

**ARMENIAN RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE IN THE LATE 19<sup>th</sup>  
EARLY 20<sup>th</sup> CENTURY KAYSERI: SPATIAL AND CULTURAL  
CLEANSING**

By

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20<sup>th</sup> CENTURY KAYSERI: SPATIAL AND CULTURAL CLEANSING**

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## ABSTRACT

### **ARMENIAN RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE IN THE LATE 19<sup>th</sup> EARLY 20<sup>th</sup> CENTURY KAYSERI: SPATIAL AND CULTURAL CLEANSING**

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This thesis is a study of the Ottoman Armenian religious architectural heritage in Kayseri and surrounding villages, with a particular focus on the destruction process that interested the Armenian churches and monasteries in the region. This study attempts to reconstruct the Armenian presence in the city center and the villages from mid-nineteenth century until 1915, through demographic make-up and main changes in the Armenian population of Kayseri. An investigation of the Armenian churches and monasteries built/rebuilt after the 1835 earthquake and the current conditions have been conducted through the creation of a catalogue. The thesis argues that the Armenian religious architecture of Kayseri and surroundings was targeted of spatial and cultural cleansing, as the removal or neglect process led to the vanishing/transformation of the majority of the analyzed architectural examples, including space-change and the end of the local Armenian culture.

## ÖZET

### **GEÇ 19. VE ERKEN 20. YÜZYIL KAYSERİ'SİNDE ERMENİ DİNİ MİMARİSİ: MEKANSAL VE KÜLTÜREL ARINDIRMA**

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Anahtar Sözcükler: Ermeni dini mimarisi, Kayseri, İmha.

Bu tez, Ermeni kilise ve manastırlarını ilgilendiren imha süreci özelinde, Kayseri ve civar köylerdeki Osmanlı Ermeni dini mimari mirasına odaklanmaktadır. Çalışmada, Kayseri Ermeni toplumunun nüfusuna ilişkin değişiklikler ve tecrübe ettiği diğer ana değişimler aracılığıyla, şehir merkezi ve köylerde, 19.yüzyıl ortasından 1915'e kadar olan süreçteki Ermeni varlığının yeniden inşası hedeflenmiştir. 1835 depremi sonrasında –yeniden- inşa edilen Ermeni kiliseleri; manastırları ve bu yapıların mevcut durumları, hazırlanan katalog dahilinde değerlendirilmiştir. Tezde, mekansal değişim ve yerel Ermeni kültürünün son bulması anlamını da taşıyan yerinden etme ya da görmezden gelme sürecinin, ele alınan birçok mimari örneğin yok olma/dönüştürülmesine sebebiyet vermesiyle, Kayseri ve civarı Ermeni dini mimarisinin söz konusu mekansal ve kültürel imha sürecine hedef olduğu ileri sürülmüştür.

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## INTRODUCTION

This thesis aims to study the Armenian heritage in the Ottoman Empire through its material culture, specifically architecture, and its systematic destruction and neglect as a part of an elimination plan. The Ottoman Armenians experienced a gradual physical annihilation that culminated in 1915 with the disappearance of almost the entire Armenian population of the Empire. This physical eradication was combined with and followed by the destruction of the cultural heritage, intended to completely erase the Armenian presence both physically and culturally. Architecture represents one of the aspects of this heritage that was subjected to a process of destruction and neutralization that caused the disappearance of an enormous part of the Ottoman Armenian architecture leading to the current status with only few surviving examples, ruins, reattributed buildings and empty spaces in Anatolia and few others better kept in Istanbul.

Geographically, the thesis focuses on the Central Anatolian city of Kayseri and several surrounding towns and villages, which were part of the two Ottoman *kazas* of Kayseri and Develi. The choice of Kayseri is due to the magnitude of Armenian material presence and especially for the wealth of Armenian architectural examples and the presence of numerous villages with a mixed population and several of them with almost exclusively Armenian population. For this reason, Kayseri represents a relevant study case to understand the magnitude of the destruction process that affected the Ottoman Armenian architecture.

This thesis will investigate only Ottoman Armenian religious architecture excluding the residential architecture and thus entire villages, for reasons of limited time and difficulty in locating the sources. The relative availability of sources renders the identification of destroyed churches and monasteries more practicable, as the majority have been listed with sufficiently specific information about their location and their history. Through these records I will try to create a map and a catalogue of the churches and monasteries of Kayseri and twenty two Armenian villages, with information about their date of reconstruction, current use and condition.

In order to understand the process of destruction I will apply the eight strategies of destruction summarized by Dickran Kouymjian to the study case of the churches in Kayseri and in the surrounding villages.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore this study investigates the relation between the Armenian architecture and concepts as “cultural cleansing” and “spatial nationalism”, upon the work of other scholars who have worked on subjects such as nationalism, cultural anthropology and geography.

The destruction and the neglect of the architecture represent for the Armenians a great threat to the only physical evidence of their presence in Anatolia. The Armenian response to denial and destruction is the claim to their lost homeland and the intent to reconstruct it, at least virtually, by collecting family stories and photographs; through the realization of books collecting all the material concerning the history of their hometowns; and visiting the lost homeland searching for traces of their family histories. The family photographic archives include largely photographs of cities, villages, towns, family portraits and group photographs taken annually at school. This visual documentation serves to reconstruct the material culture and memoirs that they were able to recollect, but the aim of this research is to analyze what is left in loco and its role in identity and collective memory. In this context, Armenian architectural heritage acquires a double function: it represents the material culture of those targeted for elimination and so subjected to destruction and neglect, but at the same time it ensures that such people can never be erased entirely and thus becomes an extremely valuable source for claim. For Armenians who experienced the trauma of genocide and who were dislocated from their hometowns, transmission of family narratives and the practice of keeping a sort of family archive seem to constitute a frequently used form of documentation, enabling them to trace their origins and create a space of remembrance.

This study explores memoirs, photographs, maps, and *sicils* (court records) of Kayseri and Develi. As regards memoirs, I encountered many examples for Kayseri and particularly for the villages. A particular literary genre developed in the 1920s in the Armenian diaspora that Vahe Tachjian defines as “Houshamadyan” genre, which in

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<sup>1</sup> Dickran Kouymjian is a Professor in Armenian Studies at Fresno State University. He testified in 1984 about the destruction of Armenian architecture in Turkey before the Permanent People’s Tribunal in Paris, a civil society organization founded in 1979.

Armenian signifies “memoirs”.<sup>2</sup> These memoirs aimed to revitalize the history of their villages of origin and served as a means to reconstruct the past of their lost communities. These works covered several aspects of the Armenian villages, including history, architecture, cuisine and family stories. For the case of Kayseri, there is a memoir written by genocide survivors for almost every village.

## Literature Review

There are several studies focused on the architecture of Kayseri mostly conducted by architects, who focus on the technical features and survey plans. The studies consulted in this study can be divided in four main groups: a) studies on the residential architecture of Kayseri and villages; b) studies particularly focusing on Armenian and Greek religious architecture; c) studies on the Armenians of Kayseri; d) cultural cleansing and spatial cleansing.

### a. Residential architecture of Kayseri

Kayseri residential architectural has attracted the attention of generations of art and architectural historians most of whom did not acknowledge the Armenian presence in Kayseri and its villages.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> www.houshamadyan.org, Vahe Tachjian is an historian and he is currently the project director and chief editor of *Houshamadyan*, a project aimed to reconstruct the Armenian presence in the Ottoman Empire through different aspects, culture, history, and geography.

<sup>3</sup> I hereby refer to a number of studies simply to display the scope and extent of interest in the residential architecture of Kayseri: Necibe Çakıroğlu, *Kayseri Evleri*, (Istanbul, İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1952); Talat Bozkır, *Kayseri’de Profan Sivil Mimari*, (Ankara, 1970); Murat Çerkez, *Kayseri Köşkləri*, Unpublished MA thesis (Ankara: Ankara University, 1981); Aydan Çoruh, *Kayseri Camcıoğlu ve Kuyumcuoğlu Evleri*, Unpublished MA thesis (Ankara: Hacettepe University Edebiyat, 1986); Lale Özkaramete, *An Evaluation And Typological Study Of “Kayseri Bağ Evleri”*, Unpublished MA thesis (Ankara: METU University, 1983). Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi PlanTipleri*, (Istanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1965); Nesrin Erol, *Kayseri Ahmet ve Mustafa Karaca Evleri*, Seminar paper (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 1986); G. Gündoğdu, *Kayseri Sit Alanı İçinde Yer Alan Sivil Mimari Örnekleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma*, Unpublished MA thesis (Istanbul: Mimar Sinan University, 1986);

Vacit İmamođlu and Gonca Bykmihı are the two architectural historians who explored the traditional houses built in and around Kayseri, focusing on the architectural features and techniques. Moreover, their works are also interesting because of the existing controversy between the two, especially regarding the Armenian dwellings included in Bykmihı's book.

Vacit İmamođlu's *Geleneksel Kayseri Evleri* (1992) (Traditional Dwellings in Kayseri), after a brief introduction to the history of Kayseri, explores the architectural characteristics of the houses in the city center and describes both interior and exterior structure and features. Detailed descriptions of spatial characteristics are provided through a catalogue of the surviving examples of dwellings, with references to the *mahalle* (neighborhood) including information on the location, the construction date and the current state of the building.<sup>4</sup> İmamođlu's second book, *Kayseri Bađ Evleri* (2001) (The Vineyard houses of Kayseri), explores the seasonal houses in the villages and vineyards surrounding the city center.<sup>5</sup> His successive book *Gesi Evleri* (2010) (The Houses of Gesi ) presents a study of the architecture of Gesi valley focusing on the

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Ahmet Grlek, *Develi Evleri*, İzmır, 2000; Vacit İmamođlu, "Kayseri Evlerinde Duvar ve Tavan Resimleri", *VI. Ortaađ ve Trk Dnemi Kazı Sonuları ve Sanat Tarihi Sempozyumu(8-10 April 2002) Bildiriler*, (Kayseri, 2002), pp. 417-428; Vacit İmamođlu, "Kayseri'de Avlulu Evden Merkezi Hollu Eve Geiř", *Zafer Bayburtluođlu'na Armađan, Sanat Yazıları*, (Kayseri, 2001), pp. 359-352; Mustafa İncesakal, "Kayseri Evleri", *Trk Halk Mimarisi Sempozyum Bildirileri (5-7 March Konya 1990)*, (Ankara, 1991), pp.97-110; Mustafa İncesakal, "Geleneksel Kayseri Bađ Evlerinde "Sođukluklar", *VI.Ortaađ ve Trk Dnemi Kazı Sonuları ve Sanat Tarihi Sempozyumu (8-10 Nisan 2002) Bildiriler*, (Kayseri, 2002), pp. 429-442; Mustafa İncesakal, "Kayseri Bađ Evleri ve Bađ Kltr", *Erciyes ve Yresi I. Kltr Tarih ve Etnografya Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, (Kayseri: Erciyes University Yayınları, 1990); Mustafa İncesakal, *Orta Anadolu Bađ Evlerinin Tasarım ve Yapım İlkeleri*, Unpublished PhD dissertation (Konya: Seluk University, 1996); Mehmet Karta, "Eski Kayseri Evinde Ahřap Sslemeler", *İlgi Dergisi*, Vol.23/No.56, (1989), pp.16-19; Mehmet Kartal, "Eski Kayseri Evinde Tařın Kullanımı", *İlgi Dergisi*, Vol.24/No.61, (1990), pp. 8-11; Mehmet Kartal, "Eski Kayseri'de Kapı Tokmakları", *İlgi Dergisi* Vol.21/No.51, (1987), pp. 25-27; Mehmet Kartal, "Kayseri Atatrk Evi, (Rařit Ađa Konađı)", *Erciyes Dergisi* No.119, (Kayseri: 1987), pp.5-8; Renda, Gnsel, "Byk Brngz'de Eski Bir Ev", *Trkiyemiz* No.20, (İstanbul,1976), pp.14-19; Tijen řahin, *Kayseri Daniel Arsıkın Evi* , Seminar Paper (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 1986); Hale Tezgren, *Kayseri Doktor ve Bezirciler Evleri*, Seminar Paper (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 1986); Meziyet Tiritođlu, *XIX. Yzyıl Kayseri Sivil Mimari rnekleri*, Unpublished MA thesis (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 1981); Erdođan, Cemil, *Kayseri Evlerinin Ahřap Sslemeleri*, ř6Unpublished MA thesis, (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 1976); Suraiya Faroqhi and Ruhi zcan, "Kayseri'nin 13 numaralı Siciline Gre Evler", *III.Kayseri ve Yresi Tarih Sempozyumu Bildirileri, 06-07 Nisan 2000*, (Kayseri: 2000), pp.349-362.

<sup>4</sup> Vacit İmamođlu, *Geleneksel Kayseri Evleri*, (Ankara: LAGA Basım-Yayın, 1992).

<sup>5</sup> Vacit İmamođlu, *Kayseri Bađ Evleri*, (Trkiye İř Bankası Kltr Yayınları, 2001).

villages of Gesi, Efkere, Darsiyak, Nize, Vekse, Isbıdın, Mancusun, Ağırnas, and Büyükbürüngüz. In this work, the author gives an introduction to the geography, history, social and economic structure of Kayseri, concentrating primarily on the Gesi valley and its villages. For each village the author supplements population data, photographs, maps, and list of the *mahalles*.<sup>6</sup> İmamoğlu's studies on Kayseri and Gesi are limited to the Muslim population of the region and the architecture thereof to the expense of ignoring the Armenian presence in Kayseri and its villages altogether.

In contrast, Gonca Büyükmihçi's *Kayseri'de Yaşam and Konut Kültürü* (2005) (Cultures of Everyday Life and Housing) focuses on both Muslim and Armenian dwellings.<sup>7</sup> In the third and last chapter of her work, the author outlines and analyzes the differences between the two. The visual material utilized in this book is particularly relevant because it refers to numerous villages surrounding the city of Kayseri. Specific references to houses, once belonging to Armenian families and then appropriated by the Muslims (and claimed by İmamoğlu according to their later possessors), provide an important source for studying the Armenian presence in Kayseri, because it is possible to discern which parts of a particular village were inhabited by Armenians. Büyükmihçi's study represents an attempt to include Armenian architecture into the Ottoman heritage as indicator of cultural richness.

The debate between the two architects/architectural historians, which unfolded immediately after the publication of Büyükmihçi's book, has been quite revealing about the ideological positions taken towards the Armenian architectural presence in Turkey today. Furthermore, this debate proves to be extremely interesting for a study on Armenian heritage in Turkey as it represents a case in which a publication on housing and everyday life in Kayseri, including Armenians and Armenian houses, originates negative critiques and, more alarmingly, accusation of being a pro-Armenians or a supporter of the Armenian Genocide question.

Büyükmihçi's book was subjected to a strong critique by Vacit İmamoğlu in a lengthy book review, published in a journal which does not usually include such

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<sup>6</sup> Vacit İmamoğlu, *Gesi Evleri*, (Kayseri: Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2010).

<sup>7</sup> Gonca Büyükmihçi. *Kayseri'de yaşam ve konut kültürü*, Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2005).



reviews.<sup>8</sup> Throughout his review, Imamoğlu criticizes several passages, where Büyükmihçi attempts to compare Armenian and Muslim houses, considering most of her data and observation wrong and inaccurate. Firstly, according to Imamoğlu, Büyükmihçi did not give a clear explanation of the criteria she followed for choosing the houses to include in her study. Secondly, he criticizes the small number of houses she took into account and the wrong attribution to some houses, considered Armenian when they were Muslim and vice versa. Thirdly, he believes that she did not provide enough evidence to discern Armenian houses from Muslim ones. Finally he affirms that there is a problem in chronology, because Büyükmihçi made a comparison between Armenian houses of the nineteenth century with earlier examples of Muslim houses from the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

Imamoğlu regards negatively her choice to include only Armenian houses, omitting to mention for instance Greek houses, and suggests adding a subtitle to her book as “Armenians of Kayseri in 19<sup>th</sup> century”. For Imamoğlu, the fact that many examples of the houses in her book are considered to be built by Armenians is a reason to change the title of her book, as if a work on housing of Kayseri is not supposed to include Armenian houses and for this reason needs to be clarified with a subtitle. Moreover, Imamoğlu accuses Büyükmihçi of not being objective. Büyükmihçi’s classification of all the houses in the villages as Armenian houses, her exclusion of Greek houses and her frequent inclusion of Muslim houses among the Armenian ones lead Imamoğlu to view this as the author’s inclination to support the Armenians to the detriment of Greeks and Muslims.<sup>9</sup>

The fact that Büyükmihçi included many references from the book *Les Armeniens dans l'Empire Ottoman a la veille du genocide* by Raymond H. Kevorkian and Paul B. Paboudjian,<sup>10</sup> containing the word “genocide” in its title, represents a serious problem for Imamoğlu. He is critical of the fact that Büyükmihçi’s book was published by Erciyes University, a state university of Kayseri.<sup>11</sup> Imamoğlu is also concerned with her

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<sup>8</sup> Vacit İmamoğlu, “Kayseri’de Yaşam ve Konut Kültürü” Kitabı Üzerine”, *METU, JFA*, Vol.23, No.1 (2006), pp.83-92.

<sup>9</sup> Vacit İmamoğlu, “Kayseri’de Yaşam ve Konut Kültürü” Kitabı Üzerine”, p. 84.

<sup>10</sup> Raymond H. Kevorkian and Paul B. Paboudjian, *Les Armeniens dans l'Empire Ottoman a la veille du genocide*, (Paris: Editions d'art et d'histoire, 1992).

<sup>11</sup> Imamoğlu’s review, p. 91.

use of the term “*işgal*” (occupation), instead of the term “*fetih*” (conquest) for describing the Turks’ appearance in Anatolia, considering this term as an indicator of her inclination to observe “her country” through Western sources.

Imamoğlu’s review was followed by Büyükmihçi’s reply published in the same journal, in which she rejects most of his critiques.<sup>12</sup> As regards the omission of Greek houses in her study, she gives an explanation by saying that this was a particular choice to focus only on the comparison between Armenian and Muslim houses, excluding other minorities’ housings. (Though it is a legitimate choice, I believe it should have been explained.) Büyükmihçi then responds to the criticism that her analysis lacks of a clear explanation of the criteria followed for choosing and grouping the examples of dwellings analyzed, by explaining that her book is not based on statistical data, but a commentary of a synthesis of collected data and information representing an outcome of impressions given by life and research experiences. She believes that a positivist approach based on numbers and statistics is not a positive initiative, and Imamoğlu’s descriptive studies fall short of interpretative analysis. Moreover, Büyükmihçi rejects the accusations of not being objective and of supporting the Armenian position vis-à-vis the fate of architectural heritage in Kayseri, as well as the allegation of a western-based approach. Thus, she emphasizes the objectivity of her approach and refuses any intention either to promote Armenian propaganda or to support Genocide claims.

Büyükmihçi’s book stands out as a noteworthy attempt to include the Armenians into the culture of everyday life and housing of Kayseri. Such an attempt should not represent a threat or be interpreted as a work supporting the Armenians. For this reason Imamoğlu’s criticism appears misleading as it introduces questions such as the wrong use of the term genocide and the accusation of using Western sources, which are not related to Büyükmihçi’s choice of writing a book on the housing and the daily life culture of Kayseri. On the other hand, Büyükmihçi’s answer to the critique appears more intentioned to defend her work from the accusation to support the Armenians and the Genocide claims, than expressing the reason why the inclusion of the Armenian architecture in a book on Kayseri is important and should not be cause of such criticism.

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<sup>12</sup> Gonca Büyükmihçi, “Bilimsel Eleştiri Hakkının Yanlış Kullanıldığı Bir Örnek Üzerine”, *METU, JFA*, Vol.23/No.1 (2006), pp. 171-179.

## b. Non-Muslim religious architecture of Kayseri and surroundings

The monographs on the Muslim architectural heritage of Kayseri remain few and limited to the reigns of Danişmenli and Seljukids, as the volume *Monuments Turcs d'Anatolie: Kayseri-Niğde* by Albert Gabriel, which includes buildings as hans, hamams, bridges, fountains, tombs, mosques, and medrasas.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, several studies, focusing particularly on the Christian religious architecture can be mentioned.

Two important studies are the MA thesis by Güner Sağır entitled *Kayseri İl Merkezinde Surp Krikor Lusavoriç ve Surp Asdvadzadzin Ermeni Kiliseleri* (2000) (The Armean churches of Surp Krikor Lusavorich and Surp Asdvadzadzin in Kayseri)<sup>14</sup> and the doctoral dissertation by Şeyda Güngör Açıkgöz entitled *Kayseri ve Çevresindeki 19. Yüzyıl Kiliseleri ve Korunmaları için öneriler* (2007) (Nineteenth century churches in Kayseri and surroundings and suggestions for their preservation).<sup>15</sup> The former is a suggestive survey of the Armenian churches in Kayseri and in ten villages.<sup>16</sup> The study presents the architectonic features and brief indications of the current status of conservation of the churches. The latter presents a survey of both Greek and Armenian churches in and around Kayseri, examines their architectural characteristics, analyzes the social and physical structure of the settlements they were part of and describes their present conditions including conservation problems and methods. The visual material collected in Açıkgöz's study is of extreme importance because it gives relevant information about the location of the churches in the villages and their present condition. Along with survey plans, this study includes also maps of the region and of

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<sup>13</sup> Albert Gabriel, *Monuments Turcs D'Anatolie: Kayseri-Nigde*, (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1931).

<sup>14</sup> Güner Sağır, *İl Merkezinde Surp Krikor Lusavoriç ve Surp Asdvadzadzin Ermeni Kiliseleri*, Unpublished MA thesis, (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 2000).

<sup>15</sup> Şeyda Güngör Açıkgöz, *Kayseri ve Çevresindeki 19.Yüzyıl Kiliseleri ve Korunmaları İçin Öneriler*, Unpublished PhD dissertation (Istanbul: İ.T.Ü University, 2007). See also: Şeyda Güngör Açıkgöz and Zeynep Ahunbay "19. Yüzyıl Kayseri kiliseleri için koruma önerileri", *İtü dergisi/a mimarlık, planlama, tasarım* Vol.7/No.2, (September 2008), pp. 26-37.

<sup>16</sup> See also: Güner Sağır, "Kayseri'de Osmanlı Döneminde İnşa Edilmiş Bir Grup Ermeni Kilisesi I", *Türk Arkeoloji ve Etnografya Dergisi*, No.4, (Ankara, 2004), pp. 61-63; Güner Sağır, "Kayseri'de Osmanlı Dönemi'nde İnşa Edilmiş Bir Grup Ermeni Kilisesi, available şonline: [http://turkcleronline.net/diger/ermeniler/ermenikiliseleri/kayseride\\_ermenikiliseleri\\_anasayfa.htm](http://turkcleronline.net/diger/ermeniler/ermenikiliseleri/kayseride_ermenikiliseleri_anasayfa.htm)

the towns and villages where the examined churches are located along with survey plans.

A further certainly important source is the three-volume inventory, published by the municipality of Kayseri in 2008, namely *Kayseri Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıkları Envanteri*. These volumes consist of an attempted inventory of the cultural heritage of Kayseri including mosques, schools, madrasas, fountains, hamams, churches, and cemeteries. The catalogue presents also a list of Armenian churches located in the villages around Kayseri defining the date of construction, location, plan and architectural features, the current condition and images.<sup>17</sup>

Methiye Gül Çöltele's doctoral dissertation *19.Yüzyıl Anadolu Şehirsel Ağı ve Hinterland İlişkileri, Kayseri Örneği* focuses on the urban network and relations with the hinterland for the case of nineteenth century Kayseri. Its importance for a thesis on the architecture of Kayseri is due to the fact that it contains the first Ottoman map of the *sancak* of Kayseri, dated 1910, on which it is possible to locate the majority of the Armenian villages and towns, which are examined in my study.<sup>18</sup>

Recently, mostly archeologists but also architectural historians have embarked on the survey and reconstruction of churches and monasteries found in ruins in a variety of places in Anatolia.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Yıldırım Özbek and Celil Arslan. *Kayseri Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıkları Envanteri*, Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediye, 2006; available online: <http://www.kayseri.bel.tr/web2/index.php?page=kueltuervanvanteri>

<sup>18</sup> Methiye Gül Çöltele, *19. Yüzyıl Anadolu Şehirsel Ağı ve Hinterland İlişkileri, Kayseri Örneği*, Unpublished Phd Dissertation (Istanbul Y.T.Ü University, 2011).

<sup>19</sup> Especially noteworthy are the studies of Sacit Pekak who has undertaken extended surveys as part of two projects aiming to research and record the 18th and 19th century churches in Cappadocia: “*Kappadokya Bölgesindeki 18. ve 19. yüzyıl Kiliseleri*”, (Ankara: Hacettepe University, Scientific Research Unit, 1996-1998); “*Kappadokia Bölgesi’ndeki 18.- 19. Yüzyıl Kiliseleri (Kayseri ve Çevresi)*”, (Ankara: Hacettepe University, Scientific Research Unit, 2002-2005); and supervised several MA theses and PhD dissertations on Cappadocia churches : Buket Coşkun, *11. Yüzyılda Kappadokia Bölgesindeki İsa'nın Doğumu ve İsa'nın Çarmıha Gerilme Sahneleri*, Unpublished PhD dissertation (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 2009); Nilüfer Peker, *Kapadokya Bölgesi Bizans Dönemi Kiliselerinde Son Mahkeme Sahneleri*, Unpublished PhD dissertation, ( Ankara: Hacettepe University, 2008); Nazlı A.Soykan, *Aksaray, Belisırma Köyü, Karagedik Kilise*, Unpublished MA thesis (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 2012); Fatma Nalçacı, *Niğde, Aktaş (Andaval) Köyündeki Konstantin ve Helena Kilisesi Duvar Resimleri*, Unpublished MA thesis (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 2010); Gülçin Pehlivan, *Kappadokia Kaya Kiliselerindeki Melek Tasvirleri*, Unpublished MA thesis (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 2005); Cemal Ekin, *Kayseri, Kayabağ Osmanlı Dönemi Rum Kiliseleri*, Unpublished MA thesis (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 2005); Selime Aykol, *Göreme Vadisinde Bulunan Elmalı Kilise ve Duvar Resimleri*, Unpublished MA thesis (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 2004); Buket Coşkun, *Göreme Kılıçlar Kilisesi Duvar Resimlerinin İkonografisi*, Unpublished MA thesis (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 2002); Güner Sağır, *Kayseri İl Merkezindeki Surp Krikor Lusavoriç ve Surp Asvazdadin*

### c. Literature on Armenians and Armenian heritage of Kayseri

The two-volume work by Arshak Alboyajian, *Patmutiun Hay Kesario* (History of Armenian Caesarea)<sup>20</sup> is the most complete history of Kayseri Armenians. The volumes present a detailed description of the Armenian community and complete lists of schools, churches and monasteries, based on Church records, European travel accounts of

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*Ermeni Kiliseleri*, Unpublished MA thesis (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 2000); Nilüfer Peker, *Kappadokya Bölgesindeki 13. Yüzyıl Duvar Resimleri ve Karşı Kilise*, Unpublished MA thesis (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 1997); Nilüfer Özlem Eser, *Orta Bizans Dönemine Kadar Kapadokya ve Lykaonya Bölgelerindeki Serbest Haç Planlı Kargir Yapılar*, Unpublished MA thesis (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 1997). Sacit Pekak himself has published his findings in a number articles: “Kappadokia’da Bizans Dönemine ait Haç Planlı İki Kilise”, *Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Sanat Tarihi Dergisi*, No.18, (2009), pp. 85-113; “Kasaba, Kilise, Ressam”, *Arkeoloji ve Sanat Dergisi*, No.133 (2010), pp.77-100; “Ürgüp, Yeşilöz, (Tağar) Kilisesi”, *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol.27/No.1 (2010), pp.203-218; “Kappadokia Bölgesi Osmanlı Dönemi Kiliseleri: Örnekler, Sorunlar, Öneriler”, *METU JFA*, Vol.26/No.22 (2009), pp.249-277; “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Döneminde Gayrı Müslim Vatandaşların İmar Faaliyetleri ve Mustafa Paşa (Sinason)”. *Bilig*, No.51 (2009), pp.203-236; “Kappadokia Bölgesi Osmanlı Dönemi Kiliseleri: Örnekler, Sorunlar, Öneriler”, *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol.26/No.2 (2009), pp.249-277; “Mustafapaşa (Sinason), Konstantin ve Helena Kilisesi, Kilise I, Kilise II, Kilise III, Kilise IV”, *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol.26/No.1 (2009), pp.163-186; “Nevşehir’de Osmanlı Döneminde İnşaa Edilen bir Kilise”, *Ebru Parman’a Armağan*, A.O. Alp (Ed.), 2009, pp.335-341; “Mustafapaşa (Sinason) ve Aziz Nikolaos Manastırı”, *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol.25/No.1 (2008), pp.199-217; “Kapadokya’da Osmanlı Dönemi Kiliseleri”, *Yeniden Kurulan Yaşamlar:1923 Türk-Yunan Zorunlu Nufusu Mübadelesi*, M.Pekin (Ed), (Istanbul :Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005), pp. 245-276; “Christian Art of Cappadocia from the Middle Ages to the 20.Century”, *Common Cultural Heritage, Developing Local Awareness Concerning The Architectural Heritage Left From The Exchange of Populations in Turkey and Greece*, (Nevşehir, 2005), pp. 29-34; “Kapadokya’da Osmanlı Dönemi Kiliseleri”, *Yeniden Kurulan Yaşamlar:1923 Türk-Yunan Zorunlu Nufusu Mübadelesi*, M.Pekin (Ed), (Istanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005), pp.245-276; “Aksaray Çevresi Osmanlı Dönemi Hristiyan Kiliseleri”, *T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü XVIII. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı I: 22-26 Mayıs 2000-İzmir, Bildiriler*, (2001), pp. 61-74; “Osmanlı Döneminde Kapadokya’da Yaşayan Gayrimüslim Vatandaşların İmar Faaliyetleri”, *Erciyes Üniversitesi Nevşehir Turizm İşletmeciliği ve Otelcilik Yüksek Okulu 2000’li yıllara girerken Kapadokya’nın turizm değerlerine yeniden bir bakış. Haftasonu Semineri VI*, (Nevşehir, 2000), pp.139-151; “Kappodokya’da Post-Bizans Dönemi Dini Mimarisi -I- Nevşehir ve Çevresi (2)”, *Arkeoloji ve Sanat*, No.84 (1998), pp.14-23; “Kappadokya’da Post-Bizans Dönemi Dini Mimarisi-I- Nevşehir ve Çevresi (1)”, *Arkeoloji ve Sanat*, No.83 (1998), pp.12-21; “18.-19. Yüzyıllarda Niğde ve Çevresinde Hristiyan Dini Mimarisi”, *T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Anıtlar Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü XVI Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı I: 25- 29 Mayıs 1998-Tarsus Bildiriler*, (1999), pp.25-48; For more on Cappadocia churches see also: Fügen İter, “Kayseri’de 19.Yüzyıldan İki Kilise: Darsiyak ve Evkere”, *Anadolu*, XXII, pp. 353-374; Y.Ötüken, “Kapadokya Bölgesi Çalışmaları”, *I.Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı Bildirileri (23-36 Mayıs 1983)*, (Istanbul, 1984); Erkan Kaya, “Eskişehir’in Sivrihisar İlçesinde Bir Ermeni Kilisesi; Surp Yerortutyun Kilisesi”, *Akademik Bakış Dergisi*, No.37, (July – August 2013), pp.1-23.

