35.45
	<i>Zile</i>	Boztepe		
Güzelbeyli (Silis)	Abz(+ TkAl)	(Y/Ay/B)	40.09	36.00
Yeniderbent (Çer- kezyeniderbent)?	(Av + Da)	(B/Ay)	40.12	35.57
	<i>Zile</i>	İğdir		
Çayıroluğu (Çayıroğlu)	Abz(few)	(Ay)	40.18	35.34
Kazılı (Kazıklı?)	Abz	(Ay)	40.14	35.38

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
Urfa	<i>Merkez</i>	Çamlidere		
1 village unidentified		(N)		
Yozgat	<i>Akdağmadeni</i>	Merkez		
Akçakışla?	(+ TkSu)	(B)	39.32	35.40
Boğazköy	Sp	(Ay)	39.51	35.57
Boyalık	Sp	(Ay)	39.53	35.45
Çampınar (İhsanul- hamit-Arpalık)		(B)	39.40	35.39
Sarıgüney (Bahşayış-Çevirme)	Ab + Bje(+ Ku)	(B)	39.49	35.59
Kesikköprü?	<i>Akdağmadeni</i>	Karamağara		
Umutlu (Babu)	(Che)	(Ay)	39.55	35.39
		(B)	39.45	35.38
Poyrazlı?	<i>Boğazlıyan</i>	Merkez		
Yenikişla	(Os)	(B)	39.23	35.08
	Ab	(B)	39.24	35.22
Başpınar	<i>Çekerek</i>	Merkez		
Çayırözü	K	(B/Ay)	40.07	35.22
Fuadiye (Kendirlik)	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.06	35.23
	Ab	(T/A/Ay)	40.04	35.20
Aydıncık	<i>Çekerek</i>	Aydıncık		
(Mamure-Eskiköy)	Ab		40.08	35.18
Ağılı	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.06	35.18
Aşağıkuyucak			40.13	35.18
Bakırboğazı (Çerkezbbakırı)	Ab	(T/Ay)	40.10	35.13
Kuşsaray	Sp	(Ay)	40.07	35.12
Mercimekören	Sp	(Ay)	40.08	35.13
Solucalana/Sulucaalan	Sp	(Ay)	40.06	35.09
Arpalık	<i>Sarıkaya</i>	Merkez		
Karabacak?	Abz	(B/Ay)	39.31	35.27
Kargalık	(Os)	(B/Ay)	39.29	35.12
Kayapınar?	Abz(Sp?)	(B/Ay)	39.37	35.30
	(+ Ku + Os?)	(Ay/B)	39.28	35.22
Karaelli	<i>Sarıkaya</i>	Hasbek		
	Sp(Abz?)	(B/Ay)	39.36	35.30

Province	Sub-Province Group	District Source	Coordinates	
	<i>Sorgun</i>	Merkez		
Karalık (Karlık- Ayvalı-Çeçen)?	Ab (Che?)	(T/B/Ay)	39.56	35.25
Osmaniye	Ab	(B/Ay)	39.45	35.17
<b>Zonguldak</b>	<i>Bartın</i>	Amasra		
Çakrazova	Ab (+ Laz?)	(Am)	41.47	32.30

#### 45 Chechen (and Ingush)

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates		Source
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Ceyhan</i>	Merkez			
Ceyhan town			37.02	35.49	E
<b>Adana</b>	<i>Ceyhan</i>	Sağkaya			
Ağaçlı (Çeçenavarza)			37.14	35.54	E/Ay
<b>Balıkesir</b>	<i>Bandırma</i>	Merkez			
Bandırma town			40.21	27.58	
<b>Eskişehir</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez			
Zincirli Kuyu (Hamidiye)			39.48	30.28	KK 5
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Sarıkamış</i>	Merkez			
Yeni Gazi			40.25	42.42	
<b>Kayseri</b>	<i>Pınarbaşı</i>	Merkez			
Aşagıborandere		(+ Circ + Ku)	38.46	37.33	Ay
<b>Kahraman Maraş</b>	<i>Elbistan</i>	Güçük			
Güçük		(+ others)	38.18	37.34	Ay
<b>Karaman</b>	<i>Göksun</i>	Merkez			
Maraş Göksun town			38.01	36.30	B
<b>Kahraman Maraş</b>	<i>Göksun</i>	Çardak			
Çardak town			38.06	36.49	B/Ay

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates		Source
<b>Konya</b> Beyşehir town	<i>Beyşehir</i>	Merkez İng (few)	37.41	31.43	B
<b>Mardin</b> Kızıltepe town	<i>Kızıltepe</i>	Merkez	37.12	40.35	
<b>Muş</b> Muş city, Sunay Mah. Çöğürlü (Arınç)	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez İng.	38.45	41.35	B Ay
<b>Muş</b> Aydıngün (Şaşkan) Kıyıbaşı (Arıncık)	<i>Merkez</i>	Mercimekkale (+ Lz) (+ others)	38.58 38.59	41.36 41.32	Ay Ay
<b>Muş</b> Ulusirt (Çerkezaynan) *Arınç (Çöğürlü: Merkez?) *Bağıcı *Tepeköy	<i>Varto</i>	Merkez  İng (Av?)	39.04 39.05	41.29 41.31	Ay Ay Ay Ay/B
<b>Sivas</b> Yukarıhüyük (Yk. Sıçanhöyük)	<i>Kangal</i>	Kuşkayası	39.04	36.57	Tk/Ay
<b>Sivas</b> Bozkurt Kahvepınar Kazancık *Carabdal	<i>Şarkışla</i>	Merkez (+ Circ) (+ Os + Circ?)	39.30 39.28 39.28	36.23 36.27 36.29	B/Ay B/Ay Ay Ay
<b>Sivas</b> Alaçayır İlyashacı	<i>Şarkışla</i>	Orta	39.27 39.28	36.19 36.21	Ay Ay
<b>Yozgat</b> Kesikköprü	<i>Akdağmadeni</i>	Karamağara	39.55	35.40	Ay
<b>Yozgat</b> Karalık (Karlık-Ayvalı-Çeçen)	<i>Sorgun</i>	Merkez	39.55	35.25	B

## 46 Georgians

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates		Source
Amasya	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez			
Akyazı (Eliktekesi)			40.27	35.37	B
Amasya	<i>Merkez</i>	Ezinepazarı			
Beldağı			40.38	36.09	B
Çatalçam			40.37	36.10	B
Yuvaköy			40.39	36.10	B
Amasya	<i>Taşova</i>	Tekke			
Altınlı (Teneke)			40.40	36.13	B
Tatlıpınar (Darmaderesi)			40.41	36.17	B
Artvin	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez			
Erenler (İrsa)		(+ Tk)	41.17	41.47	B
Ormanlı (Omana)		(few)	41.16	41.46	B
Taşlıca (Hatıla)		(+ Tk)	41.11	41.42	B
Tütüncüler (Katla)			41.16	41.44	B
Artvin	<i>Merkez</i>	Ortaköy			
Ortaköy (Berta)		(+ Tk)	41.15	41.58	B
Çimenli (Çimerk)		(+ Tk)	41.12	41.58	B
Hamamlı (Dolishane)		(few)	41.10	41.57	B
Sakalar (Saltetra)		(few)	41.13	41.58	B
Artvin	<i>Merkez</i>	Zeytinlik			
Aşağımaden (Hot/Hodüstüfla)+?			41.00	41.50	B
Yukarımaden (Hot)+?			40.59	41.51	B
Artvin	<i>Borçka</i>	Merkez			
Borçka town			41.22	41.41	B
Adagül			41.19	41.45	B
Alaca			41.21	41.45	B
Ambarlı			41.19	41.41	B
Aralık			41.24	41.45	B
Arkaköy?			41.22	41.43	B
Atanoğlu					B
Balcı			41.18	41.50	B
Civan			41.20	41.40	B
İbrikli			41.20	41.44	B
Kaynarca			41.21	41.47	B
Sülüklü			41.20	41.39	B
Taraklı		(+ Laz?)	41.20	41.40	B
Zorlu			41.17	41.42	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates		Source
<b>Artvin</b>	<i>Borçka</i>	Camili			
		Camili (Maçahel) and all its five villages	41.29	41.54	B
<b>Artvin</b>	<i>Borçka</i>	Göktaş			
		Göktaş (Murgul) all its nine villages	41.16	41.34	B
<b>Artvin</b>	<i>Borçka</i>	Murathlı			
		Muratlı (Maradit)	41.29	41.43	
		Çavuşluköyü	41.27	41.42	B
		Güreşen (Beylevan)	41.27	41.39	B
		Karşıköyü	41.27	41.44	B
		(few, + Laz + Hem)			
<b>Artvin</b>	<i>Şavşat</i>	Merkez			
		Eskikale (Ustamış)	41.17	42.10	B
		Tepeköy (Ahaldaba)	41.18	42.19	B
		Yanıklı (Çihishev)	41.18	42.07	B
		(+ Tk)			
<b>Artvin</b>	<i>Şavşat</i>	Meydancık			
		Meydancık (İmerhev/Diyoban)	41.25	42.15	B
		all its 14 villages			B
		only Demirci (Daba) + Tk	41.23	42.12	B
<b>Artvin</b>	<i>Şavşat</i>	Veliköy			
		Akdamlı (Çikta)?			B
		Köprülü (Ökrebağət)	41.16	42.27	B
		(+ others)			
<b>Artvin</b>	<i>Yusufeli</i>	Merkez			
		Çevreli (Petirek)	40.45	41.27	B
		Dereiçi (Hamrut) +	40.51	41.31	B
		(few, + TkSu)			
		(few, + TkSu)			
<b>Artvin</b>	<i>Yusufeli</i>	Sarıgöl			
		Balçık (Balcılıbağ)	41.02	41.27	B
		Bıçakçılar (Hevegivane)	41.02	41.26	B
		Yüksekova (Kobak)	41.04	41.27	B
<b>Balıkesir</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Şamlı			
		Armutalan	39.50	27.48	Go
<b>Balıkesir</b>	<i>Gönen</i>	Merkez			
		Babayaka	40.09	27.36	Ül
<b>Balıkesir</b>	<i>Manyas</i>	Merkez			
		Cumhuriye(t) (Sultaniye)	40.01	27.59	B
		Kutludere (Mesudiye/Ihlamurtaşu)	40.00	27.55	B
		(+ Circ)			

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates		Source
<b>Balıkesir</b>	<i>Manyas</i>	Darıca			
Değirmenboğazı		(+ Circ)	39.59	27.50	B
<b>Balıkesir</b>	<i>Susurluk</i>	Merkez			
Günaydın (Kızıl- dere/Manaköy)		(+ Yü)	39.57	28.07	Mag 1976
<b>Bolu</b>	<i>Akçakoca</i>	Merkez			
Akçakoca town			41.05	31.08	A
<b>Bolu</b>	<i>Düzce</i>	Merkez			
Çakırlar		(+ Circ)	40.53	31.12	B
<b>Bolu</b>	<i>Düzce</i>	Çilimli			
Çilimli (Çilmi)		(+ others)	40.53	31.03	B
<b>Bursa</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Gürsu			
Gürsu town (Kestel)		(+ others)	40.13	29.12	B
<b>Bursa</b>	<i>Gemlik</i>	Merkez			
Gemlik town*		(few)	40.26	29.09	B
Haydariye (Erciova)			40.32	29.08	B
Katırlı		(+ others?)	40.21	29.12	B
<b>Bursa</b>	<i>Gemlik</i>	Armutlu			
Hayriye (Çiftlik)			40.30	28.58	B/Mag
<b>Bursa</b>	<i>İnegöl</i>	Merkez			
İnegöl town			40.05	29.31	B
Bahariye		(+ others)	39.58	29.35	B
Bayramşah		(+ others)	40.07	29.40	B
Çaylıca (Bataklı/Mürüvvet)			40.01	29.25	B
Çayyaka (Bedre)*			ca. 40.00	29.28	B
Çiftlik		(+ Circ?)	40.05	29.22	B
Elmaçayır			40.02	29.22	B
Esenköy (Ruşentahtaköprü)		(+ MuBu)			B
Feyziye					B
Fındıklı?		(+ Bo + Circ?)	40.07	29.37	B
Gülbağçe			40.01	29.27	B
Hamamlı		(+ Tk)	40.02	29.36	B
Hamidiye (Gazelli)			39.58	29.30	B
Hasanpaşa			40.04	29.35	B
Hayriye			39.57	29.33	B/Mag/Go
Hoca		(+ Tk)	40.03	29.29	B
İclaliye (Erikli)*			39.59	29.29	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates		Source
İskaniye (Cemiyet)?			40.07	29.41	B
Karakadı (Muratpınarı)		(Ge + Ge*)	40.01	29.30	B
Konurlar		(+ Mu)	39.59	29.35	B
Lütfiye (Pelitli)		(few)	40.00	29.26?	B
Muratbey (Dereçatı)			39.59	29.34	B
Yeniceköy		(Ge + Ge* + others)	40.06	29.25	B
<b>Bursa</b>	<i>İnegöl</i>	Tahtaköprü			
Tahtaköprü		(few)	39.57	29.39	B
Eskikaracakaya (İslahiye/Karacakayaaiskan)		(few?)	39.58	29.40	B
Hacıkara		(+ Ab)	39.58	29.38	B
Hilmiye (Oylatdere)?		(Tk?)	39.57	29.36	B
Mesruriye (Bahçekaya)			39.55	29.37	B
Mezit (Uzunbarış)		(+ Ab)	39.55	29.45	B
Saadet (Pazaralan)			39.55	29.35	B
Sulhiye (Uzunbarış)		(+ Ab)	39.55	29.45	B/Ay
<b>Bursa</b>	<i>İzmit</i>	Merkez			
Elmalı			40.31	29.53	B
Kırıntı			40.34	29.53	B
<b>Bursa</b>	<i>Orhangazi</i>	Merkez			
Hamzalı			40.32	29.16	B
<b>Çanakkale</b>	<i>Ezine</i>	Geyikli			
Pınarbaşı			39.53	26.16	KK 7
*Derviş Paşa Çiftliği					KK 7
<b>Giresun</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez			
Burhaniye		(few)	40.50	38.20	B
Mesudiye (Taşhan/ Mamure/Tülhamit)		(few)	40.49	38.23	B
<b>İstanbul</b>	<i>Beykoz</i>	Merkez			
Akbaba		(few)	41.09	29.08	B
Dereseki		(+ others)	41.09	29.08	B
<b>İstanbul</b>	<i>Şile</i>	Teke			
Teke		(+ Tk)	41.04	29.40	B
<b>İstanbul</b>	<i>Şile</i>	Yeşilvadi			
Üvezli (Övezli)			41.07	29.27	B
*Heciz (Saffetiye)			41.07	29.29	B



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
<b>İstanbul</b>	<i>Yalova</i>	Çınarcık		
Teşvikiye (Zindan)			40.37 29.05	B
*Kaplıca		(+ Laz)	40.36 29.11	B
<b>Kars</b>	<i>Ardahan</i>	Hasköy		
one village in district (unidentified) (probably left)				N (B)
<b>Kocaeli</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Derbent		
Hikmetiye (Büyükderbent)			40.42 30.09	B
Balaban		(+ Ab)	40.41 30.06	B
Maşukiye		(+ Laz + Circ)	40.42 30.09	B
Nüsretiye			40.42 30.05	B
<b>Kocaeli</b>	<i>Gölcük</i>	Merkez		
Hamidiye (Boşca)			40.40 29.50	B
Hisareyn (Hasar)				B
İhsaniye (Tatarköyü/Saniye)			40.42 29.50	B
Nimetiye (Mevkiye)			40.40 29.52	B
Şevketiye (Samalı)			40.39 29.48	B
<b>Kocaeli</b>	<i>Kandıra</i>	Merkez		
Beylerbeyi			41.05 30.00	
<b>Kocaeli</b>	<i>Karamürsel</i>	Merkez		
Nusretiye (Akpınar)		(+ others)	40.40 29.39	B
<b>Muş</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
one village in district (unidentified)				N
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Alınca		(+ Tk)	40.52 38.01	B
Alisayvan		(+ others)	ca. 40.51 38.01	B
Ambarcılı		(+ Tk)	40.56 38.05	B
Boztepe			40.59 37.51	b
Burhanettin			40.57 37.50	B
Erenli (Mahmutören)		(+ Tk)	40.50 38.00	B
Eyüplü		(+ Tk)	40.55 37.56	B
Gerce		(+ Tk)	40.48 37.59	B
Gökömer			40.54 37.58	B
Günyalı (Ebulhayır)		(few)	40.57 38.03	B
Hürriyet		(+ Tk)		B
Kestane		(+ Tk)	40.54 38.04	B
Mübarek		(+ Tk)		B
Orhaniye			41.00 37.51	B
Osmaniye			40.54 38.01	B
Öceli			40.57 37.51	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates		Source
Saraycık		(+ Tk)	40.56	38.01	B
Turnasuyu		(+ Tk)	40.58	38.00	B
Yaraşlı		(+ Tk)	40.59	37.50	B
Yukarıtepe (Tepeyibalâ)			40.56	37.58	B
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	<b>Kabadüz</b>			
Bahariye			40.49	37.56	B
Başköy (Cağnos)		(+ Tk)	40.51	37.55	B
Bayramlı			40.52	37.57	B
Cumhuriyet					B
Kirazdere			ca. 40.47	37.58	B
Musakırık			40.45	37.59	B
Yukarıkirazdere					B
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	<b>Uzunisa</b>			
Alembey			40.55	37.55	B
Çavuşlar		(+ Tk)	40.56	37.51	B
Delikaya					B
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Akkuş</i>	<b>Merkez</b>			
Kabakulak		(+ Tk)	40.53	37.04	B
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Fatsa</i>	<b>Merkez</b>			
Salihli (Salihler)			40.56	37.24	B
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Fatsa</i>	<b>Bolaman</b>			
Kabakdağı?			ca. 40.57	37.34	B
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Fatsa</i>	<b>Çamaş</b>			
Çamaş (Ürmeli)			40.54	37.32	B
Gümüslü (Gerdengeç)			ca. 40.55	37.29	B
Hasancıkpınarı (Hasancık)			40.50	37.37	B
Sakargeriş			40.53	37.29	B
some more villages (unidentified)?					B
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Ünye</i>	<b>Merkez</b>			
Ünye town		(few)	41.08	37.18	B
Çatak?		(+ others?)	41.04	37.06	B
Çataltepe?			41.03	37.14	B
İnkur?		(+ TkSu?)			B
İstiklâl			41.01	37.15	B
Kaledibi					B
Taflancık			41.04	37.16	B
Tepeköy			41.03	37.22?	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates		Source
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Ünye</i>	<b>Çaybaşı</b>			
Çaybaşı (Cilâder)		(+ others)	41.02	37.06	B
Akbaba?		(+ TkSu?)	40.58	37.05	B
Kaynarpınar		(+ TkSu)	41.01	37.01	B
Kocaman?		(+ TkSu?)	41.02	37.03	B
Yağdaş?					B
<b>Ordu</b>	<i>Ünye</i>	<b>Tekkiraz</b>			
Tekkiraz		(+ others)	40.59	37.10	B
Beylerce (Aliveran/Alivara)		(+ TkSu)	40.58	37.13	B
Dağköy			40.54	37.07	B
Düzçiftlik		(+ TkSu)	40.58	37.13	B
Meydan		(+ TkSu)	40.57	37.13	B
Pelitliyatak		(+ TkSu)	40.55	37.03	B
Yağbasan		(+ TkSu?)	40.58	37.10	B
<b>Rize</b>	<i>Pazar</i>	<b>Merkez</b>			
Hamidiye		(+ Laz)	41.12	40.58	B
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Akyazı</i>	<b>Merkez</b>			
Beldibi			40.36	30.43	B/KK 6
İrşadiye (Reşadiye)			40.36	30.42	B
Şerefiye			40.38	30.40	B
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Akyazı</i>	<b>Karapürçek</b>			
Ahmediye		(+ others)	40.36	30.34	B
Bıçkıdere?		(Ab?)	40.37	30.35	B
Güçücek		(+ others)	40.38	30.35	B
Mecidiye		(+ others)	40.37	30.33	B
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Geyve</i>	<b>Doğançay</b>			
Doğançay			40.37	30.20	B
Boğazköy			40.39	30.22	B
Karaçam			40.38	30.20	B
Maksudiye		(+ Laz)	40.37	30.23	B
Nuruosmaniye (Bıçkıdere)			40.37	30.19	B
Şerefiye (Saray)			40.36	30.18	B
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Karasu</i>	<b>Ortaköy</b>			
Lahana (Ortaköy/Yenidağ)		(+ Hem)	41.00	30.56	B
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Sapanca</i>	<b>Merkez</b>			
Akçay		(+ others)	40.40	30.20	B
Dilekli (Saniye/Kadınpınar)			40.40	30.05	B
Erdemli (Ulviye/İstanbuldere)		(+ Laz)	40.39	30.14	B
Güldibi (Göldibi)			40.41	30.16	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates		Source
İlmiye			40.40	30.18	B
Mahmudiye			40.41	30.12	B
Muradiye (Aşağıistanbuldere)			40.40	30.13	B
<b>Samsun</b>	<i>Çarşamba</i>	Merkez			
Beylerce (Tekfurmeydan)		(+ Circ + Tk)	41.13	36.42	B
Karadere			41.04	36.45	B
Karamustafalı			41.17	36.40	B
Kestanepınar			41.02	36.45	B
Muslubey			41.05	36.46	B
Salıpazarı			41.05	36.49	B
<b>Samsun</b>	<i>Havza</i>	Merkez			
Kocapınar (Hilyas)		(+ others)	40.57	35.47	B
<b>Samsun</b>	<i>Lâdik</i>	Merkez			
Arslantaş		(+ Tk + Circ)	40.57	35.53	B/Ay
Ayvalısokağı			40.57	35.49	B
<b>Samsun</b>	<i>Terme</i>	Merkez			
Dumantepe (Cılar)		(+ others)	41.07	37.07	B
Gökçeli		(+ Tk)	41.04	36.51	B
Kırgıl		(+ Tk)	41.03	36.51	B
Sakarlı		(+ others)	41.09	37.05	B
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Niksar</i>	Merkez			
Kızıldere? (or in Reşadiye sub-province?)			40.27	36.55	Sv
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Reşadiye</i>	Bereketli			
Kızıldere? (or in Niksar sub-province?)			40.31	37.17	Sv
<b>Tokat</b>	<i>Turhal</i>	?			
*Zamara					Ay

*Note:* Villages in Artvin province marked with a cross + after the name appear formerly to have had a Georgian population, now Turkicised: either only a few aged individuals speak Georgian, or a few Georgian words survive in the Turkish spoken there. The proportion of such villages is probably higher than indicated in the list.

Villages in Bursa province marked with an asterisk \* after the name are inhabited by nominal Georgians who, however, do not speak Georgian. They are said to have come from the Ahıska region in Georgia, and are called *Akalin Gürcüsü*.

## 47 Laz

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates		Source
Artin	<i>Arhavi</i>	Merkez			B
town and all villages					
Artvin	<i>Arhavi</i>	Ortacalar			B
all villages					
Artvin	<i>Borçka</i>	Merkez			
Çifteköprü		(+ Hem)	41.23	41.34	B
Demirciler (Mamanat)		(+ Hem?)	41.22	41.38	B
Düzköy		(+ few Hem?)	41.23	41.37	B
Fındıklı (Başköy)			41.24	41.36	B
Taraklı (Trapen)?		(few? + Ge)	41.20	41.41	B
Artvin	<i>Borçka</i>	Göktaş			
Erenköy (Erenguna)?		(few? + Ge)	41.19	41.37	B
Artvin	<i>Borçka</i>	Muratlı			
Çavuşluköy (Katabhiya)?		(few? + Ge)	41.37	41.40	B
Çaylıköy?		(+ others)			B
Güreşen (Beylevan)		(+ others)	41.26	41.38	B
Şerefiyeköyü?		(+ others)			B
Artvin	<i>Hopa</i>	Merkez			
Hopa town		(+ others)	41.24	41.26	B
Başköy			41.24	41.28	B
Çamlı (Peronit)			41.22	41.23	B
Esenkıyı (Abuislah)			41.26	41.28	B
Güvercinli (Büçe)		(+ Hem?)	41.26	41.27	B
Hendek (Garcı)		(few, + Hem)	41.21	41.28	B
Subaşı (İskarıstı)			41.22	41.32	B
Sugören (Kise)			41.23	41.25	B
Yeşilköy					B
Artvin	<i>Hopa</i>	Kemalpaşa			
Kemalpaşa		(+ Hem)	41.29	41.32	B
Dereiçi		(+ Hem)	41.28	41.31	B
Köprücü		(+ Hem)	41.28	41.34	B
Liman		(+ others)	41.28	41.30	B
Sarp		(+ Hem)	41.31	41.33	B
Bolu	<i>Akçakoca</i>	Merkez			
Akçakoca town			41.05	31.08	A

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates		Source
<b>Bolu</b>	<i>Düzce</i>	Konuralp			
Ballar			40.57	31.09	B
Kabalak (Lazhamidiye)			40.57	31.01	B
Osmanca			40.56	31.09	B
Suncuk (Lazsuncuk)			40.56	31.09	B
Şekerpınar (Lazşekerpınar)			40.57	31.10	B
Yayla (Lazşerefiye)?			40.57	31.12	B
Yazlık (Laz yazlık)			40.56	31.10	B
<b>Bursa</b>	<i>Gemlik</i>	Merkez			
Katırlı?		(+ Ge)	40.21	29.12	B
<b>İstanbul</b>	<i>Beykoz</i>	Merkez			
Beykoz town		(+ others)	41.08	29.05	B
Dereşeki, Kaynarca Mahallesi			41.11	29.10	B
<b>İstanbul</b>	<i>Üsküdar</i>	Merkez			
Reşadiye			41.05	29.16	B
<b>İstanbul</b>	<i>Yalova</i>	Merkez			
Akköy		(+ Tk)	40.38	29.12	B
Kadıköy		(+ Mu)	40.37	29.14	B
Kurtköy			40.35	29.14	B
Safran (Paşaköy)		(+ Mu)	40.36	29.15	B
Üvezpınar			40.36	29.10	B
*Delipazar		(+ Mu)	40.35	29.14	B
*Kaplıca		(+ Ge)	40.36	29.11	B
<b>İstanbul</b>	<i>Yalova</i>	Çınarcık			
Ortaburun			40.37	29.09	B
<b>Kocaeli</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez			
Çubukluosmaniye			40.52	30.03	B
Suadiye (Çepni)			40.42	30.04	B
<b>Kocaeli</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Derbent			
Maşukiye		(+ others)	40.42	30.09	B
*Kestanelik			40.41	30.05	B
<b>Kocaeli</b>	<i>Karamürsel</i>	Merkez			
Altınova		(+ others)	40.42	29.31	B
Çamçukur			40.41	29.39	B
Güzelyalı (Ereğli/Güzelkıy)		(+ Tk)	40.42	29.40	B
Osmaniye (Uzundere)			40.36	29.42	B
Safiye (Çiftlik)			40.39	29.39	B
Suludere			40.39	29.38	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates		Source
<b>Kocaeli</b>	<i>Karamürsel</i>	Yalakdere			
Senaiye (Başkiraz)			40.38	29.41	B
<b>Rize</b>	<i>Ardeşen</i>	Merkez			
Ardeşen town			41.12	41.00	B
Akkaya (Filergivat/Pilarcivat)			41.08	41.01	B
Armağan (Salıncık)		(+ Hem?)	41.10	41.03	B
Aşağıdurak (Zigamısüfla)			41.09	41.06	B
Bayırcık (Yarıvat)			41.06	41.08	B
Beyazkaya (Serapı)		(+ Hem)			B
Doğanay (Şengül)			41.10	41.12	B
Duygulu (Telikçet)			41.09	41.00	B
Eskiarmutlu (Armutlu)			41.07	40.13	B
Gündoğan (Mutafı)			41.10	41.05	B
Güney			41.08	41.07	B
Işıklı (Gare)			41.12	41.03	B
Köprüküy (Temisvat)			41.08	41.01	B
Mahatoba					B
Mangenez (Nogaceni)					B
Ortaalan (Ortaköy)			41.12	41.06	B
Pirinçli (Sifat)			41.10	41.01	B
Seslikaya (Ağvan)			41.09	41.01	B
Sinan					B
Şenyurt					B
Tunca (Dutha)			41.09	41.09	B
Yamaçdere (Bakoz)			41.10	41.01	B
Yeniyol (Öce)?		(+ Hem)	41.14	41.01	B
Yukarıdurak (Zigamülya)			41.08	41.07	B
Yurtsever					B
<b>Rize</b>	<i>Çamlıhemşin</i>	Merkez			
Aşağışimşirli (Conottobra/Canot-Tobira)			41.04	41.03	B
Çayırdüzü (Guvant)			41.08	41.00	B
Dikkaya (Makalisgirit)			41.08	40.59	B
Köprübaşı (Abişo)			41.07	40.58	B
Murat (Kömilö)			41.06	40.58	B
Topluca (Sano)			41.07	41.00	B
<b>Rize</b>	<i>Fındıklı</i>	Merkez			
Fındıklı (Vitse) town			41.16	41.08	B
Arılı (Aşağıpishala)			41.12	41.11	B
Çağlayan (Yukarıoba)			41.15	41.10	B
Çınarlı (Çurçeve)			41.15	41.10	B
Derbent			41.17	41.14	B

Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates		Source
Gürsu (Yukarıpishala)			41.12	41.12	B
Hara			41.13	41.16	B
Kıyıcık (Moshore)			41.19	41.14	B
Meyveli (Çanpet)		(+ Hem)	41.10	41.10	B
Saat					B
Sulak (Aşağızuğu)		(+ Hem)	41.14	41.10	B
Sümer (Sümle)			41.18	41.14	B
Tepecik					B
Yeniköy		(+ Hem)	41.15	41.07	B
<b>Rize</b>	<i>Pazar</i>	Merkez			
Pazar (Atina) town			41.11	40.53	B
Akbucak (Melmanat)?		(Hem?)	41.05	40.57	B
Akmescit (Cacivat)			41.11	40.52	B
Aktaş (Hunar)			41.10	40.52	B
Aktepe (Kitat)			41.11	40.52	B
Alçılı (Haçkun)			41.07	40.53	B
Balıkçı (Zelek)			41.10	40.48	B
Başköy		(+ Hem)	41.05	40.55	B
Boğazlı (Cigetüre/Gicetüre)			41.09	40.56	B
Dağdibi (Sulet)			41.06	40.52	B
Darılı (Aranaş)			41.11	40.52	B
Derebaşı (Sukita)			41.10	40.58	B
Derinsu (Zağnat)?		(+ Hem?)	41.06	40.55	B
Dernek (Kostanivat)			41.11	40.59	B
Elmalık (Kuzika)		(+ Hem)	41.06	40.54	B
Güney (Avramit)			41.09	40.49	B
Gürgöze (Cabat)			41.10	40.52	B
Hamidiye		(+ Ge)	41.12	40.58	B
Handağı (Dadivat)			41.06	40.57	B
Hasköy					B
Hisarlı (Koskovat)					B
Irmak (Mamakivat)			41.08	40.57	B
Kayağantaş					B
Kesikköprü (Hudisa)			41.07	40.54	B
Kocaköprü (Hotri)			41.08	40.56	B
Kuzeyce (Sürmenat)			41.07	40.49	B
Merdivenli (Melyat)			41.09	40.47	B
Ocak (Sapo)			41.11	40.56	B
Papatya?					B
Sessizdere (Papilat)			41.10	40.57	B
Sivrikale (Terduvat)			41.10	40.57	B
Sivritepe (Sikevinevat)?					B
Subaşı (Haçapit)?		(Hem?)	41.09	40.50	B
Suçatı (Abso)		(+ Hem)	41.07	40.55	B
Şehitlik (Hako)			41.10	40.59	B



Province	Sub-Province	District	Coordinates	Source
Şendere (Bogina)?		(Hem?)	41.07 40.51	B
Şentepe (Gulivat)		(+ Hem)		B
Tektaş (Bakina)?		(Hem?)		B
Tütüncüler (Talvat)			41.07 40.53	B
Yavuz (Nohlapso)			41.07 40.51	B
Yemişli (İlastas)			41.09 40.55	B
Yücehisar (Lamgo)			41.06 40.56	B
*Kirazlık (Mahalle)				
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Merkez</i>	Merkez		
Çaybaşı Yeniköy (Lazçaybaşı)		(+ Circ?)	40.41 30.27	Di
Değirmendere			40.39 30.27	Di
*Karataş			40.41 30.27	Di
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Akyazı</i>	Merkez		
Hasanbey?		(+ others)	40.41 30.40	B
Kazancı		(+ Ku)	40.42 30.34	B
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Akyazı</i>	Dokurcun		
*Kayabaşı		(+ Tk)	40.34 30.45	B
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Akyazı</i>	Karapürçek		
Hocaköy		(+ Mu)	40.41 30.33	Di
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Geyve</i>	Doğançay		
Maksudiye		(+ Ge)	40.37 30.23	B
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Hendek</i>	Merkez		
Hendek town?		(few)	40.48 30.45	B
Kocadöngel (Kocatöngel)			40.55 30.40	B
<b>Sakarya</b>	<i>Sapanca</i>	Merkez		
Akçay		(+ others)	40.41 30.21	B
Balkaya			40.40 30.14	B
Dibektaş			40.41 30.13	B
Erdemli (Ulviye/İstanbuldere) (+ Ge)			40.39 30.14	B
Fevziye			40.40 30.18	B
Hacımercan			40.41 30.19	B
İkramiye			40.37 30.17	B
Kurtköy		(+ others)	40.41 30.13	B
Memnuniye			40.39 30.17	B
Şükriye			40.39 30.18	B
*Selamiye			40.40 30.17	B
<b>Zonguldak</b>	<i>Bartın</i>	Amasra		
Çakrazova		(+ Tk + Ab)	41.47 32.30	Am



## E. Essays on Selected Groups by Contributing Authors

### Abdal

PETER A. ANDREWS

The Abdal (or Aptal) constitute one of the most interesting ethnic problems in Turkey. They are relatively numerous, perhaps as many as 25,000,<sup>1</sup> but based on widely scattered villages throughout central and western Anatolia: the question is whether they can be regarded as a single ethnic group, and if so, in what sense. Their itinerant life is typically connected with music-making at weddings; so much so that according to a proverb "*Abdal düğünden, çocuk oyundan usanmaz*". "An Abdal never tires of weddings, nor a child of playing". The three most remarkable characteristics of the group are its close relationship to the Alevi, with whom it intermarries, its use in many cases of a "secret" language, and its extraordinarily wide distribution, which still reaches as far as Chinese Turkistan. As KÖPRÜLÜ demonstrated<sup>2</sup> from a variety of historical sources, the name was associated from the XV<sup>th</sup> century with heterodox dervishes in Anatolia, who became one of the principal Sufi groups in the XVI<sup>th</sup> to the XVII<sup>th</sup> centuries, thereafter declining. These Abdālān-i Rūm or Işıklar were extreme Alevi, practicing celibacy and withdrawal from the world (he adduces a parallel Hebrew root BTL "recluse"), and believing in reincarnation and recurrence; they appeared with beard and eyebrows shaved, and bareheaded. Their unorthodox, and at times antisocial behaviour led to a reaction against them, and their suppression in some *tekkes*. At least some of the present Abdal are likely to be descended from this movement. The group which now calls itself Teberci, for example, probably takes its name from the symbolic axe (Pers. *tabar*, Ott. *teber*) which such wandering dervishes used to carry, and the group indeed recognise *teber* as a synonym for the two-bladed sword of 'Alī, though the word is now taken as

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<sup>1</sup> A current estimate by Prof. A. TIETZE based on a provisional village list (see Survey 7). He has established that there are 40 households of Abdal in Vienna alone. In 1968 ÜLKÜTAŞIR (251) estimated 30-40,000 as the total population in Turkey.

<sup>2</sup> KÖPRÜLÜ: 23-38.

“*drum*” (probably by confusion with Pers. *tebîr*, “*drum*”).<sup>3</sup> Like other Alevis, they are visited annually by one of their own *dedes* or religious elders. The language, so far as it has yet been analysed, (LE COQ, FOY, GORDELEVSKIY, CAFEROĞLU, TIETZE) consists of borrowings largely from Persian and other Iranic sources, apparently Kurdish, and some Gypsy, articulated with an essentially Turkish grammar. There is some agreement in those loans between the samples gathered from İslâhiye, Konya, Eskişehir and Yozgat;<sup>4</sup> more strikingly it seems that the language of the Abdal in Chinese Turkistan is a comparable mixture.<sup>5</sup>

The tendency for all itinerants to be classed etically as *çingene* complicates the question of Abdal ethnicity. So far as language is concerned, their use of a limited Gypsy vocabulary is explicable by repeated contacts and Gypsy infiltration, as already attested in the early XVIII<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>6</sup> this can be compared to the adoption of a Gypsy vocabulary by tinkers in Ireland, or the Jenisch in Germany. There is some evidence for the assimilation of Gypsies in the names of two of the five Abdal groups in Gaziantep province: it has been suggested that the Gurbet and the Kara Duman<sup>7</sup> maybe related to the Gurbati of Iran and S.E. Anatolia, and the Döm of India or Dummî of Iran.<sup>8</sup> The Abdal themselves, however, stoutly repudiate any connection with Gypsies. The name Abdal itself appears to be partly etic. Thus those in Yozgat and İslâhiye call themselves Teber, and those at Paynâp in Turkistan, Heynu. In the case of the Teberci, the Kurds introduce a third designation, Gevende. The Abdal or Carcar of Konya, previously from Yozgat, described themselves as Alakeçili Yörtük. In eastern Anatolia some Abdal are known to outsiders as *elekçi*, “sieve-makers”. Contact between Gypsies and Abdal would be natural to groups pursuing a similar itinerant livelihood, whether formerly as “dervish” mendicants, or nowadays as musicians, horse-traders, wood-carvers, tinkers, coppersmiths, smiths, and basket- or sieve-makers, living alike in small groups of tents. Others too practice marginal occupations ranging from circumcision (most of the *sunnetci* north of Ankara are said to be Abdal from Haymana) and folk-medicine to *üfürükçülük* – breathing upon a sick person to cure him – gleaning, and plain begging. Their own attitude towards this is encapsulated in a proverb: *Abdalın karnı doyunca gözü yolda olur* “once an Abdal’s belly is full, his eye is on the road”.

<sup>3</sup> TIETZE: 529; KÖPRÜLÜ: 55.

<sup>4</sup> TIETZE: 522–3.

<sup>5</sup> GREARD and PELLIOU.

<sup>6</sup> KÖPRÜLÜ: 43.

<sup>7</sup> YALGIN: i, 18.

<sup>8</sup> KÖPRÜLÜ: 41, 43.

Like other Alevis, the Abdal avoid close contact with the Sunni population, which in turn tends to regard them as outsiders: no marriage exchanges take place. Like other Alevis too they have traditionally rejected many Islamic conventions regarded as norms by the Sunnis: the Abdal if anything are more careless of these. As a result, Sunnis tend to regard them with suspicion, and in particular denigrate their religious meetings, *âyin-i cem*, in which men and women play an equally active part,<sup>9</sup> as orgies. The exclusive nature of these ceremonies tends naturally to perpetuate the calumny, and further support is given to it by the Abdals' use of alcohol and their practice of dancing in pairs. The reality, however, is the contrary: that a high degree of self-control and commitment to the suprapersonal Alevi code are indispensable. The ceremonies are strictly directed to achieve a religious sublimation, the experience of which is essential to the group's sense of identity:

*Abdalin bir ekmeği var, ha karnında ha koynunda.* "An Abdal has his bread, whether in his belly or in his breast".

It is noteworthy that in the southern part of Antep the Teberci play a particular role as musicians, minstrels, jewellers and magicians to the Barak Türkmen, as a dependent group, to such an extent that each clan maintains its own *gevendeler*: *davul* and *zurma* players. Formerly some 500 Abdal had served 80,000 Elbeyli tentholds.<sup>10</sup> These are now subdivided into 6 clans, of from 20 to 200 tents each, based on some 50 villages. The role of these minstrels in maintaining Türkmen oral traditions has a parallel among the Abdal of Zeytin Köyü, now a quarter of Antalya, where ATABEYLİ collected well-preserved examples of Oğuz legend. Their claim to have come with the Türkmen from Khurasan is supported by the presence of Abdal clans among the Türkmen there, attested from 1852 onwards.<sup>11</sup> KÖPRÜLÜ suggested their descent from the Hephtalites, or White Huns, but had no further evidence than the similarity of name. The Abdals' own account is that they came to Anatolia with the Horasan Erleri under the leadership of Kara Yağmur; those in the south and east are more specific in stating an affiliation with the Beydili tribe of Türkmen,<sup>12</sup> and some with the Karakoyunlu.<sup>13</sup> The Gaziantep Teberci say that came with the Türkmen by way of Sivas and Yozgat, their own leader being Dedemoğlu.<sup>14</sup> Their somewhat parasitic role is also echoed in the behav-

<sup>9</sup> ÜLKÜTAŞIR: 253-4 gives a description of such a ceremony.

<sup>10</sup> YALGIN: i, 16-19; cf. GÜZELBEY: 22-3; KÖPRÜLÜ: 42.

<sup>11</sup> KÖPRÜLÜ: 47.

<sup>12</sup> ÜLKÜTAŞIR: 251; ATABEYLİ 1934: 81.

<sup>13</sup> GÜZELBEY: 22, Papırlar.

<sup>14</sup> GÜZELBEY: 22.

iour of the Abdal in Chinese Turkistan, who even now travel around on horseback, extorting alms through the fear of their ill-will. These are, apparently, of a different anthropological type from the surrounding population.<sup>15</sup>

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## The Molokans

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Though a small community in Turkey, the Molokans have a particular interest as a group defined primarily by a communal ideal of society. As a religious sect of Russian origin, they had in part settled in Kars province, then Kars oblast, following the Russian occupation in 1878. Their presence requires some historical explanation. In Russia itself they had emerged from the more general reaction of peasantry against the Orthodox Church, which then upheld a rigid social system including serfdom. The movement had initially taken the form, at the end of the XVIIth century,

<sup>15</sup> TIETZE, oral information given on 16.6.84, for which I am most grateful.

of the Khristovovers, an ascetic sect whose members continued to attend Orthodox church services, though preferring their own ecstatic form of worship in secret meetings which inevitably set them apart as a group, and led to their persecution. Following this there arose a parallel, though less ascetic, movement towards "Spiritual Christianity" which, by emphasising the nature of prayer as a personal, private act of conscience, led its followers away from the church, the priesthood, and the liturgy: an alienation which provoked a still stronger counter-reaction. From this in turn, towards the end of the 1760s, arose two further sects, the Dukhobors and the Molokans, which gained some adherents from the now declining Khristovovers, both having an emphasis on founding egalitarian, libertarian, communalist societies. Whereas the Dukhobors were drawn primarily from state peasant stock, and took a pantheistic direction less dependent on scripture, the Molokans had a stronger component (ca. 10% in the early XIXth century) of urban artisans and merchants, and although anticlerical, still relied upon the authority of the Bible. They thus excited less antagonism from the Church, and were able to rely upon their relatively "sound" doctrine when in difficulties. One group of the Molokan, the "Don Persuasion", even sought official recognition.

The name Molokan, from Russian *moloko* meaning "milk", is explained by the members of the sect as a reference to their teaching as "spiritual milk", though it can also refer to their (unorthodox) use of milk on fast days, and even to their prolonged stay near Molochnuie Vodui north of the Crimea.

Although the Molokans had less to fear from state and church authority than the Dukhobors, they did maintain a system of mutual help and self-regulation which isolated them and led them towards the concept of founding an ideal city. In the 1830s, drawn by generous land grants, the less prosperous members joined the general movement for resettlement in the southern Caucasus, which coincided with a wave of apocalyptic preaching. They settled in Erevan, Baku and Elizavetpol provinces, growing to a total there of 21,300, besides 13,400 in the central provinces and 28,400 in the Volga provinces, and a further 28,400 in Amur province in Eastern Siberia.

A sub-sect called the Obschie attempted to form a commune based on ecstatic experience, but controlled by a remarkably complex hierarchy; by 1860 this had failed. Another, the Pruigunui, acquired a considerable following in the Caucasian community, but drifted away from mysticism into materialism. The thrift and co-operative zeal of the Molokans was remarkably rewarding, and many became very prosperous, though increasingly at the expense of the previous egalitarian ideals. By 1900 most of the

original spirit had been lost, and dissatisfaction among the less privileged caused mass emigration, notably to California. Some 10,000 left, including 3,500 Pruigonui, mostly from Kars, Erevan, and Transcaspia, between 1901 and 1911. Even so, in 1914 this was the most widespread sect in Russia, claiming a million followers. The self-contained existence of Molokan communities resulted in a kind of voluntary exile, and it has been argued (KLIBANOV 1982: xiii) that their freedom to achieve economic success itself distinguished them from their more traditionally-minded compatriots. The same success, however, prevented any marked retention of peculiarities in dress or speech.

Following the withdrawal of the Russians in 1918 and the restoration of Kars to Turkish sovereignty, the Molokans chose to remain there. Between 1880 and 1881 they had lived in some 35 villages such as Çakmak, Çalkavur, Diğor, Lâdikars, Meydancık, Yalınçayır and Zavot. Subsequently they gravitated towards three centres where land grants were distributed: Atçılar, Çalkavur, and Yalınçayır (Zöhrap). From 1880–81 most of those at Çakmak returned to Russia (200 households). By the period 1959–62, according to TÜRKDOĞAN (1970: 22), Yalınçayır consisted of 105 households, of which 21 were indigenous, and the rest Molokan. The census of 1960 shows total populations for these villages of 625, 200, and 693 respectively: 1518 in all. Further families, moreover, reared sheep elsewhere in Kars, Ağrı, and Erzurum, raising the total to about 1600.

Their agricultural land included 100,000 *dekar* at Yalınçayır and 135,000 at Atçılar. Their farming methods were characteristically more advanced than those of the indigenous farmers, and they also operated most of the mills in the region. Their villages were easily recognised by their linear street pattern (Çalkavur is an exception in having a core) and a direct relationship to the farming land, in contrast to the less orderly Turkish pattern. They also retained some aspects of material culture which distinguished them from their neighbours, including different house-types, ovens, soap-making, baths, and the clothes worn by the older generation. In other respects they learned much from their neighbours (TÜRKDOĞAN 1970: 31), though the latter regarded them with antipathy derived from repeated Russian invasions of the province. The result of this attitude was an unwillingness on the part of the Molokans to communicate with outsiders. Their principal language remained Russian.

In Turkey the two groups, Postayannuie and Pruigonui, were distinguished by the fact that the former rejected the "Book of the Spirit and Life" compiled by Maksim Rudometkin; the effective schism dated from 1928. There were also some differences in religious practice. They both retained an abstemious, ascetic attitude, refusing wine, tobacco, and pork,



avoiding useless ornament, not cutting their beards or moustaches, and being scrupulously pacifist. Community life was centred on gatherings, *sobranie*, for Sunday worship, on feastdays (particularly Easter) and rites on such occasions as drought. Religious leaders were elected, and it was from these that the council of elders derived their authority. Women took an active part in the social order, though not quite on a level with the men. The two *sobranie*, one for each sub-sect, regulated all misdemeanours, disputes, lapses from morality, and abuse of religious order. Richer members of the community were expected to support the less fortunate in a responsible way. Prestige was based primarily on good behaviour and learning. Social contact, especially between young people, was encouraged through parties, *progolga* (?) held after Sunday worship.

Among those beyond the main community, particularly the young, discipline came to be less strictly observed; obligatory state education and military service extended the community view, but at the same time introduced alternative values which undermined its cultural puritanism and the order upheld by the elders.

The endogamy necessary to such a strictly-defined group was restricted to relations more remote than the seventh or eighth degree, but a scarcity of available partners forced the Molokans to retract this proscription up to the second or third degree. The difficulty finally drove them to return to their fellow-sectarians in Russia in 1962, to avoid extinction. Only a few families now remain in Turkey.

The Molokans thus illustrate the flexibility of self-image by which considerable internal adjustments of belief, aim, organisation and material circumstances may take place within little more than a century, without loss of group-identity. Two interconnected factors appear to have remained relatively constant throughout this process: the esoteric interpretation of religion, and the rejection of state-organised religion. Their situation in Turkey also illustrates how a small ethnic group was able to preserve a very clear identity among a majority of different language, religion and social organisation, using the contrast for heightened self-definition. The erosion of this identity among the young, manifested as a decline in standards of morality and discipline, was initially the result of the imposition of education and military service by an external authority, that is precisely the kind of agency which the group had characteristically rejected. It is an interesting paradox in this situation that these means, seen etically by the majority government as positive, have in fact had a negative effect through the undervaluation of prohibitions which were in fact part of the system of ethnic markers upon which the self-esteem and integrity of the group depended. One may question whether, had the Molokan stayed, these

demoralised young people would have made such effective and reliable citizens as their forebears.

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## Tatars

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### *Noğay Tatars*

Many of the Turkic peoples of Central Asia regard the Noğay as the most ancient of its nomadic groups, and seek to trace their descent from them.<sup>1</sup> In reality, however, they came into being in the period of Çinggis Han and his successors in the Golden Horde (Altın Ordu), and it seems that this fact alone has given them such prestige. The Turkic peoples who accompanied the Mongol armies westward to the Volga region were allocated to the Tatar tribe of Mongols, and thus acquired their name, subsequently acquiring other designations according to locality (Kazan Tatars etc.). The Noğay (Mong. *nogay* = dog) appear to have emerged from among them under the leadership of Amir Noğay (ca. 1280-99), a descendent of Coçi Han, and a notable commander. The Turkic element had assimilated the Mongols by the end of the XV<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> By the XVI<sup>th</sup> century they had divided into two groups, the Lesser Noğay, in the north, in the neighbourhood of the Başkurt and West Siberian Tatars, and the Greater Noğay further south on the Sır Darya. The former moved westward towards the area north of the Crimea; the latter, after absorbing the Mangıt Noğay (another remnant of Amir Noğay's forces) also moved after them, drawn by the power of the Crimean Khanate. Both are classed in the Central Turkic language group, together with the Kazak, Karakal-

<sup>1</sup> KRADER 1966: 159.

<sup>2</sup> KRADER 1966: 87.

pak, and Kıpçak Özbek, in whose formation they also played a part. They came to dominate the Ponto-Caspian steppes as far west as Dobruja, and as far east as the Kuban and Kuma in the northern Caucasus. There they lived as before as horse- and sheep-rearing nomads, through various vicissitudes: they found themselves under increasing pressure from the Kazak and especially the Kalmak Mongols. In 1771 the 80,000 strong Greater Noğay were allowed by the Russians to occupy the Kuban area as allies, though the Russians themselves were shortly to scatter them. Some withdrew over the Kuban into the areas of the Ottoman protectorate, others were taken prisoner and settled near Anapa, and the remainder continued to live as steppe nomads well into the XIX<sup>th</sup> century as vividly described by SCHLATTER.<sup>3</sup> The settled element also continued to combine a limited nomadism with a successful adaptation to cereal farming.

Continued Russian expansion southwards inevitably affected the Noğay, positioned as they were to the north of the Crimea and the Caucasus. As the Ottoman protectorate of the Steppe collapsed, (1773/4) so an exodus of both Noğay and Crimean Tatars to Ottoman territory began, especially to the region of Dobruja, already colonised by Noğay long before. Ottoman records show 300,000 arrivals in the first seven years after the occupation in 1783.<sup>4</sup> A massive exodus again took place following the Crimean War (1853–56) in the years 1860–62, when 227,627 Noğays and Crimean Tatars left together;<sup>5</sup> (according to another source, an estimated 135,000 Crimean Tatars and 46,000 Noğays left between 1859–63, that is two thirds of the Muslim community.<sup>6</sup>) This was followed shortly afterwards by a wave of emigration from the West Caspian Steppe during the Russian conquest of the Caucasus, from 1859–64, with some 100,000 Noğays leaving for the Balkans and Anatolia.<sup>7</sup> The Balkan wars led to the dislodging of the Dobruja group in the 1870s; they migrated to Anatolia. Further emigrations were still taking place as late as 1890–1900. There seem to have been some Noğay who returned to their homeland, and some communication was certainly maintained between those in Russian-dominated territory and the refugees.<sup>8</sup>

The Ottoman government, which at this period was scarcely equipped to deal adequately with refugees, and in any case had other, more urgent pre-

<sup>3</sup> SCHLATTER 1830 *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> GÖZAYDIN 1948: 71; DE PLANHOL, 1968: 258. *cf.* KLÄY, 1974: 101 citing Seidahmet: 180,000 by 1790.

<sup>5</sup> GÖZAYDIN 1948: 84. *Cf.* PINSON 1972: 109: 210–230,000 in 1855–62.

<sup>6</sup> BENNIGSEN 1969: 195. *Cf.* PINSON 1972: 109: 16,000 in 1859.

<sup>7</sup> DE PLANHOL 1968: 258.

<sup>8</sup> KLÄY 1974: 217.

occupations, sought to settle the newcomers in areas then poorly populated, or where the settlement programme for nomads required the presence of a stabilising element. Thus 2,500<sup>9</sup> families of Noğay were settled in 1272/1855 in the Çukurova, where they are supposed to have chosen the Ceyhan area because it so resembled the landscape of the Kuban. They settled tribally, either founding new villages, or forming a continuous strip of settlement along the river bank which grew into the town of Ceyhan. The Müftü is reported to have given the following list of tribal units: Caynak, Cıvantayak, Konakoğlu, Boğta, Kaltaki (*sic*), Aytemir, Arşan, and Kerenti, with the villages of Toktamış, Mangit, and Kümü. EBERHARD adds the Koruklu, and the village communities of Kelemeteh, Kıpçak, Altıkara, Çokça, Silkeli, Kürd Köyü, Kılıçkaya, Yahşılar, Mercimek, Adatepe, and Çiftilikat. The entire group seems to have perished or gone elsewhere, as only 50–60 households still remain in the area. The rest succumbed to a combination of malaria, bad water, and the inability to adapt so rapidly to a hot, moist climate and its agricultural techniques.<sup>10</sup> Similarly in 1865 a much smaller group of 90 families of Noğay founded the village of Noğaylar north of İslahiye, again an unhealthy, marshy area. They suffered an epidemic of malaria, and most of the surviving families left for healthier upland villages in the Kayseri region. Two families remained, and now form 8 households controlling most of the land.<sup>11</sup> A cluster of Noğay settlements still prosper in the region northwest of the Tuz Gölü. These were founded by groups from the Cetsan and Cemboyluk tribes of the Greater Noğay, who chose the area after a mounted survey, again because it reminded them of their homeland steppe in eastern Stavropol Guberniya. The first villages were Akın Köyü (1275/1858–9), Köstengil (1303/1885–6), and Seyyidahmetli (*ditto*): these were followed in 1305–8/1887–91 by Abdül Gedik and Mandıra, and finally by Kırkkuyu (1313/1895–6) and Şeker Köyü (1322/1904?). The inhabitants were drawn not only from the original emigrés, but from Noğay formerly settled in Dobruja and near Ankara, and later immigrants drawn to the nucleus of three villages. The region has been documented by E. KLÄY.<sup>12</sup> The settlers from Stavropol had already been settled under the Russians, and though they still migrated to summer quarters with their sheep and horses, were used to fixed dwellings and agriculture. Their choice of the Konya plain enabled them to continue this way of life. They took over land which had previously served as grazing for the Kurds and Turks in the region. This

<sup>9</sup> SOYSAL 1976: 56; EBERHARD, 1967: 300 gives 12,000.

<sup>10</sup> SOYSAL 1976: 60; EBERHARD, 1953: 55.

<sup>11</sup> BATES 1974: 97–8.

<sup>12</sup> KLÄY 1974: 207–19.

intrusion, combined with a strong sense of community, tended to keep them apart from their neighbours. They prospered, however: they were among the first in Anatolia to use iron ploughs and teams of horses, and the four-wheeled waggons to which they had been accustomed. By 1937 WENZEL could note their industry both as farmers and as herdsmen, their hardiness and their communal spirit, but he also saw that they had little common feeling with the rest of the population.<sup>13</sup> After the Second World War their herding activity declined markedly in importance as a result of the intensive mechanisation of agriculture in the area as a whole. By 1960 even the last riding horse had been disposed of, as in many Anatolian villages, despite centuries of herding tradition, and its close identification with Noğay society; their arable and pastoral activity is now indistinguishable from that of neighbouring villages.<sup>14</sup>

Externally, the identity of the group is now recognised in its distinct appearance and speech. Both WENZEL<sup>15</sup> and KLÄY<sup>16</sup> stress their strongly Mongoloid, or more strictly speaking Altaic, physiognomy. They still speak Noğay, even though by 1974 it already contained a strong admixture of Turkish expressions. They call themselves Noğay, and are sometimes referred to as Noğay by the indigenous population, though more often simply as Tatar. Unlike the Crimeans, they accept Tatar as a name for themselves.<sup>17</sup>

Internally, they maintain group identity by marked endogamy, with up to 80% of marriages made within the village, and the remainder either with Tatars from neighbouring villages, or with Turkistanis.<sup>18</sup> This is in spite of an exogamous tradition.<sup>19</sup> They still recognise their affiliation to the two Greater Noğay tribes. Cemboyluk and Cetsan, to the exclusion of the third, Yetişkul, which is not represented among them. Kinship terminology is, however, now incomplete, if used at all, and strongly intruded on by Turkish terms, so that KLÄY had difficulty in compiling a list.<sup>20</sup> They now have only vague traditions regarding their immigration and former life. Although the Noğay recognise a relationship with the Crimean Tatars, and even claim that their speech is the same, the attitude has not been mutual. The Crimeans disclaimed them as primitive nomads, and

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<sup>13</sup> KLÄY 1974: 209; WENZEL 1937: 89.

<sup>14</sup> KLÄY 1974: 219.

<sup>15</sup> WENZEL 1937: 89.

<sup>16</sup> KLÄY 1974: 213-4.

<sup>17</sup> KLÄY 1974: 213.

<sup>18</sup> KLÄY 1974: 214.

<sup>19</sup> KLÄY 1974: 268-9.

<sup>20</sup> KLÄY 1974: 246.

eaters of horseflesh, with whom they still avoided contact in the 1930s.<sup>21</sup> This attitude may only have perpetuated a prejudice existing in the Crimea itself, where the nomads were distinguished as *Noğay halkı*, and spoke a language from a different branch of the Turkic family. Nevertheless, the Noğay effectively assimilated a larger group of South Crimeans who came *via* Balıkesır to Kırkkuyu and settled there. Their sense of themselves as Turkistanis, rather than Anatolian Turks, seems to underlie their preference for marriages with Kazak, Kırğız, or Özbek partners next to choice from their own group. This sense does seem to be mutual, for the villages have recently attracted members of these groups to settle at Akın and Kırkkuyu, and even some more Crimeans at Şekerköyü. An element in this fellow-feeling is the common sense of Russia as the enemy which deprived them of their original homes.

### *Crimean "Tatars"*

In contrast to the other Tatar groups, those from the southern Crimea (Kırım) spoke dialects of a language closely allied to Ottoman Turkish, and in this respect should be distinguished from those of the interior. They had in fact been in continual official contact with the Ottomans since the declaration of nominal dependence on Sultan Mehmed II, besides maintaining commercial contact for centuries, through such ports as Kaffa (Kefe) and Gözleve; from 1475 till 1774 the south coast was under Ottoman control, with a military presence. Ethnically the Crimeans were formed by the superimposition of Turkic elements from the Golden Horde upon earlier strata, including Hazar, Peçenek, and Koman remnants in the interior, together with Goths, Greeks, Slavs, Arabs, Iranians and others along the coast, to form a Turkic-speaking population of Sunni Muslims. They saw themselves as divided into two, the *şähär häm tarw halkı*, "town and mountain people" that is those from the coast and centre of the peninsula, and the *çöl halkı*, "steppe people", in the northwest and east. Linguists, however, now divide the former Crimean Turks in three groups: those from the south coast spoke Crimean Ottoman, classed with the southwestern Turkic languages; those from the centre around the old capital Bakçisaray spoke Central Crimean Turkish, and those from the steppe spoke Crimean Tatar. The latter two belong with the Western Turkic languages.

<sup>21</sup> WENZEL 1932: 55-6; KLÄY 1974: 213.

The Crimean Turks, like their Noğay neighbours, were displaced by the Russians, and came to Ottoman Turkey as the land of the Caliphate which, as the defender of Muslim interests, was the obvious place of refuge. Their migration should be seen, therefore, as a withdrawal to a more secure milieu within the same cultural-religious sphere; only in a secondary sense was the ethnic affinity of the Ottoman dynasty significant. Whereas one of the Sultan's titles was *Padişah-i Deşt-i Kıpçak* (Monarch of the Kıpçak Steppe), the Ottomans recognised the distinct origin of the Giray Khans in their correspondence as *cingiziye*, that is descendents of Çinggiz Han.<sup>22</sup> The relationship of the two states was particularly close: Sultan Mehmet II had come to the Crimea at the invitation of the clan leaders, and Mengli Giray became Khan as his vassal. Their spheres of influence were established by common consent, and the khans, rather than paying tribute, actually received subsidies from the Sultan, including grants of land in Rumeli and Anatolia.<sup>23</sup>

The reasons for the Crimean withdrawal are of interest here since they arise from the opposition of this cultural-religious system to another, and the increasingly intolerable conditions to which the new order subjected the old, with a consequent threat to identity. The process is remarkable, too, as a gradual one extending over a hundred and fifty years, during which the Russian attitude towards the indigenous population became less and less benign, to the point where the Crimeans were deliberately ousted, and ultimately deported.

The southward advance of the Russians which followed Ivan the Terrible's conquest of Kazan in 1552 began to threaten the Khanate of the Crimea, which had been established under Ottoman patronage as a distinct state in 1478, from the end of the XVIIth century. Their defeat of the Ottomans in the war of 1768-74 gave the Russians the opportunity to claim the Crimea as a protectorate in 1773-4, leaving the Sultan with only religious authority over its inhabitants<sup>24</sup>. In spite of the guarantee of autonomy they had then promised, they finally annexed it in 1783. Further north, they had pursued a policy of destroying Muslim culture by the removal of both its institutions and its élite. In the Crimea, in accordance with the Tsarina's edict of toleration of 1773, great care was taken to secure the rights of the Muslim clergy, including the very extensive *vakıf* property; their incorporation into the administration was seen as the means of winning the people's loyalty<sup>25</sup>. On the other hand Crimean cul-

<sup>22</sup> FISHER, A. W. 1978: 13.

<sup>23</sup> FISHER, A. W. 1978: 13-14.

<sup>24</sup> Until 1779: FISHER 1978: 56 and 66.

<sup>25</sup> FISHER 1978: 77, 96 ff.

ture was treated with total contempt, to the loss of many of the finest buildings, and even whole towns; in some cases mosques were also desecrated<sup>26</sup>. The Russians superimposed their own hierarchy and class structure, and though Crimean nobles were initially involved in the new administration, a decree of 1802 excluded all Crimeans from the bureaucracy. Even recognition of the nobles by Russian rank was confused by continual legislative changes, and they were estranged from their own people by Russification.<sup>27</sup> The indigenous population, already demoralised by unsuccessful resistance, was threatened above all by a flood of Russian and European settlers. This began slowly, with only 8,746 Russian serfs and 4,500 settlers by 1802, in a total population of 185,000, but by 1854 native Crimeans numbering 150,000 made up little more than half of the total of 250,000; there were then 70,000 Russians, and the remainder were Greeks, Armenians, Germans, Swiss, Bulgarians, and Jews.<sup>28</sup> The immigration was encouraged by privileges and the granting of land appropriated from emigrating mirzas, including the Khan himself.

A survey conducted by the governor in 1783 showed there were some 150,000 Muslims on the peninsula: he concluded that the population had declined by 50% since 1772.<sup>29</sup> The figures given for emigrants vary a great deal. Pallas is cited as recording that 80,000 had left in 1783 alone.<sup>30</sup> 8,000 left in 1783–4, including most of the leading families and the deposed Khan himself. A larger exodus of 20–30,000, or even as many as 100,000, followed in 1785–9, once the Ottomans had resigned all claim to the territory.<sup>31</sup> It is claimed that records at Istanbul show 300,000 to have arrived by 1800.<sup>32</sup> Most of these emigrants settled in the Balkan areas then under Ottoman control, notably south of the Danube delta, the Dobruja, the Danube, Tunja and Maritsa valleys, and as far as Eastern Thrace and Macedonia;<sup>33</sup> the Tatars, and especially the Noğay, had long been familiar with this region, where they had helped to found Ottoman colonies as early as 1603.

The numbers leaving reached high levels in 1812 and in 1828–9, but it was not until after the Crimean War that the government of Alexander II actively encouraged the remaining Crimeans to depart as “a beneficial

<sup>26</sup> FISHER 1978: 66, 94 ff.

<sup>27</sup> FISHER 1978: 76 ff., 85 ff.

<sup>28</sup> FISHER 1978: 93 citing Sumarokov, and Schmitzler.

<sup>29</sup> FISHER 1978: 75 citing Igelstrom.

<sup>30</sup> KLÄY 1974: 101 n.1 citing v. Mende.

<sup>31</sup> FISHER 1978: 78 and note 19.

<sup>32</sup> GÖZAYDIN 1948: 71; PLANHOL 1968: 258; cf. KLÄY 1974: 102 note 1.

<sup>33</sup> KLÄY 1974: 102; the map in LEJEAN 1861 shows their distribution.



action calculated to free the territory from this unwanted population", and a further 100,000 had left by the end of 1860, before this view was corrected.<sup>34</sup> The Turko-Russian war of 1877-78 led in turn to the flight of Crimean Turks from the Balkans to the security of Anatolia or inner Rumeli: 10,000 had left Dobruja alone by 1890.<sup>35</sup> Another 18-20,000 left the Crimea in 1891-3,<sup>36</sup> and the movement continued until the First World War; finally, in 1944, the entire remaining Muslim population was deported by the Soviet authorities to Central Asia, mostly to Özbekistan. In spite of the Russian retraction in 1967 of previous accusations of their collaboration with the Germans, they have not been allowed back.