<sup>20</sup>Arshag Alboyajian was a philologist and historian arrested in Istanbul in 1915 and fled to Cairo where he completed several works on the history of the Ottoman Armenians. For a recent study on Alboyajian: Hatice Demirci, *Ermeni Asıllı Bir Osmanlı Aydını: Arşag Alboyacıyan’ın Hayatı ve Eserleri*, Unpublished MA Thesis, (Ankara: Ankara University, 2014).

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Alboyajian appears to be the main source for studies on Armenians and Armenian churches in Kayseri and in the villages.<sup>21</sup> The studies on Armenian churches mentioned before relied on Alboyajian's information for the dates of construction and reconstruction of the buildings.<sup>22</sup> The following recently book edited by Richard Hovannisian, presents several studies on the Armenians of Kayseri and the villages and the majority of the historical information are based on the two-volume work by Alboyajian.

Hovannisian's *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia* (2013), contains contributions on the history, religion, economic and social life, and cultural, educational, and political developments among the Armenians in the city of Kayseri and in the villages in its vicinity such as Talas, Everek, Fennesse, Tomarza, Çomaklı, Incesu, Efkere and Germir.<sup>23</sup> Three chapters are particularly important for this thesis: In "Ottoman Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri in the Nineteenth Century", Bedross Der Matossian focuses on social, economic, and political transformations during the nineteenth century. This chapter includes information on the demographic distribution of the Armenians, their churches and monasteries, their schools and cultural societies.<sup>24</sup> "Armenians in Late Ottoman Rural Kesaria/Kayseri" by Hervé Georgelin offers a picture of the economic situation of Kayseri and Armenians' role in the economy of the region, their social life and finally the educational and cultural developments in the region surrounding the city of Kayseri. This study is based on several testimonies gathered among Greek Orthodox refugees from Turkey in Greece from the 1930s to the

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<sup>21</sup> Arshag Alboyajian, *Patmutiun Hay Kesario* [The History of Armenian Kesaria], (Cairo: Kesario ev Shrakayits Hayrenaktsakan Miutiun, vol.I-II, 1937).

<sup>22</sup> Güner Sağır, *İl Merkezinde Surp Krikor Lusavoriç ve Surp Asdvadzadzin Ermeni Kiliseleri*, Unpublished MA thesis, (Ankara, Hacettepe University, 2000).

<sup>23</sup> Gonca Büyükmihçi, *Kayseri'de yaşam ve konut kültürü*, (Kayseri: Erciyes University, 2005); Şeyda Güngör Açıkgöz, *Kayseri ve Çevresindeki 19.Yüzyıl Kiliseleri ve Korunmaları İçin Öneriler*, Unpublished Phd dissertation (Istanbul: İ.T.Ü University, 2007); Richard G. Hovannisian (Eds), *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia*, UCLA Armenian History & Culture Series, (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publisher, 2013).

<sup>24</sup> Bedross Der Matossian, "Ottoman Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri in the Nineteenth Century" in Hovannisian, G. Richard (Eds), *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia*, UCLA Armenian History & Culture Series, (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publisher, 2013).

early 1970s, describing the Armenian community of Kayseri and villages.<sup>25</sup> “A Tale of Twin Towns: Everek and Fenese” by Jack Der-Sarkissian introduces two small towns, Everek and Fenese, giving an overview of their origins, history and socio-economic life. The author then focuses on the educational endeavors during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the role of expatriate compatriotic societies.<sup>26</sup>

There is a series of studies, by an amateur historian Hüseyin Cömert, particularly focusing on the demography of Kayseri and the valleys in the nineteenth century. His first book, *Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılda Kayseri* (2007) consists of two main parts, the first one dedicated to an historical introduction to the city of Kayseri and a second longer part based on the population structure according to the different districts of the city. As a result of this detailed study of the population of Kayseri his work may shed light in identifying the districts and streets of the city and in locating the Armenian population in their different neighborhoods.<sup>27</sup> A successive work by Cömert is *Koramaz Vadisi* (2008), which refers specifically to the villages in the Koramaz valley, such as Büyük Bürüngüz, Üskübü, Küçük Bürüngüz, Ağırnas, Dimitre, Vekse and Ispıdın.<sup>28</sup> A similar book compiled by Cömert, *Gesi Vadisi* (2011), refers to the specific case of the villages in this valley.<sup>29</sup> This study provides important data on the population of six villages, namely Gesi, Efkere, Darsiyak, Nize, Balagesi and Mancusun. For some of the villages the author presents a detailed population census for the Armenian inhabitants in mid-nineteenth century including their profession, appellative, physical description, age and properties. Once more Cömert presents a clear picture of the socio-economic environment of the Armenian population in the nineteenth century in several villages in the vicinity of Kayseri. Cömert is currently working on the valley of Derevenk for a further book entitled *Derevenk Vadisi*.

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<sup>25</sup> Hervé Georgelin, “Armenians in Late Ottoman Rural Kesaria/Kayseri”, in “Ottoman Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri in the Nineteenth Century” in Richard G. Hovannisian (Eds), *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia*, UCLA Armenian History & Culture Series, (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publisher, 2013).

<sup>26</sup> Jack Der-Sarkissian, “A Tale of Twin Towns: Everek and Fenese”, in Hovannisian, G. Richard (Eds), *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia*, UCLA Armenian History & Culture Series, (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publisher, 2013).

<sup>27</sup> Hüseyin Cömert, *19. Yüzyılda Kayseri*, (Kayseri: Mazaka Yayıncılık, 2007).

<sup>28</sup> Hüseyin Cömert, *Koramaz Vadisi*, (Kayseri: Ağırnas Belediyesi, 2008).

<sup>29</sup> Hüseyin Cömert, *Gesi Vadisi: Gesi, Efkere, Darsiyak, Nize, Balagesi, Mancusun*, (Gesi: Vakfı Kültür, 2011).

Studies on the material heritage of the Ottoman Armenians deal largely with economic wealth and properties, as in the case of the recent book by Uğur Ümit Üngör and Mehmet Polatel, entitled *Confiscation and Destruction: The Young Turk Seizure of Armenian Property* (2011), a study “of the mass sequestration of Armenian property by the Young Turk regime. It details the emergence of Turkish economic nationalism, offers insight into the economic ramifications of the genocidal process, and describes how the plunder was organized on the ground.”<sup>30</sup> I chose Üngör and Polatel’s study because it provides a complete insight on the issue of Armenian “abandoned properties” and is helpful to understand some of the dynamics that took place during and after 1915. Moreover, this study provides several references to the process of confiscation of immovable properties, including churches and church properties, which is a relevant aspect for this thesis.<sup>31</sup>

Dickran Kouymjian’s study *Confiscation of Armenian Property and the Destruction of Armenian Historical Monuments as a Manifestation of the Genocidal Process* investigates different aspects of the destruction of the Armenian heritage economically and culturally. Kouymjian focuses on the confiscation of Armenian wealth through bank assets moved out of Turkey, seizure of insurance policies, seizure and destruction of immovable wealth. Furthermore, the author dedicates a section to the destruction of Armenian historical monuments. He interprets such destruction as a continuation of the Genocide “by eliminating all Armenian cultural remains or depriving them of their distinguishing national content.”<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Uğur Ümit Üngör and Mehmet Polatel, *Confiscation and Destruction: The Young Turk Seizure of Armenian Property*, (London: Continuum, 2011), p. IX.

<sup>31</sup> The book was followed by Taner Akçam’s review criticizing many aspects of Üngör and Polatel’s work (Taner Akçam, “Review Essay”, *Armenian Review*, Vol.54/No.1-2 (Spring-Summer 2013), pp.51-780). Akçam moves a strong critique to the third chapter of the book especially for the absence of many indispensable and accessible sources on the topic of laws and decrees and for misinterpretation of some laws. Akçam’s review was followed by the response of the two authors (Uğur Ümit Üngör and Mehmet Polatel, “A Straw Man, a Dead Horse, and a Genocide: Response to Akçam”, *Armenian Review*, Vol.54/No.1-2 (Spring-Summer 2013), pp. 79-92). The two scholars admit some of the mistakes indicated by Akçam, but strongly refuse the critiques regarding the misinterpretation of some of the law.

<sup>32</sup> Dickran Kouymjian, “Confiscation of Armenian Property and the Destruction of Armenian Historical Monuments as a Manifestation of the Genocidal Process”, in *Anatomy of Genocide: State-Sponsored Mass-Killings in the Twentieth Century*, Lewiston, Alexandre Kimenyi and Otis L. Scott (Eds), (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2011), p. 311. See also: Dickran Kouymjian, “The Destruction of Armenian Historical Monuments as a Continuation of the Turkish Policy of Genocide,” in *A Crime of Silence: The Armenian Genocide*, (London: Zed Books, 1985); “When Does Genocide End? The Armenian Case”, from a lecture of 11 March 2003, available



A number of talks, interviews and newspaper articles by Zaharya Mildanoğlu, an architect born in Ekrek [Köprübaşı] of Bünyan/Kayseri in 1950, have also been crucial in developing awareness in the destruction of Armenian architectural heritage in Kayseri and beyond.<sup>33</sup>

#### **d. On cultural cleansing and spatial cleansing**

Robert Bevan's book, *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War* (2006), examines how destruction of architecture is an inevitable part of conducting hostilities. The author considers the destruction of particular buildings not as 'collateral damage' of hostilities, but as

the active and systematic destruction of particular building types or architectural traditions that happens in conflicts where the erasure of the memories, history and identity attached to architecture and place – enforced forgetting – is the goal itself. These buildings are attacked not because they are in the path of a military objective: to their destroyer they *are* the objective.<sup>34</sup>

In this case architecture acquires “a totemic quality: a mosque, for example, is not simply a mosque; it represents to its enemies the presence of a community marked for erasure.”<sup>35</sup> Among the cases studied by Bevan, neglect and destruction of Armenian monuments in Turkey is presented as part of the cultural cleansing process that accompanied the genocide. In the book it is introduced with the impressive chapter title *Cultural Cleansing: Who Remembers the Armenians?*<sup>36</sup>

As far as specifically the cultural destruction in the Ottoman Armenian case is concerned, Peter Balakian, in his article “Raphael Lemkin, Cultural Destruction, and the

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online:[http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/faculty/kouymjian/speeches/2003\\_kouymjian\\_when\\_does\\_genocide\\_end.pdf](http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/faculty/kouymjian/speeches/2003_kouymjian_when_does_genocide_end.pdf); “The Crime Against Cultural Heritage and Historical Memory: The Question of Abandoned Property,” in *The Crime of Genocide: Prevention, Condemnation and Elimination of Consequences*, Aram Harutyunyan (Eds), (Erevan: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011).

<sup>33</sup> Zakarya Mildanoğlu, “1915’in ‘Cansız’ Canları Aranıyor”, in *Agos*, No. 785, (19/05/2011).

<sup>34</sup> Robert Bevan, *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), p. 8.

<sup>35</sup> Bevan, p. 8.

<sup>36</sup> Bevan, p. 8

Armenian Genocide”, explores Raphael Lemkin’s concept of cultural destruction in the case of the Armenian Genocide.<sup>37</sup> Lemkin considered vandalism and destruction of Armenian cultural monuments as a genocidal practice, defined as “cultural genocide”, which “can accomplished predominately in the religious and cultural fields by destroying institutions and objects through which the spiritual life of a human group finds its expression, such as houses of worship, objects of religious cult, schools, treasures of art and culture.”<sup>38</sup>

Kerem Öktem explores different strategies aimed to change space and landscapes, by excluding the externalized ‘other’, as well as of strategies of re-construction and re-production for the sovereign and hegemonic ‘self’ of the nation.”<sup>39</sup> Öktem gives the case of Turkey in the late nineteenth and twentieth century as “an almost ideal-typical model of the discursive imagination and the material practice of nationalism and its geographical strategies, aimed at the creation of an ethnically homogenous ‘homeland’.”<sup>40</sup> The author argues that the process of nationalism and the process of reproduction of geography worked together for creating a new homeland, where “the Turks were to be the only rightful dwellers.”<sup>41</sup> The process of space change involved moreover population and resettlement policy regarding Greeks, studied by Taner Akçam in his book *The Young Turks’ Crime against Humanity: the Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire*,<sup>42</sup> which contributed to the complete annihilation of the Ottoman Armenians.

As regards the concept of “spatial cleansing” studies by a renown cultural anthropologist, Michael Herzfeld, represent an important source of inspiration for this thesis. Herzfeld analyzed three study cases: the city of Rethymnos in Crete, Mahakam fort in Bangkok and Rione Monti neighborhoods in Rome. In each of these cases, a

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<sup>37</sup> Peter Balakian, “Raphael Lemkin, Cultural Destruction, and the Armenian Genocide,” in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Vol.27/ No.1, (Oxford University Press, Spring 2013).

<sup>38</sup> As quoted in Peter Balakian, “Raphael Lemkin, Cultural Destruction, and the Armenian Genocide”, p. 60.

<sup>39</sup> Kerem Öktem, *Creating the Turk’s Homeland: Modernization, Nationalism and Geography in Southeast Turkey in the late 19th and 20th Centuries*, Paper for the Socrates Kokkalis Graduate Workshop 2003, “The City:Urban Culture, Arcitecture and Society”, p. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Öktem, p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> Öktem, p. 3.

<sup>42</sup> Taner Akçam, *The Young Turks’ Crime against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton University Press, 2013).

community was subjected to removal and relocation. The reasons for dislocation in the three examples are mainly caused by gentrification. In the case of Crete, the area of the old market was transformed in a tourist attraction, where “the Muslim presence was reduced to a symbolic historic shadow and subjected to a respatialization that framed the mosque as cultural upgraded (it is now a music conservatory!) and as a monument to the liberal tolerance of the West.”<sup>43</sup> The architectural heritage of the Ottoman past became for the Greeks a “dangerous cultural embarrassment” and “an attraction for the orientalist gaze of the tourist.”<sup>44</sup> In the case of Thailand relocation is conceived as a step towards modernization and westernization, aimed to remove a significant segment of the local population from a central area in order to create expensive western-style shops and export displays.<sup>45</sup> Likewise in the case of the Rione Monti in the historic center of Rome, partly destroyed by Mussolini in order to build Fori imperiali, a process of gentrification occurred creating a condition in which the local population awaits for its removal. Herzfeld associates the process of spatial cleansing with the notion of ethnic cleansing “since, although the latter is usually far more physical in its violence, both entail the disruption of fundamental security, and especially of ontological security, for entire groups of people.”<sup>46</sup>

Another important study on spatial cleansing and dislocation is by Roxane Caftanzoglou on the case of Anafiotika, a quarter in the center of Athens, located under the Acropolis. The quarter is inhabited by a small community settled in 1860’s composed by migrant workers from the Cyclades. In the process of building Athens as the capital of the Modern Greek state by revitalizing the glorious past through archeological excavations, the neighborhood of Anafiotika became a sort of obstacle and for this reason subjected to obscurity and expropriation. This particular case represents an example of the intention to obscure a place creating a sort of non-place. In fact the city plans and travel guides of the city of Athens present a shadowed or colored strip on the point where the neighborhood of Anafiotika stands, a fact that indicates that “thus represented, the settlement is relegated to a non-place; the existence of a

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<sup>43</sup> Michael Herzfeld, “Spatial Cleansing: Monumental Vacuity and the Idea of the West”, in *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 11/No.1/2 (2006), p.134.

<sup>44</sup> Herzfeld, p.134.

<sup>45</sup> Herzfeld, p. 133.

<sup>46</sup> Herzfeld, p. 134.

neighborhood with its houses, paths, and above all, its living component, citizens of the Greek State, is obscured.”<sup>47</sup> The members of the Anafiotika community are facing “the prospect of the end of their social reproduction as a spatially bounded and based community”<sup>48</sup> and they respond to this reinforcing “their symbolic boundaries by telling stories of themselves and their settlement, constructing a counter-discourse of space, time and history based on shared collective and individual memories...”<sup>49</sup>

Also inspiring are the studies on the use and abuse of archaeology and architectural heritage. I intent to explore more on studies such as Peter Buxton’s *Possessing the Past: The use and abuse of archaeology in building nation-state*,<sup>50</sup> Nadia Abu El-Haj’s *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society*,<sup>51</sup> and Rachel S. Hallote and Alexander H. Joffe’s *The Politics of Israeli Archaeology: Between ‘Nationalism’ and ‘Science’ in the Age of the Second Republic*.<sup>52</sup>

#### e. Primary Sources

For this study I was able to consult memoirs of Kayseri, Everek-Fenese, Çomaklı, Nirze and Tomarza.<sup>53</sup> The memoirs, moreover, present several images of the villages,

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<sup>47</sup> Roxane Caftanzoglou, “The Shadow of the Sacred Rock: Contrasting Discourses of Place under the Acropolis”, in Barbara Bender and Margot Winer (Eds), *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, (Berg Publishers, 2001), p. 27.

<sup>48</sup> Caftanzoglou, p. 29.

<sup>49</sup> Caftanzoglou, p. 30.

<sup>50</sup> Peter Buxton, *Possessing the Past: The use and abuse of archaeology in building nation-state*, (London: Ministry of Defence, 2009).

<sup>51</sup> Nadia Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

<sup>52</sup> Rachel S. Hallote and Alexander H. Joffe, “The Politics of Israeli Archeology: Between ‘Nationalism’ and ‘Science’ in the Age of the Second Republic”, *Israel Studies*, Vol.7/No.3 (Fall 2002), pp. 84-116.

<sup>53</sup> **For Tomarza:** Haroutiun Barootian, *Reminiscences from Tomarza’s Past*, (London: Taderon, 2007).

Sargis Jivanian, Դրո՛ւ ազնւե՛ր թն՛մար՛զ ահա՛յ կեանքէ՛ւ [Episodes of Tomarza Armenian Life], (Paris, 1960).

**For Nirze:** Senekerim Khetrian, *Համառօտ պատմո՛ւթիւն Կեսարիոյ Նիրզէ գիւղի* [Concise History of Kesaria/Kayseri’s Nirze/Güzelköy Village], (Watertown, 1918).

**For Everek/Fenese:** Khoren H. Gelejian (editor), Ալպո՛ւմ - յո՛ւն շամատեան եզերէլ - Ֆէւտէտի [Album-Memory Book of Everek/Develi-Fenese], (Beirut: Altapress, Lebanese branch of Everek-Feneseh Mesropian-Rupinian Compatriotic Society, 1984).

Aleksan Krikorian, *Evereg-Fenese. Its Armenian History and Traditions*, (Detroit: Evereg-Fenese Mesrobian-Roupinian Educational Society, 1990).

including churches and monasteries, which appear as the centers of Armenian communal life. These narratives provide also much information on the schools, including photographs, lists of students and teachers.

Regarding visual material there is an embarrassing richness of visual documentation available online. Especially useful are the websites:

[www.efkere.com](http://www.efkere.com)

[www.evereg-fenese.org](http://www.evereg-fenese.org)

[www.fresnostate.edu/artshum/armenianstudies/resources/churches](http://www.fresnostate.edu/artshum/armenianstudies/resources/churches)

[www.houshamadyan.org](http://www.houshamadyan.org)

[www.virtualani.org](http://www.virtualani.org)

For the maps, I had to consult with the works of Şeyda Güngör Açıkgöz<sup>54</sup> and Yıldray Özbek and Celil Arslan<sup>55</sup> that provide several maps, which are particularly useful to locate the churches. Regarding the quarters of Kayseri the work by Kemal Demir and Suat Çabuk provides maps of the city center with references to the quarters inhabited by Muslims and non-Muslims. Furthermore, this study is an attempt to locate on map the historical monuments of Kayseri. Even though some of the Armenian churches are wrongly indicated as Seljukid architecture, the maps included in the book are very useful to identify the location of the Armenian churches in the city center.<sup>56</sup> In addition I create a map approximately locating the churches and monasteries according to the information provided by Alboyajian.

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**For Çomaklı:** Aris Kalfayan, *Chomaklou: The History of an Armenian Village*, trans. Krikor Asadourian, (New York, 1982).

**For Kayseri:** Հիւ եւ Առ ի Կեսարի քաղաքի և նոր քաղաքի [Old and New Kesaria/Kayseri, Memory Book], (Paris: Azet Press, published by Paris branch of Kesaria and Environs Compatriotic Union, 1989).

<sup>54</sup> Şeyda Güngör Açıkgöz, *Kayseri ve Çevresindeki 19.Yüzyıl Kiliseleri ve Korunmaları İçin Öneriler*, Unpublished PhD dissertation, (Istanbul: İ.T.Ü University, 2007).

<sup>55</sup> Yıldray Özbek and Celil Arslan. *Kayseri Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıkları Envanteri*, (Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediye, 2006), available online: <http://www.kayseri.bel.tr/web2/index.php?page=kueltuer-envanteri>

<sup>56</sup> Kemal Demir, Suat Çabuk, *Türk Dönemi Kayseri Kenti ve Mahalleri*, (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 188, 2013).

As regards the *sicils*, I analyzed only the ones from late nineteenth and early twentieth century Develi, with reference to several MA theses completed at Erciyes University of Kayseri. The sicils proved to be very valuable for this study since they provide transcriptions and short summaries of numerous court cases involving Armenians.<sup>57</sup>

Because of the limitations of time and my research capabilities, I have postponed the use of several primary sources might be useful in the future:

- photographs, maps, memoirs collected for the project Houshamadyan, aimed to reconstruct Ottoman Armenian town and village life.<sup>58</sup>
- travelers and missionaries' accounts
- *sicils* from Kayseri and Develi
- Muslim and non-Muslim *vakıfs*
- *İmar Planı*/ Master Plan for Kayseri and the villages.
- Kayseri Municipality's minutes regarding the implementation of the Master Plan and various decions taken toward the reuse of Armenian buildings
- Local newspapers and journals

### Structure and composition

The first chapter of this thesis aims to give an historical introduction to the *sancak* of Kayseri with a particular focus on the Armenian presence in the center of Kayseri and in the villages of the two *kazas* of Kayseri and Develi, which respectively included 16 and 6 villages inhabited by Armenians. As regards the demographic information on

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<sup>57</sup> Ayşe Arık Kaygısız, *1 Numaralı Develi Şer'iyeye Sicili (H. 1311/M. 1893-H. 1313/M. 1895) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi*, Unpublished MA thesis (Kayseri: Erciyes University, 2006); Mustafa Salep, *9/1 Numaralı Develi Şer'iyeye Sicili (H. 1317-1318/ M. 1899-1901) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi*, Unpublished MA thesis (Kayseri: Erciyes University, 2008); Emine Subaşı, *52 Numaralı Develi Şer'iyeye Sicili (H. 1320-1/M. 1902-3) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi*, Unpublished MA thesis (Kayseri: Erciyes University, 2006); Mustafa Ova, *H. 1324-1325/ M. 1906-1907 Tarihli Develi Sicili Metin Çevirisi ve Değerlendirme*, Unpublished MA thesis (Nevşehir: Nevşehir University, 2013).

<sup>58</sup> [www.houshamadyan.org](http://www.houshamadyan.org).

the Armenian population I refer to the poll tax register of 1843, studied by Doğan Yörük, which reports the Armenian male tax payers for the different quarters of the town of Kayseri and for the villages.

The second chapter presents a catalogue of the churches and monasteries of Kayseri and surrounding villages, including the main information as the name of the church, the date of reconstruction, the current use and the present condition. Furthermore, in this chapter I try to create a map of the disappeared or ruined churches and monasteries, locating them as precisely as possible according to the list of churches and indication given by Alboyajian in *Patmutiun Hay Kesario*.<sup>59</sup>

The third chapter analyzes the destruction process of the Armenian religious architecture of Kayseri through the framework of cultural cleansing and spatial nationalism. The current conditions of the churches, verified during my field visit to Kayseri and the surrounding villages in November 2014, are investigated according to the eight strategies of destruction introduced by Dickran Kouymjian.

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<sup>59</sup> Arshag Alboyajian, *Patmutiun Hay Kesario* [History of Armenian Kesaria], Vol.I, (Cairo: Kesario ev Shrakayits Hayrenaksakan Miutiun, 1937).

## KAYSERİ AND THE SURROUNDING VILLAGES AND TOWNS

Kayseri, immediately after the Ottoman conquest of the 1460's, acquired the status of *sancak* of the Karaman *eyalet*, becoming the administrative centre (*paşa sancağı*) where the *beylerbeyi* [governor] of the *sancak* resided. After a very long while, first transformation took place in 1845 when Kayseri was incorporated into the *eyalet* of Sivas and separated from the *kazas* of Develi, Karahisar-ı Develi, Incesu, Sarıoğlan and Zamantı. In the state yearbook (*Devlet Salnamesi*) of the year 1850, Kayseri is indicated as to be transferred into the *eyalet* of Bozok and in the year 1856 the same *eyalet* was subdivided into seven districts (*nahiye*): Kayseri, Sarıoğlan, Karahisar-ı Develi, Incesu, Kozanlı, Zamantı and Köstere.<sup>60</sup> In the *Encyclopedia of Islam* Ronald C. Jennings indicated 1864 as the year when Kayseri was transferred into the *vilayet* of Ankara.<sup>61</sup> With the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Kayseri acquired the status of province (*il*).

From the earliest *tahrir* registers onwards, Ottoman Kayseri and the surrounding villages and towns presented an ethnically variegated population, including diverse non-Muslim subjects. Among the non-Muslims Greeks and Armenians were the two most crowded communities, with a strong Greek presence in the villages, while the Armenian presence appeared to be stronger in the city center of Kayseri.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Doğan Yörük, "H. 1259/M. 1843 Tarihli Cizye Defterlerine göre Kayseri'de Rum ve Ermeniler," *Turkish Studies, International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of the Turkish or Turkic*, Vol.8/No.11 (Fall 2013), pp. 441-442.

<sup>61</sup> Ronald C. Jennings, *Studies on the Ottoman Social History in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Women, Zimmis and Sharia Courts in Kayseri, Cyprus and Trabzon*, (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1999), p. 11.

<sup>62</sup> Yörük, p. 442; See also: Mehmet İnbaşı, *16.yüzyıl Başlarında Kayseri, Kayseri*, (Kayseri:Kayseri Valiliği, 1992); Ahmet H.Aslantürk, "Kayseri ve Havalisinin Tarihine Dair Bir Dizi Arşiv Kaynağının Neşri", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, No.35 (2010), pp. 329-336; Rıfat n. Bali, "1965 yılında kayseri ermeni cemaati", *Toplumsal Tarih*, No.172 (Nisan 2008).



The Armenian presence in the *sancak* of Kayseri, partially covering the entire province of ancient Cappadocia, had been long established. The increase of the Armenian population is evident in the third and fourth centuries during the Arab conquest of Asia Minor, when Armenian settlers were installed by the Byzantines to reinforce the provincial military units or *themes* in the Taurus Mountains. In the eleventh century, the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and the ephemeral principalities of Sebaste (Sivas) and Caesarea (Kayseri) were established on the basis of mass emigration caused by the pressure of nomadic Seljuks and orders by the Byzantines. This process of colonization and the subsequent weakening of Byzantine authority in the region allowed the Armenians to establish an archbishopric in Caesarea at the end of the eleventh century. In the following century the archbishopric<sup>63</sup> was finally installed in the monastery of Surp Karapet in Efkere, situated in the periphery of the Cappadocian capital. According to the testimony of Crusaders who passed through the area at the same time, the majority of the population was Armenian as indicated by the name *Hermonorium Terra*,<sup>64</sup> utilized by the Westerners to refer to this part of Asia Minor. Despite massive migrations to Istanbul at the end of the fifteenth century, after the Ottoman conquest of Cappadocia, the region retained a dense Armenian population.<sup>65</sup>

The Armenians of Kayseri were divided into three groups: Cemaat-i Ermeniyân-ı Kaysariyân, Cemaat-i Ermeniyân-ı Şarkiyân and Cemaat-i Ermeniyân-ı Sisiyân. According to the Ottomanist Ronald C. Jennings this division might have been related with their affiliation to different dioceses. The first community, Kaysariyan, was, most probably, composed of local Armenians whose allegiance was to the patriarch of Istanbul. The second community paid allegiance to the catholicos of Echmiadzin in Erivan in the east as indicated with the term *Şark*, while the third one was supposedly affiliated to the diocese of Sis (modern Kozan). Therefore, according to their diocese of

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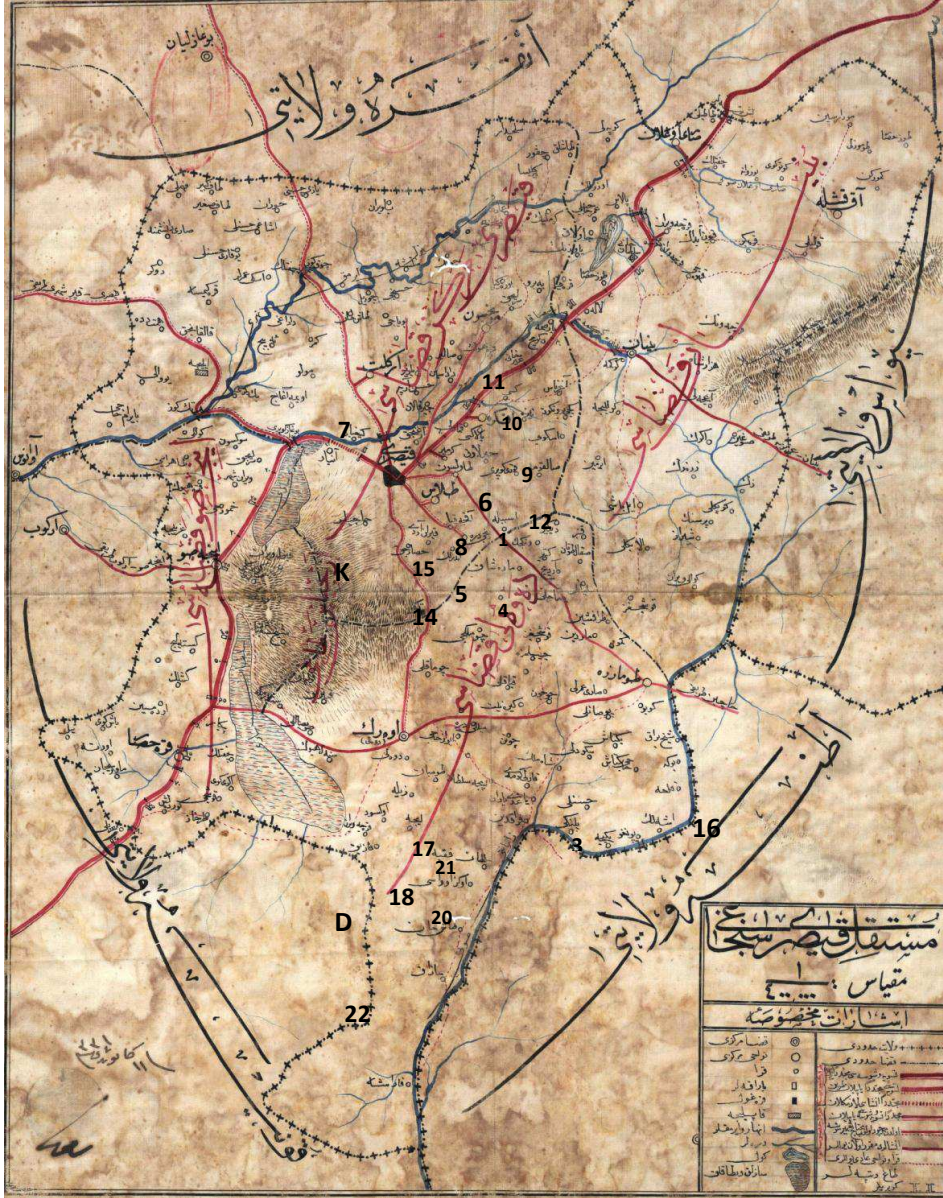
<sup>63</sup> Archbishopric: the area of which an archbishop is in charge (Cambridge Dictionaries Online. [www.dictionary.cambridge.org](http://www.dictionary.cambridge.org))

<sup>64</sup> According to Kevorkian and Paboudjian the region of Kayseri in the twelfth century was called by the Western travel “Hermonorium Terra”, which in latin supposedly means “the land of Armenians”. No other references have been found to confirm their statement.

<sup>65</sup> Raymond H. Kevorkian and Paul B. Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire ottoman à la veille du génocide*, (Paris: Arhis,1992), p.220.

affiliation the members of Şarkıyan and Sisiyan communities were immigrants from Sis (Kozan) and the Caucasus.<sup>66</sup>

Map 1. The first Ottoman map of the *sancak* of Kayseri of the year 1910<sup>67</sup>

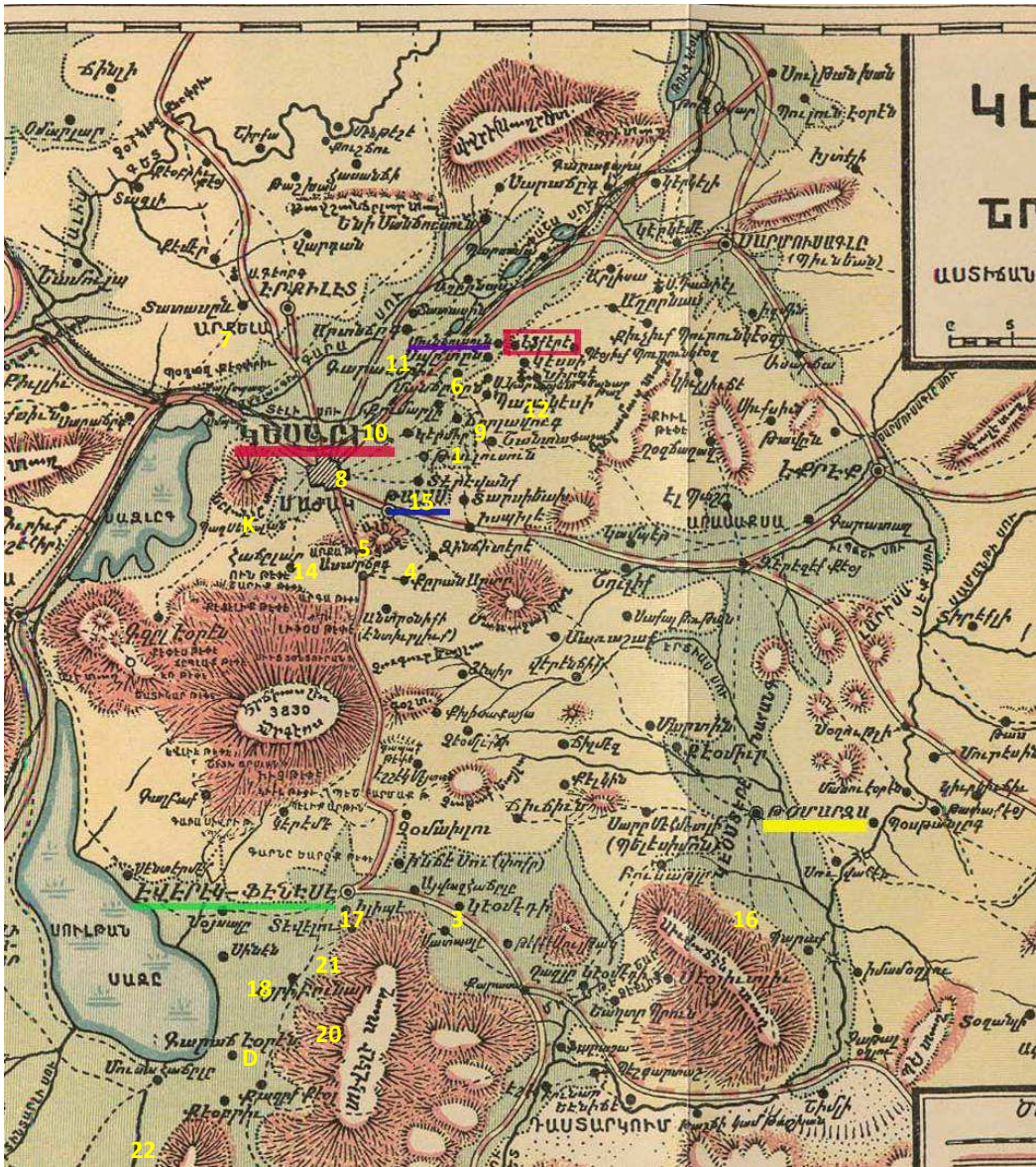


<sup>66</sup> Ronald J. Jennings, “Urban Population in Anatolia in the Sixteenth Century: a Study of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon, and Erzurum”, in *International Journal Middle East Studies*, No.7, (1976), p. 30.

<sup>67</sup> Methiye Gül Çötel, *19. Yüzyıl Anadolu Şehirsel Ağı ve Hinterland İlişkileri, Kayseri Örneği*, Unpublished PhD dissertation, (Istanbul, I.Y.Ü. University, 2011), p. 186.



Map 2. Armenian map of 1937<sup>68</sup>



K. Kayseri                      D. Develi

1. Balagesi, 2. Belviran, 3. Cücün, 4. Darsiyak, 5. Derevenk, 6. Efkere, 7. Erkillet,
8. Germir, 9. Gesi, 10. Mancusun, 11. Muncusun, 12. Nirze, 13. Sarımsaklı, 14. Talas,
15. Tavlusun, 16. Tomarza, 17. Çomaklı, 18-19. Everek-Fenese, 20. Ilibe, 21. Incesu,
22. Karacaviran.

<sup>68</sup> <http://www.evereg-fenese.org/>

Table 1. Names of the villages in Armenian and in Turkish

<b>Armenian</b>	<b>Transliteration<sup>69</sup></b>	<b>Turkish</b>
Կեսարիա	Gesaria	Kayseri
Թալաս	Talas	Talas
Տերեվանք	Derevank	Derevenk
Թավլուսուն	Tavlusun	Aydınlar
Կերմիր	Germir	Konaklar
Պալակետի	Balagesi	Balagesi
Մանճրսուն	Mancusun	Yeşilyurt
Մունճուսուն	Muncusun	Güneşli
Տարսիեախ	Darsiyak	Kayabağ
Էրքիլեթ	Erkilet	Erkilet
Էվերեկ-Ֆենեսե	Everek-Fenese	Develi
Իլիպե	Ilibe	İlibe
Գարաճավիրան	Karacaviran	Karacaviran
Թոմարզա	Tomarza	Tomarza
Ճիւճին	Cücün	Cücün
Նիրզե	Nirze	Güzelköy
Էֆքերե	Efkere	Bahçeli
Չոմաքլու	Çomaklı	Çomaklı
Ինճեսու	Incesu	İncesu
Սարմուսաքլը	Sarmusaklı	Sarımsaklı

<sup>69</sup> The transliterated form indicated does not follow the rules of the Armenian scientific transliteration, it presents a simplify version of the names used in this study.

Kayseri was an important religious center for the Armenians. The Christian hierarchy of Caesarea played a crucial role in their conversion to Christianity in the early fourth century and in maintaining close ties between the two Churches (Echmiadzin and Patriarchate of Constantinople). After the changeover of Armenians in Monophysitism, Armenians were deprived of churches under the Byzantine rule, especially in Cappadocia; they were forced to attend the Greek Orthodox churches. This is a reason why the first Armenian Church in Kayseri was built as late as in the twelfth century, named Surp Krikor, according to Alboyajian, the church of Surp Krikor Lusavorich was built on the site of this previous church.<sup>70</sup> The second church Surp Stepanos in Kayseri, according to Alboyajian, appeared in a religious document dated 1275 and disappeared before the nineteenth century.<sup>71</sup> The third church, Surp Mergerios, already in ruins in 1617 as Simeon of Poland noted in his travel account: “There was a large church facing it on the eastern side. It is now in ruins and Armenians bury their dead there.”<sup>72</sup> The third church Surp Asvadzadzin in the town is evidenced in 1277 by the colophon of a manuscript written in the presbytery on the same date. It was located inside the fortified walls of the city, in the İçeri Şar (İçeri Hisar) neighborhood.<sup>73</sup> In the same neighborhood is found the Surp Sarkis church, which appears to have been already constructed at the time when Simeon visited Kayseri in 1617.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Arshag Alboyajian, *Patmutiun Hay Kesario* [History of Armenian Kesaria], Vol.1, (Cairo: Kesario ev Shrjakayits Hayrenaktsakan Miutiun, 1937), p. 892.

<sup>71</sup> Alboyajian, p. 899.

<sup>72</sup> George A. Bournoutian, *The Travel Accounts of Simeon of Poland*, (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2007), p. 273.

<sup>73</sup> Alboyajian, p. 894.

<sup>74</sup> Bournoutian, p. 272.

## 1.1. Demographic Makeup

*Cizye* (poll-tax) registers of 1843, published in a study by Doğan Yörük, reveal 1,949 male tax-payers in the city of Kayseri.<sup>75</sup> Although European travelers who visited Kayseri and surroundings in the nineteenth century mention demographic information in their accounts, the different numeric indications therein render them inconvenient for my purposes. Data provided by Yörük, on the other hand, reflect official number presented in the three customary categories of *ala* (rich), *evsat* (a sort of middle class) and *edna* (poor), including all the active non-Muslim males within an age comprised between 14-75, excluding the sick, the disabled people and religious functionaries. The *cizye* tax collected from the adult non-Muslim men is also denominated as “head-tax”; however in the rural regions, the heads of the households paid the *cizye* tax for the entire household, at least until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the taxpayers began to be individually registered.<sup>76</sup>

*Cizye* registers of 1843 the Armenian and Greek taxpayers are indicated separately according to their districts of residence, such as Develü, Incesu, Sarıođlan, Karahisar, and Zamantu. Moreover this register includes the name of the guests residing in hostels, public baths and *bazirhanes*,<sup>77</sup> who were paying the *cizye* tax from Kayseri. Then, for each quarter of Kayseri the taxpayers’ names are indicated with their profession, if known, or in some cases only the profession is mentioned in substitution with personal names, and finally the wealth status is reported, according to which the amount of taxation was determined. The second register does not give separate lists, but includes the cases in which non-Muslims were leaving for other places. Their names and professions are indicated separately according to the district or village of their provenance.

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<sup>75</sup> Doğan Yörük, H. 1259/1843 Tarihli Cizye Defterlerine göre Kayseri’de Rum ve Ermeniler, in *Turkish Studies - International Periodical for The Languages, Literatures and History of Turkish or Turkic*, Vol.8/No.11, (Ankara, Fall 2013), p. 439-466.

<sup>76</sup> Yörük, p. 441.

<sup>77</sup> *Bezirhane* is the place is the place for extraction of linseed oil for commercial purposes.

### 1.1.1 Armenians in the City Center

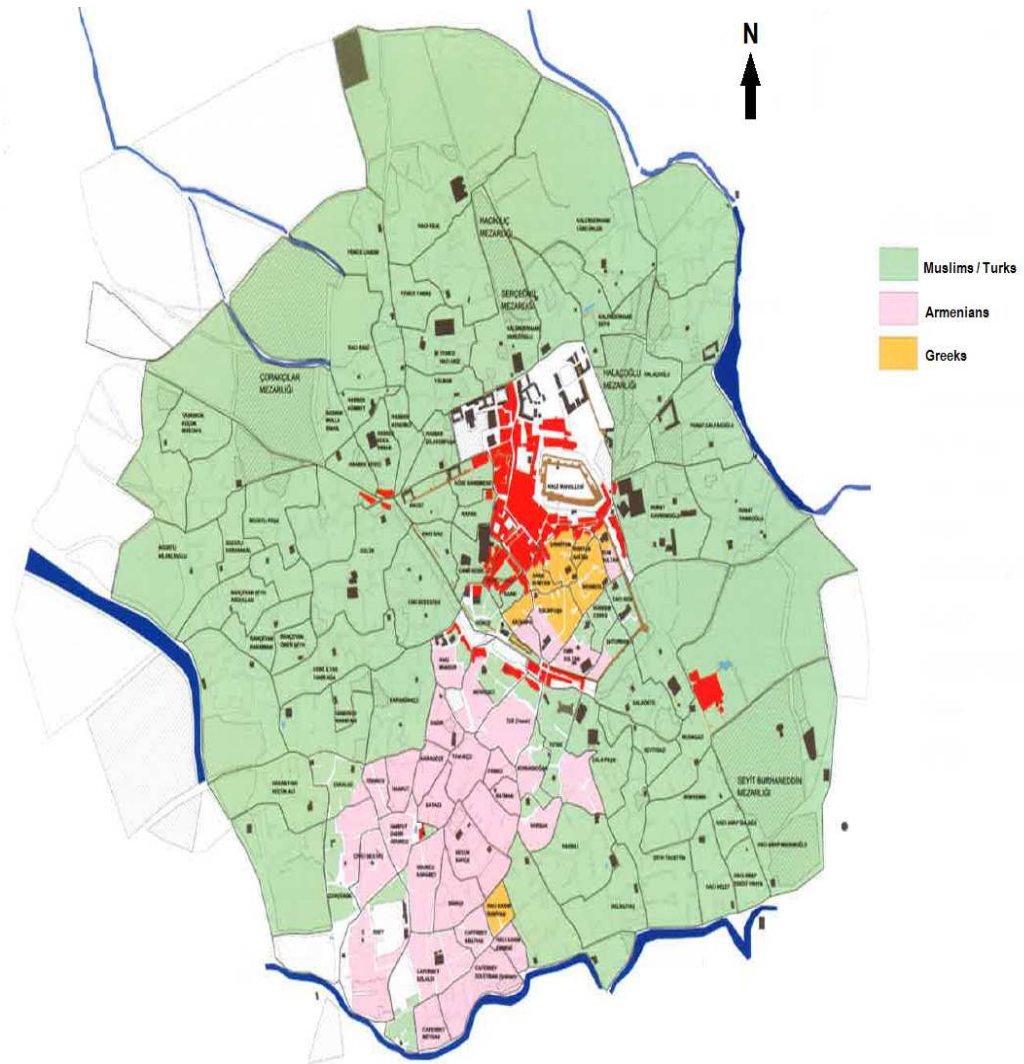
As regards the quarters in the city center, Armenians resided also in quarters with a mixed population of Greeks and Muslims. The *cizye* registers of 1843 shows that 39 *mahalles* were inhabited by non-Muslims; of which 25 *mahalles* were inhabited by Armenians, three by Greeks and 11 villages by both Armenians and Greeks. Among the *mahalles* inhabited by Armenians, Sınıkçı resulted in being the most crowded with 167 *nefers*, followed by Oduncu with 160 *nefers* and Köyyıkan with 145 *nefers*.<sup>78</sup> The following map represents the distribution of the different religious communities in Kayseri in the year 1872, when the 28,7% of the households belonged to non-Muslims.<sup>79</sup> The Armenians resided in quarters located in the southern part of the city.

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<sup>78</sup> Yörük, p. 445.

<sup>79</sup> Kemal Demir, Suat Çabuk, *Türk Dönemi Kayseri Kenti ve Mahalleri*, (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 188, 2013), p. 141.





Map 3. Map of Kayseri's neighborhoods in 1872<sup>80</sup>

As for the economic wealth of the Armenians of Kayseri the 1843 *cizye* registers provide important information revealing three different categories of taxpayers, among the 1.949 Armenian *nefers*, 1.186 belonged to the poorest group (*edna*), 670 to the “middle class” (*evsat*) and 93 to the wealthiest group (*ala*). From these dates it is also possible to identify which quarters of the city were inhabited by the wealthiest Armenian population. In the quarter Eslim Paşa were the highest number of rich

<sup>80</sup> Demir and Çabuk, p. 140.



taxpayers (12 *nefers*), this number was followed by Tavukçu and Harput (9 *nefers*), Emir Sultan (8 *nefers*) and Kiçikapı (7 *nefers*).<sup>81</sup>

Table 2. Kayseri *mahalles* inhabited by Armenians with corresponding number of male tax-payers<sup>82</sup>

<b><i>Mahalles</i> of Kayseri</b>	<b>Âlâ (rich)</b>	<b>Evsât (average)</b>	<b>Ednâ (poor)</b>	<b>Nefer (total male taxpayers)</b>
1. Ahi İsa	0	0	0	0
2. Batman	6	16	22	44
3. Bektaş	1	7	34	42
4. Dadır	4	19	33	56
5. Emir Sultan	8	22	36	66
6. Eslim Paşa	12	17	12	41
7. Firuncu	5	23	20	48
8. Genlik	0	5	8	13
9. Gürcü	4	10	9	23
10. Hacı Kasım	1	13	11	25
11. Hacı Mansur	1	10	9	20
12. Harput	9	49	65	123
13. Hasan Fakih	0	5	10	15
14. Hasinli	0	0	0	0
15. Hisayunlu	0	9	11	20
16. Karabet	0	12	34	46
17. Karakiçi	6	15	26	47

<sup>81</sup> Yörük, p. 445.

<sup>82</sup> The data of this table are based on the of Doğan Yörük's study on 1843 cizye registers of Kayseri and they include only the information on the Armenian population.

18. Karakürkçü	0	2	10	12
19. Kayadibi Oduncu Beldesi	0	0	0	0
20. Kışıkapı	7	17	12	36
21. Konaklar	0	3	14	17
22. Köyyıkan	0	22	123	145
23. Mermerli	1	2	4	7
24. Mürekkebcı	0	8	21	29
25. Oduncu	4	54	102	160
26. Puşegân	0	6	22	28
27. Rumiyan	2	22	47	71
28. Sasık	0	0	0	0
29. Sayacı	4	21	18	43
30. Selaldı	1	35	93	129
31. Sınıkcı	1	56	110	167
32. Sisliyan	1	21	46	68
33. Sultan	0	4	10	14
34. Süleyman	0	40	85	125
35. Şarkıyan <sup>83</sup>	0	0	0	0
36. Tavukçu	9	64	68	141
37. Tus	3	24	33	60
38. Tutak	1	13	13	27
39. Varsak	2	24	15	41
Total	93	670	1186	1949

the nineteenth century Kayseri experienced a wave of immigration including

<sup>83</sup> According to Yörük's study the quarter of Şarkıyan in 1843 was inhabited exclusively by Greeks; this seems impossible given the fact that the name of the quarter itself was the appellative of one of the three Armenian communities (Cemaat-ı Şarkıyan). Moreover Mustafa Keskin describes Şarkıyan as a quarter with a mixed population, Armenian, Greek and Muslim in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Mustafa Keskin, "1247-1277 Tarihli Kayseri Müfredat Defterine Göre Kayseri ve Tabi Yerleşim Yerlerinde Nüfus Dağılımı (1831-1860)," in II. *Kayseri ve Yöresi Tarih Sempozyumu Bildirileri, 16-17 April 1998*, (Kayseri: Erciyes University, 1998), p. 291).

Armenians coming from villages in the vicinity of Kayseri, from different cities of Anatolia, and from other cities of the Empire. From the *cizye* register of 1843 it is possible to identify a number of 44 *nefers* who immigrated into the city of Kayseri that year. On the other hand, in the mid-nineteenth century, a migratory wave from Kayseri towards the coastal regions, for commercial purposes, led to a depopulation of certain quarters of Kayseri, depriving them of almost their entire non-Muslim population. Among the quarters Oduncu, Seladi ve Süleyman witnessed the highest number of migrants, whereas Hasinli and Kayadibi Oduncu Belkesi lost their entire non-Muslim population.<sup>84</sup>

### **1.1.2. Armenians in the villages within the *kazas* of Kayseri and Develi**

In the *kaza* of Kayseri the non-Muslim taxpayers were registered in 25 villages, among which 16 villages (including 27 mahalles and two monasteries) resulted in having Armenian taxpayers, with the highest concentration in the town of Tomarza with 472 *nefers*. The 16 villages inhabited by Armenians were: Balagesi, Belviran, Cücün, Darsiyak, Derevenk, Efkere, Germir, Gesi, Mancasun, Muncusun, Nize, Sarımsaklı, Talas, Tavlusun, and Tomarza.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid, p. 447.

<sup>85</sup> Yörük, p. 452.

Table 3. Villages and towns with the number of Armenian male tax payers:<sup>86</sup>

Village/Town of Kayseri <i>kaza</i>	Âlâ (rich)	Evsât (average)	Ednâ (poor)	Nefer (total male taxpayers)
Bala Gesi		28	69	90
Belviran		13	17	30
Cucun		41	32	73
Darsiyak		2	6	8
Derevank		10	22	35
Efkere		100	166	269
Erkilet		22	36	58
Germir		22	94	116
Gesi		2	6	8
Mancusun		17	73	90
Muncusun		52	37	90
Nize		22	58	81
Sarımsaklı		13	31	44
Talas		47	188	242
Tavlusun		17	14	32
Tomarza <sup>87</sup>		279	181	472
Total		687	1030	1745

Besides the *kaza* of Kayseri, non-Muslims resided in the other several kazas, such as Develi, Incesu,<sup>88</sup> Karahisar, Sarıođlan and Zamantı. The kazas of Develi and Sarıođlan were inhabited also both by Armenians and Greeks, whereas Zamantı was

<sup>86</sup> The data utilized for this table are based on the study by Dođan Yörük and include only the information on the Armenian population of Kayseri.

<sup>87</sup> Tomarza in the Develi shari'a records of the years 1899-1901 is indicated as *nahiye* (sub-district) within the *kaza* of Develi, while in Yörük's studies of the year 1843 Tomarza appeared as part of the *kaza* of Kayseri.

<sup>88</sup> Incesu appears Yörük's study both as a *kaza* and as a village (*karye*) within the *kaza* of Develi. This aspect is confirmed in several court records of Develi from late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in which Incesu is indicated as "Develü kazası kurasından Incesu karyesi" (the village Incesu of the Develi *kaza*), (Mustafa Ova, p.34) and as "Incesu kazası", (Ova, p.34).

inhabited only by Armenians and Incesu and Karahisar exclusively by Greeks. Among these kazas Develi resulted to be the one where the non-Muslim population was mostly concentrated.<sup>89</sup>

The *kaza* of Develi included six villages inhabited by Armenians, such as Çomaklı, Everek, Fenese, Ilbe, Incesu and Karacaviran. According to Doğan Yörük's study on the cizye registers of Kayseri for the year 1843, the total male taxpayers population of the kaza of Develi was 1049, of which 776 Armenians and 273 Greeks.<sup>90</sup>

Table 4. Villages and towns with the number of Armenian male tax payers:<sup>91</sup>

Villages/Towns of Develi <i>kaza</i>	Âlâ (rich)	Evsât (avarage)	Ednâ (poor)	Nefer (total male taxpayers)
Çomaklı	0	43	53	96
Everek	20	214	150	384
Fenese	10	92	80	182
Ilbe	0	2	4	6
Incesu	0	31	43	74
Karacaviran	0	13	21	34
Total	30	395	351	776

Develi shari'a court records of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveal that the villages and towns of the kaza of Develi developed into:

- 1 *nahiye* (sub-district) of Tomarza
- 2 *kasabas* (towns) of Everek and Fenese
- 4 *karyes* (villages) of Çomaklı, Ilbe, Incesu and Karacaviran.

The *nahiye* (sub-district) of Tomarza in the *sicils* of the years 1893-1895 appeared to include the *karye* (village) of Tomarza with three *mahalles* inhabited by Armenians,

<sup>89</sup> Yörük, p. 457.

<sup>90</sup> Yörük, p. 457.

<sup>91</sup> The data utilized for this table are based on the study by Doğan Yörük and include only the information on the Armenian population of Kayseri.

Tomarza mahallesi, Tomarza Yukarı mahallesi and Cami mahallesi.<sup>92</sup> On the other hand, according to later *sicils* as, for instance, the ones for the years 1899-1901, only two mahalles are mentioned, Tomarza Yukarı and Tomarza Cami, both inhabited also by Armenians.<sup>93</sup> In the shari'a court records of the years 1902-1903 Tomarza's status was changed into *kasaba* (town).<sup>94</sup> Tomarza was also an important religious center as, in addition to the church of Surp Boghos located in the center, it hosted Surp Asdvadzadzin, monastery which was an important pilgrimage site.<sup>95</sup>

The two towns Everek and Fenese were part of the Develi *kaza* located south-east of Kayseri and about 5 kilometers from the southern foot of Mount Erciyes.<sup>96</sup> Until 1915 they consisted of four adjoining villages, such as Everek, Fenese, Aygosten (Greek) and Develi or Everek Islam (Muslim).<sup>97</sup> In the *sicils* of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Muslim neighborhood might be identified with three different names Everek Cami-i Cedid, Everek Cami-i Kebir, Everek Fenese Islam,<sup>98</sup> whereas the Armenian ones as Everek Kilise, Everek Fenese Yukarı and Fenese Aşağı.<sup>99</sup>

The probable origins of the names Everek and Fenese are explained by Aleksan Krikorian.<sup>100</sup> As stated in his memoirs the name Everek (Evereg) derives from the Armenian word “averag” with the meaning of ruins, given to the town because of its establishment on the site of the ruins of a Byzantine city, attested by the ruins of Ayas Kadrina (Gedine) monastery and the ruins of the ancient Greek viillage of Gereme

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<sup>92</sup>Ayşe Arık Kaygısız, *1 Numaralı Develi Şer'iyye Sicili (H. 1311/M. 1893-H. 1313/M. 1895) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi*, Unpublished MA thesis, (Kayseri: Erciyes University, 2006), p. 254.