The renewed migration took the Crimean Turks from the Balkans to the provinces of Istanbul, Edirne, Bursa, Eskişehir, Izmir, Ankara, Konya, Adana, Halep and Diyarbakır<sup>37</sup>, with Eskişehir as a distribution centre (8-10 Tatar villages already by 1860 and 14 more *ca.* 1877<sup>38</sup>). The government, however, was ill-prepared to deal with this influx, and many of the immigrants died through transfer to areas with an unsuitable climate. Even those allocated to suitable regions received little help beyond the grant of land, and experienced corresponding difficulties, from lack of familiarity with the soil, lack of proper implements, illness (malaria), and disputes over land ownership with the neighbouring population.<sup>39</sup> In some cases this led to a backward step in material development. For example the Crimean Tatars who founded Kalecik (Çorum) in 1891-3 were obliged for economy to use solid-wheeled oxcarts and wooden threshing sledges set with flints, although they had used horsedrawn waggons with four spoked wheels, and sledges with iron teeth in their former homeland.<sup>40</sup> In other cases they adapted to the land by abandoning their traditional market-gardening in favour of steppe pastoralism.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand the more educated, cosmopolitan leaders quickly found places in the administration and professional life. An influx of young Tatar intellectuals at the beginning of this century led to the foundation of a Crimean Student Society (Kırım Talebe Cemiyeti) in 1908.<sup>42</sup>

In their appearance, the Crimeans are not strikingly mongoloid, but rather varied, including some with blond hair and blue eyes. As they are

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<sup>34</sup> GÖZAYDIN 1948: 84; KLÄY 1974: 102; FISHER 1978: 89 citing Pinson.

<sup>35</sup> GÖZAYDIN 1948: 97.

<sup>36</sup> GÖZAYDIN 1948: 93.

<sup>37</sup> GÖZAYDIN 1948: 98.

<sup>38</sup> TUNÇDİLEK 1959: 133 and note 22.

<sup>39</sup> TUNÇDİLEK 1959: 134 ff.

<sup>40</sup> KLÄY 1975: 275 note 1.

<sup>41</sup> KLÄY 1974: 204.

<sup>42</sup> FISHER 1979: 8.

Hanefi Sunnis, they are able to intermarry with ordinary Turks, but in village life they remain very largely endogamous.<sup>43</sup> The similarities between Anatolian Turkish and the S. Crimean dialect have allowed a relatively easy transition to the official language, and now only the older generation speak Crimean Turkish.<sup>44</sup> Even their cultural journal *Emel*, first published in 1960 in Istanbul, is in Turkish, and the fact that its small readership is nevertheless restricted largely to older people shows that group identity is treated with little enthusiasm by the young. A Crimean National Centre (Kırım Milli Merkezi) in Istanbul fosters Tatar music and dancers, but these are received as a matter of folklore somewhat irrelevant to everyday life, and assimilation is so effective that the active Crimeans are afraid lest group identity be lost altogether.<sup>45</sup> Even the villagers dislike mentioning their origin in what is now Russian territory, for fear of awakening a negative reaction among their neighbours. They refer to themselves now as Kırım Türkler, and reject even the designation Kırım Tatar or Tatar given them by outsiders, who also class them more generally as *muhacir*. In fact this classification is hardly used for them any longer, being reserved now for more recent immigrants.<sup>46</sup> Similar evidence of assimilation is to be found in kinship terminology, which has survived only in a fragmentary state.<sup>47</sup> FISHER has drawn attention to the contrast between this gradual dissolution of identity in the context of a larger nationality, and the situation in the USSR, where cultural identity is actually growing among the Tatars, just as it survived in a "fossilised" form during the earlier attempts at Russification;<sup>48</sup> even the Crimean community in the U.S.A. is having more success in preserving its cultural and historical heritage.<sup>49</sup> As he remarks: "the Anatolian Turks look upon the Crimean Tatars who live in the Republic of Turkey as Turks who, having once lived on the Crimean peninsula, should now be nationally and culturally satisfied by living among other Turks *wherever* they may be ... the Crimean Tatar 'question' is hardly even a subject of concern to them".<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> KLÄY 1974: 206; KLÄY 1975: 273.

<sup>44</sup> KLÄY 1975: 273.

<sup>45</sup> FISHER 1974: 14-15.

<sup>46</sup> KLÄY 1974: 200-1.

<sup>47</sup> KLÄY 1974: 246-9.

<sup>48</sup> FISHER 1979: 16 and 7.

<sup>49</sup> FISHER 1979: 15.

<sup>50</sup> FISHER 1979: 1.

*Özbek-Tatars*

Another group, the Özbek-Tatars, have been exceptionally well documented both through their own efforts and those of KLÄY 1974<sup>51</sup> (from whom this account is entirely drawn). Although they form the population of only one village, they have developed in a pattern which illustrates the position of such small groups very clearly, and therefore deserve discussion in some detail. They have an unexpected history, tracing their origin to two Özbek seyyids, who, as religious teachers, migrated from Bukhara to the area of Tobolsk in Western Siberia during the reign of Küçüm Han (1563–1601). Several Bukharan Özbek families from different tribes settled in the region during the XVII<sup>th</sup> century, where they became known as *Buḫarlık* and *Sibirek*, or the Russian equivalents *Bukhartsui* and *Bukharist*, besides the usual *Özbek* or *Sart*. They lived by farming, crafts and trade at the same level as the neighbouring Russians. They mixed with and became assimilated to the local Tatars, and from the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century adopted their language. In the XVIII<sup>th</sup>–XIX<sup>th</sup> centuries these rapidly increasing Muslim communities came under increasing pressure from Government policies of Russification and conversion to Christianity, combined with colonisation by Russian peasants. Although they had secured exemption from tribute they saw this as likely to expire, and they found they were unable to pursue their missionary aim. Aware of the exodus of Crimean (Kırım) and Noḡay Tatars to the Ottoman Empire, and towards 1900 under Pan-Islamic influence, some felt drawn to the protection offered by the Caliphate. In 1907 about 100 families, out of the total of some 12,000 Bukharists, left their villages for Turkey, having previously selected the province of Konya for their new home. Many died of dysentery or smallpox on the way to Istanbul. The immigrants were first left at Akşehir, Ilgın and Konya, where a year later they were joined by a further thirty families from Siberia. Of these 100 families decided to settle in Böğrüdilik Yaylası, then the summer quarters of a Kurdish village. They first named it Özbek (Reşadiye); the remainder chose Meşrutıye (now Kahveciören), which they shared with immigrants from Bulgaria. The housing in Reşadiye was completed by the Government in 1910, and both groups united there. In the first year, however, 30% of the population died of cholera or malaria in the unfamiliar climate, and there were no births for 3–4 years.

They experienced further difficulties in farming during the initial years, but received help from Türks and Türkmen in neighbouring villages; the Kurds however, although they occupied much of the area, offered them

<sup>51</sup> KLÄY 1974: 136–189, 197, 269.

no help, with the notable exception of two generous individuals. The communal spirit of the Buharlık helped them to adapt to the arid land by sharing resources, finance, and effort. A group of Kurds from the Van region was assimilated in speech and culture. As a result of its growth in population and prosperity in the 1930s, the village came to dominate the district, and attracted outsiders both for commerce and for administration. These, however, moved out when the new administrative centre of Cihanbeyli was created. More Reşvan Kurds arrived from the east following the Şeyh Sa'îd uprising of 1931; by 1971 30 of the households were Kurdish. The fact that the Kurds were also Sunni Muslims helped their assimilation, though they remained distinct in appearance, dress, food, language and marriage customs. Six families of Turkish *göçmen* from Bulgaria, who arrived in 1952 - 4, have however remained separate, despite the similarity of religion. The continuing co-operation of the Buharlık has enabled them, with the help of the Marshall Plan in the 1950s, to mechanise their agriculture fully and participate in the development of the Konya Plain as fostered by Menderes. Villagers who have worked abroad and acquired skills, and those who have qualified as professionals also tended to return to Böğrüdelik, as Reşadiye is now called, maintaining population and production.

Culturally the Buharlık are well aware of their origins, and possess a chronicle compiled from their oral traditions by Hacı Abdüllahi Ünal in the 1950s; a genealogy was, however, left behind in Siberia. They have preserved their own tradition of music and verse, their own language and kinship terminology. They now refer to themselves as Özbek or Özbek-Tatar; in conversation with outsiders they adopt the looser term Tatar, which their neighbours generally use for them. Their strong sense of identity is reflected in their marriage pattern; 92% of the girls and 90% of the men marry Özbek-Tatars from the same village. For the remaining 5% of the girls, marriage to a Hanefi is obligatory, and strong preference is given, as with the Noğays, to marriage with groups perceived as related, such as Kazan Tatars, or Noğays. The remaining 10% of the men are allowed more latitude, and some 5% have taken brides from the Kurdish population of the village. Marriages with indigenous Turks are negligible. Some 10% of the sample (26 marriages in 3 generations) were married to cousins. The sense of community is also sustained by a strongly patrilocal pattern of residence, which can result in housing clusters of four to five families; the traditional role of the youngest son in assuming responsibility for a deceased father's household is still observed. In spite of this cohesion, changes had led by 1972 to the establishment of some 20% of nuclear families on their own.

*Other Tatars*

It appears that comparatively few immigrants from Kazan, Astrakhan, or the Western Siberian Tatar groups ever settled in Turkey. KLÄY<sup>52</sup> lists six towns and three villages inhabited by Kazan Tatars; two towns where a few Astrakhan Tatars can be found, and only Böğrüdëlik, in Konya Cihanbeyli, where West Siberian Tatars settled in small numbers with the Özbek-Tatars.

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<sup>52</sup> KLÄY 1974: 167.

## Christliche Gruppen in der Türkei

HELGA ANSCHÜTZ

### I. Vorbemerkung

In der Türkei lebten 1983 etwa 124.000 Angehörige verschiedener christlicher Gemeinschaften:\*

1. <i>Armenier</i> orthodox katholisch protestantisch zusammen ca. 60 000 oder weniger	2. <i>Westsyrer (Aramäer)</i> orthodox katholisch protestantisch zusammen ca. 40 000 oder weniger	3. <i>Ostsyrer (Aramäer)</i> chaldäisch nestorianisch protestantisch zusammen ca. 7000
4. <i>Griechen</i> orthodox katholisch protestantisch zusammen ca. 10 000 oder weniger	5. <i>Araber</i> orthodox katholisch zusammen ca. 7000	

Die überwiegende Mehrheit der Christen in der Türkei gehört einheimischen, bis in die ersten Jahrhunderte unserer Zeitrechnung zurückreichenden Kirchen an. Sie sind die Überreste früher größerer Volksgruppen, die während des Osmanischen Reiches im Rahmen des *Millet*-Systems in Kirchenorganisationen überlebten. Bis in die Gegenwart hinein sind bei ihnen als Kirchen – teilweise aber auch als Volkssprache – nichttürkische Idiome in Gebrauch. Durch die Missionstätigkeit abendländischer Kirchen seit dem 18. Jahrhundert schlossen sich Teile dieser ursprünglichen Kirchen in Unionen an Rom an oder bildeten selbständige protestantische Gemeinschaften. Angehörige der türkischen oder kurdischen Bevölkerung sowie andere Muslime waren – wie in den islamischen Gebieten allgemein – wenig vom Christentum angezogen oder traten wegen des mit harten Strafen belegten Verbots nur in geringer Zahl zu christlichen Kirchen über.

\* Es ist sehr schwierig, genaue Zahlen zu ermitteln, da verschiedenartige Interessen bei den Zahlenangaben mitwirken. Als Quellen benutze ich eigene Untersuchungsergebnisse sowie epd-Dokumentationen, hektographierte Berichte und Gutachten in Asylverfahren.

Im 19. Jahrhundert, besonders aber im 1. Weltkrieg, gerieten die christlichen Gruppen innerhalb der Türkei in das Spannungsfeld zwischen der osmanischen Herrschaft und den Einflußbestrebungen der europäischen Großmächte. In diesem Zusammenhang verloren sie durch Kriege und die sich aus ihrer Stellungnahme in diesen Kriegen ergebenden Verfolgungen eine große Zahl ihrer Angehörigen. Die meisten Christen verließen bis 1928 die Türkei.

Den im Land verbliebenen christlichen Restgruppen wurde 1923 in den Artikeln 37–45 des Lausanner Vertrages der Schutz der türkischen Regierung zugesagt. Sie erhielten die gleichen Rechte wie ihre muslimischen Landsleute, die Freiheit der Religionsausübung und den Zugang zu allen öffentlichen Ämtern. Außerdem gestand ihnen der Vertrag eigene Schulen und den Gebrauch ihrer Muttersprache in diesen Schulen sowie vor Gericht zu. Jedoch gelangten nur die Griechen und Armenier in den Genuß dieser vertraglich garantierten Sonderrechte, während die syrischen und arabisch-orthodoxen Christen aufgrund der zu dieser Zeit in ihren Kirchen herrschenden Desorganisation von dem Vertrag ausgeschlossen blieben. Sie führten aber ihr Eigenleben in den zumeist abgelegenen Siedlungsgebieten im allgemeinen ungehindert fort.

Trotz vertraglicher Absicherung trafen mehrere politische Krisen in der Folgezeit die Christen in der Türkei: der 2. Weltkrieg, die Zypern- und die Libanonkrisen. Als Folge ihrer unsicheren Lebensverhältnisse setzte eine verstärkte Auswanderung der Christen aus der Türkei nach Europa und Übersee ein. Besonders in der Ost-, Südost- und Südtürkei ging die christliche Bevölkerungszahl erheblich zurück. Dort rückten andere Bevölkerungsgruppen nach, besonders kurdische Stämme. Im Rahmen dieser Entwicklung – sie erlebte um das Jahr 1980 ihren Höhepunkt – erhielten alte christliche Kulturgebiete durch die andersartigen Neusiedler – Viehzüchter, Nomaden und Halbnomaden – ein neues Gesicht, besonders in Kultur und Landwirtschaft. In der gesamten Türkei hat der Auszug oder die Eliminierung des christlichen Bevölkerungselements seit dem 1. Weltkrieg zu tiefgreifenden Wandlungen in der Sozial- und Wirtschaftsstruktur und in anderen kulturellen Bereichen geführt.

## II. Die einzelnen christlichen Gruppen

Soweit im folgenden Text keine Quellennachweise gegeben werden, beruhen die Informationen auf den Feldforschungen der Autorin, die im Tūr 'Abdīn in den Jahren 1965–82 durchgeführt wurden. Die Darstellungen der Geschichte richten sich, soweit nicht anders vermerkt, nach den im

Literaturverzeichnis aufgeführten Werken (u. a. von Heyer, Kawerau, Spuler).

## 1. Armenier

### 1.1 Gegenwartslage

Dieses alte Kulturvolk bildet noch heute zahlenmäßig die größte Gruppe unter den Christen in der Türkei. Die Armenier werden, dem Vertrag von Lausanne entsprechend, als eigenständige Gruppe anerkannt; u. a. unterhalten sie eigene Schulen mit Armenisch als Unterrichtssprache. Ihre Zahl wird sehr unterschiedlich angegeben: zwischen 42 000 bis über 80 000. Außer dem offiziell als ‚armenische Christen‘ registrierten Bevölkerungsteil lebt noch eine unbekannte Zahl von Menschen armenischen Ursprungs vor allem in der Osttürkei, deren Vorfahren während der Verfolgungen im 1. Weltkrieg durch den Übertritt zum Islam und die Annahme türkischer Namen ihr Leben sichern konnten (vgl. Beitrag VAN BRUINESSEN). Jedoch lebt bei der jungen Generation das Bewußtsein ihrer Herkunft zum Teil wieder auf, besonders auch durch den Einfluß der im Ausland gewachsenen armenischen Nationalbewegung. Die Mehrheit der Armenier ist in Istanbul ansässig, wo sie im 1. Weltkrieg zumeist verschont blieb. Weitere Armenier leben in Ankara, an der türkischen Südküste, außerdem versprengt am Schwarzen Meer, in Ost- und Südostanatolien.

Die meisten von ihnen gehören zur armenisch-orthodoxen Kirche; der Sitz ihres Patriarchats liegt seit dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts in Istanbul. Vor allem aus politischen Gründen hat sich der Patriarch in der Türkei nicht nach dem Katholikos in Eĉmiadzin (Sowjet-Republik Armenien) ausgerichtet, sondern nach dem 2. Katholikos von Sis, heute in Antelias (Libanon). In der Vergangenheit hatten die Russen versucht, über den Katholikos von Eĉmiadzin politischen Einfluß auf die Armenier in der Türkei zu gewinnen. Etwa 7000–10 000 Gläubige gehören der mit Rom unierten armenischen Kirche der Türkei an. Sie sind im Bistum Istanbul konzentriert; kleinere Gemeinden gibt es in Ankara und einigen Städten in der Süd- und Südosttürkei. Die den protestantischen Glaubensgemeinschaften angehörenden Armenier sind heute zahlenmäßig kaum mehr faßbar. Sie fielen dem 1. Weltkrieg zum Opfer oder wanderten aus.

Die Sicherheit, die die Armenier unter dem *Millet*-System genossen, hatte es ihnen in früheren Zeiten erlaubt, bedeutende Positionen einzunehmen, so in der Politik als Minister, im Finanzbereich als *şarrāf* (Geldwechsler), im Handel als Kaufleute und Transportunternehmer (Karawanen) und im Handwerk als Hersteller von Seide, Schmuck und sogar Schießpulver. Sie waren auch bemerkenswert als Architekten. In den von



Kurden dominierten östlichen Gebieten spielten sie eine wichtige, wenn auch eher untergeordnete Rolle als von den Nomaden des Hochlandes abhängige Bauern. Der Verlust dieser bäuerlichen armenischen Bevölkerung sowie der städtischen Geschäftsleute hatte drastische Auswirkungen auf die Lebensform und den Wohlstand in diesen östlichen Gebieten<sup>1</sup>. Trotz der früheren politisch-religiösen Konflikte befinden sich die meisten in der Türkei verbliebenen Armenier auch heute in einer wirtschaftlich günstigen Lage. Besonders im städtischen Handel und Handwerk sind sie zu Wohlstand gekommen, z. T. zu großen Vermögen, die sie nicht durch Auswanderung aufgeben wollen.

Von den früheren Kirchengemeinden bestehen noch drei Vikariate in Anatolien, und zwar in Kayseri, Diyarbakır (einschließlich Derik) und İskenderun (einschließlich Vakıflı); zusätzlich gibt es noch ein Vikariat in Rumeli Hisar auf der europäischen Seite des Bosphorus und das Patriarchat in Kumkapı, Istanbul, mit 33 Kirchen und 2 Kapellen. Zu letzterem gehören, nach eigenen Angaben, 60 000 Anhänger in Istanbul selbst und 10 000 in den Provinzen<sup>2</sup>. Der Patriarch führt heute die gesamte Gruppe der Armenier, unabhängig von der Denomination, und für die meisten Armenier stellt das Leben in Istanbul die beste Möglichkeit dar, ihre kulturelle Identität aufrechtzuerhalten. Dort können sie ihre Rechte auf eigene Schulen, Wohlfahrtsstiftungen, kulturelle Vereinigungen, das theologische Seminar in Üsküdar und eine armenische Presse noch verwirklichen. So besteht ein großer Anreiz, Kinder aus den Provinzen nach Istanbul zu bringen und dort aufwachsen zu lassen. Das gesellschaftliche Leben dieser Stadtgemeinde ist beständig; ihre Mitglieder sind gut in das wirtschaftliche und berufliche Milieu integriert, in dem sie sich bewegen, und welches größtenteils der Mittelklasse zuzurechnen ist. Weit davon entfernt, sich an der Agitation über territoriale und moralische Fragen zu beteiligen, die unter den in der Diaspora lebenden Armenier so verbreitet ist, sehen sie in dieser Agitation in erster Linie eine Unruhe, die ihr Wohlergehen in Gefahr zu bringen droht. (Der heftigste Protest gegen eine solche bedrohliche Einmischung von außen war der öffentliche Selbstmord eines Istanbuler Armeniers auf dem Taksim-Platz, 1982.) Es scheint, daß die Armenier – wie die meisten Bürger der Türkei – solche Fragen als zur Geschichte gehörig betrachten und es vorziehen, jede allzu aktive Beteiligung an Politischem zu vermeiden<sup>3</sup>, obwohl die Auswanderung von Armeniern gerade in den letzten Jahren zugenommen hat.

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<sup>1</sup> HÜTTEROTH, 1959: 145–7.

<sup>2</sup> HEYER, 1978: 219f.

<sup>3</sup> Libardian, in: McCagg, 1979: 43–46.

## 1.2. kurzer geschichtlicher Überblick

Die Armenier sind eine alte ethnische Gruppe, wahrscheinlich aus einer Überschichtung der Urartäer durch von Westen kommende, indogermanische (phrygische?) Gruppen im Raum zwischen Georgien im Norden, Azerbaidshan im Osten, Mesopotamien im Süden und Kappadokien im Westen entstanden. Die indogermanischen Neuankömmlinge wurden von den Achämeniden Armenier genannt: ein Name, dessen Bedeutung immer noch ungeklärt ist. Er ging später ins Griechische über. Die Armenier selbst nennen sich *Haik*. Heute gehört das Gebiet des vorchristlichen Armeniens zu den Staaten UdSSR, Iran, Irak und Türkei.

Nach dem Fall von Urartu (um 610 v. Chr.) geriet das langsam entstehende Armenien unter die Herrschaft verschiedener Reiche. 189 v. Chr. erreichte König Artasches die Unabhängigkeit. Tigranes der Große (95–55 v. Chr.) errichtete ein armenisches Großreich vom Kaspischen Meer bis zum Mittelmeer, das jedoch bald von den Römern zerstört wurde. Im Folgenden wurde Armenien Gegenstand eines langen Kampfes um politischen und kulturellen Einfluß zwischen dem Westen, d. h. Rom und später Byzanz, und dem Osten, d. h. den Parthern und später den Sassaniden. So wurde es 390 n. Chr. zwischen diesen beiden Machtblöcken aufgeteilt. Im Jahr 653 fiel es an die Araber. Im 9.–10. Jahrhundert entstand noch einmal ein kurzlebiges armenisches Königreich unter den Bagratiden; dieses Großarmenien zerfiel bald in verschiedene Herrschaften. Gegen Landgaben in Kappadokien und Sebasteia (Kayseri und Sivas) wurde die Souveränität über Armenien zwischen 1021 und 1064 nach und nach an die Byzantiner abgetreten. Diese verloren die Gebiete Großarmeniens jedoch im Jahr 1071 an die Seldschuken.

Von 1080–1375 blühte das Reich Kleinarmenien in Kilikien, wohin ein großer Teil der Armenier aus den Gebieten Großarmeniens im Osten geflohen war. Kilikien war schon im 10. Jahrhundert in starkem Maß von Armeniern wiederbesiedelt worden. Die Mamluken zerstörten Kleinarmenien um 1375. Der Norden Großarmeniens wurde zunächst im 12. Jahrhundert in das Georgische Reich eingegliedert, während die Mongolen im 13. Jahrhundert ganz Armenien unterwarfen. Im 14.–17. Jahrhundert eroberten die Osmanen große Teile Armeniens, um dessen östliche Teile sie mit den Persern kämpften. Von Mehmet II wurde den Armeniern der *Millet*-Status verliehen, der ihnen die gleichen Rechte wie der griechisch-orthodoxen Kirche gab. Im 19. Jahrhundert bemühte sich Rußland, an Einfluß zu gewinnen. In die Rivalitäten der europäischen Großmächte mit dem Osmanischen Reich wurden die Armenier durch ihre von außen neu geweckten Selbstständigkeitsbestrebungen mit hineingezogen. Während sie

im Osmanischen Reich bis zum ersten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts vielfach führende Stellungen in Kultur, Wirtschaft und selbst am Hof einnahmen, – und sie waren wegen ihrer engen Verbundenheit mit den osmanischen Interessen sogar als *millet-i şadiqa* (die loyale Nation) bekannt – verschlechterte sich ihre Situation durch den unter den Türken und auch in ihren eigenen Reihen aufkommenden Nationalismus – besonders dadurch, daß sich viele Armenier dem Erzfeind Rußland näherten.

Bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts hatten sich die Armenier über ihre traditionellen Siedlungsgebiete hinaus sogar bis in die westlichen Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches ausgedehnt: nach osmanischen Quellen gab es 1912 74 000 in Hüdavendigâr und 70 000 in Izmir. Nach Angaben des Patriarchats gab es weitere 530 000 Armenier in der europäischen Türkei<sup>4</sup>. Gegenseitige Anschläge führten am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts und im 1. Weltkrieg zur Massenvernichtung von Armeniern, vor allem in Ost- und Südanatolien. Nach Bevölkerungsschätzungen der armenischen Kirche lag im Jahr 1912 der Prozentsatz der armenischen Bevölkerung in den sechs sog. armenischen Provinzen (Erzurum, Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Harput, Sivas) bei 38,9%. Aus den verlässlicheren Zahlen des osmanischen Zensus ergeben sich 18,7% für dasselbe Jahr, bei einer armenischen Bevölkerungszahl für ganz Anatolien (ausschließlich Süd-Hatay) von 1 465 148<sup>5</sup>. Hunderttausende entkamen nach Europa, Syrien, in den Libanon und nach Amerika. In der Sozialistischen Sowjet-Republik Armenien leben heute etwa 2,22 Millionen Armenier, weltweit zerstreut weitere 2,78 Millionen. Durch die Kirchen, vor allem die armenisch-orthodoxe (gregorianische) Kirche, werden ihre Sprache und Kultur trotz der Zersplitterung bewahrt.

Das Christentum fand ihrer eigenen Überlieferung nach bereits in den ersten Jahrhunderten Verbreitung bei den Armeniern durch die Heiligen Thaddäus, Bartholomäus und andere Missionare. Als eigentlichen Gründer ihrer Kirche verehren sie jedoch Gregor den Erleuchteten, der um das Jahr 300 die armenische Kirche organisierte und ihr erster Katholikos wurde. König Tiridates III. erhob das Christentum um 301 zur Staatsreligion. Auf dem Konzil von Nicäa (325) war die armenische Kirche bereits vertreten.

Nach dem Zerfall des armenischen Königtums (428) und der folgenden Einsetzung eines persischen Gouverneurs hatte sich die armenische Kirche besonders gegen die persische Staatsreligion zu behaupten und entwickelte im Widerstand ihre eigene Kultur in Schrift, Literatur und Architektur. Nach dem Konzil von Chalcedon (451), dessen Beschlüsse von der ar-

<sup>4</sup> McCARTHY, 1983: 50, 110, 114.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*: 77–80, 130, 110–112.

menischen Kirche abgelehnt wurden, war ihre Geschichte allerdings auch lange Zeit geprägt von einem Tauziehen zwischen armenischer und byzantinischer Kirche, wobei die letztere darauf abzielte, die armenische Kirche zu absorbieren. Die Kirche wurde so zum einigenden Band aller Armenier, und seitdem entwickelte sich bei ihnen eine Verschmelzung von religiösem Bekenntnis und nationalem Bewußtsein. Verschiedene Unionen mit Rom seit den Kreuzzügen – wirksam erst seit der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts – haben dem Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl der Armenier keinen Abbruch getan. In den Zeiten der Verfolgungen waren alle armenischen Gruppen gleichermaßen betroffen, zumal von islamischer Seite bis heute die Unterschiede zwischen den christlichen Kirchen nur schwer verstanden werden. Dagegen werden Beziehungen von christlichen Gruppen zu auswärtigen Mächten von der Regierung sofort wahrgenommen und lösen oft heftige Reaktionen aus, wie die Geschichte der Armenier zeigt.

## 2. Westsyrer (*Aramäer*)

### 2.1. Gegenwartslage

In der Türkei leben heute etwa 40 000 westsyrische Christen. Die Mehrheit von ihnen gehört der syrisch-orthodoxen oder ‚jakobitischen‘ Kirche an. In der Türkei führt sie den Namen ‚Altsyrische Kirche‘ (*Süryani Kadim Kilisesi*). Die syrischen Katholiken zählen kaum einige tausend, die zu protestantischen Kirchen Übergetretenen nur einige hundert Mitglieder.

‚Westsyrisch‘ bedeutet Angehörigkeit von Menschen aramäischer Herkunft zu einem kirchlichen Ritus. Die westsyrischen Christen lebten mehrheitlich im Ṭūr ‘Abdīn, einem Gebirgsplateau mit ca. 160 km Ausdehnung – von der Stadt Mardin im Westen bis İdil im Osten – in der Provinz Mardin (Südosttürkei) am oberen Tigris. Heute sind nur noch etwa 10 000 von ihnen dort ansässig; die meisten syrischen Christen aus dem Bezirk von Mardin wanderten nach Istanbul ab. Die ihnen eigene Sprache ist das Ṭürōyo, eine ost-aramäische Sprache, die heute noch von einer Majorität der Westsyrer im Ṭūr ‘Abdīn gesprochen wird. Laut RITTER<sup>6</sup> gab es damals im Ṭūr ‘Abdīn ca. 20 000 Aramäisch-sprechende Menschen bei einer westsyrischen Gesamtbevölkerung von ca. 24 000.

Die Mehrheit der Westsyrer im Gebiet westlich von Midyat, in der Gegend von Mardin, haben traditionell Mardin-Arabisch (*qiltu*-Dialekt) ge-

<sup>6</sup> In: POIZAT, 1974–79: 358.

sprochen, was jedoch, da viele von ihnen nach Istanbul abgewandert sind, mehr und mehr durch das Türkische ersetzt wird. Altsyrisch (*sūrōyō*) ist nicht, wie manchmal behauptet, eine tote Sprache, die heute nur noch in der Liturgie der Ostkirchen erhalten ist, sondern von den syrischen Christen sowohl als Schriftsprache für Bücher und Zeitschriften, als auch Briefsprache verwendet. Ein Teil der syrischen Christen im nördlichen Tūr 'Abdīn spricht Kurdisch, wie die Mehrzahl ihrer dortigen Nachbarn, ein anderer Teil in Midyat auch Arabisch, sowie in İdil und einigen kleineren Dörfern im Osten.

Zentrum dieses Christentums in der Türkei ist die Kreisstadt Midyat. 1983 waren 33 Dörfer dieser Region noch von Christen bewohnt. Einige wurden seitdem aufgegeben. Von den aus dem Mittelalter bekannten 80 Klöstern blieben sechs erhalten. Hier leben noch einige Mönche und Nonnen. Man findet auch noch heute benutzte Kirchen, die seit dem 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr. fast vollständig intakt geblieben sind.

Die Lage der Christen in der Provinz Mardin ist nach der Auswanderung vieler Angehöriger seit etwa 1960 ständig schwieriger geworden. Besonders seit dem libanesischen Bürgerkrieg (um 1976) hat sich ihre Lage verschlechtert. Kurden aus dem von christlichen Milizen zerstörten Beiruter Lager Qarantina kehrten in ihre Heimat Tūr 'Abdīn zurück und rächten sich für ihre Vertreibung an den dortigen Christen, indem sie Felder verwüsteten, brandschatzten, Christen ermordeten oder entführten. Seit 1976 ergießt sich ein Strom von Asylsuchenden in die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, nach Schweden, Holland, Belgien, Österreich, in die Schweiz und nach Amerika. Erst durch die Intervention des Militärs in der Türkei vom September 1980 besserte sich die Lage der syrischen Christen. Seitdem ist der Auswandererstrom zeitweise zurückgegangen, allerdings z. T. auch wegen des Visumzwangs. Die Lage ist jedoch insgesamt unsicher.

Die wirtschaftliche Lage der im Tūr 'Abdīn zurückgebliebenen Christen ist nicht schlechter als die der übrigen Bevölkerung dort. In Midyat stellen sie trotz der Abwanderung noch einen beträchtlichen Teil des Mittelstandes. Gold- und Silberschmiedekunst, Schneiderei und Färberei, Bauhandwerk und Steinmetzarbeiten, Mühlen und Barbierläden und ein Teil auch des Handels sind noch immer christliche Domäne. Die wirtschaftlich Stärksten sind allerdings nach Istanbul oder Europa ausgewandert. Neben den mittelständischen Bürgern trifft man in Midyat auch auf eine Art christliches Proletariat. Es handelt sich um arme Bauern aus abgelegenen Dörfern, die bei dem Versuch auszuwandern, Midyat als Sprungbrett nach Istanbul oder Europa benutzen. Während die wohlhabenden Christen im allgemeinen gute - vor allem geschäftliche - Beziehungen zu den ansässigen Muslimen unterhalten, ist es in erster Linie die ärmere christliche

Dorfbevölkerung, die unter den Spannungen zwischen Volks- und Religionsgruppen und unter den politischen Krisen zu leiden hat<sup>7</sup>.

In der Landwirtschaft haben moderne Anbaumethoden bislang kaum Eingang gefunden. Nur hier und da sieht man einen Traktor; sonst ist der hölzerne Hakenpflug in Gebrauch. Auch das Saatgut wird noch auf altergebrachte Weise gewonnen. Ebenso wurden in der Viehhaltung keine neuen Wege beschritten. Nur selten werden Kühe gehalten. Ziegen und Schafe weiden in den Felsregionen und tragen zum Rückgang des noch vorhandenen Steineichenwaldes bei. Die staatliche Forstverwaltung hat kaum Erfolg mit der Einzäunung von Waldflächen, zumal das Holz des Ṭūr 'Abdīn begehrtes Handelsgut ist. Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, daß Innovationen in dieser Gegend kaum zu finden sind – auch ein wichtiger Grund für die Abwanderung der Christen. Die archaische ländliche Lebensweise scheint aber ein integraler Bestandteil der aramäischen Kultur zu sein, so daß die Abwanderung in die Städte und nach Europa den Fortbestand dieser Kultur erheblich bedroht<sup>8</sup>.

## 2.2. kurzer geschichtlicher Überblick

Einige Bücher des Alten Testaments (Esdras, Daniel) in Aramäisch werden bis in das 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. datiert, Kommentare dazu bis in das 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.<sup>9</sup> Das aramäische Schriftsystem bildete die Grundlage für sowohl das hebräische als auch das arabische Alphabet. Das Christentum in Obermesopotamien entwickelte sich bereits in den ersten Jahrhunderten nach Christus. Die syrischen Christen führen sich selbst auf die Mission durch den Apostel Thomas und die Heiligen Thaddäus, Aggai und Mari zurück. Auf dem Konzil von Nicäa (325) waren Bistümer aus dieser Region bereits vertreten. Seit dem 4. Jahrhundert erblühte besonders im Ṭūr 'Abdīn („Berg der Gottesknechte“) ein reges Klosterleben und Asketentum. Das westsyrische Christentum hatte zeitweise sein geistiges Zentrum in Edessa, dem heutigen Urfa in der Osttürkei. Einer der bekanntesten Theologen war Ephraim (Mar Afrem) von Edessa.

Im Kirchenstreit um die Natur und Person Christi und Mariä lehnten die Westsyrer die Beschlüsse des Konzils von Chalcedon (451) ab und wurden seitdem im Abendland als „Monophysiten“ bekannt. Sie selbst lehnten diese Bezeichnung immer ab. Die Ostsyrische Kirche wurde im Gegensatz dazu als „dyophysitisch“ bezeichnet. Seit 451 wurden sie aus der Gesamtkirche ausgeschlossen und im Byzantinischen Reich zeitweise ver-

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. ANSCHÜTZ, 1984: 35 f.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. POIZAT, 1974–79: 355; ANSCHÜTZ, 1984: 160.

<sup>9</sup> POIZAT, 1974–79: 353.

folgt. Als die westsyrische Kirche damals kurz vor ihrer Auflösung stand, erwuchs ihr in Jakob Baradai, Mönch und Titularbischof (gest. 578), der Retter. Nach ihrem Reformator wurden die Westsyrer in der Folge auch ‚Jakobiten‘ genannt; diesen Namen lehnen sie aber auch ab, weil sie ihre Kirche viel weiter – bis in apostolische Zeit – zurückführen.

Zeiten der Blüte wechselten mit denen des Niedergangs ab. Nach der islamischen Eroberung Obermesopotamiens um 640 erlebten die Westsyrer einen Aufschwung, der in der ‚Syrischen Renaissance‘ im 11. Jahrhundert seinen Höhepunkt fand. Später bereiteten innere Schwierigkeiten, vor allem aber äußerer Druck von seiten der Kurden und der timuridischen Çagatay, der bedeutenden westsyrischen Kirche einen Niedergang, von dem sie sich nicht mehr erholen konnte. Im Jahr 1882 wurde ihr von der Osmanischen Regierung der Status eines *millet* zuerkannt. Bemühungen der römisch-katholischen Kirche um neue Anhänger hatten bei einigen Westsyrrern Erfolg, und im 17. Jahrhundert wurde ein syrisch-katholisches Patriarchat geschaffen; die meisten katholischen Westsyrer leben aber in der Ebene von Mosul im Iraq. Im 19. Jahrhundert traten einige Aramäer unter britischem und amerikanischem Einfluß zum Protestantismus über. Einen besonders schwerwiegenden Aderlaß erlebten die westsyrischen Christen im 1. Weltkrieg, als die Kurden die syrischen Dörfer belagerten (1915). Auch in den kurzen Friedenszeiten danach konnten sie sich davon kaum erholen.

Während ihrer Blütezeit war die westsyrische Kirche von Nordsyrien über die Osttürkei und den Nordirak bis nach Persien und Indien hin verbreitet. Dort – außer im Iran – leben bis heute Anhänger der ‚syrisch-orthodoxen‘ Kirche.

Die Einengung des Spielraums dieser Kultur in einer unfreundlichen muslimischen Umgebung, ihr zahlenmäßiger Niedergang und der fortschreitende Zusammenbruch der Klöster als zentrale Bezugspunkte der Gemeinden haben zu einer in ihrer Art unerwarteten Kulturkrise geführt. Während die Westsyrer in der traditionellen Auffassung ihrer Religion, Sprache und Kultur ihre aramäische Herkunft betonten, hat sich eine neue Identitätsbewegung unter ihnen den Anspruch auf assyrische Abstammung zu eigen gemacht. Diese neue Vorstellung findet vor allem unter den Jugendlichen und den Gebildeteren Anklang. Obwohl von falschen Annahmen ausgehend, war sie zuerst von den Ostsyrrern gefördert und vertreten worden (s. u.), und gelangte über diese in Europa zu den Gastarbeitern und Flüchtlingen aus dem Tūr ‘Abdīn. In der Folge ist es in den neu entstandenen Zweigen der westsyrischen Kirche in Europa zu heftigen Meinungsverschiedenheiten gekommen, besonders in Schweden und in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, wo in Augsburg ein ‚Mesopotamien-Verein‘

gegründet worden ist, der viele junge Mitglieder hat. Die Auseinandersetzungen wurden so ernst, daß 1982 auf einer Synode in Damaskus der Gebrauch der Bezeichnungen ‚assyrisch‘ und ‚aramäisch‘ unter der Strafe der Exkommunizierung verboten und nur ‚syrisch‘ als Eigenbezeichnung zugelassen wurde. 1983 wurde jedoch der Tenor der Differenzen durch die kirchliche Erklärung beschwichtigt, daß es sich um ein weltliches Problem handele, das in der Kirche keine Unruhe stiften sollte. Der Konflikt ist jedoch symptomatisch für die Schwierigkeiten einer entwurzelten Gruppe im Kampf um die Erhaltung ihrer ethnischen Identität; derselbe Kampf droht diese Identität zu zerstören.

### 3. Ostsyrer (*Aramäer*)

#### 3.1. Gegenwartslage

Zusammen mit den Nestorianern bilden die Chaldäer als ostsyrischer Ritus eine Untergruppe der nicht-römischen Kirchen. Die ostsyrischen Christen haben von allen christlichen Gruppen innerhalb der Türkei den größten Rückgang erlebt. Zu ihnen gehören die etwa 5000–10000 sogenannten Chaldäer (*Kaldani*), die seit 1681 mit Rom uniert sind. Ihre Sprache, *Sūrit*, gehört zum östlichen Zweig der neoaramäischen Sprachgruppe. Sie lebten bis vor einigen Jahren hauptsächlich in den Provinzen Mardin, Siirt, Diyarbakır und Hakkari. Im Zusammenhang mit dem wachsenden Druck der Kurden wanderten sie im vergangenen Jahrzehnt nach Istanbul und Europa, hauptsächlich nach Frankreich aus, wo die größte chaldäische Auslandskolonie besteht. Es gibt noch acht chaldäische Dörfer in der Region zwischen Cizre und Hakkari<sup>10</sup>. Die Mehrheit der Chaldäer lebt heute im Irak, wo ihre Zahl bis zu 500 000 beträgt. In der Türkei besteht nominal das Bistum Diyarbakır; der Bischof residiert aber in Istanbul.

Von der einstmals großen Gruppe der nicht mit Rom unierten, sogenannten ‚Nestorianer‘ leben nur noch einige Hundert in den Provinzen Van und Hakkari. (CUINET schätzte ihre Zahl in der Provinz Van um das Jahr 1890 auf 92 000; dagegen beläuft sich eine osmanische Schätzung von 1912 auf 62 400 für Chaldäer und Nestorianer<sup>11</sup>. Der Schwerpunkt ihrer Anhängerschaft befindet sich heute – wie bei den Chaldäern – im Irak, wo ihre Zahl jetzt auf unter 80 000 gesunken ist. Ein großer Teil der Nestorianer lebt in den USA und in Kanada. Sie sind in der Öffentlichkeit unter

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*: 362, Appendix.

<sup>11</sup> MCCARTHY, 1983: 102–106, 184.



dem Namen ‚Assyrer‘ (*Assori*) bekannt geworden. Diesen verdanken sie dem britischen Archäologen und Konsul von Mosul Henry Layard. Nachdem er das alte Ninive wiederentdeckt und teilweise ausgegraben hatte (1845–1847), glaubte er in der christlichen Bevölkerung des Nordirak die Nachkommen der alten Assyrer erkennen zu können. Die ostsyrischen Christen, die bis dahin keine eigene staatspolitische Geschichte anführen konnten, übernahmen gerne die Position der Erben der Assyrer. Die neue Sichtweise wurde von westlichen Missionaren unterstützt und fand vor allem unter den Nestorianern großen Anklang. Die Kultivierung dieser Vorstellung über ihre Herkunft hat mittlerweile begonnen, einen zerstörerischen Einfluß auf die wahre Kultur nicht nur der Nestorianer sondern auch der Chaldäer und der Westsyrer (s. o.) auszuüben.

Die nestorianische Kirche befindet sich seit dem 1. Weltkrieg in einer permanenten Krise, hervorgerufen durch Exodus und Vertreibung, die ihre Höhepunkte in einem weiteren Schisma und in der Ermordung ihres Patriarchen (1975) in den USA fand. Deshalb sind ihre Anhänger in der Türkei ohne Seelsorger geblieben. Von den im 19. Jahrhundert zum Protestantismus übergetretenen ostsyrischen Christen ist nur eine sehr kleine Gruppe in Istanbul übriggeblieben.

### 3.2. kurzer geschichtlicher Überblick

Schon in den ersten Jahrhunderten nach Christus bildeten sich in Mesopotamien, Iran und weiter östlich Gemeinden der ‚Alten Apostolischen Kirche des Ostens‘ heraus. Bereits im 5. Jahrhundert waren die ersten Christen im persischen Reich in einer Vielzahl von Bistümern organisiert. Ihre westliche Verbreitungsgrenze fanden die Ostsyrer in Ostanatolien. Da sie als Christen bei den Persern in Verdacht standen, mit dem byzantinischen Erbfeind zu sympathisieren, sie überdies von der persischen Staatsreligion als gefährliche Konkurrenz angesehen wurden, brachten die Ostsyrer besonders in Mesopotamien einen hohen Blutzoll für ihren Glauben. Hunderttausende starben als Märtyrer.

Ihre Situation im persischen Reich besserte sich erst nach dem Konzil von Ephesus (431), auf dem die Lehren des Nestorius, Patriarch von Konstantinopel, als Häresie verdammt und Nestorius ins Exil geschickt wurde. Die Kirche im persischen Reich übernahm in den Jahren 484–486 offiziell diese Lehren. Da die Anhänger der Lehren des Nestorius nach 431 im byzantinischen Reich verfolgt wurden, änderte sich die Haltung der persischen Könige zu den Christen in ihrem Reich, und ihre Kirche erlebte eine große Blüte. In seinen Lehren vertrat Nestorius den Standpunkt, Maria sei als Mutter von Jesus, nicht als Mutter Gottes, anzusehen, und in Christus

sei die menschliche Natur mehr zu berücksichtigen. Die nach Nestorius im Abendland ‚Nestorianer‘ genannten Christen im persischen Reich konnten ihre Kirche bis nach Indien und China hin ausdehnen. Auch unter den Mongolen und Turkvölkern gewannen sie Anhänger; auf der arabischen Halbinsel fand der Nestorianismus ebenso Verbreitung und konnte den frühen Islam beeinflussen.

In islamischer Zeit machten sich die Nestorianer unentbehrlich als Ärzte, Kaufleute, Verwaltungsfachleute und Wissenschaftler, die griechische Autoren ins Arabische übersetzten und somit die griechische Kultur an die Araber weitergaben. Ihre großen Handschriftenbibliotheken waren berühmt; einige ihrer Wissenschaftler lehrten an der Universität Cordoba.

Hoffnungen der nestorianischen Kirche, die Mongolen auf ihre Seite zu ziehen und mit ihrer Hilfe einen Sieg über den Islam zu erringen, erwiesen sich als illusorisch und schwächten die Position der Kirche. Die Eroberungszüge der Çağatay unter Timur bereiteten um 1400 der blühenden nestorianischen Kirche, die in ihrer besten Zeit mehr als 80 Millionen Anhänger zählte, einen endgültigen Niedergang. Millionen kamen um, die Verbliebenen flüchteten in die unwegsamen Bergländer Ostanatoliens und Kurdistans. In den Provinzen Van und Hakkari lebten Nestorianer so in Jilo, Tkhuma, Tyari, Baz (Çanaklı) und Deize (Üzümcü), mit einem Patriarchen in Qoçanes (Konak), 20 km von Hakkari entfernt. Sie waren fast unabhängig in ihrer Verwaltung, regiert von Anführern (*malik* oder *raīs*), unter ihrem Patriarchen (Mar Šimun)<sup>12</sup>, der nach dem Erbfolgeprinzip (Neffe folgt auf Onkel) gewählt wurde. Eine Restgruppe konnte sich am Urmia-See im Nordiran und im Nordirak halten.

Weitere Verfolgungen durch Kurden dezimierten die Nestorianer auch in der Folgezeit, z. B. in den Jahren 1847 und 1849. Im 1. Weltkrieg entschieden sich die Nestorianer für die Seite der Alliierten und, angeführt von ihrem Patriarch, zogen sie im Mai 1915 geschlossen nach Urmia, um von dort mit den Russen gegen die Türken und Kurden zu kämpfen. Durch den Krieg verlor das alte christliche Volk mehr als ein Drittel seiner Angehörigen und rettete sich 1918 zu den Engländern in den Irak. Aber auch dort erlitt es ein wechselvolles Schicksal und verstreute sich über die Länder des Nahen Ostens, Europas, Nordamerikas, bis nach Australien hin. Versuche, nach dem 1. Weltkrieg in ihre Heimat Hakkari zurückzukehren, scheiterten, so daß heute kaum noch Nestorianer in der Türkei leben.

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<sup>12</sup> Vgl. POIZAT, 1974–79: 369.

## 4. Griechen

### 4.1. Gegenwartslage

Die griechisch-sprachigen Bürger der Türkei gehören überwiegend dem griechisch-orthodoxen (ökumenischen) Patriarchat von Konstantinopel an. Nur kleine Minderheiten sind katholisch oder protestantisch. Zur Jurisdiktion des griechisch-orthodoxen Patriarchen von Konstantinopel gehören außerhalb der Türkei die Mönchsrepublik Athos, Kreta, Dodekanes, West- und Mitteleuropa, Afrika, Nord- und Südamerika, Australien und Ozeanien. Patriarch und anerkanntes Oberhaupt auch der Kirche in Griechenland ist Dimitrius I, der im Phanar (Fener) in Istanbul residiert.

Bis zum 1. Weltkrieg lebten noch Millionen von Griechen im Gebiet der heutigen Türkei – heute sind es kaum 10 000. Sie sind in fünf Diözesen organisiert. Die meisten Griechisch-Orthodoxen leben in Istanbul (einschließlich der Prinzen Inseln), weitere in Antakya, Adana, Izmir und Antalya. Sie leben in der Türkei nur in Städten und gehören dort zum Mittelstand. Im Vertrag von Lausanne (1923) erhielten sie eigene Rechte als Minderheit, u. a. das Recht auf eigene Schulen. Heute gehören der Kirche noch 20 Schulen, die jedoch wegen der starken Auswanderung der Kirchenmitglieder kaum noch zu halten sind. Die griechisch-orthodoxe Bevölkerung in der Türkei fühlte sich besonders während der Zypernkrisen bedroht und wanderte vor allem deshalb aus der Türkei aus.

### 4.2. kurzer geschichtlicher Überblick

Die Griechen in der Türkei blicken auf eine lange und bedeutende Kirchengeschichte zurück. Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel wurde bald nach der Gründung dieser Stadt im 4. Jahrhundert eingerichtet. Auf dem 5. Ökumenischen Konzil in Konstantinopel (553) erhielt es den nach Rom höchsten Rang zugesprochen. Altgriechisch war Kirchensprache. Expansion im Osten und Auseinandersetzung mit Rom um die Suprematie bestimmten die Zeit bis zum 11. Jahrhundert. Nach dem Siegeszug des Islams verlor die byzantinische Kirche den größten Teil ihres Einflusbereichs und ihrer Anhänger im Orient. Zum großen Schisma mit Rom kam es 1054. Nach der Eroberung Konstantinopels durch die Kreuzfahrer (1204) wurde das Patriarchat zeitweise mit einem Oberhaupt der lateinischen Kirche besetzt. Später ging dieses Kirchenamt wieder an einen Vertreter der byzantinischen Kirche über. In der Folgezeit und bis heute konnte die Trennung der großen Kirchen nicht überwunden werden.

Eine Wende im Verständnis der Kirche trat nach der Eroberung Konstantinopels durch Mehmet II (1453) ein. Unter der osmanischen Herr-

schaft wurde die byzantinische Reichskirche zu einer griechisch-orthodoxen Volkskirche. Sie erhielt den Status eines *Millet*, dessen Führer der Patriarch wurde. Im Bereich von Kultur, Ehe- und Zivilrecht seiner Anhänger erhielt er mehr Rechte als vorher im Byzantinischen Reich. Er trug den Titel *Etnarch*, d.h. Vorsteher eines *Millet*, und vertrat die Gemeinschaft der Orthodoxen dem islamischen Staat gegenüber.

Die griechische Bevölkerung Anatoliens, die aus den alten, von der Ägäis und vom Schwarzen Meer aus zugänglichen Kolonien hervorgegangen war, war in erster Linie an den Küsten zu finden. So verzeichnete 1912 die Provinz Aydın mit 384 732 (17%) die größte griechische Bevölkerung, gefolgt von Trabzon mit 160 427 (14%), Konya mit 121 812 (7%) und Karası Sancığı (Zentrum: Balıkesir) mit 110 152 (2%); die gesamte griechische Bevölkerung zu dieser Zeit betrug 1 254 333 (7%) in Anatolien und 261 477 in Thrakien. Gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts hatten die Griechen langsam begonnen sich auch weiter im Inland niederzulassen<sup>13</sup>.

In den ersten Jahrhunderten osmanischer Herrschaft stiegen Griechisch-Orthodoxe bis in hohe Verwaltungsposten auf und übten einen großen Einfluß in Wirtschaft und Kultur aus. Im 19. Jahrhundert wendete sich jedoch das Schicksal der Griechen durch den Unabhängigkeitskampf in Griechenland und durch die europäische Großmachtspolitik, in die sich auch die Griechen Kleinasiens hineinziehen ließen. Der auf den 1. Weltkrieg folgende Versuch der alliierten Mächte, einschließlich Griechenlands, Anatolien unter sich aufzuteilen, schlug fehl. Im daraus entstehenden griechisch-türkischen Krieg (1921–22) wurden die griechischen Truppen aus Anatolien vertrieben. Die Mehrzahl der Griechen in Westanatolien floh 1922 mit den geschlagenen Truppen, gefolgt von den Griechen aus dem türkischen Teil Thrakiens und von der Schwarzmeerküste. In der Lausanner Konvention (1923) wurde der gegenseitige Austausch (*mübadele*) der restlichen griechischen bzw. türkischen Bevölkerung zwischen den Balkanstaaten und der Türkei beschlossen. Als Kriterium für die auszutauschenden Bevölkerungsgruppen wurde die religiöse und nicht etwa die ethnische oder sprachliche Zugehörigkeit festgelegt: Griechisch-Orthodoxe wurden gegen sunnitische Muslime ausgetauscht. So kam es, daß sich unter den aus der Türkei deportierten ‚Griechen‘ auch türkisch sprechende, griechisch-orthodoxe Araber aus Kilikien befanden, während katholische oder protestantische Griechen an der Auseinandersetzung gehindert wurden<sup>14</sup>. Bis 1928 wurden etwa 850 000 anatolische Griechen nach Griechenland übersiedelt (etwa 66 000 ließen sich in anderen Ländern nie-

<sup>13</sup> McCARTHY, 1983: 110–112, 115, 143.

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. DE PLANHOL, 1968: 260.

der) sowie fast alle Griechen aus türkisch Thrakien (256 635), was eine Gesamtzahl von 1 172 635 ergibt<sup>15</sup>. Dagegen zogen 400 000 Türken aus Griechenland in die Türkei. Es verblieben damals ca. 200 000 Griechen in der Türkei.

Politische Krisen zwischen der Türkei und Griechenland lösen jedoch immer wieder neue Auswanderungswellen aus, so daß heute nur noch ca. 10 000 Griechen in der Türkei leben. Der Rückgang des agilen griechischen Bevölkerungselements wirkte sich negativ auf das Wirtschaftsleben vor allem in Istanbul aus, obwohl die Griechen immer noch eine bedeutende Rolle darin spielen.

## 5. Araber

### 5.1. Gegenwartslage

Es handelt sich hierbei ganz überwiegend um Arabisch-Orthodoxe oder auch Griechisch-Orthodoxe von Antiochia; von ihren Anhängern sind noch etwa 7000 in der Türkei verblieben. Sie leben hauptsächlich im Hatay-Gebiet in der Südtürkei, das 1938 von den Franzosen an die Türkei abgetreten wurde. Abgesehen von einigen Dörfern in der Provinz Hatay (Antakya) leben diese Griechisch-Orthodoxen im Raum İskenderun, Adana, Mersin und Istanbul. Ihre Umgang- und Kirchensprache ist Arabisch, das schon im Mittelalter das Aramäische und das Griechische verdrängte. Sie gehören zum Patriarchat von Antiochia (Antakya), dessen Sitz heute in Damaskus liegt.

Die Mehrzahl der Anhängerschaft lebt heute in Syrien (etwa 1 Mill.) und im Libanon. Während sie in diesen Ländern zur Mittel- und Oberschicht gehören, spielen sie im Leben der Türkei keine Rolle mehr. Da ihre Heimat im Spannungsfeld zwischen Syrien und der Türkei und in der Nähe des wichtigen Militärhafens İskenderun liegt, befanden sich die Arabisch-Orthodoxen aufgrund ihrer arabischen Sprache oft in einer schwierigen Lage. Deshalb wanderten viele aus, in den letzten Jahren auch in die Bundesrepublik Deutschland.

Die katholische arabische Kirche in der Türkei ist noch aktiv in Antakya, İskenderun, Adana, Ankara und Istanbul.

### 5.2. kurzer geschichtlicher Überblick

Die Geschichte der Arabisch-Orthodoxen ist eng mit der des Patriarchats von Antiochia verbunden. In dieser ehemaligen römischen Provinz-

<sup>15</sup> Griechischer Zensus von 1928, zit. in: McCARTHY, 1983: 130–133, 143.

hauptstadt liegt eine der Wurzeln des Christentums. Da sich die (Arabisch-)Griechisch-Orthodoxen von Antiochia in den Konzilen von Ephesus (431) und Chalcedon (451) an die byzantinische Kirche hielten, wurden sie nicht verfolgt. Erst später hatten sie unter den Seldschuken und dann unter den Kreuzfahrern zu leiden, auch unter den Kämpfen zwischen Byzantinern und Arabern. Schon im 14. Jahrhundert wurde das Patriarchat deshalb nach Damaskus verlegt.

Im 1. Weltkrieg blieben die Arabisch-Orthodoxen eher verschont, zumal sie niemals politische Ambitionen gezeigt hatten. Jedoch wanderten Hundertertausende nach der Abtretung ihrer Gebiete an die Türkei nach Syrien und in den Libanon aus.

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### Some notes on the Karaçadırlı

RÜDIGER BENNINGHAUS

There appears to be no clear self-designation for this group of Turkish-speakers, who are known as Karaçadırlı (“black-tent-people”) or *Çadır Kürt* (“tent-Kurds”) by their neighbours in Artvin province, or as Laz in Tokat province, where the term Karaçadırlı is known, too, but not commonly used.

The Karaçadırlı originate from the Batum area (from places named Kahaber/Kakhaberi, Halvaçavur/Khelvachauri, Guniye, Hirnal/Tkhirnali, and perhaps elsewhere) where they were apparently referred to as *eşayir* (plural of *aşiret*, meaning generally tribal people with a nomadic way of life). They used to migrate to the Bilbilan summer-pasture, between Ardanuç and Ardahan (now in the Turkish province of Artvin), with their flocks of sheep and goats, as they still do. When the frontier was closed, some of them were cut off in the Çoruh valley near Borçka and Artvin, and Ardanuç. Some apparently remained in Georgia or were deported to Central Asia in November 1944 together with other peoples from that region.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Though the Karaçadırlı are not mentioned explicitly among the peoples deported, they may well have been included with those Kurds from Ajaristan that were sent to Central Asia. See: Aleksandr M. NEKRICH: *The punished peoples. The deportation and fate of Soviet minorities at the end of the Second World War*. New York 1978: 104.



According to KIRZIOĞLU<sup>2</sup>, the Karaçadırlı are pastorally migrant Mingrelians who left their country for Batum in 1878. Later on 500–600 of them are said to have moved to Artvin. Since this author does not give any proof for his assumption and since their physical appearance (darkish complexion, for example) is distinctly non-Caucasian, this origin must remain dubious.

Though travellers' reports on the Karaçadırlı are hardly to be found, one interesting remark by a German missionary, E. von Bergmann, may be relevant here:<sup>3</sup>

“Als ich in Batum lebte (1892–95), erschien alljährlich im Frühjahr ein wandernder Volksstamm, der den Türken daselbst die Felder bestellte, während die Frauen Milch in der Stadt verkauften. Sein Lager hatte dieser Stamm gewöhnlich zwischen der Stadt und dem Tschoroch. Die Leute nannten sie Kurden, sie selbst wiesen diese Bezeichnung zurück. ..., die Frauen trugen das Antlitz unverhüllt und hinten an der Jacke lange, herunterhängende buntfarbige Bänder, die fast bis auf die Hacken herabreichten, ...”

A colleague of von Bergmann who knew Kurdish stated that they did not understand that language. Von Bergmann continued:

“Daß sie nicht kurdisch, auch daß sie nicht lasisch oder sonst georgisch waren, haben mir in Batum lebende Grusier gesagt. Ich erfuhr, daß sie im Gebiete von Kars am Tschoroch zu Hause seien. Ich habe damals geglaubt, daß es Überreste der Tsannen seien, ...”<sup>4</sup>

The statement that the unknown tribe used to work in fields belonging to Turks in the Batum area sounds a little odd when compared to the present economic activities of the Karaçadırlı in Artvin province, but most of the other points in the description – their migration between Batum and the upper Çoruh, what seems to be the relatively free position of the women, and their designation as Kurds though they do not speak Kurdish – fit quite well into the picture of the Karaçadırlı as we know them today.

Because of their uncertain origin, and some problems they may have caused,<sup>5</sup> the Turkish authorities (Türk Dil Kurumu/Turkish Language

<sup>2</sup> M. Fahrettin KIRZIOĞLU: “Lazlar/Çanarlar”, in: *VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, II. sekiyon, I. cilt, Ankara 1972: 420–445, esp. p. 445.

<sup>3</sup> Cited in: C. F. LEHMANN-HAUPT: *Armenien einst und jetzt*, Bd. 1, Berlin/Leipzig 1910: 94 f.

<sup>4</sup> The description of von Bergmann “im Gebiete von Kars am Tschoroch” should not be taken as an exact location. When we compare this with what we know about the Karaçadırlı it seems that he was wrong, however, when he assumed that their primary dwelling place was the upper Çoruh valley and not the Batum area. His view that they might be remnants of the Tzani is unsubstantiated.

<sup>5</sup> KIRZIOĞLU (*ibid.*) even states that it was mainly they who occupied the law courts.

Foundation) made them the subject of a linguistic exercise in Artvin in 1933 or 1934. As a result of this, they are now inclined to consider themselves as "pure Turks", since some archaic Turkish words were found in their Turkish dialect. One word which is often mentioned by them in this context is ,*örken*' instead of ,*ip*' (cord, rope), though this in fact is standard Azeri Turkish. But besides this, some Kurdish words too form part of their speech. The question of whether they are turkicised Kurds has not yet been investigated. Older men of the group do not remember their forefathers as having spoken Kurdish or any mother tongue other than Turkish, though some Karaçadırlı still speak or understand the languages of their (former) neighbours (Georgian or Hemişli-Armenian).

The Karaçadırlı belong to the Hanefi school of Sunni Islam. They are, at least in Artvin province, generally endogamous with some exceptions. Their occupation in the Artvin area is mostly sheep-rearing; some are slaughterers. Musicians and craftsmen are on the whole not to be found among them.

In the Artvin region they have a bad reputation; especially because some of their women and girls practised or were thought to practise prostitution.<sup>6</sup> For this and other reasons they were driven out from Borçka more than a decade ago.

They have a special aversion for the Poşa, a group of turkicised, more-or-less settled Gypsies.

Some of the Karaçadırlı left Artvin as "93-refugees" fleeing from the Turco-Russian war (1876-77) and for reasons as yet not clear went to Tokat. In the 1930s, after the linguistic investigation already referred to, some (about 80 families?) of the people remaining in Artvin province were prevailed upon to move to Tokat province too. Some should have settled in Yozgat (Boğazlıyan?) but they disliked it and went back to Tokat. Years later some even returned to Artvin. There are still family ties between the two main areas.

The Karaçadırlı living in the Samsun area came there *via* Tokat. Their reputation in Tokat is apparently much better than in Artvin. They are generally called "Laz" here because of their origin in the eastern Black Sea region, though they speak no Lazic at all. One of them even presided as mayor of Turhal for 15 years; others founded a factory or engaged in trade, but most of them continued their sheep-rearing activities and started some farming. Most of them use the summer-pastures on Dumanlı

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<sup>6</sup> This is mentioned by KIRZIOĞLU (*ibid.*), too, but his description seems to be exaggerated. It fits into his concept of the brave Laz and the evil Mingrelian/Georgian, by which he seeks to cut off the Laz from the Georgian stock.

Yaylası (near Çırçır-Yıldızeli/Sivas province) and Demirözü Yaylası/Öküz Yatağı southeast of Tokat, near the border with Sivas.

No thorough study of the Karaçadırlı appears to have been made, apart from the linguistic one: this apparently remains unpublished, but is probably to be found in the archives of the Türk Dil Kurumu (the investigator may have been A. Caferoğlu).

Nevertheless the Karaçadırlı are not as "forgotten" by the Turkish authorities as it seems. In a purported top-secret report of the government (or secret service) 643 "*Aşakir*" or "*Çadır Kürdü*" are listed on p. 15 under the heading "Artvin İli Bölgesindeki Aşiretler" (Tribes in the Province of Artvin).<sup>7</sup>

The black tents from which the group takes its name, as now used in Tokat province, appear from the one sample available to be of a standard Kurdish type.

## Zur Herkunft und Identität der Hemşinli

RÜDIGER BENNINGHAUS

### *Hemşinli* – eine ethnische Gruppe?

Das Wort „Hemşin“ taucht, neben dem Vorkommen in geographischen Bezeichnungen (meist Ortschaften)<sup>1</sup>, hin und wieder als Name von Teehäusern, Restaurants u. ä. in den Städten<sup>2</sup>, von Volkstänzen<sup>3</sup>, Zeitschrif-

<sup>7</sup> Parts of this report were published in facsimile in the journal "İkibine Doğru" (Istanbul), yıl 1, sayı 51 (13.-19. 12. 1987), pp. 8-19 (*ibid.* p. 10).

Armenische Wörter sind der türkischen Schreibweise angeglichen worden.

<sup>1</sup> Z. B.: in der Provinz Rize: der alte Name des Gemeindeortes Ortaköy (Hemşin) im Kreis Pazar; die alten Namen der Dörfer Ortaklar (Hemşinbaşköy), Ortayayla (Hemşinortaköy) und Sıraköy (Hemşinaşağıköy), alle im Kreis Çamlıhemşin; Arslandere (Abuhemşin) im Kreis Fındıklı (nach dem Genel Nüfus Sayımı 1975). Außerdem in der Provinz Bolu, Kreis Akçakoca: der alte Name des Dorfes Armutlu (Hemşin/Başhemşinli?) mit der vermutlich dazugehörigen, südöstlich davon gelegenen Hemşin Yaylası (nach dem Codex-Kulturatlas, Blatt 40/31).

<sup>2</sup> Beispiele dafür findet man in den Annoncen der Zeitschriften von Hemşinli-Vereinen.

<sup>3</sup> Z. B.: *Hemşin Horonu*, *Yüksek Hemşin*, *Rize Hemşini*; es sind Tänze der *Horon*-Gattung aus der Provinz Rize und dem Küstengebiet von Artvin. Siehe: CÖNGER, 1967: 44 ff.; DEMİR-SİPAHI, 1975: Noten (ohne Text) Nr. 46; ÇAKIR, 1982: 13, AND, 1964: 20, 52.

ten<sup>4</sup> und Vereinsnamen<sup>5</sup> auf. Daß er aber auch für eine ethnische Gruppe steht, weiß außer den Bewohnern des östlichen Schwarzmeergebietes kaum jemand in der Türkei<sup>6</sup>. Bestenfalls faßt man „Hemşinli“ als Herkunftsbezeichnung (Hemşin mit dem türkischen Suffix -li) für Leute aus dem Gebiet Hemşin (Çamlıhemşin und Hemşin-Ortaköy) auf und „regionalisiert“ damit eine ethnische Gruppe, was einer (ungewollten?) Türkisierung gleichkommt.<sup>7</sup>

Gleichwohl findet man bei einigen türkischen Autoren, die sich mit dem Gebiet, in dem die Hemşinli leben, beschäftigt haben, die Bestätigung der Auffassung, daß man es hier mit einer eigenen Ethnie zu tun hat, was den Nachbarn der Hemşinli, hauptsächlich Lasen und Georgier, ohnehin klar ist<sup>8</sup>.

Neben den Hemşinli in der Provinz Rize (eben Çamlıhemşin und Umgebung) gibt es eine zweite Gruppe gleichen Namens in den Kreisen Hopa und vereinzelt Borçka in der Provinz Artvin. Beide Gruppen weisen einige

<sup>4</sup> Z. B.: „Hemşin“ (Istanbul, ab ca. 1960/61), „Yeşil Hemşin“ (Ankara, ab ca. 1975); beides sind natürlich Zeitschriften von Hemşinli-Vereinen.

<sup>5</sup> Z. B.: „Hemşin Kültür ve Kalkındırma Derneği“ (Hemşin Kultur- und Entwicklungsverein, Ankara), „Hemşin Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşma Derneği“ (Hemşin Solidaritäts- und Hilfsverein, Istanbul).

<sup>6</sup> In den Protokollen der Türkischen Großen Nationalversammlung (Türk Büyük Millî Meclisi, Zabıt Ceridesi, 1. devre, cilt 1, 1959: 221) findet man unter dem Datum des 4. 5. 1336 h (1918) einen Abgeordneten von Lazistan, Hemşinli Necati genannt. Es geht daraus jedoch nicht hervor, ob das als geographische Herkunftsbezeichnung oder für die ethnische Zugehörigkeit benutzt wurde.

<sup>7</sup> Ähnlich drückt sich MEEKER, 1971: 341 aus: „The Hemşin are probably farther along [als die Lasen, Anm. R. B.] in becoming no more than a specific regional community of Turks.“ Neben der aus Unwissenheit resultierenden „Regionalisierung“ ist allerdings auch eine staatliche und pseudo-wissenschaftliche „Wegregionalisierung“ von islamischen Minderheiten in der Türkei festzustellen, indem man sie als lediglich regionale Variante des Türkentums darstellt. Das betrifft vor allem die Kurden („Bergtürken“, „Kurdentürken“), aber z. B. auch Lasen („Schwarzmeertürken“, „Schwarzmeerleute“) und Tscherkessen („nordkaukasische Türken“). Der türkische Unterrichtsminister hatte am 8. 12. 1925 unterscheidende Stammesbezeichnungen verboten („Alle sind Türken“), nach JÄSCHKE/PRITSCH, 1929: 99. Ein Zitat aus einem Kommentar in der türkischen Zeitung Hüriyet vom 7. 6. 1984: 2 macht die herrschende Meinung ebenfalls recht deutlich: „Es gibt keine Lasen, Tscherkessen, Tataren, Aserbeidschaner, Kurden, Armenier und Juden. Es gibt nunmehr lediglich Türken, die stolz auf ihr ‚Türkentum‘ sind.“ (Übersetzung und Faksimile des Artikels in: BOLDT [Hrsg.], 1985: 6.)

<sup>8</sup> TARKAN, 1973: 24, 58; OĞUZ, 1976: 202 und indirekt selbst ein Nationalist wie KIRZI-OĞLU, 1966b: 4100, wenn er z. B. die Hemşinli als – wenn auch türkischen – „boy“ (Stamm) bezeichnet oder etwa von „millî-Hemşinli inanış“ (national-Hemşinli Glaubensvorstellung) spricht. TANDOĞAN, 1968, der drei Hemşinli-Dörfer in seinem Aufsatz behandelt, spricht jedoch nicht einmal von „Hemşinli“, ebensowenig wie İNANDIK, 1958. Beide hielten die Bezeichnung möglicherweise für gefährlich, da Separatismus-verdächtig. AYARTEPE, offenbar ein lasischer Rechtsanwalt, erkennt die Arbeit unvoreingenommener Historiker an und bezeichnet die Hemşinli als islamisierte Armenier (1976: 4).

Unterschiede auf, die es fraglich erscheinen lassen, ob man sie zu einer Ethnie zusammenfassen kann.

Aus beiden Gebieten, vor allem aus dem östlichen (Provinz Artvin), sind in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts Bevölkerungsteile in die NW-Türkei abgewandert, wo sie einzelne Dörfer in den Kreisen Karasu (Provinz Sakarya) und Akçakoca (Provinz Bolu) gegründet haben (siehe Liste der Hemşinli-Siedlungen in diesem Band und den Abschnitt ‚Auswanderungen‘).

Wenn man die Bevölkerung der uns bekannten Hemşinli-Dörfer zusammenrechnet, bekommt man für 1975 etwa 15–23 000 westliche und fast 25 000 östliche Hemşinli (jeweils Minimum). Eine unbekannte, jedoch nicht unbedeutende Zahl von Hemşinli lebt in den großen Städten, besonders in Ankara, Izmir und Istanbul<sup>9</sup>, so daß man insgesamt für beide Gruppen 50–60 000 Menschen schätzen kann, eine Bevölkerungsgruppe also, die es wohl verdient, in einer Aufzählung der Minderheiten der Türkei erwähnt zu werden, was allerdings nur selten geschieht. Die Hemşinli sind eine wenig bearbeitete Gruppe.

### *Zur Sprache der Hemşinli*

Die östlichen Hemşinli sprechen als Muttersprache bzw. als Zweitsprache neben dem Türkischen eine westarmenische Mundart<sup>10</sup>, während heutzutage die westliche Gruppe lediglich einen markanten türkischen Dialekt spricht. Das Armenisch der Hopa-Hemşinli wird von Türkei-Armeniern im allgemeinen verstanden, umgekehrt jedoch kaum.

Die Hemşinli nennen ihre Sprache jedoch nicht Armenisch, sondern *Hemşince/Hemşinlice*. So haben die Hemşinli, was für ihre Identität bezeichnend ist, bei der Volkszählung von 1965 nicht angegeben, daß sie Armenisch sprechen<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> PASTIRMA, 1970: 24f., gibt einen Prozentsatz von 36,5 der Bevölkerung der Gemeinde Hemşin (Ortaköy) an, die in den Städten leben soll, und zwar davon 39,9% in Ankara, 25,1% in Izmir und 24,8% in Istanbul.

<sup>10</sup> GEIGER et al., 1959: 46. DUMÉZIL, 1964 und 1965 gibt einige Texte und eine grammatische Darstellung des Dialektes. Der armenische Linguist Ararat Garibian hält das Hemşince für am nächsten mit dem Dialekt der Armenier aus der Gegend zwischen Sivas, Şebinkarahisar (Prov. Giresun) und Arapkir (Prov. Malatya) verwandt (nach VARTANYAN, 12./13. 2. 1983: 2). Herrn Mesruf Bulduk (Köln) gebührt Dank für den Hinweis auf VARTANYAN's Aufsatz und eine teilweise Übersetzung des armenischen Textes. Herrn Michael Jekhische Dawidjan (Köln) sei für die mündliche Übersetzung des größten Teils des Textes gedankt.

<sup>11</sup> Genel Nüfus Sayımı, 1965: 185: für die gesamte Provinz Artvin ist nur eine armenischsprachige Person aufgelistet.

Das Türkisch der Hopa-Hemşinli unterscheidet sich kaum von dem der lasischen Nachbarn, während hingegen das der westlichen als ein eigener Dialekt aufgefaßt werden kann<sup>12</sup>.

Auch die westlichen Hemşinli haben einmal Armenisch gesprochen, es ist jedoch unbekannt bis wann; entgegen anderslautenden Hinweisen vermutlich nicht mehr Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts<sup>13</sup>. Heute kann sich im Hemşinli-Gebiet niemand daran erinnern bzw. es gibt keine orale Tradition, daß man dort jemals Armenisch gesprochen hat<sup>14</sup>. Allerdings finden sich in ihrer türkischen Umgangssprache noch einige Wörter, die offenbar armenischen Ursprungs sind, aber wohl nicht als solche angesehen werden<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> GÜNAY, 1978: 18 (Karte der Dialektgruppen der Provinz Rize); auf die Besonderheiten des Dialekts, die in dieser linguistischen Abhandlung nachgelesen werden können, soll hier nicht eingegangen werden. Übrigens findet man dort unter anderem auch einige Textproben. Völlig realitätsfern, aber wohl mit Absicht, ist ALBAYRAK's, eines Hemşinli, Äußerung (1979: 4), daß die Sprache der Dörfler von Hemşin „Öz-Türkisch“ wäre und dem İstanbuler Türkisch sehr nahe stehen würde. Auch KIRZIOĞLU, 1966 b: 4104, spricht von einem oğuzischen Dialekt. Er muß, was die östlichen Hemşinli betrifft, zwar zugeben, daß sie Armenisch sprechen, meint jedoch, daß dieses mit „Alt-Oğuzisch“ gemischt wäre und versucht die Zahl der Armenisch-Sprecher zu minimalisieren.

<sup>13</sup> Wenn DUMÉZIL, 1964 und 1965, von armenisch-sprachigen Muslimen aus Hemşin schreibt, so beruht das auf einem Mißverständnis bzw. einer Verwechslung mit dem Hemşinli von Hopa, wo allerdings kein Ort mit Namen Hemşin existiert. Tatsächlich liegt auch Ardala, das in einem Aufsatz DUMÉZILS (1965) als Heimatdorf seines Informanten genannt wird, nicht in der Provinz Rize, sondern im Kreis Hopa (Artvin). DUMÉZIL war offenbar nicht in der Gegend, sondern hat Hemşinli in Istanbul befragt. Lukas Indjidjian berichtete 1806, daß in Hemşin noch Armenisch gesprochen wurde (nach DASHIAN, 1922: 29 f. und RITTER, 1858: 927). BİŞKYAN, ein armenischer Mönch, der zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts (1817–19 veröffentlichte er seinen Reisebericht in Armenisch) das Gebiet bereist hat, schrieb ebenfalls davon, daß die gesamte Bevölkerung von Hemşin damals Armenisch gesprochen hat (1969: 63 f.). SMITH & DWIGHT, 1834: 457 berichteten, daß zu jener Zeit viele Frauen in Hemşin noch keine andere Sprache als Armenisch beherrscht haben. Um einen Fehler dürfte es sich vermutlich bei der von BAKRADSE, 1877: 355 und 366 wiedergegebenen Bemerkung des russischen Obersten G. Kasbek handeln, nach der es eine armenische Bevölkerung in fünf Dörfern, u. a. einem Dorf „Klein-Chemschin“, an den Quellen des Flusses Chohe (Hopa) gab, die Muslime waren und nur noch Türkisch sprachen.

<sup>14</sup> Diese Erfahrung machte auch MEEKER, 1971: 341. Es sei dahingestellt, ob es sich um Verdrängung oder Verleugnung dabei handelt.

<sup>15</sup> ALTAŞ, offenbar eine Hemşinli-Frau, gibt in einem Aufsatz unter der interessanten Überschrift „Hemşinoloji“ in einer Zeitschrift eines Hemşinli-Vereins eine Wörterliste (1969: 14 f.), in der neben türkischen (Dialekt) und möglicherweise auch aus dem Griechischen stammenden Vokabeln auch einige vermutlich armenische zu finden sind, z. B.: *agpenec* (Misthaufen), *aklecut* (Hahn), *varek* (Hahn), *kokneç* (Schürze), *poçat* (kurz, klein), *hodvenik* (Stiefel der Hemşinli), *tiz* (Laus), *murunç* (Lippen), *şancvel* (schmutzig) und andere mehr. ALTAŞ fragt (sich) nicht, aus welcher Sprache diese Wörter denn wohl stammen könnten, von Armenisch wird nicht geredet. Vielsagend zweideutig ist allerdings ihr Satz: „*Dil doğdu, din doğdu ... dil değışti, din değışti ...*“ (Eine Sprache wurde geboren, eine Religion wurde geboren ... eine Sprache änderte sich, eine Religion änderte sich ...). Es wäre eine Aufgabe für Linguisten, die sowohl des Griechischen, Armenischen als auch des Türkischen mächtig sind, der Etymologie der 136 Wörter der Liste nachzugehen. Eine kürzere Liste umgangssprachlicher Vokabeln der Hemşinli hat KIBAR, 1979 (?): 16 zusammengestellt.

Weiterhin sind zahlreiche alte Dorf- und Yayla-(Alm-)Namen im westlichen Hemşinli-Gebiet, die heute noch verwendet werden, nichttürkischer, zum Teil wiederum armenischer Herkunft<sup>16</sup>. Schließlich trugen einige Hemşinli-Familien dort vor der Namensreform (28. 6. 1934) teilweise armenische Familiennamen, wie es scheint<sup>17</sup>.

### *Die Herkunft der Hemşinli und ihr Name*

Die Herkunft des Namens Hemşin/Hemşen/Hamşen und damit die Geschichte der Hemşinli steht in besonderer Weise mit ihrer ethnischen Identität in Verbindung und hat gleichzeitig politische Dimensionen.

Der Volksetymologie der Hemşinli können wir verschiedene Erklärungen entnehmen: Nach der ersten sollen einmal zwei Brüder, Hem/Ham und Şen/Şin (die biblischen Gestalten?), die armenische Christen waren, aus der Gegend von Kars (Ani) oder Erzurum mit ihren Tieren in das Gebiet südlich von Atina (Pazar), d. h. ins heutige Hemşin-Gebiet gekommen sein. Eine andere Erklärung scheint dem historischen Kern näher zu kommen: Ein Fürst aus dem Gebiet Amatuni (westlich des Sevan-Sees in Armenien), Hamam mit Namen, soll den verwüsteten Ort Dampur/Tambur (im heutigen Hemşin-Gebiet) wieder aufgebaut und aufblühen gelassen haben (Türk.: *şenlendirmek*), so daß der Ort den Namen „Hamamşen“ und eben später zusammengezogen zu Hamşen/Hemşen/Hemşin bekam<sup>18</sup>. Eine weitere Theorie türkisiert die Ortsbezeichnung völlig, so daß es nun die Bedeutung „gleich (*hem*) blühend/heiter (*şen*)“ bekommt<sup>19</sup>. Schließlich

<sup>16</sup> Z. B. vermutlich die Namen folgender Dörfer (von Hemşinli und benachbarten Lasen): Çinçiva, Guvant, Hançkun, Varoş, Makalisgirit (von STRATIL-SAUER, 1964: 20 für Alt-Griechisch gehalten), u. a. m. Recht häufig vorkommende Ortsnamen mit der Endung *-vat* mögen ebenfalls armenischen Ursprungs sein, weiterhin Yayla-Bezeichnungen wie: Amlakit, Apevanak, Çermakçur, Elevit, Ğacivanak (Hacıvanak), Hodoçur, Kadovit, Karmık, Kavrun, Palakçur, Palovit, Tafteni, Tirovit u. a. m. Eine Reihe armenischer Ortsnamen mit der Endung *-vit* findet sich bei HÜBSCHMANN, 1904. Siehe auch eine weitere Liste in der Zeitschrift Seyran (Pokut) vom 28. 2. 1969: 20 und BİTİŞKYAN, 1969: 64, Anm. 16.

<sup>17</sup> Beispiele: Amedanç, Andun, Arekel(oğulları), Ayliyanc/Ayliyar, Ezmuç(oğulları), Hervenik, Kapidiyan, Koropi, Noret, Norev(oğlu). Ein in Trabzon lebender Hemşinli, F. Kepepek, teilte neben einer Reihe früherer türkischer Familiennamen freundlicherweise weitere mit, die wohl armenischer Herkunft sind: Apeloğlu, Aratinoğlu, Aruçoğlu, Avedikoğlu, Kerdelikoğlu, Kirkoroğlu, Koveleçoğlu, Markitoğlu, Mazikoğlu, Meğdesioğlu, Midiçoğlu, Sulikoğlu, Şadaraçoğlu u. a. m. Es scheint, daß solche Familiennamen vermutlich armenischen Ursprungs bei den östlichen Hemşinli seltener waren und überwiegend türkische vorkamen. Namen wie: Mustoğlu, Potshoğlu, Takoçoğlu, Punsoğlu, Kotiloğlu klingen (bis auf die Endungen) allerdings nicht gerade türkisch. – Zum Gesetz über die Einführung von Familiennamen vom 28. 6. 1934 siehe JÄSCHKE, 1951: 52 f.

<sup>18</sup> KIRZIOĞLU, 1966 b: 4100 f.

<sup>19</sup> MEEKER, 1971: 341.

wird aus dem Wörterbuch des Maḥmūd al-Qāšgharī das Wort „*emşen*“ in der Bedeutung von Lammfell herangezogen und man kommt so zu einem Türkenstamm, dessen Charakteristikum es war, Lammfelle zu tragen<sup>20</sup>. Davon abgeleitet ist in einer Erzählung von einem einstmals im Iran lebenden Oğuzen-Stamm der Emşen die Rede, der wegen seines starken Familienzusammenhaltes von den Persern „*Hemnişin*“ (wörtlich: zusammenwohnen) genannt worden sein soll, was wiederum mit der Zeit zu Hemşin wurde<sup>21</sup>.

Bevor wir nun auf verlässlichere Quellen zur Geschichte der Hemşinli eingehen, wollen wir den offenbar recht einflußreichen Autor KIRZIOĞLU zu Wort kommen lassen, der, wie es scheint, bestrebt ist, möglichst jeden, mit einem urtürkischen „Stammbaum“ zu versorgen<sup>22</sup>. Nach einer seiner Theorien sind die Hemşinli ein Stamm (Türk.: *boy*) der Balkaren<sup>23</sup>, jenes Turkvolkes im Kaukasus, dessen Sprache dem kiptschakisch-türkischen Zweig (also nicht dem oğuzischen !) zugerechnet wird<sup>24</sup>. An anderer Stelle bezeichnet er sie jedoch als einen alten Oğuzen-Stamm und, was wiederum ein Widerspruch ist, als Arsakiden-Abkömmlinge<sup>25</sup>. Die Parther und ihre Dynastie, die Arsakiden (ca. 247 v.-227 n. Chr.), waren eben kein Turkvolk, sondern iranischer Herkunft<sup>26</sup>.

KIRZIOĞLU beginnt damit, daß etwa Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. die Vorfahren der Hemşinli zusammen mit den Arsakiden aus Khorasan in das Gebiet von Amadan/Hemedan (Hamadan) gekommen und dann dort

<sup>20</sup> PASTIRMA, 1970: 7.

<sup>21</sup> MUSLUOĞLU, 1968: 7.

<sup>22</sup> In der Zeitschrift *Hemşin*, Jg. 7, Nr. 4 (1968): 37 ist ein Artikel von KIRZIOĞLU für die nächste Ausgabe angekündigt, die der Verfasser allerdings bisher nicht bekommen konnte. KIRZIOĞLU's Theorien über die Herkunft der Hemşinli scheinen unter ihnen relativ verbreitet zu sein, ein Beispiel dafür, welchen Einfluß ein einzelner (als solcher akzeptierter) Wissenschaftler auf die Identität einer Bevölkerungsgruppe haben kann, vor allem wenn ein Bedürfnis nach einer bestimmten Interpretation der Vergangenheit der Gruppe besteht. KIRZIOĞLU's aus Nationalismus geborene Unwissenheit ist allerdings andererseits auch auf Kritik gestossen, siehe FEURSTEIN, 1983: 33 f. und 117, Anm. 13. Er bemerkt dort zu dessen Einfluß: „Die Fälschungen dieses Dozenten müssen gelehrt und teilweise selbst in wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten propagiert werden“ (ebd. 34). Weitere Kritik bei AKUZUM, 1971; ÖZKAN, 1970. Eine „Würdigung“ der Person KIRZIOĞLU's findet sich bei ÖNDER, 1964.

<sup>23</sup> Bisher konnte eine Arbeit KIRZIOĞLU's, worin er diese Theorie äußert, nicht gefunden werden. Bei GÜNAY, 1978: 21 wird sie ihm zugeschrieben und TÜYLÜOĞLU, offenbar ein Hemşinli, wiederholt die Passage wortwörtlich in der *Hemşinli-Zeitschrift Kale* (1979: 27), ohne allerdings eine Quelle dafür anzugeben.

<sup>24</sup> CAFEROĞLU, 1983: 49 f.; GEIGER et al., 1959: 58 f.

<sup>25</sup> KIRZIOĞLU, 1966 b: 4099-4104.

<sup>26</sup> Siehe u. a. Art. „Parthia“, in: DER KLEINE PAULY, 4 (1972): 532-537 und FRYE, 1984: besonders 205-247. Die Gleichsetzung von Arsakiden und Amaduni ist eine weitere Erfindung KIRZIOĞLU's, wie es scheint. MOSES von CHORENE (1869: 116) berichtete davon, daß man die Amaduni für ursprüngliche Juden hielt, doch ist das eben als eine Legende wiedergegeben und nicht, wie KIRZIOĞLU, 1966 b: 4101 anzunehmen scheint, als geschichtliche Tatsache.



einige Jahrhunderte geblieben sein sollen. Ihr Name „Amaduni“ wird von der Stadt Hamadan abgeleitet. Diese Amaduni/Amatuni sollen im Jahre 604 in die Gegend des Flusses Çoruh gewandert sein und 620 dann ins heutige Hemşin-Gebiet<sup>27</sup>. Wenngleich er, GROUSSET<sup>28</sup> folgend, über die Amaduni zu berichten weiß, daß sie dem Hof der Arsakiden nahe standen und ihr Hauptsitz Osakan (Oshakan), westlich des Sevan-Sees, war, so erfährt man von ihm nicht, daß sie eine armenische Adelsfamilie waren<sup>29</sup>. Der Amaduni-Fürst Hamam, Sohn des Shapuh und Neffe des in den Quellen als Prinz der Georgier bezeichneten Vashtian Beg war es, der seine Leute um 620 in die Gegend unterhalb des Kaçkar-Gebirges geführt und den zerstörten und verfallenen Ort Dampur/Tambur<sup>30</sup> wieder aufgebaut haben soll, der dann nach ihm den Namen Hamam-a-şen bekam<sup>31</sup>. KIRZIOĞLU erwähnt nicht, daß „-şen“ im Armenischen „erbaut, bewohnt“ bedeutet<sup>32</sup>, sondern leitet es, wie oben erwähnt, vom Türkischen „şenlik“ ab.

Für die Einwanderung der armenischen Amaduni geben andere Quellen allerdings eine andere Zeit an. Die arabische Besetzung Armeniens zwang viele Bewohner zur Auswanderung, so unter anderem 12 000 Männer mit Frauen und Kinder unter der Führung eben jenes Shapuh Amaduni und seines Sohnes Hamam nach Tambur, und zwar 788 oder 791<sup>33</sup>.

Wie KIRZIOĞLU dazu kommt, die Amaduni zu Oğuzen zu erklären, bleibt unklar. Den heutigen Hemşinli bescheinigt er: „*Bütün Hemşenliler, en güzel Oğuz/Türkman tipinde ...*“ (alle Hemşinli sind vom schönsten Oğuzen/Turkmenen-Typus), eine Feststellung, die, wenn man Hemşinli einmal gesehen hat, recht merkwürdig anmutet<sup>34</sup>.

Nun, an der Einwanderung von Armeniern in das abgelegene Berggebiet von Hemşin im 7. oder 8. Jahrhundert kann kein Zweifel bestehen. Möglicherweise kamen später noch weitere hinzu, als das armenische Ba-

<sup>27</sup> KIRZIOĞLU, 1966b: 4100 f.

<sup>28</sup> GROUSSET, 1973: 293.

<sup>29</sup> Siehe dazu auch LANG, 1978: 267.

<sup>30</sup> Die KIEPERT'sche Karte von Kleinasien (1844) zeigt Tampur (mit Hemschin bzw. Hamamaschen gleichgesetzt) weder in der Gegend von Hemşin-Ortaköy noch von Çamlıhemşin, sondern verlegt es weiter südwestlich, an den Oberlauf des Firtina-Flusses, im Gebiet etwa zwischen Zilkale und Yazlık/Varoş.

<sup>31</sup> KIRZIOĞLU führt J. MAMIKONIAN (nach LANGLOIS, 1867: 381) dafür an (Geschichte von Taron). DASHIAN, 1922: 22 läßt die Hamam-Geschichte im Jahr 627/628 spielen.

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. HÜBSCHMANN, 1904: 386, 442; er listet auch noch weitere armenische Ortsnamen mit dem Suffix -şen auf. Siehe auch: DASHIAN, 1922: 22, Anm. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Die erste Jahreszahl nach KRIKORIAN, 1977: 46 f., die zweite nach LAURENT, 1919: 193, Anm. 2. GHÉVOND, 1856: 162 gibt kein genaues Jahr dafür an, ebensowenig STEPHANOS VON TARON, 1907: 99 f.

<sup>34</sup> KIRZIOĞLU, 1966b: 4102. Es sei nebenbei bemerkt, daß man in dem Standardwerk über die Oğuzen von SÜMER, 1980 derartiges vergeblich suchen wird.

gratiden-Reich in der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts unterging<sup>35</sup>. Auch scheint es so, als hätten Hamams Leute bei Tambur schon Christen vorgefunden, denn ein Bischof wird dort erwähnt<sup>36</sup>. Allerdings könnten diese auch Griechen gewesen sein.

BRYER meint bei den Hemşinli einige gemeinsame Züge mit dem antiken Volk der Tzanen zu finden, bleibt dafür jedoch ebenso Belege schuldig wie für seine Äußerung, daß sie zwischen dem siebten und elften Jahrhundert von den Bagratiden aus İspir (südlich des Hemşin-Gebietes) armenisiert worden wären<sup>37</sup>. Bei dem heute nur noch im Sommer besiedelten Dorf Elevit (Eliovit, gehört zu Çamlıhemşin) gab es einst ein berühmtes armenisches Kloster, das des Hl. Khatshik (Haçikâr). Nach dem Kloster trug die dortige Diözese den Namen Khatshekar<sup>38</sup>.

Ein halbautonomes Fürstentum Hemşin (etwas anderes als die bis ins 19. Jahrhundert existierenden Herrschaften der *derebeyler*/Talherren?) soll bis 1489 bestanden haben. Davon sind einige Herrschernamen überliefert: Arakel, David, Vart, Veke, David II.<sup>39</sup>

Über die Besiedlung des Gebietes von Hopa mit Armeniern fehlen uns genauere Angaben; möglicherweise geschah sie etwa zur gleichen Zeit wie im westlichen Hemşin-Gebiet. Ob einmal beide Gebiete geographisch verbunden gewesen waren, kann nur spekuliert werden<sup>40</sup>.

Über die Jahrhunderte bis zur Islamisierung könnte eventuell noch bisher kaum ausgewertetes Archivmaterial weitere Auskunft geben<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> KRİKORIAN, 1977: 47; DASHIAN, 1922: 23 f.

<sup>36</sup> J. MAMIKONIAN, nach LANGLOIS, 1867: 381.

<sup>37</sup> BRYER, 1966: 193.

<sup>38</sup> DASHIAN, 1922: 28; BİJİŞKYAN, 1969: 63. Das Kloster soll zu Zeiten des letzteren Autors auch ein Wallfahrtsort für Muslime gewesen sein. Vielleicht stand es auf dem Bergrücken direkt oberhalb von Elevit, der heute „Kilise Sırtı“ (Kirchenrücken) genannt wird, wo zwar noch einige bearbeitete Steine, jedoch keine Mauern mehr zu sehen sind. Spekuliert werden kann auch, ob der Name der Yayla Hacivanak mit Haçik in Verbindung steht, denn *-vanak* (auch *-vanak*?) bedeutet im Armenischen „Kloster“ (HÜBSCHMANN, 1904: 388). Vgl. auch den Namen des in der Nähe gelegenen Kaçkar-Gebirges.

<sup>39</sup> VARTANYAN, 15. 2. 1983: 2; woher er diese Information hat, erwähnt er leider nicht.

<sup>40</sup> Die beiden Gebiete werden heute vor allem durch den Kreis Arhavi getrennt. Außerdem reichen weder die Hemşinli-Dörfer von Hopa noch die von Findıklı in die Nähe seiner Grenzen, und auch zwischen Çamlıhemşin und Ardeşen ist das Siedlungsgebiet nicht geschlossen. Ob einige armenische Dörfer lasisiert worden sind, wie FEURSTEIN, 1983: 118, Anm. 1 zu Kap. 6, für Dutha (zu Ardeşen) wegen des Vorhandenseins von Webstühlen vermutet, kann mangels weiteren Materials nicht beantwortet werden.

<sup>41</sup> DASHIAN, 1922: 28 erwähnt Manuskripte bei den Mekhitaristen in Wien und Venedig und im British Museum. Vielleicht findet sich auch in Yerevan noch Material.

*Die Islamisierung*

Zur Zeit des Sultans Selim I. (1512–20) sollen nach osmanischen Urkunden (in der Wiedergabe durch KIRZIOĞLU) Hemşinli-Dörfer wie Abu, Zugo (beide Findıklı) und Babuçikha (?) bereits muslimisch gewesen sein, das letztere galt sogar als „*Müslümân-i Kadîm*“, d. h. als bereits vor der Eroberung Trabzons (1461) islamisch geworden<sup>42</sup>. Als der Spanier Clavijo 1405 das Gebiet bereiste, sollen die westlichen Hemşinli sich im Prozeß der Islamisierung befunden haben<sup>43</sup>. Ob diese Interpretation jedoch richtig ist, kann bezweifelt werden<sup>44</sup>.

Nach osmanischen Registern des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts gab es im Distrikt (*kaza*) Hemşin 457 christliche und 214 muslimische Haushaltungen<sup>45</sup>. Man kann annehmen, daß die Islamisierung der Hemşinli sich Jahrzehnte oder noch länger hingezogen hat und christliche und muslimische Hemşinli nebeneinander existiert haben, wobei vermutlich die Annahme des Islams nur äußerlich war, also neben den eigentlichen Christen die übrige Bevölkerung als Krypto-Christen – Kêskês, wie man in dem Gebiet sagte – anzusehen war<sup>46</sup>.

Es mag hier erwähnt werden, daß die Hemşinli auch einige über die Region hinaus bekannte Kirchenmänner hervorgebracht haben, z. B. den Kopisten Hoannes (Johannes) Hamschentsi, der 1497 gestorben sein soll<sup>47</sup>.

SMITH und DWIGHT erhielten von einem Armenier aus Trabzon die Information, daß die Hemşinli erst seit etwa 200 Jahren, also seit Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts Muslime geworden wären<sup>48</sup>. DASHIAN setzt den Beginn der Islamisierung erst gegen Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts an, WIXMAN spricht vom Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts<sup>49</sup>. Nach Indjidjian (um 1806) sollen die Dörfer Goluna (Kolona, heute Zilkale), Koschdintz, Amokta (Şen-

<sup>42</sup> KIRZIOĞLU, 1966 a: 4039; die Primärquelle ist das „Trabzon Mufassal Dirlik Defteri“ (umfassendes Einkommensregister von Trabzon), das im Başbakanlık Arşivi (Archiv des Ministerpräsidentenamtes) in Ankara liegt.

<sup>43</sup> BRYER, 1966: 19f. und 1977/78: 54.

<sup>44</sup> Aus CLAVIJO, 1859 (1970): 198 ist jedoch nicht ersichtlich, daß die Hemşinli – wenn man die dort erwähnten armenischen Christen nördlich von İspir überhaupt als Hemşinli ansehen kann – zu der Zeit bereits zum Islam neigten. Allein aus dem Hinweis, daß sie einen lokalen muslimischen Herrscher statt eines christlichen (mit dem sie unzufrieden waren) akzeptiert hatten, kann das wohl nicht gefolgert werden.

<sup>45</sup> GÖKBİLGİN, 1962: 323.

<sup>46</sup> DASHIAN, 1922: 30, 34.

<sup>47</sup> Ebd.: 27.

<sup>48</sup> SMITH/DWIGHT, 1834: 457.

<sup>49</sup> DASHIAN, 1922; WIXMAN, 1979: 1. Wahrscheinlich geht WIXMANS Annahme auf Lukas Indjidjian (Geographie, Venedig 1806, armenisch) zurück, der die Islamisierung Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts/Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts ansetzt (nach BIŞIŞKYAN, 1969: 64, Anm. 16).

köy), Mjezdmun (Mezmun Mahallesi, beim Dorf Ülkü), Shanyndnotz, Molewintz (Mollaveys/Ülkü), Usgurda, Schentschiwa (Çinçiva/Şenyuva), Kuschiwa (Yolkıy), Wortnentz (Ortnenç/Ortanköy), Magrewintz (Makrevis, Viertel von Çamlıhemşin), Chabak, Njerki- und Wjeri Wischa (Viçesüfla und Viçeulya/Aşağı- und Yukarı-Viçe) und vor allem Jeghiowid (Elevit/Yaylaköy) noch jeweils einen, wenn auch kleinen Anteil an christlicher Bevölkerung gehabt haben<sup>50</sup>.

Wie die Islamisierung im einzelnen vonstatten ging, ist nicht genügend dokumentiert. Die unerträgliche Steuerlast wird als ein Grund für den Übertritt zum Islam angegeben<sup>51</sup>. Hemşinli, die in das südwestlich von Hemşin gelegene Sev Get-Gebiet (türk.: Karadere), das Tal an dessen Ausgang Araklı (Provinz Trabzon) liegt, abgewandert waren, sollen dort im 18. Jahrhundert recht brutal zum Glaubenswechsel gezwungen worden sein, wobei sich ein Molla aus Sürmene besonders hervorgetan haben soll (um 1708–10)<sup>52</sup>. Übrigens sind zu jener Zeit auch Hemşinli nach Kurşunlu (?), als zu Çarşamba in der Provinz Samsun gehörig angegeben) emigriert, wo sie zumindest bis ins 19. Jahrhundert Christen geblieben sein sollen<sup>53</sup>. Weiterhin soll es (Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts?) in der Umgebung von Trabzon mehr als 20 christliche Hemşinli-Dörfer gegeben haben<sup>54</sup> und in der Stadt selbst etwa 200 Familien (Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts), über deren Religionszugehörigkeit allerdings nichts berichtet wird<sup>55</sup>.

Es sei noch erwähnt, daß armenische Priester nach 1840 im Sev Get- und Hemşin-Gebiet im Geheimen (Re-)Missionierungsversuche durchgeführt haben<sup>56</sup>.

Die Hemşinli gehören der hanefitischen Richtung (Rechtsschule) des sunnitischen Islams an.

### *Auswanderungen*

Neben den bereits oben beschriebenen frühen Wanderungsbewegungen von Hemşinli in die Gegend von Samsun und Trabzon ist ein Teil der Bevölkerungsgruppe in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts vor allem in die Nordwest-Türkei ausgewandert, und zwar sowohl westliche als auch

<sup>50</sup> Zitiert nach RITTER, 1858: 927; siehe auch BIJIŞKYAN, 1969: 64, Anm. 16.

<sup>51</sup> BIJIŞKYAN, 1969: 64, Anm. 16 (Primärquelle wiederum Indjidjian).

<sup>52</sup> DASHIAN, 1922: 32 f.

<sup>53</sup> Ebd.: 31; BIJIŞKYAN, 1969: 34.

<sup>54</sup> DASHIAN, 1922: 41.

<sup>55</sup> BIJIŞKYAN, 1969: 55.

<sup>56</sup> DASHIAN, 1922: 35.

Hopa-Hemşinli. Zum Teil waren sie an der Fluchtbewegung beteiligt, der auch Lasen und muslimische Georgier angehörten, die aus dem von Osmanen und Russen umkämpften Grenzgebiet nach Westen flohen. Ab 1870 etwa haben sich Hemşinli in der Umgebung von İzmit niedergelassen, das Dorf Aramgiugh (?) z. B. soll dort 1873 gegründet worden sein, das Dorf Manichak (?) 1892<sup>57</sup>. Die Dörfer Yenice und Karatavuk (Provinz Bolu, Kreis Akçakoca) und einige andere sind beispielsweise von Hopa-Hemşinli besiedelt worden; der Name eines Dorfes Başhemşinli (heute wohl Armutlu in Bolu-Akçakoca) deutet die Herkunft der Bevölkerung aus dem westlichen Hemşin-Gebiet an<sup>58</sup>.

Besonders die westlichen Hemşinli waren und sind, von wirtschaftlicher Not in ihrer Heimatregion getrieben, recht mobil, so daß man sie früher in russischen (auch Zentralasien) und polnischen, heute in größeren türkischen Städten (besonders Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir) fand und findet<sup>59</sup>. Diese Mobilität mag neben anderen Gründen dazu beigetragen haben, daß bei ihnen, im Gegensatz zu ihren Namensvettern in der Gegend von Hopa, der armenische Dialekt bis auf Rudimente verlorengegangen ist.

Ob und in welcher Weise die Hemşinli in die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Türken und Armeniern im Ersten Weltkrieg verwickelt waren und ob es etwa zu Bevölkerungsbewegungen gekommen ist, darüber fehlen verlässliche Hinweise. Nach einer Quelle sollen die Hemşinli zwischen 1915 und 1924 schwere Jahre durchgemacht haben. Dabei sollen auch Tote und der Verlust einiger Dörfer zu beklagen gewesen sein<sup>60</sup>. Eine andere spricht sogar von „Völkermord an den Armeniern von Xotodžur und Xamšen“, was sicherlich, zumindest was Hemşin betrifft, eine Übertreibung ist<sup>61</sup>. Sollten Hemşinli tatsächlich verfolgt worden sein, so wäre das ein Hinweis, daß man sie trotz ihrer islamischen Religion immer noch als Armenier angesehen hatte.

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<sup>57</sup> Minas G. Gasapian (Farhat): *Les Arméniens dans le district de Nicomédie*, Partizak 1913, nach DASHIAN, 1922: 39.

<sup>58</sup> Ebd.: 39f. Siehe auch die Liste der Hemşinli-Dörfer im vorliegenden Werk, in der für die Nordwest-Türkei (Provinzen Bolu und Sakarya) etwa neun Dörfer aufgeführt sind. Die Dörfer Yenice und Armutlu finden sich dort nicht, da für die Gegenwart Angaben darüber nicht gefunden werden konnten.

<sup>59</sup> Die Zeit der Rußland-Wanderungen findet in den Zeitschriften der Hemşinli-Vereine häufiger Erwähnung, z. B.: ŞIŞMAN, 1971: 20; BASA, 1972: 26; Hemşin, 1978: 7; TARAĞCI, 1972: 8. Über das Leben und Arbeiten in der Fremde siehe nächstes Kapitel.

<sup>60</sup> VARTANYAN, 15.2.1983: 2.

<sup>61</sup> FEURSTEIN, 1983: 23f.

*Identitätsfragen*

Wie eingangs bereits angedeutet, besteht eine bemerkenswerte Diskrepanz zwischen dem, was, wenn auch nur bruchstückhaft, über die Geschichte und Kultur der Hemşinli bekannt ist und der heutigen Auffassung der Hemşinli über ihre Herkunft und ethnische Zugehörigkeit.

Es dürfte wohl kaum einen Hemşinli geben, der sich als islamisierten oder muslimischen Armenier ansehen oder bezeichnen würde. Die Verdrängung der armenischen Herkunft ist nicht allein mit dem häufig anzutreffenden Phänomen zu erklären, daß eine Gruppe (oder ein Individuum), die die Religion gewechselt hat, von ihrer Vergangenheit als „Ungläubige“ nichts mehr wissen will, sondern mit der Tatsache, daß Armenier zu einem Reizthema in der Türkei geworden sind, und zwar nicht erst nachdem die Anschläge armenischer Extremisten gegen Repräsentanten und Einrichtungen des türkischen Staates seit etwa 1973 zugenommen haben<sup>62</sup>. Wenngleich sich in den vergangenen zwölf Jahren eine Armenophobie besonderen Ausmaßes in der Türkei entwickelt hat, so sind die Ursprünge dieser (gegenseitigen) Antihaltung mindestens bis auf die Zeit des Ersten Weltkrieges zurückzuführen.

Ein Hemşinli mit Hochschulbildung aus der Gegend von Hopa machte die Bewußtseinslage seiner Leute in bezug auf ihre Herkunft recht deutlich<sup>63</sup>: Entrüstet lehnte er den armenischen Ursprung der Hemşinli mit der Begründung ab, Armenier wären Terroristen und somit könnten die (friedlichen) Hemşinli gar nicht armenischer Abkunft sein. Außerdem wären die Armenier zu fanatisch, um von ihrem Glauben abzulassen. Schließlich seien auch keine gemeinsamen „Rassemerkmale“ erkennbar. Nun, so extrem würde es wohl nicht jeder Hemşinli ausdrücken, jedoch gibt diese Äußerung eine gewisse Tendenz an. Da die Tatsache nicht zu leugnen ist, daß die Sprache der Hopa-Hemşinli eine armenische Mundart ist – was selbst KIRZIOĞLU zugeben muß<sup>64</sup> – findet man die Erklärung darin, daß man sagt, die Hemşinli hätten in ihrer Geschichte lange neben Armeniern gelebt und von ihnen die Sprache übernommen.

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<sup>62</sup> Eine chronologische Auflistung der Anschläge findet sich in: BIRANT/ATAER, 1982: 39f. (dt. Übersetzung). – Nach einem Gespräch mit verschiedenen Hemşinli der Çamlıhemşin-Gegend in Ankara (1984), mit denen der Verfasser auch über die „angebliche“ armenische Herkunft der Hemşinli sprach, ist später einer der Gesprächspartner, zu dem ein etwas engerer Kontakt bestand, mehrfach von den Sicherheitsbehörden aufgesucht und befragt worden. Das macht deutlich, daß die Hemşinli vermutlich mit Repressalien zu rechnen hätten, wenn sie sich zu ihren armenischen Wurzeln bekennen würden.

<sup>63</sup> In einem Brief (1984) an den Verfasser.

<sup>64</sup> KIRZIOĞLU, 1966b: 4104.

KIRZIOĞLUS Theorien fielen bei den Hemşinli auf fruchtbaren Boden, sie griffen sie in ihren Publikationen auf und verbreiteten sie, wodurch sie bald einen Bestandteil ihrer Identität bildeten<sup>65</sup>. Man hält sich nun eben für Oğuzen-Nachfahren<sup>66</sup>, für einen Balkaren-Stamm<sup>67</sup>, Akkader-Abkömmlinge<sup>68</sup> oder einfach als ein aus Zentralasien oder Khorasan gekommenes Volk<sup>69</sup>, also für alles mögliche, nur nicht für muslimische Armenier. Diese Widersprüchlichkeiten scheinen aber zumindest einzelnen Hemşinli als solche bewußt zu sein<sup>70</sup>.

Ogleich sich die Hemşinli ganz allgemein als Türken betrachten (trotz der unterschiedlichen Herkunftstheorien), kommt in den Publikationen ihrer Vereine jedoch zum Ausdruck, daß man sich als eine besondere Gruppe mit eigenem Wir-Bewußtsein, als Hemşinli eben, fühlt und einen recht starken Zusammenhalt hat<sup>71</sup>. Dabei fällt manchmal sogar der Begriff „*Hemşinlilik*“ (Hemşinlisein, Hemşinlitum)<sup>72</sup>.

Nun sind es allerdings, soweit bekannt, fast ausschließlich die westlichen Hemşinli, die in den größeren Städten mehrere Vereine und Zeitschriften<sup>73</sup> gegründet haben – den ersten Verein offenbar schon 1949 (in Ankara)<sup>74</sup> – zu deren Mitgliedern Hopa-Hemşinli nicht zu gehören schei-

<sup>65</sup> Siehe auch Anm. 22.

<sup>66</sup> MUSLUOĞLU, 1968: 6. Zuletzt äußerte sich auch so der bekannte *tulum*-Spieler (Sackpfeifer) Remzi Bekâr (aus dem westlichen Hemşin-Gebiet) in der Zeitung *Hürriyet* vom 26. 9. 85: 5.

<sup>67</sup> TÜYLÜOĞLU, 1979: 27.

<sup>68</sup> TURAN o.J. (nach 1979): 24.

<sup>69</sup> Hemşin, 1978: 7.

<sup>70</sup> SÖNMEZ, 1970: 3: „*Çamlıhemşinde kültürün nereden ve ne zaman başladığı bazı kişiler arasında halen tartışma konusu olmakta, bazılarıncı ise hiç bilinmemektedir.*“ (Wo und wann die Kultur von Çamlıhemşin begann, ist zwischen einigen Leuten immer noch Diskussionsthema, nach Meinung anderer ist es überhaupt nicht bekannt.).

<sup>71</sup> Der Zusammenhalt kommt zu einer Passage bei YÜCEL, 1970: 2 treffend zum Ausdruck: „*Biz Hemşinliler Anadolunun dört bir yanına dağılmış hemşerileriz. Fakat içimizdeki Hemşin özlemi her zaman bizi birbirimize bağlıyor.*“ (Wir Hemşinli sind Landsleute, die in alle Richtungen Anatoliens verstreut leben. Aber die Sehnsucht nach Hemşin in unserem Inneren verbindet uns immer miteinander.).

<sup>72</sup> In der Zeitschrift *Yeşil Hemşin*, 1976: 24; GÜLTGAN, 1976: 34; GÜNEYSU, 1978: 16; BAŞARAN, 1968: 12.

<sup>73</sup> Außer den bereits in den Anmerkungen 4 und 5 aufgeführten Vereinen und Zeitschriften sind dem Verfasser noch folgende bekannt: „*Kale Dergisi*“ (Nr. 1: Ankara 1979), hrsg. von „*Kale (Hisarcık ve Yazlık) Köyü Kalkındırma, Dayanışma ve Kültür Derneği*“ (Entwicklungs-, Solidaritäts- und Kulturverein des Dorfes Kale – Hisarcık und Yazlık); „*Köyüm Ortayol*“ (Ankara o.J., 1979 oder später), hrsg. von „*Rize, Pazar Kazası Ortayol (Meleskür) Köyü Kalkındırma, Güzelleştirme ve Kültür Derneği*“ (Entwicklungs-, Verschönerungs- und Kulturverein des Dorfes Ortayol/Meleskür in Rize, Kreis Pazar); „*Seyran (Pokut)*“ (Ankara, Nr. 1?: 1969 ff.), hrsg. von „*Makrevis Mahallesi Yardımlaşma ve Kalkındırma Derneği*“ (Hilfs- und Entwicklungsverein des Ortsteils [von Çamlıhemşin] Makrevis). Die meisten dieser Zeitschriften, wenn sie überhaupt mehrere Nummern bestanden haben, erschienen kaum häufiger als einmal jährlich.

<sup>74</sup> KURTULUŞ, 1976: 7.

nen. In den verfügbaren Ausgaben einiger Zeitschriften wurde denn auch nie Bezug auf die Hopa-Hemşinli genommen. Ein „Gesamt-Hemşin-Bewußtsein“ existiert, wenn überhaupt, dann nur schwach. Die Hopa-Hemşinli bezeichnen sich selbst (neben der türkischen Form) als Hamşentsi/Homşetsi, wobei das armenische Suffix *-tsi* dem türkischen *-li* entspricht, also die geographische Herkunft angibt<sup>75</sup>. Die westlichen Hemşinli gebrauchen diese armenische Form nicht. Ihr Gebiet nennen sie im Unterschied zur Region der Hopa-Hemşinli *Baş-Hemşin*<sup>76</sup>.

In dem Zusammenhang mag erwähnt werden, daß in früherer Zeit die Bewohner des Hemşin-Gebietes „Hai-Laz“ (Armenier-Lasen) genannt wurden<sup>77</sup>.

Wie schon aus den Namen der Hemşinli-Vereine ersichtlich, sind sie sehr stark auf die Heimat Hemşin bezogen; die Schönheit des Landes, die Yaylas bilden in den Zeitschriften ein immer wiederkehrendes Thema. Kalender mit Fotos aus dem Hemşin-Gebiet, Besuche der Städter in den Heimatdörfern und den Yaylasiedlungen, vor allem in den Sommermonaten, halten den Bezug aufrecht. In den Städten werden Heimatabende mit den traditionellen Tänzen abgehalten. Dazu paßt auch, daß das Thema „*gurbet/gurbetçilik*“, der „Zwang“, in der Fremde leben zu müssen, einen gewissen Raum in den Publikationen einnimmt<sup>78</sup>.

### *Zur Ethnographie der beiden Hemşinli-Gruppen*

Um die geschichtliche und heutige Verbindung der beiden Hemşinli-Gruppen aufzeigen zu können, sind noch Feldforschungen und Archivstudien notwendig. Hier können nur einige wenige Punkte, vor allem Unterschiede, aufgezeigt werden.

Die Sprache, auf die schon eingegangen wurde, ist einer der hervorstechendsten Unterschiede und, wie es scheint, ein gewisses Hindernis für ein gemeinsames Wir-Bewußtsein.

Ein „cultural marker“, die „*puşi*“ genannte Kopftracht der westlichen Hemşinli, hebt diese sowohl von den benachbarten Lasen und Schwarz-

<sup>75</sup> Siehe auch: DUMÉZIL, 1964: 7.

<sup>76</sup> WIXMAN, 1979: 1; DASHIAN, 1922: 40. KIRZIOĞLU, 1966b: 4103 gibt für die Hemşinli (besonders die westlichen) noch eine weitere Unterteilung an, die ihm wiederum als Beweis für die oğuzische Herkunft dieser Bevölkerung dient. Falls eine derartige Untergliederung jemals bestanden hat – heute ist sie nicht mehr existent oder nicht mehr von Bedeutung, wie es scheint.

<sup>77</sup> DASHIAN, 1922: 19, 40.

<sup>78</sup> Siehe auch Anm. 59 und PASTIRMA, 1970: 23–26 mit Daten über Arbeitsmigranten aus Hemşin in türkischen Städten.



meer-Türken als auch den Hopa-Hemşinli ab. Allerdings soll es die gleiche Art der Kopfbedeckung vor Jahrzehnten auch bei den Frauen der Hopa-Hemşinli gegeben haben, die sich heute von den Nachbarn in der Kleidung so gut wie kaum noch unterscheiden. Die Kopfbedeckung besteht aus einem meist schwarzen dünnen Tuch (*şifon*), um das herum ein Seidentuch, das *puşi*, in besonderer Weise gebunden ist, dessen Zipfel häufig weit den Rücken hinunterhängen. Rote und gelbe Farbtupfer auf schwarzem Grund bilden die gebräuchlichste Form des *puşi*, das heute meist aus dem Iran geschmuggelt wird; einfachere und weniger schöne Ware kommt aus Bursa<sup>79</sup>. Einer Angabe zufolge soll das Tuch erstmals von Mekkapilgern aus dem Hedschas mitgebracht worden sein<sup>80</sup>, eine andere schreibt es Soldaten zu, die in Korea gekämpft hatten, was allerdings wenig glaubhaft erscheint. Das *puşi* tragen auch junge Mädchen, die in der Stadt aufgewachsen sind, wenn sie die Heimatregion besuchen, da es als so etwas wie die „Nationaltracht“ der Hemşinli aufgefaßt wird. Es mag hinzugefügt werden, daß heutzutage auch einige Volkstanzgruppen, die nicht oder nur teilweise aus Hemşinli bestehen, etwa in Rize oder Fındıklı, das *puşi* verwenden.

Die westlichen Hemşinli (jedoch nicht alle Dörfer) begehen jährlich etwa zwischen dem 13. und 28. Juli ein dreitägiges Yaylafest, das den Namen *Vartivor/Vartavar* trägt<sup>81</sup>. *Vartivor* ist bei den christlichen Armeniern das Fest der Verklärung<sup>82</sup>. Die Hopa-Hemşinli feiern dieses Fest nicht, selbst der Name ist vielen nicht bekannt.

Das Bildungsniveau und Bildungsstreben der westlichen Hemşinli übertrifft das der Hopa-Hemşinli und der benachbarten Lasen, der Alphabetisierungsgrad (auch bei Frauen) ist überdurchschnittlich hoch, fast jedes Dorf hat Ingenieure, Ärzte, Lehrer oder sonstige Leute mit höherer Bildung aufzuweisen<sup>83</sup>. Dieses dürfte mit der großen Zahl von Personen zusammenhängen, die in den Städten lebten und leben.

<sup>79</sup> Eine Beschreibung der Kopfbedeckung auch bei PASTIRMA, 1970: 19.

<sup>80</sup> Briefliche Mitteilung von F. Kepenek, Trabzon (1985).

<sup>81</sup> BIJIŞKYAN, 1969: 63 schreibt über das Fest, daß es mit „Kirchgang“, Kerzenanzünden und Schlachtopfern für die Ahnen begangen wurde. Heute ist es ein Vergnügungsfest mit Tanz, Gesang und Essen. Die häufige Erwähnung des Festes in den Publikationen der Hemşinli zeigt, daß es immer noch von Bedeutung ist, wenngleich von nicht mehr so großer wie einstmals. Siehe u. a.: KIRZIOĞLU, 1966b: 4102; TÜYLÜOĞLU, 1979: 27; BOZKURT, 1979: 21; Çamlıhemşin Halk Eğitim Merkezi, Haber Bülteni, Nr. 1 (?), Ocak 1983. Auf der Amlakit Yaylası begann 1983 das Vartevor am 3. August und dauerte etwa 8 Tage ((Çamlıhemşin Halk Eğitim Merkezi, Haber Bülteni, Nr. 4 o. J. [1983]: 7.

<sup>82</sup> DASHIAN, 1922: 31.

<sup>83</sup> Über das Bildungsstreben der westlichen Hemşinli siehe: SÖNMEZ, 1970: 18; BASA, 1972: 26; KALKAN, 1979: 10; Kale Dergisi, 1979: 18. Die erste Schule im Gebiet von Çamlıhemşin wurde 1917 errichtet (YÜCEL, 1970: 3).

Während jedoch ein großer Teil der westlichen Hemşinli traditionell im Bäckerei-, Konditorei-, Hotel- und Gaststätten-Gewerbe arbeitet, sind die Hopa-Hemşinli im Transportwesen (früher mit Tragtieren, heute mit LKW's) und der Viehzucht in der Hauptsache beschäftigt und „*gurbetçilik*“ ist von vergleichsweise geringerer Bedeutung<sup>84</sup>.

In der Volksmusik beider Hemşinli-Gruppen ist die Sackpfeife (*tulum*) von Bedeutung, die allerdings, wenn auch in geringerem Maße, von Lasen und Georgiern gespielt wird<sup>85</sup>. Die Volkstänze, die mit *tulum* begleitet werden, gehören zum *horon*-Typ. Die westlichen Hemşinli haben ein reicheres Repertoire an Tänzen als ihre Namensvettern in Hopa. Einige ihrer Tänze werden auch von Lasen getanzt. Eine Ähnlichkeit zu Tänzen der Armenier ist bei beiden Hemşinli-Gruppen nicht erkennbar.

Mit den hier berührten Kulturelementen sind nur die für die Identität der Hemşinli wichtigsten Komponenten aufgeführt. Was weitere Bereiche ihrer Kultur angeht, so seien hier lediglich einige Literaturhinweise gegeben<sup>86</sup>.

### *Verhältnis zu der Nachbarbevölkerung*

Unmittelbare Nachbarn der Hemşinli sind in ihrer Heimatregion vor allem die Lasen. Die Hopa-Hemşinli haben in den Sommermonaten auf den Yaylas vor allem Türken, Kurden, Karaçadırlı und Georgier zu Nachbarn.

<sup>84</sup> Siehe auch KIRZIOĞLU, 1966b: 4099. Annoncen in Hemşinli-Zeitschriften. Die Regionalzeitung „Karadeniz“ berichtete am 15.8.1984: 3 davon, daß der Besitz eines doppelachsigen LKWs die Heiratschancen der jungen Männer in der Gegend von Kemalpaşa (Kreis Hopa), wo hauptsächlich Hemşinli leben, beträchtlich erhöht.

<sup>85</sup> Über *tulum* siehe: PICKEN, 1975: 528-549; ÇOKAL, 1963: 3211; GAZİMİHÂL, 1962: 2863 f.; REINHARD, 1966: 12 f., 24, 27-29; FEURSTEIN, 1983: 102, 105; AHRENS o.J. (ca. 1973): 27-31, 114-136. Bei Fragen der ethnischen Zuordnung der behandelten Musikinstrumente kommt AHRENS nicht auf die Hemşinli zu sprechen, obwohl das Zentrum des *tulum*-Spiels das Hemşin-Gebiet ist; möglicherweise setzt er sie ebenso mit Lasen gleich, wie er die Schwarzmeertürken für Lasen hält. Ein Tanz der Hemşinli von Hopa ist in CÖNGER, 1967: 43-49 beschrieben. Der bekannte *tulum*-Spieler Remzi Bekâr und sein Instrument wird von HINÇER, 1969: 5289-5291 vorgestellt.

<sup>86</sup> Über die Wirtschaft der Hemşinli, vor allem die Yaylawirtschaft:

İNANDIK, 1958; TANDOĞAN, 1968; ALBAYRAK, 1979: 4 f.

Über Hochzeit und Ehe:

FERAH, 1958; PASTIRMA, 1970: 18-22; ALBAYRAK, 1979: 6-8; Köyüm Ortayol, o.J. (nach 1979): 22.

Über Hemşinli-Frauen:

Seyran (Pokut), 1971: 11; Yeşil Hemşin, 3/1977: 15 f.

Zu Tod und Begräbnis:

ALBAYRAK, 1979: 6.

Über Volksglauben und Religionsausübung:

PASTIRMA, 1970: 64-66.

Orale Literatur:

DUMÉZIL, 1964, 1965 und 1967.

Nach Angaben sowohl von Lasen als auch Hemşinli hat man in der Vergangenheit nicht mehr als nötig miteinander zu tun gehabt. Auch heute sollen etwa Zwischenheiraten nur recht selten vorkommen – statistisches Material fehlt hier. Sie sind offenbar vor allem von Seiten der Hemşinli nicht erwünscht. Als ein Grund wird die unterschiedliche Sprache angegeben, daneben aber auch, daß die Lasen jähzornig wären und bei ihnen (im Gegensatz zu den Hemşinli) Blutrache häufig vorkommen würde. Hemşinli, die nicht nur ein paar Worte, sondern richtig Lasisch sprechen können, findet man nur selten. Blutfehden, so häufig sie im östlichen Schwarzmeergebiet auch waren und in manchen Gegenden noch sind, soll es zwischen beiden Gruppen nicht gegeben haben und geben, lebte man doch eher nebeneinander her. Schriftliche Quellen stellen die Vergangenheit allerdings etwas anders dar, zwischen lasischen und Hemşinli-Talherren soll es ständig Streit gegeben haben, ein Hemşinli-Ağa soll sogar ein bertüchtigter Seeräuber gewesen sein<sup>87</sup>.

Die westlichen Hemşinli fühlen sich den Lasen kulturell, „zivilisatorisch“, überlegen, d. h. sie haben durchschnittlich einen höheren Bildungsgrad, was von den Lasen auch zugegeben wird. Allerdings halten die Hemşinli die Lasenfrauen für fleißiger als ihre Frauen. Lasen und Hemşinli bedenken sich bei entsprechenden Gelegenheiten, ob im Scherz oder im Ärger, gegenseitig mit bestimmten Ausdrücken, die recht aufschlußreich sind. So nennen Lasen die Hemşinli manchmal „Ermeni“ (Armenier) oder „*Ermeni kalın kaburgalı*“ (wörtlich: armenische Dickrippe). Im „Gegenzug“ heißen die Hemşinli ihre lasischen Nachbarn „Megreli“ (Mingrelrier, die sprachlich den Lasen am nächsten verwandte Gruppe in Georgien, sie sind Christen) oder „*dönmüş Megreli*“ (konvertierter Mingrelrier).

### *Exkurs: Hemşinli in der UdSSR*

Hemşinli (auch Khemshil) in der Adscharischen ASSR – also dem den Hopa-Hemşinli benachbarten Gebiet jenseits der Grenze – wurden 1926 zuletzt im sowjetischen Zensus als eigene Volksgruppe aufgeführt, und zwar mit 629 Personen. Von ihnen gaben jedoch nur zwei Armenisch als ihre Muttersprache an<sup>88</sup>. Danach wurden keine Statistiken mehr über sie geführt. Sie fielen fortan unter die Sammelbezeichnung Meschier/Meskhethier, d. h. Bewohner der südgeorgischen Provinz Meskhethi (und angrenzender Gebiete), zu denen auch noch andere Ethnien gerechnet

<sup>87</sup> KOCH, 1855: 112.

<sup>88</sup> AKINER, 1983: 255 f.

wurden wie Karapapakh, Turkmenen, Azeri, muslimische Georgier, Kurden und Armenier<sup>89</sup>. Gemeinsames Schicksal dieser Grenzbevölkerung – etwa 200 000 Menschen – war es, am 15. November 1944 nach Zentralasien (vor allem Kasachstan und Uzbekistan) deportiert zu werden, aus Sicherheitserwägungen und nicht – wie bei Krimtataren und anderen Völkern – wegen des Vorwurfs der Kollaboration mit den Deutschen<sup>90</sup>. Wieviel Hemşinli unter den Deportierten waren, bzw. wie viele von ihnen zurückblieben, und wo genau die Überlebenden der Deportation angesiedelt wurden und heute leben, ist nicht bekannt. Erst in einem Dekret des Präsidiums des Obersten Sowjet vom 30. Mai 1968 wurde öffentlich von ihrer Vertreibung gesprochen, die bis dahin im Westen nahezu unbekannt war<sup>91</sup>. Danach forderten einige Meskhetier, die durch den gemeinsamen Leidensweg eine gemeinsame Identität gefunden hatten (trotz der ursprünglich so unterschiedlichen ethnischen Zugehörigkeit), die Gestattung der Rückkehr in ihre transkaukasische Herkunftsprovinz oder die Ausreise in die Türkei. Beides wurde ihnen durch die sowjetischen Behörden verwehrt. Allerdings konnte sich eine kleine Zahl in der Aserbeidschanschen SSR ansiedeln. Was in diesem Zusammenhang mit den Hemşinli geschah, darüber fehlen Hinweise. Eine Schätzung, wonach es in der UdSSR im Jahre 1979 tausend Hemşinli gegeben haben soll, ist zwar denkbar, entbehrt aber wohl sicheren Quellen<sup>92</sup>.

In der UdSSR leben neben den muslimischen Hemşinli auch noch in größerer Zahl christliche Armenier (vermutlich auch als solche registriert), die sich Hamşentsi nennen und deren Vorfahren ursprünglich von Hopa, oder, was wahrscheinlicher ist, aus dem Hemşin-Gebiet stammen. Vermutlich handelt es sich dabei um Armenier, die vor einer zwangsweisen Islamisierung in ihrer Heimatregion Hemşin in andere Teile des Osmanischen Reiches, vor allem wohl in die Küstengebiete der heutigen Provinzen Samsun, Ordu und Trabzon<sup>93</sup> geflüchtet waren, und, als dort ebenfalls der Islamisierungsdruck stärker wurde, etwa in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts und später zur Zeit der Armenierverfolgungen im Ersten Weltkrieg mit

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<sup>89</sup> Ebd.: 261.

<sup>90</sup> BENNINGSEN/BROXUP, 1983: 29–31; BARTHOLD/WIXMAN, 1978: 652.

<sup>91</sup> In Übersetzung abgedruckt in: CONQUEST, 1970: 188 f.

<sup>92</sup> BENNINGSEN/BROXUP, 1983: Anhang 1.

<sup>93</sup> Gegenüber VARTANYAN (12./13. 2. 1983: 2), der Ortschaften christlicher Hemşinli etwa im Gebiet zwischen Krasnodar, Maikop, Sotschi und bis nach Abchasien hinein besucht hat, erwähnten die Hemşinli, daß zu Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts in Çarşamba, Terme, Ünye, Fatsa und Ordu 77 Kirchen aus Holz und 7 aus Stein bestanden haben. Daraus läßt sich schließen, daß die genannte Bevölkerung aus der Küstengegend der heutigen Provinzen Samsun und Ordu in die oben aufgeführten Gebiete der UdSSR geflüchtet ist.

Schiffen an das östliche und nordöstliche Schwarzmeergebiet, nach Abchasien und das Gebiet von Krasnodar (bis zum Kuban-Fluß), Maikop, Tuapse und Sotschi geflohen sind. Das letzte Schiff dieser Flüchtlinge soll dort 1924 angekommen sein<sup>94</sup>.

Diese christlichen Hamşentsi sprechen noch ihren besonderen armenischen Dialekt, haben eigene Schulen (Lehrer teilweise aus Armenien), eigene Zeitschriften (früher zumindest) und andere Einrichtungen, wie zum Beispiel Tanzgruppen<sup>95</sup>.