<sup>93</sup>Mustafa Salep, *9/1 Numaralı Develi Şer'iyye Sicili (H. 1317-1318/ M. 1899-1901) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi*, , Unpublished MA thesis, (Kayseri: Erciyes University, 2008), p. 32.

<sup>94</sup>Emine Subaşı, *52 Numaralı Develi Şer'iyye Sicili (H. 1320-1/M. 1902-3) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi*, , Unpublished MA thesis, (Kayseri: Erciyes University, 2006), p.123; See also: Mehmet Müse, *Develi Kazası (1839-1910)*, Unpublished PhD dissertation, (Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi, 2008).

<sup>95</sup> Barootian, p. 35.

<sup>96</sup> Kevorkian and Paboudjian, p. 225.

<sup>97</sup> Jack Der-Sarkissian, “A Tale of Twin Towns: Everek and Fenese”, in Hovannisian, G. Richard (Eds), *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia*, UCLA Armenian History & Culture Series, (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publisher, 2013), p. 266.

<sup>98</sup> These names might indicate all the same Muslim neighborhood in Everek-Fenese.

<sup>99</sup>Ayşe Arık Kaygısız, *1 Numaralı Develi Şer'iyye Sicili*, 1893-1895, p. 254.

<sup>100</sup>Aleksan Krikorian, *Evereg-Fenese: Its Armenian History and Traditions*, (Detroit: Evereg-Fenese Mesrobian-Roupinian Educational Society, 1990), (the original version was published in 1959).

(Kereme), an early Christian settlement on the southern foot of Mount Erciyes and the several fallen columns at the edge of Mount Erciyes.<sup>101</sup> Concerning Fenese, Krikorian gave the assumption that the name derived from the ancient local Greek monastery Fenis.<sup>102</sup>

Armenians started to settle in Everek in the early fourteenth century; they were originally from Adiyaman (Adıyaman), Vahka (Feke) and Sis (Kozan).<sup>103</sup> On the other hand, Fenese was settled almost two centuries later mostly by Armenians natives of Konya and later from Hajin (Saimbeyli). These two separate waves of immigrants led to some differentiations between the two towns, especially regarding linguistic aspects. For instance the dialect spoken in Fenese was more influenced by Turkish than the one spoken in Everek.<sup>104</sup>

In his memoirs Krikorian gives more specific information on the origins of the Armenian settlers of Fenese by affirming that the migrants were largely from Konya and vicinity, from Chemeshgatzak (Çemişgezek) and from Cilicia. He reports much information from Arzumanian's *History of Evereg* "the migrants from Konya started building their houses at the end of the Turkish quarter and continued building in the valley. The Armenians from Chemeshgetzek, according to tradition, settled near the *Veri Ked* (Upper River) developing that area."<sup>105</sup> Moreover, several families settling in Fenese were from Hadjin and some were natives of Ani, Erznga (Erzincan), Muş (Muş) and Vaspurakan (the region of Lake Van).<sup>106</sup>

Among the villages, Çomaklı resulted to be an important Armenian settlement, divided in two main Armenian quarters Çomaklı Yukarı (Uptown) and Çomaklı Aşağı (Downtown).<sup>107</sup> In the memoirs by Aris Kalfaian, Çomaklı is described as "one of the points on a triangle made up by Caesaria, Everek and Çomaklu."<sup>108</sup> It is situated 50 kilometers southeast of Kayseri and 10 kilometers from Mount Erciyes (Map I and Map

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<sup>101</sup> Krikorian, p. 4.

<sup>102</sup> Krikorian, p. 3.

<sup>103</sup> Raymond and Kevorkian, Paul B. Paboudjian, p. 229.

<sup>104</sup> Der-Sarkissian, p. 266.

<sup>105</sup> Krikorian, p. 11.

<sup>106</sup> As quoted in Krikorian, p. 11.

<sup>107</sup> Mustafa Salep, *9/1 Numaralı Develi Şer'iyye Sicili*, 1899-1901, p. 223.

<sup>108</sup> Aris Kalfaian, *Chomaklou: The History of an Armenian Village*, (New York: Chomaklou Compatriotic Society, 1980), p. 3.

II). From the analysis of the shari'a court records of Develi for the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, the majority of the population of Çomaklı were Armenian, as this demographic appears clearly from the higher number of cases brought to the court by Armenian subjects. Moreover, in the *sicils*, Çomaklı occurred to be the only village with an Armenian *muhtar* (head of a village) for the year 1894: Muhtar-ı evvel: Sergiz Kahya.<sup>109</sup>

## 1.2. Armenians in the Economic Life of Kayseri

In the nineteenth century, Kayseri evolved into a center for manufacturing and supplying of goods to other cities of the Ottoman Empire as Adana, Yozgat, Egin, Tokat, Sivas, and Istanbul. The Armenian merchants of Kayseri played an important role in the economy of the city both locally and internationally.

Some local merchants began to include into their business networks cities like Istanbul and Manchester:

According to Bishop Mushegh Seropian, this process started with Senekerim Manougian, who arrived in Constantinople in 1840 at the age of seventeen and began working in trade. Soon, he founded his own commercial firm and subsequently sent his cousin Garabed Yeghiazarian to Manchester to establish a branch of the family's firm.<sup>110</sup>

The Armenians controlled several marketplaces in Kayseri and they were exporting mostly cured sausages (*sucuk*), cotton, wool, leather, carpets, agricultural products and dry fruits.<sup>111</sup> Among all products produced, the production of pastrami (*pastırma*) was managed almost entirely by the Armenians of Kayseri. Moreover they were engaged in disparate professions, from manufacturing to professions as doctors, dentists, pharmacists, architects, painters, poets, and musicians.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Ayşe Arık Kaygısız, *I Numaralı Develi Şer'iyye Sicili*, 1893-1895, p. 255.

<sup>110</sup> Hovannisian, p. 198.

<sup>111</sup> Hovanissian, p. 198.

<sup>112</sup> Hovanissian, p. 200.



Everek and Fenese (Develi) appear to be an important commercial center. According to Krikorian's memoirs the commercial activities were almost exclusively practiced by the Armenians, as they "were primarily merchants, artisans, and investors who received commissions in livestock trading."<sup>113</sup> In both Everek and Fenese the business activities were concentrated in the main street around the marketplace and the bazaar areas. Fenese appeared to be the town where the blacksmiths shops were concentrated in the Western section of the town, whereas the Everek was the center of the master goldsmiths. Many Armenian families were involved in commercial activities, possessing stores of fine clothing goods, as silks, patterned cotton fabric, veils, coverlets, and such. Most of the commercial activities were family-run businesses passed from generation to generation. In his memoirs Krikorian mentions several examples of family-run businesses in Fenese as the fine clothing stores of M. Mıgırdıç Markarian and Sons, M. Kalajjian and Sons, M. Hagop Vanerian and Sons, and the Uçkardashian Brothers, as well as many others.<sup>114</sup>

According to Alboyajian, Everek had a large bazaar called Yoğurt Pazarı with 150 shops "all in Armenian hands."<sup>115</sup> Greek Orthodox testimonies highlight the higher social position of the Armenian traders and shopkeepers in Everek by affirming that: "there was a large market, some forty-two villages used to come and buy there. It was a rich marketplace populated by the Everek Armenians until 1915-1916."<sup>116</sup> Another Greek testimony reinforces saying: "At Everek, there was a big marketplace... Most of the shops were owned by Armenians, a few by Turks, and very few by Hellenes. Most of the trade was in the hands of Armenians."<sup>117</sup> According to Herve Georgelin the fact that these affirmations were made by Greek Orthodox refugees accentuates even more the social-economic situation of the Armenians in Everek because the Greek refugees were inclined to praise their own successes in the lost homeland rather than the achievements of another community. So it is clear that the Armenian economic supremacy was in Everek and was perceived even in the Greek village of Aykösten:

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<sup>113</sup> Krikoryan, p. 28.

<sup>114</sup> Krikoryan, p. 28.

<sup>115</sup> Herve Georgelin, "Armenians in Late Ottoman Rural Kesaria/ Kayseri," in *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia*, eds. Richard G. Hovannisian (Eds), UCLA Armenian History & Culture Series, (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publisher, 2013), p. 239.

<sup>116</sup> Georgelin, p. 239.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid, p. 239.

There were only Armenian craftsmen. Whenever we wanted a craftsman in our village (Aykösten), we called an Armenian. We had no Hellene craftsman...The Armenians were medical doctors and pharmacists, too. They used to study in Constantinople and come back to Everek.<sup>118</sup>

The *sicils* of the kaza of Develi include several references about the Armenian population of the villages. In the *sicil* of Develi of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there are many references to the Armenian market of Everek (Ermeni Çarşısı) and to the bazaar (Yoğurt Pazarı) located in Köleoğlu Street (Köleoğlu sokağı) in Everek. The cases related to Yoğurt Pazarı were brought in front of the kadı by Armenians as in the following examples:

Menam the wife of Tekir oğlu Ohannes and Turfanda the wife of Ohan were both owners of two shops in the Yoğurt Pazarı.<sup>119</sup>

In the inheritance (terekke) of Ohanyan Ohan veled-i Kirkor there is also a shop in the Yoğurt Pazarı.<sup>120</sup>

Similarly the market of Fenesse appears to be mainly in the hands of the Armenian population as it is showed by the cases in sharia court records:

Meryem Binti Mıgırdic was the owner of a shop in the Fenesse market.<sup>121</sup>

Seltanoğlu Tavid veledi Agop owned a shop in the Fenesse market.<sup>122</sup>

Makruhi binti Bedros inherited from his housbound Kevork Efendi two shops in the market of Fenesse in Melek Kirfer street.<sup>123</sup>

Despite the fact that most of the commercial activity in the region was in the hands of non-Muslims and that Armenians were known to be *sarafs* (moneychangers)

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<sup>118</sup> Hovannisian, pp. 239-240.

<sup>119</sup> Mustafa Salep, *9/1 Numaralı Develi Şer'iyye Sicili -1899-1901*, p. 32.

<sup>120</sup> Emine Subaşı, *52 Numaralı Develi Şer'iyye Sicili - 1902-3*, p. 123.

<sup>121</sup> Mustafa Ova, *Numaralı Develi Şer'iyye Sicili -1906-1907*, p. 32.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid*, p. 33.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid*, 1906-1907, p. 36.

and traders, the majority of the local Armenian population consisted of poor stock breeders and peasant farmers. In fact, the area of Kayseri was essentially agricultural and the regional economy was not suitable for sustaining a large bourgeoisie.<sup>124</sup> As regards especially the villages in mid-nineteenth century, the Armenians were mostly engaged in agriculture and the lack of adequate economic opportunities led to a movement of emigration to bigger cities, where they worked as traders and craftsman. For instance, Armenian shoemakers from Everek and Fenese left their towns and continued their work in Istanbul. Similarly, the village of Germir experienced a remarkable flow of emigration, as several inhabitants “migrated to Constantinople, Smyrna, Samsun, even Russia or Mosul as tailors, weavers, bricklayers or masons.”<sup>125</sup> Similar dynamics were at play also in the village of Talas, a mostly Greek settlement located five kilometers to the south of Kayseri (Table 1 and Table 2). Even though Talas was in a privileged condition, because of the economic success of some local families such as the Gulbenkian and the Khoubesserian, the majority of the male population migrated, at least temporarily, in search for occupation in other cities.<sup>126</sup> In Tomarza the Armenians were mostly engaged in husbandry, agriculture, and carpentry. There was also a great number of Armenian blacksmiths who were employed in family businesses.<sup>127</sup>

### 1.3. Change in the Armenian Population of Kayseri

At the end of the nineteenth century a population of around 15,000 Armenians seems to be residing the city of Kayseri, although the number varied through the course of the century due to several factors related to socioeconomic and political conditions. Among these conditions the immigration of Circassians and Afşars appears to have

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<sup>124</sup> Hovannisian, pp. 233-234.

<sup>125</sup> Hovannisian, p. 236.

<sup>126</sup> Bedross Der Matossian, “Ottoman Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia*, Richard G. Hovannisian (Eds), UCLA Armenian History & Culture Series, (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publisher, 2013), p. 238.

<sup>127</sup> Barootian, p. 27.

changed the ethnic balance.<sup>128</sup> A study by Metin Hülagü investigates the role of several Oğuz and Türkmen tribes in attacks to the people and goods in the city and surroundings of Kayseri.<sup>129</sup> The study refers to the Afşar, Dölek, Kazıklı, Kuzugüdenli, Küçükklü and Rişvan tribes as the ones responsible for the growing insecurity and violence in the *sancak* of Kayseri. The Afşar tribes resided in tents and pursued a nomadic life; Kayseri constituted a place of resort for other Afşar tribes from other *eyalets* or *sancaks*, as for instance the Afşars from the Eyalet of Maraş, whose pasture locations were situated in the *mahalles* of Çörmüşek and Pınarbaşı in the district of Zamantı, part of the sancak of Kayseri. These tribes consisting of nearly 200 households gradually became permanent inhabitants of the district of Zamantı. Dölek and Kazıklı tribes, affiliated administratively to the eyalet of Adana, reached the pastures on the mount Kozan in the vicinity of the district of Develi during summer. The Kuzugüdenli tribes resided with more than 66 households in the district of Zamantı. A part of the Rişvan tribes, after a nomadic lifestyle in the Eyalet of Konya, inhabited with the Küçükklü tribes in the area between the *sancak* of Bozok and Kırşehir.<sup>130</sup>

The cases of brigandage, killing and seizure were not limited to settled tribes, but inappropriate actions were also conducted by the tribes from neighboring eyalets, coming to Kayseri for pasture in summer. On their arrival, in the month of April, the tribes started feeding their animals in the local cultivated lands. At their departure in the month of August before the harvest season, the tribes were usually seized by force local peasants' crops; they were involved in brigandage activities in the roads and in the mountains, and they confiscated local's animals. According to Hülagü's study, these activities constituted a sort of tradition while attacking undefended and poor local people represented a sign of heroism for the tribes. Renegade members of the Rişvan tribes in particular became one of the key reasons of jeopardy in the region. Moreover, members of the tribe Kuzugündeli from Yine-il tribes, residing in the *sancak* of Kayseri were involved in theft and banditry, including the robbery in the churches of village Karacaviran in the *sancak* of Kayseri. The tribe members stole all sorts of religious

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<sup>128</sup> Der Matossian, p. 191.

<sup>129</sup> M. Metin Hülagü, "Ondokuzuncu Asrın Ortalarında Kayseri'de Aşiret Olayları (1845-1865)," in *Geçmişte İzleriyle Kayseri*, Mustafa Keskin and M. Metin Hülagü (Eds), (Kayseri: Erciyes University, 2007).

<sup>130</sup> Hülagü, pp. 141-142.

belongings of the churches ranging from the candlesticks to the priests' clothing, pillaging the animals; committed abuses and rapes.<sup>131</sup>

The severe conditions created by the nomadic tribes in the region of Kayseri led the population to take action through a series of complaints to the administrative authorities in order to prevent future disorders asking to expel the tribes and resettle them in other areas. In the cases when the local authorities failed to regulate the disorders the local population of Kayseri began to address their complaints directly to Istanbul. The Greek and Armenian communities directed their complaints to their Patriarchates in Istanbul, which in turn represented their cases in front of the authorities. For instance, in the case of the village Karacaviran in the sancak of Kayseri, a petition submitted by the villagers summarizes some episodes involving tribes' members, mentioning the names of 200 members of the tribes who assaulted their village, a list of properties taken, churches which have been destroyed, women who have been kidnapped and brought to the mountains. They declared that their land and properties, which they were forced to leave out of fear, had been used by others.<sup>132</sup>

In his study investigating the process of settlement of nomadic tribes in Kayseri and surrounding villages during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Mustafa Keskin too underlines the influence of nomadic tribes in compromising the balance of the region and points out the important role they played in the process of Turkification of the region by setting down the nomads.<sup>133</sup>

These waves of brigandage and assaults caused by the tribes seem to have led the population to a really harsh situation combined with other natural disasters as earthquakes, famine and cholera epidemics which caused to a temporary decline of the population. In 1835 a strong earthquake affected Kayseri and the villages in its vicinity. The epicenter was in Develi and touched the villages of Talas, Darsiyak, Efkere, Germir, Tavlusun, Mancusun, and Gesi. The earthquake caused the destruction of the covered bazaar and of many buildings, as the Yanıkoğlu and Kazancılar mosques in

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<sup>131</sup> Hülügü, p. 143.

<sup>132</sup> Hülügü, p. 145.

<sup>133</sup> Keskin, p. 62; Hülügü, p. 147.

Kayseri.<sup>134</sup> Moreover, several Armenian and Greek churches were destroyed in the villages.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, periodic waves of plague and cholera developed into pandemic in 1813-19 and the 1830's.<sup>135</sup> According to a British report in 1847, 600 people died as a result of cholera in Kayseri.<sup>136</sup> Moreover, several waves of famine attacked the region in the years 1820-21, 1845, 1873-74 and 1886. A letter of M. Farnsworth written in May 1874 to the *Levant Herald* in Constantinople represents a testimony of this destructive famine in Kayseri and Talas:

The number of families which we are aiding in this city now amounts to about 1000, nearly equally divided between Turks and Rayahs. As our agents go among the poorer of the people, and search into the condition of the worst parts of the city, they are astonished at the amount and the degree of misery that exists. It is certain that people are actually dying of hunger... Indeed, there is such an amount of poverty in this city of 40.000 people, that our efforts can be limited only by the means at our disposal. We continue our distribution in Talas and several neighboring towns and villages, but now there comes to us a fearful cry from the starving in places more remote.<sup>137</sup>

Another letter by Mr. Bartlett reports the situation in Kayseri and Talas and other many villages in the vicinity:

We are glad to report that the Armenians have been distributing money to the poor of their own community in Talas, and are preparing to do so in Cesarea and the neighboring villages[...] We shall then be distributing with our own hands to the suffering poor in Cesarea, Talas, Stephana, Zinjirdere, Akja-Kaya, Endilik, Asarjik, Kuran-Ordoo, Erkelet and Germir.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Tekinsoy Kemalettin, *Kayseri'nin İmarı ve Mekansal Gelişimi*, p. 258 available online:

[http://www.kayseri.bel.tr/web2/uploads/eDergiler/kayseri\\_imar/index.html](http://www.kayseri.bel.tr/web2/uploads/eDergiler/kayseri_imar/index.html)

<sup>135</sup> Daniel Panzac, *La peste dans l'Empire ottoman 1700-1850*, (Louvain: Ed.Peeters, 1985) after Hülya Canbakal and Alpay Filiztekin, *Wealth and Inequality in Ottoman Lands in the Early Modern Period*, Draft prepared for AALIMS- Rice University Conference on the Political Economy of the Muslim World, 4-5 April 2013, p. 12.

<sup>136</sup> Der Matossian, p. 191.

<sup>137</sup> *The Famine in Asia-Minor: Its history, compiled from the pages of the "Levent Herald"*, (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1989), p. 3.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid*, p. 5.

#### 1.4. A Sketch of the End of the Armenian Presence in Kayseri

Whereas on one hand different causes, as nomadic tribes, epidemics and famine, contributed to change the equilibrium in the region, on the other hand, more drastic changes dramatically affected the Armenian population starting from 1890's onwards. In Kayseri and the villages in the area, as other regions of Anatolia, Armenian political activity increased through the actions of the Armenian revolutionary parties from the 1880's on. Although the support among the local peasant population was very limited, Sultan Abdülhamid II felt the necessity to respond to this growing influence of the parties by creating irregular militias from Kurdish tribes (Hamidiye) in 1890.<sup>139</sup> The Hamidiye regiments' attacks led to counter-assaults by the activist Armenian revolutionaries resulting in countrywide massacres of Armenians in 1895.<sup>140</sup> The massacres conducted under the rule of Abdulhamid II in the two years between 1894 and 1896 led to the killing of 100.000 Armenians, including 1.000 in Kayseri.<sup>141</sup> As a result of these massacres many Armenians, out of fear and because of the worsening political and economic conditions, left Kayseri for moving to Istanbul, Europe and the United States.<sup>142</sup>

The Young Turk revolution in 1908 and the reinstatement of the Constitution instilled into the Armenians enthusiasm and optimism, which lasted for a very short period of time, as in 1909 20.000 Armenians were killed in the Adana massacres.<sup>143</sup> With the coup d'état by the CUP in 1913, the state ideology of pan-Turkism legitimized the hostility and mass violence towards the Armenian population. In Kayseri Armenian shops, houses and workshops were subjected to violent attacks.<sup>144</sup> The election of Professor Garabed Tumayan of Kayseri, as deputy to the Ottoman parliament, represented a reason of hope among the episodes of violence that interested the city of

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<sup>139</sup> Uğur Ümit Üngör and Mehmet Polatel, *Confiscation and Destruction: The Young Turk Seizure of Armenian Property*, (London: Continuum, 2011), p. 21

<sup>140</sup> Üngör and Polatel, p. 22.

<sup>141</sup> Simon Payaslian, "The Fateful Years: Kesaria during the Genocide", in *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia*, Richard G. Hovannisian (Eds), UCLA Armenian History & Culture Series, (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publisher, 2013), p. 285.

<sup>142</sup> Payaslian, p. 285.

<sup>143</sup> Payaslian, p. 288.

<sup>144</sup> Alboyajiyani, p. 1440.

Kayseri. This election and the optimistic feelings shared among the Armenians of Kayseri lasted for a very short period of time, as on the 28<sup>th</sup> of July 1914 the First World War began.<sup>145</sup>

The persecutions, massacres and deportations of Armenians began in February 1915, and increased in the month of May, when in Kayseri and in the villages the Armenians were subjected to house-to-house searches for weapons, which were followed by pillage and plunder.<sup>146</sup> In the meantime many Armenians were arrested and several leading personalities of the Armenian community of Kayseri were executed and members of the church were imprisoned. During the month of May nearly 200 Armenians were arrested with the accusation of possession of weapons and of participation to revolutionary movements. Mass arrests and executions intensified in June 1915, including episodes in Kayseri, as the execution of several Armenians in the Komur Square, accused of affiliation with political organizations.<sup>147</sup> Violence continued to grow in July as the local court martial “condemned more than fifty Armenians to death; eight prisoners brought from Everek were sent to gallows in Kesaria....this was followed by the execution of fifteen community leaders on August 13.”<sup>148</sup>

The mass deportations from Kayseri started in June 1915 and a few weeks later the entire Armenian population of Kayseri was ordered to leave.<sup>149</sup> The first deportation and appropriation of Armenian properties in Kayseri is described as follows by Alboyajian:

On August the first caravan of Armenians from Kesaria began to move toward Nigde, as dictated by the public notice of July 26. Among its provisions, the notice ordered the local police to seal all Armenian shops, prohibited the sale by the current occupants of furniture and movable goods, required that any such sale be supervised by local authorities, and directed the departing Armenians to prepare an inventory of the household goods being left behind and to deposit their monies at a local bank or to transfer all funds to a relative’s account.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Kevorkian, p. 514.

<sup>146</sup> Payaslian, p. 297.

<sup>147</sup> Payaslian, p. 298.

<sup>148</sup> Payaslian, p. 299.

<sup>149</sup> Payaslian, p. 303.

<sup>150</sup> Alboyajian, p. 1441.



The deportation of Armenians from the villages in the vicinity of Kayseri continued in July with nearly 1,700 Armenians being deported from Çomaklı, followed by the Armenians of Derevenk.<sup>151</sup> On August 9, around 500 Apostolic Armenian men were forced from their homes and murdered. From this moment onwards the deportations and the killings increased dramatically. By the end of August 1915 the Armenians of Kayseri almost entirely disappeared.<sup>152</sup> The Armenian population of Kayseri in the year 1914 was composed of 48,659 Apostolic Armenians and 1,515 Catholic Armenians; whereas in 1918 the Armenian population was reduced to 6,650.<sup>153</sup> The reduction and disappearance of the Armenian population soon reflected in the destruction and deteriorating condition of Armenian religious structures in the region. (For a summary of the Ottoman Armenian population refer to Appendix 2)

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<sup>151</sup> Payaslian, p. 304.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, p. 307.

<sup>153</sup> Taner Akçam, *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 260-262.

## ARMENIAN CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES IN KAYSERI AND SURROUNDINGS

The history of Armenian architecture can be studied in four main phases: the formative period, the medieval period, the flourishing of monasteries period and the modern period. Starting with the conversion to Christianity and ending with the Arab invasion and occupation of Armenia, between the fourth and seventh centuries, the formative period constituted the golden age of the Armenian architecture. It was followed by 200 years without any church or other monuments' construction. The medieval period, between ninth and eleventh centuries, was characterized by a revival of architectural activity under the Bagratid kingdom of Ani and Kars, the Artsrunis of Aghtmar and the area of Lake Van, and the rulers of Siunik. This period ended with the loss of political autonomy and destruction of the Armenian kingdoms by the invasion of Seljukids after the mid-eleventh century. Between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries religious Armenian architecture experienced a flourishing construction of large monastic complexes. This phase came to halt with Timur's invasion of Greater Armenia and the destruction of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia by the Mamluks in 1375. For a period of two centuries architectural activity stopped. It was only in the seventeenth century that a limited number of new buildings, including the two churches part of the Echmiadzin complex, were built under the rule of the Safavids.<sup>154</sup>

The modern phase with the emergence of Tanzimat Reforms in 1839 saw a considerable change in the condition of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, including a new phase of construction of new churches and renovation of old ones.<sup>155</sup> In this period, many Orthodox Greek and Armenian churches were rebuilt in Kayseri. Almost all the surrounding villages inhabited by non-Muslims had at least one church. Currently it is difficult to provide an exact number of the Armenian churches once

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<sup>154</sup> Jean-Michel Thierry, *Armenian Art*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989, pp.124-125.

<sup>155</sup> Şeyda Güngör Açıköz, "Armenians and the Churches of Kayseri in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century" in *Armenians in the Ottoman Society*, Erciyes University 1<sup>st</sup> International Social Symposium [EUSA-1] v. II, (Kayseri: Erciyes University), No. 162 (2007), p. 408.

erected in the region, especially due to the lack of documentation. In this study, I refer to Alboyajian's list of churches and monasteries for the center of Kayseri and the surrounding villages,<sup>156</sup> as his study on the history of the Armenian Kayseri presents the most detailed and precise information.

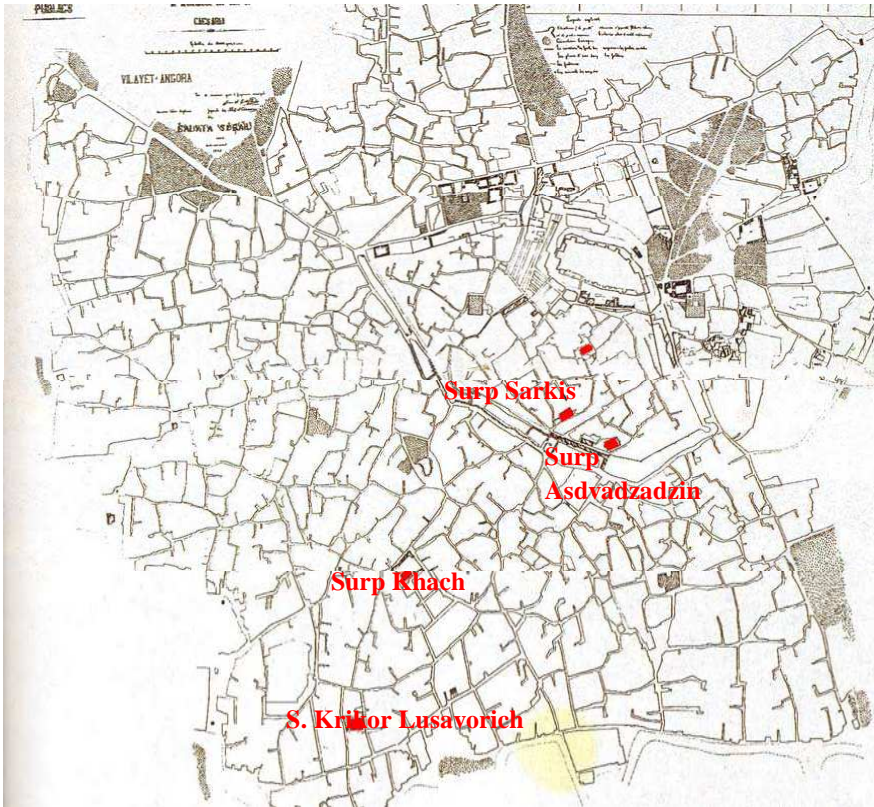
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<sup>156</sup> Arshag Alboyajian, *Patmutiun Hay Kesario* [The History of Armenian Kesaria], Vol.I, (Cairo: Kesario ev Shrjakayits Hayrenaksakan Miutiun, 1937).