Anders als für die Hemşinli der Türkei wird unter ihren Musikinstrumenten (meist *kemençe* – Fiedel mit drei Saiten – *zurna* – türkische Oboe, Schalmel – Trommel u. a. m.) die Sackpfeife *tulum* nicht erwähnt, was man vielleicht als einen weiteren Hinweis nehmen kann, daß sie nicht direkt aus Hemşin oder Hopa in ihre heutigen Wohngebiete gekommen sind, sondern eben aus den Regionen von Samsun, Ordu oder Trabzon, wo *tulum* nicht gespielt wird.

Die Zahl der christlichen Hamşentsi wird von VARTANYAN nicht angegeben, sie dürfte vermutlich nicht unter 50 000 liegen, denn in Abchasien und dem Krasnodar-Gebiet sollen sie etwa 350 Ortschaften bewohnen, von denen er einige namentlich aufführt<sup>96</sup>.

### Schluß

Das Material zu dem vorliegenden Beitrag wurde auf verschiedenen Reisen in das Ostschwarzmeergebiet der Türkei, durch Gespräche mit Hemşinli und Lesen in türkischen Städten und in der Bundesrepublik, sowie Quellenstudium gewonnen. Eine systematische, stationäre Feldforschung unter Hemşinli wurde nicht durchgeführt. Natürlich mußten so et-

<sup>94</sup> VARTANYAN, 15.2.1983: 2.

<sup>95</sup> VARTANYAN, 12./13.2.1983: 2 führt einige Tänze namentlich auf, die aber zum größten Teil vom Namen her keine Entsprechungen bei den Hemşinli der Türkei finden, wie es scheint. Es sind (der türkischen Schreibweise angeglichen): *Tikon*, *Tsapik* (vgl.: Tänze des *halay*-Typus in der Südost- und Osttürkei mit dem kurdischen Namen *Çepike/Çepikli*), *Tirtiruk*, *Mazik*, *Cuha*, *Susanam*, *Topal Par* (*Bar*; bei den Hopa-Hemşinli gibt es einen Tanz des *horon*-Typs mit Namen *Topaloğlu*), *Gırung Par*, *Sıra Par*.

<sup>96</sup> Ebd.: die Ortschaften (türkischer Schreibweise angeglichen): Şapsuka, Gantiadi, Loo, Nerkin Şilovka, Moldovka, Dagomis, Serge-Pole, Baranovka, Ordinka, Vasilievka, Rozbiti-Totiyol, Varvarovka, Beranda, Şahomian, Sadovoye, Goythi, Gunaika, Kuban-Haikakan (Pahtsor), Çernigovi, Kuşinka, Tubi, Çorort-Yunaika, Terzian. Die sowjetisch-armenische Enzyklopädie (HAİKAKAN SOVYETAKAN HANARAGITARAN, Bd.6/1980: 119, Art.: Hamşetsiner) führt noch weiter Orte auf: Sukhumi, Gudavta, Mitsara, Tsebelda, Norafon, Gagra, Adler, Matsesda. Ebenfalls dort wird auf ein armenisches Werk von L. Haçikian: *Ecer Hamşina Hai Padmuçunits* (Seiten der Geschichte der Hemşin-Armenier), 1969, Bezug genommen.

liche Fragen offen bleiben. Es ist mehr als Versuch zu sehen, die vorhandene und zugängliche Literatur zusammenzufassen und mit einzelnen Beobachtungen und Erfahrungen anzureichern, um so eine Grundlage für zukünftige Forschungen zu legen.

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## The Laz: An Example of Multiple Identification

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“Ethnic terms generally tend to be applied imprecisely in Turkey; people often combine elements of religious and linguistic identification in assessments of ethnic identity.”<sup>1</sup> This statement may be cited at the outset since the confusion is especially noticeable in the case of the term “Laz.”

In general all the people living on the Black Sea coast anywhere east of Sinop or Samsun, or even as far west as Zonguldak (a clear line cannot be drawn) up to the Soviet border are called “Laz” in Turkey.<sup>2</sup> In this wide concept or category<sup>3</sup> of *Laz* – which is apparently an old one – are included those who really speak the Laz language, that is a language belonging to the southern (Kartvelian) branch of the Caucasian language group, together with Georgians, Svans and Mingrelians. The largest part of the coastal population does not speak that language at all. In many cases, in fact, ordinary Turks are not aware of Lazic being a completely different language, but in a vague way understand the Turkish dialects of the Trabzon/Rize-area as being “Lazic.”<sup>4</sup>

For the real Laz, the terms “*Mohti-Laz*” (*mohti*, a Lazic word for “come”) or “*hakiki Laz*” (“true Laz”) are sometimes used by people who know rather more about the differences.

<sup>1</sup> AREA HANDBOOK ..., 1973: 99.

<sup>2</sup> ALLEN, 1929: 140, claimed that Lazic place names could be traced as far west as Samsun, which seems to be very unlikely. I am however not in a position either to prove or to disprove this. Besides, it is doubtful whether the assumed extension of Lazic place names so far westward has anything to do with the common idea that the coastal population of the whole area described is Laz.

<sup>3</sup> MEEKER, 1971: 321. He tries to distinguish between “real Laz” – by naming them Lazi – and so-called Laz who are better referred to as “*Karadenizli*” (inhabitants of the Black Sea coast) or Black-Sea-Turks.

<sup>4</sup> For the Turkish dialect of the Laz in Rize province see GÜNAY, 1978, p. 31 stating that all the five Laz sub-provinces form one dialectal area.

Nowadays the Laz have no self-designation other than this, though in the form *Lazi*.<sup>5</sup> Some more specialised names for certain sub-groups of the Laz are used, however; for example: *Orçay'li* for the people of twelve villages in the mountains south of Arhavi, or *Çhalur* (*Çhalu*) for some villages with a slightly different Lazic dialect between Hopa and Borçka, but both terms are more geographical than ethnic.

The Georgian term *Ch'ani* is not known to most Laz. In former times the case may have been different.

An ethnic unit called Laz was mentioned for the first time in the "Naturalis Historia" of Pliny (23/24-79 A.D.).<sup>6</sup>

Though attempts have been made to write the language of the Laz, it has remained a non-literary language, and in contrast to the case of the Circassian or Kurdish languages, most of the Laz seem to have no interest in writing it.<sup>7</sup>

The Black-Sea-Turks and the Laz, besides their manner of speaking Turkish (which seem "funny" to inland Turks) are credited with distinct character traits, comparable to those attributed to the Ostfriesen (East Frisians) in northern Germany, and even particular physical peculiarities form part of the concept of what a Laz is.

Though they have Caucasian affinities both linguistically and in some other elements of their culture, the Laz would not consider themselves as being Caucasians.<sup>8</sup> Nor are they generally included in the collective term "Caucasian" (*Kafkas*) in Turkey (often in connection with folk dances). The Laz attitude is, however, contradictory to the extent that they take the Mingrelians, the ethnic group which is linguistically the most closely related to them (some linguists have even spoken of dialects) as being the real or "Proto-Laz," though they generally know that the Mingrelians are only to be found beyond the frontier, in the Georgian SSR, i.e. in the western Caucasus. Their Hemşinli neighbours sometimes even call the Laz "Megrel" or "dönmüş Megrel" (Mingrelian, or converted Mingrelian - from Christianity).

<sup>5</sup> In this point at least one can agree with KIRZIOĞLU, 1972: 428. BRYER, 1975: 127 is wrong in taking "Ch'ani" as the self-designation of the Laz nowadays. Previously he put forward a different view: BRYER, 1966: 174.

<sup>6</sup> Article "Laz" by MINORSKY/LANG in E.I. new ed. 1983.

<sup>7</sup> MARR, 1920: 58. Some students of a school in the Laz area elaborated a "Laz alphabet" writing some homework on the tradition and tourism of their region. The alphabet was essentially the Georgian one. Examples or lists of some Laz words have sometimes been printed in Turkish characters in the publications of Laz societies from the cities. For an example see KURDOĞLU, 1976: 64. Recordings of Lazic songs with a Turkish transcription can be found in REINHARD, 1966: 32, 41, 45.

<sup>8</sup> MEEKER, 1971: 345 quoted this opinion for the Black Sea Turks in general, too.

The Laz have, from time to time, been equated with the Georgians by European travellers.<sup>9</sup> The same idea was voiced by two Georgian professors from Tbilisi, though for political purposes, in various Soviet papers as late as in December 1945, when they claimed that Lazistan should be incorporated into Soviet Georgia because the Laz were of Georgian stock.<sup>10</sup> It does not, however, seem that the Laz are on good terms with the Georgians despite their close linguistic relationship.<sup>11</sup> Only in a few cases do they live as neighbours in the same villages (in Borçka sub-province and some migrant villages in NW-Turkey), and when they have come close to each other on certain summer pastures (between Murgul and Yusufeli) quarrels are said to have occurred.

As a curiosity one may add here that some "scholars" found the Laz to be the same ethnic group as the Lesghians,<sup>12</sup> a misunderstanding arising

<sup>9</sup> For an example: LORD KINROSS, 1970: 22: "the Lazes, a sturdy race of Georgian Moslems."

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in JÄSCHKE, 1955: 55. See also the extended discussion and counter-propaganda of KIRZIOĞLU, 1969.

<sup>11</sup> HILLS, 1964: 110f., quoted two Laz: "We can't sleep with Gürcüler [Georgians], they are not our friends." And *ibid.*, 115 the opinion of a Georgian on the Laz: "They are liars, thieves, dirty and ugly, even our languages are quite different."

<sup>12</sup> See, for example: GOLOĞLU, 1973: 109f.: "Menazirülavâlim, (Ramuzülâyan) ve (Amasya Tarihi) adlı eserlere göre; Lazların aslı (Legzler) [sic.!] dir. Legzler Avar tiresinden tanınmış bir oymaktır. Türklerin Batı Asya ve Avrupaya akınları sırasında Legzlerin önemli bir kısmı Karadeniz kıyılarında Trabzon Vilâyeti arazisine yerleşmişlerdir. Legzlerin Batı Asyada oturanlarına (Laz) ve doğuda kalanlarına (Lezgi) denmiştir. Lezgilerin Avarlardan oldukları ve Lazların Lezgilerden geldikleri şüphesiz, Lazların Türk soyundan oldukları kesindir. ... (Lezgi) kelimesi halk dilinde (Lazgi), daha sonra (Laz) olmuştur. Rıza Nura göre; Lezgiler Turanlıdır ve fakat dilleri ayrılmıştır. Şemseddin Samiye göre; Lazlar Kafkas soyundandır. ... Kafkas soyundan oldukları halde dilleri değişmiştir." (According to the texts of Menazirülavâlim, Ramuzülâyan, and the Amasya Tarihi the Laz were originally Lesghians. The Lesghians are known to be a section of the Avar tribe. With the migration of the Turks into western Asia and Europe, an important part of the Lesghians settled on the Black Sea coast in the territory of Trabzon province. The Lesghians living in western Asia were called 'Laz', those staying in the east 'Lezgi'. It is undoubted that the Lesghians are of Avar origin and the Laz come from the Lesghians; it is certain that the Laz are of Turkish stock. ... The word 'Lezgi' became 'Lazgi' in colloquial speech and later on 'Laz.' According to Rıza Nur the Lesghians are Turanians, but separate in their language. According to Şemseddin Sami the Laz are of Caucasian origin. ... Though of Caucasian origin their language has become different.) GOLOĞLU did not give the sources exactly, except for the Amasya Tarihi which is by Hüseyin Hüsameddin (Istanbul 1330-1332). The text quoted is a good example of the manipulation of the origin of several ethnic groups that are actually non-Turkish but turkicised in a "scholarly" way. It hardly needs to be said that besides the Laz neither the Lesghians nor the Avar of Dağıstan speak a Turkic language.

The manipulation of the Laz into Lesghians was perpetuated by other Turks afterwards; see, for instance, İMER, 1976: 5. A European, too, has put forward a similar "theory": BASCHMAKOFF, 1948: 40: "Entre les bouches de l'Ingour (n. moderne) et du Kintrich (n. moderne), le nom des Lazes a remplacé celui des Colques. Il est permis de supposer que ces Lazes n'étaient pas des Kartvèles. Je rapprocherais plutôt leur nom de celui des Lezhghines, ...".

I shall not attempt to discuss here either the question of whether the Laz are descendants

from the similarity of the names which dates back to the time of Evliya Çelebi or even earlier.<sup>13</sup>

Further confusion arises from a "rumour" among the Laz according to which their language is related to Greek.<sup>14</sup> This derives from their proximity to ancient Greek colonies on the Black Sea coast, their former incorporation into the semi-independent Greek "*Pontos İmparatorluğu*" or "Kingdom of Trebizond", and the presence of Greek or Greek-speaking neighbours up to the present, though these were hardly close, being in Trabzon province. The use of Greek loan-words, especially in the western dialect of Lazic,<sup>15</sup> in the surroundings of Pazar, and the recognition of cultural traits held in common with the Pontic Greeks (music, traditional dress etc.) provide further explanations. It may be added that the Pontic Greeks in Greece are sometimes referred to as "Lazoi" and much the same attributes are attached to them by the Greeks as to the Laz in Turkey by the Turks.<sup>16</sup>

The Turkish proverb "*denizi görmemiş Laz'a Kürt denir*" (a Laz who has not seen the sea is called a Kurd), apparently foists a Kurdish relationship on the Laz, but it finds no real correlation in Laz identity and is probably meant only to express the similarity in behaviour stereotypes, as warlike, wild, or cruel. Nevertheless, about three centuries ago the Laz do seem sometimes to have been confused with the Kurds.<sup>17</sup>

For ideological and nationalistic reasons the Laz have even been Turkicised by some Turkish "scholars," who indulged in intellectual acrobatics

of the old Colchians, as several authors suppose, or their possible relationship to other ancient peoples in that region (Tzan, Kerketai, Heniochoi, Mossynoekoi) since that is not relevant to Laz identity today.

<sup>13</sup> EVLIYA EFENDI, vol. II, 1850: 43: "... the name Lezgi has been corrupted into Laz." *Ibid.*, p. 49 makes it clear, that the Laz were indeed meant when he spoke of Lezgi: "... the Greeks and the Lezgians, the Chichú and Chifta are troublesome people; the language of the Lezgis cannot be written or expressed in Turkish orthography; they have a peculiar dialect, which even the inhabitants of Trebisonde do not understand without an interpreter; they are for the most part boatmen, who navigate the river Chorúgh to Mingrelia, carrying box-wood and slaves, with which they trade to the harbour of Trebisonde, ..."

<sup>14</sup> Some Europeans innocently repeated this idea, for instance SOUTHGATE, vol. 1, 1840: 152: "... the Lazes, of whom our guide said, that they were Mussulmans and spoke a corrupt Greek." This statement may be taken, too, as an example for the already mentioned fact of the Black-Sea-Turks generally being called "Laz."

<sup>15</sup> BRYER, 1966: 184. For some examples see: FEURSTEIN, 1983: 17, 43, 67, 79, 82.

<sup>16</sup> MEEKER, 1971: 332 f.

<sup>17</sup> DAPPER, 1681: 162: "Die Lazi /sonst Kurten genannt/ grenzen an Georgien und Trebizonde; sie bewohnen sehr hohe Berge an den Uffern der schwarzen See. ... Wegen der grossen Menge dieser Thieren /nennen die Türken diese Völker Kurti/ welches Wort einen Wolff bedeutet."

to prove their odd theories.<sup>18</sup> It seems that some Laz did not connive at this; at least one protest was written against such historical manipulation.<sup>19</sup>

Though the Laz would not call themselves Anatolians, they may, if asked refer to themselves as Turks, meaning citizens of the Turkish Republic.

The feeling of being a separate ethnic group, which is based especially on the awareness of speaking a language completely different from Turkish, did not lead the Laz into political or cultural opposition to the Turks as has apparently been the case with many Kurds. Revolts against the Ottoman state as late as in the first half of the last century are more or less forgotten nowadays.<sup>20</sup> The Laz generally are aware neither of their having been Christians in former centuries, nor of their having formed their own Lazic kingdom in ancient times.<sup>21</sup>

Though one may partly agree with MARR's opinion when he states, "the Laz don't show much affection for their mother tongue; national self-consciousness, as is to be found with other Caucasian peoples, is alien to them,"<sup>22</sup> it is unlikely that they will be assimilated by the Turks in the near future.

<sup>18</sup> See n. 12 and KIRZIOĞLU, 1972: 441, where he summarizes his "results": "Yukarıdan beri arzedilen tarih ve dil delilleri, Laz/ Alazon/ Alazan ve Çan/ Çanik/ Çanar boylarının, Kartel/ Gürcülerden apayrı ve Saka/Khazar urukları kolundan Türk soyuna mensup olduklarını ortaya koymuştur." (By means of the historical and linguistic proofs presented above, it has been demonstrated that the Laz/Alazon/ Alazan and the Çan/ Çanik/ Çanar tribes are completely different from the Kartel/ Georgians but belong to a branch of the Saka/Khazar subdivision of the Turkish race.) His "sociological proofs" which follow this, are even more peculiar: the Laz and Mingrelians would be unable to understand each others' language (this is doubtful); other than the Mingrelians the Laz never sold their children (historical records seem to contradict this); whereas the Laz - "like all Turks" - are very diligent, the Mingrelians are just the opposite; the Laz are "namuslu" and "mert" ("honourable" and "manly"), the Mingrelians do not share these virtues. For all these reasons, the Laz cannot be related in any way to the Kartvelians and especially not, as European scholars claim, to the Mingrelians. There are Turkish scholars, however, who contradict KIRZIOĞLU, even naming him: OĞUZ, vol. 1, 1976: 197: "Gerçek Laz'lar, mahsusî bir ırk ..." (The true Laz are a separate race ...).

<sup>19</sup> Ş. Ayartepe: Lazların tarihçesi, in: Karadeniz Haber, 1. 12. 1976, p. 4 + 7, cited in: FEURSTEIN, 1983: 34.

<sup>20</sup> For the last rising of the Laz see: BRYER 1969 and MEEKER, 1969.

<sup>21</sup> Already ROSEN, 1845: 2, quoted the Laz attitude concerning that point: "Wir sind schon lange Türken, was wir früher gewesen, wissen wir nicht." FEURSTEIN, 1983: 24, stated, too, that the Laz have "forgotten their history" and hardly remember the past hundred years.

On the Christianization of the Laz see: ENGELHARDT, 1974: 80-83, 88-90, as a secondary source.

For a rough sketch of their history: BRYER, 1966/67, article "Laz" by MINORSKY/LANG in E. I., new ed. 1983 and LOMOURI 1969.

<sup>22</sup> MARR, 1920: 58.

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## Das Alevitum in der Türkei: Zur Genese und gegenwärtigen Lage einer Glaubensgemeinschaft

KRISZTINA KEHL-BODROGI

Durch die Vermittlung der Medien ist in letzter Zeit auch eine breitere europäische Öffentlichkeit auf das Bestehen einer ethnisch-religiösen Minderheit in der Türkei, die Aleviten, aufmerksam geworden. Verantwortlich für das über die Fachkreise hinausgehende Interesse an dieser Gruppe ist in erster Linie die in den 70er Jahren erfolgte politische Polarisierung der latenten Spannung, die seit jeher das Verhältnis zwischen der sunnitischen Mehrheit und der alevitischen Minderheit im Lande bestimmte. Die im Verlaufe der teilweise militanten Auseinandersetzungen zwischen „linken“ und „rechten“ Gruppen aufgekommene Assoziierung des Alevitums mit „linken“, „fortschrittlichen“ Ideologien ist dabei bemerkenswert. Sie markiert gleichzeitig den vorläufigen Höhepunkt einer Entwicklung innerhalb des Alevitums selbst, wobei sich die Identifikation der Aleviten von der religiösen immer mehr auf die politische Ebene verlagerte<sup>1</sup>.

Die Aleviten bilden mit annähernd 20% der Bevölkerung neben den Sunniten die größte Religionsgemeinschaft in der Türkei. Ihre Mitglieder bekennen sich zur zwölfer-schiitischen Richtung des Islam, der *Caferiya*. Trotz dieses prinzipiellen Bekenntnisses werden sie weder von der sunnitischen noch von der schiitischen Orthodoxie als rechtgläubige Moslems anerkannt. In der Tat weist ihr Glaubenskomplex Eigentümlichkeiten auf, die es als problematisch erscheinen lassen, sie einer islamischen Konfession zuzuordnen.

Historisch ist die Entstehung des Alevitums als eine endogame, ethnisch-religiöse Gruppe<sup>2</sup> vermutlich erst im 16. Jahrhundert anzusetzen. Seine Herausbildung war das Resultat religiöser, sozialer und politischer Prozesse auf gesamtgesellschaftlicher Ebene. Als einer der wesentlichsten Faktoren kann dabei die zu dieser Zeit erfolgte Polarisierung zwischen Persien und dem Osmanischen Reich angesehen werden. Die Ausrufung der Zwölfer-Schia als Staatsreligion in Persien ging mit einer verstärkten Theologisierung und Durchsetzung der – sunnitischen – Gesetzesreligion im Osmanischen Reich einher. Durch die Entwicklung zur Theologisierung und Vergesetzlichung auf beiden Seiten verloren die anatolischen

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. auch BUMKE, 1979: 543 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Mit dem Begriff „ethnische Gruppe“ folge ich BARTH's Definition, nach der „ethnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves, and thus have the characteristic of organising interaction between people“. BARTH 1969: 10.

Anhänger der Safaviden ihre Verbindung nach Persien, indem sie die Hinwendung der Safaviden zur offiziellen Zwölfer-Schia nicht mitvollzogen. Sie blieben weiterhin einem heterodoxen Volksislam verhaftet, was auf der anderen Seite zu ihrer Marginalisierung in dem sich immer stärker sunnitisch orientierenden Osmanischen Reich führte.

Die Verbindung großer Teile der anatolischen Landbevölkerung und der Nomaden zu den Safaviden reicht bis ins späte 13. Jahrhundert zurück. Zu jener Zeit gründete der Sufi-Scheich namens Şafī ad-Dīn im persischen Ardabil einen Orden, der nach ihm als Safaviden-Orden benannt wurde. Şafī ad-Dīn und seine Nachfolger standen im Rufe großer Heiligkeit und hatten eine ausgedehnte Anhängerschaft vor allem unter den Türkmenen Anatoliens.

Keine zweihundert Jahre nach dem Tod des Ordensgründers setzte im Scheichtum von Ardabil eine Entwicklung ein, in deren Verlauf der ursprünglich von allen extremen religiösen Anschauungen freie, auf dem Boden der beschaulichen Mystik stehende Orden immer deutlichere extrem-schiitische Züge annahm. Parallel zu dem religiösen Wandel vollzog sich eine Politisierung und Militarisierung des Ordens<sup>3</sup>. Bei der Verfolgung ihrer nunmehr machtpolitischen Ziele konnten sich die Ordensscheiche auf die zahlreiche Anhängerschaft des Ordens in Anatolien, allen voran die türkmenischen Nomaden, stützen. Mit deren Waffenhilfe gelang es schließlich İsmā'īl, dem Safavi, sich im Jahre 1501 zum Schah von Persien ausrufen zu lassen und die Herrscherdynastie der Safaviden zu begründen. Nach seiner Machtergreifung ließ er die Zwölfer-Schia als Staatsreligion ausrufen, womit er sich von seiner eigenen religiösen Tradition ebenso lossagte, wie von der seiner anatolischen Anhänger.

Die Unzufriedenheit der türkmenischen Nomaden mit den politischen und sozialen Verhältnissen des 15. Jahrhunderts begünstigte eine Entwicklung, bei der die bis dahin bestandene religiöse Verbindung zu den Safaviden leicht in militärische Unterstützung umschlagen konnte. Die Gründe hierfür waren vielschichtig:

Die Nomaden gerieten in dem sich neu konsolidierenden Osmanischen Reich immer mehr ins politische Abseits, da auf ihre militärische Schlagkraft nach der Errichtung eines stehenden Söldnerheeres kaum noch zurückgegriffen wurde. Dies bedeutete, neben Einbußen an politischem und militärischem Einfluß, bedeutende ökonomische Nachteile.

Die Persifizierung der osmanischen Gesellschaft brachte die Türkmenen in einen wachsenden Gegensatz zu der Regierung und deren Vertre-

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<sup>3</sup> Zur Geschichte des Ordens der Safaviden vgl. ausführlich ROEMER in CHI Band VI. Über die Türkmenen-Stämme in der Gefolgschaft der Safaviden siehe SÜMER 1976.



tern. So wurden sie mit der Zeit zu Trägern einer Gegen-Kultur im Staat, die sich im Festhalten an einer althergebrachten sozialen Ordnung, Sprache und Religion manifestierte.

Durch die vorangetriebene Zentralisierung des Staates sahen sich vor allem die Nomaden in ihrer kulturellen und sozialen Eigenständigkeit bedroht.

Zu den durch die kulturelle Entfremdung zwischen den unteren und oberen Schichten bedingten Spannungen kamen Schwierigkeiten wirtschaftlicher Art, die die sozial-politische Lage insgesamt verschärften.

Alles in allem barg das 15. Jahrhundert die Zeichen einer chiliastischen Grundstimmung in sich, die wesentlich zur Aktualisierung des Mahdi-Gedankens beitrug. Zehntausende türkenischer Nomaden sahen nun in dem Safaviden İsmā'īl den „Mahdi der Zeit“; von ihm erhofften sie die Herbeiführung eines gerechten, nach alten Vorbildern ausgerichteten Zeitalters. Diese Hoffnung fand ihren konkreten Niederschlag in der bedingungslosen Unterstützung der Ziele der Safaviden. Sie war auch tragendes Element der gewaltigen Volkserhebungen, die nach İsmā'īls Machtergreifung gegen die Osmanische Zentralmacht ausbrachen. Diese Aufstände waren von einer volkstümlichen, heterodoxen Religiosität getragen, die durch eine extreme Ali-Verehrung, den Glauben an die Inkarnation des Göttlichen im Menschen und den Heiligenkult gekennzeichnet war<sup>4</sup>. In der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts begannen die Osmanen gegen diese innere Opposition, die sich in der Unterstützung der Safaviden manifestierte, ins Feld zu ziehen. Alle, die sich als „Kızılbaş“<sup>5</sup> – wie die Anhänger der Safaviden von ihren Gegnern genannt wurden – verächtlich machten, wurden aufgegriffen, hingerichtet oder deportiert<sup>6</sup>.

Die nach der Niederschlagung der sogenannten „Kızılbaş“-Aufstände begonnene Verfolgung veranlaßte viele, sich den Repressionen durch den Rückzug in unwegsame, schwer kontrollierbare Gebiete zu entziehen. Hier, in der sozialen und räumlichen Marginalität wurde die politische Virulenz der Bewegung zurückgenommen, die Hoffnung auf das Erscheinen des Mahdi in eine unbestimmte Zukunft verlegt. Es scheint, daß die Gemeinschaft der „Kızılbaş“ oder – wie ihre spätere Selbstbezeichnung lautet – Aleviten erst in der Marginalität ihre endgültige Ausformung erhielt. Die Missionierung wurde eingestellt und fortan regenerierte sich die Gruppe durch eine strikt endogame Reglementierung der Heiraten. In

<sup>4</sup> Zur alevitischen Häresie vgl. ausführlich MÉLIKOFF 1975 und 1982.

<sup>5</sup> Die Bezeichnung „Kızılbaş“ stammt von der roten Kopfbedeckung her, deren Tragen İsmā'īls Vater, Haydar seinen türkenischen Anhängern angeordnet hatte.

<sup>6</sup> Über Art und Ausmaß der „Kızılbaş“-Verfolgungen vgl. REFIK 1932 und SOHRWEIDE 1965.

diese Periode fällt wohl auch die Abfassung der alevitischen Katechismen, *Buyruk* genannt, in denen Lehre und Ritual festgehalten wurden.

Demnach würde die Herausbildung des Alevitums als eine endogame, esoterische Gemeinschaft in die Phase fallen, die MÜHLMANN die „Erlahmung der Bewegung“ nennt: „Je mehr eine Bewegung Bewegung ist, also im Fluß befindlich und mit einer ansteigenden Kurve ihrer Virulenz, um so geringere Bedeutung kommt der organisatorischen Gerüstgebung zu; und in dem Maße, wie die Bewegung erlahmt, erlangen Organisation und bewußte Dogmatisierung eine kompensatorische Bedeutung.“<sup>7</sup>

Die Schranken, welche die Aleviten im Interesse der Bewahrung ihrer Gruppenidentität aufstellten, hatten die Form von religiösen Tabus: sie verhinderten eine wirksame Interaktion zwischen ihnen und der Außenwelt und verstärkten das Bewußtsein von Andersartigkeit und Außerwähltsein. Das wichtigste Gebot in diesem Zusammenhang war das der Gruppenendogamie. Die Umgehung des Endogamiegebotes zog Ausschluß aus der Gemeinschaft nach sich. Sunniten gegenüber den „Gurt zu lösen“ unterlag der gleichen Sanktion.

Durch die Schaffung einer straffen religiösen Organisation machte sich das Alevitum rechtsautark: eine der wichtigsten Funktionen der religiösen Amtsträger war die der Rechtsprechung. Sich in Streitfällen an weltliche Gerichte zu wenden war ebenso untersagt wie mit Außenstehenden in soziale Interaktion zu treten. Tischgemeinschaften, wirtschaftliche Kooperation u. ä. wurden streng gemieden. (War in der Vergangenheit z. B. die Bewirtung eines Sunniten einmal unumgänglich, so mußten alle von ihm benutzten Gegenstände wie Geschirr, Besteck, Matratze u. ä. einer langwierigen rituellen Reinigung unterzogen werden, wenn sie nicht gar vernichtet wurden.)

Ein wesentliches Moment bei der Abgrenzung nach außen war das Bewußtsein des Außerwähltheins: die Aleviten begriffen sich als die „Erretete Schar“ Gottes (*güruhu nâci*), die gemäß eines Mohammed zugeschriebenen Ausspruches als einzige Gemeinschaft in das Paradies gelangte. Die legitime Geburt als Alevi garantierte bereits die geistig-moralische Voraussetzung, auf dem „erhabenen Pfad Mohammed Alis“ zu wandeln – wie die Aleviten ihren „Weg“ bezeichneten.

Als weiteres Abgrenzungskriterium diente die mystische Lehre von den Vier Toren (*dört kapi*), die auf dem Weg zur Gotteseerkenntnis zu durchschreiten sind: *şeriat*, *tarikât*, *ma'rifat* und *hakikat*. Das erste Tor, *şeriat*, steht für die orthodoxe Pflichtlehre, worunter die vom Islam vorgeschriebenen Gebete, die rituellen Waschungen, die Pilgerfahrt und das Fasten

<sup>7</sup> MÜHLMANN 1962: 165.

fallen. Das zweite, *tarikât*, steht für die geheime, nur Mitgliedern zuteil werdende Lehre, und *ma'rifât*, das dritte Stadium, für die mystische Kenntnis Gottes. Das vierte Tor, *hakikat*, beinhaltet schließlich die persönliche Erfahrung des Göttlichen.<sup>8</sup>

Die Aleviten sahen sich bereits qua Abstammung auf die zweite Stufe gehoben, als die „Leute von *tarikât*“. Dadurch erachteten sie die Anforderungen von *şeriat* – die nach der Bektâşi-Ideologie unumgänglich sind, um auf die nächste Stufe zu gelangen – als nicht bindend. Ihrer Vorstellung nach waren die Sunniten, die „Leute von *şeriat*“, nicht über die erste Stufe hinausgelangt. Für die Aleviten galt *tarikât* gleichzeitig als ein Stadium, in dem Glaube innerlich gelebt wird und dadurch auf die äußerliche Bezeugung der Religion verzichtet werden kann. Die als sklavisch und heuchlerisch empfundene Erfüllung der islamischen Pflichtübungen seitens der Sunniten ist noch heute Gegenstand von Spott und Belustigung. Gleichzeitig dient sie als Begründung ihrer Geringschätzung der Sunniten. In alevitischen Liedern findet diese Einstellung mit folgendem Satz ihren literarischen Ausdruck: „*Şeriat dildedir, tarikât canda*“ (*Şeriat* ist auf der Zunge, *tarikât* in der Seele).

Auf den Unterschied zwischen sich und einem Sunniten angesprochen, legt der Alevi seine Hand aufs Herz und verkündet, es sei das Haus Gottes. Nur wer um den Gott im Menschen nicht wisse, glaube an die Notwendigkeit starrer Gebetsformeln. In dieser Erkenntnis liegt das alevitische Mysterium: *Hakikat kardaşı budur ki, Hakkı insanda ve insanı Hakta gören ...*“ (Bruder in *hakikat* ist der, der Gott im Menschen und den Menschen in Gott erblickt).

Nur wer in die Gemeinschaft hineingeboren wurde, konnte in den Besitz dieses Mysteriums gelangen. Esoterik und Endogamie dienten somit der Entwicklung und Stärkung einer ethnisch-religiösen Gruppenidentität. Dazu kam als Abgrenzungskriterium eine spezifisch alevitische Ethik, die in der Formel „*eline, diline, beline sahip olmak*“ (die Hände, die Zunge und die Lende beherrschen) zum Ausdruck gebracht wird. Die Einhaltung der darin implizierten Gebote verlieh den Aleviten in ihrem Selbstverständnis eine moralische Integrität, die weit über die ihrer sunnitischen Nachbarn hinausging. Die Beherrschung der Hände, der Zunge und der Lende steht symbolhaft für die Meidung aller von der Gemeinschaft als verwerflich definierten Handlungen: Diebstahl, Geheimnisverrat, üble Nachrede und tabuisierte sexuelle Handlungen.

Durch die umfangreichen sozialen, politischen und ökonomischen Veränderungen, die auf die Ausrufung der Republik folgten, erfuhr das Alevi-

<sup>8</sup> Zur Lehre der Vier Tore siehe BIRGE 1965: 101 ff.

tum eine entscheidende Umgestaltung, in deren Folge es viele seiner charakteristischen Merkmale eingebüßt hat. Die Ausdehnung innerstaatlicher Grenzen auf bis dahin weitgehend unkontrollierte Gebiete, die Einbeziehung peripherer Regionen in die marktwirtschaftliche Produktion, der Ausbau des Verkehrs- und Kommunikationsnetzes wie auch die Einführung der allgemeinen Schulpflicht lösten die Aleviten aus ihrer sozialen und geographischen Marginalität heraus und leiteten eine verstärkte Interaktion zwischen ihnen und den Repräsentanten des „Zentrums“ ein.

Atatürks Zielsetzungen wurden von dem größten Teil der Aleviten begrüßt und teilweise aktiv unterstützt. Viele von ihnen sahen in seiner Person den neuen Mahdi, der die seinerzeit in Schah Ismā'īl gesetzten Hoffnungen einzulösen schien: vor allem die Zerschlagung der Herrschaft der Osmanen und die Herstellung von sozialer Gerechtigkeit. Neben der Aufhebung des Sultanats war es die Abschaffung des Islam als Staatsreligion und die Streichung der religiösen Gerichtsbarkeit mit der damit einhergehenden Propagierung der Religionsfreiheit, die im Alevitum die Hoffnung erweckte, gleichberechtigte Mitglieder einer neuen Gesellschaft werden zu können.

Erleichtert wurde die Öffnung der alevitischen Gemeinschaft auch durch eine gewisse soziale Aufwertung, die ihr seitens der Republikaner zuteil wurde. Bei der Suche nach „nationalen Werten“ entdeckte man die Aleviten als Bewahrer einer von fremden Einflüssen freien, originären türkischen Kultur. Vieles, was ihre Häresie bis dahin ausmachte, galt nunmehr als „schamanistisch-türkisches“ Erbe, welches die Aleviten, trotz jahrhundertelanger osmanisch-islamischer Dominanz, in die Gegenwart hinüberzuretten vermochten.

All diese, in der „zentralen“ Gesellschaft vor sich gehenden Veränderungen, einschließlich der gewandelten Betrachtungsweise des Alevitums, trugen dazu bei, daß die „Außenwelt“ ihres Feindbildcharakters weitgehend entkleidet wurde.

Diese Entwicklung konnte naturgemäß nicht ohne Folgen auf die Binnenstruktur und das Selbstverständnis einer Gemeinschaft bleiben, die sich in den Jahrhunderten ihrer Geschichte durch die Abgrenzung gegen eine feindliche Umwelt definierte. Die Schranken, die im Alevitum im Interesse der Wahrung seiner Sonderidentität aufgestellt wurden, verloren unter den veränderten Bedingungen zunehmend an Bedeutung. Je mehr das Alevitum sich nach außen öffnete, um so häufiger und konsequenter wurden die Schranken übertreten, die es bis dahin zusammenhielten.

Als Folge zeigte sich eine allmähliche Auflösung der traditionellen sozial-religiösen Strukturen und ein Wandel in der Definition der alevitischen Identität. Im einzelnen manifestierte sich dies in dem Autoritätsver-

lust der religiösen Führungsschicht, welcher heute von der jüngeren Generation die Gefolgschaft verweigert wird. Da diese damit auch ihre Funktion als Schlichter und Rechtssprecher einbüßte, wurden zunehmend weltliche Gerichte als Schlichtungsinstanzen angerufen. Die nachlassende Bereitschaft, mit der Institution der Wahlbruderschaft (*musahiplik*) verbundene Verpflichtungen auf sich zu nehmen, führte zu deren Verschwinden. Die Veröffentlichung der alevitischen Katechismen (*Buyruk*) und die wachsende Zahl der Publikationen über die alevitische Religion in der Türkei zeigen, daß das Gebot der Geheimniswahrung kaum mehr befolgt wird. Am zähesten erwies sich noch das Gebot der Gruppenendogamie, auch wenn seine Umgehung gegenwärtig immer häufiger beobachtet werden kann. Das Gebot, mit Nicht-Gruppenmitgliedern in soziale und wirtschaftliche Interaktion zu treten, hat dagegen schon lange seine bindende Kraft verloren.

Parallel zu dieser Entwicklung, in deren Folge die dem Alevitum inwohnenden und sie am Leben erhaltenden Strukturen an Kraft und Wirksamkeit verlieren, verläuft das Schwinden nicht nur der besonderen religiösen Inhalte, sondern ganz allgemein der Religion selbst. Die kultischen Zusammenkünfte (*âyini cem*) werden immer seltener abgehalten, in manchen Gegenden fanden sie seit mehr als 25 Jahren nicht mehr statt. Die Weitergabe des religiösen Wissens, Privileg von „Heiligen Familien“, aus deren Reihen die religiösen Amtsträger hervorgegangen waren, ist mittlerweile unterbrochen. So wächst eine neue alevitische Generation heran, die über die Prinzipien des „Weges“ ihrer Vorfahren kaum noch im Bilde ist. Folgerichtig verlor für sie die Religion ihre bisherige Bedeutung als Identifikationsfaktor.

All dies führte jedoch nicht zu einem Verlust der alevitischen Identität: vielmehr wurde ihre bis dahin religiös formulierte Andersartigkeit unter veränderten Vorzeichen uminterpretiert. Was die Identität als Alevi in der jüngeren Generation ausmacht, ist das Bewußtsein einer historischen und sozialen Tradition, die sie durch die Jahrhunderte osmanischer Geschichte als Apologeten der Idee der sozialen Gleichheit und Gerechtigkeit auswies.

Auf dieser Grundlage konnte eine Assoziierung moderner ideologischer Strömungen mit der eigenen Tradition erfolgen. Dies bedeutet jedoch, daß die Inhalte, welche die Identität der jungen alevitischen Generation bestimmen, mit anderen Gruppen und Individuen geteilt werden können. Als grundsätzliche Frage bleibt dabei offen, ob die Aleviten unter den gewandelten Verhältnissen ihre Sonderidentität weiterhin werden bewahren können, oder ob sie mit der Zeit in größeren gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhängen aufgehen.

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**The Kurdish Alevi – Boundaries and Perceptions**

PETER J. BUMKE

*European perceptions (1)*

A sense of intrigue and curiosity is conveyed in many accounts which European travellers, from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onward, have relayed about the Alevi of Anatolia. Their apparently quite ancient forms of religious belief and practice tempted travellers and orientalists alike to sometimes rather bold historical conjectures regarding the origins of various elements in Alevi religion. What caused even further speculation was the strong bias introduced by their informants, usually Sunnis, who abhorring the lack of mosques, ritual ablutions and prayer among the Alevi, added spice with allegations of incestuous sexual practices during religious sessions. The somewhat evasive and discreet cultural style and deportment of the Alevi themselves did not facilitate the task of sorting out fact from fiction and unveiling the underlying principles and essential features of their religion. Obviously their particular form of *taqīya* (right to conceal the faith from outsiders) and the syncretistic, almost patchwork-like character of their religion are due to centuries of varying responses to outside challenges against their traditions.

*European perceptions (2)*

Many a West German social worker or teacher is in for an occasional surprise on realising that some foreign workers from Turkey, despite their rural background, send their daughters just as freely to school as their sons, let them choose a trade – if available – and tolerate their participation in social events. Often their sons adopt what they themselves would call a “progressive” or “humanistic” stance in political and public affairs and, by the same token oppose or shun the Islamic fundamentalist revival which enjoys increasing significance among other immigrant workers from Turkey.

Quite likely closer inquiry would reveal that these were Alevi families. Further efforts to find out what exactly it entails to be Alevi are invariably foiled by the young Alevis’ lack of interest and lack of knowledge of their religion. What, however, looks like their ready adaptation to German standards of behaviour gives rise to serious disapproval and signs of renewed contempt among more orthodox Sunni migrants from Turkey.

*The problem*

The boundaries of the Alevi group, then, obviously persist, yet items in the cultural freight of the Alevi “vessel,” to use Barth’s persuasive image of ethnic groups,<sup>1</sup> are constantly rearranged and replaced. While the Gnostic, Judeo-Christian, Buddhist, Manichean, Shamanist and Shi’ite sources of Alevi religion are discerned and ascertained through the mist of history,<sup>2</sup> the effects of economic and political marginalisation in the region, and of labour migration, make for drastic changes in the still evasive and fluctuating self-perception of the Alevis in villages, towns or in communities abroad.

If one considers the boundaries as externally imposed, there is good reason to consider the Alevis (as YALMAN and VAN BRUINESSEN do<sup>3</sup>) as one ethnic group or an equivalent thereof. This is certainly matched by a sense of common separateness shared by all Alevis. (This includes even a group – the Ahl-i Ḥaqq in Iran – geographically far removed from direct contact with the Alevis in Turkey, but, because of their religious doctrine, considered to be very close or even of the same *kabile*.) But within this sense of

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<sup>1</sup> BARTH, 1969: 14.

<sup>2</sup> MÉLIKOFF (1982).

<sup>3</sup> YALMAN (1969), VAN BRUINESSEN (this volume).

common separateness the very relevance of the boundaries has always been subject to locally determined variation. This is particularly true in the case of the Kurdish Alevis (here taken as Alevis who speak Kurmanci or Zazaki as their first language and (hence) consider themselves *grosso modo* as Kurds), who form the vast majority of the population in the province of Tunceli, their heartland, and a sizeable minority in the adjacent provinces of Erzincan, Bingöl and Elazığ. In addition they inhabit pockets, sometimes territorially unconnected, in Sivas, Malatya, Maraş and Adana to the west, and in Erzurum and Muş to the east. Moreover mass deportations to Central Anatolia in the 30's and the process of labour migration to the cities in Turkey and abroad have removed large sections of Kurdish Alevi society from the map of Eastern Anatolia without necessarily severing actual social relations.

It is the forms of social incorporation, of the symbols used to differentiate social categories and of the organisation of sociopolitical space, which determine the relevance of the boundaries of a given group and the way they are perceived by its members and others. Hardly anywhere in Anatolia have these forms undergone such dramatic – and for the participants, traumatic – changes as in Tunceli. In tracing their effects over the last decades and through the experiences of the two or three generations involved, Kurdish Alevi identity can be related to the social context which sustains it, largely modified, as it is, by external interventions and perceptions.

### *Social incorporation*

Among the various internal boundaries which criss-cross Kurdish Alevi society and which allow (or oblige) its members to be categorised according to sex, generation, membership of a particular family/household, tribal segment, village, tribe or tribal confederation, only one is described by Alevi villagers in religious terms: the *seyit* (holy men), traditionally the central focus of their religious organisation and practice are, by virtue of their pretensions to descent from one of the Twelve Imams, believed to be endowed with miraculous powers (*keramet*) and with knowledge of the "Way" (*yol*) of the Alevis. They are therefore set apart from the mass of ordinary villagers belonging to one or the other of the few dozen tribes (*aşiret*) in Tunceli. Relations between *aşiret*-households and *seyit* (who must ideally be endogamous) are hereditary on both sides. *Seyit*-lineages have parcelled out among themselves the entire Kurdish Alevi population, each segment being allotted a set of groups of *tālîp* (followers) in several *aşiret* to whom they function as *rehber* (*i. e.* whom they introduce to the



faith), and another set to whom they are *pir* (i.e. whom they lead along the Way, by counsel, prayer etc.). Since *seyit* tend to live close to their *tālîp*, members of the dozen or so Kurdish *seyit*-lineages have spread – originating as they say from Tunceli – and settled in the entire area inhabited by Kurdish Alevis. Moreover *seyit* in turn are also linked to a *rehber* and a *pir*, the former being *pir*, the latter *mürşit* or *pir-i-piran* to their own *tālîp*. This network encompasses thus the whole of Kurdish Alevi society, with nodal points in some *seyit*, who being recognized as particularly endowed with *keramet*, stand out from among other *seyit* as *dede*.

The *Bektaşî*-principle of the Four Gates (*dört kapı*), in which *şeriat* (Law), *tarikât* (Way), *marifet* (Awareness) and *hakikat* (Truth), are to be entered in ascending order, serves as a metaphor of the relationships entertained by a *tālîp* to *rehber*, *pir*, *müsahip* and *mürşit*. (*Müsahtiplik* here is a freely chosen life-long friendship between any two Alevis who are not kin. It involves generalised reciprocity and is sanctioned by the *pir* of either of them.)<sup>4</sup>

Whereas the older generation continues to show a certain respect for the *seyit* – but has nevertheless largely ceased to invite them to lead religious meetings (Kurmanci: *çevat*, or Turkish: *cem*) or to contribute to their upkeep –, the younger generation, even when of the *seyit*'s own group, has either grown altogether indifferent to their religious role or criticizes and attacks it from a political standpoint as “exploitative” or “feudal.” This difference in outlook between the generations permeates other areas of contemporary Kurdish Alevi village life and goes well beyond the phenomenon, found not only in Islamic lands, of older people feeling a greater attachment to religious values and greater need to fulfill the responsibilities involved. Rather it reflects the fact that the *seyit* complex, the organisational core of the Kurdish Alevis, was so intimately tied to or grafted upon tribal structure, and exposed to the same historical vicissitudes.

Periodic, and mostly unstable, alliances of tribal segments or tribes under the leadership of an *ağa* (in Tunceli: head of a tribal segment) or *aşîret reisi* (head of a tribe) were formed with a view to territorial expansion and competition for land and cattle. Invariably this entailed protracted vendettas, fed by a partisan moral rhetoric of retaliation and defence of honour, to which local ballads bear testimony to the present day, either lamenting upon or glorifying events according to their outcome.

Periodic peace could only be established by the *seyit* whose authority as arbitrators derived from their religious powers and from their prescriptive

<sup>4</sup> BUMKE, 1979: 534–538 for further details.

non-violence. They could play their mediating role in the interstices of tribal structure all the more effectively because their villages are generally strategically located in the land between neighbouring *aşiret* whose members were their *tālip*, and always opened the door to them: they arranged marriages and *kirve*-relationships (pseudo-kinship established at circumcision), extending their efforts to settle differences through a universal religious rhetoric. Similarly, but on a smaller scale, before a religious meeting could begin, the *seyit* was required to hear and arbitrate grudges.

This mediating role of the *seyit* could be transformed into one of more clearcut political leadership at times when conflicts involved groups beyond the Kurdish Alevis. Thus in 1916 a few *aşiret*, fearing that they would suffer the same fate as the Armenians the year before, rallied to Düzgün Baba, a major *ziyaret* (place of pilgrimage) in Eastern Dersim and controlled by *seyit* claiming descent from Hacı Kureyş. A decision was reached there to launch a preventive attack against Ottoman garrisons in towns nearby and to set fire to them. Ottoman troops deployed in a counter-attack were largely recruited from lowland Zazaki-speaking Şafii Kurds. In 1925 the Kurdish Alevis from Dersim acted in unison with the Turkish Republic, which was just about to abolish Islamic law, in order to take revenge on the Şafii Zaza, at the time in a state of rebellion under Şeyh Sa'îd. Finally in 1938, which was a decisive and sanguinary year in the history of Dersim/Tunceli, modern military machinery opened up this "abscess" (Atatürk) and crushed a rebellion led by yet another religious leader, Seyit Rıza. According to local historians 60,000 to 100,000 people died in the process.<sup>5</sup> Government institutions (police, tax, courts, roads, school, health) moved in in force for the first time, and confronted with these larger and more powerful agencies, the local units of social incorporation, particularly the *aşiret*, lost their political functions. Tributary rights of *ağa* and *aşiret reisi*—at no stage had a system of prestations developed in Dersim to the degree found in other Kurdish areas—could now no longer be enforced, because they hinged upon political leadership in tribal warfare, which was no longer the order of the day.

The social base of the *seyit* and their role as arbitrators and retainers of religious powers and knowledge was thus eroded. No longer were they sought after or given their due (*ciralık*, "kindling wood"), even though segments of tribes turned inward and virtually imploded in intensified conflict about land and cattle. These engaged in unresolved internecine feuds, on the village level, between village quarters, within lineages, even between brother and brother. The *seyit* were confined to tilling their land

<sup>5</sup> MURAT, 1973: 68; ŞIVAN, 1975: 94; see also DERSİMİ (1952).

as they had always done, sent their children to school and to urban workplaces as did everyone else, and became less strict about endogamy and preservation of *keramet* within the lineage. But they have, again like the other Alevi villagers, remained steadfast in their determination not to convert to another faith: “Ölmek var-dönmek yok” (Death rather than conversion).

### *Symbols – Alevi practices and tenets*

On looking for outwardly visible signs of a positive religious identity for the Kurdish Alevi in specific ritual observances, one easily gains the impression that theirs is a religion that is not, and need not be, practised.

Some, mainly older, people may fast for a few days at the beginning of *Muharram*, but hardly ever for the required full 12½ days. *Aşure*-soup shared on the 10<sup>th</sup> *Muharram* in memory of the martyrs at Karbalā', is seldom prepared, nor is the bread supposed to be distributed during *Katand* (Armenian New Year) and Hıdır-Ilyas. Similarly sacrifices during pilgrimages to a local *ziyaret*, mainly a concern of women and closely resembling Sunni practices, have become very sporadic. The food taboo regarding the hare, in Deut. 14.7. the structural opposite of the swine (“for they chew the cud, but divide not the hoof” (King James Bible)) gives rise to lively discussions, even during hare-hunting itself.

The almost total indifference of young Alevi to these practices contrasts with a somewhat stricter adherence to them on the part of their parents and grandparents and indicates a weakening of attitudes towards the obligatory character of religious precepts. Judging however from the spirit in which they are discussed, one must conclude that it is precisely this deep-rooted reluctance to approaching the Divine through ritual observance which is characteristic of the Alevi. This is borne out by the well-seasoned mockery and lighthearted ridicule which they reserve for the Sunnis, who “hit the ground with their head five times a day,” while committing just as many sinful acts before and afterwards as any other human being. The same holds true for what the Alevi deem to be merely another sign of Sunni bigotry, their obsession with ritual cleanliness of the body, whereas what is really required is inner cleanliness, purity of the heart and “mastery of one’s hands, tongue and loins” (*eline, diline, beline sahip olmak*), in everyday social life, with a view to getting close to the Divine in this world.

That emanations of God have always been present in this world, in the form of Noah and Moses, Jesus and Ali, Hacı Bektaş and the *seyit*, is a common and basic tenet shared by all Alevi. There may be arguments,

though, as to whether the Divine energy is still concentrated in some persons or has become lost in this epoch. Most young Kurdish Alevi favour a theory of "democratic" dissipation. Asked, where God resides, they assertingly point to their own heart, and then somewhat grudgingly to the heart of others. They maintain that it makes no difference with God and therefore should not make one for themselves, whether the heart belongs to an Alevi, Sunni, Christian or someone else. Hence they hold no notions of exclusiveness, and display no missionary zeal to convert others – all Alevi are born Alevi.

The ethical implications of their creed involve a concept of the equality of all human beings and a programme of social justice. The details of this somewhat vague and generous ethic are now filled out and discussed in terms of necessary political change. These terms are not derived from any branch of Islamic theology, but from modern Western political ideologies.

### *Symbols – orthodox views*

In such cases, where "ethnic" boundaries are religiously defined and the differentiating symbols and mutual perceptions are part of a far-reaching theological controversy, itself well established in the area for a long time, these boundaries cannot of course be chosen or modelled at will. The dispute involves arguments about body and spirit, the presence and emanations of God in this world or His utter transcendence, His revelations through prophets and the Book, and the origins of sin and evil etc.. Such boundaries are also unlikely to be easily and fully dissolved through societal change, or to be replaced or completely superseded by other symbols, e. g. political ones.

From an orthodox Sunni viewpoint the Alevi are clearly not Muslims, but unbelievers, since they do not take the Five Pillars seriously, pay only lip-services to Qur'anic precepts and show no recognition whatsoever of their duties to God. The range of their heretic fallacies, in Sunni eyes, is almost coterminous with avoidance of all that a pious Muslim is obliged to do. Reason and insight into the nature of God, His commandments and law, and into the fulfillment of ensuing duties, through compliance with purifying practices before confronting His transcendence in prayer, are all encompassed within the confines of orthodoxy.

But the matter can hardly rest there, theologically or historically. This state of affairs in which, beyond the boundaries of ritual cleanliness, pollution, a refusal to abide by His law, and even alleged incest are rampant, is a source of constant irritation and therefore potentially unstable. For believers who deem it imperative to cleanse bodily orifices ritually from the

unclean substances leaving or entering them, and perceive contact with the world as potentially contaminating and precluding any immediate communion with the Divine, the Alevis represent a pollution of the body of society. That they are "*pis*" (dirty) is indeed the final stereotype that Sunnis have of them. But Alevis are likely to quote another Sunni dictum, which proclaims that killing one *Kızılbaş*, as the Sunnis call them derogatorily<sup>6</sup>, is worth more than killing 72 ordinary *gâvur* (unbelievers). At this stage the Alevis' wit usually gives way to a more Shi'ite type of lamentation over their martyrs, from Karbalâ' to Maraş, where in 1978 hundreds of Alevis were killed in street-fights by followers of political parties, the MSP and MHP.

### *Sociopolitical space*

The fact that Turkish towns have become the setting for a reconfirmation of the Alevis' negative identity, in the full sense of the term, is certainly an outcome of migration. Whereas in villages in Tunceli effective social space is reorganized in such a way as to reduce contacts within the rural area, *i. e.* with the neighbouring villages of Kurmanci- or Zazaki-speaking Alevis, or with those of Sunni Kurds and Turks further away, links with provincial and subprovincial towns, with the larger cities and with places abroad have gained in importance during the last decades.

Kurdish Alevi migrants from Tunceli generally claim that they find access to educational institutions, which they are extremely eager to attend, and to workplaces extraordinarily difficult, because their birthplace alone seems to infect them with all sorts of heretic tendencies, real or assumed. This has induced them to search for a renewed universal framework in which they might reinterpret their own situation. In this a few major elements can be discerned.

Alevis have for a long time recognized religious poetry and songs as central forms of cultural expression. *Bektaşî*-poetry and songs by Pir Sultan Abdal, an Alevi mystic and social rebel executed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, were transmitted by the *seyit* and held in high esteem in the villages. They express an Alevi identity that has been formed in resistance to the establishment of the Ottoman variety of Traditional Domination. That Alevis perceive a certain affinity between their own traditions and modern views is quite likely due to this opposition. A reinterpretation and renewal of

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<sup>6</sup> Used for the followers of the Safavids, who used to wear red headgear (*kızılbaş* = red head) the term has subsequently come to designate a variety of heterodox groups in Anatolia and adopted a strongly pejorative flavour.

this cultural tradition through increasing complaints for social and political justice by contemporary *aşik* (bards) arose, and was well received in Kurdish Alevi villages. – It should be noted that the *aşik*, although they are in fact mostly Kurds, sing only in Turkish, which has always been the language used by the *seyit* in religious contexts, whereas Zazaki and Kurmanci are employed in everyday situations. – At the same time, the access to written texts gained by means of formal education has enhanced the assimilation of socialist thought and contributed to a merging of the Alevi's self-perception of their situation as a rejected religious minority on the one hand, and as an underprivileged social class on the other.

A further element is introduced into the assessment of their own condition by the fact that since political participation, social mobility and recognised cultural expression can be realised only by means of the one official language, Turkish, language has become a political symbol. Both Zazaki- and Kurmanci-speaking Kurdish Alevi in Tunceli maintain that since the Turkish secular state opened up the area, its economic and cultural development have remained curtailed. In this they tend to see manifold connections with the continuing ban on their language. Time and again an undercurrent of scepticism has thus surfaced as to the advantages and the practicability of assimilation, be it of individuals or *a fortiori* of the entire ethnic group. Across the religious boundary they have become aware of the similarity of their own situation with that of other Kurds, as a result of increased contacts in towns and growing familiarity with oral and written history.

Kurdish Alevi identity – founded on a religious style immune to and incompatible with Sunni orthodoxy and revival, anchored in and expressed through two languages that are unrecognized officially, and characterized by political views concomitant with both these elements – today affords ample confirmation for the long-standing defensive quality of its social boundary.

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## The Jews in Turkey

MARK EPSTEIN

The Jewish community of Turkey, which until the twentieth century was one of the world's major Sephardic communities, had diverse roots and numerous components. Its character changed repeatedly due to migrations, both forced and voluntary, the interplay of cultural forces within the community, and political factors.

Since antiquity there had been Jews throughout the Mediterranean world, and the Ottomans encountered established communities of varying size and influence in Anatolia and the Balkans, as well as in Istanbul after the conquest. From the XIVth century there are reports of Jews immigrating to the Ottoman Balkans from France, Hungary, and Italy, as well as mention of Jews from Germany and Spain.<sup>1</sup> In the Ottoman realms they found established Greek- and Slavic-speaking communities, and Turkish speaking Karaites<sup>2</sup> (the Karaites, sectarians who reject Rabbinical interpretation of Biblical text in favor of literal readings, lived not only in Byzantium and Iraq, but also in the Crimea and in Poland, where they still speak a Turkic dialect).

After the conquest in 1453, Mehmed the Conqueror ordered the *sürgün* (forced migration) to Istanbul of most Balkan Jews and some from Anatolia, to participate in the city's economic reconstruction. Surviving XVIth century records list some 1500 families of their descendants (we have no XVth century documentation of their numbers).<sup>3</sup> From 1453 until 1492, there were few Jews in the Balkans, though they maintained extremely active trade connections there, and some people registered in Istanbul resided for extended periods in the provinces to pursue commerce. In 1492, the Ottomans accepted a huge influx of Jews who had fled from the Spanish inquisition and settled in Istanbul, Salonika, and in numerous Balkan and Anatolian towns. They were followed by Portuguese Jews in 1497. In Istanbul, at the beginning of the XVIIth century the descendents of the pre-1492 congregations numbered approximately 1200 households, and those of the Sephardic newcomers some 970.<sup>4</sup>

In Salonika of the XVIth century there some 2500-3000 households, most Sephardic, representing more than fifty percent of the total population.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ROZANES 1930-38, I: 8-9, 128.

<sup>2</sup> DANON 1924-25: 296.

<sup>3</sup> EPSTEIN 1980: 178-180.

<sup>4</sup> EPSTEIN 1980: 186-188.

<sup>5</sup> See LEWIS 1952, and EPSTEIN 1980: 263-64.

The former capitals, Bursa and Edirne, had communities of 150–500 households at various times in the century, and numerous other provincial towns list populations of from 10 to 100 households and more.<sup>6</sup> In nearly every case we can associate the geographic distribution of the Jewish population with known water or overland trade routes, and there is substantial documentary and anecdotal evidence of the extensive role of the Jews in the internal and foreign trade of the Ottoman Empire, as well as in the operation of tax farms including customs, tolls, mines and minerals, dock administration, minting, and others.

In the course of the XVIth and XVIIth century there occurred an amalgamation within the Istanbul community, the most diverse Jewish community in the Empire, by which the old communities, (known now by their Spanish names as Gregos or Romaniotes ) became increasingly absorbed into the Sephardic community. As early as the 1510's the wealthy and influential Spaniards had been able to obtain control of the fiscal power in the Jewish community structure, and there followed a decline in the position of the Chief Rabbinate, an institution surviving from Byzantine times, which the Ottomans had maintained in office, as they had the Greek Patriarchate.<sup>7</sup> In addition to institutional change and a degree of intermarriage, repeated fires in Istanbul, especially in the XVIIth century, led to the physical dismemberment of Jewish neighbourhoods, and a breakdown in congregational structures. By the end of the XVIIth century most elements except the Karaites and some Ashkenazi Jews had been assimilated into the Sephardic community. Spanish became their common language, and Sephardic liturgy was used in most Istanbul synagogues.<sup>8</sup>

In Byzantine times the Constantinopolitan community had lived mostly along the Golden Horn, from near the present day Galata Bridge up to Balat, and around some of the gates in the land walls. There were also Genoese and Venetian Jews in Galata and Pera. The immigrants of 1453–55 settled primarily within the city walls along the Golden Horn, as did the Spanish immigrants of the 1490s. At the beginning of the XVIth century Jews must have constituted between a third and a half of the population within the city walls (many Christians lived in Galata and Pera, reducing their proportion of the population within the city itself). The XVIIth century fires led to the establishment of major Jewish neighbourhoods in Hasköy (across the Golden Horn from Balat) as well as places like Kuzguncuk, Ortaköy, and other villages along the Bosphorus, as Jew-

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<sup>6</sup> EPSTEIN 1980: 190 sup.

<sup>7</sup> See various articles in BRAUDE and LEWIS 1982, vol. 1.

<sup>8</sup> HEYD 1953: 299–314.



ish-owned land in their traditional quarters, including the site of the Yeni Valide Cami, was confiscated or forcibly leased from the community.<sup>9</sup>

After 1517 there were migrations of Ottoman Jews, especially scholars, from the Balkans and Istanbul to newly-conquered Palestine, particularly to Safed and Tiberias, where brilliant communities of mystics and their followers gathered, and to Jerusalem.<sup>10</sup> In the latter XVIth and the XVIIth century, mainly because of the decline of the Salonika wool trade, Jews left for the Adriatic Islands and for Izmir, attracted by the opportunities which European merchant communities provided.

There is little evidence of major demographic change in the XVIIIth century. However, in the late XIXth century, and into the first years of the XXth century there was a small influx of Ashkenazi Jews from Romania and the Bukovina, settling mostly in Galata. After the Balkan Wars many Jews from Salonika and the Greek islands chose to move to Istanbul, rather than live under Greek rule. A large proportion of these moved on after World War I, joining others who had already left for places including the United States, Latin America, Africa, and in a few cases the Far East.

In the first years after World War I there was also a movement of some Jews, who preferred Turkish to Syrian rule, from Damascus and Aleppo, and also the arrival of several hundred families of Karaites from the Crimea. In 1933, more than 100 German academics and intellectuals who lost their positions upon Hitler's accession, many of them Jews, accepted appointments to Turkish universities and public institutions.<sup>11</sup> There were, as well, a number of East European Jews who managed to make their way to Turkey in the course of World War II. Some stayed after the war, though most of the academics had left Turkey by 1953.

In 1948 about half the remaining 70,000 Turkish Jews left for the newly established state of Israel. These included not only Jews from Istanbul, but those from many provincial towns as well. Indeed, nearly all the Anatolian Jewish communities disappeared at this time, and most who chose not to go to Israel moved to Istanbul, where they have become assimilated into the community. Their often-distinctive local folkways and customs, which survived for centuries in relative isolation, are rapidly disappearing.

The emigration to Israel took many of the poorer Istanbul Jews, and there began the rapid collapse of neighbourhoods such as Balat, Hasköy and Kuzguncuk. Some of those who remained joined compatriots in

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> See COHEN 1982, HEYD 1966: 195-210, and HEYD 1956: 128-135.

<sup>11</sup> See WIDMANN 1973, whose bibliography reflects research up to the 1970s, and NEUMARK 1980.

Galata, or moved to newer, European-style neighbourhoods such as Şişli and Nişantaş, north of Taksim Square.

In the early 1950's difficult conditions in Israel induced many Jews to return to Turkey, but afterwards, when considerable pressure came to be exerted on the Greek community, the Jews feared similar measures might be directed at themselves and emigration commenced again. Many went to Israel, and some with means went to France or the United States. In 1977-80, when economic problems and terrorist violence made conditions difficult, emigration increased, slowing somewhat after the military take-over.

The emigration of the 1960's and 1970's brought about the end of such communities as Edirne and Çanakkale, whose members left for Istanbul or abroad. Today there are communities in Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara, and Bursa, and a few Jews scattered elsewhere in the country. The official Jewish figure for the size of the community is 25,000, but in actuality it must be considerably less.<sup>12</sup>

The majority of Istanbul Jews lives in Şişli, Nişantaş, and other neighbourhoods contiguous to them. Some still live in older parts of Galata, and only a few in Balat, Kuzguncuk, Ortaköy, and other neighbourhoods. Many spend the summer in the Princes' (Marmara) Islands and commute daily by steamer, while others have summer homes in areas along the Asian shore of the Marmara. These neighbourhoods tend to have relatively high concentrations of other non-Muslims as well.

In the XIXth century French became the most important European language in Turkey, and the schools established by the Paris-based Alliance Israélite Universelle encouraged the spread of French among the Jews. It is frequently the normal language of discourse in Turkish Jewish homes and society and, especially since the departure of many Turkish Jews for Israel in 1948, has tended to force out Judeo-Spanish.<sup>13</sup> French and Judeo-Spanish have both given some way to Turkish among younger generations, Spanish having suffered most. It is increasingly common for Turkish Jewish children to understand some Spanish but be unable to speak it. A tendency to attend foreign-run, private secondary schools has helped keep alive the tradition of acquiring a good knowledge of European languages, generally French and English, and sometimes Italian; German survives among the Ashkenazi community. Among people raised before the 1950's a good knowledge of Greek, and sometimes Armenian, was not

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<sup>12</sup> According to some private estimates. The Government accepts the official figure.

<sup>13</sup> Also known as Ladino. A newspaper, *Şalom*, is still printed in this language weekly, in the Turkish form of the Roman alphabet.

uncommon, but here again Turkish has become the common language among young people.

The decreased size of the community, due to emigration, has had the inevitable result of reducing the pool of marriagable young people, and has probably contributed to an increased rate of intermarriage, often with members of other non-Muslim minorities, but increasingly with Muslims as well. The Karaites seem less inclined to marry into the other non-Muslim groups. Also, the Sabbatians<sup>14</sup> (descendants of Jews who followed the XVIIth century false messiah Sabbatai Zevi into Islam while adhering to a form of Crypto-Judaism) have increasingly married into the general Muslim community, of which they are nominally a part. The result of this progressive loss of identity is that their formerly secret rites are ceasing to be passed on.

Trade and commerce are the dominant professions of Turkish Jews, with a very few in the free professions, journalism, and the academic world. Few are active in politics or public life: a tendency which the steady emigration has certainly reinforced.

Today the Turkish Jewish community finds itself reasonably secure from the standpoint of personal and professional lives, and the use of Turkish is more common than in previous generations. But the community also has ties abroad, and often looks to relatives and Turkish Jewish communities in Israel, Europe and the United States for its intellectual and spiritual sustenance.

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### **Alevisme nomade: des communautés de statut à l'identité communautaire**

ALTAN GOKALP

Plus d'un demi siècle après les débuts de la République turque, qui consacre le primat d'un Etat-Nation centralisateur, unitaire aussi bien sur le plan territorial qu'ethnique et religieux, ce qui faisait la spécificité du système ottoman avec la variété de ses statuts socio-économiques, juridiques et culturels disparaît, du moins sur le plan politique. Un changement et une planification linguistiques sans précédent achèvent cette transition vers un projet qui, au sein de la plupart des Etats-Nations nouvellement constitués, est devenu monnaie courante aujourd'hui: la toute puissance de l'Etat, une reconnaissance folklorisée - donc récupérée au service de l'identité nationale - des cultures et identités locales, marginales, périphériques. L'altérité commence aux frontières de l'Etat-Nation, elle ne le traverse pas.

Le monde tribal anatolien constitue un bon exemple de ce processus paradoxal. En effet, tout en étant situé au cœur de l'identité «néo-turque» comme la mémoire vivante d'une histoire glorieuse dans la lointaine Transoxiane, survivants des vagues de cavaleries conquérantes qui déferlent sur la Méditerranée, ces «Turcs», «Turkmènes», «Oğuz» «retrouvent vite leur vrai statut sociologique dès que l'errance du nomade (l'instabilité) et la différence religieuse revendiquée (l'Alevisme) sont mises dans la balance: quand ils ne sont pas considérés comme les laissés-pour-compte de la société turque, victimes de leur ignorance et de leurs superstitions, ils se-

ront les suppôts du «collectivisme/satan» pour les pouvoirs de droite, «diviseurs» et «séparatistes» dans la langue de bois du pouvoir à la recherche de boucs émissaires. Les quasi-pogroms de Maraş, récemment, qui visaient la communauté Alevî démontrent, s'il en est besoin, que de telles incitations trouvent preneur.

Pour des raisons historiques – l'histoire des descriptions et des travaux à caractère anthropologique consacrés aux cultures d'Anatolie et, dans une certaine mesure, la place qu'occupe une science turcologique jeune dont les débuts datent des années 1830 – et en raison de sa mobilisation au service d'une construction idéologique-nationale, le Turquisme, la littérature consacrée au monde tribal anatolien, ne permet pas toujours de démêler l'écheveau des identités multiples, croisées et «instables» qui structurent des cultures parcellaires.

*Yörük, Türkmen, Alevî, Abdal, Tahtacı, Bektaşî, Kızılbaş, Konar Göçer* (la liste n'est pas close), tels sont déjà des «ethnonymes» qui sont utilisés vis-à-vis de «ceux qui ne sont pas pareils» (que nous) pour marquer la différence avec une gamme d'étiquettes qui constituent un paradigme: le choix de l'une de ces étiquettes (ou de plusieurs en complémentarité) permet de «moduler» la qualification d'un groupe dans sa position par rapport à «nous»: être *yörük*, c'est bien, c'est le «bon sauvage», innocent et proche de la Nature. *Türkmen*, c'est déjà différent: ce sont des gens qui ont su dire «non» à «l'ottoman», fiers, gardiens jaloux d'une tradition faite des qualités archaïques de la Turcité. Les romans de Yaşar Kemal parlent admirablement de ces «fils du vent» dans les *sagas* des Grands Lignages de la plaine d'Adana et des Taurus. Les *Alevî*, c'est la différence organisée et structurée, puis la masse démographique aux contours – volontairement? – flous: combien sont-ils en Turquie dans les années 1980? Le quart de la population totale? 10 millions, douze? *Kızılbaş*, l'inceste! On peut continuer ce voyage dans un paradigme dont la richesse sémantique permet de penser ces identités différentes à travers une sélection et l'association de plusieurs «traits distinctifs».

On pourra dire ainsi que les *Kızılbaş* sont des *Bektaşî* ruraux, des *Alevî* «fanatiques» ou que les *Tahtacı* sont des *Yörük, Alevî* qui se distinguent des *Çepni* qui sont, eux, *Türkmen, Kızılbaş* et *Alevî*. Plus savant, on dira: «jamais un *Yörük* ne se dira *Türkmen*; jamais un *Türkmen* ne se dira *Yörük*» Assertion fautive, bien entendu. Les dimensions du présent travail ne permettent pas d'analyser en détail et de développer la multiplicité des raisons complexes de la différenciation *Alevî/Kızılbaş*.

Le terme *Alevî* est d'abord une référence doctrinale; il désigne les «sui-vieurs», les épigones d'Ali. La dimension est donc religieuse au départ et les Sunnites l'utilisent comme équivalent à «hétérodoxes».

Le terme *Kızılbaş*, attesté même chez les voyageurs occidentaux, est dans la tradition turque une référence politique au départ. Les *Kızılbaş* sont les adeptes armés (*murīd*) de Sheik Cuneid, puis de Shāh Īsmā'īl le Safévide dont les *murīd* s'appelleront les *Sūfiyān*, qui sont les *Kızılbaş*, les Têtes Rouges. On sait que Shah Īsmā'īl est le souverain Safévide battu par les Ottomans en 1515, d'origine turkmène lui-même, et qui se considérait comme la réincarnation d'Ali. Ses partisans seraient appelés «Têtes Rouges» en raison de la calotte de turban «à douze plis – en souvenir des douze *imām* –» qui aurait été leur signe distinctif et de ralliement.

Aujourd'hui, la différence entre Alevî/*Kızılbaş* est d'ordre sémantique: elle différencie le degré d'excommunication socioculturelle que leur opposent les Sunnites. Dans ce contexte le terme *Kızılbaş* évoque la calomnie de la pratique de l'inceste rituel (*mum söndü*: litt. «bougie éteinte») qui suivrait le rituel d'initiation à la confrérie, l'*âyin-i cem*.

Bien que caricaturaux et incorrects, ces «exemples» correspondent tout à fait à l'usage que dans la société turque contemporaine et dans nombre d'ouvrages anthropologiques on continue de faire dans la désignation et la caractérisation des groupes en question.

Pour voir clair dans ce paradigme, ces identités pluridimensionnelles multiples et en apparence contradictoires, il convient, dans une approche minimale, de prendre en considération trois ordres de faits socio-culturels et historiques qui, dans la réalité sociologique, se complètent.

- a. Les principes et les catégories de l'organisation tribale des systèmes turco-mongols ainsi que les formes de leur réalisation effective en Anatolie,
- b. Le statut juridique des systèmes communautaires dans l'Empire Ottoman,
- c. Les avatars de l'hétérodoxie chi'ite en Anatolie.

a. *Les systèmes turco-mongols d'Asie centrale et le tribalisme anatolien*

Les excès d'une turcologie exclusivement philologique, les délires des pan-turkismes militants dont le dernier avatar serait le discours idéologique d'un colonel Tūrkeş ne doivent pas conduire à «jeter le bébé avec l'eau du bain»: les cultures turques d'Anatolie ont bien des traits communs précis avec les cultures de l'aire turco-mongole dont elles sont issues. Une approche ethno-linguistique sérieuse permet d'établir, avec un luxe de détails, le contenu des domaines où le passé centre-asiatique persiste dans les cultures turques d'Anatolie et y résurgit; non pas en survivances mais en structures profondes.

La parenté et l'organisation sociale, les catégories de l'espace et de l'orientation, du temps ... les formes les plus codées et les plus ritualisées de la vie sociale constituent ainsi des lieux où la pérennité des systèmes antérieurs semble assurée.

Tout se passe en effet comme si, dans la périphérie du complexe socio-culturel turco-mongol dont il est issu, le système culturel anatolien était le siège d'un double mouvement. Une profonde mutation globale, d'abord, par l'action du rouleau compresseur ottoman qui impose un modèle de société doublement étranger au monde turco-mongol: le modèle islamique de société et le modèle byzantin de pouvoir sont les deux pôles de cette nouvelle société qui dès les premiers temps mettra tout en œuvre pour «normaliser» les différences, celle des tribus Oğuz-Turkmène ancêtres des nomades d'aujourd'hui. Le deuxième mouvement est justement celui d'un refus tenace de la part de ces systèmes nomades qui subissent la loi ottomane. Ce sont eux qui s'acharneront à préserver les systèmes traditionnels qui sont les leurs, en héritage du passé centre-asiatique, et réussiront dans une large mesure, notamment dans les éléments constitutifs de leur identité différentielle par rapport au système ottoman. En d'autres termes, le monde nomade et dans une certaine mesure rural-sédentaire anatolien a pu fonctionner comme un véritable conservatoire des archaïsmes d'un système socio-culturel dont l'histoire l'a séparé dès le neuvième siècle. Le cas est sociologiquement assez répandu à travers le monde: les cultures périphériques, éloignées du «centre» ont tendance à se replier sur leur capital culturel, à en assurer la gestion et la transmission dans un contexte de conservatisme rigoriste (comme c'est le cas pour les communautés indiennes en Afrique aujourd'hui, par exemple).

La terminologie relative aux catégories de l'organisation sociale des groupes du domaine turco-mongol constitue ainsi une nomenclature que l'extension géographique des groupes de référence, les transformations linguistiques et les successions de types de sociétés politiques très différentes les unes des autres, n'ont pas modifiée de manière notable sur le plan de ses composantes. Ainsi, des termes de base tels que *il/el*, *boy/boδ*, *boδun*, *ulus*, *kün*, *törö*, *aymağ*, *obog/oba*, *aul* etc. sont attestés depuis les inscriptions runiques d'Orkhon et sont pertinents aussi dans les dénominations du nomadisme tribal anatolien actuel, sinon récent<sup>1</sup>.

Cela dit, ce que l'on a pu constituer comme type idéal à partir des don-

<sup>1</sup> Pour une analyse détaillée des nomenclatures et des catégories de la parenté et de l'organisation sociale des Turkmènes d'Anatolie, voir GOKALP: *Têtes Rouges et Bouches Noires: une confrérie tribale de l'Ouest anatolien*. Paris, Société d'Ethnographie, 1980. Aussi: «Le dit de l'os et du clan». De l'ordre segmentaire oghouz au village anatolien, dans: *L'HOMME* 102 Avr-Juin 1987, XXVII, pp. 80-98.

nées de la philologie des langues et civilisation turques depuis un siècle apparaît plutôt comme un écran à la connaissance anthropologique; dans la mesure où c'est une dynamique de relativité structurale, pour prendre la formulation de E. Evans-Pritchard, qui sous-tend, en Anatolie comme dans la Haute-Asie, les mécanismes de constitution et de définition des entités en segments primaires, secondaires etc. de l'ensemble «tribal». Cet ensemble lui-même que le terme «tribu» traduit mal, comme partout ailleurs, a été relativement mal «conceptualisé» et présenté par les grands fondateurs de la Turcologie (Vambéry, Radloff, etc.). Le schéma général qui prévalut, et qui survit dans la littérature «orientaliste» consacrée au domaine tribal anatolien, est celui des «pères fondateurs»: les systèmes tribaux turco-mongols sont, dans cette conception, des constructions socio-politiques fortement intégrées et hiérarchisées suivant les lignes d'une structure pyramidale, le chef suprême étant le *xan/kağan/khān*: une réplique des royautes «occidentales» en quelque sorte, avec une cour et des suzerains que seront les *beg/bey*.

A cet égard, il est intéressant de regarder de près la vision du système tribal anatolien à travers le travail d'un ethnographe dont les épigones seront nombreux durant la période républicaine en Turquie. Ce travail est dû à un médecin grec de Smyrne, qui, dans les années 1880, entreprend de décrire les populations *yörük* d'Anatolie, avec une extension qui va de l'Ouest égéen vers les massifs de l'Est. Le docteur TSAKYROGLOU (Çakıroğlu)<sup>2</sup> recense ainsi dans son ouvrage intitulé *Peri Giouroukon* «les *yürtiks*, soixante-dix-sept «tribus» (pour lesquelles il utilise le terme grec *phylai* auquel il donne l'équivalent «ottoman» *aşiret*). Ces *phylai/aşiret* se subdivisent en *gheni* (*gens/genos*): *kabile*. Le dernier niveau est *sinoikias*: «mahalle». Le travail de Tsakyroglou est une contribution au débat ethnographique sur la détermination de la nature du système tribal anatolien, de plusieurs points de vue.

En premier lieu par l'exactitude factuelle: sa liste des 77 *phylai* n'épuise pas bien entendu l'ensemble des formations tribales nomades d'Anatolie. Mais, tous les noms qu'il cite et les régions d'hivernage et d'estivage de ces groupes correspondent aux nomenclatures des coutumiers ottomans, beaucoup plus anciens; ces nomenclatures comprennent plus de détails sur l'extension géographique de chacun des groupes mentionnés dans Tsakyroglou.

En second lieu, par le fait que le Docteur Tsakyroglou, à la différence des descriptions – parcellaires, parfois contradictoires, de seconde main – des voyageurs occidentaux, présente une re-présentation des catégories in-

<sup>2</sup> TSAKYROGLOU, Michail: *Peri Giouroukon*, Ethnologhiki meleti, Athènes 1891.



digènes, à la fois du dedans et du dehors: il classe ainsi la totalité des 77 formations dans la catégorie *yürük* alors que nombre de ces groupes tribaux sont désignés sous la rubrique «turkmène» dans les documents ottomans antérieurs; l'appellation *ekrād* (pluriel de *kurde*) concerne aussi certains de ces groupes «*yörüks*» chez Tsakyroglou. Le docteur/ethnographe ne se trompe pas: ces groupes, anciennement turkmènes ou kurdes, sont devenus *yörük*, par la perte d'un statut juridique, statut dont on envisagera les principes et le fonctionnement plus loin.

Présentation du dedans par le recours à la terminologie «indigène» des catégories d'organisation sociale tribale, mais du «dehors» aussi par les équivalences que Tsakyroglou donne en grec et ottoman (arabe): les domaines indo-européen (grec), arabe, et turco-mongol sont ainsi intégrés dans un ensemble autour d'un même objet, le système tribal anatolien.

Ce qui semble intéressant dans cette représentation «d'ethnographie indigène», c'est le fait que dans la pratique de la vie sociale le tribalisme anatolien se manifeste surtout autour de trois plans de signification: politique, lignager et territorial, sans que ces trois plans s'articulent dans le quotidien. Le niveau politique, c'est celui de l'*aşiret/phylai* «tribu» avec le titulaire d'un pouvoir aux contours mal définis: le *beg/bey*. Pour le plan lignager, Tsakyroglou adopte le terme arabe *kabile* qu'il désigne comme équivalent de la «gens» (*gheni*), en négligeant, de manière significative, le terme turco-mongol générique *oba*. On comprend cette gêne dans la mesure où, constituant l'horizon structural du lignage et le niveau minimal d'une chefferie segmentaire, le niveau *oba*, élément d'un ensemble de segments structurellement équivalents, est, par nature, pluri-fonctionnel. Véritable modèle réduit de la structure tribale globale, *oba* est le siège des fonctions politiques lignagères et territoriales. Ces fonctions sont mises en œuvre dans les rapports avec d'autres segments structurellement équivalents, soit d'autres *obas*: la Belgique et l'Inde ont le même «poids» dans le vote aux Nations Unies, s'agissant là de deux Etats «structurellement» équivalents; il en est de même du niveau *oba* de la structure tribale turco-mongole dans sa réalisation anatolienne, indépendamment de la taille de ces *obas*.

Les données ethnographiques, historiques, philologiques disponibles aujourd'hui sur l'ensemble des cultures de l'aire turco-mongole, l'apport de la théorie anthropologique dans le domaine de l'analyse des sociétés segmentaires permettent de caractériser le système tribal anatolien avec précision comme une chefferie segmentaire, avec le rôle particulier et plurifonctionnel dévolu au segment minimal *oba*, véritable cheville ouvrière du système tribal dans ses rapports avec le système étatique centralisé ottoman. Les modes d'adaptation du système tribal aux contraintes de la rationalité poli-

tique et l'administration ottomane ont eu pour conséquence la modification incessante de la consistance démographique, des fonctions actives de ce modèle réduit de la tribu qu'est *oba*: d'où l'aspect quelque peu déconcertant de cette entité à «géométrie variable». Les catégories telles que «tribu», «clan», «lignage» utilisées en descripteurs génériques permettent de cerner la réalité tribale du point de vue du pouvoir central, en tout cas de l'extérieur. Le résultat n'est pas du tout indifférent: décrit en termes de société hiérarchisée de structure pyramidale, le système tribal anatolien tardif n'apparaît que comme une survivance, alors que, décrite en termes de chefferie segmentaire avec le rôle spécifique dévolu du niveau *oba*, la structure tribale anatolienne livre sa spécificité et les mécanismes de son adaptation à un environnement hostile, jusqu'à aujourd'hui.

b. *Le statut juridique des systèmes communautaires dans l'Empire ottoman*

Les caractéristiques structurales des systèmes tribaux de l'aire turco-mongole ne suffisent pas à expliquer les adaptations spécifiques à travers le temps et l'espace. Le modèle général de la chefferie turco-mongole est constitué de niveaux d'organisation sociale bien différenciés et articulés prévoyant chaque fois les catégories spécifiques du territoire, le groupe social qui y est associé et le titulaire de la souveraineté politique. Bon nombre des niveaux primaires (*il/el, ulus*) et secondaires (*boy, oymak/aymağ*) se voient substituer des désignations «étrangères» de la part du pouvoir central ottoman. Le problème réside dans le fait que les nomenclatures appliquées aux systèmes tribaux d'Anatolie puisent dans plusieurs registres de nature différente. L'impression qui prévaut est celle d'une grande confusion dans l'usage des termes alors que le recours par le pouvoir ottoman à l'un ou l'autre des registres, l'utilisation de termes différents pour une même réalité sociale apparente, traduisent avant tout des intentionnalités politiques, administratives, fiscales etc.

Le principe de la rationalité ottomane dans ses rapports avec ses administrés – surtout ceux qui sont organisés en identités différentielles: ethniques, religieuses, professionnelles etc. – est relativement simple. En effet, tout procède de la reconnaissance d'un «statut juridique». Traditionnellement, c'est le concept coranique de «milla» (*millet* en ottoman) qui est mis en œuvre. Ce concept, à l'instar des «*nationes*» bibliques désigne avant tout une «communauté de religion» (avec l'accent mis au sens étymologique: *re-ligio*; lier ensemble). Pour le pouvoir ottoman il est donc question, en priorité, des «*nations*», celles qui ont «foi dans les religions du Livre» (*ehl-i kitāb*): Juifs, Chrétiens, Musulmans. Ces «*nations*», avec la diversité ethnique qui se fait jour chez les chrétiens, sont organisées en communau-

tés *cemā'āt*, gèrent leur vie spirituelle par l'entremise d'un chef religieux, lui-même interlocuteur privilégié du pouvoir ottoman. La situation, qui a déjà tendance à dérapier avec les communautés chrétiennes (voir à cet égard les lettres au Sultan du Catholikos arménien pour empêcher le prosélytisme protestant au sein de la communauté arménienne de l'Empire)<sup>3</sup> devient périlleuse dans le cas des différenciations au sein de l'Islam. Un ostracisme permanent, plus ou moins violent, frappe ainsi les *Alevî* dont la religion jugée «hérétique» ne peut faire l'objet d'une reconnaissance juridique de la part du Pouvoir. En mettant les choses au mieux, il seront tolérés.

Tout se passe donc comme si les régimes ottomans successifs avaient fait preuve d'une grande continuité dans la prise en charge et la gestion des entités différentes: c'est ce que nous désignons aujourd'hui autour du concept de «*corporate group*» qui traduit le mieux les rapports du pouvoir central ottoman avec des interlocuteurs organisés en «groupes de statut». Chaque groupe de statut est ainsi régi par un registre juridique spécifique, allant des coutumiers hérités de l'époque de Soliman le Magnifique aux multiples décrets occasionnels. C'est ainsi que le monde tribal et nomade ressortit à cet ensemble de communautés de statut, sous l'appellation *cemā'at*. Les groupes désignés sous l'appellation *cemā'at* sont donc ceux qui bénéficient d'un statut juridique, notamment dans le domaine de la fiscalité. Par exemple, les *cemā'āt-i turkmān* dont le statut juridique est rattaché au *hāşş'* (domaine impérial) d'*Üsküdar evi* doivent payer l'impôt annuel au profit de la maison impériale pour le compte de la «maison d'Üsküdar» (la Reine Mère). De même, le groupe appelé *Yaycı Bedir* reçoit – dans le passé – les commandes impériales de confection des arcs (*yay*), d'autres sont chargés d'assurer les transports, la menuiserie des bateaux etc., soit les besoins d'une économie de guerre, en échange d'un statut juridique privilégié, qui épargne aux tribus les exactions des seigneurs locaux, sur le plan de la fiscalité mais aussi sur celui de la juridiction pénale.

Ce sont ces ensembles tribaux nomades, groupes de statut «privilegié» en raison du rattachement direct à la juridiction de la maison impériale qui reçoivent essentiellement l'appellation *cemā'āt-i-türkmān*. Ils bénéficient en conséquence d'un statut de prestige auprès des autres formations tribales qui, même si elles sont de même origine, ne partagent pas le même statut.

Ceux de ces *cemā'āt* qui, par suite de scissions, conflits ou sédentarisations avortées, quittent la communauté-mère, reçoivent néanmoins un statut ambigu de *muḳāṭa'a* (fraction/concession). Les textes mentionneront ainsi «le groupe (X), *Musacalu muḳāṭa'asi, türkmān muḳāṭa'asi* etc.» pour

<sup>3</sup> UBICINI: Lettres sur la Turquie, 2. ed., Paris 1853.

souligner l'existence d'un groupe de statut de rattachement, donc d'un régime juridique particulier le cas échéant.

En l'absence de régime et de statut juridique spécial, deux désignations prévalent: celle d'*ekrād* (pluriel de kurde) ou de *yürükān* (pluriel de *yörük*) ou encore d'*abdālān*, *çingāne* etc. («Abdals, Tsiganes» *q. vv.*). Le terme *yörük* provient, on le sait, de la racine turque archaïque *yori-* (marcher). Le terme désigne donc une entité générique, les «nomades», qu'un coutumier ottoman prend en compte: «*yörüge toprak olmas, kande olursa gezerler*»: «point de terre (patrimoine) pour les *yörük*, ils nomadisent partout à leur guise (sans entraves de la part des sédentaires)».

Pour l'administration ottomane, les clans, lignages ou les groupes locaux qui portent un nom (caractéristique du niveau *oba*): qui se termine par le suffixe *li/lü/lu* etc. «ceux de» ou «ceux qui ont des ...»: comme *Ahmetlü* «ceux de Ahmed», *Kara keçili* «ceux qui ont des chèvres noires», ou encore un nom suggestif du terroir d'origine (*Anamaslu*: ceux d'*Amanos*) sont intégrés dans une catégorie générale de *tāyfa* (bande, gens de, etc.).

En d'autres termes, ce qui est déterminant pour le système ottoman est une définition des communautés en termes de groupe de statut et un régime juridique affecté aux statuts particuliers. En ce sens, ce qui caractérise le système ottoman c'est une grande cohérence dans la définition d'une rationalité juridique et administrative qui gère les identités différentielles, en intégrant le système tribal-nomade dans la même catégorie que les autres communautés de statut (à base religieuse-ethnique). Cela dit, un tel choix signifie aussi le refus de tout ce qui ne cadre pas avec une telle rationalité. En conséquence, il s'agit là de la négation même de l'identité tribale et de ses mécanismes fondamentaux en tant que tels. C'est cette impossibilité de développement spécifique dans le cadre d'une vie tribale en pleine possession des moyens de ses choix de société qui semble avoir conduit, et très tôt, le nomadisme tribal anatolien à adopter un «profil bas», mobilisant toutes les ressources dans la survie du niveau tribal qui préserve le mieux les caractéristiques de la structure globale: c'est ainsi que le segment minimal *oba* est parvenu à survivre jusqu'à nos jours en s'adaptant sans relâche aux circonstances nouvelles, comme un lieu privilégié du déploiement de la dynamique lignagère.

*c. «L'hétérodoxie» d'inspiration chi'ite (l'Alevisme) et le monde tribal anatolien*

Aux problèmes somme toute classiques que rencontre une minorité déçue à poursuivre les traditions spécifiques d'une culture d'altérité - le nomadisme pastoral anatolien est une bonne illustration de ce choix de société - s'ajoute, dans le cas des nomades *yörük/türkmen/tahtacı/abdāl* etc.,

la dimension religieuse, constitutive d'une différence irréductible: l'Alevisme.

Une abondante littérature présente l'Alevisme anatolien en privilégiant deux de ses dimensions: philosophique-doctrinale en une variante du chiïsme, d'une part, et la dimension «culturelle-littéraire», de l'autre, qui se manifeste par une littérature mystique (*tasavvuf*). Dans sa réalisation turque celle-ci parvient à créer, transmettre et diffuser une réflexion philosophique d'un grand raffinement jusqu'au cœur des populations nomades. La réflexion philosophique, la création littéraire et la ferveur religieuse d'une foi de combat se matérialisent dans cette culture de l'hétérodoxie.

Parallèlement à l'aspect culturel de cette religion à part entière qu'est l'Alevisme, il existe un autre d'ordre «organisationnel». En effet si la culture commune donne une mémoire collective de solidarité douloureuse aux Alevî, tant ils furent réprimés tout au long de leur histoire, cette identité culturelle différentielle ne constitue pas le seul pôle de cristallisation des fidèles de cette religion. En effet, une double structure organisationnelle sur le plan communautaire et sur le plan «lignager», dont les éléments fonctionnent en relative autonomie, permet à l'ensemble de résister aux agressions de l'extérieur – historiquement fréquentes – et de survivre en se reproduisant au sein des communautés locales de base.

On rattache traditionnellement l'Alevisme à l'ordre des Bektachi dont le rôle historique et l'extension géographique, ainsi que la doctrine, soulèvent de nombreuses questions mal élucidées, notamment la possibilité de ses rapports avec l'hérésie paulicienne à Byzance, ses avatars bogomiles dans les Balkans etc.

Ces liens avec l'ordre des Bektachi sont patents et, dans une première approche, doivent être envisagés en termes d'allégeance tant doctrinale qu'institutionnelle, à tel point que les Alevî sont parfois – et de manière hâtive – appelés des «Bektachis ruraux».

En fait, l'ordre des Bektachi (aboli depuis les réformes kémalistes de laïcisation du pays en 1925 sur le plan de son existence légale) compte deux catégories de dignitaires: les *dede*, astreints au célibat monastique, «vicaire» du fondateur de l'ordre, Hacı Bektaş Velî, «fils spirituels» (*yoġ evladi*) de celui-ci. Les *dede* («grands-pères») se distinguent des *Çelebi*, qui sont eux considérés comme les descendants «fils du sperme» (*bel evladi*) de l'ancêtre éponyme de l'ordre. Alors que les *Çelebi* reçoivent l'allégeance spirituelle (et matérielle) des Alevî, exerçant sur eux une compétence juridictionnelle, morale et culturelle, les *dede* n'exercent que des fonctions exclusivement monastiques au sein des Bektachi.

Le rattachement organisationnel des Alevî à la maison mère s'opère à travers la reconnaissance, par les communautés locales, de la magistère spi-

rituelle d'un «foyer» (*ocak*), terme qui désigne à la fois le maître spirituel et son école. Les ancêtres fondateurs de ces foyers sont généralement des dignitaires Bektachi, historiquement célèbres, certains des douze imams de la tradition chi'ite générale, ou encore certains détenteurs de «savoirs» ou de prodiges (guérisseurs) légendaires. L'allégeance à l'un de ces foyers de la part des Alevî se traduit par la reconnaissance du magistère d'une autre catégorie de «grand-père» (*dede*) (différent de ceux qui, à la maison mère, sont astreints au célibat monastique). Ce *dede*, titulaire de la charge d'un foyer, s'appelle aussi «*ocak zade*» (descendant de foyer). Ce sont ces *dede* qui se voient attribuer par la tradition la responsabilité d'un certain nombre de communautés locales dispersées à travers le territoire anatolien et qui constituent sa juridiction/paroisse. Une fois par an, le *dede* visite ces communautés et y exerce les rôles de l'officiant lors des cérémonies d'initiation qui sanctionnent l'entrée dans les communautés locales.

La communauté locale dispose d'une structure autonome. Elle se compose d'un chef religieux, dont la charge est héréditaire, et de l'ensemble de ceux qui sont initiés dans la confrérie que constitue la communauté locale. Le chef religieux porte le titre de *baba* («père»). L'initiation s'opère à travers un rituel dit *eş tutma* («prendre pareil»)⁴. Cette institution consiste, pour un homme, à se choisir un «ami» dès son adolescence, un compagnon dont les liens de fraternité doivent subir l'épreuve des années et des circonstances diverses. Ce n'est qu'une fois mariés que les compagnons peuvent faire la demande d'initiation, accompagnés de leurs épouses respectives. La confrérie, composée elle-même de «couples conjoints» initiés, reçoit les nouveaux couples lors du rituel annuel de communion appelé *âyin -i cem* (prière/rituel de l'union): après la mise en scène du sacrifice des impétrants, de leur décès symbolique, c'est la résurrection des nouveaux couples dans la communauté qui est simulée – rituel qui alimente toutes les accusations d'orgie, d'inceste et de «messe noire» de la part de ceux qui considèrent l'Alevisme comme une hérésie.

Les obligations de solidarité et de responsabilité qui lient les couples conjoints dans l'initiation sont celles d'un mariage proprement dit et survivent à la mort des partenaires, s'étendent à leurs enfants. Cette responsabilité collective est aussi pénale dans la mesure où les membres de telles unités sont tenus responsables des fautes de leur partenaire, même et surtout lorsque celui-ci s'enfuit, par exemple. La solidarité se double ainsi d'un contrôle social sévère. C'est la communauté elle-même qui exerce sa

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⁴ GOKALP *op. cit.*, et Une Minorité chi'ite en Anatolie in: Annales ESC, No. spécial sur: l'Islam: Histoire et Anthropologie, 35ème année No. 3-4, Mai 1980.

justice lors d'un rituel intitulé «le rituel de l'interrogatoire» (*sorgu âyini*) qui précède le rituel d'initiation des nouveaux couples conjoints. A titre d'illustration on peut prendre le cas des Çepni (GOKALP 1980) de l'Ouest anatolien. Les Çepni se distinguent des autres *Alevî-Türkmen-Yörük* par une réputation de violence et de pillage qui leur est généralement attribuée – sans aucune preuve ni réalité, du moins actuellement –. La raison essentielle semble résider ailleurs: les Çepni ont une «langue secrète» du même type que les *Abdal* et les *Pallacı*, avec un fond lexical commun. Quant aux *Tahtacı* dont l'autre nom est *ağaç eri* (hommes de «bois»), ils se distinguent des autres Alevî surtout par leur spécialisation professionnelle (le bûcheronnage, le travail du bois en général). Cette spécialisation conditionne aussi leur implantation territoriale et leur écosystème: en montagne et en zone forestière, sur les forêts domaniales de l'Etat sans agriculture possible. Leur nomadisme, le cas échéant, n'est pas de même nature que celui des Yörük, des pasteurs. Lorsque les Tahtacı se déplacent, c'est pour suivre une «filière du bois». Ainsi, le pouvoir ottoman les contraignit-il à s'installer dans la zone forestière du Mont Ida (Kaz dağı) pour le travail du bois nécessaire à la construction d'une flotte de guerre durant la guerre de Crimée: les chantiers maritimes n'étaient pas loin, sur la côte des Dardanelles.

Les membres de ce groupe revendiquent de manière explicite leur appartenance à la chefferie *Oğuz* qui est, on le sait, à l'origine du peuplement turc de l'Anatolie aux environs de l'an mille. Les vingt quatre noms de *boy* (clans) de cette chefferie sont encore attestés aujourd'hui en Anatolie, soit sous forme de nom tribal, comme c'est le cas pour les Çepni ou les *Avşar*, soit sous forme de trace toponymique: des noms de lieu comme *Eymir*, *Kayı* etc. Les Çepni (attestés sous la forme *Tzapnides* par les chroniqueurs byzantins) disent: «nous sommes les vrais *Oğuz*; nos ancêtres sont venus du Khorassân (Iran)». La reconnaissance-revendication de leur identité tribale passe *avant* leur identité religieuse Alevî. C'est ainsi que, bien que n'ayant pas de contacts matériels ni d'échanges entre eux, les Çepni de l'Ouest savent, parfois avec une grande précision, qu'il existe d'autres groupements Çepni dans l'arrière pays égéen, autour de Balıkesir, et en Mer Noire, autour de Çorum et de Trabzon. Au delà de cette auto-identification ethno-historique et religieuse, la mémoire collective des Çepni de l'Ouest se construit autour de grands bouleversements. C'est la «Guerre de quatre vingt treize» i.e. la guerre Turco-Russe de 1876-1878, puis «La grande mobilisation» (*seferberlik*) i.e. la Première Guerre Mondiale. Autour de ces dates leur *cemâ'at* était *Eski Yörük*: de fait ce groupe est attesté au XIXème siècle comme nomadisant dans la Région de Afyon-Akşehir, comme une entité démographiquement importante; son nom désigne non

pas la *qualité* de *Yörük*, mais un nom tribal historique d'un groupe Turkmène de statut juridique de *hâşş* de la maison d'Üsküdar.

Une fraction de six *oba* Çepni, différenciés par leurs noms, s'est sédentarisée en 1927 dans leur lieu d'implantation actuelle, sur les montagnes qui entourent la plaine de Menderes. Cette sédentarisation, choix douloureux pour les nomades, intervient dans un contexte d'échange de populations qui suit la guerre d'indépendance: départ des Grecs et arrivée des émigrés musulmans de Crète et surtout de Salonique. Dans cet environnement, les Çepni, devenus villageois, n'ont plus pour voisins proches qu'une petite communauté de *Tahtacı*. Ne contractant pas d'alliances matrimoniales avec les Sunnites, les nouveaux paysans Alevî ne peuvent compter que sur les Çepni lointains les plus proches, ceux de la région de Manisa; dans une moindre mesure sur les *Tahtacı*, et essentiellement sur eux-mêmes. Cet isolement lignager eut au début des conséquences démographiques «néfastes».

Chaque *oba* étant en principe exogame, le jeu des échanges et des stratégies matrimoniales se trouva ainsi restreint sinon en danger, d'autant plus que les six *oba* sont des entités résiduelles, démographiquement parlant, et ne constituent qu'un seul village divisé en trois «quartiers» (*mahalle*). C'est le village qui est alors assimilé à un *oba*, et est appelé ainsi, dans la bonne logique du principe de relativité structurale.

C'est la loi républicaine de 1928 sur l'adoption des patronymes, due à l'initiative d'Atatürk, qui offrira une solution inespérée à ce confinement lignager. En effet, en application de cette loi, chacun des chefs de lignée des six *oba* réunis en un seul dans le cadre du village, adoptera un patronyme différent: le nombre des «new-look *obas*» avec des patronymes distinctifs passera alors à 28. La dynamique lignagère, ses stratégies matrimoniales et politiques, économiques et religieuses ont pu retrouver ainsi une vitalité nouvelle grâce à cet artifice de segmentation lignagère, exceptionnelle du point de vue de l'observation anthropologique, expérimentale.

C'est au sein de ces nouveaux *oba*, redevenus en principe exogames (en réalité le mariage avec la fille de l'oncle paternel, «hiérogamique», dans le contexte de l'Islam est de plus en plus pratiqué), que se recrutent également les couples conjoints initiés (*eş - musahip*). Ces couples conjoints entrent dans la confrérie lors du rituel annuel d'initiation et de prière qu'est *âyin-i cem* (rituel de l'Union) contribuant par cet acte à construire une nouvelle structure «translignagère» de dépendances et de solidarités, une structure qui se superpose à la structure lignagère proprement dite. Les compétitions et les stratégies matrimoniales qui sous-tendent le réseau des alliances d'une part et les complémentarités et le solidarisme qui résultent



de l'initiation dans la confrérie lignagère, de l'autre: c'est ainsi que se construit la sphère du politique et de la socialité chez les Çepni contemporains de l'Ouest anatolien.

Tout semble donc indiquer que c'est dans cette structure organisationnelle locale que les systèmes tribaux nomades, contraints à la mobilité et l'autonomie de petites unités lignagères (*oba*), ont pu trouver une formule présentant un double avantage. En premier lieu, renforcer la structure lignagère ainsi que celle de l'alliance qui obéit à des stratégies spécifiques, par le système des couples conjoints qui constitue ainsi une structure complémentaire, transversale par rapport à la structure lignagère. En second lieu, la dimension réduite et la structure lignagère des groupes locaux transforment la communauté religieuse en une confrérie fortement intégrée, hermétique à toute influence extérieure. Contrairement à ce qui se passe pour les Bektâşi, pour entrer dans la confrérie, il faut y être né, donc appartenir à la communauté tribale; alors que chez les Bektâşi l'initiation est individuelle, chez les Alevî-nomades l'initiation des couples conjoints engage les familles entières des initiés.

C'est l'ensemble de ces caractéristiques qui semble de nature à expliquer la faveur remarquable dont l'Alevisme a du bénéficier de la part des membres des tribus nomades, faveur qui ne s'est jamais démentie tout au long de l'histoire du nomadisme anatolien.

On peut enfin souligner que c'est dans les caractères structuraux spécifiques du nomadisme anatolien, surtout ceux des confréries tribales Alevî que nous venons d'esquisser dans les grandes lignes de ses mécanismes fondateurs, que résident à la fois les raisons de l'«altérité» de ces groupes socioculturels et celles de leur survie.

Leur «différence» continue de susciter la crainte diffuse et l'hostilité active de la part de la communauté sunnite envers ses relais socio-politiques et idéologiques: l'histoire politique récente de la Turquie en témoigne. Raisons de survie: ce qui est évident dans la structure tribale, par la symbiose opérée entre le lignage et la confrérie, persiste dans la société Alevî sédentaire comme un schéma extrêmement puissant de structures de solidarité opérant à tous les niveaux de la vie sociale.

## Die Esten in Anatolien

ULLA JOHANSEN

Die Tatsache, daß eine, wenn auch verschwindend kleine Minderheit von Esten die kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen in Ostanatolien nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg überlebt hatte, wurde erst 1966 im Westen bekannt, als ihr Landsmann, der Archäologe Paavo Roos, sie besuchte und seinem Bruder AARAND ROOS als Sprachwissenschaftler die Gelegenheit gab, ihren Dialekt zu studieren, der, fast ein Jahrhundert ohne Verbindung zu anderen Estnischsprechern, viele ältere Formen konserviert hat. Ich richte mich in meinem Überblick hauptsächlich nach seinem Bericht, der aufgrund von fünf längeren Aufenthalten in ihrem Dorf zwischen 1967 und 1974 verfaßt und 1975 in estnischer Sprache veröffentlicht wurde<sup>1</sup>.

Wie konnte es überhaupt dazu kommen, daß Esten rund 3000 km von ihrer Heimat entfernt in einem Dorf fünf km südlich von Kars leben? Wenn man die Übersicht von Nigol über die estnischen Kolonien, die in Rußland nach Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft und bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg gegründet wurden, in Betracht zieht, wird dieses leichter erklärlich. Das Dorf erweist sich dann lediglich als der am weitesten vorgeschobene Posten einer estnischen Auswanderungswelle, die weit in den Osten des Zarenreiches vordrang. Auch im Kaukasus gab es eine Reihe estnischer Dörfer, deren südlichstes nun bei Kars in den an den Kaukasus anschließenden Gebirgen noch im damaligen Zarenreich lag. Es wurde 1886 gegründet und zunächst ausschließlich von Esten bewohnt, die wenige Jahre zuvor ihre im nördlichen Estland gelegenen Dörfer verlassen hatten. Die meisten stammten aus der Gegend von Wesenberg (Rakvere) (19 ff.).

Das lange Straßendorf mit dem Namen Novo-Estonskoje (*russ.* das Neu-Estnische) oder kürzer Novestonka, *estn.* Uus Estoonia (= Neu Estland) blühte alsbald auf. Kurz vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg lebten 347 Einwohner in den rund 80 flachgedeckten Häusern aus Feldsteinen und Lehm. 1912 wurde die mit einer Orgel, Kronleuchter und kostbarem Abendmahlsgesetz ausgestattete Kirche geweiht, in der auch in estnischer Sprache Schule gehalten wurde. Das Dorf verfügte über eine eigene Bibliothek. Ein Chor und ein Theaterverein traten zusammen, die so erfolgreich waren, daß das Dorf auch von einigen namhaften estnischen Dichtern – vor allem sei hier Tammsaare genannt – Besuch erhielt. Diese Blüte

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<sup>1</sup> Auf ihn beziehen sich die ohne weitere Angaben in Klammern eingefügten Seitenhinweise.

fand im Jahre 1915 ein jähes Ende. Die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Russen, Türken und Armeniern verwüsteten das Dorf und zwangen seine Einwohner zur Flucht in den Kaukasus (23 ff., 47, 172, TÜRKDOĞAN 1976: 273 f.).

Nur acht Familien kehrten 1922 heim und verlangten ihre inzwischen von Türken besetzten Häuser zurück (29 ff.). Ihre Zahl vermehrte sich bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg, dann aber optierten 41 Personen für eine Übersiedlung in die Sowjetunion und 1961 zogen weitere 19 wieder zurück (38). Damit wurde die Zahl der Esten so gering, daß ein Überleben als ethnische Einheit, für das auch eine hohe Endogamierate nötig wäre, nicht mehr möglich schien. Es fehlte den Jüngeren die Auswahl an Heiratspartnern. So sind zwei Mädchen die Ehe mit muslimischen Nachbarn eingegangen, die Heiratspartner stammten im übrigen aber aus den anderen christlichen Minderheiten – den Molokanen (vgl. ANDREWS in diesem Band), den Deutschen und den Polen aus Polonezköy (ursprünglich Adampol), einem polnischen Dorf bei Istanbul, das hauptsächlich vom Fremdenverkehr lebt (71 f., 118, 124 f., TÜRKDOĞAN 1976: 274). So gab es 1969 nur noch 20 Individuen, die estnisch sprachen, obwohl sich noch 58 zum Estentum bekannten (40). Nach dem Wegzug einiger Familien im Jahre 1972, die nach vergeblichen Versuchen, die estnische Dorfgemeinschaft geschlossen in Kanada oder Australien unterzubringen, nach Crailsheim bei Stuttgart übersiedelten, waren es nur noch 15 unter den acht Familien mit knapp 50 Personen, welche die Osttürkei noch als ihre Heimat ansahen (130 ff., TÜRKDOĞAN 1975). Der größere Teil der jungen Leute, mit denen ich nach ihrer Ankunft in der Bundesrepublik ein Gespräch in estnischer Sprache führen wollte, verstanden nur einige Brocken und setzten das Gespräch auf türkisch fort. Manche waren auch gezwungen worden, türkische Familiennamen anzunehmen. Auch ihr Dorf erhielt nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg den Namen Karacaviran und in den 60er Jahren dann den voll türkisierten Namen Karacaören (112 f.).

Länger als die Sprache haben sich Elemente der eigenen Kultur erhalten: die Estinnen tragen die türkischen *salvar* nur ausnahmsweise (70). Ihre Küche unterscheidet sich durch das gesäuerte oder Hefebrot, das mit Butter gegessen wird, und den reichlichen Genuß von Kartoffeln, Kohl, Zwiebeln, sauren Gurken und Fisch von der türkischen. Der Konsum von Schnaps, Bier und Wein ist allerdings in den letzten 20 Jahren zurückgegangen. Auch stehen heute Schafskäse, Salate und manche türkischen Fleischgerichte auf dem estnischen Speisezettel, und der Roggenanbau wurde zugunsten von Weizen, Mais und Gerste als Viehfutter aufgegeben, so daß kein estnisches Schwarzbrot mehr auf den Tisch kommt (42, 51, 56 ff.).

Die Esten fallen aber auch als Innovatoren auf, obwohl sie mit drei Ausnahmen nur die fünfklassige türkische Grundschule besucht haben. Der interethnische Druck, der in der türkischen Schule auf den wenigen Schülern aus der Minderheit lastete, verleidete ihnen eine weitere formale Bildung. Erst in Deutschland besucht der Nachwuchs durchwegs weiterführende Schulen (TÜRKDOĞAN 1976: 276). Die Esten waren aber die ersten, die ihre Felder mit Traktoren bestellten. Neben Fettschwanzschafen und Geflügel halten sie auch eine größere Zahl von braunbunten Rindern. Als Gärtner und Handwerker wirkten sie ebenfalls innovativ (51 ff., 109).

Das starke Selbstbewußtsein, das Grundlage dieser führenden Position ist, hat vor allem religiöse Wurzeln. Nicht die Sprache und weniger auch die gegenüber Türken und Kurden unterschiedlichen Erscheinungsformen der materialisierten Kultur sehen die Esten als die ethnischen Unterscheidungsmerkmale an, sondern die evangelisch-christliche Religion. Als ein solches ethnisches Merkmal bestimmt sie ihr Leben so stark, daß sie nach Kontakten mit anderen exilestnischen Gemeinden 1967 die Zusendung von weltlicher Literatur in der Muttersprache ablehnten und nur um geistliche Literatur und die Entsendung von Pfarrern baten (71 ff.). So sind ihre Feste ausdrücklich nicht die islamischen, sondern nach estnischer Tradition neben Weihnachten und Ostern, Himmelfahrt und Johanni, und der wöchentliche Ruhetag ist der Sonntag. Die wenigen verbliebenen Esten treffen sich an diesen Tagen regelmäßig zum Gottesdienst und erleben sich dabei nach wie vor als eine kleine Gruppe mit eigener Ethnizität (75 f., 79 f.).

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## The role of the Kurdish language in ethnicity

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The languages of both the Kurds and the so-called Zaza people of Eastern Anatolia belong to the Iranian sub-group and so to the greater Indo-European family of languages. When their ancestors moved into the areas they occupy today is unknown, but it can hardly have been later than the middle of the first millennium A.C. and may have been considerably earlier. The pertinacious belief that the Kurds were already present in the mountains around Cizre (Ġazīrat ibn ʿUmar) at the beginning of the fourth century B.C., in the shape of the Carduchi (καρδοῦχοι) who attacked Xenophon's troops, cannot be maintained. Despite the mild similarity in modern spelling, there can be no connection between the name Carduchi (with -rd-) and Kurd, at that time certainly \*Kurt- or the like (with -rt-).

Rather must we look for the first mention of the Kurds in the Cyrtii (κύρτιοι) who are recorded, from the second century B.C. onwards (Polybius, Livy, Strabo) as mercenary slingers dwelling in Persia, near Mt. Zagros. We may regard them as a tribe then living to the north-west of the Persians, possibly as neighbours of the Medes. This would accord very well with the position comparative philology attributes to the language, a theoretical "Old Kurdish".<sup>1</sup>

Kurdish, however, has not remained unified. Instead it is at the present day split into three major groups of dialects, of which the Northern and Central groups are the most unified and important. All Kurdish dialects in Turkey belong to the Northern group, known as Kirmāngī (in Turkish spelling, Kurmanci) – a name which may, possibly, mean "Median Kurdish". These differ in several phonological, grammatical and lexical features from the Central Kurdish dialects (known sometimes as Sorānī, or Kurdi' patī, i.e. "pure Kurdish", by their speakers) spoken south of the Greater Zab river in Iraq. These differences are best accounted for by the assumption that the Kurds, in the central region of their territory, have in the course of time conquered and to some extent assimilated the speakers of another Iranian language, now known as Gorānī. Gorānī is still preserved as the speech of some islands of mountainous territory in an other-

<sup>1</sup> V. MACKENZIE, 1961. One point made there (p.74), regarding "the one peculiarity which may be ascribable to Median, viz. the development of *hw-* to *f-*", has since proved to be illusory. There is, however, no feature of Kurdish which accords particularly with what (unfortunately little) is known of Median, but some which distinguish it therefrom, and therefore no valid reason for assuming that Kurdish is the direct descendant of Median.

wise Central Kurdish sea, and those features of Central Kurdish which differentiate it from Kirmāngī are mostly explicable as being due to Gorānī influence. This hypothesis is perhaps supported by the fact that the non-tribal and often serf-like peasantry of Central Kurdistan, generally called *miskēn*, is in some parts also known to the tribal Kurds as *gōrān*, though the name has several different connotations.<sup>2</sup>

The Gorānī language is most closely related to that of the Zaza. This name is in fact a nickname, given to them by their Kurdish neighbours, because of the supposed frequency of the sound *z* in their speech. Their own designation for themselves and their language is Dimlī, which has been convincingly explained<sup>3</sup> as deriving from \*Dailamī, i.e. of the province of Dailam, or Gilan, to the south-west of the Caspian Sea. This links the Zaza further to the Goran, whose origins also probably lie in the same area.<sup>4</sup>

Since it is unlikely that the Zaza-Dimlī moved from the Caspian to their present territory, to the west of the Kurdish areas, by passing unscathed through lands already occupied by Kurds, another hypothesis is necessary. This could be that the Zaza, already occupying what is now the heart of Kurdistan, i.e. the land south and west of Lake Van, were themselves forced out and driven westwards by the advancing Kurds. In view of the situation in Central Kurdistan, where the indigenous Goran population seems to have been largely reduced to the status of serfs, it is unlikely that the Kurds would have driven the settled Zaza out cleanly. Although the balance of power would have been complicated by the presence of other peoples in the area, notably the Christian Armenians and so-called Assyrians, it seems more than likely that a high proportion of the non-tribal peasantry in Turkish Kurdistan descends from a pre-Kurdish, Dimlī-speaking, Iranian population. (The later irruption of Turkish tribes would have done nothing to alter this.) If this were the case, however, the subjugated people would seem to have abandoned their own language in favour of Kirmāngī, on which it had no noticeable effect.

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<sup>2</sup> V. EDMONDS, 1957: 12, 42, V. MINORSKY, 1943: 77 ff.

<sup>3</sup> V. CHRISTENSEN, 1921: 8, quoting F. C. Andreas.

<sup>4</sup> V. MINORSKY, 1943: 86.

## Die ethnische Differenzierung der Bevölkerung der Osttürkei in ihren sozialen Bezügen

Auswertung der „Köy Envanter Etüdləri“ des Ministeriums für  
Dorfangelegenheiten

L. NESTMANN

### Abstract:

*Religious and ethnic differentiation in Eastern Turkey  
according to the Köy Envanter Etüdləri (Ankara)*

- Spatial patterns, conceptualisation and strategy for intervention -

The Turkish Village Inventories of the early 1960's provide information on the spatial distribution of ethnic and religious groups in Eastern Turkey. Permission was kindly granted me to use the incoming data for research purposes, before they were declared classified and subsequently destroyed in a flood. The potentially valuable material was never utilised for research and planning in Turkey. Cartographic representation of the data, particularly those on language and religion, reveals the major patterns of ethnicity, the main cultural divides of the country and problem areas of mixed population. According to these Eastern Turkey appears ethnically apart and underdeveloped. It also has a history of more than one hundred years of recurrently severe socio-political disturbances.

An attempt is made at conceptualisation for the better understanding of the recurring cycles of polarisation and violence. From this political measures can be deduced for a long term strategy of integration and minimisation of conflict. For the figures, see Survey 1.

### *Einleitung*

Es gibt bisher keine räumlich deckenden Angaben über die ethnische und religiöse Differenzierung der türkischen, speziell der osttürkischen Bevölkerung. Die offiziellen Volkszählungen, die alle fünf Jahre durchgeführt und in Zusammenfassung der Vilayetdaten publiziert werden, gaben (bis 1965) nicht alle Minoritäten, so die Süryani, Alevi, Yezidi und Molokan, an, und die Originaldaten dürften kaum zugänglich und wohl auch nicht zuverlässig sein. Es besteht also für die sozio-kulturelle Planung ein Informationsdefizit. Dieses ist politisch bedingt. Das Trauma der sozialen

Katastrophen des vorigen Jahrhunderts und um den Ersten Weltkrieg wirkt noch nach. Man möchte vergessen und möglichen Diskussionen keinen Anhalt geben. Diese Einstellung ist verständlich, sie führt aber dazu, daß auch Forschung über Minoritäten und Minoritätenkonflikte praktisch unmöglich ist, und daß die Daten für eine vernünftige an den Realitäten orientierte Planung zur Integration der Minoritäten und der Minoritätengebiete fehlen. Die alten Einstellungen und Vorurteile wirken also weiter, und damit bleibt die Konfliktbasis erhalten. Es gibt jedoch eine Informationsquelle, aus der sich die Verbreitung der unterschiedlichen ethnischen und religiösen Gruppen und der Zustand ihrer Durchmischung erschließen läßt, die Köy Envanter Etüdleri (KEE), die in den sechziger Jahren in der Türkei für alle Dörfer durchgeführt wurden und zwar durch das Ministerium für Dorfangelegenheiten: İmar ve İskan (später Köy İşleri) Bakanlığı – in der Abteilung Toprak ve İskan Genel Müdürlüğü unter der Leitung von Dr. Nejat Berkmen.

Ziel war die Erfassung der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Situation und der Infrastruktur in den ländlichen Gebieten. Es sollten so Grundlagen für die Regionalentwicklung geschaffen werden, und freies Land für geplante Umsiedlungen wurde ermittelt. Da über die ländlichen Gebiete der Osttürkei fast keine Informationen vorlagen und da der Entwicklungsrückstand dieser Gebiete besonders groß war, so wurde mit den Arbeiten in der Osttürkei, im Vilayet Bingöl, begonnen. Zunächst wurden Sprache und Religion in die Erhebung einbezogen und dorfweise angegeben. Man erhielt so einen Überblick über die regional unterschiedliche ethnische Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung.

Als jedoch ersichtlich wurde, wie groß die regionalen Disparitäten und die völkische Sonderstellung der Ostgebiete waren, und wie brisant solche Informationen sind, wurde der Zugang zu dem Material eingeschränkt und später gesperrt. Bei den Folgearbeiten in den westlicheren Vilayet wurden dann Sprache und Religion nicht mehr in die Erhebung einbezogen, und auch in den publizierten Vilayetmonographien fehlen diese Angaben – mit Ausnahme des zuerst publizierten Bandes, Bingöl.

Dank großzügiger Genehmigung des Ministeriums und freundlicher Hilfe in der Abteilung Toprak ve İskan war es der Verfasserin möglich, im Zusammenhang mit Arbeiten über die Entwicklung der Osttürkei in ihren humanökologischen Zusammenhängen das zu der Zeit einlaufende Datenmaterial, besonders in der Zusammenstellung für Kaza und Nahiye einzusehen und Auszüge zu machen. Die nach dieser Datenbasis gezeichneten Karten und die Texte sollten dann auch dem Ministerium zur Verfügung gestellt werden. Erste Veröffentlichungen auf der Basis dieser Informationen erschienen 1972 und 1974 (NESTMANN).



Die Arbeiten am Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orient legen nun nahe, zwanzig Jahre nach Durchführung der Erhebung auch das Material der KEE zur ethnischen Differenzierung in dem so wichtigen Übergangsraum der Osttürkei einzubeziehen und auszugsweise zu veröffentlichen, zumal die Originaldaten durch Überschwemmung vernichtet worden sein sollen. Damit verbindet sich auch die Hoffnung, daß so ein Tabu durchbrochen und eine Hemmschwelle überwunden wird, damit es zu freierer Diskussion, Meinungsbildung und politischen Maßnahmen zur Förderung der Integration und Entwicklung der Ostgebiete kommen kann.

Obwohl seit der Durchführung der KEE zwei Jahrzehnte vergangen sind und die Angaben in vielen Einzelheiten sicher nicht korrekt waren oder sein konnten, so dürfte das Material für Planung und Wissenschaft auch heute noch beträchtlichen Wert haben, besonders für die Regionalisierung und das Erkennen von Problemräumen, denn in unterentwickelten Gebieten – und besonders im Bergland der Osttürkei – vollzieht sich der Wandel langsam, und die politischen Wirren der siebziger Jahre haben die Entwicklung zusätzlich behindert.

Die Köy Envanter vermitteln allerdings nur ein Bild der ethnischen Zusammensetzung in den Dörfern. Die Städte und die Kazahauptorte wurden nicht miteerfaßt. In großen Städten kann die Bevölkerungszusammensetzung aber wesentlich von der regionalen Norm abweichen, da dort die Türken im Minoritätengebiet stärker repräsentiert sind und bedrängte Minoritäten Zuflucht und Chancen suchen.

#### *Die Bearbeitung des Materials der „Köy Envanter“*

Die Auszüge der Daten aus den Zusammenfassungsbögen für Kaza und Nahiye bezüglich Muttersprache und Religion sind als tabellarische Übersicht dieser Arbeit beigegeben (siehe Survey 1). Da Dörfer mit gemischter Bevölkerung mehrfach, für jede der vertretenen Gruppen, eingetragen wurden, ist die Zahl der vermerkten Dörfer größer als die Gesamtzahl der administrativen Dorfeinheiten im Nahiye oder Kaza. Außerdem scheinen gelegentlich bei der Zählung ‚Teildörfer‘, nicht die offiziellen Dorfeinheiten, zugrunde gelegt worden zu sein. In den Originalbögen ist außerdem der Anteil der einzelnen Gruppen an der Gesamtbevölkerung – nicht die Personenzahl – angegeben. Letztere ist aber für die Regionalplanung auch von untergeordneter Bedeutung. Leider konnten die nach diesen Daten gezeichneten Punktverbreitungskarten aus technischen Gründen nicht publiziert werden. Sie dienen jedoch als Grundlage für den Entwurf der ethnischen Karte der Osttürkei und für die generalisierten Karten (Abb. 1 bis 4) in diesem Aufsatz.

*Die ethnische Sonderstellung der Osttürkei*

Aus den Daten der Dorfbefragung und den danach gezeichneten Karten geht hervor, daß sich die Ost- und Südosttürkei ethnisch und gesamt-kulturell von der übrigen Türkei unterscheiden. Die kulturelle Distanz ist so groß, daß es auch bei Türken, die diese Landesteile zum ersten Mal besuchen, oder die dort dienstlich eingesetzt werden, zum Beispiel bei Administratoren und Lehrern, zu einem Kulturschock kommt. Die Bemerkung eines türkischen Studenten auf seiner ersten Reise in die Ostprovinzen: „This is my country, but not my people“ zeigt, wie fremd sich die Menschen sind und wie gefährlich das staatlich verordnete Unwissen und das Fehlen einer großzügigen, die Kulturgrenzen überbrückenden, Kulturpolitik sind. Sie spalten die Nation im Bewußtsein und damit in der sozialen und politischen Realität, und sind so der eigentliche Grund für die Erhaltung des gefährlichen Zustands der interkulturellen Spannung.

Die Hauptkulturscheide zwischen dominant türkischer und dominant von „Minoritäten“, vor allem von Kurden und Arabern besiedeltem Gebiet, verläuft etwa am Nordrand des ostanatolischen Hochlandes bei Erzurum, biegt im westlichen Vilayet Tunceli nach Süden, folgt dem Euphrat und biegt im Raum Gaziantep nach Westen, so daß das östliche Hatay ebenfalls zum Minoritätenraum gehört (Abb. 1). Der so umgrenzte Raum ist nur partiell turkisiert und läßt sich als kulturelle Grenz- und Übergangsprovinz zum Kaukasus, Iran und Syro-Arabien auffassen. Nördlich davon liegt die pontische Kulturregion; westlich die anatolische Halbinsel als Kernland der türkischen Entwicklung. Eine weitere wichtige Kulturscheide folgt dem Taurus, nördlich von Diyarbakır und Siirt. Sie untergliedert das Minoritäten-Gebiet in das dominant kurdische Hochland Ostanatoliens und das stärker arabisierte Tiefland.

Wenn man davon ausgeht, daß eine ethnische Gruppe durch gemeinsames kulturelles Erbe definiert ist (Encyclopaedia Britannica), so müßte für eine Darstellung der ethnischen Regionalisierung der gesamte Kulturkomplex, d. h. Sprache, Religion und andere Überzeugungen, sowie Besonderheiten der Wirtschaft und des materiellen Kulturbesitzes, berücksichtigt werden, so weit sie im separaten Gruppenbewußtsein und bei der Fremdeinschätzung eine Rolle spielen.

Alle diese Kulturunterschiede gemeinsam – nicht nur Unterschiede der Sprache und Religion – rufen auch die negative Fremdreaktion, also Vorurteile, räumliche und soziale Segregation, Endogamie, und unter Umständen Feindseligkeit hervor. Sie wirken dabei synergetisch, wobei der eine oder andere Faktor in Wahrnehmung und Bewußtsein im Vordergrund stehen kann.



*Die sprachlich ethnische Sonderstellung der Osttürkei. –  
Das Hauptverteilungsmuster*

Während in der Osmanischen Türkei die Religion das Hauptdifferenzierungsmerkmal war, und das „Millet“ religionsethnisch definiert wurde, ist in der modernen Türkei die Sprache das wichtigste Unterscheidungsmerkmal, und die Sprachgrenze wird zur regionalen Kulturgrenze und inoffiziell „politischen“ Grenze. (Siehe Abb. 1 und 2)

In der Grenz- und Übergangszone liegen in den Vilayet Kars, Erzincan, Tunceli, Elazığ, Malatya, dem nördlichen und östlichen Maraş, Gaziantep und Hatay türkische und kurdische oder arabische Dörfer gemischt. Innerhalb dieser Grenzzone sind türkische und teils-türkische Dörfer in der Minderzahl oder sie fehlen regional fast völlig (Abb. 1), nur in den größeren, erschlossenen und in die geplante Entwicklung einbezogenen Ebenen und um die großen Städte sind sie zahlreicher und gehen dort meist auf rezente Umsiedlungen zurück. Beispiele für Inseln türkischer Besiedlung im vor allem von Kurden besiedelten Raum, sind die Ebene von Muş (17 türkische Dörfer und agrarsoziales Pilotprojekt der sechziger Jahre), die Ebene von Elazığ mit 28 türkischen Dörfern und die Ebene von Van bei Erciş mit 11 türkischen Dörfern. Auch die Ebenen von Urfa und Diyarbakır haben kurdisch-türkisch gemischte Bevölkerung. Auffällig ist ein isoliertes Vorkommen von 39 türkischen Dörfern im Kreis Şirnak. Hier dürfte es sich jedoch um syrische Christen handeln, die sich als Türken angegeben haben. Nach Hinweisen von HÜTTEROTH und YONAN gibt es in diesem Gebiet kaldäische Dörfer. Zu den Türken kann man auch die Azeri zählen, die in die Nähe der iranischen Grenze vor allem im Raum Iğdır leben. Sie sind in den KEE nicht gesondert vermerkt und sprechen einen oğuzisch-türkischen Dialekt. In jüngerer Zeit wurde auch eine Gruppe von 765 kirgizischen Flüchtlingen aus Afghanistan angesiedelt. Sie gehören ebenfalls zu den Turkvölkern, unterscheiden sich aber ethnisch wesentlich von den Türken und der Regionalbevölkerung um Van.

Die Kurden sind vor allem Kırmancikurden – im Zentralen Bergland und in den nördlichen Randhügeln des Beckens von Diyarbakır auch Zaza.

Auf die Verteilung und Charakteristika dieser Volksgruppen wird detaillierter in späterem Zusammenhang, nach Behandlung der allgemeinen sprach- und religionsethnischen Differenzierung, eingegangen.