## 2.1. Armenian churches in the center of Kayseri

The center of Kayseri had seven Gregorian churches, one Catholic and at least two Protestant churches. Among these churches only four of them can be located precisely on a map:

Map 4.<sup>157</sup> The Armenian churches in the center of Kayseri, the Gregorian churches of Surp Sarkis, Surp Asdvadzadzin and Surp Krikor Lusavorich and the Catholic church of Surp Khach.



It is possible to trace the whereabouts of the church of Surp Yeghya, although the precise location cannot be designated.

According to a document dated 1723/1135, the church of Surp Yeghya was partially destroyed by an earthquake in the quarter of Mermerli, which led the internal and external walls in ruins with presence of rain water draining into the interior of the church.<sup>158</sup> In 1781, after applying to the court, permission for restoration was granted to

<sup>157</sup> Şeyda Güngör Açığöz, *Kayseri ve Çevresindeki 19.Yüzyıl Kiliseleri ve Korunmaları İçin Öneriler*, Unpublished PhD dissertation (Istanbul: İ.T.Ü University, 2007), p. 275.

<sup>158</sup> Açığöz, p. 140.

architect Mustafa.<sup>159</sup> In the shari'a court record a church with the same name appeared to be in the quarter of Tutak with the name of the trustee Mıgırđıç in the year 1796. According to the list of churches presented by the Armenian Patriarchate to the Ottoman government (Bab-ı Ali) in a *ferman* for restoration of the year 1831 the church appeared to be in the neighborhood of Selimpaşa, without any reference to the year of its destruction.<sup>160</sup> Alboyajian did not mention Surp Yeghya Church among the churches he listed for the center of Kayseri, so most probably this church had been completely destroyed before 1937, the date of publication of his work.

Alboyajian mentions the Church of Surp Krikor founded in 1191, twelve years after the establishment of the episcopate,<sup>161</sup> as the first church of Kayseri and he argues that the church of Surp Krikor Lusavoriç was built on its site.<sup>162</sup> Moreover, he mentions two other churches Surp Stepanos and Surp Mergerios, of which he gives some indications related to religious documents mentioning the names of the two churches. Surp Stepanos appeared in a document dated 1275 and was destroyed before the nineteenth century.<sup>163</sup> Surp Mergerios appeared in several religious documents of the years 1206, 1552, 1610 and 1621, but the years of construction and destruction are unknown. However, the church seemed to be used for religious feast celebrations until the seventeenth century.<sup>164</sup> Concerning the location of Surp Mergerios Church some indications are given by Tiridat Bishop Balyan, who described the church as being situated in the east after 30 minutes of walking from the center of Kayseri.<sup>165</sup> Simeon of Poland described it as being located outside the city walls facing the holy tomb of Barsegh of Cesarea with Mount Erciyes standing at a distance of one mile to the south. Surp Mergerios appeared to be already in ruins at the time Simeon traveled to Kayseri (1618) and in his accounts it is described as:

The holy tomb of Barsegh of Caesarea is outside the city. There was a large church facing it on the eastern side. It is now in ruins and Armenians bury their dead there. Its stones have been removed for the construction of

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid, p.140.

<sup>160</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 140.

<sup>161</sup> Episcopate is the collective body of all the bishops of a church (Oxford dictionaries available online: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com>).

<sup>162</sup> Alboyajian, p. 892.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, p. 893.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, p. 893.

<sup>165</sup> As cited in Alboyajian, p. 894.

the citadel. On the south side, beyond the wall, stands the large church of the warrior Merkourios, whose tomb is located inside. It is also in ruins; only a small dome remains. There is an altar over the holy tomb, where every Monday the entire city visits with incense and candles.<sup>166</sup>

Another church in the center of Kayseri is Surp Sarkis, located in the quarter of İçeri Hisar (İçeri Şar). Surp Sarkis Church appeared in the travel accounts by Simeon of Poland, where it is described as located in dark places that are dug in the ground.<sup>167</sup> The church was rebuilt first in 1834 with the support of Sarkis Ağa Giumshian<sup>168</sup> and renovated in 1884 by Bedros Martarian to be restored once again in 1902 by an artisan Gabriel Iplikcian.<sup>169</sup> The three doors of the church respectively faced the marketplace, the street leading to the church of Surp Asvadzadzin, and the street leading to the Greek quarter. The second door was reported to be at a distance of 100 feet.<sup>170</sup>

Another church mentioned by Alboyajian is Surp Parsegh Hayrapet, described in a religious document of the year 1621 as the most luxurious church in Kayseri. By the time he visited Kayseri, in the 1930s, the church was already destroyed. Alboyajian does not provide information about the date of construction, however he hesitatingly identifies some of its ruins. The location of the remains in the south of Kayseri, outside the inhabited neighborhoods, suggests that Surp Parsegh Hayrapet was probably a monastery.<sup>171</sup>

In the center of Kayseri, except for Gregorian churches, there were also Protestant and Catholic churches. Catholic and Protestant Armenians benefited from the conditions stipulated in the Treaty of Adrianople concluding the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829 and the consequent Ottoman Tanzimat reform period starting in 1839. The first Protestant Armenians were recorded in Kayseri in 1852. Starting with the year 1873 Protestant missionaries began to build several places of worship in the center of Kayseri. A Protestant church in the street of Söğütçeşme starts appearing in tax registers

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<sup>166</sup> George A. Bournoutian, *The Travel Accounts of Simeon of Poland*, (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2007), p. 273.

<sup>167</sup> Bournoutian, p. 189.

<sup>168</sup> Bedross Der Matossian, "Ottoman Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri in the Nineteenth Century" in *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia*, Richard G. Hovannisian (Eds), UCLA Armenian History & Culture Series, Mazda Publisher, 2013, p. 196.

<sup>169</sup> Alboyajian, p. 898.

<sup>170</sup> Alboyajian, p. 897.

<sup>171</sup> Alboyajian, p. 899.

in the 1880s, including its property of three caravanserais and one house. In the beginning of the twentieth century, Kayseri had two Protestant churches, one of them was most probably situated in the quarter of Bahçebaşı and used both as a house and place of worship.<sup>172</sup>

Moreover in the quarter of Bahçebaşı another church was present, the Surp Khach church belonging to the Catholic Armenian community of Kayseri. By 1886, through the efforts of Father Boghos Emanuelian the number of Armenian Catholic households raised to forty “and by the end of his long tenure the Catholic community had grown several folds, being served by three Armenian and three Jesuit priests.”<sup>173</sup> The Catholic church Surp Khach (Haç), which began to be constructed in 1871 and finished in 1889 (Map.1), most probably is the one described by Nauman as new and the most beautiful church in town, during his visit to Kayseri in the year 1893.<sup>174</sup>

Not all the churches previously mentioned exist in Kayseri anymore. Only two churches are still standing, Surp Asdvadzadzin and Surp Krikor Lusavorich, the former utilized as a sport center (currently under restoration to be a cultural center) and the latter still used as a church.

### **2.1.1. Surp Asdvadzadzin Church**

Surp Asdvadzadzin Church (Fig.1) is situated in the quarter of Kiçikapı,<sup>175</sup> known as Emir Sultan neighborhood until the early twentieth century (Map 1, Map 2). Noting the appearance of the name of this church in a manuscript dated 1277, Alboyajian traces the construction back to around the year 200.<sup>176</sup> However, Alboyajian seems to have been mistaken since it was not until 301 that Armenians accepted Christianity and started building churches. According to an Ottoman document of 1725, the church was firstly destroyed by an earthquake and the government granted the reconstruction of a smaller version of the church. However the church was rebuilt with the same scale as

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<sup>172</sup> Der Matossian, p. 197.

<sup>173</sup> Der Matossian, p. 197.

<sup>174</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 141.

<sup>175</sup> Kiçikapı is name mentioned by Alboyajian and it is still known today and used to refer to that quarter.

<sup>176</sup> Alboyajian, p. 894.

before the earthquake. A court record from 1781 refers to a request for permission for restoration due to the risk of collapse; the permission was granted by a *ferman* by the central government.<sup>177</sup> Another *ferman* dated 1831 testified a successive restoration of the church.<sup>178</sup>

In the western facade of the church under an oval window, an inscription revealed the year 1835 as the year of reconstruction of Surp Asdvadzadzin church. Furthermore, two inscriptions in Armenian can be still read, above the door between the narthex and the naos, even though they are covered by a Turkish flag on the upper side and an inscription in Turkish under it. The first inscription indicates 1838 as the year of construction of the church with help by an ağa Garabet Zartaryan; whereas the second one, on which sultan Mahmud is remembered to be the one granting the construction of the church. According to Boghos Zekiyian, this inscription is dated 1841-1842.<sup>179</sup>

In the year 1895 the Armenians of Kayseri sought refuge in this church while escaping from the attacks by the Turks and Kurds. The church of Surp Asdvadzadzin was known among the people of Kayseri as “Büyük Jam” (Great Church).<sup>180</sup> The church continued to function until the First World War, whereafter it was used for different purposes: as storage, exhibition hall, municipality building, police station. Finally in the year 1961 it was assigned to the Provincial Directorship of Youth and Sports (Gençlik ve Spor İl Müdürlüğü).<sup>181</sup> It has been used as a sport center until recently and it is currently under restoration to become a cultural center. (Fig.2).

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<sup>177</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 141.

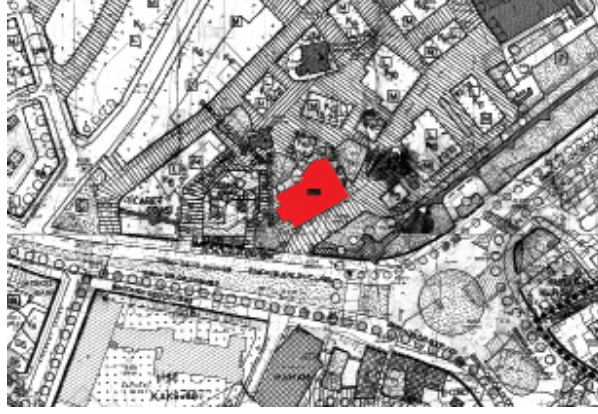
<sup>178</sup> Ibid, p. 141.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid, p. 142.

<sup>180</sup> Alboyajian, p. 897.

<sup>181</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 143.





Map 5. A map of the center of Kayseri and the location of Surp Astvadzadzin Church<sup>182</sup>



Fig.1 Surp Sarkis Church in 1910<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Yıldray Özbek and Celil Arslan. *Kayseri Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıkları Envanteri*, (Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediye, 2006), p.799.

<sup>183</sup> Osman Köker, *100 Yil Önce Türkiye'de Ermeniler*, (İstanbul: Birzamanlar Yayıncılık, 2005), p. 164.



Fig.2 The building until recently used as a sport center is today under restoration.<sup>184</sup>



Fig.3 The main entrance of the church<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Kayseri Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıkları Envanteri, p. 801

<sup>185</sup> Field visit to Kayseri on 13 November 2014



Fig.4 The western façade of Surp Asdvadzadzin church<sup>186</sup>

### 2.1.2. Surp Krikor Lusavorich Church

The Church of Surp Krikor Lusavorich (Fig.3) in the quarter Dışarı Şar/Dışarı Hisar (today's Caferbey Mahallesi) was rebuilt in 1859, following the establishment of the Armenian school Karamercan in 1857.<sup>187</sup> The church is dedicated to the patron saint and first official head of the Armenian Apostolic Church who started his monastic life in Cappadocia during the late third century and served as the Archbishop of Kesaria in the fourth century.

An inscription in the church indicates that the building went through a significant restoration between the years 1883-1885. In 1902-1903 the golden decorations inside the church have been covered, the women section, the chorus place and the place assigned to religious services have been enlarged.<sup>188</sup> The church was under the same administration of the Surp Sarkis Church, until 1878. Later it was attached to another neighborhood together with the Armenian school Gümüşyan.<sup>189</sup> Not in use during the First World War, Surp Krikor Lusavorich church reopened in 1919 following a small-scale restoration. Finally it was reutilized for worship only in 1999. Today, Surp

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<sup>186</sup> Field visit to Kayseri on 13 November 2014.

<sup>187</sup> Acıkgöz, p. 148, and Alboyacıyan, p. 899.

<sup>188</sup> Acıkgöz, p. 148.

<sup>189</sup> Acıkgöz, p. 148.

Lusavorich Church is the only Armenian church functioning in the central Anatolia (Fig.4).<sup>190</sup> Currently the church opens its doors once a year during spring for Easter celebrations. During my visit to Kayseri the church was closed. The comments of the inhabitants of the neighborhood suggest that the opening of the church for one day a year represents a kind of event for neighborhood in general. The church appeared in a worse condition than expected; some of the external walls are partially collapsed and repaired with rudimentary materials (Fig.5).<sup>191</sup>

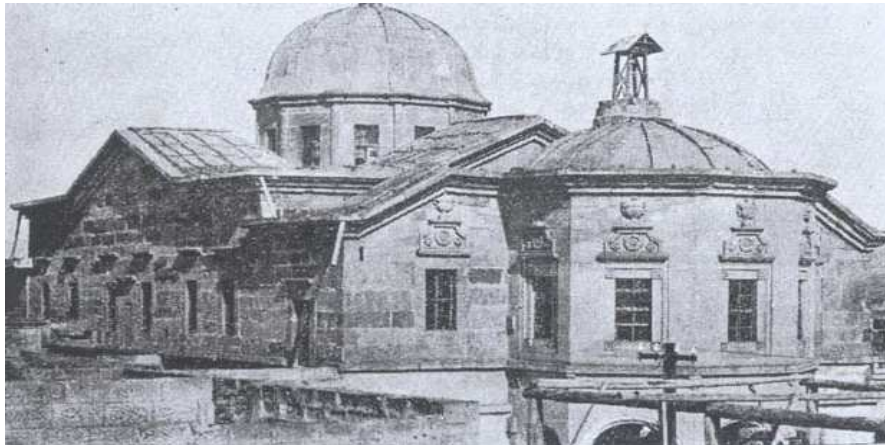


Fig.5 Surp Krikor Lusavorich in 1930s.<sup>192</sup>



Fig.6 Surp Krikor Lusavorich Church in its current condition.

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<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Field visit to Kayseri on 13 November 2014.

<sup>192</sup> Alboyajian, p. 900.



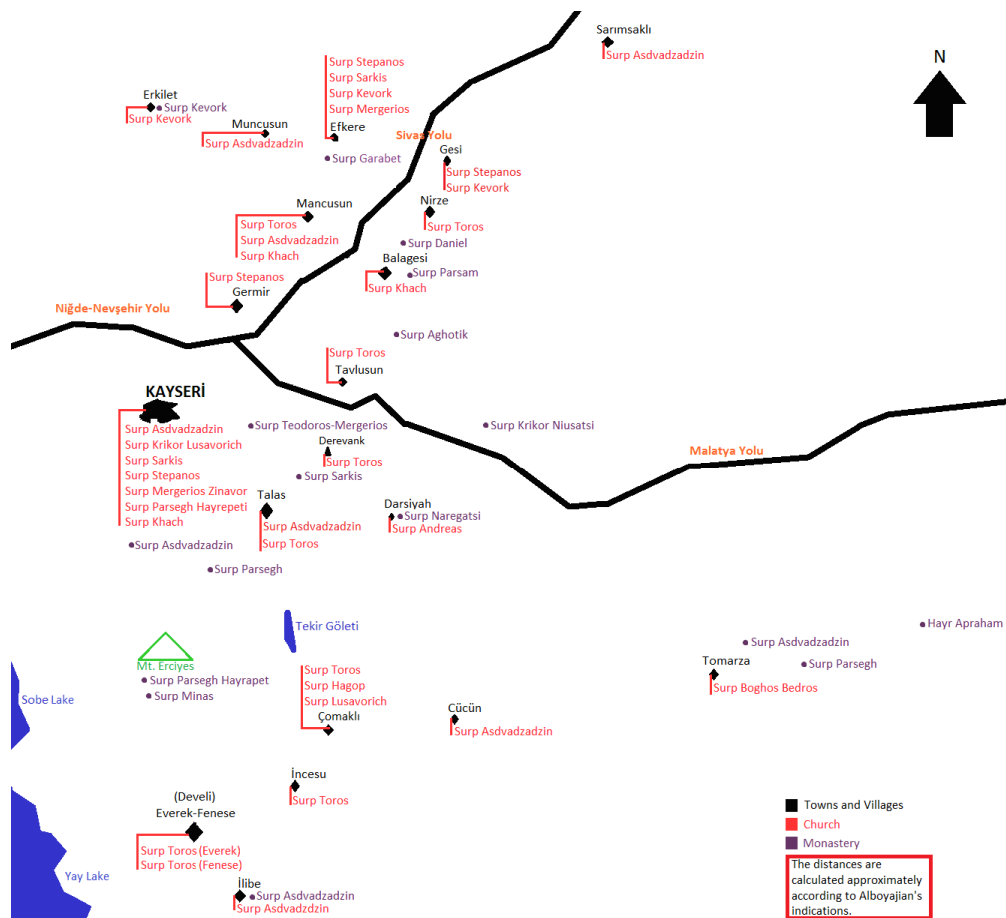
Fig. 7 The entrance façade presents partially collapsed walls.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Field visit to Kayseri on 13 November 2014.

## 2.2. Armenian Churches and Monasteries in the Surroundings of Kayseri

It is extremely challenging to indicate an exact number of churches and monasteries for the villages in the Kayseri *kaza* and Develi *kaza* the center of Kayseri, as for the center of Kayseri. The following map represents my attempt to locate the churches and monasteries as described by Alboyanian:



Map 6. Churches and Monasteries in the *kaza* of Kayseri and in the *kaza* of Develi



### 2.2.1. Armenian Churches in the Villages around Kayseri

The following table lists the villages inhabited by Armenians and the corresponding churches, including information on their year of reconstruction, current use and current condition.

<b>Village / Town</b>	<b>Church</b>	<b>Year of Reconstruction</b>	<b>Current Use</b>	<b>Current Condition</b>
Balagesi	Surp Khach	1842	Not in use	Partially standing
Çomaklı	Surp Toros	1837	House+barn	Partially standing
	Surp Hagop	1860	Not in use	?
	Surp Lusavorich	1890	Not in use	?
Cücün	Surp Asdvadzadzin	?	?	?
Darsiyak	Surp Andreas	1722/1728	Not in use	Completely destroyed
Derevank	Surp Toros	?	?	?
	Surp Asdvadzadzin	?	?	?
Efkere	Surp Stepanos	1871/1886	Not in use	Partially standing
	Surp Sarkis	1720s	?	?
	Surp Kevork	1720s	?	?
	Surp Mergerios	?	Not in use	Completely destroyed
Erkilet	Surp Kevork	?	?	?
Everek	Surp Toros	1835	Mosque	Preserved
Fenese	Surp Toros	1835	Not in use	Completely destroyed
Germir	Surp Stepanos	1835	Not in use	Ruined
Gesi	Surp Stepanos	1720s	Not in use	Partially standing
	Surp Kevork	1720s	Not in use	Ruined
Ilibe	Surp Asdvadzadzin	?	?	?

Inceu	Surp Toros	1835	Not in use	Ruined
Kayeri	Surp Krikor Lusavorich	Built in 1859/ restored in 1883-1885	Church	Preserved
	Surp Asdvadzadzin	1835/1885	Sport center/currently under restoration	Preserved
	Surp Sarkis	16 <sup>th</sup> century	Not in use	Completely destroyed
	Surp Khach	1889	Not in use	Completely destroyed
Mancusun	Surp Toros	Late 15 <sup>th</sup> century	Not in use	?
	Surp Asdvadzadzin	1836	Not in use	Ruined
	Surp Khach	Late 15 <sup>th</sup> century	Not in use	?
Muncusun	Surp Asdvadzadzin	17 <sup>th</sup> century	Not in use	?
Nirze	Surp Toros	Mid 17 <sup>th</sup> century	?	?
Sarımsaklı	Surp Asdvadzadzin	1869	?	?
Talas	Surp Toros	Mid 17 <sup>th</sup> century	Not in use	Completely destroyed
	Surp Asdvadzadzin	?	Not in use	Ruined
Tavlusun	Surp Toros	1835	Not in use	Partially standing
Tomarza	Surp Boghos Bedros	1835	Storage	Partially standing

Table 5. Armenian Churches of Kayseri and surrounding villages. In the table are listed the churches present in Kayseri and surrounding villages and towns.<sup>194</sup>

<sup>194</sup> As regards the year of reconstruction, I utilized the information reported by Alboyajian, whereas for the use and the current conditions I utilized data reported by Açıkgöz and the inventory realized from the municipality of Kayseri.



Among the reconstruction dates reported by Alboyajian and Açıkgöz the dates 1720s and 1835 appear repeatedly. Tülay Artan explains the reconstruction activities in 1720's with Grand Vezir Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Paşa's project of settlement and rebuilding his hometown, namely Muşkara village, now Nevşehir, 70-80 kilometers to the west of Kayseri.<sup>195</sup> At around this time many churches, Orthodox or Armenian, in Cappadocia including Kayseri and its environs were rebuilt. On the other hand, the numerous reconstructions in 1835 undoubtedly occurred after the major earthquake, which in the same year caused significant damage to the buildings of Kayseri.

The following list presents descriptions of twelve churches, through collected information and through the field visit in November 2014. These churches are Surp Toros in Tavlusun, Surp Stepanos in Efkere, Surp Stepanos in Germir, Surp Boghos Bedros in Tomarza, Surp Toros in Everek, Surp Toros in Fenese, Surp Asdvadzadzin in Gesi, Surp Toros in Nirze, Surp Toros and Surp Asdvadzadzin in Talas, Surp Khach in Balagesi, and Surp Toros in Derevank.

#### *Tavlusun Surp Toros Church*

Surp Toros Church is located in the village of Tavlusun, northwest of the Greek church of Agios Basileos in a sloping area (Map. 4).<sup>196</sup> According to a *ferman* of restoration of 1835 and a *tapu tahrir* register of 1872, Surp Toros Church appeared to be collocated in Kilise Sokağı in Aşağı Ermeni quarter (Map 4).<sup>197</sup> By 1907 both the school and church were already closed; however the church was reopened to worship and a pastor was permanently appointed.<sup>198</sup> After 1915 the church was closed to worship.<sup>199</sup> Currently the building is partially intact, but most of the interior frescos have been damaged. Furthermore the church was attacked and damaged by treasure seekers.<sup>200</sup>

Several sections of the structure are collapsed: the gallery, a part of the staircase from the courtyard to the gallery and the pavement in front of the entrance to gallery are

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<sup>195</sup> Personal communication on 15 June 2014.

<sup>196</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 42.

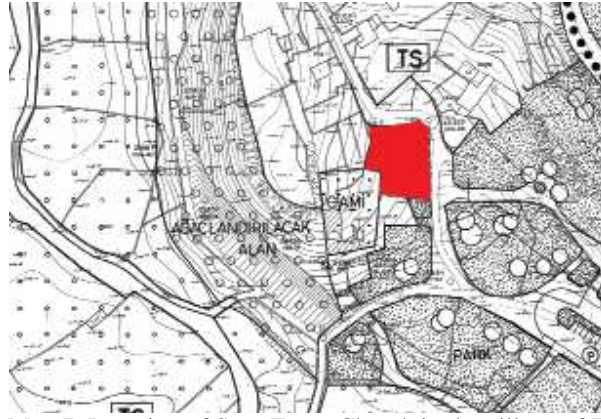
<sup>197</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 43.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid, p. 760.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid, p. 760.

<sup>200</sup> Kayseri Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıkları Envanteri, p. 791.

demolished. Moreover on the roof, the bell tower on the southern edge is ruined and the presbytery or probably the Mesrobian School is demolished.<sup>201</sup> The church has been subject to acts of vandalism: the stones on both sides of the door of the entrance façade have been removed and the inscription has been scraped and made illegible; the window irons of the apse have been partially disassembled and the ones which could not have been removed were broken; the walls have been ruined with writings and wall paintings have been partially destroyed.<sup>202</sup> The half dome of the apse has been destroyed and the acoustic cubes removed.<sup>203</sup> Furthermore, the church was partially destroyed by treasure seekers,<sup>204</sup> including the pavement of the naos, although part of the disassembled stones were left in place.<sup>205</sup> The main cause determining the deterioration of the structure is neglect. For instance, in the interior, the majority of plaster and most of the stucco covering the vaults are detached, probably because of the presence of rainwater and vegetation grown in the interior of the church.<sup>206</sup> The exterior of the church is also damaged, as parts of the roof are covered with vegetation and some stones from the courtyard walls detached.<sup>207</sup>



Map 7. Location of Surp Toros Church in the village of Tavlusun.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Acıkgöz, p. 46.

<sup>202</sup> Acıkgöz, p. 47.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid, p. 47.

<sup>204</sup> Kayseri Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıkları Envanteri, p. 791.

<sup>205</sup> Acıkgöz, p. 47.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid, p. 47.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid, p. 47.

<sup>208</sup> Kayseri Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıkları Envanteri, p. 791.



Fig.8 Tavlusun Surp Toros Church current condition.<sup>209</sup>

### *Efkere Surp Stepanos Church*

The Church of Surp Stepanos (Fig.6) is located on a sloping terrain in the eastern part of Efkere. Although the inscription above the entrance has been removed, it is possible to trace the origin of the church from other records. A possible date of construction is reported on a stone in the north-western corner of the structure as 1600.<sup>210</sup> According to the list of churches submitted from the patriarchate to the Ottoman government, the date of construction seems to be 1858.<sup>211</sup> According to Alboyajian, the current structure of the church dates back to 1871,<sup>212</sup> whereas an approval for repair was granted by the Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1886, leading to the final version of the church.<sup>213</sup>

The church presents several destroyed parts: the dome has been destroyed (Fig.8) and only two rows of the bearing wall are still standing; the galleries and the bell tower have been completely destroyed.<sup>214</sup> As the majority of the churches in Anatolia, Surp Stepanos church has also been subject to acts of vandalism by treasure seekers, including the theft of the columns from the entrance and the apse as well as the destruction of the motifs located above the door.<sup>215</sup> As for Tavlusun Surp Toros Church, the collapse of the dome has made the structure to remain unprotected against external

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<sup>209</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 290.

<sup>210</sup> As other several churches, the original structure dates back to seventeenth century, but the current structure resulted from a work of restoration during the mid-nineteenth century.

<sup>211</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 61.

<sup>212</sup> Alboyajian, p. 775.

<sup>213</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 61.

<sup>214</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 65

<sup>215</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 65

influences, leading to the degradation of the internal decoration and the detachment of the plaster from the walls. Moreover, exposure to weather conditions caused the damage of the decorations on the pendants and the formation of cracks all over the walls.<sup>216</sup>



Fig.9 Efkere Surp Stepanos Church in 1913 the dome and the bell tower.<sup>217</sup>

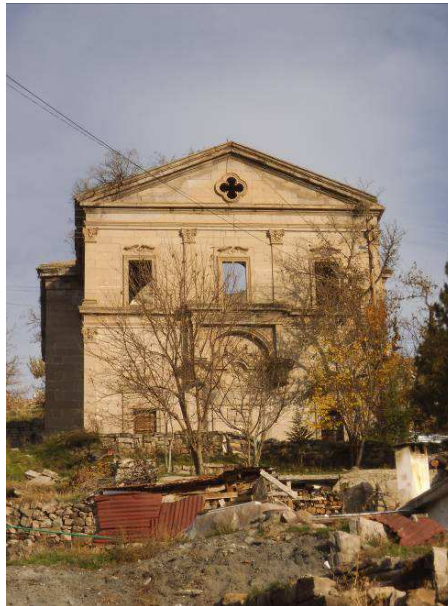


Fig.10 Efkere Surp Stepanos Church current condition with the complete destruction of its dome and bell tower.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 66

<sup>217</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 306

<sup>218</sup> Field visit to Efkere on 14 November 2014.



Fig.11 The absent dome of Surp Stepanos church<sup>219</sup>

### *Germir Surp Stepanos Church*

The construction of Church of Surp Stepanos in the village of Germir started in 1858 on the site of an old church and was completed in 1860.<sup>220</sup> Located in a plain area, the complex included a courtyard with three cisterns, two gardens with 150 gravestones and a school at the western side of the narthex (Map.5).<sup>221</sup> A large part of the roof and the side walls have not survived. Part of the building was transformed into a dwelling through closing the narthex and the gallery. A garden bordered with walls, probably created with the stones belonging originally to the church, was constructed in the center of the nave.<sup>222</sup>

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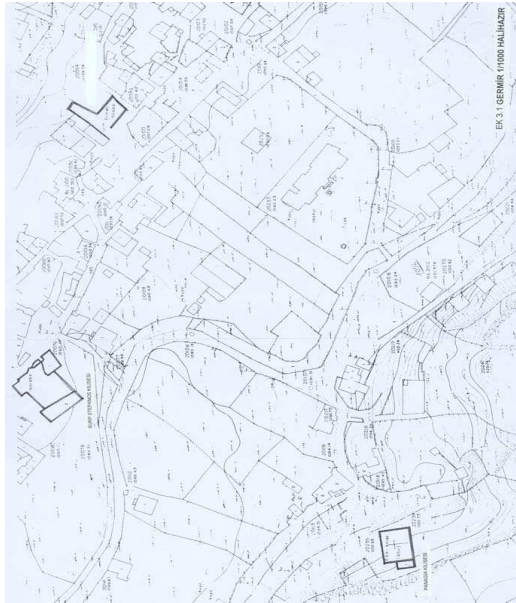
<sup>219</sup> Field visit to Efkere on 14 November 2014.