In den großen Regionalkomplex kurdischer Besiedlung erstreckt sich von Süden, vom Libanon und Syrien, der arabische Sprachbereich in die

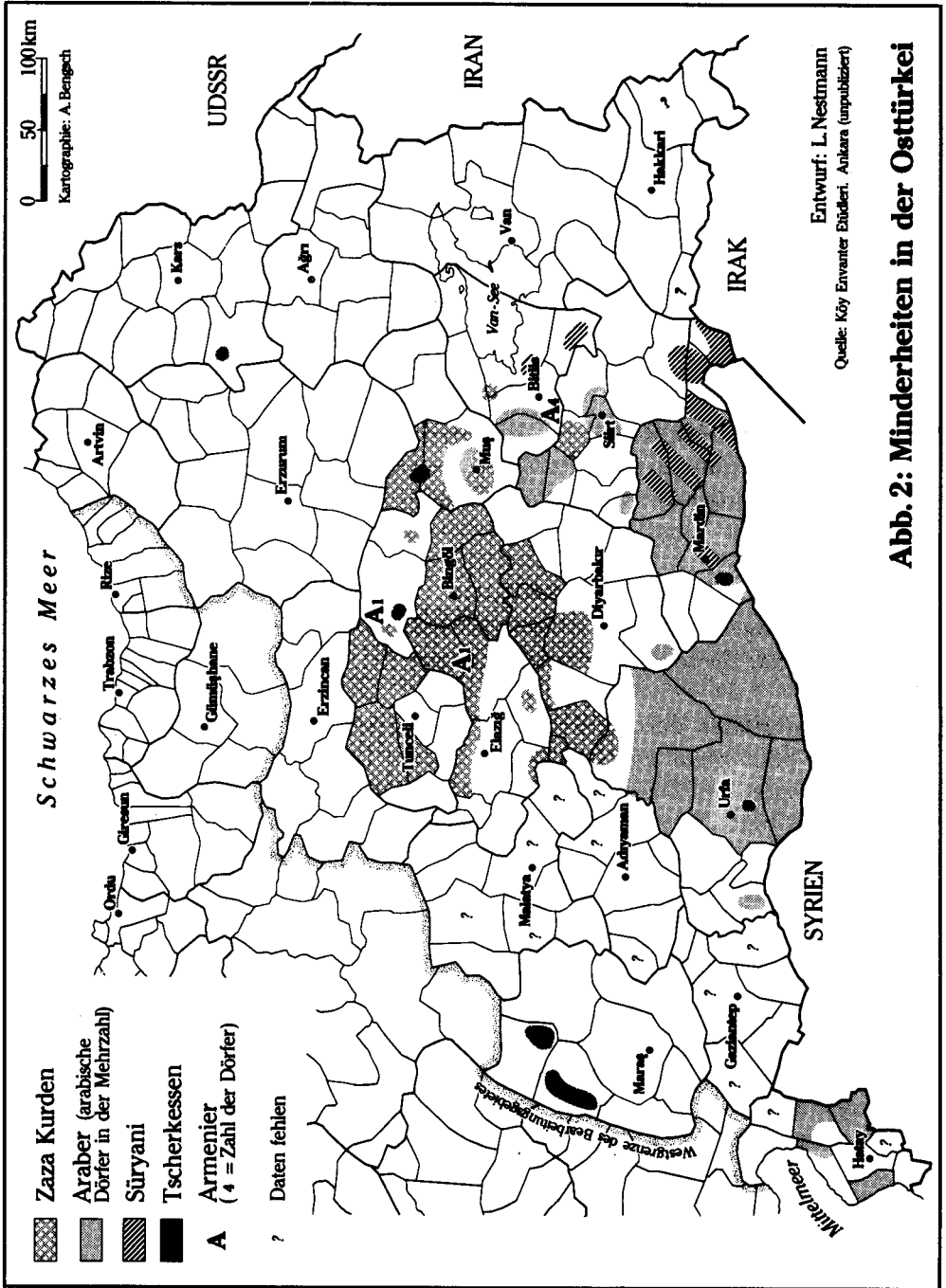


Abb. 2: Minderheiten in der Osttürkei

Südosttürkei, besonders ins Hatay und die Ebene von Urfa, wo in einem kleinen Gebiet arabische Dörfer zahlreicher sind als kurdische (siehe Abb. 2). Arabische Sprachinseln gibt es außerdem im Țür 'Abdīn und im Bergland von Siirt bis an den Vansee.

Im östlichen Teil dieses Gebietes leben die Sŭryani, vor allem im Kalkbergland des Țür 'Abdīn, in der Grenzebene um Nusaybin und in den östlichen Ausläufern des Hakkarigebirges, dem früheren Bohtan. Sie sprechen neuaramäische Dialekte oder heute meist kurdisch oder arabisch.

Andere Sprachen kommen nur in isolierten Sprachinseln oder Einzeldörfern vor. Das Armenische ist bis auf Reste verschwunden. Tscherkessisch wird in einer Reihe von Dörfern im Vilayet Maraş, sonst nur in verstreuten Siedlungen gesprochen und bei Ardahan und Sarıkamış erstreckt sich der georgische und lasische Sprachbereich mit zwei Dörfern in den hier betrachteten Raum. Andere Sprachen sind über die Angaben der KEE nicht zu ermitteln, denn Russisch, das vermutlich von einem Teil der Molokan gesprochen wurde, wird wohl im offiziellen Zensus, nicht aber in den KEE erwähnt.

*Die geringen Türkischkenntnisse der osttürkischen Bevölkerung und die entscheidende Sprachbarriere in der Türkei*

Minoritäten der Sprache oder des Volkstums werden vor allem dann zum politischen Problem, wenn sie die Landessprache nicht verstehen oder sprechen. Die Kommunikation ist dann minimal, Vorurteile sind die Regel, Innovationen und Entwicklungen werden nicht übernommen und politische Maßnahmen bleiben weitgehend wirkungslos. Wie aus den Dorferhebungen, der tabellarischen Zusammenstellung (Survey 1) und Abb. 1 zu erkennen ist, spricht im Kernraum der Osttürkei nur ein kleiner Teil der Landbevölkerung türkisch. Vor allem Frauen, Kinder und Bergbewohner sprechen nur die regionale Minoritätensprache. Da offiziell und in der Öffentlichkeit nur das Türkische zugelassen ist, so ist ein großer Teil der Bevölkerung extrem behindert – in Schulen, Dienststellen, vor Gericht, beim Arzt, in der Ausbildung und für die Arbeit oder beim Militär. Während in der Randzone der Osttürkei bei gemischter Bevölkerung und höherem Zivilisations- und Bildungsstand über 90% der Landbevölkerung türkisch können, sind es im Kernraum der Osttürkei weniger als 50 oder sogar 25%. Im südlichen Hakkarı an der irakischen Grenze sinkt dieser Wert auf 5% und darunter.

CHALIAND (1984: 149) gibt unter Berufung auf Cumhuriyet vom 31.7.1966 an, daß drei Viertel der Kurden kein Türkisch können (Mardin

91%, Siirt 87%, Hakkari 81%, Diyarbakır 67%, Bingöl 68%, Bitlis 66%). Dies ist erstaunlich, wenn man bedenkt, daß die Türken bereits im 11. Jahrhundert nach Anatolien kamen und zwar von Osten, und daß die Turkisierung im westlicheren Anatolien weitgehend abgeschlossen ist. Ostanatolien blieb bis in das 19. Jahrhundert ein Durchgangsraum und bis in die Gegenwart marginal. Weder die türkische, noch die armenische und iranische Macht und Kultur konnten sich hier durchsetzen, so daß die Regionalkulturen erhalten blieben.

Da die Kurden kaum türkisch sprechen und der türkische Rundfunk keine Minoritätenprogramme sendet, so ist es verständlich, daß in der Osttürkei die Kurdischsendungen aus den sozialistischen Nachbarländern gehört werden. Damit wirkt sich auch die kommunistische Propaganda aus. Wenn man die Türkischkenntnisse in der Region in etwa einer Generation wirkungsvoll verbessern will, gibt es nur zwei sich ergänzende Möglichkeiten: eine auf die ethnischen und kulturellen Bedingungen der Menschen abgestimmte Schul- und Kulturpolitik und geplante wirtschaftliche Entwicklung zum Abbau der regionalen Disparitäten.

Die bestehenden Schulen, in denen nur Türkisch gesprochen wird, werden von den Kurden schlecht angenommen, weil sie auf die Menschen nicht eingehen und weil die Kinder die fremden Lehrer nicht verstehen und somit zu wenig lernen. Wenn man sich dazu entschließen könnte, in den ersten beiden Jahren einen vermittelnden Unterricht einzuführen unter Zulassung auch des Kurdischen und Arabischen und mit besonders auf die Fremdsprachigkeit abgestimmten Büchern, so ließen sich türkische Sprache und Bildung schneller vermitteln. Alternativ könnte man ins Türkische auch über die direkte Methode einführen unter Verwendung nur der türkischen Sprache. Jedoch sollten dann die Lehrer speziell für einen solchen Unterricht und in interkultureller Pädagogik ausgebildet sein. Auch in diesem Falle benötigt man für die Minoritätengebiete besonders konzipiertes Lehrmaterial.

Bildung und Kulturwandel lassen sich aber nicht nur durch Primarschulbildung erreichen. Die Landesteile müssen gleichzeitig entwickelt werden, denn nur dann kommt es zur Durchmischung und Integration der ethnischen Gruppen in Städten und an Arbeitsplätzen, zum weiterführenden Gebrauch der türkischen Sprache und zum Übergang von Regionalkultur zur Nationalkultur.

### *Die religiöse Differenzierung und Sonderstellung der Osttürkei*

Auch bezüglich des religiösen Bekenntnisses unterscheidet sich die Osttürkei vom westlicheren Anatolien. Der Grenzsaum der osttürkischen Kulturprovinz ist durch einen breiten Gürtel des Alevitentums, *Alevilik* (volkstümlich: *Kızılbaşlık*), vorwiegend bei Kurden, zum Teil aber auch bei Türken, gekennzeichnet (Abb. 3). Östlich und südlich davon ist die Mehrzahl der Dörfer sunnitisch. Allerdings sind die Kurden Şafii, während die Türken meist Hanefi sind. Dieser Unterschied ist in der Gegenwart sozial ohne Bedeutung, denn beide sind Sunniten, und die früheren Unterschiede der Rechtsauffassung haben keine Bedeutung mehr. Da der Unterschied aber trotzdem bewußt bleibt, so dürfte dies mit dem generell separaten Kulturbewußtsein bei Hanefi und Şafii in Verbindung stehen.

Die Grenze zwischen Hanefi und Şafii verläuft bei Erzurum etwa mit der Sprachgrenze, in ihrem Nord-Südverlauf jedoch östlicher als diese.

Außer Muslimen gibt es in der östlichen Türkei Christen, Yezidi (Jeziden) und Juden.

### *Rechtgläubige und Andersgläubige*

Religionssoziologisch kann man unterscheiden zwischen „Orthodoxen“, also „Recht“gläubigen, die regional und im Staate akzeptiert sind und Heterodoxen oder Fremdgläubigen, die gewöhnlich diskriminiert, eventuell verfolgt werden. Obwohl die Türkei ein säkularer Staat ist, wird meist nur der sunnitische Islam sozial und unausgesprochen politisch als rechtgläubig akzeptiert. Seine späteren, weiteren Entwicklungen und die ihm verwandten Sekten, wie Schiiten, Alevi und Yezidi, sind ungeliebte und suspekta Minoritäten. Die Stellung des Christentums ist zwiespältig. Einerseits ist es als Religion des Buches, wie auch das Judentum, akzeptiert und die Rechte der christlichen „millet“ waren im osmanischen Reich fixiert, andererseits gelten die Christen als Ungläubige (*gâvur*) und werden diskriminiert und verfolgt, wobei sich Glaubens- und Völkerhaß seit dem 19. Jahrhundert verbinden.

Mit dem religiösen Fundamentalismus, allgemeiner Zunahme von Aggressivität und Terror sowie den Auseinandersetzungen auf Zypern und im Libanon hat die religiöse Polarisierung, Diskriminierung und Verfolgung wieder gefährlich zugenommen. Die Abbildung 3 zeigt die Verbreitungsräume der Religionen und damit die akuten oder potentiellen Krisenräume. Diese liegen zur Zeit vor allem im Tūr ‘Abdīn, in der Provinz Maraş und in Gebieten der Yezidibevölkerung.





*Die religiösen Minoritäten der Osttürkei  
Der Komplex der Schiiten und Alevi oder Caferi (Kızılbaz)*

Die Bezeichnung Kızılbaz wird in der Türkei für alle Abweichler der Religion, soweit sie nicht Christen oder Juden sind, verwendet. Sie bezieht sich auf Schiiten im engeren Sinne und auf eine Reihe von Orden und Sekten, die zu diesen Beziehung haben. Dazu gehören die Alevi oder Caferi und die Karapapağ. Inwieweit sich die Begriffe *Alevî* und *Caferî* decken, war im Ministerium nicht zu erfahren. Eine Auskunft lautete: „*Caferî* sind *Alevî* und *Yezidî*.“ Der Begriff Caferi könnte also synonym mit Alevi sein, und der Gebrauch des einen oder anderen Wortes in den KEE willkürlich, zum Beispiel im Vilayet Tunceli, wo in benachbarten Kaza unterschiedliche Bezeichnungen verwendet werden. Trotzdem wurde die Originalnotierung der KEE übernommen, falls in anderen Regionen, zum Beispiel in der Provinz Kars, signifikante Unterschiede vorliegen.

Alevi und Schiiten kommen nach Angabe der Köy Envanter in einem breiten Grenzgürtel am Rande des ostanatolischen Kulturraumes vor. Dieser ist durch Verbreitungslücken gegliedert. Seine Teile: das Segment von Kars, das Zentrale Bergland mit Tunceli, (dem früheren Dersim), das offene Hügelland um Maraş und das Hatay unterscheiden sich jedoch im Glauben und in den sozialen Bedingungen. Die Bezeichnung Schiiten wird in den „Envanter“ nur im Vilayet Kars, also an der iranischen Grenze, verwendet, wo direkte Beziehungen zu den iranischen Schiiten bestehen. Da in dem gleichen Gebiet auch Alevi vermerkt sind, ist anzunehmen, daß sich beide hier unterscheiden. Über die Alevi der Nordosttürkei, die zur nordwestiranischen und transkaukasischen Kulturprovinz gehören, ist wenig bekannt. Es könnte sich um Azeri oder Karapapağ handeln. Früher sollen bis nach Transkaukasien auch Yezidi verbreitet gewesen sein, die allerdings bei den Dorfbefragungen nicht festgestellt wurden. Da nach K. E. MÜLLER (1969) das Alevitum keine einheitliche Religion ist, sondern ein Komplex mehr oder weniger vage formulierter und unterschiedlich praktizierter Glaubensvorstellungen, so könnten darin auch die Yezidi, die früher in diesem Gebiet erwähnt werden, aufgegangen sein, oder Yezidi haben sich als Alevi angegeben. Die Alevidörfer kommen besonders im Arastal und in der Ebene von Iğdır gehäuft vor, während auf dem Plateau von Kars sunnitische Dörfer vorherrschen.

Von diesem nordostanatolischen Komplex ist der Kernraum der ostanatolischen Alevi im Zentralen Bergland von Bingöl, Erzurum und Tunceli durch eine Verbreitungslücke geschieden. Diese Alevi sind relativ gut erforscht, wenn auch hier die Angaben der Literatur widersprüchlich sind. Die Glaubensrichtung geht auf die Tätigkeit von Derwischorden aus dem

Raum Ardebil im Grenzbereich zwischen dem safawidischen und osmanischen Reich im 17. Jahrhundert zurück. Schiismus und persischer Mystizismus wurden dabei synkretisch dem lokalen christlich-vorchristlichen Glauben verbunden. Da die Religion nicht schriftlich fixiert wurde und keine staatliche oder kirchliche Macht einheitliche Observanz erzwang, entwickelte sich der Glauben offen weiter, wobei Religion, soziale Ordnung und Normenerhaltung verbunden sind. Zentrale Bedeutung kommt dabei den wöchentlichen Zusammenkünften in den Privathäusern zu. Die religiösen und geistigen Führer sind Dede und Pir, die zusammen mit dem Ağa noch heute eine regionale soziopolitische Macht verkörpern, denn der Zusammenhalt unter den kurdischen Alevistämmen ist noch stark und reicht nach BUMKE bis Kars, Erzincan, Sivas, Kayseri, Malatya, Maraş und Muş.

Das soziale und politische Verhältnis der Alevikurden des Berglands zu ihren sunnitischen Nachbarn der Ebene und zwischen Staat und Region ist historisch belastet. Die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen den Alevistämmen des Berglands und sunnitischen Begg der Muradebene, die Militärexpeditionen des 19. Jahrhunderts, die das Gebiet botmäßig machen und Rekruten und Steuern einbringen sollen, sowie Unruhen bis in die dreißiger Jahre, die zur Verfolgung der Berglandbevölkerung und zur Umsiedlung nach Anatolien führten, wirken sich noch heute auf Bewußtsein, Einstellung und politisches Handeln aus.

Bumke hat die neuere Entwicklung des Alevitentums in ihren sozialen und politischen Bezügen untersucht und als Folge der „Marginalität“ begriffen. Obwohl die Religiosität der jungen Leute abnimmt, bleiben die alten Sozialvorstellungen erhalten und gehen in einen modernen politischen Sozialismus über, der für den Kommunismus aufgeschlossen macht.

Dadurch kommt zu dem alten Abseits der ethnischen und religiösen Sonderstellung die politische Sonderstellung im KKK-Syndrom. Kurden und Kızılbascı gelten nun im Pauschalurteil auch als Kommunisten.

Der Grenzgürtel des Alevitentums setzt sich gegen Südwesten in das offenere Hügelland und die Ebenen der Provinzen Malatya und Maraş fort. Dieses Gebiet ist bereits stärker entwickelt, und die Alevidörfer sind in der Minderzahl (Im Vilayet Maraş 113 Alevi- und 430 Sunnidörfer).

Hier sind vor allem die Städte Krisenräume, weil dort unter dem Streß der Urbanisierung, Unterbeschäftigung und ungewohnten ethnischen und sozialen Nachbarschaft Sunniten und Alevi zusammenleben. So kam es bei religiöser und politischer Polarisierung im Dezember 1978 zu dem „Marsaker“ von Kahramanmaraş, bei dem mehr als 100 Menschen getötet wurden. Dadurch wurde das Problem offen sichtbar, und zwölf Provinzen der Osttürkei, vor allem die mit alevitischer Bevölkerung, von Adana und Ma-

raş über Malatya, Sivas bis Erzurum und Kars, wurden unter Kriegsrecht gestellt.

Obwohl sich der Gürtel des Alevitentums im Hatay fortsetzt, unterscheiden sich diese Alevi, die auch *Nusayri* genannt werden, von denen der Osttürkei. Schwerpunkte der Verbreitung sind Samandağ, İskenderun und Antakya. Insgesamt sind 97 Dörfer mit zwischen 3 und 100% Nusayri angegeben. Die Nusayri sind, obwohl sie arabisch sprechen, eine separate ethnische Gruppe. Aussehen, Kleidung, Sozialvorstellungen und Praktiken des Anbaus unterscheiden sie von der übrigen Bevölkerung. Ihre wichtigste Kultstätte, eine weiße Türbe, steht an der Orontesmündung am Strand. Dort werden nächtliche Feiern abgehalten und Opfergaben niedergelegt.

Nach K. E. MÜLLER (1969: 56) enthält die Religion Reste eines Sonnenkults, der bis ins 18. Jahrhundert wesentlich weiter verbreitet gewesen sein soll, außerdem christliche und islamische Elemente. Sowohl die christlichen als auch die islamischen Feste werden gefeiert. Die übrige Bevölkerung steht den Nusayri und ihrem Geheimkult mit Mißtrauen und Distanz gegenüber.

HÜTTEROTH (1982: 277) vermutet, daß „die türkischen Alevi in der Gesamtbevölkerung der Türkei aufgehen, noch bevor man hinreichend über ihre Zahl oder gar ihre heterodoxen Glaubenvorstellungen informiert ist“. Dem kann man kaum zustimmen, wenn damit eine baldige Assimilation angedeutet werden soll, denn Zahl, regional konzentrierte Verbreitung, Absonderung durch Vorurteile und Feindverhalten bewirken eine Stärkung des Identitätsbewußtseins und behindern die Akkulturation. Dies gilt für die meisten Minoritäten der Türkei unter den gegenwärtigen sozialen und politischen Bedingungen.

### *Die Yezidi (Jeziden)*

Das Yezidentum beschränkt sich auf die Kurden der Südosttürkei. Es soll nach älteren Quellen (K. E. MÜLLER 1969: 132) früher in der gesamten Osttürkei bis Transkaukasien und in Irak und Syrien bis nach Aleppo verbreitet gewesen sein. Die Abweichungen vom orthodoxen Islam, sei er sunnitisch oder schiitisch, sind hier ähnlich stark wie bei den Nusayri. In den KEE sind 33 Yezidische Dörfer vermerkt, vor allem in und um den Tūr ‘Abdīn und westwärts bis Gaziantep (tabellarische Übersicht und Abb. 3). Die Yezidi selbst geben höhere Zahlen an, nämlich 116 Dörfer und 30- bis 50 000 Personen in den Vilayet Siirt, Urfa, Mardin, Diyarbakır und Gaziantep (unveröffentlichte Angaben aus dem „Verein der Yezidi in Deutschland“, Soliman Hissou). Da die Yezidi als Häretiker nicht im

offiziellen Zensus erfaßt werden, gibt es keine Vergleichszahlen. Man kann allerdings annehmen, daß es sich bei den 218 Personen in Siirt und 201 in Diyarbakır, die unter „andere Religionen“ vermerkt sind, um Yezidi handelt. Mit zu niedrigen Zahlen bei allen offiziellen Erhebungen ist zu rechnen, da die Yezidi als verfolgte Minorität sich fürchten, ihren Glauben zu bekennen. In der Südosttürkei wird dann am wahrscheinlichsten „Christ“, in der übrigen Osttürkei eher Alevi angegeben.

Die Yezidi müssen wohl, obgleich sie Kurden sind, als separate religionsethnisch definierte Gruppe aufgefaßt werden. Sie sind durch eine Barriere von Fremdsein, Mißtrauen und Feindseligkeit von ihren Nachbarn getrennt und gruppenendogam, haben allerdings Beziehung zu den Christen. Die vollständigste Darstellung der Yezidi, aus der sich jedoch auch kein klares Bild ergibt, findet man bei K. E. MÜLLER. Auch der Religionswissenschaftler G. WIESNER und der Ethnologe R. Schneider, beide in Göttingen, arbeiten über die Yezidi, wobei sich in jüngerer Zeit durch Befragung von Emigranten neue Möglichkeiten ergeben, allerdings wohl auch weitere Verfälschungen, denn in der Diaspora verändern sich Glauben und Auffassung unbewußt oder politisch motiviert. Für die Forschung erschwerend ist, daß Glaubensinhalt und Riten streng geheim gehalten werden, daß es sich also bei Mitteilungen meist um Fremdeindrücke und übermittelte Vorurteile handelt, und daß die Berichte von Reisenden zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten und in verschiedenen Regionen gesammelt wurden. Auch dürfte die Mehrzahl der Yezidischen Laien nur einen vagen Eindruck ihrer Religion haben. Wiesner nimmt darum nicht eine genau definierte Religion, sondern ein diffuses Grundverständnis an.

Nach Müller und anderen unterscheidet sich das Yezidentum vom Islam durch die noch lebendige, altsyrisch-iranische Glaubensbasis, der Elemente des Christentums, des Islam und im 12. Jahrhundert des Sufismus verbunden wurden. Reformiert und verdeutlicht wurde der Glaube durch Şeyh 'Adī, dessen Grabmal bei Mosul liegt, und der aus seiner Zuflucht im Hakkari wirkte. Während in Nähe des Zentrums und im Gebiet der Hauptverbreitung Glauben und Riten relativ eindeutig sein dürften, ist in größerer Entfernung bei anderer regionaler Glaubensbasis mit stärkerer Abweichung und unklaren Vorstellungen zu rechnen. Es ist deshalb auch denkbar, daß es sich bei den 600 Personen nicht identifizierter Religion, die im Zensus 1960 in der Provinz Kars angegeben sind, um Reste des Yezidentums im transkaukasischen Raum handelt. Dafür spricht z. B., daß bei Yezidi und Karapapağ der Hase religiöse Bedeutung hat. In den KEE hätten sich diese „Yezidi“ als Alevi angegeben.

Zusammenfassend kann man über Religion und Riten der Yezidi wohl folgendes als allgemein zutreffend aus der Literatur entnehmen:

Die Yezidi glauben an einen Gott, der die Welt und die sechs Engel, die sie regieren, erschaffen hat. Er erließ auch die Gebote, von deren Befolgung das weitere Schicksal des Menschen im Verlaufe der Seelenwanderung abhängt. Dann zog sich Gott zurück. Nicht er, sondern die Engel, besonders Melek Taus, der oberste Engel, genießen so die unmittelbare Verehrung gemeinsam mit den Heiligen. Unter diesen kommt Šeyḥ ‘Adī eine besondere Bedeutung zu, aber auch Christus und Mohammed werden verehrt, und es wird angenommen, daß das Reich Christi auf das des Melek Taus folgt. Aus der Verehrung und wechselnden Stellung des Melek Taus ist das Hauptmißverständnis entstanden, das zum Abscheu der Muslime geführt hat. Sie halten ihn für den Teufel und die Yezidi für Teufelsanbeter. Melek Taus (Gabriel), der durch den Pfau symbolisiert ist, galt aber von seiner Erschaffung an im Glauben der Yezidi als der höchste Engel. Er wurde jedoch von Gott in die Hölle verstoßen, als er eigenmächtig die ersten Menschen verführte. Später vergab ihm Gott und setzte ihn wieder als Erzengel ein. Damit wurden nach ihrer Vorstellung der Teufel und das Böse, und so auch die dualistische Weltbetrachtung, überwunden.

Die Yezidi unternehmen nach Angaben älterer Reisender jährliche Pilgerfahrten zum Grab des Šeyḥ ‘Adī, in dem auch die heiligen Kultsymbole aufbewahrt werden. Von dort suchen Priester die Dörfer mit der Nachbildung des Melek Taus auf und vereinen die Gläubigen bei einer Feier. Die kultischen Zusammenkünfte werden in den Häusern der Dede nachts abgehalten und erregen, da sie geheim sind, Mißtrauen und Abscheu der Andersgläubigen. Sie sprechen von „Kerzenlöschern“ und vermuten im Dunklen geheime Teufelsanbetung, alkoholische Exzesse und orgiastische Rituale.

Da Yezidi und Christen zum Teil die gleichen Glaubensvorstellungen haben, die gleichen Jahresfeste feiern und Taufe und Abendmahl kennen, so sind sie befreundet und helfen einander. Außerdem versorgen sich die Yezidi, denen Alkohol nicht verboten ist, bei den Christen mit Wein. Kritisch ist die Situation für die Yezidi vor allem in den Dörfern, wo sich die Konflikte mit anderen Kurden an traditionellen Vorkommen wie Frauenraub oder Übergriffen auf Land und Vieh entzünden. Wird eine Gruppe oder ein Dorf so das Ziel von Angriffen, bleibt nur noch die Abwanderung in die Stadt, wo die Menschen ebenfalls diskriminiert sind, oder – seit den sechziger Jahren – zunächst als Arbeiter, später als Asylsuchende ins Ausland. Gefürchtet ist bei den Männern vor allem der Militärdienst. Dieser ist ihnen aus religiösen Gründen verboten. Sie werden trotzdem eingezogen und sind dann Entwürdigungen, Diskriminierung und Grausamkeit ausgesetzt.

In der Bundesrepublik Deutschland leben etwa 3000 kurdische Yezidi – in Niedersachsen besonders im Raum Celle. Für die Deutschen sind sie

Türken und unserer Kultur besonders fern, für die Türken bleiben sie Außenseiter, die sich abseits halten. In der doppelten Isolation und in der Fremde nimmt ihr Kulturbewußtsein zu und wird deutlicher artikuliert. Sie empfinden sich nun als völkische Gruppe und Minorität im politischen Sinne. Das dürfte zu weiteren Problemen führen und zu negativen Rückwirkungen auf die in der Heimat Verbliebenen. Auf sie nimmt der Druck anderer Kurden zu, denn man hofft, durch Vertreibung zu Land und Haus und zu einer „Endlösung“ zu kommen. Die Haßgefühle werden weiter angeregt, wenn die nun wohlhabenden Emigranten mit voll bepacktem Auto in der Heimat Verwandte besuchen.

### *Die Christen - Süryani und Armenier*

Ostanatolien hatte bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg bedeutende christliche Minoritäten, vor allem Armenier im ostanatolischen Hochland und in Südostanatolien, Süryani und Araber in der Südosttürkei und Georgier in der Nordosttürkei, in den Städten auch Griechen. Da sich bei den Armeniern, Süryani, arabischen Christen und Georgiern traditionell ethnische und religiöse Sonderstellung decken, werden diese Christen anschließend als Volksgruppen besprochen.

Die Verteilung der christlichen Dörfer ist aus der tabellarischen Zusammenstellung (Survey 3) zu ersehen.

Der Zensus 1960 gibt für folgende ostanatolische Vilayet größere Zahlen von Christen an:

Mardin	22 165	Süryani, wohl einige Armenier
Hatay	7 325	vorwiegend arabische Christen
Diyarbakır	2 489	vorwiegend Armenier
Siirt	1 423	vorwiegend Süryani
Sivas	1 437	vorwiegend Armenier
Kars	1 189	Zuordnung unbekannt (Armenier? Zuwanderer aus Rußland, Georgier, einige Deutsche)
Malatya	1 085	vermutlich Armenier.

Die Verteilung der Christen verschiedener ethnischer Zuordnung und deren Anteil an der regionalen Gesamtbevölkerung vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg lassen sich aus CUINET (1890–1895) ersehen sowie aus der kartographischen Neudarstellung dieser Zahlen in HÜTTEROTH (1982: 272) und aus der neuerschienenen Bearbeitung der osmanischen Quellen von J. MCCARTHY, „Muslims and Minorities“.

*Die Juden in der Osttürkei*

In den Köy Envanter sind keine jüdischen Dörfer in der Osttürkei vermerkt. Es gab zu dieser Zeit jedoch noch drei Dörfer mit jüdischer Restbevölkerung südöstlich des Vansees um Başkale. Sie wurden in den fünfziger und frühen sechziger Jahren verlassen, weil die Lebensbedingungen zu schlecht waren und der wirtschaftlich aktiven Bevölkerung keine Chancen boten. Diese Juden sollen vor sehr langer Zeit aus dem Irak als Verschleppte oder Flüchtlinge gekommen sein. Sonst lebten nach CUINET die osttürkischen Juden vor allem in den Städten, wo sie wie Armenier und Griechen meist Handwerker und Kaufleute waren. Auch sie waren, wie die Christen, für die um die Jahrhundertwende aus Europa kommenden neuen Entwicklungen aufgeschlossen und fertigten nach Berichten von Cuinet zum Beispiel in Van Möbel und Kleidung im europäischen Stil an, als sich von den Konsulaten und Missionen ausgehend ein Bedarf hierfür ergab.

Obwohl die Juden wirtschaftlich erfolgreich waren und einen anderen Glauben hatten, wurden sie nicht wie die Christen verfolgt, da ihre Religion anerkannt war und sie keine nationalen Ambitionen oder Allianz mit Fremdmächten entwickelten. Der Zensus 1960 weist nur 162 Juden, wenn man sich an der Religionsangabe orientiert, 657 Personen mosaischen Glaubens aus. Daß sich aus diesen Zahlen nur ungefähre Hinweise ergeben, erkennt man daran, daß von den 133 Juden im Vilayet Van nur neun mosaischen Glaubens gewesen sein sollen (Zensus 1960: 153 und 171).

*Die nicht-türkischen ethnischen Gruppen (Volksgruppen) in der ländlichen Osttürkei*

Wie bereits ausgeführt, konzentrieren sich die Türken im Kernraum der Osttürkei in den großen Städten, Militärbasen und Ovas. Sonst – vor allem im Bergland – herrscht kurdische, in einigen Kreisen an der syrischen Grenze auch arabische Besiedlung bei weitem vor. Nach dem Zensus 1960 waren 66% der osttürkischen Bevölkerung türkisch, 34% gehörten nicht-türkischen Minoritäten an; und selbst im Kernraum der Osttürkei (Vilayet: Tunceli, Bingöl, Ağrı, Van, Hakkari, Siirt, Urfa, Diyarbakır, Bitlis und Mardin) sollten demzufolge 34% der Gesamtbevölkerung türkisch sein. Daran läßt sich zweifeln, wenn man mit den Angaben der Köy Envanter vergleicht und bedenkt, daß auch in den meist kleinen Städten die Bevölkerungszusammensetzung nur wenig von der des Umlands abweicht.



Vor allem die Angaben für die Randvilayet der Osttürkei und für die Grenzvilalet gegen Syrien erscheinen wenig glaubwürdig. In den ersteren fehlen auch in den KEE teilweise die Sprachangaben, denn die öffentlichen Stellen sind besonders sensibilisiert in Minoritätenfragen. Demgegenüber geht HÜTTEROTH allerdings aufgrund „eigener Eindrücke bei der Durchführung von Volkszählungen“ (1982: 279) von der Richtigkeit der amtlich türkischen Statistiken und Minoritätenzahlen aus.

### *Die Kurden*

Die Kurden sind die größte ethnische Minderheit der Türkei. Ihre Zahl wird in der Türkei mit etwa 5 Millionen, durch kurdische Emigranten und politische Gruppen mit über 8 Millionen angegeben. Ihr Hauptverbreitungsgebiet ist das ostanatolische Hochland bis etwa Erzurum, Gölö, Tunceli und Malatya und die Südosttürkei. Es erstreckt sich jedoch über die türkischen Grenzen in die Sowjetunion, nach Iran, Irak und Syrien. Man kann deshalb die türkischen Kurden kaum isoliert von denen der Nachbarländer betrachten, denn sie alle verstehen sich als Kurden, und es gibt grenzüberschreitende Kontakte zwischen Familien und Stämmen, durch Migration, Handel – vor allem auch Schmuggel – und in Flucht und Zuflucht, wobei das historische Bewußtsein von Stammeszusammenhängen weiterwirkt. Diese Verbindungen sind meist sporadisch und lose, sie können aber in Krisen- und Notzeiten, und wenn ein überragender Führer oder eine Ideologie eint, zur sozialen und politischen Realität werden.

Die Abbildung 1 und die tabellarische Übersicht geben einen, wegen Unvollständigkeit der Angaben in einigen Randvilayet, allerdings lückenhaften Überblick über die Begrenzung des von Kurden besiedelten Gebietes und über die ethnische Zusammensetzung in diesem.

In dem von Kurden besiedelten Gebiet kann man für die Planung eine Rand- und Mischzone und einen dominant kurdisch besiedelten Kernbereich unterscheiden. Im letzteren ist das Zahlenverhältnis zwischen türkischen und kurdischen Dörfern in den Vilayet Bingöl, Van und Diyarbakır 1:10 und mehr, in den Vilayet Hakkari und Mardin sogar um 1:100; und weniger als 50% der Landbevölkerung sprechen Türkisch (siehe Abbildung 1). Diese Gebiete benötigen eine besondere, auf die kurdische oder kurdisch/arabische Minderheit abgestimmte Kultur- und Entwicklungspolitik, da bei solchen Zahlenverhältnissen spontane Akkulturation nicht möglich ist.

Der Zensus 1960 gibt ein anderes Bild kurdischer Präsenz in der Osttürkei als die KEE. Nach dem Zensus lebten in den in die Betrachtung ein-

bezogenen Ostprovinzen 1,67 Mio. Kurden bei einer Gesamtbevölkerung von 5,5 Mio. Das wäre ein Anteil von etwa 30% Kurden. Wenn man bedenkt, daß die Vilayet Malatya nur 0,74%, Tunceli 4%, Elazığ 5,1%, Van 51% und Hakkari 8,0% Kurden angeben, so erkennt man im Vergleich mit den KEE die Unwahrscheinlichkeit solcher Angaben. Auch die von Zensus zu Zensus ungleichmäßige Zunahme der kurdischen Bevölkerung spricht für Fehler bei der Erhebung oder Bearbeitung. Ein natürlicher Zuwachs von 2,2 Mio. auf fast 4 Mio. in fünf Jahren (von 1965 bis 1970) ist unmöglich und läßt sich auch nicht durch das „starke Bevölkerungswachstum“ in den Ostprovinzen erklären (HÜTTEROTH 1982: 279). Im allgemeinen kann man annehmen, daß die amtlich türkischen Zahlen zu niedrig, die aus Emigrantenkreisen und in der deutschen Presse genannten zu hoch sind.

Sie sind auch für die Regionalplanung relativ unwichtig, da hierfür die Kenntnis der Verteilungsmuster, die aus den KEE ersichtlich wird, genügt.

### *Die ethnische Differenzierung der Kurden*

Die Kurden sind in Selbsteinschätzung und Wahrnehmung Fremder ein Volk. Trotzdem sind sie – was bei großräumiger Verbreitung zu erwarten ist – ethnisch, d. h. in Sprache und Kultur differenziert. Die Unterschiede zwischen Kırmanci und Zazakurden und verschiedenen Regionalbevölkerungen, aber auch zwischen Nomaden, Bauern und städtischen Kurden, sind jedoch nicht so groß, daß man sich der Auffassung Hütteroths anschließen könnte, „es handele sich nicht um ein einheitliches Volk im europäischen Sinne“ (HÜTTEROTH 1982: 277). Einheitlichkeit ist unter den gegebenen Umständen auch kaum zu erwarten, denn zur Verwischung sprachlicher und regional ethnischer Unterschiede kommt es generell erst im Verlauf staatlicher Entwicklung und in einer urban-industriellen Hochzivilisation. Das ist und war in Europa nicht anders. So sind die Deutschen sicher ein europäisches Volk, und doch sind die dialektischen und allgemein kulturellen Unterschiede z. B. zwischen Friesen, Bayern, Sachsen und Schlesiern auch heute noch beträchtlich.

Dennoch ist die sprachliche und ethnische Differenzierung der Kurden von Interesse und sollte erforscht werden, weil sich solche Unterschiede auf die sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Zustände und Entwicklungen auswirken. Die KEE enthalten Angaben über die Zazadörfer und damit eine wichtige sprachliche Untergruppe und weitere Angaben zur kulturellen Differenzierung speziell der Religion und in sozio-ökonomischer Beziehung.

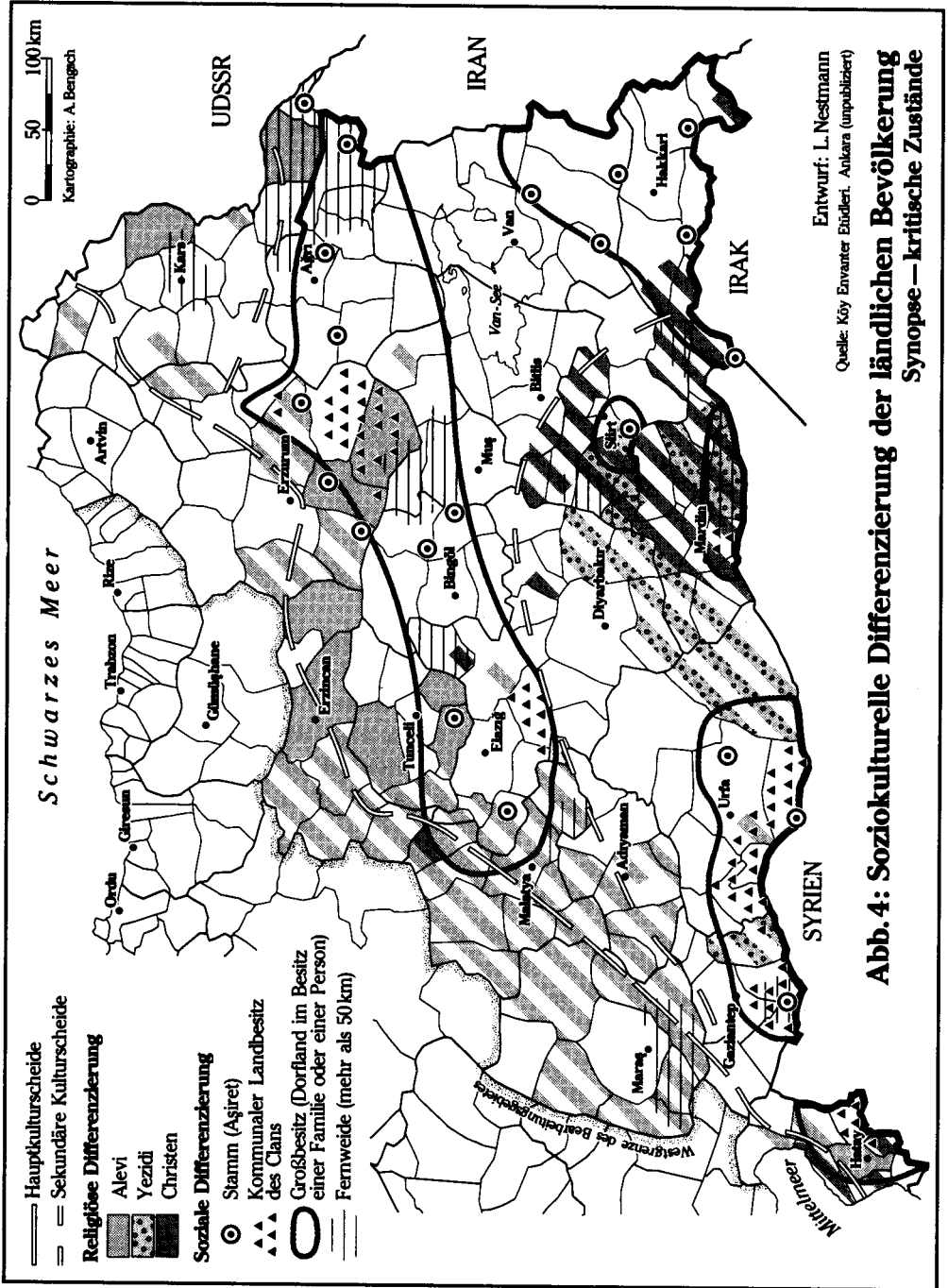
### *Zur regionalen, sprachethnischen Differenzierung*

Die meisten Kurden sind Kirmanc. Daneben gibt es Zaza, die von Kurden und Türken gesondert gesehen aber als Kurden aufgefaßt werden. Sie sprechen Dimli, verwandt mit dem Gorani und leben im Bergland der Vilayet Tunceli, Bingöl, Muş und Siirt und in der Südosttürkei um Diyarbakir und Siirt. Sie sind nach BUMKE von Süden ins Bergland zugewandert und haben sich auf früherem Weideland und in armenischen Dörfern niedergelassen (Abb. 2). Sie sind wegen ihrer Sprache und Herkunft im doppelten Sinne ‚Fremde‘ und sozial isoliert, so daß sich ihre kulturelle Eigenart erhält. Sie gelten als „vahşi“, das heißt wild und unzivilisiert, was jedoch nicht bedeuten muß, daß sie sich zivilisatorisch von ihren Nachbarn wesentlich unterscheiden, denn der Ausdruck wird generell auch in Zentralanatolien gebraucht, um sich vorteilhaft von „den anderen“ in hierarchischer Ordnung abzugrenzen.

### *Die religiöse und religionsethnische Differenzierung der Kurden*

Da Unterschiede der Religion gewöhnlich zur Segregation und Feindseligkeit führen, so kann sich daraus eine allgemeine kulturelle, d. h. ethnische Auseinanderentwicklung innerhalb eines Volkes oder einer Regionalbevölkerung ergeben. In solchen Fällen kann man von einer separaten religionsethnischen Gruppe sprechen. Die Mehrzahl der Kurden sind Şafii. Es gibt jedoch auch kurdische Hanefi im Randgebiet der Osttürkei, so um Arpaçay im Vilayet Kars.

Dieser Unterschied des Bekenntnisses ist für die ethnische Untergliederung des Gesamtkomplexes der Kurden ohne Bedeutung, da es zwischen Hanefi und Şafii religionsbedingt keine soziale Barriere oder negative Fremdreaktion, und daher keine divergierende Entwicklung gibt. Anders hingegen ist es bei den Alevi und besonders den Yezidi. Hier kann man von religionsethnischen Sondergruppen und von einer Abgrenzung von den anderen Kurden sprechen. Auf die diesbezüglichen Verbreitungsmuster, aus denen die Problemräume deutlich werden, und die sozialen Folgen solcher Unterschiede wurde bereits in dem Kapitel über die religiöse Differenzierung in der Osttürkei eingegangen (Abb. 3 und 4).



*Die Bedeutung des Restnomadismus für die ethnische und soziale Differenzierung der Kurden*

Auch die Untergliederung der Kurden in Nomaden und Seßhafte ist – da sie mit kulturellen Unterschieden verbunden ist und sozialen und kulturellen Abstand innerhalb eines Volkes schafft – von ethnischer Bedeutung. Man könnte daher die kurdischen Nomaden als gesonderte ethnische Gruppe betrachten. Wesentliche Unterschiede zu den Seßhaften sind die andere ökologische Adaption an den Raum, Stammesorganisation und starke Bindung an Traditionen, die den Stämmen die Anpassung an die sich wandelnde Zivilisation erschwert.

Damit ist die kulturelle Distanz und Konfliktbereitschaft verbunden. Die Nomaden waren zunächst der stammesmäßig nicht organisierten Dorfbevölkerung überlegen und repräsentierten Regionalmächte, die sich dem Staat, den Dörfern und abweichenden Kulturgruppen militant entgegenstellten. Als sich im 19. Jahrhundert die Staatsmacht auch in der Osttürkei stärker durchsetzte, die Nomaden zunehmend seßhaft wurden, sich Ackerflächen auf Kosten des Weidelandes ausdehnten und sich die Grenzen schlossen, da nahm die Zahl der Nomaden, ihre Gruppengröße und Potenz ab. Heute gibt es nur noch kleine Restgruppen. Aber bei den „Seminomaden“ haben sich Reste der Stammesstruktur und historisches Bewußtsein erhalten, die immer noch auch über charakteristische Folgeentwicklungen eine Sonderstellung bewirken.

HÜTTEROTH (1959) hat den Übergang vom Nomadentum zur Seßhaftigkeit bei „Nomaden und Yaylabauern“ des Hakkari untersucht. Das Stammes- und Clanbewußtsein bleibt erhalten, die Stammesführer und ihre Nachfolger – die Ağa – sind noch führende Persönlichkeiten und bestimmen Einstellung und soziales Verhalten der Bevölkerung. So können große Regionalpopulationen bei Konflikten aktiviert werden und der Staat muß mit den Stämmen und ihren Führern rechnen.

Auch Kendal (in CHALIAND, 1984) weist auf die Bedeutung des ‚Tribalismus‘ für die sozialen und politischen Entwicklungen in der Osttürkei hin. Die Unruhen im Dersim in den dreißiger Jahren und die gegenwärtigen Störungen im Hakkari und in dessen westlichem Umfeld in Nähe der irakischen Grenze sind eher Zeugen des wieder auflebenden Tribalismus als von Nationalismus. Sie entsprechen Rückschritten der Entwicklung im Zustand der Not und des psychosozialen Streß.

Stammesstrukturen kommen nach İ. BEŞİKÇİ noch im Hakkari, im östlichen Teil des zentralen Taurus von Elaziğ und Tunceli bis Ağrı und in der Südosttürkei, besonders um den Karacadağ, vor (Abb. 4).

Als Relikt des Nomadismus kann man die Fernweide betrachten, bei der ein Teil der Dorfbevölkerung weit entfernte Sommerweiden des Stammes aufsucht. Da die KEE die Weideentfernung angeben, so kann man solche Gebiete des Postnomadismus feststellen und deren Entwicklung speziell planen (Tab. 24 der publizierten Vilayetmonographien der KEE und NESTMANN, 1972, sowie Abb. 4). Fernweide von 50 bis 200 km ist um Maraş, Gaziantep, Malatya, Tunceli, Bingöl, Muş, südöstlich von Kars, um Iğdır und den Ararat, bei Siirt und in den Vorbergen des Hakkari um Cizre und İdil angegeben, das heißt im Bergland Ostanatoliens und in dessen semiaridem, heute agrar genutzten südöstlichem Vorland, dort wo auch Gebiete der Stämme bekannt sind.

### *Die agrarsozialen Folgeentwicklungen des Nomadismus*

Aus ethnischen Unterschieden ergeben sich häufig soziale Unterschiede. So scheint die Besitzstruktur der alteingesessenen Bauern und bei sesshaft gewordenen Nomaden verschieden zu sein, wodurch sich eine unterschiedliche Sozialentwicklung ergibt. Während bei den Altbauern Individualbesitz unterschiedlicher Größe vorherrscht, wurde bei den Stämmen das Land entweder gemeinschaftlich durch den Clan (*sülâle*) bewirtschaftet oder das gesamte frühere Weideland wurde auf den Namen und die Familie des Stammesführers eingetragen, woraus sich Großgrundbesitz ergab. Die übrigen Clanangehörigen wurden zu landlosen Bauern und Materialpächtern oder zu Tagelöhnern.

Im ersteren Fall blieben Gleichheit und traditionell soziales Denken erhalten, im zweiten kam es zur extremen Ungleichheit und Abhängigkeit und Not für die Mehrzahl der Bauern. Beide Systeme – der Kommunalbesitz und die damit verbundenen sozialen Vorstellungen sowie der Großgrundbesitz mit Rentenskapitalismus – bieten in der Gegenwart günstige Voraussetzungen für die Ausbreitung des Kommunismus. Aus den Tafeln 29, 30 und 31 der Vilayet-monographien der KEE, Abb. 4, und NESTMANN, 1974, S. 101, läßt sich die Verbreitung der beiden Besitzstrukturen des Nachnomadismus erkennen. Sie kommen nebeneinander sowohl im zentralen Bergland von Elazığ und Tunceli bis Ağrı wie im südostanatolischen Tiefland, aber nicht im Tūr 'Abdīn und im Hügelland von Siirt und Bitlis in den früher süryani-christlichen Gebieten vor. Da Landreform und Grundbucheintragung des Besitzes sich in der Osttürkei aus politischen Gründen verzögerten, so bleiben diese Besitzstrukturen erhalten und mit ihnen die von der übrigen Türkei abweichenden agrarsozialen Bedingungen, die für die ungünstige Entwicklung der kurdischen Gebiete und für die regionalen Disparitäten in der Türkei mitverantwortlich sind.

Das Verhältnis zwischen Türken und Kurden ist, zumindest seit dem vorigen Jahrhundert, gestört, und es kommt immer wieder zu Unruhen. Dies ist, wenn man die wirtschaftliche und soziale Situation bedenkt, nicht verwunderlich. Die Türken fürchten kurdischen „Nationalismus, Separatismus und Kommunismus“. Solche Bestrebungen haben aber sicher in der Osttürkei keine echte Basis. Sie werden vor allem durch interessierte Gruppen im Ausland in die Türkei gebracht, können sich dort allerdings unter den gegebenen Umständen ausbreiten.

### *Die Araber*

Südlich der Kulturscheide des Taurus ist die Bevölkerung weitgehender arabisiert als in anderen Teilen der Türkei und spricht zum Teil arabisch als Mutter- und Umgangssprache.

Nach Angaben der Dorferhebungen liegen die arabischen Dörfer vor allem im Hatay und in den Vilayet Urfa und Mardin, inselhaft auch im Hügelland von Siirt und Bitlis bis nach Muş.

Eigentümlicherweise erstreckt sich die arabische Besiedlung kaum in das Becken von Diyarbakır. HÜTTEROTH (1982: 280) erwähnt nur einige Dörfer in Nähe der Stadt, und in den KEE ist nur ein arabisches Dorf angegeben. Im Zensus 1960 sind größere Zahlen von Arabern in den Vilayet Hatay (147,7 Tausend), Mardin (73,9 Tausend), Urfa (51,2 Tausend) und Siirt (34,8 Tausend) angegeben. Der Wert für das Vilayet Urfa scheint, wenn man mit dem für Mardin vergleicht, sehr niedrig.

Die ethnische Differenzierung der Araber ist geringer als die der Kurden. Das liegt daran, daß das Arabische eine stark prägende Hochkultur ist, und daß der Siedlungsraum der Araber in der Türkei klein ist und an den arabischen Kernraum anschließt. Die meisten Araber sind Sunniten, daneben gibt es arabische Christen und 'Alawi (die Nusayri), die wie auch die arabisierten Kurden (die Mahallami<sup>1</sup>) eine ethnische Sonderstellung einnehmen, die jedoch kaum erforscht ist.

Die Araber sind in der Türkei keine Problemminorität. Sie sind Sunniten, waren im osmanischen Vielvölkerstaat anerkannt und zeigten keine nationalen Ambitionen. Auch sind sie wohl weniger aggressiv und fügsa-

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<sup>1</sup> Es scheint einige Verwirrung in bezug auf diese Bezeichnung zu bestehen, die eigentlich der Name eines Dialektes ist. SASSE (1971: 3, Anm. 4), der die Namen von Mhallami-Siedlungen in verschiedenen Dörfern gesammelt hat, schreibt, daß er: „feststellen mußte, daß mir zum Teil rein kurdische Dörfer als Mhallami-Dörfer genannt wurden ...“ Wahrscheinlich wird der Begriff in verschiedenen Zusammenhängen als ethnische Bezeichnung gebraucht (d. Hrsg.).

mer als die Kurden. Trotzdem sind die großen arabisierten Gebiete mit ihrer ungünstigen Sozialstruktur, Unterentwicklung, kulturellen Distanz und Grenzlage ein Konfliktraum, in dem sich politische Subversion über die Grenzen, und vom Zentrum Diyarbakır ausgehend, auswirkt.

### *Die Süryani*

Die Süryani sind die letzte geschlossen siedelnde christliche Restgruppe der Osttürkei. Sie leben im Țür ʿAbdīn, einem Kalkhügelland um Mardin und Midyat, in der Grenzebene um Nusaybin, in den westlichen Ausläufern des Hakkarigebirges – dem Bohtan – und nördlich davon im Bergland von Siirt (Abb. 3) gemischt mit Kurden und Arabern.

Da der soziale Druck auf die Süryani stark ist, haben viele von ihnen Sprache oder Religion gewechselt oder geben diese nicht an. Nur noch 40% sprechen aramäisch, die meisten arabisch, kurdisch oder zunehmend türkisch. Die islamischen Konvertiten, die einen arabischen Dialekt sprechen, heißen Mohalmiye<sup>2</sup>.

Die KEE geben 33, wenn man die Religionsangabe als verlässlicheren Indikator der Ethnizität berücksichtigt, 60 süryanische Dörfer an (tabellarische Übersicht und Abb. 2). Nach Angabe süryanischer Emigranten aus der Türkei soll es zu der Zeit 50 Dörfer im Țür ʿAbdīn und 24 im Hakkari und Bohtan gegeben haben.

Die Sozialgeschichte der süryanischen Christen des Țür ʿAbdīn und des Hakkari verlief vom 19. Jahrhundert an unterschiedlich. Davor lebten die Christen des Hakkari unter ähnlichen Verhältnissen wie ihre kurdischen Nachbarn. Es gab Konflikte und Überfälle, aber diese entsprachen der regionalen und traditionsbedingten Norm. Es ging um Weidrechte, Felder, Versorgung im Winter für die Nomaden und Frauenraub. Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung im Țür ʿAbdīn war divergierender als die im Hakkari. Hier hatten die Christen die besseren Häuser, bewässerte Feldterrassen und Obstbau und damit einen höheren Lebensstandard. In den Städten waren sie Kaufleute und Handwerker – vor allem Gold- und Silberschmiede, Steinmetzen, Schneider, Weber und Töpfer. Sie waren also wohlhabender als die Mehrzahl der Kurden. Ethnische, religiöse, soziale und ökonomische Faktoren wirkten polarisierend zusammen. Erst als sich Macht und Einfluß der Großmächte im 19. Jahrhundert in den Nahen Osten erstreckte und als sich durch die Tätigkeit von Missionen, Handelsvertretungen und Konsulaten für die Christen Schutz, Förderung und zivi-

<sup>2</sup> Wie es scheint, eine aramäische Variante des Arabischen *Mhallamiye*. (d. Hrsg.).



lisatorische Anregung ergaben, wurde das instabile Gleichgewicht nachhaltig gestört und so begannen im Hakkari um 1840 gezielte Christenverfolgungen durch die Stammeskurden.

Die „Syrer“ des Tūr ‘Abdīn überstanden die schweren Störungen in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts und um den Ersten Weltkrieg besser als die des Hakkari, weil sie keine Allianz mit einer Großmacht (Rußland) eingegangen waren oder versucht hatten, beim Zusammenbruch des Osmanischen Reiches selbständig zu werden. Doch auch sie wurden von den Christenverfolgungen, zusammen mit den Armeniern, betroffen. Die Spannungen und Konflikte mit den Kurden bei mangelndem Schutz durch den Staat setzen sich bis in die Gegenwart fort, wobei sicher der allgemeine Streß in der unterentwickelten und vernachlässigten Region eine entscheidende Rolle spielt. Außer der christlichen Religion stört die Kurden nach eigener Aussage vor allem die größere Zielstrebigkeit der Christen, ihr bescheidener Wohlstand als Handwerker oder tüchtige Bauern und die größere Ordnung („das weiße Hemd am Sonntag“). Zentrum der endemisch ethnischen Spannungen war die Kleinstadt Midyat, in der die beiden Gruppen in getrennten Stadtteilen leben. Zwischen beiden liegt die Schule, am Ortsrand eine große Kaserne. Besonders in der Schule und um die Leistungen und Bewertung der Kinder kam es zu Konflikten, in die auch die Lehrer einbezogen wurden. Schießereien in der Stadt und Überfälle auf Klöster und Dörfer sind unter solchen Umständen „Traditionspflege und Happenings“. Mit den politischen Spannungen im Nahen Osten, dem Krieg in Zypern und im Libanon, Zunahme des religiösen Fundamentalismus und des politischen Terrors in der Türkei, nahmen die Christenverfolgungen erneut zu. Eine besondere Rolle spielen dabei Banden von halbarabisierten Kurden („falsche Kurden“) – die Mahallami. Sie sind ein unruhiges Element und am Schmuggel und aufregenden Unternehmungen interessiert. Viele von ihnen waren während des Krieges im Libanon bei den Milizen, hatten gegen die Christen gekämpft und waren in Palästinenserlagern ausgebildet worden. Als sie zurückkehrten, waren sie enturzelt, fanatisiert, hatten kein Einkommen und überfielen die christlichen Dörfer.

Die Abwanderung aus diesen nahm zu, in die Städte und – da auch dort und beim Militär die Bedingungen für Christen schlecht sind – ins Ausland als Arbeiter oder Asylsuchende. Nach Information von AKUP DAG – Schweden – und G. YONAN – verließen seit den frühen siebziger Jahren 35 000 Süryani ihre türkische Heimat (G. YONAN 1978; und Informationsblatt der Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker „Assyrer“, 1983). In Mardin sollen nur noch 45 syrische Familien leben, in Midyat wurde ihre Zahl von 2000 auf 200 reduziert, der Ort Kerburan wurde nach einem Überfall

1973 von sämtlichen 450 christlichen Familien verlassen und im gesamten Tūr 'Abdīn soll so innerhalb von fünf Jahren die Zahl der Familien auf etwa ein Zehntel gesunken sein (s. Tabelle 1, aber vgl. Übersicht von H. ANSCHÜTZ in diesem Band, Survey 3).

Tabelle 1

*Überblick über 49 Dörfer in der Provinz Mardin, Türkei.  
Ein Vergleich 1973 und 1978 über die Abwanderung bzw. Flucht der sūryanischen Familien, die in diesen Dörfern lebten.*

Dorf	Familien		Dorf	Familien	
	1973	1978		1973	1978
Ayinvert	300	100	Hestpest	20	10
Arnas	95	45	Harapmiški	27	5
Arbay	220	75	Hapisnas	75	14
Arbo	35	4	Habap	80	36
Basbirin	105	47	Hah	100	40
Babege	15	0	Heşterek	10	0
Bafova	36	0	Kerburan	450	0
Baminin	28	0	Keferzi	100	60
Badip	42	3	Keferbi	45	10
Binkelp	26	5	Kefri	35	5
Bati	45	19	Killit	98	60
Bakisyan	128	46	Kalitmara	95	10
Birguriya	10	4	Mardin	5 000	45
Basa	14	0	Midyat	2 000	200
Çelik	60	0	Mizizah	200	60
Çuga	10	0	Midih	110	60
Dersalip	23	17	Maserti	60	0
Dirkup	26	4	Miste	18	0
Erdi	20	4	Merhap	65	30
Gerçüş	40	3	Nusaybin	260	1
Gündükşükrü	60	20	Savur	75	0
Gündük Hanna	8	2	Sare	40	25
Girabe alle	115	49	Salhi	75	0
Hazak (İdil)	750	180	Sidere	30	5
			Zaz	120	55
Insgesamt				11 399	1 358

Reference: Akup Dag, Västerås, Sweden

(Vierte Welt Information, Texte zu Nationalitäten und Minderheiten-Konflikten. „Assyrer“. Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker, Göttingen 1983)

Insgesamt ist nach Angaben von G. Yonan (mündliche Mitteilung) die Zahl der süryanischen Christen im Tūr 'Abdīn von etwa 30 000 Ende der sechziger Jahre auf etwa 600 gesunken. Ihre Häuser und Felder werden von den Kurden übernommen und der physische und kulturelle Druck auf die noch übrigen nimmt zu, bis nur Alte, Kranke und einzelne Priester übrigbleiben.

Damit verliert diese Grenzregion eine weitere wirtschaftlich aktive und aufgeschlossene Minderheit, und die Chance wurde versäumt, ausgehend von den wertvollen wirtschaftlichen Aktivitäten, besonders im Handwerk, und unter Nutzung des touristischen Potentials der Region ein regional wirksames Pilotprojekt der Entwicklung und sozio-kulturellen Integration zu schaffen.

In der Bundesrepublik Deutschland leben nach Angabe der Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker etwa 20 000 Süryani, teils wirtschaftlich gut integriert, teils als Asylsuchende in zunehmenden Schwierigkeiten. Man scheut sich, den syrisch-christlichen Flüchtlingen eine Sonderstellung zuzubilligen oder ihre Verfolgung in der Türkei anzuerkennen, weil man die Türken nicht verärgern möchte. Und doch könnten etwas mehr politischer Mut und menschliche Selbstverständlichkeit positiv meinungsbildend auf die Minderheiten-Politik in der Türkei einwirken.

Auch in Schweden leben 8000 Süryani, vor allem konzentriert in Södertälje, als anerkannte Kulturminorität. Die Regelung und Bedingungen in Schweden galten als vorbildlich für eine liberale Kultur- und Ausländerpolitik, aber auch dort mehrt sich mit zunehmender Arbeitslosigkeit die Abwehr gegen die Fremden.

### *Ethnische Splittergruppen in der Osttürkei*

Von den kleinen ethnischen Gruppen und Restgruppen der Osttürkei vermerken die KEE nur Tscherkessen, Armenier, Georgier und Lasen.

Auch diese kleinen autochthonen oder zugewanderten Gruppen bewahren trotz sozio-kulturellem Druck ihre Identität, besonders im Gebirge, denn sie sind durch Kulturbewußtsein, Vorurteile, Endogamie und Feindschaften von der übrigen Bevölkerung geschieden.

### *Die Tscherkessen*

Nach Angabe der KEE gibt es in der Osttürkei 29 tscherkessische Dörfer. Die meisten liegen im Vilayet Maraş (20), am Rande des kurdischen, früher auch des armenischen Siedlungsgebietes, vereinzelt auch bei Varto,

Kiğı, Ahlat, Urfa und Sarıkamış (tabellarische Übersicht und Abb. 2). Der Zensus 1960 gibt für die gesamte Türkei 63 000 Tscherkessen an. Von diesen lebten in den osttürkischen Vilayet Maraş 6 070, Muş 1 636 und Hatay 6 635 Personen, in den Vilayet Kars, Bitlis, Erzurum und Mardin zwischen einhundert und fünfhundert.

Von diesen offiziellen Angaben weichen die Daten von ÖZBEK ab (siehe dessen Beitrag in diesem Band und die Dorfliste Nr. 44).

Mit den Tscherkessen kamen Elemente europäischer Kultur, so der Speichenradwagen, nach Anatolien. Sie waren tüchtige Bauern, Pferdezüchter und Reiter, aber auch loyale Beamte und Offiziere. Sprache und Kultur erhielten sich besonders auf dem Lande bis in die jüngste Zeit, da sich die Tscherkessen separat hielten. Vor zehn Jahren sollen noch 95% der Landbevölkerung Adygeisch gesprochen haben. Jetzt wird, bedingt durch Kulturwandel und Verstädterung, vorwiegend Türkisch gesprochen. Obwohl die Tscherkessen im Osmanischen Reich anerkannt und geschätzt waren und hohe Positionen innehatten, so gerieten auch sie im Nationalismus der frühen Republik zwischen 1923 und 1950 ins Abseits. Die Kulturvereine, in denen vor allem Gruppenkontakte, Sprache, Musik, Tanz und Eßkultur gepflegt wurden, wurden verboten und die Diskriminierung nahm zu. Dadurch kam es zur Abwanderung, auch zurück nach Rußland.

### *Die Armenier*

Die Dorferhebungen geben für die sechziger Jahre nur ein armenisches Dorf in der Osttürkei im Kreis Kiğı (Vilayet Bingöl) an. Es ist jedoch anzunehmen, daß es weitere „kryptoarmenische Dörfer“ und Siedlungen mit einzelnen armenischen Familien gibt. Die Angabe einzelner christlicher Dörfer außerhalb des von Süryani bewohnten Gebietes könnten vielleicht darauf hindeuten (Bitlis [Mutki] 4, Elazığ [Karakoçan] 1, Hatay 3, Diyarbakır [Lice] 1, teils christliche Dörfer).

Der Zensus von 1960 gibt ebenfalls nur wenige Armenier an, die größtenteils in den Städten bei dort größerer Sicherheit und besseren Chancen leben. Die offiziellen Zahlen können jedoch kaum richtig sein. Bei den 10 000 angegebenen Armeniern im Vilayet Mardin muß es sich um einen Fehler handeln, gemeint sind wahrscheinlich Süryani. Die anderen Zahlen – Hatay 441, Diyarbakır 279 und Malatya 225 – scheinen zu niedrig. Dies ist auch zu erwarten, da in Spannungsgebieten Volkstum und Religion nur selten korrekt angegeben werden. Emigranten in der Bundesrepublik sprechen von acht- bis zehntausend Armeniern in Diyarbakır und kleinen

Tabelle 2

Armenier in sechs Provinzen Ost-Anatoliens: Korrigierte Daten aus osmanischen Quellen nach MCCARTHY, 1983, tables 2.11, 2.24, 3.8, 3.20.