<sup>220</sup> Alboyajian, p. 763.

<sup>221</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 104.

<sup>222</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 104.





Map 8. Germir and the location of Surp Stepanos Church.<sup>223</sup>

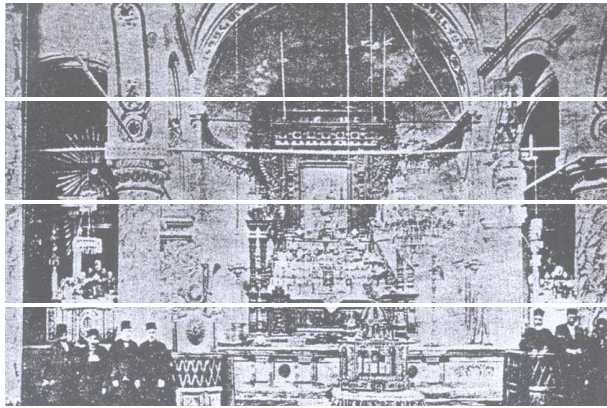


Fig.12 Germir Surp Stepanos Church (early 1900s)<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 248.

<sup>224</sup> Alboyajian, p. 764.



Fig.13 Germir Surp Toros Church current condition<sup>225</sup>



Fig. 14 A part of Germir Surp Toros Church utilized as habitation.<sup>226</sup>



Fig.15 The church courtyard currently part of the habitation<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> From the online catalogue of the exhibition *Churches of Historic Armenia: A Legacy to the World*: <http://www.fresnostate.edu/artshum/armenianstudies/resources/churches/>, date of access: 20/06/2014

<sup>226</sup> Field visit to Germir on 14 November 2014.

### *Tomarza Surp Boghos Bedros Church*<sup>228</sup>

As reported in an Ottoman document, the construction of Surp Boghos Bedros Church was permitted by the Ottoman government in 1835.<sup>229</sup> The church complex also included a school, named Torkomian, built in 1837,<sup>230</sup> which changed its name into Sahakian in 1910.<sup>231</sup> After 1915 the building started to be utilized for different purposes. Used as a storehouse and later as a cinema. From 1978 up to now it has been used as a storage belonging to the Municipality of Tomarza.<sup>232</sup>

A large part of the western wall, the narthex and the gallery have been destroyed; the arches have been filled with rubble stones and the original door was replaced with an iron gate; all the windows and gates have been closed with bricks and the pavement was covered by concrete.<sup>233</sup> The external walls of the northern and southern facades have been destroyed together with the balconies of the pastoforium rooms.<sup>234</sup> Compared to the acts of vandalism involved in other churches in the region, Surp Boghos Bedros Church was less damaged; however signs of illegal excavations are visible in its interior and part of the iron door supports have been cut.<sup>235</sup> The church is in a status of neglect that affected the structure with the formation of cracks and fractures on the roof. Moisture in the apse half-dome led to deterioration of the wall plaster and the stucco of columns and walls in the lower part of the church.<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> Field visit to Germir on 14 November 2014.

<sup>228</sup> For the town and the church of Tomarza : [virtualani.org/tomarza/index.htm](http://virtualani.org/tomarza/index.htm); Gertrude Bell, *Letter dated 18 June 1909*, <http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/letters/1899.htm>; Charles Hardy, *In Search of our Roots, an Armenian Odyssey*, <http://www.bvahan.com/armenianpilgrimages/hardy3.asp>; Steven Hill, *The Early Christian Church at Tomarza - A Study Based on Photographs Taken in 1909 by Gertrude Bell*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29, (1975), pp. 151-164; H. E. King, *Through the Taurus Mountains and the Armenian Cilician Kingdom*, *Asiatic Review*, Vol. 33 (1937), p.797; V. L. Parsegian (project director), *Armenian Antiquities in the Tomarza Region in Armenian Architecture: A Documented Photo-Archival Collection on Microfiche*, Vol.5/microfiche 57; Hans Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmaler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien, und Lykien*, (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 179-187.

<sup>229</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 123.

<sup>230</sup> Alboyajian, p. 858

<sup>231</sup> Alboyajian, p. 859

<sup>232</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 123

<sup>233</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 126

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid*, p. 127

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid*, p. 127

<sup>236</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 127





Fig.16 Tomarza Surp Boghos Bedros Church current condition.<sup>237</sup>

### *Everek Surp Toros Church*

The church of Surp Toros in the town of Everek was constructed in 1757. It is believed that the construction of the church served to meet the spiritual needs of a growing community, in the place of a previous small chapel, which was not suitable to accommodate all the Armenians of Everek.<sup>238</sup> In an Ottoman document of 1835 a *ferman* for the restoration of Surp Toros is found. The costs of materials and labor required to restore the church were reported by the grand vizier to the sultan Abdülhamid II in a document of 1895.<sup>239</sup> Another permission for restoration was granted 1904, while a document of 1913 reports the permission for the construction of a male school in the courtyard and the ratification of a female section of the school previously built without authorization.<sup>240</sup> After 1915 the church remained closed to service for many years until 1978, when it started to be used as a mosque (Fig.13).<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>237</sup>From the online catalogue of the exhibition *Churches of Historic Armenia: A Legacy to the World*: <http://www.fresnostate.edu/artshum/armenianstudies/resources/churches/>, date of access: 20/06/2014.

<sup>238</sup> Alboyajian, p. 823.

<sup>239</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 130.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid, p. 130.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid, p. 130.



Fig.17 Everek Surp Toros converted in Fatih Mosque.<sup>242</sup>

### *Fenese Surp Toros Church*

The church of Surp Toros in Fenese was built in 1800 to enlarge the already existing chapel of Surp Hagop. Similarly to case of Everek, the town of Fenese experienced a growth in population in late seventeenth century and a bigger church of Surp Toros was built to receive all the Armenian community.<sup>243</sup> After 1915 the church remained empty and was subjected to modification in the successive years, as the closure with tones of the main door and the opening of another entrance on the opposite side. The ruined section of the narthex wall have been covered with wooden planks and closed with stones. The church is of the basilica type with three naves and three apses with the central nave divided from the side aisles through four columns. The columns forming the nave are connected with the adjacent half column through arches, which are all destroyed, with the exception of the half columns adjacent to the apse. In the apse on the right side of the main apse and the right nave there are three small niches. Moreover there are cross-domed vaults in the central nave. Today the church is utilized as a barn for cows and lost any reference of being a church. Because of the bad conditions the internal fresco completely disappeared (Fig.14).<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> Field visit to Develi on 15 November 2014.

<sup>243</sup> Aleksan Krikorian, *Evereg-Fenese: Its Armenian History and Traditions*, (Detroit: Evereg-Fenese Mesrobian-Roupinian Educational Society, 1990), p. 60.

<sup>244</sup> As indicated in the reports of the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board of Kayseri (Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kurulu) dated June 2006.



Fig.18 Fenese Surp Toros Church<sup>245</sup>

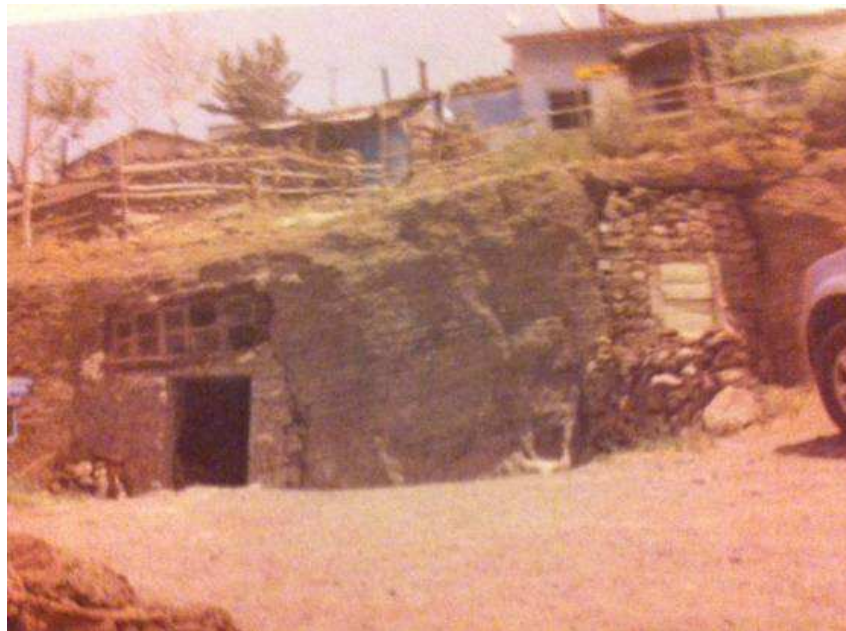


Fig.19 One of the entrances of the church in its current condition<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 364.

<sup>246</sup> Field visit to Develi on 15 November 2014.



Fig. 20 The interior of Surp Toros in Fenese currently used as barn<sup>247</sup>

#### *Gesi Surp Asdvadzadzin Church*

The Church is located in the village of Gesi, situated 19 kilometers north-east of Kayseri. The church was built in the center of the village in a flat area on a slope. The exact date of construction is unknown, but according to Alboyajian it was built in mid-nineteenth century. The church together with the monastery of Surp Daniel was destroyed some days after the deportation of the Armenians from the village in 1915.<sup>248</sup> Part of the original structure was first used as a dwelling and then as a post office. In 2000, the church became the property of the Municipality which put it on sale.<sup>249</sup>

#### *Nirze Surp Toros Church*

The church is located in Nirze, 17 kilometers from Kayseri and it is situated on a sloping terrain in the center of the village.<sup>250</sup> According to Alboyajian the date of construction is 1851.<sup>251</sup> The original structure of the church was modified when it was transformed partially into a house and storage. The section of the narthex is used as dwelling, whereas the other sections of the church are employed as storage. The structure is ruined; the northern nave, the section of the apse facing the naos and the

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<sup>247</sup> Photograph provided on 15 November 2014 at the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board of Kayseri.

<sup>248</sup> Alboyajian, p. 730.

<sup>249</sup> Sağır, p. 141.

<sup>250</sup> Sağır, p. 144.

<sup>251</sup> Alboyajian, p. 735.

narthex are closed with walls. The roof is covered with grass and the roof tiles have been damaged. The narthex was closed with additional material and when the building was transformed into a house additional structures for different functions were added to the original one.<sup>252</sup>

#### *Talas Surp Toros and Surp Asdvadzadzin Churches*

The village of Talas had two Armenian Churches, Surp Toros (Fig.16/Fig.18) and Surp Asdvadzadzin. The former (Fig.15) was built in mid-seventeenth century<sup>253</sup> and it was the only Armenian church in the village until the early nineteenth century, when the church of Surp Asdvadzadzin (Fig.17) was built in 1837.<sup>254</sup> According to Alboyajian the churches were in function until 1915, but when he went back to Talas in 1937 the churches were destroyed. Today there are no traces left of these churches.<sup>255</sup> Claiming that Surp Asdvadzadzin church can be still identified today, Sağır locates it in Yukarı Mahalle on a slope terrain close to Han Mosque. Although it was possible to find the Han Mosque during the field visit to Talas in November 2014, any Armenian churches in the vicinity could not be located. The Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board of Kayseri, on the other hand, points at a two-story structure resembling a house from the outside. Although closed to visits, the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board officials mention the presence of an interior dome, based on a report dated 1998 (Fig 21).<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> Sağır, p. 144.

<sup>253</sup> Alboyajian, p. 734.

<sup>254</sup> Alboyajian, p. 738.

<sup>255</sup> Alboyajian, p. 738.

<sup>256</sup> From a personal meeting at the Koruma Kurulu of Kayseri on 14 November 2014.



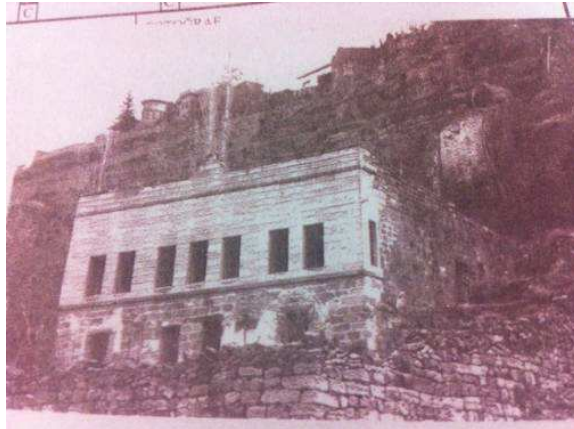


Fig.21 Photograph of the building identified by Sağır and registered in the Koruma Kurulu archives as an Armenian church.<sup>257</sup>



Fig.22 Talas Surp Toros Church<sup>258</sup>

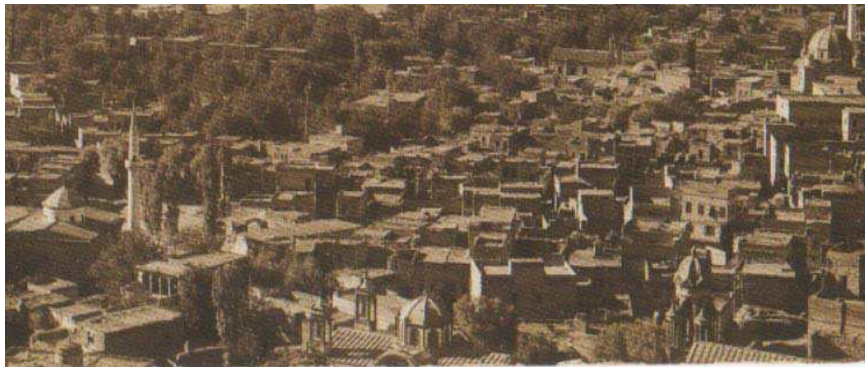


Fig.23 Talas Surp Toros Church in early 1900s<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> Photograph provided at Koruma Kurulu of Kayseri during the field visit in November 2014.

<sup>258</sup> Alboyajian, p. 735

<sup>259</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 350



Fig.24 Talas Surp Asdvadzadzin<sup>260</sup>



Fig.25 Talas Surp Asdvadzadzin Church<sup>261</sup>

#### *Balagesi Surp Khach Church*

Surp Khach Church is located on a sloping terrain in the southern part of Balagesi, a village situated 19 kilometers northeast of Kayseri, which currently is part of the municipality of Melikgazi. According to Alboyajian, Surp Khach Church was constructed in 1842 on the site of a previously destroyed church, named Surp Asdvadzadzin.<sup>262</sup> In 1915 there was no priest and only the menservants were still working in the church.<sup>263</sup> The church is currently in ruins and used as a sheepfold. A

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<sup>260</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 351

<sup>261</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 350.

<sup>262</sup> Alboyajian, p. 769.

<sup>263</sup> Sağır, p. 126.

portion of the west wall of the naos central nave and the northeast corner of the north apse have been demolished. The windows on the north wall have been walled up.<sup>264</sup>

*Derevank Surp Toros Church*

Surp Toros Church is located in the village of Derevank, 3 kilometers north of Talas. It is situated on a sloping terrain. A specific date of construction is not indicated, but some sources described it as a church belonging to the nineteenth century. Currently used as a sheepfold, the church is totally destroyed because of illegal excavations. The naos and the reliefs are partly fragmented. The frontal door is halfway closed with stones.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> Sağır, p. 125.

<sup>265</sup> Sağır, p. 130.



### 2.2.2. Armenian monasteries in the villages and town around Kayseri

The following table lists the monasteries that existed in the region according to the information reported by Alboyajiyian. Differently from the churches, the monasteries were not located in the center of the villages, but in more peripheral areas. The sixteen monasteries and the religious schools included in the complexes have been destroyed.

Area	Name of the monastery	Year of construction	Current Use	Current Condition
Efkere	Surp Garabed	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Not in use	Ruined
Balagesi	Surp Daniel	?	Not in use	Ruined
	Surp Parsam	?	Not in use	?
South of Balagesi	Surb Aghotik	?	Not in use	?
Derevank	Surp Sarkis/Dere Vank	Mid 18 <sup>th</sup> century	Not in use	Ruined
Erkilet	Surp Kevork	?	Not in use	?
Ilibe	Surp Asdvadzadzin	?	Not in use	?
Tomarza	Surp Asdvadzadzin	16 <sup>th</sup> century	Not in use	Ruined
	Surp Parsegh	?	Not in use	Completely destroyed
East of Kayseri	Surp Teodoros and Mergerios	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Not in use	Completely destroyed
South of Kayseri	Surp Parsegh	17 <sup>th</sup> century	Not in use	Completely destroyed
South of Kayseri	Surp Asdvadzadzin	?	?	?
Talas	Surp Parsegh Hayrapet	?	Not in use	Completely destroyed
	Surp Minas	?	?	?
Darsiyak	Surp Krikor Naregatsi	?	Not in use	Completely destroyed
Darsiyak area	Surp Krikor Niusatsi	?	Not in use	Completely destroyed

Table 8. List of monasteries in the surroundings of Kayseri

### *Surp Garabed Monastery in Efkere*

The Monastery of Surp Garabed (Fig.19) was located 18 kilometers from Kayseri toward the village of Efkere. It consisted of a large complex and was one of the most important sites of pilgrimage for Armenians throughout the Ottoman Empire.<sup>266</sup> The first clear reference to the monastery appeared in an Armenian colophon of 1206<sup>267</sup> A description of the monastic complex was provided by Simeon of Poland, who visited the region in 1617-1618:

“... we reached the large and magnificent dome-shaped monastery of Surb Karabet, which was located on a high mountain, from where the entire city was visible... The building of the monastery was amazing, for it was on top of a cliff, while below all the way to the city, stretched caves, which served as cells for many ascetics, like the ones on Mt. Toros in Konya or the *pech'er* at Mank'erman.”<sup>268</sup>

The monastery constituted an important educational center with the establishment of a seminary for the preparation of young clergymen and starting with 1888 it served “as a teacher-training seminary for the entire region under the name Zharangavorats varzharan.”<sup>269</sup> The monastery was in function until 1915,<sup>270</sup> whereafter it was subject to destruction and neglect, leading to its current status of being almost entirely destroyed (Fig.20).<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> [www.efkere.com](http://www.efkere.com)

<sup>267</sup> Alboyajian, p. 960

<sup>268</sup> George A. Bournoutian, *The Travel Accounts of Simeon of Poland*, (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2007), p. 203

<sup>269</sup> Herve Georgelin, “Armenians in Late Ottoman Rural Kesaria/Kayseri”, in *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia*, Richard G. Hovannisian (Eds), UCLA Armenian History & Culture Series, (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publisher, 2013), p. 243

<sup>270</sup> Alboyajian, p. 961

<sup>271</sup> Field visit to Efkere on 14 November 2014



Fig.26 Efkere Surp Garabed Monastery<sup>272</sup>

Other important Armenian monasteries in the *sancak* of Kayseri, which have been almost completely destroyed, are Tomarza Surp Asdvadzadzin (Fig.21), Derevank Surp Sarkis (Fig.23) and Balagesi Surp Daniel (Fig.24).



Fig. 27 Tomarza Surp Asdvadzadzin monastery<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> Osman Köker, p. 166

<sup>273</sup> Alboyajian, p. 1008



Fig.28 Tomarza Surp Asdvadzadzin's ruins<sup>274</sup>



Fig.29 Derevank Surp Sarkis monastery today<sup>275</sup>

The monastery of Surp Daniel in Balagesi was constructed in the mid-eleventh century and demolished a few days after all the Armenian inhabitants were deported in 1915.<sup>276</sup>

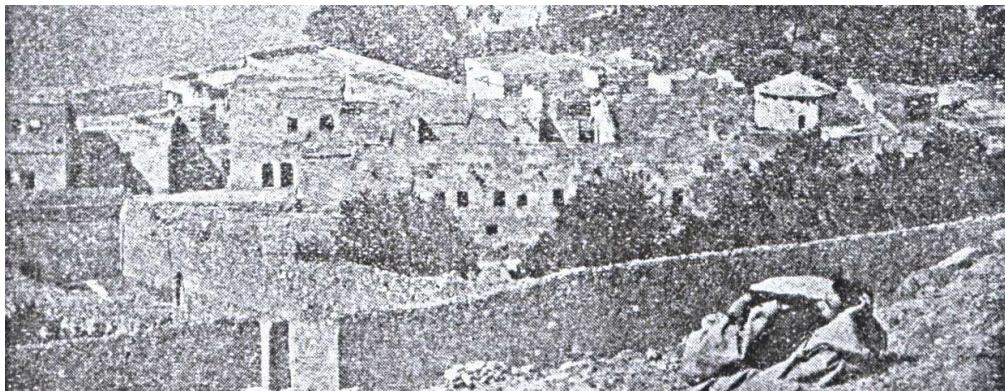


Fig. 30 Balagesi Surp Daniel Monastery with Surp Asdvadzadzin church<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 359.

<sup>275</sup> From the online catalogue of the exhibition Churches of Historic Armenia: A Legacy to the World: <http://www.fresnostate.edu/artshum/armenianstudies/resources/churches/>

<sup>276</sup> Alboyajian, p. 993.

<sup>277</sup> Alboyajian, p. 993.

## **ARMENIAN RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE OF KAYSERI AS TARGET OF SPATIAL AND CULTURAL CLEANSING**

Focusing on Kayseri and surroundings, this chapter argues that religious Armenian architecture has been one of the main targets in the attempts to remove Armenian presence in Anatolia after 1915. The destruction, neglect and transformation of the Armenian architecture constituted a strategy to remove the visible marks and traces left on the ground, in addition to the physical annihilation of the Ottoman Armenians.

Referring to architecture as the main aspect within Ottoman Armenian material culture, this chapter analyzes the main strategies of destruction of Armenian churches and monasteries in Kayseri and in the surrounding villages, while giving a picture of the current condition. As Armenian religious architecture in Kayseri and villages occupied and by some means still occupies a specific space, which itself has endured many changes during the twentieth century, I introduce the concept of spatial nationalism and its results for the study case of Kayseri. Since I perceive the destruction of the Ottoman Armenian architecture both as a part of the genocidal process and as a post-genocidal act (in some cases it can be considered as an ongoing process) aimed to utterly remove their presence, this chapter investigates the issue within the framework of spatial cleansing, cultural cleansing and destruction of material culture.

### 3.1. Spatial Nationalism

The concept of spatial nationalism involves different strategies aimed to change space and landscapes by excluding, displacing and dispossessing “the externalized ‘other’”. The concept of spatial nationalism also includes strategies of re-construction and re-production for the sovereign and hegemonic ‘self’ of the nation.”<sup>278</sup> The Turkish case of late nineteenth and twentieth century represents “almost ideal-typical model of the discursive imagination and the material practice of nationalism and its geographical strategies, aimed at the creation of an ethnically homogenous ‘homeland’.”<sup>279</sup>

The plan of homogenization of Anatolia by the CUP aimed to reshape “the region’s demographic character on the basis of its Muslim Turkish population.”<sup>280</sup> The plan was largely based on two main points: the cleansing of Anatolia’s non-Muslim population and the assimilation/turkification of all of Anatolia’s non-Turkish Muslim communities.<sup>281</sup> The homogenization of Anatolia was basically a population and resettlement policy, which was adopted after the losses in the Balkan Wars in 1912-1913.<sup>282</sup> The policy took the form of demographic engineering.<sup>283</sup> This also had a role in the Armenian deportations as, according to Taner Akçam, “the population ratios where Armenians were deported and where they remained were decisive, and the deportations were carried accordingly.”<sup>284</sup> Akçam argues that demographic engineering took the form of genocide in the Armenian case and that “the 5 to 10 percent rule”<sup>285</sup> of resettlement was decisive in the annihilation process.<sup>286</sup> In these terms the Armenian Genocide was not only carried out as demographic engineering, but also through

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<sup>278</sup> Kerem Öktem, *Creating the Turk’s Homeland: Modernization, Nationalism and Geography in Southeast Turkey in the late 19th and 20th Centuries*, Paper for the Socrates Kokkalis Graduate Workshop 2003, “The City: Urban Culture, Architecture and Society”, p. 1.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid, p.1

<sup>280</sup> Akçam, p. 29

<sup>281</sup> Akçam, p. 29

<sup>282</sup> Akçam, p. 30.

<sup>283</sup> Öktem, “The Nation’s Imprint: Demographic Engineering and the Change of Toponymes in Republican Turkey”, in *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, no. 7, 2008, p. 12.

<sup>284</sup> Taner Akçam, *The Young Turks’ Crime against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton: University Press, 2013), p. 227.

<sup>285</sup> “The government’s population and settlement policy was to ensure that the number of people of any group being resettled in a given area not exceed 5 to 10 percent of the total population.” (Akçam, p.48)

<sup>286</sup> Akçam, pp. 227-228.



mathematical accuracy, as the “the number of Armenians deported to Syria, and those who remained behind, would not exceed 5 to 10 percent of the population of the places in which they were found.”<sup>287</sup> According to Akçam “such a result could be achieved only through annihilation.”<sup>288</sup>

For the case of Kayseri the provincial district governor reported on 18 September 1915:

It is submitted that in the center and environs there are 46,463 Armenians [of the Armenian Church], 1,515 Catholics [Armenians], and 1,957 Protestants [Armenians], so that in all the Armenian population is registered as 49,947, of whom 44,271 have been deported to the provinces of Aleppo, Damascus, and Mosul, and 765 people while having also earlier set out, in view of their fleeing, returning and hiding, were again seized and were in the course of deportation; and the 4,911 [members] of soldier’s families remaining in the provincial district, with the insignificant number of Protestant and Catholic remnants, were distributed to the villages in a 5 percent proportion.”<sup>289</sup>

Along with demographic engineering, the appropriation of space developed through another strategy, such as ‘toponymical engineering’ that utterly changed the physical settings of Anatolia. The strategy in question involved a process of Turkification of names of places, which according to Öktem presents four main waves of name change: the first from 1915 to 1922, the second from 1922 to 1950, the third from 1950 to 1980 and the fourth in the 1980’s.<sup>290</sup>

The first wave is related to the deportation law declared by the CUP on 27 May 1915 and consequent exile of Armenians, Assyrians, and some Kurdish communities. Immediately the government started a process of name transformation of the evacuated villages.<sup>291</sup> The second phase coincided with the outset of the Republic and a series of directories entitled ‘Names of our villages according to the new territorial division’ (*Yeni teşkilat-i mülkiyede köylerimizin adları*).<sup>292</sup> This process also included the revision

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<sup>287</sup> Akçam, p. 242.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid, p. 242.

<sup>289</sup> Akçam, pp. 245-246.

<sup>290</sup> Kerem Öktem, “The Nation’s Imprint: Demographic Engineering and the Change of Toponymes in Republican Turkey”, in *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, no. 7 (2008).

<sup>291</sup> Ibid, p. 19.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid, p. 27.

of existing maps, as the publication in 1929 of the General Map of Turkey in Latin script, by the Office of General Staff. A successive Map of Turkey in 1934 was accompanied by a directory of place names edited by the Turkish Geography Association.<sup>293</sup> During this first phase “the reference to historical regions such as Armenia, Kurdistan or Lazistan was forbidden and a ban imposed on the importation of maps containing these terms.”<sup>294</sup>

Despite the publication of numerous maps during those years this strategy proved to be only partially successful, because of continued usage of original geographical names by the local population. Thus, in the third phase, the General Directorate for Provincial Administration initiated an ‘Expert Commission for name change’ (Ad Deđistirme İhtisas Kurulu) in 1957.<sup>295</sup> In 1968 a new edition of ‘Our villages’ (*Köylerimiz*) was presented and by that year around 36% of all villages names in Turkey were changed.<sup>296</sup> The final phase of toponymical engineering in the 1980s proved to be particularly remarkable with the organization of a ‘Symposium on Turkish Toponymes’, by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, aimed to stipulate even more scrupulous rules in creating new place-names.<sup>297</sup>

Regarding the region of Kayseri, most of the names of the villages inhabited by Greeks and Armenians were subjected to a process of toponymical engineering and some of the villages included in this thesis have been changed as follows:

<b>Original name</b>	<b>New name</b>
Darsiyak	Kayabađ
Derevank	Derevenk
Efkere	Bahçeli
Everek-Fenese	Develi
Germir	Konaklar
Mancusun	Yeşilyurt

<sup>293</sup> Ibid, p. 28.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid, p. 31.

<sup>295</sup> Öktem, p. 34.

<sup>296</sup> Öktem, p. 44.

<sup>297</sup> Öktem, pp. 50-53.



Muncusun	Güneşli
Tavlusun	Aydınlar

### 3.2. Spatial Cleansing

The implemented policies that altered the demographic and topographic settings can be interpreted as part of “spatial cleansing” defined by anthropologist Michael Herzfeld as “the conceptual and physical clarification of boundaries, with a concomitant definition of former residents as intruders.”<sup>298</sup> Herzfeld argues that spatial cleansing “incorporates an intentional allusion to the notion of ethnic cleansing, since, although the latter is usually far more physical in its violence, both entail the disruption of fundamental security, and especially of ontological security, for entire groups of people.”<sup>299</sup> This argumentation appears particularly adequate for the Ottoman Armenians, who experienced ethnic cleansing correlated to a process of spatial cleansing.

Herzfeld discusses the concept of spatial cleansing related to practices of gentrification in Rome and Bangkok. In the former “the local people have been treated, as they see it, as an ‘Indian reservation’ awaiting removal at the pleasure of the rich, in a classic pattern of the most destructive kind of gentrification.”<sup>300</sup> Whereas in the latter spatial cleansing consists in the removal of a significant portion of the local population in the area of Pom Mahakam to build expensive western-style shops and export displays.<sup>301</sup>

Similarly, in the early Republic period, Kayseri, as many Anatolian cities, experienced a process of development and modernization that changed the urban setting and landscape through several urban plans (*imar planları*). The process of

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<sup>298</sup>Michael Herzfeld, “Spatial Cleansing: Monumental Vacuity and the Idea of the West”, in *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 11(1/2): 127-149, London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi: SAGE Publications, p. 142.

<sup>299</sup> Herzfeld, p. 142.

<sup>300</sup> Herzfeld, p. 136.

<sup>301</sup> Herzfeld, p. 136.

modernization of Kayseri started between 1932 and 1936. The expansion of the city borders, the establishment of a plane factory in 1926, the construction of Ankara-Kayseri railway line in 1927, the establishment of rail connection between Kayseri and Ulukışla in 1932, and the construction of Sümerbank Cloth Factory in 1935 are all examples of the modernization process that took place in Kayseri.<sup>302</sup> The first urban plan of the city by an urban engineer Burhanettin Çaylak in the year 1933, which was approved by the Ministry of the Interior on 22 April 1936.<sup>303</sup> The second city plan for Kayseri was prepared by the German architect-urban planner Gustav Oelsner and the Turkish architect-urban planner Kemal Ahmet Aru, and was approved in 1945.<sup>304</sup> All these transformations aiming to modernize the town led to the destruction of the architecture of the old city of Kayseri.

Herzfeld (1991) in his study on spatial cleansing also introduces the case of Crete and the area of the old market, which was transformed to a tourist attraction. Herzfeld argues that “the Muslim presence was reduced to a symbolic historic shadow and subjected to a respatialization that framed the mosque as cultural upgraded (it is now a music conservatory!) and as a monument to the liberal tolerance of the West.”<sup>305</sup> The architectural heritage of the Ottoman past became a “dangerous cultural embarrassment” and “an attraction for the orientalist gaze of the tourist” for the Greeks.<sup>306</sup>

Another interesting example of spatial cleansing, which represented a source of comparison in this study, is the work by anthropologist Roxane Caftanzoglou, namely the quarter of Anafiotika, located in the area beneath the Acropolis of Athens. This quarter is a really small settlement, composed by almost fifty houses, built in the 1860’s by immigrant workers from the Cyclades. The inhabitants were mostly involved in

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<sup>302</sup> Suat Çabuk, “Kayseri’nin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki İlk Kent Düzenlemesi: 1933 Çaylak Planı,” in *Middle East Technical University Journal of the Faculty of Architecture, METU JFA*, No. 2 (2012), p.64. See also Suat Çabuk, Kemal Demir, “Urban planning experience in Kayseri in the 1940s: 1945 Oelsner-Aru City Plan”, *ITU A/Z*, Vol.10./No.1 (2013), pp.96-116

See also: Seda Çalışır Hovardaoğlu, “Kayseri Oelsner - Aru Planı ve Plan Uygulama Sürecinde Yerel Yönetimlerin Rolü (1930-1965)”, *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler*, Vol.23/No.1 (January 2014), pp.39-55; H. Çağatay Keskinok, “Urban Planning Experience of Turkey in the 1930s”, *METU JFA*, No.1 (2010), pp.173-188.

<sup>303</sup> Çabuk, p. 64.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid*, p. 64.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid*, p. 134.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid*, p. 134.

construction and by the time that they immigrated to Athens, they were involved in the reconstruction of the city as the new capital. Their involvement in this reconstruction project explains the reason why they started to build their houses just under the Acropolis, an area already considered as an archeological ground. From the beginning of their settlement in the quarter, they were considered as illegal residents and were threatened of demolition and relocation, which finally happened in the 1930's and the 1970's.<sup>307</sup> In 2008, the Ministry of Culture has expropriated most of the houses and nowadays the settlement is inhabited by forty-five people, consisting of middle-aged and elderly retired manual workers, most of them are descendants and relatives of the initial settlers.<sup>308</sup>

The location of the quarter of Anafiotika is important for understanding one of the reasons why this settlement was exposed to activities of relocation and expropriation. The residents of Anafiotika began to settle in this location under the Acropolis in a period when Greece was still developing its national cultural identity after its independence of 1832. Athens was chosen as the site for the capital of the new nation and "its (re)construction was planned along lines of Hellenic purity, the unsettling evidence of Greece's Ottoman heritage along with local vernacular forms had to be confronted, all the more so when situated in the immediate vicinity of remains of classical antiquity."<sup>309</sup> The quarter of Anafiotika is situated under the Acropolis, symbol of the glorious past of ancient Greece. It was and it is still seen as an intruder and as "a disorderly and polluting irruption of social time in the midst of the isolated and well guarded 'buffer zone' designed to surround and isolate the Acropolis from the disturbing presence of contemporary Greek society."<sup>310</sup>

Scholarly texts and state decrees clearly indicate that the Anafiotika settlement started to be considered 'matter out of place' already in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>311</sup> The settlement and its residents are considered responsible for the

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<sup>307</sup> Roxane Caftanzoglou, Roxane Caftanzoglou, "The Shadow of the Sacred Rock: Contrasting Discourses of Place under the Acropolis", in *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, Barbara Bender and Margot Winer (Eds), (Berg Publishers, 2001), p. 22.

<sup>308</sup> Roxane Caftanzoglou, "The Sacred Rock and the Profane Settlement: Place, Memory and Identity under the Acropolis", in *Oral History*, No. 28 (2008), p. 44.

<sup>309</sup> Caftanzoglou (2001), p. 23.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid, p. 24.

<sup>311</sup> Roxane Caftanzoglou (2008), p. 45.

degradation of “the sacredness of the monumental site.”<sup>312</sup> The unwanted presence of the Anafiotika residents has been dealt through different means: written texts by nationalist scholars, visual material as maps and city guides and physical interventions in the settlement. Regarding the written texts, Greek nationalist historians and writers addressed petitions to the government for removal of the settlement from the area.<sup>313</sup> Visual material about the city of Athens as maps and especially travel guides show “a shadowed or colored strip extending below the Acropolis between the rock and the neighborhood of the Plaka bearing a name: Anafiotika”<sup>314</sup> relegating it to a non-place.<sup>315</sup> The final step is demolition for archeological excavating as in the 1930’s and in 1970’s expropriating mostly the entire population of the neighborhood.<sup>316</sup> The spatial cleansing examples studied by Herzfeld and Caftanzoglou represent an opportunity to contextualize the Armenian case according to a different concept of spatial cleansing, as none of the reasons explained by the two anthropologists apply to the Ottoman/Turkish case.

The Ottoman Armenians have not been subjected to relocation from a particular quarter to another for gentrification reasons (such as for the cases studied by Herzfeld) or because they were degrading a historically important site (as the case of Anafiotika settlers studied by Caftanzoglou). They were targeted by a wartime policy of total destruction, which reached the final stage of the Armenian Genocide in 1915. The survivors were deported in regions distant from their homeland, as the deserts of present-day Syria and Iraq, where they were relocated according to a demographic policy ensuring that they did not exceed ten percent of local Muslim population.<sup>317</sup> This process differentiates substantially from the policies of spatial cleansing studied by the two anthropologists, as the Ottoman Armenians were physically annihilated and dislocated through the genocidal policies mentioned above.

Along with the physical annihilation, the Armenian material culture was subjected to destruction. Again, the main cause of destruction was not because of gentrification or

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<sup>312</sup> Ibid, p. 45.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid, p. 45.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid, p. 46.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid, p. 46.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid, p. 46.

<sup>317</sup> Akçam, pp. 247-249.

modernization reasons. The urban plans of Kayseri in the 1930's and 1940's, influenced by western urban developments, were intended to modernize the town (which was criticized to have a Middle Age appearance)<sup>318</sup> and not to attack directly the architecture of the non-Muslim communities.

### 3.3. Cultural Cleansing

Lemkin's description of acts of vandalism as "an attack targeting a collectivity can also take the form of systematic and organized destruction of the art and cultural heritage in which the unique genius and achievement of a collectivity are revealed in fields of science, arts and literature,"<sup>319</sup> appears particularly appropriate for the Ottoman Armenian architecture.<sup>320</sup> Together with outright destruction or gradual neglect, vandalism directed to the Armenian churches of Kayseri and its surroundings also represent the removal of the local Armenian material culture with all its symbols and artistic creations.

In order to understand the magnitude of overall destruction that affected the Ottoman Armenian architecture, it is necessary to remember the numbers of Armenian churches, monasteries and schools functioning in the Ottoman Empire. Since there are several sources reporting different numbers, I chose to refer to Dickran Kouymjian's information about the number of Armenian churches, monasteries and schools in the years 1913-1914 and in 1919. Kouymjian relies on Raymond Kevorkian and Paul Paboudjian (1992), who reported data based on the unpublished archives of the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul (1913-1914), which list 2538 churches, 451 monasteries and 1996 schools before 1915.<sup>321</sup> Avetis Aharonian and Boghos Nubar Paşa, heads of the Armenian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919,

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<sup>318</sup> Çabuk, p. 68.

<sup>319</sup> As cited in Balakian, p. 59.

<sup>320</sup> Raphael Lemkin was a Polish lawyer who coined the term "genocide" in the mid-nineteenth century and used it for the first time to define the Armenian massacres of 1915.

<sup>321</sup> Raymond H. Kévorkian and Paul B Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire ottoman à la veille du Génocide*, (Paris: Arhis, 1992), p.222.

reported<sup>322</sup> 1860 Armenian churches, 229 monasteries, 1430 schools, 29 high schools and seminaries, and 42 orphanages.<sup>323</sup> Today, excluding Istanbul, the Armenians have six functioning churches, no monasteries and no schools in Turkey.<sup>324</sup>

In absence of a complete list of Armenian churches of Kayseri and villages, this study is basically based on Alboyajian's information.<sup>325</sup> I was able to calculate an approximate number of churches and monasteries for Kayseri and surroundings. Regarding the center of Kayseri there were four churches in 1915 (three of them Gregorian and one Catholic), whereas in the villages there were thirty churches, for a total of thirty-four churches. The number of the monasteries located in the periphery of Kayseri and the villages resulted to be sixteen (See Chapter 2- Table 1 and Table 2). Assuming that almost all of the churches and monasteries included a school, it is possible to affirm the existence of approximately thirty schools. Today in Kayseri and in the vicinity there is only one church still in function, Surp Lusavorich. One church used as a sport center and now under restoration, Surp Asdvadzadzin. One is a mosque, namely Fatih mosque in Develi. Some of the others are utilized as barns or storages, and the rest are either in ruins or completely destroyed.<sup>326</sup> Monasteries and schools, on the other hand, have not survived to the present day, except for vague ruins observed at Surp Garabed in Efkeri and Surp Sarkis in Derevank.

The numbers show enormous loss of Armenian cultural property, especially churches, monasteries and schools. The destruction of architecture also represents the eradication of the spiritual and cultural expression of the Ottoman Armenians. Churches and schools incorporated a significant aspect of the Armenian identity as “the Armenian ethnic distinctiveness was culturally and intellectually reinforced by their fourth-century conversion to Christianity” and “a large part of Armenia's historical continuity was embedded in churches, monasteries, and schools [...]”<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> They presented a report at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 entitled *Tableau approximatif des Réparations et Indemnités pour les dommages subis par la Nation arménienne en Arménie de Turquie et dans la République arménienne du Caucase*.

<sup>323</sup> Kouymjian, p. 310.

<sup>324</sup> Kouymjian, p. 310.

<sup>325</sup> The Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul provide as source Alboyajian stating that there is no a complete list of churches in the Patriarchate records.

<sup>326</sup> Refer to the catalogue of Chapter 2 for a detailed list of churches in Kayseri and the villages.

<sup>327</sup> Balakian, p. 64.

The Armenian churches and monasteries, beyond their obvious religious function, had a significant role in the daily life of the Armenians. The churches “were not simply one-day-a-week houses of worship: they were civic spaces where much of the life of the community occurred; they were repositories of every sort of antiquity, including sacred manuscripts, tapestries and rugs, icons and paintings, stonework, carvings in various media, and (of course) vital records.”<sup>328</sup>

Moreover, the churches constituted important meeting places for the Armenian community where the most important events, as baptismal ceremonies, weddings and the religious functions, took place. The importance of the churches for the community is clearly visible in several memoirs. As ceremonies were attended regularly, churches presented also an opportunity to meet with the other members of the community:

The church was the center of our social life in Tomarza, especially for the youngsters, who were spending most of their time there, their school was inside the church and after the classes the students used to pass their time playing in the church courtyard.<sup>329</sup>,

The Holy Mass on Sunday was also an occasion to meet young girls and boys of our age.<sup>330</sup>

After the Holy Mass we were spending the afternoon in the church courtyard discussing about different topics.<sup>331</sup>

The church represented the most important meeting point for our community [...] we dressed up to attend the religious functions, as it was also an occasion of meeting other people of our age.<sup>332</sup>

The church was the place where we were used to meet; we were attending the church not only for the religious celebrations but also to be active in the community.<sup>333</sup>

The Armenians were attending regularly the religious ceremonies of the churches as of instance the case of Tomarza, where “the Armenians had always been very religious and tradition oriented since the community was formed, and the people would

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<sup>328</sup> Balakian, p. 65.

<sup>329</sup> Sargis Jivanian, *Drvagner Tomarzahay Kyanken*, [Episodes of Tomarza Armenian Life], (Paris, 1960), p. 44.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid*, p. 45.

<sup>331</sup> Haroutiun Barootian, *Reminiscences from Tomarza's Past*, (London: Taderon Press, 2007), p. 34.

<sup>332</sup> Jivanian, p. 35.

<sup>333</sup> Jivanian, p. 46.

go to the church morning and evening.”<sup>334</sup> Furthermore, the people of Tomarza “were always anxious to attend the Holy Thursday, Good Friday, Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday celebrations” and “to listen to the eloquent sermons they would rush to church en masse.”<sup>335</sup> Also in Nirze the Armenians attended regularly the religious ceremonies and the Holy Mass of Sunday represented an important event: “we were going to the Church every Sunday for the Holy Mass, the entire family was participating to the Mass, for me and my brothers was the chance to wear our nice clothes.”<sup>336</sup>

Moreover, the churches, especially in the villages, represented a physical landmark and this aspect appears clearly from the memoirs, in which usually the church was used a marker to give instruction about the location of their houses or shops. As presented in the following excerpts from different memoirs, the churches represented physically the center of the community and the structure of the entire village seems to be organized around this center:

Our house was 200 meters from the church on the right.<sup>337</sup>

Our family house was located very close to the church, about 300 meters on the left.<sup>338</sup>

Our family house and my father’s shop were situated just behind the church.<sup>339</sup>

We lived in the center of Tomarza, 300 meters from the church.<sup>340</sup>

My family had a shop in Nirze, it was located very centrally on the left side of the church.<sup>341</sup>

The church also appeared to be a source of pride for the Armenians, the churches and monasteries in many cases eulogized as beautiful and wealthy buildings. As stated in the memoirs from Tomarza:

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<sup>334</sup> Barootian, p. 35.

<sup>335</sup> Barootian, p. 35.

<sup>336</sup> Senekerim Khterian, *Hamarot Patmutiun Kesarioi Nirze Gyughi* [Brief history of the village of Kayseri Nirze], p. 57.

<sup>337</sup> Khterian, p. 56.

<sup>338</sup> Khoren H. Gelejian (editor), *Album-Hushamatian Everek-Fenesei* [Album-Memory Book of Everek/Develi-Fenese], (Beirut: Altapress, Lebanese branch of Everek-Feneseh Mesropian-Rupinian Compatriotic Society, 1984), p. 22.

<sup>339</sup> Jivanian, p. 37.

<sup>340</sup> Jivanian, p. 37.

<sup>341</sup> Nirze, p. 10.



Our two religious institutions (the church Surp Boghos Bedros and the monastery of Surp Asdvadzadzin), with both antiquities and as beautiful structures, were superb... Each artisan tried to excel his predecessors and have thus enriched the collections of antiquities belonging to the monastery and the church.<sup>342</sup>

The monastery had been established on a rich and fertile piece of land, surrounded with orchards and fruit-bearing trees. Its real estate was valued at approximately 40.000 Ottoman Turkish gold liras. It had precious parchment manuscripts, gold-plated pyxes and cross-stones. Which ones should I single out? They had very beautiful oil paintings that filled the shrines.<sup>343</sup>

The description of the Armenian churches eulogizing their richness and beauty are present in other memoirs as in the following:

Our church in Everek was very beautiful and its interior was full of light and very rich...<sup>344</sup>

The convent of Surp Daniel was on a scenic plateau and surrounded by lovely gardens. This prosperous convent owned properties not only in the vicinity but also in neighboring villages, receiving from them a steady source of income.<sup>345</sup>

The church walls were adorned with precious porcelain. There was also the tomb of the hermit, near the choir loft, which had a canopy made of gold, and its marble tombstone a clearly legible inscription...<sup>346</sup>

The churches, moreover, had an important educational function as they included schools of different levels, which were actually built adjacent to the churches or in the same yard. In the center of Kayseri in the late nineteenth century there were thirteen Armenian schools, six of them were part of the churches' complexes, while the others were present in different quarters of the town. The two churches integrated in the complex of Surp Asdvadzadzin church were the high school Haykian founded in late

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<sup>342</sup> Barootian, p. 35.

<sup>343</sup> Ibid, p. 35.

<sup>344</sup> Aleksan Krikorian, *Evereg-Fenese: Its Armenian History and Traditions*,8(Detroit: Evereg-Fenese Mesrobian-Roupinian Educational Society, 1990), p. 56.

<sup>345</sup> Chomaklou, p. 70.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid, p. 70.

eighteenth century with 120 students in 1872, 230 in 1891 and 230 in 190; and the female high school Haykuhiyan, founded in 1858 as part of Surp Asdvadzadzin Church with 170 students in 1886 and 300 in 1891.<sup>347</sup> In the complex church of Surp Sarkis (today completely destroyed) were the high school Hakobian probably founded in 1886, with 130 students in 1886, 170 in 1891<sup>348</sup> and 200 in 1901;<sup>349</sup> and the Margosian school, founded in the 1860's with 70-80 students in 1886.<sup>350</sup> The school with the greatest number of students resulted to be Sarkis Gyumshian founded in 1868 as part of Surp Lusavorich Church, with 95 students in 1868, 450 students in 1891<sup>351</sup> and 800 students in 1901.<sup>352</sup> The catholic school Surp Khach was part of the Catholic Surp Khach Church, which had 55 male students enrolled in 1901.<sup>353</sup>

In the villages, the schools were regularly adjacent to the churches. In Tavlusun, the school Mesrobian was connected to the church of Surp Toros. In 1873 the number of students enrolled was 45 boys and 30 girls, in 1901 the school had a total of 45 students.<sup>354</sup> In Darsiyak the school Nersessian was located adjacent to the church of Surp Toros.<sup>355</sup> In Efkere the first Armenian school of the village was built in the 1820's and it was named Haygian School in the 1870's. Before the construction of this school there was just the religious school at Surp Garabed Monastery. In 1914 a new school was built immediately adjacent to the church of Surp Stepanos.<sup>356</sup> In Germir, the school Sahak-Bartevian was established in 1823 and in 1901 there were 115 students enrolled.<sup>357</sup> In Tomarza, the Sahakian school was built in 1837 at the same time as the church of Surp Boghos and Bedros and in 1901 it had 280 male students.<sup>358</sup>

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<sup>347</sup> Der Matossian, p. 214.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid, p. 214.

<sup>349</sup> Uygur Kocabaşođlu and Murat Uluđtekin, *Salnamelerde Kayseri: Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Döneminin Eski Harfli Yıllıklarında Kayseri*, (Kayseri: Kayseri Ticaret Odası, 1998), p. 224.

<sup>350</sup> Der Matossian, p. 214.

<sup>351</sup> Ibid, p. 214.

<sup>352</sup> Kocabaşođlu and Uluđtekin, p. 224.

<sup>353</sup> Ibid, p. 224.

<sup>354</sup> Alboyajian, p. 760.

<sup>355</sup> Alboyajian, p. 801.

<sup>356</sup> [www.efkere.com](http://www.efkere.com)

<sup>357</sup> Alboyajian, p. 760.

<sup>358</sup> Barootian, p. 48.

### 3.4. Destruction of Material Culture

Ottoman Armenian material culture has been subjected to different strategies, conceived to create a homogeneous material culture, which excluded ethnical differentiations. Firstly, strategies of destruction and neglect aimed to erase “the ‘other’ as a material and historical entity and to render its traces in space and time invisible” were employed on Ottoman Armenian structures.<sup>359</sup> Secondly, the creation of an ‘indigenous’ bourgeoisie was possible through the transfer of the wealth of non-Muslim communities to local Muslim communities.<sup>360</sup> The last and more recent strategy addresses to “the material re-production of geography and the re-construction of urban space”<sup>361</sup> through the destruction of old cities in Turkey and the transformation of former residential areas into business districts.<sup>362</sup> The urban development plans (*imar planları*) for the majority of Anatolian cities and towns, including Kayseri in the 1930’s and in the 1940’s, contributed to the destruction of the old cities.<sup>363</sup> Not only the architectural monuments, but a whole world of material culture, paintings and books, textiles and tiles, and ritual books disappeared altogether.<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>359</sup> Öktem (2003), p. 7.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

<sup>361</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

<sup>362</sup> Öktem, p.8.

<sup>363</sup> Suat Çabuk, “Kayseri’nin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki İlk Kent Düzenlemesi: 1933 Çaylak Planı,” *Middle East Technical University Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, METU JFA, No.2 (2012) p.64. See also Suat Çabuk, Kemal Demir, “Urban planning experience in Kayseri in the 1940s: 1945 Oelsner-Aru City Plan”, *ITU A/Z*, Vol.10/No.1 (2013), pp. 96-116; See also: Seda Çalışır Hovardaoğlu, “Kayseri Oelsner - Aru Planı ve Plan Uygulama Sürecinde Yerel Yönetimlerin Rolü (1930-1965)”, *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler*, Vol.23/No.1 (January 2014), pp.39-55; H. Çağatay Keskinok, “Urban Planning Experience of Turkey in the 1930s”, *METU JFA*, Vol.27/No.2 (2010), pp. 173-188;

<sup>364</sup> For the churches’ material culture: Ronald Marchese and Marlene Breu, *Splendor and Pageantry: Textile Treasures from the Armenian Orthodox Churches of Istanbul*, (Istanbul:Citlembik Publications, 2011); Dickran Kouymjian, “The Year of the Armenian Book: The 500th Anniversary of Armenian Printing”, *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 22 (2013, published 2014), pp. 309-330; Dickran Kouymjian, “The Role of Armenian Potters of Kutahia in the Ottoman Ceramic Industry”, in *Armenian Communities in Asia Minor*, Richard Hovannisian, (ed.), Armenian History and Culture Series: Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces, UCLA, Vol.13, (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2014), pp. 107-130; Dickran Kouymjian, “Preface”, *Armenian Rugs and Textiles. An Overview of Examples from Four Centuries*, Exhibition catalogue, (Vienna: Armenian Rugs Society, 2014), pp. 5-8; Dickran Kouymjian, “An Armenian Liturgical Curtain”, *Cleveland Art, The Cleveland Museum of Art Members Magazine*, (September/October 2014), pp. 12-13; Dickran Kouymjian, “The Melitene Group of Armenian Miniature Painting in the Eleventh Century”, *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia*, proceedings of the

### 3.4.1. The Case of Ottoman Armenian Architecture of Kayseri and the Villages

In the pursuit of ethnic cleansing or genocide and the rewriting of history in the interest of the victor, architecture acquires a symbolic meaning as it represents the presence of a community marked for erasure.<sup>365</sup> It becomes subjected to an active and systematic destruction “in conflicts where the erasure of memories, history and identity attached to architecture and place – enforced forgetting – is the goal itself. These buildings are attacked not because they are in the path of a military objective: to their destroyers they *are* the objective.”<sup>366</sup> As such, Armenian buildings became the main target of destruction and elimination as they represented Armenian presence in both social and cultural terms. The demolition and the intentional neglect of Armenian architecture underline a sense of inconvenience that the state has with its past and its minority groups. In these terms “the Armenian architecture represents one of the guilty reminders that have to be eliminated.”<sup>367</sup>

The process of destruction that affected the Armenian churches in Kayseri and in the surrounding villages is mostly determined by neglect, which is due not only because of the absence of a local Armenian population, but especially consists in willful neglect, which developed in different forms. The destruction of churches I present in my thesis and that I was able to see during my visit to Kayseri in November 2014, can partly be formulated through the eight ways of destruction summarized by Dickran Kouymjian after he testified before the Permanent People’s Tribunal of April 1984.

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conference, in the series *Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces*, UCLA, May 17, 2003, Richard Hovannisian, (ed.), (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 2013), pp. 79-115; Dickran Kouymjian, "Notes on Armenian Codicology. Part 1: Statistics Based on Surveys of Armenian Manuscripts", *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter*, no. 4 (July 2012), pp. 18-23.

<sup>365</sup> Robert Bevan, *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), p. 8.

<sup>366</sup> *Ibid*, p. 8.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid*, p. 58.

1) *Willful destruction by fire or explosives of churches, civil buildings, and homes during the period of the massacres.*

Kouymjian argues that during the years 1915-1923 around 1000 Armenian churches and monasteries were leveled to the ground while almost 700 were half-destroyed. For instance the historic city of Van was destroyed in 1919 and only few ruins of the Armenian church of the city are left today.<sup>368</sup> As in the case of Kayseri, some churches were destroyed during or immediately after 1915.

The monastery of Surp Daniel in Balagesi was destroyed immediately after the deportation of the Armenians from the village in 1915.<sup>369</sup> Today it appears impossible to locate the original location of the monastery in Balagesi. From a photograph (Fig.31) present in Alboyajian's history of Kayseri, the monastery appeared to be immediately adjacent to the church of Surp Asdvadzadzin. According to Güner Sağır the church was property of the Municipality of Balagesi and it was for sale in 2000.<sup>370</sup> During my visit to Balagesi in November 2014, I was not able to recognize the church and the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board of Kayseri was not capable to provide any information neither about the monastery nor about the church.

Surp Garabed monastery in Efkere was almost completely destroyed. Although there are no references to an activity of destruction by explosives or artillery, it appears clearly from its current condition that the monastic complex was subjected to a planned destruction.<sup>371</sup> The absence of almost the entire structure strongly suggests that this is unlikely to have been caused only by neglect or absence of maintenance. The monastery and the school appear to be open and in function until 1915, when the last class of students graduated.<sup>372</sup> Today there are only some ruins of the building foundations, walls and arches (Fig.31).

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<sup>368</sup> Dickran Kouymjian, from a lecture's paper of March 11, 2003 entitled *When Does Genocide End? The Armenian Case*, p. 8.

<sup>369</sup> Kevorkian, p. 514.

<sup>370</sup> Sağır, p. 140.

<sup>371</sup> Field visit to Efkere on 14 November 2014.

<sup>372</sup> [www.efkere.com](http://www.efkere.com), date of access 13 May 2014.



Fig.31 Ruins of Surp Garabed monastery in Efkeri<sup>373</sup>

*2) Subsequent, but conscious, destruction of individual monuments by explosives or artillery.*

Even though, neglect and reutilization are the two most common reasons of destruction there are several missing churches in Kayseri and in the villages. It is currently impossible to determinate their original location. I was not able to identify the means and the exact date of destruction of these churches and for this reason, the churches that appeared to be lost or in a condition of almost complete destruction are included in this second point presented by Kouymjian.

The monastery of Surp Sarkis in Derevank was subjected to a process of planned destruction. The building stood in a valley eight kilometers outside the center of Talas and today appears to be almost completely destroyed, with only some ruins left, on which it is possible to identify some remains of the original frescos (Fig.32).

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<sup>373</sup> Field visit to Efkeri on 14 November 2014.

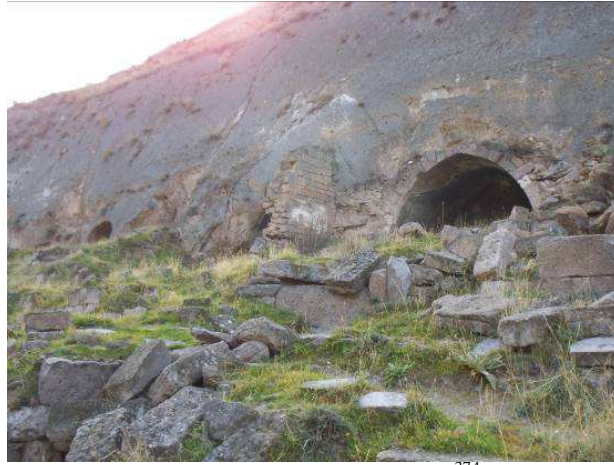


Fig.32 Surp Sarkis in Derevank<sup>374</sup>

The church of Surp Sarkis of Kayseri, described in detail by Alboyajian was rebuilt in 1834, then renovated in 1884 and again in 1902.<sup>375</sup> The church completely disappeared and no records were found. A photograph dated 1910 shows the church still standing and in good conditions at the time (Fig.33). In the work on Kayseri quarters by Kemal Demir and Suat Çabuk the church of Surp Sarkis is located on a map in the quarter of Eslim Paşa (Fig.34).<sup>376</sup>



Fig.33 Surp Sarkis church of Kayseri in 1910, completely absent today<sup>377</sup>

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<sup>374</sup> Field visit to Talas-Derevenk on 14 November 2014.