	Erzurum	Van (schlechte Daten)	Sivas	Bitlis	Mamuret- ülaziz	Diyarbakir
1882 (1300)						
Muslim	544,811	110,125	872,401		1,169,461	
Armenian	101,119	71,582	112,649	101,358	73,178	45,291
Total	645,930	181,707	985,050		219,827	
1892 (1309)						
Muslim	613,414	263,594	955,936	287,393	1,389,288	500,837
Armenian	120,147	55,051	129,085	108,050	83,394	60,281
Total	733,561	318,645	1,085,021	395,443	569,521	561,118
1912 (1330)						
Muslim	804,388	313,322	1,112,270	408,703	564,164	598,985
Armenian	163,218 (17%)	130,500 (29%)	179,521 (14%)	191,156 (32%)	111,043 (16%)	89,131 (13%)
Total	967,606	443,822	1,291,791	599,859	675,207	688,116

Gruppen in Van und Mardin (T. HOFMANN, 1979). Dies sind die Reste der bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg bedeutenden armenischen Minderheit der Osttürkei. CUINET gibt für die Zeit um 1880 die geschätzten Zahlen für die Volks- und Religionsgruppen der Türkei an. Nach diesen hat W. D. HÜTTEROTH für die heutige Vilayeteinteilung eine Übersichtskarte der damaligen ethnischen Zusammensetzung gezeichnet (1982: 272, Fig. 74) und dieser eine Verteilungskarte der ethnischen Gruppen für 1965 auf Basis des offiziellen Zensus gegenübergestellt. Nach diesen Angaben betrug um 1880 der Anteil der armenischen Bevölkerung höchstens ca. 45% (um Muş und Bitlis), jedoch nach einer Überarbeitung der osmanischen Daten durch J. MCCARTHY („Muslims and Minorities“, 1983) 1892 zwischen 10,7% im Vilayet Diyarbakır und 27,3% in Bitlis (Mamuret Ülaziz, 14,6%, Van 17,3%, Erzurum 16,4%, Sivas 11,9%) (s. Tabelle 2).

Während die städtischen Armenier als Handwerker und Kaufleute erfolgreich und einflußreich waren und besonders in Notzeiten ihre Macht zum Teil ausnutzten, lebten die dörflichen Armenier unter ähnlich schlechten Bedingungen wie die Kurden der Region. Auch hier begannen die Massenverfolgungen und Pogrome im 19. Jahrhundert mit dem Eindringen neuer nationalistischer und sozialistischer Ideen, Tätigkeit der Missionen und russischer Expansion, die das prekäre sozio-ökonomische Gleichgewicht in der Region störten und den Armeniern Hoffnung auf einen selbständigen, an die neuen Entwicklungen in Osteuropa angeschlossenen Staat gaben. Die Vorgänge sind in der Literatur des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts beschrieben. Sie führten zur Vernichtung, Flucht und Vertreibung der Armenier. Die Reste der Minorität wurden gezwungen, sich in Istanbul anzusiedeln. Nur sehr wenige blieben in der Region, weil sie geschützt und versteckt wurden, oder weil sie den Glauben wechselten.

Die Situation der Armenier ist auch heute noch schwierig. Sie bemühen sich um Unauffälligkeit, Gleichberechtigung, Schutz durch den Staat und Integration, wollen aber ihre Religion ungehindert praktizieren. Mit dem politischen Armeniertum der Emigranten, das auch international politische und Großmachtinteressen vertritt, wollen sie nicht in Verbindung gebracht werden.

### *Die ethnische Sonderstellung der Nordosttürkei*

Die nordöstliche Türkei mit dem Pontischen Gebirge um Rize und Artvin, dem Plateau von Kars, dem Arastal und der Ebene von Iğdır hat eine ethnische Sonderstellung. Sie gehört kulturgeographisch und -historisch zu Transkaukasien und hat, nicht nur bedingt durch die russische Expan-

sion des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts, europäisches Gepräge. Landschaft, Siedlungen und Menschen unterscheiden sich von denen der übrigen Osttürkei und des Nahen Ostens.

Damit hat die Türkei zwei räumliche Verbindungen zu Europa – eine thrakische im Westen und eine transkaukasische im Osten.

Die Bevölkerung der Nordosttürkei ist, bedingt durch Randlage, Wanderungen, Flucht und Verlagerung der Grenzen ethnisch stark gemischt. Neben Türken und Kurden leben dort Georgier, Lasen, Azeri, Karapapağ, Molokan, Tscherkessen und andere. Dieses ethnische Mosaik läßt sich über die Köy Envanter leider nur unvollkommen erfassen. Vermerkt sind lediglich Türken, Kurden, Georgier (ein Dorf bei Ardahan), Lazen (ein Dorf bei Sarıkamış) und ein tscherkessisches Dorf bei Sarıkamış. Das übrige Verbreitungsgebiet der Georgier und Lasen in der Türkei liegt weiter nördlich um Artvin und Rize. Um Kars leben die ebenfalls transkaukasischen Karapapağ, die in den KEE nicht angegeben sind. Sie unterscheiden sich vor allem durch die Religion von den Türken. Über ihre ethnischen Charakteristika ist wenig bekannt. Obwohl sie zivilisatorisch integriert sind, haben sich Gruppenbewußtsein und eine Neigung zur Gruppen- und Familienendogamie erhalten. Aus letzterer erklärt sich eine örtliche Verbreitung der Taubstummheit unter ihnen (mündliche Mitteilung eines Bahnbeamten, von dessen vier Kindern drei taubstumm waren).

Eine kleine turk-stämmige Minderheit der Region sind die Azeri, die sich sprachlich von den anatolischen Türken unterscheiden. Sie sind meist Schiiten, leben um Kars und in der Ebene von Iğdır und sind in den KEE als Türken registriert. Ebenfalls nicht in den KEE angegeben sind die Molokandörfer, in denen wohl russisch gesprochen wurde (der Zensus gibt über eintausend Personen russischer Muttersprache in der Provinz Kars an). Ihre Dörfer lagen nördlich von Kars und in der Arastalung. Die Molokan sollen seit den sechziger Jahren nach Rußland zurückgekehrt sein. Ihre Dörfer waren auffällig europäisch, mit Giebeldachhäusern, einem Dorfteich mit Gänsen und Enten, Federbetten, die zum Lüften aus den Fenstern hingen, und Bäuerinnen, die ihr Kopftuch auf europäische Art trugen.

Zur Zeit der russischen Besetzung der Provinz Kars im 19. Jahrhundert und bis in den Ersten Weltkrieg wurde die Europäisierung der Nordosttürkei generell gezielt betrieben. Es wurden Siedler ins Land geholt und mehrstöckige Häuser, Straßen, Brücken und eine Bahnlinie gebaut. Unter den Siedlern waren auch je einhundert rußlanddeutsche und schweizer Familien, die in Kars die Molkereiwirtschaft und Milchviehhaltung entwickeln sollten. Der „Schweizer Käse“ wurde nach Europa exportiert, Landwirtschaft und Obstbau wurden ausgedehnt. In den sechziger Jahren lebte

noch eine der protestantisch deutschen Familien in Kars, und ein Experte aus der Schweiz leitete den Aufbau der modernen Molkerei und die Wiedereinführung der Milchwirtschaft und Milchviehhaltung. Einbezogen wurden zunächst die Dörfer, die über die alten russischen Straßen und Brücken noch mit Kars verbunden waren. Damit wurde an die älteren Entwicklungen angeknüpft.

### *Abschließende Schlussfolgerungen*

#### *Theoretische und praktisch politische Aspekte der ethnischen Situation der Osttürkei*

Die ethnische Situation der Türkei und speziell in der Osttürkei hat sich über einen langen Zeitraum hin entwickelt. Da sich türkische Macht und Kultur vor allem in Nähe der politischen Zentren Zentral- und Nordwestanatoliens auswirkten, so verbanden sich dort die diversen ethnischen Gruppen weitgehend zum türkischen Volk. Ostanatolien hingegen blieb bis in die Gegenwart marginal und unterentwickelt. Dort kam es nicht zur konvergierenden Entwicklung und Durchsetzung der türkischen Sprache und Kultur. Unter den gegebenen Bedingungen ethnischer und kultureller Diversität, der Armut und des Umweltstreß sind Konflikte zu erwarten. Diese sind „normalerweise“ sporadisch und traditionsbedingt. Erst als sich im 19. Jahrhundert die großen Mächte in dem Raum und im Nahen Osten durchsetzen wollten, als dieser ins geopolitische Blickfeld der Russen und Engländer geriet, und die Missionen europäische Kultur und Christentum verbreiten und den Christen helfen wollten, kam es zur endgültigen Polarisierung, Eskalation, Pogromen und Massakern.

Auch in der modernen Türkei hat sich die Lage nicht normalisiert. Die regionalen Disparitäten sind zu groß, traditionelle Einstellungen und Verhaltensweisen behindern die Integration und die inter-ethnischen Spannungen und Gewalt dauern an. Wenn man diesen Zustand ändern will, so muß man zu einem besseren theoretisch fundierten Verständnis der Situation und der inter-ethnischen Bezüge und Prozesse kommen und darauf basierend eine politische Strategie zur langfristigen Bewältigung der Probleme aufbauen.

Von primärer Bedeutung ist dabei der Abbau der ethnischen Spannungen, denn diese provozieren den Staat immer wieder zu Machtbeweisen, die die Außenseiterstellung der Osttürkei festigen, die Konfliktbereitschaft verstärken und die Akkulturation in der Regionalbevölkerung verhindern.

Spannungen und Konflikte zwischen ethnischen und religiösen Gruppen beruhen auf einer allgemein verbreiteten negativen Reaktion auf



„Fremde“ und Außenseiter. Sie ist generell verbunden mit Antipathie, Vorurteilen, Segregation, Bildung von Hierarchien, Diskriminierung und Aggressivität. Eine positive, dem entgegengerichtete Fremdreaktion, die zu Interesse, Annäherung, Sympathie und Übernahme von Kulturelementen führt, ist seltener und vor allem an die Eliten und Zeiten kultureller Entwicklung gebunden.

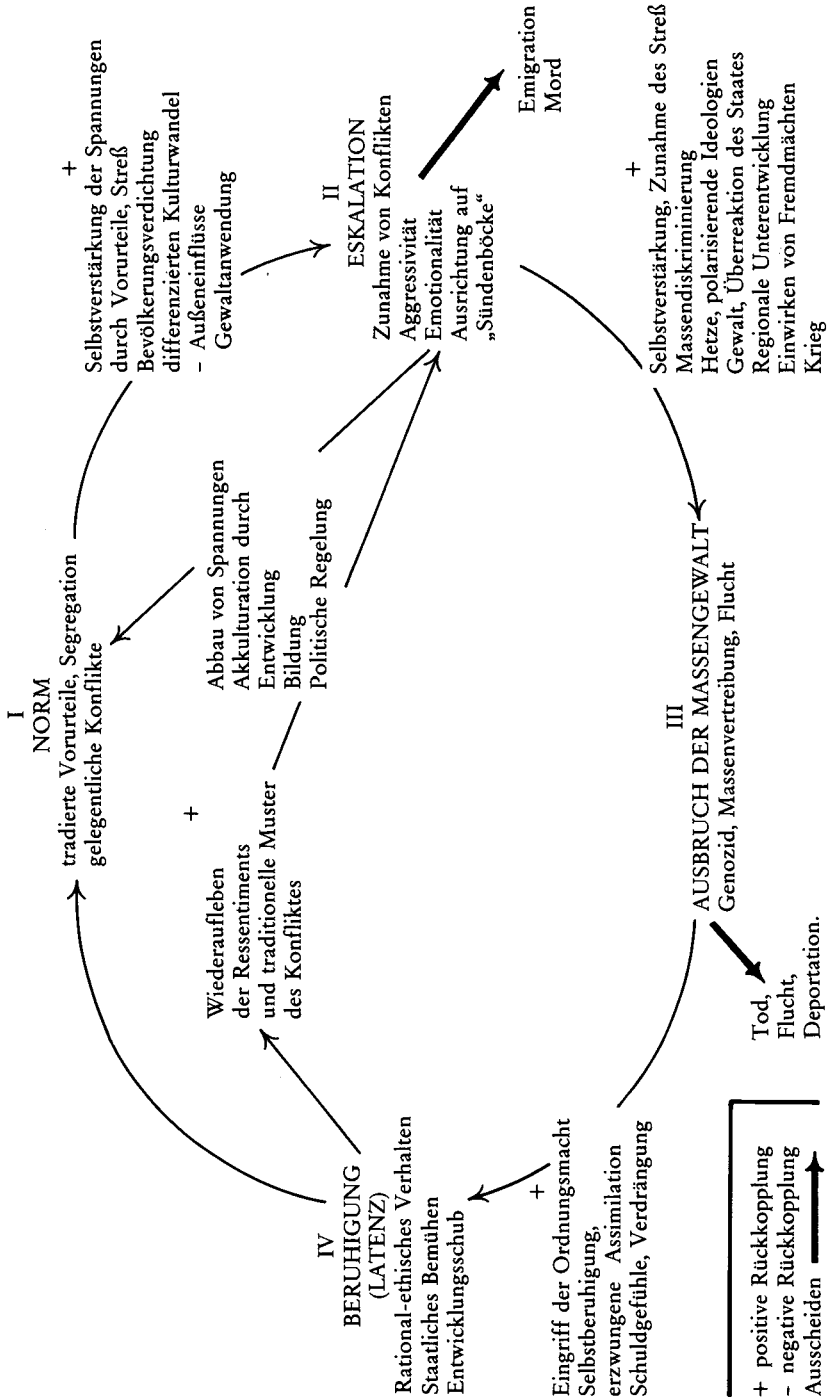
Bei Vorherrschen der negativen Fremdreaktion und inter-ethnischen Spannungen kommt es zur Entwicklung eines Teufelskreises sozialer und politisch degenerativer Entwicklung. Man könnte diesen Prozeß zunehmender Spaltung in der Gesellschaft und im Staat Schismogenesis nennen. Der Terminus wurde von G. Bateson geprägt, um den Zustand der Persönlichkeitsspaltung bei der Entstehung der Schizophrenie zu kennzeichnen. Beide Prozesse (Schizophrenie und Zerfall der Gesellschaft) sind pathologisch und vielleicht analog, verlaufen aber auf verschiedenen Systemebenen (Individuum und Gesellschaft) unter Verlust der Rationalität.

Als Ursache für die Eskalation und zunehmende Aggressivität im Teufelskreis kommt neben der Selbstverstärkung wohl der Streß (Definition von Selye) als psychosozialer und Umweltstreß und Syndrom der Maladaptation in Betracht. Er fördert über die bekannten Streßreaktionen Aggressivität, Fluchtbereitschaft (fight and flight Reaktion) und Emotionalität und führt zur Verstärkung der negativen Einstellungen und Verlust der Rationalität. Wenn sich Streß und Aggressionen verdichten, kommt es zur epidemieartigen Ausbreitung der Störung in der Gesellschaft und über den Entstehungsherd hinaus und zu den charakteristischen Stufenübergängen zunehmender Gewalttätigkeit (siehe Abb. 5). Nach den Gewaltausbrüchen beruhigt sich die Lage. Feindgefühle, Schuldbewußtsein und Vorurteile werden verdrängt, bleiben aber latent erhalten, so daß sich die Störungen in den „Endemiegebieten“ meist wiederholt zyklisch aufbauen.

Bei solchen pathologischen Prozessen, die man in zahlreichen Völkern und Staaten beobachten kann, genügt es nicht, auf Selbstregulation und Automatismen zu hoffen und auf spontane Akkulturation zu warten, oder Störungen durch Ordnungsgewalt niederzuschlagen. Erforderlich ist gezieltes, wissenschaftlich fundiertes, regelndes Eingreifen des Staates zur Unterbrechung des Teufelskreises, das heißt politisches Handeln über einen langen Zeitraum.

Die notwendigen Maßnahmen sind zwei Hauptbereichen zuzuordnen: der Kultur- und Sozial- sowie der Wirtschaftspolitik. Bei ersterer geht es vor allem um langfristige Änderungen von Einstellung und Verhalten durch Bildung und Medien und um die Vermittlung türkischer Sprache und Kultur, bei dem zweiten um Verbesserung der wirtschaftlichen Bedingungen und Aufbau von integrativen Unternehmen. Beide – Bildung und

Abb. 5 Der Teufelskreis der Schismogenese in polyethnischen Gesellschaften



wirtschaftliche Entwicklung – dienen auch der Streßminderung und entziehen damit dem Teufelskreis Energie. Da viele Staaten – auch Deutschland – solche Probleme der ethnischen Spannungen haben, und sich die Situation weltweit verschlechtert, so sollte man versuchen, in internationalem Gespräch und Kooperation die Forschung über interethnische Konflikte und multikulturelle Bildung anzuregen und Strategien zur politischen Bewältigung entwickeln. Dabei kann man von Staaten mit derzeit bemühter und erfolgreicher Minderheiten-Politik lernen und dabei gleichzeitig die eigenen Denkweisen verändern und positiv auf andere Staaten einwirken. Denn viele Völker sind doppelt betroffen, als „Täter“ und als Opfer. Sie diskriminieren oder verfolgen Minderheiten im eigenen Land und sorgen sich um Angehörige ihres Volkes, die in der Diaspora diskriminiert und verfolgt werden.

Die Türkei hätte aber auch bereits einen eigenen Ansatz zur Regelung der Minoritätenspannungen und zur Reintegration der Minoritäten – aller Minoritäten – und ihrer Siedlungsräume: das System der Millet und die Gesetzgebung der Tanzimatperiode. An diese sollte man anknüpfen. Es ergäbe sich dabei für die türkische Politik eine Jahrhundertaufgabe von gleichem Rang wie die Reformen Atatürks, an die man, nun unter Einbezug des ganzen Staatsvolkes und Landes, anknüpfen könnte.

Vielversprechende Ansätze hierzu hat es in den sechziger Jahren gegeben. Deshalb ist es besonders tragisch, daß es seit 1984 in den Provinzen der Südosttürkei erneut zur Eskalation und Massakern, grenzüberschreitenden Aktivitäten der marxistischen kurdischen Arbeiterpartei (P. K. K.) und von „Separatisten“, aber auch zur, die Polarisation weiter fördernden Gegenwehr des Staates gekommen ist.

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## Tscherkessen in der Türkei

BATIRAY ÖZBEK

### *Ethnische Identität*

Der Begriff „Tscherkessen“ subsumiert heute im amtlichen und umgangssprachlichen Gebrauch in der Türkei mehr oder weniger alle ethnischen Gruppen, die ab 1850 aus dem Nord-Kaukasus in die Türkei eingewandert sind. Gemeint sind mit dieser Definition nicht nur die eigentlichen Tscherkessen, sondern auch die Tschetschenen, Osseten, Lesgier, Karatschaier und Dagestaner. Die Entwicklung dieser ungenauen Begriffsbildung ist auf die kaukasischen Vereine und ihre Veröffentlichungen ab 1951 zurückzuführen. Ziel dieser Vereine war es, aus den eingewanderten Vertretern der Kaukasusvölker *eine* Einheit zu bilden. Man wollte dadurch die Zahl der Tscherkessen vergrößern und der Assimilation an die Türken besser entgegenwirken, wobei man jedoch nicht an eine politische Vereinigung dachte, was auch der geschichtlichen Entwicklung kaum entsprochen hätte. Diese künstlich geschaffene, politische Ideologie war von vornherein lebensunfähig, da man relativ unterschiedliche ethnische Gruppen und Kulturen unter ein Dach hätte bringen müssen. Außerdem war eine solche Ideologie besonders „anstößig“ zu einer Zeit, in der der türkische Staat versuchte, eine einheitliche türkische Identität aufzubauen. Sie fand allerdings auch unter den Kaukasiern kein Echo und hatte sogar negative Auswirkungen, indem sie die o.g. Begriffsunklarheit zurückließ.

Einige Reisende und Wissenschaftler wollen unter „Tscherkessen“ nur adighe-sprechende Gruppen verstehen. Sowohl die o. g. weite als auch diese enge Definition halte ich für unzweckmäßig. Ich verstehe unter dem Terminus ‚Tscherkessen‘ die abkhaz- und die adighe-sprechenden Völkerschaften. Auch die Ubikh gehören selbstverständlich dazu, die ihre Sprache freiwillig aufgegeben und die Adighe-Sprache übernommen haben (vgl. ÖZBEK, 1982: 9–10). Die türkischen Abkhaz bezeichnen die Adighe meist differenziert als ‚Adiga‘. Die Abkhaz selbst bezeichnen sich gegenüber den Adighe als ‚Apsua‘ (= Abkhaz) oder ‚Ashiwe‘ (= Abassa) bzw. mit türkischer Ausdrucksweise als ‚Abaza‘. Gegenüber Fremden aber bezeichnen sich die Abkhaz als Tscherkessen, genau wie die Adighe selbst, obwohl das Wort ‚Tscherkesse‘ den Sprachen beider Gruppen fremd ist. Die Abkhaz auf der Uzunyayla-Hochebene (Kayseri) sprechen fast alle den kabardinischen Dialekt der Adighe-Sprache und bekennen sich ohne Zögern zum Tscherkessentum. Auch in Syrien und Jordanien versteht man unter ‚Tscherkessen‘ sowohl die Adighe als auch die Abkhaz, wie meine eigenen Befragungen (in der UdSSR in den Jahren 1974; 1977 und zuletzt 1984 in der Türkei, Syrien und Jordanien) eindeutig bestätigt haben. Dagegen werden die Tschetschenen und Dagestaner nicht als Tscherkessen angesprochen und auch sie selbst bezeichnen sich nicht als solche (vgl. ÖZBEK, 1982: 10).

### *Der Ursprung des Wortes ‚Tscherkesse‘*

Der Ursprung des Wortes ‚Tscherkesse‘ (türkisch: Çerkes), über den es unterschiedliche Theorien gibt<sup>1</sup>, blieb bis heute unklar. Die frühesten Nachrichten über die Tscherkessen gehen bis in das 5. Jahrhundert vor Christi Geburt zurück. Die von Herodot erwähnten „Suchai“ werden mit den späteren „Zygi“ (d. h. Tz’ichu = Mensch) und heutigen „Tscherkessen“ gleichgesetzt<sup>2</sup>. Xenophon und dann im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Skylax erwähnten sie unter der Bezeichnung „Kerket“; später bei Strabon führen sie den Namen „Cercetae“. Die georgischen Chroniken kennen die

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<sup>1</sup> LAPINSKI, ein polnischer Offizier, der in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts in Zirkassien kämpfte und die Tscherkessen gegen den Zaren organisierte, hat folgende Erklärung: „Das Wort ‚Tscherkesse‘ ist sehr alt und wurde zuerst zur Benennung der räuberischen Banden, die an den Ufern des Flusses Dnjeper hausten, angewandt. Es ist aus den türkischtatarischen Worten ‚Tscher‘ oder ‚Tschar‘ (auflauern, suchen) und ‚Kess‘ (abschneiden, rauben, töten) zusammengesetzt“ (1863: 61).

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. SARKISYANZ, 1961: 100.

Tscherkessen als „Kavkazi“ aber mit der Eigenbezeichnung „Dzichi“. Erst seit dem 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr. taucht der Name „Adighe“ auf, der bis heute noch als Eigenbezeichnung fortlebt. Was das Wort „Adighe“ bedeutet, ist ebenfalls ungeklärt. GÖKÇE (1979: 7) interpretiert das Wort folgenderweise: „Die Tscherkessen bezeichneten früher diejenigen, die eine höhere Stellung in der Gesellschaft hatten, als Adigej.“ (Nach der Wortetymologie bedeutet das Wort „Adighe“ – der Hochgehobene.)

Nach EICHWALDT (1838: 356) soll Chalcocondylas, ein Byzantiner, im 15. Jahrhundert zum ersten Mal das Wort Tscherkessen in Form von „Tzarcasen“ eingeführt haben. Die Fremdbezeichnung „Tscherkesse“ stammt wahrscheinlich von dieser ältesten Bezeichnung Chalcocondylas ab. Es ist sehr bemerkenswert, daß mit Ausnahme von EICHWALDT dieser Name bei keinem Kaukasologen Aufmerksamkeit erweckt hat.

Von den Arabern wird der Name „Kerkes“, von den Genuesen „Kirkasi“ (oder ähnlich) gebraucht. DIRR (1908: 206) führte seinerseits „Tscherkesse“ auf das Ethnonym „Kerketai“ antiker Autoren zurück. Wie dem auch sei, hat sich die Bezeichnung „Tscherkesse“ durchgesetzt und wird fast einheitlich als Benennung für die Adygej und teilweise für die Abchasen gebraucht.

### *Die Ansiedlungspolitik des Osmanischen Reiches*

Ihre heutige weit verbreitete Ansiedlung im Vorderen Orient verdanken die Tscherkessen der Politik des Osmanischen Reiches und den Engländern. Nach der Niederlage der Tscherkessen gegen die Russen empfing der Großfürst Michail am 14. April 1864 in Sotschi die Ältesten der besiegten Adighe-Stämme. Er verkündete den Tscherkessen, sie müßten von den Bergen herunterkommen und sich in der Ebene ansiedeln, damit man sie besser unter Kontrolle haben könne. Diejenigen, die diese Verfügung nicht akzeptieren wollten, müßten binnen Monatsfrist auswandern, andernfalls würden sie als Kriegsgefangene behandelt werden. Diese Ankündigung verursachte unter den Adighe-Stämmen ein panikartiges Chaos, das durch die Mullas unterstützt wurde. Sie versprachen den Tscherkessen im Land der Kalifen Frieden, Reichtum und vor allem weißes Brot. Das Osmanische Reich hatte als Sitz der Kalifen eine fast mystische Anziehungskraft für unzufriedene sunnitische Minderheiten. So ließ sich die unwissende Masse leicht verführen, und der Exodus der Tscherkessen mit seiner nationalen und menschlichen Tragödie begann. Nur ungefähr 100 000 Tscherkessen zogen in die Ebene hinunter (İSLAM ANSIKLOPEDESİ: ÇERKES).

Die Auswanderung der Kaukasier erfolgte in mehreren Schüben. Von Anfang 1855 bis Ende 1863 wanderten ca. 80 000 Angehörige kaukasischer Ethnien in das Osmanische Reich ab. Im Dezember 1863 kamen viele Tscherkessen aus Nikopsi nach Samsun und Istanbul (vgl. KANITZ, 1875: Bd. I, 307). Im April 1864 begann der Exodus der Tscherkessen nach den Vereinbarungen von Sotschi zwischen Großfürst Michail und den Ältesten der Adighe. Bis zum 10. Juli 1864 wanderten aus Taman 27 337, Anapa 16 452, Novorossijsk 61 995, Tuapse 63 449, Kuban und Sotschi 46 754, Adler und Chosta 20 731, insgesamt 236 718 Personen nach Trapezunt (Trabzon) aus (KANITZ, 1875: Bd. I, 309).

Die Flüchtlinge wurden mit osmanischen und russischen Schiffen, die oft nicht genügend Proviant hatten, überladen und meist auch nicht für hohe See geeignet waren, an verschiedene Küstenplätze des Osmanischen Reiches verschifft, z. B. nach Trabzon, Samsun, Sinop und Varna. Von dort aus wurden dann viele ins Landesinnere transportiert und dort angesiedelt, wo die Zentralmacht gerade ihre Autorität verloren hatte, wo islamische Gruppen in der Minderheit waren oder wo Unruhe herrschte. Noch die gegenwärtige Verteilung der Tscherkessen in der Türkei läßt oft sowohl diese Bevölkerungsbewegungen klar erkennen als auch die Hauptankunftshäfen, in denen viele der Flüchtlinge verblieben.

Auf der Uzunyayla (Zentralanatolien) lebten damals z. B. die türkischsprachigen Avşar, die kurz vorher gegen das Osmanische Reich rebelliert hatten. Die Regierung schlug ihnen vor, entweder auf der Sommer- oder auf der Winterweide zu bleiben. Die Avşar entschieden sich für die Sommerweide. Der beste Teil dieser Sommerweidegebiete wurde vom Sultan jedoch den Tscherkessen zur Ansiedlung überlassen (vgl. SÜMER, 1972: 197–98, 281). Durch den Verlust dieser Weiden wurde die Mehrzahl der Avşar gezwungen, sesshaft und damit leichter regierbar zu werden (vgl. GROTHE, 1912: 138). Dieses *yayla*-Gebiet ist auch heute noch dicht von Tscherkessen besiedelt.

Auf dem Balkan verschiffte man die Tscherkessen über die Donau nach Bulgarien, Makedonien, bis Bosnien, um dort die Zahl der islamischen Bevölkerung zu vergrößern und um in gleicher Weise die nationalistischen Bewegungen der aufständischen Bulgaren und Serben besser bekämpfen zu können. Die Orte für ihre Ansiedlung wurden so gewählt, daß sie zwischen christlichen und islamischen Ortschaften eine Wehrbauernfunktion hatten.

Nach dem Vertrag von Berlin im Jahre 1878 durften im europäischen Teil des Osmanischen Reiches keine tscherkessischen Siedlungen mehr verbleiben. Dies wurde als Wille der Bulgaren und Serben durch die Sieger, die Russen, auf den Verhandlungstisch gebracht und angenommen.



So begann der zweite Exodus der Tscherkessen (die Flucht nach dem sog. ‚93er Krieg‘). Ein Teil von ihnen wurde mit Frachtern nach Palästina verschifft. Dort wurden sie von Mungudsch bis Amman auf einer Linie angesiedelt. Wenn man diese Linie genau betrachtet, kann man feststellen, daß sie zwischen Nomaden und sesshafter Bevölkerung verläuft. Hier wurden die Tscherkessen also wieder als Wehrbauern gegen die Nomaden aus der Wüste eingesetzt (vgl. GVEVOK, 1953: 11–14) und als Beschützer des Weges nach Mekka. So wurde die Stadt Amman, die spätere Hauptstadt Jordaniens, von kabardinischen Tscherkessen gegründet.

Zu Beginn des Auswanderungsschubs von 1864 herrschte bei den Osmanen eine gewisse Besorgnis wegen des wehrhaften Charakters der Tscherkessen. Deswegen weigerten sie sich, die Einwanderer konzentriert in einem Gebiet anzusiedeln. Zur Lösung der Probleme der eingewanderten Tscherkessen wurden verschiedene Pläne unterbreitet. Der osmanische Plan sah vor, daß in verschiedenen türkischen Dörfern des Reiches auf je vier türkische Familien eine tscherkessische Familie angesiedelt werden sollte. Die Engländer dagegen wollten die Tscherkessen zwischen Trabzon und Erzurum ansiedeln, weil dieses Gebiet landschaftlich ihrer Heimat entspräche und sie sich psychisch dort wohl fühlen würden. Die Finanzierung dieser Ansiedlung sollte von den Engländern und Franzosen zusammen getragen werden. Man wollte die Tscherkessen als Arbeiter für den Bau einer Straße von Trabzon nach Erzurum einsetzen. Ferner dachten die Engländer daran, durch eine geschlossene Ansiedlungsweise die kriegerische Natur der Tscherkessen zu erhalten, weil sie später als Krieger sehr von Nutzen sein könnten, denn das türkische Volk war von Kriegen ermüdet (vgl. PAPERS ..., 1864: No.7). Dieses Angebot wurde vom Sultan nicht angenommen – wahrscheinlich um späteren Unannehmlichkeiten mit den Engländern und Tscherkessen aus dem Weg zu gehen. Noch im Dezember 1921 machten die Engländer erneut den Vorschlag, die anatolischen Tscherkessen an der Schwarzmeerküste anzusiedeln (vgl. AVCIOĞLU, 1976: 156 f.). Aber die Tscherkessen wurden voneinander getrennt in verschiedenen Gebieten des Osmanischen Reiches angesiedelt. Diese Verbreitung hat sich – mit kleinen Änderungen – bis heute erhalten. Die Einwanderung der Tscherkessen dauerte bis 1922 an. So sind z. B. die Tscherkessen, die heute in den Provinzen Konya und Antalya leben, 1884 aus dem Kaukasus emigriert, die Bewohner des Dorfes Samadaniye in Syrien sogar erst 1922.

*Die Folgen der Ansiedlung: Assimilation und Konservativismus*

Viele der Einwanderer starben in den Ankunftshäfen, z. B. in Samsun, Sinop, Trabzon und Varna. Es gibt darüber in der Literatur ausführliche Informationen. So berichtet Consul Stevens an Earl Russell unter dem Datum des 17. Februar 1864 folgendes aus Trabzon:

„From the best information obtainable, the mortality must have exceeded 3.500 between December and this date, of which, emigrants 3.000, Turks 470, Greeks 36, Armenians 17, Catholics and Europeans 6“ (PAPERS ..., 1864: No. 1).

Die Ansiedlung der Tscherkessen war – wie gezeigt wurde – für das Osmanische Reich durchaus von Nutzen; den Tscherkessen brachte sie, entgegen ihren Erwartungen, keine Vorteile. Sie mußten oft um die ihnen zugewiesenen Gebiete kämpfen und hungern, und haben so weder Frieden noch Brot gefunden. Viele waren enttäuscht und wollten zurückkehren. Die meisten wußten aber nicht, wie man das bewerkstelligen sollte, andere wurden von osmanischen Schiffen abgewiesen. Ein Abadzekh namens Karbek Chut bildete die Ausnahme. Er kehrte zurück und wanderte von Siedlung zu Siedlung, überall die Wahrheit über die Lage der Tscherkessen im Lande des Kalifen erzählend. Durch diese und ähnliche Erzählungen enttäuschter Tscherkessen wurde die Auswanderung gestoppt (vgl. TRUBETZKOY, Fsc. II: 7).

Kurze Darstellungen der Geschichte, aber auch der gegenwärtigen Lage einiger Dutzend tscherkessischer Dörfer finden sich in den Zeitschriften KAFKASYA und KUZEY KAFKASYA, die regelmäßig einzelnen Dörfern Artikel widmeten.

Die Situation der Tscherkessen in der Türkei als ethnische Gruppe ist gegenwärtig ganz unterschiedlich. Die Tscherkessen in den Städten lassen sich gewollt oder ungewollt assimilieren. Bei den Tscherkessen, die in Dörfern leben, zeigen sich in der Regel wenig Assimilationstendenzen. Besonders dort, wo tscherkessische Siedlungen eng beieinander liegen, geht die Assimilation langsamer voran. Die Tscherkessen in Westanatolien, im Raum von Balikesir, sind am meisten der Assimilation ausgesetzt, da sie nach dem Freiheitskrieg unter den stärksten Druck gerieten.

Die Tscherkessen versuchen ihre ethnische Identität mit Hilfe von kaukasischen Vereinen – bis zur Machtübernahme durch das Militär gab es ca. 30 davon – aufrechtzuerhalten. In diesen Vereinen wurden Geschichte, Kultur, Sprache, Volkstänze, Sitten und Gebräuche weiter gelehrt. Dadurch ist eine Intelligenzia entstanden, die zu ihrer Identität steht und sie in den Dörfern weiter verbreitet.

Man versucht das Tscherkessentum auch durch Heirat untereinander und durch andere intraethnische Beziehungen zu erhalten. Durch die Massenmedien wie Radio, Fernsehen und in letzter Zeit auch Video gehen aber Sprache und Kultur der Tscherkessen immer mehr verloren. So sprechen in vielen Ortschaften, besonders in den Städten, die meisten Kinder nicht ihre Muttersprache, sondern Türkisch. Einige kaukasische Vereine, z. B. in Istanbul und Ankara durften 1984 ihre Tätigkeiten wieder aufnehmen. Der ihnen erlaubte Spielraum reicht aber nicht aus, den Assimilationsprozeß aufzuhalten.

Auch das Verhältnis der Tscherkessen zu ihren Nachbargruppen ist recht unterschiedlich. Soweit man es beurteilen kann, scheint es oft gut bis sehr gut zu sein. Die Tscherkessen haben ihre traditionelle Loyalität auf den türkischen Staat übertragen. Bei Auseinandersetzungen und Interessenskonflikten wird jedoch ihre fremde Herkunft von den Türken oft wieder in den Vordergrund gerückt und man kann extreme Beispiele von Vorurteilen und Feindseligkeit ihnen gegenüber antreffen (vgl. GROTHE, 1912: 138).

So berichtete ein Informant von der Uzunyayla aus dem Jahre 1968, daß dort ein Tscherkessenjunge wegen einer Auseinandersetzung zweier Familien (Avşar und Tscherkessen) von den Avşar getötet worden war. In Antalya sind die Tscherkessen im allgemeinen beliebt und geschätzt. Als jedoch in den siebziger Jahren ein Tscherkesse aus dem Dorf Başpınar (Yeleme) für das Parlament kandidierte, wurde er nicht gewählt, mit der Begründung: „Es gibt hier doch nur zwei tscherkessische Dörfer und sie wollen einen eigenen Abgeordneten wählen lassen!“ Durch solche Ereignisse verstärkt sich der Zusammenhalt unter den Tscherkessen; wenn Gefahr von außen kommt, ist er enorm groß.

Die meisten Tscherkessen – mit Ausnahme der Mitglieder der kaukasischen Vereine – stehen nicht abseits der politischen Auseinandersetzungen innerhalb des türkischen Volkes. Die extreme Rechte lehnt dabei die Tscherkessen als eigenständige Ethnie ab und betrachtet sie als einen türkischen Stamm. Paradoxerweise fordern die türkischen Rechten aber auch, daß die Tscherkessen in den Kaukasus zurückkehren sollten. Trotz dieser Äußerungen arbeiten viele tscherkessische Jugendliche bei rechten Gruppierungen mit. Fast alle Tscherkessen betrachten sich heute als türkische Bürger, aber nicht als Türken.

Es sei hier auch eine Tatsache erwähnt, die unzweifelhaft Akzeptanz und Assimilation der tscherkessischen Einwanderer begünstigt hat, nämlich die alte Tradition, daß die Osmanen und später die Türken tscherkessische Mädchen immer als besonders attraktive Heiratspartner betrachtet haben.

Von der traditionellen tscherkessischen Klasseneinteilung hat heute in der Türkei wenig mehr als die Terminologie überlebt. Die ursprünglich mit der Klasseneinteilung verbundenen gegenseitigen Verbote werden kaum mehr praktiziert. Am stärksten sind sie noch bei den Kabardinern, Abkhāz und Bzhedukh verankert, bei den Abadzekh und den Shapsug kaum. Dieses Standesbewußtsein spielt noch am ehesten bei Heiraten eine Rolle. Besonders in den letzten 10 Jahren erfolgte eine stille Veränderung der Gesellschaft, eingeleitet durch die Studierenden, die trotz des Widerstands der Älteren die Heiratsbarrieren weitgehend abschaffte.

### *Die Zahl der tscherkessischen Bevölkerung*

Über die oben genannten hinaus sind genaue Zahlen der aus ihrer Heimat ausgewanderten Tscherkessen nicht bekannt, da es darüber keine Gesamt-Statistik gibt. Zwar wurde von russischer Seite die Zahl der Eingeschiffen amtlich erfaßt, nicht gezählt sind dabei aber all jene Flüchtlinge, die auf kleinen Küstenfahrzeugen eine improvisierte Überfahrt wagten. BERGE (1866: xx f.) spricht von 450–470 000 Flüchtlingen, ERCKERT (1888: 86) von 400 000. Nach einer osmanischen Quelle verließen 595 000 Tscherkessen ihre Heimat in Richtung Türkei (E. I.<sup>2</sup>: Čerkes). Viele von ihnen kamen aber auf hoher See oder gleich zu Beginn in den Küstenstädten durch Pest und andere Seuchen ums Leben. Wie viele sich wirklich ansiedelten, darüber fehlen zuverlässige Daten. Die Zahl der Auswanderer kann wohl als zwischen 300 000 und 600 000 variierend angesehen werden.

Der größte Teil der ausgewanderten Tscherkessen ist heute in der Türkei, über ganz Anatolien verstreut. Es leben wahrscheinlich sogar mehr Tscherkessen in der türkischen Republik als in ihrer alten Heimat. Der sowjetische Zensus von 1939 registrierte 164 000 Kabardiner und 88 000 westliche Adighe. Heute beträgt ihre Zahl über 600 000. Die in der UdSSR verbliebenen Teile der Stämme haben sich in erster Linie zu einer Adighe-Nation zusammengefunden, und unter diesen haben nur die Beslenei, Abadzekh, Bzhedukh und Shapsug viel von ihrem eigenen spezifischen Charakter beibehalten.

Es gibt in der Türkei keine verlässlichen Statistiken, aus denen man die Zahl der dort lebenden Tscherkessen ersehen kann. Öffentlicher Druck verängstigte die meisten Tscherkessen, so daß sie bei Befragungen zur Statistik falsche Antworten gaben, etwa „Türkisch“ auf die Frage nach der Muttersprache. Auch wenn man die Antwort „Tscherkessisch“ gab, wurde das oft nicht akzeptiert und im Befragungsbogen trotzdem „Türkisch“ eingetragen. Nur wenn man darauf bestand, sich als „Tscherkessisch“ zu

bezeichnen – was in den Jahren 1927–1950 fast unmöglich war – hatte man die Chance, so eingetragen zu werden. Es passierte aber auch oft, daß solche Personen überhaupt nicht gezählt wurden<sup>3</sup>. Aus diesen Gründen sind die Statistiken unzuverlässig und man kann die Zahl der Tscherkessen und anderer ethnischer Gruppen immer nur schätzungsweise angeben. Ähnliches gilt für die Tscherkessen in Syrien und Jordanien. Ich will aber versuchen, diese Schätzungen mit Hilfe anderer Statistiken ein bißchen zu konkretisieren.

Wir wissen, daß zwischen 300 000 und 600 000 Tscherkessen in das Osmanische Reich eingewandert sind. Anhand dieser Zahlen können wir der heutigen Bevölkerungszahl der Tscherkessen näherkommen. Die erste Bevölkerungsstatistik der Republik Türkei fand im Jahr 1927 statt. Nach dieser Statistik lebten in der Türkei 13 648 200 Personen, davon 100 000 Tscherkessen. Diese letzte Zahl ist sehr unzuverlässig, denn nach der Gründung der Republik wurde besonders starker Druck auf die Tscherkessen ausgeübt, ihre ethnische und sprachliche Zugehörigkeit zu verleugnen. Die Gesamtbevölkerung der Türkei (einschließlich Gastarbeiter in der BRD) dürfte heute um 50 000 000 betragen. Hieraus ergibt sich ein Zuwachs von 366%. Ausgehend von der Volkszählung von 1927 müßten bei gleicher Wachstumsrate heute über 366 000 Tscherkessen in der Türkei leben. Die Statistik von 1965 (veröffentlicht 1969) gibt aber interessanterweise nur 58 000 Tscherkessisch-Sprechende an.

Diese Tatsache zeigt, wie unzuverlässig die Sprachstatistiken in der Türkei waren (vgl. ÖZBEK, 1982: 61–63). Wenn wir aber als Ausgangspunkt die Zahl von 300 000 Tscherkessen, d.h. die untere Grenze der Schätzung über die ursprünglich Eingewanderten, einsetzen, dann müßte es heute in der Republik Türkei über 1,1 Millionen Tscherkessen geben. Neben städtischer Bevölkerung gibt es rund 890 tscherkessische Dörfer in der Türkei (s. Dorfliste 44).

Die scheinbar sorgfältige und groß angelegte Untersuchung von AYDEMİR – zwischen 1973 und 1975 in der Zeitschrift KAFKASYA publiziert – ergibt für 40 der 67 türkischen Provinzen die Zahl von 241 075 Kaukasiern im dörflichen Bereich, darunter 181 567 Adıghe und 30 503 Abkhaz (s. Survey 2a–b). Die gesamte tscherkessische Bevölkerung in Dörfern und Städten wird für diese Provinzen mit 587 000 angegeben. Von der in den

<sup>3</sup> Während des Zensus im Jahre 1965 kamen z. B. türkische Beamte nach Dikmen und Ayrançi, zwei Stadtteilen von Ankara, in denen zahlreiche Tscherkessen wohnen. Der Tscherkessische Kulturverein Ankaras hatte die dortigen Landsleute rechtzeitig vorgewarnt und empfohlen, ohne Zögern auf die Frage nach der Muttersprache mit ‚Tscherkessisch‘ zu antworten und auf Festschreibung dieser Antwort zu bestehen. Die Folge war, daß die dort wohnenden Personen nicht in die Erhebungsbögen aufgenommen wurden.

Dörfern gezählten Bevölkerung waren 75% Adighe. Die fehlenden 27 Provinzen konnten wegen Mangel an genauen Daten nicht aufgenommen werden, wobei von 20 Provinzen angenommen wird, daß sie auch einen tscherkessischen Bevölkerungsanteil haben; für 7 davon ist das erwiesen. Von diesen Voraussetzungen ausgehend, wird die Gesamtzahl der Tscherkessen in der Türkei auf 1 000 000 geschätzt. Die obengenannten Angaben erfassen jedoch nur diejenigen, bei denen das Gefühl ihrer tscherkessischen Identität noch so stark ist, daß sie sich als solche haben registrieren lassen. Da AYDEMİR weder alle ihm zur Verfügung stehenden Daten überprüfen noch abschließend vervollständigen konnte, müssen auch seine Angaben mit einiger Vorsicht betrachtet werden.

Als Erbe des Osmanischen Reiches leben heute auch in Syrien ca. 63 000 Tscherkessen, 30–50 000 in Jordanien und etwas über 4000 in zwei Dörfern in Israel. Außerdem leben in Jugoslawien auf dem Amselfeld ca. 1000 Tscherkessen (vgl. ÖZBEK, 1986). Auch in Albanien, Griechenland und Bulgarien dürften noch tscherkessische Gruppen existieren, deren Zahl und Siedlungsorte jedoch bis heute noch unbekannt geblieben sind.

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## Turkistani Refugees

INGVAR SVANBERG

Among the many groups of immigrants who have settled in Anatolia since the end of the 18th century the refugees from Turkistan, who entered Turkey during the 1950s, are one of the most striking. Their pronounced Mongoloid physiognomy makes them easily recognisable, and it is not infrequently that they are mistaken for Chinese or Japanese. The Turks in general usually call them *Tatarlar*, that is, Tatars, a category the Turkistanis thus share with other, older, immigrant groups that possess Mongoloid features, such as the Noghay (*Noğay*). They collectively refer to themselves, however, as *Türkistanlılar* (Turkistanis).<sup>1</sup> These immigrants from Turkistan, in fact belong to several ethnic groups, that is to say, the Özbek, Türkmen, Kırgız (*Qırğız*), Kazak (*Qazaq*), and Uyğur. What they have in common is that they originally came from the area which was once called Turkistan and which today is divided between the People's Republic of China (Sinkiang), the Soviet Union (The Soviet Socialist Republics of Kazakhstan, Turkmenia, Kirgizia and Uzbekistan) and northern Afghanistan. The majority of them immigrated to Turkey during the 1950s. They are all Sunni Muslims, and adhere to the Hanefi school. Furthermore, they speak various Central Asian Turkic languages which are to some extent mutually intelligible (depending upon the adaptability of the listener). On the other hand, from the administrative point of view, the Turkistanis belong to two clearly separable categories. In Turkey a distinction is made between independent immigrants (*serbest göçmen*), who came to Turkey on their initiative, and officially settled immigrants (*iskân göçmen*) who settled in the country with the assistance of official agencies. The majority of the Kazak from Sinkiang were brought to Turkey as *iskân göçmen*, while the remainder have generally come as *serbest göçmen*. Between 1950 and 1958 a total of 640 families comprising 1,665 persons arrived as *serbest göçmen*.<sup>2</sup>

There are several reasons why Turkey accepted these Turkistani refugees during the 1950s. Besides the fact that Turkey has a tradition of being a generous host to Muslim refugees, especially those of Turkic

<sup>1</sup> The information in this paper is based on field-work which the author conducted in Turkey 1979 and 1981. This field-work among Turkistanis was made possible thanks to generous grants from the Swedish Institute of Research in Istanbul. The author wishes to express his thanks to Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, Mr. Cengizhan Aksakal, Dr. Peter Andrews, Mr. Kadirşan Köksal, and Marie C. Nelson.

<sup>2</sup> ÖKTEM, 1959; ADATEPE, 1959.

origin, economic conditions were favourable for admitting them. The Turkish economy had become more stable. The Korean War had resulted in higher prices for Turkish agricultural products on the world market. The Marshall Plan had also contributed to the country's economic wellbeing. Turkey had by this time built up an organisation for the reception of refugees as a result of the deportation of Turks from Bulgaria in 1950-51, and that meant that the country was well-equipped to receive the Turkistanis. Furthermore, by accepting "Turkic compatriots" who had fled from regimes under communist dictatorships, Turkey could win good-will in presenting herself in the international arena as a benign and freedom-loving state. The gesture could also be seen as beneficial internally by increasing the sense of Turkishness in the population. This concept has however proved to have its disadvantages, for many Turks, observing that the new arrivals neither speak nor look like themselves, challenge its desirability.

The various groups from Turkistan, like other groups of immigrants in Turkey, demonstrate an extremely varied pattern of adaptation along a scale which runs from careful maintenance of identity to complete assimilation. Some groups have managed to establish themselves in special ethnic communities. This became possible when adequate economic opportunities happened to exist in the areas where they first settled, or in those cases where local niches proved unsatisfactory, when they could move to a location with better employment opportunities. In such cases the immigrants succeeded in creating well-integrated local communities with a network of contacts between the various settlements. These groups are sufficiently large to maintain a high degree of ethnic endogamy and to preserve some of their particular cultural characteristics, such as social customs, food, and oral traditions. Their own language has been preserved to a certain degree for internal communication. The Kazak from Sinkiang are the best example of this type of adaptation.

At the other end of this spectrum are those immigrants who arrived in such small groups that they were unable to preserve any internal bonds. The economic situation may also perhaps have been unfavourable in the location where the group first settled, thus bringing about the rapid dispersal and further migration of its members.<sup>3</sup> On their arrival in Turkey, those immigrants who belonged to the better educated strata often found they had more in common with Turkish intellectuals and chose assimilation in the urban upper-middle class milieu rather than maintaining contact with the members of the lower strata within their own ethnic group. The Özbek from the Soviet Union appear to be the best example of a

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. GRÖNHAUG, 1974: 76.



group which is now on its way toward total assimilation in Turkey; some of them nevertheless defend their identity and play leading roles in Turkistani organisations.

Up to the beginning of the 1980s the Kırgız and the Türkmen constituted the smallest groups. The Kırgız, originally from the Wakhan corridor among the Pamir Mountains in northern Afghanistan, came in 1953 via Pakistan. These Kırgız represent the tribal sections of İçkilik and Otoñul. The largest single group (1980) consists of the 12 Kırgız households which are settled in the village of Akıncıköy between Kulu and Şerefli Koçhisar south of Ankara. Some Kırgız households have moved from there to Ankara and Adana. The other settlement, consisting of four households, is located in Cihanbeyli between Konya and Kulu in central Anatolia. Furthermore, there are individual Kırgız women who have married into the Kazak. Only a couple of Kırgız families have emigrated to western Europe, one to West Germany and the other to Sweden.

The Türkmen from Central Asia also immigrated to Turkey during the 1950s, but I lack further information concerning them. Among the Turkistanis who came from Afghanistan to Turkey, there were probably some Türkmen who originally came from Russian Central Asia, but who fled to northern Afghanistan following the Russian Revolution. Another Türkmen group consisting of 43 persons came to Turkey in January 1957 via Tokyo.<sup>4</sup>

There have been two waves of Uyğur immigration to Turkey; one from Pakistan during the 1950s, and another in 1968 from Afghanistan. The Uyğur constitute the majority population in Sinkiang, where they support themselves as tradesmen and cultivators of the oases. Many Uyğur left the country as a result of the communist assumption of power. A large number of the refugees, however, settled in Saudi Arabia. There are also a number of Uyğur in Taiwan, Kashmir (Şrinagar), and the U.S.A.<sup>5</sup> Some still live in northern Pakistan. In 1980 there were approximately 700 Uyğur in Turkey, located in Istanbul, Izmir, Adana and Kayseri. The Uyğur of Istanbul live in settlements, but these are small and usually consist of only a few families. Some 50 Uyğur families live together with some Kazak in a settlement in Safraköy. There are also Uyğur in Örnektepe. These Uyğur in Istanbul earn their living by trade and crafts. The only large community of Uyğur is located in Kayseri where it lives in the area of the city called Yenimahalle. Here are a hundred or so households who live mixed with the *Bulgar göçmen*. The Kayseri Uyğur support themselves

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<sup>4</sup> BULLARD, 1958: 492.

<sup>5</sup> For the Turkistanis in the U.S.A., see BENNIGSEN, 1980.

by means of sewing caps, especially prayer caps (*takke*). Their language is still used within the group; they are strict Muslims, and seclusion is observed for the women.

The Özbek arrived in Turkey primarily as the result of two migrations. The first group originated from approximately 100 families who immigrated to Turkey from Europe in the wake of the Second World War. They had come originally from the Soviet Union but fled to Germany during the war or were taken there as prisoners of war. In accordance with the Yalta Agreement many Özbek were deported to the Soviet Union at the conclusion of the war. A number however, remained in the European refugee camps. Some stayed in West Germany. Eventually quite a number of Özbek came to settle in Turkey, some of whom soon went on to migrate to the U.S.A! In Turkey they are currently to be found in Istanbul, Izmir, and Adana. The number of Özbek households in Istanbul was approximately 250 in 1980. The group is now in the process of assimilation, and its internal bonds are very weak. The second group of Özbek comprises a small group of detribalised Özbek who immigrated from Afghanistan in 1952. In 1980 there were some thirty households of them residing in Istanbul, five to six households in Ankara, and 45–50 households in Adana. The group still maintains certain bonds, and marriage partners are exchanged with other groups of Turkistani immigrants.

A handful of Dungans (Huei) are also to be found among the refugees from Eastern Turkistan settled in Istanbul. Some immigrated in 1969 via Kashmir together with some Kazak: by the time of their arrival they were probably “Kazakified” as a result of the prolonged period of time that they had lived in contact with them.

The Kazak from Sinkiang comprise the most well-known and at the same time the most well-documented group of Turkistani immigrants found in Turkey.<sup>6</sup> Some individuals arrived in Turkey in 1952 as *serbest göçmen* and settled in Ceylanpınar in Urfa province. The majority, that is, 564 Kazak families comprising 1,892 persons, were however brought in from Pakistan and Kashmir in 1952–1958 as *iskân göçmen*. Some individual families who had remained in Kashmir later joined the Kazak in Turkey in 1969. The Kazak came originally from Dzungaria and the Altai in northern Sinkiang where they supported themselves primarily as nomadic pastoralists.<sup>7</sup> A small number of families had, however, settled in Ch'inghai, where they lived as agricultural workers, several decades before their flight to India.

<sup>6</sup> ÇAGATAY, 1961; TÜRKDOĞAN, 1969, 1971; ÇELEBİ, 1975; DURUSOY, 1976; ENGİN, 1969; AKAY, 1968; DOĞRU, 1968; SVANBERG, 1981 b, 1983, n. d. 1, n. d. 2.

<sup>7</sup> CLARK, 1955; SVANBERG, n. d. 3.

The group had its origin in two contingents of refugees. The first left Sinkiang following the Muslim uprising of 1929, between 1933 and 1938. A reported 24,000 of them first moved eastward to Dungan territory in Kansu, whence 7,000 set out across Tibet in 1940. Of these only 3,000 arrived in India in 1941: they were soon dispersed in various areas under British rule. After a year half of the refugees had succumbed to the climate. The Kazak spent a number of years in great destitution and in difficult conditions. Many survived as beggars. During the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 all the Kazak (as Muslims) went to Pakistan, where they gathered in the cities, as for example in Rawalpindi and Peshawar. They founded a society for Kazak refugees, and in 1953, some 1,300 of them finally reached Turkey.

The other group of refugees were the remnant of the 15,000 Kazak who took up armed resistance to the communist take-over in Sinkiang in 1949. The Chinese Liberation Army prevailed in spite of valiant Kazak opposition, and the latter were forced to flee dramatically through one of the world's most inaccessible areas. The refugees suffered death and privation as a result of battles, cold and starvation as they wandered for nearly two years over the Taklamakan Desert, the high plateau of Tibet, and the Himalaya Mountains down to Kashmir, a distance of nearly 4,800 kilometers. Only 350 Kazak arrived in Kashmir in 1951. Here they remained until 1954, when they were taken to Turkey. The remainder had been scattered, taken prisoner, killed in battle, or frozen to death in the mountains.<sup>8</sup>

After a period in the refugee camps in Tuzla, Sirkeci, and Zeytinburnu (Istanbul) the Kazak were relocated in various settlements in Anatolia. They settled down as farmers and wage earners. They were granted a total of 31,985 *dönüm* of land, primarily in the province of Niğde for 226 families at Altay köyü and Sultanhani; in the province of Kayseri for 104 at the villages of Kocacı, Kopçu, Karacaören, Musacı, Sindelhöyük and İlyas köyü within the triangle formed by Develi, Yeşilhisar, and Yahyalı; and for 72 families in the province of Konya at Zengin köyü and İsmil köyü where they were to cultivate the land and raise cattle. The Kazak who chose to settle in Salihli (60 families) received no land but rather came to work, for the most part, as building labourers, held together initially by work on a new dam (1955–1960). Extra housing was build for them in Kurtuluş Mahallesi. A few families settled initially in Istanbul where they participated in building the railway and other construction work. Only

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<sup>8</sup> CLARK, 1954; LİAS, 1955, 1956; ENGIN, 1969: 12–13; KONUKÇU, 1970. The delay in the arrival of the first group was apparently due to previous unwillingness on the part of the Turkish Government.

those at Altay köyü were able to pursue their traditional combination of pastoralism and agriculture, albeit now mechanised. Two families were settled in Adapazarı.

Many of the Kazak soon transferred their attention to crafts. It was those in Salihli who, exploiting their own traditional skills, began to sew gloves and other products; they were obliged to augment these by a determined effort in marketing to suit Turkish conditions. They were thus able to fill a niche vacated by the Jews and Greeks. Leather crafts soon spread among the Kazak, and today probably a majority of the households support themselves by the manufacture of leather goods. They produce these by cottage industry, in cooperatives, and in larger factories that are owned by Kazak. In 1968 they founded a tannery in Salihli in order to overcome difficulties in supply. Several Kazak later became established in the plastic industry, and there are today a number of such factories that are owned and operated by Kazak. This concentration on hides and leather has meant an economic improvement for the Kazak, and they have thus become relatively prosperous. Many are well-to-do and their standard of living is rather high.

Unfortunately the land grants in Kayseri proved arid and infertile, with the result that there was heavy migration of Kazak from the Anatolian refugee villages to Istanbul during the 1960s and the period following. In 1963 60 families even applied to emigrate to America. By 1980 approximately 60% of a total of some 700 Kazak families lived permanently in Istanbul.

The East Turkistan Kazak in Turkey all belong to the 'Middle Horde', *Orta Jüz*. Three "tribes" (*uru*) are represented in Turkey, namely the *Kerey*, *Nayman*, and *Uwaq*. The latter are in turn divided into a long line of patrilineal maximal lineages which are genealogically defined. For these maximal lineages exogamy is still not merely an ideal, but also a reality. According to an estimate in 1978 the families in the various lineages were divided as shown on p. 597.

Some of the Kazak lineages still have "chieftains", so-called *taji*. The traditional political and administrative structure of the lineages, however, has ceased to function in the new social context. The lineage "chieftains" and other former leaders are treated with respect, but no longer have power and influence over the other families in the lineage. The disappearance of the old differences in status probably derived partially from the fact that all the refugees were equally poor upon their arrival in Turkey and thus had the same base from which to build up a new existence. The abandonment of nomadic culture has furthermore undermined the basis of legitimacy for the authority of the lineage "chieftains". The power of

Tribe	Maximal Lineage	Lineage	Number of Families
Kerey	Jadıq		85
	Molku		85
	Qaraqas		65
	Sarbaz		55
	İteli		45
	Sıbaraygır		35
	Könsadaq		4
	Şeruwşı		5
	Merkit		8
	Jantekey:	Şaqabay	60
		Barqı	30
		Bazarqul	50
		Tasbike	15
		Esaqası	15
		Qıstawbay	20
		Esdewlet	5
	Sekel	4	
	Taylaq	1	
	Qangeldi	1	
	Botaqara	4	
	Atantay	3	
	Qıltaybolat	3	
Nayman	Törtawıl		
	Muskalı		65
Uwaq			15

some other leaders was dependent upon the Chinese administration. The political function of the lineage has disappeared, but the lineage still plays an important role for the Kazak. A person is identified, in the first place, according to the lineage to which he belongs. The Turkish family name plays only an insignificant role as a criterion for identification within the group. The obligation to provide reciprocal help is still generally implicit within lineage membership, and there is strict lineage exogamy. It can be seen that the ability to adapt to new conditions has been by means of, rather than in spite of their sense of group identity.

From the original settlements the Kazak have largely migrated to the bigger cities. The refugee villages in Kayseri are nearly empty; only one family remains in Sindelhöyük. There are no Kazak in Zengin köyü near the city of Ereğli. In Altay köyü there were still 65 families in 1980 (having declined from 250 families in 1968); some ten families are located in Sul-

tanhanı; in İsmil köyü east of Konya ca. 25–30 families remain; and in Salihli, in Kurtuluş Mahallesi, there are some 60 families. Even these settlements in the cities are segregated. In İzmir about ten families, all from Salihli, live in the suburb Balçova. In Adana three families live in Karşıyaka. In Ankara the Kazak, some 15 families of them, reside in Aktepe.

The Kazak who first migrated to Istanbul initially moved into squatter settlements in Zeytinburnu. The earliest arrived in the 1950s, but the majority came during the 1960s and the 1970s. In 1980 it was estimated that there were approximately 300 Kazak families there. Some 30 families have moved from Zeytinburnu to Küçük Çekmece, some coming directly from the Anatolian refugee settlements. In Sefa, Safraköy, 25 families live together in a community, sharing it with Uyğur. There is also a compact settlement of 15 families located in Örnektepe which came into existence a couple of years ago. The most interesting settlement, however, is Kazak Kent in the suburb Güneş Sitesi (Güneşli köyü). This settlement was officially opened in 1973 and came about not only as a reaction against extensive acculturation but also as a better alternative to the rather low standard of housing in Zeytinburnu. There are currently (1980) 160 families residing there, but the settlement is intended for ca. 300 families.<sup>9</sup>

A large number of Kazak work or study outside the country. In 1980 not less than 100 families resided abroad. The majority work in West Germany, but there are also Kazak who have emigrated to Belgium, France, Austria, Sweden, Norway, the U.S.A., Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, and Taiwan.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to the Kazak from Sinkiang there are a small number of Kazak who have immigrated directly from Afghanistan. There are some 70 families, most of whom are settled in Zeytinburnu in Istanbul and who belong to the 'Little Hord', *Kısi Jüz*. Their language has been strongly influenced by the Özbek. These Kazak had originally come from Central Asia and arrived in Afghanistan in the 1920s.<sup>11</sup> Up to the present the contacts between these two major groups of Kazak had been limited. The earlier immigrants regard the new-comers from Afghanistan as crude and less civilised.

The different groups from Turkistan have to a varying degree been able to preserve their distinctive ethnic cultures. Marriage between the various ethnic Turkistani groups is generally accepted, and such alliances are not

<sup>9</sup> ENGIN, 1973.

<sup>10</sup> SVANBERG, 1981 a.

<sup>11</sup> Kazak and other groups of Turkic refugees in Afghanistan are discussed with in JARRING, 1939 and BALLAND, 1975–77: 27–31.

uncommon. The relationship of the Kırgız and the Kazak to the less-assimilated Noghay in the Kulu district in Konya is also interesting. A certain exchange of marriage partners is said to have occurred.

The Turkistani immigrants are organised as the *Batı Türkistan Kültür Derneği* and the *Doğu Türkistan Göçmenler Derneği*. The latter organisation is dominated by the Uyğur who have had the decisive influence. The organisation has arranged folklore performances, participated in various political manifestations, and distributed propaganda on Turkistan. There is also a relatively active cultural life among the Uyğur and the Kazak. Several members of these groups have started magazines, for example, "*Türkeli*" and "*Doğu Türkistan*" which are Pan-Turkic in nature. Several books have also been published which, however, have primarily been works on cultural history dealing with Turkistan and the immigration of the refugee groups.<sup>12</sup> A certain amount of Central Asiatic literature has also been translated into Turkish.<sup>13</sup> Among the Kazak there was a movement against acculturation during the 1970s which led to an increased interest in their own folk music.<sup>14</sup> Some musicians have become established artists and have even toured Europe with their folk music. As a curiosity it may be mentioned that Kazak are often employed as extras in Turkish films on Çingiz Khan and the early horse-born Mongol-Turkic tribes.

There are also some earlier groups of Turkistanis in Anatolia who still or until recently identified themselves as the descendants of immigrants from Central Asia. In the 1930s, the Swedish turkologist Gunnar Jarring met an old man in Tarsus who told him that there were three villages not far from the town where the population was of Özbek origin. They had moved there from Central Asia about 300 years ago. Unfortunately, Jarring did not note down the names of the villages. In Tarsus he also visited a Turkistan *tekke* which in 1938 still had connections with Turkistan.<sup>15</sup>

Since 1980 there has been further immigration of Turkistani people to Turkey. In August 1982 the Turkish Government agreed to accept 4,352 refugees of Turkic origin from Afghanistan, receiving them from refugee camps in Pakistan. These include, among others, Türkmen who have been settled in Diyarbakır and Rahman Qul's Kırgız who have been located in

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<sup>12</sup> ALTAY, 1977, 1980, 1981; GAYRETULLAH, 1965, 1977; ALPTEKİN, 1978; ORALTAY, 1973, 1976; ÇENGİZ/TÖREM, 1980; see also LANDAU, 1981 which also includes a comprehensive bibliography.