<sup>375</sup> Alboyajian, p. 897.

<sup>376</sup> Kemal Demir, Suat Çabuk, *Türk Dönemi Kayseri Kenti ve Mahalleleri*, (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları No: 188, 2013), p. 138.

<sup>377</sup> Osman Köker, *100 Yıl Önce Türkiye'de Ermeniler*, (İstanbul: Birzamanlar Yayıncılık, 2005), p. 164.



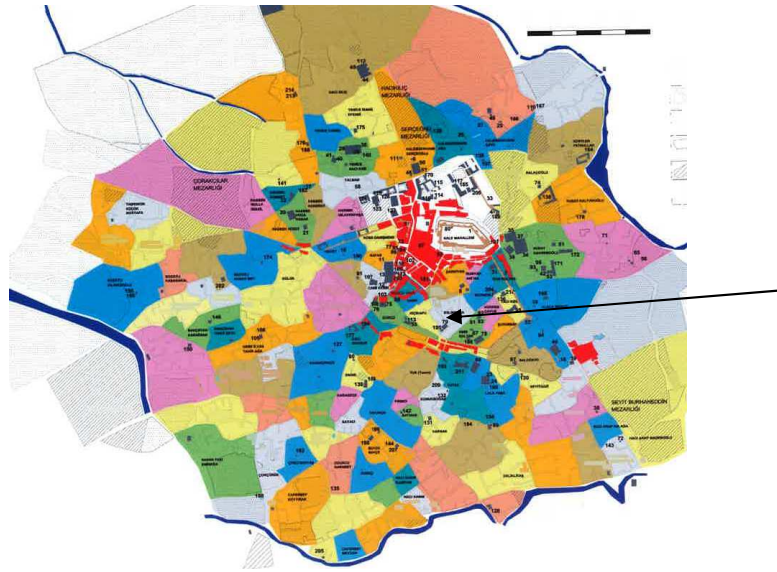


Fig.34 Map of Kayseri's quarters at the end of nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century with reference to Surp Sarkis Church<sup>378</sup>

The Catholic church of Surp Khach of Kayseri today has totally disappeared; there are no records available about its location and the year of destruction. The two Armenian churches of Talas, Surp Toros and Surp Asdvadzadzin are completely destroyed with no remains to be seen today.

*3) Destruction by willful neglect and the encouragement of trespassing by peasants*

In several cases stones belonging to Armenian churches have been removed and used as building material by the local population. Especially in Eastern Anatolia, as for the church of Tekor in the region of Kars, and the church of Surp Asdvadzadzin at Soradir, a monastic complex situated east of Lake Van, the stones taken from the Armenian churches were utilized as construction material for private houses.<sup>379</sup> In the villages surrounding Kayseri there are clear signs of vandalism, neglect and villages, and the churches appear to be completely available to trespassing by peasants, as there is no control by the authorities.

<sup>378</sup> Demir, Çabuk, p. 138.

<sup>379</sup> Dickran Kouymjian, from a lecture's paper of March 11, 2003 entitled *When Does Genocide End? The Armenian Case*, p. 8.



The question of gold seeking by the peasants constituted another significant cause of damage to the Armenian architecture. During the deportation of the Armenians rumors had spread that they had buried their gold in their houses or gardens and their empty houses were often ransacked and their gardens dug and damaged by their neighbors.<sup>380</sup> The same happened to the churches, greatly destroyed by gold seekers. Many examples of Armenian churches in Kayseri and in the villages display the signs of destruction of their interior pavement caused by excavations.

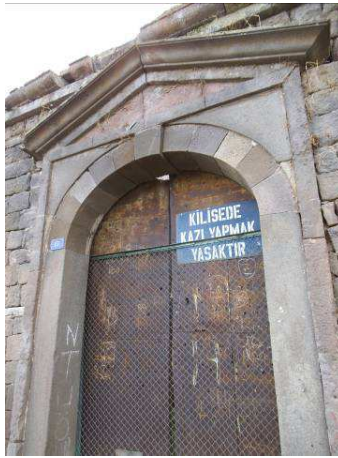


Fig.35 Sign posted on the door of the Greek Monastery of Taksiarhis in Darsiyak saying “It is forbidden to dig inside the church”.<sup>381</sup>

The Church of Surp Toros in Tavlusun seems to have suffered from vandalism, theft, pillaging, and neglect. The destruction of the inscription above the entrance door and the presence of writings on the internal wall paintings echo conscious and unconscious acts of vandalism suffered by several non-Muslim religious sites in Turkey. The partial destruction of the naos pavement was caused by treasure seekers; remains of the stones removed by the treasure seekers can still be seen at the site.<sup>382</sup> The fact that some stones appeared to have been detached from the courtyard, might be explained

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<sup>380</sup> Uğur Ümit Üngör and Mehmet Polatel, *Confiscation and Destruction: The Young Turk Seizure of Armenian Property*, (London: Continuum, 2011), p. 71.

<sup>381</sup> Field visit to Darsiyak (Karabağ) on 14 November 2014. The practice of excavations inside the churches appear to be usual practice as there is the need for a sign to prohibit it.

with usual practice of utilizing stones from churches as construction material for private buildings, as houses, storages and surrounding walls. The main cause of deterioration is neglect, especially for the presence of rainwater and vegetation inside the church, which caused the deterioration of the stucco in the interiors.<sup>383</sup>



Fig.36 Surp Toros church interior and holes caused by probable treasure seekers.<sup>384</sup>

Surp Stepanos Church in Efkere was subjected to acts of vandalism by treasure seekers and episodes of stealing of the columns of the entrance and of the apse. As for many other churches the collapse of the dome and the lack of repair appear to be an intentional move which led to the deterioration of the church's interiors. This church is today part of a private property and for this reason locked, even if it does not seem to be utilized.

Surp Khach Church in Balagesi was left in a state of neglect after 1915, which led to the deterioration of the building and the remains were left to the usage by the local people and today it appears to be used as sheepfold.<sup>385</sup>

Surp Toros Church in Derevank has been almost totally destroyed by acts of vandalism and illegal excavations. What remains of the church is utilized as sheepfold, presenting the frontal door partially closed with stones.<sup>386</sup>

Surp Stepanos Church in Germir completely lost any reference of being a church as it has turned into a dwelling in bad shape. During my visit to Germir I was able to see

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<sup>383</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 43.

<sup>384</sup> Field visit to Tavlasun on 14 November 2014.

<sup>385</sup> Sağır, p.125.

<sup>386</sup> Sağır, p.130.

only the exterior of what remains from the original structure and the courtyard (Fig.37, Fig.38).



Fig.37 Surp Stepanos in Germir used today as private habitation<sup>387</sup>



Fig.38 The courtyard of Surp Stepanos in Germir as part of the habitation<sup>388</sup>

Surp Toros of Fenese<sup>389</sup> is today used as a barn (Fig.41, Fig.42). Being part of a private house it is not possible to visit the interior without the permission of the owner. Its exterior lost any indication of being a church and resembles an external storage adjacent to the house.<sup>390</sup>

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<sup>387</sup> Field visit to Germir on 14 November 2014.

<sup>388</sup> Field visit to Germir on 14 November 2014.

<sup>389</sup> Fenese along with Everek is part of Develi.

<sup>390</sup> Field visit to Develi on 15 November 2014.

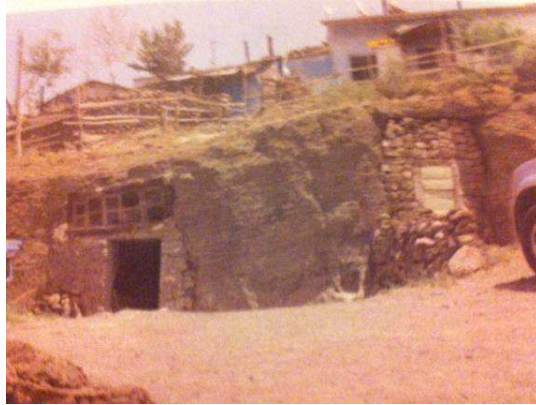


Fig.39 One of the exterior walls of the church of Surp Toros in Fenese<sup>391</sup>

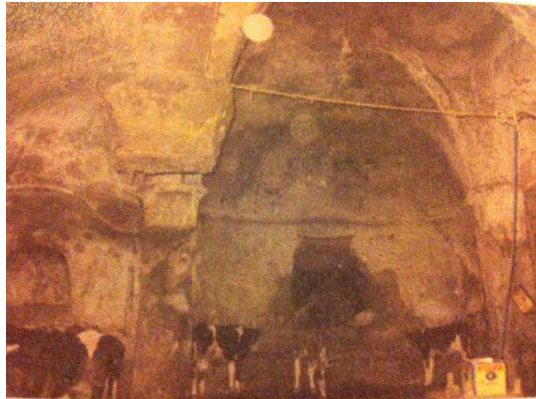


Fig.40 The interior of the church currently used as a barn today<sup>392</sup>

Surp Boghos Bedros Church in Tomarza was utilized as storage after 1915, used as a cinema in later years and finally it was transformed into a storage belonging to the Municipality of Tomarza in 1978. Its interior was almost entirely destroyed and the arches were filled with stones along with the windows closed with bricks (Fig.17)<sup>393</sup>

*4) Conversion of Armenian churches into mosques, museums, prisons, sporting centers, granaries, stables, and farms.*

After 1915 many Armenian churches began to be used for different purposes, as mosques, museums, cultural centers, sport centers, cinemas, barns, storages, and farms.

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<sup>391</sup> Personal visit in October 2014.

<sup>392</sup> Ibid.

<sup>393</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 123.

In Kayseri and in the villages many of the Armenian churches are today utilized for different functions.

Surp Toros Church of Everek (Develi) remained unused and empty after 1915 until 1978 when it was restored and converted into a mosque (Fatih Camii) (Fig.18).<sup>394</sup>

Surp Asdvadzadzin Church in Kayseri has served as a storage, an exhibition hall and a police station after 1915. Used as a sport center from 1961 onwards, the building is currently under restoration to be utilized as a cultural center (Fig.2, Fig.3, Fig.4).<sup>395</sup>

##### *5) Destruction by failure to provide minimal maintenance.*

This aspect appears to be common for majority of the churches, literally the buildings that have not been reutilized for different purposes went through a process of destruction due to the absence of minimal maintenance. The buildings which have not been utilized for a specific function have turned into ruins. Lack of minimal maintenance appears to be a serious cause of destruction. There are almost no activities such as the removal of vegetation from the exterior and the interior of the churches, cause of deterioration of the frescos, or a basic reconstruction of the missing churches' domes that represent a significant cause of the internal deterioration because of the exposition to atmospheric factors.



Fig.41 The absence of the dome and growing vegetation inside Surp Stepanos church of Efkere<sup>396</sup>

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<sup>394</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 130.

<sup>395</sup> From a personal meeting at the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board of Kayseri (Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kurulu) on 14 November 2014.



The dome of Surp Stepanos church in Efkere is absent and no reparations have been done in order to prevent the deterioration of the interiors caused by the absence of the dome and by the exposure to different climatic conditions (Fig.41).



Fig.42 The absent dome of Surp Stepanos church in Efkere<sup>397</sup>

*6) Demolition for the construction of roads, bridges, or other public works.*

This practice is not prevalent in the case of Kayseri. Especially, in the villages there have not been any specific public works involving the destruction of churches.

*7) Neutralizing of a monument's Armenian identity by effacing its Armenian inscriptions.*

The removal or destruction of churches' inscriptions, in order to erase any reference to the origins and identity of the building, is a practice utilized both if the church is employed for other purposes and also if it has been left in ruins. Regarding the churches of Kayseri analyzed in this thesis, almost all inscriptions, reporting the date of construction and other important information, have been removed. This procedure appears to be adopted "understandably" when the church has been transformed and used for other purposes, but the inscriptions appear to have been removed or made illegible even when the church has been left in a status of neglect. Among the Armenian

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<sup>396</sup> [www.efkere.com](http://www.efkere.com)

<sup>397</sup> Field visit to Efkere on 14 November 2014.

churches of Kayseri and surrounding villages only one inscription is still intact and legible, that is the one of Surp Lusavorich, which is the only church still in use (Fig.43).



Fig. 43 Inscription above the main entrance of Surp Lusavorich Church in Kayseri<sup>398</sup>

Surp Stepanos Church in Efkere is an example of neutralized identity through the removal of inscriptions. The inscriptions on the main door of the church have been covered with plaster rendering them unreadable and thus non-existent (Fig.44).<sup>399</sup>



Fig.44 Covered inscription on the main door of Surp Stepanos church in Efkere<sup>400</sup>

The internal inscription of Surp Asdvadzadzin Church in the center of Kayseri, now the sport center under restoration, results illegible because of an additional inscription in Turkish applied on the original one in Armenian (Fig.46).<sup>401</sup>

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<sup>398</sup> Field visit to Kayseri on 13 November 2014.

<sup>399</sup> Field visit to Efkere on 14 November 2014.

<sup>400</sup> Field visit to Efkere on 14 November 2014.

<sup>401</sup> During my visit to Kayseri I was not able to visit the interior of the church as today it is closed and under restoration, for this reason I referred to the description provided by Şeyda Güngör Açıköz in her unpublished PhD dissertation “*Kayseri ve Çevresindeki 19.Yüzyıl Kiliseleri ve Korunmaları İçin Öneriler*, İ.T.Ü., İstanbul, 2007, p. 376.



Fig.45 Example of initiative to remove the Armenian inscription of the Church of Surp Asdvadzadzin of Kayseri now used as a sport center.<sup>402</sup>

8) *The intentional reattribution of buildings, especially of monuments of touristic importance, to Turkish, usually medieval Seljuk architecture.*<sup>403</sup>

The practice of reattribution of buildings to Turkish or Seljuk architecture appear to be used particularly for the city of Ani, which is indicated in the touristic indications as “Anı” (“memory” in Turkish) and no references to the Armenian past of the city are mentioned.<sup>404</sup> This practice is not used in the case of Kayseri and in the surrounding villages. The villages are not touristic destination and there are no indications for tourists. The functioning church in Kayseri is mostly visited by the Armenians attending the celebrations once a year and it does not seem to be visited for touristic purposes. Actually, the church is located in a residential area outside the city center, where the main touristic attractions (Museum of Seljuk civilization, Seljuk *medreses* and tombs) are concentrated.

The ways summarized by Kouymjian suggest a useful model to categorize the destruction and neglect that took place in Kayseri and in the villages. Accordingly, it is possible to categorize the churches analyzed in this study in four main groups:

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<sup>402</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 376.

<sup>403</sup> Dickran Kouymjian, “Confiscation of Armenian Property and the Destruction of Armenian Historical Monuments as a Manifestation of the Genocidal Process”, in *Anatomy of Genocide: State-Sponsored Mass-Killings in the Twentieth Century*, Alexandre Kimenyi and Otis L. Scott (Eds), (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2011), pp. 312-313.

<sup>404</sup> Personal visit to Ani in September 2010.



1. Churches preserved in the original structure because of their employment for different purposes (mosques, cultural center, storages): Surp Asdvadzadzin in Kayseri (utilized as sport center and now under restoration), Surp Toros in Everek (today Fatih mosque of Develi).
2. Churches neglected and trespassed by the local population: Surp Toros in Tavlasun, Surp Stepanos in Efkere, Surp Khach in Balagesi, Surp Toros in Derevank.
3. Ruined churches which are now part of private property of local inhabitants: Surp Stepanos in Efkere, Surp Stepanos in Germir, Surp Toros in Fenese, Surp Boghos Bedros in Tomarza.
4. Destroyed churches: Surp Sarkis church of Kayseri, Surp Khach in Kayseri, Surp Garabed monastery in Efkere, Surp Sarkis monastery in Derevank, Surp Asdvadzadzin in Gesi, Surp Toros and Surp Asdvadzadzin in Talas.

Ten out of sixteen churches included in the catalogue (Chapter 2) were subjected to willful neglect and appropriation by the local population leading to a complete neutralization of the buildings, erasing any reference to their past as Armenian churches. This aspect is considered as dangerous as the direct destruction of the building, as private ownership contributes to the deterioration of the few examples of Armenian churches remaining in the villages and prevents any possible conservation activity.

Among the churches investigated in this study, only three churches have preserved their architectonic features, at least externally. One is Surp Krikor Lusavorich in Kayseri, which still functions as a church and is open once a year for Easter celebrations. Surp Toros church in Everek owes its architectural survival to its conversion into a mosque in 1978, namely the Fatih mosque of Develi. The third surviving structure, Surp Asdvadzadzin in Kayseri, was employed for various purposes after losing her status as a church. Utilized as storage, exhibition hall, sport center the building seems to have been relatively well-maintained.<sup>405</sup> The rest of the analyzed churches are either partially destroyed or seized by the local population. As the new owners were allowed to use the building, they also could alter the original structure of the churches.

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<sup>405</sup> Field visit to Kayseri on 13 November 2014.

### 3.4.2 Armenian Churches as Private or State Properties Today

The process of appropriation of the churches by the Municipalities or by private persons is not clear. Neither the Municipality nor the employees of the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board of Kayseri were able to provide any valid documentation on how the process of selling and purchasing of Armenian churches actually took place. According to the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board of Kayseri, the Armenian churches in the villages were just given to the local population in the 1930's. The authorities explain that there are effective owners of the buildings, thus restoration would be possible only after the purchase of the buildings from the actual owners.<sup>406</sup>

It appears that the concession of Armenian churches from the state to the local population, which was located approximately in 1930's by the employees of the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board of Kayseri, can be contextualized within the framework of the confiscation of the Armenian properties in 1915.

After the deportation, on 10 June 1915, the Ottoman government adopted a secret order for the local governments on how to administer the Armenian properties. This secret order also included the formation of specific commissions to manage the properties and lands belonging to Armenians. The amount and the value of the properties along with the names of the owners were registered in detail. The movable properties were to be preserved in the name of the owners, but in the case that the owner was unknown the property was to be registered and preserved in the name of the village. Perishable properties and livestock were to be sold at auction together with the crops harvested from the abandoned lands. The proceeds would then be collected in the finance office in the names of the owners.<sup>407</sup> Moreover, "the goods, pictures, sacraments and holy books kept at the churches would be preserved in stores after they were registered and listed."<sup>408</sup>

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<sup>406</sup> Personal meeting at the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board of Kayseri on 14 November 2014.

<sup>407</sup> Uğur Ümit Üngör and Mehmet Polatel, *Confiscation and Destruction: The Young Turk Seizure of Armenian Property*, (London: Continuum, 2011), p. 44.

<sup>408</sup> Üngör, Polatel, p. 44.

By September 1915, the confiscation of all buildings and land was implemented by the Ministries of Interior, Justice and Finance. In November 1915, a new regulation giving direct indications about the immovable properties of the Armenians and the properties of churches was adopted. Although church properties were already registered and preserved, this new regulation transferred the usage rights of the materials of the schools to the Ministry of Education.<sup>409</sup> In this process all the lands owned by the Church were seized as well. During this confiscation and purchase process many Armenian churches were used as storages and auction sites.<sup>410</sup> I strongly believe that the appropriation of the Armenian churches of Kayseri and the villages by the state and its distribution to the local population is part of the plan of confiscation of Armenian properties in 1915.

The process of confiscation of Armenian properties is studied by Uğur Üngör and Mehmet Polatel, considering the expropriation of Armenians not as primarily moved by economic interests, not even by an economic necessity to stabilize the state economy. The authors explain that

the Young Turks made it clear, time and again, that the ‘Armenian question’ constituted a national question, not an economic one. Most of all, if the Armenians’ ties to Anatolia comprised their ownership of property, then to break those ties, the property needed to be appropriated. In other words, the object of Young Turk policies was not the property, but the people.<sup>411</sup>

Since architecture was part of the immovable wealth of the Ottoman Armenians, a similar question can be asked concerning Ottoman Armenian architecture: was the destruction and appropriation of Armenian buildings motivated by economic reasons and material gain? Considering the process of destruction, neglect and transformation as part of a strategy aimed to break the Armenians’ ties with Anatolia, I argue that the attacks on architecture were direct attacks at the people.

Paradoxically the illegal seizure of Armenian property by the Young Turk regime developed as a legal act, through a series of laws and secret regulations decreed by the

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<sup>409</sup> Üngör and Polatel, p. 47.

<sup>410</sup> Üngör and Polatel, p. 47.

<sup>411</sup> Ibid, p. 166.

regime itself. Firstly, the Armenian properties were conceived by the Ottoman legislation as “abandoned properties” (*emval-ı metruke*), differently from the other communities the Armenians were referred as ‘deserters and missing people’ and the laws on abandoned properties were applied only to them.<sup>412</sup> Secondly, the CUP, immediately after the adaptation of the deportation decision on 30 May 1915 included specific articles on property, aimed at ‘protecting’ the properties “left behind or returning the net value of these properties to the deported Armenians.”<sup>413</sup>

Consequently all the properties, including land of the evacuated villages and towns, were distributed to the local Muslim population. The fate of ‘abandoned’ Armenian properties is quite clear, but what about the Armenian architecture of Kayseri? Could it be reduced to those confiscated ‘abandoned’ properties? As mentioned earlier architecture was mostly subjected to destruction and removal, but a certain number of buildings, mostly churches were used for other purposes, an aspect that appears as another instance of seizure of the Armenian property. Actually during the expropriation process the Interior Ministry promulgated a decree for the conversion of ‘abandoned’ Armenian buildings, with enough large enough dimensions, into prisons, followed by an investigation of the adequate buildings in May 1916.<sup>414</sup>

Obviously for their dimensions, churches appeared to be the most suitable buildings to be used as prisons, and thus, “every province reported the number of buildings convenient for conversion into prisons; the numbers ranged from two to eleven in different provinces and districts.”<sup>415</sup> Another manner of appropriation of Armenian churches by the State was conversion into police stations, as the case of Izmit, where “at least three large Armenian community buildings were turned into police stations.”<sup>416</sup> Regarding the churches in Kayseri, there are three examples of churches, which have been seized for state purposes. One is Surp Asdvadzadzin, situated in the town center, which was used after 1915 as a warehouse of the Municipality before being utilized as an exhibition salon and finally as a sport center.<sup>417</sup>

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<sup>412</sup> Ibid, p. 43.

<sup>413</sup> Ibid, p. 44.

<sup>414</sup> Üngör and Polatel, p. 82.

<sup>415</sup> Ibid, p. 83.

<sup>416</sup> Ibid, p. 83.

<sup>417</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 123

Today the church is under restoration as a property of the Municipality of Kayseri and will be used as cultural center. The second example is Everek Surp Toros Church, which was used for a while as a Municipality's building and as a police station<sup>418</sup> and was transformed into a mosque in 1978.<sup>419</sup> The third example is the church of Surp Boghos Bedros in Tomarza, which is being used as a storage by the local Municipality.<sup>420</sup>

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<sup>418</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 130

<sup>419</sup> Açıkgöz, p. 130

<sup>420</sup> From a personal meeting at Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board of Kayseri on 14 November 2014

## CONCLUSION

The study has attempted to analyze the Armenian religious architectural heritage of Kayseri and its surrounding villages, with a particular focus on the process of destruction which has affected majority of the Armenian churches in the region. Among all the examples of Ottoman Armenian architecture, churches proved to be the most exemplificative study case which enabled me to demonstrate how they were subjected to planned destruction and neglect. Kayseri proved to be an interesting example to understand the magnitude of the devastation process, especially for the considerable number of Armenian churches that were once there both in the city center and in the surrounding villages. In fact, after a reconstruction phase developed around the year 1835, after a major earthquake which affected Kayseri and the villages, the region presented around 34 Armenian churches and 16 medieval monasteries, of which almost the entirety has been destroyed, left in total disrepair or used for other purposes. Through the information collected I was able to catalog them, including their current condition and approximately locate their position on a map.

After having identified the magnitude of destruction, I applied the eight strategies of destruction summarized by Kouymjian to seventeenth churches and monasteries in Kayseri and villages. The results of my analysis showed that currently:

- One single church still retains its function,
- Two structures have been preserved because they have been used for other purposes,
- Nine churches were neglected, were trespassed by the local population or have become part of private property,
- And finally seven churches have been completely destroyed,
- No monasteries have survived, with the exception of some ruins.

Furthermore, the thesis aimed to contextualize the destruction of the religious Armenian architecture of Kayseri in relation with the concepts of spatial and cultural cleansing. A study on architecture has inevitably to deal with the concept of space, which in this particular case was subjected to different policies as demographic and

toponymical engineering, and spatial cleansing. These three policies all interested the Armenians of Kayseri and their villages, thus firstly the Ottoman Armenians were physically annihilated, secondly the names of their villages were transformed and finally their religious architecture was subjected to a gradual process of destruction, neglect and transformation.

In addition, architecture is a cultural production and its destruction is a part of process of cultural cleansing, which also includes specific artistic styles and construction techniques proper of the Ottoman Armenian religious architecture. Both residential and religious architecture are a product of a specific culture, with its symbols and meanings, including a strong relation with identity. The Armenian religious architecture of Kayseri represented the culture of the local Armenian community, thus, its destruction caused the disappearance of that particular culture from the region. Along with building, also all the material culture of the churches disappeared as no record of paintings, textiles, and books can be located at the moment. Moreover, the churches were the social and educational centers of the community. The network of schools was an integral part of the churches and their destruction also represented the end of the transmission and reproduction of the Armenian culture and deterioration of the communal ethnos. The

The study presented two main difficulties. The first one revolves around the impossibility of obtaining a complete list of churches from the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul, which rendered the research particularly difficult and limiting, as I had to base my investigation on Alboyajian's works and available secondary literature. The second difficulty concerns the reconstruction of the churches' history, as it is extremely difficult to find documentation and to understand what happened when and where.

The field work in Kayseri was particularly useful to understand the current condition of the churches and to realize the existence of intricate questions as the churches' ownership by the local population and by the municipality. Unfortunately, I was not able to reconstruct the process through which Armenian churches became part of a private property or how the municipality was able to purchase the churches and utilize them for different purposes. I believe this is the most significant missing element

in this thesis and needs further investigation to reconstruct a complete history of the churches.

Despite limited time and sources, some deductions of the present study would be relevant for future research in the Ottoman Armenian cultural heritage. A detailed research might be conducted by using Armenian and Ottoman archival sources and photographs collected in different Armenian institutions. The numerous memoirs written by the Genocide survivors from Kayseri and the villages represent a rich source and should be investigated further, as they reveal several significant aspects of the churches and their role in the Armenian community. Moreover, the local newspapers could be used for further investigation as they can reveal some clues about the ownership of the churches and can provide information regarding usage of these churches by local municipalities. A further research should be conducted on the master plans (imar planları) that interested Kayseri in the 1930s and in the 1940s to investigate any possible relation to the destruction of some of the churches analyzed in this thesis.



## APPENDIX 1: CHRONOLOGY

1835- Major earthquake in Kayseri

1839- *Tanzimat* reforms

1843- Kayseri Poll tax registers (Kayseri Cizye defteri)

1845- Settlement of Nomadic tribes in Kayseri and surrounding villages

1847- Wave of cholera in Kayseri

1856-57 - The *sancak* of Kayseri was transferred from the Karaman Eyalet to the Bozok Eyalet

1863- Armenian constitution

1867- The *sancak* of Kayseri was connected to the vilayet of Ankara.

1874- Famine in Kayseri and villages

1894-1896- Hamidian massacres

1915- Armenian genocide

1915-1918- Legalization of Pillage of Armenian properties

1916- Turkification of place names

1920s- Economic Turkification

1930s and 1940s- Urban development plans (imar planları) of Kayseri

**APPENDIX 2: The Ottoman Armenian population in 1914<sup>421</sup>**

<b>Administrative Area</b>	<b>Armenians</b>	<b>Armenian Catholics</b>
Edirne	19,725	48
Erzurum	125,657	8,720
Istanbul	72,962	9,918
Adana	50,139	2,511
Ankara	44,507	7,069
Aydın	19,395	892
Bitlis	114,704	2,788
Beirut	1,188	277
Aleppo	35,104	5,739
Bursa	58,921	1,278
Diyarbakir	55,890	9,960
Syria	413	247
Sivas	143,406	3,693
Trabzon	37,549	1,350
Kastamonu	8,959	0
Konya	12,971	0
Elazığ	76,070	3,751
Van	67,792	0
Eskişehir	8,276	316
Antalya	630	0
Urfa	15,161	1,557
Içel	341	0
Izmit	55,403	449
Bolu	2,961	9
Samsun	27,058	261
Çatalca	842	0
Zor	67	215
Jerusalem	1,310	0
Afyon	7,437	2
Balıkesir	8,544	109
Çanakkale	2,474	0
<b>Kayseri</b>	<b>48,659</b>	<b>1,515</b>

<sup>421</sup> Summary of the Ottoman Population, 1914 in Taner Akçam, *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford, 2012, p. 262

Kütahya	3,910	638
Maraş	27,842	4,480
Menteşe	12	0
Niğde	4,890	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,161,169</b>	<b>67,838</b>

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