<sup>13</sup> ÖZGEDİK/UÇAR, 1972; KAZAKBALASI, 1980.

<sup>14</sup> SVANBERG, n. d. 2.

<sup>15</sup> JARRING, 1983.

Van province at Karagündüz köyü. Some refugees have settled in the provinces of Hatay, Gaziantep, and Tokat, where special efforts are being made to educate them for their new cultural role.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> BAL, 1982; THOMSON, 1982; GÖKAY, 1983; DOR 1986.



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## Marginal Groups and Itinerants

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According to a saying that I have heard several times among the Turks: "There are 66½ nations in Turkey." (*Türkiyede altmışaltı buçuk millet var*). This is an excellent illustration of the complex multiethnic society which still characterises Turkey.<sup>1</sup> The first time that one hears it, one wonders why there should be a "half-nation", but this is merely a humorous euphemism for the Gypsies, or *Çingene* as the Turks call them. *Çingene* is the most widespread ethnic categorisation for the normally itinerant, low-status groups that belong to the lowest socio-economic stratum in Turkey. In most of the agrarian societies in the world, groups can be found which are characterised by an itinerant life style with specialised professions, at least some of which are considered to be impure and are looked down upon by the majority of the population.<sup>2</sup> Some scholars maintain that such groups are characteristic of the social structure demarcating the caste belt<sup>3</sup> that stretches from North West Africa in the west to India in the east – including the cultural area of the Middle East. These groups, which among themselves are very homogeneous, represent a cultural type that has received different designations, for example, pariahs, outcastes, *Gastvölker*,<sup>4</sup> service nomads,<sup>5</sup> non-food-producing nomads,<sup>6</sup> marginal groups,<sup>7</sup> travellers,<sup>8</sup> or peripatetics.<sup>9</sup> Such groups are usually regarded as alien – a partially assimilated ("metic") element – but in genetic terms they appear not infrequently to have originated through expulsion or exclusion from the majority population. They exploit marginal niches and, for their livelihood, are often reduced to an itinerant life style even if they have permanent places of residence from which they venture out. They wander, for the most part, in small groups of a few households. They usually speak the language of the majority yet use a strong element of argot which is unintelligible to the surrounding milieu and thus has a secret character. The language is nearly equivalent to a professional jargon. A common fea-

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<sup>1</sup> SVANBERG, 1985: 2. Another version has 72½ *millet*.

<sup>2</sup> An outstanding survey of such groups is found in HEYMOWSKI, 1969: 96–108.

<sup>3</sup> MÜHLMANN, 1970.

<sup>4</sup> MÜHLMANN, 1964: 194.

<sup>5</sup> HAYDEN, 1979.

<sup>6</sup> RAO, 1982.

<sup>7</sup> WESTPHAL-HELLBUSCH, 1980.

<sup>8</sup> ARNOLD, 1980.

<sup>9</sup> RAO & CASIMIR, 1983; RAO (ed.), 1987.

ture is that they are rarely willing to teach such a language to outsiders, with the result that these special languages are seldom documented.

Certain parts of Anatolia can certainly be analysed as a caste society in the Weberian sense of the word. There exist different endogamous, socially differentiated groups that still or until quite recently have specialised within particular professions without, all the same, belonging to absolutely the lowest stratum. Reports from the end of the 19th century, for example, mention *Kaçar* and *Varsak* who were camel drivers, *Zili* and *Harmandalı* who specialised as rug makers, and *Kenger* who were masseurs.<sup>10</sup> Most well-known, however, are the *Tahtacı* - an Alevi group who still support themselves as lumberjacks, residing in their own villages in the Taurus Mountains along much of the Mediterranean coast of Anatolia.<sup>11</sup>

The Turkish term *Çingene* (linguistically cognate with *Zigeuner*, *Czigány*, and *Zingari*) represents the etic view of the particularly complex problem which the Anatolian marginal groups constitute.<sup>12</sup> Other categorisations include *Kıptı*, *Tsigan*, *Abdal*, *Mutrib*, *Arabacı*, and even *Yörük*. The Kurds have, in addition, *Gävändi*, *Qeraçi*, *Motrib*, and *Krişmal*. In eastern Anatolia the terms *Boşa* and *Köçer* have also been noted. The term *Çingene* is taboo in contacts with the people thus categorised. When I have visited itinerant groups who have put up their tents on the outskirts of cities, my Turkish companions have always admonished me not to use the word within earshot of the encampment.<sup>13</sup> When I have, in spite of that, made such an error, my Turkish friends have always promptly corrected me. The *Çingeneler* with whom I have spoken have labelled themselves after place names. EBERHARD similarly reports a group outside the city of Osmaniye, who had immigrated in 1951 from the Balkans, and who called themselves Albanians.<sup>14</sup>

Such groups are very inadequately documented. They have left few traces in the usual historical sources.<sup>15</sup> One reason is that they have lived their lives beyond the scope of official control. The groups' life-style, and their negative attitude toward the majority also create great difficulties for anyone studying them. Few have attempted this, and even fewer have suc-

<sup>10</sup> TSAKYROGLOU, 1891; HASLUCK, 1921: 313.

<sup>11</sup> There is a comprehensive literature on the *Tahtacı*, for example: ATABEYLİ, 1949-50; MÜLLER, 1967: 3-9; ROUX, 1970; GRÖNHAUG, 1971; ÖZBAYRI, 1972. One of the best sources, however, is GRÖNHAUG, 1974 a.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. SALO, 1979; OKELEY, 1983: 1-21; BEŞİKÇİ, 1969: 8-9.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. EBERHARD, 1953: 52; GRÖNHAUG, 1974 b: 60.

<sup>14</sup> EBERHARD, 1953: 52.

<sup>15</sup> Historical information on Gypsies and other itinerant groups is to be found in HALLIDAY, 1922, and SOULIS, 1961.

ceeded in collecting any data of value. Social distance and a general lack of insight into the life style of these groups have also created a rich flora of ethnocentrically coloured stereotypes and rumours among the majority that are difficult to dispel. It is apparent, however, that several different groups are included within the category *Çingene*.

*Abdal* or *Ebdal* (see article above) appears to be the most common self-categorisation which is used by both peripatetic and sedentary marginal groups in Anatolia. Some scholars maintain that *Çingene* and *Abdal* are two clearly distinct population elements. The former are claimed to have immigrated, while the latter are classed as Turkic autochthons. This distinction, however, is not without its problems. In southern Anatolia I have found in some places that an attempt is made to distinguish *Çingene* as itinerant, while the *Abdal* are considered sedentary. An informant in Anamur was of the opinion that *Çingene* were enterprising and talented people, while the *Abdal* were a bunch of lazybones and loafers endowed only with their inherited musical talents.<sup>16</sup> In contrast to the term *Çingene*, however, the term *Abdal* carries no stigma but is used both by the people themselves and neighbouring groups. The etic category *Çingene* includes not only the Romany-speaking gypsies, but also other peripatetic groups, not least of all, the *Abdal*; the *Abdal* category, on the other hand, excludes the Romany-speaking people. The term is used only *by* and *about* groups which do not have Romany as their native language. They usually speak Turkish in an argot with a strong Romany flavour which is understood in the neighbourhood to be a secret language.

The *Abdal* are Alevi.<sup>17</sup> We do not know, however, how many of the present groups categorised as *Çingene* are Alevi. Earlier this century, for example, Christian groups from the vicinity of Erzurum and Nevşehir were mentioned.<sup>18</sup> Some of PASPATI'S sedentary informants in Istanbul were also Christians, but the nomads were Muslims, and relations between the two were marked by mutual suspicion and dislike.

The ethnic categorisations such as *Çingene* and *Abdal* are thus far from unambiguous. The emic view, furthermore, indicates that there is a broad spectrum of groups within these categories who are named or name themselves after their job designations, for example, *kalburcu* (sieve makers),

<sup>16</sup> I have encountered a similar distinction between *Cigani* and *Yifti* using the same stereotypes among the villagers in Greek Macedonia. That, too, is not without problems (cf. ARNOLD, 1962). A distinction of this kind was also made formerly between *Tattare* and Gypsies in rural Sweden.

<sup>17</sup> *Abdal* appears as an ethnic category for very similar Alevi groups in the Crimea, Russian Central Asia, and Sinkiang. TROIČKAJA, 1948; LE COQ, 1912 and KÖPRÜLÜ, 1935.

<sup>18</sup> HALLIDAY, 1922: 165.

*elekçi* (sieve makers), *yüzükçü* (ring makers), *kalayçi* (tanners), *pallacı* (tanners), *teberci* (drummers), and *buhurcu* (incense peddlers – hence sellers of charms). Others use tribal names such as *Alikeçili*, *Saçıkara*, and *Ali Baba* sharing these with other tribal groups, notably the Yörük. Besides these are self-designations such as *Cuki*, *Carcar* and *Geygel*.

Romany dialects that are related to the European Gypsy dialects have been recorded in Turkey. Most well-known is PASPATI's dictionary compiled among the *Zapari* Gypsies in Istanbul in the second half of the 19th century.<sup>19</sup> In fact, PASPATI's work led him to state that the Gypsy language of Rumeli was the mother of all the diaspora in Europe, even Russia, with their Greek loan words. The Romany of Anatolia, by contrast, contained Turkish loans but no Greek. In this connection one should also mention the language samples recorded at the beginning of this century among the itinerant *Boşa* between Erzurum and Van which are clearly Romany.<sup>20</sup> Modern evidence for Romany in Turkey is lacking, however, although ARNOLD has stated that he met Romany-speaking Gypsies in Üsküdar.<sup>21</sup>

It is known that Istanbul slang contains a certain element of Romany, but there are also various Greek strains. Unfortunately, not much is known of the categories among whom the argot vocabularies were recorded.<sup>22</sup> Similarly many peripatetic groups in Anatolia appear to speak Turkish disguised with a strong component of loan words. Some of these jargons draw upon Romany words. The itinerant smiths in the Çivril region of Denizli, who refer to themselves as *Geygelli*, apparently have a strain of Romany in their argot.<sup>23</sup> The same is true of the *Abdal* in the village of Kırkpınar near Düzce in Bolu province,<sup>24</sup> as well as the *Teber-Abdal* in the village of Kırıksoku near Yozgat.<sup>25</sup> In 1978 I met a group of roving garment sellers from the Izmir region who were travelling by car and had camped in Niğde. They claimed that, in addition to Turkish, they also spoke Kurdish. They gave as examples the following words: *nun aycas* (= to eat/bread?), *beş* (= to sit), *naş* (= walk), *bitce* (= man), *çöni* (= girl), *zen* (= women), and *mul* (= donkey). At least *beş* and *naş* are

<sup>19</sup> PASPATI, 1863; PASPATI, 1870.

<sup>20</sup> LEHMANN-HAUPT, 1928; FINCK, 1907.

<sup>21</sup> ARNOLD, 1967: 105.

<sup>22</sup> MIKHAILOV, 1930; STEINHERR, 1932; THEODORIDIS, 1966, 1977; KOSTOV, 1979; WAGNER, 1943; DEVELLİOĞLU, 1980.

<sup>23</sup> CAFEROĞLU, 1943; LEWIS, 1950-55.

<sup>24</sup> CAFEROĞLU, 1953.

<sup>25</sup> TIETZE, 1982. Earlier *Abdal* glossaries are to be found in: TSAKYROGLOU, 1891; GORDEVSKIJ, 1962; LE COQ, 1912; CAFEROĞLU, 1953; GRÖNHAUG, 1974b: 32a. A survey of research on the *Abdal* languages was given by TIETZE in a lecture entitled "Abdalogy" at The First International Conference on Turkic Studies, May 19-22, 1983 in Bloomington, Indiana. The lecture will be published.

found in the European Kelderash-Romany and *çöni* in the Nawar language of Lebanon. It is interesting to note that the argot of the *Elekçi* of Bolu was found to contain many Armenian loan-words.<sup>26</sup>

It is probable that most cities in Turkey contain a distinct quarter or a number of households of *Çingene* or *Abdal*. Unfortunately, such settlements are little documented in the available literature.<sup>27</sup> Without a doubt the most well-known *Çingene* settlement is Sulukule near Edirnekapı in Istanbul where tourists and Turks seeking entertainment can enjoy exotic music and dancing.<sup>28</sup> Of a totally different character is the settlement in Hacikusner mahallesi in Kasımpaşa, an area considered as somewhat inadvisable for outsiders to visit. There are also a large number of small villages in the Anatolian countryside with a *Çingene* or *Abdal* population.<sup>29</sup> In Pappas, outside Izmir, there is a small, permanently settled group who support themselves as sardine fishermen.<sup>30</sup>

The *Çingene*, unlike Turkish, Kurdish or Arab nomads are never primarily dependent on their herds for a livelihood. A further important difference lies in their organisation, which is matrilineal rather than patrilineal.

There are a large number of itinerant groups constantly on the move in Anatolia. Their camps are to be seen pitched—in larger or smaller groups—on the outskirts of most cities, with both traditional black tents or more modern white bell tents. They travel on foot with donkeys as beasts of burden, or else in colourful waggons drawn by horses or oxen. Today, however, many use minibuses for their travels. Near the camp graze draft and pack animals, and dogs are also to be found, as well as live hens and goats for provisions. Sometimes, an occasional bear can also be seen tethered nearby.

These roving groups are, for the most part, engaged in trade, crafts, and entertainment. As already indicated from their names they are tanners, blacksmiths, basketmakers, brush-makers, sieve-makers, bear-trainers, peddlers, horse-traders, musicians, etc. Certain groups have specialised in a small number of occupations, while others find it necessary to practise several at once in order to secure a living; thus they may combine such work as circumcision, cotton-picking, harvesting, building, and transport. The women usually tell fortunes, while the boys and sometimes men too

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<sup>26</sup> CAFEROĞLU, 1943.

<sup>27</sup> ROTHER, 1971: 101; EBERHARD, 1953: 52 & 62; BATES: 1973: 23; BENEDICT, 1974: 52; MAGNARELLA 1981. For earlier conditions, see CUINET, 1890-1896, *passim*.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. LEVY, 1952.

<sup>29</sup> PLANHOL, 1958: 369-373; ROUX, 1970: 10-12; GRÖNHAUG, 1971; GRÖNHAUG, 1974b: 39-41.

<sup>30</sup> LEVY, 1952.

polish shoes. Begging is not unusual either, especially not for the children. Women and children also collect wild plants for sale. In Eastern Anatolia small groups of itinerants follow the Kurdish nomads in a subservient role, travelling in groups of a few households and supporting themselves with repair-work, sieve-making, and other minor handicrafts.<sup>31</sup> The *Geygelli* from Tokat and Denizli are itinerant smiths. CAFEROĞLU maintains that they produce hoes, axes, hammers, and trivets which they sell in the villages and towns.<sup>32</sup> As with the itinerants and marginal groups in other countries, Turkish "pariahs" often perform greatly despised tasks that are associated with blood, death, and filth. For example, the hangmen of Turkey are recruited from these categories. Others living in Salihli are said to work as gravediggers, and in the disposal of dead horses and dogs.

A number of groups have specialised in horse trading. On a number of occasions I have met such groups in Niğde. They spent the winters in Adana, while during the remainder of the year they moved about and purchased horses, following a definite route which included Niğde and Konya. They travelled in small family groups with the usual dogs, horses, and donkeys. During their travels they lived in tents, but they said that they had permanent homes at their disposal in Adana. A group of five households said that they purchased about 300 horses and donkeys yearly and drove these to a slaughterhouse in Adana from which the meat was later exported. Within this context a rumour has become so widespread as to win the status of a folk legend: I have heard it in several places in Turkey. It tells of the energetic *Çingene* in the Aydın and Nazilli areas who make a considerable profit by purchasing old horses and donkeys cheaply, then herding them along heavily used roads so that the animals will be run over. They thereupon demand high compensation from the drivers alleging that a first class horse or donkey has been killed.

Music-making is traditionally associated with these groups. They perform especially for weddings and other large celebrations. They have traditionally played the *davul* and *zurna*, but in recent times these have been supplemented by the violin and clarinet.

Earlier the migrations of some of these groups not infrequently extended over the entire Ottoman Empire. Subsequently, during the 20th century, some "gypsy" groups left the Balkans and emigrated to Turkey. The *Arabacı* who travel in colourful waggons drawn by oxen or horses are said to have emigrated from the Balkans.<sup>33</sup> At the beginning of the 1950s

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<sup>31</sup> BRUINSEN, 1978: 140-141.

<sup>32</sup> CAFEROĞLU, 1951.

<sup>33</sup> BATES, 1973: 23.

when Bulgaria intended to deport its Turkish-speaking Muslim citizens, an attempt was made to expel some gypsies also. This led, however, to the Turkish closure of the border with Bulgaria.<sup>34</sup> There are still contemporary examples of long migrations. Roux mentions an *Abdal* family which wandered from Syria through Iraq to Alanya. Another family declared that they came from Egypt and were on their way to İstanbul.<sup>35</sup>

A distinctive element among the population and the marginal groups are the negroes, *Araplar*, who are settled mainly in their own communities within cities and villages. Some are the descendants of the slaves who were imported from the Sudan by way of the slave market in Tripoli by the Ottomans during the 18th and 19th centuries. Today they are found mostly in southwestern Anatolia, for example in İzmir, Manavgat, and Antalya. I have also noticed them in Selçük, and the geographer EGGELING mentions a couple of villages with negroid populations not far from Selçük, that is, Tulum and Yeniçiftlik in the Küçük Menderes valley.<sup>36</sup> There are several villages in the Çukorova where other negroes settled about 1840. These date from the rebellion of İbrahim Paşa, son of Mehmet Ali Paşa, Governor of Egypt, against the Ottomans in 1832, when he brought them from the Sudan during his occupation of Adana. When he returned to Egypt in 1834 the negroes remained; the villages were founded at this time, and helped in 1850 by Halil Paşa with provisions and animals. By 1903 a colony at Kesmeburun in the same area still had an isolated and closed character. From 1946 onwards, they began to migrate to Adana, where they became known as "Kürt" (Kurd) as though they hailed from Eastern Anatolia! They conserved Sudanese customs until about that time, brewing *boza* beer from maize, and living in reed huts: they cultivated cotton and corn. By 1971 they were partly assimilated, preferring to marry whites: in Paşaköy only 7 out of 22 blacks were related to spouses from the same village, and a much larger proportion of blacks than of whites had moved to Adana (74: 54, when 22: 134 were left in the village), including most children.<sup>37</sup> There are still a few negro families in the villages of Sağdıçlı (formerly Büyük Araplar) in the sub-province of Karataş, and Göbekören, Forlar, and Asmalı in the sub-province of Yumurtalık (Ayas).<sup>38</sup> There are also individual families to be found in İstanbul. When I lived in the İstanbul suburb of Küçük Çekmece in 1979 there was an

<sup>34</sup> KOSTANICK, 1957: 106.

<sup>35</sup> ROUX, 1970: 39. Examples of wanderings in Anatolia are given in PLANHOL, 1958: 372-373.

<sup>36</sup> EGGELING, 1977.

<sup>37</sup> KARADENİZ, 1971: 1; also SCHAFFER, 1903: 26 ff.

<sup>38</sup> SOYSAL, 1976: 59, 63 n.2, and 69.



older negro there who worked shining shoes: he was always called "Arap Amca" by his neighbours.

The negroid population in Anatolia is Turkish-speaking, and they appear to be affiliated to the Alevis. As is the case of other marginal groups in Anatolia, there has as yet been little research conducted on these people. The eminent Turkish folklorist BORATAV has, however, recorded a great deal of valuable information on the negroes in İzmir. There are several quarters near Kadife Kale with a large negro population, among them Sabırtaşı, Dolaplı-kuyu, Tamaşalık, and Ballı-kuyu. At the beginning of the 1950s, the number in İzmir was estimated to be two thousand families. They are more or less mixed with the native population.<sup>39</sup> Interestingly there is a strong negroid strain among the *Abdal* in some areas of the Antalya region.<sup>40</sup> Some negroes are street peddlers, but others are farmers. The negroes of İzmir support themselves mainly through trade. It is said that the women sell *helva*, chick-peas and other delicacies in the Turkish baths and at wedding celebrations. In this context it may be noted that in other parts of the former Ottoman Empire there are also negro groups, now assimilated, descended from slaves, like for example the Albanian-speaking negroes of southern Montenegro.<sup>41</sup> There are still Turkicised negroes among the Muslims in western Thrace, especially in the area of Xanthi, and reportedly in Cyprus.

As in other countries, the itinerants and marginal groups of Turkey comprise a heterogeneous stratum of people. They exhibit ethnic characteristics and are perceived by their neighbours as ethnic groups. Their lifestyles are an admirable example of human adaptation to a useful if minor role. The investigation of these people is a task which remains for ethnologists and social anthropologists. It is likely that such a study will modify our picture of multiethnic Turkey even further.

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<sup>39</sup> BORATAV, 1951 b.

<sup>40</sup> GRÖNHAUG, 1974 b: 47.

<sup>41</sup> LOPASICH, 1958.

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## The Ethnic Identity of the Kurds

MARTIN M. VAN BRUINESSEN

Most Kurds in Turkey have a strong awareness of belonging to a separate ethnic group, distinct, especially, from the Turks and from the Christian minorities living in their midst. There is, however, by no means unanimity among them as to what constitutes this ethnic identity and what the boundaries of their ethnic group are. This makes it necessary for me to state at the outset precisely whom I mean when in this article I use the ethnic label "Kurds". For pragmatic reasons I use a rather loose and wide definition, including all native speakers of dialects belonging to the Iranic languages Kurmanġi or Zaza, as well as those Turkish speaking persons who claim descent from Kurmanġi or Zaza speakers and who still (or again) consider themselves as Kurds. Most Kurdish nationalists would agree with this definition (a minority would find it too narrow still); in practice, many Kurds implicitly use much narrower definitions, as will be shown below. Even this simple definition invites some obvious questions: should, for instance, persons who grew up as Kurds, but were in later life voluntarily assimilated to the Turkish majority, be called Kurds or not? Or those members of the Christian minority groups who have formally embraced Islam and have become kurdophone but still retain a memory of their previous identity? My definition would exclude the former and include the latter. Both processes of assimilation will however be considered below.

When asked to specify what constitutes their identity, most Kurds would mention language and religion first. Kurmanġi and Zaza are both Iranian languages (see MacKENZIE's contribution above), grammatically quite different from Turkish, although their vocabularies contain many loan-words from Arabic and Turkish. Few, if any, Kurmanġi speakers understand Zaza, but most Zaza speakers know at least some Kurmanġi. Virtually all Zaza speakers consider themselves, and are considered by the Kurmanġi speakers, as Kurds. They do however constitute a distinct subgroup (or rather a number of distinct sub-groups) that still tends to endogamy and differs from the Kurmanġi speakers in several other cultural features. For instance, their agricultural and horticultural techniques are on the average more developed, and where they are tribally organised their tribes tend to be smaller than those of the Kurmanġi speakers. These differences are however not perceived as significant. The second criterion, religion, is even less apt than language to set all Kurds (as defined by me)

apart from other ethnic groups. Most Kurds, it is true, are Sunni Muslims following the Shafi'i *mezhep*. This neatly distinguishes them from the Shi'i Azeris and Persians as well as from the Hanefi Turkish and Arab Sunnis (and, of course, from their Christian neighbours). A stranger is frequently asked what his *mezhep* is, as a careful way of finding out whether he is a Turk or a Kurd. Many Alevis, however, speak Kurmanji or Zaza dialects and consider themselves as Kurds, and there are still pockets of (Kurmanji speaking) Yezidis, a non-Muslim sect living among the Sunni Kurds. In Iran and Iraq, moreover, a considerable number of Kurds belong to the orthodox Shi'a, and a smaller number to the heterodox Ahl-i Haqq sect. Many Shafi'i Kurds, in fact, refuse to consider the Alevis and Yezidis as Kurds. Inter-marriage between these religious groups is extremely rare, much rarer than between Turkish and Kurdish Alevis or even Turkish and Kurdish Sunnis. It might, in fact, be more apt to consider the Kurds not as one, but as a set of ethnic groups (for instance, Sunni, Alevi, Yezidi), although even then the definition of boundaries would not be easy. The Kurdish rebellions of the early years of the Republic showed how little unity there was: Şeyh Sa'îd's rebellion (1925) remained largely restricted to the Zaza speaking tribes along the Murad Suyu, and in the Dersim revolt of 1937 only Alevis (both Kurmanji and Zaza speaking) participated. Nationalist leaders tried in vain to exhort others to join in. During the 1970s, the Kurdish nationalist movement became quite influential, even in the villages, and it seemed to create a stronger sense of oneness among the Kurds. The economic and political developments of that decade, however, tended to exacerbate rather than alleviate the long-standing tensions between Sunnis and Alevis, and to revive the importance of religion as a symbol of identity. The difference between Shafi'is and Hanefis is insignificant when compared with that between these Sunnis and the Alevis.

A third criterion, rarely explicitly mentioned but often implicitly used, is that of affiliation with a Kurdish tribe or one of the Kurdish "great families". A person descending from a well-known Kurdish family or tribe is always considered a Kurd, whatever he claims himself to be. This criterion, however, does not define an ethnic boundary: many persons who consider themselves, and are generally considered, as Kurds do not belong to a tribe or great family. Other, secondary symbols are even less apt to define a boundary: "Kurdish" dress, music, folklore, cooking, etc. show great regional variations, while the similarities with those of other ethnic groups in the same region are sometimes striking. These symbols of separateness have since the late 1920s been suppressed by the republican Government, which paradoxically made it possible for the nationalist move-

ment of the 1970s to promote a re-invented, more unified Kurdish tradition, strongly influenced by that of the Kurds of Iraq. This does, however, not seem to have had a lasting impact.

Some other symbols of identity, stressed by Kurds themselves as well as by non-Kurds consist of differences in degree rather than in kind: the (Sunni)Kurds have on the whole maintained more of the traditional Islam than the other Muslim ethnic groups: the *medrese* has not entirely disappeared but (clandestinely) survived, and there are still many *şeyhs* (associated with the Nakşibendi or Kadiri *tarikât*) who wield great influence. The concept of honour (*namus*) and the institution of blood revenge associated with it still play a quite central role in social life. Another traditional institution (although not an Islamic one), the payment of a high bride-price, is still widely adhered to, and the modern one of birth-control is widely disapproved of. The position of women is, on the whole, a more subjected one than among other ethnic groups. None of these cultural features, however, nor a combination of them, defines an ethnic boundary between Kurds and non-Kurds. They are at least to some extent a corollary of the economic backwardness of the region, and each of them may be encountered among different ethnic groups in other backward areas as well. Several of these features sharply distinguish the Sunni from the Alevi Kurds: among the latter, *medreses* and *şeyhs* (apart from a single Bektaşî *şeyh*) are conspicuously absent, as are, in most Alevi villages, mosques. Most of the specific Alevi religious traditions have virtually died out as well, so that it is rather the absence of visible religious symbols that seems to characterize the Alevis. Many, though by no means all, Alevis occasionally drink alcohol, and the relations between the sexes are freer than among most Sunni Kurds—two features that the latter disapprovingly stress and perceive as major differences. There is a lower incidence of blood feuds among Alevis, and if there is a bride-price it tends to be much lower than among the Sunnis; women have a relatively more important role in social life. While differentiating the Alevi from the Sunni Kurds, these features unite them with the Turkish Alevis. Apart from the language, the Kurdish and Turkish Alevis are culturally very similar, and intermarriage among them is relatively frequent (although there is still a tendency to local and tribal endogamy). They may be considered as one ethnic group, the cultural variations being regional rather than between the linguistic sub-groups. Although many young Kurdish Alevis became active participants in the Kurdish nationalist movement of the 1970s, this did not lead them to stress their differences with the Turkish Alevis; rather, the latter were perceived as a sort of Kurds who happened to speak Turkish but were very different from the dominant Sunni Turkish major-

ity. And, in fact, some Turkish Alevi themselves started claiming that they were really Kurds, who had in the past been turkicised.

There is, then, no unambiguous ethnic boundary separating Kurds from non-Kurds, and in the course of even recent history the boundaries as perceived by various groups have shifted. Large numbers of people have moreover purposively crossed what they perceived as the major ethnic boundary, not only individually, as is wont to happen virtually everywhere, but in many cases collectively. A short historical sketch may be appropriate here to highlight some of the changes in ethnic (self-)definition.

Though some Kurdish intellectuals claim that their people is descended from the Medes, there is not enough evidence to permit such a connection across the considerable gap in time between the political dominance of the Medes, and the first attestation of the Kurds (as *Cyrtii*).<sup>1</sup> This is not to deny that there may have been some continuity in the population of the area as a whole. Although politically dominant for some time, the Medes may not have constituted a numerical majority in the area at any one time. Cultural variations between the various regions of Kurdistan, as well as the existence of two culturally distinct social strata in several regions, seem to indicate that the present Kurds have incorporated quite heterogeneous ethnic elements. It is not clear when precisely a distinct Kurdish identity emerged. The ethnic label "Kurd" is first encountered in Arabic sources from the first centuries of the Islamic era; it seemed to refer to a specific variety of pastoral nomadism, and possibly to a set of political units, rather than to a linguistic group: once or twice, "Arabic Kurds" are mentioned. By the 10th century, the term appears to denote nomadic and/or transhumant groups speaking an Iranian language and mainly inhabiting the mountainous areas to the South of Lake Van and Lake Urmia, with some offshoots in the Caucasus. If there was a Kurdish speaking subjected peasantry at that time, the term was not yet used to include them. The arrival of sizeable groups of Turkic nomads, from the 11th century on, had a considerable impact on the Kurdish tribes of those days. In the Western parts of the Kurdish-inhabited zone, Turkish and Kurdish nomads joined forces to establish huge tribal confederacies, and a new brand of pastoral nomadism emerged, with long-distance seasonal migrations between the Armenian highlands and the Syrian plains.<sup>2</sup> The cultures of the two nomadic peoples mutually influenced each other. Membership of a tribe is, in spite of the genealogical ideology, ultimately a matter of political alle-

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<sup>1</sup> V. MINORSKY (1940) and MACKENZIE (1961, and his contribution above).

<sup>2</sup> DE PLANHOL, 1968.



giance. Many Kurdish speakers joined Turkish chieftains and vice versa, and it is highly likely that members of other ethnic groups (Christians as well as subjected Muslim peasants) were occasionally recruited into these tribes. Conversely, tribesmen, because of impoverishment or conflicts, may have settled and gradually merged with the subject peasantry.

A sharp distinction between the Sunni and Alevi (Shi'ī) varieties of Islam did not yet exist among these tribes. Even if nominally Sunni, their beliefs were strongly coloured by veneration for the Shi'ī imams and for Muslim saints, and by messianistic expectations. The popular mysticism brought from Central Asia and Iran by the Turks found acceptance among the Kurds too, and the many Christians who were assimilated and islamised maintained, and even disseminated, many of their previous beliefs and practices of popular worship. It was only when the Ottoman and Safavid empires were competing for control of the area and attempted to impose orthodox Sunni and (initially) heterodox Shi'ī Islam respectively, in order to strengthen political loyalties, that distinct Sunni and Alevi groups emerged and gradually came to perceive themselves as ethnically distinct. This process, however, took a long time. During the 16th century, major tribal groups switched their political loyalties and accordingly their religious affiliation – which is reflected in the fact that chieftains gave their sons typically Sunni or Shi'ī names according to their political allegiance of the day.<sup>3</sup>

Around 1600 A.D., too, we encounter the first written expressions of a Kurdish ethnic awareness. The poet Ahmad-i Hānī lamented in the prologue to his famous epic *Mem ū Zīn* (1105/1694) the dividedness of the Kurds, which had caused them to be dominated and ruled by Turks and Persians (‘Ağam, which referred to both Persians proper and to the Safavids, and the speakers of Azeri dialects in general). He contrasted the Kurds with Arabs, Turks and ‘Ağam, apparently using a combination of linguistic and political criteria. The ruler of the autonomous Kurdish emirate of Bitlis, Šaraf al-Dīn Hān, composed a history of the Kurds, *Šaraf-nāma* (1005/1596), in which he compiled detailed information on Kurdish dynasties of the past and all tribes of his day. He included Sunnis and Yezidis as well as Alevi Kurds, and the speakers of Zaza as well as of Kurmanġi dialects, and even such groups that would not be considered as Kurds today, such as the Lor and Baħtiārī in Iran. Both authors paid little

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<sup>3</sup> This becomes abundantly clear in the history of Kurdish tribes and emirates, *Šarafnāme*, completed in 1596 A.D., by the Kurdish emir of Bitlis, Šarafuddin Bidlisi. For a more detailed discussion, see VAN BRUIJESSEN, 1981.

attention to the lower strata of society; where they spoke of Kurds they seemed to mean the ruling families and their tribal followers only. Not all tribesmen, it should be stressed, were pastoral nomads or transhumants. There were also sedentary tribesmen, who were free cultivators or had become townsmen. In many places the tribesmen dominated a subject stratum of peasants and craftsmen, whose position was often not better than that of serfs. Many of these were Christians (Armenians, Jacobites, Nestorians) but there were also many Kurdish speaking Muslims among them. It is not clear whether the two authors mentioned included the latter among the Kurds; half a century later, the great Turkish traveller, Evliya Çelebi, definitely did. For him, everyone who spoke Kurdish was a Kurd, irrespective of class or religion. Evliya explicitly included Zaza among the Kurdish dialects; Kurdish Alevis, however, he often brought together with their Turkish co-religionists and the Safavids under the label “Kızılbaş”. This inclusive, democratic definition of Kurdish ethnicity was, however, an outsider’s. Until the beginning of this century, Kurdish leaders themselves seem not to have thought of the subject peasantry as Kurds proper.

From the 17th century on, then, there existed a clear awareness of Kurdish ethnic identity; the political stability brought by Ottoman supremacy tended to consolidate the ethnic boundaries. There continued, however, to be cases of entire tribes crossing these boundaries within a time span of a few generations. This usually coincided with a crossing of political boundaries. The Dumbuli (Dümbeli), for instance, are mentioned in the *Şaraf-nāma* as a Kurmanġi-speaking tribe, originally Yezidis but later converted to Sunni Islam. Part of the tribe having moved from the mountains south of Lake Van to the area of Høy, their chieftains allied themselves with the Safavids, and were rewarded with high positions. In Şaraf al-Dīn Hān’s time, at least a part of the tribe had become (heterodox) Shi’i. During the following centuries, the Dumbuli continued to play a prominent role in regional politics, gradually Turkicising. At present, all Dumbuli are turcophone Twelver (*ithna ‘aşārī*) Shi’is.

An example of the reverse development is the Karakeçili tribe, semi-nomads living on the slopes of the Karacadağ mountain to the southwest of Diyarbakır. They are kurdophone, but according to local tradition they were originally Türkmen from Western Anatolia, who had been settled in this region by Sultan Selim I after the Ottoman conquest. Sections of the Karakeçili who stayed behind in Western Anatolia retained their Türkmen identity; the ones settled on Karacadağ gradually Kurdicised, as a result of intermarriage and the incorporation of Kurdish allies into the tribe. This process must have been completed before the middle of the 18th century, for the descendants of a section of these Karakeçili who moved

to Haymana (South of Ankara) around that time also continue to speak Kurdish.<sup>4</sup>

From the last decades of the 19th century on, increasing numbers of Armenians, whose position was becoming more precarious, adopted Islam (especially in its Alevi variety) and the Kurdish language, and gradually merged with their Kurdish neighbours.<sup>5</sup> After the Armenian deportations and massacres this process was speeded up, and minor groups of the other Christian minorities followed suit. In the provinces Siirt, Van and Hakkari there are small pockets of people who claim to be Kurds and Muslims but retain a clear memory of their previous identity as Armenians or Jacobites. They still tend to marry amongst themselves, and are distinguishable by their superior agricultural techniques and crafts, but are generally recognised as Kurds by their neighbours.

Soon after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, its government embarked upon a radical programme of nation-building. Ethnic diversity was perceived as a danger to the integrity of the state, and the Kurds, as the largest non-Turkish ethnic group, obviously constituted the most serious threat. They were decreed to be Turks, and their language and culture were to be Turkish. All external symbols of their ethnic identity were suppressed. Use of the Kurdish language was forbidden in cities and towns. Turkish teachers were despatched to Kurdish villages with the teaching of Turkish as their chief objective. Distinctive Kurdish dress was forbidden. Personal and family names had to be Turkish; later, village names, too, were Turkicised. The closing down of *medreses* and the ban on the Sufi orders (*tarikats*), though not exclusively directed against the Kurds, were felt as major blows to Kurdish culture, in which these traditional institutions had a prominent place. In the 1930s, after the first Kurdish rebellions, large numbers of Kurds were deported to Turkey's western provinces, while other ethnic groups (Circassians, Laz, and *muhacirs* from the Balkans) were settled in the Kurdish districts: all attempts to speed up the Turkicisation of the Kurds. These assimilation policies were backed up by a new historical doctrine according to which the Kurds were really Turks originally, but had by historical accident lost their language.

There was no official discrimination against those Kurds who agreed to be assimilated: they could reach the highest positions in the state appara-

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<sup>4</sup> "Notes on Kurdish tribes (on and beyond the borders of the Mosul vilayet and westward to the Euphrates)", Baghdad: government press, 1919. Probably compiled by Major Noel. Enclosed in Public Records Office file 1919: 44A/149523/3050. C. TÜRKAY (1979), pp. 32, 99, 476. G. PERROT (1865), pp. 607-631.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the first to mention this process was MOLYNEUX-SEEL (1914), who noticed that many of the Kurdish Alevis he met in Dersim had not so long ago been Armenians.

tus. Those who refused, however, often met with severe repression. Publicly proclaiming oneself to be a Kurd has often (though not always) been treated as a major offence, an act of separatism. The assimilation policies were not without effect. Many individuals have for all practical purposes been Turkicised and do not consider themselves as Kurds any more. Most of the Kurds who migrated to the big cities up to the 1960s were rapidly assimilated, and their children do not know Kurdish any more (during the past decades, Kurdish migrants have been too numerous to be assimilated). In several rural areas, too, Turkish has to a considerable extent replaced Kurdish, at least outside the family situation. In much wider areas, Kurds began calling themselves Turks, and it has long been hard to see how serious they were about it. In the relatively liberal atmosphere of the 1970s, when Kurdish nationalism flourished, it became apparent that this Turkicisation was only skin-deep.

From the late 1960s on, Kurdish nationalism, which in Turkey had until then remained restricted to a limited circle of intellectuals only, suddenly found itself a mass base. The military and political successes of the Iraqi Kurds under Barzani constituted one of the major influencing factors; large-scale migration to the cities, the increasing number of Kurdish students, and the weakness and division of the central government combined to make the emergence and growth of a nationalist movement possible. This is not the place to discuss the history of that movement;<sup>6</sup> the relevant fact is that it revived or created symbols of Kurdish ethnic identity that affected the way many Kurds saw themselves. Books on Kurdish history were published, and a large number of Kurdish literary, cultural and political magazines appeared. Due to the ban on the Kurdish language, it had long not been able to develop in accordance with the needs of the day. For political discourse, for instance, it was quite inadequate, and most discussions were still held in Turkish. Moreover, the differences between the various dialects were so great that communication was often difficult. Nationalists set out to remedy this situation: there were attempts to create a unified Kurdish (Kurmanji) language, and many neologisms were coined. This modernised Kurdish was disseminated through a variety of journals and many (clandestine) Kurdish literacy courses. A Kurdish national music was re-invented, and became rapidly well-known and popular through the cassette recorder. People started wearing Kurdish clothes again – in many cases a fancy dress, based on that worn by the Iraqi Kurds. Kurdish folklore was also re-invented, including the celebration of *Newroz*, Kurdish New Year, which few remembered as ever having existed in

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. VAN BRUINSEN, 1984: The Kurds in Turkey. In: MERIP Reports, 14, 2: 6–12.

Turkey, but which was the Iraqi Kurds' national holiday. The nationalists stressed the ethnic unity of Sunni and Alevi Kurds; and in fact, Sunnis and Alevis worked together in all Kurdish organisations without much friction.

Toward the end of the 1970s, it seemed that this nationalist movement was changing the self-perception of a considerable section of the Kurds. People who had long called themselves Turks started re-defining themselves as Kurds; youngsters in the cities, who knew only Turkish, began to learn Kurdish again.

These developments were cut short by the military take-over of September 1980. The military authorities have taken tough measures against the Kurdish nationalist movement and have reverted to a rigorous policy of forced assimilation. The successes of the Kurdish nationalist movement may well prove to have been ephemeral only. It remains to be seen, however, whether the present government's efforts will be more successful in changing the ethnic map of Eastern Turkey.

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## On kinship, tribalism and ethnicity in Eastern Turkey<sup>1</sup>

LALE YALÇIN-HECKMANN

### I. *Introduction*

The present Turkish state having inherited a micro-model of the population composition from the late Ottoman Empire, yet with radically different goals and proposed political structure has had to come to terms with various social formations within its territory. Among these, especially in relation to Eastern Turkey the questions of ethnicity, tribalism, and kinship to a degree, are more salient from a sociological point of view. Any sociological research on Kurds in Turkey has to deal with the above social formations along with the level of economic and political development of the area and of Turkey. Here I would like to present an outline, within the scope of this volume, of the dominant principles of ethnic, tribal, and kinship organisation in Eastern Turkey with special reference to anthropological data collected in a limited area during 1980–1982 as well as the arguments and analyses presented in the sociological studies of Kurdish society by İ. BEŞİKÇİ, B. NIKITINE, and M. M. VAN BRUINESSEN.<sup>2</sup>

### II. *Kinship*

#### A. Household

The conjugal couple, their sons and unmarried daughters, the sons' wives and children constitute the "ideal" type of household. I call it an "ideal" type because it represents what people say households should be like. However, deviations from the "ideal" are common and the dominant trend is towards nuclear families especially in urban settlements. The examples of households from the province of Hakkari show that the extended-family type of household prevails mostly in villages whereas in towns and cities households break up earlier into smaller units.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This geographical term is in fact politically charged mainly because the Kurdish area, thus *Kurdistan* as part of it was called in the Ottoman documents from the 16th century onwards, is denied the status of a separate entity by the use of the geographical expression "Eastern Turkey".

<sup>2</sup> The anthropological data were collected in Yüksekova district of Hakkari province and discussed in detail in YALÇIN, 1986; for other sources see bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> For example, a village in Hakkari, in 1982, comprised 24 households, a population of ca. 300 and an average household size of more than 10 people consisting of more than one married couple and their children: see YALÇIN, 1986:89–90.

The household is the unit of consumption and production; however, cooperation and equal or unequal exchange of work exist between households. Among kin and tribesman there are various types of cooperation in the production process: reciprocity and the length of time within which the exchange takes place are two dimensions of this cooperation. *Zıbare* is work done for kin, a neighbour or a fellow tribesman collectively and in great numbers. It has two varieties which differ in the degree of equality between the parties involved. The first type is relatively egalitarian, equally exchanged, and rotationally provided labour between households. This would occur in villages for example, where in order to help with the seasonal work each household would send a member to the organiser of the *zıbare*, the work being done collectively for that household on the day. The *zıbare* organiser does not reward anyone in money or goods but provides the main meal of the day which is also called *zıbare*. Each household which sends a member to another's *zıbare* expects work in return for its own benefit. The second type of *zıbare* is the *corvée* labour given to those of higher status, such as a tribal leader (*ağa*), a *mîr*, or a religious *şeyh*. The labour is not exchangeable in this case, but usually extracted from the people using various methods of coercion, religious authority or persuasion based on appeals to tribal loyalties.<sup>4</sup>

As for the long-term reciprocal labour exchange relations, these could be of an equal or unequal kind where the parties are involved in a long-term relationship, expecting and exchanging services and favours of various kinds. A specific example of this might be a son-in-law who works for his father-in-law when the latter needs seasonal help. In such a case, it is difficult to talk of a direct and immediate exchange of labour or services; yet the relationship between the two depends a good deal on the maintenance of this labour provision.

## B. Residential Proximity

Residential proximity overlaps with kin proximity especially in villages. Whether tribal or non-tribal, one lives close to kin, and the obligations and feelings of neighbourliness seem to have a right of their own. Although residential proximity is desirable among kin (and usually inevi-

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<sup>4</sup> For *zıbare* examples concerning tribal leaders and *şeyhs* see ERDOST, 1968: 171, 179, 198. I have come across *zıbare* help given to a rich tribal trader. He himself had come around the village houses to ask for help, so the people went to work for him. This was considered as a humiliating situation as a *zıbare* recipient should not be reduced to begging for it, but should receive it out of respect, or even fear in some cases. For a detailed discussion of the relations between tribal leaders and tribal members see ERDOST, 1968: 170-172 and VAN BRUIJNESSEN, 1978: 88-91.

table between sons/brothers who inherit shares of land divided up from a larger unit), kin group strategies include dispersing male kin through migration for work and female kin through marriage in distant villages and towns so as to exploit new political and economic resources.

### C. Kin Solidarity

Between households who are related to each other with multiple bonds, the "ideal" social relations emphasise kin solidarity in the form of continuous visiting, as much as by exchanging brides, labour, and gifts. Even if it is not continuously invoked or perpetuated, kin solidarity is in a way an "ideology in reserve"<sup>5</sup> which provides a set of meanings, expectations and rules to be mobilised in diverse contexts. For example, those who are related through kinship are expected not only to socialise together but to vote similarly in national and local elections, trade with each other and share pastures in summer camps. Within the large kin group some categories are conspicuous for their high expectations of cooperation and interaction: real and classificatory patrilineal cousins form such a category and manifest solidarity by frequent bride exchange and combative alliances in fights over pasture lands and the like.

### D. Marriage Relations

Marriage relations and customs related to them vary from rural to urban centers and across the various geographical settlements and tribal cultural units. Marriage arrangements are usually made with meticulous consideration of social, economic and political interests by both bride-giving and bride-taking groups. Nevertheless, romantic love is a good and valid reason for contradicting the already-made decisions for marriage partners; thus bride abduction and elopement are quite common. Yet marriage choice and arrangements in the pre- and post-wedding stages involve more people than the marrying couple. For example marriages that have been preceded by abductions or elopements would be prone to continuous challenges to their legitimacy by kin on both sides if the conflict had not been mediated and settled in some way, such as the payment of a bride-price or giving a bride to the bereaved party.

### E. Inheritance

As for the inheritance of movable and immovable property among kin the rules are multiple: there are three systems of rules and laws which can be used to divide property.

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<sup>5</sup> I am referring to this term in the sense discussed by SALZMANN (1978).



Among tribal people (and perhaps some of the non-tribal peasants) the customary mode of property division is to share it among male siblings equally. In this case, women do not get any shares, and the division may occur before or after the death of the household head, or when the household is dividing up. The second system of inheritance is the civil law (the only legal one) which gives equal shares to all the siblings of both sexes and ultimately divides land and property into smaller units. The third system is the division of property according to Islamic law, the *şeriat*, which allots shares according to the ratio of 1:2 for heiress: heir. Although the first system is still more widely used among the tribal people living in villages and using tribal pastures in common, the civil-legal and *şeriat* systems of inheritance are becoming especially relevant in cases where pastures and fields are commercialised.

#### F. Kin in Towns and Villages

Besides the relevance of kin-relations within each unit of settlement, perpetuated by residential proximity, the maintenance of close relations between kin in towns and villages is also important. This works as what might be called a "kin-patronage" system where townspeople provide guidance, access to governmental authorities, credit and a room in town in return for agricultural and animal products, rugs, kilims, etc., the exchange being made entirely within the elaborate gift-exchange mode. In a way kinship as an "ideology in reserve" never loses its total significance as relations become more complex and multi-dimensional between village, town and city.

### III. Tribal System

#### A. Tribes

Tribes are sociologically defined as social entities encompassing a group of people who claim common descent from a postulated, sometimes mythical, ancestor, associated with a region and with some sort of communal history. As such they form the most important component of the social organisation in Eastern Turkey especially if compared to the rest of the country.

This being said, it must be admitted that due to the changes in inter-tribal organisation, and mainly to the dissolution of tribal confederacies in the last century, the fictive and real boundaries of tribes have become harder to assess for indigenous people as well as for outsiders. As some tribes

may have lost their initially important status in relation to others, or decreased in numbers and landholdings, they may have been reduced to tribal sections or lineages. The particular historical developments of the area also perpetuated these changes when population groups underwent forced or voluntary migrations. The picture at the moment is that social groups referred to as "tribes" (*aşıra/aşiret*) are assessed no longer as politically autonomous or combative entities, but rather on the number of households each might have, from the existence of a tribal chief, or from economic wealth.

### B. Location

As mentioned above, the tribal groups are closely associated with a certain location. It is quite common to find names of villages and towns resembling those of the tribal groups inhabiting the area. This makes it harder to ascertain the type of social grouping one is referring to: whether a tribe, tribal section, village or sub-district is implied by the name. This issue is especially problematic in written historical references.

### C. Tribal Membership

The social significance of tribal membership today is largely reflected in the political and economic relations within the area. Tribal membership could be a political asset for mobilising an electorate<sup>6</sup> as well as a basis for a dependent and exploitative type of economic relationship within such a system, where unpaid labour for tribal chiefs and noble families still exists.<sup>7</sup>

### D. Unity within a Tribe

The extent of unity within a tribe, in terms of the intensity of social, economic, and political cooperation seems mostly to be related to the existence of a tribal chief. Naturally, the type of leadership provided by a tribal chief and the existing social and economic relations within and outside the tribe are also crucial factors. However, from the history of the area we know that tribal chiefs could take on roles as nationalist leaders as well as feudal landlords. Today, the most typical roles they assume are those of

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<sup>6</sup> In the history of the Turkish Republic there are many examples of the votes of a tribal group being predetermined by the tribal chief's political allegiance at the time. This being so, political parties have been keener to convince the tribal leaders than the rest of the tribe.

<sup>7</sup> See ERDOST (1968).

political patrons and mediators in relations between government and tribe. In many cases, those tribes without their own chiefs would still have to seek patronage from other tribal chiefs to attain services and goods from the government.

Within the dominant patronage network tribal ties may replace direct kinship ties if there are no powerful individuals among closer kin. Thus, in parallel with the "ideal" of kin solidarity, the "ideal" of tribal solidarity could be manipulated in order to rally political and economic support within the tribe, or to put pressure on tribal leaders to attain political and economic favours such as posts in the administration, roads to the tribal village, or agricultural credits from banks.

### E. Tribalism

There is another dimension in the significance of tribal groups and relations as they "function" as channels for attaining political, economic and social advantages: that is the highly charged, and politically overloaded, conceptualisation of "tribalism" within the state ideology:

1. "Tribalism" in terms of the state ideology refers to relations between individuals and groups of a favouritist kind, where corruption as well as exploitative relations between tribal members exist.

2. The above conceptualisation of tribalism, especially throughout Republican history, could be found explicitly formulated in various administrative guide books for public officials working in Eastern Turkey<sup>8</sup> or implicitly reflected in governmental, administrative and military policies carried out in the region.

3. The position of "tribalism" within the framework of state ideology seems to have affected and in return been influenced by local political processes in such a way that it is sometimes used in other frameworks such as ethnicity, modernisation, and nationhood.<sup>9</sup>

To take this point further, I would suggest that tribalism as it exists today, will not disappear as has generally been suggested in related arguments, but will adapt to developing political structures together with industrial development and modernisation, and might even become more relevant.

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<sup>8</sup> See for example, "Doğu ve Güney Doğu Anadolu'nun Genel Durumu" (Mesleki Rehber), cilt I, Ankara 1972: 479-89, 499, 503-10.

<sup>9</sup> "Tribalism" in the sense I use here would be an alternative explanation for ethnic consciousness, resistance to modernisation or to nationhood within the state ideology.

#### IV. *Ethnicity*

##### A. Language

Ethnic group identity as manifested through a separate language is an important phenomenon for the sociology of Eastern Turkey. Kurdish, the mother tongue for many, is usually accepted as a parameter in identifying the Kurdish ethnic group within Turkey.

1. The primary issue concerning the Kurdish language in Turkey is that there is a *de facto* ban on the language especially for publications and broadcasting. The use of the spoken language is discouraged to varying degrees in different sectors of society. For example, judicial courts use translators for people who do not speak any other language than Kurdish, yet at the same time administrative authorities pass decrees banning the use of any other language than Turkish among employees.

2. The problem in equating Kurdish identity with Kurdish language arises from the existence of some groups who identify themselves or are identified by others as Kurds despite the fact that they do not know Kurdish. This is more common among educated people as the only language of education is Turkish. Thus the second generation of educated "Kurds" might speak Turkish only, yet identify themselves as Kurdish.

3. Other than "Kurds" not speaking Kurdish, there are groups of people who have come to learn and speak Kurdish by frequent contact with Kurdish speakers and thus are less sure of a single ethnic identity as non-Kurd, Turk or Arab. The migrant population from Siirt in the province of Hakkari provides an interesting example of such a situation: they are referred to as "Siirtli" (from Siirt), yet if one insists on a further clarification of ethnic origin the replies are not clear cut as to whether it is Kurdish or Arabic.

##### B. Types of Communal Contact

The examples I have drawn so far are from the province of Hakkari where a very high percentage of the population is Kurdish speaking. There are no Turkish-speaking villages or villages of Turkish ethnic origin, nor any "pockets" of other language groups, in Hakkari; thus the only inter-ethnic contacts between Turks and Kurds are as those of civil, governmental and military employees (Turks and Kurds) with peasants, traders, local administrators and civil servants (Kurds). The relations of the non-indigenous public officials and military officers with their indigenous counterparts seem limited if not totally absent in terms of social contact. Local public employees have at least two spheres of social life where

they relate to *a.* other local people, kin and neighbours, or *b.* colleagues and their families. For the Kurdish speakers among this group, it may be easier to relate locally than it would be for Turks within this group who face the language barrier. The limiting factors are not all inherent in the language or ethnic differences however; the rather short term of employment in the area, the difficulties of settling in, the prospect of having to move once again, real or imagined private reasons for having been appointed there,<sup>10</sup> and prior contact with the Kurdish speaking groups all help to shape intercommunal contacts between the indigenous and non-indigenous groups.

Apart from the beliefs and attitudes of public and military officers, the local peasants, shop keepers and traders have their own set of ideas about the former group as well. For them it is quite extraordinary and even unthinkable to have social contact of an intimate kind with the outsiders although they may feel more at ease with those who happen to be Kurdish-speaking.

2. These types of rural-urban, uneducated-educated, unprofessional-professional dichotomies become magnified and even more complex in heterogeneous towns and cities and are common throughout Turkey. What is important in the case of Eastern Turkey is the extent these dichotomies overlap with a Kurdish-Turkish one, *i. e.* educated/administrator/Turk as a contrast to uneducated/peasant/Kurd. It is difficult to keep a rigid distinction here as there are many educated professional Kurds who deny their ethnic origin and thus dissociate themselves from any low status which may be ascribed to Kurds. At the same time, there are Turkish administrators who recognise cultural and ethnic differences between Turks and Kurds. Finally, not all the educated Kurds are "assimilated" or "Turkified".

Education, especially at higher levels, seems to have effects of four kinds for both Kurds and Turks:

- Kurds may become ethnically self-aware and see their own culture and identity as distinctly separate from that of Turks (or Arabs or Iranians for that matter).
- They may underemphasise the distinctiveness of their ethnic origin, and consciously or unconsciously identify themselves as Turks, defined nationally rather than ethnically.

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<sup>10</sup> Among the public officials and military officers, it is quite common to find resentment caused by appointments to underdeveloped provinces. However, individual interpretations may vary: for some it is due to political manoeuvres, whereas for idealists it is serving the motherland, and others take it as a good chance to gain professional experience and save money.

- Educated Turks will mostly be unaware of an ethnic difference if they have no prior personal experience or political views regarding ethnicity.
- Some educated Turks will recognise ethnic differences and adopt a position on the issue which corresponds to their political views, *i. e.* favouring separatist, assimilationist, reformist or other types of solutions or social remedies.<sup>11</sup>

Which one of these developments may take place depends on the interaction of many social and historical conditions which cannot be adequately dealt with here, given the scope of the work.

3. Finally, the only type of inter-communal contact for most of the male peasant population is through military service where they meet Turks, Laz and Arabs from different parts of Turkey, and most learn Turkish there if they have not had the chance of a primary education beforehand. What is interesting about this experience is the curious mixture of exposure to nationalist propaganda, fair or unfair treatment, and discipline they live through, the acquisition of a Turkish vocabulary specialised in military equipment, and the impressions of Turkish urban and rural family life seen, as it were, from the barracks. The peasants, who have left their villages for the first time after so long, go through a very special experience of seeing towns and cities as well as military discipline, yet they hardly participate in the life-styles of the villages and towns in western Turkey. Military service is frequently remembered by many and forms a basis for an ethnic consciousness for some men, where various impressions of commanders and fellow soldiers are extended to include all Turks, Laz or Arabs.

The effects of radio and TV programmes are usually an increase in identification with pop-music culture and a better knowledge of political

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<sup>11</sup> The discussion in Turkey on Kurdish affairs and problems has a peculiar development from open and outright Kurdish demands for national recognition during the last decades of the Ottoman state and the early Turkish Republic, where Kurdishness referred to regional characteristics, a particular type of underdevelopment, irredentism, or a source of threat to Turkey's national unity, up to the present day, when discussions have gone underground in Turkey but flourish abroad among the opposition groups. In a way, the "Kurdish problem" has become a part of all prominent political views. Right-wing and conservative politics are propagated through proliferating works on the Turkishness of Kurds, whereas the left-wing political stands vary as to the nature and strategies of the separatist/non-separatist Kurdish movements inside and outside Turkey. The étatist and militaristic school of thought seems to include views favouring assimilationist policies which in effect accept the existence of a separate Kurdish identity, as well as the total denial of any ethnic or linguistic differences between Turks and Kurds, thus assimilation through claiming non-existence. Liberal views tend to focus on the social and economic underdevelopment in the area and suggest some socio-economic reforms without any special reference to the ethnicity and language questions.

developments. In this respect, Hakkari cannot be taken as a typical province in terms of TV audience figures because there was no electricity nor any facilities for TV reception on the national network until very recently. All households have radios, however, and the main news broadcasts are fairly regularly followed. The language of the radio and TV, as is often the case, seems to create problems because its vocabulary and neologisms are difficult for the poorly educated, quite apart from the difficulties that Turkish itself presents for Kurdish speakers. Despite all this, the degree of knowledge of regional and world affairs seems remarkable. Finally, as the level of education rises, and the preconditions for ordinary intercommunal contacts in work and social life increase, the perceptions of personal identity and the identity of others become more complex and multi-dimensional.

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*CONCLUSION*

The fact that it has been possible to assemble this material at all shows that the ethnic groups in Turkey have a lively sense of their own existence, and recognise the co-existence of others, within the framework of their nationality. The culture of the country is enriched by their presence. Although the vast majority of people living there simply feel themselves to be Turks, and Sunnis, we should beware of the claim, perhaps dear to a tidy administrative mind, that no one else should exist. That can only be maintained if, like Palmström, we are prepared to sacrifice reality

„Weil“, so schließt er messerscharf,  
„Nicht sein *kann*, was nicht sein *darf*“.

Christian Morgenstern  
*Die unmögliche Tatsache*

P. A. A.



# F. Bibliography

## 1. Abbreviations

A. E.	Acta Ethnographica
A. F. D. I.	Annales de la Faculté de Droit d'Istanbul
A. G.	Annales de Géographie
A-K. J.	Alt-katholisches Jahrbuch
A. J.	Afghanistan Journal
A. O. H.	Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AÜDTCF	Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi
AWRPB	Association for the Study of World Refugee Problems Bulletin
B. A.	Baessler Archiv
B. K.	Bedi Kartlisa
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
C. A. R.	Central Asian Review
CD	Coğrafya Dünyası
CENSUS	Genel Nüfus Sayımı, Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü
DsA	Arbetsmarknads-Departementet: Utvandringen ...
DTCFD	Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi
E. E.	Europa Ethnica
E. I. 1	Enzyklopädie des Islams/Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st edn.
E. I. 2	Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edn.
FD	Folklor'a Doğru
G. J.	Geographical Journal
I. A.	İslam Ansiklopedisi
IFD	İktisat Fakültesi Dergisi
IFM	İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası
ITED	İslam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi
IÜFCED	İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Coğrafya Enstitüsü Dergisi
J. A.	Journal Asiatique
JAF	Journal of American Folklore
JAI	Journal of the Anthropological Institute
JGLS	Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
KD	Kafkasya Dergisi
KE	Köy Envanteri, İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı
KEE	Köy Envanter Etüdüleri
KEEN	Köy Envanter Etüdüleri: L. Nestmann's data from files
KK	Kuzey Kafkasya
MEJ	Middle East Journal
mez. tez.	Mezuniyet tezi or essay: see bibliography, unpublished sources
MT	Materialia Turcica
Nat. Geogr.	National Geographic Magazine
n. d.	No date
NF	Neue Folge (new series)
n. s. NS	New series, neue Serie
o. J.	Ohne Jahr

PM	Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen
RCAG	Royal Central Asian Journal
R. E. I.	Revue des Etudes Islamiques
RGIUI	Review of the Geographical Institute of the University of Istanbul
RIS	Revue Internationale de Sociologie
SCR	Studies in Comparative Religion
SD	Sosyoloji Dergisi
SF	Sivas Folkloru
s.l.	Sine loco (no place of publication given)
TAM	Türk Antropoloji Mecmuası
TCD	Türk Coğrafya Dergisi
TDA	Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları
TDK	Türk Dil Kurumu
TED	Türk Etnografya Dergisi
TFA	Türk Folklor Araştırmaları Dergisi
TK	Türk Kültürü
TKAE	Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü
ts	Typescript
T. T. A. E. D.	Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi
TTK	Türk Tarih Kurumu
TTKB	Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten
TY	Türk Yurdu
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZfE	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie

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### 3. Unpublished Studies from Turkish Universities

#### Abbreviations:

AÜDTCF	=	Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi
- EB	=	- Etnoloji Bölümü
- EEB	=	- Etnoloji ve Etnografya Bölümü
- SAB	=	- Sosyal Antropoloji Bölümü
AtÜ	=	Atatürk Üniversitesi (Erzurum)
İÜEF	=	İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi
- EB	=	- Etnoloji Bölümü
- SAEB	=	- Sosyal Antropoloji ve Etnoloji Bölümü
- SB	=	- Sosyoloji Bölümü
- TB	=	- Tarih Bölümü

dok.tez.	=	doktora tezi
dos.	=	dosya
es.	=	essay
k.	=	kürs
lis.tez.	=	lisans tezi
mez.tez.	=	mezuniyet tezi

*Note:*

Considerable confusion is noticeable both over the naming of the university departments in which these studies were written, and over the classification of the studies themselves. In the first case it appears that the name of a department may have been changed; in the second it is not always clear from the title whether a study is simply an essay for a seminar, or a thesis submitted for a final examination.

For this reason all references to these studies in the bibliographies to the catalogue section are given as *mez. tez.* i.e. *mezuniyet tezi* as a cross reference to this list.

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## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

Since this book went to press, two important sources have come to the author's attention:

Doğu ve Güney Doğu-Anadolu'nun Genel Durumu (Meslekî Rehber) Birinci Kitap, Ankara. 1972. Hereafter cited as MESLEKÎ REHBER.

FRANZ, E., Türkstammige Afghanistanflüchtlinge in der Türkei. In: Neue Beiträge zur Afghanistanforschung, ed. E. Grötzbach: 66-69. Liestal. 1988. Hereafter cited as FRANZ 1988.

Information given in these requires the following modifications to the text.

Page 63: **5. Türkmén: Sunni. Distribution:** add:

Of the largely Ersarı refugees from Afghanistan (1982 and later) 75 families are reported in Tokat city, and 120 in a rural settlement nearby (FRANZ 1988: 67).

Page 79: **10. Kırgız. Distribution:** add to b. recent arrivals:

Another group of about 1,300 individuals is reported in Malatya (FRANZ 1988: 67).

Page 81: **11. Kazaks. Distribution:** add:

60 families of immigrants from Afghanistan (1982 and later) are reported in Kayseri city (FRANZ 1988: 67).

Page 83: **12. Özbeks. Distribution:** add:

172 families of immigrants from Afghanistan (1982 and later) are reported in Hatay province, 5 in the industrial area of Gaziantep city, and 180 individuals in rural Urfa (FRANZ 1988: 67).

Page 85: **13. Özbek Tatars. Historical note:** add:

A different group of *Buğharalı* refugees from Afghanistan (1982 and later), speaking Persian, is reported as numbering 55 families in the industrial area of Gaziantep city (FRANZ 1988: 67).

Page 121: **25. Zazas: Sunni.**

**Designation:** *Kurd.* add: Dûmbûli, Dûmûlü, Dimili.

**Self-designation:** add: c. Kırd.

**Numbers:** add: MESLEKÎ REHBER 1972 300,000 persons total.

**Distribution:** 1: add after Lice: Kulp, and Silvan, ... 350 villages).

2: add: and westward to Adıyaman.

6: substitute: A group in Diyarbakir, from Ergani to Hani (K.E.E.N.).

Page 122: **Religion:** add: and Hanefi.

Page 123: **26. Zazas: Alevi.**

**Self-designation:** add: d. Çarek (Tunceli, Erzincan, Sivas).

**Numbers:** add: MESLEKÎ REHBER 1972 estimates 100,000 Zaza-speakers in Tunceli, and 40,000 in Erzincan.

Page 124: **Distribution:** 5. Substitute: A group in Hınıs (Erzurum).

Page 218-9: Oramar should read Oramari.

Page 463: line 17 - Irak for Iraq.

Page 508: end, - traditionellen for traditionalen.



## G. Maps



